

Psychohistory News

Newsletter of the International Psychohistorical Association

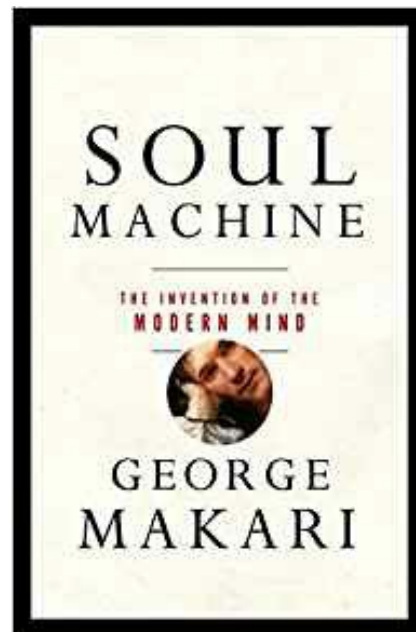
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PSYCHOHISTORIAN INTERVIEW

George Makari on *Soul Machine* and *Revolution in Mind*

George Makari, MD, is a Professor of Psychiatry and Director of the De Witt Wallace Institute for the History of Psychiatry at Weill Cornell Medical College and a practicing psychoanalyst. In 2008, Harper published his highly praised *Revolution in Mind: The Creation of Psychoanalysis*. Yale literary critic Harold Bloom, admires Makari's "sanity and balance," and says it is "by far the best-informed history of

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CONFERENCE REPORT

National Association for the Advancement of Psychoanalysis, by Ken Fuchsman

The National Association for the Advancement of Psychoanalysis (NAAP) held its annual Conference on November 18, 2017 at Hebrew Union College in Manhattan. The theme was "Leadership, Narcissism, and Social

Responsibility." The featured speakers included Michael MacCoby and Otto Kernberg.

The annual Gradiva Awards were also announced, including Gerald Gargiulo's *Quantum Psycho-*

analysis: Essays on Physics, Mind and Analysis Today (published by IP Books) for best book, and Creative Director Louise DeCosta's *The Women: Our Psycho-*

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The Psychohistory Forum Meeting on Donald Winnicott

The Psychohistory Forum Work-In-Progress presentation by James W. ("Jim") Anderson of Chicago on Donald Winnicott drew a record number of attendees to Fordham's Lincoln Center on December 2, 2017. The ideal of our Forum is to have 12 to 18 colleagues who read the paper ahead of time. This one grew to 31 attendees and required a larger room. Despite this influx of attendees, the Forum was able to maintain its usual sense of a small intimate group focused on a single subject.

This larger group was able to maintain this intimate, collegial setting due to a few factors. The first was that Donald Winnicott's warmth and humanity showed through the discussion. The second was that the presenter, James William Anderson, had a valuable paper, slides from his research trip to England, enthusiasm for his subject, and an excellent rapport with the group. The third factor was that the basic structure of the meetings encourages a focus on intellectual exchange rather than the combativeness that is so common between proponents of competing schools of thought.

Anderson is a practicing psychoanalyst in Chicago, president of the Chicago Psychoanalytic Society, and editor of the *Annual Psychoanalysis*. He came to the Psycho-

by Paul H. Elovitz

history Forum in New York to share his thoughts on Winnicott in his paper, and a PowerPoint that showed the people he interviewed in London in 1981, including Anna Freud. Winnicott, who introduced the ideas of "good enough mother," "the holding environment," "the transitional object," and "the true and false self," was discussed along with Anna Freud, Masud Khan, Margaret Little, John Bowby, Clare Winnicott (second wife), Violet Winnicott (sister), Rosemary Dinnage, and Linda Hopkins.

Anderson demonstrated that the root of many of Winnicott's theoretical innovations was his struggle to find his true self. As a child he had created, and sometimes as an adult felt trapped in, a false self after being burdened with enlivening his depressed mother. His theories reflect his own issues. I sometimes wonder if part of the current appeal of Winnicott is the sense that in our busy, fragmented society, many of us feel we are trapped in a false self.

