

OSS & the Frankfurt School: Recycling the “damaged lives of cultural outsiders”

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The relationship between sociology, psychology, and O.S.S. espionage represents one of the most fascinating, but closeted triangles in recent American intellectual history. O.S.S. was laughingly referred to as “Oh So Social” because its ranks were filled with upper class old boys and society girls. In a period that spanned only four years (1941-1945), the O.S.S. and Office of Wartime Information (OWI) tapped the rising, fleeing and falling stars of the American and European academy.

In July 1941, General Wild Bill Donovan was asked to direct the Coordinator of Information (C.O.I.), which became O.S.S. in 1942. (i) Then O.S.S. and O.W.I. (later to become Voice of America) were one, but later split into two separate organizations. In 1945, when the war ended, the O.S.S. was disbanded, but the famed Research and Analysis branch, which at war’s end had grown to 900 scholars(ii), was moved into the C.I.A. in 1947.(iii)

In 1976, Ray S. Cline’s *Secrets Spies and Scholars Blueprint of the Essential CIA* uncloaked Herbert Marcuse as an O.S.S. sociologist in R & A’s “German section.”(iv) In 1987, Robin Winks’ classic *Cloak and Gown Scholars in the Secret War* named Paul Massing, Barrington Moore, Edward Shils as O.S.S. researchers, among many others in all branches of the social sciences.(v) In 1989, Barry Katz revealed the O.S.S. Central European Section of Research and Analysis had hired these members of the Frankfurt School: Marcuse, Franz Neumann, Otto Kirchheimer, Felix Gilbert;(vi) along with sociologists Morris Janowitz, Edward Shils, and Barrington Moore; and economist Paul Sweezy.(vii)

In 1996, Heideking & Mauch’s *American Intelligence and the German Resistance to Hitler* reconfirmed that Franz Neumann, Herbert Marcuse, and Max Horkheimer were members of O.S.S. R & A.(viii) Heideking and Mauch published an interesting O.S.S. memorandum by Marcuse which predicted the various scenarios the Nazi defeat would take called “Report by the OSS Research and Analysis Branch: Possible Patterns of German Collapse authored jointly by German exiles and former members of the New School for Social Research: Herbert Marcuse, Felix Gilbert, and Franz Neumann, analysts in the Central European Division of R & A since the end of 1942.”(ix) Marcuse, later to become Angela Davis’s mentor at Brandeis University, briefly served with the Office of War Information (O.W.I) before joining O.S.S.(x)

Previously, Robin Winks’ *Cloak and Gown* uncloaked the following O.S.S. sociology at Yale and Harvard: Barry Katz (19) revealed the O.S.S./O.W.I. wing of the Frankfurt School: Paul Massing, Barrington Moore, Edward Shils, (Kline) Heideking & Mauch’s *American Intelligence and the German Resistance to Hitler* (1996, p. 3) confirmed the following members of the O.S.S. R & A: Franz Neumann, Herbert Marcuse, Max Horkheimer. Report by the OSS Research and Analysis Branch: Possible Patterns of German Collapse authored jointly by German exiles and former members of the New School for Social Research: Herbert Marcuse, Felix Gilbert, and Franz Neumann, analysts in the Central European Division of R & A since the end of 1942. (Mauch, 1996, p. 87)

Claus Dieter Krohn's *Intellectuals in Exile Refugee Scholars and the New School for Social Research* outed John Herz , Hans Speier, Otto Kirchheimer as OSSers. Some great sociologists and classic 20th century social theorists were hired by U.S. military intelligence during World War II.

The O.S.S./ O.W.I. and other U.S. military intelligence agencies recycled what Adorno called “the damaged lives of cultural outsiders,”^(xi) when the U.S. inherited this treasure trove of German intellectuals after 1933. About 1200 academics lost their jobs in Germany in 1933, when 16% of all university faculty were dismissed. By 1938, it was 39% of all faculty.^(xii) Some academic fields were hit harder than others in Germany, particularly the social sciences where 47% of faculty were dismissed.^(xiii) Some German-Austrian social scientists found positions in the United States at the New School for Social Research, Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, Black Mountain College in North Carolina, and Roosevelt University in Chicago.^(xiv) U.S. universities could not accommodate all these intellectuals fleeing the Nazis; some had to do government consulting work outside the academy to supplement their income.

