The Return of the (foreclosed) Truth – Considerations on German Right-Wing Terror
Lutz Goetzmann

> *28th June, 2020 Do you know what racists do? They take an imaginary eraser, put it on you and erase you. At least they try by questioning your right to exist. They don't just insult you, they erase you. They tell you: you mustn't be.*
>
> *27th June, 2020 Wounds that racists inflict on someone don't heal. You change. Everything. But they don't heal.*
> *Tweets by Igor Levit*
> *@igorpianist*

The Return of the Truth

On the evening of 19 February 2020 43-year-old Tobias R. opened fire in the center of Hanau, a city in the middle of Germany. He shot several people in the shisha bar *Midnight*. Shortly afterward he escaped in a car. He shot several more people at Kurt-Schumacher-Square two kilometers away. Here the scene was the *Arena Bar Café*. All nine people killed were between 21 and 44 years old and were from Turkish, Bulgarian, Bosnian and Romanian backgrounds. In the assassin's apartment the police discovered two more corpses - the assassin himself and his 72-year-old mother. The father, who was present, was unharmed.

Who was Tobias R.? According to Die ZEIT's investigation (Fuchs et al., 2020), Tobias R. graduated High school in Hanau in 1996. A classmate said that she knew of him as a clever but reserved young man. In a Curriculum Vitae he published on the internet he wrote that, after A-levels, he passed a civil service exam and then took a banking apprenticeship. He studied business economics and graduated in 2007. On his homepage he published a right-wing manifesto in which persecution and conspiracy ideas predominated. How can his radical right-wing manifesto and the subsequent murderous outburst be understood from a psychoanalytic perspective? What is the connection between his manifesto and the terrorist actions? I first lay out some thoughts about traumatic experiences, various defense formations, and the failure of the defenses. Against this background, I examine the text of the manifesto and the reports on the homicidal acts 19 February. The article examines how the collapse of crucial defense functions resulted in the murder of innocent citizens.

To grasp the issues, let us start with Freud and the matter of repression. On 6 December 1896, Freud wrote to Wilhelm Fliess:

As you know, I am working on the assumption that our psychic mechanism has come into being by a process of stratification: the material present in the form of memory traces being subjected from time to time to a *rearrangement* under fresh circumstances — to a *retranscription*. Thus, what is essentially new about my theory is the thesis that memory is present not once but several times over, that it is laid down in various kinds of indications. (. . .) I do not know how many of these registrations there are — at least three, probably more." (Freud, 1985: 208)

Freud continues:

I explain the peculiarities of the psychoneuroses by supposing that this translation has not taken place in the case of some of the material, which has certain consequences. A failure of translation — this is what is known clinically as "repression." (Freud, 1985: 208)

After the original repression, new experiences can reactivate repressed ideas. Freud (1915) speaks of the "return of the repressed", which leads to substitutive formations and symptoms:

The general probability would seem to be that the two are widely different, and that it is not the repression itself which produces substitutive formations and symptoms, but that these latter are indications of a *return of the repressed* and owe their existence to quite other processes. It would also seem advisable to examine the mechanisms by which substitutes and symptoms are formed before considering the mechanisms of repression. (Freud, 1915: 154)

The mechanisms underlying the "return of the repressed" include the formation of substitutes and symptoms via displacement. Lacan (2016: 275) speaks of a "return of truth," wherein he equates the unconscious-repressed, which returns in the form of a symptom, with the subject's truth:

It is difficult not to see that, even before the advent of psychoanalysis, a dimension that might be called that of the symptom was introduced, which was articulated based on the fact that it represents the return of the truth as such into the gap of certain knowledge. I am not referring to the classical problem of error, but rather to a concrete manifestation that must be appreciated 'clinically', in which we find not a failure of representation but a truth of another reference than the one, whether representation or not, whose fine order it manages to disturb... (Lacan, 2006: 194)

The "return of truth" does not refer solely to a manifestation of the repressed. Not only the repressed but also split-off parts of the personality return with an (unjustified) vengeance. In this regard, Müller-Pozzi (2013) asks an important question:

> But what if the other person does not provide the intersubjective space with its translation options (...) and thus, the repression, which always includes the return of the repressed, cannot do its work?[1]

