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## HAIR AS SYMBOL\*

AMARENDRANATH BASU

### ( SYNOPSIS )

[ That hair conveys message of our emotional state of mind is indicated by its idiomatic usage in language.

Hair acquires its symbolic meaning from its association with human experiences. Natural properties of hair also contribute a lot in symbolization. In symbolic meaning hair stands for qualities like physical strength, mental force, generative power, creativity, destruction, both male and female sex and charm, wisdom, spiritual power etc.

The symbolic character of hair is realisable through investigations in dream, primitive culture, myth and literary creativity.

In dream, of a woman, usually, it stands for feminine power and charm. By way of the law of contagion hair has been invested with magical power in primitive culture. Hair was believed to be the source of energy by ancient people. In mythology hair has been attributed with earthly power. Shiva's matted tress signifies his infinite creative power. Buddha severed his tuft of hair before he became Buddha as it did not suit an ascetic. Mostly in all religions the spiritual aspirants observe the rite of tonsure.

In cases of mental aberration hair becomes a fetishistic symbol representing female sex. Thus cutting of woman's hair, secretly or otherwise, by man, means rape of the woman or castrating her.

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\* The paper was presented at a scientific meeting on March 6, 1961, at the Department of Applied Psychology, University of Calcutta, convened jointly by the Indian Psychoanalytical Society and the above mentioned Department.

In the poem 'The Rape of the Lock', by Alexander Pope of 18th c. England, the poet used hair symbol to signify female sex. By way of sublimation the poet lifted the hair symbol to the status of divine femininity which would guide human being like a shining Star.

Hair symbol with its archaic foundation points to a cultural unity and reveals oneness. Thus a symbol makes possible our thought to move from one level to another—from profane to sacred. A symbol must be deciphered according to its particular context, there is no general law for it. ]

### PART - I

Hair, though a trivial thing, gains importance when different significances are attached to it. If we go through the pages of an English dictionary containing the word 'hair', we will come across various idiomatic usages of the word which convey different emotional meanings. For examples the idiom "hair stands on end" expresses divergent emotions like horror, surprise and wonder; when it is said that she "let her hair down", we are to understand that she is in a relaxed mood. ( Though to let hair down, by a woman, does not always signify relaxation. We will find it shortly ). We need not increase the number of similar examples.

This penetration of hair in language by way of idiomatic usages indicates that it has secured a special place in the inner mind. The present discussion is an effort to find out that position as manifested in human thought, imagination and phantasies. But in no way this is a hair-splitting discussion. Therefore, it is not exhaustive.

In the world of living creatures most of the animals are much hairier than human beings. Therefore, apparently, hairy may mean animality and hairless as culture. But symbolic meaning is not just a reflection of natural phenomenon. Symbolism does not follow such a simple rule. So the opposition between hairy and hairless, by way of association, may signify youth and old age, vitality and sterility. Again hairy may mean maleness and less hair on body surface may mean female sex. Long hair on head is associated accordingly with woman and close-cropped hair is considered to be of man. But these associations, and hence their meanings, are not universal. Sometimes

short hair indicates puritan values and long hair its opposite. Like any other symbol hair accommodates its natural associations and properties ( Eney of Religion ; Vol. 6 ).

The basic property of hair is growth. Hairs are constantly being shed and replaced by growth. Though hair is a part of the body, yet if it is cut, there is no pain. But sometimes cutting of hair inflicts more pain than any serious body injury. In those cases it is invested with symbolic values of which we will come across in our discussion.

Hair is associated with two socially significant parts of the body where it grows abundantly—on head and on the pubes. So it has associations both of wisdom and sexuality. In the different textures of hair in different races, there is the stamp of racial origin. Mankind is classified as straight haired, wavy haired and wooly haired races (Yadav et al, 1990). Not only that, genetic engineering has made it possible to check chromosome constitution of cells from the well-spread preparations from hair cells. In olympic games the chromosome preparations from that are used for screening the players for sex test ( Yadav et al, 1990 ). Thus, it is found that hair carries the information of the past or of the origin of the owner. Is this the reason that the modern physicists, who are engaged in cosmological research, use the term hair symbolically in their theory, "no hair theorem" regarding the concept of black hole? According to them 'a black hole has no hair'. It means that when a black hole is formed out of a body, there is no possible source of information of that body ( Hawking, 1989 ).

Again, hair has association with plants and bushes. As plants and bushes grow on the surface of the earth, so the hair grows on the surface of the body; it has growth like vegetable world. Thus variety of properties and associations are connected with and assimilated in hair symbol. Hence, hair may signify vitality, physical strength, natural force, sex, worldly power, generative power, creativity, wisdom, source of information and many other things.

The pattern of hair symbolism would be realisable if we can have a look into our archaic thought and imagination. Dream, primitive culture and myths are the three passages leading to our archaic world. Let us have a journey to that world along those paths. First of all

we would examine, what message hair conveys through the following dreams.

In a dream, a young lady who was under analysis and had positive transference, dreamt that she was in the clinical chamber. The wife of the analyst appeared there with her voluminous flowing hair (she never saw the analyst's wife).

In another dream the same lady saw that her husband's former girl friend with unbound long hair came to her husband, and her husband accompanied her (the girl friend). She felt very helpless as if he had been taken away from her (the dreamer).

It was revealed later on that in both the dreams hair symbolized feminine power, the power of the womb—the power that draws a male to the female, the power of female sex, charm, beauty and mystery. The dreamer had a sense of lacking in that respect.

The figments of imagination surrounding hair are not the exclusive possession of the unconscious of the civilized human being. Rather, in this respect it seems that our unconscious has the characteristic of imitating the archetypal thought.

