

# Love, Guilt, and Reparation, by M. Klein

## a. Quotes:

- "...the results of analyses of adult neurotics...always trace back into childhood the causes of illness." - Author (pg. 25)
  - "...it is well known that analyses of the neuroses reveal traumata and sources of injury in events, impressions or developments that occurred at a very early age, that is, before the sixth year." - Author (pg. 25)
- "I am of the opinion that no upbringing should be without analytic help..." - Author (pg. 45)
- "...every neurosis in an adult is built upon a neurosis which has occurred in his childhood but has not invariably been severe enough to strike the eye and be recognized as such" - Freud (pg. 52)
- "To penetrate behind [the] appearance is of great importance in the analysis of children." - Author (pg. 133)
- "[E]nlightenment takes place bit by bit with the removal of the unconscious resistances which operate against it." - Author (pg. 137)
- "Analysis is not in itself a gentle method: it cannot spare the patient any suffering, and this applies equally to children. In fact, it must force the suffering into consciousness and bring about abreaction if the patients are to be spared permanent and more fatal suffering later." - Author (pg. 144)

## b. General Notes:

- Chapter 1 - The Development of the Child (pg. 1)
  - "The results of psycho-analysis, which always in every individual case leads back to repressions of childish sexuality as the causes of subsequent illness, or of the more or less operative morbid elements or inhibitions present even in every normal mentality, indicate clearly the path to be followed. We can spare the child unnecessary repression by freeing—and first and foremost in ourselves—the whole wide sphere of sexuality from the dense veils of secrecy, falsehood and danger spun by a hypocritical civilization upon an affective and uninformed foundation." (pg. 1)
  - "When the reality-principle gets the upper hand in this struggle and maintains the necessity for limiting the boundlessness of one's own omnipotence-feeling, a parallel need arises to discover a mitigation of this painful compulsion in detraction from parental omnipotence. If, however, the pleasure-principle conquers, it finds in parental perfection a support that it tries to defend. This might perhaps be one reason why the child, whenever it is apparently possible, makes attempts to rescue his belief both in his own and in his parents' omnipotence. When, moved by the reality-principle, he attempts to make painful renunciation of his own boundless omnipotence-feeling, there probably arises in association with this the need, so obvious in the child, of defining the limits of his own and of parental power. It seems to me as though in this case the child's urge to knowledge, being earlier and more strongly developed, had stimulated his feeble reality-sense and compelled him by overcoming his tendency to repression to make sure of the acquisition which was so new and so important to him. This acquisition, and especially the impairment of authority which went with it, will have renewed and so strengthened the reality-principle for him as to enable him to carry on successfully the progress in his thinking and knowing that began simultaneously with the influencing and overcoming of the omnipotence-feeling. This decline of the omnipotence-feeling that is brought about by the impulse to diminish parental perfection (which certainly assists in establishing the limits of his own as well as of their power) in turn influences the impairment of authority, so that an interaction, a reciprocal support would exist between the impairment of authority and the weakening of the omnipotence-feeling." (pg. 16-17)
    - **"Parallel with the decrease in his omnipotence-feeling, he has made great strides in adaptation to reality..."** (pg. 17)
  - **"Honesty towards children, frank answering of all their questions, and the inner freedom which this brings about, influence mental development profoundly and beneficially. This safeguards thought from the tendency to repression** which is the chief danger affecting it, i.e. from the withdrawal of instinctual energy with which goes a part of sublimation, and from the accompanying repression of ideational associations connected with the repressed complexes, whereby the sequence of thought is destroyed." (pg. 19)
    - "In this principal injury—i.e., to intellectual capacity, the shutting off of associations from the free interchange of thoughts - I think the kind of injury inflicted should also be taken into consideration: in what dimensions thought-processes had been affected, in how far the direction of thought, namely, in extent of breadth or depth, had been definitely influenced. The kind of injury responsible at this period of awakening intellect for the acceptance of ideas by consciousness, or their rejection as insufferable, would be of importance, in that this process persists as a prototype for life. The injury might occur in such a fashion that either 'penetration downwards' or else the 'quantity' occupying the broad dimension could be involved to a certain extent independently of one another. In neither case probably would a mere change in the direction be effected, and the force withdrawn from the one dimension benefit the other. As may be inferred from all other forms of mental development resulting from powerful repression, the energy undergoing repression remains as a matter of fact 'bound'. If natural curiosity and the impulse to enquire into unknown as well as previously surmised facts and phenomena are opposed, then the more profound enquiries (in which the child is unconsciously afraid that he might meet with forbidden, sinful things) are also repressed along with it. Simultaneously, however, all impulses to investigate deeper questions in general also become inhibited. A distaste for thorough investigation in and for itself is thus established and consequently the way opened for the innate irrepressible pleasure of asking questions to take effect merely upon the surface, to lead therefore to a merely superficial curiosity. Or, on the other hand, there may evolve the gifted type of person who is met so frequently in daily life and in science who, while possessed of a wealth of ideas, yet breaks down over the profounder issues of execution. Here also belongs the adaptable, clever, practical type of person who can appreciate superficial realities, but is blind to those that are only to be found in deeper connections—who is not able to distinguish the actual from the authoritative in intellectual matters. The dread of having to recognize as false the ideas forced upon him by authority as true, the dread of having to maintain dispassionately that things repudiated and ignored do exist, have led him to avoid penetrating more deeply into his doubts and in general to flee from the depths. In these cases development may, I think, have been influenced by injury to the instinct for knowledge, and hence also the development of the reality sense, due to repression in the depth dimension." (pg. 19-20)
      - "If therefore the child has overcome a certain inhibiting period in regard to his investigating impulse and this has either remained active or has returned, he can, hampered now by an aversion to attacking new questions, direct the whole efficiency of his remaining unfettered energy upon the profundities of a few individual problems. In this way would develop the 'researcher' type who, attracted by some one problem, can devote the labour of a lifetime to it without developing any particular interests outside the confined sphere which suits him. Another type of learned man is the investigator who, penetrating deeply, is capable of real knowledge and discovers new and important truths, but fails utterly in regard to the greater or smaller realities of daily life—who is absolutely unpractical." (pg. 20)
    - "It often happens that children who show by their remarks (mostly before the onset of the latent period) outstanding mental ability, and seem to justify great hopes for their future, later fall behind, and ultimately, though probably quite intelligent as adults, give no evidence of intellect above the average. The causes for this failure in development might include a greater or less injury to one or other dimension of the mind. This would be borne out by the fact that so many children who by their extraordinary pleasure in asking questions, and the number of them - or who by their constant investigations of the 'how' and 'why' of everything - fatigue those around them, yet after a time give it up and finally show little interest or superficiality of thought respectively. The fact that thinking - whether affected as a whole or in one or other dimension - could not expand in every direction in them, prevented the significant intellectual development for which as children they seemed destined. The important causes of injury to

the impulse for knowledge and to the reality-sense, repudiation and denial of the sexual and primitive, set repression in operation by dissociation. At the same time, however, the impulse for knowledge and the reality-sense are threatened with another imminent danger, not a withdrawal but an imposition, a forcing upon them of ready-made ideas, which are dealt out in such a fashion that the child's knowledge of reality dares not rebel and never even attempts to draw inferences or conclusions, whereby it is permanently and prejudicially affected. We are apt to lay stress on the 'courage' of the thinker who, in opposition to usage and authority, succeeds in carrying out entirely original researches. It would not require so much 'courage' if it were not that **children would need a quite peculiar spirit to think out for themselves, in opposition to the highest authorities, the ticklish subjects which are in part denied, in part forbidden.** Although it is frequently observed that opposition develops the powers roused to overcome it, this certainly does not hold for the mental and intellectual development of children. To develop in opposition to any one does not signify any less dependence than submitting unconditionally to their authority; real intellectual independence develops between the two extremes. The conflict that the developing reality-sense has to wage with the innate tendency to repression, the process by which (as with the acquisitions of science and culture in the history of mankind) knowledge in individuals too must be painfully acquired, together with the unavoidable hindrances encountered in the external world, all these are amply sufficient as substitutes for the opposition supposed to act as an incitement to development, without endangering its independence. Anything else that has to be overcome in childhood - either as opposition or submission - any additional external resistance, is at least superfluous, but most often injurious because it acts as a check and a barrier. Although great intellectual capacity may often be found alongside clearly recognizable inhibitions, still the former will not have been unaffected by prejudicial, hampering influences at the dawn of its activities. How much of an individual's intellectual equipment is only apparently his own, how much is dogmatic, theoretic and due to authority, not achieved for himself by his own free, unhampered thought! Although adult experience and insight have found the solution for some of the forbidden and apparently unanswerable questions - which are therefore doomed to repression - of childhood, this nevertheless does not undo the hindrance to childish thought nor render it unimportant. For even if later on the adult individual is apparently able to surmount the barriers set up before his childish thought, nevertheless the way, be it defiance or fear, in which he deals with his intellectual limitations whatever they may be, remains the basis for the whole orientation and manner of his thought, unaffected by his later knowledge." (pg. 21-23)

- "Permanent submission to the authority principle, permanent greater or less intellectual dependency and limitation, are based on this first and most significant experience of authority, on the relationship between the parents and the little child. Its effect is strengthened and supported by the mass of ethical and moral ideas that are presented duly complete to the child and which form just so many barriers to the freedom of his thought. Nevertheless - although they are presented to him as infallible - a more gifted childish intellect, whose capacity for resistance has been less damaged, can often wage a more or less successful battle against them. For although the authoritative manner of their introduction protects them, yet these various ideas must occasionally give proofs of their reality, and at such times it does not escape the more closely observant child that everything that is expected of him as so natural, good, right and proper, is not always considered in the same light in reference to themselves by the grown-ups who require it of him. Thus these ideas always afford points of attack against which an offensive, at least in the form of doubts, can be undertaken. But **when the fundamental earlier inhibitions have been more or less overcome, the introduction of unverifiable, supernatural ideas introduces a new danger for thought. The idea of an invisible, omnipotent and omniscient deity is overwhelming for the child, all the more because two things markedly favour its effective force. The one is an innate need for authority.**" (pg. 23)

- "As the child repeats the development of mankind he finds sustenance in this idea of the deity for his need for authority. But the innate omnipotence-feeling, too, 'the belief in the omnipotence of thought', which as we have learnt from Freud and from Ferenczi's Stages in the Development of the Sense of Reality' (1913), are so deeply rooted and therefore permanent in man, the feeling of one's own omnipotence, welcomes the acceptance of the idea of God. His own omnipotence-feeling leads the child to assume it for his environment too. The idea of God, therefore, which equips authority with the most complete omnipotence, meets the child's omnipotence-feeling half-way by helping to establish the latter and also by assisting to prevent its decline. We know that in this respect too the parental complex is significant and that the way in which the omnipotence-feeling is strengthened or destroyed by the child's first serious affection determines his development as an optimist or pessimist, and also the alertness and enterprise, or the unduly hampering scepticism of his mentality. For the result of development not to be boundless utopianism and phantasy but optimism, a timely correction must be administered by thought. **The 'powerful religious inhibition of thought' as Freud calls it, hinders the timely fundamental correction of the omnipotence-feeling by thought. It does so because it overwhelms thought by the authoritative introduction of a powerful insuperable authority, and the decline of the omnipotence-feeling which can only take place early and in stages with the help of thought is also interfered with.** The complete development of the reality-principle as scientific thought, however, is intimately dependent upon the child's venturing betimes upon the settlement he must make for himself between the reality and the pleasure principles. If this settlement is successfully achieved then the omnipotence-feeling will be put on a certain basis of compromise as regards thought, and wish and phantasy will be recognized as belonging to the former, while the reality-principle will rule in the sphere of thought and established fact." (pg. 23-24)

- "The idea of God, however, acts as a tremendous ally for this omnipotence-feeling, one that is almost insuperable because the childish mind - incapable of familiarizing itself with this idea by accustomed means, but on the other hand too much impressed by its overwhelming authority to reject it - does not even dare attempt a struggle or a doubt against it. That the mind may later at some time perhaps overcome even this hindrance, although many thinkers and scientists have never surmounted this barrier, and hence their work has ended at it, nevertheless does not undo the injury inflicted. **This idea of God can so shatter the reality-sense that it dare not reject the incredible, the apparently unreal, and can so affect it that the recognition of the tangible, the near-at-hand, the so-called 'obvious' things in intellectual matters, is repressed together with the deeper processes of thinking.** It is certain, however, that to achieve this first stage of knowledge and inference without a check, to accept the simple as well as the wonderful only on one's own substantiations and deductions, to incorporate in one's mental equipment only what is really known, is to lay the foundations for a perfect uninhibited development of one's mind in every direction. The injury done can vary in kind and degree; it may affect the mind as a whole or in one or other dimension to a greater or less extent; it is certainly not obviated by a subsequent enlightened upbringing. Thus even after the primary and fundamental injuries to thought in earliest childhood, the inhibition set up later by the idea of God is still of importance. It does not therefore suffice merely to omit dogma and the methods of the confessional from the child's training, although their inhibiting effects on thought are more generally recognized. **To introduce the idea of God into education and then leave it to individual development to deal with it is not by any manner of means to give the child its freedom in this respect. For by this authoritative introduction of the idea, at a time when the child is intellectually unprepared for, and powerless against, authority, his attitude in this matter is so much influenced that he can never again, or only at the cost of great struggles and expense of energy, free himself from it.**" (pg. 24-25)

- "The first and most natural result of our knowledge will above all be the avoidance of factors which psycho-analysis has taught us to consider as grossly injurious to the child's mind. We shall therefore lay down as an unconditional necessity that the child, from birth, shall not share the parental bedroom; and we shall be more sparing of compulsory ethical requirements in regard to the tiny developing creature than people were with us. We shall allow him to remain for a longer period uninhibited and natural, less interfered with than has hitherto been the case, to become conscious of his different instinctive impulses and of his pleasure therein without immediately whipping up his cultural tendencies against this ingenuousness. We shall aim at a slower development, that allows room for his instincts to become partly conscious, and, together with this, for their possible sublimation. At

- the same time we shall not refuse expression to his awakening sexual curiosity and shall satisfy it step by step, even—in my opinion—withholding nothing. We shall know how to give him sufficient affection and yet avoid a harmful superfluity; above all we shall reject physical punishment and threats, and secure the obedience necessary for upbringing by occasionally withdrawing affection." (pg. 26)
- "For we learn from the analysis of neurotics that only a part of the injuries resulting from repression can be traced to wrong environmental or other prejudicial external conditions. Another and very important part is due to an attitude on the part of the child, present from the very tenderest years. The child frequently develops, on the basis of the repression of a strong sexual curiosity, an unconquerable disinclination to everything sexual that only a thorough analysis can later overcome. It is not always possible to discover from the analyses of adult - especially in a reconstruction - in how far the irksome conditions, in how far the neurotic predisposition, is responsible for the development of the neurosis. In this matter variable, indeterminate quantities are being dealt with. So much, however, is certain: **that in strongly neurotic dispositions quite slight rebuffs from the environment often suffice to determine a marked resistance to all sexual enlightenment and a repression excessively burdensome to the mental constitution in general.** We get confirmation of what we learn in the analysis of neurotics from observations of children, who afford us the opportunity of becoming acquainted with this development as it takes place. It appears, e.g., in spite of all educational measures aiming amongst other things at an unreserved satisfying of sexual curiosity, that this latter need is frequently not freely expressed. This negative attitude may take the most varying forms up to an absolute unwillingness to know. At times it appears as a displaced interest in something else which is often marked by a compulsive character. At times this attitude sets in only after partial enlightenment and then, instead of the lively interest hitherto displayed, the child manifests a strong resistance against accepting any further enlightenment and simply does not accept it." (pg. 27)
    - "...repressed sexual curiosity is one of the chief causes for mental changes in children..." (pg. 30)
  - "Much that is unconscious and entangled with complexes will continue to be active in the development of art and culture. What early analysis can do is to afford protection from severe shocks and to overcome inhibitions. This will assist not only the health of the individual but culture as well, in that the overcoming of inhibitions will open up fresh possibilities of development." (pg. 48)
    - "...the effectiveness of wishes and instinctive impulses can only be weakened by becoming conscious. I can, however, state from my own observations that, just as in the case of the adult, so also with the young child this occurs without any danger. It is true that, beginning with the explanations and increasing markedly with the intervention of analysis, the boy showed a distinct change of character which was accompanied too by 'inconvenient' traits. The hitherto gentle and only occasionally aggressive boy became aggressive, quarrelsome, and this not only in his phantasies but in reality. Hand in hand with this went a decline in adult authority which is by no means identical with an incapacity to recognize others. A healthy scepticism, that likes to see and understand what he is asked to believe, is combined with a capacity to acknowledge the desserts or skill of others..." (pg. 49)
  - "[W]e see, too, what we have learnt also from the analysis of adults, that analysis does not affect these successful formations in any prejudicial way but rather enhances them. Hence it seems to me permissible to argue that early analysis too will not injure existing successful repressions, reaction-formations and sublimations, but on the contrary will open up possibilities for further sublimations." (pg. 49)
  - Chapter 2 - Inhibitions and Difficulties at Puberty (pg. 54)
    - "Puberty throws up a host of conflicts of varying intensities, many of which existed before in milder guise but were lost to view; now, the most extreme manifestations may appear, such as suicide or some criminal act." (pg. 54)
      - "It therefore becomes urgent to probe beyond the obvious physical and mental events into areas unknown to the tormented child or the uncomprehending adults; in other words, to pursue unconscious causes with the aid of psycho-analysis which has taught us so much about them." (pg. 55)
    - "Freud, in the course of treating adult neurotics, came to recognize the immense significance of infantile neurosis. Over many years of work with adults, he and his pupils gathered convincing evidence that the aetiology of mental illness is to be found far back in early childhood. It is at that time that character is determined and those pathological factors laid down which lead to illness when later triggered off by strains too great for an unstable psychic structure. Hence children who had felt or appeared quite healthy, or at most a little nervous, can suffer quite serious breakdowns as a result of even moderate extra strains. In such cases, the borderline between 'healthy' and 'ill', 'normal' and 'abnormal' had been fluid and never clear cut. That such fluidity is a general state of affairs is one of Freud's most important discoveries. He found that the difference between 'normal' and 'abnormal' is one of quantity and not of structure, an empirical finding constantly confirmed in our own work. As the result of prolonged cultural development we are all endowed from birth with the ability to repress instincts, desires and their imagery, i.e., to banish them from conscious awareness into the pool of the unconscious. Here they are preserved, alive and growing in effect, with a potentiality, if repression fails, to lead to the appearance of a wide range of illnesses. The forces of repression bear hardest on the most prohibited instinctual stirrings, especially on sexual ones. 'Sexual' should be understood in its widest, psycho-analytical sense. Freud's instinct theory teaches us that sexuality is active from the beginning of life, initially in the pursuit of pleasure by means of 'partial instincts' and not, as in adulthood, in the service of procreation." (pg. 55)
      - "Infantile sexual wishes and phantasies attach themselves at once to the most immediate and meaningful objects, i.e. the parents and more so to the one of the opposite sex. Every normal little boy will show a passionate love for his mother and declare his desire to marry her at least once between the ages of three and five; soon after, his sister will replace his mother as the object of his longing. Such declarations, which nobody takes seriously, announce his very real, though unconscious, passions and desires and have great importance for his whole development. Their incestuous nature evokes severe social stricture, since their fulfilment would cause cultural regression and dissolution. They are thus destined for repression, to form in the unconscious the Oedipus complex, which Freud termed the nuclear complex of the neuroses. Mythology and poetry bear out the universality of the desires that led Oedipus to kill his father and commit incest with his mother, and psycho-analytic work with ill and healthy people shows that they exist in the phantasy life of all adults. The tempestuous uprush of instincts arising at puberty adds to the boy's difficulties in his struggle against his complexes, and he may succumb. The battle now joined between emerging desires and phantasies clamouring for recognition and the repressing forces of the ego taxes his strength excessively. The ego's failure will cause problems and inhibitions of every kind, including overt illness. In favourable circumstances the embattled elements achieve a kind of balance. The outcome of the struggle will determine for good the character of his sexual life, and hence is decisive for his future development, bearing in mind that what has to be done during puberty is to organize the incoherent partial sexual instincts of the child towards procreative functions. Pari passu, the boy must achieve an inner detachment from the incestuous links to his mother, though these will remain the foundation and model for later love. A measure of external detachment from his fixation to his parents is also necessary if he is to develop into a vigorous, active and independent man." (pg. 55-56)
        - "It is not to be wondered at, then, that the individual, faced in his puberty with the onerous task set by his very complex psycho-sexual development, may suffer from inhibitions of a more or less lasting nature." (pg. 57)
    - "The widely-felt anxiety that analysis diminishes children's spontaneity is disproved in practice. Many children have had their liveliness fully restored by analysis after losing it in the welter of their conflicts. Even very early analysis does not turn children into uncultured and asocial beings. The reverse is true; freed from inhibitions, they are now able to make full use of emotional and intellectual resources for cultural and social purposes, in the service of their development." (pg. 58)
  - Chapter 3 - The Role of the School in the Libidinal Development of the Child (pg. 59)
    - "In the life of a child school means that a new reality is encountered, which is often apprehended as very stern. The way in which he adapts himself to

