

a Latin phrase, Grünbaum raises doubts about Freud's methodology. The patient carried out a chain of thought which led to his thinking that the woman he loved might be pregnant. Again Grünbaum notes that if the patient were naturally brought to such thoughts it does not at all follow that his fears about the pregnancy were in any way involved in causing the patient to make his verbal errors.

Grünbaum does not dismiss psychoanalytic theory as conceptual nonsense, nor as patently false, but rather as lacking confirmation from the available evidence. Providing such evidence and showing its relevance to the truth of theoretical claims are challenges Grünbaum is asking defenders of psychoanalysis to meet.

CHARLES EVANS

THE WORKING CLASS IN WEIMAR GERMANY: A PSYCHOLOGICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY, ERICH FROMM. Barbara Weinberger (trans.). Edited with an Introduction by Wolfgang Bonss. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984, 291 pp.

In this book the distinguished psychoanalyst Erich Fromm outlines the basis for a rudimentary but far-reaching attempt at integration of Freudian psychology and Marxist social theory. The aim of the survey as planned and carried out by Fromm and his coworkers from 1929 to 1931 was to understand the psychic structure of German manual and white-collar workers. With the aid of psychoanalytic theory they hoped to obtain evidence about the underlying systematic connections between psychic make-up and social development. To initiate this ambitious research program, they designed a comprehensive questionnaire with 271 items and distributed it to 3,300 recipients. By the end of 1931, 1,100 questionnaires had been returned to Fromm for analysis.

The study was undertaken as a first attempt at investigating the social and psychological attitudes of two large groups in Germany — manual and white-collar workers. The purpose of the questionnaire was to gain as comprehensive as possible a picture of the opinions, attitudes, and ways of life of the workers. The questionnaire contained two types of questions. Questions of the first type sought to ascertain objectively the situation of the respondent as a member of a social group, and they included: age, sex, marital status, income, occupation, and membership in various social, religious, and political groups. Questions of the second type were aimed at uncovering personality traits or attitudes which could not be obtained directly. For example, attitudes toward authority were determined by questions



such as the following: "Do you think it right that married women should go out to work?" and "Do you think one can bring up children entirely without corporal punishment?"

The investigators were chiefly interested in the relationship between party membership and character formation in order to form a picture of the depth and consistency of the individual's political opinions. They understood by depth of political convictions the strength of their influence on a person's behavior. The aspects of the personality on which they concentrated were as follows: authoritarian versus nonauthoritarian tendencies, individualistic versus collectivist aspirations, and the consistency of the individual's political ideas.

Most of the workers came from urban centers, and the major occupational groupings in the inquiry were of white-collar, skilled manual, and unskilled manual workers. Fifty-seven percent described themselves as atheists and nearly all of the remainder belonged to Catholic and Protestant denominations. In the final sample there were 537 men and only 47 women. Forty-five percent were Social Democrats, 26 percent were Communists, 37 percent were National Socialists, and 7 percent belonged to miscellaneous right-wing parties. The author does not give evidence or convincing arguments for his assertion that the respondents were representative of German workers at the time of the survey.

Questions were selected for aid in analyzing the personality traits and attitudes the investigators were interested in. These were concerned with general political opinions, emotional attitudes toward authority, and attitudes toward collective or individualistic approaches to life. Authoritarian attitudes were contrasted and compared with radical (Marxist) attitudes.

According to the author, the authoritarian attitude affirms, seeks out, and enjoys the subjugation of men under a higher external power whether this power is the state or a leader, natural law, the past, or God. The strong and powerful are admired for these qualities, and the weak and helpless are despised. In contrast, the left-wing Marxist attitude is one that demands freedom for all people, and an unselfish collectivist attitude rather than an egocentric individualistic attitude. Fromm idealized Marxist social theory and denigrated authoritarian attitudes which he at first thought were typical of the middle class and not very prevalent among the lower (working) class.

Fromm sought to discover the relationships between character structure and political allegiance and between personality traits and political activity. Unfortunately his ambitious effort was thwarted by his relatively primitive approach. Fromm and his collaborators were inexperienced in social research. They failed to utilize fully the modern techniques of statistical analysis, and their means for measuring such variables as "authoritarianism"



were not tested for either validity or reliability. In view of the small and not entirely random sample, one could argue about the accuracy of the findings and conclusions. However, the findings reveal that certain personality types, especially the authoritarian type, were likely to be attracted to right-wing parties such as the Nationalist Socialists, while other types were more likely to gravitate to communism or to social democracy. Office workers and office holders in working-class parties tended to be more partisan than the rank and file. White collar workers leaned less toward radicalism (socialism) than did their blue-collar contemporaries. Overall there was more evidence of conventional views and of conservative authoritarian character traits among supporters of the Social Democratic Party and the Communist Party than Fromm had anticipated.

