

1956

Criminal Psychodynamics-- A Platform

Benjamin Karpman

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarlycommons.law.northwestern.edu/jclc>

 Part of the [Criminal Law Commons](#), [Criminology Commons](#), and the [Criminology and Criminal Justice Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Benjamin Karpman, Criminal Psychodynamics-- A Platform, 47 J. Crim. L. Criminology & Police Sci. 8 (1956-1957)

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by Northwestern University School of Law Scholarly Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology by an authorized editor of Northwestern University School of Law Scholarly Commons.

CRIMINAL PSYCHODYNAMICS

A PLATFORM

BENJAMIN KARPMAN

The following is a condensation of a near one hundred page article on the same subject which originally appeared in the ARCHIVES OF CRIMINAL PSYCHODYNAMICS, Vol. I, Number 1, Winter, 1955. The author has been a frequent contributor to this JOURNAL. He is a Psychotherapist on the staff of St. Elizabeths Hospital, Washington, D. C., and Editor-in-Chief of ARCHIVES OF CRIMINAL PSYCHODYNAMICS.—EDITOR.

Criminal psychodynamics has for its purpose the study of the genesis, development, and motivation of that aspect of human behavior that conflicts with accepted social norms and standards. The Archives of Criminal Psychodynamics will encourage research into the psychodynamics of existing knowledge on the subject, promotion of superior legal and humane understanding of the relations between the criminal and society, and the betterment of the condition of the criminal as an individual.

With this as a prior formulation, let us see where we stand today as compared with fifteen years ago, when I prepared a platform for the JOURNAL OF CRIMINAL PSYCHOPATHOLOGY edited by the late Dr. V. C. Branham.

I. PSYCHODYNAMICS AND CRIMINAL MOTIVATIONS

No marked improvement can be reported in the contributions to criminal psychopathology made by criminology, academic psychology, physical anthropology, and law, which emphasize mass aspects of the situation, generally failing to appreciate the significance of the individual.

In conventional psychiatry, an advance has been made through the increased number of converts to psychodynamics. But many psychiatrists still operate at the descriptive level, seeing behavior as consisting of deliberately chosen, conscious acts and seemingly unable to grasp the meaning of unconscious motivations.

II. RELATION TO GENERAL PSYCHODYNAMICS

Criminal psychodynamics is a direct descendent of general psychodynamics and subscribes to the same tenets. A close relationship between crime and insanity has long been evident. The insane contribute a much larger proportion of crime than an equal number of the general population; and a proportionately far greater number of criminals than members of the population as a whole develop insanity. It remained for the psychoanalytic school of psychiatry to seek a clearer understanding of the meaning of this relationship.

It was discovered that neuroses are expressive of conflicts between instinctive drives and opposing pressures of society; that the neurotic was a cryptic criminal, whose neurosis was a method of protecting himself from committing a crime; and that the unconscious mental life of neurotics was thoroughly tinged with criminality. Now and then these defenses would prove inadequate, the instinct would get the

upper hand for a moment, and the neurotic turn antisocial. From such considerations the justification for regarding criminality as a form of neurosis was derived. Thousands of such persons now fill our penal institutions, although they need treatment for their psychic illness, not punishment.

Basically, criminality is but a symptom of insanity, using the term in its widest generic sense to express unacceptable social behavior based on unconscious motivation flowing from a disturbed instinctive and emotional life, whether this appears in frank psychoses, or in less obvious form in neuroses and unrecognized psychoses. This conclusion is having revolutionary effects. If criminals are products of early environmental influences in the same sense that psychotics and neurotics are, then it should be possible to reach them psychotherapeutically. Only a bare beginning has been made in this respect, but the results are most encouraging, for criminals have been cured through psychotherapy, often when other means have completely failed.

III. MENTAL DEFICIENCIES AND CRIME

Despite commonly held beliefs to the contrary, it is not at all certain that mental defectives commit crimes more often than do other groups in proportion to their numbers. They commit as wide a variety of crimes and for the same basic reasons as people of better intelligence. A foundation for neurosis often is present in mental defectives because their disadvantage in relation to their environment results in emotional conflicts.

IV. THE CONTRIBUTION OF PSYCHOSES TO CRIMINALITY

A. *The Paranoiac.* Kraepelin's definition, which I accept, limits true paranoia to intellectual disturbances, with delusions of persecution well systematized and logically presented. In its criminal forms it is extremely dangerous; for example, most regicides are paranoiacs. The problem is insufficiently discussed or understood among psychiatrists, partly because it is relatively rare and many paranoiacs escape commitment and partly because definitions of paranoia differ, some including less well systematized or hallucinating patients.

