

Masud Khan

The Myth and the Reality



Roger Willoughby

...an outstanding work that goes well beyond that of a straightforward biography and which, personally speaking, has enabled me to better understand Masud Khan's particularly enigmatic and disconcerting personality.

J.-B. Pontalis

Foreword by Pearl King

Masud Khan

MASUD KHAN

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Roger Willoughby

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*To
my daughters
with love and gratitude*

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Foreword

Roger Willoughby knew that I was a former colleague of Masud Khan, who had known him from 1946 until his death in 1989; most of that time I had lived alongside Masud Khan as a member of the British Psychoanalytical Society. In asking me to write a Foreword, Roger encouraged me to share some of my memories and experiences of being part of Masud's life and times and give my responses to his own patterning of Masud's history. Did it make 'historical' sense to me?

I agreed to do this and settled down to read his book with the pleasure of a reader who can also appreciate all the work the author has done, not only to collect the material together, but to arrange it in a sequence that would accurately represent the life of Masud Khan, allowing others to share that 'reality', however 'mad' it may now appear. If Masud's life is read with the assistance of 'hind-sight' one has to consider what went wrong with Masud Khan psychologically during his life time!

My first reaction, when I had read Roger's book, was to congratulate him on what he had achieved. He had woven both Masud's hopes and vulnerabilities together, so that in reading about what Masud did to people, and his and their reactions to this, we can gradually empathise with him, and imagine what it was like to be Masud Khan living with himself. It is a brave book to have undertaken.

Psychoanalysts and psychotherapists may have to struggle with the temptation to use their professional knowledge to diagnose what had driven Masud Khan to react to events or to people, as the author has described him doing in this book, and to speculate on Masud's conscious and unconscious motives. But they may more probably be diverted into trying to consider how it was that an Institute, members of which were all trained psychoanalysts, had so little realisation about what was happening to Masud Khan, and if they were concerned, what could be done about reports of his unprofessional behaviour with his patients, when they heard it 'from their own patients' ('off the couch'). Preserving a patient's confidentiality is the most important criterion of a 'good psychoanalyst'. Surely, it could only make sense when dealt with in the context of their 'own patient's material'! This dilemma is well described in this book.

This book by Roger Willoughby grew out of an academic study that he had written earlier. It has all the hallmarks of a high standard of care for details, which is required for a doctoral thesis. In this book he takes his work further by describing the relationships that Masud felt he needed to acquire for himself, in order to grow into the role to which he aspired as a psychoanalyst in the British Psychoanalytical Society, alongside his use of the structures he had to conform to in order to achieve success and be accepted by his colleagues, which obviously helped him initially. But I do not think that this was what Masud Khan felt in need of in order to feed his depleted unconscious belief in himself. One way

he tried to deal with this 'need' was to behave to others as he was afraid that they would behave to him. Then, if he got in first, he could convince himself that Masud Khan was in control of events.

Masud Khan came to Britain in 1946, having left the rigid, but disintegrating, structure of his own background and family. In London there was no one to question the correctness of his stories about his childhood, family relationships or academic achievements, so that Masud could give whatever version of his past he would like other people to have, and to present a version of himself more along the lines of his wishes or dreams. It was a relief to read the author's carefully researched version of the correct academic and other achievements of Masud, here recounted for the first time!

This book goes a long way in sorting out what Masud Khan says about himself from the stories that he gives about himself and the events that have actually happened. This is quite a task for a conscientious biographer as Roger Willoughby obviously is. In his own Preface Roger sets out how Masud Khan 'eschewed historical truth in favour of metaphor and multiple narratives. Frequently regarded as exaggerating stories or as being a liar, he [Khan] chose to celebrate this capacity as a "rationale for [his] lifestyle".' When Roger considered the myths that Masud promulgated, he approached them as one might dreams, utilising Freud's dream mechanisms, namely condensation, displacement, symbolisation and secondary revision.

If the author had also been his psychoanalyst he could have explored some of Masud's myths, using these concepts and free association, but alas he was not, and we do not know if any of Masud's analysts challenged him by using Freud's conceptual tools. As Masud Khan's biographer, Dr Willoughby has, of course, to look at the 'historical', to see where the myth and the 'reality' interweave with each other. His approach, as he told me, 'is a modernist one that emphasises the epistemophilic instinct and an essentialist notion of the psychoanalytic project. Through this, reconstruction, whether psychoanalytic or historical, needs to contain both the accepted and the split off or masked rejected narratives in order to arrive at a more comprehensive account, which through multiple vertices and corroboration better approach historical (and psychic) reality; this is the rationale for the multiple narratives of the present work.'

