

PSYCHOANALYSIS AND THE FUTURE OF EDUCATION

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Of all those who through their analytic training hope to be able to make some fundamental contribution to therapeutic or educational work, the teacher is the least able to foresee what he may achieve through analytical insight, which he gains from his own clinical analysis. The analytic situation does not offer him any direct suggestion as to how to face the specific situations he meets on returning to his work. An analyst is obliged for the most part to remain a silent observer while the teacher's work involves continuous talking—this fact alone roughly distinguishes the methods of analyst from that of teacher, representing the two extremes of all possible educational methods of approach. The clinical analyst maintains an attitude of impartiality throughout, thus making it possible for his patient's affects to reveal themselves according to their own laws and in the forms given to them by a pitilessly selective life; the passivity of the analyst is the necessary prerequisite for the proof of the scientific value, as well as for the therapeutic success, of the method. In the work of the teacher the relations are much more flexible. He not only has to deal with affects in his children, the ultimate forms of which are not yet fully determined (a feature also found in child analysis), but he also cannot avoid registering his own affective response. Although he is the object of transference, he cannot eliminate his own personality, but must play a very personal part in the child's life. It is the x in the teacher's personality which influences the y in the child's development. But, unlike child guidance workers, he accomplishes his educational purposes chiefly through the imponderables of his attitude in the pursuit of his work as teacher. There he finds the specific means for exerting his

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influence. His duty is to train, to present, to explain and to enlighten. Therefore he should ask himself not where his work touches on the work of the analyst or the worker in child guidance, but where and how it in itself gives him the opportunity to make use of his new knowledge of human instincts.

Let us discuss enlightenment, taking the word first in the narrower sense of sexual enlightenment, and then let us inquire where and how this touches the problem of enlightenment as a whole. In the problem of sexual enlightenment, teaching and psychoanalysis can be seen to come to a fundamental convergence.

2.

Some years ago, when I was engaged in teaching, the mother of a seven-year-old pupil of mine asked me to talk with him. She said that Richard revealed such a drive to ask questions about everything that she felt unable to satisfy his curiosity and she preferred to have a man answer his questions concerning sexual matters. I spent several afternoons with Richard. He asked questions and I answered; we talked about God and the universe, and where children come from. Every question was answered conscientiously. Richard was a very intelligent and receptive boy. One rule proved to be important—namely, never to give more information than was asked for. His questions ventured to the point of inquiring about the man's rôle in begetting children and there they stopped. He did learn, however, that the semen of the man enters the woman and that this makes it possible for her to bear a child.

One year later Richard again expressed a wish to ask questions. As soon as he began, however, I noticed a certain reserve. His questions were no longer eager and punctuated with large question marks; they rather took the form of statements—whispered, careful statements. I again answered him conscientiously but with enough reserve so as not to disturb the next question already formed in his mind. The continuous flow of his questions was not interrupted. I took notes during the interview, explaining that we would use them later to check up and make sure he had omitted nothing. The following are

his questions, with tentative analytical interpretations. Let me state, however, that I interpreted nothing to the child. Throughout the interview I remained the teacher whose place it was to answer questions.

RICHARD'S QUESTIONS

The first hour

"I don't know whether I should ask about people or the world?"

"What about rain?"

"And what about the sun?"

"How about ships—do they bump underneath?"

"But you told me all that before and about trains and fire too." PAUSE.

The little scientist would like to keep far away from the interesting and the dangerous world of people and remain with atmospheric phenomena. When, however, he does discuss men, he circumscribes a wide circle around the genitals. But increasing pressure from within leads him to associations which touch on an inner anxiety. At this point, as at the word "fire", he pauses. The reason will soon become clear.

"How long can a diver stay under water?"

"Must he always pump?"

"What does he do when he wants something?"

"Once someone made a man. Why did he spoil him again?"

"I heard that a house was burned and everybody who was in it."

"But—when a prison burns? Are there windows in prison?" PAUSE.

Again at the mention of "fire" comes a pause. In the depths, in prison, in a burning house—one cannot call, cannot breathe, one burns. A man was made and then destroyed again. We begin to see that these associations have something to do with a narrow room in which a man is made—revealing to the analytic eye an unconscious fantasy and anxiety about the womb and the child it contains.

"I've never seen a house burning."