The Frankfurt School was of course part of this intellectual migration. Frankfurt School legends read like a who’s who in the social sciences: Erich Fromm, Herbert Marcuse, Teodor Adorno, Max Horkheimer, Paul Lazarsfeld, Otto Kirchheimer, Leo Lowenthal, Frederick Pollock and Franz Neumann. Franz Neumann is thought to have been the first member of the Frankfurt School to have been inducted into O.S.S.,^(xv) bringing Marcuse and some of his fellow Frankfurt Schoolers with him.

The Frankfurt School used two approaches to analyze Nazism, which O.S.S./O.W.I. utilized: the legal-political-economic approach led by Neumann; 2) the other approach led by Horkheimer, “explored the psychosocial mechanisms of obedience and sources of violence.”^(xvi) When Horkheimer took over the Institut in 1930, he sponsored an “empirical study of the mentality of workers in the Weimar Republic” to explain why the German proletariat had turned right instead of left. Erich Fromm was the project’s first director; “in later years, Anna Hartock, Herta Herzog, Paul Lazarsfeld, Ernst Schachtel all contributed to the attempt to complete the study.”^(xvii) It eventually fell to Teodor Adorno to complete the task which became the sociological classic, *The Authoritarian Personality*.^(xviii)

Claus Dieter Krohn’s *Intellectuals in Exile Refugee Scholars and the New School for Social Research* outed John Herz, Hans Speier, Otto Kirchheimer as O.S.S.ers.^(xix) Herz and Kirchheimer’s special O.S.S. assignment was civil service and union leadership for the Rand Corporation under Hans Speier.^(xx) Sociologist Hans Speier wrote some of the most fascinating sociology outside the academy for O.S.S. during World War II. On *German War Propaganda*,^(xxi) along with Austrian psychologist Ernst Kris^(xxii) (who was Erik Erikson’s art teacher in Vienna before the war).^(xxiii) Speier and Kris will be discussed at length in the next section on *Funkspiel* (radio game), along with Paul Lazarsfeld and Teodor Adorno, two sociologists not publicly known to have consulted for O.W.I. until this paper.

O.S.S. Psychoanalysis of Hitler’s Mind

While it is well known that Donovan recruited Walter Langer to lead the O.S.S. psychoanalysis of Hitler’s mind, it is not well known that Carl Jung, Erik Erikson, Hans Speier, and Gordon Allport psychoanalyzed Hitler’s mind for O.S.S.-O.W.I.-C.O.I.

Gordon Allport had worked with Murray as early as 1941 on an OSS project to analyze Hitler’s mind.^(xxiv) Some of this study of Hitler’s mind utilized both sociologists and psychologists analyses of Hitler’s radio speeches. Both Henry Murray^(xxv) and Ernst Kris had been mentors to young Erik Homburger Erikson, who was hired by C.O.I. (the predecessor to the O.S.S.) to listen to analyze Hitler’s radio speeches.^(xxvi) Erik Homburger Erikson wrote at least three studies for COI: 1) his analysis of Hitler’s radio speeches; 2) “On Submarine Psychology,” written for the Committee on National Morale for the Coordinator of Information (COI) (1940); and 3) “On the Feasibility of Making Psychological Observations in Internment Camps (COI) 1940

Erik Erikson was only one of many German -Austrian social scientists who were employed by U.S. military intelligence (e.g., COI/OSS/OWI/ONI) to listen to and analyze Nazi radio broadcasts, particularly Hitler's speeches. Erikson worked for C.O.I. in the early days of the O.S.S. then later the Office of Naval Intelligence (ONI).; Hans Speier and Ernst Kris worked for O.S.S. and O.W.I. Critical theorist Teodor Adorno and methodologist Paul Lazarsfeld worked as O.W.I. consultants to listen to and analyze America's wartime radio broadcasts.

OSS Family Tree Chart 1.

OWI Anthro.	Harvard Psych	Hitler Psych	OSS-Switzerland	London
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Kluckhohn	Murray	Jung	Bancroft	Dulles	Bruce	Donovan	
Benedict	Erikson	Mellon	Mellon		Mellon		
	Kris	Murray			Casey		
	Langer	Dulles	Hyde*	Hyde	Hyde	Hyde	
	Allport						

* I interviewed O.S.S.er Henry Baldwin Hyde 1995-1997 weekly.

