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His many books have been translated into up to 21 languages. These include *Jung and the Post-Jungians* (1985) [Jung e i Neo-junghiani, Borla, 1989], *The Plural Psyche* (1989) [La Psiche al Plurale, Bompiani, 1994], *The Political Psyche* (1993) [La Psiche Politica, Moretti and Vitali, 1999], *Politics on the Couch* (2001), *Persons, Passions, Psychotherapy, Politics* (2015), *A New Therapy for Politics?* (2018). His most recent book (2025) is *Reflecting on the Political Psyche: Therapy, Testament and Trouble in Psychoanalysis and Jungian Analysis*. A selection of video lectures and 'rants' is available on www.andrewsamuels.com

A NEW THERAPY FOR POLITICS?:

LEADERSHIP, INEQUALITY, PROMISCUITY – PLUS AN ISLAMIC THOUGHT ON GLOBAL CONFLICT

Professor Andrew Samuels

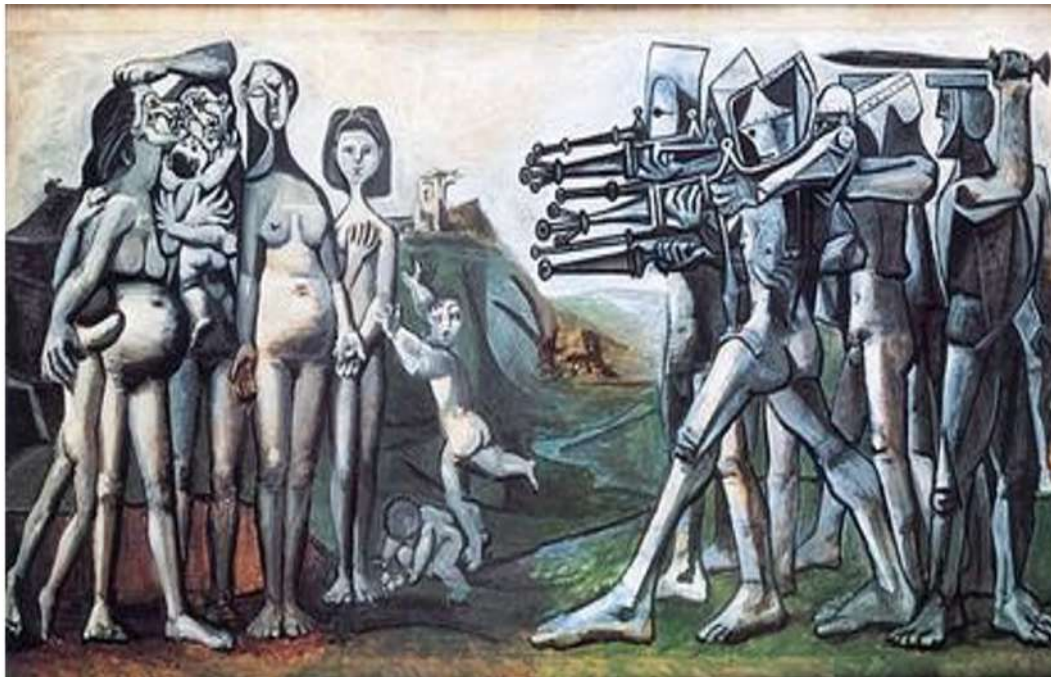
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Charles Peguy: 'Everything starts in mysticism and ends in politics'.

INTRODUCTION

Western politics is so broken that it is reasonable for a psychotherapist to try to say something useful about it. I am, as you might imagine, full of feeling. As an illustration of my state of mind, this is the image I have chosen to go on the cover of my new book. It is a Picasso painting from 1951 entitled *Massacre in Korea*/*Massacre en Corée* and marks an atrocity carried out by American troops



Picasso was channeling an earlier painting of a firing squad by Goya and I do see us these days as 'up against the wall'!

Being personal for a moment: I have been unusually lucky in obtaining work as a political consultant with political leaders, parties and activist groups. These experiences have included working in the 1990s on questions of leadership with Tony Blair and the Labour Party at a time when there seemed

to be bright futures for him and for the party. I also worked on both Obama presidential campaigns in 2008 and 2012. The themes included leadership and, in Obama's case, what the candidate might make of his beloved phrase 'the father of the nation' given that he is a Black man.