There is a lot of interest in Winnicott's close relationship with Masud Khan because their personalities were so different. Winnicott had regular Sunday meetings with Khan, who helped him with his writings. Interestingly, Anderson

learned when interviewing Khan that they did not like each other as people. However, Anderson believes that beneath their criticisms of each other there was a deep attachment.

Despite Winnicott's renown for writing "Hate in Countertransference," (*International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 1949, Vol. 30: 69-74), his ability to express his own anger and hatred was limited. Susan Kavalier-Adler related the few suicides among his patients to his own difficulty with helping them express their anger to others instead of turning it against themselves. One of Winnicott's greatest strengths was his sense of playfulness, which made him a great analyst for children. In his "My Search for Winnicott" presentation, Anderson glowed as he showed his slides and focused on Winnicott's personality.

After the conclusion of the meeting, many participants went to a nearby restaurant for a leisurely lunch and more exciting conversation.

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MAKARI INTERVIEW

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psychoanalysis.” Philosopher and psychoanalyst Jonathan Lear calls *Revolution in Mind* a “marvelous history” that captures the “complexities of one of the most determined intellectual efforts of the twentieth century.” Esteemed novelist Paul Auster says Dr. Makari has “an

unprecedented gift for synthesis” and has written here “nothing less than a history of the modern mind.”

Not content to remain strictly within the history of psychoanalysis, in 2015 he published *Soul Machine: The Invention of the Modern Mind*. In this volume, Dr. Makari covers the writings and musings of philosophers, physicians and anatomists on

the complex nature of the mind from Descartes to the 19th century. This work too garnered high praise. Harvard psychologist Steven Pinker writes it is “enlightening and gracefully written,” and helps us understand the foundations of the brain and how soul was replaced by the mind. Historian Elizabeth

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PSYCHOANALYTIC GRADUATE DEGREE PROGRAM IN SOCIAL JUSTICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS

The Boston Graduate School of Psychoanalysis is offering a Master of Arts degree in Social Justice and Human Rights. It is a 46 credits program with 40 credits required and 6 credits of electives. Two semesters of internship in a community organization are an integral part of the curriculum.

This program is led by Dr. Stephen Soldz who has a doctorate in clinical psychology from Boston University and is certified in psychoanalysis from the Boston Center for Modern Psychoanalytic Studies. He is known for his efforts to get the American Psychological Association to remove psychologists from participating in abusive interrogation techniques in national security cases.

Faculty, including Dr. Soldz, worked to develop a comprehensive curriculum for this master’s degree program. Psychoanalytic courses include basic concepts of psychoanalytic theory; a course in resistance, transference and counter-transference; courses on psychoanalytic perspectives on trauma and survival, and on psychoanalytic concepts of group process; and a

course on psychoanalysis and social change. There is a foundation course on Introduction to Human Rights and Social Justice and related courses on transformational change in organizations, class, power and privilege, courses on producing and evaluating data for social justice, and two integrative seminars. A final project will consist of either a research paper, field project, advocacy video, or documentary film.

Dr. Soldz says, “This program builds upon the unique competencies and resources of the Boston Graduate School of Psychoanalysis (BGSP) to address the looming social problems in our society. The program is designed primarily to train a new generation of leaders for effective social change. It will draw upon our outstanding faculty’s decades of experience pursuing social change both in existing institutions and in grassroots movements, our expertise in applying insights from psychoanalytic theory in organizational and community settings, and our expertise in sociocultural analysis, as represented by our doctoral program in Psychoanalysis, Society, and Culture.”

There are a number of reasons this new master’s degree program is currently highly pertinent. “The recent elections in the US, France, and Britain,” Dr. Soldz writes, “have made us all aware of the limits of rationality and the importance of understanding and dealing with unconscious forces in group and organizational dynamics. Those of us involved in social change efforts have witnessed time and again how these efforts can be undermined by disturbed individuals or by common organizational dynamics such as splitting and projection. This program seeks to provide social change leaders with basic tools needed to understand and cope with these kinds of destructive dynamics and to foster more constructive group and organizational functioning.”

