I. Introduction: Various types of authority manifestations.

With many people their relation to authority is their most outstanding character trait—either in submitting or in resisting. It differs from other character traits in that relation to authority does not present us with a uniform picture. The central emotion may vary: fear, admiration, love or egotism (e.g., peasant son: father; soldier: officer; member of youth movement: leader; nurse: physician; Catholic: father confessor; student: professor; employee: employer). We do not mean by authority, external submission without giving up internal resistance (e.g., political prisoner). In every relation of authority there must be an emotional tie of a subordinate to a superordinate individual. In all cases there seems to be a component of fear, awe, respect, admiration, love and frequently hatred, but the quantitative admixture of these components seems to vary. Also, the matter is complicated by the fact that these components are sometimes conscious, sometimes unconscious, sometimes directly observable, sometimes only in reaction formations, i.e., a strict definition should not be attempted for the time being.

The following refers to the psycho-dynamics of the attitude towards authority; an attempt to analyse those drive tendencies and psychic mechanisms which are active in the development of the various forms of attitudes toward authority.

II. Authority and the super-ego. The role of the family in their development.

Freud discusses the concept of authority in relation to: (1) Mass psychology, (2) Super ego.

In (1) he sees the formation of masses based on their relation to a leader. The leader is put in place of the ego ideal, therefore the individuals of whom the mass consists are identified with the same ego ideal substitute. In a definition of super-ego, ego and id, it must be understood that they are not parts or segments, but rather carriers of functions in a dynamic sense, sometimes overlapping functions. Id—passions, originally all libido; ego—those parts of the id which are influenced by the external world: reason, rationality. Super-ego—self-observation, moral conscience, dream censorship and main influence in repressions. The genesis of the super-ego is closely related to the relationship to the father, i.e., original identification of the boy with the father as his super-ego. The secondary identification then takes place in the Oedipus complex, i.e., jealousy is given up under the cover of identification with the father and his rule. Thus the child becomes equal to the father by means of identification. Later the super-ego develops through influences of parent surrogates (teachers, heroes, etc.) Thus the super-ego becomes the carrier of tradition and the internalization of external pressure. The relation of the super-ego to the id: 1—it is a reaction formation to the forces in the id; 2—it gets its energy from the id.

Fromm proceeds here to a methodological criticism of Freud:

1) Unclarities result in Freud from ascribing the function of examination of reality at times to the ego and at others to the super-ego.

2) It is hard to see why self-observation should be a function of the same instance which originated as an incorporation of the ideals and the conscious, i.e., as a reaction formation against the drives. This concept seems to be too formalistic. Also, the therapeutically vital concept of identification suffers from the same fault. If it were defined less formally, three main types of identification would have to be distinguished:

1—enriching; i.e., where I take the other into me, and thus am strengthened by this inclusion.

2—empowering; where I put my personality into the other and partially become the other.

3—feeling of identity (conscious or unconscious); interchangeability and equalization of one with the other—based on common interests rather than common qualities.
In spite of ambiguities in it, the theory of the super-ego and of identification is an important contribution to the problem of authority and social dynamics: How is it possible that power in society is as effective as history shows it to be?

1—Force and power in any given society is one component of authority to get the obedience and subjection of the masses under this authority.

2—It is obvious that the obedience to this external power is due to more than sheer physical force. To maintain the permanent apparatus of such force would be too expensive. It would paralyze the quality of work based only on external fear to a degree untenable for the process of production in modern society—also it would create tensions in the social relations which also could not stand up to the needs of production for any length of time.

Therefore, if external force determines the tractability of the masses, it nonetheless must change its quality in the psyche of the individual. The problem is partially solved by the formation of the super-ego—it transforms the external power into an internal one. Authorities—representatives of external force—are internalized. They are obeyed not only for fear of external punishment, but also for fear of the super-ego.