This situation occurs when a person suffers from agonies stemming from early experiences. Winnicott (1974) describes these traces as "primitive agonies." To keep painful primary traces at bay, repression is insufficient. Due to their painful toxicity these traces must be banished from inner mental space (Bouchet-Kervella, 2019). Here Roussillon (2011: 13) distinguishes two variants: In the first, there is the "splitting of the ego" (*clivage du moi*), which Freud (1938 / 1950: 276) describes as being torn between two co-existing parts of the personality. In the second variant, the subject splits into two parts, where one is detectably depicted while the other cannot even be represented or acknowledged (Roussillon, 2011: 13). This second split-off part therefore is "foreclosed."[2] The subject no longer "feels" the traumatic state and has no idea there even is one. It appears silent (Roussillon, 2011: 16). Not-foreclosed parts are vivid; full of hate or love, of devaluation or idealisation. Foreclosed parts are dead, uncanny, non-existing, negative. The "return of the truth" also can be expressed in very primitive acts, as a brutal return of the skewed subjective truth.

Primary Agonies and Defenses

In his manifesto Tobias R. includes information about childhood fantasies:

> Chronologically I want to start with an impression that took place shortly after I was born. Today I can no longer say exactly - what is ultimately not decisive - whether 5 days, 8 days or 12 days had passed since the birth in the hospital, but it was within this period that I first came to terms of consciousness. Or in other words, I perceived my surroundings for the first time and can, therefore, say that my human being had started from this moment on. I was in my parents' apartment and was held in the bath by my mother, who handed me over to my father shortly afterward, as she had difficulty holding and washing me. I can still remember one sentence from my mother: 'He is so small. He is so small.' - In parallel with these first impressions, I heard a voice in my mind that was starting for the first time. It was not friendly and said: 'Oh, that's stupid, I went into the trap.' - I immediately replied to this woman's voice with "No" and fell asleep shortly afterward."

---

[1] Müller-Pozzi (2013) paraphrases Freud: "This original failure of repression is what is clinically called 'trauma'. The "over-strong event of the first time" is not traumatic on its own. This experience only becomes a trauma if it cannot be worked through in the process of "repression -translation". The impossibility of translation is traumatic. From this logic it can only be determined afterward whether an experience or an event is to be qualified as trauma. However, the failure of repression is a failure of the intersubjectivity that develops in the frame of the earliest object relationships.

[2] Foreclosure is a Lacanian term. It is a special translation of Freud`s term *Verwerfung*, usually translated as repudiation. In German, the past participle of *verworfen* has a double meaning: First, it means the result of an archaic defense. The second meaning is related to an ethically very negative act.

And he continued...

> In retrospect, I can still remember several sequences from the first years of my life. Above all, in the first few years I had the idea whether it might be that I was being observed by other people. This thought - primarily being connected with the first impression of my awakening - was based on the voice that I heard in the bathroom. It had left a lasting impression on me. Also, I grasped the being a human subject and the world around me, and it quickly became clear to me that, to put it simply, people are not always nice to each other or that people are themselves the enemy: 'Oh, that is stupid, I went into the trap!'"
> http://www.mediafire.com/file/g9z2t2vvh11h6jq/Skript __mit_Bilder_.pdf/file)

In this passage Tobias R. reported three significant perceptions: 1.) the mother could not have held him; 2.) a third person (the father) was present to whom the baby was given (or the second person was split and provided different sides); 3.) and an unfriendly female voice commenting "Oh, that's stupid, I went into a trap (*Falle*)!" This female voice sums up the nature of the early relationship. In German, "*Falle*" may mean being trapped in a relationship as well as falling, i.e. not being held ("*ich falle*"). Yet there is also the command: "*Ab in die Falle!*", that a child should go to sleep. This ambiguity of the master signifier permeates Tobias R.'s narrative. Here we detect important traces of his primary agony (Winnicott, 1974). With the introduction of the father, i.e. the establishment of a triangular structure, speaking of deferred fantasies became possible. However, the voice Tobias R. heard was an imagined one, and out of these acoustic links his idea of a lifelong surveillance system developed. The idea of an omnipresent secret service was unwelcome but also oddly comforting. The secret service functioned as an omnipresent "holding" object. Tobias R. fantasized:

