What Matters

On March 24, young people converged on Washington, D.C., New York, Boston, and 797 other locations around the globe. The March for Our Lives was organized by students from Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School in Parkland, Florida, who brought their fight to the nation’s capital. They were not afraid to take on powerful forces. The way I see it, they have met their own mortality and, perhaps, have been inoculated against intimidation tactics. Their power does not depend on money, nor are they worried about being reelected. They have faced the firing squad and, riveted by the randomness of their escape, they are hyperfocused on life. It is an advantage that comes from absence: They have nothing to lose and everything to gain. I think of them as Obama’s children, the legacy of a president’s thwarted efforts to implement gun control. These young people have knowledge, energy, and social media savvy. Respecting the power of words has helped them rise to this moment of activism. Already, they seem to be having an impact, but perhaps that is my wishful thinking.

The students of Parkland probably understand that there is irony in the name of the school where they have studied history and democracy, where they have practiced debate and learned the value of the free speech principles they made use of in D.C. I imagine they know quite a bit about Marjory Stoneman Douglas, who left behind a legacy of activism herself when she died in 1999 at the age of 108. Her story was the focus of a Washington Post article, noting the symbolism that is attached to her name.¹

Educated at Wellesley College, Douglas became a writer and journalist and took up causes including civil rights, women’s suffrage, and the environment. Her exhaustive reporting for the Miami Herald revealed the intensifying efforts of commercial developers to make extinct the vast acreage of the Everglades. Her book Voice of the River describes a precious waterway, a unique natural environment whose loss would be tragic.

Douglas confronted corrupt powers that chose financial gain over the benefits of maintaining a pristine, irreplaceable habitat. Environmentalists argue that her efforts led to restrictions that helped protect the Everglades. But though she was relentless, Douglas was unable to totally defeat the dominant corporate entities and governmental agencies whose focus on profits continued to drain the land of its ecological value. On the eastern edge of a levee that was constructed to divert the natural water flow of the “river of grass,” the city of Parkland was established. The students who marched against the gun lobby on March 24 probably know that

¹ Contrera, J. At the March for Our Lives, you’ll see her name again. But who was Marjory Stoneman Douglas? Washington Post, March 22, 2018.
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Front cover image: *Psyche Opening the Golden Box* by John William Waterhouse (1903)

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Letter from the President

As we come to the end of another academic year that has been bursting with energy and ideas (and trainees!), I am struck by what a fortunate position we find ourselves in. Experiencing a program or a class or a Thursday night here, one would never guess that the value of thinking psychoanalytically is under question. But it is, and with an increasing number of students responding to our outreach, we have a responsibility to them (and to ourselves) to continue to look closely at who we are and what we are providing. Not only do we have more voices in our midst, but they are louder and more organized and engaged.

As many of you know, we are about a year into our Strategic Plan revision process, and as you read this, many members are involved in one of the following “think tanks”:

- **From Individual to Group: Nurturing an Organizational Holding Environment**
  How can we use knowledge of group dynamics to promote open, respectful dialogue at all levels of BPSI? How can we develop a culture in which we can passionately debate differences?

- **Psychotherapy in a Psychoanalytic Context: Strengths, Challenges, Aspirations**
  How do we promote the principles of psychoanalysis in training and clinical practice where analytic frequency is unlikely to occur?

- **Our Senior Members: Maintaining Connections, Addressing Needs, and Sharing Their Wisdom**
  What are the special concerns of senior members – professional wills, retirement, continuation of teaching and supervision, community representation?

- **Outside In, Inside Out: The Social World and Psychoanalysis**
  How do we integrate an understanding of social issues into psychoanalysis at BPSI? How do we build a bridge between our psychoanalytic selves and our community selves?

- **The Making of a Psychoanalyst: What Do 21st-Century Psychoanalysts Need to Know?**
  How do our trainees integrate the psychoanalytic theory with new perspectives on diversity, gender, and racism? What are the special educational needs of our trainees, and all graduate members?

These “think tanks” were formed in response to the most actively expressed concerns emerging from the small groups at the annual Members Meeting in November and the Strategic Plan Working Group’s discussions. Not surprisingly, they fall into three areas: education, social awareness, and working with and caring for one another. We are, of course, first and foremost a school. Our passion for how we work with our patients and the rigor with which we aim to teach psychoanalytic ideas are the things that keep us involved and continue to attract students to BPSI. But the world has changed, and both our patients and our colleagues reflect those differences.

This tension between the inner and outer worlds does not have to be a threat to the “gold” of analytic thinking. Whether we are sitting in our offices, teaching a class, participating in a group, volunteering or consulting anywhere in the community, our job is the same: to think deeply and listen carefully. It is the very immersion our training offers that will allow our way of working to travel fluidly and to remain relevant and vital.

Congratulations to our graduates and to those who have completed seminars. And our profound thanks to all of you who volunteer your apparently endless time, along with the handful of you who are paid (not nearly enough) to keep BPSI alive and flourishing. Have a good summer, and as always, I hope you will feel free to contact me at watts.juliea@gmail.com or 617-795-1790.
their community was built on a cemented-over parcel of the Everglades, and that their school was named to honor an advocate who could not save it all, but had to try.

What does it take to confront long-standing injustice, or fight for causes that may be lost? Though the large political movements inspired by #MeToo, #BlackLivesMatter and #NeverAgain do not have a long history, each represents significance: personal meaning, an eruption of pain, and collective mission. In the last year, words and phrases have communicated aspects of memory and history and have become powerful expressions of personal challenge, of purpose, and of conviction.

Do these political and social movements relate to our BPSI community? Though it may be uncomfortable to turn the lens on ourselves—on psychoanalysis—our failure to look at the intersection between the external world and our own psychoanalytic history makes us vulnerable to criticism regarding psychoanalytic collusion, lack of transparency, and silence about our own failures. As a profession, though we cherish the transformative value of psychoanalytic intimacy, we still struggle with the degree to which our technique operates in a crucible of power dynamics, personal limitations and porous boundaries. It is impossible not to reflect, painfully, on questions of integrity, sexism, ethics, and training. #MeToo is personal for us, as it should be. We ought to be interested in the tipping points, the moments that move people out of the comfort zone, into dangerous territory. As psychoanalysts, we have a singular perspective on the uses of imagination, of courage, of risk, and of resilience. In the service of dialogue, the Bulletin continues to invite discussion about what is hard, and what is important. I remain inspired by the students of Parkland, where the words of Marjory Stoneman Douglas hang on a banner in front of the school:

> Be depressed, discouraged, and disappointed at failures and the disheartening effects of ignorance, greed, corruption and bad politics, but never give up.²

Stephanie Brody, *BPSI Bulletin Editor*
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By the time you read this brief letter I will have completed my two-year term as Chair of the Board of Trustees and handed over my responsibilities to Jim Barron, who has been serving for some months as Chair-Elect. Jim brings a unique set of skills to the position, and his particular interest in group process as it plays out in organizational life will be a real asset to the functioning of our Board of Trustees.

Of course, this is a moment to express my deep appreciation for the opportunity to serve BPSI as Board Chair and to offer my heartfelt thanks to the members of the leadership team with whom I have worked so closely: past President Jim Walton, current President Julie Watts, President-Elect Dan Mollod, Managing Director Carole Nathan, Board Chair–Elect Jim Barron, and most especially Catherine Kimble, our truly remarkable Executive Director. It has become something of an inside joke that whenever anyone is asked to consider taking on one of the leadership positions at BPSI, one of the conditions inevitably specified is that Catherine commit to staying on as Executive Director for the duration of the position’s term. Catherine and I got to know each other as Co-Chairs of the Building Relocation Committee, which now seems a lifetime ago. My respect for her judgment, wisdom, and tireless commitment to BPSI has only grown over these past two years. And of course, all of us owe an enormous debt to our very dedicated staff: Drew Brydon, Lauren Lukason, Paul Brennan, Karen Smolens, Olga Umansky, and our newest staff member, Dov Frede.

