Excerpts from

The Hero and His Shadow

Psychopolitical Aspects of
Myth and Reality in Israel
New Revised Edition

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(Contents, Preface, Ch. 1: Return to the Source)

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Preface

The Beggar in the Hero's Shadow

In the beginning, Zionism was a myth of redemption. It became reality when a mere handful of inspired young men and women transformed the idea, the spirit, into matter, sometimes sacrificing their lives as they let personal identity merge with the Grand Idea. This conflation of individual and collective transformed Zionism from Utopia and Ideal into harsh reality. Hero-ideals were actualized in the personae of pioneer and farmer, guardsman and warrior. The heroic vision was personified by strength, determination, vigor and self-reliance. The crystallization of this vision, and the willingness to merge with it, was essential for the fulfillment of Zionism and the birth of a new nation.

However, behind the hero-ideal, and within the soul of each and everyone, linger shadowy images such as the beggar – shadowy images that like faithful phantoms follow in the footsteps of the venerable. The pioneer who revivifies the earth is far more attractive than the homeless beggar who depends on the charity of others. Indeed, Theodor Herzl called for the repudiation of philanthropy which he considered to be guilty of "breeding beggars" and debasing "the character of our people" (Bein 1962, p. 127). Yet, even as the freedom fighter raised his rifle in the Land of Israel, elsewhere, philanthropic funds were being collected.

We owe the beggar a debt, whether he stands at the corner of a street or dwells within our soul. We readily reject his presence and prefer to look the other way, as he stands at the gate pleading we take notice of him. As a metaphor, his hand stretching out from the shadow, carries the desire to walk the path of redemption. His hand holds the knowledge we tend to disregard and forget – the humble realization that our fate is not completely in our own hands, not determined only by ourselves, and that we are not, what ideally we would want to be. However imperative the hero's task, he does not stand unaccompanied. The guilt in the beggar's hand begs us to see, to reflect and to look deeper into what lingers in the darkness of the shadow. Herzl appears to have had a profound understanding of the beggar as representing our aspiration for redemption. The Jewish

beggar outside the coffeehouse, a boy "hunched up against the cold, hugging himself with his arms and stamping his feet in the snow" manages to break through arrogance and apathy (Herzl 1961, p. 10). In his *Altneuland*, it is this beggar who speaks the words of Zionist redemption, "pronouncing a whole life's program in a few sentences" (p. 22). Behind the hope for redemption in the Land of Israel by means of strength and vision, as carried in the collective ideals of pioneer, warrior and hero, the beggar appears. And behind the beggar's facade of misery, we reveal his "determination and faith" (Herzl, p. 22).

Shadowy aspects thrive in the backyard of public events that take place in society, aspects we prefer to overlook and which we become aware of only as things go wrong. While shadows often are hard to spot, they sometimes cast their silhouette in public manifestations. The shadow lingered behind the coffin with Prime Minister Rabin's name inscribed on it, and the hangman's rope as a cross of vengeance, in a public protest foreboding his assassination. Even prominent participators in that demonstration claimed they "did not see." And perhaps they did not *see*, because in order to see, to understand, to light up our own shadow, there is a need for humbleness rather than arrogance.

In the darkness behind the conscious determination reflected in the proud stance of the pioneer, stands the beggar with torn clothes and penetrating gaze. In *A Beggar in Jerusalem*, Elie Wiesel (1970, p. 3) writes:

> Do you see him? There. Sitting on a tree stump, huddled in the shadows, as though in wait for someone, he scrutinizes those who come his way, intending perhaps to provoke or unmask them.

In Israel, the relationship between individual and collective carries unique features and is characterized by an unusually *close proximity* (see glossary) between them. At the personal level, this may be experienced as a sense of belonging, "we come from the same village," of sharing a common fate. Or, it may be felt as an incestuous over-intimacy from which one needs to escape, whereby the anonymity of New York becomes the dream, the epitome of freedom.