- these demands is usually typical of his attitude towards the tasks of life in general. The extremely important rôle played by the school is in general based upon the fact that school and learning are from the first libidinally determined for everyone, since by its demands school compels a child to sublimate his libidinal instinctual energies. The sublimation of genital activity, above all, has a decisive share in the learning of various subjects, which will be correspondingly inhibited, therefore, by the castration-fear. On starting school the child passes out of the environment that constituted the basis of his fixations and complex-formations, finds himself faced with new objects and activities, and must now test on them the mobility of his libido. It is, however, above all, the necessity for abandoning a more or less passive feminine attitude, which had hitherto been open to him, in order now to put forth his activity, that confronts the child with a task new and frequently insuperable for him." (pg. 59-60)
- "I have endeavoured to show that the fundamental activities exercised at schools are channels for the flow of libido and that by this means the component instincts achieve sublimation under the supremacy of the genitals. This libidinal cathexis, however, is carried over from the most elementary studies—reading, writing and arithmetic—to wider efforts and interests based upon these, so that the foundations of later inhibitions - of vocational inhibition as well - are to be found, above all, in the frequently apparently evanescent ones concerned with the earliest studies. The inhibitions of these earliest studies, however, are built upon play-inhibitions, so that in the end we can see all the later inhibitions, so significant for life and development, evolving from the earliest play-inhibitions. In my chapter on 'Early Analysis' I showed that, starting from the point where the pre-conditions for the capacity for sublimation are given by libidinal fixations on the most primary sublimations - which I considered to be speech and the pleasure in movement - the constantly extending ego-activities and interests achieve libidinal cathexis by acquiring a sexual symbolic meaning, so that there are constantly new sublimations at different stages. The mechanism of inhibition which I described in detail in the above-mentioned paper permits, owing to common sexual symbolic meanings, the progress of the inhibitions from one ego-activity or trend to another. Since a removal of the earliest inhibitions also means an avoidance of further ones, very great importance must be attached to inhibitions in the child of pre-school age, even when they are not very strikingly apparent. In the paper referred to I endeavoured to show that the castration-fear was the common basis for these early and for all subsequent inhibitions. Castration-fear interferes with ego-activities and interests because, besides other libidinal determinants, they always have fundamentally a genital symbolic, that is to say, a coitus significance." (pg. 73)
  - Chapter 4 - Early Analysis (pg. 77)
    - "In the course of the analysis of infants and older children, I came upon material that led to the investigation of certain inhibitions which had only been recognized as such during the analysis. The following characteristics proved in a number of cases and in a typical way to be inhibitions: awkwardness in games and athletics and distaste for them, little or no pleasure in lessons, lack of interest in one particular subject, or, in general, the varying degrees of so-called laziness; very often, too, capacities or interests which were feeble than the ordinary turned out to be 'inhibited'. In some instances it had not been recognized that these characteristics were real inhibitions and, since similar inhibitions make up part of the personality of every human being, they could not be termed neurotic. When they had been resolved by analysis we found—as Abraham has shown in the case of neurotics suffering from motor inhibitions—that the basis of these inhibitions, too, was a strong primary pleasure which had been repressed on account of its sexual character. Playing at ball or with hoops, skating, tobogganing, dancing, gymnastics, swimming - in fact, athletic games of every sort - turned out to have a libidinal cathexis, and genital symbolism always played a part in it." (pg. 77)
    - "We know that **anxiety is one of the primary affects**" (pg. 79)
      - "Accordingly, in children anxiety would invariably precede the formation of symptoms and would be the most primary neurotic manifestation, paving the way, so to speak, for the symptoms." (pg. 79)
    - "We recall the fact that the motive and purpose of repression was nothing else than the avoidance of unpleasure. It follows that the vicissitude of the quota of affect belonging to the representative is far more important than the vicissitude of the idea, and this fact is decisive for our assessment of the process of repression. If a repression does not succeed in preventing feelings of unpleasure or anxiety from arising, we may say that it has failed, even though it may have achieved its purpose as far as the ideational portion is concerned. If the repression is unsuccessful the result is the formation of symptoms. In the neuroses processes are in action which endeavour to bind this generating of anxiety and which even succeed in doing so in various ways." (pg. 79)
    - "'As we know, the development of anxiety is the reaction of the ego to danger and the signal preparatory to flight; it is then not a great step to imagine that in neurotic anxiety also the ego is attempting a flight from the demands of its libido, and is treating this internal danger as if it were an external one. Then our expectation, that where anxiety is present there must be something of which one is afraid, would be fulfilled. The analogy goes further than this, however. Just as the tension prompting the attempt to flee from external danger is resolved into holding one's ground and taking appropriate defensive measures, so the development of neurotic anxiety yields to a symptom-formation, which enables the anxiety to be "bound"' (Klein is quoting Freud). In an analogous fashion, as it seems to me, we might look upon inhibition as the compulsory restriction, now arising from within, of a dangerous excess of libido—a restriction which at one period of human history took the form of compulsion from without. At the outset, then, the first reaction of the ego to the danger of a damming-up of the libido would be anxiety: 'the signal for flight'. But the prompting to flight gives place to 'holding one's ground and taking appropriate defensive measures': which corresponds to symptom-formation. Another defensive measure would be submission by restriction of the libidinal tendencies, that is to say, inhibition; but this would only become possible if the subject succeeded in diverting libido on to the activities of the self-preservative instincts and thus bringing to an issue on the field of the ego-tendencies the conflict between instinctual energy and repression. Thus **inhibition as the result of successful repression** would be the prerequisite and at the same time the consequence of civilization. In this way primitive man, whose mental life is in so many respects similar to that of the neurotic, would have arrived at the mechanism of neurosis, for not having sufficient capacity for sublimation he probably also lacked the capacity for the mechanism of successful repression. Having reached a level of civilization conditioned by repression, yet being in the main capable of repression only by way of the mechanisms of neurosis, he is unable to advance beyond this particular infantile cultural level. I would now draw attention to the conclusion which emerges from my argument up to this point: the absence or presence of capacities (or even the degree in which they are present), though it appears to be determined simply by constitutional factors and to be part of the development of the ego-instincts, proves to be determined as well by other, libidinal, factors and to be susceptible of change through analysis." (pg. 83-84)
      - "...Freud's assertion [is] that the process of sublimation opens up an avenue of discharge for over-powerful excitations emanating from the separate component sources of sexuality and enables them to be applied in other directions." (pg. 85)
    - "[W]hen repression begins to operate and the step from identification to symbol-formation is taken, it is this latter process which affords an opportunity for libido to be displaced on to other objects and activities of the self-preservative instincts, not originally possessing a pleasurable tone. Here we arrive at the mechanism of sublimation. Accordingly, we see that **identification is a stage preliminary not only to symbol-formation but at the same time to the evolution of speech and sublimation**. The latter takes place by way of symbol-formation, libidinal phantasies becoming fixated in sexual-symbolic fashion upon particular objects, activities and interests." (pg. 86)
      - "I have mentioned certain inhibitions which I termed normal and which had arisen where repression had been successful; when these were resolved by analysis, it was found that they were based in part on very strong sublimations. These had, it is true, been formed, but had been inhibited either entirely or to some extent. They had not the character of unsuccessful sublimations, which oscillate between symptom-formation, neurotic traits and sublimation. It was only in analysis that they were recognized as inhibitions; they manifested themselves in a negative form, as a lack of inclination or capacity, or sometimes only as a diminution in these. Inhibitions are formed (as I tried to show on page 78) by the transferring of superfluous libido, which finds discharge as anxiety, on to sublimations. Thus sublimation is diminished or destroyed by

repression in the form of inhibition, but symptom-formation is avoided, for the anxiety is thus discharged in a manner analogous to that with which we are familiar in hysterical symptom-formation. Accordingly, we may suppose that the normal man attains his state of health by means of inhibitions, assisted by successful repression. If the quantity of anxiety which invests the inhibitions exceeds that of the sublimation, the result is neurotic inhibition, for the tug-of-war between libido and repression is no longer decided on the field of the ego-tendencies, and therefore the same processes as are employed in the neuroses to bind anxiety are set going. Whilst in unsuccessful sublimation the phantasies encounter repression on their way to sublimation and thus become fixated, we may suppose that for a sublimation to be inhibited it must have actually come into existence as a sublimation. Here again we may postulate the complementary series already inferred between symptoms on the one side and successful sublimation on the other. We may assume, however, on the other hand that in proportion as the sublimations are successful and hence little libido remains dammed up in the ego, ready to be discharged as anxiety, the less necessity will there be for inhibition. We may be sure, too, that the more successful the sublimation the less will it be exposed to repression. Here again we may postulate a complementary series." (pg. 89-90)

- "Let me sum up. **Speech and pleasure in motion have always a libidinal cathexis which is also of a genital-symbolic nature.** This is effected by means of the early identification of the penis with foot, hand, tongue, head and body, whence it proceeds to the activities of these members, which thus acquire the significance of coitus. After the use made by the sexual instincts of the self-preservative instincts in respect of the function of nutrition, the next ego-activities to which they turn are those of speech and pleasure in motion. Hence, speech may be assumed not only to have assisted the formation of symbols and sublimation, but to be itself the result of one of the earliest sublimations. It seems then that, where the necessary conditions for the capacity to sublimate are present, the fixations, beginning with these most primary sublimations and in connection with them, continually proceed to a sexual-symbolic cathexis of further ego-activities and interests. Freud demonstrates that that which seems to be an impulsion towards perfection in human beings is the result of the tension arising out of the disparity between man's desire for gratification (which is not to be appeased by all possible kinds of reactive substitutive formations and of sublimations) and the gratification which in reality he obtains. I think that we may put down to this motive not only that which Groddeck (1922) calls the compulsion to make symbols but also a constant development of the symbols. Accordingly the impulsion constantly to effect by means of fixations a libidinal cathexis of fresh ego-activities and interests genetically (i.e. by means of sexual symbolism) connected with one another, and to create new activities and interests, would be the driving force in the cultural evolution of mankind. This explains, too, how it is that we find symbols at work in increasingly complicated inventions and activities, just as the child constantly advances from his original primitive symbols, games and activities to others, leaving the former ones behind. Further, in this paper I have tried to point out the great importance of those inhibitions which cannot be called neurotic. There are some which in themselves do not seem of any practical importance and can be recognized as inhibitions only in analysis (in their full implication possibly only if infant-analysis is undertaken). Such are an apparent lack of certain interests, insignificant dislikes — in short, the inhibitions of the healthy person, which assume the most varied disguises. Yet we shall come to attribute to these a very great importance when we consider at how big a sacrifice of instinctual energy the normal man purchases his health. 'If, however, we turn our attention not to an extension of the concept of psychical impotence, but to the gradations in its symptomatology, we cannot escape the conclusion that the behaviour in love of men in the civilized world today bears the stamp altogether of psychical impotence'. There is a passage in the *Introductory Lectures* in which Freud discusses what possibilities of prophylaxis can be held out to educationists. He comes to the conclusion that even rigid protection of childhood (in itself a very difficult thing) is probably powerless against the constitutional factor, but that it would also be dangerous if such protection succeeded too well in attaining its aim. This statement was fully confirmed in the case of little Fritz. The child had from his early days had a careful up-bringing by persons who had been influenced by analytic views, but this did not prevent inhibitions and neurotic character-traits from arising. On the other hand, his analysis showed me that the very fixations which had led to the inhibitions might form the basis of splendid capacities. On the one hand, then, we must not rate too highly the importance of so-called analytical up-bringing, though we must do everything in our power to avoid mental injury to the child. On the other hand, the argument of this paper shows the necessity of analysis in early childhood as a help to all education. We cannot alter the factors which lead to the development of sublimation or of inhibition and neurosis, but early analysis makes it possible for us, at a time when this development is still going on, to influence its direction in a fundamental manner. I have tried to show that the **libidinal fixations determine the genesis of neurosis and also of sublimation** and that for some time the two follow the same path. **It is the force of repression which determines whether this path will lead to sublimation or turn aside to neurosis.** It is at this point that early analysis has possibilities, for it can to a great extent substitute sublimation for repression and thus divert the path to neurosis into that which leads to the development of talents." (pg. 104-105)
- Chapter 5 - A Contribution to the Psychogenesis of Tics (pg. 106)
  - "One of Ferenczi's conclusions —namely that the tic is an equivalent of masturbation —is confirmed in both cases I have described. The tendency to work off the tic in seclusion, which was also stressed by Ferenczi, could be seen in the case of Werner, where we were able to observe the condition in a state of develop-ment; to be alone became necessary for his being able to 'fidget'. Ferenczi's conclusions that in the analysis the tic does not play the same role as other symptoms, that it - to some extent - eludes analysis, I can also confirm, though only up to a certain point. For a considerable time I, too, had the impression in Felix's analysis that there was something quite different about his tic in comparison to other symptoms which revealed their meaning much earlier and more clearly. Also I found with Felix that he did not mind the tic, and this again is in keeping with Ferenczi's conclusions. I also agree with Ferenczi that the reasons for all these differences are to be found in the narcissistic nature of the tic. Here, however, some essential disagreement with Ferenczi arises. He regards the tic as a primary narcissistic symptom having a common source with the narcissistic psychoses. Experience has convinced me that the tic is not accessible to therapeutic influence as long as the analysis has not succeeded in uncovering the object relations on which it is based. I found that underlying the tic there were genital, anal- and oral-sadistic impulses towards the object. The analysis, it is true, had to penetrate to the earliest stages of childhood development, and the tic did not disappear completely until the predisposing fixations of the infantile period had been thoroughly explored. Ferenczi's contention that in the case of a tic no object relations at all appear to be concealed behind the symptom, cannot be sustained. The original object relations became quite clear during the course of the analysis in both cases I described; they had merely, under the pressure of the castration complex, undergone regression to the narcissistic stage." (pg. 121)
    - "It appeared, moreover, that the tic is not merely an equivalent of masturbation but that masturbation phantasies are also bound up with it. The analytic exploration and dissolution of the tic only became possible after the most searching analysis of the masturbation phantasies, and these I had to trace back to their earliest appearance, which entailed uncovering the whole sexual development of childhood. Thus the analysis of the masturbation phantasies proved to be the key to an understanding of the tic. At the same time I came to see that the tic, which at the beginning had seemed to be an incidental and detached symptom, was closely and organically connected with very severe inhibitions and asocial development of character. I have repeatedly pointed out that when sublimation is successful, every talent and every interest is partly based on masturbation phantasies. In the case of Felix, his masturbation phantasies were bound up very closely with his tic. The sublimation of his masturbation phantasies in numerous interests went parallel with the disintegration and disappearance of the tic. The final result of the analysis was the far-reaching diminution both of inhibitions and of characterological defects." (pg. 124)
- Chapter 6 - Psychological Principles of Early Analysis (pg. 128)
  - "In the following paper I propose to discuss in detail certain differences between the mental life of young children and that of adults. These differences require us to use a technique adapted to the mind of the young child, and I shall try to show that there is a certain analytical play-technique which fulfils this requirement. This technique is planned in accordance with certain points of view which I shall discuss in some detail in this paper. As we

