# French context of Autism in relation to Leo Kanner's 1943 medical formulation of Autism. : 30<sup>th</sup> June 2012 (London) : Bruno de Florence

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Julia Evans & Bruno de Florence: English and French contexts of Autism in relation to Leo Kanner's 1943 medical formulation of Autism

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Julia Evans' text, English context of Autism in relation to Medical and other Political Formulations : 30<sup>th</sup> June 2012 (London) : Julia Evans, is available at <u>www.LacanianWorks.org</u> / b) Autism (1 A Lacanian Clinic - C Cartel or group work )

# French context of Autism in relation to Leo Kanner's 1943 medical formulation of Autism.

This article is the written transcription of a presentation given at the 30 June 2012 LS-NLS seminar on Autism. It is the result of a joint effort with Julia Evans, who, for her part, situated Autism in the context of contemporary United Kingdom (English context of Autism in relation to Medical and other Political Formulations : 30<sup>th</sup> June 2012 (London) : Julia Evans, <u>www.LacanianWorks.org</u>). Both articles should be contrasted with one another.

#### Introduction

While I have no particular interest in the phenomenon of Autism, I have become intrigued by the high level of passion which, in France, seems to be present whenever it is discussed. More specifically, I have been wondering why "Psychoanalysis" has been pointed at as a villain, and why that term keeps occurring in most debates. The material I explored consisted of government documents, press releases from associations of parents with autistic children, electronic forums and video interviews, as well as academic papers. I deliberately kept away from specific psychoanalytical studies, except where the author had an active professional involvement with autism. What I found was a metonymy of the category of Autism, dating as far back as 1883, whose field of action was initially medicine and psychiatry. By 2012, it seems the whole of French society has become encompassed, and possibly entangled, in that metonymic movement, possibly under the influence of the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> century Super-ego.

# Emil Kreapelin (1856-1926)

It all started with the category of *Demaentia Praecox*<sup>2</sup>, formulated by Emil Kraepelin in 1883. At the time, It was accepted wisdom that as you got older, there was a serious degradation of the mental functioning, owing to biological causes. However, the same symptoms were also observed in young people, hence the "*Praecox*". Kraepelin had co-discovered the Alzheimer disease, so named after his co-worker, Mr Alzheimer, as well as working on psycho-pharmacology.

#### **Eugen Bleuler (1857-1939)**

Bleuler refined Kraepelin's approach by defining 3 categories which could apply to *Demaentia Praecox*: Schizophrenia, Autismus, and Ambivalence. He was Director of the Burgholzli from 1898 to 1927, with Carl Jung as his assistant, and was a fervent supporter of both Freud and Jung, at least while Jung was a Freudian. In his 1911 paper, *Dementia Praecox or the Groups of Schizophrenias*, he wrote:

"I call *Demaentia Praecox* Schizophrenia because the splitting of different psychical functions is one of its most important characteristics<sup>3</sup>".

This created a change of focus from the biological to the psychical, defining Autismus as a loss of contact with reality, frequent indulgence in bizarre fantasies, and ambivalence. Wanting to integrate Freud's methodology, he distinguished between primary symptoms (disturbances of association and affectivity, with fantasies replacing reality in the patient's mind, owing to an organic cause), and secondary symptoms (hallucinations and delusions as well as all other manifestations of schizophrenia, owing to attempts at adaptation to the primary symptoms). Although he was the first psychiatrist to apply psychoanalytical methods to his research, Freud was quite wary of him<sup>4</sup>.

# Leo Kanner (1894-1981)

After Bleuler, there was very little research done on Autismus, except for the odd publication of isolated cases, Autismus being considered a childhood onset of schizophrenia. Leo Kanner 1943's paper<sup>5</sup> demonstrated this was not the case, and on that basis, he came to be considered as the father of child psychiatry. His systematic and comparative approach was the first of its kind.

Kanner was an Austrian psychiatrist, with special interest in child psychiatry. He wrote the first child psychiatry textbook in English and worked at the John Hopkins Hospital in Baltimore. Subsequent work on Autismus always took his paper as a departing point, and by the time of the American DSM-III (1980), his main remarks were integrated in it as criteria. This fact should not be underestimated, since a diagnostic is necessary if you wish to receive any kind of state support in raising an autistic child.

