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and the
HUMAN MIND

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TOTAL WAR
and the
HUMAN MIND

By the Same Author

PSYCHOLOGICAL DEFENCE

HOMO MILITANS

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF CONVERSATION

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF PAIN AND SORROW

TOTAL WAR
and the
HUMAN MIND

*A psychologist's experiences in
occupied Holland*

by

Major A. M. MEERLOO
M.D., F.R.S.M.

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INTRODUCTION

THIS study of psychological warfare differs from others published in this country because it was thought out and prepared in occupied territory. The author lived for more than two years under German oppression, and it was especially the sense of moral and intellectual isolation which urged him and others to study. He took part in various study groups, and this book may be considered as the result of such team work. It stands to reason that in the circumstances it has a certain emotional flavour, though it is perhaps none the worse for that.

There is one important theme which needs to be emphasized, the theme of "Lest we forget." Men have on the whole such short memories, and human imagination is all too liable to fail where past misery is concerned. Between 1918 and 1939 people forgot too much. Because they had forgotten the nature of Man and his capacity to err, they did not understand what was taking place in the world. Even now our imagination is insufficiently exercised. Even now we do not realize to the full that certain vicious roots in human character may send up shoots which will wreck civilization.

When we are at peace again we must not allow ourselves to overlook the part played by men's characters in the conduct of war. The politicians are too inclined to forget men's secret motives and their passions. This must not happen again.

We ought to have a more profound knowledge of Man both as individual and as part of a community. This book deals, from a social and psychological point of view, with a few out of the many problems of war. After the conflict is over, these ideas and many others will have to be worked out fully, and hammered into the minds of men, so that they will never forget.

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Two Days in Occupied Holland

I

THE telephone is ringing in the pitch darkness of a winter morning. Will the doctor come at once, please, because Mr. X has been found unconscious in bed, breathing rather queerly. It's the same old story, I tell myself, getting out of bed: another suicide, probably with a sleeping draught.

Fortunately it is past four o'clock in the morning, so I am allowed in the street. The motor-cycle, for a wonder, starts right away, and I grope my way carefully through the blackout and the drizzling rain. Half-way there I am stopped by a German patrol, but my papers are in order, and they let me pass. A nasty moment, for one can never get used to those green-uniformed individuals.

When I arrive I find that I am too late. For hours we fight for the patient's life, administering antidotes and other treatment, but there is no helping him. Why did he do it? Well, he was just one of those who had no more strength, could no longer resist the strain of daily life, all the horror and tragedy around him. He was Jewish; he knew that things could only get worse for him, and he made his escape. The doctor's lot is not an easy one in such circumstances. We are used to fighting fate, but the German whip is too heavy for us.

At 8.30 I go home. It is a chilly, desolate morning, and still dark, for we live under German time. The streets are full of pedestrians making their way to their offices by the light of little torches, shuffling along the pavement, shadowy figures in the blackout. There are very few bicycles, for the Germans have confiscated most of them. The trams are crowded.

At home my little black-haired dog greets me with a joy which knows nothing of present miseries. There is much for me to do, so, having hastily swallowed two thin slices of dark wheat bread and a cup of substitute tea, I go out to the hospital. It is getting light and the greyness is lifting from the city.

Many people would be surprised at the kind of work we have to do at the hospital, touching as it does on many questions normally outside the doctor's province. We advise on all types of personal trouble, on how to cook wartime food, on what to eat, and there is no point at which the war does not enter into our problems.

There is, for example, the problem of food. We are short of all foodstuffs. We are getting only about sixty per cent. of what the human body really needs, and the additional food must come from somewhere. It is not so much a question of immediate starvation, as of prolonged under-nourishment which affects the tissues and undermines resistance to disease. Before the war there were few illnesses which could be attributed to lack of vitamins, but now we begin to come across cases of beri-beri, "inflammation of the nerves," and indications of scurvy and pellagra, a state of affairs which was accelerated by the terrible cold at the beginning of 1942 when supplies of butter, potatoes and vegetables were held up. For special cases such as diabetes or kidney trouble, it is still possible to apply for an extra food ration, but the extra allowance for abnormal loss of weight has long ago been abolished. By now most of us would qualify for it.

Much can be done with good advice, however, and the doctor in wartime has to be an accomplished cook. So I tell the mothers how to prepare a delicious porridge with bread and saccharin for their children, how to boil potatoes in their jackets to get all the benefit from them, how to make the most of the dried fish which, though very expensive, can still be obtained. I tell them about the nutritive value of the onion, try to get them to experiment with vegetables which they never thought of using before, such as the stinging-nettle, and persuade them to give up the traditional geranium in their little gardens for the sake of vegetables. Even so, a lot of thought is required to make both ends meet. There is not enough fuel to prepare properly even the food that is available. But whatever the problem the doctor has to think up an answer.

More difficult still is the advice which has to be given in cases of nervous troubles, troubles which arise not from "imaginary" causes, but from concrete disasters. There is the patient who has lost his wife and daughter and all his possessions in the bombing of Rotterdam. He opened a baker's shop with his two sons, which did not bring in much money, and which in a few months was seized by the authorities as a Jewish concern. After that his sons were sent to a concentration camp, and when he received notices of their deaths he came to me completely broken. What can one say or do? Another patient has had a letter instructing him to go to the police. A month ago he was detained for three days, undergoing cross-examination. I advise him not to risk it, which means that he must become a fugitive, dependent on friends for his safety and his sustenance. Then a mother comes to ask me what shall be done with her daughter, who is keeping company with the German soldiers. Towards the end of office hours I get a visit from a man who was injured in the street fighting during the war. A nerve in the arm was touched, and now, after a year's treatment, it is beginning to function again.

On my way home for the midday meal I pass a group of German soldiers marching through the streets and singing. They are not supposed to do this, and it always has an infuriating effect on the people. Some of the passers-by make a few critical remarks and are promptly set upon by some heavily booted members of the W.A.,¹ the military organization of the N.S.B.² Their enthusiasm leaves several victims among the citizens.

When at last I get home, bitter at what I have seen, it appears that the central heating has given out. The compressed mud which is called peat by courtesy has finally refused to burn. My wife has had to empty the radiator system, and for the time being we shall have to put up with a small wood-burning stove.

¹ W.A.=Weer Afdeeling—the armed and uniformed section of the Dutch Nazi Party.

² N.S.B.=Nationaal Socialistische Beweging—the Dutch Nazi Party.

My office work will have to be done by the heat of an electric coil. On the other hand, there is something to be said for camping in one's own room, and when we have stopped shivering we notice the pleasant smell of burning wood. We eke out our meagre lunch with a little supplementary stew, and recall the camp fires of better days. Misfortunes seem to improve the atmosphere. We cheer ourselves up even further when we get the London news through some friends of ours. We ourselves cannot listen because our neighbours are not too reliable. But it is something to know that the Germans in Russia are even colder than we are.

In the afternoon some Jewish friends visit us. They have heard that there is likely to be another comb-out among them, and have come to take refuge. There will only be a cold guest-room for them, but it will at least be safe. When the danger is over, they will be able to go home again. Not many patients come. It is too cold in any case for a proper examination to be made.

All kinds of rumour are in the air. People say that more hostages will be taken, that doctors will have to join the Doctors' Guild, otherwise they will not be allowed to practise, that the butter ration is to be reduced again, that half the city must be evacuated at once because of the second front. Discussing these things we can never for a moment forget the state of siege in which we live. Meanwhile it begins to snow, and darkness falls, the darkness of a blacked-out city.

The woman of the house is famous for her soup. She makes it with tins of cream of tomato, with some "maggi" cubes, with a few bones wheedled from the butcher, and with grated raw potato to bind the whole together. After that we have mashed vegetables, potatoes in their jackets with kale and powdered milk. The great event of the evening is a pudding of old bread and potato meal with some hoarded raisins in it.

At seven o'clock we are off to visit some friends, at whose house a meeting is to take place. We put on everything we have in the house in the way of overcoats and sally forth into

the snow, carefully avoiding those unfriendly objects in a blacked-out city, the lamp-posts.

This is the greatest moment of the day, to be among our own people, talking freely, and forgetting the misery around us for a little while. One of the circle starts a discussion, and the rest of us join in, each of us warm once more with the sense of unity, friendship and sympathy, now more than ever necessary.

The hostess treats us all to excellent hot peppermint tea with little cakes (my diagnosis reveals a good deal of chalk in them), and she rounds off the evening by playing Mozart, the composer who of all others brings courage to faint hearts.

In the meantime it has stopped snowing, and the moon has come out from behind the clouds. We have to be home by twelve (at first it was ten o'clock), so we set out to walk the long way home. As we go we hear a familiar roar. The searchlights are up and the anti-aircraft guns are barking. The steady throb of engines goes on. It is the R.A.F. carrying out another raid, music to the ears of all Hollanders. This is the beginning of victory—Cologne, the Ruhr, then Berlin. The English are coming, and the Americans. They are carrying on the fight for us.

II

The month of May in Holland is full of fragrance and colour. The sky is transparent; everywhere, even in the city, flowers and trees are springing into new life. The early mornings are full of the song of birds, and pleasant scents are blown in through the open windows, with promise of summer.

On one such morning, while I was still in bed, the door-bell rang. It is not difficult to imagine the shock which goes through you when that sort of thing happens. It generally means a visit from the police or the Gestapo. The maid was awakened so that she could open the door and give me a chance to get dressed and take up a strategic position near the trap-door on to the roof. My wife smoothed the bed to make

it look as though it had not been slept in. It was not the police, however, but only an express letter from a friend with a taste for the macabre.

The maid was able to take her place in the marketing line early that day. Later on my wife relieved her. The reward for all this waiting would be a few lettuces, and perhaps something for some Jewish friends who would not be allowed to go shopping till after 3 o'clock, when there would be nothing left to buy.

Breakfast is a simple matter nowadays. There are no more eggs. The cheese we call "yellow rubber," for there is no fat in it. So that morning we had bread and home-made rhubarb jam, washed down with substitute tea. There are, incidentally, several substitutes for tea which are actually quite drinkable.

The maid came back with the news that there had been some window-smashing during the night, including the house of a neighbour. There is no question of indemnity unless one belongs to the N.S.B. (the Dutch National Socialist Party), and as it happened their windows were all undamaged. A friend of ours wanted to know which would be more expensive, to become a member of the N.S.B. or to buy new windows. The police detective, with a wink, said he thought a membership in the N.S.B. would be more expensive in the long run. It is not an easy life for the police now. They have to work for the traitors, whether they like it or not, and if they show any signs of resistance they are fired, and that is hard on their families.

Breakfast was soon over. There was no morning paper, and if there were it would only be full of German propaganda. Letters from friends are rare, because of the domestic censor. So we communicate by word of mouth only.

It was a day of anxiety for us, for we were waiting to hear what had happened to our friends who were officers in the army. For many days there had been notices in the papers summoning them to present themselves today at various centres. It was said that they would be coming back the same day. But I was not happy about it. There were rumours that

trains were standing ready to take them into Germany, and knowing Nazi mentality one could well believe it. I wanted them to go underground, but they argued that they ought to trust the word of General Christiansen, the German commander in Holland, and that he had promised they would be allowed to return home.

That night many women waited vainly at the stations; their husbands did not come back. Some officers of the Medical Corps escaped the round-up by claiming immunity under the Berne Convention, and they told us what had happened.

All those who had acted in good faith had been herded into the trains and carried off to prison camps. Meanwhile other rumours of further arrests were going round. It was clear that the Germans were out to round up all the potential leaders in the country.

What was going to happen? we wondered. How could a country carry on without its leaders? What was the next move? The next move, as it happened, was a further violent persecution of the Jews.

There was nothing we could do on a day like that. One walked up and down the house, clenching one's fists. One could not even smoke, for there were so few cigarettes. The only comfort to be found in such times is in books, and indeed unhappiness and anxiety have notably stimulated the desire for knowledge.

That afternoon some friends brought us news of a Court session they had attended that day. Twenty Dutch youths were before the Kriegsgericht (the Military Court) charged with resisting the German Army, an act punishable by death. These boys, most of them students, had already been in prison for more than a year, and had been acquitted of the charge by the Marinengericht (the Naval Court). Berlin, however, was out for blood, and the Gestapo were determined to get a death sentence. Their actual crime was that they had distributed anti-Nazi literature, and for this eighteen of them died. They went to their deaths proudly and without flinching. The mother of

one of them was a friend of ours. She did not cry, for what is the use of tears? But there was a longing for revenge in all our hearts. How is the world to be cleansed of this canker of injustice and cruelty?

