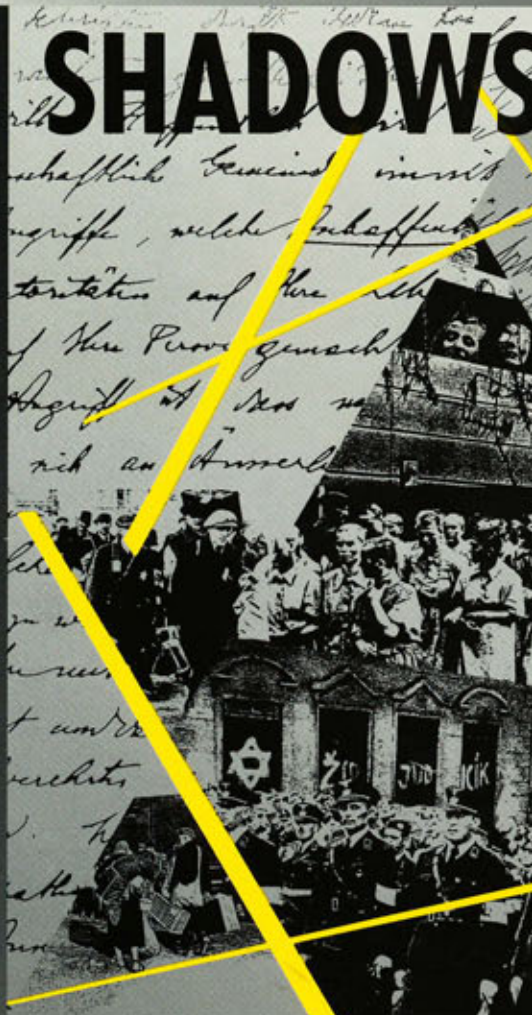


LINGERING SHADOWS



Jungians, Freudians, and Anti-Semitism



Edited by Aryeh Maidenbaum and Stephen A. Martin

Introduction

Stephen A. Martin

The varied contents of this volume reflect the complexity of the question at hand. Debating whether C. G. Jung and his theory were anti-Semitic requires a flexible and many-sided approach because history is far from linear, and the antecedents of historical events are often not easily charted. On the contrary, it is usually only in hindsight that facts seem to line up logically or rationally. What we call history is really an active and ongoing process of distillation, a continuous moment that precipitates out of the swirl of events, personalities, and social and political conditions that can never be completely accounted for or fixed. We who are in the helping professions and who deal with the histories of our patients know the truth of this observation. History, therefore, is an approximate endeavor, at best relatively truthful. It is always open to refinement through the introduction of new data, new hypotheses, and new points of view. And it must be constantly reevaluated as we learn to eliminate misinformation, biased speculation, and outright propaganda.

This perspective helps us to appreciate the many viewpoints expressed in this anthology. Many of the essays originated from the 1989 conference "Lingering Shadows: Jungians, Freudians, and Anti-Semitism," hosted jointly by the C. G. Jung Foundation for Analytical Psychology in New York, the Postgraduate Center for Mental Health, and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, and held at the New School for Social Research in New York City. The purpose of the conference was to examine, challenge, and put to rest some of the most persistent misinformation about Jung's attitudes toward Jews and about his professional and

so-called political activities during the years preceding World War II, and to introduce new evidence, some of it not particularly flattering to Jung, about what seemed to be happening at that important time. In addition, we felt that since Jung placed so high a value on consciousness, the conference ought to raise questions about his own consciousness of his shadow involvement in relation to Nazism, totalitarianism, and the real or imagined differences between "Jewish psychology" and that of any other group or people. Most of all, we felt that this important dialogue had to take place because, through almost the eighty years since the breakup of the relationship between Freud and Jung, the charge of Jung's anti-Semitism has stood in the way of a creative reconciliation between the two great schools of depth psychology. It seemed imperative that we, the Jungians, should inaugurate the dialogue and initiate the rapprochement, because to look into the darkness, personal or collective, was, in Jung's mind, the cornerstone of a psychologically authentic and ethical life.