I have found Kanner's paper to be rather curious, in that it contains no footnotes and no bibliography, its tone being idiosyncratic and highly personal. The methodology consisted in direct observation over several years of 11 children (8 male and 3 females), aged from 2 to 11 year, as well as obtaining from their parents a written monthly diary. All children were initially submitted to medical examinations, X-rays, EEG, head measurements and psychometric tests.

From his observations, he proceeded to identify a cluster of behaviour characteristics which "form a unique syndrome, not heretofore reported"<sup>6</sup>:

- Inability to relate themselves in the ordinary way to people and situations from the beginning of life. Described by their parents as self-sufficient, happiest when left alone.
- Powerful need for being left undisturbed so whenever possible, the chld shuts out anything that comes from the outside as it is experienced as a dreaded intrusion (e.g. loud noises, moving objects).
- No eye contact with people.
- No interest in other children.
- No interest in adults. If an unavoidable interruption occurs (e.g. a pin prick) then the child will relate to a part of the adult's body as if it is a detached object.
- No anticipatory posture when about to be picked up.
- Phenomenal memory & astounding vocabulary (At this stage, Kanner notes that parents proud of this fact and wanting to parade their children, stuff<sup>7</sup> them with lists: botanic names, poems, quotes from Presbyterian Catechism).
- Speech disturbances: echolalia, parrot-like repetition of what has been heard, difficulty with "yes" so an affirmation is verbalised as a literal repetition of the question, personal pronouns

are repeated as heard with no permutations to reflect a change in situation, inability to understand metaphors so that language is literal.

- Anxious obsessive desire for the maintenance of sameness (e.g. wording of a request, sequence of events) and completeness.
- For 2 of the children, rejection of food from birth till about 3 months old.
- Profound aloneness dominates all behaviour.

For Kanner,

"this is not a departure from an initially present relationship. Instead, there is an autistic aloneness from the beginning of life. While the schizophrenic tries to solve his problem by stepping out of a world of which he has been part, our children gradually compromise by extending cautious feelers into a world in which they have been total strangers<sup>8</sup>."

He notes that the stereotypy of movement is of a masturbatory nature (masturbation is directly observed in a 5 year old male and a 7 year old female among the subject group). Granting sexual status to children is rather astonishing in a 1943 psychiatric paper. However, neither Kanner nor his commentators will pursue this avenue. Freud had remarked on stereotypies following an indication from Jung, and had come to a different conclusion<sup>9</sup>.

The racial background of the 11 families (2 Jewish, 9 W.A.S.P.<sup>10</sup>) does not reveal anything significant. Their social-economical status shows a high proportion of high achievers. However, looking at their psychological background, Kanner notes

"a great deal of obsessiveness<sup>11</sup>" among the parents, and further "One another fact stands prominently. In the whole group, they are very few really warmhearted fathers and mothers. For the most part, the parents, grand-parents, and collateral are persons strongly preoccupied with abstractions of a scientific, literary, or artistic nature, and limited in genuine interest in people. Even some of the happiest marriages are rather cold and formal affairs".

For instance, in Case 8<sup>12</sup>, the father is described as "suspicious...easily roused to anger", the mother is "very obsessive and excitable", the maternal grandfather is "severely obsessive, has numerous tics...is given to repeated hand washing", and the grandmother is "an excitable, explosive person<sup>13</sup>".

This leads him to ask "...to what extent this fact has contributed to the condition of the children<sup>14</sup>". His reply is that

"The children's aloneness from the beginning of life makes it difficult to attribute the whole picture exclusively to the type of the early parental relations with our patients. We must then assume that these children have come into the world with innate inability to form the usual, biologically provided affective contact with people<sup>15</sup>".

The very last line of his paper reads: "For here we seem to have pure-culture examples of *inborn autistic disturbances of affective contact*<sup>16</sup>".

At this stage, we can see how the metonymy of Autism, as a category directly borrowed from Bleuler, is given a different dynamic by Kanner. The diaries material does not just feed into the clinical material, it

also generates a new metonymy concerning the parents. It acquires its own separate dynamic when, in 1949, Kanner affirms that "they [the mothers] show a genuine lack of maternal warmth<sup>17</sup>". And in 1960, in an interview for Time Magazine, he describes such mothers as "just happening to defrost enough to produce children".