So the day ended, in discouragement and in hostility that was the stronger for being silent. As we listened in the darkness to the anti-aircraft guns we wondered: "Will they ever understand out there in the free world what we in our prison-house have suffered?"

Mass Reactions to German Occupation

It may seem surprising that at a time like the present, when a tremendous struggle is going on in the world the outcome of which we cannot yet foretell in any detail, the reader should be asked to consider the effects in one country of complete domination by an enemy power. That domination, it will be said, still continues, and until the day of liberation comes the full facts will not be available. It is true that we cannot, as in a laboratory, isolate the phenomena of occupation, and consider them detachedly and objectively from every angle. The time for that, if it is ever possible, has not yet arrived.

What I am attempting now, however, is a more modest task. I want to describe some of the main trends of mass reaction to the miseries and the temptations of German occupation in the Netherlands, as I have observed them during the course of two years, while the facts are still fresh in my mind, and before the course of events has given them a new twist, and changing circumstances have overlaid and obliterated them. The relief and the emotion consequent upon victory easily blind the mind to what has gone before, and yet there is much to be learnt from this period in our history, much indeed which may help us to avoid evil reactions and future conflicts.

It can be said that to the psychologist abnormal circumstances are in the nature of experiments which history applies to humanity. Collective thinking and action are more marked in war, and it is in the special conditions of an occupied country, when each individual is undergoing the same trials, that the characteristics of the nation as a whole can best be observed.

My observations are based on more than two years spent in occupied Holland. I worked in a large clinic to which people from all classes of the population came with their problems. I had to give not only medical advice, but counsel on every type of difficulty. As the reader will have gathered from Chapter I

they asked us about everything, from how to cook the food to what one should do if one was summoned to the police. There was no escape from the war there. Indeed, my patients regarded me as a family friend, one to whom they could talk freely. Apart from this there were the underground societies, with which I was in contact, and the various debating societies and social circles by which we contrived to keep in touch with one another.

The story of the invasion of the Netherlands is by now familiar to most people. The Nazis attacked from without with a well-equipped, highly trained force, from within through an active Fifth Column, and lest these two formidable weapons should prove insufficient, they employed blackmail, threatening to bomb Utrecht and Amsterdam as Rotterdam had been bombed, if Holland did not capitulate. Even in war a commander does not lightly sacrifice the defenceless section of the population; the Germans knew that such a threat could have only one answer. And so they took possession, and the territorial independence of the Dutch people was lost.

What happens when the enemy walks in? There is in the first place the complete disorganization of life, the personal tragedies in most families, the ruins which were once homes or familiar landmarks, the remembrance of the horrors of war. But perhaps the greatest blow of all is the loss of opportunity for collective consciousness and collective action. For meetings and assemblies are banned, and one man cannot communicate with another without fear.

There exists in normal times, it must be remembered, a continual reciprocity between the individual and the mass. At one moment that which is individual comes to the fore, at another that which is collective. Man is a social animal: especially in times of crisis he needs to feel himself a member of a community. This helps him to throw off his fears, his loneliness, his defencelessness. Instinctively he seeks for the companionship of others to increase his self-confidence.

It will therefore be understood that in the first three months

of the occupation the people of the Netherlands passed through what I might call a collective neurasthenic phase. Just as the presence of an infection in the body is not necessarily the signal for immediate illness, so it is with a great mental shock. There may be a period of incubation during which the effects of the shock work subconsciously: sooner or later, however, the shock will influence the conscious life of a man in one of two ways, producing either complete mental breakdown, culminating perhaps in suicide, or else stimulating the mind to resistance.

During these three months, therefore, a kind of paralysis took possession of the people. Men were exhausted, physically and mentally. They could find nothing upon which to base any hopes they had nothing to think about save the miseries of their own situation. Their Government was in London, and this, in those days, seemed like desertion. There was no one to advise, no one to guide. It was small wonder, therefore, that many were inclined to listen to the soothing words and the many promises of Seyss-Inquart. People tried to mitigate their lot by finding justifications for the German invasion. And the Germans were not so bad after all, they said. You could not deny that some of their ideas were quite sensible.

So the individual, out of touch with his fellow-men, bereft of his familiar leaders, confused by the rapidity of events, tried to form fresh ties, to establish a new community.

It was a difficult period, and in the circumstances an understandable one. Signs of regeneration were soon apparent, however. When Prince Bernhard's birthday came round there were general celebrations; the national emotion was focused on one subject, a first step towards unity. The young people began to regain hope, and to look about them. As national consciousness revived, there was, as always, an increase of interest in the glorious past of the country, and with it a spate of historical books with a patriotic tendency.

The semi-political organization, the "National Union," played an important part in this revival. At first tolerated by

the Germans, later severely repressed, it became a focusing point for the spontaneous mass reaction against the oppressor, and an escape from collective apathy. The energy with which it was afterwards suppressed is the measure of the Union's success as a therapeutic agent.

Another useful channel for mass consciousness was found in the churches. Here again the people gathered together for an act of worship of which the implications were national as well as religious. When all other forms of assembly were suppressed, this was of paramount importance. Collective unity increased the religious spirit, and this in its turn made the sense of unity more powerful, more complete. Even funerals were felt to be moving symbols of mass opposition; in their mourning the people fortified each other against the régime which tried to keep them apart.

Gradually, as mass reaction gained strength, centres of resistance were set up of a more serious nature. The underground movement was begun, which through its secret press, its secret propaganda among the people, its secret study groups, organized resistance to the enemy. It was only gradually that people learnt that resistance must be organized. In the early days there were those who threw themselves into underground work because they thought it was so romantic. Such people were not only a danger to themselves, they were a menace to all their confederates. They talked too much—and there were executions which might have been avoided. They took part in personal demonstrations more audacious than heroic. But gradually the right technique was learnt: how to conceal one's feelings, how to look innocent, how to keep one's clenched fists in one's pockets.

Slowly, too, the Netherlands Government in London re-established its influence, and gave guidance to the people, largely by means of the wireless. In an occupied country, indeed, the radio comes to have immense importance in men's lives. If you do not turn on your set at all, because you do not wish to listen to enemy propaganda, then it stands as a mute

witness of your defiance. But if you are willing to take the risk, you can hear what you wish to hear, and thus choose your own individualistic, non-conformist path. Thus the radio set became more than a means of receiving news from the outside world, more than a shield against Nazi propaganda. It was a symbol of the right of each individual to think for himself.

The Germans used two weapons to persuade the Dutch to accept their régime. The first was propaganda, the second terror, and as the first was shown to have little effect, they resorted more and more to the second.

German propaganda was designed, of course, to persuade the people of the Netherlands that it was in their interests to become part of the great Germanic mass. It was a campaign of ideological regimentation. The technique of such propaganda is based on that of hypnosis. There are a few simple slogans; these are repeated day in, day out, everywhere, in every conceivable form. The radio, the press, posters in the streets, public advertising, all say the same thing. In times of mass emotion, people are particularly defenceless against mass-suggestion. As we have seen, the mass must seek to identify itself with something, whether it be a leader or an ideal. German propagandists sought, therefore, to satisfy this need by offering objects for identification. They published charming little booklets about the Fuehrer; they offered the country national leaders of its very own; they publicized the great New Order, of which Holland was to be a part; they indicated racial groups and ideologies upon which the people were invited to expend their hate, thus diverting it from the Germans themselves. It would have been easy to give in, easy to become a passive recipient of this hypnosis.

That same doctrine of hypnosis, however, has taught us that there are non-suggestibles, the so-called non-conformists, as well as suggestibles. One conforms, the other opposes, but only those who can find an alternative identification will be able successfully to oppose suggestion. To the Fuehrer-identification, the people of the Netherlands could oppose their

Queen, and all that is implied in the idea of monarchy within the democratic framework. To the slogans they could reply with other slogans. They had the ideals of democracy to set over against the Nazis' New Order. Most important of all, they opposed the insinuations of propaganda with moral indignation. When the first anti-Jewish measures were taken, there was a general protest and a spontaneous strike broke out in Amsterdam. People regarded this persecution as an attack on Dutch honour. Material disadvantages, even looting, they were willing to tolerate, but not this illogical terror. Such an attitude came as a surprise to the Germans. They understood moral indignation as a catchword to be used on a suitable occasion, not as a feeling independent of circumstances. It made them irritable and suspicious, and there were more executions.

Thus German propaganda failed to achieve what it had set out to do. Because the majority of the population had its own ideals, its own certainties, it could develop on this basis a sound critical spirit. The Dutch word for Ballyhoo—*Poppenkast*—has become a keyword of the times. Even the Allies have sometimes underestimated this critical spirit in the masses. For in a hostile country propaganda educates the people to non-conformism.

There is little subtlety in the second weapon of the German occupying forces, terror. The technique is that of the cat playing with the mouse, and the effects are cumulative. Between each phase there is a lull, during which lavish promises may be made. The uneasy population waits for the next blow, knowing that until there is complete subjugation there will be no relief. The figures speak for themselves—2,000 hostages, 6,000 from among the best of the people shot, more than 100,000 Jews killed, 500,000 in prison camps, an even larger number sent to slavery in labour camps, and in addition all those who await a miserable death in concentration camps. Such is the terror, against which the only weapon is quiet courage, a courage which has to be sustained on insufficient

food and amid all the little daily miseries of life under occupation.

Though misery and danger serve to bring out the best in men whose souls and bodies can stand the strain, so unnatural a life must necessarily have its adverse effects upon men's minds. It is in the nature of war to evoke aggressiveness, and to deprive the individual of his normal restraints. The mind is filled with thoughts of revenge—of Hatchet Day¹—violence becomes natural and even noble. It is likely, indeed, that there will be for some time after the war an increased tendency to crime and lawlessness. Beside the greater feeling of solidarity, one also sees an increase in self-seeking. People become more egocentric: each fights for himself, in a community where there is no justice and no charity.

And what of those who gave in altogether? The number of them is not great. Mussert and his German friends were not able to influence more than 2 per cent of the population, and with these it was generally as a result of some psychological weakness. The German propaganda machine, in its perverse understanding of men, has deliberately considered what weaknesses in human nature can be ferreted out to serve as a basis for the systematic influencing of men's minds and the propagation of doctrine. In Hitler's *Mein Kampf* this method is described in detail. He shows how one must give frustrated people a feeling of greatness and a sense of their own importance, and then they will swallow any suggestion, however mad. Care must be taken to palliate their discontent, and lift it on to a higher plane. You can then count on the sheep-like docility of the people (*Die Hingabebereitschaft der Massen*).

If one examines what type of men it is that has joined the N.S.B., betraying themselves and their people, one finds that a large proportion are the disappointed, the disgruntled, the slighted. The rancour in their hearts has never simmered down. Here at last they saw a real chance to get even with

¹ Hatchet Day—*Bijltjesdag*. The *Bijlde* was the weapon used by the people in the fight against French occupying forces in 1813. Now it is a symbol for the day of liberation.

the world. How many misfits, how many psychopaths have we not seen since the occupation taking on positions of leadership? I personally know several who were already in the hands of the psychiatrist before the occupation. It was not only that the W.A. was recruited from patients in mental homes, but other types of social failure were systematically combed for recruits to the ranks of the traitors. Recently a notorious murderer was made head of the Ommen concentration camp. There even exists in occupied Holland a special service for working upon discontented people. As soon as anyone has difficulties with his superiors the N.S.B. people put it right for him, provided he becomes a member. A director of a public utility company, not a member of the N.S.B., who was dismissed on moral grounds, received the very next day an invitation to visit the Nazis, so that he might be used; now he is leader of his local traitors' guild. A company director, who was dismissed for peculation, came back after a few weeks as a Nazi spy. The examples are legion.

All this, however, applies not only to the traitors in Holland. Treachery lies deep in our hearts. Dissatisfaction is so easily fostered in our minds, and memories are guarded as holy things. It would almost appear as though some men want to be discontented, in order to overcome thereby their sense of inferiority. They nourish petty grievances and find fellows in adversity. They form groups in which future rebellions are prepared, of which the basis is emptiness and nihilism. There is not one single genuine ideal in the whole thing.

Thus, if you get hold of a man when he is dissatisfied, it is not difficult to make a rebel out of him. He can in any case see nothing but the one thing that has frustrated him; he gnaws over it like one possessed, and like a madman he makes his own private world. Dogmatists, know-alls, people morbidly possessed by the sense of their superiority, spiritual prize-fighters, are easy to foster. They may begin by tilting at wind-mills, but in the end their lust for destruction makes them destroy everything that is genuinely productive. The Fascist

avalanche, with its 5 per cent of justified discontent and its 95 per cent illusion, was a striking illustration of this. The perverse exploitation of discontent will go on as long as people make capital out of men's vices and not out of their good qualities. Fascism has shown us clearly enough to what disasters this leads.

