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Intersubjective Dimensions of Terrorism and Its Transcendence

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OUTSIDE THE BOX

So far, we[1] have not succeeded in preventing the escalation of the cycle of terrorism and retaliation. With increasing access to weapons of mass destruction, the stakes are higher than ever. Even the viability of life on earth is threatened.

As I complete this chapter in March of 2002, I can't help but wonder what will have happened in the world by the time that you read it. Will we have learned to act wisely to reduce terrorism, or will we have continued on a simplistic, short-sighted, one-sided, "common sense" path? In our commitment to fight terrorism, will we have provoked more, unwittingly fueling the cycle of retaliation and other unintended consequences? Will weapons of mass destruction be used? How many more lives, or even cities, might be destroyed? How much farther will we expand this war? How will U.S. actions be regarded in the world community?

A deep understanding of the extremes of human experience can be useful in designing practical strategies to make us all safer in the near and distant future. Whatever happens will have everything to do with whether we *act consciously* with forethought, insight, and intuition, or whether we *re*act instinctively, impulsively, and righteously. If we use a paradigm that splits the world into right and wrong, good and evil, us against them, and winning or losing in a zero sum game, everyone will eventually lose.

We may be right, we may be good, and we may be gripped by our need to take justified action, but there will be no way out. Acting in this right-wrong paradigm will magnify these same attitudes and feelings in our enemies, who will continue to find new ways of using our power against us, deepening the cycle of retaliation.

When we are outraged by a sense of injury, injustice, and moral violation, retaliation and the desire for revenge are completely natural and understandable. Acting naturally and instinctively, however, can be quite dangerous. It is inside the box. Eliminating terrorism is a tremendous psychological challenge, an uphill struggle that requires consciousness. Carl Jung, the founder of analytical psychology, described consciousness as a work against nature, an *opus contra naturum*. It is negative entropy—a deliberate effort toward development and organization. We have the possibility, though not the probability, of rising above our instinctual impulses. That process requires going outside the box.

The course of history depends on whether we focus only on superficial eradication of *terrorists* or deep eradication of *terrorism*—the psychological, political, economic, social, and spiritual conditions that clearly foster terror.

WHAT TERRORISM TEACHES US ABOUT BEING HUMAN

Albert Einstein said, "The most incomprehensible thing about the universe is that it is comprehensible." We can say that the most incomprehensible thing about terrorism is that it is comprehensible. As long as we say that terrorism defies comprehension and as long as we reduce it to pure "evil," we will not even try to understand it and we will falsely believe that it is impossible to resolve.

People refer to terrorists as subhuman monsters. This attitude forecloses deeper thinking and wiser actions. In *The Interpersonal Theory of Psychiatry* (1953), psychiatrist and psychoanalyst Harry Stack Sullivan said, "everyone is much more simply human than otherwise" (p. 32). What does terrorism teach us about what it means to be human? For those who abhor attempts to understand terrorists because they are evil, subhuman, and don't deserve it, refusing to consider causes of suffering and just grievances, I contend we must do this for our own safety.

The following theses, including definitions of concepts, will be explored in this chapter:

- In order to reduce, eliminate, or transcend terrorism we must first penetrate its true nature. We can even discern a formula of the ingredients that combine to produce terrorism. A multilayered approach, using insights from depth psychology, trauma theory, and systems theory helps us understand the coexisting inner, outer, and intersubjective worlds of terror and thus design effective treatments.

- Terrorism teaches us something about the extremes of human experience and what happens when humans are pushed beyond the limits of what we are designed to tolerate. This kind of analysis offers promising guidance that can provide a way out of cycles of violence

- The first stage in the development of terrorism begins when intolerable life conditions cause suffering that produces internal psychological changes in people. These changes can be understood as a *psychological mutation*, a malignant alteration in the personality, caused by the repeated failure to respond to overwhelming trauma. Intolerable affects that are not treated cannot be endured. Failure to respond to repeated trauma, humiliation, and suffering produces utter hopelessness. When cries for help are not heeded, people are plunged into the depths of despair—an abyss that creates a change in personality. When appropriate methods of trying to get help do not work, people resort to deviant, destructive measures to receive attention, relief of suffering, and justice.

- The next step occurs when the intrapsychic (internal) psychological transformation moves out into the interpersonal, social, and political spheres. With trauma, intolerable affects are evacuated from the self and deposited into another through an unconscious mechanism called *projective identification.* This transforms the subjective experience of the recipient. Terrorism can be considered an act of projective identification. It can be a primitive form of communication about "early forms of mother-infant communication. Bion (1962a) fantasized coercive incursions into and occupation of the personality of another person . . . and healthy "empathic sharing" (Pick 1985, p. 45) . . . a discreet form of intersubjective experience." (Ogden, 1994, pp. 98–99). Projective identification can be healthy or pathological. and can be a way of unconsciously influencing and controlling another.

- This projective identification constitutes a *traumatic reenactment*, a form of communication that draws the recipients into the drama, altering their subjective experience, drawing them into an intersubjective relationship with the terrorists. In the reenactment, the terrorists reverse their roles as victims to become masters of their fate. Traumatic reenactment, as used in psychoanalysis, is the phenomenon of recreating the dynamics of early experience in later life, and inducing old patterns in current relationships. Sigmund Freud referred to this as the "repetition compulsion." From birth we develop a personality organization to survive and adapt to our families and circumstances. We reenact early patterns in psychoanalysis, in work relationships, and in marriage, by provoking others to participate in our drama. This can either be an opportunity for

unhealthy repetition or for a healing transformation if others can receive it as communication and not play into the reenactment.

- The victims of terror are traumatized and are drawn into the process whereby they are provoked to expel their intolerable affects through acts of retaliation. The process escalates if recipients of terrorism act automatically, unconsciously, and self-righteously (which is "natural") through retaliation, thus deepening the cycle of violence. Inner and outer worlds interplay, forming a dynamic system. According to systems theory, this escalation can be considered a *positive feedback spiral*, as actions provoke greater reactions. A positive feedback spiral describes a process of change in living systems where feedback reinforces change, for better or worse, as in escalation of violence.

- *Dehumanization of the Other*—Trauma alters the quality of human relatedness, resulting in an archetypal emotionally charged image of members of the Other ethnic group, race, country, experienced as not being in the same category of humanity. The Other is feared, dreaded, dehumanized, experienced as more powerful and less human, and therefore can be killed without guilt.

- Terrorism is a form of *asymmetrical warfare.* A power imbalance, characterized by feelings of domination and humiliation, is part of the system. We can imagine a "terror system" as a volatile field generated by inequality between a dominant power and a weak power, compounded by great suffering with no hope of relief. This creates an unstable, intense dynamic that sets the stage for the emergence of leaders, recruits, sympathizers, supporters, and targets.

- Our response to terrorism once it erupts is an essential dimension in an unfolding drama—the "dance of terror." How we decipher the messages encoded in acts of terror, how we behave and how we engage with the "terror community" and the world community, will determine the course of escalation or de-escalation. Our contribution to escalation of violence may not be immediately obvious in the realm of "common sense," but is evident upon deep reflection.

- Direct, superficial, commonsense strategies are not effective in increasing global security and can actually make things worse by provoking unintended consequences (blowback). *First order change* focuses concretely on the content, problems, and trying to get rid of symptoms, according to systems and family theory; it does not address the sources of the problem and is generally ineffective in the long term (Watzlawick, Weakland, & Fish, 1974). Unidimensional focus on military strategies and counterterrorism is insufficient and eclipses thinking about other kinds of approaches that can be more powerful

- *Second order change* addresses the level of process and deep structure of the system. Psychologically informed strategies that address root causes and powerful underlying emotional forces that fuel terrorism have far greater promise in increasing global security. These valuable resources are not being tapped. Working on this level, outside the box, allows the system to be transformed (Bandler, Grinder, & Satir, 1976 [p. 138]; Watzlawick et al., 1974).
- A severe global imbalance between investment in life-affirming and -protecting resources and those directed toward death, destruction, domination, and punishment provides a larger context for allowing human suffering and the breeding of terrorism.