I have benefited as Board Chair from the work and advice of the many members of our Board. I would, however, like to call attention to the immense value added by our Community Trustees, whose contributions our members are likely less aware of. Phil Burling has been a Trustee for over 10 years and, as an attorney with many years of experience in nonprofit governance, has been an invaluable resource in making certain that BPSI remains in compliance with the many laws and regulations to which we must adhere. He has made himself available on many Board subcommittees and has offered very sound advice when legal questions have arisen. Jim Nemetz has been serving as our Treasurer for the past two years and has chaired the Board’s Finance Committee. Susan Silbey has brought years of experience in academia to our Board deliberations. Harry Spence has thrown himself into BPSI life as a Board member, a co-instructor, and now a member of the Strategic Plan Working Group. His years of experience working with government agencies in distress make him a unique resource. Thankfully he has not identified BPSI as an organization he believes needs rescuing.

We have two recently minted Community Trustees: Robert Stern, MD, comes to us with a long-standing interest in psychoanalysis and psychoanalytic therapy and has spent his career in a number of high-profile leadership positions in community psychiatry. Robert Silver was the primary architect on the renovation of 141 Herrick Road. We all benefit from the care he took in designing our now not-so-brand-new home. He has already brought his expertise to several recent building issues. I would also like to express my personal thanks to Len Glass and Jonathan Kolb, whom I have known since my earliest days as an intern at McLean Hospital and who have been my Sunday-morning tennis partners for many years. As past Presidents of BPSI, they have each provided support and wise advice, most often given across the tennis net or during the 20 minutes of post-match processing when we hang out and solve the problems of the world—and occasionally BPSI’s as well.

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Joseph M. Schwartz, Past Chair, Board of Trustees

Signing off...for now

Joseph M. Schwartz, Past Chair, Board of Trustees
I have been fortunate to be Board Chair at a time when BPSI has been flourishing. There have been many new and successful initiatives. Our several training programs are filled with talented Candidates and students who I am confident will become valued members of our community, contributing to BPSI for years to come. More important, I feel confident that when (not if) significant challenges arise, BPSI—a far healthier and more resilient organization than it was years ago—will successfully face them. Certainly there are issues with which to grapple: How much and in what ways should BPSI reach out beyond its primary role as an educational institution and into the community? How do we preserve our psychoanalytic identity while providing and valuing expressions of that identity beyond the consulting room? How do we manage finite resources—money, staff and volunteer time—at a moment when our membership is bursting with new and creative ideas? How do we balance the tensions between privacy and transparency? How do we give committees and divisions the authority to do their work while still remaining accountable to our membership at large? For the most part, these are good problems to have and to engage. As I leave my position as Board Chair, I look forward to remaining an active voice in these conversations.

Calling All Writers:

The BPSI Bulletin is seeking members who have attended interesting talks, panels, or plenaries at local professional meetings, or at national and international conferences who would report on the event for the next issue. Or, if you would like to contribute a book review, please let us hear from you.

The Bulletin is published two times a year, and your contributions will provide opportunities for writing, and will enrich the community with your unique voice.

Please contact: Stephanie Brody (stephanie_brody@hms.harvard.edu)
We’re spearheading a large-scale endeavor that I’d like to describe to everyone. It’s been dubbed the “Uber-Program Committee”, but is also affectionately known by its singsong proper German name, Der Uberprogrammausschuss. Despite its Nietzschean or troublesome-ride-hailing-service overtones, the “uber” here refers more to an attempt to modify our current program-planning procedures into a more coordinated system.

As it stands now, our programs—from large weekend-long retreats with international invited guests to “named” lectures like the Silberger or the Beata Rank to smaller members’ presentations—are placed on the schedule by different arms of BPSI. The Program Committee itself, for example, is responsible for about six or seven programs per year, perhaps a third of all the presentations that occur. The rest come from other standing committees or from subcommittees of the Members Council, as was the case with our Members Seminars.

However, we’ve started shaping a new process whereby the Program Committee, the leadership team, representatives from the Education Division, and staff will begin meeting at quarterly intervals. We’ll come together around what upcoming dates are available, what the membership wants in terms of program ideas, and what educational gaps exist for Candidates, Fellows, psychotherapists, and members. Hence the idea of an “uber,” or overarching, group that can respond a bit more adroitly and cooperatively to member and trainee interests. We also envision advertising these planning dates so that members can submit proposals for paper presentations, lectures, or other invited-guest programs that the Uber-Program Committee can evaluate and help schedule.

We predict that there may be a few noticeable changes as we start this more integrated process. For one, our hope is that when there is a relatively urgent need for a presentation on a timely topic (psychoanalysis in relation to politics and the 2016 election comes to mind), there will be a process in place that lets us move in response to it. There may also be some annual lectures or events that move to a less frequent schedule (e.g., every other year), given the limited number of dates available and the need to fulfill many education missions. (Something I have learned being involved in the planning process is that we are practically maxed out on programming, owing to scheduling and budget constraints. Lest we feel too bad about these constraints, though, know that BPSI already conducts more programming than any other institute in the country. And finally, the Program Committee has already taken the initiative of varying the structure of programs from the usual formats (moderator, lecturer, discussant) to more creative ones, like large panels or lectures with breakout groups. We’ve even floated the idea of planning an old-style academic debate (“Analytic Couch Smackdown: Leather vs. Ultrasuede”!?).

The Members Council and the leadership look forward to your input as the Uber-Program Committee takes shape over the next year. We’re looking to take something that BPSI does well—offer deeply considered, intellectual programs—and make it even more responsive to member needs.
**Monograph Project**

The Library Committee hopes to support new scholarly initiatives by our members and other scholars in the field. If our budget allows, we plan to publish, in the coming years, several monographs focusing on BPSI’s history and the history of psychoanalysis.

- Malkah Notman will write about the role of women in our organization and their contributions to psychoanalysis over the years.
- Shari Thurer will explore the changing views of homosexuality in our community.
- Ellen Goldberg is working on a piece about the experiences of therapists and social workers at the Hampstead Clinic in London.

The Library Committee welcomes anyone who has an idea for writing a monograph to contact us.

**Gifford Scholar**

We also hope to restore the Sanford Gifford stipend of $1,000, given to a scholar to support their research on the history of psychoanalysis. The scholarship would go to a recipient who intended to publish their research and who is committed to giving a paper about it at BPSI. We are working out the details of these initiatives, pending their approval by the appropriate committees and the Board of Trustees.

**News from Our Library Corner**

Have you ever visited BPSI’s virtual *Library Corner*? BPSI’s contribution to the blogosphere is fairly young, but the website’s *From the Blog* section, accessed at the bottom of the bpsi.org home page, is updated frequently. Posts including book reviews, interviews with authors, and library news end up in the *Library Corner*. One recent library-related post features excerpts of interviews with two BPSI members, Nancy Chodorow and Jane Kite. Video conversations with book authors and senior analysts can also be found there. Our latest webcast in the “Voice of Experience” series features Ana-Maria Rizzuto being interviewed by Axel Hoffer. And the library also manages two blogs about recent publications: *BPSI Authors* highlights abstracts of journal articles, book reviews, and book chapters published by BPSI members within the last two years. This blog is updated monthly.
from the queue of references submitted by authors. Recent Work promotes book publications. Details about featured articles and books can be accessed via the BPSI Authors banner and the book-cover images at the bottom of the home page.

“Meet the Author”

In 2018–19, the library will continue hosting “Meet the Author” events. Our first author in the fall will be Cordelia Schmidt-Hellerau, presenting her new book Driven to Survive: Selected Papers on Psychoanalysis (IP Books, 2018) on October 2. In 2019, Lawrence Brown is scheduled to discuss his new book Transformational Processes and Clinical Psychoanalysis: Dreaming, Emotions and the Present Moment (in press). And Stephanie Brody and Frances Arnold are planning to talk about their forthcoming publication Psychoanalytic Perspectives on Women: Desire, Ambition, and Leadership (in press).

