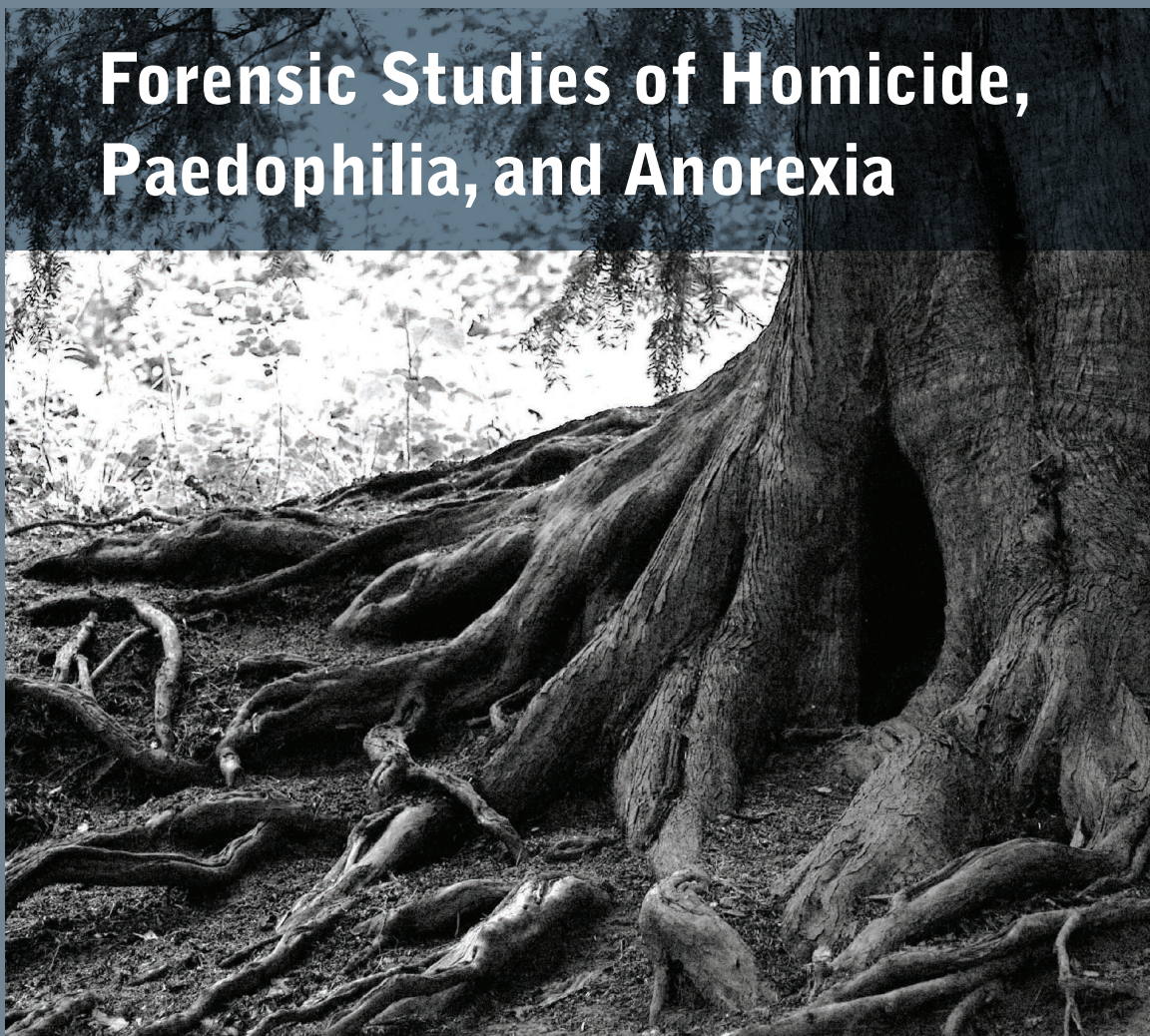


UNDERSTANDING DUNBLANE AND OTHER MASSACRES

Forensic Studies of Homicide,
Paedophilia, and Anorexia



Peter Aylward

ROUTLEDGE

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AND OTHER MASSACRES



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Paedophilia, and Anorexia

Peter Aylward

(with collaboration from Gerald Wooster)

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“Knockin’ on Heaven’s Door”