For the child the external forces in society are represented by the parents and in the patriarchal petty bourgeois family especially by the father. Through identification with the father and his rules the super-ego gets the attributes of morality and power. At the same time the opposite process occurs to the growth of the identification. The super-ego is always again projected to the social carrier of authority, i.e., the individual projects the qualities of his own super-ego on the given factual authority. Through this process carriers of authority are to a great extent exempt from criticism. Their high value in every respect is believed in to a degree which is to a large extent independent of their actual qualities. This fits them increasingly to be internalized and to become carriers of the super-ego.

The relation between super-ego and authority is a dialectic one. The super-ego is the internalization of authority; and authority is enhanced by the projection on to it of the qualities of the super-ego; in this form authority is again internalized. Therefore if society would not develop and reinforce the character of the childhood super-ego, the super-ego would either disappear or change completely in character and content. However, just as in the child/father relationship, so also in the adult, the reinforcement and the development of the super-ego is based on the real external force and the fear of it; because, if there were no external force, it could not be internalized and if there were no physical force it could not be transfigured into a moral one.

The reason for the fact that certain psychic structures maintain their strength frequently over and above the social necessities is to be found in the character determining childhood experiences. To some degree these structures will then be resistant to social influences. However, such discrepancies between the psychic structure and social reality can exist only temporarily, and if the psychic structure is to be maintained permanently social changes must occur to re-condition it.

The super-ego and authority must be considered together:

1—the super-ego must be constantly produced anew by real and powerful authorities.

2—the super-ego itself is not strong enough and stable enough to fulfill its "assigned task" i.e., it must be backed by force—conscience is not enough if no threat or reward is in sight.

As the social agent of society, the family:

1—produces the super-ego

2—it has decisive effects on the character structure and drive structure of the individual. Here the emotional relation of the child to the parent is important. In spite of certain individual differences between families, the family represents
primarily a certain societal content and the transmission of this through the production of the socially desirable psychological structure is the most important social function of the family. Not to have seen this is the strongest criticism against Freud's super-ego theory. To Freud the super-ego is the heir of the Oedipus complex. This shows a lacking estimation of the interrelation of the structure of the family and that of the total society. The father is the first symbol of authority, but basically he derives his authority from the structure of society. He is its symbol, not—as in the eyes of the child—its example. The sexual rivalry in the father/son relationship is colored by the social situation: e.g., the Oedipus complex is not universal as Freud thought it to be—but it is in Freud's formulation characteristic only of certain social structures. In a matrilineal society with the importance of the avunculus the functions of the father in our society are divided between two people. The Oedipus complex is important in the patriarchal family—it is important as a source of hostility in the father/son relationship and contains the tendencies for the bursting of the family structure. How much the social situation determines the very important attitude of the father is shown in the following three examples:

1. Small peasant family. a) each child is a potential source of labor power; b) because of his class position the peasant has a character in which the most important trait is the exploitation of all available people and things; and where love, striving for the happiness of the loved persons for their own sake is minimal. The father/son relationship is primarily characterized by enmity and tendency to exploitation. This works both ways since the son knows that old age and death will aid him of the father and then he himself will be in a position to do the exploiting. This situation was similar in the proletarian families in the early 1800's—where the child was primarily an object of economic exploitation.

2. Family of a well-to-do city physician: few children. The function of the children is not to increase the income of the father but rather to give pleasure. Unfulfilled wishes and ideals of the parents are transferred to the children. Satisfaction is experienced in terms of identification. The atmosphere is not one of animosity but rather one of love and friendliness. Whatever rivalry exists is differently colored and differently structured. It is qualitatively and quantitatively different from (1).

3. Petty bourgeoisie, e.g., low postal clerk in a large city. Income is just about sufficient so that the children are not needed for exploitation. The family is not a production unit. Children and wife have to serve as the areas for the father's discharge of power and aggression—since he is powerless elsewhere. Also, the child, through identification, is to make him reach goals which he was never able to reach. The atmosphere is one of mixed feelings of exploitation and love.

The genesis of the super-ego is due to the love and fear relationship to the father. The character of love and fear is primarily determined by the socially determined total father/son relationship.