Holdings

Our library is home to over 9,000 books on psychoanalysis, psychotherapy, psychology, psychiatry, philosophy, and social and general sciences. Around 300 of these books are currently out on loan to members, candidates, and partners of BPSI. Our archives constantly attract the attention of historians and biographers. Photographs of our early members get published in books and used in films. All BPSI members have access to the recorded audio of past events via the Members section of the website. Anyone can request articles and bibliographic searches from the library staff. If we don’t carry a title, we can usually get it from another library. Our online collection keeps growing as well. All library visitors can access and download current articles from 22 psychoanalytic journals. Among the most recent online additions is the American Journal of Psychoanalysis, 1997–present.
Now, in trying to determine whether you are telling falsehoods or not, I have got to determine what your motivation might be. Are you a scorned woman?
—Senator Howell Heflin, Democrat of Alabama, to Anita Hill, Clarence Thomas’s Senate confirmation hearing, October 1991

If I let my fears silence me now, I will have betrayed all of those who supported me in 1991 and those who have come forward since. More than anything else, the Hill-Thomas hearing of October 1991 was about finding our voices and breaking the silence forever.
—Anita Hill, Speaking Truth to Power, 1997

There are big costs for being assertive, for asserting your own person, your own body.
—Anita Hill, New York Times, December 12, 2017

The #MeToo era has elicited complex responses within our psychoanalytic community. Personal experience of sexual harassment and gender injustice, the experiences of our patients, and boundary violations by therapists are part of our psychoanalytic history, professional life, and all-too-recent past. In this edition of the Free Association column, I have invited members of our community to offer brief reflections on the #MeToo movement and its legacy. Not every person I asked was able to make a contribution. Some who were invited to contribute chose to remain anonymous.

Anita Hill’s experience is considered by some to be the first example of a complaint of harassment against a powerful figure that was brought into the public eye. How far have we come since then? These associations are meant to open dialogue and spark additional discussion and exploration.

The Editor
I was 21, and had been single-minded in my goal of becoming a doctor. No other women in my family that generation or before had ever gone to graduate school or even worked professionally outside the home. I had sweated through pre-med courses in college, spent hours studying for the MCAT, and filled out many medical school applications. Now I was heading to an interview at a medical school. My college friend and study partner, Bill, was also applying to the school; we had shared with each other our hopes that we would both “get in.” “Getting in” was a catchphrase for the pre-med cohort. My in-person one-on-one interview was with an impressive-looking, white coat-clad white male physician; I was extremely nervous, but excited to have the interview. I had said no more than “hello” when my interviewer registered his extreme disdain for my CV, which included hospital volunteer work and waitressing in the summers during college. My interviewer tossed this paper from my application folder aside, saying “waitress, waitress” in a mocking, sarcastic tone that I will never forget. I felt so ashamed, so humiliated. It was as if every other detail in that folder had turned to shit with those few words that he had spoken, in the hostile and incisive way that he had spoken them. I stammered some sort of reply that I don’t remember. He went on to ask me where I had gotten my interview suit. He wondered because he had a young female relative who was “also thin and high-waisted,” and he thought maybe I could offer some shopping advice that he could pass along to her. I registered his implication that since he felt I was already wasting his time as an unacceptable applicant, maybe he could at least get something else that he wanted. I was shattered. Needless to say, Bill got in and I didn’t.

Later that spring, the same interview suit and the same application got me into two medical schools. My subsequent medical training included many more demeaning incidents with male physicians, and I have heard numerous similar stories from female colleagues. In a 2016 study, 30 percent of younger female faculty in academic medicine reported experiences of sexual harassment. Older female faculty reported even higher rates:

https://jamanetwork.com/journals/jama/fullarticle/2677878

What interests me now is how hurtful and vivid that moment remains, alone in the office with that particular man, how the shattered feeling remains so well preserved despite other experiences of affirmation. I am also struck by how recalcitrant to “working through” in psychoanalysis these kinds of traumatic experiences tend to be, both for myself and for my patients. This form of mistreatment often lands on the psyches of women during formative periods of professional development, leaving a tremendous negative impact. It strikes me that psychoanalysts should constantly be alert to the special challenges facing professional women working with male psychoanalysts as they delve into these matters. #MeToo should bring to our attention and concern the profound impacts of harassment on the development of female professionals.

Anonymous

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As psychoanalysts, we are as dedicated to finding truth as we are to helping our patients. We are also best suited to do both, given the excellence of our training, our ability to discriminate between well-designed studies and those that are methodologically flawed, and especially our ability to think deeply, making fine discriminations and subtle distinctions. Exploitation is always bad, but not every harasser is a predator, nor every flirtation an assault. We are not subject to political correctness nor prone to groupthink. We are also not averse to the subversion of cultural convention.

This is a time in our cultural history when we can use our power to influence and create change. We can seize this moment as an opportunity, as exploitations come under scrutiny. We, as psychoanalysts and psychoanalytic practitioners, have the tools to understand this crisis more deeply and take leadership in accord with these understandings.

In this effort, it is important that we not lose our ability to think. We should avoid the temptation to let politics determine our differentiations. We should remain steadfast in the commitment to finding truth by asking more questions and not shying away from complexity. The truth may be uncomfortable, and we can bear that as well. I look forward to ways in which this moment in our cultural history expands our minds.

Andrea Celenza

It is widely thought that when something is legally prohibited, it more or less stops. This may be true for exceptional acts, but it is not true for pervasive practices like sexual harassment, including rape, that are built into structural social hierarchies. Equal pay has been the law for decades and still does not exist. Racial discrimination is nominally illegal in many forms but is still widely practiced against people of color. If the same cultural inequalities are permitted to operate in law as in the behavior the law prohibits, equalizing attempts—such as sexual harassment law—will be systemically resisted.

—Catharine A. MacKinnon

"#MeToo Has Done What the Law Could Not"

New York Times, February 4, 2018

The #MeToo movement has provoked deep conversations on many levels, including a reexamination of our profession and its dissociated legacy of boundary violations. Some of us have done a double take on previously held understandings regarding sexual misconduct. Our persistent difficulty with direct discussion, despite our many efforts to examine ourselves in relation to this legacy, is striking. Rereading Anita Hill’s words reminds me how far we have to go. Perhaps most important about #MeToo is its uncovering of pervasive social structures and practices that keep sexual harassment and misconduct in place. This is captured in the above quote by legal scholar Catharine MacKinnon, from a recent op-ed piece she wrote for the New York Times. Following the 2016 election and the eruption of misogyny and racial hatred, and now the #MeToo movement, our profession is pressed to confront the influences of social and systemic structures in an unprecedented way. Questions that linger for us: What do we make of the gender issues that are obvious in boundary violations? Are we adequately examining our own hierarchies and power structures that might
contribute to violations? Are we adequately protecting our next generation? What do we commonly disavow, and how does this contribute to holding power structures in place?

It is common knowledge that we can anticipate a boundary violation occurring about every five years, at least at our institute. To my knowledge, sexual misconduct cases typically involve a male analyst and a female analysand (usually a candidate)—although, surprisingly, I am unaware of efforts to collect detailed information about gender, training status, or outcomes and consequences, presumably because of privacy and confidentiality. Mostly, we tend to probe and deconstruct such cases through the lenses of personality (with a focus on narcissism and omnipotence) and also ethics, particularly as applied to character, and perhaps too often from the perspective of the offending analyst.

Many of us who are female analysts came of age during a time period when we tended to quietly familiarize ourselves with how to size up and avoid sexual harassment and potential exploitation. We even congratulated ourselves for being able to do so. I recall proudly recounting to a colleague my own, relatively mild, experience with harassment, only to have her incisively comment, “Do you realize the seriousness of your story?” I did and I didn’t—and it is a piece of history I have revisited during the past year. Many of us have “become woke” in ways that are still catching us off-balance.