In primitive times, Frazer (1929) points out, the sorcerers all over the world while used the principle of magic in the application of charm or injury to a person, had the practice of selecting hair of a person upon whom the magical activities were directed at. This was done on the basis of the law of contact or contagion. Due to this belief in sympathetic magic cut out hair of a person was not allowed to be disposed of anywhere in any manner. Even today, in many places, women never throw away helter-skelter the up-rooted hair after their braid knitting or hair brushing, because of the fear of being harmed or charmed by evil spirits or persons through the medium of their hair. In order to counteract the magical effect women are seen to spit on such hair before throwing away. In west this ritual is known as pythagorean injunction or 'symbol' of Pythagoras (Eney. of R. & Ethics, 1974). By putting a piece of his/her own hair and giving that to the intended victim, a sorcerer/sorceress may cast spells on him/her. For example: in Papua a man puts his pubic hair in a cigarette and makes a desired woman to smoke that with the idea that she will passionately reciprocate. The Kansa, an Ethiopian tribe does not burn the cut off hair, as that may cause the owner's sickness or death. Hair also was used to transfer disease to

something other. In Yorkshire, the hair of a sick child was placed between two slices of bread and gave that to a dog; thus the disease was transferred to the dog. Again, the hair of a sick person might be hung to the branch of a healthy tree, so that the sick man might derive health from the tree.

The Aztecs believed that if one could pull out the hair from the crown of the head of an evil-doing wizard, his power of sorcery would vanish. In Baster of India, among tribes, an evil-doing enchanter's hair is shaved in order to remove his/her power of mischief.

The cut out hair of the primitive chiefs was preserved in temples or other sacred and secret places. The hair represented the person of the chief and his sacredness. The Hazrat Bal of Srinagar is an example of this idea,

This Homoeopathic or imitative magic principle was used by the Sumatra, Bali and Java women rice sowers, who let their hair hang loose down their back at the time of sowing, so that rice might grow luxuriantly and have long stalks. Even today, in the harvesting season, the Bali women go to the temple for worship carrying agricultural products on the heads displaying their abundance and beauty of hair. After worship it is a ritual to sprinkle sacred water on their loose hair (Frazer, 1929; The Aztecs; 1975; Bali: The split Gate, 1983).

In ancient Mexico, the goddess of maize was called "the long haired mother". During the festival in her honour the women used to dance before the goddess with their long unbound hair shaking and tossing. The belief was that the tassel of maize would grow in like profusion (Frazer, 1929). The deity was called Lady Precious Green (in Mexican Language—'Chalchiuhtlicue') who was a fertility goddess. Her youth was indicated by the style of her hair (The Aztecs, 1975).

In ancient Greece and Rome people used to place lock of hair on the alters of different gods and goddesses as a token of sacrifice. Usually, these deities were either of war or of agriculture or fertility. Youths offered their first beard to Apollo or to any river god. Women offered their hair to Adonis. They, before marriage offered their hair to any deity of their choice, and again before or after childbirth to goddess Hygieia. The female deities had long locks of hair,

bound or unbound, and the male deities had also beard. It was believed that the ancient Egyptian sun god Re, and the ancient Indian Aryan sun and Surya had golden or flaming hair. The supreme Egyptian goddess Isis had locks of hair with a special style. That style was prevalent among queens, princesses and aristocrat women. Isis was the goddess of supreme creativity, of agriculture or fertility. Indian Mother goddess Kali, the supreme creatress, is also called 'Elokeshi'—the unbound haired. Her hair signifies her infinite generative power in infinite time. Indian goddesses are mostly found with long untied hair and they have, according to the scholars (Dasgupta, 1957), linkage with the Neolithic concept of Earth goddesses who were considered as fertility goddesses. But in other cultures the hair of the goddesses, even the fertility ones, are found with both bound and unbound hair (Frazer, 1929; Eney. Religion, 1989; Eney. R. & Ethics, 1974; New Harousse Eney. of Mytho, 1985; Eney. Americana, 1984; Eney. Brit, 1987).

The people of ancient Megara in ancient Greece believed that king Nisus had golden hair on the middle of his head and it was fated that whenever that hair would be pulled out the king would die. In Greek-folklore a belief is found that man's strength lies in the three golden hair on the head (Ibid).

In ancient France, the Frankish Kings never used to cut their hair, because that would diminish their power as warriors. The cutting of hair disqualified a member of the Frankish royal family from their right to succession to the throne. In ancient Egypt hair was the sign of royalty. In India Maori chiefs were not allowed to cut hair. The Arabs believed that hair is the seat of vitality. With Indian Rishis hair and beard were the signs of wisdom. The strength of Samson lay in his hair (Ibid).

Like possessing hair, hair cutting or shaving has got different meanings in different cultures. It has become associated with initiation, mourning and discipline. In modern times it has become a ritual of the new recruits in military and police services. The pilgrims shave their heads during their pilgrimages. The Hindu males shave their heads after the mourning period for parents' death is over, and both men and women keep hair unattended and untied during that period. An orthodox Hindu widow cuts short her hair

to simulate sterility by renouncing earthly charm (Eney. Religion, 1989).

Cutting of hair is sometimes meant as acceptance of authority or submission. Caesar made the noble Gauls to cut off their hair as a mark of submission when he conquered their country. In ancient times the head of a slave was shaved as a mark of his subjugation. In some communities to loosen hair means submission to the chief; for example, the tribes of Ikiopia of Pacific island do so. But it is not, and was not universal. Draupadi kept her hair loose till her revenge was satisfied. It was a sign of vow.

Hair has also become a medium of relationship with the dead. In Islamic society, if a boy is dedicated to a saint, the boy's head is shaved and the hair is placed on the tomb of the saint. The Iroquois gave a lock of hair of the dead to the nearest relative of the deceased with the belief that the strength of the deceased would be transmitted, while the Zuni tribe had the practice of burning the hair of the deceased relative with the belief that the inhaling the smoke would produce good health (Ibid).

Hair is also invested with patriotic, spiritual and religious ideals. Rana Pratap (a mediaeval Rajput King of India) kept his hair and beard uncut and unshaved as he took a vow in that respect till the freedom of his kingdom was restored. To a Sikh male devout hair and beard are the sacred signs of his religion. The Sikh hero Tarusing said to the Pathan Emeror: "I will offer you more than that you have asked for, I will give you my head along with my braid" — Tagore.

That hair symbolizes both earthly and supernatural powers is indicated in Indian legends and Puranas. In the Brahmavaivarta Purana it is said that once the apparitions of Vishnu and Shiva in the forms of a boy and a hermit respectively came to the court of Indra, who was very much proud (egotistic) of his activities (mundane), to give him a lesson. During their conversation with Indra, the hermit disclosed that the matted hair of his head symbolized wisdom as well as grief to the children of the world; with the fall of one hair, one Indra drops, i.e. one cycle of creation ends to start for a new one (Zimmer, 1962).