Although at one point Freud remarked on the socially determined character of the father he combined it with a polemic against the materialist conception of history. He points out that the rates of change of psychological and social phenomena differ and draws the conclusion that the psychic factors play a role independent of the social conditions. This conclusion is typical for Freud's superficiality in dealing with social phenomena.

III. Authority and Revisions

The environment is to the individual the object as well as the limitation of drive satisfaction. It forces the adjustment to narrow limits. Here the self-preservatory tendencies are less elastic than the sexual ones. The latter have a very high degree of adjustibility in view of their ability to be transferred, changed and repressed, with the change of the natural and social environment in
the course of human history, the human psychic apparatus changes: changes take place in the strength and contents of the libidinous needs and also in the ego and superego. Aside from some primitive societies, the needs were always greater than the possibilities for satisfaction. Therefore: 1) strength of tendencies reaching beyond the achieved social level; 2) necessity of repression of impulses which could not be satisfied on the basis of the social possibilities. The tension between the needs and the social means available for their satisfaction is increased by the tension which exists between the more highly satisfied ruling class and the less satisfied ruled class.

The ego functions to dominate the external and the internal world: 1) the higher the level of production, the greater the domination of nature, which never leads to complete independence from it. 2) the domination of drives is most closely connected with (1). The growth of the ego is proportional to the growth of its active domination of the natural and social forces.

The subjection of and defense against the drives is done by the super-ego.

The most important feature of the relationship between the ego and the super-ego is its emotional character (similar to the relationship: individual/authority). The individual wants to be loved by his super-ego and by the authority, he fears their enmity and satisfies his self-love if he pleases them. With the help of these emotional forces he succeeds in suppressing those impulses and wishes which are socially dangerous. This defense against the drives is very radical. The wish itself is repressed from consciousness; but since it constantly tries to return to the conscious, "resistance" becomes necessary. Neuroses show how active and dangerous repressed drives can be.

Is it necessary to speak of super-ego and authority to understand repressions or is not the fear of the consequences of the forbidden drives sufficient to suppress it? We must differentiate between those cases where punishment actually causes refraining from certain actions, but in that case the decision is made completely consciously and the individual is aware of the wish. Where the super-ego and authority are involved the wish too is repressed. And although fear of punishment, namely loss of love, is involved here too, it is not a realistic fear as in the case of conscious decision. The fear is not clearly defined in the awareness of the individual, but it is rather experienced as a generalized anxiety—indistinct, irrational, emotional, which can then be displaced to a different wish or act, whereas the conscious one cannot.

The tremendous social importance of the repression of tabooed impulses with the help of the emotional tie to the authority, i.e. super-ego, as compared with realistic fear, is clear, since it assures a guarantee for effectiveness. If the wish is repressed, the individual is not conscious of it and therefore there is no need to rely on his reason for making the socially desirable choice. The defense against the drives with the help of repression is characterized by thoroughness and automatization. The more important socially the refraining from a particular action, the less society can rely on the conscious and realistic fear of punishment. Also, since the impulse is not conscious, its suppression causes neither hate or resentment against the defeating power.

These advantages to society must be compared with the disadvantages to the individual:
1) The repressions necessitate a constant expense of energy to keep them from rising into consciousness. The more intensive and extensive the repression, the greater the expense of energy required.
2) Limitation of the ego: the greater and more intensive the repression, the more is the strength of the ego limited, the more rigid and unelastic become its reactions. It is as if the ego pays for its alliance with the super-ego and the authority against the forces from the id by giving up its indeendence and sovereignty.