I find myself wondering about the data and outcome, particularly in terms of the professional trajectory for those involved in boundary violations. In particular, I worry that we do not do enough to help the careers of the victims or to think about fair outcome. After all, the derailment of a career is extremely costly.

I have been lucky. Both of my parents, as well as the female chair of my academic department, were actively protective as I was coming of age professionally and perhaps most vulnerable to sexual harassment. My mother shared stories of her own experiences, mostly from the perspective of how to “be prepared and navigate through it.” My father had me read a biography of Diane Sawyer—particularly his underlined sections on sexual harassment. And my department chair actively sought to protect young female trainees from possible threats of exploitation within our institution. Although at the time I was dismissive of any thought that I couldn’t handle myself, looking back, I find their efforts protective in a way that I deeply appreciate. I was lucky, and yet I do not overlook the fact that I might have become a casualty. The #MeToo movement has forced most of us to stop and reconsider the “other-izing” we engage in.

Regarding our own efforts to open up these issues, two of BPSI’s most innovative current areas of interest are ethics and social awareness—undoubtedly not a coincidence that this mirrors larger social concerns. Many of us are excited and encouraged by the new creativity and inventive application of analytic thinking in just these areas that is happening at BPSI. At the moment, we seem to be taking on painful legacies and difficult conversations, including a reexamination of our mission and power structures, and are doing so through more egalitarian structures that reduce hierarchical barriers and encourage innovative dialogic experience. As with #MeToo, we may have to wait and see whether this is a “moment” or a “movement.”

Fran Arnold

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This social activist Tarana Burke invented “me too” in 2006, not as a hashtag, but as an approach to decreasing shame among women and girls of color who had been assaulted or molested. She has said that she does not want the now international #MeToo movement to lose its focus on marginalized people: “I’m talking black and brown girls, queer folks. There’s no conversation in this whole thing about transgender folks and sexual violence.” In honor of Tarana Burke, I want to share my patient’s story. This piece was written with his express permission, though I have omitted details and used disguise to protect his identity.

My patient is tall and lithe. He is biracial, and also bigender. Married to a woman for many years, he is recently divorced, and bursting from the closet—lip-synching to torch songs, dressed as a pinup girl gone bad: ruby lipstick, satin bustier, and blond ringlets perched on her head.

This morning he came to my office triumphant after his first drag performance. “I killed it!” he told me. He shared his excitement about the evening, during which he collected 33 one-dollar bills, as well as wild appreciation from the supportive crowd.

But then he turned contemplative, and a look of sadness rippled across his face. He told me, almost as if he didn’t quite believe it, that he had been sexually harassed outside the club as he stood alone waiting for his Lyft driver.

A man had approached him and asked him where he was going, saying he was looking for “a wild time.” My patient felt a little intimidated and awkwardly said that he was going home, while the man continued to insist that they go out to have “a wild good time.” My patient insisted, “I am going home to go to sleep!” The man pouted, saying that because he was from out of town, he didn’t know where to go. Feeling anxious, and guilty about saying no, my patient finally escaped when his ride pulled up to the curb.

Once in the car, he told me, he was shaking and scared. Now he felt guilty, not for demurring to the man’s creepy come-on, but because he felt he had acted too passively. He had giggled and tried to appease the stranger.

He worried that he had been too agreeable because of his cultural background, or perhaps because of his identification in that moment as a woman. Perhaps, he mused, dressed as a sexy woman, he had channeled the societally constructed dynamics that enable oppression of girls and women. In that moment, as a man dressed as a woman, identifying as both a man and a woman, he was one of us, too.

Michele Baker
I was a student, on a team headed by a very prominent researcher. I was the first person to show up at a meeting in his office. When I sat down, on the other side of his desk, this man said: “You wore that dress for me—to turn me on.” My colleagues would be arriving shortly. I responded: “That’s in your mind. I take no responsibility for your thoughts.” I completed my part of the project, and extracted myself from ongoing research. I have never regretted that decision, but I wonder how my professional life would have been different had I been able to remain on the project with a team leader who had shown respect for me and knew how to manage himself.

Anonymous

With cowboy boots and a wrangling attitude, Judge Rosemarie Aquilina, a #MeToo icon, gave the stage to the women once sexually abused by Larry Nassar, the U.S. Olympic gymnastics team doctor. Kyle Stephens delivered a riveting testimony, leading the queue of 160 women who directly addressed Nassar in Aquilina’s courtroom. It takes courage, guts, to side with the aggrieved. “I am not really well-liked because I speak out,” Aquilina said to the courtroom during Nassar’s sentencing. “I don’t have many friends because I speak out.... I speak out because I want change.” Words that reminded me of that historical moment when Freud fell silent.

I am a female psychoanalytic Candidate who appreciates Freud’s work, but it is an uneasy admiration. Freud’s public rejection of real trauma as the main contributor to neurosis sided him with the men whom such a revelation would have denounced, a decision that helped him rise among his colleagues. But as Freud rose, his decision was in many ways a setback for psychoanalysis. The contextual and social were exiled, and for decades the intrapsychic reigned, which likely contributed to the growing isolation of psychoanalysis. Fortunately, over the years, the Aquilinas of our discipline added freeing constructs such as those generated by intersubjective theories that helped pull the field from seclusion.

But to atone, psychoanalysis will have to go beyond theory. Voices rose, and lives were changed in Judge Aquilina’s courtroom. I hope that psychoanalysis will follow suit. That the next writing of our discipline’s history will say that we too joined the movement that gave voice to those once silenced.

Paola M. Contreras
I remember well how gripping the he said/she said drama of the Thomas hearings was, and particularly how disturbing it was to believe Anita Hill and witness the attacks she endured. And now, 27 years later, the #MeToo movement has again pushed horrific tales of sexual harassment and assault, with their accompanying bilateral accusations of lies, witch hunts, and cover-ups, to the front of our consciousness. This time, however, the societal benefit of the doubt has largely been given to the victims. For our psychoanalytic profession, the #MeToo movement is coming at a historical moment in which we are working hard to recognize and understand the very real harmful impacts of exploitation and discrimination—over gender, sexuality, race, class, and cultural difference—both in our patients’ outside lives and in how they can play out in the analytic relationship itself.

At the same time, I see the capacity to tolerate uncertainty as a core psychoanalytic value, and this can sometimes create a conflict when we believe (or want to believe) assertions that are made about what occurred in the past. As analysts, we strive to tolerate such conflicts. We work every day on a smaller, more intimate stage, where we aim to understand the subtle and complex ways that experience can interact with internal psychic structures to cause suffering, and where we aim to help our patients make meaning out of the constant internal and external stimuli and tensions that constitute everyday life.

In our current highly politicized and polarized cultural environment, there is little tolerance for subtlety and complexity in societal discourse. Our challenge as analysts, I believe, is to uphold our commitments to the work of healing by holding to our analytic values of social justice, empathic caring, tolerance of uncertainty, and a wish to find deeper meaning in human experience.

Cary Friedman
I was waiting on line for lunch with a colleague to plan what I hoped would be future professional projects together when he suddenly lunged and planted a kiss. Disoriented, I continued the lunch, wondering what had happened. If I told anyone, his reputation would be damaged, I was sure. It never occurred to me that I wouldn’t be believed, but I realize that could have happened, too. I protected him (and maybe myself) and never said anything.

Anonymous

I learned from our Editor a couple of months ago that her hope was to include in this issue of the Bulletin some personal responses from members who wished to speak to their own experience of/reactions to the #MeToo movement. I have been struck, although not surprised, that there has been a reluctance to participate, leading to this present opportunity for people to contribute anonymously. I suppose there are those who believe that this does not belong in the Bulletin—not “analytic.” No small irony that we urge our patients to speak the unspeakable and yet it remains scary for us to talk to each other.

Julie Watts
When the patient talks about these “forgotten” things he seldom fails to add: “As a matter of fact, I’ve always known it; only I’ve never thought of it.”