Again, the Vishnu Purana mentions that once the goddess Earth accompanied by Brahma came to Lord Vishnu at Mount Meru

to beg redress of the torture of the titans and the demons among whom Kamsa was the chief. The Lord, on hearing her prayer, plucked two hairs from his head, a fair one and a dark one. He said that those two hairs would descend to earth and take away the burden of the Earth goddess. The dark one was Lord Krishna and the fair one was Lord Balaram ( Zimmer, 1962).

The Ganges lost its massive force in the labyrinth of Shiva's matted hair on the way to her coming down on earth from heaven. The Nataraja Shiva's long and matted tresses indicate "supernormal life energy". Zimmer (1962) says in ascribing Nataraja figure: "womanly charm, the sensual appeal of the Eternal Feminine... is in the fragrance, the flow and luster of beautiful hair. On the other hand, anyone renouncing the generative forces of the vegetable animal realm, revolting against the procreative principle of life, sex, earth and nature, to enter upon the spiritual path of absolute asceticism, has first to be shaved. He must simulate the sterility of an old man whose hairs have fallen and who no longer constitutes a link in the chain of generation. He must coldly sacrifice the foliage of the head."

But, as Shiva is at the same time both archetypal ascetic" absorbed in the void of the Absolute, and archetypal dancer engaged in Total Activity—life's energy, frantic, aimless and playful, he is forever the unshorn male." Flown hair of the Nataraja thus indicates both male and female and his infinite generative power. It also represents both the absolute and the mundane.

The would-be Buddha after his departure from the palace first of all severed his long and beautiful locks of hair himself as those did not suit an ascetic, because of its earthly potentialities. Hairless head became, on the one hand, the sign of renunciation of the earthly powers, and on the other, it was the symbolic mark of asceticism and supreme spirituality ( Zimmer, 1962 ).

The ascetic hostility of the Jains to the hair is well known. The tonsure or the rite of shaving head is prevalent among the monks, priests, yogis, Brahmacharis, neophytes. They consider hair as earthliness.

Hair might have acquired the significance of generative power with sexual overtone from another association. When a flower is in full bloom its pistils are exposed. The hair-like pistils spread frag-

rance and attract insects. The coming out of the pistils from the cavity of the flowers indicates that the flower is ready for pollination which is nothing but a sex act. And flower, as Freud ( 1915) hints, represents female sex organ or the seat of sex act. In human being growth of pubic hair signals the maturity of sex act. In human being growth of pubic hair signals the maturity of sex capacity. Moreover, hairs grow on the body surface: they are shed and replaced by the growth of the new ones; ultimately they become grey and diminish in number by being shed. All these facts did not miss the observation of the primitive people. They found it comparable to the plant life on earth. And with the discovery of agriculture, fertility of earth in producing crops came to be compared to the fertility of body in producing hair. Thus profusion in hair indicated profusion in fertility. Thereafter, naturally, the concept of fertility was bestowed particularly on woman because of her mystic connection with earth—the guarantor of fertility and life cycle. Therefore, by way of extension of association and imagination, hair has become a symbol of generative power or sex power in general and female sex in particular ( power of the womb). To the primaeval people sex was a valued thing. They worshipped sex. Anything connected with sex was a valued thing. They worshipped sex. Anything connected with sex was a matter of pride. As hair symbolized sex and generative power it drew human care and attention a lot. And perhaps for this sexual association in Dobuan society of Western Pacific, hair care is a reciprocal service between the husband and wife, and also is associated with intercourse. Therefore, hair care and style are done in such a way as it can attract others belonging to the opposite sex. The style of hair dressing, in both men and women, has assumed a systematic form of specialized art. The speciality is enormous with women. And almost in every culture marriage brings a change in hair style among women.

While investigating the symbolic significance of hair, we must not leave the situations of some mental aberrations untreaded. According to Freud (1905), in some cases of pathology hair becomes fetishistic symbol which acts as substitute for the sexual object. Fetishistic object is determined by its accidental association with the sex object or person's sexuality. And due to an inhibited sexual activity owing to fear the subject's sexual aim is diverted to the subs-

stitute. In such cases the substitute becomes detached from the actual sex-object. Thus in fetishism a lock of hair becomes the only sexual object which the subject seeks for. In those cases hair stands for genital organ. Freud (1910) says further that perverts who enjoy cutting off of the female's hair actually "carry out an act of castration on the female genital organ". To them hair stands for "female penis". The origination of the idea of "female penis" among boys, lies in their childhood idea of phallic mother, the idea which remains hidden in their mind till they grow up (Freud, 1927). The idea of phallic mother is best illustrated in the myth of Meduse. That is why her locks of hair are depicted as snakes, which are nothing but penis symbol (Freud, 1940). This has been depicted so due to castration complex prevailing in human mind. Again, the perversion of braid cutting or cutting of lock of hair is a symbolic sadistic attack on woman performed out of castration fear. Thus hair represents male genital organ (Fenichel, 1946, Berens, 1892).

[ *To be Continued* ]

## IS FREE ASSOCIATION AN OBSOLETE TECHNIQUE IN PSYCHOANALYSIS ?

HAROLD KENNETH FINK\*

You don't see much about Free Association in the psychoanalytic literature any more. Is it obsolete or does it still have value in diagnosis and treatment? Psychoanalysis is a method of uncovering the unconscious obliquely through dream interpretation, transference analysis (Fink, 1986), and free association. The unconscious is revealed if one leaves the "realm of conventional, rational thought, and permits oneself to voice ideas which are not determined by the rules of normal, conventional thinking" (Fromm, 1955).

The use of the couch helped Freud's patients to loosen their minds and encourage free association, but Freud admitted also that he did not like patients looking at him all day, so he sat at the head of the couch out of view of these patients. Free association can be meaningless if it deteriorates into "uncontrolled complaining and sterile thinking," as often happens, particularly with hypochondriacs. It then becomes just a "ritual" (Fromm, 1955, p. 3). One can ask the patient, "What is in your mind right now?" or "Picture your father and tell me what is the first thing that comes to mind."