> The focus of my message is the work of a so-called 'secret service'. Therefore, I would like to describe in advance what I mean by that. My concern is to inform everyone about what is possible, what is believed, what is in the frame. 1.) At the time of this video recording, thousands of German citizens are being monitored by secret service. 2.) This happens without a specific reason. 3.) When I speak of 'surveillance', I mean primarily acoustic and visual surveillance in the private home, in the rooms on the worksite and in other places where you are. I do not mean cameras that are visible in public places or shops of any kind. 4.) Some people work for this 'secret service' who can read another person's mind and are also able to 'latch in' on them and, to a certain extent, to carry out a kind of 'remote control'. When I speak of a 'secret service' in the course of this message, I do not mean explicitly a known secret service, such as the Federal Intelligence Service, the CIA or NSA, but rather an organization that operates based on a secret service but does not officially appearbyname.(http://www.mediafire.com/file/g9z2t2vvh11h6jq/SkriptmitBilder.pdf/file)

Thus, Tobias R.'s logic is that being surveilled is better than to be left alone and helpless. At the same time, his accompanying conspiracy theories served as a creative way of integrating the destructive sides of the object, as well as - if media

reports can be believed - with his father's "querulous traits."[3] As Winnicott (1974) observed, the individual then may be accompanied by a lifelong fear of a broken emotional state which he or she has experienced but which cannot be directly represented. The individual ironically fears a breakdown that has already occurred. This person now looks incessantly for unrepresented "details" or clues from the past. In Tobias R.'s manifesto, we recognize, first, the search for the clues of the primary agony, second, the fear of a repetition of this agonic breakdown; and third, his defense strategies.

First Line of Defense: Symbolization in a Triadic Structure

This "splitting-forclosure" does not of course make trauma disappear. Quite the contrary, primary traumatic experiences infiltrate later experiences with hallucinatory exaggerations. The trauma mingles with this material, binding agonic affects to the subject's experiences. Thanks to this binding the trauma can be symbolized (Roussillon, 2011: 15). Tobias R.'s fantasy indicates that he sought help, which came, unfortunately, from his father. From this vantage point, Tobias R.'s narrative is a complex result of several modes of processing. One mode is a triadically structured, and likely deferred fantasy at a symbolic level. A second mode is fantasising full of psychotic elements, enabled by this triadic structure. This structure enables traumatic material to infiltrate the subject's thinking while re-cathexis threatens the subject with revival of his pain. What is split off and foreclosed threatens to return.

Second Line of Defense: Splitting and Projection into the Ideological Container

Tobias R. set up a website and left a 24-page manifesto on it. Here he announced no forthcoming action, at least not overtly. Neither did the document mention any outright commitment to violence. Rather, Tobias R. invoked and wallowed in conspiracy theories. He displayed a racist worldview accompanied by fantasies of utter annihilation. He complained: "Certain people from my own country have contributed to the fact that we now have ethnic groups, races or cultures in our midst that are destructive in every respect". An "expulsion of these people" would be no solution, since "the existence of certain ethnic groups per se means a fundamental error. "Some people would therefore have to be "destroyed". Here is adumbrated the terrible transition from the expulsive projection to destructive acts.

To cope with his primary agony, Tobias found a dual solution. On the one hand, he displaced negative aspects of primary objects to other objects. It would not

---

[3] The popular German newspaper BILD interviewed a neighbor, who said: "We hardly knew the neighbors, I rarely saw the son in the car, the mother never. The father was a troublemaker, always made trouble, because of garbage cans or the hedge. Then it was often about his two deregistered cars that are in front of the garages. There was always something. He always came out, causing problems." (https://www.bild.de/news/inland/news-inland/blutbad-in-hanau-terrorist-rathjen-kontaktierte-mental-trainer-68938202.bild.html).

be the mother who was evil, but alien people. At the same time, the superordinate ideology served as a container for early helplessness and anger (to compensate for not being held, of falling, of being trapped). I follow Bion's theory about mental processing of early experiences: the affects (as "beta-elements") are projected into an "ideological container," which return to the subject in the shape of standardized ideas of racist devaluation and annihilation ("alpha elements"). The ideology takes on this function of intersubjective container. In Germany, politicians from the extreme right-wing party AfD ("Alternative für Deutschland") offer an ideology of racism and xenophobia (Decker, 2018: 50). This right-wing ideology can "interpellate" the subject (Althusser, 2014: 190). The seductive power of these containers derives from the fact that their alpha-ideas fit the subject's hateful projections. As Young (1994) writes, "The greater the pressure of primitive anxieties on the dimensionality of mind, the less able we are to symbolise and to participate in culture." Tobias R. became susceptible to the allure of the ideological container and its baneful content, and bluntly described his thoughts on migrants:

> "The fundamental question that arose for me is how can it be that such ethnic groups are in my country at all? These people are instinctively rejected and have not proven to be successful in their history (. . .). Therefore, an effort to achieve the complete expulsion of these people from our country can no longer be a solution, since the existence of certain ethnic groups is a fundamental mistake in itself (. . .). Therefore, I said that the following peoples must be destroyed: Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, Israel, Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, the entire Saudi Peninsula, Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, and the Philippines. And that would only be the rough cleaning. After that, there has to be a fine cleaning, which affects the rest of the African countries, South and Central America, the Caribbean and of course your own people. I noted that not everyone who has a German passport today is thoroughbred and valuable; I could imagine halving the population." (http://www.mediafire.com/file/g9z2t2vvh11h6jq/Skript__mit_Bilder_.pdf/file)

Two forms of the projected became thinkable. First, negative parts of the personality are split-off with projection of these parts onto fellow citizens with a migrant background. The migrants are inferior. Secondly, the split-off parts are foreclosed ("clivage au moi"), and the foreclosed again projected onto others. Then, the subject's experience of something uncanny comes into the foreground. This "hate speech" (Butler, 1997: 4) aims to hurt the feared and despised other. Ideology is not just a container but, in a spoken or written way, an aggressive act. With the insight that hate speech is a prelude to primitive acting (as destructive action as well as regarding the projected contents), we come to the archaic defense formation Tobias R. resorted to on 19 February: homicidal violence in order to cope with the breakthrough of the foreclosed.

Third Line of Defense: Terror as Primitive Acting

For Tobias R. the overwhelming return of the foreclosed triggered murder. Here we see the third line of defense: violent primitive acting. Neither a symbolization (first

line) nor the splitting-projection (second line) sufficed to contain the early troubling material. Racist ideology opened the door to destruction. Those who provided this ideological container facilitated his murderous spree. He slipped into a grave situation in which the only salvation was to assume an omnipotent position, secured by the destruction of the others. What remained, was a "recours à l'acte": the "return to the action" to assure the cohesion of the subject (Bouchet-Kervella, 2019). What was going on in the apartment when Tobias R. returned is beyond our knowledge but, tellingly, he used murderous aggression against his mother. His unleashed anger killed the person who he felt had let him fall. In the last act of his life, suicide, the key motives of his life emerged: the primary agony, the breakdown of defense lines, the respect for the triad (by sparing the father) and, above all, the unification with the primary object in the death.

How great is the freedom not to be a criminal?

Althusser (2014, p. 190 ff.) argues that every individual is subjected to, and dominated by, ideologies. By ideological interpellation the subject is constituted, which is a claim that bears some serious consideration in this case, at least. Xenophobia and racism do not exist only on the margins of society. As the Leipzig research group (2018: 65 - 115) demonstrated, extreme right-wing attitudes have become a social phenomenon of the *Mitte*, the middle of German society (Decker et al., 2018: 65 - 115.) The authors define right-wing extremism as attitudes that "represent ideas of inequality. These are expressed in the political field in the affinity for dictatorial forms of government, chauvinistic attitudes and a trivialization or justification of National Socialism. They are characterized by anti-Semitic, xenophobic and social Darwinist attitudes." (Decker et al., 2018: 65). Extreme right-wing attitudes are a prerequisite for, and foreshadowing of, anti-democratic behavior.

In the 2018 nationwide survey, the approval ratings for "xenophobia" are particularly high. Xenophobia measures "the devaluation and aggression towards a constructed foreign group, the 'foreigners', who are generally and collectively assumed to take advantage of the welfare state, who are only tolerated on the job market for a limited period and whose presence is seen as a 'foreign alienation' to the Federal Republic." 35.7% of Germans agree that migrants only come to Germany to take advantage of the welfare state; 35.6% think Germany is "dominated by foreigners (*überfremdet*) to a dangerous extent" (Decker et al., 2018: 77). 44.1% in 2018 believed that Muslims should be prohibited from emigrating to Germany (Decker et al., 2018: 101). Among the political parties, AfD voters have the highest levels of xenophobia (AfD: 55.6%, CDU / CSU: 22%, SPD 22.8%, FDP 18.5 %, Grüne 11%, Die Linke 15%). The authors summarize that extreme right wing voters "have found political expression in the AfD." (Decker et al. 2018: 93). Furthermore, in 2018, 14% stated that they were prepared to use violence to assert their interests (Decker et al., 2018: 107), so murderous racism seems part of their basic ideological