The collective processes of Israel – state-building, war, mass-immigration, rapid social change, changing borders, tension between society's subgroups (Jews and Arabs, Sephardic and Ashkenazi Jews, secular and religious) – are all-encompassing. Hardly anyone, no family, can refrain from active involvement. Existential anxiety,

separation, loss, death, and identity-crises, are particularly evident at times of war. Such feelings were experienced, for instance, during the Gulf Missile War (or, the "Sealed Room War") January/February 1991, which had been preceded by six wars in four decades, and the Intifada, the Palestinian uprising, which began in December 1987 and persisted for years. This close proximity has been profound, as well, during the war of terror, waged against civilian Israeli society following the failed Camp David Talks in 2000, in which more than one out of every thousand Israelis was killed or injured, and every fifth citizen has had a family member or acquaintance directly hit by terror.

Israel's establishment in the shadow of annihilation made the intense mutuality between individual and collective historical processes inescapable. Permanent crisis and existential anxiety have influenced the development and identity-formation of both individual and society.

The individual's identification with the *Collective Idea* forms the core of Israeli society. It is the very basis of Zionism, which was realized only through the readiness of a 'handful enough' of individuals to become one with the *Idea*, and thereby concretely effect the return to Zion.

In individual as well as collective development, a gradual separation and differentiation must take place. A child goes through several stages of separation from his parents, and his conscious identity is shaped by constant differentiation (for instance between clean and dirty, good and bad, feminine and masculine). As pertaining to Israeli society, because of the particular close proximity, the differentiation between individual and collective is often not gradual but a drastic separation, for example, through emigration. Alternatively, it is defended against by clinging to rigid and restrictive collective norms and "national values," rejecting deviance as a sign of weakness, betrayal or animosity. One outcome of this is a tendency to "unify and purify" the collective identity. Thus, that which challenges our self-image and resides in the *shadow* is projected outward, onto the enemy, in denial of the fact that the spirit of evil perpetually resides within each and all, within each and every society.

In the Jewish collective psyche, the Nazi and the terrorist embody the archetypal images of the enemy. The archetypal enemy in Hebrew mythology is Amalek, son of Eliphaz, grandson of Esau. The Amalekites attacked the Jews, who were on their way from Egypt, as it says, for "no apparent reason." They ambushed, deceived, and

attacked the weak and the sick. There is a Biblical command to "blot out" their memory, but in accordance with the Talmudic statement that the Assyrian king Sennacherib mixed up the ancient peoples, it is no longer possible to identify the Amalekites. Consequently, the enemy is no longer personal and identifiable, but becomes an archetypal abstraction, whose reality resides within everyone's soul.

And evil does reside within *the other* as well, and the imperfections disclosed by self-scrutiny sometimes cause identification with the aggressor and idealization of the other.

This book seeks to delineate a psychological view of the collective processes that underlie the creation and development of the State of Israel, and the relationship between the individual and the collective processes up to the present time.

Two disparate ways of relating to the world are combined. One is political, based on external collective reality, action, talking and doing. The other is psychological, emanating from the individual's inner, subjective reality. The internal and the external – the subjective and the objective, being and doing – are both valuable orientations, and influence each other. Observing one from the perspective of the other renders an opportunity to look into the shadows that the one casts at the other.

When psychologists confine themselves to the ivory tower of their treatment rooms without looking out of the window, with no outsight and not realizing that the world itself breathes and has a soul; when they turn away from external society denying its importance for the human soul, they soon lose touch with reality. In spite of increasing biologization of psychiatry, the environment's influence on the individual's psyche, emotions and behavior is undeniable. But society must also be observed from the psyche's perspective, in order not to be blind to the meaning and the value of reality. While the analyst is in danger of being imprisoned by the chains of the soul if he turns away from the world, so society runs the risk of being encaged in a soul-less lack of awareness. Neumann (1990, p. 31) puts it thus:

> The connection between the problems of the individual and those of the collective is far closer than generally realized. We are still by no means aware of the 'totality constellation' by virtue of which each single individual is an organ of the collective, whose common inner structure he bears in his collective unconscious.

To approach one worldview from the perspective of an opposite one, for example to observe psychology from a political point of view

and politics from a psychological one, has in itself a balancing effect. Failing to account for what seems to lie hidden, seeing only that which is empirically visible, that which is consonant with the prevailing outlook and perspective, the collective consciousness, may lead to catastrophe as a result of being blind to soul and shadow. This may be the case when detachment is brought about through splitting-off weakness and vulnerability (the lack of a realistic appraisal prior to the Yom Kippur War). It may lead astray by virtue of psychological inflation (striving to set up a new order in Lebanon) and constriction of vision (being taken by surprise that the enemy actively struggles against occupation during the Intifada that began in 1987). The mass deportation in December 1992 of an uncompromising, murderous Hamas group was intended to be a "liberal," time-limited act, but the government failed to take into account the psychological meaning of deportation. For Palestinians, deportation – being driven from their land – is a core fear similar to the Israeli core fear of annihilation.