I agreed to write this Foreword after carefully considering a number of important areas in which my life had inter-woven with Masud Khan's life events. Dr Willoughby knew that Masud Khan and I had trained as psychoanalysts together, starting in 1946, and that we were friends with each other until towards the end of his life. During the latter period I was Chair of the Ethics Committee and had to report to the Council of the Society that, after a long and careful study (assisted by an expert solicitor) of a book that Khan had recently published called *When Spring Comes*, in which he reported some of his activities and behaviour with patients and colleagues, the Ethics Committee had recommended that he must be excluded from membership of the Society and Institute 'for bringing our profession into disrepute'. This was agreed by the Council. But Masud Khan sent in his resignation from the Society and

Institute because of his continued illness, on 13 July 1988. He was very angry when he received the Council's decision in writing dated 22 July 1988.

I first met Masud Khan in the library of the Tavistock Institute of Human Relations and the Tavistock Clinic during 1946, having both been accepted by the Institute of Psychoanalysis for its four year training course. Neither of us had an organisation that could offer us somewhere to work, but as many of our fellow psychoanalytic students worked in the Tavistock building, we obtained permission to use their facilities. As Roger Willoughby reported, I first saw a slim Pakistani or Indian man sitting opposite me at the table in the Library, whose left ear was mis-shaped and different from his right ear. I said 'I am Pearl King. Who are you?' 'I am Masud Khan', he replied. We then discovered that we had both been accepted as students of the Institute of Psychoanalysis. During the first year of our training we did not attend any lectures or seminars, our only requirement was to be analysed by our training analyst. Masud Khan had been sent to Ella Freeman Sharpe for his analysis and I had chosen John Rickman as my training analyst.

On Saturdays, the Tavistock Clinic arranged talks, which were open to anyone who wanted to find out about some of the work that had been developing elsewhere during the war. Often they were addressed by specialists and social scientists from America. Masud and I were invited to some of these events. They covered topics such as group therapy, socio-drama and psycho-drama. They were discussed, not only as clinical techniques, but as facilities that could be adapted for use in institutions and to solve industrial problems. These events were sometimes chaired by John Rickman, who was a member of the Tavistock's Council.

But we also had other contacts with each other. Masud would invite me for tea or coffee in his flat, or I would invite him to a meal in the mews flat that I shared with colleagues. Occasionally, I invited Masud to visit the Medical Research Council, Building Research Unit, at Birkbeck College, London University, where I was working under Prof. C. A. Mace. He got to know some of my colleagues, including 'Margaret' who later married Tahir, Masud's brother, after he had joined Masud in London.

For the rest of his time, Masud was avidly reading all of the translations of Freud's work that he could find, together with appropriate journals and any reading lists that his future seminar leaders and lecturers were able to prepare. We were the first group of students that the Institute of Psychoanalysis had selected to train since the end of the Second World War. There were over twenty students in the group who had registered for this first full year of training. Most of the students had been doing psychiatric work in the 'Forces' – they had much psychiatric experience, but had had little opportunity to read, while for Masud, it was the other way round. Some of them were quite jealous that he did not have to work for his living, as they or I had to, and had read so much.

As I said earlier, Masud and I started our training with different analysts, but when Ella Freeman Sharpe died of a heart condition, Masud was moved to John Rickman for the rest of his training analysis, and so he became my 'analytic sibling', as we shared the same training analyst. Sometimes such analytic siblings

feel warmly for each other but at other times they may be 'eaten up with jealousy' for or of each other, according to how it repeated their family history. As I had a younger brother who had felt very abandoned by his parents when he was only five, I probably became more protective of him, and Masud became my younger brother.

We both started the first year of lectures and seminars in 1947 with Rickman as our training analyst. In 1948, Rickman's candidates were informed by the Training Committee that he was no longer to be regarded as a 'Kleinian', so that we could choose our second supervisor from any group (see 'The Gentlemen's Agreement', King & Steiner, 1991). It was in the same year that I started working for the Tavistock Institute of Human Relations, alongside several of our fellow students who also worked there, and from then on I saw less of Masud, but I felt that he had by then made many friends of his own and knew his way around colleagues in this new profession.

In December 1950, encouraged by Michael Balint, my supervisor, I wrote and read a paper on my second patient entitled 'The influence of the social field on the transference' at a Scientific Meeting, and six months later Masud read a paper on art, encouraged, I think, by John Rickman. None of the other students did so. Rickman, who (as Society President) chaired the Training Committee, told me that Melanie Klein was pleased with my paper when it was discussed at the committee!

Looking back on this time, after having read Roger's book, I wondered if there was an accepted culture for senior analysts to encourage their candidates to 'get on in the Society'. I remember a student from the 'B' Group course telling me that his analyst had put on a party to celebrate his becoming an Associate Member! By 1951 Masud and I had both been elected as Associate Members, who were 'qualified to undertake the psychoanalysis of adult patients'.

When Rickman died in his sleep in Regent's Park, on 1 July 1951, at the age of sixty, both Masud and I had to look elsewhere for someone to work with, who would help us end our analyses and cope with the sudden death of our analyst. Sylvia Payne asked to see me. She told me that she had arranged for me to go to Marion Milner, who had supervised my first training patient. Poor Masud had two sudden deaths of psychoanalysts to assimilate. By the autumn, Winnicott had started to work with him.