Schlesinger

"I Don't Want to Be Jung's Footnote"

Jung, Bancroft & Dulles Socialite

Mary Bancroft is the pivot in a Swiss intelligence menage a trois between her two father figure-lovers, Berne-O.S.S. station chief Allen Dulles, and her therapist, Carl Jung. Dulles once impatiently told Mary, "I don't want to go down in history as a footnote to a case of Jung's!"

In 1944-45, Henry Hyde took four trips to see Allen Dulles in Switzerland to loan Dulles, a POW Czech radio operator named Wally, for Operation Sunrise. On one of these trips, Hyde traveled from Lyon to just inside the Swiss border where he was met by car by Mary Bancroft. Mary got out of the car; kissed Henri on both cheeks, and drove off in another car with a man. Hyde drove Mary's car to the Geneva Airport, picked up Paul Mellon (O.S.S.-MO) who had just flown in from England. Hyde drove Mellon to a beautiful old hotel overlooking Lausanne where Jung was waiting for him upstairs in a hotel room. Mellon's mission was to hear Jung's psychoanalysis of Hitler's mind and the German collective unconscious. Hyde waited for Mellon in the hotel lobby, then drove Mellon back after his meeting with Jung.

Paul and Mary Mellon had been patients of Jung's since 1938. Mellon wanted to see Jung again during the war; family therapy revisited. Paul and Mary, husband-wife patients of Jung, had raved to their brother-in-law OSS Station Chief London, David Bruce, who had married Paul's sister Aisle, about Jungian psychoanalysis. The David Bruce-Paul Mellon-Allen Dulles O.S.S. cable traffic from Switzerland to London officially confirms Jung's analysis of Hitler's mind for O.S.S.

Dante called the dead “shades.” Jung called what we don’t want to know about ourselves, our “shadow.” Jung wrote: “In Hitler, every German saw his own shadow, his own worst danger...” Freudian psychohistorians have argued that Hitler was Jung’s shadow. In 1934, Jung first denied the rumor that he sent Hitler coded messages over the radio. However, in 1938, Jung did diagnose Hitler, Mussolini and Stalin over the radio on journalist H.R. Knickerbocker’s show entitled, “Diagnosing the Dictators.” Jung was accused of having Goebbels as his patient, but denied it. However, he admitted meeting Goebbels and seeing Hitler and Mussolini at very close range in the thirties.

By 1943, Jung was rumored to be “Hitler’s doctor;” which he publicly denied in 1949. However, both Nazis and O.S.S. aristocracy were Jung’s patients. Hitler confidante Ernst Hanfstaengl, one of the trusted few to ever see Hitler’s “tidy, simple, ascetic bedroom,” reported to O.S.S. that “when he showed Dr. Jung a specimen of Hitler’s handwriting, the latter immediately exclaimed that it was a typically feminine hand.”(Langer) Jung’s work on Hitler’s Femininity is cited in the official OSS study of Hitler’s mind by Walter Langer.

Jung told Knickerbocker over the radio that Hitler “has a tremendous mother complex...The unconscious of a man is always represented by a woman; that of a woman always by a man.” Jung later elaborated on Hitler’s anima-possession by his female shadow: “...in Germany Hitler has an uncanny power of being sensitive to that collective unconscious. It is as if he knows what the nation is really feeling at any given time....One form under which the unconscious appears to a man is that of a female figure....Hitler has never gained a healthy relationship to this female figure, which I call the anima. The result is that he is possessed by it. Instead of being truly creative he is consequently destructive.”

Jung analyzed Hitler’s radio voice as the source of his power. His siren voice is “nothing other than his unconscious into which the German people have projected their own selves, that is, the unconscious of 78 million Germans.” Jung was consulted on Hitler’s mind not only by Dulles (SI), Mellon (MO), and Bruce (SI) of O.S.S., but by OSS Chief Psychologist Henry A. Murray many times over the war.

Hitler’s Perversion **Murray, Allport, Erikson**

While Freud’s most gifted cast out student-rival-jealous son, Carl Jung was playing both sides off against the middle in his not so neutral Switzerland., Anna Freud had already psychoanalyzed young Erik Erikson and taught him about her fledgling science of child psychology. Anna Freud gave Erik Erikson the idea to analyze Hitler’s childhood, which later made him famous in his first book *Childhood and Society*. Erik Erikson thanked Chief OSS Psychologist Henry Murray in *Childhood & Society*, where he publicly analyzed Hitler’s childhood, for giving him his first intellectual home in the U.S.