Interestingly, one the study group's child (Donald Triplett, case 1) was tracked down in 2010, living an independent life at 77 years. He didn't seem too adversely affected by his parenting, in fact his mother was instrumental in ensuring he has had a good life<sup>18</sup>.

# Bruno Bettelheim (1903-1990)

Bettelheim produced a further metonymy of Autismus, in a rather poignant way, since it was based on his own experience as a concentration camp inmate. An Austrian child psychologist and psychoanalyst, his first child case had been referred to him by Anna Freud. After spending 11 months in Dachau from 1938 to 1939, he emigrated to America, where he was appointed Professor of Psychology at the University of Chicago, and then Director of the university's Orthogenic School. He published his internment observations in 1943<sup>19</sup>. It was read by Eisenhower, who made it compulsory reading for his general staff, possibly in preparation for what they would encounter in 1944.

He hypothesized that as the Nazi camp guards wanted the death of the prisoners, they in turn would take refuge inside themselves, and dehumanise themselves, as a survival tactic. He then inferred that if autistic children seemed to refuse all rapport with the external world, it is because they too had taken refuge inside themselves, in reaction either to their parents wishing they were dead, or from an internal death threat. He calls such an environment "extreme situations".

In 1950, he published a paper on one of the children in his care, *Joey: A Mechanical Boy*<sup>20</sup>. It featured the following sub-heading:

"A case history of a schizophrenic child who converted himself into a "machine" because he did not dre to be human. His story sheds light on emotional development in a mechanized society<sup>21</sup>".

I find the last 2 words of this sub-heading to be reminiscent of the title of Henry Miller's book, *The Air-Conditioned Nightmare*<sup>22</sup>, a savage critique of the so called "modern society".

It also featured drawings made by the child. In sharp contrast with normal clinical vignettes of the day, the tone was very humanistic, with a strong pathos. The article had a wide ranging appeal well beyond the psychiatrist community. This, together with his Old Europe credentials (he had a PhD in Philosophy), his interment experience, his straight talking on television interviews and his avuncular appearance, very likely contributed to his popularity in America. He also became very popular in France, after French television broadcast a 4 part (60mns each) documentary on him and his works in 1973<sup>23</sup>. In the UK, , a 1986 BBC *Horizon* documentary presented him as "one of the most gifted child psychologist<sup>24</sup>".

His main work on autism was *The Empty Fortress*<sup>25</sup>, which contained 3 extensive case histories, as well as clinical and psychoanalytical comments. While he fully acknowledges Kanner's work, making use of the expression "infantile autism", he characterises autism not as a deficiency, but as a strategy to avoid the external world. In short, autistic children

"have defensively withdrawn cathexis from the outer world and from all but the whole of their body; hence their unresponsiveness to what they see, hear, and feel<sup>26</sup>".

With regard to this particular book, Bettelheim is credited for having formulated the "Refrigerator mothers" expression. However, I could not find this expression in my 1972 edition. He does remark on "emotional indifference and "the parent's wish that his child should not exist<sup>27</sup>", but as contributing factors, not as a direct automatic causes. Not all children with indifferent mothers will become autistic.

On the whole, I have found Bettelheim to have a very good grasp of Freudian concepts, in particular with regard to introjection/expulsion as being a fundamental step towards subjective differentiation. Some of his comments could easily be transposed into the Lacanian discourse. For example:

"It was because he did not encounter the "other" as a person feeling with him that he could not pay attention to the other as an other. But without the experience of a "Thou" he could not become an "I"<sup>28</sup>."

While I am aware of the polemic which erupted after Bettelheim's death with regard to his methodology and ethics, I have not taken this into account, given that for the most part, the criticisms originated from the field of psychology, i.e. Science.

# Gregory Bateson (1904-1980)

A further metonymy worth noting is that developed by Bateson, an anthropologist who used psychology and cybernetics in his approach. Taking up the "Refrigerator mothers" category, he proposed that the family unit, as conceived in Western culture, was rather toxic. He expressed the view that the natural ecological system is innately good as long as it is allowed to maintain homeostasis, instead of seeking control through competition. He also formulated the concept of Double Bind in relation to schizophrenia<sup>29</sup>. I would consider him as one the early critics of Occidental culture via the exoticism of anthropology.