In the professional field, I have founded an organisation in the UK called Psychotherapists and Counsellors for Social Responsibility, and was a co-founder of the Jungian political grouping Analysis and Activism.

So, it is obvious that I am an enthusiast for the interfacing of what I call 'therapy thinking' and politics. I have worked in this field for more than 50 years and published several books that are relevant. But, just at the time when there could be said to be a 'political turn' in the therapies, I am beginning to get a bit worried and sceptical. Is the political turn just a fashion or fad? Will actual clinical practice incorporate a political element, or will it be business as usual? I am concerned that therapists and people in the psychological world just try to outdo each other in espousal of progressive politics, forgetting that our own professional politics have, historically, been rather demeaning and still involve massive personalising and polarizing of the issues.

In addition, the political record of the psychotherapies, including Jungian analysis with regard to 'racial' minorities, has not been edifying has not been good. Jungian colleagues might know of my role in publicly exploring and challenging Jung's anti-Semitism and attitudes towards 'Africans'.

In this short talk, I am going to work on four discrete political themes:

SUMMARY

- (1) leadership, and my idea of the good-enough leader;**
- (2) economic inequality and psychological limits on justice and fairness;**
- (3) the hidden politics of promiscuity;**
- (4) a brief section on Islamic social philosophy in relation to global and other conflicts.**

(1) LEADERSHIP

There are basically three different kinds of leadership, and I think this is true whether we are talking about formal, national politics, or within an organization or a profession. *I call these three kinds of leadership heroic, sibling, and good-enough.* I am not saying that any one of these is better than the others. But I will spend some time on what I call good-enough leadership because this is very much my own contribution.

Political theory and practice have assumed there are just two main approaches to leadership. First, there is that hierarchical and *heroic* leadership based on male authority and a masculine approach to knowledge that assumes there is one objectively true social story. In this model, there are good leaders and there are bad leaders and we all have our lists of them. Weber had this kind of leader in mind when he referred in 1924 to the 'charismatic leader'. This kind of leader is often seen in these days of Trump as a problem.

Here is Herakles, the stereotype of the heroic leader:



But sometimes heroic leadership takes unexpected yet very powerful forms. I mean, and here is a photo of Jan Palach the young Czech student who self-immolated in protest at the Soviet invasion of his country in 1968, with the intent of crushing the Prague Spring.



A second approach is much more collaborative, involving a kind of metaphorical *sibling* model of leadership. This has been inspired by feminist thinking. But although appealing and sometimes usable, sibling leadership is sometimes just too demanding on citizens to be in operation all the time. People dive for cover; they do not necessarily mean to become bystanders, but they do not see any other way to manage the burden of being collaborative leaders. Teamwork is hard work! It is easier to allow prominent people to take the burden.

Here is an image of an all-female protects against the locating of an American nuclear base

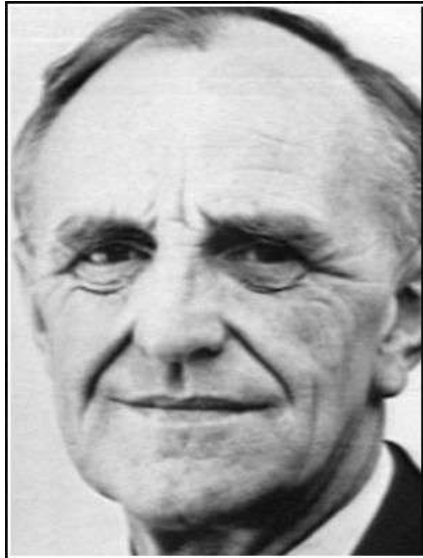
at Greenham Common in England in 1983. Note the different bodily styles of the two groups of women and police.



Not all sibling leadership is carried out by women. The way gay men in Western countries banded together to respond to the challenges of HIV/AIDS remains, not only an example of homosociality, but also as one of the most significant examples of sibling leadership.