Henry A. Murray, Chief Psychologist at O.S.S. S School, co-authored the O.S.S. Hitler study, and developed the thematic apperception test for selective service boards that are still used today by civilian psychological clinics. Murray is an elusive, but important connecting figure in O.S.S. networks.

Academic colleague and father-figure mentoring triangles between Chief OSS psychologist Henry Murray - Walter Langer-Ernst Kris (authors of the OSS official Hitler study); Jung-Henry Murray-Erik Erikson (O.S.S. Switzerland-Harvard Clinic/O.S.S. Virginia Farm); and Murray-Gordon Allport-Clyde Kluckhohn (Harvard Clinic/O.S.S. Farm in Virginia) are worth more exploration.

While Hitler's sexuality was psychoanalyzed by Jung, Erikson, Allport, Langer, Murray, and Kris for O.S.S. from 1941 to 1945; the German intelligence ABWEHR was also interested in this delicate subject. German intelligence reports by Walter Schellenberg, the best ABWEHR officer, noted that Dr. Morrell, who often injected Hitler with drugs, and Hansfstaengl knew that Hitler publicly achieved sexual ##### during his political speeches by talking dirty to the audience, which he regarded as female. Dr. Morrell refused to correct this condition medically because he knew that it was Hitler's public ##### that made his voice powerfully attractive to the masses. O.S.S. reports suggested that Hitler privately achieved ##### by having a woman defecate over his face.

The application of psychological theory to wartime military intelligence adds a fascinating angle to the kaleidoscope called the psychology of war. Carl Jung devised a word association test the Allies used to identify military recruits in W.W.I. Gordon Allport's classic theories on the "psychology of rumor;" Erikson's dramatic play theory and Jung's theories of extroversion-introversion and collective unconscious were used by O.S.S. in WWII. My paper is the first social science text to connect Allport, Jung and Erikson's classic theories in psychology to O.S.S. espionage training.

Sociology & Funkspiel (Radio Games) **Lazarsfeld, Herzog, Adorno, Merton**

During World War II, radio technology and social science theory and methods were to espionage what computers, the Internet and computer science are today. Radios served more purposes than can be discussed here.

In the fall of 1939, the Rockefeller Foundation allotted a grant to Princeton University to set up the Office of Radio Research with Frank Stanton and Hadley Cantril as Directors. "Adorno was employed part-time by Lazarsfeld's Radio Research Project at Princeton," which later moved to Columbia University.(xxvii) In the Spring of 1940, the Office of Radio Research was transferred to Columbia University; Lazarsfeld became its Director.(xxviii)

One OSS axis was the radio traffic generated by the intersection of Secret Intelligence (SI) with Morale Operations (MO) and Research and Analysis (R & A) in Allen Dulles' busy OSS-Switzerland station in 1944-45. In Switzerland: OSS psychological warfare that Allen Dulles waged against the Nazis included using Carl Jung to psychoanalyze the mind of Adolph Hitler.(xxix) Dulles's wartime mistress Mary Bancroft had been Jung's mistress- patient first;(xxx) Bancroft was the go-between between Dulles and Jung. However, Jung had other close O.S.S. ties through both his former patient Paul Mellon(xxxi) as well as through Henry Murray,(xxxii) O.S.S. Chief Psychologist at the O.S.S. S School in Virginia.(xxxiii) Murray was also Director of the Harvard Psychological Clinic, and co-author of the official O.S.S. study of Hitler's mind, led by Walter Langer, Ernst Kris, and Bertram Lewin.(xxxiv)

The Frankfurt School, New School for Social Research, and Columbia University's contributions to W.W.II military intelligence were immense. Sociologists Barrington Moore, Edward Shils, and Paul Massing. worked for O.S.S./O.W.I. (Kline), along with John Herz, Hans Speier, and Otto Kirchheimer (Dieter Krohn), and Max Horkheimer. The O.S.S. Report on Possible Patterns of German Collapse was authored jointly by: Herbert Marcuse, Felix Gilbert, and Franz Neumann, analysts in the Central European Division of O.S.S.- R & A since 1942. (Heideking & Mauch, 1996)

Herbert Marcuse, Angela Davis' mentor at Brandeis, and Norman O. Brown, who wrote *Life Against Death*, were perhaps the most famous OSSers among New Left academic gurus worshipped by sixties radicals. Psychologist Erik Erikson, anthropologist Clyde Kluckhohn and sociologists were also used to developed questions/questionnaires for Allied military interrogators of German and Japanese POWs.

