

Psychohistory News

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2020 CONFERENCE PLANNING; VAMIK VOLKAN TO KEYNOTE by Ken Fuchsman

an intense discussion on this latest example of resurgent anti-semitism took place on the *Clio's Psyche* listserv.

Active in this discussion was Dr. Arnie Richards. I asked him if he would like to lead a panel on antisemitism at the 2019 psychohistory conference. He said yes, and we put a panel together. Then, without any urging, other conference submissions focused on hostility towards Jews. I subsequently sought out other speakers on the subject, and lo and behold out of these horrors

The International Psychohistorical Association leadership team is already planning our next conference at NYU; mark your calendar for May 20 to May 22, 2020. We can use your input.

After the horrific massacre at a Jewish synagogue in Pittsburgh,



2020 keynote speaker Vamik Volkan

For the 2019 conference, we knew that a good part of the program would be taken up with papers on the work of psychoanalyst Michael Eigen. Then something unexpected happened.

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NYU HOSTS MAJOR IPA SUCCESS THIS MAY by Ken Fuchsman

The 42nd annual International Psychohistorical Association Conference was held at three locations at New York University from May 22 to May 24, 2019. Attendance was larger this year than at any time in at least the last decade. Individuals from at least seventeen states and five countries were present. Before the conference, I received a number of emails about how rich and diverse the conference program looked. Usually, once the

three-day event ends, for a few days I receive emails with comments about the conference. This time it was steady emails for two weeks as to how much the conference benefited them and how much they enjoyed themselves.

The conference had six featured speakers, and two sub-themes. Harvard sociologist and psychoanalyst Nancy Chodorow was the keynote speaker.

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2020 CONFERENCE

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we had a substantial conference thread that would address dreadful antisemitic occurrences past and present.

When it came to planning the 2020 IPA conference, I drew lessons from this experience. I thought it would be good to develop specific themes, try to ascertain major topics connected with each theme, and then try to get speakers for as many of the topics as we could. If we sufficiently covered a theme at the conference, it could possibly evolve into a published book. In June and July, the IPA leadership team followed this process and decided three themes for next year. We could use your input and suggestions and relevant topics and speakers for next year's themes.

The three themes for the 2020 IPA conference will be: **(1) The History of American Psychoanalysis Since 1970;** **(2) Tribalism and Identity: Us vs. Them and Us and Them;** and **(3) The 2020 Presidential election.** We also nominated potential keynote and plenary speakers who would speak to these themes. As of last month, Vamik Volkan will be our keynote speaker, and he is an expert on tribalism and the need for allies and enemies. NYU psychoanalyst Adrienne Harris will speak on the history of American psychoanalysis over the last half-century.

"The History of American Psychoanalysis Since 1970" will trace the internal developments in the field and place them in historical perspective. As the 1960s turned into the 1970s, the discontents within the New Left and the evolution of the counterculture led to a revived radical feminism, a concern with

minority rights, and challenges to authority at various levels, including within psychoanalysis.

Women writing about the practices of psychoanalysis led to reconsiderations of the field by many. Heinz Kohut's 1971 *The Analysis of the Self* opened up new vistas. Object relations within psychoanalysis took on more of an American tinge, especially in the work of Otto Kernberg on borderline conditions and narcissism. The success of DSM-III with its disregard for psychoanalysis led to substantial practical adjustments. The Freud Wars of the 1980s accelerated challenges to psychoanalysis that had long been brewing, as did the emergence of relational psychoanalysis. Empirical research by psychoanalysts outside the clinical setting became more common, and the successful lawsuit against the American Psychoanalytic Association to admit non-psychiatrists altered the profession. Historian Eli Zaretsky said that somewhere in the 1970s the stature of psychoanalysis in American culture began to alter. All of these things and more should be part of our presentations at the 2020 psychohistory conference. Again, we welcome your suggestions on topics and relevant presenters.

Tribalism, where one favors one's own group over others, sometimes mildly and sometimes viciously, is both a perennial and contemporary phenomenon. Recently in the United States there has been a resurgence of tribalism and a dramatic jump in hate crime. In much of Western Europe, hostility towards recent immigrants, refugees, and Jews has jumped at an alarming rate.