The content of the impulses to be repressed depends on the social situation.
Impulses, the realization of which could not be combined with the functioning of a
given society, are tabooed and subject to repressions. For different social groups,
at the same time, different conditions hold. There are impulses the realization of
which would be dangerous for the total society and must be repressed by every member
of the society. The satisfaction of others may be permitted for one class and
forgotten for another. This can either be established openly, or as in modern
society, an elaborate apparatus may be necessary for the production, and simultaneous
covering over, of this situation. The greater the necessary drive repressions, the
greater the role of the super-ego and of authority as help in the repressions. In
the course of human history the ego becomes increasingly capable to control drives
rationally without help from super-ego and authority. The impulse is then conscious
and the power of the ego is not reduced by taking the impulse out of its dominion.
This we would call "judgment" as opposed to repression. In the case of judgment
rational thought replaces the emotional tie to super-ego and authority. No rigidity
of reaction results. The role of thought differs from 1) judgment to 2) repression.
In 1) it is thought which causes understanding of the situation, it becomes a creative
force substituting for the relationship to super-ego and authority. It solves the
conflict between ego and id not antagonistically, but by dissolving it on a higher
plane. In 2) thought rationalizes action, comparable to a post-hypnotic experiment.
No dynamic or creative power.

Although the child, as long as it is weak, needs the help of the super-ego and
authority, these can be reduced with the child's growth. Also, these powers need
not be intimidating but can be friendly and helping. However the degree of anxiety
and intimidation experienced by the child is highly dependent on the degree of fear
which it will later experience in relation to society. It is the social helplessness
of the adult which allows the super-ego and authority to assume such significance
in the development of the child.

The role which authority and super-ego play in the defense against the drives
depends on the following:
1) quantity of socially necessary drive suppressions
2) how capable is the ego to control the undesirable drives through judgment without
   the help of repressions.

which drives in a given society must be suppressed and which will be developed
depends on the richness of the society. The smaller the possibilities for the
satisfaction of the needs of a given society or class, the greater the need of
repression, i.e., the greater the strength of the super-ego and authority. The
dependent class must repress its drives more than the ruling class.

The development of the ego depends on the given life practices. The greater
the need for the changing and dominating of the natural and social environment
through help of rational thought, the greater the development of the ego. To
Freud the ego is mostly passive, observing, bringing the effect of the external
world to bear on the id, and not actively changing the environment. However, the
ego does not only develop through the influence of the external world, but
especially by influencing and changing the external world. It represents not only
reason, but also the capacity of active planning, environment changing action.
Because the growth of the ego is related to the degree to which man learns to
master his environment (and, thus, to master his drives consciously rather than by
repression) and because of the different functions of classes within a society, the
degree of ego development in society is unequal. The ruling class during its
flowering period has the highest ego development. However, the deeper the social
contrasts become, the less the existing order fulfills its task in a rational and
progressive sense, so much less does the role of those in leading positions lead to
a strengthening of their ego and so much more will the process of ego development
go over to other social groups. The ego development of the leading class of a
society at any given time is partly objectivated in the culture of that society,
and through taking over the most valuable elements of the preceding culture epoch.
the ego development of that class which is coming into power is furthered. In this sense the ego is a part of the psychic apparatus of man which develops with the development of the forces of production and the social life practices. It then enters these life practices as a force of production.

In principle the same holds for the ego development of the child. The degree of stress on rational thought and the development of strength influences the ego development. Although within a society and within a class there may be individual variations, the minimum and the maximum of possible education toward one goal or another is dependent on the structure of the total society and on the life practices which await the child as an adult.

The ego is limited by fear in proportion to its own strength. The degree of fear to which the individual is subjected is socially determined: 1) The smaller the power of a given society in relation to nature, the greater its fear of nature. I.e., not nature itself is fearsome, what matters is the degree to which it is dangerous to the life practices of the society. 2) The division of society into classes causes mutual fear. The fear is greater in that class which does not have the means of social domination. This fear is partly realistic, partly an emotional irrational fear of authority and the super-ego. The weak ego of the one hand needs the authority for the fulfillment of its psychic task, on the other hand the authority weakens the ego through the anxiety it arouses. The degree of fear however is not mechanically dependent on the greatness of the danger and the possibility of coping with it. Rather it depends on the strength of the ego.