THE FORMULAS

A simple formula has been deciphered for the emergence of terrorism and its transcendence (Perlman, 1997). The key fact that terrorism simultaneously stems from and causes human suffering is ironically obvious and ignored.

The steps in the formula are:

> Suffering ➞ Desire for Compassion and Help ➞ Reaching for Help ➞ Help Fails ➞ Dejection, Humiliation, Despair, and Rage ➞ Transformation from Victim to Master of Fate ➞ Compensation for Helplessness by Identification with Powerful Leader Who Stands Up to the Enemy ➞ Evacuation of Suffering into Other Through Acts of Terrorism ➞ Retaliation ➞ More Suffering ➞ Repeat Cycle

If we understand this pattern, we can intervene to break it to reach a different outcome, using this formula to transcend terrorism and reverse the cycle:

> Suffering ➞ Desire for Compassion and Help ➞ Reaching for Help ➞ Help Responds ➞ People Are Calmed, Non-Negotiable Human Needs Are Met ➞ Conflict Is Contained ➞ Repair and Healing ➞ Progress ➞ Cycle Reversed

The critical component is intervening to alleviate suffering as early as possible. Even when it seems too late, everything must be done to address and contain trauma. What is needed is visionary, effective leadership with a strong moral imagination that emphasizes adequate responsiveness to human suffering.

HUMAN SUFFERING, TRAUMA, AND HEALING

The most salient feature of terrorism concerns the gross and repeated failure to respond to human suffering in its early stages and the systematic compounding of consequences.

We are designed with the provision to recover from "normal" trauma such as the loss of a parent or a natural catastrophe when the community responds in a healing manner with recognition, compassion, empathy, rituals, memorials, and so forth. Failure to provide these responses results in complicated mourning and exacerbation of the trauma.

Religious rituals as well as spontaneous outpourings contain elements of healing. Consider the response to the September 11 terrorist attacks—memorials, rituals, concerts, prayer services, and the gatherings at Union Square, which became a public space for healing filled with candles, flowers, activities, and so forth. All of these phenomena demonstrate the archetypal need for healing experiences.

Malicious, repetitive, or continuous inescapable trauma, such as abuse or war, is complicated by psychological factors including humiliation, domination, fear, terror, hate, rage, despair, and grief and by inadequate responses to these. Recognition, protection, support, love, truth, and justice help wounded people heal, find meaning, recover, and even emerge stronger in the best-case scenarios. Repeated trauma without a healing response can push people with fragile egos beyond the breaking point. Those with positive early life experiences, which form a solid core, can draw upon reserves that can enable them to better endure trauma. [2]

It is especially crushing when hope is elevated and then dashed. Palestinians, who were hopeful and jubilant at the signing of the Oslo accords, saw a serious decline in their economy and the rapid expansion of settlements. The *mujahideen* of Afghanistan who were elated after defeating the Soviets were abandoned to live in harsh misery.

Dashed hope produces a keen sense of rage, futurelessness, and deep despair. Having nothing left to live for can inspire fundamentalism and suicidality. It transforms victimhood to martyrdom, with compensatory mastery, pride, and justification.

Living under slavery, occupation, oppression, and other collective trauma can render traumatized adults incapable of responding adequately to their children. Collective trauma affects the whole society and is transmitted from generation to generation. Worsening conditions over time magnify frustration and despair. The loss of a glorious past and feeling the acute yearnings of one's parents with no hope in sight pervades the experience of growing up in misery while feeling envy and humiliation associated with those who have privilege and power.

A healing process needs to be physical, psychological, social, political, economic, and spiritual.[3] Failure to receive soothing is intolerable and experienced as a retraumatization. Bystanders who fail to stop the pain are also targets of anger, terror, and hostage taking.

Trauma renders people susceptible to manipulation by powerful leaders who use symbols and language in ways that provide hope and dignity, as we see with Hitler,

Milosovic, bin Laden, and others. Punishment also makes people hypnotically susceptible and obedient to authority.

Oppressive, authoritarian, patriarchal, gender-split cultures in war-torn countries are fertile breeding grounds for terrorism, with internal and external sources of oppression. Massive collective trauma generates fear, which intensifies oppression within a society. Individual trauma converges with mass psychology, as people get swept up in the group mind.

These cultures demand fierce group loyalty and idealization. Suppression of criticism of one's own group makes outside scapegoats appealing targets for blame, outlets for discharge of tension generated in one's group. There may be legitimate grievances, but the intensity and direction of the rage are overdetermined.

Continuous unresolved suffering in the context of a power imbalance creates an unstable psychological and political condition in which intolerable affects are unconsciously evacuated from the self or the group, and projected into the Other through projective identification. This expands the cycle of terror.

A sign of collective wisdom is the emergence of new political rituals, such as truth and reconciliation processes, war crimes tribunals, and reintegration of child soldiers into communities, akin to many ancient religious practices. These processes acknowledge suffering, prevent transmission of trauma, end cycles of violence, and assist the society in healing.

PSYCHE AND SYSTEM

Psychoanalytic treatment of trauma sheds light on the dynamics of terrorism. It is based on people who have suffered abuse and entered into psychoanalytic treatment, primarily educated people who can afford psychoanalysis. Sophisticated techniques developed over decades demonstrate how the effects of trauma can be contained, healed, and transcended. We can apply a therapeutic posture to politics.

Even people without trauma can be swept up by powerful social forces. Social psychology experiments have demonstrated that even well-educated, privileged American youth can behave cruelly, as revealed in the work of Philip Zimbardo (2002), social psychologist and president of the American Psychological Association. In his well-known Stanford prison experiment, students assigned in a simulation to roles of either prisoners or guards became so intensely absorbed in playing their roles destructively that the two-week experiment had to be terminated after six days. If experimental conditions can drive college students to be abusive in a few days, we can imagine the effects of real, prolonged physical and psychological suffering.

REPEATED TRAUMA AND PSYCHOLOGICAL MUTATION

According to self-psychologist Robert Stolerow (1991), trauma generates pathology by a two-stage process. The experience of trauma itself need not cause pathology. After trauma, people naturally reach out for care, comfort, validation, and support. When this reaching out is met with silence, disbelief, rebuff, or collusion, a pathogenic process ensues. Rejection deepens the trauma, literally adding insult to injury.

When attempts to secure help are met, recovery and healing take place, preventing pathology and/or later violence. Thus bystanders bear a significant responsibility.

If the pattern of trauma and rebuff is repeated, people can be radically plunged into an intolerable abyss, causing a psychological mutation. Harry Stack Sullivan described his conceptualization of *malevolent transformation*, "calculated to get around the idea that man is essentially evil." In *The Interpersonal Theory of Psychiatry* (1953), Sullivan observed that children who had certain kinds of early experiences became malevolent. People were denied tenderness and were met with reactions that led ". . . frequently to . . . being disadvantaged, made anxious, being made fun of. . . . Under these circumstances, the developmental course changes to the point that the perceived need for tenderness brings a foresight of anxiety or pain" (p. 213). Instead of showing a need for tenderness, "the child shows something else, and that something else is the basic, malevolent attitude, the attitude that one lives among enemies . . ." (p. 214).

In people fortunate enough to be raised by loving adults, vulnerable feelings carry the expectation of comfort, while in these children, mere feelings of vulnerability signal the expectation of harshness. Tender feelings in themselves become terrifying.

In *The Primitive Edge of Experience* (1989), psychoanalyst Thomas Ogden describes *autistic-contiguous position*, a primitive, raw, sensation-dominated dimension of human experience. In a nurturing environment, we are provided with "a feeling of softness that we later associate with ideas like security, safety, relaxation, warmth, and affection." When there is instead the presence of harshness, it leads to "autistic-contiguous anxiety," characterized by "feelings of disconnectedness, fragmentation, 'impending disintegration of one's surface' and terrifying feelings" (pp. 67–68). To defend against these intolerable feelings, one forms a hard, protective shell. Relationships are characterized by superficial imitation. "Imitation serves not only as a form of perception, a defense, and a way of 'holding onto' (being shaped by) the other, it serves as . . ." (pp. 74–75) a way of relating to people.