Roger has written about the importance of the Associate Members' Scientific Meetings, which were not open to Members. This was Donald Winnicott's idea, put into action by Michael Balint. It continued for three or four years, and was long enough to give Associate Members some good experience of reading clinical papers at formal meetings. These meetings were probably the reason why so many Associates were able to become Members so quickly. They only had to have worked with a patient for two years and could then use this experience to write a clinical paper.

But some of us wanted to be able to discuss our work or ideas outside the British Society. So we decided to meet outside as a private group, initially in my flat (37 Great Cumberland Place) which we did for the first time on 9 April 1952. We first called it a 'Middle Group Seminar'. We elected Dr Jim Harris

as Chairman and Masud Khan offered to record transactions of our group. The founding members also included Dr Charles Rycroft, Dr Fanny Wride, Dr Barbara Woodhead, Dr Geoffrey Thompson, Dr A. T. M. (Tommy) Wilson and myself. We realised that because there were so many Membership Papers being read at Scientific Meetings, some of our senior members might appreciate the chance of presenting papers that they were writing, for discussion in our group. We then made a list of those we would like to approach: Dr William Gillespie, James Strachey, Dr Sylvia Payne, Dr Donald Winnicott, Dr W. C. M. Scott, Mrs Marion Milner, Mrs Eva Rosenfeld and Dr Karin Stephen.

We agreed that membership should be restricted to twelve members and as we did not want any of our patients in the group we agreed that black balling and secret voting would be acceptable. Over the first year we had interesting papers from several of those we selected. James Strachey took part in a discussion of his paper 'Mutative interpretations in psychoanalysis'. Eva Rosenfeld discussed 'Internal objects', Winnicott spoke on 'Regression in analysis', Sylvia Payne read her paper on 'Defence mechanisms' and Khan led a discussion on Mrs Milner's paper 'Aspects of symbolism in comprehension of the not-self'. After we had spent one year with the original title, which we were not happy with, we decided to call ourselves 'The 1952 Club'! In 2002 we held a 50th Anniversary Dinner to mark fifty years of the club, which continues to meet eight times a year. Masud Khan was a member for many years, but when his interests turned towards some of his Parisian colleagues, I think that he dropped out.

Among the 1952 Club members he could feel safe to share his thoughts. I think that the club was looked upon as a powerful group, but as we seldom discussed 'Society Politics', we did not achieve much influence, except to prove that one could survive without having the support of an important sponsor. From Masud's point of view, he could be himself and he did not have to account to us for what was upsetting some of his colleagues about his behaviour.

Recently, I have been trying to assess which roles in the Institute gave Masud most security. In 1951 the Council appointed Masud Khan as Honorary Librarian. I thought that initially he and Charles Rycroft did the job together. In 1956, when I was elected as Hon. Secretary of the Society, Rycroft was elected as Scientific Secretary, so that Masud Khan would have been left to carry the role by himself. In 1957 for three years he was appointed as a member of the Publications Committee, alongside James Strachey, at a time when Willi Hoffer was Editor of the *Journal* and Sutherland was Editor of Books. In 1959-60 I was asked by the Board and Council to become Chairman of the Publications Committee. I was still involved with drafting the New Constitution of the International Psychoanalytical Association as well as being its Hon. Secretary. I think they needed my help in the re-drafting of the Rules and Procedures of the Publications Committee. Masud Khan had been a member of this Committee for two years, and in his third year I joined it as Chairman, for six years!

The Council and Board felt that instead of 'going cap in hand' to the Board to be allocated the finances it needed to carry out its functions, i.e. publishing books and journals, the Officers of the Board and Council should themselves be ex-officio members of the Publications Committee. During my second year

as Chairman, the Board and the Publications Committee agreed that the Editor of the *Journal* and of Books together with the Editor of the *Standard Edition*, should be members of the Publications Committee, while the President and Deputy President should be ex-officio members, along with the Hon. Librarian (Masud Khan). I had wondered why the Librarian was expected to make a vital contribution. Then I remembered Masud Khan's capacity for reading and knowing what books would be important for the Committee to publish. Anyhow, in 1961–62, during my third year as Chairman of the Committee, these proposed members, together with three ordinary members and a Secretary, were accepted as the Committee's composition. By 1963–64, Sutherland, the Editor of the *Journal* and of Books, had appointed Masud Khan to be the Associate Editor of the *Journal* and in charge of Reviews. By 1966–67, Masud Khan had also been appointed by Sutherland as Assistant Editor of the *International Library* series, still retaining his title as Hon. Librarian.

In 1967–68, a number of further changes had to take place. Dr W. R. Bion, who was by then the Chairman of the Committee, announced that he had decided to move to America. Jock Sutherland agreed to take the Chair until 1968 when he was retiring from Office and moving to Scotland. It was then agreed that Winnicott, the President, would accept the office of Chairman Designate of the Publications Committee at the end of 1968, when there would be another President of the British Society.