Influence of genital satisfaction on ego development: (Little is known about this.) It seems that the maximal development of the ego is dependent on a satisfaction of genital sexuality and other hungers which is not limited through intimidating prohibitions. This does not mean that unlimited heterosexual satisfaction necessarily creates a strong ego or that the ego cannot develop at all under the pressure of sexual prohibitions, nor that the strength of the ego is proportional to the degree of sexual satisfaction. (e.g., primitive societies with unlimited sexual satisfaction show that this itself does not create a strong ego) There are three variables to ego development: 1) freedom from fear; 2) affirmative attitude toward sex; 3) creative, active planning life practice. If increased economic progress necessitates suppression of sexuality this suppression may become one of the conditions of ego development. This relation between sexuality and ego development is reversed however, when the ego development reaches a certain point and then the suppression of the sexuality becomes a barrier to ego development. Cause for this: sex-inimical morality—such as Christianity—introduces fear and guilt and thus increases the role of the super-ego and authority. (In that particular case authority is also strengthened through its religious character by means of which it can free men from guilt).

Restriction of genital sexuality leads to its transformation into pregenital sexuality. Genital sexuality differs from pregenital sexuality: 1) its level of tension can be reduced through physiological satisfaction. Since that is not true of pre-genital sexuality it has a never declining energy. This gives it a strength which makes it much more difficult for the ego to cope with and it thus forms an ego-inhibiting factor. 2) pregenital sexual drives are much more liable to become character traits in the ego and thus hinder the development of the ego in its domination of drives.

The ego, if once developed, can again be reduced. Ego reduction takes place normally in sleep but also in states of intoxication or hypnosis. The person in hypnosis is put into the role of the child who submits without a will of his own to the adult. If a social situation arises in which the use of the functions of the ego is impossible or unnecessary then the ego disappears. Although there are quantitative differences, as a mechanism the same situation as in hypnosis is found
in the relation of people of different degrees of power or appearance of power. (Frenczi is quoted as pointing out that members of the lower class are more easily hypnotized by members of the upper class than by social equals.) The socially most important case of interpersonal relations similar to hypnosis is the relation to authority in general. It is a situation where the use of one's own ego is both impossible and superfluous. Authority must have the two aspects of dangerousness and protection to the degree of replacing the ego. The smaller the realistic social power of the authority is in this sense the greater the necessity of developing the appearance of power. The feeling of purposefulness and rationality of one's subjection to power cannot be dispensed with. The greater the rational impossibility of that which is promised, the more enhanced is the prestige of the authority.

Another function of authority is to stimulate certain types of behavior which it represents as an ideal. We find the same dichotomy of function also in the super-ego. This influences the attitude of the individual toward them. This attitude is a bivalent and thus more powerful than sheer fear could be since it threatens not only direct punishment but the loss of love of the beloved ideal. This gives the strength to fear which is necessary for the process of repression. The content of the ideal is dependent on society:

Different ideals hold for all members of a society, others only for some groups, either explicitly or factually. If it is the fulfillment of duty, the suppression of the drives becomes itself the ideal. The degree of the rule of the super-ego and authority is also determined by society. The functions of both the super-ego and of authority, in bourgeois society, are fulfilled by the family. The father represents social reality; identification with him is the basis for the formation of the super-ego and later relation to authority. The effect of the ideas implanted in the son through identification with the father depends on the economic position of the son, i.e., if he becomes a member of a different class the ideals may have an inhibiting rather than a furthering effect.

IV. The authoritarian masochistic character.

Subjection to authority may give satisfaction and pleasure. This is due to a historically determined psychological situation and not to an "external drive for subjection". The material content determines the content of the super-subordination relationship. The interests in the student/teacher relation lie in the same direction, in the slave/slave-owner relation in the opposite direction. The function of superiority in the two cases differs: 1) condition for furthering, 2) condition for exploitation. However, the difference is relative, since even the slave receives a minimum necessary for his existence in order to be exploitable. However, the proportion of furtherance and hindrance in any given authority relation is socially determined. In individual cases the relationship is one of mutual interests, e.g., well-to-do-businessman to his heir and business successor. But even in cases of mutual interests, the relation is determined by the fact that one gets as many advantages as the other. In a true solidarity of interests between sub- and super-ordinates the contradiction of interests and with it also the satisfaction of mutual but divided interests is abolished.

