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SARADINDU BANERJI

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THE OEDIPUS COMPLEX WITHIN A DEVELOPMENTAL FRAMEWORK*

BY S. FORBES

You must bear in mind that in the time provided to us it will be impossible to give full weight to the mass of psychoanalytical ideas to do with psycho-sexual development. However, I shall try to summarise these ideas to the best of my ability. The paper is divided into three parts : starting with Freud's views on the Oedipus complex, continuing into more recent views, and concluding with a clinical case presentation of a six-year-old child.

The Beginning

Freud discovered in his hysterical patients that symptoms have meaning. This led to the discovery of unconscious processes, of repression and symbolism. In brief, his views were : the painful or forbidden memory, impulse or phantasy is not allowed into consciousness ; it is repressed, but remains dynamic in the person's unconscious and strives for expression ; it finds symbolical expression in the symptom ; the symptom is a compromise between the repressed ideas and feelings and the repressing forces.

Freud found that the material repressed is predominantly of a sexual nature—in contrast to popular misconception he never felt it was exclusively so. This repressed sexuality is different from what is considered normal, i.e. genital and heterosexual. It is bi-sexual.

* Read to the students and faculty members of Social Work at Washington University, St. Louis, U. S. A., October, 30, 1987.

and of a markedly perverse polymorphous kind, including sado-masochistic, oral, anal, urethral, voyeuristic, exhibitionistic impulses corresponding to what, in adult sexual activity, would be perversions. This is so even in people who in their conscious lives are sexually normal.

Freud came to the conclusion that there is not one simple sexual instinct, but that sexuality is a compound of component instincts deriving from various areas of the body and having various aims. In normal adult sexuality the genital instinct and aim predominate. These polymorphous component instincts originate in infancy and childhood. Freud called the total sexual energy libido, and he described the successive stages of libidinal development. Any instinct, according to him, has a source, an aim and an object. The source is always a part of the body, the erotogenic zone. The aim is the discharge of a sexual tension. The object is an object appropriate for providing this satisfaction.

The erotogenic zones are connected with vital functions. The infant's first instinctual vital need is feeding, and thus the oral component instinct is the first to be aroused and the mouth is the first erotogenic zone. Sucking at the mother's breast is therefore the starting point of the whole sexual life.

The primacy of the oral gives way to the anal when the child begins to develop sphincter control. Expelling the stool, retaining it, becomes the centre of the infantile sexual experience. Freud originally considered that the genital stage succeeded directly the anal, but he later added, between the anal and the genital, the phallic stage, occurring between the ages of three and six. At that stage the male child discovers his penis as the seat of tension and pleasure. He sees the phallus as the only sexual organ there is, and having no awareness of the female genital he phantasies his mother as having a penis like himself and his father. According to Freud, the girl also goes through a phallic phase, she has no awareness of the vagina, and her clitoris is the leading erotogenic zone, similar to the penis. The genital phase, in which the sexes are properly differentiated, does not come into full force until puberty.

The frustration of these drives gives rise to aggression, which seeks expression in phase appropriate ways. Thus oral aggression takes the form of wishing to bite or to devour cannibalistically, anal

aggression that of desiring to expel, burn or poison with faeces, phallic aggression that of a desire to cut, penetrate and tear.

Normally the libido progresses from the oral to the genital phase. But unsatisfactory experience may lead to a phenomenon called by Freud fixation. A part of the libido gets fixated at a pregenital stage and attached to the aims and objects of that phase. When this happens the organization at the genital stage is weak and insecure, and regression to the earlier phase—the point of fixation—easily occurs. This return to an organization belonging to a pre-genital stage is, in Freud's view, the determining factor of adult neurosis.

It is only in the phallic stage that the parents become objects of sexual desire, and this ushers in the Oedipus complex. The boy begins to desire as a sexual object his mother, the person who has always been the source of his comforts, pleasures and satisfactions. He becomes aware of the sexual relations between his parents, and his desire for his mother leads to violent jealousy of his father which makes him hate him and wish him dead - like Oedipus, he wishes to kill his father in order to possess his mother. The predominant fear now is that father will castrate him as a punishment for his sexual wishes. Fear of castration, above all, forces the boy to repress his sexuality towards mother and his aggression towards father.

One of Freud's discoveries was that of bi-sexuality - so in addition to the positive Oedipus complex, the boy has a negative Oedipus complex: he desires sexually his father and his mother is his rival. He wants to be penetrated and possessed by his father, but since the fulfilment of those desires would lead to emasculation, his homosexual wishes have to be repressed as well. In normal development the repression of homosexual wishes is more complete and permanent than that of heterosexual ones.

In Freud's view the girl, like the boy, takes her mother as the primary object of sexual desire. But she discovers in the phallic phase that she has no penis, and she envies her father and brother. The girl turns away from her mother in great anger and resentment at not having been given a penis. She then turns to her father, having renounced the demand for a penis of her own, and desires a baby from him as an equivalent of the penis. She has also a long period of dormant sexuality, until her discovery of the vagina, which does not happen until puberty. Penis envy, according to

Freud, is of crucial importance in the development of the girl, both in her positive and negative Oedipus complex, and often an important source of pathology. (However, Freud expressed doubts about his views on female sexuality and had commented that perhaps only a woman analyst, at some future time, might understand this better.)