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Fromm quotes Slesinger's use of concentration to encourage free association: "Close your eyes. Try to think of nothing... make your mind completely blank," or the analyst gives her patient a sign after a few minutes: "Now, keep your eyes closed but tell me what goes through your mind at this moment" (4).

One can ask other creative questions such as "What comes to mind when you think of the thing you like least in yourself, or are ashamed of, or are most proud of?" In order to understand a patient, the analyst should free associate too: We need to "mobilize in ourselves the same irrational fantasies which exist in patients. To interpret means to react with one's imagination and free associations to the patient's utterances" (5). The analyst is a "participant observer, not a blank mirror or detached observer." Fromm concludes: The "patient does most of the talking, but... the analyst's interpretations... are essentially his free associations!"

When I worked in New York City after WW2 in the 40s and 50s, I did some pilot F.A. research to demonstrate mental attitude and progressive changes in my patients. Such changes were not always obvious in their weekly sessions but statistically (through the research) were noteworthy and obvious. For example, a patient might start analysis discussing his conflicts about going to college rather than getting a job with the freedom to live on his own after high school. Or discussions of a male-female relationship might dominate early trials and be replaced in a few months with childhood experiences and frustrations. Or the importance of drugs to the patient might give way to a desire for a healthier life style without the use of street drugs as an escape, but with more exercise and better nutrition.

When patients agreed to experience the F.A. trials, they were told that, for the next half hour or so, they were to just let the ideas flow *without censorship* and without worrying whether they made

sense or not. The thoughts could be really silly or deep as the case might be. The main direction was to close one's eyes and let the ideas flow uninterrupted by intellectual defenses or self-questioning. This was understandably difficult at first for most patients, but after some practice, the task became easier and more spontaneous.

Since few patients have enough money to afford several sessions of analysis a week, one has to be practical and reasonable and not expect them to F.A. continuously (in a freeform manner), but to concentrate on the problems that were most important to them (i.e. directed F.A.). So the F.A. trials were rarely utilized, often with three-month intervals between them. The patients cooperated out of curiosity to see what progress was indicated statistically. As therapy continued, one item would be emphasized in the trials and then slowly fade away, to be replaced by another subject, now more pressing. The F.A. trials also revealed when the patients were "treading water," i.e., deliberately avoiding serious issues, e.g., when they would spend too much time discussing their pet animals while avoiding talk about their anxieties. The hypochondriac would spend too much time in recounting his various ills, real or imagined. When he began to conquer his hypochondriacal problem, he would spend less time with sickness and affliction and more about his present life style and problems related to personal relationships, job, marriage, etc.

Thus the F.A. "Test" can be used to help and instruct both analyst and patient to see what progress, if any, is being made. A love relationship might start out in very exaggerated form with undue praise for the other person's "stirling qualities." A few months later, the same person may be removed from her pedestal and viewed more realistically, by which time the patient may have even stopped dating her and started seeing someone else more worthwhile. The "talking

method" of Freud *does* help a person in gaining insight into the many facets of our lives, friends, and goals.

Jung used a *Word List* to get a patient's reactions to each word: "What is the first word you think of when I give you a word from the list?" This method also helps in gaining awareness of what the patient thinks and feels. Again, it is helpful not just to the analyst but also to the patient.

In my F.A. Test, scoring was done in a simple way: Each word or phrase was *categorized* (e.g., hostility toward mother, adoration of girlfriend, conflict with boss, etc.). The words or phrases in each category. These categories were then listed in rank order from highest to lowest and compared with the list in the patient's previous trial. I would try to guess what each list would look like. Sometimes one could guess fairly accurately; at other times, one's predictions would fail.

I will start with patient "A", providing the results of six successive trials, the first three, one month apart; the later three, four months apart, (See Tables I, II, III, and IV. Table V compares the results of a group of six females and a group of five males.

#### ANALYSIS OF THE F.A. EXPERIMENT WITH CASE A

Case A was a 21 year old college student of superior I. Q., living with his parents, brother, and sister in a large city. I will comment briefly on the Case A trials to demonstrate how much we can learn from such a "Test":

1. It's not surprising that *women and sex* rank high in this, an unmarried male's F.A. (25%, 27%, 15%, 15%, 28%, and 24%, respectively, for the six trials).
2. A was considering, with his superior I. Q., the possibility of going to *another college* for an advanced degree after earning his A.B., so comments on colleges were among the top three or

- four categories except in trial #6 where they were not mentioned since he had made a decision (6%, 4%, 16%, 9%, 11%, 0%).
3. Escape from daily living and home frustrations appeared in a desire to *escape through travel* (something common to most of us), usually among the top three categories (14%, 4%, 3%, 9%, 10%, and 4%).
  4. *Recreation* was usually third place, again related to escape from a boring life (6%, 8%, 13%, 7%, 4%, and 2%).
  5. *His parents* were immigrants from Europe, and not too happy about the pressures they were under, making a living in America which caused much friction with the children. Authority figures (parents and relatives) ranked about sixth place in A's trials (4%, 3%, 3%, 4%, 2% and 2%).
  6. *Homosexuality* was a minor concern for A who was basically heterosexual in his orientation. He did talk a lot about *men* (14%, 15%, 10%, 11%, 8% and 13%), usually in second place and more often than most heterosexual patients, but he rarely discussed homosexual doubts and feelings, specifically (0%, less than 1%, 0%, 0%, and 6%).
  7. *Immaturity* in the form of oral concerns and a desire to be loved by parents and the opposite sex appears in sixth place, approximately (4%, 2%, 2%, 3%, 4% and 2%). Related to Immaturity orality is *Infantilism* (0%, less than 1%, less than 1%, 0%, 0%, 0%). *Regression*, a temporary setback, appears in trial #1 only (less than #1).

I. Women and Sex	25%
II. Men / Travel	14%
III. College / Recreation	6%
IV. Parents	5%
V. Oral concerns	4%
VI. Depression / Relatives / Hostility / Spiritual concerns	3%
VII. Animals	2%
VIII. Science / Health & Illness / People / Guilt / Fantasy / Analysis / Masturbation / Inferiority	1%
IX. \$ / Optimism / Regression / Sado-masochism / Anxiety	0.4% & less

I. Women and Sex	27%
II. Men	15%
III. Recreation	8%
IV. College / Travel / Inferiority Hostility	4%
V. Parents & Relatives / Voyeurism / Illness	3%
VI. Self-Consciousness & Awareness / Critical / Anxiety / Pessimism / Oral concerns	2%
VII. Analysis / Optimism / Manual work / Superiority / Spiritual / Animals / Guilt / Health / People	1%
VIII. White-collar work / Self-confidence / Children / Homosexuality / Infantilism	0.4 & less

TABLE I

F. A. EXPERIMENT :

Case A : 21 yr. old male College Student :  
#1 Trial, 11-12-48 ; 1.5 hrs.