We can see so far how a mere medical category became, through a metonymic process, a political category as strong critic of Western culture and its perceived defects. I am of the opinion that this metonymy was a shaping factor to the counter-culture/protest phenomenon of the US of the 1970's, which in turn fed into its continental equivalent, leading to Laing, Szaz, Cooper, Deleuze & Guattari (e.g. *Anti-Oedipus<sup>30</sup>*). Family became the source of madness, being nothing more than something to produce ready-made obedient workers for Capitalism, and therefore should be abolished. But Gide had already been there, in 1897, with his famous "*Familles, je vous hais<sup>31</sup>*".

# Autism in contemporary France

France was rather late in developing a care policy for children with autism. For a long time, it was considered a "child psychosis", and psychiatric or psychoanalytical approaches were favoured solutions. From the mid 1980's, parents of autistic children starting organising themselves by forming support groups and associations, asking for the introduction of behavioural therapies, as well as for being consulted and involved in the care process. At that time, you had to go to Belgium to obtain any substantial care.

A government action plan was eventually put in place in 1995<sup>32</sup>, and autism was legally recognised as a disability in 1996. In 2004, in the French equivalent to the DSM<sup>33</sup>, "child psychosis" was replaced by "*troubles envahissants du developpement*<sup>34</sup>". In 2005, after a complaint to the Council of Europe, a ruling declared that "France has failed to achieve sufficient progress in advancing the provision of education for persons with autism<sup>35</sup>". Autism was also an issue during the 2012 presidential election campaign, with candidates asked to take position on care provision. This is because of a dispute which we shall now explore.

In March 2012, the *Haute autorité de santé*<sup>36</sup> published a report on Autism with 2 main recommendations<sup>37</sup>. First, psychoanalytical and institutional psychotherapeutic approaches were considered as "not pertinent". Second, the H.A.S. declared itself "firmly opposed to the Packing therapy". Overall, it advocated a pluri-disciplinary therapeutic approach, as well as the involvement of parents in formulating a care strategy for their children. This further hardened the dispute, with parents associations hailing the report as a victory, and some psychoanalysts complaining of a witch hunt. The chair of *Autisme France*, Danièle Langloys, declared that

"psychiatrists and psychoanalysts have been hassling families for the last 30 years. It was about high time we reacted<sup>38</sup>".

To understand why autism care in France is so contentious, we need to focus on two key words: psychoanalysis and Packing therapy.

It is correct that French government support has been more towards a psychoanalytical/psychiatric type of therapeutic approach. A possible clue as to why is given by Adam Feinstein<sup>39</sup>: during the occupation of France, French psychiatry espoused the German National Socialist racial theories about mental health, whereas pro Resistance health professionals favoured the psychoanalytical approach. After the liberation, psychoanalysis was further favoured in an effort by the medical establishment to distance itself from its earlier compromises.

As for Packing, it is a technique imported from the US, which consist in enveloping a child in a wet sheet, for about an hour or so<sup>40</sup>. It must be remembered that when a wet sheet dries, it becomes tighter. I shall give two more precise definitions:

#### 1)From The Lancet:

"...involves wrapping a child tightly in wet sheets that have been placed in the refrigerator for up to an hour. When children are encased in this damp cocoon—with only their head left free—psychiatrically trained staff talk to them about their feelings. Typically, the treatment is repeated several times a week, and depending on the results and the severity of the child's condition, it can continue for months or even years.<sup>41</sup>"

#### 2)By Michel Balat<sup>42</sup>:

"Packing is a care technic for patients with extreme psychosis, derived from the 19th century French psychiatry practice of wet envelopment, analogous to the African therapeutic burial ritual or the Tibetan monks ice cold baths. It was introduced in France circa 1960 by the American psychiatrist Michael Woodbury, adding to the physical wrapping a psychological wrapping in the form of health carers. This adjunction confirms the hypothesis of the double propping up of the Skin-Ego concept<sup>43</sup>: biological on the surface of the body, and social with respect to the focused and attentive presence of the care team, closely watching the experience of the subject".

It has been promoted by Prof. Pierre Delion, a psychiatrist and psychoanalyst (as per his CV) and head of the *Service de Psychiatrie de l'enfant et de l'adolescent* of Lille main public health hospital<sup>44</sup>, and has received government funding for a series of trials. Delion says that:

"The child in the pack undergoes a regression, replaying in a secure environment the relationship between a mother and her new-born.... [it] allows the child to rid itself progressively of its pathological defence mechanisms against archaic anxieties<sup>45</sup>".