This paper adds Paul Lazarsfeld, Teodor Adorno, Herta Herzog, and Robert Merton to this legendary list of sociologists who analyzed what the Germans called "funkspiel" or radio war propaganda for O.W.I.. O.W.I. was originally part of O.S.S., and later became Voice of America. O.S.S.-O.W.I. recycled what Adorno called "the damaged lives of cultural outsiders" of European emigre scholars into military intelligence.

Before the war at the University of Vienna, Paul Lazarsfeld created a research Center for applied Psychology when Ernst Kris, co-author of the O.S.S. Hitler Mind Study, was Erik Erikson's art teacher at the University of Vienna. In 1944-45, psychologist Ernst Kris and sociologist Hans Speier wrote *German Radio War Propaganda* for O.S.S.

Originally, Lazarsfeld and Erich Fromm directed the Frankfurt School's Marxist study of the puzzling fascist tendency of German workers in the 1930's, later finished by Teodor Adorno as the sociological classic, "The Authoritarian Personality" in 1950. During the war, Lazarsfeld was a fat cat grant king at Columbia University, while Adorno and Hannah Arendt at the New School for Social Research were struggling adjuncts picking up bits and pieces of part-time government research work. The successful Lazarsfeld hired the unsuccessful genius Adorno, but Lazarsfeld was unhappy with Adorno's critique of American radio.

Lazarsfeld's Radio Project began in 1937 at Princeton University, moved to Columbia University as the Office of Radio Research in 1939-40, and produced several reports for O.W.I. on American radio war propaganda. Lazarsfeld's Office "conducted a pioneering study of voter decision-making in the 1940 and 1944 presidential election...During the war years the Office was active in governmental research, especially on communications." In 1942, the Office published "A Study of Three Radio Broadcasts Intended to Refute Rumors," (Barton, Guide to the Bureau of Applied Social Research.) In 1943, Robert Merton became Associate Director of the Office. In 1943 and 1944, Lazarsfeld and Merton jointly wrote, "Studies in Radio and Film Propaganda," and "The Psychological Analysis of Propaganda."

In 1944, the Office of Radio Research was renamed the Bureau of Applied Social Research. During and after the war, Lazarsfeld's Bureau pioneered the use of sociological methods for voter opinion poll research and marketing/advertising for Madison Avenue.

In 1941, Adorno did three studies of American radio for Lazarsfeld's Office of Radio Research. Two of Adorno's studies, "On Popular Music" and "The Radio Symphony," music noted the "commodity character of modern society, the trend towards monopoly in all sectors of society, including communications; society's reaction to any threats to its preservation by a tightening of its conformist elements..." Adorno saw "standardization" and "pseudo-individuality" as the essential ingredients of popular radio music shows such as NBC's "Music Appreciation Hour." Although Adorno's work was not exactly what Lazarsfeld had in mind, Adorno's analysis of radio in the forties was prophetic for television, film, advertising and mass market book publishing sequels in the last half of the twentieth century. "Recognition of the familiar was the essence of mass listening, serving more as an end in itself...Once a formula was successful, the industry plugged the same thing over and over again. The

result was to make music into a kind of social cement operating through distraction, displaced wish-fulfillment, and the intensification of passivity.”

Adorno’s friend in California, the great German novelist Thomas Mann gave a lecture at O.S.S.-HQ on the German way of thinking in Washington during the war. Mann’s son worked for O.S.S. Adorno and Thomas Mann’s working relationship during Mann’s work on *Dr. Faustus* is a fascinating aside. Even Marlene Dietrich and Lotte Lenya were pulled into O.S.S.’s radio war.

Lazarsfeld also brought in several of his old Frankfurt School associates to the Bureau: Adorno, Herta Herzog, Leo Lowenthal (OWI section chief) and Franz Neumann from OSS, Marcuse from OSS-OWI. Marcuse was given a full-time position at Lazarsfeld’s Bureau. Neumann was the Frankfurt School scholar who joined OSS first, and may have brought others with him. Neumann wrote the classic study of Nazism called *Behemoth* (1982). “Postwar reports continued the communications research tradition, commercial studies mixing with foreign audience analyses for the Voice of America, studies of anti-prejudice propaganda and public health communications.” (Barton, p. 2) All that Lazarsfeld learned about influencing public opinion via radio during wartime was applied to television advertising to sell products.