So, there is heroic leadership and there is sibling leadership. For many years, I have been advocating for a third kind of leader - *the good-enough leader*.

It is an idea taken from therapy thinking about the family. Donald Winnicott said that parents and babies must find a middle way between the baby's idealization and denigration of the parent. There is a natural tendency of a baby to idealize her parent but when things go in a less than perfect way (as they surely will), it flips over into denigration.



I would rather be the child of a mother who has all the inner conflicts of the human being than be mothered by someone for whom all is easy and smooth, who knows all the answers, and is a stranger to doubt.

— Donald Woods Winnicott —

AZ QUOTES

Sound familiar? An initial idealization, then a failure to deliver things perfectly, then denigration? It is meant to sound familiar. The media depends on it. Because this is how we respond to leaders, first by passively following the idealized leader then seeking out feet of clay. What can we do about the pattern?

We must try to change how we position 'success' and 'failure'. I know the word 'failure' hurts people's feelings because it is so in-your-face. Failure means falling short, being imperfect, fallible, only passable, fucking up—an all too human a lack of potency. Yet maybe what we need nowadays are 'can't do' politicians, impotent politicians - they are that, anyway, are they not?, as events since at least the financial crisis of late 2008 and the incapacity even to imagine the threat to the planet show us.

As T. S Eliot wrote, 'Every attempt is a wholly new start and a different kind of failure.'

Maybe being only 'in control' is not always valuable. Winnicott wrote that 'the parent fails the baby - but in the baby's own way'. I would add that failure by a leader paves the way for greater contributions and more autonomy on the part of citizens. The leader fails the citizens but in the citizens' own way.

Bob Dylan nibbled away at the success-failure binary when he sang 'There's no success like failure and failure's no success at all'. And on September 9, 2007, Bill Clinton was reported on CNN as speaking of the 'inevitability' of failure in politics in relation to his health care plan. I believe it was the first time he had explicitly spoken in that vein. When Harold Macmillan, the British Prime Minister, was asked by a journalist in 1963 what had brought him down, he just replied 'Events, dear boy, events'.

And Rumi wrote in his poem 'Desire and the importance of failing' that 'failure is the key to the kingdom of heaven'. Good-enoughness always involves failure. The key thing is how to

manage failure, even to see failure as an art Samuel Beckett wrote that we have to 'fail better'. Disappointment is difficult, for sure, but it, too, has to be managed.

So the good-enough leader can accept the likelihood of failure, in a post-heroic take on leadership. But there is a head-heart problem here and it is a cultural complex. In our heads, we often know that the old-style leaders are dangerous, but in our hearts and guts we feel we need the fatherly protection they offer. In our hearts, we are in love with the heroic leader whose Fuhrer-eroticism turns us on. In our heads, we agree with Brecht's Galileo: 'Unhappy is the land that has need of heroes'. Could we Europeans of today become more aware of our abusive love affair with heroic leaders? Aware of our cheating hearts?

There is a definite gender issue here. Some of the collective responses over the years - for example to Hillary Clinton and to Kamala Harris - showed how hard it was for a female leader to fulfill compellingly the role of a heroic leader. On the one hand, this is a welcome development because, as I have been suggesting, we often enter abusive relationships with such leaders. On the other hand, there is a kind of literalism and essentialism in play in which a woman can never fulfill any of the functions we associate to 'father'. So what female leaders have to do is to be deadlier than the male, as we saw in Britain with Mrs Thatcher. And maybe this is relevant to Italy today? The great thing about good-enough leaders is that they can be good-enough leaders of whatever sex.

So far so good (-enough). But what happens to our good-enough leaders when things get violent. This is where good-enough leadership appears to hit a rock. What happens when things get warlike? Where does good-enough leadership leave us with respect to violent action? This question will not go away whether we are talking about legitimate war, illegitimate war, state terror and violently repressive action, or suicide bombing and the cult of the martyr.

Do we not need so-called masculine virtues then? In a time of 'terror' and war without end, are not the traditionalists and conservatives right? Do we not need paternal security and a national father's physical and military protection then? The hell with fatherly *nurture*! We can discuss this later, if you like.