—Sigmund Freud, “Remembering, Repeating, and Working Through”

On October 15, 2017, Alyssa Milano tweeted, “If you’ve been sexually harassed or assaulted write ‘me too’ as a reply to this tweet.” She received more than half a million replies in less than 48 hours, and 4.7 million people posted on Facebook in the first 24 hours. Suddenly it seemed that everyone everywhere was talking about their own experiences of being sexually assaulted and harassed. What are we as psychoanalysts to make of such an outpouring of material? Often what was tweeted had always been known to those who experienced it but was not talked about, sometimes not even with partners or friends (or analysts). Sometimes the assaults were overwhelmingly traumatic and could not previously be discussed without shame or overwhelming distress, but now could be spoken aloud. Sometimes the harassment was so pervasive as to seem not worth remarking on or telling anyone about. Until it was being discussed by everyone and suddenly its significance was obvious. People felt a pressure to speak, often on social media but also in person, in spaces both intimate and public. And what does it mean that this topic had been publicly opened up 27 years earlier at the Clarence Thomas Senate hearings, with some cultural staying power (Joe Biden might have run for president in 2016 if
not for his role in those hearings), but without wholesale national recognition of the pervasiveness of sexual violence and oppression?

Freud’s quote reminds us that something can be known and not known at the same time. It can be potentially available, but not connected to our awareness in a way that makes its meaning obvious. And when such knowledge is repressed or disavowed in this way, it can have a distorting effect on our functioning. Sexual oppression, and the inability to talk about it, has distorted our cultural, political, and societal functioning. Like a well-placed interpretation, Alyssa Milano’s tweet opened a floodgate of previously repressed associations. But we as analysts also know that the importance of these associations can be re-repressed, that even after the repression is initially lifted, there remains intense resistance, and we have to “work through it, to overcome it, by continuing, in defiance of it” (Freud, also in “Remembering, Repeating, and Working Through”). The #MeToo movement seemed to emerge in response to a cultural moment that threatened to normalize and make acceptable the objectification of women as just “pussies” that powerful men could grab. #MeToo certainly has a cathartic aspect. But catharsis proved to be inadequate as a therapeutic method. Time will tell if the working through continues to move our societal functioning away from repression and toward integration and truly seeing the other (regardless of gender) as another subject.

Richard Gomberg
How Can a Democracy Die?

A Psychoanalyst’s Reflections on Current American Political Events.

Anna Ornstein

Psychoanalytic Theories and Political Realities

In the years immediately following the Second World War, a group of European immigrants—philosophers, social scientists, and psychoanalysts—known as members of the Frankfurt School, experienced feelings of *déjà vu* in relation to some aspects of the political developments in the United States. On the basis of interviews with American racists and individuals expressing antidemocratic and paranoid sentiments, Theodor Adorno assembled a volume titled *The Authoritarian Personality* in 1950. In this publication, they constructed a psychological profile of a potentially fascistic personality\(^1\) and predicted a situation in the United States in which a large number of people would be susceptible to psychological manipulation by such a person, a potential leader. However, their dire predictions did

\(^1\) A fascist is a follower of a political philosophy characterized by authoritarian views, a belief in a strong central government, and no tolerance for opposing views and opinions.
not materialize at that time. The McCarthy danger came and went, not without its victims, as did the Nixon era; free speech was restored, and liberal democracy appeared to triumph. But today, we see a resurgence of interest in the thinking of Adorno, Erich Fromm, Wilhelm Reich, and other psychoanalysts and social scientists of that era. In December 2016, one month after the presidential election, the New Yorker published an article titled “The Frankfurt School Knew Trump Was Coming.” Adorno, in particular, was extraordinarily visionary in his predictions. He believed that the greatest danger to American democracy was the mass-culture apparatus: films, radio, and television. Already in the 1940s, he saw American life as a kind of reality show—and indeed, in 2016, a reality show star was elected president of the United States.

Though not a psychoanalyst, Adorno used psychoanalytic theory to understand the emotional forces that had overtaken various societies at various times in history. His paper “Freudian Theory and the Pattern of Fascist Propaganda” (The Essential Frankfurt School Reader, 1982) was originally published in 1948 and has been republished in several American scientific journals since then. The paper was also the subject of a roundtable discussion at the New School for Social Research in the fall of 2017. Using two of Freud’s seminal papers concerned with groups and the nature of civilization, Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego (1922) and Civilization and Its Discontents (1930) Adorno had concluded that though Freud did not concern himself with social changes, he clearly foresaw the rise and nature of fascist mass movements in purely psychological terms. Freud based this prediction, Adorno believed, on his recognition of the individual’s weakness and tendency “to yield unquestioningly to powerful outside, collective agencies” (Adorno, p. 120). Fromm (1941) made a similar observation when he wrote that modern societies take refuge from insecurities created by technology by turning to totalitarian regimes like Nazism.

Adorno gave us a chilling description of the relationship between fascist propaganda and the character of the leader, which, in his opinion, Freud derived from the portrait of “the primal father of the horde.” (Freud, 1921, p. 124) Freud’s construction of the leader imagery, Adorno wrote, fits “the picture of Hitler no less than idealizations into which the American demagogues try to style themselves. In order to allow narcissistic identification, the leader has to appear himself as absolutely narcissistic…. Even the fascist leader’s startling inferiority, his resemblance to ham actors and asocial psychopaths, is thus anticipated in Freud’s theory…. One of the basic devices of personalized fascist propaganda is the concept of the ‘great little man,’ a person who suggests both omnipotence and the idea that he is just one of the folks, a plain, red-blooded American,untainted by material or spiritual wealth. The leader image and his appeal to a segment of American society, gratifies the followers twofold wish: to submit to authority and to be the authority himself” (p. 126-127). As if this description didn’t hit the nail on the head for the current American leader Adorno’s further comments completed the fascist’s psychological profile. He wrote: “The tendency to tread on those below, which manifests itself so disastrously in the persecution of weak and helpless minorities, is as outspoken as the hatred against those outside” (p.128).

Though critical of Freudian psychoanalytic theory, Fromm also used Freud’s theory to explain fascism and communism; his description of a “social character” was a direct transposition of Freud’s theory of character formation into the social sphere. Freud’s libido theory offered Fromm an explanation of the energy (“sex energy”) that groups use to achieve their aims. He believed that the “social unconscious” explained the irrational elements in political groups: “The forces by which man is motivated’ that the way a person acts, feels, and thinks is to a large extent determined by the specificity of his character and is not merely the result of rational responses to realistic situations” (Fromm, 1962, p. 73).

Fromm was critical of practicing psychoanalysts when he observed that very few psychoanalysts had any serious political, philosophical, or religious interests beyond those customary in the urban middle class. He wrote that the adherents of psychoanalysis were people who, for one reason or another, were not interested in serious political and religious problems. Instead of challenging society, they conformed to it; psychoanalysts represented the urban middle class and, with very few exceptions, did not produce any social criticism.
Heinz Kohut, a refugee of the Second World War, used his own theory, psychoanalytic self psychology, to explain political movements and their impact on individual mental life. I found his theory particularly helpful in my understanding of the psychology of perpetrators—his explanation of group formation, his insights into psychological phenomena such as courage and the need for revenge that becomes manifest at times of war and terrorism. Outstanding among his psychoanalytic concepts, I found particularly helpful the concept of the selfobject that undoes the separation between the external and the internal and the concepts of values and ideals. Because of its relevance to individually held moral values, here I will only focus on the concept of ideals.