We shall here deal only with contradictory interests.

The enjoyment of obedience, subjection, giving up of one's own personality— are traits typical for the masochistic character structure. This character is that of the majority of people in our society. According to Horney, perversion is only the exception in masochism. Masochism is determined by a weakening of moral aggression, of the ability to maintain demands actively and independently. Also, many previously independent and observed traits are shown to arise from the masochistic character structure. According to Freud: character develops in the direction of an adjustment of the drive structure to the given social environment, i.e., the drive impulses appear in the ego, transformed as character traits through sublimations and
reaction formations. The character, by thus being the intermediary between the drives, the id, and the socially necessary behavior, fulfills a double function: 1) The drives provide the necessary energy for behavior in society; 2) Drive satisfaction is reached through the activities of the character. Certain character traits, even if having a rational content are derived from certain passions. Only because every character trait itself signifies a satisfaction does the individual hold on so tenaciously to a one acquired character and the attitudes which derive from it. This has been shown best for the traits of the "anal" character. The drive satisfaction provided by the behavior is often unconscious and covered by its rational meaning. The same is true for the authoritarian character. Since the drive satisfying function of the behavior is unconscious, it may be difficult to decide whether a person is behaving rationally in submitting or whether his submission is due to his character structure. According to Freud, character is not defined as the sum of individual traits but as a structure in which the change of one trait necessitates the changes of all traits. Sadism is part of the same structure as masochism. One or the other trait may be more prevalent in a given individual, and the other more or less repressed. However, the repressed side does not disappear. Also, through strengthening the non-repressed side, the whole structure is strengthened and thus also the repressed part.

This is social-psychologically important since a society which produces sadomasochism as the most prominent drive structure must have possibilities for the satisfaction of both its aspects: On this drive basis we find a typical attitude toward people which is that of the authoritarian character. Its typical trait is a difference of attitude depending on the position of the object within a hierarchy of power. It loves the more powerful and despises the less powerful. In the first case fear is actually the basis but is not admitted as such and is developed as awe, admiration and love. This is so regardless of whether it is power in an individual, an institution or a socially accepted idea. This love of the more powerful develops on an ambivalent basis. The individual loves but also hates and envies the more powerful. Since hate and envy are repressed, ambivalence is usually represented by dividing the powerful into two groups, one group is enhanced with all good qualities and loved, the other is declared evil and hated (e.g., hatred of strange gods, authorities of other peoples, especially in wars, differentiation between finance capital and creative capital, or revolt against a father and submission to a leader). The stronger the realistic cause for hatred, the stronger this ambivalence. In such cases the division of authorities is often supported by the hatred-causing authorities, thus achieving two aims: 1) the relation to itself is kept free from hatred; 2) the direction of the hatred against those authorities which it wishes to fight with the help of its objects. If that can no longer be accomplished and the objects openly resist their authority, this fight is characterized by obstinacy rather than active struggle against the existing power. The lack of offensive potency is the negative characteristic of the sadomasochist character in its relation to authority. Even if a rebellion against one type of authority is accomplished, it usually results in the subjection, under another type of authority, of the rebelling subjects.

In authoritarian forms of society an individual stands in a hierarchic relation toward those above him and those below. The lower the position of the individual, the greater his dependency—but there are always some below him to satisfy his sadist aspects. This makes for the social-psychological importance of women and children and even animals in such societies. If this is not enough, objects are provided artificially: slaves, captive enemies, class and racial minorities are thrown into the arena. The importance of these sadistic circuses increases the more the realistic helplessness of the people leads to a reinforcement of their sadomasochistic character structure. In the authoritarian society the sadomasochistic character is created by the economic structure which makes the authoritarian
hierarchy necessary. Just as in all bourgeois society, in the authoritarian state the fate of the individual is the more dependent on accident, the lower his position in the hierarchy.

