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PSYCHOANALYTIC STUDY

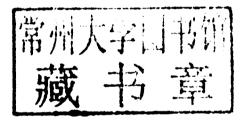
OF

RELIGIOUS TERRORISM

Ruth Stein

A Psychoanalytic Study of Religious Terrorism

Ruth Stein



Stanford University Press Stanford, California

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For Gavriel

Acknowledgments

The subject of this book has never been easy to discuss. Annihilatory concepts, menacing violence, apocalyptic war, and the dark side of religion may be more likely to repel than attract interlocutors. Yet I have been most fortunate in having people close to me who were always ready to share, consider, and reconsider with me the difficult ideas in this study. They listened to me, catalyzed me, or otherwise enriched me during the years this book was written. The first person to hear my responses on reading the letter to the hijackers was Gavriel Reisner, my husband. I remember the places on our nightly walks where I paused to gasp over how the ideas that ground this book were coming together in my mind. My intimate reader, my candid critic, Gavriel, made things come alive and become valid and hearable.

Jessica Benjamin was intrigued by my idea of the process whereby diverse anxieties can be channeled into a single fear of God, and by the way I read Atta's letter, and she was the first to suggest I write it all up. Donald Moss invited me to present my germinating ideas on a panel we shared at the Southeast Asian Forum at the New York University Medical School a short time after 9/II. His invitation stimulated me to further articulate my thoughts. Rina Lazar listened to my stories, ideas, and the affects involved, and read my texts with her sharp mind and good heart.

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and honesty are extraordinary, read most parts of the book, for which I am grateful. Jerry Piven has been a knowledgeable and enthusiastic interlocutor. So has been the group assembled through the initiative of Dan Hill, the director of the PsyBC Forums, who became interested in fundamentalism years ago and contacted me one day suggesting we begin studying this subject through reading and discussing two of my papers (what became Chapters 1 and 2). The distinguished group of discussants included, in addition to Dan, Werner Bohleber, Walter (Mac) Davis, Michael Eigen, Sue Grand, James (Jim) Jones, Richard Koenigsberg, Donald Moss, Ana-Maria Rizzuto, Moshe Spero, Charles (Chuck) Strozier, and Joel Whitebook. A group as strong-minded and as diverse as the above persons could not but generate much heat, which melded conceptual elaboration, emotional expression, and interpersonal debate in our attempts to sort out what we were thinking on fundamentalism. The readers who joined these passionate online discussions are too numerous to list here, but their contributions to thinking these topics are recorded with gratitude. These interchanges about terrorism, religion, clinical and applied psychoanalysis, and other topics can be found in the archives of the PsyBC Web site (www.psybc.com).

Ken Corbett, who was then editor of Studies in Gender and Sexuality, invited me to contribute a paper on fundamentalism to the journal, and then edited it with me, a process from which I learned a lot. The following summer, Lynn Schultz listened and edited the material then available in an effort to learn and to help me go forward with this slowly moving project. My Israeli friends and colleagues, Phillip (Yizhak) Bloom, Jocelyn Hatab, Yoram Hazan, Itamar Levy, and in particular, Yizhak Mendelsson, read the first two papers in their early stages. Michael Shoshani invited me to talk about the topic at a conference in Jaffa of the Tel Aviv Institute for Psychoanalysis, where Yossi Triest made some insightful comments. In addition to the NYU Medical School (2001) and the Tel Aviv Institute (2003), I gave talks about parts of the book at: the Karen Horney Institute in New York City (2002); the Institute for Psychoanalytic Training and Research (IPTAR) in New York City (2002); the NYU Postdoctoral Program in Psychotherapy and Psychoanalysis (2002); Yale Genocide Studies Program (2003); the annual conference of the German Psychoanalytic Society in Kassel (2004); the American Psychoanalytic Winter Meeting (2004); the international interdisciplinary conference on terror and violence at the German Foreign Ministry in Berlin (sponsored by the two German Psychoanalytic Societies) (2004); the Canadian Psychoanalytic Society in Montreal (2005); the Chicago Psychoanalytic Society (2006); John Jay College in New York City (2006); the International Psychoanalytic Congress in Berlin (2007); the Van Leer Institute in Jerusalem (2007); the Israel Psychoanalytic Society (2007) in Jerusalem; the Pulse of Death Now Conference at Columbia University (2008); the Seattle Psychoanalytic Society (2008); and the Israel Association for Psychotherapy, Tel Aviv (2008).