"I've never seen a fire engine burning on a house—that must be fine but not nice."

The fantasy which was restrained before each time by silence, now comes to the surface. It does so by means of a slip—the fire engine is burning instead of squirting water. The dangerous sensation of "burning" has replaced the pleasantly harmless and "manly" activity of the squirting fireman. The deeper meaning of this slip becomes clear later.

"After all I think I'd rather ask about people."

Apparently he does not know how much the inner voice has already asked about man. It would be interesting to know if and how the slip itself made this daring question possible.

"What about ears?"

"How can you talk?"

"How does hair grow?"

With the word "hair" he loses his wish to question further for the day. At this point I remember that already, the year before, a group of questions were always recurring which no answer satisfied—they dealt with "hair" and "blood". These probably were the expression of the deeper question whether the blood, which he had doubtless seen on the clothes of a woman as she undressed, signified the castration of the male organ or if the latter were only hidden by the hair.

These questions, according to their tone and content, form two special groups and may be classified as follows: (a) simple questions of interest, which seem to be only a kind of pretext, and the answer to which he already knew by heart; (b) the "hair and blood group", repeated from the first year, representing increasing anxiety. It is noteworthy that among all the new questions, which are obviously filled with dangerous matters of unconscious sexual meaning, there is not one direct sexual question.

The second hour

"Where does the air begin to get thinner?"

"What's around the sky?"

"What's a cloudburst?"

Now we have come back to earth, but along with a suggestion of something unpleasant—namely a cloudburst. Therefore, he pauses. Nevertheless, he makes a courageous decision.

“After all, I’d rather talk about people.”¹

“I know everything about the head.”

“About the legs, too.”

“Do I know everything about arms?”

“About elbows too?”

The wide circle around the genitals is worthy of note; but the boy’s anxiety about them bursts through in the next question: “How do you snap back the elbow when it’s come out of joint?” Does “coming out of joint” suggest erection? (Arms and legs are “members”, called “*Glieder*” in German, while penis is also called a “member” or “*Glied*”.) In any case there is again a pause.

Then follows a still clearer anxiety about the penis. In the throat there is a tube for air and another for food. They must come out somehow below when you put your head down:

“And when food gets into the air tube?”

“Is it like that in a hen too?” (The association “hen” will be explained later.)

“In a snake too?”

“How does a snail push itself forward?”

“Where are there purple snails?”

¹ In the *Ztschr. f. psa. Pädagogik* V, 7, Dr. Edith Buxbaum describes an experiment with a class of 10–11 year old girls of a public school in Vienna, to whom the liberty was given of asking any questions they wanted to. The girls as a group behaved almost exactly and literally like the questioning Richard. With the first questions they tried to cling to things which led far away, such as telephone, airplane, Zeppelin: “What is it like when you fly up into the sky, on and on, straight ahead?” Then came the opposite direction, “And if you bore down into the earth?”, which led them to dangerous questions—“Why don’t the stars fall down?”, to lightning or earthquake. The latter was explained by one girl as coming when “things which don’t get along together, bump underneath”. One girl’s question: “Why do you feel your heart beat?” was unanimously disapproved of by the class. And still they seemed to be waiting for something. When a girl asked: “*Wie bewegt sich der Mensch?*” (“How do men move?”), half the class understood: “*Wie entsteht der Mensch?*” (“How are men made?”)—and giggled. But finally they admitted just as Richard did: “After all we would rather ask about people.”

The tubes that come out below, the snake, the snail that “pushes itself forward”, the purple snail, all point clearly to the penis. The purple snail connects two ideas—snail and blood. Richard had heard the myth of the Greek shepherd who found his dog, bleeding, as he thought, at the mouth and then discovered that the animal had bitten a purple snail. Now, consequently, we approach the fear of “castration”, which, being unconscious, threatens to overshadow everything:

“When you cut off your hand do you have to stop the blood with bandages?”

“When you’re dead does the skin fall off? Do the bones go to pieces?”

“A celluloid factory can explode easily, can’t it?”

The hour began with “cloudburst” and ended with “explosion”.

The third hour

“How fast can a man run?”

“And an animal?” (Does he mean “run away”? It would seem so.)

“I’d like to know something about war. If Vienna hadn’t stopped fighting would it have been all ruined?”

