AN ADDENDUM TO
"MISCONCEPTIONS ABOUT BERTRAM DAVID LEWIN (1896-1971)"

Propaganda

"It is hoped that the study may be helpful in gaining a deeper insight into
Adolph Hitler and the German people and that it may serve as a guide for
our propaganda activities as well as our future dealings with them."


& “Preface” to A Psychoanalytic Analysis of Hitler: His Life and Legend (1943, p. 2).

Philosophically, one may speculate to what extent---if any---the wartime Office of
Strategic Services may have compromised the personal integrity of its field personnel?

A Modicum of Truth²

In an article entitled Jews in the Development of American Psychoanalysis: the First
Fifty Years, Arnold D. Richards (2007) wrote inter alia:

"Meanwhile [Abraham A.] Brill's New York Society and Institute
maintained its Jewish leadership. In 1937-1938 Bertram Lewin, born in
Texas but trained in Berlin, was president. During his term Walter Langer,
a Gentile analyst training in Vienna, came back to New York seeking help
in getting the remaining Jewish psychoanalysts out of Europe. Lewin
refused this help, on the grounds that there were already too many
psychoanalysts in the country and certainly in New York (Langer and
Gifford, 1978). In 1938, however, Lawrence Kubie succeeded Lewin as
president. Kubie was a German Jew, and with another psychoanalysts
from a wealthy German Jewish, New York family, Bettina Warburg, he

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¹ Paper referenced between quotation marks in the above-captioned title was posted at

² Paper referenced between quotation marks in the above-captioned title was posted at
organized the Rescue Committee, which provided passports, money, and jobs for almost all of the Jewish psychoanalysts in Europe who were at risk" (pp. 710-713).

The Jewish ancestry of the latter trio was of 2nd-generation vintage; a couple of their grandparents had indeed been German-born émigrés.

Cited in Richards's above-quoted text is an essay entitled "An American Analyst in Vienna During the Anschluss, 1936-1938" by Walter C. Langer (hereafter W. C. Langer [1899-1981]) and Sanford Gifford (1978a). Excerpted therefrom, in part, is a 'first person' letter-narrative written by its senior co-author on June 29, 1975, to wit:

"I contacted the Princess [Marie Bonaparte] upon my arrival [in Paris] and she was most gracious and invited me to tea. I delivered the letter from Professor Freud and she was most interested in what was happening to her analytic friends, as well as the situation in general, as it was developing in Vienna. She was greatly intrigued by my plan of going to the United States for the purpose of soliciting blank affidavits, which I could subsequently use for those persons who were in the most imminent danger. She was somewhat skeptical about the possibility of finding people who would assume such a responsibility, without even knowing the person involved or the possibility of their becoming self-supporting. I assured her that if this was stumbling block, I had a long list of very worthwhile people who that I could tell them about and let them make their choice. What I could not guarantee was that the person they chose would still be at liberty to leave by the time I returned. She saw my point and wished me the very best of luck
and made me promise that I would report the results of my mission when I returned to Paris. She assured me that in the meantime she would make every effort to help the analytic group. My reception by the President of the New York Psychoanalytic Society was far from heartwarming. He read the letter from Professor Freud that I had brought and inquired about conditions in Vienna[^3]. I asked if he and some of the other members of the Society would sign some of the affidavits that I had brought, but he declined saying that he would have to take it up with the Board. I pointed out that this was really a matter of life and death which required prompt action, and suggested that I stop on my way back to Vienna the following week and pick up the affidavits, if they decided in favor of signing them. But he declined, saying that he did not know what they would do with these analysts in New York City and besides they would work through the State Department, if that was the decision of the Board. I do not know what action the Board decided to take, if any..." (p. 42).

It is noted that W. C. Langer's forgoing testimonial was written a third of a century after the so-called "facts" recounted by him ostensibly occurred and were thereafter published. His belated recollections (i.e., as recapitulated in Richards's cited essay and echoed by others) were apparently articulated in what appears to have been a feeble exercise at 'masking' the identity of the then deceased Lewin.

**Further Contextual Nuances**

That Lewin uttered the exact words attributed to him by W. C. Langer seems
arguendo quite plausible. The latter, in response to a pointed request by Gifford, had been encouraged to comment about the "special difficulty for non-medical American psychoanalysts trained abroad, who were denied admission to American analytic training centers in contrast to a small number of distinguished European non-physicians who were accepted" (Langer & Gifford, ibid., p. 53). W. C. Langer thereupon responded with a clarifying letter to Gifford written on February 17, 1976, in part, as follows:

"Confidentially, I sort of had the feeling that the early medical psychoanalysts who were instrumental in formulating the policies of our American institutes considered it a most effective way of closing the door to competition, in much the same way that the trade unions have done. This is probably an injustice, but I cannot help but think back to the remark that the President of the New York Psychoanalytic Institute made when I approached him for affidavits: 'What in the world would we do with all these additional analysts?' ..." (ibid.).