Written by Bob Dylan

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*This book is dedicated to all victims, including those whose voice can
only be heard through their crimes*



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CONTENTS

<i>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</i>	ix
<i>ABOUT THE AUTHOR</i>	xi
<i>FOREWORD</i> <i>by Lord Alderdice</i>	xiii
<i>PREFACE</i>	xv
<i>CHAPTER ONE</i> Palindrome spotting within the calendar of the mind: detecting the re-enactment of original trauma in the crime	1
<i>CHAPTER TWO</i> Perverse triangulation	23
<i>CHAPTER THREE</i> Murder: persecuted by jealousy	37

<i>CHAPTER FOUR</i>	
Crossing the divide	51
<i>CHAPTER FIVE</i>	
The revenge involved in diagnosing untreatability	63
<i>CHAPTER SIX</i>	
Boy do I exist! The avoidance of annihilatory terror through paedophilic acts	79
<i>CHAPTER SEVEN</i>	
Digesting history as a lifesaver	99
<i>CHAPTER EIGHT</i>	
In defence of the realm ... of emotion	125
<i>CHAPTER NINE</i>	
Understanding the Dunblane Massacre	151
<i>POSTSCRIPT</i>	197
Anders Breivik	
<i>REFERENCES</i>	207
<i>INDEX</i>	213

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I want to start by thanking Lord Alderdice for very generously giving his time in providing a supportive and insightful foreword. He emphasises that while there is substantial resistance to in-depth reflection on violent criminal acts there could be significant benefits for society if such informed understanding could be embraced, leading to the development of specific interventions to prevent similar incidents in the future.

I also want to thank Gabrielle Brown for her timely support and skills in not only editing the manuscript but also quite ironically drawing my attention to the need to triangulate better with the reader and avoid confusion, given that most of the chapters had hitherto been created for a conference presentation. This necessitated replacing “we” where Gerald and I had presented, with “I” as author of the text for the reader.

A big thank you to Jennie Harrison for her patience, commitment, and dedication in the invaluable administrative task she undertook in her spare time in making this publication possible.

I am also indebted to the many patients, patients’ families, and colleagues who have given their consent for me to publish their stories, all of whom have expressed the hope that future crimes might be

prevented as a result. In addition my thanks also go to my “siblings” in the psychotherapy department at Broadmoor Hospital for their support and understanding over the many challenging years of working in such a complex environment.

While I refer the reader to my preface I want to repeat here my gratitude to Gerald Wooster for his wisdom and guidance over the years.

I thank Karnac for providing me with this opportunity to give voice to a wider audience and to Brett Kahr for his facilitation.

Finally this book could not have been produced without the unwavering support and love from my wife and children where there has been a mirroring of significant events linking our personal and professional lives.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Peter Aylward undertook his psychoanalytic training after exemplary service for fifteen years in the Metropolitan Police Service as a Special Branch officer (1977–1992). Following graduation at the Foundation for Psychotherapy and Counselling (FPC) he married the two together to specialise in forensic psychotherapy at Broadmoor Hospital where he has worked as a member of the psychotherapy department since 1996. He also consults and supervises with clinical teams in a wide variety of other National Health Service (NHS) settings, primarily at the Maudsley and Bethlem Royal Hospitals, and including the National Eating Disorder Service, the National Specialist Day Service for Complex Personality Disorder, the National Self Harm Unit, the National Child Care Assessment (expert witness) Service, the Bill Yule Adolescent Medium Secure Unit, and the National Psychosis Unit. He also runs a private practice offering further individual treatments and supervisions.

Peter Aylward has primarily focused his clinical work on understanding murder. This has been achieved by taking particular account of the perpetrator's trans-generational family history, and he has pursued a breakthrough of the knowledge in this area. This has been achieved in his time in supervision with Dr Gerald Wooster, FRC Psych, who received his psychoanalytic training at the British Psychoanalytical

Society. Moreover, Dr Wooster's experience as a consultant in the NHS in London (in supervision and group practice), together with his avid interests in history and Shakespeare, all helped inform Aylward's work. In the high secure setting of Broadmoor Hospital, Aylward has assessed and treated a wide range of patients (including the most notorious) whose severe, complex, and enduring psychopathologies are inextricably linked to their offences of (serial) homicide and sex crimes. Also at Broadmoor he supervises the two homicide groups for men who have killed, which is a unique psychotherapeutic group programme not available anywhere else in the UK.