“Who started the fighting?”

“That was mean of England to help against Vienna.”

Here it is necessary to consider what “fighting” and what “England” and “Vienna” mean. For some time Richard had shown occasional timidity on the street. Once, when questioned about his fear, he declared anxiously, “The dogs fight.” A very enlightened little girl, hearing this remark, immediately explained, “They don’t fight, they are marrying.” Now people marry, too, and there are sufficient indications that physical conflict is involved. Many children overestimate these indications, especially in families where physical or psychic pain seems somehow to be connected with the events going on in the parental bedroom. Richard’s mother, who seemed to be unhappy, had married in England, but shortly after the war had been compelled by various circumstances to leave his

father and settle in Vienna. Richard explained this change by connecting the war, the fighting and his father, from whose aggression his mother had fled away to Vienna. The unconscious identification of the country in which one lives with the threatened or suffering mother, and the enemy with the brutal father against whom the boy, the young hero, has to defend her may be pointed out as a common one. It is important to see where Richard's fantasies are based on his special oedipus situation. "The sun and the moon," he once remarked, "can never be in the sky at the same time. They would eat each other up."

"How are the teeth made firm?"

"Why are lips so red?"

"Why is the head up straight?"

"When you bend it back it gets all red."

"Why do you bleed when you cut yourself?"

"The hair under the arm . . ."

References to blood and hair again terminate his desire to question further. The possible interpretations of this hour may, then, be summarized as follows: (1) pitying identification with the suffering mother; (2) the wish to be like her; but also (3) fear of this wish, because becoming a woman means castration. A further anxiety about becoming a woman, appearing in the next hour, demonstrates that we are on the right track.

The fourth hour

"In your head there's an opening. Why doesn't everything run out?"

"Some people have something here" (goiter).

"Some people have a hunchback."

"If somebody hits somebody in the eye will he be blind right away?"

"Why are women so fat here?" (breast)

"And how is it when the woman has too much milk and the baby doesn't drink it all?"

"And when a woman has too little?"

Bursting skull, goiter, hunchback, the overfull breast, the dislodged eye; women grow fat, have children in their bodies and milk in their breasts. How do their bodies stand it? It is now possible to understand the strange intrusion of the "hen" in the second hour. It appeared in connection with the question as to what would happen if food should get into the wrong tube. Taking into account the familiar mechanism which disguises unconscious thought or fear by reversing the term used, as for example "below" to "above", "out" to "in", the question about the "hen" may mean: What would happen if that which should come out below (the egg from the hen, the child from the mother) tried to come out of another opening which was too small and burst?

At this point it is well to bear in mind Richard's actual difficulties at the time of this interview. He had attacks of *pavor nocturnus* in which he cried and asked if his bowel movement had been sufficient. When he was assured that this was the case he slept quietly. As this symptom disappeared he began to have difficulty with eating. His symptoms followed one another with a transposition similar to that of his questions, that is, from "below" to "above". Both were obviously aspects of the same anxiety: through which organ is the child begotten and through which is it born?

"Why do you see a strong man's muscles so plainly here?"
(The veins of the arm.)

"What part of people do cannibals eat?"

"There were many in the war?"

"Once someone told me about cannibals and I always thought they ran around in the streets."

"When you stand for a long time your feet get all red."

These questions are followed by a clear symbolic description of the anxiety about the penis:

"Is there a quite smooth ball here on your knee?" (i.e., gland)

"When you stretch your mouth open why doesn't it tear here?" (in the corners)

"But when you cut yourself somewhere on your skin, it could go on tearing couldn't it?"

"There's a sort of bone around the eye?"

"Why don't they put armor inside a soldier's uniform?"

"Are there armored cars in Vienna?"

"Around the neck there's a sort of skin collar?" (i.e., foreskin).

Again, in accordance with the displacement mechanism, the part most in danger is transferred above, but to a part of the body which also shares the danger of being cut off—namely, the neck.

The fifth hour

As this was to be the last hour before the holidays, and as it was preferable not to let the boy leave without any enlightenment in the matter which was troubling him, I reminded him that he had asked no question about childbearing, which had interested him so greatly.

"That's so."

"Why is it [women's buttocks] so fat behind?"

"What happens when the child stays in too long?"

"How do you know when it's coming?"