equipment.[4] The *Verfassungsschutzbericht* (Office for the Protection of the Constitutions' report) published 9 July, 2020 shows that the number of violent right-wing extremists in Germany has increased. In 2019, more than 22,300 such acts were committed with right-wing motivation, almost ten percent more than the previous year. In the right-wing scene there is a "competition for the highest number of victims in attacks, the goal of breaking a 'high score of the most dead'," said the president of the *Bundesamt für Verfassungschutz* (BfV). The Internet is a breeding ground. Haldewang warned of "super-spreaders of hate" who would buttress "their pseudo-intellectual theories" with "xenophobic, nationalist, racist and anti-Semitic

---

[4] The ideological, right-wing speech-act succeeds because this act takes place following wide-spread and accepted ideological trends. In contrast, the idea of being under surveillance appears to be psychotic, because this speech act is not accepted. It may be "normal" to be against migrants, but it is "insane", to feel observed by secret service. In contrast to the successful and accepted right-wing speech-act, the not-accepted psychotic equivalent is failing (Austin, 1962: 27). However, it could be that socio-cultural conditions will change. With regard to the economic as well as political power associated with the possession of "big data" (i.e. data from computer-mediated economic transactions, data from billions of sensors, from private and public surveillance cameras, including everything from smartphones to satellites, as well as small data from computer-mediated actions as Facebook "likes", Google searches, emails, texts, photos, songs, videos and so on). Zuboff (2015; 2019, pp. 8) speaks of "surveillance capitalism"; this is mainly embodied by global companies like "Google" or "Facebook". Google became the largest and most successful 'big data' company. Thus, "surveillance capitalism establishes a new form of power in which contract and the rule of law are supplanted by the rewards and punishments of a new kind of invisible hand." Zuboff continues, "Big Other exists in the absence of legitimate authority and is largely free from detection or sanction." (Zuboff, 2015). Against this background, we can better understand Tobias R.'s "persecutory ideas". Tobias R. had no classic secret service in mind, he was not a child of the James Bond generation. The surveillance and thus the control, the exercise of power were are diffuse and invisible. He experienced the surveillance machinery of capitalist companies in a persecutive and hostile way. - The link between surveillance ideas and racism could be, as follows: If we take "Google" as an example of surveillance capitalism, we could speak of "Google Winners" and "Google Losers". Google Winners have success in the "big data society", Google Losers are wrecked. Foreign migrant workers have an increased risk to be part of the Google Losers. Tobias R. now seems to be performing this mental operation: To avoid the position of impotence vis-à-vis the Winners, he replaces (as defence) the Winners with the Losers. Since Google is as powerful as it is anonymous, there is a shift to the Losers. To the poorly paid migrants or refugees, asylum seekers who are racially devalued in a big wash-up. Now he is able to despise these people and fight against his own inferiority by killing them. Thus, Tobias R.' persecutory ideas sketch the effects of an unbridled surveillance capitalism.

ideological elements". It is not only the AfD, but the "New Right" in general which encourages racism, anti-Semitism and xenophobia (Steffen, 2020).

Georg Seeßlen (2020) comments in the weekly magazine *ZEIT*:

> "Perhaps the individual perpetrators are people who are sick of soul and spirit; the manifestos from Anders Breivik to the perpetrator in Hanau are described as confused and manic. But they are readable twice, as a revelation of a personal disorder (we as the common people are quick to use the term psychosis) and as a fulfillment of a pre-formulated political view of the world - and both, psychosis-like political radicalization unfolds the terrorist potential based on normalities and habits." (Seeßlen, 2020, translated by L.G).