How Were Refugee Radical Sociologists and Psychologists Recruited?

This paper has explored secret triangle between the upper class, intelligence circles and the academy: the spy school aristocracy. There are many routes of passage into this secret club. Teacher’s pet became apprentice spy when Chief O.S.S. psychologist Henry A. Murray, director of Harvard Psychological Clinic, recruited young emigre researcher Erik Erikson, giving him his first intellectual home in the U.S. Classmates brought each other into the club, senior professors brought talented junior professors like Ray Kline into the fold. College presidents picked the brains of their best faculty.

O.S.S. recruiters like David Bruce raided college departments and campuses at his old alma mater Princeton, while General Donovan raided his old alma mater Columbia. Other times, it was only *after* the recruitment that the old school bonds were there to rediscover. This is a book about ruling class spy triangles: the Ivy League triangle between bookworms, aristocrats, and spies; the triad between social science, espionage, and radio technology (sci-spy-techies); and the intelligence overlap between the triple social sciences of sociology, anthropology, and psychology during World War II.

President-General Dwight David Eisenhower first drew a picture of “the military-industrial complex” triangle between the U.S. government, the military and the munitions industry. This book explores another secret triangle between the upper class, intelligence circles and the academy: the spy school aristocracy. There are many routes of passage into this secret club. Teacher’s pet became apprentice spy when Chief O.S.S. psychologist Henry A. Murray, director of Harvard Psychological Clinic, recruited young emigre researcher Erik Erikson, giving him his first intellectual home in the U.S. Classmates brought each other into the club, senior professors brought talented junior professors like Ray Kline into the fold. O.S.S. cells were designed to be triangles. To enter into O.S.S., a trusted insider had to vouch for the new asset to their case officer. This maintained the upper class structure of the O.S.S.; bringing in only friendly newcomers from the lower strata who were amicable with the upper crust.

Class warfare became class attraction between leftist academics and center right old boys in the fight against fascism during World War II. The O.S.S. intermingled high society with “the best and the brightest,” which reenacted their Ivy League schooldays, stimulating both old boys and bright boys.

Aristocrats and academics liked, loved, hated, admired, rivaled, respected and tried to impress each other to death.

The following chapters chart the exciting beginning of how and why psychologists, anthropologists and sociologists were recruited by O.S.S. elites who had been students at the same schools where the brightest stars of the American academy taught. Professors were recruited who brought along their brightest graduate students, RA, TAs, colleagues, friends, wives, lovers and mentors into the war effort. O.S.S. Family and Kinship Patterns have rarely been studied at this close range, revealing that intelligence is a family affair of: parent-child spies, legacies, schoolmates, teacher-students, sibling rivals, childhood friends, brother-in-laws, sexual jealousies, passionate adulteries coexisting with marriages of convenience, lifelong friends, long term rivals, their ex-lovers, and their lovers' lovers. Contrary to the fictional lone spy out in the cold, O.S.S. was actually a high society of spies, playing in a childhood schoolyard, wearing their school colors, a community as tight as a cult with General Donovan as guru, with initiation rituals, rites of passage, and great social control over its members: the power of gossip in high society.

O.S.S. organized and unified the lonely, lost adult children and wives of American expatriates, and turned them into an American global village, a worldly small town. These jetsetters, internationals, American upper class marginals, biculturals, and triculturals who spoke several languages had lived in so many countries they were no longer sure which country they belonged to. The war made these prodigal sons, daughters and ex-wives feel American. O.S.S. brought them home at last to the country their families had left.

O.S.S. was a romantic masculinity cult, modeled after an English men's club where men really liked, befriended and loved each other. O.S.S. male bonded in the English way, and male-female bonded as the Greeks knew it, and O.S.S. proved it: "An Army of Lovers Cannot Fail."