- know, children form relations with the outside world by directing to objects from which pleasure is obtained the libido that was originally attached exclusively to the child's own ego. A child's relation to these objects, whether they be living or inanimate, is in the first instance purely narcissistic. It is in this way, however, that children arrive at their relations with reality. I should now like to illustrate the relation of young children to reality by means of an example." (pg. 128)
- **"At a very early age children become acquainted with reality through the deprivations which it imposes on them. They defend themselves against reality by repudiating it. The fundamental thing, however, and the criterion of all later capacity for adaptation to reality, is the degree in which they are able to tolerate the deprivations that result from the Oedipus situation.** Hence, even in little children, an exaggerated repudiation of reality (often disguised under an apparent 'adaptability' and 'docility') is an indication of neurosis and differs from the flight from reality of adult neurotics only in the forms in which it manifests itself. Even in the analysis of young children, therefore, **one of the final results to be attained is successful adaptation to reality.** One way in which this shows itself in children is in the modification of the difficulties encountered in their education. In other words, such children have become capable of tolerating real deprivations." (pg. 128-129)
  - "The analysis of very young children shows that, as soon as the Oedipus complex arises, they begin to work it through and thereby to develop the super-ego. The effects of this infantile super-ego upon the child are analogous to those of the super-ego upon the adult, but they weigh far more heavily upon the weaker, infantile ego. As the analysis of children teaches us, we strengthen that ego when the analytic procedure curbs the excessive demands of the super-ego. There can be no doubt that the ego of little children differs from that of older children or of adults. But, when we have freed the little child's ego from neurosis, it proves perfectly equal to such demands of reality as it encounters - demands as yet less serious than those made upon adults." (pg. 133)
  - "In their play children represent symbolically phantasies, wishes and experiences. Here they are employing the same language, the same archaic, phylogenetically acquired mode of expression as we are familiar with from dreams. We can only fully understand it if we approach it by the method Freud has evolved for unravelling dreams. Symbolism is only a part of it; if we want rightly to comprehend children's play in connection with their whole behaviour during the analytic hour, we must take into account not only the symbolism which often appears so clearly in their games, but also all the means of representation and the mechanisms employed in dream-work, and we must bear in mind the necessity of examining the whole nexus of phenomena." (pg. 134)
    - "Besides this archaic mode of representation children employ another primitive mechanism, that is to say, they substitute actions (which were the original precursors of thoughts) for words: with children, acting plays a prominent part." (pg. 135)
  - "In general, in the analysis of children we cannot over-estimate the importance of phantasy and of translation into action at the bidding of the compulsion to repetition. Naturally, little children use the vehicle of action to a far greater extent, but even older ones constantly have recourse to this primitive mechanism, especially when analysis has removed some of their repressions. It is indispensable for carrying on the analysis that children should have the pleasure that is bound up with this mechanism, but the pleasure must always remain only a means to the end. It is just here that we see the predominance of the pleasure-principle over the reality-principle. We cannot appeal to the sense of reality in little patients as we can in older ones. Just as children's means of expression differ from those of adults, so the analytic situation in the analysis of children appears to be entirely different. It is, however, in both cases essentially the same. Consistent interpretations, gradual solving of resistances and persistent tracing of the transference to earlier situations-these constitute in children as in adults the correct analytic situation." (pg. 136-137)
  - "To sum up what I have said: the special primitive peculiarities of the mental life of children necessitate a special technique adapted to them, consisting of the analysis of their play. By means of this technique we can reach the deepest repressed experience and fixations and this enables us fundamentally to influence the children's development." (pg. 138)
    - "It is a question only of a difference of technique, not of the principles of treatment. The criteria of the psycho-analytic method proposed by Freud, namely, that we should use as our starting-point the facts of transference and resistance, that we should take into account infantile impulses, repression and its effects, amnesia and the compulsion to repetition and, further, that we should discover the primal scene, as he requires in the *History of an Infantile Neurosis* - all these criteria are maintained in their entirety in the play-technique. The method of play preserves all the principles of psycho-analysis and leads to the same results as the classic technique. Only it is adapted to the minds of children in the technical means employed." (pg. 138)
      - "We know that fixation to 'primal' scenes or phantasies is potent in the genesis of neurosis." (pg. 91)
  - Chapter 7 - Symposium on Child-Analysis (pg. 139)
    - "I think that child-analysis, as compared with that of adults, has developed so much less favourably in the past because it was not approached in a spirit of free and unprejudiced enquiry, as adult analysis was, but was hampered and burdened from the outset by certain preconceptions." (pg. 141)
    - "I have gone into this detail of my technique at some length because I want to make clear the principle which, in my experience, makes it possible to handle children's associations in the greatest abundance and to penetrate into the deepest strata of the unconscious. We can establish a quicker and surer contact with the Ucs of children if, acting on the conviction that they are much more deeply under the sway of the Ucs and their instinctual impulses than are adults, we shorten the route which adult analysis takes by way of contact with the ego and make direct connection with the child's Ucs. It is obvious that, if this preponderance of the Ucs is a fact, we should also expect that the mode of representation by symbols which prevails in the Ucs would be much more natural to children than to adults, in fact, that the former will be dominated by it. Let us follow them along this path, that is to say, let us come into contact with their Ucs, making use of its language through our interpretation. If we do this we shall have won access to the children themselves. Of course this is not all so easily and quickly to be accomplished as it appears; if it were, the analysis of little children would take only a short time, and this is not by any means the case. In child-analysis, we shall again and again detect resistance no less markedly than in that of adults, in children very often in the form still the more natural to them, namely, in anxiety. This, then, is the second factor which seems to me so essential if we wish to penetrate into the child's Ucs. If we watch the alterations in his manner of representing what is going on within him (whether it is that he changes his game or gives it up or that there is a direct onset of anxiety) and try to see what there is in the nexus of the material to cause these alterations, we shall be convinced that we are always coming up against the sense of guilt and have to interpret this in its turn. These two factors, which I have found to be the most reliable aids in the technique of child-analysis, are mutually dependent and complementary. Only by interpreting and so allaying the child's anxiety whenever we can reach it shall we gain access to his Ucs and get him to phantasy. Then, if we follow out the symbolism that his phantasies contain, we shall soon see anxiety reappear, and thus we shall ensure the progress of the work." (pg. 148)
      - **"Representation by means of toys** - indeed, symbolic representation in general, as being to some extent removed from the subject's own person - is less invested with anxiety than is confession by word of mouth. If, then, we succeed in allaying anxiety and in getting in the first instance more indirect representations, we shall be able to convince ourselves that we can elicit for analysis the fullest verbal expression of which the child is capable. And then we find repeatedly that at times when anxiety becomes more marked the indirect representations once more occupy the foreground." (pg. 149)
    - "If we are logical in our application of the two principles that I have emphasized, namely, that we should follow up the child's symbolic mode of representation and that we should take into account the facility with which anxiety is roused in children, we shall be able also to count on their associations as a very important means in analysis, but, as I have said, only at times and as one means amongst several." (pg. 149)
      - "Over and over again it [e.g., play-technique] bridges the gulf to reality, and this is one reason why it is more closely associated with anxiety than is the unreal, indirect mode of representation. On this account I would not regard any child-analysis, not even that of a quite little child, as

- terminated unless I could finally succeed in its being expressed in speech, to the degree to which the child is capable of this, and so of linking it up with reality. We have then a perfect analogy with the technique of adult analysis. The only difference is that with children we find that the Ucs prevails to a far greater extent and that therefore its mode of expression is far more predominant than in adults, and further that we have to take into account the child's greater tendency to anxiety." (pg. 150)
- **"The play-technique provides us with a rich abundance of material and gives us access to the deepest strata of the mind.** If we make use of it we arrive unconditionally at the analysis of the Oedipus complex, and once arrived, we cannot mark out limits for analysis in any direction. If then we really wish to avoid analysing the Oedipus complex we must not make use of the play-technique, even in its modified application to older children." (pg. 151)
    - "We know that one of the principal factors in analytic work is the handling of the transference, strictly and objectively, in accordance with the facts, in the manner which our analytic knowledge has taught us to be the right one. A thorough resolution of the transference is regarded as one of the signs that an analysis has been satisfactorily concluded." (pg. 152-153)
  - "I have proved by practical application that this technique helps us to get the child's associations in even greater abundance than we get in adult analysis and thus to penetrate far deeper than we can in the latter. From what my own experience has taught me, then, I really can only emphatically combat Anna Freud's statement that both the methods used in adult analysis (namely, free association and the interpretation of the transference-reactions), in order to investigate the patient's early childhood, fail us in analysing children. I am even convinced that it is the special province of child-analysis, particularly that of quite young children, to make valuable contributions to our theory, just because with children analysis can go far deeper and therefore can bring to light details which do not appear so clearly in the case of adults." (pg. 154)
  - "The deep analysis of children, and particularly of little children, has led me to form quite a different picture of the super-ego in early childhood from that painted by Anna Freud principally as a result of theoretical considerations. It is certain that the ego of children is not comparable to that of adults. The super-ego, on the other hand, approximates closely to that of the adult and is not radically influenced by later development as is the ego. The dependence of children on external objects is naturally greater than that of adults and this fact produces results which are indisputable..." (pg. 154)
    - "We know that **the formation of the super-ego takes place on the basis of various identifications.** My results show that this process, which terminates with the passing of the Oedipus complex, i.e. with the beginning of the latency period, commences at a very early age. In my last paper I have indicated, basing my remarks on my findings in the analysis of very young children, that the Oedipus complex ensues upon the deprivation experienced at weaning, that is, at the end of the first or the beginning of the second year of life. But, hand in hand with this, we see the beginnings of the formation of the super-ego. The analyses both of older and of quite young children give a clear picture of the various elements out of which the super-ego develops and the different strata in which the development takes place. We see how many stages there are in this evolution before it terminates with the beginning of the latency period. It is really a case of terminating, for, in contrast to Anna Freud, I am led to believe from the analysis of children that their super-ego is a highly resistant product, at heart unalterable, and is not essentially different from that of adults. The difference is only that the maturer ego of adults is better able to come to terms with their super-ego. This, however, is often only apparently the case. Further, adults can defend themselves better against those authorities which represent the super-ego in the outside world; children are inevitably more dependent on these. But this does not imply, as Anna Freud concludes, that the child's superego is still 'too immature, too dependent on its object, spontaneously to control the demands of the instincts, when analysis has got rid of the neurosis'. Even in children these objects —the parents—are not identical with the super-ego. Their influence on the child's super-ego is entirely analogous to that which we can prove to be at work on adults when life places them in somewhat similar situations, e.g. in a position of peculiar dependence. The influence of dreaded authorities in examinations, of officers in military service, and so forth, is quite comparable to the effect which Anna Freud perceives in the constant correlations in children between the super-ego and the love-objects, which may be likened to those of two vessels with a communicating duct. Under the pressure of those situations in life such as I have mentioned, or others similar to them, adults, like children, react with an increase in their difficulties. This is because the old conflicts are reactivated or reinforced through the harshness of reality, and here a predominant part is played precisely by the intensified operation of the super-ego. Now this is exactly the same process as that to which Anna Freud refers, namely, the influencing of the (child's) super-ego by objects still actually present. It is true that good and bad influences on character and all the other dependent relations of childhood exert a stronger pressure on children than is undergone by adults. Yet in adults too such things are undoubtedly important." (pg. 155-156)
    - **"By the super-ego I understand** (and here I am in complete agreement with what Freud has taught us of its development) **the faculty which has resulted from the Oedipus development through the introjection of the Oedipus objects, and, with the passing of the Oedipus complex, has assumed a lasting and unalterable form.** As I have already explained, this faculty, both during its evolution and still more when it is completely formed, differs fundamentally from those objects which really initiated its development. Of course children (but also adults) will set up all kinds of ego-ideals, installing various 'super-egos', but this surely takes place in the more superficial strata and is at bottom determined by that one super-ego which is firmly rooted in the child and whose nature is immutable. The super-ego which Anna Freud thinks is still operative in the persons of the parents is not identical with this inner super-ego in the true sense, though I do not dispute its influence in itself. If we wish to reach the real super-ego, to reduce its power of operation and to influence it, our only means of doing so is analysis. But by this I mean an analysis which investigates the whole development of the Oedipus complex and the structure of the super-ego." (pg. 157)
      - ◆ "My observations have taught me that all these mechanisms are set going when the Oedipus complex arises and are activated by that complex. With its passing they have accomplished their fundamental work; the subsequent developments and reactions are rather the super-structure on a substratum which has assumed a fixed form and persists unchanged." (pg. 158)
  - Chapter 8 - Criminal Tendencies in Normal Children (pg. 170)
    - **"One of the bases of psycho-analysis is Freud's discovery that we find in the adult all the stages of his early childish development. We find them in the unconscious which contains all repressed phantasies and tendencies.** As we know, the mechanism of repression is mostly directed by the judging, criticizing faculties - the super-ego. It is evident that the deepest repressions are those which are directed against the most unsocial tendencies. As the individual repeats biologically the development of mankind, so also does he do it psychically. We find, repressed and unconscious, the stages which we still observe in primitive people: cannibalism and murderous tendencies of the greatest variety. This primitive part of a personality entirely contradicts the cultured part of the personality, which is the one that actually engenders the repression. Child-analysis and especially early analysis, by which is meant the analysis of children between three and six, gives a very illuminating picture of how early this fight between the cultured part of the personality and the primitive one starts. The results I have obtained in my analytical work with small children have proved to me that as early as the second year we find the super-ego already at work. At this age the child has already passed through most important stages of its psychological development; it has gone through its oral fixations, wherein we must distinguish between the oral-sucking fixation and the oral-biting fixation. The latter is very much connected with cannibalistic tendencies. The fact that we can observe often enough that babies bite the mother's breast is one of the evidences of this fixation. In the first year, too, a great part of the anal-sadistic fixations take place. This term, anal-sadistic erotism, is used to denote the pleasure derived from the anal erotogenic zone and the excretory function, together with the pleasure in cruelty, mastery, or possession, etc., which has been found to be closely connected with anal pleasures. **The oral-sadistic and the anal-sadistic impulses play the greatest part in those tendencies which I intend to examine in this paper.** I have just mentioned that as early as in the second year we find the super-ego at work,

- certainly in its developing stage. What calls this into being is the advent of the Oedipus complex. Psychoanalysis has shown that the Oedipus complex plays the largest part in the entire development of a personality, as much in persons who will become normal as in those who will become neurotic. Psychoanalytic work has demonstrated more and more that the whole of character formation, too, is derived from the Oedipus development, that all shades of difficulties of character, from the slightly neurotic to the criminalistic, are determined by it. In this direction —the study of the criminal— only the first steps have been made, but they are steps which promise far-reaching developments. It is the subject of my present paper to show you how we can see criminal tendencies at work in every child and to make some suggestions as to what it is which determines whether those tendencies will assert themselves in the personality or not." (pg. 170-171)
- **"...the relation to father and mother determine all subsequent relations in life"** (pg. 173)
  - "...so far as his feelings are negative, the child reacts with all the power and intensity of the hatred characteristic of the early sadistic stages of development. But, since the objects it hates are at the same time objects of its love, the conflicts which arise become very soon unbearably burdensome to the weak ego; the only escape is flight through repression, and the whole conflicting situation, which is thus never cleared up, remains active in the unconscious mind. Although psychology and pedagogy have always maintained the belief that a child is a happy being without any conflicts, and have assumed that the sufferings of adults are the result of the burdens and hardships of reality, it must be asserted that just the opposite is true. What we learn about the child and the adult through psycho-analysis shows that all the sufferings of later life are for the most part repetitions of these early ones, and that every child in the first years of its life goes through an immeasurable degree of suffering." (pg. 173)
  - "When from our psychoanalytic point of view we watch **the child at play** and use special technical measures to diminish its inhibition, we can bring out these phantasies and theories, find out the experiences the child has had, and see all the child's impulses and its reacting criticizing faculties at work. **This technique** is not an easy one; it requires a great deal of identification with the phantasies of the child and a special attitude towards the child, but it is extremely productive. This technique leads us to depths of the unconscious which are surprising even to the analyst of the adult. Slowly the analyst, by interpreting to the child what his play, drawings and whole behaviour means, resolves the repressions against the phantasies behind the play and liberates those phantasies. Tiny dolls, men, women, animals, cars, trains and so on, enable the child to represent various persons, mother, father, brothers and sisters, and by means of the toys to act all its most repressed unconscious material." (pg. 174)
  - "As we know, **the parents are the source of the super-ego, in that their commands, prohibitions, and so on become absorbed by the child itself. But this super-ego is not identical with the parents; it is partly formed upon the child's own sadistic phantasies.** But such strong repressions only stabilize the fight, without ever bringing it to an end. Moreover, by shutting off phantasies, repression makes it impossible for the child to abreact these phantasies in play, and in other ways to use them for sublimations, so that the whole weight of these fixations is left in a never-ending circle. It remains a circle, for repression, as I mentioned, does not end this process. The feeling of guilt, repressed too, is no less burdensome; thus the child repeats over and over a variety of actions, expressing both his desires and his wish to be punished. This desire for punishment, which is a determining factor when the child constantly repeats naughty acts, finds an analogy in the repeated misdeeds of the criminal, as I shall indicate later in my paper." (pg. 179)
    - "The mechanism of escaping from reality and falling back on fantasy is connected with another very usual form of reaction on the part of the child: namely its ability to comfort itself constantly for the frustration of its desires, proving to itself again through its play and its fancies that all is well and will be well." (pg. 180)
  - Chapter 9 - Early Stages of the Oedipus Conflict (pg. 186)
    - "...the Oedipus tendencies are released in consequence of the frustration which the child experiences at weaning, and that they make their appearance at the end of the first and the beginning of the second year of life; they receive reinforcement through the anal frustrations undergone during training in cleanliness. The next determining influence upon the mental processes is that of the anatomical difference between the sexes. The boy, when he finds himself impelled to abandon the oral and anal positions for the genital, passes on to the aim of penetration associated with possession of the penis. Thus he changes not only his libido-position, but its aim, and this enables him to retain his original love-object. In the girl, on the other hand, the receptive aim is carried over from the oral to the genital position: she changes her libido-position, but retains its aim, which has already led to disappointment in relation to her mother. In this way receptivity for the penis is produced in the girl, who then turns to the father as her love-object. The very onset of the Oedipus wishes, however, already becomes associated with incipient dread of castration and feelings of guilt." (pg. 196)
    - "The analysis of little children reveals **the structure of the super-ego as built up of identifications dating from very different periods and strata in the mental life. These identifications are surprisingly contradictory in nature, excessive goodness and excessive severity existing side by side.** We find in them, too, an explanation of the severity of the super-ego, which comes out specially plainly in these infant analyses. It does not seem clear why a child of, say, four years old should set up in his mind an unreal, phantastic image of parents who devour, cut and bite. But it is clear why in a child of about one year old the anxiety caused by the beginning of the Oedipus conflict takes the form of a dread of being devoured and destroyed. The child himself desires to destroy the libidinal object by biting, devouring and cutting it, which leads to anxiety, since awakening of the Oedipus tendencies is followed by introjection of the object, which then becomes one from which punishment is to be expected. The child then dreads a punishment corresponding to the offence: the super-ego becomes something which bites, devours and cuts. The connection between the formation of the super-ego and the pregenital phases of development is very important from two points of view. On the one hand, the sense of guilt attaches itself to the oral-and anal-sadistic phases, which as yet predominate; and, on the other, the super-ego comes into being while these phases are in the ascendant, which accounts for its sadistic severity. These conclusions open up a new perspective. Only by strong repression can the still very feeble ego defend itself against a superego so menacing. Since the Oedipus tendencies are at first chiefly expressed in the form of oral and anal impulses, the question of which fixations will predominate in the Oedipus development will be mainly determined by the degree of the repression which takes place at this early stage." (pg. 187)
      - "The early feeling of not knowing has manifold connections. It unites with the feeling of being incapable, impotent, which soon results from the Oedipus situation. The child also feels this frustration the more acutely because he knows nothing definite about sexual processes. In both sexes the castration complex is accentuated by this feeling of ignorance." (pg. 188)
    - "The early stages of the Oedipus conflict are so largely dominated by pregenital phases of development that the genital phase, when it begins to be active, is at first heavily shrouded and only later, between the third and fifth years of life, becomes clearly recognizable. At this age the Oedipus complex and the formation of the super-ego reach their climax. But the fact that the Oedipus tendencies begin so much earlier than we supposed, the pressure of the sense of guilt which therefore falls upon the pregenital levels, the determining influence thus exercised so early upon the Oedipus development on the one hand and that of the super-ego on the other, and accordingly upon character-formation, sexuality and all the rest of the subject's development—all these things seem to me of great and hitherto unrecognized importance." (pg. 197-198)
  - Chapter 10 - Personification in the Play of Children (pg. 199)
    - "I pointed out that **the specific content of their play, which recurs again and again in the most varied forms, is identical with the nucleus of the masturbation-phantasies and that it is one of the principal functions of children's play to provide a discharge for these phantasies.** Further, I discussed the very considerable analogy which exists between the means of representation used in play and in dreams and the importance of wish-fulfilment in both forms of mental activity. I also drew attention to one principal mechanism in games in which different "characters" are invented and allotted by the child. My object in the present paper is to discuss this mechanism in more detail and also to illustrate by a number of examples of