Scholarships are available. The Boston Graduate School of Psychoanalysis is located in Brookline, Massachusetts. They can be contacted by phone at 617-277-3915, fax at 617-277-0312, and by email at info@bgsp.edu. The link to this master’s degree is <http://www.bgsp.edu/academics/m-a-social-justice-human-rights/>.

MAKARI INTERVIEW

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Lunbeck calls the book “sweeping, authoritative, and lively” and finds it both “illuminating and highly engaging.” Zoologist Matthew Cobb says Makari’s volume is a “brilliant mixture of history, philosophy, and science” that “shows how we came to understand where the mind is located and something of its nature.” Below are Dr. Makari’s answers to questions I emailed him.

–Ken Fuchsman

KF: There are many biographies of Sigmund Freud and histories of psychoanalysis, including by Freud. What makes your 2008 *Revolution in Mind: The Creation of Psychoanalysis* distinctive? What do you see as the most important contributions of your book to understanding the creation of psychoanalysis?

GM: My book was precisely not a biography, but rather an intellectual and social history that made the case that the creation of psychoanalysis cannot be fully understood through the lens of Freud’s life. For me, Freud did not so much make a revolution in the way people thought about inner life, but rather he took command of a revolution that was already in progress. Hence, the critical questions regarding psychoanalysis which we still struggle with today come into better focus when we move from the life of Freud to the scientific, medical, political and cultural problems that led Freud and his colleagues to posit their model of inner life.

KF: Freud described psychoanalysis as the science of the unconscious. What to you makes Freud’s early work scientific? How

in 1910 and afterwards do you see Freud’s work going counter to the requirements of scientific research? What led Freud to insist on doctrinal uniformity?

GM: There are different ways of defining science, and that definition will then determine the borders of what is or is not considered scientific during a period of history. Psychoanalysis attempted to make valid and reliable claims about the psyche that were underwritten mostly by clinical evidence. Whether those claims were right or wrong, that model fits Freud and many of his contemporaries’ definitions of science. Of course, there were some who ascribed to reductionist models of the mind/ brain, so that any claims about mental causes and intentions had to be by definition unscientific. Thus, for those of the incorrectly named “School of Helmholtz” (Helmholtz changed his view and became a mentalist), all psychologies were unscientific. But Freud was far from the only one proposing psychic models of behavior and illness, and from within their shared paradigms, he was acting scientifically.

KF: Would you elaborate on how Freud’s synthesis broadened the natural sciences and what makes psychoanalysis “the richest systematic description of inner experience that the Western world had produced.”

GM: The body of work created by the field of psychoanalysis remains the richest systematic description of inner life. I believe that. Psychoanalysis has managed to bring together the psyche and the body, nature and nurture, the sexual and violent animal and the reasoned and civilized moral being, the conscious and the unconscious. To date, no other model can rival its heuristic power.

KF: Could you talk about how psychoanalysis has both “Daunting epistemological problems” and remains the most extraordinary description of our inner lives? Do you see ways out of this paradox? If so, what are they?



Prof. George Makari

GM: The problem of knowing another became triply complicated in the psychoanalytic model. First there is the psychologist’s problem of knowing the conscious life of another. Consciousness is only indirectly available through self-report, one cannot observe it. And self-report is obviously prone to distortions and deceptions. Then if one adds unconsciousness to the requirement to know another’s inner life, we have a devilishly difficult second problem, how to know that which the subject does not know but which is nonetheless in part constitutive of subjectivity. Free association was Freud’s clever trick to foreground as much of conscious experience as possible, then he and his colleagues created a lexicon of disruptions that may be inferred to carry unconscious meaning, things like dreams, transferences, and slips of the tongue. Finally, there is the problem of counter-transference and the distorting capacities of the analyst. These epistemological problems trail and in some ways have come to define the psychoanalytic project.