Ge concludes:

> "If one takes a loss of empathy, linguistic brutalization and toxic sexualization of the discourses together, one has, so to speak, just before the poison of the new right has its final effect, about the disposition to right-psychotic terror. Nothing is predictable for a long time, but maybe we can construct a triangle: From this triangle, the usual narrative quickly emerges. The person that may be pre-disturbed makes experiences of rejection in the de-solidarized and non-empathetic society. Then he becomes poisoned by the right-wing populist and extremist organizations and media, which ultimately provoke him into an act in which all three elements come together: psychotic aggression, revenge on society and the extreme right-wing view of the world." (Seeßlen, 2020, translated by L.G)

Why does the subject respond to ideology in a certain retrograde way? It is not enough to say that ideology captures the fragile individual during a moment of weakness. The interpellation only works in a space that already is intimately familiar to the individual, providing a personal anchor for a violent ideology (Morel, 2018, pp. 283). Violent ideology uses not only words, but also pictures, murderous pictures, e.g., creations often tied in with pre-existent images in the unconscious. Unconscious fantasies are given a recognized place in reality. Morel (2018, p. 284) reports that extremists often dream of violence, e.g. a lady, named Emma, who dreamed of blowing herself up since she was 6 years old. At that time, the father shot her mother. Such raging unconscious elements can be structured by ideology. Surveillance capitalism activates unconscious patterns, exploiting the paranoid-schizoid position, and making it credible (see footnote 4).

To recapitulate, in Tobias R.'s case, his symptoms (i.e. the "fantasy of not being held", xenophobia and the murderous action) guided his grim "return of truth." Inside his armory of defenses, the subject's 'truth' withdraws into the repressed, split-off or foreclosed, but then returns as a symptom --- a (neurotic) symbol, a projection of the subject's negative or intolerable parts, as primitive acting to cope with foreclosed traces of agony. Tobias R. opted for Nazi ideology as his psychological container. The racist alpha-ideology not only reinforced unconscious fantasies based on alpha-elements, the ideology also gave non-digestible beta elements the distinct shape of alpha elements, reduced to primitive comforting clichés (Young, 1994). Nazism was the means for providing racist alpha elements, i.e. Nazi ideologues

provided self-functioning containers with congenial slogans. Thus, the right-wing terrorist resulted from a "trialectical relationship" (Seeßlen, 2020) between personality, social conditions, and ideology. Here, the seemingly perverse question arises: how great is our freedom not to become a criminal? Some aspects of the answer emerge. Ideologies are prefabricated by individuals, who, compared to Tobias R, may be under less psychological pressure from early traumatic injuries. They formulate ideologies consciously and with certain purposes (e.g. hunger for power or to satisfy their instinct for aggression). In my view, it is a self-chosen act of perverse freedom to spread extremist views in the form of "ideological containers," offering this easy explanation to troubled individuals.

However, it still is up to the subject to respond as he/she is inclined to these seductive ideologies. Could Tobias R. have undergone his ideological interpellation in another way? Could he have acted very differently? Or did he have to be constituted as a right-wing radical subject, because he saw no alternative way for coping with the return of the foreclosed? Did he have the potential autonomy to distinguish between his hatred for his mother and the favorite targets of right-wing ideology, and hit upon a sane and civil outcome instead? How great was the relative attraction of self-chosen "enjoying" (in Lacanian terms: *jouissance*) in devaluing and killing 'inferior' people? Didn't he embrace hate speech, and then the death of innocent people, in order to enjoy a fleeting and ugly omnipotence?

Based on the information available, these issues, admittedly, do not allow for definitive answers. For Althusser, ideology alludes to our affective, unconscious relations to the world, "to the ways in which we are pre-reflectively bound up in social reality" (Eagleton, 1991, p. 18; see also Morel, 2018, p. 283). It is difficult to escape from the ideological interpellation of the Big Other, especially if there is only one alternative in our purview. So, a double-step is necessary to get a free choice: we have to forego *jouissance*, and we have to go to the place where the other, or the other's desire, is absent, the place of the Lacanian lack. From this view, we can decide whether a certain racist beliefs are true or false (Eagleton, 1991, p. 21). Critics of Lacan and Althusser will be especially sceptical of drawing universal conclusions. However, regardless of the psychoanalytic or philosophical approach, taking refuge in one house of ideology - and there are many competing ones - often seems more convenient for troubled souls, even if the price is extremely high.

References

Althusser, Louis. (2014) *On the reproduction of capitalism. Ideology and ideological state apparatuses*. London – New York: Verso.

Austin, John L. (1962) *How to do things with words*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Bouchet-Kervella, Denis (2019) Die Frage der Perversion. Die Vielzahl der sogenannt ‚perversen' mentalen Organisationen. *Psyche – Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse und ihre Anwendungen* 73 (5): 313-337.

Butler, Judith (1997) *Excitable speech. A politics of the performative*. New York & London: Routledge.