There are a variety of perspectives on what tribalism is and how it should be approached. They often diverge and sometimes conflict.

Our hope is to have many outlooks on "us vs. them" presented at next year's conference. Among the thinkers who write on this topic are historian William McNeill, who wrote in 1982 that "human propensities find fullest expression in having an enemy to hate, fear, and destroy." NYU philosopher Kwame Anthony Appiah who in his *The Lies That Bind: Rethinking Identity*; connects tribalism to identity and has a global perspective on the subject.

In *Moral Tribes: Emotion, Reason and the Gap Between Us and Them*, Harvard psychologist Joshua Greene synthesizes neuroscience, psychology and philosophy to examine the moral lines that divide us. Psychologists Jim Sidanius and Felicia Pratto examine the "ubiquitous barbarism" of "intergroup hostility" through extensive psychosocial research in their *Social Dominance: An Intergroup Theory of Social Hierarchy and Oppression*. Anthropologist Robin Fox's *The Tribal Imagination: Civilization and the Savage Mind* attempts to understand the struggle to maintain open societies while dealing with profound tribal needs. Psychological research from the 1970s to the present finds that infants and toddlers seek to interact with those who resemble them in appearance and do not prefer to interact with those who do not resemble them racially.

The Frankfurt School in Germany pioneered in tribalism research. Erich Fromm's 1941 *Escape From Freedom* studies the psychology of those who avoid developing their individuality by seeking submission within political groups who divide us from them. Theodor Adorno was a leading member of

MAY CONFERENCE

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Psychoanalyst Michael Eigen, historian David Greenberg, psychoanalyst Susan Kavalier-Adler, organizational psychologist Michael Diamond, and social work professor Kirk James were plenary speakers. One of the sub-themes was on the resurgence of anti-semitism in the United States and Europe, and the other was on the contributions of Dr. Eigen, which



from left, Drs. Adrienne Harris, Nancy Chodorow, and Rosemary Balsam

included a plenary panel with Robin Bagai, Keri Cohen, and Loray Daws. Overall, there were 84 separate presentations. The conference was co-sponsored by the New York University Silver School of Social Work and the Object Relations Institute, and was held at NYU's Kimmel Center, the NYU Silver School of Social Work and the Cantor Film Center. Beginning on the next page, I discuss each of the featured speakers and one of the sub-themes of the conference.

the Frankfurt School, and along with other scholars published *The Authoritarian Personality* in 1950. The authors identified nine traits associated with an authoritarian outlook, and measured their prevalence in the F scale.

I have just scratched the surface on the outlooks and scholarly works that address tribalism and identity. We are interested in hearing what you think are relevant topics of this subject that should be covered and potential presenters on these subjects. Send your ideas to me at kfuchsman@gmail.com, and I will forward them on to our leadership team.

Our third theme, the 2020 presidential election, continues a tradition at past IPA conferences held during presidential election years to feature papers on various aspects of American politics. Former IPA President Paul Elovitz has been presenting psychobiographies of candidates in various forums since 1976. The current occupant of the White House has been a master of getting media attention, probably more than any previous president. His personality dominates the political landscape. He has a capacity to gain strong adherents and

opponents. Trump himself has said that he could shoot someone on Fifth Avenue without phasing his supporters. Others speak of patients with Trump Anxiety Disorder or Post-Trumpmatic Stress Disorder.

Donald Trump has accelerated a development in American history since Reagan, where the public relations aspect of the presidency has increasingly crowded out the substantive work and duties of the office mandated by the Constitution. What is striking is both the form this has taken under Trump and the fact that a vast segment of the American public could care less that the President is not doing his job of running the US government. It also does not appear to bother many of Trump's followers that he made over 10,000 false and misleading statements in 869 days. All this calls out for psychohistorical explanation. It is as much about us as it is about Trump.

On the other side of the aisle, since 1995 the Democrats have controlled both houses of Congress for only six years, where from 1933 to 1980, they controlled both the House and Senate for all but four years. What have been the psychological, institutional, and political-economic

reasons for this historical development?