At this time I had been elected as an ordinary member of the Board and Council. There was much discussion on the Board about the possibility of splitting the Editor's role, as held by Sutherland, between two editors. For ten years since Willi Hoffer retired as Editor of the *Journal*, these roles had been held by members of the Middle Group, and could they not bring in a 'B Grouper'? The names of Joseph Sandler and Martin James were mentioned. Roger describes Masud Khan's fury that after all the work that he had done to help the retiring Editor, he should be pushed aside. At one of these discussions I remembered speaking enthusiastically in Masud's support, for not only had he worked with Sutherland, but he was a 'seasoned' member of the Publications Committee and had been a member of the Committee since Sylvia Payne was Chair of it, and surely that must count for something? Hanna Segal came up to me after I had spoken, and said that if she ever wanted someone to support her, she would call on me!

It was finally agreed to split the two Editors' roles, and Joseph Sandler, who was a leading member of the B Group, was appointed as Editor Designate of the *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, and Masud Khan was appointed as Editor Designate of Books. Masud Khan agreed to continue as Associate Editor of the *Journal* and Jock Sutherland agreed to be Assistant Editor of Books. Masud Khan still had his position as Hon. Librarian. This allocation of roles seemed to most members to be a good balance of differences within the Institute. Masud had the chance to serve his psychoanalytical colleagues for ten years, 1968 to 1978, without having to battle for his rights. Furthermore, he must by now have been really skilled as an editor after his apprenticeship with Sutherland.

While I was involved with the re-organisation of the publications activities of the Institute and who was responsible for them, I was also on the Executive Council of the IPA as the Secretary for Europe, appointed by the American president, Maxwell Gitelson. I had helped to plan the Pre-Congress Conference on Training that took place before the actual 1965 Congress. We had divided it into Groups and I chaired the Fourth Group, Masud Khan acting as the Secretary of the group.

As the Secretary for Europe I had a place on the Executive Council. That was where I heard about Wladimir Granoff forwarding a copy of Masud's letter to him, all about Masud's relationship with our late President, Maxwell Gitelson, on to Fran Gitelson to cheer her up. Not knowing that the contents were mostly invented, Fran was most upset about receiving it.

During the Congress a special meeting of the Executive was called to discuss what to do about it, as several senior colleagues were upset about it. Fran Gitelson must have thought that Masud was building himself up at her late husband's expense, and was very hurt. But Masud must also have been one of those who were upset that a friend of his would send a private letter to someone else, without first getting his permission. But he must also have been upset because he must have known that what he had written was mostly lies, and he had been 'caught out'. Those present included the two IPA Chairmen of the Congress, William Gillespie and Phyllis Greenacre, also Elizabeth Zetzel, as Hon. Secretary and myself. Fran Gitelson could have been present for a while. After we had discussed what had happened and who had been hurt by it, we could see that the incident had exposed Masud to his own stupidity in writing such a letter. When we looked at it like that, the tension was reduced and we burst out laughing. We agreed that William Gillespie should talk to Masud Khan and that Masud should apologise to Maxwell Gitelson's widow for the hurt that she had suffered.

I realised that Masud Khan, coming from what he called a 'Shame Culture', would feel most damaged by the shame that he was involved in it. To heal his shame, he had to 'lie low' with some colleagues.

But Masud Khan had much work to do, to take up the new editorial office he would have to fill as Editor of Books. He started substantively in this office in the autumn of 1968 and it ran for ten years. One of the things that our colleagues watch for carefully is that none of us over-stay our welcome after a ten year period. When 1978 came, Masud applied to be allowed to extend his time, but the Board and Council forbade it and voted to give both Joseph Sandler and Masud Khan presents to mark the thanks of their colleagues.

During his decade as Editor Masud seemed to benefit from participation in other ventures also. In 1972, for example, Muriel Gardiner and Samuel Guttman, who had since 1961 set up a number of Centres for Advanced Psychoanalytic Studies (CAPS Groups) in America, came to London to meet some leading European analysts to discuss how they could help us to set up a CAPS Group in Europe. Together they nominated suitable colleagues to be invited to become CAPS Europe One. Adam Limentani, Wally Joffe, Masud Khan and I were invited from London, André Green, Joyce McDougall, J.-B.

Pontalis and Michel de M'Uzan were invited from Paris. There were five other Europeans and Mrs Janice de Saussure from Geneva was asked to 'manage' the Group and to be the contact with Sam Guttman. These groups met twice a year for the weekend from Friday night to Sunday afternoon and Janice arranged the meetings of the Group for some years.

CAPS Europe arrived at the right time for Masud Khan, who needed a new setting in which to rediscover his flagging belief in himself. It also gave him access to other ways of considering psychoanalytical dilemmas. I have recently found a copy of a paper he read to our CAPS Group. He called it 'The analyst as a transitional object' (signed by Khan on 27 June 1975).