In addition to papers related to the conference, we are bringing together old and new scholarship in an effort to provide a sourcebook for the reader on the subject of Jung and anti-Semitism. Previously published papers, like those of Ernest Harms and James Kirsch, have been hard to find. Others are being made available to a wide readership for the first time, such as those presented at the eleventh conference of the International Association for Analytical Psychology in Paris in 1989. To fully appreciate the territory covered by these essays, it is helpful to be aware of three broad subject areas. The first pertains to the personal and professional relationship between C. G. Jung and Sigmund Freud, which, though lasting only eight years, was instrumental in crafting two profoundly original approaches to the psyche. The termination of their relationship also gave rise to the first accusation of anti-Semitism against Jung. The second domain has to do with Jung's professional activities and personal attitudes from his break with Freud in 1913 up to the onset of World War II. The third subject area is more speculative, circumambulating the possible conscious and unconscious motivations that moved Jung to behave as he did and speculating about the psychological and social conditions that

influenced him. Most of the essays incorporate elements of all three of these subject areas. By keeping these three in mind while reading, and through a process of careful consideration and reflection, the reader may become the fourth and all-inclusive perspective that weaves a meaningful whole from what came before.

The early years of this century were legend-making times. New ground was being broken in every field, and creative personalities were redefining reality at every turn. Nowhere was the power of this fruitful time more obvious than in the field of depth psychology. As an assistant under the guidance of Eugen Bleuler at the Burghölzli, the cantonal psychiatric hospital in Zurich, Jung was one of the leaders of a growing Swiss cadre of professionals interested in psychoanalysis. He had read Freud's *Interpretation of Dreams* several times and had incorporated Freud's ideas about repression into his own research. Thus, by the time Jung first contacted Freud by sending him an inscribed copy of his *Studies in Word Association* around the end of 1905, he was well acquainted with Freud's work. The personal and professional relationship between the two men blossomed after this initial exchange, as is well documented.¹ Here I wish to focus on just a few aspects of their collaboration, for the purpose of navigating the treacherous waters of accusation and counteraccusation.

Freud was drawn to Jung because of the younger man's keen and inquiring mind and his understanding of psychoanalysis—and because he was not Jewish. On a number of occasions Freud commented that by enlisting Jung, the son of a Swiss Reformed pastor, psychoanalysis would escape the danger of becoming a "Jewish national affair."² Moreover, both men were drawn passionately into what appears to have been a father-son relationship that was characterized by massive projection and the potential for both creative partnership and destructive competition and enmity.³

Freud and Jung were collaborators of the closest kind. Exchanging hundreds of letters and many visits, they also shared the limelight internationally, traveling together to the United States in 1909 to advance the standing of psychoanalysis. Freud supported Jung's presidency of the International Psychoanalytical Association and the editorship of the *Jahrbücher für psychoanalytische*

und psychopathologische Forschungen, and he regularly looked forward to Jung's contributions to the growing field. Jung, for his part, viewed Freud with great esteem as "the first man of real importance" in the field of depth psychology.⁴

Despite this seeming compatibility, there was much that separated the two men from the start.⁵ They disagreed on the value of the occult in psychological life: Freud saw occultism as regressive and dangerous, while Jung was strongly drawn to the psychological mysteries that it might contain. Of greater importance, however, was their difference over the role of sexuality in psychic functioning. At first cautiously then more openly, Jung expressed doubt about Freud's theory of the libido and his insistence on the primacy of the sexual drive. Jung envisioned libido as a more generic life urge that appears not only in sexuality but finds legitimate, primary expression in creative, intellectual, and spiritual activities as well.

On a more personal level, Jung had obvious difficulty acceding to Freud's paternal authority. Having been a rebellious son who at an early age saw through his own father's doubts about his religious beliefs, Jung had trouble acquiescing to his role as "adopted son" and "heir" to Freud and the expectations that he would follow in his mentor-father's footsteps.⁶ Clearly both men were locked in a dialogue of projection; neither was to blame for the situation, nor was one more misguided than the other. As we have learned, complexes occur in an interpersonal field: when activated, they draw the individuals inexorably into this field, distorting perception and understanding with strong primitive emotions and all manner of unconscious material. Despite the psychological understanding of these two remarkable men, their respective needs and complexes contaminated the relationship and set the stage for its most painful demise.