Psychobiography of candidates has been a staple of our conferences. Paul Elovitz says that we seek "in depth psychobiographical and political psychological insights that go beneath the surface and get to the unconscious motivations at work in our politics. An issue of special concern is how the childhood of a candidate impacts their subsequent life and politics." There is a myriad of other possible pertinent topics to be included in the theme of the 2020 presidential election. Please let us know your ideas for topics and presenters.

Somewhere shortly after Labor Day, we will be putting out a call for papers to all of you for the 2020 conference. As always, we welcome submissions on any topic related to psychohistory.

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Dr. Chodorow, whose *The Reproduction of Mothering* was selected as one of the twenty-five most influential books of the last quarter century by *Contemporary Sociology*, spoke on the American Independent Tradition in Psychoanalysis. This title is an allusion to the British Independent Tradition, which in England is the third group that contrasts with those who adhere either to the Anna Freud or Melanie Klein camps. Chodorow sees the works of Erik Erikson and Hans Leowald as being at the heart of this American development. They each formulated an intersubjective ego psychology taking elements from the competition between Hartmanian ego psychology and Sullivanian interpersonal psychoanalysis. A version of her address can be read in her most recent book, *The Psychoanalytic Ear and the Sociological Eye: Towards an American Independent Tradition*. A retrospective panel on Chodorow's contributions with Adrienne Harris, Rosemary Balsam, and Chodorow on Thursday was for me one of the highlights of the conference. Dr. Chodorow explained that the three panelists have a very special bond of friendship and are there for each other through thick and thin, in crisis and celebrations. Harris and Balsam presented thoughtful assessments of Chodorow's career.

Psychoanalyst Michael Eigen's first book was published in 1986, the year he turned 50. Now he has authored over 25 books, and interviews with him collected by Loray Daws has been recently published by Routledge. The range of topics his books cover is astounding from *Psychic Deadness* to *Ecstasy* to *Kabbalah and*

Psychoanalysis. On Google on July 14, 2019, when Michael Eigen was typed in there were 42,100,000 results on my computer. His plenary talk was entitled Rebirth: It's Been Around A Long Time. Eigen says rebirth can "convey something new: new life, new sense of being and possibility" and can include a "creative waiting on the unknown." There were 25 other presentations on his work at the conference in addition to Dr. Eigen's plenary address.



Dr. Michael Eigen (left) greeting conference participant Sean Harrell

Dr. Susan Kavalier-Adler is the founder and Director of the Object Relations Institute for Psychotherapy and Psychoanalysis. She is also the author of five books on psychoanalysis and a sixth on dancing the tango. One of the significant characteristics of Dr. Kavalier-Adler's intellectually sophisticated work is how she combines the study of literature with psychoanalysis. She was an English major as an undergraduate, and her psychoanalytic writings include discussions of Virginia Woolf, Emily Dickinson, Anne Sexton, Katherine Mansfield and others. Her plenary address, "Trump's Rallies and the Psychohistorical Impact of the Closet Narcissist," reflects her cross-disciplinary talents. She describes the concept of the Closet Narcissist by tracing it back through the contri-

butions of Annie Reich and James Masterson. She then goes on to illustrate the nature of the Closet Narcissist through the character of Jasmine in Woody Allen's remarkable film, *Blue Jasmine*. Dr. Kavalier-Adler then transitioned into showing how some of Trump's followers at his rallies feed off the President's narcissism.

David Greenberg is both an experienced journalist and a history professor at Rutgers University. His historical books on American presidents combine elements of both interests. He shows how Calvin Coolidge was a media conscious president employing both advertising executive Bruce Barton and Freud's nephew Edward Bernays, the father of public relations. Greenberg's *Nixon's Shadow: The History of an Image* focuses on how journalists, psychobiographers and others covered and interpreted Nixon. His *Republic of Spin: An Inside History of the American Presidency* extends his previous work to cover how chief executives beginning with Theodore Roosevelt sought to shape public perceptions of them.

Greenberg goes beyond the presidency in recent writings for *Slate* and *Politico*. There he covers not only political topics but the writing on twins by Dorothy Burlingham, psychoanalyst and close associate of Anna Freud, and the legacy of novelist Philip Roth, among others. Greenberg is a man of much range. His presentation at the conference covered the substance of his three books on American presidents. Noted political scientist Samuel Popkin was the discussant on Greenberg's work, and the two of them had a

lively and substantive back and forth on current and past events.