One important conclusion reached in this study was that although at the time of the inquiry in 1929 the most extreme manifestations of authoritarian personality were to be found among members of the lower middle class, they were also frequent among the working class. Many workers exhibited personality traits which were more typical of the middle class and which did not accord with the workers' socialist views.

The analysis of the questionnaires revealed that the majority of respondents usually associated themselves with the left-wing slogans of their party. However, their degree of radicalism was considerably reduced in the more subtle and seemingly nonpolitical questions. The main tendency and therefore the central result of the study was the discrepancy between manifest political attitudes and latent character structures. Contrary to the theoretical expectations of the author, there were empirically speaking very few purely "authoritarian" or "revolutionary" characters. Most respondents were inconsistent in this regard. They showed authoritarian attitudes in one attitude syndrome but revolutionary (leftist) attitudes in another.

Fromm claims that the most important finding was that of the small proportion of left wingers who were in agreement in both thoughts and feelings with the socialist line. In critical times the courage, the readiness for sacrifice, and the spontaneity needed to rouse the less active and to overcome the enemy could be expected only from a rather small group of about 15 percent. Although the left had the political loyalty and votes of the great majority of workers, it had by and large not succeeded in changing the personality structures of its adherents in such a way that they could be relied upon in critical situations. Fromm concludes that the predominantly left-wing political orientation of the German workers was neutralized or perverted by underlying authoritarian personality traits. Despite all of the electoral successes of the Weimar left, its members were not in the position — owing to their character structures — to prevent the victory a few years later of National Socialism.



Fromm completed this searching psychological profile of the German working class almost 50 years ago, but was dissuaded from publishing it because of its explosive political potential. The manuscript was first published in Germany in 1980 at about the time that Fromm died.

The study suffered its greatest setback through the enforced emigration of Fromm and other members of the Frankfurt Institute for Social Research to the United States in 1933. Over 500 questionnaires were lost in the move to America. Later, Fromm left the Institute, and the manuscript disappeared in his desk drawer. According to Marcuse, the publication of the results of this survey was held to be unwise for political reasons because it might have given the impression that some German workers, despite their socialist attitudes, had always been totalitarian at heart.

The editor of this volume, Wolfgang Bonss, a German sociologist, provides a comprehensive introduction to the book, including a historical account of the survey project and of the efforts of such early European psychoanalysts as Siegfried Bernfeld, Otto Fenichel, Wilhelm Reich, and Fromm to integrate Marxist social theory with psychoanalysis.

Despite the methodological defects in this research project, the book does give the reader a view of the political, social, and cultural attitudes of the German working class in the period just before Hitler came to power. This book is recommended for persons interested in psychohistory and in the early attempts at integrating sociological and psychoanalytic theories.

THEODOR L. DORPAT

COUNTERTRANSFERENCE AND PSYCHOTHERAPEUTIC TECHNIQUE: TEACHING SEMINAR ON PSYCHOTHERAPY OF THE BORDERLINE ADULT. James F. Masterson. New York: Brunner/Mazel, 1983, ix + 305 pp.

This book is an edited summary of the transcripts of 34 supervisory case seminars with Dr. Masterson and is purported to be written in response to frequent questions to him about the clinical application of his unique developmental approach to the treatment of borderline adult patients. While countertransference is its primary focus, the discussions give a summary overview of the practical application of his developmental theory. He states that the therapists presenting the material were all experienced although this is not apparent from the nature of the interactions between Dr. Masterson and at least two of the three therapists.

The first case is presented by a "mature and experienced" social worker,



The Psychoanalytic Review

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(Zählfehler!)

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This journal combines The Psychoanalytic Review (founded 1913) and Psychoanalysis (founded 1952). Former editors of Psychoanalysis: John C. Gustin, Clement Staff. Former editors of The Psychoanalytic Review: William A. White, Smith Ely Jelliffe, Nolan D. C. Lewis, Marie Coleman Nelson, Murray Sherman.
A PUBLICATION OF THE NATIONAL PSYCHOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION FOR
PSYCHOANALYSIS, INC.

T H E G U I L F O R D P R E S S
NEW YORK LONDON

Dorpat, T. L., 1986: Review Fromm, E.: Arbeiter und Angestellte am Vorabend des Dritten Reiches. Eine sozialpsychologische Untersuchung (1980a, German), In: Psychoanalytic Review, Vol. 73 (No. 2, 1986), pp. 226-229.