- different types of illness the relation between the 'characters' or personifications introduced by children into these games and the element of wish-fulfilment." (pg. 199)
- "I have come to the conclusion that this splitting of the super-ego into the primal identifications introjected at different stages of development is a mechanism analogous to and closely connected with projection. I believe these mechanisms (splitting-up and projection) are a principal factor in the tendency to personification in play. By their means the synthesis of the super-ego, which can be maintained only with more or less effort, can be given up for the time being and, further, the tension of maintaining the truce between the super-ego as a whole and the id is diminished. The intrapsychic conflict thus becomes less violent and can be displaced into the external world. The pleasure gained thereby is increased when the ego discovers that this displacement into the external world affords it various real proofs that the psychic processes, with their cathexis of anxiety and guilt, may have a favourable issue and anxiety be greatly reduced." (pg. 205)
    - "In neurotic children a 'compromise' arises: a very limited amount of reality is recognized; the rest is denied. At the same time there is extensive repression of the masturbation-phantasies, which the sense of guilt inhibits, and the result is the inhibition in play and learning which is common in neurotic children. The obsessional symptom in which they take refuge (at first, in play) reflects the compromise between the extensive inhibition of phantasy and the defective relation to reality and affords on this basis only the most limited forms of gratification." (pg. 206-207)
  - **"The play of normal children shows a better balance between phantasy and reality.** I will now summarize the different attitudes to reality revealed in the play of children suffering from various types of illness. In paraphrenia there is the most extensive repression of phantasy and withdrawal from reality. In paranoiac children the relation to reality is subordinated to the lively workings of phantasy, the balance between the two being weighted on the side of unreality. The experiences which neurotic children represent in their play are obsessively coloured by their need for punishment and their dread of an unhappy issue. Normal children, however, are able to master reality in better ways. Their play shows that they have more power to influence and live out reality in conformity with their phantasies. Moreover, where they cannot alter the real situation they are better able to bear it, because their freer phantasy provides them with a refuge from it and also because the fuller discharge that they have for their masturbation-phantasies in an ego-syntonic form (play and other sublimations) gives them greater opportunities of gratification. Let us now review the relation between the attitude to reality and the processes of personification and wish-fulfilment. In the play of normal children these latter processes testify to the stronger and more lasting influence of identifications originating on the genital level. In proportion as the imagos approximate to the real objects a good relation to reality (characteristic of normal people) becomes more marked. The diseases (psychosis and severe obsessional neurosis) which are characterized by a disturbed or displaced relation to reality are also those in which the wish-fulfilment is negative and extremely cruel types are impersonated in play. I have tried to demonstrate from these facts that here a super-ego is in the ascendant which is still in its early phases of super-ego formation, and I draw this conclusion: the ascendancy of a terrifying super-ego which has been introjected in the earliest stages of ego-development is a basic factor in psychotic disturbance." (pg. 207)
  - "In this paper I have tried to show that the severest and most pressing anxiety proceeds from the super-ego introjected at a very early stage of ego-development, and that the supremacy of this early super-ego is a fundamental factor in the genesis of psychosis. My experience has convinced me that with the help of play-technique it is possible to analyse the early phases of super-ego-formation in little children and in older ones. Analysis of these strata diminishes the most intense and overwhelming anxiety and thus opens out the way for developments of the kindly imagos, which originate on the oral-sucking level, and therewith for attainment of genital primacy in sexuality and super-ego-formation. In this we may see a fair prospect for the diagnosis? and cure of the psychoses in childhood." (pg. 209)
  - Chapter 11 - Infantile Anxiety-Situations Reflected in a Work of Art and in the Creative Impulse (pg. 210)
    - See text
  - Chapter 12 - The Importance of Symbol-Formation in the Development of the Ego (pg. 219)
    - "[N]ot only does symbolism come to be the foundation of all phantasy and sublimation but, more than that, it is the basis of the subject's relation to the outside world and to reality in general. I pointed out that the object of sadism at its height, and of the desire for knowledge arising simultaneously with sadism, is the mother's body with its phantasied contents. The sadistic phantasies directed against the inside of her body constitute the first and basic relation to the outside world and to reality. Upon the degree of success with which the subject passes through this phase will depend the extent to which he can subsequently acquire an external world corresponding to reality. We see then that the child's earliest reality is wholly phantastic; he is surrounded with objects of anxiety, and in this respect excrement, organs, objects, things animate and inanimate are to begin with equivalent to one another. As the ego develops, a true relation to reality is gradually established out of this unreal reality. Thus, the development of the ego and the relation to reality depend on the degree of the ego's capacity at a very early period to tolerate the pressure of the earliest anxiety-situations. And, as usual, it is a question of a certain optimum balance of the factors concerned. A sufficient quantity of anxiety is the necessary basis for an abundance of symbol-formation and of phantasy; an adequate capacity on the part of the ego to tolerate anxiety is essential if anxiety is to be satisfactorily worked over; if this basic phase is to have a favourable issue and if the development of the ego is to be successful." (pg. 221)
  - Chapter 13 - The Psychotherapy of the Psychoses (pg. 233)
    - "The analysis of small children between two and a half and five years clearly shows that for all children in the beginning external reality is mainly a mirror of the child's own instinctual life. Now, **the earliest phase of human relationship is one dominated by oral-sadistic urges.** These sadistic urges are accentuated by experiences of frustration and deprivation, and the result of this process is that every other instrument of sadistic expression the child possesses, to which we give the labels urethral sadism, anal sadism, muscle sadism, are in turn activated and directed towards objects. The fact is that at this phase external reality is peopled in the child's imagination with objects who are expected to treat the child in precisely the same sadistic way as the child is impelled to treat the objects. This relationship is really the very young child's primitive reality. In the earliest reality of the child it is no exaggeration to say that **the world is a breast and a belly which is filled with dangerous objects, dangerous because of the child's own impulse to attack them.** Whilst the normal course of development for the ego is gradually to assess external objects through a reality scale of values, for the psychotic, the world - and that in practice means objects - is valued at the original level; that is to say, that for the psychotic the world is still a belly peopled with dangerous objects. If, therefore, I were asked to give in a few words a valid generalization for the psychoses, I would say that the main groupings correspond to defences against the main developmental phases of sadism." (pg. 233)
      - "In my opinion fully developed schizophrenia is more common —and especially the occurrence of schizophrenic traits is a far more general phenomenon —in childhood than is usually supposed. I have come to the conclusion that the concept of schizophrenia in particular and of psychosis in general as occurring in childhood must be extended, and I think that one of the chief tasks of the children's analyst is to discover and cure psychoses in children." (pg. 235)
  - Chapter 14 - A Contribution to the Theory of Intellectual Inhibition (pg. 236)
    - "To sum up what has been said: While the improvement in John's capacity to conceive the condition of the inside of his mother's body led to a greater ability to understand and appreciate the outer world, the reduction of his inhibition against really knowing about the inside of his own body at the same time led to a deeper understanding and better control over his own mental process; he could then clear up and bring order into his own mind. The first resulted in a greater capacity to take in knowledge; the second entailed a better ability to work over, organize and correlate the knowledge obtained, and also to give it out again, i.e., return it, formulate it or express it—an advance in ego-development. These **two fundamental contents of anxiety (relating to one's mother's body and one's own body)** condition each other and react on each other in every detail, and in the same way the greater freedom of the two functions of introjection and extrajection (or projection), resulting from a reduction in the anxiety from these sources,

allows both to be employed in a more appropriate and less compulsive way. When, however, the super-ego exerts a too extensive domination over the ego, the latter frequently, in its attempts to maintain control over the id and the internalized objects by repression, shuts itself off from the influences of the outer world and objects there, and thus deprives itself of all sources of stimulus which would form the basis of ego-interests and achievements, both those from the id and those from external sources. In those cases in which the significance of reality and real objects as reflections of the dreaded internal world and imagos has retained its preponderance, the stimuli from the external world may be felt to be nearly as alarming as the phantasied domination of the internalized objects, which have taken possession of all initiative and to which the ego feels compulsively bound to surrender the execution of all activities and intellectual operations, together of course with the responsibility for them. In certain cases, severe inhibitions in regard to learning are combined with great general intractability and ineducability and an attitude of knowing better; what I have then found is that the ego feels itself oppressed and paralysed on the one hand by the influences of the super-ego, which it feels to be tyrannical and dangerous, and on the other by its distrust of accepting the influences of the real objects, often because they are felt to be in complete opposition to the demands of the super-ego, but more often because they are too closely identified with the dreaded internal ones. The ego then tries (by means of projection on to the outer world) to demonstrate its independence from the imagos by rebelling against all the influences emanating from real objects. The degree to which a reduction of the sadism and anxiety and of the operation of the super-ego can be achieved, so that the ego acquires a broader basis on which to function, determines the degree of improvement in the patient's accessibility to influence by the external world, together with a progressive resolution of his intellectual inhibitions." (pg. 244-245)

- Chapter 15 - The Early Development of Conscience in the Child (pg. 248)
  - "One of the most important contributions of psycho-analytic research has been the discovery of the mental processes which underlie the development of conscience in the individual. In his work of bringing to light unconscious instinctual tendencies, Freud has also recognized the existence of those forces which serve as a defence against them. According to his findings, which psycho-analytic practice has borne out in every instance, the person's conscience is a precipitate or representative of his early relations to his parents. He has in some sense internalized his parents —has taken them into himself. There they become a differentiated part of his ego—his super-ego-and an agency which advances against the rest of his ego certain requirements, reproaches, and admonitions, and which stands in opposition to his instinctual impulses. Freud has since shown that the operation of this super-ego is not limited to the conscious mind, is not only what is meant by conscience, but also exerts an unconscious and often very oppressive influence which is an important factor both in mental illness and in the development of normal personality. This new discovery has brought the study of the super-ego and its origins more and more into the focus of psycho-analytic investigation." (pg. 248)
    - "[I]n the small child we come across a super-ego of the most incredible and phantastic character. And the younger the child is, or the deeper the mental level we penetrate to, the more this is the case. We get to look upon the child's fear of being devoured, or cut up, or torn to pieces, or its terror of being surrounded and pursued by menacing figures, as a regular component of its mental life; and we know that the man-eating wolf, the fire-spewing dragon, and all the evil monsters out of myths and fairy-stories flourish and exert their unconscious influence in the phantasy of each individual child, and it feels itself persecuted and threatened by those evil shapes. But I think we can know more than this. I have no doubt from my own analytic observations that the real objects behind those imaginary, terrifying figures are the child's own parents, and that those dreadful shapes in some way or other reflect the features of its father and mother, however distorted and phantastic the resemblance may be." (pg. 249)
      - "In penetrating to the deepest layers of the child's mind and discovering those enormous quantities of anxiety - those fears of imaginary objects and those terrors of being attacked in all sorts of ways - we also lay bare a corresponding amount of repressed impulses of aggression, and can observe the causal connection which exists between the child's fears and its aggressive tendencies." (pg. 249)
  - "In his book, *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*, Freud (1920) put forward a theory according to which at the outset of the life of the human organism the instinct of aggression, or the death-instinct, is being opposed and bound by the libido, or life-instinct —the eros. A fusion of the two instincts ensues, and gives rise to sadism. In order to escape from being destroyed by its own death-instinct, the organism employs its narcissistic, or self-regarding libido to force the former outward, and direct it against its objects. Freud considers this process as fundamental for the person's sadistic relations to his objects. I should say, moreover, that parallel with this deflection of the death-instinct outward against objects, an intra-psychic reaction of defence goes on against that part of the instinct which could not be thus externalized. For the danger of being destroyed by this instinct of aggression sets up, I think, an excessive tension in the ego, which is felt by it as an anxiety, so that it is faced at the very beginning of its development with the task of mobilizing libido against its death-instinct. It can, however, only imperfectly fulfil this task, since, owing to the fusion of the two instincts, it can no longer, as we know, effect a separation between them. A division takes place in the id, or instinctual levels of the psyche, by which one part of the instinctual impulses is directed against the other. This apparently earliest measure of defence on the part of the ego constitutes, I think, the foundation-stone of the development of the super-ego, whose excessive violence in this early stage would thus be accounted for by the fact that it is an offshoot of very intense destructive instincts, and contains, along with a certain proportion of libidinal impulses, very large quantities of aggressive ones. This view of the matter makes it also less puzzling to understand why the child should form such monstrous and phantastic images of his parents. For he perceives his anxiety arising from his aggressive instincts as fear of an external object, both because he has made that object their outward goal, and because he has projected them on to it so that they seem to be initiated against himself from that quarter. He thus displaces the source of his anxiety outwards and turns his objects into dangerous ones; but, ultimately, that danger belongs to his own aggressive instincts. For this reason his fear of his objects will always be proportionate to the degree of his own sadistic impulses. It is not, however, simply a question of converting a given amount of sadism into a corresponding amount of anxiety. The relation is one of content as well. The child's fear of its object and the imaginary attacks it will suffer from it adhere in every detail to the particular aggressive impulses and phantasies which it harbours against its environment. In this way each child develops parental imagos that are peculiar to itself; though in every case they will be of an unreal and terrifying character. According to my observations, the formation of the super-ego begins at the same time as the child makes its earliest oral introjection of its objects. Since the first imagos it thus forms are endowed with all the attributes of the intense sadism belonging to this stage of its development, and since they will once more be projected on to objects of the outer world, the small child becomes dominated by the fear of suffering unimaginable cruel attacks, both from its real objects and from its super-ego. Its anxiety will serve to increase its own sadistic impulses by urging it to destroy those hostile objects so as to escape their onslaughts. The vicious circle that is thus set up, in which the child's anxiety impels it to destroy its object, results in an increase of its own anxiety, and this once again urges it on against its object, and constitutes a psychological mechanism which, in my view, is at the bottom of asocial and criminal tendencies in the individual. Thus, we must assume that it is the excessive severity and overpowering cruelty of the super-ego, not the weakness or want of it, as is usually supposed, which is responsible for the behaviour of asocial and criminal persons. In a somewhat later stage of development, fear of the super-ego will cause the ego to turn away from the anxiety-arousing object. This defensive mechanism can lead to a defective or impaired object-relation on the part of the child." (pg. 250-251)
    - "[T]he more the child's sadism is lessened, the more the influence of its unreal and frightening imagos recedes into the background, since they are the offshoots of its own aggressive tendencies." (pg. 251-252)
      - "...its super-ego, from being a threatening, despotic force issuing senseless and self-contradictory commands which the ego is totally unable to satisfy, begins to exert a milder and more persuasive rule and to make requirements which are capable of being fulfilled. In fact, it becomes transformed into conscience in the true sense of the word." (pg. 252)
    - "so long as the function of the super-ego is mainly to arouse anxiety it will call out those violent defensive mechanisms in the ego which I

**have described above, and which are unethical and asocial in their nature.** But as soon as the child's sadism is diminished and the character and function of its super-ego changed so that it arouses less anxiety and more sense of guilt, those defensive mechanisms which form the basis of a moral and ethical attitude are activated, and the child begins to have consideration for its objects and to be amenable to social feeling." (pg. 252)

- "Numerous analyses of children of all ages have borne out this view. In play-analysis we are able to follow the course of our patients' phantasies as represented in their games and play, and to establish a connection between those phantasies and their anxiety. As we proceed to analyse the content of their anxiety, we see the aggressive tendencies and phantasies which give rise to it come forward more and more, and grow to huge proportions, both in amount and intensity. **The ego of the small child is in danger of being overwhelmed by their elemental force and enormous extent, and is engaged in a perpetual struggle to maintain itself against them with the help of its libidinal impulses**, either by holding them under, or calming them down, or rendering them innocuous." (pg. 252)
- "...we know from Freud and Abraham that in the earliest, pregenital stages of libidinal organization, in which this fusion of libido and destructive instinct takes place, the sadistic impulses of the child are paramount. As the analysis of every grown-up person demonstrates, in the oral-sadistic stage which follows upon the oral-sucking one, the small child goes through a cannibalistic phase with which are associated a wealth of cannibalistic phantasies. These phantasies, although they are still centred on eating up the mother's breast or her whole person, are not solely concerned with the gratification of a primitive desire for nourishment. They also serve to gratify the child's destructive impulses. The sadistic phase which succeeds this - the anal-sadistic phase - is characterized by a dominating interest in excretory processes—in faeces and the anus; and this interest, too, is closely allied to extremely strong destructive tendencies. We know that the ejection of faeces symbolizes a forcible ejection of the incorporated object and is accompanied by feelings of hostility and cruelty, and by destructive desires of various kinds, the buttocks receiving importance as an object of these activities. In my opinion, however, the anal-sadistic tendencies contain more profound and deeply repressed aims and objects still. The data I have been able to collect from early analyses reveal that between the oral-sadistic and anal-sadistic stages there exists another stage in which urethral-sadistic tendencies make themselves felt, and that the anal and urethral tendencies are a direct continuation of the oral-sadistic ones as regards the specific aim and object of attack. In its oral-sadistic phantasies the child attacks its mother's breast, and the means it employs are its teeth and jaws. In its urethral and anal phantasies it seeks to destroy the inside of the mother's body, and uses its urine and faeces for this purpose. In this second group of phantasies the excrements are regarded as burning and corroding substances, wild animals, weapons of all kinds, etc.; and the child enters a phase in which it directs every instrument of its sadism to the one purpose of destroying its mother's body and what is contained in it. As regards choice of object, the child's oral-sadistic impulses are still the underlying factor, so that it thinks of sucking out and eating up the inside of its mother's body as though it were a breast. But those impulses receive an extension from the child's first sexual theories, which it develops during this phase. We already knew that when its genital instincts awakened it began to have unconscious theories about copulation between its parents, birth of children, etc. But early analysis has shown that it develops such theories much earlier than this, at a time when its pregenital impulses still predominantly determine the picture though its as yet concealed genital impulses have some say in the matter. These theories are to the effect that in copulation the mother is continually incorporating the father's penis via the mouth, so that her body is filled with a great many penises and babies. All these the child desires to eat up and destroy. In attacking its mother's inside, therefore, the child is attacking a great number of objects, and is embarking on a course which is fraught with consequences. The womb first stands for the world; and the child originally approaches this world with desires to attack and destroy it, and is therefore prepared from the outset to view the real, external world as more or less hostile to itself, and peopled with objects ready to make attacks upon it. Its belief that in thus attacking its mother's body it has also attacked its father and its brothers and sisters, and, in a wider sense the whole world, is, in my experience, one of the underlying causes of its sense of guilt, and of the development of its social and moral feelings in general. For when the excessive severity of the super-ego has become somewhat lessened, its visitations upon the ego on account of those imaginary attacks induce feelings of guilt which arouse strong tendencies in the child to make good the imaginary damage it has done to its objects. And now the individual content and details of its destructive phantasies help to determine the development of its sublimations, which indirectly subserve its restitutive tendencies, or to produce even more direct desires to help other people." (pg. 253-254)
  - *"I don't believe in any of this bullshit. The dependence of mental/emotional ability on bodily functioning is horrid. The association of "excretion" with vulnerability followed by hostility is a perverted outgrowth of the 19th-century fetishized empirical mindset. Overall, this passage is grotesque, culturally contaminated, and intellectually bankrupt.*
- "So far we have been concerned to establish the fact that the social and moral feelings of the person develop from a super-ego of a milder type, governed by the genital level. Now we must consider the inferences that follow from this. The deeper analysis penetrates into the lower levels of the child's mind, the more will it succeed in mitigating the severity of the super-ego by lessening the operation of its sadistic constituents that arise from the earliest stages of development. In doing this, **analysis prepares the way not only for the achievement of social adaptability in the child, but for the development of moral and ethical standards in the adult; for a development of this kind depends upon both super-ego and sexuality having satisfactorily attained to a genital level at the close of the expansion of the child's sexual life** so that the super-ego shall have developed the character and function from which the person's sense of guilt in so far as it is socially valuable—i.e., his conscience—is derived. Experience has already for some time shown that psycho-analysis, though originally devised by Freud as a method of curing mental disease, accomplishes a second purpose as well. It puts right disturbances of character-formation, especially in children and adolescents, where it is able to effect very considerable alterations. Indeed we may say that after it has been analysed, every child exhibits radical changes of character; nor can we avoid the conviction, based on observation of fact, that character-analysis is no less important than analysis of neuroses as a therapeutic measure." (pg. 256)
  - "The repeated attempts that have been made to improve humanity - in particular to make it more peaceable - have failed, because nobody has understood the full depth and vigour of the instincts of aggression innate in each individual. Such efforts do not seek to do more than encourage the positive, well-wishing impulses of the person while denying or suppressing his aggressive ones. And so they have been doomed to failure from the beginning. But psycho-analysis has different means at its disposal for a task of this kind. It cannot, it is true, altogether do away with man's aggressive instinct as such; but it can, by diminishing the anxiety which accentuates those instincts, break up the mutual reinforcement that is going on all the time between his hatred and his fear. When, in our analytic work, we are always seeing how the resolution of early infantile anxiety not only lessens and modifies the child's aggressive impulses, but leads to a more valuable employment and gratification of them from a social point of view; how the child shows an ever-growing, deeply rooted desire to be loved and to love, and to be at peace with the world about it; and how much pleasure and benefit, and what a lessening of anxiety it derives from the fulfilment of this desire— when we see all this, we are ready to believe that what would now seem a Utopian state of things may well come true in those distant days when, as I hope, child-analysis will become as much a part of every person's upbringing as school education is now. Then perhaps, that hostile attitude, springing from fear and suspicion, which is latent more or less strongly in each human being, and which intensifies a hundredfold in him every impulse of destruction, will give way to kinder and more trustful feelings towards his fellow-men, and people may inhabit the world together in greater peace and good-will than they do now." (pg. 257)
- Chapter 16 - On Criminality (pg. 258)
  - "I had found that children would show asocial and criminal tendencies, and act them out (of course in their childish way) over and over again, the more they were dreading a cruel retaliation from their parents as a punishment for their aggressive phantasies directed against those parents. Children who, unconsciously, were expecting to be cut to pieces, beheaded, devoured and so on, would feel compelled to be naughty and to get