However, the period that was covered from 1968 to 1978 was also a sad and traumatic one for Masud, as well as for his colleagues. Michael Balint died on New Year's Eve in 1970 while he was our President. His death was followed by Masud Khan's fourth analyst, Winnicott, dying in his sleep of heart failure. Masud felt that Donald Winnicott had given him enough to enable him to digest what he had received from their relationship. Roger describes Masud's responses very movingly and remarks on his curious lack of grief following Winnicott's death. Perhaps the real shock arising from Winnicott's death was his discovery that 'by default' Winnicott had left all his estate to Clare, his wife, so that she became Donald's literary executor. Furthermore, she was not prepared to share the task of caring for her husband's papers with Masud, still being too hurt from the times she had to share her husband with Masud Khan. I was President of the British Society when Clare herself later died in 1984 and I spoke at her funeral. She had been my friend before I met Donald Winnicott, although I also got to know Donald well.

The British Society lost another President, when Dr Wally Joffe died in May 1974 after only two years in office. Dr Adam Limentani was then elected to serve as President from 1974 to 1977. He had been the Chairman of the new Education Committee and I was his Secretary. It had been our task to re-organise the training of psychoanalysts and to implement the new training structure, which had just begun to function in 1974. I was the Chairman of the Curriculum Committee and Masud Khan was a helpful member of it, having served on the previous Curriculum Committee which I had also chaired for a while. He was excellent at preparing the reading lists and coming up with ideas of what topics would go with what ideas. When Adam had to give up being Chair of Education to become President, Dr Hanna Segal took over the Chair of the Education Committee.

Wally Joffe's sudden death upset plans for the 1975 London Congress. He was Chair of the Programme Committee for that Congress and I was his Secretary. When he died I had to take over that Committee for the IPA and became its Joint Chair with Dr André Green, from Paris. Adam as President and I as Chair of the Programme Committee had to put on a dinner to receive the important members of the IPA who had come to London for the Congress. Masud Khan was very helpful to me, whenever I had to arrange some important event like that dinner, which took place in the beautiful main room in Mansfield House.

I think that it was during and after this Congress that rumours were growing that he was having an affair with one of his candidates. At this time, Khan gave up his flat in 3 Hans Crescent, following his divorce with Svetlana Beriosova, and moved to 24 Palace Court, W2.

In 1976, more information came to light that Khan was having an affair with one of his candidates, and her husband, also a candidate, tried to recruit senior colleagues to report evidence to the Education Committee. Meanwhile, Masud Khan started having ordinary social relations with other of his candidates, inviting them to parties in his flat and trying to use their support when he was being challenged by Hanna Segal on behalf of the Education Committee.

As I was a member of the Education Committee, Masud became suspicious of me, as if he felt that I had joined 'his enemies' who had discussed suspending his role as a training analyst, which would mean that he would have to lose his candidates. When he heard this he considered counter-acting their threat by resigning as a training analyst, but he had also assured Anna Freud that he would not resign his Society membership.

Roger Willoughby reported Anna Freud's formulation of our dilemma: 'If we do not throw him out of the Society we have further trouble ahead, whereas if we do, we deprive ourselves of one of our most gifted people.' Masud continued with his heavy drinking, and in addition he started coughing up blood. In October he went for a bronchoscopy and cancer was discovered in his left lung. He was then scheduled for surgery. I remember visiting him in hospital. I tried to show him that I still cared for him, as did Adam Limentani.

In January 1977 Masud Khan did resign from his training role in the British Society, but by so doing he cut himself off from any finance he might have received from his candidates. I had arranged for him to teach on two five-session lecture courses: one was on the 'Theory of affects', and the other was on 'New developments in psychoanalysis'. With his resignation from his training role, these two courses also lapsed. As Chairman of the Curriculum Committee I had to find other colleagues to replace him.

One of the last times I saw Masud Khan was after I had heard of the death of his brother Tahir, on 11 March 1982. I rang him up to express my sympathy and concern for him, for I had met Tahir when he first came to London. Masud said that he would like to come and talk with me if I could understand his injured voice. We sat in the garden which was becoming beautiful with spring flowers. I know that we spoke of God or Allah and the good things of life. We talked of his brother and how difficult it had been to help him. I thought that he was also talking about himself and how difficult his friends had found him, when they tried to help him. I think that he was sad about his brother and himself.

Roger Willoughby concludes his book with the last harrowing phases of Khan's life, during which he became more and more reliant on drink, and thus more difficult to help. But all through this book Dr Willoughby offers more than a biography: he has extracted and commented on each new line of thought or contribution to a theme that Masud Khan has produced, including Khan's early concept of 'Cumulative trauma', which made sense to so many colleagues. Supplementing all of this, Roger Willoughby has compiled a very

useful comprehensive bibliography of Khan's published works and also lists all the publications Masud was responsible for bringing out as Editor of Books. Masud's many literary contributions and publications are still available to psychoanalysts and others, who can sift the wheat from the chaff. From these writings, it is possible to work out how Khan helped his patients, and how he also managed to hurt them and thus to damage psychoanalysis and his own reputation. Now, with the availability of *Masud Khan: the Myth and the Reality*, we have an essential scholarly and reliable guide to help us in this endeavour.