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I greatly appreciate the encouragement of Emily-Jane Cohen, acquisitions editor at Stanford University Press; the helpful guidance of Sarah Crane Newman in processing the manuscript into a book; and Mariana Raykov's helpful suggestions and gentle prodding to move along the production schedule. My copy editor, Andrew Frisardi, won my deep gratitude for his intelligent editing, which has been attuned to nuances of language and of meaning. Until I encountered through him this kind of work and the difference it makes, I never understood people's emotional reactions to their editors.

While writing this book I was nourished by the love I feel and receive from my wonderful big family, parts of which live in the United States, and parts of which have stayed in Israel, a family whose diversity in matters religious and political manages to be contained within the space of our bond.

Preface

On September II, 200I, while my visual cortex was registering the endlessly replaying images of towers sliced by airplanes, then crumbling in orange-red fire and gray-black smoke against a white light and a blue sky, I also saw the shorn, wounded, vacuous horizon, and suddenly felt overwhelmed by the utter triumph and exhilarating power the planners must have been feeling at that very moment as they eyed the same landscape. Their jubilation and triumph, I imagined, must have been a milestone experience, a sense of an obstacle removed, a limit erased. I imagined how, for them, the skies had now opened to heaven, clearing a direct path to God. I could feel the destroyer's gaze as it fastened on the mutilated skyline and I wondered whether my view was indeed a counterpart to the image that imprinted the dying terrorist's mind as he joyously became fire.

Even if my internal picture of the torn skyline is far from what went through the terrorists' brain in those unknowable moments of rushing toward death, this still could have been, I speculated, the terrorist's anticipatory fantasy before the event, or at the moment when he was assaulting the plane's passengers shouting *Allah-Hu-Akbar*, God is tremendous. That awesome moment brought home to me the vast proportions of a triumph, a joy, a sense of unbounded self-validation, a vindication, an otherworldly liberation, a feeling that the sky, far from being the limit, was the way to heaven. There was sense that this feeling was too dreadful to deal with; for a moment I had a sharp intuition that articulating this pleasurable emotion, this *jouissance*, was far worse than confronting the hatred that had led to these attacks. The feeling quickly vanished, but I realized that I had overstepped a boundary: I had entered for a moment

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the realm of the megalomaniac terrorist—his boundless triumph—and I had identified with it.

Perhaps it was my personal history that allowed this plunge of the imagination. I have vivid memories of Shiite devotees marching on the day of the Ashura (the day of collective mourning for the martyrdom of Hussein ibn-Ali, Modhammed's grandson, at the Battle of Karbala) in ecstasies of self-flagellation in the streets of Tehran, where I lived in my teenage years. Rows of men, mostly young, were marching and chanting rhythmically, their naked upper bodies becoming more and more bloodied with each lashing of the iron chains they gave their chests and their backs, in a cascading frenzy, engulfed within this well-orchestrated orgiastic ritual. They were commemorating Hussein's martyrdom, entranced by his pain, merging with his ecstatic torture.² On such days, foreigners were told not to stand out,³ in fact not be visible at all to the celebrating crowd, who, I was told, would not hesitate to assault and injure any non-Muslim person.

Still earlier years in my life were redolent with narratives that recounted the perennial Jewish longing to follow the historical martyrs' celebratory overcoming of the self, and devout girls chanting, "Rabbi Akiva said, I have been praying my whole life for this command to come my way so I can fulfill it—oh, my Lord, when will it come?" Rabbi Akiva is the arch-martyr in Jewish history whose flesh was shredded by Roman iron combs for refusing to desist from acknowledging his God. The suffering of this scholar-hero assumed fantastic proportions of joy in our vivid imaginations. Rabbi Akiva represented the epitome of self-realization and joy through self-sacrifice, the highest goal in life, "Oh, Lord, when will this command find me and I fulfill it?" Emotions are strongest when they deal specifically with mental pain. Emotions are also more poignant the more they reverse the feelings that precede them. Our imagination was electrified by the frisson that accompanied the triumphant conversion of scenes of capitulation into moments of victory. Was there an affinity between these events, the scenes recounted in my childhood in their Jewish context, and the humiliation of terrorists that is patiently nurtured into a meticulously planned reversal, a triumph proportionate to the insult? Most probably. After all, horrific religious acts can transform wretchedness into ecstasy; indeed, the victory of overcoming a sense of helplessness is enormously magnified when it is transposed into the service of an allpowerful God. Was there an affinity between the thinking of the group of Preface xvii

bright, accomplished Jewish fundamentalists I came to know in my young adulthood and the way militant Islamic fundamentalists think and reason? I admit that the similarities are staggering, encompassing reasoning; moral convictions; the sense of brotherhood; and the allocation of trust and distrust toward the government, society, moderate co-religionists, or those outside of the religion. Some of the phrases the religious terrorists put their ideas into sound chillingly familiar, as does the hope of a redeeming future in an apocalyptic restoration of a golden past, and in the enveloping, jubilant sense of rightness and devotion. With all the cultural differences, the psychological structures of the two groups are the same,⁴ and so is their reliance on a God who benevolently takes the believer's enemies and makes them His own adversaries, whom He will eventually defeat in an apocalyptic denouement if the group of loyal believers just does the right things.