Given the prevalence of mass killings worldwide, exemplified by the atrocity in Norway last year, he has more recently sought to apply his understanding to mass killings and chose to research the Dunblane Massacre of 1996 culminating in its presentation at both the International Association of Forensic Psychotherapy (IAFP) Conference and the Group Analytic Society (GAS) Symposium last year (2011). It is his fervent belief emanating from his extensive experience that all such mass killings can be understood if the perpetrator's history is examined in depth.

FOREWORD

by Lord Alderdice

Individuals and communities react with rage and profound anxiety when confronted by violent criminal acts that they do not understand, especially multiple killings involving children, such as at Dunblane. While one can appreciate that this is a natural response, it does tend to make thoughtful reflection difficult and even render it suspect. The person who tries to explore why such events arise is often criticised as either being more sympathetic to the criminal than the victims, or at least as being naïve about the evil nature of those involved. This is unfortunate and counter-productive, not only because some of the community-anxiety could be ameliorated if such events were no longer regarded as frighteningly incomprehensible, but in addition understanding them better may raise the possibility of preventing some terrible events in the future.

Peter Aylward brings an unusual contribution to this important field because of his substantial and relevant experience in the police service and his subsequent training and psychoanalytically informed work in forensic settings. The first helps inoculate him against charges of naïveté about violent criminals and the second has provided him with tools to explore this extremely difficult area of work, both theoretically and in proposing effective interventions.

The public demand for “something to be done” after atrocious crimes encourages inquiries, professional, judicial, and otherwise, to focus on what procedures or public institutions were at fault in failing to stop the commission of the crime, and how better regulation or legislation might prevent such crimes in the future. However, this societal approach largely fails to address in-depth the questions of why this person committed this particular crime, at this time, and in this way. The value of Peter Aylward’s chapters is that in probing the background of the individuals concerned the author gives us good reason to believe that a detailed and in-depth examination of the personal and family histories of those who commit very violent crimes may go much further than merely suggesting in a general sort of way that those who have difficult childhoods are more likely to be troubled adults. He demonstrates in a number of cases that the timing, style, and context of these violent crimes may be very precisely understood. This suggests that if the individuals concerned—who have often been identified as vulnerable beforehand—could be properly assessed, it may be possible to develop specific interventions for them that could actually prevent the occurrence of the violent criminal offence, even if they remain very disturbed, unhappy people.

One might imagine that with the potential benefits being so significant these insights would be eagerly seized upon by the public and by the authorities and that substantial further research would promptly ensue. However, the experience of the relatively few forensic workers who have undertaken such an approach is that the resistances to public understanding are substantial. The value of these chapters is that they put into the public and professional domain sufficient material evidence that it may be hoped that other workers with courage and insight will be encouraged to build upon them by following similar lines of enquiry.

Individuals who have not been able to explore how their personal and family experience has left them captive by dangerous passions may be doomed to act on them. Since all societies contain such people it is in the interests of communities to act through informed understanding rather than react after injury and suffering. This series of chapters points in the right direction. For this the author is to be commended and I very much hope that his lead is followed.

*John, Lord Alderdice FRCPsych
House of Lords, London, SW1A 0PW*

PREFACE

This book is a collection of chapters, largely written during my time with Dr Gerald Wooster, where they passed through his reflective prism and were almost all jointly presented at consecutive IAFP (International Association of Forensic Psychotherapy) conferences, from 2002 to 2011. They individually and collectively emphasise the crucial importance of taking into account two key factors when attempting to understand the serious offender and the crime. The two factors are diagrammatically represented in the shape of a cross. The vertical (hierarchical) axis relates to the individual's trans-generational family history and the horizontal (peer) axis relates to sibling relationships. It is postulated that it is the complex combination of conflicts in both these areas from birth onwards that can lead to the sort of catastrophic events described in these pages.

These factors are too often ignored in history taking, leading to incorrect formulations from the start and the consequent lack of a more holistic treatment plan that includes the perpetrator within his or her family context. Such neglect, paralleled in the media and wider society, displaces understanding of the family context and life trajectory of the perpetrator and the crime, which all too often leads to non-reflective repetition compulsions and recidivism.