Since Masud's death the silence that followed his passing was broken on 22 February 2001 when the *London Review of Books* (23:4: 3–7) published an article by Wynne Godley entitled 'Saving Masud Khan'. This was an account of his analysis with Masud Khan between 1959 and 1966. I had never heard of this patient during this period. It is sad that he was not able to have written it earlier in his life, for then it might have been possible to obtain Masud Khan's version of what was helpful to this patient, what treatment he was trying to give Mr Godley (for it did not sound like 'psychoanalysis') and what collusion was unconsciously taking place between them. Roger Willoughby's important and highly readable book brings alive not only Masud's side of this story, but also helps place it in its wider institutional and social context and will allow readers to appreciate not only his faults but also his achievements and significant contributions to psychoanalysis.

Pearl King
Honorary Member of the British Psychoanalytical Society

17 August 2004

Preface

The British Psychoanalytical Society has been home to many émigrés, one of the most flamboyant, creative and controversial being the subject of the present book Mohammed Masud Raza Khan. Raised in the Punjab during the days of British rule, Khan's life and times were lived under the shadow of colonial and post-colonial dialectics between ruler and subject. Seeking refuge from this and his own particular conflicts in the world of myth and the symbolic, literature and ideas, Khan could appear a 'collagist' to some, rapidly assimilating their ideas, at least within his texts if not within his self.¹ Others saw him as 'unctuous...towards the powers that be;...a flatterer...[and] a Uriah Heep...[whose] citations...[to] Winnicott are obtrusive'.² Cross-culturally however, these patterns arguably reflect the importance of having a senior benefactor or patron within the context of what Alan Roland terms the Indian familial or 'we' self.³ Whether due to cultural misunderstandings or his own idiosyncratic character, Khan's scandalising behaviour should not obscure the fact that he was one of the most significant psychoanalysts of his generation.

Chiefly an essayist, Khan published at least sixty-two papers, many of which are collected into his four books, plus some fifty-four briefer pieces including book reviews, introductions and forewords to the works of colleagues. Like other psychoanalytic writings, these 'like the hysteric, suffer from reminiscences [as] there is no possibility of a psychoanalytic theory that is not created by the desire of the theoretician'.⁴ Khan's works bear the decipherable marks of his biography. This essentially human context equally permeates readers who, having once widely praised Khan's contributions, today often shun both him and his rich and varied works in equal measure. It is easy to see him as being 'mad, bad and dangerous to know', just as Byron was regarded by Lady Caroline Lamb on their first meeting. Indeed, it has been argued that the history of psychoanalysis has been pervaded for ill by just such *ad hominem* strategies. Years ago Eric Fromm, for example, highlighted the widespread tendency within psychoanalysis to use expulsion and more recently Marina Leitner has discussed the use of psychiatric diagnostic labels and suggestions of psychopathology as means of suppressing dissent and conflicts.⁵ Clearly such a stance is indefensible, intellectually and psychoanalytically. Khan's life and work first and foremost needs and deserves understanding, not as a caricature but in terms of its lived complexity. This is the basic aim of the present book.

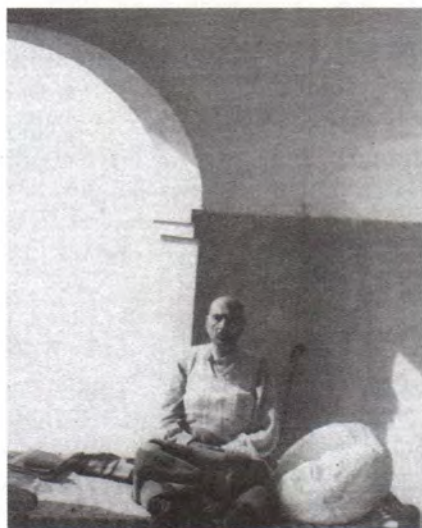
The distillation of biographical fact and fiction is often complicated and is particularly so in the case of Masud Khan who eschewed historical truth in favour of metaphor and multiple narratives. Frequently regarded as exaggerating stories or as being a liar, he chose to celebrate this capacity as a 'rationale for [my] lifestyle. Everyone is always jibing at me for never sticking to the facts and so much of modern theatre has lost the verve of imaginative truth through escaping into tape-recorder-clinical-realism'.⁶ Masud Khan would invent his

own myth, a phenomenon more generally illustrated elsewhere by Ernest Kris.⁷ These constructions were often shared with others, whose curiously uncritical stance perpetuated and exacerbated them rather like Chinese whispers. Sadly, over the course of Khan's life his inadequately grounded creative illusions would slip into delusion.⁸ Using multiple sources, including official documents, printed accounts that are within the public domain, private correspondence, and personal interview material, the present book seeks to move beyond the *preferred* myths to trace, via a psychoanalytic textual archaeology, the sometimes tellingly banal, but often more complex and intriguing realities of Khan's biography and intellectual history. It documents a dwindling oral history and sometimes precariously preserved archives, helps anchor the multiple stories that surround Khan within narrative and historical truth, and provides those interested in the contemporary history of psychoanalysis with a more reliable and realistic understanding of Masud Khan and his key contemporaries.