Decker, Oliver (2018) Flucht ins Autoritäre. In: Oliver Decker and Elmar Brähler (eds.): *Flucht ins Autoritäre. Rechtsextreme Dynamiken in der Mitte der Gesellschaft.* Gießen: Psychosozial-Verlag: 15 – 64.

Decker, Oliver, Kiess Johannes, Schuler Julia Handke, Barbara and Brähler, Elmar. (2018) Die Leipziger Autoritarismus-Studie 2018: Methode, Ergebnisse und Langzeitverlauf. In: Oliver Decker and Elmar Brähler (eds.): *Flucht ins Autoritäre. Rechtsextreme Dynamiken in der Mitte der Gesellschaft.* Gießen: Psychosozial-Verlag: 65 – 116.

Eagleton, Terry (1991). *Ideology. An introduction*. London: Verso.

Freud, Sigmund (1985). The complete letters of Sigmund Freud to Wilhelm Fliess, 1887-1904. Cambridge (MA) and London (UK): Belknap Press.

Freud, Sigmund (1915, 1975) Repression. Standard Edition, 14: 141-158.

Freud, Sigmund (1938, 1975). Splitting of the ego in the defensive process. Standard Edition, 5: 372-5.

Fuchs, Christian, Geisler, Astrid, Polke-Majewski, Kartsen, Sundermann, Tom, Venohr, Sascha and Zacharakis, Zacharias (2020) Gewalttat in Hanau: Was wir über den Angriff von Hanau wissen. *ZEIT-ONLINE*, https://www.zeit.de/gesellschaft/zeitgeschehen/2020-02/gewalttat-hanau-schuesse-rassismus-taeter-motiv, access 7 March 2020.

Lacan, Jacques (2006) *Ecrits: the first complete edition in English*. New York: Norton & Company.

Müller-Pozzi, Heinz (2013) Wenn die Verdrängung scheitert. Konflikt – Nachträglichkeit – Trauma. *The Other Scene – Psychoanalysis and its Applications*. http://www.otherscene.org/pdf/MuellerPozzi-Verdraengung.pdf, accessed 7 March 2020.

Roussillon, René (2011) *Primitive agony and its symbolization*. London: Karnac.

Seeßlen, Georg (2020) Das Making-of eines Rechtsterroristen. *ZEIT ONLINE*, https://www.zeit.de/kultur/2020-02/hanau-rechtsextremismus-anschlag-taeter-gewalt-radikalisierung-demokratie/, access 7 March 2020.

Steffen, Tilman (2020) Neuer Behördenchef, neue Töne. *ZEIT ONLINE*, https://www.zeit.de/politik/deutschland/2020-07/verfassungsschutzbericht-2019-extremismus-rechtsterrorismus-straftaten-zunahme/, access 14 July, 2020.

Theweleit, Klaus (2015) *Das Lachen der Täter: Breivik u.a. – Psychogramm der Tötungslust*. St. Pölten – Salzburg – Wien: Residenz-Verlag.

Winnicott, Donald W. (1974) Fear of breakdown. *The International Review of Psycho-Analysis* 1: 103-107.

Young, Robert M. (1995) *Mental space*. London: Process Press.

http://www.psychoanalysis-and-therapy.com/human_nature/papers/paper55.html, access 12 July 2020.

Zuboff, Shoshana (2015) Big other: surveillance capitalism and the prospects of an information civilization. *Journal of Information Technology* 30: 75–89.

Zuboff, Shoshana (2019) *The age of surveillance capitalism. The fight for a human future at the new frontier of power*. New York: Public Affairs.

Lutz Goetzmann, *M.D., habilitated at the University of Zurich in psychosomatic aspects of organ transplantation. He is a professor at the University of Lubeck. From 2011 to 2020, he was head physician of the Clinic for Psychosomatic Medicine in Bad Segeberg, Germany. Since 2020, he works in his own psychoanalytic practice in Berlin. He is a member of the Swiss Society for Psychoanalysis and has published widely in the field of psychoanalytic psychosomatics and cultural theory. He is co-founder of the* INSTITUTE OF PHILOSOPHY, PSYCHOANALYSIS AND CULTURAL STUDIES, *Berlin (https://ippk.de/) and co-editor of the online-journal Y –* JOURNAL OF ATOPIC THINKING. *Address for correspondence: Prof. Dr. Lutz Goetzmann, Maybachufer 20, D - 12047 Berlin; E-Mail: lgoetzmann@gmail.com*