It is a curious fact that relatively few people left the country. The ties which bind a man to his homeland are stronger than one might think. The journey is difficult and dangerous; only the young of heart and the adventurous will face it readily. People were often reluctant to take such a step, even when they knew that the Germans were after them. In some cases they almost passively surrendered to the enemy rather than escape. Many of those who did try to get away were caught; more than half of the refugees fell sooner or later into the hands of the Germans again.

A word must be said about a subject which has deeply affected the morale of the people. There is little doubt that among the effects of danger and frustration of the times is an intellectual revival which manifests itself in a number of ways. There is intense productivity in the fields of literature and art. A great deal of poetry is being written. Together with a deepened interest in religion there is an increased demand for books on philosophy. On the scientific side it is the same thing. Books on psychology and on technical subjects have a huge sale. The People's University (*Volks Universiteit*), one of the most influential institutions for the education of the people, providing both books and courses of study, flourished more than ever up to the time of its suppression. Everywhere study groups and discussion centres were set up in which people could take refuge from their troubles in the calm discussion of intellectual problems. Such an intellectual revival is, of course, in the nature of a flight from reality, but it is one which increases, not lowers, our powers of resistance.

It has become strangely quiet in Holland. Those who speak, speak in whispers. One's own life does not matter any more;

hate and horror have conquered fear. All that remains is an intense will to resist, making use of every advantage that skill, courage and resourcefulness can give one. That is how a democracy wages war on the octopus of Nazi domination. Measures designed to make of the Dutch unthinking slaves have only accentuated their individuality, have given them a deeper insight into the fundamentals of freedom, have made them only the more anxious to separate facts from catchwords, truth from propaganda. The Nazis think they can paralyse a people, and turn men into machines. They do not understand that all that is really alive must resist, and must thrive on that resistance.

The "Deutschland" Complex and German Psychology

I HAPPENED to be in Delft a few days after the Germans had invaded Holland. Our quarters had been taken over by the occupying force and their songs were resounding through the market-place. We were standing in one of the suburbs, waiting, waiting. Houses were in ruins, people were going about their business with bent heads. Our experiences of the last few days had embittered our hearts. The Dutch soldiers were rebellious and hardly listened to orders.

At the side of the road a temporary grave had been dug for some German soldiers. Their helmets had been placed on it and it was heaped with flowers. On a white board was their epitaph:

*Und Deutschland soll leben
Wenn wir auch sterben muessen.*

For a moment we were silent before this alien grave. Then the meaning of that unnatural statement flashed upon us. "Germany must live, even though we die." But what is Germany without her people? Is her youth reared solely that it may die an exalted death? What the epitaph really meant was "Even though we must die—a meaningless phrase—Germany will live on." Thus German youth is nourished on a myth, and here in this grave was buried the result of that insanity.

How often were we to hear that magic word *Deutschland!* *Deutschland!* Though it could have no effect upon us, it enraptured the occupying forces, the traitors, and the faint-hearted.

During the following summer I was staying in a small hotel in the Veluwe. The Fuehrer spoke one night. In an adjoining room Germans and members of the Dutch National Socialist party were sitting round the wireless set, listening in an ecstasy to that hypnotizing voice, deaf to the world round

them. At the word *Deutschland* they seemed to tremble, to vibrate with a common emotion. All their dreams were projected into that one word. It intoxicated them—we could only shrug our shoulders.

Much later, when we learnt to dread this powerful insanity, we often asked ourselves the reason for this curious *Deutschland* complex. The common people of Holland seemed to understand instinctively that here they were confronted with a delusion, which they could not define and for which they needed an explanation, even while they dismissed slogans and propaganda with a contemptuous shrug.

It is easier to put the question than to answer it. It is, of course, dangerous to speak of a collective psyche unless we remind ourselves constantly that it is a literary image without reality. It is, after all, individuals who make up a collectivity. A bad or a good collectivity may be built up with the same individuals; the results depend on the social system. Experiments in prisons have shown that it is possible to construct a decent society with inferior individuals. Alternatively it may happen that under a bad social system conditions become chaotic even when the human material is excellent. The matter is further complicated by the fact that human unity is based not only on a transverse section—that is, present relationships, but also on a longitudinal section—that is, the ties of history and tradition.

Consequently we have to take into account a triangle of co-ordinates—that is to say, the individual, the history, and the social system. Only then is it possible to understand the psyche of a nation or a community. It is easy to mention off-hand some characteristics of the German psyche which distinguish it from other European nations. In the first place it is young. Not until the second half of the nineteenth century was it possible to speak of a united Germany. Even in 1870 the situation had not yet been stabilized. Military Prussia, Balto-Slav in origin, dominated the rest, and asserted its superiority over other states, such as Catholic Upper Bavaria. Neither

emotionally nor administratively has regionalism yet died out completely in Germany.

Again, the almost neurotic urge to form a unity which is characteristic of German political thought implies that Germany as a nation is young and self-conscious. The German's sense of collective unity is a primitive one, it is a *participation mystique*. It overrides individuality altogether and is felt as a kind of ecstasy. *Deutschland*, in fact, becomes the fetish, the All-father, from which the German cannot detach himself. Such primitive emotions hamper the growth of that free critical spirit which is essential to a true democracy.

The presence of these primitive tendencies in the midst of a civilized community has led to a remarkable state of tension in the individual. The German takes flight from his emotions in an iron discipline, in a passion for system and for thoroughness. He is the type of nervous man who arranges the objects on his desk with excessive precision, who cannot stand the least disorder in his papers, but whose life is nevertheless full of inner conflicts, and who in the end has a nervous breakdown. Systems are built up as a defence against the anarchy within, an intricate terminology becomes a bulwark against the unknown, and all this enables the Germans to delude themselves into thinking that they are well-balanced and possessed of true culture. In war they perform miracles of organization only to fail in the end through their complete inability to understand the psychology of other nations. In the present conflict they have omitted to reckon with the toughness of the English when faced with disaster, with the growing opposition of the occupied countries in spite of a régime of terror, and with the almost religious spirit of sacrifice of the Russian people.

The German *Massregeln* result in fact from a completely faulty conception of the living organization, since they ignore the importance of spontaneity. The Fascist tendency to regulate everything from above has primitive origins. It denotes a failure to realize that a community, to be successful, must

control its own life throughout, and cannot have order imposed upon it.

As might be expected, German discipline imposes its own strain on the individual, the symptoms of which appear in easy emotionalism alternating with brutality. The German easily becomes "beside himself" with anger; he is susceptible to a mediæval mass hysteria, and even to suicidal impulses. I have known many cases of suicide in Holland after the occupation which had their origins in a sense of guilt. Suicide was especially frequent in the case of Germans billeted on Dutch civilians, who, as true democrats, did not mince matters and told the Germans what they thought of them, a state of affairs which soon put an end to billeting.

Militarism still has a strong hold on the average German. It serves as a link between regions which otherwise have little in common one with another. It has a certain hold over even the most internationally minded socialist. You will find everywhere in Germany an affection for the outward symbols of the military life, in the love of uniforms and pride in the weapons of war.

The contradiction ever present in the German soul between an outward discipline and an inner disorder, together with the sense of a mystic unity, promotes a defensive and suspicious attitude towards other countries. The German tends to be jealous of a national culture which he feels to be more integrated than his own. He is desperately afraid of being misunderstood, and if he is criticized is inclined to feel persecuted. From this it is but a short step to mass paranoia. "The whole world conspires against Germany," he will discover; "Germany stands alone against the attacks of a Jewish plutocratic clique"; or "Germany is a bulwark against world Bolshevism." Consequently the German is haunted by a latent fear, the fear of being followed, and that which he fears he provokes. This leads to aggressive action, which promotes a sense of wrong-doing, and thence a desire for punishment. It is this cycle of action and reaction which in its extreme form is referred to as sadism.

Any consideration of German psychology invites the question: "What can be done about it?" Before we attempt to answer this question, it is necessary to ask ourselves what our attitude to crime and criminals actually is. Although there is a constant battle going on in the world against crime, there is also a secret admiration for it. Man is an unstable being, torn between his primitive past and his civilized aspirations. There is something romantic about the criminal, even to the gentlest of us. We have all of us met the type of exemplary citizen who possesses an exhaustive library of detective and horror stories. Since we have within us all something of the criminal, and therefore a conscious or unconscious share in his guilt, we cannot consider the question of his punishment without inner dissension. Here the lesson of Dostoevsky's *Crime and Punishment* needs to be remembered. It is a fact that the criminal hankers after his punishment. Therein lies the paradox of all violent action, that it seeks punishment, so great is the fear aroused in civilized man by his own violence. If this is applied to Germany, the inference must follow that before there can be any question of reformation and re-education, there must be punishment. Only on that basis can a psychological reformation take place.

The German psyche seeks death in order that an abstraction, something more German than any individual German, may live. It hopes by death to atone for aggressiveness, and to escape from inner conflict. It is our task to release it from these burdens, and to teach Germans that they need not die in order to live.

Hitler's Psychological Weapons

It is essential that from time to time we should survey our knowledge of the psychological weapons of war, even though it may be impossible for us yet to make an exhaustive study of the subject. We may not be able to prove for many years which aspect of this war will have had most importance, the material or the psychological; nevertheless it should be possible, through our knowledge of mass psychology, to draw some conclusions of value both to military and political strategy. Mass psychology, it becomes clear, is a weapon which must be used. As the gas officer must prepare himself to analyse the poison gases used by the enemy in order that he may counteract them, so the mass psychologist must study the features of psychological warfare if he is to nullify its effects.

In psychological warfare not only the military sections of the community, but the civilians also, take part. In fact the citizens, particularly the women, play a greater part than the soldiers. As a result of their sense of responsibility towards their children, women react more emotionally but less primitively than men. At dangerous moments they are more daring but less disciplined. Similarly one nation may be more susceptible to psychological weapons than another, and it is of great importance to understand thoroughly what are the weak links in the psychological armour of the nation with which one is at war. Without such knowledge there is no calculating the mass reactions to an unexpected situation. Any student of the history of the war 1914-18 will be aware of the importance of such a study. There were the mass panics among the French armies in 1917, the Italian collapse at Caporetto, the breakdown of the Central Powers in the summer of 1918, which was the result of a long process of psychological weakening, and which was becoming evident at the very time when Clemenceau and Churchill were still anticipating in their speeches years of war to come. When the collapse came,

nothing could stop it. Self-confidence disappeared, nobody believed the press, rumours circulated everywhere about the state of the army, about the Emperor, and had a paralysing effect on the nation. In recent times we have seen the same thing happen again, when in 1940 France collapsed, undermined largely by psychological means.

This inevitably invites the question, What is it that has enabled the Dutch people to withstand the psychological warfare waged against them in their own territory? Why, overrun, defeated in the field, and governed by a set of men whom they knew to be completely ruthless, did they not suffer from moral collapse as well? Why, when Rotterdam was bombed, did its citizens remain calm, able to go about their duties in a quiet and practical way, while, on the other hand, eyewitnesses have told me that when Cologne received its first big bombing there was evidence of suicidal panic among the population.

In examining these problems it may indeed be asked whether we have made sufficient efforts since 1918 to analyse the psychological factors which lead to panic—wrong strategy, mass exhaustion, and the undermining of the self-confidence of the people. I have in the past tried to collect together literature on the psychology of war,¹ availing myself of the resources at the disposal of the Peace Palace at The Hague. It would seem, however, that the Germans learnt more in this respect from the First World War than we did. They issued reports on the effects of propaganda, on the mistakes made during the war, on the morale of the troops, on the morale of the Home Front, and it soon became clear that such studies were prompted by the desire for revenge. They hoped to profit by their own mistakes in the next conflict; Hitler's *Mein Kampf* became the textbook for the present-day strategy and tactics of psychological warfare, and may be regarded as the final expression of these ideas.

Meanwhile the Allies were absorbed in the illusion of the War to end War. They became enmeshed in a net of juridical

¹ Meerloo: *Homo Militans*, The Hague, 1940.

problems in their search for a "lasting peace." Thus they lost sight of the normal human psychological motives of aggression, destruction and revenge. They omitted to analyse their own mistakes, and failed to remember that one corrects oneself best by watching one's enemy. Thus when the Germans began to claim leadership of many cultural undertakings, they did not suspect that it might be for strategic reasons. Furthermore, instead of setting to work to remedy the poverty and depression of Germany, its leaders used the condition of their country to hoodwink the Allies, and to arouse the compassion of American charitable institutions, which rushed to restore Germany even before devastated Belgium had been rebuilt. It is essential that the same mistake should not be made again when the time comes.