NYU social work assistant clinical professor Kirk James' interests are well suited to a psychohistory conference. His doctoral research was on the epidemic of mass incarceration in America, which is a major sociopolitical issue. Dr. James explored historical and contemporary aspects of this subject, including deep psychological impacts on African-Americans most singled out by the criminal justice system. His work discusses traumatic effects of imprisonment on young men of color, including on the body, mind, and affects. In his talk at the conference, he discussed the historical roots of discrimination in the slave era, in the Black Codes the southern states passed directly after losing the Civil War, and in more recent developments. He drew from his own life experience and a case study and used PowerPoint and a video clip effectively, eliciting much lively discussion following his presentation.

Michael Diamond, Professor Emeritus of Public Affairs and Organization Studies, Director Emeritus of the Center for the Study of Organizational Change, University of Missouri, is one of the most prominent and influential organizational psychoanalysts in the country. He is also Honorary Member of the Institute for Psychoanalytic Training and Research (IPTAR), New York, and Faculty/Steering Committee Member of IPTAR's Gould Center for Psychoanalytic Organizational Study and Consultation. His 1993 *The Unconscious Life of Organizations: Interpreting Organizational Identity* is a classic in the field and has 5,000,000 hits on Google. In

this work, he explicates the unconscious dimensions of hierarchy and interpersonal relationships in organizations, the cultures and identities of organizations, the non-rational and emotional sides of life in organizations, and how feelings are projected between various levels of organizational hierarchy.

His talk, "Discovering Organizational Identity: Reflections on four decades of psychoanalytic organizational studies," puts forth a psychodynamic relationship rooted in meaning and memory, and comprising tension and conflict surrounding organizational membership and separateness, belonging and independence. Consideration of these human paradoxes provide insights into organizational identity and the query "What is it like to work here?" He presented a personal evolutionary account of his journey toward a psychoanalytic theory of organizational politics and culture.

PICTURE FROM ANTISEMITISM THREAD HERE

A thread running through the conference on Thursday and Friday morning was on the past and present of antisemitism. Regarding the past, Robert Chazan, the S.H. and Helen R. Scheuer Professor of Hebrew and Judaic Studies at New York University, discussed how in the Middle Ages most Jews did not live in Europe, and the forms of antisemitism associated with the far-flung non-European diaspora.

Jonathan Brent, Director of the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, spoke about antisemitism past and present. Dr. Arnold Richards told about his experience with antisemitism and physician Inna Rozentsvit discussed the discrimination that she and her family encountered as Jews in the Soviet Union.

Psychoanalyst Emily Kuriloff discussed her experiences with the legacy of the Holocaust decades after World War II at a 2015 conference in Frankfurt, Germany. Constance Benson gave a paper entitled "Christian Anti-Semitism in Academia: The Legacy of Nazi Theologian Emanuel Hirsch." "Psychopolitical Aspects of Hate Crimes, Gun Violence, Antisemitism, Islamophobia" was presented by psychiatrist Jamshid Marvasti. Ken Fuchsman spoke about "Antisemitism in the Age of Trump." Michael Britton and Shuki Cohen presented a paper on "Quantitative Research and the Unconscious in Historical Circumstances: A study of Pathways to Anti-Semitism and a Study of Gendered Differences in Work and Love." Psychoanalyst David Lotto's paper was on "Anti-semitism and Israel." Anthropologist Howard Stein gave his reflections on antisemitism and analyst Adam Schecter gave a psychoanalytic interpretation of this recurring phenomenon.