punished, because the real punishment, however severe, was reassuring in comparison with the murderous attacks which they were continuously expecting from fantastically cruel parents. I came to the conclusion in the paper to which I have just referred, that it is not (as is usually supposed) the weakness or lack of a super-ego, it is not in other words the lack of conscience, but the overpowering strictness of the super-ego, which is responsible for the characteristic behaviour of asocial and criminal persons. Further work in the field of child-analysis has confirmed these suggestions and given a deeper insight into the mechanisms at work in such cases. **The small child first harbours against its parents aggressive impulses and phantasies, it then projects these on to them, and thus it comes about that it develops a phantastic and distorted picture of the people around it. But the mechanism of introjection operates at the same time, so that these unreal imagos become internalized, with the result that the child feels itself to be ruled by phantastically dangerous and cruel parents —the super-ego within itself.** In the early sadistic phase, which every individual normally passes through, the child protects himself against his fear of his violent objects, both introjected and external, by redoubling his attacks upon them in his imagination; his aim in thus getting rid of his objects is in part to silence the intolerable threats of his super-ego. **A vicious circle is set up, the child's anxiety impels it to destroy its objects, this leads to an increase of its own anxiety, and this once again urges it on against its objects; this vicious circle constitutes the psychological mechanism which seems to be at the bottom of asocial and criminal tendencies in the individual.** When in the normal course of development both sadism and anxiety diminish, the child finds better and more social means and ways for mastering its anxiety. The better adaptation to reality enables the child to get more support against the phantastic imagos through its relation to the real parents. While in the earliest stages of development its aggressive phantasies against its parents, brothers and sisters aroused anxiety mainly lest those objects should turn against him, those tendencies now become the basis for feelings of guilt and the wish to make good what it has done in its imagination. Changes of the same kind come about as a result of analysis. Play-analyses show that when the child's aggressive instincts and its anxiety are very strong, it goes on and on, tearing and cutting up, breaking, wetting, and burning all sorts of things such as paper, matches, boxes, small toys, which represent its parents, brothers and sisters, and its mother's body and breasts, and we also find that these aggressive activities alternate with severe anxiety. But when in analysis anxiety gradually gets resolved and thus sadism diminishes, feelings of guilt and constructive tendencies come to the fore, e.g. where formerly a small boy has done nothing but chop bits of wood to pieces, he will now begin to try and make those bits of wood into a pencil. He will take pieces of lead got from pencils which he has cut up, and put them in a crack in the wood and then sew a piece of stuff round the rough wood to make it look nicer. It is evident, from the general context of the material he presents and from the associations he gives, that this home-made pencil represents his father's penis, which he has destroyed in phantasy, and his own, whose destruction he dreads as a measure of retaliation. The more the tendency and capacity to restitute increases and the more the belief and trust in those around him grows, the milder does the super-ego become, and vice versa. But in those cases in which, as a result of a strong sadism and an overwhelming anxiety (I can only briefly mention here some of the more important factors), the vicious circle between hatred, anxiety and destructive tendencies cannot be broken, the individual remains under the stress of the early anxiety situations and retains the defensive mechanisms belonging to that early stage. If then fear of the super-ego, either for external or intra-psychic reasons, oversteps certain bounds, the individual may be compelled to destroy people and this compulsion may form the basis for the development either of a criminal type of behaviour or of a psychosis. Thus we see that the same psychological roots may develop into paranoia, or into criminality. Certain factors will in the latter case lead to a greater tendency in the criminal to suppress unconscious phantasies and to act them out in reality. Phantasies of persecution are common to both conditions; it is because the criminal feels persecuted that he goes about destroying others. Naturally, in cases where children, not only in phantasy, but also in reality, experience some degree of persecution through unkind parents and miserable surroundings, the phantasies will be greatly reinforced. There is a common tendency to over-estimate the importance of unsatisfactory surroundings, in the sense that the internal psychological difficulties, which partly result from the surroundings, are not sufficiently appreciated. It depends, therefore, on the degree of the intrapsychical anxiety, whether or not it will avail much merely to improve the child's environment. One of the great problems about criminals, which has always made them incomprehensible to the rest of the world, is their lack of natural human good feelings; but this lack is only apparent. When in analysis one reaches the deepest conflicts from which hate and anxiety spring, one also finds there the love as well. Love is not absent in the criminal, but it is hidden and buried in such a way that nothing but analysis can bring it to light; since the hated persecuting object was originally to the tiny baby the object of all its love and libido, the criminal is now in the position of hating and persecuting his own loved object; as this is an intolerable position all memory and consciousness of any love for any object must be suppressed. If there is nothing in the world but enemies, and that is how the criminal feels, his hate and destructiveness are, in his view, to a great extent justified —an attitude which relieves some of his unconscious feelings of guilt. Hate is often used as the most effective cover for love; but one must not forget that to the person who is under the continuous stress of persecution, the safety of his own ego is the first and only consideration. Thus, to sum up: **In cases where the function of the super-ego is mainly to arouse anxiety it will call out violent defensive mechanisms in the ego, which are unethical and asocial in their nature; but as soon as the child's sadism diminishes and the character and function of its super-ego changes so that it arouses less anxiety and more sense of guilt, those defensive mechanisms which form the basis of a moral and ethical attitude are activated, and the child begins to have consideration for its objects, and to be amenable to social feelings.** One knows how difficult it is to approach the adult criminal and to cure him, though we have no reason to be too pessimistic about it; but experience shows that one can approach and cure both criminal and psychotic children. It seems, therefore, that the best remedy against delinquency would be to analyse children who show signs of abnormality in the one direction or the other." (pg. 258-261)

- Chapter 17 - A Contribution to the Psychogenesis of Manic-Depressive States (pg. 262)
  - "My earlier writings contain the account of a phase of sadism at its height, through which children pass during the first year of life. **In the very first months of the baby's existence it has sadistic impulses directed, not only against its mother's breast, but also against the inside of her body: scooping it out, devouring the contents, destroying it by every means which sadism can suggest. The development of the infant is governed by the mechanisms of introjection and projection.** From the beginning the ego introjects objects 'good' and 'bad' for both of which the mother's breast is the prototype - for good objects when the child obtains it, for bad ones when it fails him. But it is because **the baby projects its own aggression on to these objects that it feels them to be 'bad'** and not only in that they frustrate its desires: **the child conceives of them as actually dangerous-persecutors who it fears will devour it**, scoop out the inside of its body, cut it to pieces, poison it—in short, compassing its destruction by all the means which sadism can devise. **These imagos, which are a phantastically distorted picture of the real objects upon which they are based,** become installed not only in the outside world but, by the process of incorporation, also within the ego. Hence, quite little children pass through anxiety-situations (and react to them with defence-mechanisms), the content of which is comparable to that of the psychoses of adults. **One of the earliest methods of defence against the dread of persecutors**, whether conceived of as existing in the external world or internalized, **is that of scotomization, the denial of psychic reality**; this may result in a considerable restriction of the mechanisms of introjection and projection and in the denial of external reality, and **forms the basis of the most severe psychoses**. Very soon, too, **the ego tries to defend itself against internalized persecutors by the processes of expulsion and projection**. At the same time, since the dread of internalized objects is by no means extinguished with their projection, the ego marshals against the persecutors inside the body the same forces as it employs against those in the outside world. These anxiety-contents and defence-mechanisms form the basis of paranoia. In the infantile dread of magicians, witches, evil beasts, etc., we detect something of this same anxiety, but here it has already undergone projection and modification. One of my conclusions, moreover, was that infantile psychotic anxiety, in particular paranoid anxiety, is bound and modified by the obsessional mechanisms which make their appearance very early." (pg. 262-263)
    - "In paranoia the characteristic defences are chiefly aimed at annihilating the 'persecutors' while anxiety on the ego's account occupies a prominent place in the picture. **As the ego becomes more fully organized, the internalized imagos will approximate more closely to reality and**

the ego will identify itself more fully with 'good' objects. The dread of persecution, which was at first felt on the ego's account, now relates to the good object as well and from now on preservation of the good object is regarded as synonymous with the survival of the ego. Hand in hand with this development goes a change of the highest importance; namely, from a partial object-relation to the relation to a complete object. Through this step the ego arrives at a new position, which forms the foundation of the **situation called the loss of the loved object.** Not until the object is loved as a whole can its loss be felt as a whole. With this change in the relation to the object, new anxiety-contents make their appearance and a change takes place in the mechanisms of defence. The development of the libido also is decisively influenced. Paranoid anxiety lest the objects sadistically destroyed should themselves be a source of poison and danger inside the subject's body causes him, in spite of the vehemence of his oral-sadistic onslaughts, at the same time to be profoundly mistrustful of the objects while yet incorporating them. This leads to a weakening of oral desires. One manifestation of this may be observed in the difficulties very young children often have in taking food; these difficulties I think have a paranoid root. **As a child (or an adult) identifies himself more fully with a good object, the libidinal urges increase; he develops a greedy love and desire to devour this object and the mechanism of introjection is reinforced.** Besides, he finds himself constantly impelled to repeat the incorporation of a good object—i.e. the repetition of the act is designed to test the reality of his fears and disprove them - partly because he dreads that he has forfeited it by his cannibalism and partly because he fears internalized persecutors against whom he requires a good object to help him. In this stage the ego is more than ever driven both by love and by need to introject the object. Another stimulus for an increase of introjection is the phantasy that the loved object may be preserved in safety inside oneself. In this case the dangers of the inside are projected on to the external world. If, however, consideration for the object increases, and a better acknowledgement of psychic reality sets in, the anxiety lest the object should be destroyed in the process of introjecting it leads - as Abraham has described - to various disturbances of the function of introjection. In my experience there is, furthermore, a deep anxiety as to the dangers which await the object inside the ego. It cannot be safely maintained there, as the inside is felt to be a dangerous and poisonous place in which the loved object would perish. Here we see one of the situations which I described above, as being fundamental for 'the loss of the loved object; the situation, namely, when **the ego becomes fully identified with its good internalized objects, and at the same time becomes aware of its own incapacity to protect and preserve them against the internalized persecuting objects and the id.** This anxiety is psychologically justified. For the ego, when it becomes fully identified with the object, does not abandon its earlier defence-mechanisms. According to Abraham's hypothesis, the annihilation and expulsion of the object—processes characteristic of the earlier anal level—initiate the depressive mechanism. If this be so, it confirms my concept of the genetic connection between paranoia and melancholia. In my opinion, the paranoid mechanism of destroying the objects (whether inside the body or in the outside world), by every means derived from oral, urethral and anal sadism, persists, but still in a lesser degree and with a certain modification due to the change in the subject's relation to his objects. As I have said, the dread lest the good object should be expelled along with the bad causes the mechanisms of expulsion and projection to lose value. We know that, at this stage, the ego makes a greater use of introjection of the good object as a mechanism of defence. This is associated with another important mechanism: that of making reparation to the object. In certain of my earlier works I discussed in detail the concept of restoration and showed that it is far more than a mere reaction-formation. The ego feels impelled (and I can now add, impelled by its identification with the good object) to make restitution for all the sadistic attacks that it has launched on that object. When a well-marked cleavage between good and bad objects has been attained, the subject attempts to restore the former, making good in the restoration every detail of his sadistic attacks. But the ego cannot as yet believe enough in the benevolence of the object and in its own capacity to make restitution. On the other hand, through its identification with a good object and through the other mental advances which this implies, the ego finds itself forced to a fuller recognition of psychic reality, and this exposes it to fierce conflicts. Some of its objects (an indefinite number) are persecutors to it, ready to devour it and do violence to it. In all sorts of ways they endanger both the ego and the good object. Every injury inflicted in phantasy by the child upon its parents (primarily from hate and secondarily in self-defence), every act of violence committed by one object upon another (in particular the destructive, sadistic coitus of the parents, which the child regards as yet another result of its own sadistic wishes) —all this is played out, both in the outside world and, since the ego is constantly absorbing into itself the whole external world, within the ego as well. Now, however, all these processes are viewed as a perpetual source of danger both to the good object and to the ego. It is true that, now that good and bad objects are more clearly differentiated, the subject's hate is directed rather against the latter, while his love and his attempts at reparation are more focused on the former; but the excess of his sadism and anxiety acts as a check to this advance in his mental development. Every internal or external stimulus (e.g. every real frustration) is fraught with the utmost danger: not only bad objects but also the good ones are thus menaced by the id, for every access of hate or anxiety may temporarily abolish the differentiation and thus result in a 'loss of the loved object'. And it is not only the vehemence of the subject's uncontrollable hatred but that of his love too which imperils the object. For at this stage of his development loving an object and devouring it are very closely connected. A little child which believes, when its mother disappears, that it has eaten her up and destroyed her (whether from motives of love or of hate) is tormented by anxiety both for her and for the good mother which it has absorbed into itself. It now becomes plain why, at this phase of development, the ego feels itself constantly menaced in its possession of internalized good objects. It is full of anxiety lest such objects should die. Both in children and adults suffering from depression, I have discovered the dread of harbouring dying or dead objects (especially the parents) inside one and an identification of the ego with objects in this condition. From the very beginning of psychic development there is a constant correlation of real objects with those installed within the ego. It is for this reason that the anxiety which I have just described manifests itself in a child's exaggerated fixation to its mother or whoever looks after it. The absence of the mother arouses in the child anxiety lest it should be handed over to bad objects, external and internalized, either because of her death or because of her return in the guise of a 'bad' mother. Both cases mean to the child the loss of the loved mother, and I would particularly draw attention to the fact that dread of the loss of the good", internalized object becomes a perpetual source of anxiety lest the real mother should die. On the other hand, every experience which suggests the loss of the real loved object stimulates the dread of losing the internalized one too. I have already stated that my experience has led me to conclude that the loss of the loved object takes place during that phase of development in which the ego makes the transition from partial to total incorporation of the object. Having now described the situation of the ego in that phase, I can express myself with greater precision on this point. The processes which subsequently become clear as the 'loss of the loved object' are determined by the subject's sense of failure (during weaning and in the periods which precede and follow it) to secure his good, internalized object, i.e. to possess himself of it. One reason for his failure is that he has been unable to overcome his paranoid dread of internalized persecutors." (pg. 263-267)

- "According to our views, even **the earliest incorporated objects form the basis of the super-ego and enter into its structure.** The question is by no means a merely theoretical one. As we study the relations of the early infantile ego to its internalized objects and to the id, and come to understand the gradual changes these relations undergo, we obtain a deeper insight into the specific anxiety-situations through which the ego passes and the specific defence-mechanisms which it develops as it becomes more highly organized. Viewing them from this standpoint in our experience, we find that we arrive at a more complete understanding of the earliest phases of psychic development, of the structure of the super-ego and of the genesis of psychotic diseases. For where we deal with aetiology it seems essential to regard the libido-disposition not merely as such, but also to consider it in connection with the subject's earliest relations to his internalized and external objects, a consideration which implies an understanding of the defence mechanisms developed gradually by the ego in dealing with its varying anxiety-situations. If we accept this view of the formation of the super-ego, its relentless severity in the case of the melancholic becomes more intelligible. **The persecutions**

and demands of bad internalized objects; the attacks of such objects upon one another (especially that represented by the sadistic coitus of the parents); the urgent necessity to fulfil the very strict demands of the 'good objects' and to protect and placate them within the ego, with the resultant hatred of the id; the constant uncertainty as to the 'goodness' of a good object, which causes it so readily to become transformed into a bad one - all these factors combine to produce in the ego a sense of being a prey to contradictory and impossible claims from within, a condition which is felt as a bad conscience. That is to say: the earliest utterances of conscience are associated with persecution by bad objects. The very word 'gnawing of conscience' (Gewissensbisse) testifies to the relentless 'persecution' by conscience and to the fact that it is originally conceived of as devouring its victim. Among the various internal demands which go to make up the severity of the super-ego in the melancholic, I have mentioned his urgent need to comply with the very strict demands of the 'good' objects. It is this part of the picture only - namely, the cruelty of the 'good', i.e. loved, objects within—which has been recognized by general analytic opinion; it became clear in the relentless severity of the super-ego in the melancholic. But in my view it is only by looking at the whole relation of the ego to its phantastically bad objects as well as to its good objects, only by looking at the whole picture of the internal situation which I have tried to outline in this paper, that we can understand the slavery to which the ego submits when complying with the extremely cruel demands and admonitions of its loved object which has become installed within the ego. As I have mentioned before, the ego endeavours to keep the good apart from the bad, and the real from the phantastic objects. The result is a conception of extremely bad and extremely perfect objects, that is to say, its loved objects are in many ways intensely moral and exacting. At the same time, as the infant cannot fully keep his good and bad objects apart in his mind, some of the cruelty of the bad objects and of the id becomes attached to the good objects and this then again increases the severity of their demands. These strict demands serve the purpose of supporting the ego in its fight against its uncontrollable hatred and its bad attacking objects, with which the ego is partly identified. The stronger the anxiety is of losing the loved objects, the more the ego strives to save them, and the harder the task of restoration becomes, the stricter will grow the demands which are associated with the super-ego. I have tried to show that the difficulties which the ego experiences when it passes on to the incorporation of whole objects proceed from its as yet imperfect capacity for mastering, by means of its new defence-mechanisms, the fresh anxiety-contents arising out of this advance in its development." (pg. 267-269)