I therefore propose to analyse briefly in the following pages some of the psychological weapons which can be used to instil ideas in the masses. If there is a certain amount of repetition in what I say, it must be imputed to the fact that the essence of propaganda is in fact repetition; psychological weapons vary in degree and in kind, but not in aim, and the very monotony contributes to the effect.

THE WEAPON OF FEAR

It is symbolic of man's attitude to life that he is able to envisage Providence, which postulates the ability to look into the future and to fear events in the future. An animal is only aware of fear directly, man knows fear of things to come. Through fear he can learn to protect himself against future dangers, but the more primitive fear reaction has still considerable power over him. It may happen that the intellect will dominate a situation, and overcome the impulse to react violently against present dangers, but if the intellect is overcome and primitive instinct takes charge of the situation the result may be panic, followed by a paralysed apathy. This primitive fear reaction is seen in the so-called "shell-shock," or anxiety-neurosis, when the subject displays either an uncon-

trollable and purposeless restlessness, or a cataleptic numbness and passivity, shamming dead as it were at the approach of danger. (For a detailed account of such reactions see pages 53 to 58 of this book.) Such primitive reactions were experienced in the last war on all fronts, when interminable barrages and great exertion undermined the soldiers' nerves. The importance of fear as a psychological weapon is therefore obvious. The aim is to awaken the animal in man, the animal whose fear is uncontrolled by reason, and which impels it to self-destruction or to attack friend and foe alike.

Fear of gas attacks, fear of bombing, fear of the unknown horrors of "total" warfare, all play their part. The mere thought that the air they breathe is no longer safe is sufficient to throw some people into a state of panic, as anyone who has watched a gas-mask practice will know. The first British troops to sustain a gas attack in 1915 were thoroughly demoralized by it, but even troops prepared for such an event are liable to a nervousness out of proportion to the danger involved. Again, noise such as is produced by heavy bombing or by a barrage has an unnerving effect, quite apart from the normal fear of being hit. The ear is our most delicate organ for receiving impressions; the god Pan blew on his horn to make people afraid, and modern Stukas are equipped with sirens for the same reason. Modern bombardment not only deafens the ears, it deadens the mind. Even the massive drone of aeroplanes can arouse feelings of panic. Finally, as the earthquake produces feelings of fundamental insecurity, so the thought of total war, of boundless destruction, deprives men of their power to think clearly and act sensibly. If all these factors are present mass fear can be so violent as to disorganize a whole country.

It must, of course, be observed that such effects of fear are not always immediately apparent. In the case of Rotterdam, where, as I have mentioned, there was no panic during the bombing, many citizens exhibited symptoms of primitive fear reactions months afterwards. Similarly, soldiers who to all

appearances had been able to carry on with their duties unperturbed suffered from a latent fear-psychosis.

That the weapon of fear was deliberately used by the Germans there can be no doubt. The whole policy of terrorism is based on the knowledge of the effects of fear on man. When fear reigns in the streets the people become cowed, passive, and are incapable of offering resistance. To achieve this desirable end in Holland, bands of booted terrorists used to go into the streets, and at the sound of a whistle would start beating up all the citizens they could lay their hands on. A less obviously brutal method of intimidation was carried out by means of films. The general staffs of Oslo, The Hague, and Ankara have all been treated by the Nazi film of the conquest of Poland and the punishment of Warsaw. "Sow fear before our armies enter" was the prudent slogan of the Germans. We know, however, from the study of fear reactions that there comes a stage in which the subject is immunized against fear. In extreme exasperation men no longer fear death, and what before induced paralysis through fear arouses fury and a desire for revenge.

RUMOUR, SLANDER AND SUSPICION

When a people has been reduced to passivity by terrorist methods, their submissiveness can be intensified by less violent means, among others the Fifth Column. The tactics of the Fifth Column have been well thought out, and were first used by Hitler in fighting labour movements. The procedure is to create confusion, foment arguments, and thus cause indecision. This simple plan should be carried out in as many different ways, and as continuously, as possible. There are, of course, innumerable ways in which suspicion can be aroused; one of the simplest is to throw doubt upon the good intentions of an ally. Thus the French were told that the English would abandon them, that Mr. Churchill would defend his Empire to the last Frenchman. The Latin American countries are informed that Mr. Roosevelt intends to "absorb" them.

In Holland, just before and during the fighting, the Fifth Column was principally engaged in spreading confusion. They formed small bands behind the front lines, shooting and destroying, and creating the impression that the enemy was everywhere. An essential part of their work was to criticize everything done by the Government or the Army, to belittle the defences and the strategic preparations for war, and thus undermine the fighting spirit of the people from the very start.

Suspicion is one of the most dangerous psychological weapons at the disposal of mankind. It is so easily communicable and so difficult to eradicate. A man whose suspicion has been aroused by derision, slander, or rumour of any kind, sees the world through new spectacles. It is in this way that the delusion of being poisoned arises. In the atmosphere of fear and distrust it is impossible to see reality. A striking example is that of soldiers entering a conquered city. There is a fearful silence, and they know that somewhere a hostile population is lurking. Because of their suspicion any noise may be given a false interpretation. The slamming of a door becomes the shot of a civilian sniper, the beating of carpets sounds like a conspiracy. In all wars one gets instances of the civilian sniper who afterwards turns out to have been pure invention on the part of the soldier.

The Fifth Column had been instructed to spread rumours, any rumours. The successful rumour-monger is he who, posing as one in the know, consents under promise of secrecy to pass on his information. The rumour spreads and with it the distrust bred by secrecy, and the effect is such as to transform level-headed citizens into a nation of conspiring children. Men are turned into primitive and helpless beings by the magic action of rumour.

An effective means of arousing distrust is the spreading of rumours about the people's leaders, personal anecdotes of the malicious type, slanders and so on. This creates in the masses the feeling that their leaders have deserted them. The Fifth Column in Holland, of course, took advantage of the departure

of Queen Wilhelmina to England to calumniate her and spread rumours concerning her "desertion" of her people.

Persecution of racial and religious groups is based on the same technique. The insinuation that the Jews, or the Freemasons, or the Catholics are responsible for every disaster takes advantage of the tendency in man to blame others for his own mistakes. "If there had been no Jews, Hitler would have invented them."

The scapegoat is a very ancient institution, and throughout history we find preachers of hate who instigate mass risings against a minority. Such movements cause a formidable undermining of morale. Either a nation is sufficiently united in moral indignation to resist the spiritual strain which such a movement imposes, or else it accepts the slander campaign passively, each man hoping that at least he will be left alone, and that the suffering will pass him by.

THE WEAPON OF HYPNOSIS

Hypnosis is an elementary human occurrence, the price we must pay for living together in a community. Communication presupposes mutual influence, unity presupposes reciprocal action and suggestibility. The most elementary of human contacts is thus based on primitive influence, imitation, and submission. In the primitive community tribe and tribal chief are one, and the chief's thoughts are imposed on his subjects, who accept them. Anyone who attempts to criticize is in danger of excommunication.

Modern man is exposed to the same influences within the community, but he is not only a subject, he is also an individual who can place himself in mental opposition to fellow-members of the community. Nevertheless the community influences him so much that he does not easily oppose its collective ideas, since he needs to be sustained by them.

It is therefore easier to misuse the powers of mass hypnosis than to establish safeguards against them. Hitler's method with the masses had been, in his own words, to "make fanatics out

of them," by concentrating on a monotonous repetition of lies and half-truths, using the technique of advertising and all the modern aids of the press, the wireless, and the film. Bread of a kind he provided, and circuses in the form of national demonstrations, mass meetings, athletic and military displays, uniforms and banners. He instilled into the German people the idea of the Chosen Nation, the Superior Race; he set before them ideals calculated to appeal to the most primitive instincts, together with a display of power such as to ensure their acceptance. Even German scientists were not all able to resist this hypnosis, but after all a scientist is also a man of the people and not above the laws of mass suggestion. And it must be added that Germany had been through a long period of fear and latent if not overt panic which made her people more susceptible than usual to magic influences.

PROPAGANDA AND PUBLIC OPINION

It was Napoleon who first made deliberate propaganda for his policy by means of a Bureau of Public Opinion. He visualized public opinion as something mechanical which could be directed towards a certain end by psychological means. The human spirit, however, is a living thing, capable of offering resistance, and of gaining strength under pressure from above, as Napoleon himself discovered when in the long run the French people were immunized against his propaganda.

Propaganda uses the methods of hypnosis, and, on the non-scientific plane, those of advertising. Like advertising, it relies very largely on crude and simple stimuli, the appeal of the mediocre and second-rate idea to the mediocre and second-rate in men. As a pretty girl on the cover sells a box of chocolates, so a film actress advertising a cause focuses the attention of the masses, and allows them to dispense with the necessity of thought. Erotic appeal is, of course, the special province of the film and the picture page in newspapers. The wireless, which relies on the spoken word, has to make up for the lack of visual aids by its uses of the human voice, by its choice of

vocabulary, by music and other sound effects. Thus, while the film interprets in pictures the erotic inclinations of the audience or its desire to personify its vague ideals in some god-like figure—an airman, an athlete, or a political hero—it is the rôle of the radio to express these ideals, these emotions, on a higher, intellectual or metaphysical, plane. There is much greater suggestive power in the spoken than in the written word, and much greater range. The listener feels himself linked to the voice which seems to be speaking across the ether for him alone, and yet, when the voice addresses him in its impersonal and godlike capacity, he feels himself just one of a vast chain of listeners all taking part in the same rite.

It is not such a simple matter to test public opinion and the effect of propaganda upon it. There appears in fact to be a real and an apparent public opinion. The apparent public opinion is affected by suggestion, intimidation, and the hypnosis of propaganda. Even my own opinion at this moment is dependent upon the sphere of influence in which I live, and from which I can never detach myself. But behind this imposed opinion there is a basic public opinion, that of the intellect, which is constantly checked against reality. The strength of this opinion naturally depends upon the type of training of the individual or group, and the kind of political atmosphere in which one has lived. But it can be said that sooner or later the masses become conscious of the fact that they are being worked upon by a censored press and that they receive one-sided information. In spite of the danger people obtain papers from neutral countries and listen to foreign radio stations. Especially with radio propaganda saturation point is soon reached; people become bored with hearing the same voices saying the same things over and over again, and desire to listen to the other camp. The critical instincts are awakened, even in Germany, and it is then natural to suppose that there must be something to be said on the other side. For example, when the German radio announced that the *Hood* had been torpedoed, the man in the street immediately said that it must

have been the *Bismarck*, which was in fact torpedoed twenty-four hours later.

Thus all-out propaganda does not pay in the long run. It inevitably arouses suspicion, and once people start checking statements made by their own Government against outside information, it is no longer possible to tell downright lies. The very fact that British radio stations, for example, are broadcasting their own version of the war forces the German radio to modify its statements.

PSYCHOLOGICAL ARTILLERY

This is Hitler's own expression for that part of his war machine which is directed at men's minds rather than their bodies. Having given an account of the weapons used, it may be useful to review the strategy of psychological warfare point by point, as it was carried out against the European countries. It will be seen that the war against Europe started long before 1939.

In the first place the ground was prepared by those "Fifth Columnists" who, by their destructive criticism, seized every opportunity of creating dissension, opposition, uncertainty, and cynicism. The positive side of this move, and the second step, was the dissemination of propaganda concerning the "New Order," the "New Freedom," "liberation from the yoke of pluto-democracies," "liberation from the yoke of the Jews, the Freemasons," and so on. Such slogans had a hypnotizing effect: there was a suggestion of emotion and high ideals about them such as might recommend them to a disunited or dissatisfied people.

The next step was to administer a psychological shock to the world in the shape of the pact with Russia in August 1939, which in France, at least, completely paralysed public opinion. Meanwhile the fear of war was being inculcated, by dwelling on the horrors of gas and bacteriological warfare, by hinting at secret weapons, by describing the effects of aerial bombardment on the population of cities. Some of this propaganda

was issued in the form of propaganda for pacifism in enemy countries.

All this was intended to undermine resistance before the conflict actually began. Once hostilities had opened there were many other methods of attacking morale. Soldiers were told that they were being asked to fight unnecessarily, that their enemy had none but friendly feelings towards them, that their allies were weak, and were imposing on them. French soldiers received mysterious letters telling them that the English were not doing any of the fighting, but were making merry with the Frenchwomen behind the lines. Frenchwomen were told that their sons and husbands had fallen, and all for a lost cause. In the factories, in the big cities, there were agents to stir up labour troubles, and other agents to raise the bogey of "World Bolshevism." Throughout the country, whether France or Holland, false rumours of invasion, and all the frightfulness to follow, were spread. Such propaganda was intermittent; there would be rumours that some agreement had been reached; or that the danger of invasion was less, and the blow, when it came, would come during a lull. Civilian morale, too, was attacked through slogans. "Why should our boys die for the Poles?" it was whispered, or "Do you know there are no more eggs on the market? The English have bought them all up," or "The British Empire is breaking up. Why should we die for it?" One group would be set against another group; a country like Holland, which had never had a Jewish "problem," would suddenly be encouraged to blame the Jews for their troubles, on the principle of "divide and conquer."