Freud thus saw the Oedipus complex as a turning point in the individual's development. It is also as a consequence of the dissolution of the Oedipus complex that the individual's basic mental structure is largely determined. The child attempts to resolve his ambivalence towards the father by internalising him and making him a part of himself. The father is set up in intra-psychic reality both as a figure who acts as a conscience and as a figure with which to identify. Freud called this internal figure the superego. The superego has three functions: self-observation and criticism, punishment and setting up ideal goals. The individual submits to the superego's demands both because of fear of punishment and the need to be loved. Mother, as well as father, enters into the final composition of the superego.

As Freud's work progressed he found that certain hypotheses of his did not cover clinical facts. At first he believed the sexual instincts to be in conflict with reality and self-preservation. But this conflict between pleasure and reality did not seem to explain, for instance, sadism, and particularly masochism, important components in the neurotic make-up which were difficult to account for. He then put forward another hypothesis—that of the duality between life and death instincts. The libido, far from being in conflict with the life instinct, is part of it and is its sexual expression. Opposing it is the death instinct, which derives from the biological need of the organism to return to its prior state, ultimately to the inorganic. Its psychical counterpart is a longing for a return to a state of no pain. But the organism feels threatened by the death instinct and deflects it outwards. When it is deflected outwards towards an object, the death instinct is converted into aggression: 'I shall not die, you will.' Instead of dying, killing. Freud originally considered aggression as a self-preservative instinct mobilised by frustration, but he became increasingly convinced of the existence of a fundamental innate destructive drive. The deflection of the death instinct, as basic as the life instinct and the libido, could account for the impor-

tance of aggression in psychic life. The fundamental conflict, between Eros - life, including sexuality - and Thanatos - self destruction - is the deepest source of ambivalence, anxiety and guilt. But although the two basic instincts are in conflict, they also fuse. When in this fusion the death instinct predominates, it gives rise to sadism and masochism; when the life instinct predominates, aggression is at the service of the life forces.

Originally Freud thought that infantile sexuality gave rise to guilt feelings, but later he came to think that aggression was the prime source of guilt. It is only the aggressiveness which is transformed into a sense of guilt by being suppressed and made over to the superego. It is the death instinct which accounts for the 'fatal inevitability of the sense of guilt.' He describes the superego of the melancholic as 'a pure culture of the death instinct.' And we well know the high risk of suicide in such persons.

New Developments

Freud assumed, from the analysis of adults, that adult neurosis was rooted in a childhood neurosis existing at the time of the Oedipus complex. But no systematic study of children themselves was so far undertaken. With one exception, of the case of Little Hans. Hans was a little boy of five who suffered from an agoraphobia related to his fear of being bitten by a horse in the street. Under Freud's supervision, the boy's own father analysed him and managed to uncover his Oedipus complex, with the result that Hans' neurosis abated. This directly confirmed Freud's hypothesis about childhood neurosis, and it also showed that children could be analysed.

Yet despite this hopeful and brilliant beginning child analysis did not take off. There were probably unconscious factors of resistance at play. All their psycho-analytical knowledge notwithstanding, analysts seemed wary of disturbing 'childhood innocence'.

It was finally a woman analyst, Melanie Klein, who pioneered child analysis. It is also a bit amusing to know that the first time Mrs. Klein produced child material in the Berlin Psycho-analytical Society there was indignation, not only at her views about children's aggression, but also at her talking to children about sexuality in such a direct manner. And this was more than ten years after the publication of Little Hans.

But there were also technical difficulties. How to apply a psycho-analytic technique to children? One could not make a child lie still on the couch and free-associate.

Klein's stroke of genius lay in noticing that the child's natural mode of expressing himself was play, and that play could therefore be used as a means of communication with the child. Play for the child is not 'just play'. It is also work. It is not only a way of exploring and mastering the external world but also, through expressing and working through phantasies, a means of exploring and mastering anxieties. Neither Freud nor any other analyst at that time, realized the full importance of play to the child, or thought of using it as the major route of access to the child's unconscious. Klein concluded that, given the right conditions, the child's free play, as well as whatever verbal communications he is capable of, could serve a purpose similar to that of free associations in adults.

The results of Klein's analyses of children were astounding. Not only did they confirm many of Freud's discoveries, they went further. From the analysis of young children two and three quarter years' old on-wards Klein discovered that the Oedipus complex which was not supposed to start before the age of four and would reach its height at the age of six, was already in evidence in children much younger and appeared to already have a complex history behind it. Similarly the superego thought by Freud to be the heir to the Oedipus complex was observed in children much earlier. Klein found the superego not just to be a precipitate of the Oedipus complex but bound up with it, and with a much more complicated formation.

Klein found that the frustrations, jealousies and envies produced by the child's Oedipal situation lead to sadistic attacks and these in turn lead to the formation of terrifying figures which compose the child's early superego. Moreover, Klein had discovered that the Oedipus complex itself had pregenital forms, according to the child's stage of libidinal development.