Ken Fuchsman, Ed.D. is President of the International Psycho-historical Association, the author of numerous articles on education and psychohistory, and a member of the editorial boards of Clio's Psyche and The Journal of Psychohistory. He can be reached at kfuchsman@gmail.com

PSYCHOHISTORY BULLETIN BOARD

- Yale's Rosemary Balsam will be the first U.S. resident woman to receive the Sigourney Award at the 2019 International Psychoanalytic Conference in London. The Sigourney Award honors Psychoanalytic Achievement Worldwide. Congratulations Dr. Balsam!
- Routledge has decided to publish a book on Trump's leadership edited by Michael MacCoby and Ken Fuchsman. This book grew out of the 2017 psychohistory conference, and contains essays originally presented at that year's conference as well as essays originally presented at a Psychohistory Forum meeting a few days before the 2016 election. The book should be available in Spring 2020.
- The Journal for the Advancement of Scientific Psychoanalytic Empirical Research (*JASPER*) is a start-up journal dedicated to publishing rigorous research on contemporary psychodynamic topics of interest. Here are some articles which *JASPER* will feature in its next issue: Larry M. Rosenberg, V. Barry Dauphin, and Ghislaine Boulanger, *The Impact of Psychoanalytic Consultation for Therapists Working in the Public Sector*; Denis O'Keefe, *A Relational Re-Conceptualization of the Contact Model and Impact of Quantity and Quality of Contact with Immigrants on Negative Attitudes*; Brian D'Agostino, *Militarism and the Authoritarian Personality: Displacement, Identification, and Perceptual Control*; William R. Meyers, *Using Qualitative News Excerpts as Assessors of Tension-filled Tenors of the Times*.
- The 6.19 issue of ROOM: A Sketchbook for Analytic Action from IPTAR is full of extraordinary articles. It is available for free at <http://www.analytic-room.com/>.
- The fall 2019 issue of *Clio's Psyche* will include Part I of "The Many Roads to Insight of the Makers of Psychohistory," which is a follow up to Paul Elovitz' *The Making of Psychohistory: Origins, Controversies, and Pioneering Contributors* (Routledge, 2018). *The Many Roads* will be published as a book in 2020 with about thirty contributors. *Clio's* fall issue will also include the Psychology of School Shootings, A Childhood Dream Fulfilled, Palestinian/Israeli Issue, Erikson Meeting Report, Volkan's Obituary of Itzkowitz, and Germany Psychohistory Meeting Report.
- Upcoming Call For Papers for *Clio's* 2020 issues include responses and companion papers for "Lotto's Sex and Power in the Age of #MeToo" (due 10/1/2019); "The Psychohistory of Comic Heroes/Villains" (10/1/2019); The 2020 Presidential Candidates and Election (4/1 and 7/1/2020); "The Psychohistory of Caregiving & Receiving;" and "The Psychology of Altruism, Service, and Generativity." As usual, *Clio's Psyche* accepts unrelated articles; for submissions, contact Paul Elovitz at cliospsycheeditor@gmail.com
- Psychohistory Forum's scheduled Work-In-Progress meetings include: Alice Maher and Ken Fuchsman on lessening violence (9/28/19); Michael O'Loughlin, "Trauma Trails from Ireland's Great Hunger: A Psychoanalytic Inquiry" (1/25/2020) and Jim Anderson, "Heinz Kohut's Vulnerable Self, his Reaction to the Holocaust, and his Break with the Psychoanalytic Establishment" (4/25/20).
- IP Books will publish a book on the past and present of antisemitism. All the papers in this book were presented at this year's psychohistory conference. The editors are Arnold Richards and Ken Fuchsman.

Confronting White Supremacy in America

by Harriet Fraad

In his plenary presentation to the 2019 IPA conference, NYU professor Kirk James discussed the legacy of slavery and the trauma of mass incarceration. These topics merit further reflection, as do the similarities and differences between race and gender oppression.

Passed by Congress on January 31, 1865 and ratified on December 6, 1865, the 13th amendment provides that "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States ..."

Black men are nearly six times as likely to be incarcerated as White men, and federal courts impose prison sentences on them that are 19% longer than those imposed on similarly situated White men (<https://www.openinvest.co/blog/statistics-prison-america/>) Black Women are twice as likely to be imprisoned as are White women (<https://www.openinvest.co/blog/statistics-prison-america/#fn2>). Like slavery, prison radically negates freedom, and African

Americans are disproportionately imprisoned. What happened to create this situation?



IPA Plenary Speaker Prof. Kirk James

First of all, there was Black slavery. Plantation capitalism in the New World and the Transatlantic slave trade that made it so profitable needed an ideological rationalization. In order to rip human beings from their homes and homelands, deny them their language, force them into back-breaking labor, and rape them at will, the White perpetrators of slavery needed to legitimize such terrible crimes. The ideologies of White entitlement, White supremacy and Black inferiority provided this legitimation.