The harsh early experience of the young recruits described in Ahmed Rashid's *The Taliban* (2000) are consistent with the forms of psychological damage described above. Trauma is evident in the later actions of these youth, aged 14 to 24, who joined Mullah Omar.

> These boys were a world apart from the Mujaheddin whom I had got
> to know in the 1980s . . . These boys were from a generation who had
> never seen their country at peace. . . . They had no memories of their

tribes, their elders, their neighbors, nor the complex mix of ethnic peoples that make up their villages and their homeland. These boys were what the war had thrown up like the sea's surrender on the beach of history.

They had no memories from the past, no plans for the future, while the present was everything. They were literally the orphans of the war, the rootless and the restless, the jobless and the economically deprived with little self-knowledge. They admired war because it was the only occupation they could possibly adapt to. Their simple belief in a messianic, puritan Islam which had been drummed into them by simple village mullahs was the only prop they could hold onto and which gave their lives some meaning.

Many in fact were orphans who had grown up without women—mothers, sisters or cousins. Others were *madrassa* students who had grown up in strict confines of segregated refugee camp life where the comings and goings of female relatives were curtailed. . . . these boys had lived rough, tough lives. They had simply never known the company of women (pp. 32–33)

Inner trauma, unresolved grief, the absence of softness and holding, the severing from females and qualities referred to as "the feminine," the loss of childhood experiences of joy, play, tenderness, freedom, and love are played out locally and globally. The suppression of women, the suppression of manifestations of Eros, the life force—females, music, and kite flying—are a projection of an inner drama. Those qualities that have been killed off on the inside are now killed off on the outside through representatives who embody those killed-off qualities.

This bereft generation is also vulnerable to "trauma bonding," described in *Bearing Witness* (Bloom & Reichert, 1998).

Even more ominous for repeatedly traumatized people is their pronounced tendency to use highly abnormal and dangerous relationships as their normal idea of what relationships are supposed to be. (Herman, 1992; James, 1994; Van der Kolk, 1989.) Trauma-bonding is a relationship based on terror and twisting of normal attachment behavior into something perverse and cruel (p. 139)

So these traumatized, war-orphaned, refugee boys formed a powerful, pathological attachment to their authoritarian substitute parental figures, who exploited their vulnerability.

THE DYNAMICS OF LEADERS AND RECRUITS

Across cultures, young adult males tend to join in groups—military, athletic, or religious groups—in which they are intensely trained by powerful authority figures (officers, coaches, or clergy). An archetypal energy attracts young males to such experiences, which provide identity, community, security, and perhaps a sense of superiority.

Terrorist cultures contain an aberrant, traumatized, exaggerated, pathological variation of these elements. The damaged boys described in *The Taliban* (2000) were vulnerable to enchantment by powerful leaders, who provided a sense of coherence. Trauma rendered them vulnerable to manipulative leaders who used fundamentalist beliefs to extend their power and offer appeal of an afterlife when this life is intolerable.

Terrorist leaders have been described as malignant narcissists in *Bloodlines* (Volkan, 1997), and paranoid in *Political Paranoia* (Robins & Post, 1997) with delusions of persecution and grandeur, "intended to overcome the sense of inferiority, unworthiness, and unlovability." (p.16).

According to Volkan (1997), "Terrorist leaders, however, are rarely mentally ill. Many are highly intelligent with the ability for strategic planning, even if personal identity problems are common among them . . . terrorist leaders tend to shore up their internal sense of self by seeking the power to hurt and by expressing their sense of entitlement to power" (p. 161).

Interviews reveal that terrorist leaders, in childhood, experienced beatings, incest, violations of boundaries, victimization, rejection, abandonment, and severe humiliation, often by their enemies. Terrorist leaders recreate an oppressive environment within their own communities in a traumatic reenactment.

> So strong is the terrorist cell's perceived need to silence opposition and establish unassailable authority within its own ethnic group, that a campaign of internally directed terror—toward people of its own ethnicity—is often considered essential to an effective campaign against the other dominant large group. . . . Fear is generated both to crush internal opposition and to disrupt the enemy (p. 159)

Inducing fear is a technique used by terrorist leaders to intensify identification with the leader and a sense of security with his power. When the dominant group retaliates

> . . . the fear and anxiety of young people in the terrorist's ethnic group increase. This escalation of violence, combined with the rage toward the enemy group, propels members of the terrorist's ethnic group to rally around the terrorist leader. . . . Retaliation by the dominant group may only intensify the terrorist followers' identification with their own leaders (Volkan, 1997, p. 164)

We can clearly see the ripple effects of terror and trauma, where individual trauma is played out within the group and then projected onto external targets, who may behave in ways that make them good hooks for these projections, thus unwittingly playing into the dance of terror. Recruits cannot challenge their own leaders, and may not even be aware of being dominated and oppressed by them. They are confused by feelings of loyalty, dependence, and traumatic bonding. It is easy to focus their rage on an outer enemy, who may or may not have contributed to their suffering but is nonetheless a permissible target. Family therapist and theorist Murray Bowen's theory of triangulation states that when there is tension in a two-party system, the parties will seek out a third focus to reduce the tension between them. This is a dynamic in scapegoating (Bowen, 1978).

Volkan states that terrorist leaders with a diagnosis of malignant narcissism are similar to serial killers. Christopher Bollas's study of serial killers in his chapter "The Structure of Evil" gives us insights into the psyche of the masterminds of terror (Bollas, 1995).

"The Structure of Evil" is exemplified by the story of temptation in the Garden of Eden, where " . . . the 'Evil one' presents himself as good and earns the other's trust." The structure contains a link between the "power of the tempter and the weakness of the subject's resolve"   and the "power of the charmer was seen as proportionate to the recipient's need" (pp. 182–183).

Bollas's brilliant description of how serial killers reenact their own experience of annihilation of the self may shed light on understanding people like bin Laden, Hitler, Saddam Hussein, Milosovic, and others. The innocence of the victim is part of the dynamic of the structure of evil, as the killer reenacts the soul murder of his own innocence. Following the 2002 murder of *Wall Street Journal* reporter Daniel Pearl, his family said in a public statement that they could not imagine anyone murdering someone with such a "gentle soul." Bollas's observations tragically explain how the victim's innocence is part of the dynamic.

The malignant narcissism of these killers can be understood through the story of Satan's fall. Bollas refers to Milton's *Paradise Lost*:

> . . . illuminating how loss of love and catastrophic displacement can foster an envious hatred of life mutating into an identification with the anti-life, Milton reaches the nature and effect of trauma. The prince of darkness is a traumatized soul who feels condemned to work his trauma upon the human race, trying to bring others to an equivalent fall. It is impossible to exclude from our consideration of Milton's Satan the overwhelming power and structural malevolence of God's authority, which seems grotesquely harmonized with the lust for power to which Satan succumbs. (p. 184)

Bollas found that serial killers had experiences that could be described as soul murder, or annihilation of the self, in childhood. Like the vampire myth, the serial killer is a killed self, condemned to remain in a state of living death. He reenacts his own psychic death by replaying it with innocent victims who represent his

killed innocent self. Killing is an attempt at transformation from victim to master. Bollas urges us to consider the complexity of murder rather than reducing it to pure evil.

> Evil, considered as a structure, points to a complex reorganization of trauma in which the subject recollects the loss of love and the birth of hate by putting subsequent others through the unconscious terms of a malevolent extinction of the self. (pp. 219–220)

Applying the metaphor of Satan's fall from the serial killer to the terrorist leader, we can get a sense of a psychological drama embedded within a political drama. A narcissistic person with intelligence, charm, and talent, having endured malevolent trauma and wrenching humiliation, is driven by the compulsion to restore his esteem, gain mastery, and redress past injustices. Unlike the serial killer, the terrorist leader is drawn into a larger, mythical story, flooded with archetypal energies. In this volatile field, a person with the right qualities can fill the leading role, both manipulating and being manipulated by the powerful forces in the system.