I like this image of good-enoughness and the centrality and ubiquity of failure:



(3) ECONOMIC INEQUALITY



This image is of a Greek man at the height of their economic meltdown in 2015. I was involved in a research project probing the massive increase in male suicides at that time, especially amongst economically active men – hence, failed breadwinners, so to speak.

Anyone, not just a therapist, who seeks to improve anything in the social realm is up against massive, impersonal and above all *economic* forces that do not want change: The capitalist financial system, patriarchy, the world's warlords. But there is a further paradoxical psychological problem. The human unconscious and the human soul are the sources of imagination, creativity and hope. Yet, to a degree, they are also the sources of our problems. In its cruel, negative and sadistic aspects, the unconscious is indeed, as Freud taught, conservative. Jung's version of the unconscious was very

different: creative, joyous, innovative. But for Freud, the unconscious mostly resists improvement and transformation. Putting Freud and Jung together in a hybrid for a moment, we end up with this: *the very thing that gives us hope that solutions might be found is also the source of the problems that cry out for solutions.*

Incidentally, Freud was sympathetic towards socialism but felt that because of the death drive dynamics just mentioned, it would never happen. I will discuss Jung and economics in a moment.

Back to economics as such. In the developed countries, we may be entering a period in which there's a huge shift in economic values and in collective consciousness. It is a profound, complex, nearly unbearable, perhaps doomed to fail psychological shift in our philosophies of life with powerful implications for society and soul alike. The shift is away from everything we see as having to do with the climate crisis. It is a challenge to the materialist basis of our social world. I have been a therapist on the books of *Extinction Rebellion* for many years and you can see the schism between climate and planetary idealism and aspiration on the one hand - and the stark realities and exigencies of economic life on the other hand.

Yet amidst this very shift we see dramatic and unmistakable evidence of retrogressive tendencies. The growth of inequality in countries like Britain and the United States in the past 40 years has been repeatedly charted. So, too, has the damaging effect of inequality whether in terms of fomenting violent social and international conflict, or in terms of literally creating ill-health (both physical and mental), or in the production of middle-class guilt, which is one of the main things that links therapists and their clients. Excessive disparities of wealth correlate internationally with higher levels of illness and mortality. It is better for many people from the point of view of a good life to live in a poorer but less economically wealth-polarised country than in a much richer one that is very wealth-polarized.

Thinking about inequality for a moment, it is clear that a relationship exists between *class* and the individual's *inner world*. Many people have achieved a higher socioeconomic status than their parents. And yet, in their inner worlds, encountered in therapy, in dreams perhaps, the social class they grew up in is still the social class they are in in terms of psychic reality and narrative truth. (It must be obvious that I have not discarded class as an explanatory factor.)

Early in my career, a banker came to see me for therapy. He dreamed of the coal mine where his father had worked. The (male) solidarity of the miners—for example, when there was a disaster underground—struck him as different from the individualistic atmosphere and ethos of his large Wall Street investment bank. We did of course play a little with what we were 'mining' in the analysis—but the main thrust of our dialogue about these dreams was in terms of a thorough, many-layered, compassionate and healing *comparison* of his entire situation with that of his father's. Not competition with the father. There's more to intergenerational male relating than Oedipus, and the work with this man reminded me of that.

The typical move—or at least it used to be typical, the pattern is changing—is from working class to middle class. To the extent that a passion for social and economic justice exists (for good reasons) in the working class, you can see how destabilising and ego-dystonic their ruthless rise to the top is for some people. I have had a lot of clients like that. This point about class and the inner world applies with particular force when the patient is a member of a minority ethnic community. What can't be avoided is that we may be up against *a psychodynamic barrier to social mobility*. The good news is that I

think, clinically and culturally, we can do something about it.

As a thought experiment, I've been trying to imagine a society in which all income is earned income or stems from pensions and social security. There is little or no private ownership of capital. Estate taxes (death duties, inheritance taxes) are very high. Inequalities of wealth are consensually regulated. Markets are tempered by collective commitment to collective well-being.