Here the similarities to male domination are instructive. In order to rationalize the inferior

legal status of women and feeling entitled to their bodies and their labor as homemakers and child care providers, males needed an ideological legitimation. For both racial and gender domination, the notion of inherent biological superiority and inferiority provided this legitimation. Such biological rationalizations were drawn from pseudo-scientific notions about race and gender current in 19th and 20th century academia. These were bolstered by prescientific ideas about inherent social inequality drawn from a selective reading of the Christian scriptures.

Just as male supremacists construed average differences in body size and muscle mass as divinely ordained indications of female inferiority, White supremacists seized upon visible features like skin color and nose or lip shape to designate Blacks as "other" and destined for subservience. While such crude, biological ideologies did not hold up to critical scrutiny, less educated right wing authoritarians continue to embrace them

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and conservative ideologues in academia have replaced them with more sophisticated forms of pseudoscience (c.f. Richard Lewontin, *Biology as Ideology: the Doctrine of DNA*).

After the Civil War, especially under President Grant, Reconstruction policies empowered the newly freed Southern Blacks. Programs of education, political empowerment and federal protection gave former slaves a chance to enter society as equals. Federal troops protected the freedmen against vigilante White supremacist groups terrorizing those who voted or were elected, who set up businesses, farms etc.

However, the national coalition of capitalists and White supremacists that elected Republican Rutherford B. Hayes president in 1876 supported an end to Reconstruction and protections for former slaves and Black Americans. This election ushered in a new era of racial domination and terror. (See <https://www.apstudynotes.org/us-history/topics/the-end-of-reconstruction/> and <https://www.pbs.org/tpt/slavery-by-another-name/themes/reconstruction/>)

One method of control was to deny African Americans access to decently paid employment. Black men, if employed at all, did not receive the family wage given to Whites. Black women, whose paid work was needed to make ends meet, were economically forced into the lowest paid work as domestic servants. With their fathers unable to provide for them and their mothers working in the homes of Whites as maids or nannies, Black children were deprived of adequate parenting. Combined with the intergenera-

tional trauma of violent racism, the Black family labored under disadvantages far worse than the many generations of European and Asian immigrants to the United States.

Ignoring this inconvenient history of racism, the 1965 Moynihan Report contributed to it by condemning black men as lazy and morally inferior because they did not support their families. Confronted with this double bind, some Black men turned to illicit activities to make money. The same legal system that turned a blind eye to predatory CEOs and white collar criminals incarcerated Blacks in record numbers for far less consequential crimes. The racism of the Moynihan Report is especially apparent today, now that White communities experiencing similar levels of economic stress due to deindustrialization are being afflicted with similar epidemics of drug abuse and family disintegration (<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/07/29/opinion/trump-racist.html?action=click&module=Opinion&pgtype=Homepage>).

The tradition of White supremacy associated with slavery, Jim Crow, and mass incarceration continues to be powerful. While the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s ended formal segregation, African Americans continue to be disproportionately trapped in poverty. Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcolm X both realized that the US needed class transformation, not just an end to racial discrimination. They pressed for racial unity against war profiteering and capitalist exploitation. The assassination of these inspired leaders—revered father figures for the Black community—was a further trauma that continues to

burden African Americans decades later, as Dr. Eddie Taylor discussed in *Restoring the Mind of Black America*.

The resurgence of White Supremacy under Donald Trump is occurring in the context of class warfare by the rich. Racism encourages Whites to identify with bosses who look like them rather than Blacks of their own class. Nothing is better for exploitation by employers than workers divided by race and gender. Trump's constant stoking of White and male supremacy divides ordinary Americans from one other, enabling a small minority of the rich and the state capitalist elite to rule.

White supremacy and male supremacy have different histories but they both foster grotesque economic exploitation and deep divisions among the potentially revolutionary force of the 99%. Right wing authoritarians uphold both ideologies, keeping this formidable majority at cross purposes. Along with this failure of class solidarity, male supremacy divides African Americans from one other. To build a political-economic system that works for everyone, the healing of age-old divisions based on race and gender remains a crucial task.

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