In “Forms and Transformations of Narcissism,” Kohut (1966) described ideals as a psychic structure in which the original infantile “narcissism has passed through a cherished object before its reinternalization, and thus, the narcissistic investment itself had been raised to a new developmental level of idealization, (and) accounts for the unique emotional importance of our standards, values, and ideals [italics mine]” (Kohut,1966, p. 249). “Our ideals are our internal leaders; we love them and are longing to reach them” (p. 251). It is the idealized position that ideals have in mental life that explains why both socially beneficial and socially destructive behaviors are pursued with the same high-level passion and commitment. In this position, ideals function like ‘beacons in the sky’ that guide us in the pursuit of our goals. Because ideals are the products of the transformation of narcissism from its infantile to its more mature forms, reaching our ideals fills us with pride; they are the foundation of our self-esteem. On the other hand, failing to reach or approximate our ideals creates shame, a persistent sense of inadequacy.

In some individuals, the values of a charismatic and idealized leader may totally subvert their own individual values and sense of morality. I find this a satisfactory explanation of why the planners and executors of the Holocaust did not experience guilt; rather, they felt pride that they were able to live up to their ideals and make Europe judenfrei.

Once ideals become shared by large numbers of people through steady propaganda, they give groups cohesion and the ability to act on behalf of a charismatic leader. This theoretical reasoning explains why suicide bombers and resistance fighters share the same psychological makeup.

Both ideologically motivated groups are ready to brave death rather than betray their ideals; both groups have their ideals in an idealized, exalted position in the psyche, and the fulfillment of those ideals makes them heroes for some and terrorists for others.

In the United States, interest in the relationship between psychoanalysis and political events ebbs and flows, depending on whether the country finds itself threatened by external forces and/or unexpected political upheavals—the Vietnam and Iraq wars, the terrorist attack on the World Trade Center. In response to the latter, in a roundtable discussion with Neil Altman, Jessica Benjamin, Ted Jacobs, and Paul Wachtel with moderator Amanda Hirsch Geffner (Altman et al, 2004) noted that politics had infused “our lives, our patients’ lives and our in-session lives with our patients. Emotions (fear, sadness, excitement) about things beyond the immediate, familial-social sphere are running high, finding resonance with—and magnifying—many of our more personal concerns in the process” (Ibid, p. 6). However, the interest in the political soon became split off unless either the analyst or the patient was personally involved in these events. More recently, social issues—primarily racial ones—have become more frequent topics at psychoanalytic meetings.
The way that an analyst’s daily practice may be affected by the political is best exemplified by our colleagues in countries where war or terrorism is an everyday event, like Israel. But there, too, as Iddan (2014) reported, analysts still manage to disavow the meaning of the way their lives are affected by these threatening events. I believe that we are all using disavowal as a default position in order to remain functional, a position that becomes reinforced when living under repressive regimes.

**Into the Darkness: How Did Enlightenment and Democracy Die in Germany?**

Since our interest is in the threat that the current government poses to American democracy, in the following section I will contrast and compare Germany in the 1930s with current political events in the United States.

Political issues that first appear at a distance historically and/or geographically may come closer and become more personal with time. I have found this to be true in my conversations with teachers and students when, as a Holocaust survivor, I visit public and private schools to share my personal experiences to enrich the students’ learning. Among the many questions the students raise, one almost always comes up: “Dr. Ornstein, could it happen here, what happened to you?”

In the past, I did not hesitate with my response. Yes, I would say, there continues to be discrimination and prejudice, and American racial laws remained active long after the Civil War; the Constitution did not protect all citizens equally. However, I reminded the children that we are a multiethnic, multireligious country, and that we have a document, the Constitution, that safeguards the democratic principles under which this country was established and has been governed; no one party or person could become so powerful as to oppress individuals or discriminate against or persecute people on the basis of ethnicity and/or religion.

But after the 2016 election, when I was asked this question, I could not be so quick with my reassuring answer. Now, I had to think: What do I know about the gradual disappearance of democracies around the world? Having grown up in a feudal system in prewar Hungary, I lived under two autocratic and repressive regimes (the Third Reich and, briefly, Communist Hungary), after which, here, in America, I was at times incredulous that one could say what one was thinking without fear of arrest.

In spite of the dire predictions of the European intellectuals of the 1930s and 1940s, when one compares the situations of the United States now and Germany in the 1930s, the differences are far greater than the similarities. The two countries differ in all important aspects; they differ in their histories and in their political and social circumstances. Still, the question remains whether or not, under the current administration, our system of
government—specifically, the checks and balances that are built into the American democracy—could resist such events as occurred in Germany.

What happened in Germany between the two world wars was a “perfect storm.” Losing the First World War, Germany was handed a peace deal with extremely stringent terms: The new government had to pay large sums of reparation money, Germany and its allies lost a great deal of territory, and they were ordered to demilitarize—all profoundly humiliating demands. The perfect storm was made complete by increasing unemployment, the 1929 collapse of Europe’s economy, and the worldwide depression. Even when considering that the economic situation in the United States’ Rust Belt carries a great deal of responsibility for the outcome of the 2016 election, economically this is a far cry from the conditions that existed in Germany and all of Europe after the First World War. The short-lived democracy of the Weimar Republic (1919–1933) was no match for the increasing popularity of the Nazi Party’s ultra-nationalist movement: Germany was ready, economically and emotionally, to embrace a megalomaniac who promised to rebuild Germany’s superiority in the world. All Hitler needed was to find a scapegoat, a group of people who could be made responsible for the military debacle in the First World War and the following economic collapse around the world. The Jews were the perfect target: While less than 1 percent of the German population, they were a visible minority, holding important positions at universities, excelling in the sciences, literature, and finance.

American racial laws are put into the context of the larger, more dominant American history, it’s clear that this was not the direction that the country took in the 20th century. After defeating Nazi Germany, the government embraced a more liberal and progressive tone, and the advocates for white supremacy went into the shadows. The 20th century witnessed a strong civil rights movement; gays and lesbians achieved legitimacy as the country returned to the principles on which it was founded, the principles of human equality. Up until recently, until January 2017, the federal government had been opposing and actively fighting endemic racism and discrimination based on ethnicity and religion. With many obstacles in the way, and with a great deal of effort, progress had been made to integrate public schools, to insure voting rights and human rights. Liberal democracy appeared to have a bright future in the second half of the 20th century: In 1989, the Soviet Union, which had spread terror in Eastern Europe, fell apart, and democracies began to establish relatively stable governments. Beyond Europe, apartheid fell in South Africa; even peace in the Middle East looked like a possibility with the Oslo Accords.

But where are we today? The European Union that was to secure lasting peace in Europe has begun to wobble because its mainstay, Germany, is struggling to keep its right wing in check. And here in America, we are concerned about whether or not we will be able to hold on to the two most fundamental aspects of our democracy: a free press and an independent judicial system. The current anti-immigration edicts have strong racial underpinnings: Racism is still a potent presence in social and political life in America. The manner in which the current anti-immigration trend is fueled by deeply entrenched racist attitudes is not different from the way Hitler used centuries-old anti-Semitism to ensure the passage of anti-Jewish legislation. Scapegoating in a relatively well-functioning democracy is particularly dangerous. In this country, the scapegoats are not Jews but Muslims and immigrants.
Once discrimination becomes federally sanctioned (whether openly, as in Germany, or through innuendos by people in authority as in the United States), passions are ignited and violence can readily erupt at public gatherings. Whether politically motivated or because of personal vendetta, the easy availability of guns in this political atmosphere ought to be a grave concern to all. James Gilligan, one of the most respected authorities on violence, considers the president to be extremely dangerous. His view is based on Trump’s own public pronouncements in which he makes “numerous threats of violence, incitements to violence, and boasts of violence that he acknowledges having committed” (Gilligan, 2017, p. 172–73).

As with Hitler, after the first shock of a Trump presidency, many tried to dismiss him as an ineffectual puppet, until he proved his ability to hold on to a loyal political base and to seduce his party into going along with many of his undemocratic and destructive ideas. We have to take note of and be concerned about the fact that the normalization and gradual acceptance of antidemocratic behavior has been under way in the first year and a half of this administration. I am thinking of the undoing of regulations that would protect the environment, the undoing of regulations that would protect consumers in banking, and, most recently, the replacing of local newscasts with a centrally controlled news outlet, Sinclair.