- "It seems to me that only when the ego has introjected the object as a whole, and has established a better relationship to the external world and to real people, is it able fully to realize the disaster created through its sadism and especially through its cannibalism, and to feel distressed about it. This distress is related not only to the past but to the present as well, since at this early stage of development sadism is at its height. It requires a fuller identification with the loved object, and a fuller recognition of its value, for the ego to become aware of the state of disintegration to which it has reduced and is continuing to reduce its loved object. The ego then finds itself confronted with the psychic reality that its loved objects are in a state of dissolution —in bits—and the despair, remorse and anxiety deriving from this recognition are at the bottom of numerous anxiety-situations. To quote only a few of them: there is anxiety how to put the bits together in the right way and at the right time; how to pick out the good bits and do away with the bad ones; how to bring the object to life when it has been put together; and there is the anxiety of being interfered with in this task by bad objects and by one's own hatred, etc." (pg. 269)
- "Anxiety-situations of this kind I have found to be at the bottom not only of depression, but of all inhibitions of work. The attempts to save the loved object, to repair and restore it, attempts which in the state of depression are coupled with despair, since the ego doubts its capacity to achieve this restoration, are determining factors for all sublimations and the whole of the ego-development. In this connection I shall only mention the specific importance for sublimation of the bits to which the loved object has been reduced and the effort to put them together. It is a 'perfect' object which is in pieces; thus the effort to undo the state of disintegration to which it has been reduced presupposes the necessity to make it beautiful and 'perfect'. The idea of perfection is, moreover, so compelling because it disproves the idea of disintegration. In some patients who had turned away from their mother in dislike or hate, or used other mechanisms to get away from her, I have found that there existed in their minds nevertheless a beautiful picture of the mother, but one which was felt to be a picture of her only, not her real self. The real object was felt to be unattractive - really an injured, incurable and therefore dreaded person. The beautiful picture had been dissociated from the real object but had never been given up, and played a great part in the specific ways of their sublimations. It appears that the desire for perfection is rooted in the depressive anxiety of disintegration, which is thus of great importance in all sublimations. As I have pointed out before, the ego comes to a realization of its love for a good object, a whole object and in addition a real object, together with an overwhelming feeling of guilt towards it. Full identification with the object based on the libidinal attachment, first to the breast, then to the whole person, goes hand in hand with anxiety for it (of its disintegration), with guilt and remorse, with a sense of responsibility for preserving it intact against persecutors and the id, and with sadness relating to expectations of the impending loss of it. These emotions, whether conscious or unconscious, are in my view among the essential and fundamental elements of the feelings we call love." (pg. 270)
- "If we compare the feelings of the paranoid with those of the depressive in regard to disintegration, we can see that characteristically the depressive is filled with sorrow and anxiety for the object, which he would strive to unite again into a whole, while to the paranoid the disintegrated object is mainly a multitude of persecutors, since each piece is growing again into a persecutor. This conception of the dangerous fragments to which the object is reduced seems to me to be in keeping with the introjection of part-objects which are equated with faeces (Abraham), and with the anxiety of a multitude of internal persecutors to which, in my view, the introjection of many part-objects and the multitude of dangerous faces gives rise." (pg. 272)
- "I have found that paranoid fears and suspicions were reinforced as a defence against the depressive position which was overlaid by them." (pg. 274)
- "...I must again make clear that in my view the depressive state is based on the paranoid state and genetically derived from it. I consider the depressive state as being the result of a mixture of paranoid anxiety and of those anxiety-contents, distressed feelings and defences which are connected with the impending loss of the whole loved object. It seems to me that to introduce a term for those specific anxieties and defences might further the understanding of the structure and nature of paranoia as well as of the manic-depressive states." (pg. 275)
  - "In my view, wherever a state of depression exists, be it in the normal, the neurotic, in manic-depressives or in mixed cases, there is always in it this specific grouping of anxieties, distressed feelings and different varieties of these defences, which I have here described and called the depressive position." (pg. 276)
- "Freud has stated that mania has for its basis the same contents as melancholia and is, in fact, a way of escape from that state. I would suggest that in mania the ego seeks refuge not only from melancholia but also from a paranoid condition which it is unable to master. Its torturing and perilous dependence on its loved objects drives the ego to find freedom. But its identification with these objects is too profound to be renounced. On the other hand, the ego is pursued by its dread of bad objects and of the id and, in its effort to escape from all these miseries, it has recourse to many different mechanisms, some of which, since they belong to different phases of development, are mutually incompatible. The sense of omnipotence, in my opinion, is what first and foremost characterizes mania and, further (as Helene Deutsch, 1933, has stated) mania is based on the mechanism of denial. I differ, however, from Helene Deutsch in the following point. She holds that this 'denial' is connected with the phallic phase and the castration complex (in girls it is a denial of the lack of the penis); while my observations have led me to conclude that this mechanism of denial originates in that very early phase in which the undeveloped ego endeavours to defend itself from the most overpowering and profound anxiety of all, namely, its dread of internalized persecutors and of the id. That is to say, that which is first of all denied is psychic reality and the ego may then go on to deny a

great deal of external reality." (pg. 277)

- "We know that scotomization may lead to the subject's becoming entirely cut off from reality, and to his complete inactivity. In mania, however, denial is associated with an overactivity, although this excess of activity, as Helene Deutsch points out, often bears no relation to any actual results achieved. I have explained that in this state the source of the conflict is that the ego is unwilling and unable to renounce its good internal objects and yet endeavours to escape from the perils of dependence on them as well as from its bad objects. Its attempt to detach itself from an object without at the same time completely renouncing it seems to be conditioned by an increase in the ego's own strength. It succeeds in this compromise by denying the importance of its good objects and also of the dangers with which it is menaced from its bad objects and the id. At the same time, however, it endeavours ceaselessly to master and control all its objects, and the evidence of this effort is its hyperactivity. What in my view is quite specific for mania is the utilization of the sense of omnipotence for the purpose of controlling and mastering objects. This is necessary for two reasons: (a) in order to deny the dread of them which is being experienced, and (b) so that the mechanism (acquired in the previous—the depressive-position) of making reparation to the object may be carried through. By mastering his objects the manic person imagines he will prevent them not only from injuring himself but from being a danger to one another. His mastery is to enable him particularly to prevent dangerous coitus between the parents he has internalized and their death within him. The manic defence assumes so many forms that it is, of course, not easy to postulate a general mechanism. But I believe that we really have such a mechanism (though its varieties are infinite) in this mastery of the internalized parents, while at the same time the existence of this internal world is being depreciated and denied. Both in children and in adults I have found that, where obsessional neurosis was the most powerful factor in the case, such mastery betokened a forcible separation of two (or more) objects; whereas, where mania was in the ascendant, the patient had recourse to methods more violent. That is to say, the objects were killed but, since the subject was omnipotent, he supposed he could also immediately call them to life again. One of my patients spoke of this process as 'keeping them in suspended animation'. The killing corresponds to the defence-mechanism (retained from the earliest phase) of destruction of the object; the resuscitation corresponds to the reparation made to the object. In this position the ego effects a similar compromise in its relation to real objects. The hunger for objects, so characteristic of mania, indicates that the ego has retained one defence-mechanism of the depressive position: the introjection of good objects. The manic subject denies the different forms of anxiety associated with this introjection (anxiety, that is to say, lest either he should introject bad objects or else destroy his good objects by the process of introjection); his denial relates not merely to the impulses of the id but to his own concern for the object's safety. Thus we may suppose that the process by which the ego and ego-ideal comes to coincide (as Freud has shown that they do in mania) is as follows. The ego incorporates the object in a cannibalistic way (the 'feast', as Freud calls it in his account of mania) but denies that it feels any concern for it. 'Surely,' argues the ego, 'it is not a matter of such great importance if this particular object is destroyed. There are so many others to be incorporated'. **This disparagement of the object's importance and the contempt for it is, I think, a specific characteristic of mania and enables the ego to effect that partial detachment which we observe side by side with its hunger for objects.** Such detachment, which the ego cannot achieve in the depressive position, represents an advance, a fortifying of the ego in relation to its objects. But this advance is counteracted by those earlier mechanisms described which the ego at the same time employs in mania." (pg. 277-279)
- "I have pointed out before that, in my view, already during the sucking period, when it comes to know its mother as a whole person and when it progresses from the introjection of part-objects to the introjection of the whole object, the infant experiences some of the feelings of guilt and remorse, some of the pain which results from the conflict between love and uncontrollable hatred, some of the anxieties of the impending death of the loved internalized and external objects—that is to say, in a lesser and milder degree the sufferings and feelings which we find fully developed in the adult melancholic. Of course these feelings are experienced in a different setting. The whole situation and the defences of the baby, who obtains reassurance over and over again in the love of the mother, differ greatly from those in the adult melancholic. But the important point is that these sufferings, conflicts, and feelings of remorse and guilt, resulting from the relation of the ego to its internalized object, are already active in the baby. The same applies, as I suggested, to paranoid and manic positions. **If the infant at this period of life fails to establish its loved object within—if the introjection of the 'good' object miscarries - then the situation of the loss of the loved object' arises already in the same sense as it is found in the adult melancholic. This first and fundamental external loss of a real loved object, which is experienced through the loss of the breast before and during weaning, will only result in later life in a depressive state if at this early period of development the infant has failed to establish its loved object within its ego.** In my view it is also at this early stage of development that the manic phantasies, first of controlling the breast, and very soon after, of controlling the internalized parents as well as the external ones, set in with all the characteristics of the manic position which I have described, and are made use of to combat the depressive position. At any time that the child finds the breast again, after having lost it, the manic process by which the ego and ego-ideal come to coincide (Freud) is set going; for the child's gratification at being fed is not only felt to be a cannibalistic incorporation of external objects (the 'feast' in mania, as Freud calls it), but also sets going cannibalistic phantasies relating to the internalized loved objects and connects with the control over these objects. No doubt, **the more the child can at this stage develop a happy relationship to its real mother, the more will it be able to overcome the depressive position. But all depends on how it is able to find its way out of the conflict between love and uncontrollable hatred and sadism.** As I have pointed out before, in the earliest phase the persecuting and the good objects (breasts) are kept wide apart in the child's mind. When, along with the introjection of the whole and real object, they come closer together, the ego has over and over again recourse to that mechanism—so important for the development of the relations to objects—namely, a splitting of its imagos into loved and hated, that is to say, into good and dangerous ones." (pg. 286-287)
- "It would appear that the step from the introjection of part-objects to whole loved objects with all its implications is of the most crucial importance in development. Its success—it is true - depends largely on how the ego has been able to deal with its sadism and its anxiety in the preceding stage of development and whether or not it has developed a strong libidinal relation to part-objects. But once the ego has made this step it has, as it were, arrived at a crossroads from which the ways determining the whole mental make-up radiate in different directions." (pg. 288)
- "I shall now mention one or two other ways by which the ego attempts to make an end to all the sufferings which are connected with the depressive position, namely: (a) by a 'flight to the "good", internalized object', a mechanism to which Melitta Schmideberg (1930) has drawn attention in connection with schizophrenia. The ego has introjected a whole loved object, but owing to its immoderate dread of internalized persecutors, which are projected on to the external world, the ego takes refuge in an extravagant belief in the benevolence of his internalized objects. The result of such a flight may be denial of psychic and external reality and the deepest psychosis. (b) By a flight to external 'good' objects as a means to disprove all anxieties—internal as well as external. This is a mechanism which is characteristic for neurosis and may lead to a slavish dependence on objects and to a weakness of the ego. These defence-mechanisms, as I pointed out before, play their part in the normal working-through of the infantile depressive position. Failure to work successfully through this position may lead to the predominance of one or another of the flight-mechanisms referred to and thus to a severe psychosis or a neurosis. I have emphasized in this paper that, in my view, **the infantile depressive position is the central position in the child's development. The normal development of the child and its capacity for love would seem to rest largely on how the ego works through this nodal position.** This again depends on the modification undergone by the earliest mechanisms (which remain at work in normal persons) in accordance with the changes in the ego's relations to its objects, and especially on a successful interplay between the depressive, the manic and the obsessional positions and mechanisms." (pg. 288-289)
- Chapter 18 - Weaning (pg. 290)

- **"One of the most fundamental and far-reaching discoveries ever made in human history was Freud's finding that there exists an unconscious part of the mind and that the nucleus of this unconscious mind is developed in earliest infancy. Infantile feelings and phantasies leave, as it were, their imprints on the mind, imprints which do not fade away but get stored up, remain active, and exert a continuous and powerful influence on the emotional and intellectual life of the individual.** The earliest feelings are experienced in connection with external and internal stimuli. The first gratification which the child derives from the external world is the satisfaction experienced in being fed. Analysis has shown that only one part of this satisfaction results from the alleviation of hunger and that another part, no less important, results from the pleasure which the baby experiences when his mouth is stimulated by sucking at his mother's breast. This gratification is an essential part of the child's sexuality, and is indeed its initial expression. Pleasure is experienced also when the warm stream of milk runs down the throat and fills the stomach. The baby reacts to unpleasant stimuli, and to the frustration of his pleasure, with feelings of hatred and aggression. These feelings of hatred are directed towards the same objects as are the pleasurable ones, namely, the breasts of the mother. Analytic work has shown that babies of a few months of age certainly indulge in **phantasy-building. I believe that this is the most primitive mental activity** and that **phantasies are in the mind of the infant almost from birth.** It would seem that every stimulus the child receives is immediately responded to by phantasies, the unpleasant stimuli, including mere frustration, by phantasies of an aggressive kind, the gratifying stimuli by those focusing on pleasure. As I said before, **the object of all these phantasies is, to begin with, the breast of the mother.** It may seem curious that the tiny child's interest should be limited to a part of a person rather than to the whole, but one must bear in mind first of all that the child has an extremely undeveloped capacity for perception, physical and mental, at this stage, and then we must remember the all-important fact that the tiny child is only concerned with his immediate gratification or the lack of it; Freud called this the 'pleasure-pain' principle. Thus **the breast of the mother which gives gratification or denies it becomes, in the mind of the child, imbued with the characteristics of good and evil.** Now, what one might call the 'good' breasts become the prototype of what is felt throughout life to be good and beneficent, while the 'bad' breasts stand for everything evil and persecuting. The reason for this can be explained by the fact that, **when the child turns his hatred against the denying or 'bad' breast, he attributes to the breast itself all his own active hatred** against it—a process which is termed projection. But there is another process of great importance going on at the same time, namely, that of introjection. **By this is meant the mental activity in the child, by which, in his phantasy, he takes into himself everything which he perceives in the outside world.** We know that at this stage the child receives his main satisfaction through his mouth, which therefore becomes the main channel through which the child takes in not only his food, but also, in his phantasy, the world outside him. Not only the mouth, but to a certain degree the whole body with all its senses and functions, performs this 'taking in' process - for instance, the child breathes in, takes in through his eyes, his ears, through touch and so on. To begin with, the breast of the mother is the object of his constant desire, and therefore this is the first thing to be introjected. In phantasy the child sucks the breast into himself, chews it up and swallows it; thus he feels that he has actually got it there, that he possesses the mother's breast within himself, in both its good and in its bad aspects. **The child's focusing on and attachment to a part of the person is characteristic of this early stage of development, and accounts in great measure for the phantastic and unrealistic nature of his relation to everything,** for example, to parts of his own body, to people and to inanimate objects, all of which are at first of course only dimly perceived. **The object world of the child in the first two or three months of its life could be described as consisting of gratifying or of hostile and persecuting parts or portions of the real world.** At about this age he begins to see his mother and others about him as 'whole people', his realistic perception of her (and them) coming gradually as he connects her face looking down at him with the hands that caress him and with the breast that satisfies him, and the power to perceive 'wholes' (once the pleasure in 'whole persons' is assured and he has confidence in them spreads to the external world beyond the mother. At this time other changes too are taking place in the child. When the baby is a few weeks old, one can observe that he begins definitely to enjoy periods in his waking life; judging by appearances, there are times when he feels quite happy. It seems that at about the age just mentioned localized over-strong stimuli diminish (in the beginning, for instance, defecation is often felt as unpleasant), and a much better coordination begins to be established in the exercise of the different bodily functions. This leads not only to a better physical but also to a better mental adaptation to external and internal stimuli. One can surmise that stimuli which at first were felt as painful, no longer are so and some of them have even become pleasant. The fact that lack of stimuli can now be felt as an enjoyment in itself, indicates that he is no longer so much swayed by painful feelings, caused by unpleasant stimuli, or so avid for pleasurable ones in connection with the immediate and full gratification given by feeding; his better adaptation towards stimuli renders the necessity for immediate and strong gratification less urgent. I have referred to the early phantasies and fears of persecution in connection with the hostile breasts, and I have explained how they are connected with the phantastic object-relationship of the tiny child. The child's earliest experiences of painful external and internal stimuli provide a basis for phantasies about hostile external and internal objects, and they contribute largely to the building up of such phantasies. In the earliest stage of mental development every unpleasant stimulus is apparently related in the baby's phantasy to the 'hostile' or denying breasts, every pleasant stimulus on the other hand to the 'good', gratifying breasts. It seems that here we have two circles, the one benevolent and the other vicious, both of which are based on the interplay of external or environmental and internal psychical factors; thus any lessening of the amount or intensity of painful stimuli or any increase in the capacity to adjust to them should help to diminish the strength of phantasies of a frightening nature, and a decrease of frightening phantasies in its turn enables the child to take steps towards a better adaptation to reality, and this helps to diminish the frightening phantasies. It is important for the proper development of the mind that the child should come under the influence of the benevolent circle I have just outlined; when this happens he is greatly assisted in forming an image of his mother as a person; this growing perception of the mother as a whole implies not only very important changes in his intellectual, but also in his emotional development." (pg. 290-292)
- "I have already mentioned that **phantasies and feelings of an aggressive and of a gratifying, erotic nature, which are to a large extent fused together** (a fusion which is called sadism), **play a dominant part in the child's early life. They are first of all focused on the breasts of his mother, but gradually extend to her whole body.** Greedy, erotic and destructive phantasies and feelings have for their object the inside of the mother's body. In his imagination the child attacks it, robbing it of everything it contains and eating it up. At first the destructive phantasies are more of a sucking nature. Something of this is shown in the powerful way with which some children will suck, even when milk is plentiful. The nearer the child comes to the time of cutting teeth, the more the phantasies take on the nature of biting, tearing, chewing up and thus destroying their object. Many mothers find that long before the child cuts his teeth these biting tendencies show themselves. Analytic experience has proved that these tendencies go along with phantasies of a definitely cannibalistic nature. The destructive quality of all these sadistic phantasies and feelings, as we find from the analysis of small children, is in full swing when the child begins to perceive his mother as a whole person. At the same time he now experiences a change in his emotional attitude towards the mother. The child's pleasurable attachment to the breast develops into feelings towards her as a person. Thus **feelings both of a destructive and of a loving nature are experienced towards one and the same person and this gives rise to deep and disturbing conflicts in the child's mind. It is, in my view, very important for the child's future that he should be able to progress from the early fears of persecution and a phantastic object-relationship to the relation to the mother as a whole person and a loving being.** When, however, he succeeds in doing this, feelings of guilt arise in connection with the child's own destructive impulses, which he now fears to be a danger to his loved object. The fact that at this stage of development the child is unable to control his sadism, as it wells up at any frustration, still further aggravates the conflict and his concern for the loved one. Again **it is very important that the child should deal satisfactorily with these conflicting feelings - love, hatred and guilt - which are aroused in this new situation. If the conflicts prove unbearable the child cannot establish a happy relationship with his mother, and the way lies open for many failures in subsequent development.** I wish especially to mention states of undue or abnormal depression which, in my view, have their deepest source in the failure to



deal satisfactorily with these early conflicts. But let us now consider what happens when the feeling of guilt and fear of the death of his mother (which is dreaded as a result of his unconscious wishes for her death) are dealt with adequately. These feelings have, I think, far-reaching effects on the child's future mental well-being, his capacity for love and his social development. From them springs the desire to restore, which expresses itself in numerous phantasies of saving her and making all kinds of reparation. These tendencies to make reparation I have found in the analysis of small children to be the driving forces in all constructive activities and interests, and for social development. We find them at work in the first play-activities and at the basis of the child's satisfaction in his achievements, even those of the most simple kind for example, in putting one brick on top of another, or making a brick stand upright after it had been knocked down - all this is partly derived from the unconscious phantasy of making some kind of restoration to some person or several persons whom he has injured in phantasy. But more than this, even the much earlier achievements of the baby, such as playing with his fingers, finding something which had rolled aside, standing up and all sorts of voluntary movements — these too, I believe, are connected with phantasies in which the reparation element is already present. The analysis of quite small children - in recent years children of even between one and two years have been analysed - show that babies of a few months connect their faeces and urine with phantasies in which these materials are regarded as presents. Not only are they presents, and as such are indications of love towards their mother or nurse, but they are also regarded as being able to effect a restoration. On the other hand, when the destructive feelings are dominant the baby will in his phantasy defaecate and urinate in anger and hatred, and use his excrements as hostile agents. Thus the excrements produced with friendly feelings are, in fantasy, used as a means of making good the injuries inflicted also by the agency of faeces and urine in moments of anger. It is impossible within the scope of this paper to deal adequately with the connection between aggressive phantasies, fears, feelings of guilt and the wish to make reparation; nevertheless, I have touched on this topic because I wanted to indicate that **aggressive feelings, which lead to so much disturbance in the child's mentality, are at the same time of the highest value for his development.** I have already mentioned that **the child mentally takes into him-self - introjects - the outside world as far as he can perceive it. First he introjects the good and bad breasts, but gradually it is the whole mother** (again conceived as a good and bad mother) which he takes into himself. Along with this the father and the other people in the child's surroundings are taken in as well, to begin with in a lesser degree but in the same manner as the relation to the mother; these figures grow in importance and acquire independence in the child's mind as time goes on. If the child succeeds in establishing within himself a kind and helpful mother, this internalized mother will prove a most beneficial influence throughout his whole life. Though this influence will normally change in character with the development of the mind, it is comparable with the vitally important place that the real mother has in the tiny child's very existence. I do not mean that the 'internalized' good parents will consciously be felt as such (even in the small child the feeling of possessing them inside is deeply unconscious), they are not felt consciously to be there, but rather as something within the personality having the nature of kindness and wisdom; this leads to confidence and trust in oneself and helps to combat and overcome the feelings of fear of having bad figures within one and of being governed by one's own uncontrollable hatred; and furthermore, this leads to trust in people in the outside world beyond the family circle. As I have pointed out above, the child feels any frustration very acutely; though some progress towards adaptation to reality is normally going on all the time, the child's emotional life seems dominated by the cycle of gratification and frustration; but the feelings of frustration are of a very complicated nature. Dr Ernest Jones found that frustration is always felt as deprivation: if the child cannot obtain the desired thing, he feels that it is being withheld by the nasty mother, who has power over him. Coming to our main problem, we find that the child feels, when the breast is wanted but is not there, as if it were lost forever; since the conception of the breast extends to that of the mother, the feelings of having lost the breast lead to the fear of having lost the loved mother entirely, and this means not only the real mother, but also the good mother within. In my experience this fear of the total loss of the good object (internalized and external) is interwoven with feelings of guilt at having destroyed her (eaten her up), and then the child feels that her loss is a punishment for his dreadful deed; thus the most distressing and conflicting feelings become associated with frustration, and it is these which make the pain of what seems like a simple thwarting so poignant. The actual experience of weaning greatly reinforces these painful feelings or tends to substantiate these fears; but in so far as the baby never has uninterrupted possession of the breast, and over and over again is in the state of lacking it, one could say that, in a sense, he is in a constant state of being weaned or at least in a state leading up to weaning. Nevertheless, the crucial point is reached at the actual weaning when the loss is complete and the breast or bottle is gone irrevocably." (pg. 293-295)