The masochistic attitude of subjection and inescapability is also expressed in the Weltanschaung of such an individual. Fate is experienced like every other authority. However, what specifically appears as unchangeable depends on his social position. It is fate that there must be wars, that one part of mankind must rule over the rest, or that the suffering in the world can never be any less than it has been in the past. Regardless of the verbalization, fate is always a higher power toward which human activity is pointless and only subjection remains. The past is deified, to attempt something which has never existed is insanity or crime. And for the concept of the inescapability of fate, compare also the concept of original sin—
or the concept of sin and atonement.

Although the authoritarian character does not lack courage and activity, the courage of this type lies in suffering, not in changing or abolishing suffering. "To submit to fate is the heroism of the masochist, to change fate is that of the revolutionary."

Although the fact of absolute dependency on higher powers characteristic of most of past history has determined the masochistic character, the strength of that character structure has not been the same in all periods and classes. E.g., the mastery of the natural and social forces by the bourgeoisie in the 18th century increased its feeling of strength and independence which decreased sado-masochism. On the other hand the greater the contradictions of society become and the less soluble, the more wars and unemployment are experienced as inescapable, the more is the sado-masochist character structure reinforced and subjection to fate becomes the highest virtue and pleasure. Because it makes people stand for such a life willingly, masochism is one of the most important conditions of social functioning. A final overcoming of sado-masochism is conceivable only in a society in which people rule their lives planfully, reasonably and actively and where courage for happiness and conquering of fate is the highest virtue. Sado-masochism may still appear in its clinical form but it will have lost its social importance.

Although we still don't know why suffering should give pleasure, it can perhaps be said that it is not the suffering itself that is desired but only the strongest expression of submission. It is then experienced as suffering only by the ego. The satisfaction derived from masochism is twofold: 1) negative: freeing from fear, i.e., granting of protection through leaning on strong power; 2) positive: satisfaction of the individual's own desires for greatness and strength through submerging in the power. The basis for the necessity of both types of satisfaction is the weakness of the individual's own ability to make demands, which, insofar as this weakness is proper to a society or class, is rooted in its life practices.

The weaker the strength of the religious faith attempting to give meaning to life, the more does authority fulfill this meaning giving function. If the individual cannot have the understanding, the trusted authority has it. This is increased if through techniques, especially through obedience, the individual has the power of influencing the authority. Authority thus becomes for the individual a substitute security. The degree of fear within a society varies relative to the role of the various classes in the production processes. In the upper strata this fear has the result of increasing their pressure on those below. For the lower classes it results in stronger leaning on the authority and stronger faith in it. In a society in which realistically the greatest degree of security can be gotten through dependence on the rulers corresponds to the psychological function of authority also in its social and economic functions. Only when the ruled ones could actually get better living conditions and greater security does the psychological function of authority become irrational, and its need for artificial psychological strengthening increases. Instead of the real functions of the authority in the production process, it must now stress its own security and fearlessness through ideological procedures.
The masochistic relationship provides a mechanism of substitute satisfactions which we might call participation. Identification exists in democratic authority structures where the object may hope to equal the authority. The greater the individual believes the powers in which he participates, the greater his satisfaction. This holds for a personal authority, but also for a nation or race, etc. It was pointed out above that another tendency related to the sadomasochist structure is that of weakened genital sexuality, which strengthens the pregenital strivings, especially the "anal" ones. These strivings become character traits in the ego. Also, the weakening of heterosexual genitality which goes with it, makes for the presence of homosexual strivings. This is in two ways related to sadomasochism: 1) the sadomasochist has a fundamental fear of everything strange, and woman represents something strange to him; 2) in the patriarchic society woman is considered as weak. The sadist automatically hates all that is weak. Thus the sadist, although physiologically heterosexual will often be psychologically homosexual.

Another tendency related to sadomasochism is that of doubt, i.e., difficulty in making independent decisions. Causes:

1) characteristic ambivalence of the character; 2) the ego development, limiting life practices of the authoritarian society reinforce the ambivalence already existing.