While some parents are supportive of this technique, a large majority finds its use barbaric.

Among other treatment methods also available are:

- Applied Behavorial Analysis (A.B.A), an American behavioural technique based on reward and punishment. In its French flavour, the contacts of a 9 Volt battery is applied on the tongue of the child if he does not behave as expected<sup>46</sup>. This therapy was actively supported by the previous French conservative government.
- TEACCH<sup>47</sup>, which consists in considering autism as another way of being, and therefore to give an autistic child the necessary tools to organise his own space and time, rather than try to "cure" him.

What strikes me in this dispute is its triangular aspect: parents associations, government and therapists. Much *jouissance* seems to be at stake and in play. But above all, it is the absence of what the term "psychoanalysis" may mean whenever it is mentioned, leading each of the 3 protagonists to assume that what they understand it to mean is the same as what it may mean for the 2 others. Does "psychoanalysis" refers to Freud, Melanie Klein, Winnicot, Adler, Jung, Anna Freud, Lacan? Nowhere in official documents, press releases or on electronic forums I have consulted is there any definition of this term when invoked. This has lead a forum participant to say:

"When all said and done why do we systematically find psychoanalysis in that area. The question is: what kind of sensory support can you give to people suffering from a horrible sensation of shattering?<sup>48</sup>".

I understand this to mean that if psychoanalysis is about the mind, what does it have to do with the body. This is a very common misconception.

We have seen that psychoanalysis is associated with Packing, hence parents opposition to "Psychoanalysis" as a therapy for autism, and that it seems to have a strong standing with the powers that be. We can further elaborate on Feinstein's hypothesis by looking at the history of the French psychoanalytical movement (REF MIJOLA). The 1<sup>st</sup> generation of psychoanalysts (Pichon, Marie Bonaparte, Laforgue, Lagache, etc.) was very active, with the *Société Psychanalytique de Paris* funded in 1926. Politically, they were broadly progressist or mildly left of centre. During the occupation, they

continued their activities, albeit in a discrete manner. When WWII ended, an intense cultural and moral debate about what had happened took place<sup>49</sup>, and how to prevent it for ever happening again. The 1<sup>st</sup> generation was very involved in that debate, hence for instance Lacan's association with Louis Althusser<sup>50</sup>. Its relationship to the Freudian text was strongly focused on the mother-child relationship. Then, after Lacan was expulsed from the I.P.A., the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation split. Some followed Lacan, while some remained with the "old guard". By the time of the 3<sup>rd</sup> generation, there were those trained by the 1<sup>st</sup> generation (focus on mother/child), those trained by Lacan (focus on Language) and those trained by the 1<sup>st</sup> generation but integrating some of Lacan's categories. It seems to me that Prof. Delion falls into this category, hence his use of such terms as "relationship between a mother and her new-born", "pathological defence mechanisms", and "archaic anxieties", and the appeal Anzieu's concept of Skinego has for him. At the same time, in a 2012 video interview, he talks of "the paternal function" and of "the father as a 3<sup>rd</sup> between mother and child<sup>51</sup>", which are strictly Lacanian categories.

This leads me to suggest that is what is meant by "Psychoanalysis" in the current French triangular debate refers to the 1<sup>st</sup> generation's practice of psychoanalysis

#### Some concluding remarks

Surprisingly, but perhaps not so if you are used to the roundabout way of the unconscious, my concluding remarks have very little to do with Autism, and a lot with aspects of the Symbolic. This may stem from my current cartel work, whose theme is "The Symbolic Order in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century<sup>52</sup>".

First, a comment on the site of the French weekly magazine *L'Express*, left by a reader in response to an article entitled *Autism-Psychoanalysts are going to resist*:

"Since 1968, we no longer benefit as much as we used to from family wisdom, hence we now have generations more or less in a state of anxiety and left to themselves<sup>53</sup>".

What appears at first as a nostalgic comment from a now grown up 1968 chap, seems to me to be a remarkable insight if we contrast it with Lacan's 1938 remarks on "*déclin social de l'imago paternelle*<sup>54</sup>", as well as with Freud's myth of the murder of the Father of the primitive horde<sup>55</sup>.