The spirit of hatred and fanaticism that spread across the nation, headed by extremist opposition to Prime Minister Rabin's peace efforts, was not accounted for until his assassination. Likewise, the blindness that follows from not relating to the other's needs and demands, letting him carry the load of too burdensome projections, leads to compulsive repetition of harmful behavior.

By means of a liberal perspective, the subject approaches *the other* in such a way that the object becomes less a target of projection (even if projection is always be present to some extent). However, this may sometimes lead to the failure to realize that the subject is, as well, the target of the other's projections – and those projections may be different than one's own. By the year 2000, a majority of Israelis had come to accept withdrawal from occupied territories and the establishment of a Palestinian state alongside Israel. Perhaps arrogantly, Israelis did not discern what was going on in the Palestinian backyard (just like they had previously failed to see what went on in their own piazzas). They did not see that those who met in the open to discuss peace had done so tactically, and had a more far-reaching strategic goal, which – so it seems – justified incitement and instigation to terror behind the scene.

However, it is the shadow side of the Zionist enterprise and Israeli society that this book attempts to bring to the foreground, the shortcomings that become helpful when we reflect upon them, when we permit ourselves to be provoked or unmasked by them, but dangerous when unrelated to.

A note on gender

The hero revived the idea of redemption from its slumber in the unconscious and turned it into a collectively conscious guiding myth. Whether enacted by man or woman, collective consciousness accentuated the masculine. In some early posters portraying the pioneer, *he*, the hero-ideal, stands upright with a visionary look into the future, while *she* sits, laboring the ground, doing the work. Thus, *he* has been predominantly used in this book, for simplicity and fluency. If, however, the hero-principle proceeds solely along the track of the male hero and masculine principles, as reflected for instance in the rays of Samson ("strength of sun"), without also walking the path of the heroine, who follows the reflective light of moonlit introspection, then the motif of Masada, or *the suicidal soldier*, may be acted out.

Chapter 1

Return to the Source

Psychiatric diagnoses change in the course of time not only because of increasing knowledge and accumulated wisdom, but also according to the *zeitgeist*; that is, the prevailing collective consciousness. For instance, a biological understanding of mental phenomena is prominent during periods of conservatism, while environmental influences are accentuated during periods of greater liberalism (Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry [GAP] 1983, p. 14; Shalit & Davidson 1986, p. 61). When one view dominates, a compensatory one thrives in the backyard. When psychiatry and medicine are ruled

by drugs, biology and technology, there is a complementary interest in alternative medicine and eco-psychology; when genes shape the soul, the psyche influences the immune system.

Psychopathology changes over time, and so, for example, anorexia – reminding us that there is a fatness of soul behind the fragility of body – takes the place of hysteria, which used to tell us that there is libido behind the girdle. The anger and the boredom of the borderline personality replace the guilt and the internal conflict of the neurotic. Meaninglessness and alienation substitute repression and anxiety.

A society's prevailing collective consciousness influences the perception of psychopathology. While visiting Moscow in the mid-1970's, I was surprised to see so many people walking in the street talking to themselves, freely hallucinating. I realized that private madness did not disrupt the delusion of the collective, while publicly telling the truth was a malaise in need of hospital 'treatment.'

Psychologist and society are interrelated. This relationship becomes particularly critical when society is governed by a powerful ideology or *Weltanschauung*, with a concomitant stress on adaptation and conformity, or in case of a totalitarian regime. During the years of the military junta in Argentina, many of those seeking out the psychoanalytic *temenos*, the protected space of therapeutic rapport, needed to know the analyst's political stance in order to confide in him or her and to feel protected from the persecuting authorities.