Future scholars will hopefully be able to correct and augment the accounts within this book as new material becomes available, particularly through the International Psychoanalytical Association who serendipitously obtained Khan's papers: access, however, will depend on the relaxation of the indefinite embargo the IPA have placed on their study.

Finally, a word on the question of patient confidentiality. The identities of a number of Khan's patients are widely known, Christopher Bollas and Wynne Godley being the most familiar; the names of others are recorded in publicly accessible archives, while others are less available or acknowledged. Apart from those that are already widely known within the public domain, the names of patients have been omitted from the present work.

Illustrations



1. Fazal Dad Khan, on the veranda at his Faisalabad home, c. 1942



2. Masud as a student, age twenty



3. Mahmooda, c. 1941



4. Salahuddin Sla, Khurshid and Masud, c. 1945–46 (*left to right*)



5. Tahir, Khurshid and Masud, c. 1945–46 (*left to right*)



6. Masud and Khurshid, c. 1945–46



7. Jane Shore, c. 1952



8. Masud and Jane, c. 1952



9. Masud and Jane leaving the Kensington Registrar's Office after their wedding on 26 July 1952
(Photo: © 2001 Topham Picturepoint)



10. Masud, Jane and Tahir's girlfriend pictured when about to leave the wedding reception, 26 July 1952



11. Hans Zullig and Masud in Geneva during the honeymoon, July 1952



12. Masud, c. 1953-54



13. Jane, Michael and Enid Balint and Masud, c. 1953-54 (left to right)



14. Masud and Jane with their car outside 8 Harley Street, c. 1954



15. Masud and Tahir, c. 1954



16. Masud and Svetlana at the Chelsea Registrar's Office on 30 December 1958 giving notice of their intention to marry the following month (Photo: Getty Images)



17. Svetlana and Masud at their wedding reception at 35 Sloane Street on 23 January 1959 (Photo: © 2001 Topham Picturepoint)



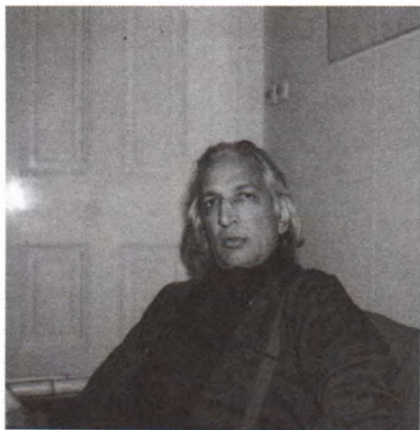
18. Svetlana and Masud in a car leaving the Chelsea Registrar's Office after their wedding on 23 January 1959 (Photo: © 2001 Topham Picturepoint)



19. Masud and his estate manager Chaudri Nazir Ahmed, c. 1981–82



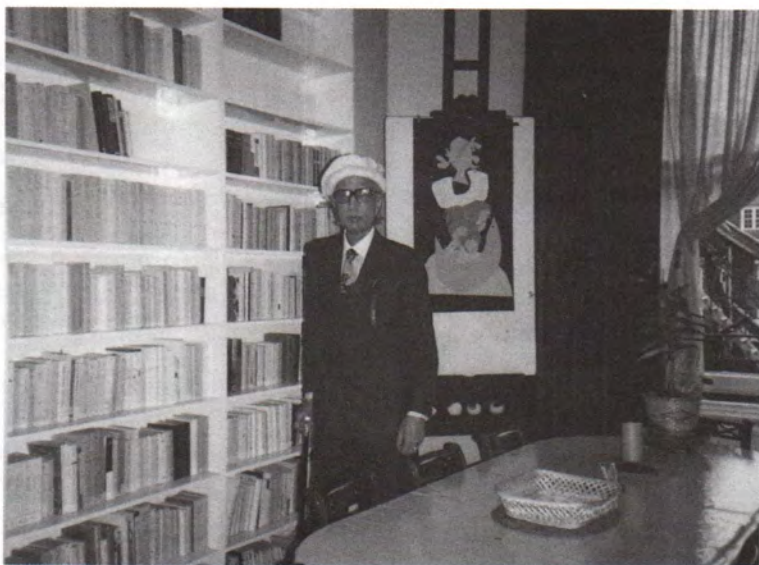
20. Masud pictured in his consulting room at 24 Palace Court, c. 1981–82