B. *The Schizophrenias.* The average psychiatrist appears to associate criminality among paranoiacs or paranoid praecoxes solely with murder or assault with intent to kill. Yet they may be guilty of any type of offense. Catatonics often commit murders of even greater brutality than paranoid praecoxes. Many hebephrenics and simple praecoxes are inclined to various types of crimes, but we know practically nothing about how the criminal praecox differs from the non-criminal praecox. The delusions of psychotics often show strong potential criminality which is not otherwise expressed, the patient having escaped into his psychosis.

C. *The Manic-Depressive Psychoses.* A wide range of criminal offenses is found in manic-depressive psychoses, though sexual offenses as such seem to be lacking or not conspicuous. Minor social difficulties are often part of the on-coming manic attack, while such serious crimes as murder may be committed in the hypomanic or manic stage.

D. *Epilepsy and Alcoholism.* We often associate brutal crimes with epilepsy, alcoholism, and alcoholic psychoses, but these are only the most conspicuous cases.

Because epilepsy is not fully recognized as a mental disease, many epileptics are imprisoned for offenses caused by their disease. Alcohol may create inhibitions or reduce them. The unconscious tendency toward a criminal act often leads to alcoholic indulgence, rather than the reverse.

E. Organic Brain Diseases. The contribution of these diseases to criminality has been little investigated psychodynamically. Typically, the criminal acts of paretics are minor, but there are persons with no antisocial history prior to the disease who embark on a consistent criminal career when paresis destroys the frontal lobes which are the seat of inhibitions and the sense of guilt. Any type of crime may be committed in arteriosclerotic psychoses, while paedophilia or other sexual offenses are most typical in senile dementia. Sexual offenses and predatory crimes are not uncommon in encephalitic lethargica. These crimes may be forerunners of latent encephalitis. Many undetected sufferers from organic brain diseases are serving prison sentences when they should be hospitalized.

V. CRIMINALITY WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF NEUROSES

A. Neuroses vs. Psychopathic Personality. On the assumption that neurotics "by definition" do not commit crimes, the hospital diagnosis of a psychoneurotic who commits a crime is likely to be psychopathic personality. Yet many neurotics do commit crimes when the safeguards provided by their neuroses prove insufficient. In the majority of so-called psychopathic personalities I have analyzed, their antisocial behavior was traceable to psychogenetic situations, and they were cured when the emotional difficulties were analytically resolved. Only the few remaining were true psychopaths. Obsessive and compulsive neuroses, with their overwhelming sense of guilt, furnish the smallest contribution to crime.

B. The Sexual Offenses. It is the writer's opinion that neurotic criminals far outnumber psychotic criminals, as neuroses in general outnumber psychoses. A larger concept of neurosis is needed, however, to include the vast number of reactions which are not as grossly hysterical as paralysis and convulsions and do not display the "major symptoms of hysteria," but do exhibit the basic core of neurosis: emotional lability and immaturity, dependence, and so forth. Second, we must include the large group of reactions which superficially seem psychopathic—the secondary psychopathic reactions.

The paraphilias (perversions), to which the greatest number of sexual offenses belong, must also be included, for they have all the earmarks of neuroses and are amenable to psychotherapy. Unlike the psychopath, the paraphiliac invariably carries a greater or lesser burden of guilt.

VI. PSYCHOPATHY AND CRIMINALITY

Some progress has been made in the past fifteen years in the clinical delineation of psychopathy. I personally view psychopathy as a specific mental disease, even more distinct from neuroses than neuroses are from psychoses. At the present the term is a sort of wastebasket, used with a number of meanings and often denoting any mental abnormality otherwise not specifically limited. It is also often used over-specifically to mean 'antisocial.'

One may submit here that any behavior, criminal or entirely harmless socially,

that flows out of (unconscious) psychogenic difficulties belongs to neuroses or psychoses, not to psychopathies. In a recent study, I made an exhaustive examination of 24 hospital admissions, mostly from penal institutions, in which the diagnosis included "psychopathic personality," with or without psychosis. In only four cases was the description justified. In each of the other cases we were unquestionably dealing with either a neurosis or a psychosis, the label "psychopathic personality" supported only by the fact that there was a criminal record.