Most notably, my recent research into the Dunblane Massacre in Scotland (1996) illuminates this thinking, which I believe has general characteristics relevant to understanding all mass killings worldwide. It is all too common that explanations for such events are either inconclusive or, in my view, superficial, in focusing upon the political and/or religious beliefs alongside apparent grievances of the perpetrator and the need to review gun laws. While punishment for the crime is a vitally important part of the process, both for society as well as the offender (in mediating guilt), it is crucial that alongside the thinking that addresses “What have you done?” there is also sophisticated and truly reflective thinking focusing on “What has happened to you?”

This enables a full understanding of such events by embracing history, again, both for society (particularly the victims) and for the offender. Moreover, when distilled down, it is suggested that the essence of all conflict can be seen to be rooted in the origins of marginalisation and exclusion where the consequent feelings become uncontainable and erupt cataclysmically into violence.

I trust that this book will demonstrate that as individuals, families, and communities (the arena of “governance”) we need to move from the destructive domain of narrowed-down dyadic functioning, and embrace the opening out into triadic functioning. The former is exemplified in relating to the world as if there is only you and me, that there is only right or wrong, and that you are either for us or against us—creating scapegoats and the excluded and marginalised. The latter, more mature functioning, embracing the third standpoint, and intrinsic to inclusion, represents a universal requirement and the best and possibly only long-term and effective prophylactic to the acting-out scenarios described in the clinical cases in this book.

It would perhaps be remiss if I failed to include a little of my own history in relation to this book. In essence it represents the culmination of a period of immersion into the forensic arena from two very different yet linked perspectives. Prior to my psychoanalytic training I served for fifteen years in the Metropolitan Police Service, primarily in anti-terrorism. A highlight of the latter was the surveillance and arrest of Patrick Magee—the Brighton bomber. He received eight life sentences, although was released after fourteen years as part of the Northern Ireland peace process. Around twenty years later, on 19 May 2005, while waiting outside Dublin airport en route to attend the IAFP Conference (to present Chapter Four of this book “Crossing the divide”), I saw

Patrick Magee for the second time as we stood alongside each other waiting for a bus. While I chose not to speak to him regarding our shared experience, it served to highlight the two contrasting yet connected journeys we had undertaken since 1985 in reflecting upon forensic events. Moreover, given such links with Northern Ireland, I was delighted when Lord Alderdice agreed to contribute a foreword, particularly given that he embodies the very essence of addressing sectarianism and healing splits as an Alliance politician in Northern Ireland.

I have often been asked what had led me from policing (and in particular the specific type of policing I undertook) into the psychoanalytic world. My first response was to say that it always felt insufficient to just apprehend the perpetrator in that I was so curious to understand why he/she was driven to do what he/she did. I had therefore become as preoccupied with what had led him to do what he did as I had with what he did. Moreover, my time in undercover work could be described in such a way as to mirror working psychotherapeutically in the transference. That is, one's task is to enter into the subject's environment/world in such a way whereby trust develops and information is consequently shared, resulting in the prevention of future acting-out/crimes. Crucial to both processes is the importance of not going native and acting into the countertransference (being pulled into the internal world of the subject) by keeping one foot outside the door and holding on to the capacity to reflect and think one's own thoughts.

Pivotal to my own psychotherapeutic development was Sylvia Millier who helped me reconcile areas of my own history and unconscious and enabled me to negotiate the turbulent waters of training, graduation, and life after. When I was seeking a clinical supervisor for my work, Sylvia suggested Gerald Wooster. I have benefited considerably from Gerald's experience and his expansive approach to psychotherapy (which utilises his extensive knowledge and interest in Shakespeare) and how psychodynamic thinking can help us make sense of the political world. I continue to be impressed by his unwavering commitment to including the unconscious content in all conscious functioning. This was enhanced when he introduced me to the work of the Chilean psychoanalyst Ignacio Matte Blanco, which increased my capacity to think about emotions, using the concepts of "symmetry" and "asymmetry", which you will come across in the following chapters. The foregoing is all indicative of the crucial role of triangulating in all that we do (see Chapter Two "Perverse triangulation") and I know that Gerald's

meticulous attention in this area has had an influence in all of my work. My association with Gerald over the last fifteen years has been most valuable in developing my own thinking and work culminating in this collection of chapters, for which I am deeply grateful.