In the child's primitive Oedipus complex, which Klein felt was already present during the first year, she discovered rich phantasies and anxieties relating to its mother's body. In the child's phantasy the mother's body is full of riches—milk, food, valuable magic faeces, babies and the father's penis, which in the oral stage of development, the infant imagines as incorporated by his mother

during intercourse. His mother's body stirs in the child powerful desires to explore it and possess himself of its riches. It stirs libidinal desires as also envy and hatred. In phantasy, the infant subjects the mother's body to greedy attacks in which he phantasies robbing her of these riches, and to envious destructive attacks activated more by hatred than by desire. Because of these attacks, the mother's body may become the particular object, not only of desire and envy, but also of hatred and fear.

Klein describes children of both sexes as turning from mother's frustrating breast to the father's penis as an object of oral desire. (Frustration at the breast is inevitable, even under the most favourable conditions, for what the infant actually desires is unlimited gratification). In the little boy this is the basis of later homosexual trends, but in that he also incorporates and identifies with the desired penis, it also lays a basis for a good heterosexual development. Conversely, in the little girl the oral turning to the father's penis paves the way to genital receptivity, whilst incorporation and identification with the father's penis contributes to the homosexual trends. Children of both sexes go through the phase of an attack on mother's body and the incorporated penis and the anxieties of that position influence their further development.

In the little girl, if the anxiety about her mother's body and her father's penis inside it is excessive, she may be unable to identify with mother in a sexual role. The guilt about the attacks on the mother's body stimulates the wish to make restitution to her. This increases the girl's envy of her father's penis, as she perceives the father as able to give to mother pleasure and babies. The penis, in its good aspect, is seen as having reparative functions in relation to mother's body. If the anxiety is not excessive, the girl may identify with her mother and view her own sexual activity and her wish to have babies not only as a satisfaction of her own desires, but also as a restoration of her internal mother.

The little boy also goes through a phase of identification with the desired and envied body of the mother, and of desire for the father's penis—this is his feminine position. And if his mother's body stirs too much anxiety, he may develop hypochondriacal anxieties about his own body in identification with hers. When he identifies with his father and his sexual desires are directed to his

mother as an external object, excessive anxiety about the destruction he brought about in her by his phantasies of penetration may lead to a phobia of the female body. This may lead to a general inhibition, including intellectual inhibition. (Later on I shall describe the case of a child and how his academic activities did suffer by such an inhibition.)

According to Klein, this oral relation to father's penis is the precursor of genital feelings, and she attributes to both sexes an early awareness of the vagina and its function. She disagrees with Freud's view of the phallic phase. In her experience, the dominant phantasy of the mother with a penis is part of the phantasies about mother's body containing the incorporated penis of the father. Klein does not see the little girl as having a long dormant phase of sexuality. She thinks that as soon as the girl turns from her mother's breast to an interest in her mother's body and her father's penis, she enters an active, though to begin with pre-genital, Oedipus conflict. At first she desires and envies her mother's breast; then her possession of her father's penis and babies, and the conflict which this brings with her mother, comes to dominate her phantasies and anxieties. As the parents become more differentiated and the father becomes desired in his own right, rather than merely as an adjunct of mother, a more genital form of the Oedipus complex gradually evolves.

As Klein's work progressed she became more and more convinced about the importance of Freud's duality of the life and death instincts, and some of her thinking on the Oedipus complex underwent a change. She discovered the central importance of, what she called, the depressive position. She discovered that children quite early begin to be concerned about their destructive attacks on their parents, no longer because of fear of punishment, but because they begin to realise that parents who love and support them and who they depend on are being subjected to their envy, jealousy and hatred. Klein then abandoned her view that the Oedipus complex began through hatred of the frustrating breast and the trauma of weaning. Instead she now connected the Oedipus complex with the depressive position, and therefore with a conflict between love and hatred in which love played a very important role.

In the depressive position, both parents, separately and as a couple, are the child's good whole objects and both are attacked in

phantasy, particularly when they are coupled in intercourse. Whereas Freud says that Oedipal wishes are given up through the threat of castration, Klein states that it is not only anxieties of castration that make the child give up his Oedipal wishes, but also his love for his parents and his wish not to damage them.

Klein now puts more weight on love and feelings of guilt and loss. The reparative wishes stirred by his depressive anxieties make the child long to restore the parents, to overcome his wish to make their intercourse into a destructive act, and to restore it to an act of love and mutual creativity. The child's sexual wishes then become carriers of reparative phantasies. In the Oedipal situation, the boy wishes to identify with the potent father in order to restore the mother and give her babies in sexual intercourse. The little girl, in her desire for a good intercourse, seeks not only her own satisfaction, but also the restoration of her internal mother. The desire to give and receive libidinal gratification is thus enhanced by the drive for reparation. For the infant feels that in this way the injured object can be restored, and also the power of his aggressive impulses is diminished, and guilt is reduced.

Environmental factors have not been mentioned so far, but they are very important and inter-act with the child's own internal phantasies. For instance, it would help and reassure a child enormously if he has the experience of parents who love and respect each other. Of course, this would also show that such parents do not suffer from disturbances themselves. A narcissistic parent, who is absorbed in himself or herself, would increase a child's envy and jealousy. However, another important factor is the child's own constitutional make-up. Some children are very difficult to deal with no matter how they are cared for. This would indicate an inbuilt constitutional factor - e.g. born with a poor capacity to tolerate frustration.