The climax of the drama was precipitated by Jung's publication of *Wandlungen und Symbole der Libido* in 1912, a work that openly challenged Freud's theory of the child's incestuous desire for the parent of the opposite sex. Jung felt that such longings were symbolic expressions of psychic energy and not to be taken literally. In fact, the publication of this work merely tipped the

scales of an already changing relationship between Freud and Jung. Skirmishes had been increasing around the issues of sexuality and of Freud's authority, particularly between the Vienna and Zurich camps of the psychoanalytic community. As Jung's relationship with Freud grew more problematic, and Jung grew uncomfortable with the role of "crown prince" and heir,⁷ the delicate balance of forces in the world of psychoanalysis began to fall apart, culminating in the final severance of their personal and professional connections in 1913.

It is out of this tumultuous ending of their relationship that the first published accusations of anti-Semitism were leveled at Jung. Although as early as 1908 Ernest Jones, a close colleague of Freud's and his biographer, seemed to have detected anti-Semitism in Jung, this feeling was held in check.⁸ Undoubtedly, the very nature of Freud's reliance on Jung's being Christian (thus staving off the accusation that psychoanalysis was an exclusively Jewish science) constellated the potential for anti-Semitism by this very strategy directly and dramatically; but so long as a working relationship existed in the psychoanalytic community, there was no overt discord. However, by the time Jung withdrew from Freud and others in the psychoanalytic community, the accusation of anti-Semitism spread with alarming rapidity, like a malignancy that could no longer be policed by a healthy immune system. Whether it was Freud's reference to "the brutal sanctimonious Jung," in a letter to Karl Abraham in 1914⁹ or his private accusations of Jung's anti-Semitism in a letter to James Putnam in 1915,¹⁰ nowhere was his condemnation more fateful than when he wrote in his "Outline to a History of Psychoanalysis" (1914) that Jung was unable to remain faithful to psychoanalysis because of "certain racial prejudices."¹¹ Coming from the pen of the master himself in a seemingly official document, this damning, retributive, and, for Freud, clearly face-saving statement began a historical controversy that has simmered and frequently boiled over, with disastrous results, since that time.

Following the end of his relationship with Freud, Jung retreated for some time into a period of introversion, a time of personal and professional crisis and reevaluation that culminated in 1921 with

the publication of *Psychological Types*, a work that Jung felt addressed the differences between himself, Freud, and Freud's other apostate son, Alfred Adler.¹² Freud was extremely prolific during that time as well, producing some of his most important theoretical papers. There seemed little of substance to fuel the issue of anti-Semitism between 1915 and the early 1920s. Jung, however, was clearly attempting to process and defend himself against the accusation of anti-Semitism while at the same time differentiating himself from the "Jewish doctrines" of psychoanalysis. As early as 1917 he was drawing distinctions between a Jewish and a Germanic psychology. The Jewish psyche, he believed, though extremely sophisticated and rich, was not in touch with the "power of the chthonic depths,"¹³ whereas the Germanic psyche was so deeply enmeshed in this primeval reality as to be almost "barbarian," a quality he described as both a "dangerous peculiarity" and a potentially "valuable . . . asset."¹⁴ Some ten years later, in 1928, he challenged the lingering charge of anti-Semitism directly by stating that all races, although having a common collective point of origin, differentiate and develop specific essential characteristics and that none of these characteristics is generally valid for all the other groups. The perception and recognition of these differences, he said, did not equal anti-Semitism. Despite the logic of these arguments, one can sense between the lines of Jung's theorizing a continuing struggle with the legacy of his involvement in the psychoanalytic movement. It is likely that his comments arose out of more than theoretical issues—that in fact they were expressions of Jung's negative feelings toward Freud and evidence of the projections that persisted in Jung (and in Freud as well) as a result of their traumatic parting of the ways.

By the beginning of the 1930s, the stage was set for extraordinary developments with regard to the allegations of Jung's anti-Semitism. The success of Hitler and the Nazi party and the full-scale persecution of Jews and other "undesirables" in Germany were becoming horrific facts of life. Out of this overheating container erupted a critical turn of events in 1933. Responding to a "frenzied" call from his colleagues, Jung assumed the presidency of the General Medical Society for Psychotherapy from the German