The context of the obtuse 'side-thoughts' reputedly voiced by Lewin in 1938 merit a more exhaustive inquest than the reductionist mantra most recently reiterated by Riccardo Steiner⁴ (2011):

"According to Gifford (1999), when Walter Langer, an American psychoanalyst who trained in Vienna with Anna Freud, and who would later write the most important psychoanalytic study of Hitler, presented a request, signed by Sigmund Freud himself, to the New York Psychoanalytic Society for visa for Austrian colleagues he was trying to help, Bertram Lewin, the President of the Society, expressed very openly and vocally his worries about another thirty Austrian analysts..."
coming to New York..." [underlining added for emphasis] (footnote #320, p. 571).

What other probative evidence had W. C. Langer, Gifford, Richards or Steiner ever adduced about Lewin's political sympathies during his tenure as President of the New York Psychoanalytic Society beginning in 1936 until the Anschluss? Are we to suppose—bottomed upon the foregoing quoted characterizations of Lewin—that he was an implacable isolationist or someone who eschewed any hint of commiseration with other colleagues about America's inability to earlier confront the reality of Adolf Hitler's inevitable rise to power? Available archival documentation referenced hereunder contradicts such conjectural inferences.

If the context of W. C. Langer's "stand-alone" recapitulation of his "Lewin-targeted" attitudes seem trustworthy, should one not then investigate the scope of their post-1938 interactions? Although Lewin had been listed as one of three co-authors of the 1941 report of "The Emergency Committee on Relief and Immigration of the American Psychoanalytic Association" (Warburg, B., Lewin, B. D. & Kubie, L. S.), it is understandable that W. C. Langer had not been cognizant of their pre-Pearl Harbor humanitarian undertakings (Ginsburg, op. cit., 2011 & Ginsburg, 2009, op. cit.). What other factors, one may ask, may have motivated W. C. Langer to distance himself from Lewin despite their obvious collaboration with one another during World War II?

More Subterfuge

During the early autumn of 1943, the aforementioned report (i.e., A Psychological Analysis of Hitler: His Life and Legend) was duly signed and dispatched to Washington by W. C. Langer. A facsimile of its title page is appended as Fig. 1 (p. 8).

The circumstances under which W. C. Langer (1975) had purportedly been authorized by William J. Donovan himself “to write one of the first ‘psychobiographies’ of Adolf Hitler (p. 47) may not have been as straightforward as the author of The Mind of
Adolf Hitler: The Secret Wartime Report had led his readers to suppose. The colorful “Wild Bill” (i.e., as he had been popularly known since serving as a Colonel during World War I) and the aforementioned Langer had both survived "gassing" at the front. Donovan rose to the rank of General during World War II. Throughout the 1941-1943 period in question, “Wild Bill” headed the wartime O.S.S. During the same period, W. C. Langer's older brother (i.e., William L. Langer [1896-1977]), served as Deputy Director of the newly founded O.S.S. according to an oral history enunciated by one of his sons (L. Langer, 1999, p. 32).

W. L. Langer was likewise a World War I veteran and became a distinguished academician at Harvard University. When his brother's aforementioned manuscript was ultimately touted for commercial publication, it contained a “Forward” written by W. L. Langer (1971, pp. v.-viii) in which he seemingly tried to insulate himself against the appearance of having ever exercised any nepotism in his younger brother's behalf. The incubation of the "Psychoanalytic Field Unit," under the aegis of W. C. Langer, was anchored in Boston where he resided and conducted a clinical practice (op. cit., 1971, pp. 8 & 12). As previously noted, A Psychological Analysis of Hitler: His Life and Legend (W. C. Langer et al., 1943) had been circulated to a restricted circle of readers. In 'hush-hush' espionage parlance, this precursor study became known as the so-called "Hitler Source Book" (W. C. Langer, 1971, p. 16).

Unattributed Co-authorship vis-à-vis Silenced Voices?

The ballyhoo attending the 1971 "best seller" by W. C. Langer is devoid of any mention that Lewin---among others---had earlier been credited as collaborating contributors to the 1942-1943 so-called "Hitler Source Book" study. Judging from W. C. Langer's successive accounts (1971, op. cit., pp. 37-54 & 1976, op. cit., p. 20), Prof.
Henry A. Murray [1893-1988] was the most-likely unnamed collaborator who reputedly found it "inconvenient" to meet with the others during 1942-1943 in New York. Murray's World War II service was as a Lt. Col. in Washington while attached to the O.S.S. He as well as the aforementioned Deputy Director W. L. Langer, had both been pre-World War II as well as post-war academicians at Harvard University.