Clinical Material

Before I present clinical material I will have to briefly tell you about the central idea in psycho-analytic technique. Within the psycho-analytic setting, ie regular hours weekly, the couch, free associations, etc, and through the analyst's neutral stance, receptivity, and interpretations, the patient not only becomes aware of infantile wishes and conflicts, *but he relives them*. He transfers on to the

analyst the impulses, expectations and phantasies he had in the past to his significant objects - parents, siblings, etc. This transference is the pivot of psycho-analytic treatment. It is because the patient relives old conflicts again more openly and in a new setting that he can find new, less neurotic solutions.

Trevor, a boy of six, is an only child. He was referred to by his school doctor for being unable to read and a poor achiever in school work although thought to be quite intelligent. He also suffered from bed-wetting. His mother, a rather 'tom-boyish' looking lady, was separated from Trevor's father before he was born. Trevor lived with his mother and her mother, whose husband had also separated from her several years ago. Trevor's mother had wanted to give him up for adoption at birth but was finally convinced not to. She has never spoken to him about his father and he has never asked.

Trevor himself appeared as a rather nice-looking, lively and bright boy. I will now describe a few sessions in brief to give some idea of the interaction between Trevor and me in the therapy and to the discovery of certain of his phantasies. Before the session I'll be describing he had already told me of having nightmares, of seeing horrible things in the dark, and at such times he felt much safer getting into his nan's bed rather than his mum's.

Trevor arrived early and had to wait to come into his session. He came in, stood and looked at me with an intense piercing gaze, which was rather disconcerting. He looked excited and said he felt happy to be here. He asked 'can I do the zoo?', indicating that he wished to put the toy animals together, like in a zoo. He began by playing with a car, pushed a man figure inside, head first. Then the man was flung around in the car. Trevor said today he was knocked on his head by a piece of wood; no, by a friend's jacket thrown at him; no, by the top of mum's car.

Then Trevor arranged the animals in a zoo. He pointed to a man figure and said that was the zoo keeper who tells the people it's too early for the zoo to open, they have to wait. The zoo keeper couldn't fit into the entrance (made out of plasticine) so Trevor made it stretch wider to get him in. The keeper, he said, now goes in to feed the animals, there are peacocks, a nice blue pool.

He then turned his attention to a set of colouring pens and said: 'Brello in school is bigger'. He drew and coloured a blue pond. He

said 'ink is poisonous but Brello is more poisonous, my dinner lady told me.' He picked up a man and woman and said they were giants hugging. The man lifts his leg 'to take off his shoe' and 'they both get entangled'. The woman's legs then wrapped themselves around the man.

I spoke to him of a daddy person getting entangled with mummy and then he is inside her. He nodded very seriously and replied, 'yes'. I said he feels daddy is inside mummy, swallowed up by her. He said, 'I know that' and then said 'may be it's true.' He then packed a lorry full of 'mud'. He said 'there's a baby and golden treasures there'. He then put the lorry on his crotch and asked me if it would break. I said he feels there are treasures inside mummy but its also dangerous inside, especially dangerous to his willie. He replied 'its a witch's baby'. He then looked around my room a bit apprehensively. I said he feels there may be treasures here too but wonders if this room could turn dangerous. He said 'nan's bed is huge, like this room. And it's safe, not like mum's bed'. He then handed me a swan and said 'its gold and its a present for you'. He looked at me rather worriedly now, as if he expected me to change into something frightening.

Trevor shows anxiety in this session, that I'm not just talking to him about something but actually might do something to him. And that just like he feels mother swallowed up father, he feels in the transference that I might do that to him - he tries in the end to reassure himself that I'm safe and also tries to placate me with a gift. Of course, the whole idea of being swallowed up comes from his own wishes to get in and possess - triggered off today by his frustration about not being allowed to get into my room when he came early. His greedy intrusive wishes then turns the room frightening and dangerous. These phantasies of Trevor's are closely connected with his inhibition in studies, especially with his inability to read; and also connected with his bed wetting. (This session also shows a universal idea in children that when people do disappear and remain hidden they become more persecutory - like his unknown father.)

More than a year of therapy passed, his mother informed me that his school reported improvement, his bed-wetting stopped almost completely. And then I gave him the news about my returning to my own country, and that in eight months the therapy would stop.

He reacted to this at first with sadness and a despair that 'I'll lose what you're telling me'. And in fact he almost lost me. He relentlessly attacked me session after session. He brought in stones, twigs, crackers, exploded one till I had to stop him. He farted continuously, messed up my room, punched me, mocked me, and ridiculed whatever I said. I felt he was trying hard to rid himself of his upset in this way—to needle me and get me to react so that he could put his upset far from him into me.