psychiatrist Ernst Kretschmer.¹⁵ It is well substantiated that Jung purposefully and rapidly sought to reconstitute the Society as an international body by 1934 in an effort to stave off German demands to exclude certain colleagues, notably Jewish ones, from membership.¹⁶ According to Geoffrey Cocks, Jung wanted to enable these excluded colleagues to join as “extraordinary members” beyond the veto power of the large and “newly aggressive” German society headed by Matthias Heinrich Goering, a cousin of the Nazi party leader Hermann Goering. At the same time, Jung became the nominal editor of the society’s journal, the *Zentralblatt für Psychotherapie*, which had been published in Germany. It was in this publication, in late 1933, that a manifesto appeared by Matthias Goering—with the consent of Jung, who had thought that it was to be published only in a special German edition—which called for a rallying by professional colleagues to the racial colors of Nazi Germany.¹⁷ To compound matters, appearing in this same issue of the journal was Jung’s essay “On the State of Psychotherapy Today,” in which he starkly reiterated the differences between German and Jewish psychologies that he had posited some years earlier. In addition, his article compared Jews unfavorably to “nomads” and women, and criticized Freud and Adler for stressing pathology while failing to appreciate the creative aspects of psychological life. This essay was ill-timed, easily understandable, and—coupled with Goering’s piece—certain to put Jung in the worst possible light. And indeed it became the principal theoretical document that Jung’s accusers offered as a demonstration of his anti-Semitism.

Jung’s writings of the 1930s and ’40s display a consistency of theme and thrust. He returns again and again to the supposition that there are definite, obvious differences in the psychologies of “races” and “nations” that must be acknowledged and understood. Jung also criticizes Freud’s denial of his spiritual roots and the embeddedness of psychoanalysis in a “materialistic” and “rationalistic” framework. Jung takes pains to distinguish between “culture” and “cultural form,” trying to make clear that although the Jews have an ancient culture, their lack of a homeland has worked against the evolution of a “cultural form.” In Hitler, Jung

saw a leader "possessed" by archetypal energies that symbolized the profound "inferiority complex" of the German people and the compensatory drive toward superiority at any cost, one who personified their collective shadow: that is, their unacknowledged and uncontrolled unconscious motivations and their blindly nationalistic longings. By way of a "mass psychosis," Jung felt, Hitler was able to subvert German consciousness to the negative and evil potential of these unconscious forces and lead it to inevitable catastrophe. His reflections on Germany and Hitler characterized Jung's frequent attempts to apply the principles of individual psychology to the understanding of nations, national character, and political action, thereby viewing Germany, for instance, as if it were a patient and he the doctor. He frequently bridled at the fact that his criticisms of Freud and psychoanalysis were immediately perceived as anti-Semitic. He would write often that he was no anti-Semite and that his sole aim was to explore and illuminate the complexities of the human psyche. Finally, in several instances, he admitted that he had been wrong to believe that the arousal of unconscious forces in Germany might bring about positive results in the form of a genuine psychocultural and spiritual transformation.

Historical realities are referred to again and again in this anthology, as if the writers hope that by restating the facts enough times, they can dispel the extraordinary misinterpretations generated by the activities and writings of Jung that I have touched upon. As soon after the war as 1946, Ernest Harms, in an article reprinted here, laid out the facts unequivocally but, oddly enough, to little avail. Aniela Jaffé, one of Jung's closest colleagues and a Jew to whom Jung gave personal, financial, and emotional help during the difficult war years,¹⁸ restated them again in the late 1960s and '70s, but failed to stem the distortions and misconstructions. As recently as 1982, James Kirsch, one of the best-known German Jewish analysts who worked and communicated with Jung during these critical years, presented the details again, this time in response to a diatribe against Jung in a Jewish publication. I hope that the publication of some of these papers, along with others of more recent and revealing scholarship, will promote a

more balanced assessment of Jung in the light of documented evidence.

More problematic is the question of Jung's motivations, both conscious and unconscious, and the way they influence the allegation of his anti-Semitism. While some writers flatly deny this charge and others forthrightly affirm it, most feel that Jung temporarily lost his perspective, fell prey to unintegrated shadow feelings, and acted them out. The most obvious reason for Jung's lapse is, as I have indicated, his unresolved feelings about Freud, the father figure, mentor, and friend by whom Jung felt painfully disappointed and betrayed. Some have speculated that something more than astute theoretical observation lay behind Jung's sharp criticism of Freudian psychology for its tendency to impose itself on other "psychologies": out of his resistance to being personally "imposed upon" by Freud's expectations and demands, Jung may have unconsciously sought to do damage to his mentor. In reaction to these demands, or by way of compensation, Jung might have fallen into an unconscious identification with events in Germany, and perhaps even with the power of Hitler. Caught in this inflation and unconscious power drive, Jung may very well have taken the opportunity during the 1930s, when Freud and psychoanalysis were being hounded, to promote his own psychology and himself with such ambitious concerns as "diagnosing dictators," becoming a psychologist of nations, and attempting, with good but perhaps overstated intent, to help rescue the field of psychotherapy from the fires of totalitarianism.