Given my police background and my psychoanalytic training I was fortunate in being able to marry the two to develop a specialism in forensic psychotherapy through my employment at Broadmoor. When I started working there in 1996 I received gold standard mentoring by Murray Cox whom I shadowed for six months, before he sadly died while undergoing heart surgery. With the exception of Chapters Seven and Nine, this book has been generated from my clinical work at Broadmoor and, apart from Chapters Seven and Eight, have all been presented at IAFP conferences. In all clinical cases informed written consent has been obtained, counter-signed by the patient's treating consultant.

The chapters follow in chronological order in relation to when they were written and presented. The perceptive reader will also notice that they represent an unfolding picture of my own psychotherapeutic development towards finding my own voice. This process started in 2002 in Stuttgart with detecting the re-enactment of original trauma by the acting-out through murder (Chapter One). In 2003 in Arnhem, the perversion of the triangulating process through serial sex offending was highlighted, through the killing off of the third (developmentally represented by the father) as a defence against psychic pain, associated with sibling arrival (see Chapter Two). Then, in 2004 in Edinburgh, the case of a patient who had been in treatment for murder (and has now been successfully rehabilitated) was discussed, and the exposition related to his internal conflict in feeling persecuted by jealousy originating from the very early experience of containing toxic projective processes from a traumatised mother whose husband had suddenly died, just before his birth (see Chapter Three). In 2005 in Dublin the presentation was of a clinical case of the murderous outcome following the inability to cross the divide from unconscious enactment to conscious reflection (see Chapter Four). The presentation in Oxford in 2006 considered the revenge inherent within psychiatry by suggesting "untreatability". I suggest that this stance is an extension of an inability to contain and process anxiety, which prevents movement towards a healthy triangulation in understanding (see Chapter Five). Chapter Six explores the dynamics of paedophilia from the viewpoint that the paedophile, through his offending, seeks to eliminate anxiety emanating from the

dreaded emotional experience of exclusion, isolation, emptiness, and non-existence. It is postulated that the paedophilic solution is rooted in his hatred of reality and of the natural order. In Venice in 2008 the fatal case of an anorexic patient was presented, illuminating the definitive position established in all previous presentations: the need for meaningful engagement with the past. Without such engagement the capacity to understand the terrors involved and thereby safely understand and contain them is irreparably disabled. Moreover, huge potential is then created for those terrors to become manifest (displaced) in a different way, thereby perpetuating the original conflict in another form (Chapter Seven). In London in 2010 (at a Bi-logic meeting where members discuss papers based upon the ideas of Ignacio Matte Blanco) the clinical case of a man convicted of the homicide of a woman and her two young children was presented to demonstrate the defences and identification processes which enabled him to protect himself from an awareness of his murderous feelings in relation to original family members and who they represented (Chapter Eight). Finally, last year in Edinburgh in 2011, the Dunblane chapter was presented which portrays the powerful picture of a man destined to act out the unresolved conflicts of his family history at a critical time, given the absence of a meaningful intervention into the historically perverse and enmeshed dyadic relationship with his mother. This absence of another dimension (ordinarily the father) to mediate between the two, ensured that through repetition compulsion he went on to relate to his environment as a re-enactment of his personal history—resulting in the massacre of innocence of infancy that was originally his own (Chapter Nine).

All nine chapters are necessarily detailed in describing family backgrounds and relationships (which I am very aware can challenge the reader to maintain triangulation) and contain within them a common thread of the importance of taking a meaningful account of history, which can become the forgotten past and is indicative of the psychological process of pushing away (repressing) into the unconscious. This emphasises the importance of taking particular note of the family order from one generation to the next. The parent whose child shares the same birth order (e.g., is like the parent in being the youngest child) can provide a greater intensity of (self) projective identification. This sometimes gives more of a boost, sometimes more of a burden, and may overlap or not with the idea of the favoured child or the wrong child in the next generation. It has been learnt—since the introduction

of the point by the Australian psychotherapist Averil Earnshaw—that crucial events often occur on those dates, sometimes destructive ones, like death or the onset of a serious illness, but sometimes ones of great creative change.

By triangulating the patient and his offence with his history, I hope it is demonstrated in the following chapters that real understanding and meaning can be achieved. For the victims and those affected by the crimes committed, such understanding can help the very difficult mourning processes. In the foregoing summary of chapters, I have also drawn attention to the importance of triangulating, for you the reader, that is, in needing to hold in mind the image of the chapter being presented at conference (engagement as listener) alongside the different experience as reader. Moreover, is it not that the former is a sharing of the intra-psychic with the inter-psychic and the interpersonal, while the latter lacks the interpersonal?