This reached a peak when in one session I had to hold him from hurting me. He grew terrified, lashed out, sobbed with fear. He ran out to his mother in the waiting room wailing 'I want my mummy'. He agreed to come back in only if his mother stayed with him. He complained to her of 'my cruelty'. I spoke to him of his feeling that I'd turned into an enemy since I was leaving him. He reluctantly allowed his mother to leave 'only if I can go back to her'. He once again resumed attacking me, I had to again stop him and he ran howling to his mother. His mother brought him back in the room, but this time he refused to let his mother out of his sight. I spoke to him of his uncertainty, since I was leaving, of his mother being absent too. His mother confirmed this and these days he was clinging much more to her. He turned tearfully to her and said: 'I can trust you mummy', looked worriedly at her and added 'can't I?'

His mother also found this very difficult and they finally left early. Mother phoned me later that Trevor did not want to come any more. School too was worried about his refusal and tried very hard to get him to come, especially since his school work had improved dramatically. I was in constant touch with both school and home, and through them communicated to Trevor that I was concerned and waiting for him to return. Trevor returned to the therapy one month later. We progressed well after that and I shall briefly describe two consecutive sessions nearing the final ending of his therapy, which amongst other things showed his first experience of the Oedipal situation in the reality of the transference situation. No longer was the daddy just a hidden, and at times monstrous, figure in the distance, but was now out in the open keeping him from possession of mother.

Trevor came in by violently flinging open the door which bounced back and hit his shoulder. He took out his 'special chair' and sat

with crossed arms in the centre of the room and said: 'I'm in the centre of everything'. After a while he came and sat close to me and drew a 'Knight Rider' car. He tried to grab my pen out of my pocket. When I would not let him he said: 'I'll have to draw my car in blue since you don't have black'. Then he said, 'I saw you in a shop with a Paki lady'. (This was a phantasy, he could not have really seen me). He then made a grab for my penis. I spoke to him of his begging to see a picture of mother and father being together and it filled him with jealous anger. He again reached for my penis and said he's going to punch it. At one point he became very frightened but my talking to him soothed him and calmed him. But the mocking of me, circling around me and trying to find a way to attack my penis continued.

He settled a bit and went to the blackboard and wrote 'Fuck off', 'Bastard', and 'Mr. F... is a cunt'. He finally messed up the room scattering chalk, paper, and toys, and went to the toilet.

One could see clearly in this session how he began by attacking the shut door - which he feels shuts him out from his space, his mum. The idea emerges in him of a dominating penis occupying mother. He attacks this penis that comes in between him and mum. In the next session I describe one can see a positive side of Trevor, how he actively wants to work and show me what he does feel about the forthcoming separation.

He came in, sat in his special chair and put his feet up on the table. He said he came in through the gap in the ventilation. He then began building a spaceship with chairs. He was clearly occupying space but today he left off attacking me. He picked up his own chair to make it longer, touching both sides of the room. I commented on his wish to take over this mummy room fully. He agreed.

But there were passengers in the space ship. 'I don't want to be a passenger,' he said. He then managed by becoming the pilot, stuck a 'super-hawk' emblem on and got into the front of the spaceship. He prepared to take-off, waved to me and said 'see you later'. I spoke to him of avoiding being left behind by becoming the daddy pilot himself. He said mockingly 'you're right professor'. But then he began taking care of his passengers' comfort, 'are you all right back there?' He said they required some breeze and covered them with blankets if they might feel cold. He asked my permission to use the sofa cushions to make more comfortable seats for his passengers.

Then he looked around the room and said : 'you are a monster for taking this good mum away'. He then walked on the exposed sofa straps and said 'its safe'. I told him, he felt safer with me today and also seemed to see me as helping him. That I had not retaliated in the last session was a relief to him - I was not really the monster that he dreaded.

He wished the session to go on, didn't want to leave. He brought his mother in to look at the spaceship he'd built and asked me to confirm that he had built it.

This session shows a preoccupation about a phantasy of my taking-off with my family, including my babies, and leaving him behind. He manages this by a denial where he takes off himself. Yet he also shows concern, and a hopeful side to him—he wants to show and insist that he too exists and can take an active part in life—all his passengers are comforted and considered, and my permission is taken in this play. In bringing his mum in at the end, is a hopeful idea of a space where there is a mum, a dad, and all the babies can also be accommodated and looked after.

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WAR AND PEACE : PSYCHOANALYTIC PERSPECTIVE

SARADINDU BANERJI

Edward Glover wrote in 1946. "The first promise of the atomic age is that it can make some of our nightmares come true. The capacity so painfully acquired by normal man to distinguish between sleep, hallucination, delusion and the objective reality of wakened life has for the first time in history been seriously weakened". (The obliteration of boundaries between reality and phantasy characterises psychosis).

The prophetic observation of Glover, is becoming dangerously truer and truer everyday. The manic behaviour of the superpowers indicate that they have lost the sense of reality. Primitive omnipotence has become real, but only omnipotent destruction. For the first time in history, humanity has in reality attained the power of global annihilation.

Freud much earlier than Glover apprehended such a global catastrophe & wrote in *Civilization and its Discontents* (1930).

"The fateful question for the human species seems to me to be whether and to what extent their cultural development will succeed in mastering the disturbance of their communal life by the human instinct of aggression and self-destruction. It may be that in this respect precisely the present time deserves a special interest. Man have gained control over the forces of nature to such an extent that with their help they would have no difficulty in exterminating one another to the last man".