"And when you marry then the semen comes from the woman into the man, doesn't it?"

It is apparent that Richard, who had shown such intelligence in the understanding of all the enlightenment given him up to this point, had nevertheless been unable to maintain his sexual knowledge against the repressing forces. These had led him away from the masculine rôle and at the same time subjected him to intense anxiety concerning the factors likely to threaten him in the woman's rôle. The slip with which he first disclosed this change is noteworthy: the fire engine burns instead of squirting.

From this very limited insight into one child's mind which Richard's questions have provided, we may conclude that the formation of anxieties, fantasies, and unconscious and conscious theories, continues regardless of sexual enlightenment. It is

important to consider whether or not there is reason to believe that the infantile psyche (or, can we simply say the psyche?) always reacts in this manner.

3.

At first the child had asked questions openly. His desire to question was very naturally so divided that his wish for general information appeared in the foreground, while behind it lay his easily accessible curiosity about sexual things. The further development of the œdipus complex brought about a repression of the now dangerous sexual questions. Questions are now set carefully, half dreamily and disinterestedly, and behind the words which would endeavor to hide the sexual content lurks a general permeation of sexual anxiety, born of the conviction that a catastrophe must take place. The grownups, of course, deny or conceal this, but there are too many indications of actual force in sexual life and too many catastrophic desires in one's own mind. Because of anxiety and one's own desire for aggression, all signs of aggression become overvalued. These signs are not lacking, since a sado-masochistic component is always evident in the tension of sexuality, even though in normal sexual life, in the general attitude of the adult, it may be balanced and imponderable. In any event the child in his preoccupation overvalues something real. Changing according to his stages of development, his affective relationship to the single components of sexuality is based on what he observes in the outer world, as well as upon the sensations of his own body.

For the adult these components have become imponderables, scarcely measurable in normal sex life, and only in the artificial situation of psychoanalysis is the old scheme of weights and measures temporarily reestablished. In life, adult and child represent different stages of a development or, more accurately, are the result of different mathematical operations which are employing the same values: the sexual development of a child resembles a gradual addition while adult sexuality is the product of the same figures.

These oral, anal, phallic, sadistic imponderables, however,

which the adult can no longer measure or name, are just those which are experienced in crude isolation by the child, one following the other inexorably. The child develops them, fights against them, tries to balance them, and this struggle is complicated by the fact that he is busily occupied with the pleasure zones of his age level (or of an earlier one from which he has only partly progressed), as well as that he experiences sensations which prevent him from grasping what the adult tells. In general, the sexual act as represented to the child is rationalized and made more or less gentle and noble according to the personal attitude of the individual adult. In any case sleeping restfully together is sure to be emphasized by the adult as the only pleasure involved, but it is just this feeling of protected rest from which the child is drawing away into the tumultuous fight for existence. Only yesterday he forsook his mother's arms and his possessive share of her body. Today he has a respite in which to accustom himself to his loss, but tomorrow, so he feels, something quite new and different and dangerous will present itself. Rest, however, is the reward for his successful battle. He, therefore, accepts sexual enlightenment exactly as he accepts general enlightenment in other fields—passing it off with an almost patronizing gesture and with the feeling (sometimes even conscious): "Maybe you're right, though you tell me enough lies. But I'm interested in something else, and that you apparently won't tell me about because you think I'm too stupid—or perhaps you can't tell me because you're too stupid yourself."

An example offered by one of Richard's classmates may be cited in this connection. He had upon occasion heard from me that children are nursed at their mother's breast, and very probably he had also had an opportunity to observe this. Nevertheless, he exclaimed one day in school: "You said that women have breasts to give milk, but that isn't so. What women have there is something to have fun with." What does the boy mean by "have fun with", the pleasant appearance or feeling of the breast or the enjoyable vague memory of nursing? In any case, he is not alone in this feeling. But when he asks about it no one appears to know anything, and

his confusion and excitement are met with idealistic or scientific conceptions. Here, too, the interest of the child lies in a certain vividly felt emotional relationship, in response to which he is told something about sucking calves and lactating cows. But cow's teats resemble more nearly a multiple penis to the boyish mind, and the milking he observes very likely brings further confusion and new evaluations. In the face of such emotional relationships, education enforces repression and sets up in their place scientific law and order. We enforce with the patience of the drop that wears away the stone. But is there not ground for reflection when one reads what the laughing philosopher Zarathustra at the height of a gay science offers his fellow men as wisdom? "*Es gibt doch wenig Dinge, die so angenehm und nützlich zugleich sind, wie der Busen des Weibes.*"¹ The philosopher, of course, can rediscover and express the obvious facts which the adult refuses the child.