THE POLITICS OF ENVY AND HUMILIATION

Envy and humiliation are significant in histories of individuals and groups who become violent. We became aware of humiliation caused by bullying in the Columbine school shootings. We also see murders after someone is fired from a job or fails an important grade. Education about bullying focuses on the interpersonal level, with little application to global bullying and humiliation.

The power of humiliation cannot be underestimated. Humiliation and envy, which go together, are exceedingly destructive emotions. Being humiliated is like being filled with poison that has to be expelled in order to regain composure. Humiliation carries a narcissistic wound that contains an implicit demand for rectification, often by taking down the humiliator.

In a videotaped message by Osama bin Laden that aired in October 2001, he emphasized the relationship between the attacks and the fact that his people had been humiliated for eighty years. Regardless of what people think of bin Laden, it behooves us to take the issue of humiliation seriously for our own security.

Shibley Telhami, Anwar Sadat professor for peace and development at the University of Maryland, in referring to the Palestinian occupation said that humiliation is more important than poverty as a cause of violence and terrorism (2001). During the Cuban missile crisis of 1962, John and Bobby Kennedy recognized that they had to find a way to let Khrushchev save face in order to end the threat of nuclear attack. Intelligent political maneuvers are designed to consider face-saving strategies.

TERRORISM AS A TRAUMATIC REENACTMENT

People often engage in behaviors that bring them unhappiness and pain. Freud called this the "repetition compulsion." He said that even more powerful than the drive for pleasure is the drive to repeat, even if what we repeat is painful. Terrorist leaders and recruits play out their traumas inside and outside their groups.

From an evolutionary perspective, we would imagine that this pervasive pattern must have some survival value. It seems cosmically unfair that people who have had the great misfortune of suffering trauma are doomed to reenact it and hurt others. Reenactment is a way the psyche speaks.

Overwhelming experiences "frozen" in the psyche continue to exert effects by constricting psychic freedom in ways that are detrimental to quality of life and relationships. As a matter of adaptation and survival, we would hypothesize that these unassimilated elements in the psyche could find a way to be recognized and processed so that a person could develop and improve his or her quality of life.

An example of a healthy expression of this survival mechanism is a baby's cry to signal pain. Adults who hear the cry are affected by the emotion. They cannot tolerate the cry and wish to make it better. They respond with empathy, address the need, and provide satisfaction, security, and trust. This idea is applied to trauma in *Bearing Witness* (Bloom & Reichert, 1998).

> Children who have been traumatized cannot heal themselves alone. It is one of the tragedies of human existence that what begins as life-saving coping skills, ends up delivering us into the hands of compulsive repetition. We are destined to reenact what we cannot remember. Freud called it the *repetition compulsion* and he said, "He produces it not as a memory, but as an action; he repeats it, without, of course, knowing that he is repeating. . . . He cannot escape from this compulsion to repeat; and in the end we understand that this is his way of remembering." (Van der Kolk & Ducey, 1989, p. 271) (p. 141)

It is both a way of remembering and of communicating the memory to others. In an unconscious process of traumatic reenactment, one provokes other people to recreate experiences similar to the original trauma. In the reenactment, a person may alternate playing both sides of their experience, becoming a victim again or attempting to master the situation by enacting the part of the perpetrator with someone more helpless who represents their traumatized self.

REENACTMENT THROUGH PROJECTIVE IDENTIFICATION

Reenactment can either set the stage for retraumatization or it can contain the seeds for healing. Through an intersubjective experience, unconsciously motivated, psychoanalysts are drawn into the roles of abuser and abused at different moments.

When an individual or group reenacts early trauma, others are induced to retaliate, and are unconsciously drawn into the repetition. The pull to reenact is strong. Resisting reenactment is a conscious, deliberate effort, a "work against nature," required to contain this process.

Projective identification was introduced by psychoanalyst Melanie Klein and developed further by others (Ogden, 1989). It is a common aspect of intersubjective experience, a form of unconscious communication in which one transmits one's own internal experience to another, like a psychic infection. It can be euphoric or it can be frightening or enraging.

With trauma, projective identification is an unconscious mechanism by which one evacuates intolerable affects and *deposits* them into the Other. The Other may feel possessed by alien psychic contents, and may be pulled into the reenactment. This way a person may influence and control others through this unconscious process.

In therapy, the analyst may be provoked by the client's toxic, unassimilated affects, and be pulled to retaliate through rejection or hostile interpretation. Intersubjective psychoanalysts are trained to resist the pull to reenact and retaliate. The analyst provides a "container," a safe "holding environment," in the words of pediatrician and psychoanalyst Donald Winnicott (Greenberg & Mitchell, 1983), and can receive this as a communication about preverbal experience. At the most difficult moment, the analyst can sense what the client must have felt like as a child. The analyst uses this awareness for empathy, which has a healing effect and helps metabolize the negative affect. It makes the unconscious conscious, remembers the forgotten, and empowers one to master affects that previously gripped the person. One no longer need reenact the drama, and is freer to have more satisfying relationships. The goal is consciousness and liberation from the cycle of suffering.

Knowledge from this "laboratory" for processing trauma has applications to terrorism, but requires institutional and political support. Retaliation draws us into the reenactment, plays into the projections, escalates cycles of violence, and prevents consciousness.

INTERSUBJECTIVITY, ROLE REVERSAL, AND PERVERSE EMPATHY

Terrorism is an intersubjective experience. The intolerable affects of the terrorists are projected into the recipients of terror—the powerful, the envied, the humiliating, the privileged ones. Terrorism, as a form of projective identification and a form of communication, involuntarily draws its victims into its drama. The victims experience a transformation of their subjectivity, as they are now possessed by terror. They now feel the powerlessness, frustration, grief, and terror previously carried by the terrorist.

The victims are now engaged in an intense psychic relationship with the terrorists, and are filled with a new, unfamiliar, alien set of emotions. Roles are reversed.

HELPLESS	POWERFUL
VICTIM	MASTER OF FATE
DOMINATED	IN CONTROL
INFERIOR	SUPERIOR
ENVIOUS	ENTITLED
HUMILIATED	PROUD
TERRORIZED	OBLIVIOUS

Terrorism can be thought of as a perversion of the desire for empathy. After September 11, 2001, everyone from bin Laden to America's allies said in one form or another, "Now you know how we feel" with a sense of grim satisfaction. It is a universal human experience to want others to know how we feel when we are suffering. Perhaps the desire for empathy is an unrelenting nonnegotiable requirement. Again, according to needs theory, if empathy is not naturally forthcoming it will be extracted in a pathological manner.

TERRORISM AS A PERVERSION OF THE DESIRE FOR TRUTH, FREEDOM, AND JUSTICE

Like empathy, we also have a universal urge for life, truth, justice, equality, dignity, and freedom. When empathy, truth, and justice are not available, they will be secured by any means. As Freud said, if sexuality is thwarted, it will seek expression by devious means. There is an instinctual drive for truth and justice that I have coined as "verido," like the drive for sex, called "libido." As with libido, if the drive for truth and justice is blocked, verido will seek perverse means for realization.

When one is suffering, one wants recognition of truth and redress. When there is inequality, one yearns for equality. If these are not forthcoming, an act of terrorism, unconsciously designed, attempts to secure these needs at any cost. Attention is gained. Perverse empathy is achieved when the other feels pain and loss, too. By making the powerful helpless, equality is achieved. It would have been preferable by far to achieve equality in a healthier way.

PUNIMANIA AND THE URGE TO RETALIATE

Intolerable affects projected onto the privileged ones feel alien and unfamiliar. Many of the recipients, in shock, grief-stricken and enraged, may desire to expel their feelings through revenge, thus deepening the cycle of violence. However, the privileged ones have more psychic freedom, capacity for reflection, flexibility, and creativity. They may be less driven by an enduring sense of historical grievance.