What Freud apprehended even before the invention of atomic

bomb, is going to be a reality by nuclear holocaust. A mad nuclear arms race is going on unabated by the two super powers with the silent approval of their respective allies.

The threat of nuclear war is so real today and the destruction of mankind so assured by a next major war that it is evident that every person must be living an anxious and insecure life without any prospective future. Caldicatt says, 'A thousand time more powerful than an atom bomb, one hydrogen bomb, can kill millions of people within seconds! Prof. Victor Weiskopf, a Manhattan Project physicist remarks: "Future generations, if there are any, will regard the arm race as a virulent case of collective mental disease".'

Despite these grim facts and statements of responsible scientists, what is it that drives world leaders—otherwise ordinary mortals - to risk and jeopardize the lives of hundreds of millions, nay, billions of human beings within a brief period of time, and play with the continuity of mankind? What powerful motives must they have? What motives could be of such magnitude that all of man and woman-kind is a fit price? It cannot be preservation of democracy alone, for both the contending parties are proclaiming the cause of liberty and democracy, at the same time supporting the most repressive and undemocratic regimes around the world.

In ordinary experience, we are well aware that human emotions have irresistible force, and do drive man to commit irrational deeds. Greed, jealousy, suspicion, the lust for power, the desire for public adulation and re-election to office and the continuation of power; (the drive to please the crowd which has been programmed to want what its leaders have already misled them to believe is for their welfare, but really not). These are some of the powerful human motives that determine the decisions leaders make. They may be more determinative than the real needs of the state and its citizens in determining the international decisions which leaders make.

Jerome Frank says, world peace depends on the formation of a world government toward which psychologists have little to offer. He believes those who do have something to offer world government are the politicians, the military, the lawyers, the economists and the like. The idea of world government, of course, is appealing. In the face of the speed, however, with which the superpowers and their allies are arming, and the escalation of the antagonism between

them, one may well wonder whether world government will eventuate soon enough to be of help. The helplessness of the U.N.O. in maintaining peace in the face of the veto power of the big nations is a pointer to that direction. Realism is of the essence here as elsewhere.

Despite these facts and statements what is it that drives leaders—otherwise ordinary mortals - to risk and jeopardize the lives of hundreds of millions, nay, billions of human beings within a brief period of time, and play with the continuity of mankind?

This question is relevant for all persons concerned with human psyche. On this question psychiatrists, psycho-analysts and psycho-therapists in general should put their heads together in search for the causes of antagonism, rivalry, cold war and finally hot war. The psycho-analysts, psychiatrists and other psychotherapists are students of the mind and its development, its normality and abnormality. In their studies they have, above all else and all others, have learned to deal with the irrational in people. Most importantly they have dealt with the suspicion and jealousy of patients. They have found paranoia to be a common and malignant trait in their patients and in society. It is not surprising to them, therefore, to see signs of it among people who conduct affairs of state. This is not to say that they are mentally ill, but to say that they can be overcome with such fears and unconscious complexes that they negotiate less reasonably than they might. It is to say that motives may be operating in them determined by their unconscious, which have nothing to do with the achievement of peace, and therefore account for their unreasonable stances. Psychotherapists can use both their practical experience in dealing individuals and with groups in conflict and their knowledge of what happens there in order to try to make predictions about inter-group conflicts between larger groups like nations.

We intend to focus on the psychological obstacles to peace. As psycho-analysts we intend to go into deeper dynamics of war and aggression and obstacles to peace. In this connection, I take the liberty of referring to Rafael Moses' paper, entitled, "Psychoanalytic perspectives of the Middle East Peace process obstacles to peace, with special reference to Narcissism". In this paper Moses has attributed the Arab-Israeli conflict to pathological group narcissism. I think this applies as well to superpower arms rivalry and a possible

nuclear holocaust. The narcissistic feelings of lowered self-esteem and grandiosity, self-aggrandisement and impotence, omnipotence and haughty arrogance, and narcissistic rage; especially in response to humiliation and shame—all those seem ubiquitous on the scene of conflict and of the peace process in international sphere as elsewhere. This enormous narcissistic vulnerability clearly has a marked detrimental effect on the relation to that important other, the adversary, who is consciously denigrated and ignored, not recognised or acknowledged. Thus such vulnerability serves as a clear obstacle to the peace process which requires a recognizing, an accepting and even a respecting of the adversary, partner. Moses poses the question: can a parallel be drawn between, for instance, his need for grandiosity and that of a group, such as a nation: Is the genesis, the development of the narcissistic needs and proclivities of a nation, and of its narcissistic pathology, in some ways parallel to that of an individual? And Moses refers to Heinz Kohut's valuable work in the field of narcissism. Kohut has begun to show an interest in the application of knowledge about narcissism to groups. He talks of the shared grandiose self of the group and about the regressive flavour of narcissistic rage in group aggression; and later about a group self in analogy to the individual self.