I am indebted to Stefano Carta for encouraging me to situate these thoughts in a more precise anthropological context – the Western, highly individualized context. In fact, in many other cultures, inheritance is an obvious fact, but it does not refer to individuals rather to whole groups.

By the way, I think we should look into the idea of 'limitarianism' proposed by the Dutch economist Ingrid Robeyns. Yes, she says, there can be disparities of wealth - but there should be Government rules on how large these should be and there should be limits on the size of anyone's fortune. I like these ideas a lot.

The thought experiment begs the questions of whether and how inequality would still enter into the picture to the degree that we see it in today's Western societies. For some people, the hypothesis would be that there is an ineluctable psychological basis to inequality and that humans would find a way to create social stratifications and even classes. Class being somehow an 'archetypal' addiction. Or a Darwinian one. They would point to British schools in which all the students have to wear the same clothes as determined by the school ('uniforms' as we call them) - and yet myriad inequalities even in the sartorial realm cannot be excluded.

In contemporary psychotherapy, especially relational psychotherapy, you might say we seek to create something akin to a microcosmic version of the fantasy I began with in which injustice and inequality are reduced as far as is possible. We aspire to 'mutual recognition', in Jessica Benjamin's phrase, or to a 'joint immersion' in the alchemical vessel if you want it in Jung's language. 'The analyst is in the treatment as much as the patient', was his slogan.

With regard to this last question, at workshops on what I call 'the economic psyche', I ask participants to fantasize about the most shameful, sadistic, controlling, horrible thing you would do if you had a very large sum of money at your disposal—trillions of dollars. A professor of philosophy at one workshop in Pittsburgh said, 'Well, if I had unlimited funds, I'd buy thousands of acres of skiing land at Aspen in Colorado (a famous resort attracting celebrities) and fence it off so no-one could use it.' I did not think this was very sadistic, to say the least. Then he blurted out: 'And I'd hire the US Marine Corps to machine-gun anyone who came near'. He burst into tears and told us about his tycoon father and the relationship they had, and other personal information.

Such shameful economic fantasy tells us how even people of progressive views are deeply invested in a system of economic injustice. If we want to change this system, we need to recognise what we are up against. It's about owning our own bit of the system, a piece of shadow from which we can all too glibly detach ourselves. The lesson is that economic sadism is not something you can escape just because you want to leap out of the pit.

I would like to be optimistic about the prospects for economic justice but, without a change in awareness and the backing of many groups - including therapists and analyst - for a new approach to economics, it will be hard to achieve change. What psychotherapists can contribute is the idea that

economic injustice and economic inequality is bad for your mental health, bad for the soul, bad for the spirit. The sooner we admit our personal economic crimes to others, to other peoples, creeds, genders, species, the better and lighter the human future will be. What I call 'democratic spirituality' is not dead but it is in need of serious treatment.

A NOTE ON JUNG AND ECONOMIC INEQUALITY

I promised to say something about Jung and economics. The American scholar Jay Sherry termed Jung an 'avant-garde conservative. I think this is spot on. I have devoted a great deal of my professional life to discussing Jung's anti-Semitism and racism. Here, because I am a Jungian psychoanalyst, I want to focus on Jung's politics, with particular regard to economic inequality.

In 1919, in a letter to Sabina Spielrein - not yet published in English but available in German - Jung castigates Freud and Lenin in the same sentence as 'disseminators of the rationalistic darkness which might yet extinguish the small lamps of reason'. Jung cannot understand why Spielrein is so upset at the death of Karl Liebknecht, the leader of the communist *Spartakusbund* in Germany who, together with Rosa Luxemburg, was murdered in January 1919. One could understand Jung's repugnance at Soviet communism under Stalin, but this is, I suggest, something different.

Concerning the 'lamps of reason', Jung goes on to say that 'whoever betrays this light to power or cleverness will become a parasite (*Schädling*)'. We might want to ask what Jung has in mind when he writes of the *Schädling* in 1919 – it was a term used by the Nazis of the Jews, remember.

Maybe it is surprising to say it, but Jung is like Marx in one way, that is the Marx who considered that the lowest of the low, the lumpenproletariat, were incapable of making a revolution.