Like the psychoanalyst, they have the potential to resist the pull to retaliate. In fact, many family members of people who died in the September 11 attacks started a group called "Not in My Name" and advocated against retaliation, because they did not want others to suffer as they had.

Nonetheless, urges to retaliate feel justified. Citizens who question this are considered unpatriotic, anti-American, or naïve. Punishment, or revenge, is intensely felt to be required because "they" deserve it. It is uncritically accepted as necessary, even if it makes things worse for the punisher. Punishment is deemed more important than its consequences, and it often leads to unintended consequences, now popularly known as "blowback."

I have coined the term "punimania" to describe the overwhelming urge to punish, which may or may not be justified, when punishment: 1) does not address or resolve the root causes of the problem, 2) generates more suffering for innocent people in widening circles over time and space, and 3) has the probability of making things worse, even for the punisher. There are many examples of this, but an obvious one is the escalation of violence between the Israelis and Palestinians.

What if we paused to imagine that the feelings of the terrorists' people have been deposited into us? This by no means condones the terrorist. Is there a way to do global therapy to contain and transmute the trauma, to use it for knowledge, empathy, and consciousness? It is in our interest because we don't want to generate more suffering that will surely come back at us. Can we differentiate the few terrorist leaders from the masses, decent leaders, and governments whose grievances they express, and regard them in a less polarizing, provocative manner? Can we reduce hatred toward us? The response would not be to gratify the terrorists, but to consider the suffering of the masses that led to the terrorist acts, and to be careful not to engage in policies that increase suffering anywhere. This is enlightened self-interest.

FROM VICTIM TO MASTER OF ONE'S FATE

When there seems to be no way out, terrorism is a way of transforming victimhood to mastery. Being weak and feeling victimized are intolerable psychological states. Object relations theorist and psychoanalyst W. R. D. Fairbairn observed that people would rather be bad than weak.[4] (Greenberg & Mitchell, 1983). Vamik Volkan, psychoanalyst and former president of the International Society of Political Psychology, observed that people would rather die physically than psychologically (1985), giving the example of Armenians' refusal to accept Azerbaijani blood after the Armenian earthquake. There are many other examples.

In "Searching for Answers to Gaza's Suicide Bombings" (1997), Andoni observed that "The intifada seemed to turn Palestinians from victims to masters of their fate." Likewise, Oliver and Steinberg, in a study of suicide bombers, describe suicide bombing as "a preemptive strike." Rather than let the enemy kill them, they kill themselves to deprive enemy of the experience, "attaining some kind of

mastery over the inevitable," over the destruction of the self. In a CNN interview in March 2002, a potential suicide bomber said, "They kill me if I go here, they kill me if I go there. I might as well kill myself and take some of them with me." Ironically, it is psychologically similar to the Masada phenomenon of "Kiddush HaShem," the sanctification of God's name, whereby it is a holy act to take one's life rather than allow the enemy to do so.

This helps us understand martyrdom, which in 2002 had been elevated to the level of cultural heroism, with more willing volunteers, than when the above statements were made.

SYSTEMS THEORY AND TERRORISM AS ASYMMETRICAL WARFARE

We refer to terrorism as the warfare of the weak, although certain actions of powerful states fit the original definitions of terror. Thus, a primary aspect in the drama of terrorism is the desire of the powerless to bring down the powerful. This is a universal mythological motif that we see in stories like David and Goliath and Jack and the Beanstalk.

Terrorism is a form of asymmetrical warfare. It is a recourse for people who are oppressed, occupied, or dominated. According to needs theory (Fogg, 2001), people prefer to get their needs met by decent means, and attempt to do so at first. If reasonable attempts fail, they will resort to more devious, extreme methods. If needs could be met decently, then cruel, manipulative, dangerous leaders would lose public support.

No one is satisfied to remain in a position of inequality and deprivation of basic physical and psychological needs. Power imbalances are inherently unstable in the long term, as we have seen with the civil rights, women's rights, gay rights, and other movements. In a world with increasing access to weapons of mass destruction, this fact is very worrisome. As long as people feel weak, inferior, dominated, and deprived, they will be naturally driven to even the score, just as water seeks its own level. This is a law of nature. When a team of healthy, secure, privileged youth loses a basketball game, its members are in a psychological state of being intensely preoccupied with winning the next time to restore their position. Such a desire is all the more intense in the case of true and prolonged humiliation and suffering.

Processes of asymmetrical warfare and cycles of retaliation follow patterns that can be understood in terms of systems theories. Davidson (1983)says, ". . . because life is governed by the natural laws of systems, a successful participant must learn the rules" (p. 95).

Family systems therapists apply concepts from general systems theory to family dynamics. When progress in individual therapy was undermined in the family, they discovered that family systems attempt to maintain homeostatic balance through negative feedback loops, self-correcting processes, acting like thermostats. Lynn Hoffman refers to these as the "the first cybernetics" (1971).

Hoffman quotes Magoroh Maruyama, who emphasizes the greater importance of "the second cybernetics," "which he sees as an essential agency for change in living forms" (p. 285). These processes are called positive feedback loops, deviation amplifying mutual causal processes, positive feedback spirals, (Napier & Whitaker, 1978) (p. 82), and schizmogenesis (Bateson, 1972) (p. 324), which can have the effect of changing systems, for better or worse.

> Such systems are ubiquitous: accumulation of capital in industry, evolution of living organisms, the rise of cultures of various types, interpersonal processes which produce mental illness, international conflicts, and the processes which are loosely termed as "vicious circles" and "compound interests"; in short, all processes of mutual causal relationships that amplify an insignificant or accidental kick, build up deviation, and diverge form the initial condition. (Maruyama in Hoffman, p. 285)

Deviation amplifying mutual causal processes reinforce change in either direction, as "when a child's behavior steadily improves with praise or deteriorates with blame" (p. 203). Davidson (1983) also describes how a viable system can be destroyed by feeding back inaccurate and misinformation, as in biased journalism. The nuclear arms race and the escalation of terrorism are examples of destructive positive feedback spirals.

It is easy to see the tragic escalation of retaliation between the Israelis and the Palestinians, which shifted from a negative feedback loop to a positive feedback spiral in the fall of 2000. The spiral continued, even while knowing that each "justified" action would provoke another, worse "justified" reaction. If we applied this knowledge of feedback loops consciously, we could avoid escalation and design strategies and policies that would reduce violence.

An example of a conscious, creative positive feedback spiral is described by Charles Osgood (1981), who developed the approach to de-escalation called "graduated and reciprocated initiatives in tension-reduction," or GRIT." GRIT aims "to reduce and control international tension levels and to create an atmosphere of mutual trust within which negotiations on critical military and political issues can have a better chance of succeeding." There have been some historical cases where this has been applied successfully as part of a complex strategy in tension reduction and violence prevention.

Let's return to the quote from Bollas (1995) in light of positive feedback loops. "It is impossible to exclude from our consideration of Milton's Satan the overwhelming power and structural malevolence of God's authority, which seems grotesquely harmonized with the lust for power to which Satan succumbs" (p. 184). God and Satan are bound to each other in this dynamic tension. The position of God sounds like the position of the United States, having "overwhelming power" and what is sometimes perceived as "malevolent authority" by our enemies. The enemy's "lust for power" is provoked by the United States'

monopolistic possession of power. It is telling that the enemy calls the United States "the Great Satan." The greater the United States' exercise of power, the greater the enemy's reaction, thus illustrating the dynamics of this dance of terror.

There is no amount of power a nation can exercise that won't eventually evoke an asymmetrical response. Domination and control might have worked for millennia, but in a world with weapons of mass destruction there is no endgame to the dance of domination. Leaders, recruits, sympathizers, and supporters will arise to seek justice and dignity. They may believe the only way they can be uplifted is to take the dominant power down. Let us avoid playing into this.