Second, I believe that it is unprecedented in the history of Western Christianity for the role of the mother to be attacked and devaluated. If I am correct, we no longer are in the age of the decline of the Symbolic, but in the age of its systematic dismantling.

We can read the trinity of the father, mother and son as a symbolic knot whereby the son, having given up the side of the mother, passes onto the side of the father. Further, the symbol of the mother must be in place, so as to veil the impossibility of representing female sexuality, its complement being the Christian myth of the Immaculate Conception.

Bruno de Florence, London, July 2012.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Web-links to Éric Laurent's text are available on <u>www.LacanianWorksExchange.net</u> /Laurent

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Early *dementia*/madness, also known as *dementia juvinalae*.

<sup>3</sup> Eugen Bleuler (1911), *Dementia Praecox oder Gruppe der Schizophrenien*, Leipzig und Wies, tr. 1950, , Ziskin, New York. Quoted in E. Stengel, Concepts of Schizophrenia, *British Medical Journal*, 18 May 1957, pp. 1174-1176.

Eugene Bleuler : The prognosis of dementia praecox: the group of schizophrenias : 1908 is available from <u>www.LacanianWorks.org</u> /5 Other Authors A-Z (Bleuler) or <u>www.LacanianWorksExchange.net</u> /Authors A-Z (Bleuler)

<sup>4</sup> Sigmund Freud, *An Autobiographical Study*, 1925.

<sup>5</sup> Leo Kanner, Autistic Disturbances of Affective Contact, *Nervous Child 2* (1943): pp. 217-250. Nota: in online references, Kanner is sometimes spelled kenner.

Availability given at <u>www.LacanianWorks.org</u> /1 A Lacanian Clinic (C Case Studies/Autism) or www.LacanianWorksExchange.net /Authors A-Z (Kanner)

<sup>6</sup> Leo Kanner, 1943, Op. Cit.

<sup>7</sup> Leo Kanner's own word.

<sup>8</sup> Leo Kanner, 1943, Op. Cit.

<sup>9</sup> Sigmund Freud, *The claims of Psychoanalysis to Scientific Interest*, 1913.

<sup>10</sup> White Anglo-Saxon Protestant. My term.

<sup>11</sup> Leo Kanner, 1943, Op. Cit.

<sup>12</sup> Leo Kanner, 1943, Op. Cit., p.233.

<sup>13</sup> Leo Kanner, 1943, Op. Cit. For more specific examples, Cf. on pp. 225, 226, 230, 232, 236, 237, 238, 240 of the article.

<sup>14</sup> Leo Kanner, 1943, Op. Cit.

<sup>15</sup> Leo Kanner, 1943, Op. Cit.

<sup>16</sup> Leo Kanner, 1943, Op. Cit. The italics are in the text.

17 Leo Kanner, 1949, Problems of Nosology and Psychodynamics of Early Infantile Autism, *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 19: 416–426.

<sup>18</sup> Hilary Trace, Mother blaming; or autism, gender and science, *Women's Studies Journal*, Volume 24 Number 2, December 2010.

<sup>19</sup> Bruno Bettelheim, Individual and Mass Behaviour in Extreme Situations, *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 18:417:452.

<sup>20</sup> Bruno Bettelheim, Joey: A "Mechanical Boy", *Scientific American*, March 1959.

<sup>21</sup> Bruno Bettelheim, 1959, Op. Cit.

<sup>22</sup> Henry Miller (1945), *The Air-Conditioned Nightmare*, New Directions Publishing, 1970.

<sup>23</sup> Daniel Karlin, *Un autre regard sur la folie*, France, 1973. I was not able to obtain a copy of this documentary, as it is not on the site of the French television archives, I.N.A. Its existence is however confirmed, and was last broadcast on Planète, a French cable TV station on 17 April 1996.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. on http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IEi7QVtk-Ms

<sup>25</sup> Bruno Bettelheim (1967), *The Empty Fortress: Infantile Autism and the Birth of the Self*, The Free Press, 1972, New York.

<sup>26</sup> Bruno Bettelheim (1967), Op. Cit., p.61.

<sup>27</sup> Bruno Bettelheim (1967), Op. Cit., p.119 & p.125 respectively.

<sup>28</sup> Bruno Bettelheim (1967), Op. Cit., p.442.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Gregory Bateson, "Cultural problems posed by a study of schizophrenic process." in *Schizophrenia, an Integrated Approach*, Ed. A. Auerback. New York: Ronald Press, 1959.