Alongside his possible opportunism was Jung's fascination with the archetypal images of Wotan, the "inspired leader," and the alchemical figure of Mercurius. Jung was beguiled by the events in Germany and the way in which the forces of the irrational, the heroic, and the instinctive were taking over and leading a civilized people. It was as if his observations about the archetypal Germanic "blond beast" of 1918 were coming true, or as if his own observations of renewal from the depths of the unconscious at the hands of an inspired leader were being enacted and confirmed on a national scale.¹⁹ How could this renewal from the depths not fascinate a psychological explorer of Jung's vision or, more per-

sonally, a man who himself sought guidance with regard to his desire for leadership in his profession and who must have identified with the archetypal image of the formerly misunderstood yet inspired leader? And how could he help getting caught in the duplicity of the situation? Here, as Jay Sherry points out, one thinks of Mercurius duplex, the presiding spirit of alchemy, a duplicitous archetypal permutation of Wotan who dupes those in whom he manifests by causing them to see only half of a very complex and dangerous state of affairs.

Whatever the reasons for Jung's attitudes and actions, he displayed, in the midst of a dangerous and frightening time, a regrettable lack of sensitivity toward the plight of the Jews and a lack of awareness of the political and personal consequences of his written and spoken words. There is no doubt that he wished to help friends, patients, and colleagues who were suffering from the madness infecting the European continent. But in dramatically human fashion he proved himself vulnerable to the insidious effects of the very forces he was seeking to make sensible, and to the accumulated and unprocessed depths of his own past as a rebellious Swiss pastor's son and the fallen heir to a "Jewish science."

Perhaps Jung personally experienced some redemption for this lack and loss when, after a heart attack in 1944, he had a series of visions of a distinctly Jewish nature. In them he saw himself attended to by an "old Jewish nurse" and nurtured on "ritually prepared kosher food," and was privileged to be present at the kabbalistic marriage of Malchuth and Tifereth.²⁰ Also, in his forceful *Answer to Job* of 1952, in which he wrestles with the problem of a Jewish God who seems capricious and unresponsive to the undeserved suffering of his loyal servant, Job, and in his later studies of Kabbalah, Jung may have discovered what was missing in his encounter with Freud: connection to a Judaism that was connected to its original spiritual roots and that could truly "feed" him in a way that he was so painfully denied by the empty religiosity of his natural father. Perhaps in this profound near-death encounter with the imagery of the mystical tradition of Judaism, Jung experienced a healing, a bringing together of his Christian worldview with the hidden spring that fed Freud's, and

to which he was undoubtedly deeply attracted from the start. It is sad that the two men did not accomplish the same conjunction on a personal level and thus lay to rest the divisiveness that has for so many years fueled the accusation of anti-Semitism.

In view of Jung's belief that a psychological system is a "subjective confession" of its founder, an important question raised by this anthology is whether shortsightedness or failing on the part of Jung invalidates the psychology that he created. When he was attacking psychoanalysis, Jung referred often to the idea that Freud's Jewishness rendered him unable to appreciate the "chthonic" dimension of the Germanic psyche. Would it not be equally true to say that Jungian psychology would be comparably blinded or constrained? Were we to evaluate Jungian psychology as primarily a reflection of its creator in the context of the disturbing question of Jung's possible anti-Semitism, could it not be judged a psychology of elitism or racism? Or, insofar as Jung seemed fascinated by the unconscious power of the German psyche, could his psychology not be judged as one that is too susceptible to intoxication with the irrational at the terrible expense of the rational? The answer to this basic question, both for psychoanalysis and for Jungian psychology, must be an unequivocal no. To hold a creation accountable for the flaws of its creator would leave us with little if any greatness or breadth in our culture. For the sake of comparison, it would invalidate the extraordinary vision of Van Gogh's art because of his mental illness, or the beauty of Ezra Pound's poetry because of his fascist beliefs. Jung himself must have recognized this when, as late as 1953, in a response to questions from the *New York Times*, he was prepared to credit "Freud's contributions to our knowledge of the psyche" as being of the "greatest importance" without any reference to his misgivings about Freud the man or how his psychology betrays his personal limitations.²¹ Yet at the same time there is truth to the notion that the creator's personality informs and conditions what he observes, describes, and analyzes. As Goethe said, "we see what we know"; so must Jung's complexes have affected the development of his psychology. Therefore, as some of the contributors to this book point out, Jungian psychology must be extremely sensi-