Psychology (and medicine) can be put in the hands of a totalitarian regime and used for purposes of interrogation and torture. The ultimate transformation from healer to killer, the mechanism by which one is engulfed and participates in a regime's distortions, is described by Lifton (1986) in *The Nazi Doctors*. On February 25, 1994 – half a year after the Oslo accords, which marked the beginning of a process which seemed to lead to reconciliation between Israelis and Palestinians – the physician Baruch Goldstein brutally killed twenty-nine praying Muslims from behind, in the Cave of Abraham, holy both to Muslims and Jews. His act was carried out with the sharpness of a surgeon's scalpel, in Hebron, that most sensitive spot on the Middle East map of conflict, and may have caused an escalation in Palestinian terrorist attacks. Yet, for both Palestinian and Israeli, all too often it seems that the destruction that follows when the shadow is cast onto the *other*, carries less weight than the burdensome recognition of the shadow within oneself.

Lately, the role of Jungian theory and praxis in Nazi Germany has been scrutinized (see Maidenbaum & Martin 1991; Samuels 1993,

chapters 11-12). The Nazi regime sought to control the development and direction of psychoanalysis. While Freud's theories were prohibited, Jung's were expected to play a role in the establishment of a "German Psychotherapy" (von der Tann 1989, p. 54), conforming to the requirements of the regime, which necessarily raises questions about the theory, its founder and its followers. For example, the policy of a quota against Jews is explained in an official 1995 pamphlet of the Jungian Psychology Club in Zurich thus (see Shalit 1996, p. 103):

> Because the Club wished to remain small, membership had to be restricted in the mid-nineteen-thirties when there was an influx of foreigners to Switzerland from Nazi Germany. Many of the people who wished to join the Psychological Club were Dr. Erich Neumann's Jewish analysands. Fearing that the Swiss character of the Club would be lost with so many foreigners applying for membership, the Committee decided to restrict the intake of foreign members by introducing a quota.... Later on, when there were fewer applications for membership by foreigners those who were eligible to join (Jews included) were able to do so. Canceling the quota was therefore overlooked until 1950.

The pamphlet does not mention why later on there were fewer (Jewish) applications…

This book does not deal with the politics of psychology. However, it may be claimed that the book itself is an expression of the politics of psychology. Nor do I profess neutrality, neither any pretensions for this to be an 'objective' laboratory study. Rather, the book is an effort to contribute to our understanding of past and present collective processes. The less conscious man is, the more he finds himself in the grip of events and circumstances; a situation in which he may become a passive bystander, or project evil onto his rival or enemy.

Psyche and Society

The psychoanalytic study of society can be seen as the study of the "interface of individual and collective identities" (Lifton 1983b, p. 106). This is, in fact, the essence of this work, which deals with the unique relationship between the individual and the collective in Israel. However, because of my personal proximity in space, and partly in time, to the topic – in which I am not a participant observer but a somewhat observing participator – I cannot claim the appropriate distance needed for a psychohistoric perspective.

According to Freud, social organization began with an imposition of

the taboos of totemism which said that the totem animal must not be killed, and that "the members of the same totem are not allowed to enter into sexual relations with each other" (Freud 1946, p 7). These laws, in fact, coincided with repressed Oedipal wishes, i.e., the son's desire to "kill" his father and "marry" his mother. Freud's notion was that the Totem laws originated when "the expelled brothers joined forces, slew and ate the father, and thus put an end to the father's horde. Together they dared and accomplished what would have remained impossible for them singly" (ibid., p. 183). The guilt, remorse, and shame of the criminal deed turned into the prohibition against killing the Totem, thus forming the basis of religion, worship and sanctification. As the brothers shared in the crime, the basis was laid for fraternity and social consolidation. According to Neumann (1970, pp. 289-290),

> the totem ancestor represents the 'ancestral experience within us' which is incorporated in the body and is at the same time the basis of our individuality. ... [T]he group's totality, which is identical with the common totem ancestor, is simultaneously included in the body and the self.

The creation of society "becomes the working out and reworking of that perennially inherited imagery of rebellion, murder, 'oral incorporation,' and guilt" (Lifton 1983b, p. 103).

When Freud outlined his thesis, he presupposed the existence of a "psyche of the mass in which psychic processes occur as in the psychic life of the individual" and, he says, "we let the sense of guilt for a deed survive for thousands of years, remaining effective in generations which could not have known anything of this deed" (1946, p. 203). Thus, "repression that ensued as a consequence of historical, guilt-inducing actions was passed down from one generation to the next, giving rise to the 'archaic inheritance'" (Satinover 1986, p. 431). While cautious, Freud did take into account a "phylogenetically transmitted inheritance" (Laplanche and Pontalis 1988, p. 331).