On the basis of clinical experience, psychoanalysis has recommended sexual enlightenment as of very real assistance, but what the enlightenment presents remains a fairy tale for the affects of the child, just as the story of the stork remains a fairy tale for his intellect. Let us not forget that the stork story does offer the child something. Recently Zulliger interpreted it as follows: "The complete stork tale, as a more exact psychoanalytic examination is capable of showing, contains anal and genital birth theories (the chimney, the stove and the pond), the idea of the forceful and sadistic in connection with the acts of begetting and bearing (biting in the leg), castration idea (leg biting), the genital begetting idea (stork-bird as masculine symbol), etc."

Modern teachers forsake the symbol-filled darkness of ancient tales which combined so attractively the uncanny and the familiar, but in doing so they have no reason to be optimistic, for while replacing them with more logical interpretations expressing some facts more directly and clearly, they neglect to include even vaguely much that is more fundamentally important. Neither fairy tale nor sexual enlightenment saves

¹ "Indeed there are few things which are at the same time as pleasant and as useful as a woman's bosom."

the child from the necessity of a distrustful and derisive attitude toward adults, since in both cases he is left alone with his conflict.

Noteworthy in this connection is the section in *The Analysis of a Phobia in a Five-Year-Old Boy* where the child derides his father by means of remarks about the stork fairy tale.¹ How dangerous must it then be when, instead of the fairy tale-telling adult or the adult who tries to carry out his theoretical duties, matters are taken in hand by the adult with pretensions of truthfulness or moral gravity.

That the adult who is questioned by a child is in the position to give interpretations seems to be only a first step forward. Above all, the adult must know that consistent and effective interpretation belong in the realm of clinical analysis. Then, once he recognizes the twofold meaning of the child's questions he is faced with two possibilities. He may either ignore the hidden meaning and consequently answer inadequately—perhaps even more dangerously and less adequately than the stork tale—or, disregarding the disguise of the question, he may interpret its hidden meaning, answering more than was intentionally asked. This may prove a shock for the child or, as is more probable, it will remain absolutely ineffective. And few things undermine the position of the adult more disastrously than serious but ineffective effort!

For the teacher there remains another individual problem. He must not only appreciate the sexual curiosity masquerading as desire for knowledge, but he must make the greatest possible use of it. The child never learns more than he does at the time of disguised curiosity. At this time he learns with the coöperation of his affects, and now when he hopes finally to find out “the hidden secrets”, the statement “*vitæ non scholæ discimus*” really holds good, for he is learning now for the sake of the life he dimly divines, and not for the sake of his lessons.

¹ Though it seems rather hopeless to succeed in giving children the biological truth while they are concerned with the reality of affects, little Hans's case shows the importance of letting children express repeatedly, in conversation and play, their questions about, and their conceptions of, the world. The history of little Hans proves that more than half the battle is won when the child succeeds in expressing itself. Freud, Sigm.: *Coll. Papers* III.

One might think that the teacher could make use of this situation to smuggle into his answer the sexual enlightenment that the child's questions have unconsciously requested. By general frankness he should be able to establish the certainty that there is nothing more secret about sex than about everything else. However, glimpses into the unconscious, such as described above, show that the sexual questions as they reach a complicated and dangerous point (a moment which enlightenment is supposed to guide) inhibit the desire for further questioning and the wish to learn. Softly the child speaks of the purple snail and fire engines, the food tube of the hen and the goiter that some women have. And still more softly come the inmost questions of the child which only barely make themselves heard to his interpreter: "What about the desire and the fear of destroying, and the fear and desire of being destroyed?" With his most earnest questions, then, the child still remains alone.

Here, besides the limits established by mental and physical development, we meet an affect-barrier blocking openmindedness and readiness to learn. That which the affect has under its power is released only by means of stronger affective experience, and not by any intellectual interpretation alone. Here again the analytic situation in itself meets both requirements: it provides experience through interpretation and interpretation through experience. The teacher is only able to give a carefully selected picture of the world according to his best knowledge, and this is true also of sexual enlightenment.