The only endgame to the dance of power imbalance is the restoration of balance and equality. This is as much a matter of survival as it is of justice. According to the law of opposites, as the maxim goes, "you create what you resist." The United States has yet to discover the paradox that offers a way out of the dance of terror, that it can gain power (and security) by giving power.

PARADOX AND THE LIMITATIONS OF COUNTERTERRORISM

On September 11, the U.S.-led coalition became committed to an all-out "war on terrorism." While preparing to attack the perceived enemy, members of the Bush administration stated that the likelihood of retaliation was 100 percent, expecting more casualties at home than among the military abroad. There was widespread acceptance of the idea that the United States had no choice but to attack, even though it would provoke reprisals. There was virtually no challenge to the inevitability of escalation and the risk of innocent lives, and little imagination for outside-the-box strategies that might reduce terrorism. It was implicitly assumed that no other options existed.

We imagine terrorism as a permanent presence, hovering "out there" independent of our actions, waiting to get us no matter what we do. All we can possibly do is to wipe it out ourselves, not admitting that we know that such a thing is impossible. We have committed to counterterrorist experts and activities. While police action and surveillance are important components of a sound, complex strategy for eliminating terrorism, the singular emphasis on counterterrorism is limited. Moreover, unilateral bombing and refusal of international justice are likely to provoke more hatred and resentment, leading to unintended consequences that ultimately make the United States more vulnerable. Cooperation with international justice might make U.S. citizens less of a target, alter the global meaning of justice, and more widely distribute the resentment.

No amount of counterterrorism can make the United States secure, and may ultimately make it less secure. Efforts to suppress a symptom without addressing the cause will create more problems. Using common sense, being right, righteous, and reasonable usually makes things worse. If the United States succeeded in eliminating 99 percent of terrorism, it would still not be secure, for the remaining 1 percent could still do great damage. Counterterrorism approaches alone do not con-

tain the seeds for ending terrorism and can never succeed completely because they do not penetrate the deeper nature of terrorism, only its superficial manifestation.

TRAUMA, GENDER, AND THE SPLITTING OF OPPOSITES

In optimal development, we achieve a healthy balance between the opposites—between self and other, male and female, us and them, life and death. With a traumatic upbringing, the opposites are split apart and out of balance.

Globally we have a severe imbalance in values, activities, and investments associated with life preservation and with destructive power. Life-sustaining qualities are falsely associated with "the feminine"—the earth, health, education, food, shelter, and so on. They are underfunded compared with military expenditures. We pay more to kill than to heal and protect. We pay more to punish than to prevent. We pay more to bomb than to build. In the United States, we spend more on building prisons than on schools. We get what we pay for.

Eros is defined here as the life force. It is sometimes mistakenly defined as "the feminine principle." In violent cultures, Eros activities are falsely assigned to the feminine, and denied to males, so both live a one-sided, unhealthy existence (Perlman, 1995). Gender-split cultures tend to be more violent, the Taliban being a prime example. Collective trauma causes a gender splitting that deprives males of life-affirming activities. They are required to deny essential elements of their personalities, which is a form of trauma. This generates the opposites of Eros, according to Jung; they are hate, fear (Phobos), and the will to power. "Where love reigns, there is no will to power; and where the will to power is paramount, love is lacking. The one is but the shadow of the other." (Jung, 1953, para. 78)

We have a global imbalance between life and death, us and them, the so-called masculine and feminine. While analyzing the dynamics of terrorism, we cannot ignore these imbalances that give rise to so much suffering. The Appendix features a chart by OS Earth, Inc. (www.osearth.com,), an updated version from Buckminster Fuller's World Game Institute. It is a snapshot of the global imbalance between life and death, between love and fear. It is somehow easier to come up with money for destruction than for creation, as consciousness is a work against nature. This is an image of our collective psyche. Out of fear, we act in ways that increase our fear, generating self-fulfilling prophecies and positive feedback spirals. This is a context that produces suffering, despair, fear, misery, humiliation, envy, and asymmetry—a context in which terrorism can arise. For a fraction of what the world spends on weapons, we could solve many of the root causes of violence.[5]

A WORK AGAINST NATURE

Einstein said, "We have made quantum leaps in technology in our age, but unless we have another quantum leap in human relations, there will be a catastrophe." Davidson (1983) uses the image of the Rubik's cube. If we focus on solving one facet of the problem, trying to get one side of the cube all red, for example, we actually set back the solution of the problem as a whole. Our intense approach to counterterrorism is like working on one facet of the Rubik's cube.

We know that it can't end terrorism, but we do not know what else to do. Uncommon sense is indicated here. This involves paradoxical thinking and psychological insight.

CONSCIOUS POLITICS AND POLITICAL EVOLUTION

Einstein also said, "The problems that we have created as a result of the level of thinking that we have done thus far cannot be solved at the same level of thinking at which we created them. "

Living under the sword of Damocles, we Americans need to be exquisitely careful about our how we conduct ourselves in the world. The way we conduct ourselves can increase or decrease hatred and resentment against us. In pondering the questions of "why they hate us," we cannot afford to reduce self-examination to assertions of how good we really are. Accusations about being unpatriotic are inside the box and prevent us from acting in ways that make us safer. These "ego responses " are understandable, but not helpful.

The messages we send do make a difference. Saying that we are right and strong (even if this is true) and that we will dominate and defeat, will increase tension, fear, and resentment around the world. It can inspire and motivate desires to attack us. If we are highly conscious of the asymmetrical nature of warfare, we will use language and actions that do not emphasize the asymmetry, which is humiliating and dangerous. We might imagine ways of elevating others for our own safety. People are most dangerous when they are afraid, so we may want to be reassuring and be extra careful about provoking fear. We can be aware that we, too, are more dangerous when we are afraid.

We need a new approach, which I call "conscious politics." It comprises many concepts such as "political wisdom" or "political maturity." Like Daniel Goleman's groundbreaking concept, and bestseller, *Emotional Intelligence* (1995), we can envision a "political intelligence" that can be applied to reducing terrorism and transforming our posture in global politics. I use the term "transcendent politics," in which policies transcend particular interests, dualistic thinking, and consider optimal, win-win strategies with long-term benefit.

Einstein's comment about a new level of thinking suggests a "political evolution." Each century is bloodier than the last. A Chinese proverb states that "If we keep going in the same direction, we will end up where we are headed." Darwin's

theory of natural selection, of "survival of the fittest," won't have the opportunity to play itself out if the politically maladaptive members of the species possess weapons of mass destruction. (including the United States, who possess the most are perceived as threatening by other countries. We must evolve new political forms.

This approach is not "political." It is not about right or left, liberal or conservative, Republican or Democrat, right or wrong. Dualistic, polarizing positions are inside the box and are part of the problem. This attitude deepens the conflict, makes it intractable, causes more trauma, and sets back progress. A therapeutic approach to politics is preoccupied with understanding all sides, the alleviation of suffering, healing from trauma, protection, problem solving, reversing positive feedback spirals, and ending the generational transmission of trauma.

"Conscious politics" is also "egoless politics," concerned with the welfare of the whole. It requires humility and giving up a dominating posture. Volkan's observation that "we would rather die physically than psychologically" applies to the United States as well; humility would be a kind of psychological death to the arrogant American ego. (Jung said that the death of the ego is a victory for the greater Self, for wholeness and consciousness.)

METAFORCE

The peace, antiwar, and disarmament movements have less credibility now than ever before. They have not articulated a plausible alternative strategy to military attack (Perlman, 2001). We have two main categories in our awareness—either attack or do nothing. Since doing nothing is untenable, we feel compelled to take military action. As a poor third alternative, negotiation and conflict resolution seem ineffective in dealing with brutal regimes.