#2 Trial, 12-24-48 : ½ hr.

Note : Categories listed under the same Roman numeral are tied categories, all with the same value

I. College	16%
II. Women & Sex	15%
III. Recreation	13%
IV. Men	10%
V. Spiritual / Optimism	5%
VI. Inferiority & Selfconsciousness / Analysis / Critical / Relatives / Illness	4%
VII. Travel	3%
VIII. People & friends / Pessimism / Oral concerns	2%
IX. Self-confidence / Marriage & children / Parents / Voyeurism / Guilt / Superiority (Narcissism)	1%
X. Hostility / Anxiety / White-collar jobs & \$ / Animals / Infantilism	0.4% & less

I. Women & Sex	15%
II. Men	11%
III. College / Travel	9%
IV. Recreation	7%
V. People / Pessimism	6%
VI. Relatives	5%
VII. White-collar jobs / Parents / Hostility / Orality	3%
VIII. Spiritual / Superiority / Home / Analysis / Illness	2%
IX. Optimism / Guilt & Inferiority / Marriage & Babies / Competition / Animals / \$ / Voyeurism / Sado-masochism	1%

TABLE II

F. A. EXPERIMENT :

Cont., Case A : #3 Trial, 1-28-49, ½ hr.

#4 Trial, 5-28-49, 20 minutes

Note : Categories listed by the same Roman numeral are tied categories, all with the same value.

I. Women & Sex	28%
II. College	11%
III. Travel	10%
IV. Men	8%
V. Recreation / Pessimism / Oral	4%
VI. People / Superiority / Fantasy	3%
VII. Parents & Relatives / White-collar jobs / Analysis / Hostility / Inferiority / \$ / Appearance	2%
VIII. Children / Animals / Spiritual / Illness / Guilt / Anxiety	1%
IX. Impotence / Sado masochism / Optimism / Tension	0.4% & less

I. Women & Sex	24%
II. Men	13%
III. Aggression	7%
IV. Homosexuality	6%
V. Anxiety	5%
VI. Inferiority / Travel / Fantasy / Analysis / Guilt	4%
VII. Recreation / Orality / Superiority / Parents & Relatives / Children / Pessimism / Appearance	2%
VIII. Illness / People / Spirituality / Impotence	1%
IX. Marriage / \$ / Optimism / Jobs / Tension	0.4% & less

TABLE III

## F. A. EXPERIMENT.

Cont., Case A

#5 Trial, 10-1-49, ½ hr.

#6 Trial, 2-25-50, 1 hr.

Note: Categories listed under the same Roman numeral are tied categories, all with the same value.

Categories*	Case A Categories**	Average Rank Order
Recreation	Sex	22%
Sex	Hostility	12%
Travel	Guilt	9%
Pessimism	Anxiety	9%
Marriage & Children	Recreation	8%
Parents	Travel	7%
Health	Parents	3%
Optimism	Money	4%
Money	Marriage & Children	4%
Hostility	Inferiority	3%
Anxiety	Pessimism	3%
Guilt	Health	2%
Inferiority	Optimism	1%

\* As ranked by 11 patients in Table V.

\*\* As ranked in Case A's six trials averaged.

Comments: Hostility (12%) is very high, mostly against his father who "deserted" him by dying! Guilt and anxiety (9%) are both still very high, but Inferiority (3%) is now low. Note that Pessimistic Outlook (3%) out weighs Optimistic Outlook (1%) three to one.

TABLE IV

F. A. Experiment, Case A, cont.: Average Percentages for the Six Trials Combined.

Categories	Female Average	Male Average	Total Group Averages
Recreation	23	11	17
Sex	19	11	15
Travel	16	11	14
Pessimism	10	2	6
Marriage and Children	8	1	5
Parents	7	1	4
Health	4	3	4
Optimism	5	1	3
Money	2	4	3
Hostility	2	4	3
Anxiety	1	3	2
Guilt	0	2	1
Inferiority	0	2	1

*Comments:* Women (19%) are more concerned than men (11%) about relationships and sex, perhaps because it is more difficult for women to get dates and they are more vulnerable (open to accidental pregnancy). Both women (10% and 5%, respectively) and men (2% and 1%, respectively) have a ratio of two to one of Pessimism to Optimism. Money (2% to 4%) and Hostility (same) are twice as prevalent as concerns with Men as with Women. Guilt and Inferiority feelings are twice as great in the Men (2% as compared with 0% in the Women). Men tend to be more afflicted with Anxiety (3%) than Women (1%). As expected, concern about Marriage and Children (8% to 1%) and Parents (7% to 1%) is much greater in the Female group. Desire for escape from daily routine and problems is more evident in the Women: Recreation: 23% to 11%; and Travel: 16% to 11%. Concern about Health is almost equal: 4% and 3%, respectively.