Jung (1966) was more explicit. He considered mankind's phylogenetic development to be replicated in individual, ontogenetic psychological growth, which Neumann (1970) further elaborated upon. Jung postulated the existence of *archetypes*, universal psychological patterns manifesting as images, comparable to the concept of universal instincts at the biological level. Though he warned against *inflation*, that is, identification with an archetypal

motif, which leads to a loss of *ego*, of conscious awareness, Jung fell victim to his own ideas. His initial fascination with the rise of Nazism stands out as an ugly chapter in his life, and casts a dark shadow on a theory so intimately and intuitively connected to its originator (see for instance the collection of papers in *Lingering Shadows: Jungians, Freudians and Antisemitism* (Maidenbaum & Martin 1991).

Though not referring to himself, after the Second World War Jung (1969b, p. 224-225) pointed out that sometimes

> the ego proves too weak to offer the necessary resistance to the influx of unconscious contents and is thereupon assimilated by the unconscious, which produces a blurring or darkening of ego-consciousness and its identification with a preconscious wholeness. ... The psychic phenomena recently observable in Germany fall into this category. It is abundantly clear that such an ... overpowering of the ego by unconscious contents and the consequent identification with a preconscious wholeness, possesses a prodigious psychic virulence, or power of contagion, and is capable of the most disastrous results.

Like Freud, Jung saw the longing for mother, for a return to the source – that is, nature and the unconscious, the Great Mother – and the incest-taboo preventing the actual, physical satisfaction of that desire, as the origin of consciousness and society. Instead of regressing to our origin, instinctual energy is directed to cultural, collective needs. Freud called it sublimation, the alchemists spoke of converting the base to the noble (cf. Odajnyk 1976).

For the purpose of acculturation, instinctual *energy* is diverted to collective needs. Jung (1966, p. 150) illustrates this process with the example of a primitive tribe, which in its spring-ritual digs a hole in the ground and covers it with bushes to resemble a woman's genitals. The tribesmen then dance around the hole, "holding their spears in front of them in imitation of an erect penis" and "thrust their spears into the hole." By means of this rite, individual, instinctual energy is collectively transferred into the earth. The single individual's consciousness would otherwise not be strong enough to work the earth and reap the harvest. (The way in which this image applies to the origin and implementation of Zionism will be discussed later.)

At puberty the individual leaves childhood. Puberty and initiation rites, for example the *bar mitzvah* (at age 13, following which the Jewish boy becomes responsible for his moral and spiritual conduct), serve as a bridge from childhood attachments, channeling the *libido*, instinctual and psychic energy, to the collective ventures of society. In Israel, youth movements have played an important socializing

function, enabling the young to separate from their *personal* parents and be initiated into the society of *collective* parents. Thus, the young person joins society in the sense of a greater belonging, going beyond childhood and the family circle. The connection to collective parents implies linking with and recognizing one's collective background – the ancestors and forebears of society, i.e., one's social heritage. By a variety of activities (for example, the chanting of rhymes and singing), libido is gathered and directed to the collective, forming the basis of the adolescent's social responsibility. Specific activities carry particular psychological connotations, such as, reinforcing the attachment to (Mother) Earth. Much of the activity involves fire, which is played with, gathered around, experienced. It may be approached as Logos (light, consciousness), as Eros (flame, relatedness, feeling), or as Thanatos (aggression, destruction, death). In this way, the constructive use of fire is learned. Fire, the natural transformative energy, is inherently bipolar, as destructive as it can be constructive. The fire-rites entail the acculturation of fire, a Promethean act of stealing from the gods and handing it over to man, so that he can make purposeful use of it. These rites and activities constitute a transitional space where freedom from parental and social super-ego authority enables the young to experience their own feelings and their own fire, which now come under their sole control and responsibility.

The struggle to become more fully oneself can be likened to a hero's trial (cf. Neumann 1970). In this process, the person "partakes of the collective as a member of society," yet he also separates himself from the collective. When there is need to, he is able to raise his voice against the ingrained norms and values, against a worldview that has become obsolete. Thus he attains his own "unique combination of the potentials inherent in the collective as a whole" (Samuels, Shorter, & Plaut 1986, p. 32).