While I believe that what happened in Europe during the Second World War and the 12 years of tyranny in Nazi Germany could never happen in this country, this does not mean that we have nothing to worry about. There are good reasons why many people are making the comparison between Germany in the 1930s and the current state of affairs in the United States. Germany’s slide into a popular embrace of authoritarianism that ended in tyranny offers a frame for understanding how liberal democracies can be totally destroyed in a relatively short period of time. In this country, minimizing, accepting, and dismissing false utterances and provocative behavior by people in authority could be the first steps leading to the destruction of moral values—and with them a democratic way of life —that most Americans hold dear.

The Relationship Between the Individual and His/Her Political and Social Surround

There are considerable differences between the various social and political circumstances under which people live. Because of the differences in individual psychology and the wide variations in the social and political situations that emerge at various times in various countries, we cannot make generalizations as to how potentially traumatic historical, political, and social events may affect a particular individual.

The impact on an individual’s mind of the political and the social depends on many factors. It may be affected by the speed at which a political and/or social change occurs: How much time does one have for the development of defenses, psychological protection against the expected potentially traumatic event? When political changes occur slowly, in an incremental way,
they are particularly dangerous. This may be one of the reasons that a group of psychiatrists warned that because the current president of the United States “operates within the broad contours and interactions of the presidency, there is a tendency to view what he does as part of our democratic process—that is, the politically and even ethically normal. In this way, a dangerous president becomes normalized and malignant normality comes to dominate our governing” (Lee, 2017, p. xvii–xviii).

A further question arises: Does the political and social environment affect mental life to the same degree as do other aspects of our emotional surround? I believe that the degree to which political and social issues affect individual mental life depends on how closely these issues impinge on one’s daily existence. I may be briefly upset on reading that LGBTQ people are persecuted in Russia and definitely have a profound reaction to reading about genocide anywhere in the world. However, in relation to both of these issues, my mind will soon turn to matters that concern me and my family more directly.

But how, indeed, does the political become an aspect of mental life? With the introduction of post-Freudian psychoanalytic theories, we recognize that there is a complex and powerful intertwining of history, society, and the psyche. In other words, ethnicity, religion, race, and culture, in all their varied dimensions, are important aspects of one’s conscious and unconscious mental life; they are essential shapers of one’s identity. Hirsch Geffner put it well: “To a certain extent, we inherit our political dispositions, we are born into them…. They adhere inseparably to the strands of our earliest memories, and are intersubjectively and interpersonally constructed as part of our most basic organizing principles. They are deeply rooted (almost feeling “hard-wired”); obdurate, although not totally impervious to the forces of change” (p. 66).

However, it would be a mistake to think that what children inherit affects the next generation without alteration and modification. For example, the children of racist parents may become the most vocal advocates for racial equality. What appears to be important is that these emotionally deeply anchored attitudes can have both beneficial and disastrous impacts on an adult’s political and social orientation. The most striking examples of this occur in the areas in America where the population regularly votes against its own best interests. As a sociologist, Arlie Hochschild (2016) spent five years in the archconservative Louisiana bayou country to understand this puzzling phenomenon. She found her answer in what she called the “deep story” of this region’s hardworking, illness- and poverty-ridden population: “A deep story is a feel-as-if-story—it’s a story feelings tell in the language of symbols. It removes judgment. It removes fact. It tells us how things feel,” (p. 135) Hochschild explained, asserting, “I don’t believe we understand anyone’s politics, right or left, without it. For we all have deep stories.” (p. 135)

Once “deep stories” become solidified, it’s the racial, religious, and cultural inheritance of individuals’ identity that seems to determine how they interact with and relate to their ever-changing political and social environment. The tragedy here is that, for many, the influence of the “deep story” on their voting preferences totally negates the reality of their everyday lives. In the case of the Louisiana voters, what gets split off from consciousness is how the oil industry, which they support, affects their health, their economic status, and their children’s future.
Where Is Hope?

In our current political climate, I am placing my hope in the protest marches, in acts of “civil disobedience,” and in federal judges not yet replaced by the current administration. But my greatest hope is in our young people; it is their clear vision of the direction that this country has to take that could save our democracy from the jaded, amoral behavior of many of our political leaders.

The question is whether or not this “resistance” is sufficient to counterbalance the collaboration of Congress with the destructive efforts of the executive branch of government. The danger, I believe, is the gradual and steady “caving in” of the elected officials who, fearful of losing their positions, appear to follow the leader regardless of how destructive his policies may be to our democracy.

References


Anna Ornstein is the 2018 recipient of the Arthur R. Kravitz Award for Community Action and Humanitarian Contributions
In the Spring 2017 issue of the American Psychoanalyst, in an article titled “Race and Racism in Psychoanalytic Thought: The Ghosts in Our Nursery,” Beverly Stoute offers a compelling review of themes of racism in the psychoanalytic literature. Referring in her conclusion to Selma Fraiberg’s classic 1974 paper, she says, “When past trauma is endured but not metabolized for one generation, what is not spoken is embedded in the unconscious and enacted in disturbing ways in those generations that follow.” Stoute asks, “Did the unexamined racism of how people of color were viewed and othered, even by analysts, silently stifle our development as a field?”

At the 2018 Solange Skinner Conference, held on April 30 and titled “Race, Racism, and Emancipation,” Stoute and two other presenters, Forrest Hamer and Adrienne Harris, developed a conversation about race and racism in American culture, in the history of psychoanalysis, and ultimately at BPSI. Each of the presenters responded to a text: James Baldwin’s “My Dungeon Shook: Letter to My Nephew on the 100th Anniversary of Emancipation,” which was originally published in November 1962 in the New Yorker. The program began with a reading of Baldwin’s letter, a powerful communication about the dangers and difficulties for a young black man coming of age in America. Baldwin challenged white Americans to acknowledge their disavowed history of racism, and in so doing to have a conversation about the ongoing violence being imposed on their black countrymen and the damage imposed on themselves.

In my opening comments, as moderator of the program, I tried to frame some thoughts for the morning. What is it about our country—our inability, our refusal, to acknowledge the painful reality that has been with us for centuries—that expresses itself as a failure to remember, to see what is before us? In The Fire Next Time, Baldwin writes, “We are capable of bearing a great burden, once we discover that the burden is reality and arrive where reality is.” But we know, as psychoanalysts, that there is a powerful wish to bury that which makes us uncomfortable, or ashamed, or which leads us to feel we must give up narratives that we have long held to be true.

Forrest Hamer is a psychoanalyst from Oakland, California. He is also a poet. In “Evocative States: Where Listening
Begins,” in the August 2012 issue of the *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association* Hamer describes the process through which listening leads to the emergence of image or meaning for the poet and the psychoanalyst. “The something that is not yet fully something has a way sometimes of insisting itself quietly in me, and there are times when I feel that my attention is being directed by what waits to be.” In his psychoanalytic writing and his poetry, he considers, powerfully the racialized self and the racialized other.

Hamer began by reading the poem “Frederick Douglass,” written by Robert Hayden in 1947.

> When it is finally ours, this freedom, this liberty, this beautiful and terrible thing, needful to man as air, usable as earth; when it belongs at last to all, when it is truly instinct, brain matter, diastole, systole, reflex action; when it is finally won; when it is more than the gaudy mumbo jumbo of politicians: this man, this Douglass, this former slave, this Negro beaten to his knees, exiled, visioning a world where none is lonely, none hunted, alien, this man, superb in love and logic, this man shall be remembered. Oh, not with statues’ rhetoric, not with legends and poems and wreaths of bronze alone, but with the lives grown out of his life, the lives fleshing his dream of the beautiful, needful thing.