VII. PSYCHODYNAMICS OF SPECIFIC CRIME ACTIVITIES

A. *Overt Crime and Vicarious Intent.* Conventionally, the law groups crimes according to their object, as crimes against property, morals, persons, or the state. Such grouping does not consider motivation, and the surface action of a crime may give little clue to the dynamics behind it. For example, a man who enters a house and steals a woman's clothing, with the aid of which he will masturbate, is charged with housebreaking and larceny, where at root this is a sexual offense.

B. *Is the Criminal a Responsible Agent?* All offenses against society are commonly regarded as willfully planned, for personal gain or from sheer viciousness. The individual is considered a free and responsible agent. Psychodynamics submits that in the main criminal acts result from emotional states which find an outlet in aggressive acts which are symbols of unconscious motivations, often having the same psychic significance as neurotic symptoms.

C. *Crimes Against Property.* This widely varying group of crimes furnishes the largest class of "habitual" criminality. It includes arson and murder where the motive appears to be predatory. We have made much progress in the recognition that offenses by kleptomaniacs and pyromaniacs are symptoms of mental disease and to be treated as such. But under intensive study of causation, the fine line between neurotic kleptomania and pyromania and common thieving and arson begins to vanish. In studying a larger number of habitual, hard-boiled "jailbirds," excepting a few true psychopaths, the author found their criminal activity to be expressive of unconscious emotional problems. Naturally, there are certain differences which leave one neurotic without antisocial involvements while another is driven to socially unacceptable actions. Situations in early life are highly significant. Not only the broken home, but the oppressive, joyless home, or the home where there is constant conflict often contributes to a criminal situation with a definitely neurotic background, through an intense though usually unconscious urge toward compensation.

D. *Crimes Against Morals.* Despite the lack of superficial resemblance between crimes against property and sexual offenses, common features begin to emerge as one searches for underlying mechanisms. Many of these offenses, such as fetishism and exhibitionism, present little actual threat to society, while others such as rape, sadism, and paedophilia are extremely serious. Sexual offenses also must not be taken at face value but understood as symbols of other sexual situations or crimes for which they represent a symptomatic compromise. Punishment has no effect in preventing repetitions of sexual offenses after release from prison, since it leaves the emotional factors untouched.

E. *Crimes Against Persons: Murder and Related Phenomena.* Murder, whether the so-called murder from passion or murder for profit, must be viewed as a highly com-

plicated form of behavior, a result of deeply rooted difficulties rather than immediate circumstances. Murders are often committed by the frankly insane, the most frequent example being the paranoid individual who kills an innocent person he regards as his persecutor. Such murders are actually symbolic, however, the paranoiac trying to kill his own homosexual component. Pathological jealousy, usually related to feelings of (sexual) inferiority, and incest wishes are other motives which may lie beneath the surface in murder. In any case, a severe conflict between instinctive forces and conscience is present. To commit murder, whatever the superficial or underlying incentives toward it, one of the strongest of all cultural repressions must be overcome. Suicide is sometimes chosen as a means of avoiding murder.

Most murders are committed in an acute emotional state that knows only the irresistible need to discharge itself, despite the claim that all mercenary murders and most passion murders are committed with deliberation and that the individual is responsible for his deed, which he could have controlled if he wanted to. Though the individual may seemingly be able to distinguish right and wrong, his choice is actually determined by emotional motivations outside conscious control by intelligence. Even in cases of mercenary murder, this is a deeper motivation which is emotional. Where mental illness is not immediately apparent, careful analytic exploration is necessary before the question of deliberateness and hence responsibility can be fairly settled.

Psychodynamics, unlike the law, is concerned with underlying rather than superficial and conscious motivations for murder. In "passion" murders, it is the deeper motives behind such obvious motives as jealousy and revenge that give insight into the act. Sometimes, particularly in psychosis, no motive is apparent, and if the patient is inaccessible to analysis, even the psychiatrist can only speculate on the process involved. It must be remembered that many individuals face situations which are externally provocative of the desire to kill; yet few will actually kill. A knowledge of superficial motivations cannot explain this.

Among predatory murderers there is the psychopathic group, already mentioned, with a minimum of emotional content. A larger group fails to reveal an overt emotional background, but one may be found on careful analysis. In another type, one finds inner deep-seated emotional motives of which the murder is only a superficial or even accidental expression.

F. *Child and Juvenile Delinquency.* No detailed consideration of the important problem of childhood and adolescent delinquency will be undertaken here. However, it may be mentioned that tendencies toward antisocial behavior may be observed even in very young children, and few of us escape some minor defiances of authority. But these trends toward expression of hostility are normally balanced by the great deal of affection given to most children. The recent increase in juvenile delinquency is probably due to the deterioration of the home situation attendant upon the war and its aftermath, and the insecurity which currently pervades our lives.