KF: As Director of the DeWitt Wallace Institute for the History of Psychiatry, would you describe its mission, accomplishments, and future plans?

GM: Weill Cornell's Institute (IHP) was founded in 1955, with the mission of studying the history of psychiatry and the behavioral sciences. The founders of the IHP believed that psychiatry and its allied fields faced such massive complexities that empirical work alone was not enough, and that historical scholarship would help us approach our many challenges with greater refinement, humility, and knowledge. That is still our mission today.

KF: In 2015, you published *Soul Machine: The Invention of the Modern Mind*. In what ways is this book a continuation and in what ways is it a departure from your earlier work?

GM: *Soul Machine* can be seen as "prequel" to *Revolution in Mind*. It is the story of how in the West, we came to conceive of the mind as a natural entity, and hence began to consider the whole notion of mental health and mental illness. It is the story of how between religious notions of the soul and mechanistic models of the body, a third path opened up that articulated the possibility of a mind with intention, reason, and the freedom to act and morally choose, but also the capacity to be delusional and distorted. *Soul Machine* tells that story, which occurs during the Enlightenment and the early part of the 19th century, so it takes us up to when *Revolution in Mind* commences.

KF: How would you characterize the modern mind? What makes philosophers such as Descartes,

Hobbes, Locke and Kant so central to the development of modernity? What do these thinkers have in common and where did they diverge and conflict? What impact do their commonalities and divergences have to the legacy of the modern mind?

GM: That's too big a question! All my answers, however, can be found in *Soul Machine*.

KF: How does the examination of mental disorders during the period you cover fit into understanding the invention of the modern mind?

GM: Once there is the possibility of a natural mind, the old dichotomy of immortal soul and corporeal body as well as the old order in which physicians of the soul (priests) and doctors split up the care of the individual, are challenged. If before, the body could be ill and the soul could be possessed but never sick, now reason and will might be themselves sick, and require the care of a new cadre of doctors who came to be known as alienists, mad doctors, and psychiatrists. So the idea that the modern mind emerged as a natural entity was deeply connected to this reconceptualization of illness, in which it was not simply the sick body affecting reason, but reason itself that might be ill.

KF: Some recent volumes covering an overlapping period, including those by Steven Weinberg and David Wootton, write about the invention and discovery of modern science. In examining the beginnings of modernity, what led you to concentrate more on developments in other fields as well as science? Is your focus connected to your belief that natural science needs to be broadened to include human interiority?

GM: When one studies the early emergence of scientific institutions in Europe, what one finds is a very clear desire by these Christian natural philosophers to create a science that leaves the inner world and the soul to the Church. That same division has continued, now for other motives, to this day. So I very much believe that the definitions of science have too often cordoned off inner life, and left it as a realm for supernatural belief and religion. In *Soul Machine*, I point to both Romantic medicine and vitalism as two monistic movements (ultimately wrong, but nonetheless generative) that scientifically helped to justify those who would see the mind as embodied. This issue remains a challenge today, since many prominent scientists subscribe to a crude reductionistic model that eliminates mental phenomena by equating them with their neural substrates, hence eliminating any possibility for a science of inner life.

George Makari, MD, is a Professor of Psychiatry and Director of the De Witt Wallace Institute for the History of Psychiatry at Weill Cornell Medical College and a practicing psychoanalyst. He is the author of *Soul Machine: The Invention of the Modern Mind (2015)* and *Revolution in Mind: The Creation of Psychoanalysis (2008)*. George can be reached at George.Makari@Rockefeller.edu

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NAAP CONFERENCE

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analytic Mothers for best play. The best film award went to writer and director Donna Bassin for *The Mourning After*, and Mark Wallinger won the art award for “Self Reflection” at the Freud Museum, London.