Hamer explored the idea of “terrible” freedom, about Douglass’s own process of becoming aware of the wretchedness of being a slave for life, the terrible contrast “between the freedom which seemed so elusive on one hand and the torment of knowing and thinking about his situation on the other.” Hamer talked about his own childhood memories of growing up in North Carolina; about the signs that represented a segregated South and the shift that has occurred over time, as “such signs, such spaces, have now become largely interiorized”; and about how that shift speaks “to some relative shift from the material to the psychic.”

Citing M. Fakhry Davids, he went on to describe an organization of unconscious defenses that is characteristic of racism, that helps “each subject avoid what we might consider to be primitive anxieties related to vital integrity.” He also made reference to the work of Robin DiAngelo, who originated the term “white fragility”—“white privilege resting on the need, sometimes frantic, to avoid uncomfortable stress when racial matters become conscious and when racial equilibrium within and between individuals becomes upset.”
Adrienne Harris is a widely published psychoanalyst in New York. She has written about whiteness and the intergenerational transmission of racial trauma as “a kind of shadow across the unconscious.” Harris cited the work of Ruth Stein and her concept of “the perverse pact.” The concept is used to describe a phenomenon in sadomasochistic relationships in which a conscious fantasy of caring for the other belies an unconscious wish to exploit and harm. In an effort to understand a dilemma of white privilege, Harris spoke of a personal experience that illuminated an internal conflict: the wish to give up one’s privileged place and the resistance against doing so. She described her attachment to a collection of artifacts acquired by family members in past generations from the Haida people of the then Queen Charlotte Islands (now the Haida Gwaii); her reluctance to return what she felt had been wrongly appropriated; and her observation of the tension within herself.

Harris also discussed Joan Riviere’s 1929 paper “Womanliness as a Masquerade.” At the center of the paper is a woman’s fantasy of offering herself sexually to a black man. In the fantasy, the woman imagines that “if a negro came to attack her, she planned to defend herself by making him kiss her and make love to her (ultimately so that she could then deliver him over to justice).” The paper has been variously interpreted over the years through the lenses of oedipal theory, feminist theory, and gender theory, but startlingly, not until recently did anyone take note of its powerful racial themes. That aspect of the paper went unseen, unacknowledged.
Beverly Stoute is a psychoanalyst in Atlanta. She is currently co-editing, with Michael Slevin, a book titled *Race in the Therapeutic Encounter*. Stoute began by tracing the development of an awareness of race and an understanding of racism through childhood and into adulthood, capturing, in a series of vignettes, themes of “like me, not like me.” She described the development of a monoracial versus a biracial orientation, depending on a child’s early socialization.

She went on to talk about the process of legal socialization through which individuals come to understand and appreciate the law, noting that legal socialization develops at an earlier age for black males. Stoute referred to a compelling body of research on how police officers dramatically overestimate the ages of black male suspects. She cited the work of Kirkland Vaughans and Warren Spielberg, “the direct and indirect hostile messages in school and in the media that black boys face, and...the defensive strategies black adolescent boys employ to cope...the loss of a lovable self-image replaced by a denigrated self-image.” Turning to Peter Fonagy and Mary Target’s writing on mentalization, and again citing Spielberg, she described the effect on adolescents when adults and authority figures are rejecting, hostile, or difficult to understand, and the way in which an adolescent exposed to such rejection will close his mind to important figures in his life, and thus impair the development of a reflective capacity.

At the heart of Stoute’s paper was the case example of an adolescent black boy she treated while she was the psychiatric director of an inpatient unit. She described his painful history of loss and abandonment, the way in which he presented on the unit, with aggressive outbursts and suicidal threats, and the “quiet caution” that the white staff showed, fearful of his dangerousness. Stoute recounted her intensive work with the patient on one hand and, on the other, with the staff, whom she helped to “rework their vision of the patient from that of a dangerous, out-of-control black youth to that of a needy, traumatized boy afraid to trust and afraid of abandonment”—a process she referred to as one of joint mentalization. She described the gradual and remarkable shift in the staff and in the patient, a growing joint attachment and collaboration. And she reflected on the importance for the patient of having been able to experience her as “the black doctor-mother who was in charge.”

In a generous and moving conclusion, Stoute talked about her own experience as the mother of a “kind-hearted, good natured, scholar-athlete son.” She noted her painful sense of his vulnerability, living in a world where he is at heightened risk, simply because of his skin color, and described black parents’ need to provide their sons with a “psychic shield they will need to insulate their sense of self, to ward off the racialized projection of hate.”

With her deeply thoughtful voice growing out of her experience as an African American psychoanalyst, and invoking the internalized voice of her own psychoanalyst father, Stoute communicated a belief in the possibility of psychoanalysis as an agent of change, in the office and in the culture at large.
The Arthur R. Kravitz Award for Community Action and Humanitarian Contributions will be given this year to Dr. Anna Ornstein, for her lifetime of dedication to teaching about the Holocaust. As a leader of American psychoanalysis, Dr. Ornstein has woven together the roles of scholar, clinician, teacher, and voice of conscience. There is perhaps no one who more fully fits the description of humanitarian psychoanalyst and activist than Dr. Ornstein.

She most recently demonstrated this after a series of anti-Semitic events in the Reading schools this fall. Dr. Ornstein felt it was urgent to respond, both to the specific events and to the general political situation in our country. In particular, she felt it was critical to draw attention to the dangers of gradually accepting previously unthinkable repression and of normalizing outrageous intolerance. She met with Reading town officials and teachers and helped organize a group called Reading Embraces Diversity. She also talked to several hundred sixth, seventh, and eighth graders in Reading schools, presenting a piece on Kristallnacht that looked at similarities and differences between the situation in Europe in the 1930s and the current situation in the United States. After her presentation, the students asked questions about what had happened in Europe and whether it could happen here.

Dr. Anna Ornstein was born in Hungary in 1927. She survived deportation, ghetto imprisonment, the Auschwitz concentration camp, and the Parschnitz labor camp. After the war, she was reunited with Paul Ornstein, whom she had known growing up in Hungary, and they were married. Soon after, they fled Communist Hungary and attended medical school in Heidelberg, Germany, where both received their degrees. In 1952, the Ornsteins were able to immigrate to the United States, where Anna Ornstein trained in adult and child psychiatry at the University of Cincinnati. There, the couple became leaders in the self-psychology movement, working closely with Heinz Kohut. The Ornsteins were married for over 70 years, until Paul’s death in 2017 at the age of 92.

Anna Ornstein trained in psychoanalysis at the Chicago Institute for Psychoanalysis, graduating in 1971. Currently, she is a Professor Emerita of Child Psychiatry at the University of Cincinnati, a Training and Supervising Analyst at the Cincinnati Psychoanalytic Institute, a Lecturer in Psychiatry at Harvard University, and a Supervising Analyst at BPSI.

Dr. Ornstein has been recognized nationally and internationally for her teachings on empathic listening, understanding the impact of trauma, and parenting and child development. She has written extensively, sometimes with her husband, about crucial aspects of theory and clinical practice: self-psychology, the interpretive process in psychoanalysis, psychoanalytic psychotherapy, child psychopathology, the treatment of children and families, and the process of recovery after surviving extreme conditions. She is the recipient of multiple awards and honors, including the American Psychiatric Association’s Distinguished Psychiatrist Lecturer Award (1989), the Rosenberry Award for Dedication to the care of children (1991), the University of Cincinnati Award for Excellence in Research and Scholarship (1996), and the American Psychiatric Association’s Special Presidential Commendation (2000).

In addition to her psychoanalytic scholarship, teaching, and mentoring, Dr. Ornstein has had a ongoing presence in the wider community, working with organizations such as Facing History and Ourselves and the Terezin Music Foundation, lecturing and conducting workshops in public schools, mentoring academic research on the subject of the Holocaust, and teaching tolerance and the role of art in transforming the memory of catastrophic historical events. Her memoir, *My Mother’s Eyes*, is a tribute to the memory of her family.

With the Kravitz Award, we celebrate and honor Dr. Ornstein, with gratitude for her vibrant presence at BPSI and her fierce commitment to educating and actively engaging the wider community.