tive to such tendencies to value the transpersonal over the quotidian and thus miss the "real" in favor of the "symbolic," or to "analyze" nations, peoples, races when trying to discern what is specific about how they have embodied aspects of the archetypal or universal and risk falling into dangerous stereotyping and possibly even more dangerous scapegoating.

To encounter and integrate the shadow is one of the great tasks of individuation. That does not mean the rejection of what is found but rather the painful acceptance of its role in the making of consciousness. It is painful for us as Jungians to look squarely at the questions raised in this anthology, to see displayed so blatantly how our standard bearer's own shadow distorted his judgment and perception. But as Jung's psychology is a psychology of consciousness, by confronting his personal flaws and opening ourselves and the system to the same hard, tireless scrutiny, we do the work of consciousness-making. In so doing, we go beyond personal vendettas of the past and the battlegrounds of intellectual giants, to arrive at the creative present, that moment in which we can, for ourselves and for the future, make history anew.

Notes

1. See *The Freud/Jung Letters*; Peter Gay, *Sigmund Freud: A Life for Our Time* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1988); C. G. Jung, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*; and Gerhard Wehr, *Jung: A Biography* (Boston & London: Shambhala Publications, 1987).
2. Sigmund Freud and Karl Abraham, *A Psycho-Analytic Dialogue: The Letters of Sigmund Freud and Karl Abraham 1907-1926*, p. 34.
3. Alexander Irving, "The Freud/Jung Relationship: The Other Side of Oedipus and Countertransference," *American Psychologist*, Spring 1982, pp. 1009-1018; Gay, *Sigmund Freud*, pp. 200-202.
4. Jung, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, p. 149.
5. Liliane Frey-Rohn, *From Freud to Jung: A Comparative Study of the Psychology of the Unconscious* (Boston & London: Shambhala Publications, 1990).
6. Jung, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, pp. 52ff.; Murray Stein, "The Significance of Jung's Father in His Destiny as a Therapist of Christianity," *Quadrant*, Spring 1985, pp. 23-33; cf. note 3.

7. Letters from Freud to Jung, April 16, 1909, and October 15, 1908. *Freud/Jung Letters*, pp. 218 and 172; Gay, *Sigmund Freud*, p. 198.
8. Ernest Jones, quote in Ronald W. Clark, *Freud: The Man and the Cause* (New York: Random House, 1980), pp. 249–250.
9. Freud and Abraham, *A Psycho-Analytic Dialogue*, p. 186.
10. Clark, *Sigmund Freud*, p. 333.
11. Sigmund Freud, "Outline to a History of Psychoanalysis," *Standard Edition*, 14, p. 43.
12. Jung, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, pp. 207–208; Henri Ellenberger. *The Discovery of the Unconscious* (New York: Basic Books, 1970), pp. 670–674.
13. C. G. Jung, "The Role of the Unconscious" (1918), *CW* 10, para. 19.
14. *Ibid.*, para. 20.
15. C. G. Jung, "A Rejoinder to Dr. Bally" (1934), *CW* 10, para. 1016. It is worth noting that Kretschmer apparently did not resign this post because of his uncompromising rejection of Nazism, as is commonly believed. In fact, he continued his work quietly in Germany throughout the war years and as late as 1944 published an article on "the relevance of his theory of constitutional types to increasing war production," as noted by Geoffrey Cocks.
16. Geoffrey Cocks. *Psychotherapy in the Third Reich*, pp. 110, 127–128; Aniela Jaffé, "C. G. Jung and National Socialism," in *From the Life and Work of C. G. Jung*, pp. 78–102.
17. Cocks, *Psychotherapy in the Third Reich*, pp. 131–132; C. A. Meier, personal communication.
18. Aniela Jaffé, personal communication.
19. C. G. Jung, "The Role of the Unconscious," (1917) *CW* 10, para. 17.
20. Jung, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, pp. 293–294.
21. C. G. Jung, "Answers to Questions on Freud" (1953), *CW* 18, para. 1069.