VIII. ADVANCES IN TYPOLOGY AND PSYCHODYNAMICS OF PSYCHOPATHY

The past fifteen years have seen a gradual narrowing of the concept of psychopathy toward a diagnostic entity, a disease *sui generis*, and a corresponding broaden-

ing of the concept of neurosis. In 1946 I outlined two basic subtypes of psychopathy: *aggressive-predatory* and *passive-parasitic*.

The life of an individual in the first subgroup is characterized by continuous aggression. He lives only for himself and for the moment, is unteachable and unmanageable, without conscience or sense of guilt. In contrast to neurotics, these people have a most shallow unconscious; complex emotional reactions are beyond them, although they may express intense but fleeting emotional reactions. In early life, either drastic rejection and privation or overprotection, with resulting infantilization may create the foundation for aggressive psychopathy.

Members of the second subgroup also extract what they want from the environment, but they are parasitic and "sponge" on other people without conscience, remorse, or appreciation of help received. They often appear as helpless individuals, arousing others' sympathy. Actually, there are many gradations between these two subgroups.

There are intermediate types between psychopathy and neurosis in which hysterical reactions may well intrude. If the original privations or rejections have been complete, clear-cut psychopathy will result; but in cases with modifying circumstances such as an individual other than the parent who takes an interest in the child, a modicum of normality may be provided.

A. *Spurious or Deceptive Types of Psychopathy*. There is another group of individuals whose criminal and psychopathic behavior in no way appears to differ from that of the aggressive psychopath. Careful analytic scrutiny, however, will disclose that behind the wall of aggression, hostility, and unremitting criminal behavior is a full-fledged neurosis. A major contributory cause is refused love, generating hatred which is repressed and reappears in later years as criminal behavior.

B. *Present Consensus of Genesis of Primary Psychopathy*. Findings flavor the conception that primary psychopathy is likely to be environmentally conditioned. Current opinion holds that its roots may be found in the first five years of life, some narrowing it to the first year or two. The condition appears when close adult-child relationships are lacking at this critical age, most frequently in institutional children, those moved from one foster home to another, left with frequently-changed servants, or those whose mothers exhibit such rapidly changing attitudes toward the children as to prevent establishment of reliable object relations. Without early opportunity for identification, the ability to identify is lost, and the normal personality cannot continue to develop. Anxiety and guilt, which arise when object relations are threatened, are unknown to the psychopathic child, since he has established no such relations.

IX. DIVERGENT TRENDS IN LAW AND PSYCHIATRY

A. *Meeting the Criticisms: Basic Misunderstandings*. A professor of law has stated that lawyers are skeptical of psychiatry, among other reasons, because of the unreliability of psychiatric diagnosis, the uncertainty of psychotherapy, the fantastic character of some psychiatric court testimony, and the widespread disagreements among medical psychologists about fundamental problems of theory and practice, which raise doubts as to the scientific validity of psychiatry. Only a full-fledged, obligatory

course in psychiatry in law schools will give lawyers the understanding necessary for a rapprochement between the two disciplines.

When there is serious disagreement as to diagnosis, it usually occurs because the psychiatrists are given too little time to elicit and evaluate the necessary data concerning an individual. The problem would be largely solved if persons charged with major crimes—or even lesser offenses—could be sent to an institution for observation and diagnosis.

The results of psychotherapy are no more uncertain than therapy in other branches of medicine. No other branch has made such remarkable strides since World War I as psychiatry, as evidenced by the enormously increased number of psychiatric casualties returned to military duty.

The only reason psychiatric testimony may appear "fantastic" is that lawyers do not understand the steps by which psychiatrists reach their conclusions, and the psychiatrist rarely has an opportunity to bring out all the material which supports his findings.

Psychiatry is by no means the only scientific discipline in which widespread disagreements occur. Why single it out for criticism? The law is far less genuinely scientific, as evidenced by the great differences between laws in different states and the wide variety of sentences meted out by different judges for similar offenses.

B. *Differences in Viewpoints on Specific Problems.* Law assumes that punishment is the best deterrent of crime, despite abundant evidence to the contrary, for the chronic repeater is the rule in crime. The following considerations are offered with a view to clearing up existing misconceptions regarding punishment as a treatment, and showing how many psychological factors conspire to nullify the effects of the treatment offered by law and even to make the situation worse.