When, however, there is a complete break-up of ties and *boundaries*, the result is chaos and alienation. The response may be a reversal to national extremism, brotherhoods and clans, a search for protection by the strong leader, or a move to fundamentalist religion.

The origin and development of society necessitate channeling libido, instinctual and psychic energy, into shared collective efforts, and inducing (or projecting) into the collective a charismatic energy, *mana*, or libido with a concomitant regulation about the degree of intimacy. The collective venture back to the Mother, to Mother Earth, carries an erotic and libidinal element, as indicated by its romanticism,

songs, and poems as well as the sense of intimacy among those who took part in it. The feeling of collective intimacy is an experience commonly reported by Israelis. Elon (1981, p. 242), for instance, speaks of "a degree of neighborliness infinitely more intense than that found in other urban societies. It can sometimes be excruciatingly hard to bear."

Additionally, the formation of society necessitates a separation between *Us* and *Them*, which entails the need and formation of boundaries. Similar to Freud's (1946) description, a sense of fraternity and togetherness is created. This, in turn, becomes instrumental in the essential process of boundary-formation. Later, the way in which this pertains to the establishment and developments of the State of Israel will be elaborated.

Onenenss, Identity, Shadow

Of particular interest to the area of our concern are three eminent psychoanalysts who have investigated the relationship between the individual and the collective: the Freudians *Erik H. Erikson* and *Erich Fromm*, and the Jungian *Erich Neumann*.

Fromm and Neumann deal with man's separation from original oneness with society, and Erikson concerns himself with the issue of identity. Neumann further deals with the projection of our negative, dark side, and Fromm describes the conditions for a more sane society.

Erich Fromm outlines the relationship between the individual and society. He argues against Freud's belief that "there exists a basic dichotomy between man and society, and ... that human nature is evil at its roots" (Brown 1964, p. 149). Fromm criticizes Freud's biological orientation and static view of society, claiming the relationship between the individual and society to be constantly changing.

Erich Fromm

Fromm (1995) describes the beginning of man's history as emerging from a state of oneness with the rest of nature [or 'participation mystique,' an anthropological term Jung (1971, pp. 456-457) borrowed from Levi-Bruhl; see also the seminal work by Neumann (1970)]. In this original state, man is hardly aware of a separate

existence of his own. He "has a minimum of self-awareness combined with a maximum of attachment to the *object*; hence the object can exercise a direct magical compulsion upon him" (Jung 1969b, p. 270). A feeling of complete identity between the individual and the collective prevails and serves as protection against the feeling of being alone in the world. Therefore man's soul is not necessarily located inside his body but could equally well be found in nature, outside his body-boundary. Likewise, "the unconscious mutual identity of persons is expressed in the fact that the group is responsible for the individual and that each individual, for his part, is regarded as an incarnation of the whole group" (Neumann 1990, p. 60). In the course of history, man has wrested himself out of this intimate bond with nature and complete dependency on society.

By the Middle Ages, man was no longer one with nature, but rather strongly tied to his social network. Society was static, with rigid and unchangeable social roles. The individual did not really exist by himself; he remained "bound to his society by primary ties, and full awareness of himself and others as separate beings had not yet developed" (Brown 1964, p. 156). Eventually, wealth took predominance over birth so that social mobility became more possible. However, "nineteenth-century Capitalism was first of all ruthless exploitation of the worker" (Fromm 1965, p. 82), and today science and technology, as well as the laws of the market rule over man (p. 83). The individual becomes powerless with an increasing sense of alienation, "being out of touch with himself as he is out of touch with any other person" (p. 111), estranged from himself. Fromm sees this as a pathological condition of the social world that causes the individual to attempt an escape from loneliness and helplessness. Fromm (1976) advocates a society not based solely on *having* but also on *being*. We may look at the pattern of separation from original oneness, as we contemplate the processes of modern Israel, in which the dis-identification of the individual from the collective ideology creates conditions of loneliness and alienation. These are then defended against on the collective level for instance by means of an exaggerated emphasis on consensus and wholeness.