However, since all early experiences disappear only to reappear later as a powerful stream, we must assume that both the infantile disappointments and the derision or surrender with which the child meets them play an important rôle in the unconscious life of adult human beings; that because of these childish doubts and despairs "healthy" humanity clings to its group neurosis—its conflict concerning knowledge and faith—just as the neurotic clings to his individual symptoms. It is, therefore, not alone the attitude of the child toward the adult which is touched on by our question, but the attitude of humanity toward itself. The command which one received as

a child is passed on to the coming generation, and it is the adult with the repressed doubts who unknowingly increases the confusion of unfruitful belief and knowledge in children who are desirous of learning. This is shown in a practical way by the method used by educators in selecting and arranging the material to be taught. Almost all courses of instruction, from the picture book to the study of history at the university, are as if designed to confuse man concerning his visual, perceptive, and other relationships to himself and his history. After prohibitions, doubt, revolt and surrender have helped to establish the basis of his intellectual life, it is difficult for him to direct his intelligence to the necessity of dealing with the dangers within himself; it is impossible for him to decide whether "to ask about the world or people". Deciding in favor of the first may often imply the unconscious prohibition of the second—an inhibition in thinking which will naturally also have its consequences for his conception of "the world".

4.

A broader conception of enlightenment, the expansion of which will undoubtedly arise from psychoanalysis, is needed.

There is a footnote in Freud's *Civilization and its Discontents*:

"Thus conscience does make cowards of us all. . . . That the upbringing of young people at the present day conceals from them the part sexuality will play in their lives is not the only reproach we are obliged to bring against it. It offends too in not preparing them for the aggressions of which they are destined to become the objects. Sending the young out into life with such a false psychological orientation is as if one were to equip people going on a Polar expedition with summer clothing and maps of the Italian lakes. One can clearly see that ethical standards are being misused in a way. The strictness of these standards would not do much harm if education were to say: 'This is how men ought to be in order to be happy and make others happy, but you have to reckon with their not being so.' Instead of this the young are made to believe that everyone else conforms to the stand-

ard of ethics, i.e., that everyone else is good. And then on this is based the demand that the young shall be so too.”¹

About aggression as well as about sexuality the child hears at best a rationalization in the form of biological, historical, or religious purposefulness and is left alone with his own “purposeless” instinctive energies. He must feel himself alone, wicked in an apparently noble and purposeful world. He must repress the doubt born of firsthand evidence. How could we then believe that sexual enlightenment is sufficient, or, on the other hand, that all enlightenment is useless if sexual enlightenment is not sufficient? As a matter of fact the soul is a melting pot of inimical drives which urge the child from infant into adult life, forcing it through the vicious circle of guilt and expiation. The inwardly directed aggression (the most important psychic reality of civilization) is, according to Freud, best and first recognized in its sexual alloy—but not entirely to be understood in it.

Observing about ten of our twelve- and thirteen-year-old children outside of school and finding in their behavior some thought-provoking features, I determined to have a talk with them. Our discussion began with the explanation on the part of some of the children that much unsocial behavior lay in outbursts of rage—a rage (as they soon discovered) which was often unreasonable. Others soon became clear about the fact that this rage was inwardly directed and that it excluded them from an unconcerned participation in the activities of the group. With this knowledge the analyzed and unanalyzed children then began to show an understanding which would have seemed impossible. As the opportunity arose in the discussion, I was able to give them examples from our history study which corresponded to the feelings we were speaking of. The children had learned facts about the Eskimos²—for example, that

¹ Freud, Sigm.: *Civilization and its Discontents*. Translated by Joan Riviere. New York: Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith, 1930. P. 123-24.

² Included under project work directed by Dr. Peter Blos.

they have a so-called "singing contest" instead of law court procedure, whereby the two opponents are forced to make fun of one another until the laughing observers declare one party or the other "knocked out". A little girl immediately had the correct idea: "They can do that", she declared, "because they haven't any nasty names. We would say 'pig' or 'idiot' right away and then everyone would be mad again."