Law focuses upon the crime and its results—the deed, not the doer—and punishment is differentiated on the basis of results rather than intent. Since it is the results which directly affect the life of the community, why is this emphasis not justifiable? Because the deed, like a symptom in disease, is only the surface expression of a large number of internal and external factors, and no deed can be understood apart from the psychology of the doer. Society, which is concerned with the abolition of misdeeds, will never accomplish its aim by dealing with deeds alone, for one must reach the deed through the doer. A radical change is needed, and meanwhile crime continues unabated.

Causation, which refers chiefly to physical, economic, and other external factors, is considered more important in criminal law than is motivation, which refers to factors springing from the inner life of the individual. Little more is sought in a criminal trial than the most immediate causation or motive. Yet this gives no clue as to why under apparently identical social conditions one person becomes a criminal while another remains a respected citizen. Only knowledge of their inner lives could account for the difference, elucidate the meaning of the crime for the criminal, and indicate how to deal with the situation. Often in criminal behavior, as in normal personality development, single specific motivations cannot be found, but rather an accumulation of many minute influences which in totality produce the effects.

Motivations and setting have an important bearing in the consideration of right

and wrong and the problem of responsibility. It is not sufficient to say that the defendant knows or does not know the difference between right and wrong, or that he is guilty, not guilty, responsible, partly responsible, or not responsible. One must know whether he can choose right from wrong emotionally as well as intellectually: why and to what extent he is guilty and responsible. Modern psychiatry challenges the conception that every individual, unless he is definitely insane or feeble-minded, has a perfect knowledge of right and wrong and responsibility. Overwhelming clinical evidence proves that human behavior is basically emotionally conditioned and intellectual activities emotionally determined. Hence an individual may know right from wrong in a conventional sense but be wholly unable to choose it emotionally.

Viewing crime on the basis of personalities and deeper motivations involved, two clearly defined types seem to emerge: the psychopathic, committed on a purely mercenary, predatory basis; and the psychogenic, in which a superficially similar crime may be found to have definite psychological roots, often deeply tied to the individual's emotional life. This distinction may make little difference to the victim of a crime, but it is important in terms of disposition of the case with an aim to prevent recurrence. Society cannot afford to treat these two types of criminals alike. The psychogenic cases should be treated, for many can be and have been cured. Ways of dealing with the psychopathic criminal must be devised. In the long run, this is the only approach that can truly solve the problem of crime.

C. *Specific Influences in Prison Negating Treatment.* On commission of a crime, especially a first offense, there may be some degree of repentance for the deed, as well as fear of consequences. However, the prisoner reacts to the physical and psychic insults of being jailed, tried, and sentenced with hatred, neutralizing any sense of guilt or penitence which may have been present. On conviction, he experiences a mixed feeling of revolt, sense of injustice (no matter how just the sentence), and a sense of degradation and loss of social esteem.

The intended purposes of imprisonment are to punish, to correct through fear of repeated punishment, to provide opportunity for penitence, and to protect society by isolating the criminal. In point of fact, antipathic emotions—notably hate and a desire for revenge—are a greater product of imprisonment than is fear. These emotions leave little room for penitence. Society's protection is limited to the time an individual is imprisoned, and the results of imprisonment make recidivism upon release more likely, not less so.

Confinement has major effects on the criminal in the physical, social, psychic, and sexual realms. Food is generally inadequate, daily routines monotonous, tasks performed with little incentive, and genuinely constructive recreation minimal. Irresponsibility is likely to result, as everything is pre-arranged for the prisoner, who is not supposed to assert his individuality. By precluding normal sexual outlets, imprisonment forces a great majority of prisoners to lower forms of adaptation, which may or may not be continued upon release. The constant prison discipline taxes all human endurance. The prisoner is never allowed to forget that he is one who must be punished. The hate which is engendered is essentially a defense reaction, a protective mechanism to save the prisoner's body and soul from destruction. All these factors lead to a degradation of personality and tend to drive the individual into abnormal

introversion, substituting phantasy for bitter reality; hence the ease and frequency with which prisoners develop "prison psychosis."

Upon discharge, the prisoner meets a hostile world, vocationally and socially. It is all too easy to seek escape into the criminal group where his record is an admission card instead of a barrier.

The strong antipathies thus built up against anything connected with authority make an adequate psychotherapeutic approach all but impossible. This situation can only be corrected if punitive-corrective measures are reduced to a minimum and social rehabilitation made practicable.