Such are the weapons of psychological warfare. Though obvious to us now, only an expert in diagnosis is likely to detect them on the spot and at the time when they are being used. On the other hand, the influence of the psychological weapon is less than the German strategists imagine. Before the war this influence was undoubtedly very great, and after the war it can be tremendous, but during the actual hostilities this weapon can only be effective at certain definite stages,

The Psychology of Radio Propaganda

IF we are to reach an understanding of the influence of radio propaganda, we must inquire first in what way people listen, and how they digest what they have heard. It is a fact that people as a rule listen badly, but, on the other hand, effects can be produced by impressions received unconsciously as well as those received consciously. However clever the argument, if it lacks the right emotional tone, it will not really penetrate to the listener. Our ear, or our mind, decides beforehand that which it is willing to receive. Once, however, the ear is on the alert, and the brain "tuned in," it is practically impossible to resist the suggestions which filter into the mind.

We are all more or less inclined to receive impressions from the wireless without being really conscious that we are doing so. In certain circumstances it is even a rather dangerous habit. There was a boy in The Hague who was in the habit of listening to broadcasts from London, and who was so under the impression of what he heard that he actually whistled the latest English dance tunes in the street. He was not at all conscious of it, but the German police immediately noticed that he was a listener to foreign broadcasts. Similarly there are various examples in psychological literature of illiterate persons who without realizing it learned complete Greek texts by heart through hearing them repeatedly.

This gives us a clue to one of the great dangers of the radio if it is used unscrupulously for propaganda purposes: the possibility of influencing the brain to accept suggestions which consciously it would reject. Fortunately, however, other processes take place as well, as we shall see later.

For the listener in occupied Holland, sitting in his quiet living-room and fortifying himself with a cup of bitter bramble tea, the broadcast word has something of magic in it. The great leaders of the world speak to him, and a kind of con-

versation arises between listener and speaker: the listener assents, comments, perhaps even contradicts, with impunity. Whatever his mood, he can give way to it; he need not keep up appearances. It is as though people he has never met and may never see are talking intimately with him. They speak, moreover, not only to him, but also to a vast public listening with him, to whom he feels united by the spoken word. Thus the radio reaches a potentially vast public in a more intimate way than any other form of communication, and it reaches this public through the most sensitive organ of the human being, his ear. That the public reacts in a more personal way to radio programmes than to articles in newspapers has been proved by the "listening research" departments of many broadcasting services.

I have mentioned the almost magical power of the human voice. It is only too obvious to anyone who has watched Hitler's followers listening to his broadcasts, entranced, swept away by the emotions aroused by his words and his very tone, intoxicated by sound. They are under the same spell as those mental patients who suffer from imperative hallucinations, and who, owing to an unconscious acknowledgment of lack of will and to inner dissension, think they are ordered by some mysterious "voice" to carry out some action.

But the knob of the wireless set is a power in the hands of those who are willing to make use of it. It stands for the freedom to select and to criticize. Rightly used, it can turn the unthinking masses into individualists capable of distinguishing between fiction and reality. Even in occupied countries, where it is forbidden to listen to any but the official programmes, the people succeed in obtaining the broadcasts they want to hear, in spite of jamming, by means of potentiometers and the so-called "Hun Sieve." Such listening brings its own reward in an increased knowledge of the world at large and in the sense of comradeship. Once, in Holland, when I was feeling very depressed, I tuned in to an American station, and suddenly I heard in my own language a message to me

from a friend in Boston. My loneliness and depression were effectively cured for that day at least.

The Nazis were aware of the importance of radio propaganda right from the start. It will be remembered that when Dolfuss was murdered they seized the Vienna Broadcasting Station, and as soon as each country was occupied during the years that followed transmitters were immediately set up, with a service of broadcasts in the appropriate language. After the capitulation of Holland they arrived in Hilversum, the centre of Dutch broadcasting, with a transmitter and Dutch speeches on records, all ready to influence the minds of the people. Before the fall of France there were regular broadcasts in French from Stuttgart and elsewhere intended to undermine the morale of the French and to shake their confidence in the Maginot Line.

The Germans know everything that there is to know about the tactics of radio propaganda. Their system is based on the simple rules of hypnotic suggestion. Repetition is used to soothe the public mind into a state of passive receptivity. The doctrines to be accepted are introduced in the form of half-truths and camouflaged lies, so as to appeal to the common man's tendency to say "There's something in it, you know," when he does not want to have the trouble of thinking for himself. Every emotion is played upon, as the need arises, particularly hatred against persons or personifications. Above all, Nazi radio propaganda is thorough. There is no item in the day's programme which is not part of the whole scheme.

The one fact about radio propaganda which the Nazis did not realize, and against which they are unable to contend, is that it operates in accordance with the law of diminishing returns. The public, however acquiescent, will react in the long run, even without the stimulus of outside events. It is by now an acknowledged fact that public opinion in Germany is satiated, and no longer attaches much value to official broadcasts. The people may listen because they are compelled to, but they listen critically and disparagingly, and attempt in so

far as they can to verify all information. From my own experience I know how much value many a German officer attaches to the broadcasts of the B.B.C., to which he listens so that he can learn something about actual military operations. So strong is this feeling that the German radio authorities do make some attempt to vary their technique, even to the point of introducing the appearance of candour into their broadcasts. But while nothing is so varied as truth, nothing is so hackneyed as propaganda, and in the long run critical faculties and common sense will demolish it.

At this stage the question arises, What does a free public want of its radio service? Many analyses have been made of listeners' requirements, and it has been established that, amusement apart, the public can stand more "strong meat" than is generally held to be the case. It wants its intellectual pretensions flattered. It wants the stimulus of emotions such as pride, courage and joy. At moments of national crisis it wishes to be encouraged in a feeling of superiority. Furthermore, it wishes to be given new ideas, new points of view, not only to increase knowledge, but to give a basis for comparison and support. Hence the attraction of those apparently ridiculous interviews in which boxers and film actresses air their views on matters of international politics. It interests the public to know what a person who for other reasons is a familiar figure thinks about subjects which are being discussed widely.

In time of war the public in general and the people in occupied territories in particular require additional stimulants, and in dealing with the question of what kind of propaganda it is permissible for the Allies to use, this fact must be borne in mind. No man can live without illusions, even though he may be fully conscious that they are illusions, and it is the task of the radio to supply these. Yet it is equally necessary to explain the underlying reality as fully as possible. Every radio commentator has to answer as best he may the question, Is it permissible to give biased news reports, or is the naked truth the best propaganda? A doctor faces the same problem in

explaining the position to a patient who is seriously ill. The patient cannot stand the full truth, and must therefore be given an account of his condition which is to a certain extent false. In occupied Holland I have had personal experience of the effects produced by depressing or stimulating news reports. For the handling of news there is no hard-and-fast rule; the capacity of individuals to bear the truth obviously varies immensely. It is, however, the duty of the radio to encourage hopefulness, to fortify those in adversity, without inculcating false conceptions which may cause great harm both to the individual and to the mass. As a child who no longer believes in Santa Claus continues to pretend that he does in order to enjoy more intensely the delights of Christmas, so the adult is able to obtain encouragement from propaganda even though he is well aware that it is propaganda. Provided it is used to stimulate morale and not to warp the character, such propaganda is justifiable.

Thus it is essential that Allied propaganda should put before the world a plan for the future based on sound sociological principles, and it is precisely here that it is least successful. Such a plan must be simple and yet concrete. The Atlantic Charter, as it stands, is too vague for the peoples in occupied countries. Post-war problems must be handled in a more definite manner, for while few would disagree with the basic concepts of the four freedoms, there are many opinions as to the means by which they are to be attained.

In addressing the Dutch people the task is comparatively simple. Whereas in Germany the people's confidence in their leaders must be undermined by showing them into what misery they have been led, to Holland the Allied radio can speak as democrats to democrats. The Dutch have enjoyed centuries of freedom of speech and of institutions, which have given them spiritual toughness and the ability to think for themselves. From the Frisian farmer to the Brabant peasant ours is a nation of personalities; opinions are slowly reached, but once reached are firmly held. Without the backing and

encouragement of the London Government the people of Holland might have foundered; with it they have been able to throw off the effects of Nazi propaganda.

In our counter-propaganda, therefore, we must fight the enemy with his own weapons, increasing public morale instead of undermining it, forging national unity instead of promoting disintegration, encouraging the free interchange of ideas instead of imposing a lifeless uniformity, and thus create psychological defences behind which all Netherlanders can play a major part in achieving final victory.

Democracy and Fascism Within Us

It is interesting, in a world of warring ideologies, to speculate on the relation between political ideas and individual psychology.

We can distinguish two main trends in human thought, both in the sphere of politics and in that of the individual. The first may be called the authoritarian attitude to life, the second, for want of a better word, the democratic attitude.

Let us first examine the nature of the authoritarian attitude. Contrary to the belief of many people, every man passes through an authoritarian stage, and becomes conscious of his control over himself when, at puberty, his personality, the authority within himself, begins to oppose itself to the authorities which have previously directed his life.

Becoming conscious of one's self, of that entity we call "I," is a painful process. It is not a matter of chance that *Weltschmerz* is traditionally connected with this stage, for the process of becoming an individual means that the human being must separate himself from the security of his family, and he is in consequence filled with a sense of loneliness and fear. He is entering a new world, strange to him, where he must henceforth take upon himself responsibility for his actions. It is at this stage that many young people shrink from such a test. They do not want freedom which carries with it so many burdens, so much loneliness. They are ready to hand back their freedom in return for parental security. But he who surrenders his individuality does not thereby shake off his fears and his loneliness. He develops instead a curious dual feeling of love and hate towards the authority. Docility and rebellion live side by side in him. At times authority is unconditionally admitted; at other times everything in him revolts against authority. This duality will never cease to exist, for all the time one side of his nature will continually attempt to overstep the boundaries which his dependence has imposed.

On the other hand, the individual who is strong enough to grow up mentally enters into a new kind of freedom. Freedom is an ambiguous concept, for in all its stages it sets before men new constraints. It involves the responsibility of taking new decisions, and confronting new uncertainties. Many young people cannot face such a prospect, especially if they cannot make a religious faith their mediator between the known and the unknown world, the result being that they fall back upon authoritarianism such as I have described, with its surrender of responsibility, its mental stresses, and its consequent emphasis of the ego.

It is not easy to find a formula for the adult attitude to life, for it admits so many varieties. If we give it the label "democracy," we still find it easier to say what democracy does not stand for, than what it does. We can say that democracy is an enemy of blind authority and of fear. If we are to define democracy in more detail we must do so by comparison with the authoritarian attitude to life. Democracy therefore involves a confidence in spontaneity and in growth. It is able to postulate progress and the correction of evil. It is able to guard the community against human error without the use of tyranny. It undertakes to regulate society by law and not by caprice. It is based on knowledge of human nature and not on desire for power over men.

The freedom towards which democracy strives is not romantic, like that which adolescent youth desires, but responsible. Democracy insists on the sacrifice to be made, and tries to dispel the fear which attacks men when they are faced with apparently unlimited freedom. It has less fascination than the authoritarian attitude, for it makes no use of myth, of primitive magic, of suggestion, and of other psychological means of working on the minds of men. It simply demands that men shall think for themselves, that each individual shall exercise his right of full consciousness, and his ability to adapt himself to an ever-changing world, and that a genuine public opinion shall determine what laws shall govern the com-

munity. Thus democracy insists upon the recognition of the diversity of life.

Like the adolescent, faced with new problems, who tries to retreat behind the skirts of parental authority, the individual members of a democratic state tend to shrink from the mental activity it imposes, and would like to take flight into a condition of unthinking security. They would like "the State" or some personification of the State to solve their problems for them. It is for this reason that they become Fascists.

Thus we have within each one of us the seeds of democracy and Fascism, and thus the struggle for the democratic or authoritarian attitude to life is fought out in each individual. His view of himself and of his fellow-citizens will determine which political creed he prefers. In him exists side by side love and hatred, desire for power, resistance to independence and responsibility, and a longing to retreat from the difficult adult world into childhood. For it is only democracy which appeals to the adult in the individual; Fascism tempts his infantile desires.