Moses opines that the genesis of narcissistic pathology in nations may parallel that in individuals; that some, though not all narcissistic group pathology is defensive, i.e., aimed at countering strong feelings of worthlessness, helplessness and impotence; and that the state of narcissistic group pathology, as in the individual, varies both over the short and the long term. The nation's sense of worth in analogy to that of the developing infant and child-stem from the narcissistic maturity and nation's group self.

Patriotism which shows a more or less realistic though idealised evaluation of the nation with a normal libidinal tie to one's own mother country, parallels the normal narcissism of the individual. It involves acceptance of at least some of the realistic limitations of the individual or nation. Chauvinism, on the other hand, would be comparable to what Kernberg has called a 'pathological narcissistic' growth, a deviant or pathological narcissism of the larger social unit - a community, a town or a country or nation.

A second factor which may be operative in arms race of the

superpowers may be sibling rivalry. Under the influence of sibling rivalry whereas older children are given to jealousy of younger children, younger children are usually envious of children older, who have many prerogatives and gain attention through their accomplishments. The emotional constellation of sibling rivalry is a universal phenomenon and as such it is unconsciously harboured more or less by all people. Such universal unconscious propensity seeks opportunity for outlet through appropriate substitutes and situations. Group rivalry and conflict - small or large - provides an opportunity to antagonistic groups to gratify their common impulses held back in check in the unconscious.

May it not be said that in the present international arms race the U. S. A. is representing the elder brother and Russia, the younger brother involved in sibling rivalry in group level? America is elder brother in the sense that it is the champion of capitalism which is an old socio-economic system. Whereas Russia may be said to take the place of younger brother in the sense that it is the champion of a new socio-economic order, socialism, which is a later arrival. And the basic conflict between the U. S. A. and Soviet union and their respective allies centres round capitalism and socialism.

Be that as it may, let us come back to sibling rivalry as a possible obstacle to peace and provocation of war. Psycho-analysis gathers materials from epics, myths and fairy tales etc. to corroborate many of its theories. In the present case we find the Mahabharata epic to be supportive of our assumption that sibling rivalry may be a cause of war. In the Mahabharata we find the Kauravas and Pandavas as cousins and inheritors of kingdom. The elder Kaurava, Duryodhana is basically jealous, haughty and self-aggrandising. He is unwilling to share the kingdom with the Pandavas. In order to get rid of the Pandavas, Duryodhana intrigued many times, but failed. As the situation was gradually worsening, in order to avoid blood shed, a modest offer was made to Duryodhana to give only five villages to five Pandava brothers, instead of the half share of the kingdom. Haughty Duryodhana declined even this modest offer and declared arrogantly that he will not part with even an inch of land to the Pandavas without fighting.

This ultimately led to the destructive battle of Kurukshetra between the Kauravas and the Pandavas. After 19 days' fierce fighting

the Kaurava brothers with their warrior friends were destroyed. Pandava brothers survived, but only to mourn the death of their father figures, well-wishers, friends and near and dear ones. Peace dawned on Hastinapur, but it was the peace of grave.

This episode depicted in the great epic of Mahabharata indicates how sibling rivalry may lead to preparation for war and ultimate destruction. In comparison to this battle, destruction from a nuclear war is immeasurable. According to scientists, it may destroy the human race and transmute the planet earth beyond recognition. As regard causes of conflict we may go further and say that mistrust, contempt and persecutory delusions are some of the important psychological facts which stand in the way of peace. Neither party trusts the sincerity of the other party. Any offer for peace given by one party is inevitably misinterpreted as sinister move. It is peculiarly paranoiac. As a result of this mistrust, the disarmament efforts have always ended in a fiasco. And this has accelerated further accumulation of deadly nuclear weapons. This is working like a vicious circle.

Groups are usually narcissistic, self-idealising, paranoid in relation to other groups. Conflict within the group and guilt about aggression can be dealt with by projection on to an outside group. In our private lives we have to contend with a superego which puts a check on destructiveness. If we vest the individual superego in a joint group superego, we can apparently guiltlessly perpetrate horrors which we could not bear in our individual life. When such mechanisms get out of control, the groups, instead of containing psychotic functioning, put it into practice and we get such irrational behaviour as war and genocide.

Psycho-analytical insights as applied to group and mass behaviour throw further light on the psychology of war and inhuman behaviour between groups of people. For people to accept wars, the paranoid mechanisms must be reinforced, our group or ideas must be felt as perfect. The enemy must be presented as an inhuman monster. In genocide victim is presented as not only inhuman, but as subhuman. The Russians are now presented as the 'devil'. Reagan speaks of the "evil empire".

It is a popular adage, "If you wish for peace, prepare for war". But the historical facts are rather, that, when any nation prepares

for war, that in itself leads to war. Many historians think that the main reason for the senseless first and second world wars was the very fact that nations were preparing for war. We know that internal conflicts and tensions give a powerful incentive for war with an external enemy to avoid facing internal problems. But it may be less acknowledged that, conversely, preparations for war build up specific new tensions. Preparations for war increase bellicosity, they produce an internal tension which seeks discharge. When in a state of preparedness for war, we also become more paranoid. We must project our own bellicosity on the other, thereby discharging our guilt and finding justification for further armaments. Finally, the preparedness for war on both sides promotes the likelihood of a pre-emptive strike out of fear. Hence the prospect of world peace does not lie in preparation for war, but in total disarmament, at least, the destruction of nuclear weapons.