The triangulation process in stereotypically developmental terms represents the vital role of the father in his difference to the mother/child dyad, particularly the father's mediating role where there are enmeshment and perverse possibilities which Estela Welldon has brilliantly illuminated (1988, 2011). Moreover, I would like to think that this book in some small way contributes to her important body of work in drawing attention to the contribution to subsequent acting-out scenarios/crimes by the child in such a relationship, given the absence or or equally malevolent presence of the perverse father. The potential for the healthy difference that the father could represent is excluded and exacerbates the perversity of the mother/child dyad.

In my view, it is the excluded and the excluding (of difference) that is the greatest stimulus to acting-out and criminality, and I particularly refer the reader to my concluding comments in Chapter Nine on Dunblane. This third, represented developmentally by the father, is also symbolic of all thirds. It lies, as we know, at the core of the psychodynamic discipline where thinking and reflection and taking account of unconscious process is intrinsic to the patient/therapist dyad. As such, the third is ubiquitously susceptible to exclusion or, under powerful dynamic forces, to being excluded in ourselves, emphasising the important role that supervision has in our profession in triangulating the potential for any unhealthy dyadic processes that inevitably occur.

CHAPTER ONE

Palindrome spotting within the calendar of the mind: detecting the re-enactment of original trauma in the crime*

“The fathers have eaten sour grapes and the children’s teeth have been set on edge.”

—Jeremiah 31:29

This chapter describes an understanding of a patient unconsciously re-enacting, through homicide, an original trauma, at a critical time in her life, by suddenly “giving birth” to a crime that at once symmetrically matched the unexpected presentation of a sibling, by her mother. The offence, standing for the baby, albeit in a psychotic and delusional form, was the perpetrator’s way of playing back to her mother what had been played out to her at a much earlier time. This draws attention to the crucial importance of the lateral sibling relationships in families, in relation to subsequent acting-out scenarios of homicide, which the psychoanalytic world has been remiss in not sufficiently triangulating with the significance of the vertical relationships with parents.

*This chapter was first read at a meeting of the International Association of Forensic Psychotherapy (IAFP) Conference on 6 April 2002 in Stuttgart, Germany.

I allude in my title, and hope to present, the notion that a crime can be understood as representing an earlier trauma and that the trauma is being played back in the same form at an emotional level at a particular time. This reinforces the characteristic of the timelessness of the unconscious by suggesting that there is a calendar of the mind that may dictate the pertinence of both the timing and type of offence. “Palindrome” comes from the Greek *palindromos* meaning “running back again”, and is a word to describe something that is the same backwards as forwards. The sentence “Able was I ere I saw Elba” is the same when read forwards as when read backwards, and is therefore a palindrome. The traumatic experience I will focus upon will be the arrival of a sibling which, because of its ubiquity and ordinariness, is not always seen with its full psychotic and forensic possibilities. Juliet Mitchell in her publication on sibling relations and hysteria—*Mad Men and Medusas* (2000)—suggests that when a child is faced with the arrival of a sibling there is a protest against this by trying to become the only baby or favourite offspring: “By which time he is utterly dependent and helpless. The dread of the death-like experience of trauma, which is the equivalent of an absence of subject or ego, is warded off by a mimetic identification with another person” (Mitchell, 2000 p. 41).

The patient I will present demonstrates this mimetic (in mimicry) identification with her mother by giving birth to an offence (of murder) which symmetrically represents her mother giving birth to a sibling. The offence occurred at a time that matched a traumatic event experienced at the same point of time in her mother’s life. I shall refer to this as a “critical date”.

To give an example of critical dates:

Adolph Hitler, Dictator of Nazi Germany, was born on April 20th 1889. His father Alois was born in 1837 and was fifty-one when Adolph, his fourth child, was born. The next child, Edmund, was born in March 1894 when father was fifty-six. Alois had fathered three children, Gustav, Ida, and Otto before Adolph was born, when he was aged forty-eight, forty-nine and fifty, and they had all died in infancy. Adolph reached fifty-one in 1940, and having dealt with Czechoslovakia, Austria, Poland, France, Denmark and Norway he embarked on plans to subjugate the rest of the world ... Adolph reached 56 in April 1945 and is said to have shot himself in a bunker ten days after his fifty-sixth birthday. As noted above fifty-six was

his father's age when the next baby Edmund was born. Adolph's reign was over, as indeed in 1894 his reign as the only child had been when baby Edmund was born.