TABLE V

F. A. Experiment #2: Comparison of Averages of Six Females and Five Males, All Adults.

8. A common aspect of analysis is, at least initially, *depression*, but it appears rarely in his analytic sessions, perhaps because he enjoyed the opportunity to discuss his problems with someone who would listen. To find someone concerned with his mental health apparently made the sessions a special occasion to which he looked forward each week. In the trials, depression was only mentioned in trial #1 (3%).
9. One of A's most frequent emotional states was *hostility* (Fink, 1961) For the first three months of analysis he would pace the office floor, kick the end wall, and curse his father for "deserting" him (through death), thus leaving him in the "clutches" of his "dominating" mother. Her "domination" was mostly a delusion since I had the opportunity to work with her for a few sessions, and found her rather mild and passive. Of course, she might have behaved much differently with her family, but also I would guess that A saw her in a special way through his oedipal-tinged "glasses." A's hostility would have been higher if we had started the F. A. experimental trials at the beginning of his analysis. The expression of *hostility* in the present six trials ranked number six (3%) in trial 1, 4% (rank four) in trial 2, then rank ten (less than 1%) in trial 3, in seventh place (3%) in trial 4, seventh place again in trial 5 (2%), and completely absent in trial 6, certainly a sign of positive progress. Besides hostility was the category, *aggression* (7% in trial 6 only).
10. A was brought up a "reluctant Catholic," and his discussion of religion (*spiritual concerns*) was often negative and approximately in sixth place (3%, 1%, 5%, 2%, 1%, and 1%).
11. When children don't get enough love and attention at home, they sublimate through pets: dogs, cats, hamsters, reptiles, etc. A's *love of animals* is logically a part of his need for love and his typical loneliness in a family that did not understand or appreciate him (2%, 1%, less than 1%, 1%, 1%, and 0%). He was not permitted to have a dog in his city apartment. In all fairness to his parents, they worked very hard, and long hours, trying to survive in a mom-and-pop store, so they were unable to pay as much attention to the children as they might have wanted to.

12. Having learned in analysis not to feel guilty about masturbation, *masturbation guilt* (Fink, 1953 & 1963) was an infrequent matter for discussion in his sessions at this point. Masturbation was only mentioned in trial 1 (1%). Concern about masturbation was brief, probably due to my reassurance that it was universal and normal in children and adults of both sexes, and not a perversion. On the other hand, *guilt about failure and inferiority feelings* appeared consistently in a low (#8) position (1%, 1%, 1%, 1%, and 4%).
13. A was not a hypochondriac but had a natural concern about his condition of *illness and health* (1%, 1%, 4%, 0%, 0%, and 0%). His decreasing concern about his health would certainly indicate progress in his mental outlook and positive thinking.
14. By the time A took the trials, his "*inferiority complex*", serious in the beginning of analysis, had faded a good deal (1%, 0%, 0%, 1%, 2%, and 0%). By trial 2, *self-confidence* already appears (less than 1%). He appreciates himself and his assets more as *superiority* (partly defensive) replaces inferiority (0%, 1%, 1%, 2%, 3%, and 2%). As *inferiority feelings* decrease, his self-image and feelings of superiority increase! But his outlook for a time took on a somber note as *pessimism* overtook *optimism*: Pessimism rated 0%, 2%, 2%, 6%, 4%, and 2%, whereas optimism rated less than 1%, 1%, 5%, 0%, less than 1% and less than 1%. A started analysis *critical* of people and institutions which he did not approve of, but this negative attitude did not last (0%, 2%, 4%, 0%, 0%, 0%).
15. Perverse sex was rarely mentioned, e.g., *sado-masochism* (Fink, 1964, a & b) (less than 1%, 0%, 0%, 0%, less than 1%, and 0%). Interest in *voyeurism* is mentioned in trials 3 and 4 (1%). A owned an expensive pair of binoculars. At night, he would sometimes drive up a hill overlooking a valley. Across the valley was an apartment house where people did not pull down their shades at night since no building was across from them. He would watch—with the binoculars—women undressing for the night, removing their slips, bras, and panties while he masturbated. (Fink, 1962), he finally became so ashamed of this behavior that he deliberately left his binoculars in a restaurant

- so someone else would steal them, to prevent himself from continuing this voyeuristic behavior.
16. Concern about *money* for a college student worried about eventually leaving the nest to be on his own is certainly a normal phenomenon, and occurs (though infrequently) in A's F.A.s (less than 1%, 0%, less than 1%, 1%, 2%, and less than 1%). This would be related to future *job* concerns (cf. item 19 below).
17. *Impotence* concerns many men when their sexual ability temporarily fails (making erection impossible or inadequate), because of fatigue, hostility toward the partner, guilt about sex (particularly if with a married person), anxiety about one's life situation (e.g., worry over taxes), fear of getting the partner pregnant or catching something from her: The AIDs scare has greatly decreased the amount of promiscuity in America!, etc. One has to reassure patients that impotence (where there is no physical abnormality) is temporary, and worrying about it happening again is a sure way of maintaining it! Concern about *temporary impotence* appears in only two trials in A's record (0%, 0%, 0%, 0%, less than 1%, and 1%, and 1%).
18. His *fantasy life* at this point in analysis was not of prime concern (1%, 0%, 0%, 0%, 3%, and 4%), although the material of the trials themselves could be labeled "directed fantasy."
19. Worry about the future appeared in connection with appropriate jobs in the future, with a preference for *white-collar or professional work* (0%, less than 1%, less than 1%, 3%, 2%, and less than 1%).
20. Thoughts about *marriage and children* began to appear, as expected (0%, 0%, 1%, 1%, 1%, and 2%).
21. The *anxieties* common to analytic patients varied from trial to trial according to the specific subjects he covered (less than 1%, 2%, less than 1%, 0%, 1%, and 5%).
22. He dressed simply but neatly, was always clean, but was somewhat concerned about his *appearance* at times (0%, 0%, 0%, 0%, 2%, and 2%).

The author published a book about case A. *Long Journey* (Fink, 1954), which does not include the above F.A. experiment, but does provide more information on "A" through his test results (Rorschach,

MMPI, etc.) and his revealing autobiography in his own words. The analyst can use a patient's statements in a session as a "trial" without the formality above, categorizing each word, phrase, or sentence to compare with later sessions to determine: (a) changes both positive and negative in the patient's mood, motivation, optimism, etc.; and (b) the patient's progress or regression. Although regular sessions are less "free" but more determined and regulated by the patient's conscious mind, the traditional sessions can still produce insight statistically, into where the analysis is heading.

When I started the F. A. research after WW2, I used the following technique (which I soon found was unnecessary to get the F.A. started): I would ask the patient to "visualize a white wall and write on it five words that meant nothing" to him, and then I would have the patient F.A. to each of the five words he had chosen. What was immediately obvious was that no words were truly "meaningless" when associated to, and soon the patient would provide words of current importance to him as proved by his analytic sessions. But this was *Directed F.A.* and most of these patients would continue to relate to the key words they had chosen rather than allowing their thoughts to flow freely in all directions. So I changed my directions to: "Make your mind a blank by visualizing a white wall with nothing on it and state the first word that comes to mind, followed by the next word, etc., without censorship." This worked better and avoided the problem of the patient relating each word to the key words he had chosen.