For reasons of space, this report focuses on the presentations of the first two speakers. Dr. Maccoby is a psychoanalyst who leads the Maccoby Group, which consults on business leadership. For twenty years, he also directed Harvard University’s Program on Technology, Public Policy, and Human Development. In his address entitled “The Leadership We Need: Waking Up in This Age of Anxiety,” Maccoby said that “anxiety will not be cured by the false promises of narcissistic, populist leaders or by mechanisms of escape, but only by addressing the causes of anxiety on global, national, organizational, and individual levels.” To understand these underlying causes, he said, we need to analyze how threats to livelihood increase narcissism and the rise of narcissistic leaders.

To Maccoby, narcissism combines the drive for survival with the human desire for recognition, validation, dignity, and self-esteem. Individual existential threats trigger the narcissistic drive for survival and can trigger paranoia. Group narcissism can become malignant when the society feels threatened, but group narcissism can be benign when shared values bring the group together.

Similarly, narcissistic individuals can be positive or negative. “Most of the narcissistic leaders I’ve studied,” Maccoby said, “did not identify with their fathers,” who were absent, weak, or abusive. Most had strong mothers, and have a

demanding ego ideal. These leaders can be innovative and either constructive or destructive.

Maccoby thinks that Donald Trump has a variation of a “normal narcissistic personality type,” but has intentionally fed white working class malignant narcissism. Trump himself, Maccoby says, has a weak superego and lacks internal restraints, makes up stories and has no guilt about lying. Trump combines his narcissism with a marketing personality, but unlike Steve Jobs, Ronald Reagan, or Bill Clinton, does not have strong convictions and hungers for applause from his ardent supporters. Not surprisingly, Trump is an effective performer, but shows little interest in the knowledge needed for productive policy. Trump also exhibits a self-defeating paranoia.

Maccoby says we need a different type of leader than Trump or other populist demagogues. We should have leaders who will address the reasons for our anxiety and work to resolve them, and who make the citizens’ well-being a high priority. They can focus on restoring more equal opportunity and an improved environment, health care, and education. We can change things by being active in the political process.

Dr. Otto Kernberg addressed “Malignant Narcissism, Mass Psychology, and Individual Responsibility.” For over four decades, Kernberg has been a leading figure in psychoanalysis, writing on borderline personality disorders, narcissism, love, object relations, and other topics. He said his talk would try to integrate psychopathology and social psychology, and that he would discuss ideology formation, group process, leadership, and psychopathology of personality.

Ideologies are belief systems that unify a group, and that vary along a continuum from humanistic at one

pole to narcissistic and paranoid at the other. Increases in social stress can cause ideology to lose coherence, and intensify paranoia and narcissism. If grandiose leaders emerge, they can trigger activities that result in mass violence. Fundamentalists—who exhibit paranoia, believe in absolute good, and wish to restore lost ideals and a kind of purity—are especially vulnerable to such dynamics.



Bion showed how in small groups, confidence in a leader can reduce anxiety. In large groups, anxiety can turn to aggression and so the group wants to have reassuring leaders who can keep things under control and restore restraint. A leader with high morality who can resist corruption can promote social stability. But there can also be psychopathology in individuals and groups. Freud showed how individuals in mass movements tend to identify with leaders who promote aggression.

In pathological cases, there is failure to integrate self and ego identity. Ideology may become fragmented, normal narcissism may turn pathological. And a grandiose narcissism can turn malignant. Narcissism becomes malignant when it combines with aggression, paranoia and anti-social tendencies. When members of a group succumb to such dynamics, they may turn to a malignant narcissist to lead them. Group regression has then occurred, and the malignant leaders and followers use power to attack out-

groups, and thus unleash sadism. It can reach the level where coercion can prevail, and democracy can be undermined.

History has given us examples where malignant narcissism becomes the order of the day. Kernberg held up a copy of Yale historian Timothy Snyder's recent book, *On Tyranny*. Snyder shows how developments in Europe in the 1920s and 1930s led to fascist dictatorships and world dis-

order. Kernberg thinks that an educated society can work together to protect itself against these developments. But clearly, he also thinks that in times of stress, malignant leaders can gain power and then pose threats to democracy.

In presenting two of the leading experts on narcissism, the NAAP provided a public service showing again how applied psychoanalysis can illuminate pressing public issues.