Another example of applied history was offered by the story of Amundsen who, during the flight of the *Italia*, held himself strictly under Nobile's command in spite of an intense rage against the leader. In short, we discussed examples of rage, justified and unjustified, and examples of the social control of this emotion. With this acceptance of rage as a general fact, that is, as something that is not merely the fault of the individual who carries it within him, a variety of thoughts began to stir in the children's minds. They spoke of aggression that is displayed and of aggression that is felt, of guilt and the desire for punishment, with an inner comprehension of which adults are hardly capable. They even discovered 'civilization and its discontents in our little progressive school. They admitted openly that their desire for punishment was not satisfied by us. One of them said, "In the other schools it was fun to pin a paper on the teacher's coat. Here there's no fun in it any more." Another declared, "We're like balls that are all ready to explode and suddenly are put into an air tight room."

Then we were able to discuss what one should do with this desire for punishment. The Puritans were mentioned—men who though expelled for their belief became the grimmest of religious tyrants as soon as they had the power to exercise tyranny. The older children discovered that their behavior towards the smaller ones represented a tendency to abreact their feelings regarding control by the teachers. This began to make it clear that valuing fairness so much more than mutual suppression, as we did, only one thing was possible—submission through understanding of the situation. Finally the children came to the conclusion that the only thing possible would be to speak

often and penetratingly about the force which endangered this understanding from within until it lost its power.

Now, of course, all this is very easily said, but the reactions following such talks are not as easy to predict. This was demonstrated the next morning when, for the first time in two years, two of the older boys fought. I was reminded of Chancellor Snowden's remark at the London Conference: "Another such peace conference and we'll have war again." However, knowing the neurotic condition of the two boys, it was possible to accept as a good omen the fact that they for once actually and spontaneously "went for each other".

In view of such experiences, one would think that modern education must often stand abashed before its own courage, the courage with which it hopes to lead young people, by means of good will, toward a new spirit and future peace. It is psychic reality which forces itself through, and this the more unexpectedly and unpleasantly the more it is denied. One can understand that many are panic-stricken and, as it were, throw to the winds the ideal of the primacy of intelligence.

Freud has written that an increasing sense of guilt must accompany the development of culture. It is certain that (wherever the temptation to forget what has already been learned is withstood) education will become increasingly understanding. However, experience and theory teach that the feeling of being loved and understood does not diminish the strength of the feelings of guilt but rather increases them, and this brings about an economic discrepancy similar to that discovered by Freud in sexual life when he found that the development of culture had brought with it a shift in the unconscious evaluation of sexuality which made worthless both of the conscious alternatives—asceticism or living out one's nature. The only remedy for this upset economy is to make unconscious material conscious, and to prevent the accumulation of unconscious material by continuous enlightenment. Apparently pædagogy now faces a similar problem in the question of aggression, guilt and desire for punishment, and per-

haps here, too, steps taken toward suppression or liberation will not really touch the heart of the problem.

Perhaps a new education will have to arise which will provide enlightenment about the entire world of affects and not only about one special instinct which, in an otherwise entirely rationalized outlook of life, appears too obscure. This would imply a presentation of life in which the omnipresent instincts "without usefulness" (in reality the instinctive urge that opposes all "use") would no longer be denied. It is this denial which brings about the hopeless isolation of the world of children with their conflicts.

This isolation, it is true, is frequently overcome, but often only apparently. But the general fact, that the inner enemy is left concealed in darkness instead of having light focused upon him, gives him the power time and again to overthrow the sound will of the individual and the best-made plans of well-meaning leaders.

"Certainly men are like this, but have you asked yourself whether they need be so, whether their inmost nature necessitates it? Can an anthropologist give the cranial index of a people whose custom it is to deform their children's heads by bandaging them from their earliest years? Think of the distressing contrast between the radiant intelligence of a healthy child and the feeble mentality of the average adult."¹

It is surely no coincidence that the desire for a science of education should appear on the scene at the moment when, in the form of psychoanalysis, the truth of the healing power of self-knowledge is again establishing itself in the world. And to this truth much has been added since the time of Socrates, namely, a method. If education earnestly seeks to rebuild on a new conscious basis of knowledge and intelligence, then it must demand radical progress to the point where clear vision results in human adjustment. Modern enlightenment can best achieve this through psychoanalysis.

¹ Freud, Sigm.: *The Future of an Illusion*. P. 81-82.