Erik Erikson

Erik Erikson, who trained as a child analyst and was in analysis with Anna Freud, elaborated the concept of identity (e.g. Erikson 1968). He gave birth to his own personal identity, Erik the son of Erik, and he

explored identity in its social context. In *Childhood and Society*, Erikson relates the individual ego to society and outlines the shift of psychoanalysis "from the concentrated study of the conditions which blunt and distort the individual ego to the study of the ego's roots in social organization" (p. 13). He scrutinizes society's influence on the individual's identity. His major concern is not the individual neurosis of political leaders, such as Hitler, (p. 310), but how the leader reflects collective conditions and the way "historical and geographic reality amplify familial patterns and to what extent ... these patterns influence a people's interpretation of reality" (p. 311).

Erikson (1968, pp. 193-195) specifically mentions the newborn Israeli nation to exemplify the importance of ideology for identity-formation. Ideology is the social institution that protects a sense of continuity and identity (p. 133), "for it is through their ideology that social systems enter into the fiber of the next generation" (p.134). When society fails to provide adequate goals, we may find "the sudden impulses to join in destructive behavior" which "are a joint expression of historical identity fragments waiting to be tied together by some ideology" (p. 195). In Israel we bear witness to disarray and fragmentation, as the powerful tie to ideology has dissipated. This is reflected, for instance, in the numerous small political parties. In the 1999 elections, thirty-three parties ran for a total of 120 Knesset seats.

Erich Neumann

Erich Neumann was Jung's prominent follower and colleague. He elaborated Jung's theories, particularly concerning the developmental aspects of the individual and the "evolution of consciousness in the life of humanity" (Neumann 1970, p. xvi). He outlined the relationship between ego and self, delineating the ego-Self axis. In *Depth Psychology and a New Ethic*, written in the shadow of the Second World War and the Holocaust, Neumann sees evil as the basic problem of modern man. The "disastrous results for both the individual and the collective" (ibid., p. 35) occur, when the dark side within us is denied. This happens "when the individual adapts to collective ideals by repression and suppression" (ibid. p. 37). Thus, by identification with the collective *persona*, in conformation with collective ethical values, the individual ego loses touch with the severed, dark contents within. He is easily accepted and affirmed as a well-adapted individual but he, as well as society-at-large, becomes

one-dimensional and uniform, relying on projection of the shadow. Thereby society loses its capacity for self-scrutiny.

By identification with the collective, "the limited individual loses contact with his own limitations and becomes inhuman" (ibid., p. 43). Thus, while Erikson outlines the importance of ideology for identity-formation, identification with and uncritical adaptation to a prevailing ideology (i.e., the collective consciousness) causes a loss of selfhood. Neumann asserts that

> every self-identification of the ego with a transpersonal content – and that is the precise meaning of hubris, in which man imagines himself to be equal to the gods – inevitably results in downfall; the transpersonal content (that is, the gods) annihilates the ego (ibid., p. 43).

In troubled and unstable times, there are many who see themselves as God's messengers and identify with transpersonal contents, for instance intending to rebuild the Temple in Jerusalem. Rather than coming to grips with the inner meaning of the Temple, some are occupied with preparing ritual garments and breeding the *Red Heifer*, necessary for the required process of purification prior to the rebuilding of the Temple. In a society insensitive to its own limitations, such fundamentalism may find support. In the words of Israeli author Sami Michael, "In Iraq I learned that God is Great and the rabbis are small, while in Israel God is small and the rabbis are Big."

The old ethic, claims Neumann (1990, p. 45), "is based on the principle of opposites in conflict. The fight between good and evil, light and darkness is its basic problem." However, "the battle of the opposites is eternal. ... The world, nature and the human soul are the scene of a perpetual and inexhaustible rebirth of evil" (p. 46). Our dark side, our shadow,

> which is in conflict with acknowledged values, cannot be accepted as a negative part of one's own psyche and is therefore projected – that is, it is transferred to the outside world and experienced as an outside object. It is combated, punished, and exterminated as 'the alien out there' instead of being dealt with as 'one's own inner problem' (ibid., p. 50).

This intensifies the split between *Us* and *Them* (cf. Volkan 1988), as well as the tendency of scapegoating within the life of society (Neumann 1990, p. 74).

Neumann proposes exchanging the old ethic of repression and projection for the recognition of one's own evil.

Whereas in conflict-free regions of the world it seems relatively easy to tolerate the other, because he does not impinge and his presence may not be felt, in times of crisis and areas of conflict the recognition of one's own evil is much harder, precisely because its presence is ever-felt, and projection of the shadow onto the enemy is so much more accessible.