Ken Fuchsman, Ed.D. is President of the International Psychohistorical Association and a retired professor and administrator from University of Connecticut. He is a widely published psychohistorian and a member of the Editorial Boards of Clio's Psyche and The Journal of Psychohistory. Ken can be reached at kfuchsman@gmail.com

PSYCHOHISTORY BULLETIN BOARD

The International Psychohistorical Association will be holding its 41st Annual Conference at New York University from May 30th to June 1st this year. The Keynote Speakers are Carol Gilligan author of *In A Different Voice* and James Gilligan, author of *Violence: Reflections on a National Epidemic*. Plenary Speakers include Bandy Lee, editor of *The Dangerous Case of Donald Trump*, George Makari, author of *Revolution in Mind: The Creation of Psychoanalysis*, Daniel Shaw, who has written *Traumatic Narcissism*, and Brian D'Agostino, former IPA president and author of *The Middle Class Fights Back*. For more information on the Conference go to psychohistory.us Direct any questions to kfuchsman@gmail.com

Paul H. Elovitz, former President of the International Psychohistorical Association, will have his book *The Making of Psychohistory: Origins, Controversies, and Pioneering Contributors* published in Spring 2018 by Routledge. The scheduled publication date is April 27, 2018. Among the psychohistorical pioneers profiled are Rudy Binion, Lloyd deMause, Peter Gay, Robert Lifton, and Peter Loewenberg. There will be two panels on this first history of psychohistory at this year's psychohistory conference (see previous item). John Jay Professor Charles Strozier, Harvard's Lawrence Friedman, and SUNY-Rockland's David Beisel will be among the panelists.

Psychoanalytic Thinking: A Dialectical Critique of Contemporary Theory and Practice by Donald L. Carveth will also be published by Routledge in April 2018. As well, Dr. Carveth will participate in a panel on his book at this year's psychohistory conference. He is an Emeritus Professor of Sociology and Social and Political Thought and a Senior Scholar at York University, Toronto, Canada. He is past Director of the Toronto Institute of Psychoanalysis and a past Editor-in-Chief of the *Canadian Journal of Psychoanalysis/Revue Canadienne de Psychanalyse*. Dr.

Carveth critically evaluates works of Freud and major post-Freudian contributions to psychoanalytic thought including chapters on Klein, Lacan, Ernest Becker, Fromm and more. Carveth shows what to him is enduring in post-Freudian psychoanalytic contributions. He also subjects them to a dialectically deconstructive method of critique that to him is integral to the best psychoanalytic thinking.

Molly Castelloe's Gradiva award winning film, *Vamik's Room*, has been selected to be shown at the Freud Museum in London this summer. This documentary explores the work and significance of Vamik Volkan's application of psychoanalysis to help resolve international and cultural conflicts. Volkan has worked with former President Jimmy Carter and former Russian leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

Veteran psychohistorian and Emeritus Professor at the University of Mary Washington, Dan Dervin authored *The Digital Child: The Evolution of Inwardness in the Histories of Childhood*, also a Routledge publication. In this book, Dervin traces six historical stages of how Western culture conceived childhood, particularly with reference to evolving concepts of inwardness. These are: tribal, pedagogical, religious, humanist, rational, and citizen, culminating in a new stage at present, digital child, which has emerged from current unprecedented and pervasive technological culture. Dan Dervin has also written *Enactments: American Modes and Psychohistorical Models* and *Creativity and Culture: A Psychoanalytic Study of the Creative Process in the Arts, Sciences, and Culture*.