Examples of *Directed F.A. in females* follow: ("Make your mind a blank and select five words that mean nothing to you, and then associate to each of these five words.") *J. R. female* chose "Yesterday, today, tomorrow, the moment, jewelry like a ring, and honeymoon." To 1. *Yesterday*, she associated: "Play, joy, carefree, health, marriage, work, M. (girlfriend), dates, dancing, free of pain." (Any "meaningless" word immediately leads to important material in every case.)

2. *Tomorrow* "Mother, marriage, children, home, husband, health, happiness, honeymoon, babies, joy, friends, parents, trips.. " (Obviously, marriage and children were very much on her mind!)

3. *The Moment*: "Peace, rest, sleep, relaxation, warmth, Mother..."

4. *Jewelry*: "Wedding band, ring, necklace, watch, bracelets, earrings .."

5. *Honeymoon*: "Girl, boy, trip, laughter, joy, pleasantness, scenery..." Her F.A.s were controlled or self-directed, especially with words 4 and 5.

*A. F. female*: (another directed F.A.): "Bridge: It seems that *everything* means something! (How true!); streetlight: All these words mean something; a cobblestone street; city—a specific city like New York, Frisco, or L. A. would all mean something to me! How about Einstein's theory of relativity? That certainly has no meaning to me or, I think, to anyone else!"

1. *Bridge*: "A game, play, comedy, funny, papers, school, study, people.." (She was able to get away from the first directed word.)

2. *Streetlight*: "The TAT card with a lamppost (part of the famous psychology test), labor relations, cuts, pleasure, dinner, drinking .."

3. *Cobblestone Street*: Philadelphia, sightseeing tour, flag, Japanese prisoner, Navy nurse, England, class, secretary.."

4. *City*: Hollywood, Louella Parsons (columnist), husband, doctor (Her husband is a doctor), our unit overseas (WW2), too many doctors I know (laughed), weekend, football..."

5. *Einstein's Theory*: "School, boys, men, E. (boy friend), flowers, locker, station, rain, wet . . ." A. F. was able to F. A. better than J. R. above and did not always stay with the key words.

*D. R. female* was unable to break from directed F. A. s: She chose the following five subjects: "S's friend, B. (male); Jewish refugees in Germany the Statue of Liberty; the Egyptian pyramids; animals, such as cows, horses, etc."

1. *B (male friend)*: M (woman friend), home children, school, marks, teacher, average . . ."

2. *Refugees*: "Homeless, wandering, hungry, grief-stricken, starved, sad, moved, crying, thin, suffering, stricken, tattered, crying, wailing tired . . ."

3. *Statue of Liberty*: "Immense, city, peace, proud, island, straight, hope, above tower, symbols, view . . ."

4 and 5. (Similarly *directed*).

*B. F. female* was also mostly directive, choosing the following subjects: "Asia, compass, South Pole, stepladder, and shovel."

1. *Asia*: "Sand, nomad, sun, neat, God, illiteracy, suppression, camel, thirst, Ghandi, water, thirst, fountain, lake, boat, trip, home, mother, love . . ."

2. *Compass*: "Globe, travel, distance, home, family, L. (boyfriend), business, telephone call, home, R. (another boyfriend), Brooklyn, cold, snow, (session was in February in New York City), snowball, sport, swim, sun, water . . ."

3. *South Pole*: "Cold, snow, ice, sled, skate, ski, hill, mountain, Arizona, sunset, car, friend, school, teacher, report card, honorable, college, job . . ." (New Yorkers in winter often dream of Arizona as the place to be during cold spells!)

4. *Stepladder*: "Climb, high, heaven, happy, love, L. (boy friend), question mark, sentence, paragraph, story, book, shelf, library, chair, fire, warmth, winter, Chicago, lake, waves, high sky, clouds, rain, mud, feet, legs, beauty, woman, man, strong, muscle . . ."

5. *Shovel*: "Dig, deep, earth, dirt, health, vegetables, yard, sun, warmth, Sunbath, Arizona, Daddy, lemonade . . ."

*P. R. female*: Although P. R. chose five words to associate to, she was able to *free herself from them quickly* and to F. A. expertly: Strangely, she chose "sweet, gentle, kind, and good" as her first four words as if she had been called these labels in childhood and resented them. Her fifth choice was "bad".

1. *Sweet*: "Corn, field, meadow, clouds, sky, winter . . ."

2. *Gentle*: "Lamb, goat, cow, pig, country, hurt feelings, burrow, song, house, storm . . ."

3. *Kind*: Depressed and rejected, she complained: "There really ain't nobody kind, hurt, love, mental torture, hallucinations, dreams, distortions, amnesia, puncture, trickster, trouble, crazy, monkey, caught, protect, hover, love, angel . . ." (It is obvious that P. R. is more disturbed than the others, but she does learn to do undirected F. A.)

4. *Good*: "Better, best, never let it rest, till the good is better, and the better best, 'flow gently, sweet Afton,' good egg, trying, failure, lost, stinker, protect, hover, love, lasting, lost, credulous, lilacs, sensual flowers, leaves, wither, rain, soft, pussy, touch pussy, willow tree, arch, country, stinker, marriage, brothel, hunger . . ." (One could say paragraphs about her word choice. It is obvious she is depressed, "lost," in need of "protection, and with a low opinion of marriage as servitude (as with a prostitute).

5. *Bad*: "Sunshine, picture, movie, hunger, thirst, first base, second base, third base, fourth (referring to the slang terms for "making out," sexually), home, shelter, protection, sneak thief, night, wife, life, cake, bake, lake (toying with alliteration) boat, moot, honor, obey, sadist, bite, hit, whip, cunt, pummel, beat, love, hit, bang, love, fuck, merry-go-round . . ." (Sadomasochism (Fink, 1964, a & b) is apparent: love involves pain and need for "protection".

After omitting the choice of five words in the directions, the patients did much better; e.g.,

*B. female*: "Door, Ohio, map, train, cousin, hotel, dinner, show, anticipation, blind date, tennis, S. (female friend), car, trip, road, meadows, trees, cows, B. (male friend) . . ."