(Earnshaw, 1995, p. 108)

While I appreciate that there are considerable socio-political factors surrounding the story of Hitler, I want to draw attention to a time-linked factor of a killing off and displacement/replacement that represented a crime revisited.

I am here considering that something, in this case a trauma, is repeating itself, and that there is a "compulsion to repeat", a phrase coined by Freud to describe what he believed to be an innate tendency to revert to earlier conditions (Freud 1920, pp. 18–22). Through the repetition compulsion, the unconscious tries to master earlier traumatic experience, repeating or re-enacting it, without actually bringing it into conscious awareness in the form of a recollection (Freud, 1914). This is particularly relevant to the opportunity for repeat enactments in the transference, which may then be consciously understood and worked through in the clinical setting (Freud, 1914). Moreover, I wish to explore the observation that there is a correspondence between the dating of events which constitute repetitions and the dating of an original traumatic event. I shall illustrate this theory by using some clinical material in which the crime of murder was used by a patient to play back to her mother in a palindromic form what she felt was played out to her at an earlier time and that this occurred at a critical time in her own mind. I shall show that the dating of the two correspond to each other. The clinical tools that I shall use will include Klein's (1946) projective identification, Segal's (1978) symbolic equation, and Freud's (1900) ideas on the characteristics of the unconscious. Furthermore I shall make use of the important theories of the Chilean psychoanalyst Ignacio Matte Blanco (1975). For those unacquainted with his work I intend to offer a rudimentary introduction to the man and his thinking as I believe it will help in providing some clarity to what appears to be the illogical mind of the unconscious, and more exceptionally, the psychotic. For those more familiar with Matte Blanco's work the following will offer a little revision.

Before doing so, I want to briefly comment upon the recent completion of the genome project/the DNA (deoxyribonucleic) profile. Originally it held out the fantasy that it would provide an understanding

of how humans function. It is now a much more complex picture involving the production of proteins and their propensity to be affected by, amongst other things, intense emotional states. This raises the question about the capacity to inherit “time-tagged” DNA/protein, an issue to which I will return in the final chapter of this book. It was proposed that trans-generational factors are as relevant to the unfolding of trauma as they are to the present internal calendars that dictate when our teeth might erupt from our gums or whether and when our hair begins to go grey.

I will now lean extensively on the efforts of Eric Rayner, whose book *Unconscious Logic* (1995) provides a good introduction to Matte Blanco’s ideas. Matte Blanco’s thinking is a blend of classical psychoanalysis with mathematical logic, which at first sight appears esoteric and forbidding. While Matte Blanco is quite clear that psychoanalysis could not be practised based on bi-logic alone, once his ideas have been grasped, they add a new dimension to our thinking. In short, borderline/psychotic levels of thought are rendered more comprehensible. Of particular importance has been Matte Blanco’s new theoretical vision about “emotionality” and how strong affect acts as a bridge between psychoanalytic forms of theory and those of other disciplines.

A brief biographical picture might help to place Matte Blanco in context. He was born in 1908 in Chile and graduated in medicine at the University of Chile in Santiago. His interests soon turned towards psychiatry, particularly psychoanalysis, concentrations which led him to London in the mid-1930s. He undertook his first analysis with Walter Schmeideberg, a classical Freudian psychoanalyst and son-in-law of Melanie Klein. He went on to study under many of the best-known analysts at the time, including Klein, Anna Freud, and Ernest Jones, the founder of the British Psychoanalytic Society and one of the first and most faithful disciples of Freud himself. In 1940 he moved to America, where he was employed as an analyst and pursued his mathematical interest by attending weekly seminars with the esteemed mathematician Richard Courant. In 1948 he returned to Chile as chair of psychiatry at the University of Santiago in Chile. His work with psychotic patients was particularly notable at the time. “Psychosis”, being a term that encompasses many of the most severe and disturbed forms of mental illness, had been found to have been almost inaccessible by conventional psychoanalytic techniques and Matte Blanco’s interest focused on its phenomena. A desire to pursue his own theories led to another move in