- "It is evident that a good human relationship between the child and his mother at the time when these basic conflicts set in and are largely worked through is of the highest value. We must remember that at the critical time of weaning the child, as it were, loses his 'good' object, that is, he loses what he loves most. Anything which makes the loss of an external good object less painful and diminishes the fear of being punished, will help the child to preserve the belief in his good object within. At the same time it will prepare the way for the child to keep up, in spite of the frustration, a happy relation to his real mother and to establish pleasurable relations with people other than his parents. Then he will succeed in obtaining satisfactions, which will replace the all-important one which he is just about to lose." (pg. 296-297)
  - ◆ "Mothers often do not realize that a tiny baby is already a human being whose emotional development is of highest importance." (pg. 297)
    - ◇ "The way in which the baby is handled even from the time of delivery from the womb is bound to leave impressions on his mind." (pg. 297)
      - ▶ "...I believe that babies have altogether much more intellectual capacity than is assumed." (pg. 303)
    - ◆ "A really happy relationship between mother and child can be established only when nursing and feeding the baby is not a matter of duty but a real pleasure to the mother. If she can enjoy it thoroughly, her pleasure will be unconsciously realized by the child, and this reciprocal happiness will lead to a full emotional understanding between mother and child." (pg. 300)
  - "I have endeavoured to show you that frustration is so difficult for the infant to bear because of the deep inner conflicts which are connected with it. A really successful weaning implies that the baby has not only got used to new food, but that it has actually made the first and fundamental steps towards dealing with its inner conflicts and fears, and that it is thus finding adjustment to frustration in its true sense." (pg. 303)
- Chapter 19 - Love, Guilt and Reparation (pg. 306)
  - "The two parts of this book discuss very different aspects of human emotions. The first, 'Hate, Greed and Aggression,' deals with the powerful impulses of hate which are a fundamental part of human nature. The second, in which I am attempting to give a picture of the equally powerful force of love and the drive to reparation, is complementary to the first, for the apparent division implied in this mode of presentation does not actually exist in the human mind. In separating our topic in this way **we cannot perhaps clearly convey the constant interaction of love and hate;** but the division of this vast subject was necessary, for only when consideration has been given to the part that destructive impulses play in the interaction of hate and love, is it possible to show the ways in which feelings of love and tendencies to reparation develop in connection with aggressive impulses and in spite of them." (pg. 306)
  - "The baby's first object of love and hate-his mother—is both desired and hated with all the intensity and strength that is characteristic of the early urges of the baby. In the very beginning he loves his mother at the time that she is satisfying his needs for nourishment, alleviating his feelings of hunger, and giving him the sensual pleasure which he experiences when his mouth is stimulated by sucking at her breast. This gratification is an essential part of the child's sexuality, and is indeed its initial expression. But when the baby is hungry and his desires are not gratified, or when he is feeling bodily pain or dis-comfort, then the whole situation suddenly alters. Hatred and aggressive feelings are aroused and he becomes dominated by

the impulses to destroy the very person who is the object of all his desires and who in his mind is linked up with everything he experiences -good and bad alike. In the baby hatred and aggressive feelings give rise, moreover, as Joan Riviere has shown in detail, to most painful states, such as choking, breathlessness and other sensations of the kind, which are felt to be destructive to his own body; thus aggression, unhappiness and fears are again increased. The immediate and primary means by which relief is afforded to a baby from these painful states of hunger, hate, tension and fear is the satisfaction of his desires by his mother. The temporary feeling of security which is gained by receiving gratification greatly enhances the gratification itself; and thus a feeling of security becomes an important component of the satisfaction whenever a person receives love. This applies to the baby as well as to the adult, to the more simple forms of love and to its most elaborate manifestations. Because our mother first satisfied all our self-preservative needs and sensual desires and gave us security, the part she plays in our minds is a lasting one, although the various ways in which this influence is effected and the forms it takes may not be at all obvious in later life. For instance, a woman may apparently have estranged herself from her mother, yet still unconsciously seek some of the features of her early relation to her in her relation to her husband or to a man she loves. The very important part which the father plays in the child's emotional life also influences all later love relations, and all other human associations. But the baby's early relation to him, in so far as he is felt as a gratifying, friendly and protective figure, is partly modelled on the one to the mother." (pg. 306-307)

- **"Love and hate are struggling together in the baby's mind; and this struggle to a certain extent persists throughout life and is liable to become a source of danger in human relationships. The baby's impulses and feelings are accompanied by a kind of mental activity which I take to be the most primitive one: that is phantasy-building, or more colloquially, imaginative thinking.** For instance, the baby who feels a craving for his mother's breast when it is not there may imagine it to be there, i.e. he may imagine the satisfaction which he derives from it. Such primitive phantasying is the earliest form of the capacity which later develops into the more elaborate workings of the imagination. The early phantasies which go along with the baby's feelings are of various kinds. In the one just mentioned he imagines the gratification which he lacks. Pleasant phantasies, however, also accompany actual satisfaction; and destructive phantasies go along with frustration and the feelings of hatred which this arouses. When a baby feels frustrated at the breast, in his phantasies he attacks this breast; but if he is being gratified by the breast, he loves it and has phantasies of a pleasant kind in relation to it. In his aggressive phantasies he wishes to bite up and to tear up his mother and her breasts, and to destroy her also in other ways. A most important feature of these destructive phantasies, which are tantamount to death-wishes, is that the baby feels that what he desires in his phantasies has really taken place; that is to say he feels that he has really destroyed the object of his destructive impulses, and is going on destroying it: this has extremely important consequences for the development of his mind. The baby finds support against these fears in omnipotent phantasies of a restoring kind: that too has extremely important consequences for his development. If the baby has, in his aggressive phantasies, injured his mother by biting and tearing her up, he may soon build up phantasies that he is putting the bits together again and repairing her. This, however, does not quite do away with his fears of having destroyed the object which, as we know, is the one whom he loves and needs most, and on whom he is entirely dependent. In my view, **these basic conflicts profoundly influence the course and the force of the emotional lives of grown-up individuals.**" (pg. 308-309)
- **"The struggle between love and hate, with all the conflicts to which it gives rise, sets in, as I have tried to show, in early infancy, and is active all through life.** It begins with the child's relationship to both parents. In the relation of the suckling to his mother, sensual feelings are already present and express themselves in the pleasurable mouth sensations connected with the sucking process." (pg. 309)
  - **"I said before that feelings of love and gratitude arise directly and spontaneously in the baby in response to the love and care of his mother. The power of love - which is the manifestation of the forces which tend to preserve life - is there in the baby as well as the destructive impulses, and finds its first fundamental expression in the baby's attachment to his mother's breast, which develops into love for her as a person. My psycho-analytic work has convinced me that when in the baby's mind the conflicts between love and hate arise, and the fears of losing the loved one become active, a very important step is made in development.** These feelings of guilt and distress now enter as a new element into the emotion of love. They become an inherent part of love, and influence it profoundly both in quality and quantity." (pg. 311)
    - **"Side by side with the destructive impulses in the unconscious mind both of the child and of the adult, there exists a profound urge to make sacrifices, in order to help and to put right loved people who in phantasy have been harmed or destroyed.** In the depths of the mind, **the urge to make people happy is linked up with a strong feeling of responsibility and concern for them,** which manifests itself in genuine sympathy with other people and in the ability to understand them, as they are and as they feel." (pg. 311)
  - **"To be genuinely considerate implies that we can put ourselves in the place of other people: we 'identify' ourselves with them. Now this capacity for identification with another person is a most important element in human relationships in general, and is also a condition for real and strong feelings of love.** We are only able to disregard or to some extent sacrifice our own feelings and desires, and thus for a time to put the other person's interests and emotions first, if we have the capacity to identify ourselves with the loved person. Since in being identified with other people we share, as it were, the help or satisfaction afforded to them by ourselves, we regain in one way what we have sacrificed in another. Ultimately, in making sacrifices for somebody we love and in identifying ourselves with the loved person, we play the part of a good parent, and behave towards this person as we felt at times the parents did to us—or as we wanted them to do. At the same time, we also play the part of the good child towards his parents, which we wished to do in the past and are now acting out in the present. Thus, by reversing a situation, namely in acting towards another person as a good parent, **in phantasy we re-create and enjoy the wished-for love and goodness of our parents.** But to act as good parents towards other people may also be a way of dealing with the frustrations and sufferings of the past. Our grievances against our parents for having frustrated us, together with the feelings of hate and revenge to which these have given rise in us, and again, the feelings of guilt and despair arising out of this hate and revenge because we have injured the parents whom at the same time we loved—all these, in phantasy, we may undo in retrospect (taking away some of the grounds for hatred), by playing at the same time the parts of loving parents and loving children. At the same time, in our unconscious phantasy we make good the injuries which we did in phantasy, and for which we still unconsciously feel very guilty. **This making reparation is, in my view, a fundamental element in love and in all human relationships;** I shall therefore refer to it frequently in what follows." (pg. 311-313)
- **"The child's early attachment to his mother's breast and to her milk is the foundation of all love relations in life."** (pg. 325)
  - **"The mother's milk, however, which first stills the baby's pangs of hunger and is given to him by the breast which he comes to love more and more, acquires for him an emotional value which cannot be over-rated. The breast and its product, which first gratify his self-preservative instinct as well as his sexual desires, come to stand in his mind for love, pleasure and security."** (pg. 325)
- **"If, by exploring the unconscious mind, we come to understand the strength and depth of this first attachment to the mother and to her food, and the intensity with which it persists in the unconscious mind of the grown-up person, we may wonder how it can come about that the child detaches himself more and more from his mother, and gradually achieves independence. Already in the small baby there is, it is true, a keen interest in things that go on around him, a growing curiosity, an enjoyment in getting to know new people and things, and pleasure in his various achievements, all of which seem to enable the child to find new objects of love and interest. But these facts do not altogether explain the child's ability to detach himself from his mother, since in his unconscious mind he is so closely tied to her. **The very nature of this over-strong attachment, however, tends to drive him away from her because (frustrated greed and hatred being inevitable) it gives rise to the fear of losing this all-important person, and consequently to the fear of dependence upon her. There is thus in the unconscious mind a tendency to give her up, which is counteracted by the urgent desire to keep her forever.** These conflicting feelings, together with the emotional and intellectual growth of the child which enable him to find**

other objects of interest and pleasure, result in the capacity to transfer love, replacing the first loved person by other people and things. It is because the child experiences so much love in connection with his mother that he has so much to draw upon for his later attachments. This process of displacing love is of the greatest importance for the development of the personality and of human relationships; indeed, one may say, for the development of culture and civilization as a whole. Along with the process of displacing love (and hate) from one's mother to other people and things, and thus distributing these emotions on to the wider world, goes another mode of dealing with early impulses. Sensual feelings which the child experiences in connection with his mother's breast develop into love towards her as a whole person; feelings of love are from their very beginning fused with sexual desires. Psycho-analysis has drawn attention to the fact that sexual feelings towards the parents, brothers and sisters not only exist but can be observed to a certain extent in young children; it is only by exploring the unconscious mind, however, that the strength and fundamental importance of these sexual feelings can be understood." (pg. 326)

- **"The psychological processes just described —replacing one loved person by others, dissociating to a certain extent sexual from tender feelings, and repressing sexual impulses and desires —are an integral part of the child's capacity for establishing wider relationships.** It is, however, essential for a successful all-round development that the repression of sexual feelings in connection with the first loved people should not be too strong, and that the displacing of the child's feelings from the parents to other people should not be too complete. If enough love remains available for those nearest to the child, if his sexual desires in connection with them are not too deeply repressed, then in later life love and sexual desires can be revived and brought together again, and they then play a vital part in happy love relationships. In a really successfully developed personality some love for the parents remains, but love for other people and things will be added. This is not, however, a mere extension of love but, as I have stressed, a diffusion of emotions, which lessens the burden of the child's conflicts and guilt connected with the attachment to and dependence on the first people he loves. By turning to other people his conflicts are not done away with, for he transfers them from the first and most important people in a less intense degree to these new objects of love (and hate) which partly stand for the old ones. Just because his feelings towards these new people are less intense, his drive to make reparation, which may be impeded if the feelings of guilt are over-strong, can now come more fully into play." (pg. 327)
  - "In this symbolic way, any round object may, in the child's unconscious mind, come to stand for his mother's breast. By a gradual process, **anything that is felt to give out goodness and beauty, and that calls forth pleasure and satisfaction, in the physical or in the wider sense, can in the unconscious mind take the place of this ever-bountiful breast, and of the whole mother. Thus we speak of our own country as the 'motherland' because in the unconscious mind our country may come to stand for our mother, and then it can be loved with feelings which borrow their nature from the relation to her.**" (pg. 333)
    - ◆ *\*Fromm sees this tendency as regressive in that it marks a 'return to the womb' <https://www.binseelsnotes.com/files/ugd/d7b063eda8e97bc7b84e3aab00c6eb9efe666a.pdf> - "To be in the womb is to be removed from life." (pg. 100-101). Fromm continues "The person bound to mother and tribe is not free to be himself, to have a conviction of his own, to be committed. He cannot be open to the world, nor can he embrace it; he is always in the prison of the motherly racial-national-religious fixation. Man is only fully born, and thus free to move forward and to become himself, to the degree to which he liberates himself from all forms of incestuous fixation" (pg. 103). Meaning, if a country is loved like a mother, then criticism can feel like betrayal, and obedience can feel like virtue. That's where Fromm's worry about authoritarianism fits—maternal symbolism becomes politically volatile.*
- "Feelings of guilt, which as I have endeavoured to show, are a fundamental incentive towards creativeness and work in general (even of the simplest kinds) may however, if they are too great, have the effect of inhibiting productive activities and interests" (pg. 335-336)
- **"Everything, good or bad, that we have gone through from our earliest days onwards; all that we have received from the external world and all that we have felt in our inner world, happy and unhappy experiences, relationships to people, activities, interests and thoughts of all kinds—that is to say, everything we have lived through - makes part of our selves and goes to build up our personalities.** If some of our past relationships, with all the associated memories, with the wealth of feelings they called forth, could be suddenly wiped out of our lives, how impoverished and empty we should feel! How much love, trust, gratification, comfort and gratitude, which we experienced and returned, would be lost! Many of us would not even want to have missed some of our painful experiences, for they have also contributed to the enrichment of our personalities. I have referred many times in this paper to the important bearing our early relationships have on our later ones. Now I want to show that these earliest emotional situations fundamentally influence our relationships to ourselves. We keep enshrined in our minds our loved people; we may feel in certain difficult situations that we are guided by them, and may find ourselves wondering how they would behave, and whether or not they would approve of our actions. From what I have already said, we may conclude that these people to whom we look up in this way ultimately stand for the admired and loved parents. We have seen, however, that it is by no means easy for the child to establish harmonious relationships to them, and that early feelings of love are seriously inhibited and disturbed by impulses of hatred and by the unconscious sense of guilt to which these give rise. It is true, the parents may have been lacking in love or understanding, and this would tend to increase difficulties all round. Destructive impulses and phantasies, fears and distrust, which are always to some extent active in the small child even in the most favourable circumstances, are necessarily very much increased by unfavourable conditions and unpleasant experiences. Moreover - and this is also very important—if the child is not afforded enough happiness in his early life, his capacity for developing a hopeful attitude as well as love and trust in people will be disturbed. It does not follow from this, however, that the capacity for love and happiness which develops in the child is in direct proportion to the amount of love afforded him. Indeed there are children who develop extremely harsh and stern parent-figures in their unconscious minds—which disturb the relation to the actual parents and to people in general—even though the parents have been kind and loving to them. On the other hand, the child's mental difficulties are often not in direct proportion to the unfavourable treatment he receives. If, for internal reasons, which from the outset vary in different individuals, there is little capacity to tolerate frustration, and if aggression, fears and feelings of guilt are very strong, then the actual shortcomings of the parents, and especially their motives for doing the wrong thing, may become grossly exaggerated and distorted in the child's mind, and his parents and other people around him may be felt to be predominantly harsh and stern. For our own hatred, fear and distrust tend to create in our unconscious minds frightening and exacting parent-figures. Now these processes are in varying degrees active in all of us, since we all have to struggle—in one way or another and more or less—with feelings of hatred and fears. Thus we see that the quantities of aggressive impulses, fears and feelings of guilt (which arise partly for internal reasons) have an important bearing upon the predominant mental attitude which we develop." (pg. 338-339)
  - "In contrast to those children who, in response to an unfavourable treatment, develop, in their unconscious minds, such harsh and stern parent-figures and whose whole mental attitude is so disastrously affected by this, there are many children who are much less adversely affected by the mistakes or lack of understanding of their parents. Children who —for internal reasons —are from the beginning more capable of bearing frustrations (whether avoidable or unavoidable), that is to say, can do so without being so dominated by their own impulses of hatred and suspicion —such children will be much more tolerant of mistakes their parents make in dealing with them. They can rely more upon their own friendly feelings, and are therefore more secure in themselves and less easily shaken by what comes to them from the outer world. No child's mind is free from fears and suspicions, but if the relation to our parents is built predominantly upon trust and love, we can establish them firmly in our minds as guiding and helpful figures, which are a source of comfort and harmony and the prototype for all friendly relationships in later life." (pg. 339)
- "I tried to throw light on some of our adult relationships by saying that we behave towards certain people as our parents behaved towards us, when they were loving, or as we wanted them to behave, and that thus we reverse early situations. Or again, with some people, we have the attitude of a