<sup>30</sup> Gilles Deleuze & Felix Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, University of Minnesota Press, 1983.

<sup>31</sup> "Families, I hate you". Cf. André Gide, *Les nourritures terrestres*, Mercure de France, Paris, 1897. Interestingly, the word family comes from the Latin *famulus*, meaning a servant.

<sup>32</sup> Loi Weill, from the Minister's name who passed that law, Simone Weill.

<sup>33</sup> Classification Française des Troubles Mentaux de l'Enfant et de l'Adolescent.

<sup>34</sup> Pervasive disturbances of development. My translation.

<sup>35</sup> English version on https://wcd.coe.int/ViewDoc.jsp?id=127993

<sup>36</sup> High Council for Heath, a government committee with consultative powers only.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. on http://www.has-sante.fr/portail/jcms/c\_953959/autisme-et-autres-troubles-envahissants-dudeveloppement-interventions-educatives-et-therapeutiques-coordonnees-chez-lenfant-et-ladolescent

<sup>38</sup> Cf. on http://www.lexpress.fr/actualite/sciences/sante/autisme-la-psychanalyse-desavouee-par-la-haute-autorite-de-sante\_1081840.html. My translation.

<sup>39</sup> Adam Feinstein, *A History of Autism: Conversations with the Pioneers*, Blackwell, Oxford, 2010.

<sup>40</sup> 2 videos of Packing sessions are available here: http://balat.fr/Le-Packing-une-video.html

<sup>41</sup> Laura Spinney , Therapy for autistic children causes outcry in France , *The Lancet*, Volume 370, Issue 9588, Pages 645 - 646, 25 August 2007.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. on http://www.balat.fr/Pierre-DELION-LETTRE-OUVERTE.html#forum1247. My translation.

<sup>43</sup> A concept elaborated by Didier Anzieu. Cf. Didier Anzieu (1974), *The skin-ego*, Yale University Press, 1989. Anzieu's mother was Aimée, the subject in Lacan's 1932 PhD: *De la psychose paranoïaque dans ses rapports avec la personnalité*.

<sup>44</sup> Lille is France's 3<sup>rd</sup> largest city, comparable to Manchester.

<sup>45</sup> Pierre Delion, *Le packing avec les enfants autistes et psychotique*, Ramonville Saint-Agne: Erès, 2003.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. on http://www.mediapart.fr/journal/france/020412/autisme-un-courrier-embarrassant-pour-un-centre-toujours-cite-en-exemple

<sup>47</sup> Treatment and Education of Autistic and Related Communication Handicapped Children.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. on http://www.balat.fr/Pierre-DELION-LETTRE-OUVERTE.html#forum1123. "A la limite que vient faire systématiquement la psychanalyse sur ce sujet. La question est : quelle contenance sensorielle on peut apporter à des personnes qui souffrent d'une sensation "horrible" d'éclatement ? ». My translation.

<sup>49</sup> This period, its hopes and contradictions, was admirably fictionalised by Simone de Beauvoir, in her *The Mandarins*, Harper Perennial, 2005. Originally published in 1954.

<sup>50</sup> Ideologist in Chief of the Communist Party-France in the 1960's.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. on http://www.yapaka.be/video/quest-ce-que-lautisme

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Éric Laurent's paper with the same title, circulated in preparation of WAP's 8<sup>th</sup> congress, held in Buenos-Aires 23-27 April 2012. 'The Symbolic Order in the XXI Century: *Consequences for the Treatment'* : July 2010 : Éric Laurent - See <u>www.LacanianWorks.org</u> /5 Other Authors A-Z (Laurent) or <u>www.LacanianWorksExchange.net</u> /Laurent

<sup>53</sup> Cf. on http://www.lexpress.fr/actualite/societe/autisme-les-psychanalystes-vont-entrer-enresistance\_1094612.html, comment by user Alex381 on 01 April 2012. My translation.

<sup>54</sup> Social decline of the paternal imago. My translation. Cf. Jacques Lacan, Le complexe, facteur concret de la psychologie familiale, in *l'Encyclopédie Française*, tome VIII, Ed. Henri Wallon, Paris, 1938.

<sup>55</sup> Sigmund Freud, Totem and Taboo, 1913.

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