And yet, one day, men will have to grow up. Compared with the long ages of human existence on earth our civilization is in its infancy. Sooner or later we must be ready to leave the dreamland of childhood, where imagination finds unlimited scope, and take our places in a world of limited freedoms. That world, however, can in the long run give us something better than any vision conjured up in childhood.

How the Body is Affected by Fear

It may be well at this point to illustrate the universal significance of human fear, which has been treated in previous chapters, by a brief description of the actual and profound effects of fear on the human body.

It is a well-known fact that fear affects the body in a number of different ways, but the variety of the symptoms is perhaps not sufficiently realized. Experience has shown that not all reactions are to be considered under this heading, though in times of stress the uninitiated are apt to attribute everything to excessive emotion.

GENERAL FEAR REACTIONS

The human body not only reacts to danger but also anticipates it. In the case of immediate danger we refer to terror-reactions, but if danger is imminent we call them fear-reactions. Virtually there is no difference between the two. We cannot get away from the fact that as a civilized being man is easily frightened. His history and his culture are monuments to his struggle against the fear of death.

In this chapter I propose to leave on one side the question of the subjective assimilation of fear and terror by neurotics and psychotics. I intend to describe fully the normal biological reactions to fear as they can be directly observed in children, animals and primitive people.

- (a) *Death Reflex*, the general paralysis of functions, catalepsia, the state which is popularly called "becoming stiff with fright."
- (b) *Mimic or Pilomotor Reflex*, changes taking place in the skin, the rudimentary vestiges in human beings of the old defence mechanism in animals which we call mimicry.
- (c) *Flight Reflex*, the instinct to avoid danger by running away. In pathology this mobilization is known as the emergency reaction of Cannon. It is characterized by an increased action of the sympathetic nerve system, an increased supply of

adrenalin to the tissues, a more vigorous circulation of the blood in certain tissues, and by alterations in the secretive powers of the digestive organs.

- (d) *Explosions*, uncontrollable aggression, manifesting itself in the case of higher animals in the form of panic and various defence reflexes. In man all these forms of defence are mobilized simultaneously. Which organ reacts most depends on the individual.

FEAR IN MODERN WARFARE

When the psychiatrist Hoche states that everybody is what he calls *hysterie-faehig*, or liable to hysteria, he means that the primitive defence mechanisms outlined above may take place in anyone. To fear is simply to perceive the presence of danger before it is actually there. We know that the word *craindre* originated from the Celtic *creino*, meaning to suspect or to surmise, and the Latin *tremere*, meaning to shudder. The higher our intelligence the more we are inclined to anticipate danger, and the more training we require to contend with immediate danger.

Three elementary experiences give rise to overwhelming fear in modern warfare: suffocation, noise, and indiscriminate destruction.

The fear of suffocation has primitive roots, and all these ancient fears have been brought to the surface by the threat of gas warfare. Even gas practices have been known to induce a kind of panic in those taking part.

Noise plays an important part in modern warfare. The crash of bombs, heavy explosions, heavy gunfire, even the sound of the air-raid alarms have a violent effect on the ear, and relayed to the labyrinth will induce giddiness or even complete unconsciousness. The French attribute the *commotion emotionnelle*, which in its symptoms resembles cerebral concussion, to the physical and psychological influence of noise. The sense of hearing is extremely delicate: constant jars upon it weakens the power of resistance, as can be observed in soldiers who have been exposed to lengthy bombardment or a heavy barrage.

The indiscriminate destruction of modern warfare has much

the same effect on us as has an earthquake. We have the same feeling that there is no safety to be found anywhere above or below ground. In shelters, pent up in a small space with a number of other frightened people, our fear is only increased. When one mortar grenade can cause 800 casualties, as at Fort Longin, it became difficult to avoid the feeling that destruction is inevitable.

To these must be added the various secondary causes of fear, such as anxiety induced by rumour, Fifth Column activity, enemy press and radio propaganda, loss of sleep and so on.

FEAR REACTIONS DURING THE WAR

It is, of course, true that many fear reactions remain latent till long after the cause of them is removed. During the war of 1914-18 there were soldiers who spent years in the trenches without apparent strain, and who would then suddenly collapse: By 1917 such reactions were frequent, owing to the general exhaustion of the troops. Similarly it was noticed that fear reactions broke out months after the actual bombardment of Rotterdam. Much has already been written about the symptoms of acute shock and war psychosis, but it is my intention to discuss the less-known influence of fear on the body, restricting my remarks to cases I personally observed at a main dressing station behind the Grebbe line, and to those which I treated in Holland after the surrender of the Dutch Army.

(a) Physical Phenomena of the Death Reflex

Many readers will be acquainted with the cataleptic stiffening of the muscles after terrible fear. Patients may remain for days on end in one position. Some cases of this kind taken to our dressing station behind the Grebbe line after the first contact with the enemy were brought round by stimulating their sense of smell with vinegar or ammonia. They were then given a cigarette, which made them feel better, but they remained apathetic and sleepy for a long time, losing all sense of time

and of contact with reality. The same desire for sleep and generally apathetic condition could be observed in the case of civilians during the first period of the occupation.

In the case of some soldiers affected by a bomb explosion at close quarters, there were symptoms which resembled Parkinson's disease, flabby facial muscles, and a kind of decerebrate rigidity, such as has been described by Sherrington. In the case of some civilians I observed true Parkinson phenomena as the result of strong emotional reaction. There was a rigidity brought on by fright, which manifested itself in a kind of fear to breathe, inducing in some cases even an attack of asthma, which could not be influenced therapeutically. In one case the result was a chronic nervous asthma.

We may also consider as belonging to the same type of diencephalic reaction—that is, changes in the vital point of the midbrain and in the function of the vegetative centres—the frequently observed symptom of rapid emaciation. Although most people ate fairly normally during the first few days of the fight, they lost weight all the time. There was much loss of fluid owing to violent perspiration and changes in internal secretions. Many complained of paresthetic phenomena at the extremities, of a feeling as if their hands and feet were “asleep,” and of cold and discoloration in hands and feet. A soldier who had been brought to us in a stupor exhibited this symptom within twenty-four hours after the actual shock.

(b) *Mimic Reflex*

Man no longer changes the colour of his skin like a chameleon and does not stick out his quills like a hedgehog. Yet under the influence of violent emotions strong reactions take the place of the primitive pilomotor muscles of the skin. Shuddering, “making one's flesh creep,” is an almost pleasurable sensation to children; through such sensations they make for themselves a kind of defence against fear.

Vasomotor reactions cause the face to change colour, giving the effect of being “pale with fright.” Fear also induces a

feeling of cold. During the war in Holland people complained of severe cold during the brightest sunshine. Some, again, were troubled by unbearable irritation, with in some cases a rash or eruption on the skin. During the first days of the occupation we came across many cases of real urticaria and desquamation. Spontaneous extravasation appeared on face and legs. Patients complained of a painful oversensitiveness of the skin and of real neuralgic pains. This was especially common among the civilians. In times of great anxiety all people become more susceptible to pain. Even chronic arthritis made its appearance as an outlet for chronic fear.

(c) *Flight Reflex*

If escape to a place of safety is impossible it stands to reason that psychological defence reactions will appear, to provide the illusion of safety or to present a substitute for flight. Apart from these there are certain physical reactions which can be interpreted partly as substitutes for flight, and partly as a mobilization for defence; everything is in a state of greater tension to resist emotion.

In this connection the reactions of the vascular system are important. Palpitations of the heart and sudden sthenocardic troubles are very common. In the last war it was customary to use the term "field heart" for such a condition. Many weak hearts did not survive the violent emotions of May 1940; they collapsed as a result of angina pectoris.

The digestive organs are similarly affected. Among the symptoms noticed were retching, loss of appetite, and diarrhoea. Another frequent symptom was polyuria. This was particularly humiliating in the case of soldiers forced to remain on duty in the line for hours at a time. I have met cases where civilians and even medical men had to be treated for nervous polyuria for months at a time by a urologist, although one aspirin tablet is enough to postpone the diuresis and to ensure a good night's rest. Such frequent micturition interfered with sleep, and in times of particular strain children began to wet

their beds again. Any aggressiveness within men will find an outlet through the urogenital organs. There was also evidence of strong perspiration occurring days after the fighting was over. Cases of Basedow's disease, where latent, appeared, and patients were brought into hospital with acute goitre.

I have never had so many cases of impotence as after the fighting. This is, of course, because any kind of fear may activate suppressed fears. On the other hand, while the feeling of being defeated paralyses the sexual functions, chronic fear may lead to stronger orgiastic desires.

Fear may induce either extreme lethargy or complete inability to sleep. In the case of workmen on the airfields I noticed a constant desire to escape from reality through sleep.

(d) *Explosions*

The so-called *Ventil* or valve-mechanism of Kretschmer, senseless crying, panic, fear-mania, have already been extensively discussed by others. Such fear reactions may manifest themselves very late, as though the fear continues to work underground. The consequence may be acute disintegration of the psychological functions, involving psychosis, and sometimes here and there a case of epileptiform insult. Fear may have the effect of giving us more strength, more audacity than we normally possess, though after the physical effort is over there is generally a strong reaction, taking the form of acute depression and various neurasthenic troubles.

Thus, to sum up, the physical reactions to fear may come under any one of the four basic categories—death reflex, mimic reflex, flight reflex, and explosions. The symptoms are extremely varied. Any physician who has to look after people who have come into direct contact with modern warfare is bound to take them into account.

The Psychology of Courage

IN time of war, when heroic sentiments are two a penny, it may seem a little bold to undertake an analysis of courage. A democracy, however, must be prepared to scrutinize its own slogans, and this in particular is a subject on which there is bound to be much confused thinking, particularly among those who are not subjected to danger themselves.

I have had many conversations about courage with soldiers, with fugitives, with underground workers. It was a question which preoccupied them all, for they knew from how many different sources in human nature that bravery might spring which has for its symbol military decorations.

In primitive peoples we sometimes find evidence of an iconoclastic attitude towards tribal gods and tribal customs. This revolt is, however, not regarded as courageous, but as a crime, and it is generally punished by death, or at the least by exile. The Greeks were the first to recognize in this audacity, the *hybris*, something of positive value which in disrupting established modes of life might achieve progress. With primitive peoples courage is conceived as a communal ecstasy, by which through the operation of mass excitement the individual rises above himself and performs deeds which without this stimulus he would never have contemplated. After his death this heroism becomes part of the legends of his tribe.

Here, then, we have the two kinds of courage, the personal revolt as against the collective ecstasy. When we are too much influenced by our primitive tribal emotions we may be inclined to confuse the two, but as democrats we should rate personal courage at a higher level.

A feature of collective bravery is the ecstatic surrender, equivalent to a suicidal impulse, of the self. I have known soldiers to whom it seemed that only through their deaths could their ideals be obtained. They constituted themselves the human sacrifice for the good of the community. This

feeling was generally accompanied by a melancholy, a detachment from life, which acted as a stimulus to sacrifice. A man must have lost much that makes life worth living before he reaches this stage. I have met boys who, having lost friends or family, no longer valued life, and were ready to face danger for the sake of their country. Applause did not interest them, for they no longer felt themselves part of the ordinary world. They remained the unknown heroes of the underground war.

More often than not a display of courage is the reaction to fear. In adolescence we train ourselves to conceal our fear in a desire to be appreciated and commended by others. There is nothing wrong with this training, since it teaches us to understand our own fear, to overcome it, and at the same time to accept it as an element in ourselves which has to be reckoned with. Nevertheless the make-believe necessary to the adolescent is out of place in the grown man, and can be carried to an extreme of theatricality by the propaganda of war. The Germans celebrate the deeds of the official "hero" with a pomp which is intended to impress and encourage the crowd. The individual decorated is merely a symbol.

Anyone who has lived in a country occupied by the Germans finds it difficult to accept dispassionately statements concerning the courage of German soldiers in the field. There is no doubt that in battle, when carried away by that mass intoxication to which they are so apt, they may perform deeds of great courage, but individually, when alone and on unfamiliar territory, they are nervous and at a loss. Rather than criticize their leaders, rather than defend their own honour, they will use their weapons and their strength on the defenceless, on civilians who have no means of defending themselves, on Jews and other scapegoats who are completely at their mercy.

The courage of this highly organized, immensely disciplined army is the courage of hysteria. I have seen German planes brought down in flames, the crews of which went to their death shouting *Heil! Heil!* Such mass intoxication makes

death easier to face, but does not teach one how to live; it exorcises fear but cannot eliminate it.