X. THE TASKS AHEAD

The reader may have gained the impression that knowledge of psychodynamics of crime has made a substantial advance in recent years. A careful study of the literature will show large gaps in this branch of knowledge and biased presentations, due partly to lack of adequate material. All too often, sweeping conclusions have been drawn from insufficient premises.

Much work is still ahead of us. The contribution of mental defectives to crime needs further study. Our present knowledge of their emotional life is meager. We may find that rather than there being something specific about defective criminals, they exhibit the same type of psychodynamic mechanisms as their normal brothers. Definitive studies of the contributions to crime of each of the psychoses are lacking, and the large field of organic brain diseases and crime awaits intelligent handling. But the neuroses offer the richest harvest. This reviewer feels that this group of secondary psychopaths furnishes the largest proportion of criminals. Perhaps most important of all is the study of true, primary psychopaths, who furnish such a large bulk of the criminal population. Finally, we know virtually nothing of the psychodynamics behind organized crime as against individual crime.

Even more important than an understanding of criminality in terms of clinical categories is an insight into the underlying mechanisms, the deeper emotions involved in criminal behavior. Just a few examples of the multitude of questions to be elucidated are: What are the roles of anxiety and unconscious guilt in criminal behavior? How does criminality differ from the forms of non-criminal aggression? What is the difference between a non-criminal neurotic who phantasies criminal acts and the criminal who impulsively perpetrates them? Is criminality a neurosis *sui generis* or a syndrome, a symptom complex? and so on. Such questions require clarification by solid, verifiable facts.

The sex life of criminals is virtually a *terra incognita* to us. Although this area of an individual's life may have most important bearing in the dynamics underlying his activities, it is at present not even considered important from the legal standpoint.

As long as our understanding of criminal psychodynamics depends on individual workers alone, relatively little progress can be made. Organized efforts are needed. I would suggest that every state should have a Criminological Institute whose function it would be to study intensively the lives of criminals. In the long run it would fully pay for itself, in such ways as helping to correct the travesties on justice and common sense perpetrated by parole and probation boards. These boards should

consist of psychiatrists, with staffs to take histories. The warden should also be a psychiatrist. Guards should be replaced by nurses, and special prisons stressing rehabilitation should be built for the more harmless type of prisoner. Indeed, we might profit more if the entire system were turned over to psychiatrists. They certainly could not do worse and conceivably might do better.

CODA

Criminal psychodynamics sees criminality as basically a psychiatric, extra-legal problem. It does not see the criminal eye to eye with the public and the law as a vicious individual for whom the only treatment is punishment. And it differs from conventional psychiatry in refusing to accept the legal standards of insanity in place of well tested, genuine, scientific psychiatric formulations. It views the problems of right and wrong, of guilt and responsibility, of irresistible impulse not as abstract concepts or transient trends in human behavior but as being deeply rooted in the basic biological, instinctual-emotional, and cultural-ethical make-up of the man. It views criminality, however incidental it may seem on the surface, as a basic human expression having a long history and evolution and a pathology all its own. It sees in criminality a disease *sui generis*, a severe disease which, however, can be cured or prevented when and if proper psychotherapeutic measures are taken.

It views skeptically the outworn tenets of partial guilt, partial responsibility, and partial or temporary insanity because these consider only the deed and not the doer, the intent and not the motivation, external rather than internal factors, superficial intellectual rather than deep-seated emotional factors.

The Archives will stimulate the organization of all the psychiatric resources available and encourage making a frontal attack on established but badly outworn concepts that do not take into consideration the advances of science, while at the same time sending thousands of emotionally innocent men and women to execution or imprisonment. It is our basic tenet that the criminal is a product of a vicious, emotionally unhealthy environment in the creation of which he had no hand and over which he had no control. In so far as society has done nothing or not enough to alleviate the developing anti-sociality of the child, it may truly be said that it deserves the criminals it has and that the criminal is society's greatest crime. The punitive methods adopted by society in treating criminals are least calculated to produce the desired results. Reformatories in point of fact do not reform; there is nothing in penitentiaries to stimulate one to penitence; everything in the prison only tends to harden criminality into a fixed form of behavior. Society has failed to redeem its pledge.

The ARCHIVES OF CRIMINAL PSYCHODYNAMICS will fight vigorously for the recognition of the criminal as a very sick person. The criminal is more sinned against than sinning, and his present treatment only aggravates the condition, leading to further criminal behavior and creation of a vicious circle. It is therefore, in a sense, a clarion call to arms to all psychiatrists interested in criminality to bring forth material that will stimulate advancement in the field.