Plagiarism often casts ugly shadows upon one's literary oeuvre. Here we have an author (W. C. Langer, 1971, pp. 271-280) whose endnote data denoted pages from the "Hitler Source Book" (Langer et al, 1943) via bracketed references from another subsidized study in which he originally billed himself as the putative 'lead author' and/or---at most---a "Consultant" amongst a trio of other Contributors. At page 271, W. C. Langer (op. cit.) conceded that he had appropriated certain segments of their unattributed earlier input. By his own admission, such data could no longer qualify for classification as "SECRET." Unlike W. C. Langer, however, there is no known discernible evidence in the B. D. Lewin Papers disclosing that its progenitor ever opted to break the O.S.S.-imposed (i.e., and ultimately lifted) “conspiracy of muteness.”

In effect, W. C. Langer thereby "metabolized" the fruitful work of Lewin and others whom he had enlisted as gratis compatriots in supporting his personally billable Federal project (i.e., the "Hitler Source Book"). Then he selectively collated their respective research into his own commercially marketed production (i.e., re-titled as The Mind of Adolf Hitler: The Secret Wartime Report) in which he characterized his role in the 1943 forerunner’s compilation as "a kind of free-lance consultant" (1971, p. 9).

How 'heavily' had W. C. Langer edited the 'volunteer' research and professional expertise of his collaborators? The reader has been merely informed that their "collective efforts had to be abandoned,"
A PSYCHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS
OF
ADOLPH HITLER:
HIS LIFE AND LEGEND

by

Walter C. Langer

M. O. Branch
Office of Strategic Services
Washington, D.C.

With the collaboration of-

Prof. Henry A. Murray, Harvard
Psychological Clinic
Dr. Ernst Kris, New School for Social Research
Dr. Bertram D. Lewin, New York Psychoanalytic Institute
perhaps because of his "suspected procrastination" (i.e., as he, in part, put it) in completing the assigned task in a timely manner (ibid., p. 22). Budgetary funds were, nevertheless, found to compensate him for his German translation of the earlier microfilmed English version of *A Psychological Analysis of Hitler: His Life and Legend* (W. C. Langer et al., 1943) which was formally declassified on March 12, 1968 (Fig. 1). He ultimately informed the readers of his 1971 readership thusly:

"In order that the study might not perish completely I intend to bequeath my personal copy to the Harvard University Library as a curio which some future scholar might find of interest" (1971, op. cit., p. 27).

It remains unclear whether or not his estate representatives, if any, ever completed such a delivery in the deceased testator’s behalf.

It has been well documented that the British Foreign Office, the U. S. State Department, Ambassador William C. Bullitt, Jr., Princess Marie Bonaparte and Ernest Jones abetted the rescue of certain besieged psychoanalysts from a menaced Europe. By way of contrast, a paucity of information has been elicited date about the conjoint efforts of historical personages such as Edward G. Glover, Bettina Warburg, Bertram D. Lewin and Lawrence S. Kubie in their mobilization of international relief efforts in safeguarding of such refugees from the Nazi Führer’s grip. Long accessible and readily available archival resources remain unexamined by many researchers and await further historical scrutiny.

**Endnotes**

¹See Microfilm Shelf no. 19,236.1, p. 2 in container #16 of the *Bertram David Lewin Papers* in the Manuscript Division at the Library of Congress is hereafter simply referenced as the *B. D. Lewin Papers*; the *Office of Strategic Services* is hereafter simply referenced as the *O.S.S.*

²It is indisputable that W. C. Langer's efforts, on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean, in
behalf of refuge-seeking Jewish psychoanalysts were praiseworthy. His rationale, however, in gaining entry to Anna Freud's consultation room in Vienna in 1936 seems less ennobling. Looking back in 1975, he wrote *inter alia:* "...my underlying hope was that Anna Freud herself might conduct [my] analysis if I was accepted. In order to further this hope, I dangled a little bait which I thought might be appealing to her. This consisted of the fact that I was not born until four months after my father's death. Furthermore, my mother had never remarried, and since there were no close uncles or other father surrogates, I had never known any thing, as a child, except a mother who was compelled to play all roles at all times for three developing boys. I also pointed out that, after my analysis with Dr. Peck, I was convinced that only a female analyst could successfully unravel the complex emotional relationship which resulted from these unusual circumstances. I do not know whether it was the bait or my other qualifications that won the day. In any case, a month or so later she wrote and said that she had submitted my letter to the Admission Committee and that they had voted to accept me as a candidate. As far as a training analyst was concerned, she would be in a position to undertake the analysis...' (p. 50).