Though no man likes to be called a coward, yet there is no one who is not spurred on by fear. It is fear which gives men their moral armour against the dangers of life, which forces them to think and to divest themselves of their purely animal instincts. Until we are tried, we none of us know how we shall act in the hour of danger, so little control have we over our own instincts.

The highest form of courage is, of course, that which springs from self-control. Here the individual dares to place himself in opposition to the mass, to break away from tradition, to assert his own personality, and is prepared to suffer for the sake of his own conviction. Such courage is creative. It attempts to overcome the boundaries imposed by man's animal nature; it is ready to break new ground, it is necessary to all growth, indeed to life itself.

Much as we may admire the self-sacrifice, the martyrdom, which we symbolize in the conception of "the unknown warrior," much though we owe to the soldier who does his duty and pays the price for human delusion and human unwisdom, it is essential that we understand the nature of the hero worship we offer him. We give him admiration from a sense of guilt. We have offered up the unknown warrior as a sacrifice on the altar of unreason, and in return we pay him homage, as we pay a debt of honour. He has made a sacrifice we might have made, and in return we tend to cherish the memory remorsefully in our hearts, without asking ourselves whether in fact the sacrifice was necessary.

This is the lesson we have to learn, that of the two types of courage, that which consists in living is greater than that which aims at dying. We have to learn that sacrifice of one's life, though it may be a necessary means to an end, is not an end in itself. As a free people, we must choose the affirmative courage of life, not the negative sacrifice of death.

Delusion and Mass Delusion

It is a remarkable fact that the phenomenon of mass delusion has so far received little scientific treatment, though the term is bandied about wherever the problems of propaganda are discussed. Again and again particular political phenomena are labelled "mass delusions," but science is shy of scrutinizing these mass mental aberrations closely when they are connected with present-day affairs, though examples from history, such as witchcraft and certain forms of communal dancing, have already been assembled in some profusion.

Delusion has been studied too much from the pathological angle. The psychiatrist who has encountered delusion in his patients has in the past lacked the philosophical and sociological background necessary to enable him to form comparisons with mass delusion in the world at large. In dealing with patients suffering from megalomania or persecution mania he has tended to rely too much on mythological hypotheses, without considering whether these conceptions had any connection with a different type of thinking which now and then occurred independently in the individual and the mass.

The mass psychology of the old days was indeed far too much tied to pathology, and it is only since the appearance of a younger group of social psychologists, such as MacDougall and Baschwitz, who as teachers or journalists were more in touch with everyday life, that new light was thrown on the subject of mass delusion. It is indeed not a phenomenon which a pathologist can examine under a microscope; it concerns history and sociology, and the growth in the scope and direction of men's collective consciousness.

To arrive at this stage it is necessary to divest oneself of various philosophical ideas which have dominated scientific thought since Aristotle. There is, for example, the doctrine of the identity of all thinking, the conception that all human beings think in the same way. Against this it can be pointed

out that philosophers themselves have the utmost difficulty in reaching mutual understanding, merely because they employ different methods of thinking. For centuries science has adopted the Aristotelian dictum that thought is carried on according to the established rules of logic, which apply in the same way as laws of nature. It was Bacon who pointed out for the first time, in his theory of idols, that the laws of logic certainly exist, but that it depends on circumstances whether men make use of them: "Thoughts are often the theatrical curtains to conceal personal passions and vexations." Since the Renaissance, therefore, it has been acknowledged that human feelings and personal inclinations mould and direct thought. Such a theory found its most moving expression in the works of Spinoza and Pascal.

This is not the place to discuss whether we are justified in analysing human thought psychologically. When we come into contact with the phenomena of mass delusion it is impossible to do otherwise, for we are immediately confronted with the question, Do these phenomena arise from a particular adolescent phase of development in human thought? Such a question opens a new field of inquiry, which a too rigid theory of the nature of thought would not have revealed to us.

The phenomena of delusion and mass delusion are in fact closely connected with all kinds of primitive means of transmitting thought. If we wish to examine these phenomena more closely we must study such means intensively, with the help of ethnology, evolutionary psychology and animal psychology. In such a brief survey as this only the bare outlines can be given of the findings of these sciences, but even from the bare outline we can get an idea of the change of outlook—from pathology to sociology—which is involved.

In examining the psychology of thinking through the growth and change of consciousness in human groups, it has been found illuminating to study the history of the growth of consciousness in the individual as he passes through the successive stages from infancy to maturity. We can find in fact a parallel

between the stages of growth in the individual and in the human group. The psyche is constantly confronted with and communicating with the outside world, and at every phase of its development that world and its events are experienced differently. In the hallucinatory stage there is a feeling of complete oneness with the outside world; the intrapsychic separation between the ego and the world has not yet taken place. The psyche is omnipotent, and all that is experienced by the self is projected into the universe and is imagined as part of that universe. The infant experiences the world in this way, and in certain types of insanity the adult will revert to this stage. In the next stage, that of animistic thinking, there is still a partial sense of oneness as between the ego and the world. The individual's experiences, his fears, his feelings, are projected into reality. The child who bumps itself against a table projects into that table a hostile power, and hits back. The primitive tribesman, hunted by beasts of prey, projects into the animal he fears a divine power, that of a hostile god. The entire outside world is in fact peopled with the fears of men. In the next stage, that of magical thinking, there is still a sense of intimate connection between man and the outside world, but man is now placed in opposition to the world, with whose mysterious powers he endeavours to negotiate. Magic is in fact the primitive strategy of man. He erects totem poles and sacrificial blocks, makes talismans and strange medicines. He develops a ritual to satisfy his need for coming to terms with the outside world. Which of us has never had the sudden desire to count pebbles or is not the jealous possessor of an amulet or any other object of which no one else must know the existence? In this way a man passes through various stages of consciousness, in which his thought, from having been aware only of himself and projections of himself, widens in scope till it is able to conceive of the outside world and man as two separate conceptions. There is something tragic about this process of becoming conscious of the outside world, in which man awakens from that primitive dream in which he

was part of a great whole. Such sense of unity lingers on, and in moments of mass tension, or at times of crisis, it is towards this ancient experience that we reach.

At what stage in connection with these manifestations of human experience can we speak of delusion? When primitive man placates the mysterious and hostile world by prayer to his totem animal, we do not call this delusion, but if a man who has attained to a more advanced stage of thinking relapses into a primitive habit of thought, then it is possible to call this retrogression delusion. Delusion is thus the loss of the sense of an independent reality, with a consequent relapse into a more primitive stage of consciousness. It is a petrification in our pathological or socio-psychological circumstances. The detection of delusion will depend entirely on circumstances, upon the state of civilization in which one lives, the human group and the class to which one belongs. Thus delusion and retrogression are terms implying a social judgment.

It would be as well to mention here several factors which promote delusion, so that we may the more easily understand the phenomenon of mass delusion. Retrogression may occur as a result of disease, particularly diseases of the brain, and it is with this type that psychiatrists deal. Many brain diseases put out of operation the genetically youngest organs of consciousness—the cortex—so that genetically older organs of thinking come to the fore. The same effect is produced in hypnosis, which, by dislocating the higher forms of consciousness, reduces the subject to a primitive stage of unity-experience, so that the hypnotist is able to impose his ideas freely. However, the causes of delusion are not purely organic. If consciousness becomes rigid at any particular stage, instead of remaining dynamic, you may get delusion. It is as though human experience requires to be confronted constantly with reality, if it is to remain living. Every time experience is petrified into dogma, such dogma stands in the way of new truth. For example, the delusion of a nation that it is "chosen" stands in the way of international collaboration. When think-

ing is isolated and can no longer expand, delusion may follow. Examples of this can be found in very small communities cut off from the world. On fishing vessels which have been at sea a long time, religious mania, coupled with ritual murder, has been known to break out. In small village communities also one can find instances of collective delusion, often under the influence of one obsessed person. Every mental autarchy is dangerous, and if control and self-correction are lacking, delusion may break out, as can be seen in Germany today. Historically this is the case with every secluded civilization. If there is no interchange with other peoples the civilization degenerates, so that it is possible, as in the case of the Maya or the Yoruba civilizations, to find in the midst of the primitive conditions of their present-day life the evidences of a previous higher civilization. A break in the confrontation of the individual or group with reality is thus inherent in the nature of delusion.

What is mass delusion? It is the more or less conscious thinking of a group, viewed from a particular theoretical aspect. A primitive man will not see in the ceremony of devil exorcism an instance of mass delusion, but a man who has passed from this stage on to a higher level will recognize it as an animistic ceremony. Similarly our present-day civilization is full of mass delusions which can be recognized easily, viewed from above, but which cannot be detected if they are seen from within the group to which they apply. While the delusion of witchcraft has been banished, the delusion of racial inferiority and superiority has returned. Mediæval mass obsessions such as Tarantellism and St. Vitus' dance are little known now among civilized nations; in their place we have mass meetings at which the crowd shouts *Sieg Heil* or *Duce* in a delirious ecstasy.

Mass delusion can be induced; it is a question of the organization on the appropriate lines of the collective consciousness. If one isolates the mass, allows no outside corrective, and hypnotizes it daily with press, radio and film, with fear and

pseudo-enthusiasm, any delusion can be instilled into it, and it comes to accept as natural the most primitive acts.

Such delusions, so carefully implanted, are difficult to correct. Reasoning no longer has value, for the lower type of thinking is deaf to any thought on a higher level. The animist lives in a totally different world, and no communication is possible with other worlds. If one reasons with a German who has been thus impregnated, he will sooner or later withdraw into his fortress of collective thinking, and will hide behind some emotional slogan such as *Deutschland! Deutschland!* The mass delusion which gives him the feeling of greatness and omnipotence is dearer to him than personal consciousness.

To correct mass delusion is one of the most difficult tasks of democracy. Democracy pleads for freedom of thought, and this means that it demands the right of all men to test all forms of collective emotion and collective thinking. We have seen that if a civilization is to progress all rigidity in its structure and its consciousness must be combated. This is possible only if constant self-criticism is encouraged. Democracy must face this task of preserving the mobility of thought, in order to free it from blind fears and from magic. The clash of opinions which is characteristic of democracy may not directly produce truth, but it prepares the way.

The Psychological Preparation of the Next War

HAS the international situation progressed to such an extent that we are justified in speaking of a German preparation for yet another war? Such a study might be regarded as arising out of a morbidly suspicious frame of mind, such as is engendered by the atmosphere of war. It seems clear, however, that much thought is being given by the enemy to the question of future developments, while we have shown considerable reluctance to discuss preparations for the peace. Had we been more interested in problems of reconstruction, the war might never have taken place. There is still an intimate relation between action and reaction in the world, and in this case between political slackness and aggression.

It is obvious that no systematic scheme for measures to be taken in the event of defeat exists openly in Germany, for as long as the fight goes on this would have an adverse effect on the morale of the public. Signs are not wanting, however, that a door is being kept open for retreat, and it is our task to study these signs. We must not be misled as we were from 1918 to 1939. The Germans have not established an Institute of Geopolitics for nothing. Such a deliberate attempt to study the means whereby Germany can infiltrate into other countries has been masked by accusing other groups, such as the Freemasons, the Communists and the Jews, of the same trick. It is an old swindler's device, to detect in others the very roguery which you yourself propose to practise. In this way Germany has created many a sham problem for an argument-loving public to worry, hoping in this way to hide the problem of Germany itself. We can therefore expect some kind of propaganda from Germany designed to disguise her true intentions for the post-war years. After the last war she made use of her position as loser to play upon the chivalry of the world. Every policeman arresting a criminal knows the tendency of the public to side with the unfortunate and some-

what romantic victim rather than with the law. So it was with Germany. In the phrase of 1918, she "drew a draft on the pity of the world."

Such preparations can take many forms, but I propose to select a few of the main possibilities, which can be roughly classified under the headings political, economic, financial, juridical and military preparations, the organization of pity, the "purification" doctrine, the cultural infiltration.

Political preparation for the next war is carried out in many different ways. Fifth column agents and agitators are already familiar to all of us. A more subtle means of creating political feeling in favour of Germany is by means of the radio, the possibilities of which are insufficiently realized. The wireless cuts through frontier barriers, and attacks with psychological weapons against which a purely passive defence is of little use. It would not be putting it too strongly to say that this is a question of international mental hygiene, and a country which makes pernicious propaganda is a real source of infection. It will not be possible to shrug our shoulders at political radio propaganda anywhere in the world. A careful check will have to be kept on it, and some form of international control must be set up. Unchecked, Germany may well use the radio in peace-time as she uses it in war, to sow hatred, dissension and unrest wherever and however it may suit her.