At the heart of this study is the basic question: how was social science used as espionage in World War II? This question inevitably raise a number of related questions of particular interest to World War II buffs, historians, sociologists, psychoanalysts, and anthropologists including: What is the relationship of academia to espionage? What social science classics can be traced back to O.S.S./OWI warwork? How can classic European and American social science be separated from World War II military intelligence? Did academics go beyond bookworming for O.S.S.? What roles did *social* scientists play in the intelligence reports that lead to the decision to deploy the atom bomb? What is the relationship between science, communications technology and espionage? Which psychologists and sociologists were used by O.S.S. to develop character studies of foreign leaders and to analyze Hitler talk radio and the lure of fascism for the German masses? Why did O.S.S. recruit so many upper class men and women? Finally, what did W.W.II sociologists of radio war learn that is applied to television and Internet war today? For the scholarly audience, the book provides a valuable history of the origin of university affiliation with US intelligence; for social theorists, a reexamination of classic social science theories in new light; for social scientists, a social history of American anthropology and sociology at Columbia University. For the psychoanalytic community, this is a new discussion of the history of psychology's collusion with military intelligence.

i

George C. Chalou, *The Secret War The Office of Strategic Services in World War II. Proceedings of the Conference on the Office of Strategic Services in World War II* (June 11-12, 1991) sponsored by the National Archives and Records Administration. Washington, DC: National Archives Trust Fund Board, 1992. See also Bradley F. Smith *The Shadow Warriors: O.S.S. and The Origins of the CIA*. New York: 1983; and Kermit Roosevelt, *War Report of the O.S.S.*. New York, 1976.

ii

Barry Katz, "The O.S.S. and the Development of the Research and Analysis Branch," in *Ibid.*, pp. 43-47.

iii

Ray S. Cline, *Secrets, Spies and Scholars Blueprint of the Essential CIA*. Washington, DC: Acropolis, 1976. Cline also names Ralph Bunche as an O.S.S.er. See also Chalou, *op. cit.*.

iv

Kline, 1976, p. 77.

v

Robin Winks, *Cloak and Gown Scholars in the Secret War, 1939-61*. (New York: 1987). See also Robin Winks, "Getting the Right Stuff, FDR, Donovan, and the Quest for Professional Intelligence," in Chalou, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-38.

vi

Barry Katz, *Foreign Intelligence: Research and Analysis in the Office of Strategic Services, 1942-1945*. Cambridge, MA, 1989.

vii

Barry Katz, in Chalou, *op. cit.*, p.p. 44-45.

viii

Heideking & Mauch's *American Intelligence and the German Resistance to Hitler* (1996, p. 3)

ix

Ibid., p. 87

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xi

Adorno in Klaus Dieter Krohn, *Intellectuals in Exile*, p. 218; pp. 11-12

xii

Ibid., p. 208.

xiii

Ibid., p. 11-12.

xiv

Ibid., p.5-6. After 1933, the New School, which is intimately linked with the Rockefeller Foundation, attracted the most refugee scholars in the U.S.

xv

Katz, *op. cit.*, Wink, *op. cit.*

xvi

Martin Jay, *The Dialectical Imagination, A History of the Frankfurt School & the Institute of Social Research 1923-50* (Boston: Little Brown & Co., 1973) p. 168-69.

xvii

Ibid.

xviii

Teodor W. Adorno with Else Frenkel-Brunswick, Daniel T. Levinson & R. Newitt Sanford, *The Authoritarian Personality* (New York: 1950).

xix

Claus Dieter Krohn's *Intellectuals in Exile Refugee Scholars and the New School for Social Research* (University of Massachusetts, 1993, translated by Rita and Robert Kimber, foreword by Arthur J. Vidich) pp. 176-177. See also Martin Jay, *The Dialectical Imagination: A history of the Frankfurt School and the Institute of Social Research 1923-1950* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1973).

xx

Jay, *op. cit.*, p. 176-77.

xxi

Ernst Kris and Hans Speier, *German Radio Propaganda: Report on Home Broadcasting during the War*. (New York: Oxford, 1944).

xxii

See also Ernst Kris, Walter Langer, Henry A. Murray, and Bertram Lewin. *The Mind of Adolph Hitler*.