Richard Wendell Fogg (2000) says that we don't need to abolish war, as "peaceniks" claim. We need to *replace* war. Fogg says we must use force—political force, economic force, social force, psychological, educational, physical, moral, intellectual, spiritual, emotional, and aesthetic forms of force—in combinations forming complex strategies (p. 179). He suggests systematic strategies, including reducing the opponent's fear, avoiding cornering the opponent, avoiding retaliating, satisfying just grievances, understanding the meaning of an attack, removing pressures, using mediators, designing win-win solutions, and so on, including some harsher nonviolent approaches when the more positive ones don't work. Fogg's ideas are consistent with some of the observations made by Martha Crenshaw (1999), Wesleyan professor and terrorism expert, at a special meeting at the United States Institute for Peace in April 1999, on "How Terrorism Ends." When there is success or partial success, similar to satisfying just grievances, organizational breakdown, drawing recruits away from leaders , economic loss, and providing new options and alternatives for political change all serve to reduce terrorism.

Since we don't have a concept to describe bloodless forms of force, I have coined the term *metaforce*, which is not passive, and similar to the Indian terms *ahimsa* and *satyagraha*. Metaforce can be very effective in the long run. A PBS series and book (2000), describe effective, powerful, nonviolent social movements.

There is a proposal now for a Global Nonviolent Peace Force (David Hartsough, personal communication) that can be used to reduce tension and prevent violence so other strategies can be used to solve problems. A body of knowledge on violence prevention and conflict transformation already exists, although it is rarely mentioned in the media and the political arena. This means that many people are not aware of potentially successful strategies.

TRANSCENDING TERRORISM, A QUANTUM LEAP

Albert Einstein said, "There's been a quantum leap technologically in our age, but unless there's another quantum leap in human relations, unless we learn to live in a new way towards one another, there will be a catastrophe."

Maybe instead of the biggest superpower, the United States could be the biggest "super-empowerer." Awareness of the suffering in Afghanistan, realization of U.S. complicity in abandonment of the Afghan people after their war against the Soviet Union, and U.S. commitment to help rebuild the country are a good beginning shift in our consciousness. According to Ervin Staub (1989), past president of the International Society of Political Psychology. emphasizes, changing from passive bystanders to active ones, or rescuers, can turn the tide in preventing war and genocide.

Those in positions of greatest power and privilege bear responsibility for those in weaker positions. The difference between traumatic processes that lead to terrorism and those that lead to recovery lies in the power of the active bystander, revealed in the formula for terrorism. The key to transcending terrorism is intervening to alleviate suffering, as early as possible, wherever and whenever possible. This is a matter of national security, which is an oxymoron, as there is either universal security or no security in our global village.

There is no such thing as "neutrality." Those of us who are neither perpetrators nor victims are bystanders, witnesses. President Kennedy (1961) liked to quote Dante: "The hottest places in Hell are reserved for those who, in a time of great moral crisis, maintain their neutrality." In his acceptance speech for the Nobel Peace Prize in 1986, human rights activist Elie Wiesel said, "We must take sides. Neutrality helps the oppressor, never the victim. Silence encourages the tormentors, not the tormented."

LIBERATION FROM RETALIATION

"Men and nations behave wisely only after exhausting all other alternatives."

Abba Eban

History, despite its wrenching pain

cannot be unlived, but if faced

With Courage, need not be lived again.

Maya Angelou, inaugural poem

September 11 provided a golden opportunity for us to transcend old patterns. Jung described neurosis as a one-sided conscious attitude. In elaborating the law of opposites, he used the term *enantiodromia* (Samuels et al., 1986, p. 53), meaning when things go too far to one extreme, they turn into their opposite. The United States has been considered extremely arrogant, dominating, invulnerable, unilateral, and culturally immature. According to Jungian theory, if we are too one-sided, life events may confront us with our underdeveloped opposite aspects. Our hope lies in integrating our undeveloped opposite qualities—humility, a healthy awareness of our vulnerability, cooperation, maturity, and complexity. As Benjamin Barber, author of *Jihad vs. MacWorld* said on C-Span Book TV, the United States needs to join the rest of the world.

Just as there is a two-part process in psychological mutation into violence (trauma followed by rejection), there may also be a two-part process in liberation from the cycle of violence. First the United States must liberate itself from the psychological effects of fifty years of intense engagement in the Cold War, followed by being the only superpower. Becoming free oneself is the first step. To complete the process of liberation, we must liberate others from suffering.

As a nation, we must face our history, "despite its wrenching pain," with courage—both the good we have done and the mistakes we have made out of fear, ignorance, and greed. We are not all good or all bad. A sign of psychological health is the capacity to live in the tension between the opposites. While appreciating the good we have done, we also need an accurate review of our history, including our support of brutal dictatorships and our collusion with acts of oppression.

The concept of "redemption" is not given its due in its potential for political evolution. It would help if we could be accountable for parts of our past, to reflect and atone for our mistakes, acknowledge our responsibility. There are ways in which we could redeem ourselves, even in the eyes of those who now resent us.

We are becoming more compassionate toward the suffering of others. The movement from victim to bystander to protector is a transformative process. People who live in comfort, freedom, and dignity with justice, tend not to be violent. Those who have suffered are soothed by acknowledgment of truth, address of injustice, and improvements in living conditions. Liberating others will increase our security and freedom.

As I am putting final touches on this chapter, my country is abrogating the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty (the cornerstone of stability for thirty years), threatening to develop a new class of "mininukes" (a more credible threat than our mulit-megaton bombs), targeting non-nuclear states, still refusing to sign the No First Use treaty, posturing to attack Iraq, and angering its enemies and allies alike. I am terrified by our actions in the name of "security," by the psychologically flawed justifications for them, by the global responses to us, and above all to our dismissal of them. I am not optimistic that we are about to transcend the cycle of retaliation and escalation of violence. If we do, we will have undergone a profound transformation informed by knowledge of the inner and outer workings of the human psyche. It will require us to use our intersubjective experience of terrorism and all forms of violence, and to apply political wisdom, maturity, intelligence, consciousness, and metaforce in ways that will make us all safer. As a "possiblist" (a term coined by author Max Lerner when asked whether he was an optimist or a pessimist), I have described my best guess as to what might be required of us if we are to break destructive cycles.

NOTES

1.   By "we" I mean the United States (or whoever has the most power) as the only superpower, acting primarily unilaterally on the world stage. There is much we can do to increase or decrease the cycle of violence.

2.   In the Transcending Trauma Project at the Penn Council on Relationships, our group found that Holocaust survivors who had strong positive family relationships before the war were better able to endure trauma and made better postwar adjustments.

3.   "Spiritual" refers to a sense of upliftment, purpose, or meaning beyond one's material existence, and may or may not be religious in nature.

4.   This appears to be more true for males than for females.

5.   Thanks to Medard Gabel for permission to use this chart. For more information, check the Web site www.osearth.com.

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APPENDIX

This chart (next page) seeks to make the point that what the world needs to solve the major systemic problems confronting humanity is both available and affordable. Clearly, to deal with a problem as complex and large as, for example, the global food situation, with just a small part of a single graph is incomplete, at best. The following explanations of the chart's various components are not intended as complete or detailed plans, but rather as very broad brushstrokes intended to give the overall direction, scope, and strategy. The paper, "What the World Wants Project" goes into more detail. It is available from the World Game Institute at the address below. (References listed at bottom of page contain supporting documentation, further explication, and related information.)

Strategy 1. Eliminate Starvation and Malnourishment/Feeding Humanity: $19 billion per year for ten years, allocated as follows: $2 billion per year for an International Famine Relief Agency-spent on international grain reserve and emergency famine relief; $10 billion per year spent on farmer education through vastly expanded in-country extension services that teach/demonstrate sustainable agriculture, use of local fertilizer sources, pest and soil management techniques, post harvest preservation, and which provide clear market incentives for increased local production; $7 billion per year for indigenous fertilizer development. Educational resources of Strategy 10 coupled with this strategy. Closely linked with #'s 2, 3, 4, 9, 10. Cost: 55% of what US spends on weight loss per year.