An even more dangerous situation may arise with regard to the men who put themselves forward as the spokesmen of Germany. They may assume a disguise which it will be difficult to penetrate. In 1918 the German Social Democrats were made to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for the Prussian military clique. No military, no imperial signatures were appended to the humiliating treaties, for which the Social Democrats were made responsible. In consequence the world believed that the war had converted German militarism into a kind of international democracy. It was not till much later that it was realized that democracy was being used as a cloak for military preparations. Once again a democratic phalanx is

making ready for the coming defeat. Can it be trusted to be what it seems? I am afraid not. There exists in America a *Deutschdemokratische Bewegung*, of which we all know the political programme by heart. It is, indeed, never difficult to find an attractive formula. But behind this movement are men whose connections with Fascism were undeniable, men such as Otto Strasser, Rauschnig, Hanfstaengl, and others who are not free from the taint of Prussianism, such as Coudenhove-Kallergi and Brüening. All this makes us suspicious of this kind of German democracy, and the thought cannot be avoided that such people are at least the unconscious champions of that Pan-Germanism which will presently infect the world once more.

Remembering the pacifist propaganda which issued from Germany between the two wars, we should also be on our guard against a repetition of such tactics when the present war is over. The romantic ideals of brotherly love and pacifism all too easily find an expression which bears no relation to reality.

Though the details of the economic preparation for the next war are best left to experts, the main trends will be clear even to laymen. Industries in occupied territories have been transferred to Germany, with the idea that, even if she loses the war, Germany will remain the industrial centre of Europe. The more the surrounding countries are industrially dependent on Germany, the less they will be in a position to allow her to perish after the war. Hence the systematic economic and physical drain on the populations of occupied countries. Discreet use is made of such slogans as "Rotterdam cannot exist without a strong *Ruhrgebiet*." Many German firms are already trying to establish future connections with surrounding countries in exchange for present good-will. They promise, for instance, alleviation of restrictions now in return for favours after the war. Such tricks will have to be closely watched.

It must not be forgotten that German products are themselves part of political propaganda. Bayer's aspirin, and the

products of Zeiss and Leica, acted as ambassadors for the country of their origin. Many Allied industrialists, though able to produce articles at least as efficient, did not realize to the full their value as propaganda, and were unaware of the national atmosphere which attaches to the products of a country and which enhances the value of its exports.

On the purely financial side, the Germans are following the policy of throwing the money market systematically into disorder, so that after the war the various countries involved will have the greatest difficulty in disentangling the confusion, and will prefer to start afresh. German banks and Nazi leaders have attempted to get into their control as much of the share capital of the occupied territories as possible, and to transfer much of this to holding companies in neutral territory. It is likely that after the war it will be extremely difficult to detect German control behind apparently innocuous companies registered in Switzerland and Argentina. Only firm action under international law will serve to combat this particular danger.

We can be certain that at the present moment a group of German jurists is busily engaged on the juridical problems which will follow a defeat. The rule *Recht ist Was dem Deutschen Volke nutzt*—that is right which benefits the German nation—still remains the foundation of German law. The lawyers will attempt to buttress German law with international law. They will try to prove that the property obtained by theft during the war belongs by law to the German people, and that it cannot be returned to its previous owners. In order to oppose the deluge of legal subtleties with which we shall be afflicted, we shall have to base ourselves on the dictum of the Kellogg Pact, that he who prepares for war must be considered as outside the pale of the law. As the Dutch international lawyer Van Vollenhoven says, one should at no time discuss the law with a criminal.

If, after the war, an international body undertakes punishment of individuals, and the setting aside and alteration of present German law, this may create a precedent important

for the world. It would in fact be the first time in history that an international body is permitted to hold itself responsible for illegalities committed in any part of the international community. This would provide a loophole for the settling of the question of minimum rights in the international community. In a civilized world all citizens should have the possibility of appeal to international courts which can guarantee their minimum rights. It should be established that any isolated case of gross injustice can be held to violate international law. If we do not succeed in establishing this international responsibility for minimum rights, there will be no firm foundation for justice.

The facts concerning the military rehabilitation of Germany following the 1914-1918 war are already well known. It will be remembered that in Germany publications on the mistakes in strategy made during the war were appearing as early as 1919. The Allies themselves took comparatively little interest in such problems, but Germany soon became once more a centre for the study of war. If we are not careful it is possible that German experts will again disseminate the Prussian military spirit, for which so many people have a sneaking admiration, all over the world. It is a regrettable fact that many people still consider the German *Geschwindigkeit* marvelous. After the war it will be necessary to establish some kind of international academy for the study of war strategy and the psychology of war, the findings of which can be used by the international judicature.

I have discussed elsewhere in this book the question of German exploitation of pity. If I return to it once more it is because I regard it as of paramount importance. Though at the moment we live in a constant state of hatred of the aggressor, nothing is forgotten more quickly than one's own suffering: even the fiercest hate does not last long, and in a few years we shall find ourselves in more or less normal contact with our present enemies. Germany is bound to make the most of her opportunities to exploit the sentimental pity of

the world. We shall be told of the injustices of Versailles, the cruelty of the hunger blockade, the horrors of the inflation, all of which are presented so as to justify Nazism and the long series of aggressions which culminated in the present war. I know from experience that in some allied countries even now there is an inclination to pity Germany and to adopt a soft attitude towards her. It must not be forgotten that the tendency to hysteria has increased in the world, and that hysteria is no basis for reasonable action. Both the appeal to pity and the reaction to such an appeal have a foundation of hysteria or at least of sentimentality. It is not sentiment that the world requires, but common sense.

If we are required to help Germany to recover, our help will have to be supplied in a sober and efficient way, with due regard to other claims upon us. In Holland we have had only too much experience of the way in which our help has been abused in the past.

One of the most popular ideas in German pseudo-religious literature of the present day is that of purification through suffering. The suggestion is that Germany is going through Hell in order to emerge purified. Ideas such as *Klaerung* and purification theories are adapted from German pietism, and from the psychological point of view it is undeniable that there is some justification for the idea as far as a section of the German nation is concerned. But there is one suspicious factor, which is that this purification is hinted at beforehand. It is a fact well known to every psychiatrist that those who talk a great deal about inner recovery have generally undergone only a fake purification, which they are content to clothe in fine phrases, but which is not borne out by their actions. The German language is full of beautiful words, which have so magical an effect that it is often forgotten how little reality there is behind them. The two most important German philosophical schools of the years following the last war provide good illustrations of this. Between 1920 and 1924 *Vaihinger's Theorie des Alsob* had great influence; this theory

of "as if" was used as a philosophical glorification of hypocrisy. It may be said that the whole Weimar Republic acted "as if," while underneath was a fermenting mass of irrational feeling which presently sought its theoretical justification in Heidegger's *Existenz-philosophie*. Thus there was first the glorification of pretence, followed by the justification of existence and of expansion. The theory of *Lebensraum* may already be found here. Even a philosophical system may have an emotional background, and it will be well for us to remember this when we are deluged with a flood of German semi-philosophical propaganda after the war.

The Germans know very well how to use cultural propaganda. When they have no more military weapons at their disposal they will still be able to fall back on their culture, and continue to spread the *Deutsche Geist* everywhere. As long as the world prefers a theatrical approach to life, so long will the German spirit prevail. They may misuse their classical music for this end, they will exploit their light music, their operettas, their romantic films, their histories of art, their science, and will twist the study of history itself to serve their ends, as the Nazis have done for so long.

What can we do now to prevent the preparation for a new war? We can be certain in the first place that concrete measures, reconstruction, political rearrangements of a practical nature, are not sufficient. The diagnosis of the emotional side of such a movement is just as important. If we understand the psychological background for German actions, we are already a long way to being armed against their effects, and it must be admitted that the Allies have for a long time been blind to the mass emotions which rule in Germany.

It is not my purpose, therefore, to put forward plans upon which to base a more rational world, but rather to point out those psychological defects which are likely to hamper its construction. There are, however, three fundamentals for any successful reconstruction, which I will briefly recapitulate in conclusion.

Firstly, there is the internationalization of war strategy. An international institute set up to consider power in terms of military knowledge could eventually form the basis of a police force in the service of international jurisdiction.

Secondly, it is absolutely essential that there should be in operation an international statute dealing with the fundamental rights of human beings. With the breaking down of barriers between the countries through improvement in communications and through the wireless, it will become more and more impossible for the fundamental legal codes and ways of life to differ much from one country to another. Since we cannot cut ourselves off from one another, we might as well take rational steps towards unity. This means that our sense of responsibility must be widened. As long as we refuse to hold ourselves responsible for the minimum rights of all citizens, irrespective of country, there will always remain friction and aggression, promoting fear and inviting crime. For lawlessness and security cannot live side by side in the world.

This brings us to the third fundamental necessity for a new world order, the organization of an actively democratic education. A democratic education implies education in self-knowledge and in the theory of society. Such an education is based on the understanding of men as individuals and in the mass. It will have to teach people how much of their freedom they must sacrifice in order to live in harmony with others. They must learn to realize that law in a democracy acts as self-correction for the community. Children have in the past been taught many abstract formulæ but have been given no clear idea of the world around them. It remains for us to discover how to educate the children of today and tomorrow to make the best use of their lives and of the world in which they live.

EPILOGUE

Total War and the Human Mind

THE cave-man has appeared once more, and stands scowling outside his cave, club in hand, ready to defend himself against any danger. The elements, hunger, cold, his fellow-men, even his own sons, all are his enemies. But he is a man as well as a savage, and there are dangers within him, too—dreams, doubts and fantasies, mysterious forces, good and evil spirits—which fill his soul with awe.

Like his primitive brother, twentieth-century man is engaged in total war with his environment. Obsessed as he is by fear, he can find rest nowhere in the world. The material basis of his life has gone, dwindling away through a series of great economic crises. Even the air he breathes, and the sky to which he turns his eyes, are no longer safe, for the winds may carry poisonous gases, and the sky rain down bombs. Treaties are broken, promises are not kept, and the very gods are no longer the same.

For all the fanaticism in the world today there is much inner uncertainty and scepticism. Men are too much engrossed in the confusion of events, too much swept away by anger and passion, to be concerned with their inner sanity. The eternal questions, "What is happening, what is going to happen? Against whom must I defend myself next?" occupy their minds to the exclusion of all else.

Civilized man in these days is conscious only of two alternatives: to defend himself or to submit. He cannot use his abilities of mind and body to develop himself, for he is obliged to live in a constant state of preparedness. What price must men pay for this premature sapping of their powers, for this constant burden of fear? In the foregoing essays there are many references to the rule of fear in our lives. It is a fact that where a man cannot succeed in overcoming fear, his inner life is permanently warped, and the aggressiveness which he evokes to combat fear ends by consuming the individual himself.

This is not mere theorizing, but a plain statement of fact. We know already how the first world war affected men's minds, and dealt blows from which we had not fully recovered when we became involved in the present conflict. The first mass reactions to the horror of total war could already be observed in 1917, when on all fronts there appeared signs of apathy and senseless panic. Spiritual disintegration was accompanied by physical ills, and all kinds of epidemics broke out which by 1918 were raging more fiercely than the war itself. The nervous system of men was disorganized; rare diseases, such as encephalitis, made their appearance. There was an immense need for pleasure and debauchery, for alcohol and drugs, by which men sought to escape from themselves and from their own consciousness of guilt. The purification rites by which savages wash away the stains of bloodshed, took, in twentieth-century Europe, the form of a longing for all that is poisonous, all that is inimical to reality. The sense of individual responsibility disappeared, and has never entirely returned, while fear left its traces in the neuroses and the apathy which were typical of the years between the wars, with the consequence that men are no longer able to think and act as individuals, and cannot deal adequately with the problems that they have brought into being. Is the world, one wonders, to be lost to us because we cannot control our psychological reactions?

From the above analysis it follows that one of two things must happen. Either the world is lost through the vicious circle of this self-destroying process in which fear inspires aggressiveness, aggressiveness brings a sense of guilt, and guilt seeks an outlet in more aggressiveness, or the fundamental instinct of self-preservation must arrest this headlong rush to destruction. The one hope for humanity is that in the end men will become conscious of the enormous wastage which war entails, and that the poverty which war brings upon the world will force them to desist from fighting one another. In terms of the earth's age man's existence as a thinking and a progressive animal has been of brief duration. It may be that we are

at last reaching the stage when, surveying the course of history, we can draw some lessons from it which will help us to shape our own future.

In basing our hopes on the fundamental laws of human life we display neither optimism nor pessimism. The human mind will move in chaos until such time as it finds release through its own instinct to create order and discipline. For the impulse to live is stronger in us than the impulse to die, and all neuroses will in the end be overcome by the vernal force of life.

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