I think therapists and analysts with political commitments should join the liberation theologians in their challenge to this Marxian elitism. For Leonardo Boff (1988) it is the poorest, most downtrodden, most out-of-it who will make the revolution: 'God is in the poor who cry out. And God is the one who listens to the cry and liberates, so that the poor no longer need to cry out' (p. 166). I was happy that Boff was the first Honorary Member of the IAAP.

Orwell got it too, in 1984: 'If there is hope, it lies in the proles' (p. 89), as did the Psalmist: "The stone that the builders rejected has now become the cornerstone of the Temple" (Psalms, 118: 22).

People in the psychoanalytic and therapeutic worlds might pay even more attention to the the depth psychology of economic inequality: *'just nine of the world's richest men have more combined wealth than the poorest 4 billion people'*.

No matter how many times I read and re-read that headline, the disparity in wealth between just 9 men and 4 billion other people gets no less striking. Such a world makes little sense to me.

I will close these remarks about Jung and economic inequality by referring to an interesting response

that Jung gave to a young American man who asked him by letter in 1938 (no less) if there could be anything such as a 'liberal dictatorship'. This letter from Jung to the Jung to the young American came by chance into my hands completely by chance.

Jung's reply was anodyne (*of course* there could not be a benevolent dictator), but included the significant and rather patrician remark that 'as the conditions get better, the people get worse'.

In this respect, Jung is like Marx, that is the Marx who considered that the lowest of the low, the lumpenproletariat, were incapable of making a revolution. We should join the liberation theologians in their challenge to this Marxian elitism.

(3) THE HIDDEN POLITICS OF PROMISCUOUS RELATIONSHIP

This next section could only have been written by a psychoanalyst! Theodor Adorno famously wrote that 'nothing in psychoanalysis true except the exaggerations'. What follows sure is exaggerated!

It is an interweave of sexuality, gender relations and politics. Friedrich Engels wrote in 1884 in *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* that the original class opposition that appears in history coincides with the development of the antagonism between man and woman in monogamous marriage especially in 'the possessing classes'.

Back in the 1960s, in the summer of love, we progressive people didn't talk about 'promiscuity'. The reference was to 'non-possessive relating' or 'alternative families' or 'free love'. In the talk, I am trying to explore some political implications of a conscious and welcome divide between sex and relationship. This is an explosive and paradox-ridden topic.

It is still hard to find much contemporary discussion of promiscuity and the linked phenomenon of polyamory in a Western context that does not take a negative line. The word that appears over and over again in the context of sex is 'casual'. Casual sex is the term with which we are now most familiar.

Promiscuity is the background phenomenon that since the late nineteenth century has underpinned numerous discussions that couple politics and sexuality. Conventional accounts of intimate relations praise them when they radiate constancy, longevity and fidelity. But more radical accounts suggest that ownership and control of the other are also critically important.

The Korean philosopher Byung-Chul Han has suggested that the crisis of today's dominant discourse may be seen in connection to what he calls 'Western couple love'. In the nineteenth century, there was the novelty of romanticism as a vindication of feeling and emotion in relationships. In the twentieth century came the further novelty of sexual liberation. In the twenty-first century, the love of a couple already has high doses of emotion and sexual liberation, which *are* positive things. But in our current context of austerity and neoliberalism, priority is given to status and ownership. What can be done about the hidden politics of couple love these days?

Today's monogamy may be seen as chiming and co-symbolizing with market economics and with

implicit and explicit claims by powerful Western countries and corporations to ‘possess’ planetary resources. Monogamy, it can be argued, is therefore implicated in a wide range of injustices – environmental, economic and ethical. Now, this point can be made with greater or lesser passion, for monogamy certainly has its merits and cannot only be reduced to the level of political tyranny.

The corollary – that non-monogamy is correlated with sustainability, equality and social justice – remains, perforce, untested though I see it as hugely suggestive for contemporary political thinking. Ownership is a tendentious perspective on relationships and geopolitics alike. But public strategies for sustainability, such as the principle of ‘global commons’, can be seen to co-symbolize with non-monogamy in the private sphere.