3 By way of contrast, see container #5 of the *B. D. Lewin Papers* authenticating concrete instances about the plight of Jewish analysts in Europe when Prof. Felix Frankfurter exchanged correspondence with Lewin during calendar year 1936. Further such archival data suggests that his advocacy in behalf of the imprisoned Edith Jacobson was instrumental in paving the way for her release from jail. It is likewise noted that Lewin was no stranger to acting as a *trans*-Atlantic courier for Freud and members of his family. See container #1 of the *B. D. Lewin Papers* for the 1926 written by Lewin to his mother-in-law (*i.e.*, Irma Benjamin).

4 In the bibliography cited by Steiner (2011, *ibid.*, p. 586), one finds the following entry:
"Gifford, S. (1999). The rediscovery of Walter Langer, 1899-1981. Unpublished paper. Colloquium on the History of Psychiatry, Countway Medical Library, Harvard Medical School, 4 November 1999. (Courtesy of the author)." In Steiner's Index to another of his works, he (2000) had occasion to comment about Lewin over five separate pages of his text predicated upon "second hand" and tertiary hearsay from other intermediaries. Although Steiner alluded to an array of Lewin's reputed interactions with Ernest Jones, the Preface of the work in question included the following assertion: "...I do not believe that the uncovering of other documents would seriously alter my reconstruction of events as far as Jones is concerned" (p. x). It is obvious that communications were, in part, conducted "around" Jones in his official capacity as the titular leader of the International Psycho-Analytic Association. Steiner's declaration that his "reconstructions of events as far as Jones is concerned" appears boastful. Might it not have proven enlightening for Steiner to have been privy to the thrust of one of Anna Freud's---non-Jones monitored communications---such as her February 14, 1936 personal letter to Lewin (i.e., "If ever I could have two hours' quiet talk with you, I feel it could do much to clear up old misunderstandings. I would have liked that very much to happen at the last Congress but something evidently was against it...")? Other archived communications undercut Steiner's certitude about the propriety of his ex post facto 'reconstructions' concerning what the "uncovering of other documents" in other archives about Jones may or may not have established. It is indeed ironic that the title of Steiner's (2011, op. cit., p. 505) latest opus is predicated upon a fragment (i.e., which he excerpted and then 'headlined' in the title of his paper) from a 1934 letter addressed to A. A. Brill by Anna Freud. Amongst her correspondence with Lewin, is a 1936 congratulatory letter (i.e., which pointedly excluded Jones from their continuing 'loops' of trans-Atlantic communications via Ruth
Mack Brunswick, Helen Ross, et al.). Prime Minister A. N. Chamberlain gave his "Peace for Our Time" speech on September 27, 1938; England did not declare war against Germany until almost a year afterwards.

In a recent biography of Gen. Donovan, the solitary comment of the author (Waller, 2011) about a post-mortem psychological assessment surrounding the killing of Admiral W. F. Canaris (i.e., the Abwer chief) follows: "Walter Langer, William Langer's brother and top psychologist on Donovan's staff, sent him a memo speculating that Hitler may have 'staged' the assassination attempt [upon himself] to demonstrate that he was invincible and lift German morale. That was not the case...!" (p. 263).

Ernst Kris [1900-1957], like Lewin, was a clinically experienced psychoanalyst, based in New York.

W. C. Langer, in amplifying his own post-war and pre-publication activities, refrained from invoking comparable restrictions in disseminating the aggregated 'work-product' emanating from the so-called "Hitler Source Book" project researched under governmental auspices. He and/or his publisher presumably accorded themselves an interim license to break what seems to have been a “conspiracy of muteness” apparently honored by Lewin and other of his 'team-mates.' In the words of Robert G. L. Waite (1971): "I first read his [Langer's] study several years ago..." (p. 219). Insofar as Lewin's collaboration with W. C. Langer is concerned, one need merely examine container #16 of the B. D. Lewin Papers. The text leading to W. C. Langer's footnote #10 (1978) stated: “…The Mind of Hitler was...classified as Secret until 1971" (p. 52). Not until 1971, by its author’s reckoning was he formally authorized to submit his personal version of The Mind of Adolph Hitler for publication. The names of H. A. Murray, E. Kris and B. D. Lewin were effectively exorcised from all of its successive editions.
References

Freud, A. (1934). February 28th letter to A. A. Brill. In: "In all questions, my interest is not in the individual people but in the analytic movement as a whole. It will be hard enough here in Europe in the times to come to keep it going. After all, we are just a handful of people who really have that in mind..." In: The International Journal of Psycho-Analysis, vol. 92(3): p. 505.


Steiner, R. (2011). "In all questions, my interest is not in the individual people but in the psychoanalytic movement as a whole. It will be hard enough here in Europe in the times to come to keep it going. After all, we are just a handful of people who really have that in mind..." In: The International Journal of Psychoanalysis, vol. 92(3): pp. 505-591.


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