Finally, some male examples of *Directed F. A.*: *G. male*:

1. *Synthesis*: "Oil, Germany, WW2, potassium, economic geography, Mr. B. (teacher of economic geography), exams, Standard Oil, Bayonne (New Jersey), Rockefeller (owner of Standard Oil), W. (male friend), Seagirt, New Jersey, Maplewood, New Jersey . . ."

2. *Tripe*: Cow's stomach, Holsteins, meadows, red silos, Chester River, Buckingham Farm, brick fence, fence post, Colonia house, J. (girlfriend), Chestertown, MD, Moignec Road, Chester Yacht Club, gala, Route 213, Chesterton River, bridge, egg hatchery . . ."

3. *Dwarf*: "Macbeth, reservation, reservoir, Glen Ave., statuette, fountain, my childhood, Orange Park, Italian's, Beard's School, J. (girlfriend), fight, stoplight . . ."

4. *Direct*: "Traffic cop, advertising agency, direct mail, directions, old man, briefcase, candy stand, parked cars, track team, pole vault . . ."



5. *Transcribe*: "Mutual Broadcasting System, RCA, National Broadcasting System, moose, wolf, old man, beard, Johnny, radio studio, announcers . . . ."

I. *Male*: I. *Lumber*: Sawmill, lumber, sawed, huge trees, steady sawing . . . ." (He just could not get away from the sawmill scene !)

2. *Lakes*: "Lake Tahoe, CA, in the Sierra Nevadas, in a volcano, redwoods, calm, peaceful, undisturbed, volcano with water in bottom . . . ."

3. *Steam-roller*: "Rolling tar on street, my L.A. street, house I lived in, chased roller as a child, shouting and dancing. . . ."

4. *Glasses*: "Rimless glasses, C's face looking very studious, reading, G. stands behind him. . . ."

5. *Bag of Gold*: "It's open and I can see the money in it, like pieces of eight, no, Indian-Leaded nickels "

*H Male*: H had a difficult time letting his mind go blank and avoiding directive associations. E. g., *Cave*: "Black, try to get out, dislike dark places, just sit there, darkness, space, move, crouch, reach out, stand, feel my way, wall, light, distance walk, exit, freedom. . . ." When he gets out of the cave, he does better, but still in a mostly directed manner: "Trees, field, fence, climb, walk, another fence, house, car, drive, home, door, elevator, room, bed, sleep, wake up, wash, dress, eat, subway, school, lunch, more school, park, newspaper, read, air, streets, home, TV, guitar, work, supper, radio, TV, midnight snack, bed, sleep. . . ."

This patient wanted to use sentences about his daily life, but improved in F.A. ½2, where he did not have to choose key words: "Test, room, chairs, desk, teacher, paper, pen, test, sheet, answers, essays, write, time, finish, coat, door. . . ." (F.A.s 3, 4, and 5 were also somewhat improved but still hovered around the beginning subject.)

The males, like the females, after omitting the directions to chose key words, did better: e.g., *CD Male*: "Big, school, marks, house, chimney, sky light, tree, yard, grandfather, die, mother-in-law, work, mothering, cellar, Bill, school, lawyer, big office, respect. . . ."

Another *male*, S. A. was discussing his homosexual fears in the session before his F. A. He started his F. A. with the word, "Homosexuality, B (man's name), D. (woman's name), Dr. Fink

(transference), I. (another man), Mrs. K., Mr. R., society, marriage" **Summary**

My aim has been to demonstrate the importance of Free Association and its possibilities in increasing awareness in psychoanalysis of movement, both positive and negative, of the therapeutic flow: 1. F.A. can tell where doctor and patient are relating in analysis. 2. F.A. can reveal and *accentuate* situations and aspects of the analysis that we might ordinarily miss without the specificity of F.A. 3. F.A. can indicate whether the patient is defensively standing still ("reading water") or progressing. 4. F.A. experiments offer objective proof of the patient's progress and to what extent. 5. F. A. reveals to some degree how bright the patient is and his approximate I. O. The brighter individual is usually more creative in his choice of words and ideas, and in his thinking process.

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## INDO-AUSTRALIAN PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL CONFERENCE IN BOMBAY

The Indo-Australian Conference 1990 was held in Bombay from the 30th of December 1990 to the 1st of January 1991. The theme of the conference was "Greed—Clinical Implications". The conference was conceived a year and a half ago. The theme of Greed was chosen because it was felt that comparatively very little has been written on the subject. Initially there was a great deal of enthusiasm on the side of the visitors and we were informed that at least thirty members were going to attend. However, due to the news of communal violence in India a number of them dropped out at the last minute.

Naturally, we were quite disappointed at first. As the conference began we realised that this had been blessing in disguise. There were eight participants on both sides since only the Bombay members were present. There was one student from Delhi. Also present was a member of the British Psycho-Analytical Society, Mr. Mike Brearly. He was visiting India at that time and had asked if he could join in. He became a sort of honorary Indo-Australian. The smaller number made it possible to have an intimate meeting in which everybody had a chance to contribute. It also meant a balance on both sides; otherwise the Indian contingent would have been swamped by the larger number of Australian members.

Six papers were presented by Reg Martin, Sarosh Forbes, Eve Steel, Shailesh Kapadia, Neville Symington and Mini Dastur. The last day was reserved for presenting clinical material in order to get to know the kind of work being done on both sides.

All the papers and discussions were very stimulating. No doubt one felt at times that the clinical material was assembled to suit the conference topic but to some extent this was only to be expected. All the writers presented some difficulty in differentiating between greed and envy. Also it was generally noticed that the relation between excessive greed and excessive deprivation led most of the patients to states of mind that felt like swings. Their greedy actions were an effort to achieve some sort of a balance between the two.

The technical difficulties of dealing with very greedy patients were discussed. In the transference whatever the analyst gave was swallowed up greedily by the patients and was then hardly available for them to use. This made the progress of the analysis very slow and painful. Largely the destructive aspect of greed was discussed based on the transference experience. There was also some endeavour to locate the positive aspect of greed e.g., as connected with introjection.

The members on both sides had occasions to meet socially and the general atmosphere was very friendly. Everybody felt that this was a very good experience. At the end of the three days of hard work we all agreed that we have another conference like this in December 1992.

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