See also Ernst Kris, "The Danger of Propaganda," *American Imago*, II, 1940, pp. 1-42. Ernst Kris, "Some Problems of War Propaganda: A Note on Propaganda, New and Old," *The Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, Vol. XII, 1943, pp. 381-99. Ernst Kris, "German Propaganda Instructions of 1933," *Social Research*, Vol. IX, No. 1, February 1942, pp. 62-63.

xxiii

Robert Coles, Erik Erikson *The Growth of His Work*, Boston: Little Brown, & Co. 1970.

xxiv

Murray wrote in his study of Hitler's mind on file at NARA: "Sources of Information for this analysis....A paper published by W.H.D. Vernon, Hitler, the Man- Notes for a Case History, *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 1942, 37,295-308, was written under my general supervision and contains most of the ideas of Professor G.W. Allport and myself on this topic as far as they were crystallized in the fall of 1941."

xxv

Henry A. Murray's Sadism:
The strange "case of Murr"

Born into Averill Harriman's upper class Fifth Avenue world on May 13, 1893, Harry Murray was his mother's least favorite child (HAM, *Love's Story Told*, p. 7) Bossed and bullied around by his older sister Virginia, Harry was sent to Groton in 1906 to toughen up. Dean Acheson was one of his roommates (HAM, p. 25) at Groton where he encountered his second taste of sadomasochistic bullying: "Pumping....a ritual in which the upper-classmen ...turned upside down so that water could be pumped into his nose." Pumping didn't happen to Harry, but he witnessed it. "Harry ...avoided the humiliation of being elected May Queen and forced to dance in skirts before a crowd of boys who laughed and then ran their strange victim down." (HAM, p. 23) Harry did note however, that at first introduction to male communal life in the showers, he walked in with an erection and was laughed at. (HAM, p23)

It appears that the Groton sadomasochistic gang rape of the male May Queen turned Harry on, since he replicated it for twenty years in ritualistic sex with Christiana Morgan. (*Love's Story Told* and *Translate This Darkness*) Christiana Morgan co-authored the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) with Harry, although he later stole it completely from her. Harry dressed as a woman in skirts while he beat Christiana with whips and used other medieval instruments to torture her before they had sex at their Tower she built with his money, modeled after Carl Jung's Tower in Bollingen, Switzerland. Christiana "was beautiful and she knew it."

Murray, Moby Dick & Melville

In August 1924, Harry sailed on the *Scythia* across the Atlantic and assisted the surgeon Bland-Sutton in an emergency, it was Harry's first human surgery. Bland-Sutton, who had read Moby Dick twelve times, introduced Harry to Melville's *Moby Dick*. (HAM, p. 1)

At Harvard, he was the exact opposite of Ted Koszynski; Harry was a preppy with the best social connections, a DEKE and member of Hasty Pudding (HAM, p. 27). Harry Went to Columbia Presbyterian for Medical School and then did research at Rockefeller Institute. (*Love's Story Told*, p. 53)

In *Love's Story Told*, the author thanks these people for interviews about HAM:

Mrs. Gordon Allport, Erik Erikson, Evelyn Hooker, Alfred Kazin, Kenneth Kenniston, Rollo May, Lewis Mumford, Talcott Parsons, David Riesman, Edwin Shneidman, Neil Smelser, Robert Penn Warren, and Alan Watts. (HAM, p. ix-x)

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For more on Erikson's Hitler studies, see his classic, "Hitler's Imagery and German Youth in 1942" *Psychiatry* 5, pp. 475-93; which becomes his classic "The Legend of Hitler's Childhood" in *Childhood and Society* (1950).

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Jurgen Heideking and Christof Mauch, American Intelligence and the German Resistance to Hitler (Westview, 1996), p. 40. See also "The First German Surrender The End of the Italian Campaign," Report by Allen W. Dulles and Gero von Gaevernitz, Bern, May 22, 1945 at the National Archives (NARA) , RG 226, E. 110, Box 1, Folder 11B. See also Mary Bancroft, "Jung and His Circle," *Psychological Perspectives* 6:2 (1975). Jung Centenary Issue II.

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Bancroft, Ibid.. See also Mary Bancroft, Autobiography of a Spy.

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Heideking and Mauch, op. cit., See also Paul Mellon, Reflections in a Silver Spoon: a memoir (New York: Morrow, 1992).

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Dialogue with Henry A. Murray by Richard Evans, 1964 videotape series with Carl Jung, Gordon Allport, Erik Erikson.. See also Murray and G>W. Allport's report on Hitler's mind in OSS files at the National Archives, NARA, RG226,Entry 92.

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Henry A. Murray, Walter Charles Langer, Ernsty Kris, Bertram D. Lewin. A psychological analysis of Adolph Hitler: his life and legend. Washington: M. O. Branch, Office of Strategic Services, 1943. (165 pp.)

See also Bradley F. Smith, The Shadow Warriors, op. cit., p. 276-77.