If we consider, for example, the Jewish Midrashic story of Lilith we can understand the possible relations between politics and sexual behaviour a bit more fluidly. Lilith was Adam’s first consort who was created from the earth at the same time as Adam. She was unwilling to give up her equality and argued with Adam over the position in which they should have intercourse – Lilith insisting on being on top. ‘Why should I lie beneath you’ she argued, ‘when I am your equal since both of us were created from dust?’ Adam was determined and began to rape Lilith who called out the magic name of God, rose into the air, and flew away. Eve was then created. Lilith’s later career was – not surprisingly – as an evil she-demon who comes secretly to men in the night, hence being responsible for nocturnal emissions. She was also a murderer of newborns. But in the end, after the destruction of the Temple, Lilith enters a relationship with God as a sort of mistress.

My point is that this kind of material can be taken as much as an expression of the influence of the sexual on the political as the other way around. The experience people have of sexuality is also a motor of their politicality, political style and political values. Sexual experience and its associated imagery express an individual’s psychological approach to political functioning.

Promiscuity is not a monolith – there are often perplexing differences to do with gender, sexual diversity, class and ethnicity. Transgender experience complexifies the matter (which may not be a bad thing). That said, it is interesting to note how often discussions about promiscuity even in quite liberal professional circles of psychotherapists collapse into discussions about promiscuous behaviour on the part of gay men. Hence, it is almost impossible to manage a reasoned conversation about promiscuity – and the same is true of polyamory.

About ten years ago, I published a book on relational psychoanalysis. It could have been called ‘Relationality and Its Discontents’. At the party to launch the book, there was outrage with guests (mostly therapists and analysts) protesting loudly at the supposedly polyamorous cover image my co-author Del Leowenthal and I had chosen:



(4) ISLAMIC SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY AND GEOPOLITICAL CONFLICT

These reflections on leadership, economic inequality and promiscuity have been stimulated and complexified by my participation in much interfaith dialogue work recently.

I believe there is a faith background to much of the aggressive conflict we see in the Middle East. In these dialogue groups, composed of Jews, Christians and Muslims, the Jews who were present, including myself, learned from the Muslim Imams about the Islamic idea of *Ta'Aruf* found in 49: 13 of the *Quran*: 'Oh Humanity, we have created of you male and female, and have made you peoples and tribes, that you might come to know one another'.

I find this a brilliantly inspiring take on difference and the aggressive conflict that an encounter with difference brings. It is not at all like the Tower of Babel. In this reading of things, a point or purpose (*telos*) is given to difference. If we want to know another, that Other has to be different from ourselves. But that brings in the question of aggressive conflict and even violence.

There is more to this than knowing the Other, important though that is. Full engagement and dialogue with an 'other' benefits the self. As this *Qur'anic* principle of *Ta'Aruf* has it, all kinds of differences - gender, national, religious - have the hidden potential to enable people to get to know themselves better and more deeply.

Here we find a fascinating congruence between Islamic social thought and psychoanalytic ideas about the interconnectedness of hate and love, and how an aggressive act may also reflect a great desire for contact and touch.

Both Islam and psychoanalysis understand that conflict and aggression will arise, whether we like it or not. But conflict and aggression are also part of relationality and recognition, that is what I am saying. So it matters what our attitude to aggressive conflict is. Far from being abstract and of little political relevance, this is the key political issue of our times. Each nation is, as it were, inhabited by the existence of other nations. But other nations present a threat that cannot be canceled out by visions of global love.

Interest in the Other is a positive development. Yet let's not forget that, politically, what we call the Other is also someone or something created and manufactured by political leaders and powerful elites. The intention is to distract the powerless from taking action, and thereby protect the interests of the powerful. Brexit. Trump. Front National. Alternative für Deutschland. And what about Italy? We all know the score.