This study is impacted by the background mentioned above, a background that made itself painfully felt on that Tuesday morning, September 11, 2001, in Manhattan, where I found myself just a few days after leaving Israel, a country torn by fundamentalism and terrorism. The reflection that began on that day became a constant accompaniment, almost an alternative world, to my predominantly clinical work, and commanded much of my emotional and intellectual energy for the following years. It took several years, including several hiatuses, to write this book, a much longer time than I had anticipated. During those years I read a great deal of material about Islam and Islamic theology and history (all the while resonating with many of the Arabic words whose affinity with Hebrew one's ear learns to gradually pick up). I read the Quran and the jihad manifestos, viewed innumerable video clips and longer videotapes of speeches and sermons of Islamic leaders to their congregations and to outsiders, as well as apologistic and propagandist productions designed for non-Muslim consumption. I also poured over various analyses of these phenomena that attempted to explain them from the most diverse perspectives. This gave me a more solid sense of how these developments came about, historically and politically, even as I hardly incorporated any references to those readings into this book, since I focus here on a specific vantage point, that of the emotional vicissitudes of the zealot seen through a psychoanalytic lens.

The good fortune in completing this book now, years after I had planned to, is that at present there are incomparably more translations

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from the Arabic of messages and articles from Web sites (which is where globalist jihad publishes most of its communications), broadcast speeches, and compilations of sourcebooks. All these materials are now made accessible to non-Arabic speakers. They seem to largely support the intuition that the motives explicitly stated in the various projects, covenants, and plans of Islamic terrorist organizations are predominantly *theological*, and since fundamentalists and terrorists believe that there can be no political organization that is not religious, their plans and discourses are *theologico-political*. This spate of translations helps us to gradually come to terms with what we had difficulty recognizing earlier, namely, that suicidal terrorism and murderous killings and executions are specifically *religious* phenomena.

The writing in this book assumes various stances. The introduction is a more general, even if somewhat polemical, preparation for the more specific subsequent chapters. What follows the introduction is an analysis, interspersed with narratives, some of them clinical, some textual, of the phenomenon of religious terrorism in terms that are mostly taken from psychoanalytic discourse. The constitutive and to me perennially enigmatic relationship between father and son is at the heart of a network of ideas which I endeavored to make cohere.

The reflections in Chapters 1 through 4 are followed in the last chapter by an analysis of evil. Informed by philosophical notions on evil, this chapter seeks to articulate some psychoanalytic ideas that might clarify some of the complexities in this area. My fantasy and ardent wish is for readers to think with me and against me, and to continue the reflection, urgently needed, on a subject that does not leave us in peace.

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Introduction

I began writing this book after I had read the letter found in Mohammed Atta's luggage on September II, 2001. What fascinated me was the letter's tone of calm serenity and its counterintuitive appeal. How could a statement inciting its receivers to kill, to destroy and be destroyed, I wondered, exude such solemn serenity? The utter strangeness of this document captivated me. If given attentive reading and decoding, I felt, it promised to open a window to a mind otherwise hermetically closed and enigmatic to us.

Reading the letter, I sensed that the contrast between the presumed function of the letter and its emotional tone held the key, or at least one of the keys, to the mystery of what lay behind the attacks. As always, when reason and feeling seem disjointed, or even clash, what counts, what is believed by the receiver—whether observer, listener, or reader—is the feeling tone. This is what needed to be attended to first. Obviously, the affective register of the letter in no way expresses the mental state we would expect it to express. Direct hatred and fury, condemnation of the people who were to be killed, and a pitch made to hit them hard—all these were missing. The letter carried an altogether different mood. What this different mood was, how it was generated, and what its psychic purpose was, will be one of the focuses of this book.

Psychoanalytic Understanding

Although drawn from various sources, this work is primarily psychoanalytic. Reading the letter through the prism of psychoanalysis, with attention