Role of Psycho-Analysis

The threat of nuclear war is so real and the destruction of mankind so assured by a next major war that it is evident that every person has a role in the peace effort. This is unquestionably true for anyone in some science or speciality. Psychiatry and psycho-analysis have a place in peace efforts and a contribution to make to its cause. The psycho-analyst is a student of the mind and its development. As such he is aware of life's stages of development and the effect environmental factors have upon them. He knows what motivates and drives the human being. Now, how further may psycho-analysis be employed in the services of achieving reasonable international relations and assuring world peace? It is not alone the leader's hidden agenda which jeopardizes world peace and threatens omnicide. The people of the world play a part in the equation!

How then may the psycho-analyst use his expertise in the face of such facts? As a respected member of the community with such training the very statement of facts as he sees them would have meaning, but, naturally, only if given wide circulation. Their statements that leaders may have motives and ends in making decisions which are unrelated to the reality could serve an educational function. Again, only if widely circulated.

The psycho-analyst's obligation is to impart knowledge to the

public, government leaders and other professionals. The goal is to make a better informed people, better armed to really know the state of its peril with the hope that it will take more appropriate action to protect itself and preserve peace. Toward that end we stress the importance of mass education. However, as psycho-analysts we know that information alone does not necessarily lead to belief, though it may lead to understanding. We know that belief in what is communicated and understood must be achieved if there is to be rational action and the exercise of reason. As psycho-analysts, for instance, we know that mere intellectual awareness of facts does not necessarily involve actual belief and the taking of appropriate action. We can suggest, therefore, that some emotional impact must be attained with people if they are to act for their protection. We know there is such a thing as emotional learning. As psycho-analysts it is something we must help people generally to accomplish. We can suggest, for instance, that charismatic leaders take to heart the issue we are discussing. Their dialogue with the people, then, would involve them emotionally in a learning process otherwise denied them. Appropriate action in the service of preserving peace would more likely follow on a mass scale.

In his studies the psycho-analyst, above all else and all others, has learned to deal with the irrational in man. Most importantly he has dealt with the suspicions of patients. He has found paranoia to be a common and malignant trait in his patients and in society. It is not surprising to him therefore, to see signs of it among people who conduct affairs of state. This is not to say that they are mentally ill, but to say that they can be overcome with such fears and misconceptions that they negotiate less reasonably than they might. It is to say that motives may be operating in them determined by their constitution and culture, which have nothing to do with the achievement of peace, and therefore account for their unreasonable stances.

Rafael Moses in his paper entitled 'Psychotherapy and World Peace' has laid down certain practical guidelines for the implementation of peace programme. These are as follows.

1. Those of us who feel willing and capable should each choose a target group with which to work and to which we must address ourselves. Preferably these should come from our reference groups so as to increase the probability that we

will be heard. We cannot be expected to convince our antagonist if we try to address ourselves to them.

2. Secondly, we should try to use the basic social psychiatric strategy of working from the top down. One aim should therefore be to try and reach the decision makers.
3. Thirdly, we must not expect results from one-time interventions. Most interventions should be planned as an ongoing process for a minimal time period.
4. Fourthly, we should try to increase widespread awareness of psychological reaction patterns, as we know them, particularly the unconscious ones. Making such patterns conscious e.g., demonization, the use of projection, denial, rationalization, narcissistic vulnerabilities and many more—making them conscious as they occur in political process will make it more difficult for individuals and groups to continue to use such mechanisms. This can be done on different levels: through the mass media (television, newspapers, magazine, books), through working with different target groups in series of meetings. Some groups may be more strategically placed diplomats, high army officers, cabinet ministers and the director—generals of their ministries, members of parliament, senate or congress or their equivalents.
5. A fifth special tactic derives from the use of psychotherapy and psycho-analysis with members of these special groups, or with people like them e.g. powerful executives—which can increase our psychological understanding of how leaders operate, and how they react to the stresses to which they are subjected.

Finally, a note of caution has been sounded by Moses. It is that not every word we, psycho-analysts will say will immediately be implemented. But then, this is familiar to us from our position as psychotherapists or psychoanalysts. We are not usually pampered by our patients; we are not led to believe that our words will be swallowed wholesale. Indeed we would not want them to be so swallowed. So, here is a similarity between psychotherapy and working for peace if we wish to be honest brokers to people involved in conflict we must constantly be aware of our own need to be omnipotent and omniscient, the need to be all-powerful *and all*

knowing and be to suppress it. It is important that we remember how intimately this need is related to the helplessness which we necessarily feel in this 'impossible' field of peace and war—more impossible even than that of psycho-analysis and psychotherapy. We must talk in ways acceptable to and appropriate for our clients; yet not talk down to them. We must not expect quick results. We must not be too hurt or offended if, as will surely happen, our valuable advice is not sought, or not accepted. We must expect that if such advice is accepted it will most likely be misused, at least, the first few times and certainly also at later points in time—not out of malice but rather because this is the way of human nature. We psycho-analysts must prepare ourselves for this difficult role.

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