Sometimes, just at the very moment we enter or encounter the world of the non-Western Other, we can often fail to challenge the power relations, barbarism and inequality of our own Western and developed world. It is a classic example of the limitations of liberal guilt. We may forget Others in our midst, such as this homeless man in London:



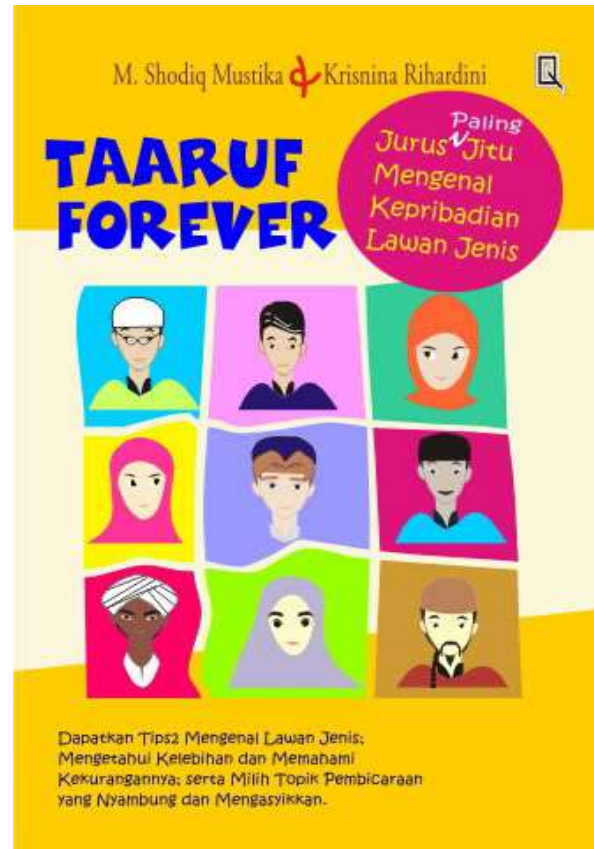
But this is truly a global matter. Everywhere, we see landscapes of alienation repeated around the world where the wealthy cordon themselves off behind gilded gates from an ever growing rural and urban peasantry. And this gets to one of the most tragic outcomes of these economic and ecological assaults: *displacement*. Millions of people, a majority of them people of colour, from around the world have been evicted from their homes and ancestral lands only to wind up in the hellhole slums of megacities.

Here they are most often locked in poverty, forced to abandon their culture and language for conformity, and forgotten by society. To be sure, this is the de-Othered world that global capitalism envisions for us all. Other-cleansing. Othercide.

Speaking now as a Jungian psychoanalyst, this business of ‘the Other’ has got to be about more than raising the level of personal consciousness, hasn’t it? Merely recognising that we project a lot onto other people isn’t complete if the political world in which we live remains much the same. We need to work on both the personal and on the political – on the Spirit of the Depths but without overlooking the Spirit of the Times.

That’s why it is so important for Jungian and other therapy schools to twin their analyses of the social and political world with activism in relation to its problems. Analysis and Activism. Maybe we analysts and therapists should remember what Marx chose to go on his tombstone in Highgate Cemetery: ‘The philosophers have only *interpreted* the world, in various ways. The point, however, is to *change* it.’

But let’s end on a more upbeat note! Here is the delightful and enchanting cover of a children’s book on *Ta’Aruf*. It is widely used in Muslim communities:



ENDINGS

What I have tried to do in this short talk is to show how applications of therapy thinking can illumine certain current political problematics. The three that I selected were (1) leadership, (2) economic inequality especially in relation to climate change and sustainability, and (3) global and other conflicts. Plus that silly 'Trump thing'!

I have admitted I am both an enthusiast for the role that therapy can play in relation to politics and also a bit of a sceptic about it. Not everyone is progressive, left-wing or spiritual. Many colleagues and patients are not and we must never forget that.

I will end with a poem by Jerzy Ficowsky. It is a Holocaust poem but, for me, it captures this tension between enthusiasm and scepticism when asking if there can there really ever be a 'new therapy for politics' *I hope you noticed the question mark in the title of today's talk!*

I did not manage to save

a single life

I did not know how to stop

a single bullet

And I wander round cemeteries

which are not there

I look for words

which are not there

I ru

to help where no one called

to rescue after the event

I want to be on time

even if I am too late

Thank you for listening.