- loving child towards his parents. Now this interchangeable child-parent relation which we manifest in our attitude to people is also experienced within ourselves to these helpful, guiding figures whom we keep in our minds. We unconsciously feel these people who form part of our inner world to be loving and protective parents towards us, and we return this love, we feel like parents towards them. These phantasy-relationships, based on real experiences and memories, form part of our continuous, active life of feeling and of imagination, and contribute to our happiness and mental strength. If, however, the parent-figures, which are maintained in our feelings and in our unconscious minds, are predominantly harsh, then we cannot be at peace with ourselves. It is well known that too harsh a conscience gives rise to worry and unhappiness. It is less well known, but proved by psychoanalytic findings, that the strain of such phantasies of internal warfare and the fears connected with it are at the bottom of what we recognize as a vindictive conscience. Incidentally these stresses and fears can be expressed in deep mental disturbances and lead to suicide." (pg. 340)
- "I started out by describing the emotional situation of the baby, in his relation to his mother, who is the original and paramount source of the goodness that he receives from the outer world. I went on to say that it is an extremely painful process for the baby to do without the supreme satisfaction of being fed by her. If, however, his greed and his resentment at being frustrated are not too great, he is able to detach himself gradually from her and at the same time to gain satisfaction from other sources. The new objects of pleasure are linked up in his unconscious mind with the first gratifications received from his mother, and that is why he can accept other enjoyments as substitutes for the original ones. This process could be described as retaining the primary goodness as well as replacing it, and the more successfully it is carried through, the less ground is left in the baby's mind for greed and hatred. But, as I have frequently stressed, the unconscious feelings of guilt which arise in connection with the phantasied destruction of a loved person play a fundamental part in these processes. We have seen that the baby's feelings of guilt and sorrow, arising from his phantasies of destroying his mother in his greed and hate, set going the drive to heal these imaginary injuries, and to make reparation to her. Now these emotions have an important bearing upon the baby's wish and capacity to accept substitutes for his mother. For feelings of guilt give rise to the fear of being dependent upon this loved person whom the child is afraid of losing, since as soon as aggression wells up he feels he is injuring her. This fear of dependence is an incentive to his detaching himself from her—to his turning to other people and things and thus enlarging the range of interests. Normally, the drive to make reparation can keep at bay the despair arising out of feelings of guilt, and then hope will prevail, in which case the baby's love and his desire to make reparation are unconsciously carried over to the new objects of love and interest. These, as we already know, are in the baby's unconscious mind linked up with the first loved person, whom he rediscovers or re-creates through his relation to new people and through constructive interests. Thus making reparation - which is such an essential part of the ability to love - widens in scope, and the child's capacity to accept love and, by various means, to take into himself goodness from the outer world steadily increases. This satisfactory balance between 'give' and 'take' is the primary condition for further happiness. If in our earliest development we have been able to transfer our interest and love from our mother to other people and other sources of gratification, then, and only then, are we able in later life to derive enjoyment from other sources. This enables us to compensate for a failure or a disappointment in connection with one person by establishing a friendly relationship to others, and to accept substitutes for things we have been unable to obtain or to keep. If frustrated greed, resentment and hatred within us do not disturb the relation to the outer world, there are innumerable ways of taking in beauty, goodness and love from without. By doing this we continuously add to our happy memories and gradually build up a store of values by which we gain a security that cannot easily be shaken, and contentment which prevents bitterness of feeling. Moreover all these satisfactions have in addition to the pleasure they afford, the effect of diminishing frustrations (or rather the feeling of frustration) past and present, back to the earliest and fundamental ones. The more true satisfaction we experience, the less do we resent deprivations, and the less shall we be swayed by our greed and hatred. Then we are actually capable of accepting love and goodness from others and of giving love to others; and again receiving more in return. In other words, the essential capacity for 'give' and 'take' has been developed in us in a way that ensures our own contentment, and contributes to the pleasure, comfort or happiness of other people. In conclusion, a good relation to ourselves is a condition for love, tolerance and wisdom towards others. This good relation to ourselves has, as I have endeavoured to show, developed in part from a friendly, loving and understanding attitude towards other people, namely, those who meant much to us in the past, and our relationship to whom has become part of our minds and personalities. If we have become able, deep in our unconscious minds, to clear our feelings to some extent towards our parents of grievances, and have forgiven them for the frustrations we had to bear, then we can be at peace with ourselves and are able to love others in the true sense of the word." (pg. 341-343)
  - Chapter 20 - Mourning and Its Relation to Manic-Depressive States (pg. 344)
    - "In my view there is a close connection between the testing of reality in normal mourning and early processes of the mind. My contention is that the child goes through states of mind comparable to the mourning of the adult, or rather, that this early mourning is revived whenever grief is experienced in later life. The most important of the methods by which the child overcomes his states of mourning, is, in my view, the testing of reality; this process, however, as Freud stresses, is part of the work of mourning." (pg. 344)
    - "I said [before] that the baby experiences depressive feelings which reach a climax just before, during and after weaning. This is the state of mind in the baby which I termed the 'depressive position', and I suggested that it is a melancholia in statu nascendi. The object which is being mourned is the mother's breast and all that the breast and the milk have come to stand for in the infant's mind: namely, love, goodness and security. All these are felt by the baby to be lost, and lost as a result of his own uncontrollable greedy and destructive phantasies and impulses against his mother's breasts. Further distress about impending loss (this time of both parents) arises out of the Oedipus situation, which sets in so early and in such close connection with breast frustrations that in its beginnings it is dominated by oral impulses and fears. The circle of loved objects who are attacked in phantasy, and whose loss is therefore feared, widens owing to the child's ambivalent relations to his brothers and sisters. The aggression against phantasied brothers and sisters, who are attacked inside the mother's body, also gives rise to feelings of guilt and loss. The sorrow and concern about the feared loss of the 'good' objects, that is to say, the depressive position, is, in my experience, the deepest source of the painful conflicts in the Oedipus situation, as well as in the child's relations to people in general. In normal development these feelings of grief and fears are overcome by various methods. Along with the child's relation, first to his mother and soon to his father and other people, go those processes of internalization on which I have laid so much stress in my work. The baby, having incorporated his parents, feels them to be live people inside his body in the concrete way in which deep unconscious phantasies are experienced—they are, in his mind, 'internal' or 'inner' objects, as I have termed them. Thus an inner world is being built up in the child's unconscious mind, corresponding to his actual experiences and the impressions he gains from people and the external world, and yet altered by his own phantasies and impulses. If it is a world of people predominantly at peace with each other and with the ego, inner harmony, security and integration ensue. There is a constant interaction between anxieties relating to the 'external' mother—as I will call her here in contrast to the 'internal' one—and those relating to the 'internal' mother, and the methods used by the ego for dealing with these two sets of anxieties are closely interrelated. In the baby's mind, the 'internal' mother is bound up with the 'external' one, of whom she is a 'double', though one which at once undergoes alterations in his mind through the very process of internalization; that is to say, her image is influenced by his phantasies, and by internal stimuli and internal experiences of all kinds. When external situations which he lives through become internalized - and I hold that they do, from the earliest days onwards - they follow the same pattern: they also become 'doubles' of real situations, and are again altered for the same reasons. The fact that by being internalized, people, things, situations and happenings—the whole inner world which is being built up - becomes inaccessible to the child's accurate observation and judgement, and cannot be verified by the means of perception which are available in connection with the tangible and palpable object-world, has an important bearing on the phantastic nature of this inner world. The ensuing doubts, uncertainties and anxieties act as a continuous incentive to the young child to observe and make sure about the external object-world, from which this inner world springs, and by these means to understand the internal one better. The visible mother thus provides continuous proofs of what the

'internal' mother is like, whether she is loving or angry, helpful or revengeful. The extent to which external reality is able to disprove anxieties and sorrow relating to the internal reality varies with each individual, but could be taken as one of the criteria for normality. In children who are so much dominated by their internal world that their anxieties cannot be sufficiently disproved and counteracted even by the pleasant aspects of their relationships with people, severe mental difficulties are unavoidable. On the other hand, a certain amount even of unpleasant experiences is of value in this testing of reality by the child if, through overcoming them, he feels that he can retain his objects as well as their love for him and his love for them, and thus preserve or re-establish internal life and harmony in face of dangers. All the enjoyments which the baby lives through in relation to his mother are so many proofs to him that the loved object inside as well as outside is not injured, is not turned into a vengeful person. The increase of love and trust, and the diminishing of fears through happy experiences, help the baby step by step to overcome his depression and feeling of loss (mourning). They enable him to test his inner reality by means of outer reality. Through being loved and through the enjoyment and comfort he has in relation to people his confidence in his own as well as in other people's goodness becomes strengthened, his hope that his 'good' objects and his own ego can be saved and preserved increases, at the same time as his ambivalence and acute fears of internal destruction diminish. Unpleasant experiences and the lack of enjoyable ones, in the young child, especially lack of happy and close contact with loved people, increase ambivalence, diminish trust and hope and confirm anxieties about inner annihilation and external persecution; moreover they slow down and perhaps permanently check the beneficial processes through which in the long run inner security is achieved. In the process of acquiring knowledge, every new piece of experience has to be fitted into the patterns provided by the psychic reality which prevails at the time; whilst the psychic reality of the child is gradually influenced by every step in his progressive knowledge of external reality. Every such step goes along with his more and more firmly establishing his inner 'good' objects, and is used by the ego as a means of overcoming the depressive position." (pg. 345-347)

- "In the baby, processes of introjection and projection, since they are dominated by aggression and anxieties which reinforce each other, lead to fears of persecution by terrifying objects. To such fears are added those of losing his loved objects; that is to say, the depressive position has arisen. When I first introduced the concept of the depressive position, I put forward the suggestion that the introjection of the whole loved object gives rise to concern and sorrow lest that object should be destroyed (by the 'bad' objects and the id), and that these distressed feelings and fears, in addition to the paranoid set of fears and defences, constitute the depressive position. There are thus two sets of fears, feelings and defences, which, however varied in themselves and however intimately linked together, can, in my view, for purposes of theoretical clearness, be isolated from each other. The first set of feelings and phantasies are the persecutory ones, characterized by fears relating to the destruction of the ego by internal persecutors. The defences against these fears are predominantly the destruction of the persecutors by violent or secretive and cunning methods. With these fears and defences I have dealt in detail in other contexts. The second set of feelings which go to make up the depressive position I formerly described without suggesting a term for them. I now propose to use for these feelings of sorrow and concern for the loved objects, the fears of losing them and the longing to regain them, a simple word derived from everyday language— namely the 'pining' for the loved object. In short - persecution (by 'bad' objects) and the characteristic defences against it, on the one hand, and pining for the loved ('good') object, on the other, constitute the depressive position. When the depressive position arises, the ego is forced (in addition to earlier defences) to develop methods of defence which are essentially directed against the 'pining' for the loved object. These are fundamental to the whole ego-organization. I formerly termed some of these methods manic defences, or the manic position, because of their relationship to the manic-depressive illness. The fluctuations between the depressive and the manic position are an essential part of normal development. The ego is driven by depressive anxieties (anxiety lest the loved objects as well as itself should be destroyed) to build up omnipotent and violent phantasies, partly for the purpose of controlling and mastering the 'bad', dangerous objects, partly in order to save and restore the loved ones. From the very beginning these omnipotent phantasies, both the destructive and the reparative ones, stimulate and enter into all the activities, interests and sublimations of the child. In the infant the extreme character both of his sadistic and of his constructive phantasies is in line with the extreme frightfulness of his persecutors - and, at the other end of the scale, the extreme perfection of his 'good' objects. **Idealization is an essential part of the manic position and is bound up with another important element of that position, namely denial.** Without partial and temporary denial of psychic reality the ego cannot bear the disaster by which it feels itself threatened when the depressive position is at its height. Omnipotence, denial and idealization, closely bound up with ambivalence, enable the early ego to assert itself to a certain degree against its internal persecutors and against a slavish and perilous dependence upon its loved objects, and thus to make further advances in development. I will here quote a passage from my former paper [pp. 287-88]" (pg. 348-349)
- "As has already been stated, omnipotence prevails in the early phantasies, both the destructive and the reparative ones, and influences sublimations as well as object relations. Omnipotence, however, is so closely bound up in the unconscious with the sadistic impulses with which it was first associated that the child feels again and again that his attempts at reparation have not succeeded, or will not succeed. His sadistic impulses, he feels, may easily get the better of him. The young child, who cannot sufficiently trust his reparative and constructive feelings, as we have seen, resorts to manic omnipotence. For this reason, in an early stage of development the ego has not adequate means at its disposal to deal efficiently with guilt and anxiety. All this leads to the need in the child - and for that matter to some extent in the adult also - to repeat certain actions obsessively (this, in my view, is part of the repetition compulsion); or - the contrasting method - omnipotence and denial are resorted to. When the defences of a manic nature fail defences in which dangers from various sources are in an omnipotent way denied or minimized) the ego is driven alternately or simultaneously to combat the fears of deterioration and disintegration by attempted reparations carried out in obsessional ways. I have described elsewhere my conclusion that the obsessional mechanisms are a defence against paranoid anxieties as well as a means of modifying them, and here I will only show briefly the connection between obsessional mechanisms and manic defences in relation to the depressive position in normal development. The very fact that manic defences are operating in such close connection with the obsessional ones contributes to the ego's fear that the reparation attempted by obsessional means has also failed. The desire to control the object, the sadistic gratification of overcoming and humiliating it, of getting the better of it, the triumph over it, may enter so strongly into the act of reparation (carried out by thoughts, activities or sublimations) that the 'benign' circle started by this act becomes broken. The objects which were to be restored change again into persecutors, and in turn paranoid fears are revived. These fears reinforce the paranoid defence mechanisms (of destroying the object) as well as the manic mechanisms (of controlling it or keeping it in suspended animation, and so on). The reparation which was in progress is thus disturbed or even nullified —according to the extent to which these mechanisms are activated. As a result of the failure of the act of reparation, the ego has to resort again and again to obsessional and manic defences." (pg. 350-351)
- "Returning to the course of early development, we may say that every step in emotional, intellectual and physical growth is used by the ego as a means of overcoming the depressive position. The child's growing skills, gifts and arts increase his belief in the psychic reality of his constructive tendencies, in his capacity to master and control his hostile impulses as well as his 'bad' internal objects. Thus anxieties from various sources are relieved, and this results in a diminution of aggression and, in turn, of his suspicions of 'bad' external and internal objects. The strengthened ego, with its greater trust in people, can then make still further steps towards unification of its imagos - external, internal, loved and hated —and towards further mitigation of hatred by means of love, and thus to a general process of integration. When the child's belief and trust in his capacity to love, in his reparative powers and in the integration and security of his good inner world increase as a result of the constant and manifold proofs and counter-proofs gained by the testing of external reality, manic omnipotence decreases and the obsessional nature of the impulses towards reparation diminishes, which means in general that the infantile neurosis has passed." (pg. 353)

- "To put my conclusions more precisely: I should say that in mourning the subject goes through a modified and transitory manic-depressive state and overcomes it, thus repeating, though in different circumstances and with different manifestations, the processes which the child normally goes through in his early development." (pg. 354)

- "As we have seen, this change is due to certain movements in the two sets of feelings which make up the depressive position: persecution decreases and the pining for the lost loved object is experienced in full force. To put it in other words: **hatred has receded and love is freed. It is inherent in the feeling of persecution that it is fed by hatred and at the same time feeds hatred. Furthermore, the feeling of being persecuted and watched by internal 'bad' objects, with the consequent necessity for constantly watching them,** leads to a kind of dependence which reinforces the manic defences. These defences, in so far as they are used predominantly against persecutory feelings (and not so much against the pining for the loved object), are of a very sadistic and forceful nature. When persecution diminishes, the hostile dependence on the object, together with hatred, also diminishes, and the manic defences relax. The pining for the lost loved object also implies dependence on it, but dependence of a kind which becomes an incentive to reparation and preservation of the object. **It is creative because it is dominated by love, while the dependence based on persecution and hatred is sterile and destructive.** Thus while grief is experienced to the full and despair is at its height, the love for the object wells up and the mourner feels more strongly that life inside and outside will go on after all, and that the lost loved object can be preserved within. At this stage in mourning, suffering can become productive. We know that painful experiences of all kinds sometimes stimulate sublimations, or even bring out quite new gifts in some people, who may take to painting, writing or other productive activities under the stress of frustrations and hardships. Others become more productive in a different way—more capable of appreciating people and things, more tolerant in their relation to others—they become wiser. Such enrichment is in my view gained through processes similar to those steps in mourning which we have just investigated. That is to say, any pain caused by unhappy experiences, whatever their nature, has something in common with mourning. It reactivates the infantile depressive position; the encountering and overcoming of adversity of any kind entails mental work similar to mourning." (pg. 360)

- ◆ "It seems that every advance in the process of mourning results in a deepening in the individual's relation to his inner objects, in the happiness of regaining them after they were felt to be lost ('Paradise Lost and Regained'), in an increased trust in them and love for them because they proved to be good and helpful after all. This is similar to the ways in which **the young child step by step builds up his relations to external objects, for he gains trust not only from pleasant experiences, but also from the ways in which he overcomes frustrations and unpleasant experiences,** nevertheless retaining his good objects (externally and internally). The phases in the work of mourning when manic defences relax and a renewal of life inside sets in, with a deepening in internal relationships, are comparable to the steps which in early development lead to greater independence from external as well as internal objects." (pg. 360-361)

- "As I have often pointed out, the processes of introjection and projection from the beginning of life lead to the institution inside ourselves of loved and hated objects, who are felt to be 'good' and 'bad', and who are interrelated with each other and with the self: that is to say, they constitute an inner world. This assembly of internalized objects becomes organized, together with the organization of the ego, and in the higher strata of the mind it becomes discernible as the super-ego. Thus, the phenomenon which was recognized by Freud, broadly speaking, as the voices and the influence of the actual parents established in the ego is, according to my findings, a complex object-world, which is felt by the individual, in deep layers of the unconscious, to be concretely inside himself, and for which I and some of my colleagues therefore use the term 'internalized objects' and an 'inner world'. This inner world consists of innumerable objects taken into the ego, corresponding partly to the multitude of varying aspects, good and bad, in which the parents (and other people) appeared to the child's unconscious mind throughout various stages of his development. Further, they also represent all the real people who are continually becoming internalized in a variety of situations provided by the multitude of ever-changing external experiences as well as phantasied ones. In addition, all these objects are in the inner world in an infinitely complex relation both with each other and with the self. If I now apply this description of the super-ego organization, as compared with Freud's super-ego, to the process of mourning, the nature of my contribution to the understanding of this process becomes clear. **In normal mourning the individual re-introjects and reinstates, as well as the actual lost person, his loved parents who are felt to be his 'good' inner objects. His inner world, the one which he has built up from his earliest days onwards, in his phantasy was destroyed when the actual loss occurred. The rebuilding of this inner world characterizes the successful work of mourning.**" (pg. 362-363)

- "To conclude: In normal mourning, as well as in abnormal mourning and in manic-depressive states, the infantile depressive position is reactivated. The complex feelings, phantasies and anxieties included under this term are of a nature which justifies my contention that the child in his early development goes through a transitory manic-depressive state as well as a state of mourning, which become modified by the infantile neurosis. With the passing of the infantile neurosis, the infantile depressive position is overcome. The fundamental difference between normal mourning on the one hand, and abnormal mourning and manic-depressive states on the other, is this: the manic-depressive and the person who fails in the work of mourning, though their defences may differ widely from each other, have this in common, that they have been unable in early childhood to establish their internal 'good' objects and to feel secure in their inner world. They have never really overcome the infantile depressive position. In normal mourning, however, the early depressive position, which had become revived through the loss of the loved object, becomes modified again, and is overcome by methods similar to those used by the ego in childhood. The individual is reinstating his actually lost loved object; but he is also at the same time re-establishing inside himself his first loved objects – ultimately the 'good' parents—whom, when the actual loss occurred, he felt in danger of losing as well. **It is by reinstating inside himself the 'good' parents as well as the recently lost person, and by rebuilding his inner world, which was disintegrated and in danger, that he overcomes his grief, regains security, and achieves true harmony and peace.**" (pg. 369)

- Chapter 21 - The Oedipus Complex in the Light of Early Anxieties (pg. 370)

- See text

c. Further Readings:

- (Article) The Theory of Symbolism, by E. Jones