Strategy 2A. Provide Health Care For All: $15 billion per year for ten years spent on providing primary health care through community health workers to all areas in the world that do not have access to health care. Closely linked with #'s 1, 3, 4, 5, 9.

Strategy 2B. Provide Special Child Health Care: $2.5 billion per year spent on: a) providing Vitamin A to children who lack it in their diet, thereby preventing blindness in 250,000 children/year; b) providing oral rehydration therapy for children with severe diarrhea; and c) immunizing 1 billion children in developing world against measles, tuberculosis, diphtheria, whooping cough, polio and tetanus, thereby preventing the death of 6-7 million children/year.

FIGURE 4.1: WHAT THE WORLD WANTS
AND HOW TO PAY FOR IT

Chart to come

Strategy 2C. Iodine Deficiency Program: $40 million per year for iodine addition to table salt to eliminate iodine deficiency, thereby reducing the 566 million people who suffer from goiter and not adding to the 3 million who suffer from overt cretinism.

Strategy 2D. AIDS Prevention and Control Program: $6 billion per year allocated as follows: $3 billion per year for a global AIDS prevention education program; $2 billion per year for providing multiple drug therapy to AIDS patients in the developing world; $1 billion per year for research and development for an AIDS vaccine or cure.

Costs for all Health Care Strategies: 16% of what US spends on alcohol and tobacco per year.

Strategy 3. Eliminate Inadequate Housing and Homelessness: $21 billion per year for ten years spent on making available materials, tools and techniques to people without adequate housing. Closely linked with #'s 1, 4, 5, 9. Cost: amount US spends on golf every 16 months.

Strategy 4. Provide Clean and Abundant Water: $10 billion per year for ten years spent on making available materials, tools and training needed to build and maintain the needed wells, water and sewage pipes, sanitation facilities and water purifying systems. Closely related to #'s 1, 2, 3, 9. Cost: 1% of what the world spends on illegal drugs per year.

Strategy 5. Eliminate Illiteracy: $5 billion per year for ten years; $2 billion spent on a system of 10 to 12 communication satellites and their launching; $2 billion spent on ten million televisions, satellite dish receivers, and photovoltaic/battery units for power-all placed in village schools and other needed areas throughout high illiteracy areas; the rest (90% of funds), spent on culturally appropriate literacy programming and maintenance of system. Closely related to #'s 1, 2, 3, 4, 9, 10, 11. Cost: 5% of the cost of the Gulf War; 14 months of what the US spends on video games.

Strategy 6. Increase Energy Efficiency: $33 billion per year for ten years spent on increasing car fleet mileage to over 50 m.p.g., plus increasing appliance, industrial processes, and household energy and materials use to state of the art. Closely linked with #'s 7, 8, 12, 13, 14. Cost: 13% of what US teenagers spend per year.

Strategy 7. Increase Renewable Energy: $20 billion per year for ten years spent on tax and other incentives for installation of renewable energy devices, graduated ten year phase-out of subsidies to fossil and nuclear fuels, research and development into more advanced renewable energy harnessing devices. Closely linked with #'s 6, 8, 11 12, 13, 14. Cost: 13% of current subsidies to electricity prices in the developing world.

Strategy 8. Debt Management: $30 billion per year for ten years spent on retiring $500 billion or more of current debt discounted to 50% face value. Not only helps developing countries get out of debt, but helps banks stay solvent and furthers international trade. Closely linked with #'s 1,6,7,10,11,14. Cost: 3.8% of world's annual military expenditures.

Strategy 9. Stabilize Population: $10.5 billion per year for ten years spent on making birth control universally available. Closely linked with #'s 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. Cost: 1.3% of the world's annual military expenditures.

Strategy 10. Preserving Cropland: $24 billion per year for ten years spent on converting one-tenth of world's most vulnerable cropland that is simultaneously most susceptible to erosion, the location of most severe erosion, and the land that is no longer able to sustain agriculture, to pasture or woodland; and conserving and regenerating topsoil on remaining lands through sustainable farming techniques. Both accomplished through a combination of government regulation and incentive programs that remove the most vulnerable lands from crop production; and by farmer education through vastly expanded in-country extension services that teach/demonstrate sustainable agriculture and soil management techniques. Closely linked to # 1. Cost: $3 billion less than the annual cost of US farmland loss; half the amount of price subsidies given to US and European farmers.

Strategy 11. Reverse Deforestation: $7 billion per year for ten years spent on reforesting 150 million hectares needed to sustain ecological, fuelwood, and wood products needs. Planted by local villagers, costs would be $400. per hectare, including seedling costs. Additional costs for legislation, financial incentives, enforcement of rainforest protection. Closely linked with #'s 10, 11. Cost: 0.9% of world's annual military expenditures.

Strategy 12. Reverse Ozone Depletion: $5 billion per year for twenty years spent on phasing in substitutes for CF C-20, CFC taxes, incentives for further research and development. Closely linked with # 14. Cost: 3.7% of US government subsidies to energy, timber, construction, financial services and advertising industries.

Strategy 13. Stop Acid Rain: $8 billion per year for ten years spent on combination of tax incentive, government regulation and direct assistance programs that place pollution control devices (electrostatic precipitators, etc.) on all industrial users of coal, increase efficiency of industrial processes, cars, and appliances. Closely linked to #'s 6, 7, 11, 14. Cost: about 1% of world's annual military expenditures.

Strategy 14. Reverse Global Warming: $8 billion per year for twenty years spent on reducing carbon dioxide, methane and CFC release into atmosphere through combination of international accords, carbon taxes, increases in energy efficiency in industry, transportation, and household, decreases in fossil fuel use, increases in renewable energy use and reforestation. Closely linked with #'s 6, 7, 11, 13 . Cost: 17% of what the insurance industry paid out in the 1990s for weather related damage; 1% of world's annual military expenditures.

Strategy 15. Removal of Landmines: $2 billion per year for ten years spent on setting up cottage industries in each of the 64 countries that have landmines planted in their soils. Participants are intensively trained in the safe removal of landmines; compensation set at more than a days wage for each removed mine in each respective country. Closely linked with #'s 2, 16, 17, 18. Cost: less than the cost of a single B-2 bomber; less than one half what the US spends on perfume each year.

Strategy 16. Refugee Relief: $5 billion per year for ten years spent on an international Refugee Relief Agency that guarantees the safety of refugees and coordinates

the delivery of food, shelter, health care and education. Closely linked with #'s 1, 2, 3, 4, 15, 18. Cost: 20% of the amount of arms sales to developing countries.

Strategy 17. Eliminating Nuclear Weapons: $7 billion per year for ten years spent on dismantling all the world's nuclear weapons and processing the plutonium and enriched uranium in nuclear reactors that produce power and render the radioactive materials into non-weapons grade material. Closely linked with #'s 15, 16, 18. Cost: 25% of what is spent each year on private "security"-private guards, weapons detectors, video surveillance, etc.

Strategy 18. Building Democracy: $2 billion per year for ten years spent on the following programs-an International Democratic Election Fund that would help finance voter education and multi-party elections in countries making the transition to democracy; a Global Polling Program that would ascertain what people from all over the world think and feel about key global issues; and a Global Problem Solving Simulation Tool that would enable anyone with access to the Internet to propose, develop and test strategies for solving real-world problems. Closely linked with #'s 5, 15, 16, 17. Cost for all three programs: less than one B-2 bomber; 0.025 % of the world's annual military expenditures.

Major References: UNDP, Human Development Report 1996 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996); UNICEF, State of the World's Children 1996 1995, 1994; Giving children a future: The World Summit for Children, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996, 1990); UNHCR Refugees II-95, Public Information Service UNHCR 1995; The World Bank, World Development Report 1996 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996); World Resources Institute, World Resources 1995-96, 1992-93, World Watch Institute, Vital Signs 1996; State of the World 1988-96, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1996); Ho-Ping: Food for Everyone; Energy, Earth and Everyone; World Game Institute, Doubleday, New York.