The following is not directly related to sadomasochism:

Patriarchic-authoritarian societies are characterized by a patricentric structure of emotions. The individual does not feel an unconditional right for love and sympathy but rather that he has that right only when he fulfills his duties as defined by the authority. Obedience is his justification for life and for his demands for a minimum of love. The satisfaction of the leader is the only effective proof of fulfilled duty. Also, the authoritarian attitude covers up and strengthens the social content of the authority relation. If the carrier of authority is considered as a superior being then the exploitation relation is enhanced and no hatred results from it. The first condition of authority is the power of its carrier. If there is no realistic need for the authority, it must make its objects believe in its indispensability, which makes the satisfaction of the sadomasochist feelings possible. It must at the same time increase the fear it causes. This is normally the most important function of the penal code. Its ideological significance is much greater for the bourgeois than for the criminal. The greater the need to produce fear, the greater the use of cruelty. The effectiveness of the use of terror is due both to its severity and to its unpredictability.

Psychological and cultural tricks by means of which belief in the allmightiness of the authority is strengthened:

1) creation of feeling of absolute distance between the carriers of the authority and the masses

   a) ideology: descent of the ruler, or inborn quality; God sent, etc.
   b) patterns of behavior: form of address, clothing (e.g. uniforms), social forms from table manners of upper class to code of honors. (function: to increase actual difference and to enhance it at the same time).

2) authority becomes moral example to make super-ego formation possible; it must have (or must be believed to have) those qualities which are wanted in the masses (this is done through the teaching of history, the press, photography, activation of piety). The receptivity for this is conditioned in the family (e.g., parents never want anything for themselves, etc); this is one of the most important social-psychological functions of the family in the creation of the authoritarian character. This belief in the perfectness of those in power is supplemented by the emphasis on the individuals own lowliness. The greater the individuals feeling of guilt the more is the power of the superiors enhanced. Religion and the strict sexual morality have had the strongest role in producing the guilt feelings which are so important for the relations of authority.
Resistance to authority may have two forms:
1) rebellion (defined above)—essentially fights for the love of the authority. Some authoritarian characters resist all authorities regardless of whether they are rational or not.
2) revolution: basic changing of the character structure with disappearing or weakening of those impulses which demand a strong authority. To resist a boss not because one wants another boss but because one wants no boss at all is bound to the condition that the ego does not need the relations of authority anymore.

The authority situation changes in proportion to the degree to which the satisfaction of the interests of the carrier of authority are the same as those of the object. E.g., 19th century Europe—a relative amount of rising in the hierarchy was possible and those who were able to rise were recognized as leaders. To become like one of these leaders was the best guarantee for success.

Therefore the difference between the psychological structure between a democratic and authoritarian state. In the first we find identification with the authority, in the second participation in it.

Whether the function of authority is real or ideological depends on the total social situation and the role of the given individual. For those who can rise in the hierarchy this function of authority is real. The more they are like the leaders the better their chances of becoming leaders. For most members of society this was true only in appearance. As long as the economic situation permitted at least this belief, the illusion and thus the democratic authority structure could be maintained. Only when, due to the steadily increasing economic inferiority of the great majority of the population, the basis for this illusion disappeared, the second type of authority structure had to become typical. Even in the democratic authority structure the passive fatalistic belief in a higher power exists. However, not as predestined leaders, but as "economic necessity" or "human nature", etc.

In a society built on the solidarity of interests of its members there are relations of authority, too. However, they are due to the complicated processes of production, and to differences in age and ability. But as each individual has the possibility to develop to the optimal expansion of his capacities and as even the greatest talent is not in contradiction to the development of others and cannot be used to rule and exploit others, authority gets a different type of psychic structure and dynamics—it becomes rational. This has its effect also on the child/authority relation. The child is dependent, but since its relation to the educators is determined by the position which the child, as an adult will occupy in the total society, the authority gets an entirely different function in its relation to the child. It serves only the development of the total personality of the child.