On Saturday April 21, 2018, Psychohistory Forum presents IPA President Ken Fuchsman on "What Does It Mean To Be Human: An Interdisciplinary and Psychohistorical Approach," 9:45 AM – 1:00 PM, Fordham University-Lincoln Center, Manhattan. If you would like to attend, contact Paul Elovitz at cliospsycheeditor@gmail.com

Helix Center Roundtable on Mind and Brain

On February 10th, 2018 the Helix Center in Manhattan held a roundtable on “Mind Matters: Past, Present, and Future.” Directed by Dr. Edward Nersessian and Associate Director Robert Penzer, The Helix Center seeks to draw together leaders from distinct spheres of knowledge in the arts, humanities, sciences, and technology for roundtable discussions that are unconstrained by research funding and disciplinary turf considerations; see www.helixcenter.org Dr. Nersessian is Clinical Professor of Psychiatry at Weill-Cornell Medical College (co-sponsor of the History of Psychiatry Institute) and Training and Supervising Psychoanalyst at the New York Psychoanalytic Institute. One of his major concerns is the multidisciplinary study of the imagination. The topic of this roundtable was how our understanding of mind has evolved in light of Twentieth and Twenty-First Century advances in neuroscience, cognitive science, and philosophy.

Jonathan Kramnick, who is Maynard Mack Professor of English at Yale University, presented a humanistic perspective on mind. Reflecting his research and teaching background in Eighteenth-century literature and philosophy and the subject matter of his new book *Paper Minds: Literature and the Ecology of Consciousness* (University of Chicago Press, 2018), Kramnick asked what distinctive knowledge the literary disciplines and literary form can contribute to discussions of perceptual consciousness, created and natural environments, and skilled engagement with the world.

Barbara Gail Montero, Professor of Philosophy at the City University of New York, noted how arbitrary it is to believe that brain processes are “the basis” of the mind, arguing that one could equally well say that

by **Brian D’Agostino**

culture or social processes are the basis of the mind. She noted that increasingly detailed knowledge of causal mechanisms does not necessarily amount to “explanation,” which requires answers to “why” questions. In her book, *Thought in Action: Expertise and the Conscious Mind* (Oxford University Press, 2016) Montero argues for the importance of conscious, self-reflective thought and awareness in high-level skills. She is currently working on a book that dissolves the body-side of the mind-body problem.



The third panelist, John Krakauer, is Professor of Neurology and Neuroscience, Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine, Director of BLAM Lab, Co-founder of the KATA project, and co-author of *Broken Movement: The Neurobiology of Motor Recovery after Stroke* (MIT Press, 2017). He cited the “Mechanistic Cognitive Neuroscience” project being launched at the Janelia Research Campus of the Howard Hughes Medical Institute. The goal of this project is to model cognitive processes and behavior at the level of circuits, cells, and molecules, beginning with research on fruit flies, which have a relatively simple nervous system. Krakauer expressed skepticism that neuroscience on this basis will ever be able to bridge the gap between brain and mind. All the other panelists agreed with Krakauer about the limits of reductive neuroscience.

While agreeing with Krakauer about the limits of reductive neuroscience, Kenneth Miller was more optimistic about prospects for the field and for an eventual unified understanding of mind and brain. Miller is Professor of Neuroscience at Columbia University and Director of its Center for Theoretical Biology. He mentioned how neuroscience has revolutionized pre-scientific understandings inherited from Aristotle and noted that the science of complex systems is compensating for the limitations of reductionism by putting our increasingly detailed knowledge of parts into the context of larger and more comprehensive wholes.

George Makari, Director of The DeWitt Wallace Institute for the History of Psychiatry and author of *Soul Machine: the Invention of the Modern Mind* (W.W. Norton, 2015), noted that notwithstanding the limitations of projects such as “Mechanistic Cognitive Neuroscience,” the National Institutes of Health is requiring researchers to go in this direction if they want to receive grants, for example, by requiring that research proposals in psychology and psychotherapy include references to biomarkers or neural circuits underlying the psychological phenomena being studied. Nevertheless, he argued, intention and top-down regulation are essential to understanding the mind.

Brian D’Agostino, Ph.D. is an educator, researcher, and the author of numerous publications on political psychology and public affairs including *The Middle Class Fights Back: How Progressive Movements Can Restore Democracy in America*. He is Communications Director of the International Psychohistorical Association and Editor of Psychohistory News. Brian can be reached at bdagostino2687@gmail.com