21. Masud, 22 February 1983



22. Masud, c. 1983



23. Masud in his library at 24 Palace Court, c. 1984



24. Masud's gardener, Masud and his niece Shahnaz in the garden at Kot Fazal Dad Khan, Faisalabad, c. 1984



25. Khan's nieces Rahna and Shahnaz Sla with Masud in the garden at Faisalabad, c. 1984



26. Masud in Faisalabad, c. 1986



27. Masud with his Faisalabad house in the background, *c.* 1986



28. Masud outside his Palace Court apartment,
c. summer 1986



29. The Khan family cemetery, showing (*from left to right*) the graves of Masud, Fazal Dad, Khurshid and Tahir

1

A Family in Punjab

The Punjab was one of the last states to be incorporated into the British Raj, it being annexed following the Second Sikh War of 1848–49. The area had a strong military tradition, which continued under the Raj, with substantial numbers of Punjabi men enlisting in and transferring their allegiance to the British Indian army. During the Indian Mutiny between 1857 and 1859 the Punjab remained relatively peaceful and was able to contribute native troops to suppress the rebellions in neighbouring areas. This fidelity to their recent conquerors perhaps rested on a belief in the superiority – militarily, politically and culturally – of the British. Certainly something, a belief, had been internalised, as native Indian troops were and would remain in the majority in India. If all had chosen to participate in the Mutiny the Raj could have ended in 1857 rather than some ninety years later.

Within a colonial system the colonised internalises the coloniser–colonised relationship into the self, something Fiona Gardner has recently discussed.¹ Drawing on Franz Fanon's works, Gardner suggests that this internalised, and typically white, coloniser is unconsciously identified with, while the native self is devalued. A façade of self-esteem can then be internally maintained through alliance and lieutenantancy with the ideal which is now at least partly located in the internal coloniser. Alienation and the false self thus co-exist in an internal alliance, disruption of which may be felt to be a threat to both the social fabric and the individual's psychic equilibrium. Active collaboration with the colonial power, particularly by participation in its administrative institutions, may reinforce a type of Hegelian master–slave dialectic.² The army epitomised the basic colonial authority, the backstop agency of power and control, whose ranks were filled with native personnel, their economic and social status secure within a colonial order. The Mutiny of 1857 however also made it clear that the Indian Army was a force for the Raj itself to reckon with, one which, like Hegel's slave, had real power that could potentially be exerted. Military service for indigenous peoples within British India was thus a potential, though fragile and markedly ambivalent source of self-esteem, prestige and honour. Within this set-up the cavalry regiments occupied pride of place in the order of precedence.³

The Khan family were a martial Rajput clan who had been settled in the Punjab for several generations, though its distant ancestral roots were reputedly in Iran. The patriarch of the family, Fazal Dad Khan⁴ was born sometime between the latter part of 1852 and mid 1853 according to the most reliable information, his exact birth-date being a source of some controversy.⁵ The son

of Noor Khan, Fazal Dad Khan was raised as a Sunni Muslim.⁶ Beyond these details however, little is conclusively known about his early life.

It is only from his later twenties onwards that traces of Fazal Dad Khan's life survive, as at that time he began a military career. He enlisted in the ranks of the Indian Army on 24 July 1880, probably joining the 12th Regiment of Bengal Cavalry, a unit that had been formed locally in Lahore in 1857 during the Indian Mutiny. The regiment had been actively engaged in the Afghanistan campaign from 1878 to 1880, though from then until the First World War it was predominantly occupied with peacetime duties.⁷ After almost twenty years in the non-commissioned ranks Khan gained a Viceroy's commission, being appointed Jemadar in the 12th Regiment of Bengal Cavalry on 26 September 1899 and was promoted to Ressaidar in the same regiment on 27 June 1905.⁸ In the Indian Army at this time Viceroy's Commissioned Officers, though subordinate to even the most junior British subalterns, were held in high regard by the Indian troops and in the cavalry regiments they were particularly relied on. Ressaidar Khan was during this time detached to command the 12th Cavalry's Horse Farm, at Lyallpur, and was rewarded for his services by the conferral of the non-hereditary title 'Khan Sahib'. This was accompanied with the conferral of the Title Badge (India),⁹ third class, which Ressaidar Khan was awarded on 1 January 1913.¹⁰ As was customary, few details were given when the award was promulgated, the *Gazette of India* notice merely announcing that 'His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General is pleased to confer the title Khan Sahib, as a personal distinction, upon...Ressaidar Fazldad Khan, 12th Cavalry Horse Farm, Lyallpur, in the Punjab.'¹¹ Further promotions followed; on 1 February 1913 to Risaldar and on 7 November 1914 to Risaldar Major,¹² the highest commissioned rank then attainable for an Indian soldier *within* the regiment. On 4 January 1916 Fazal Dad Khan was awarded the Order of British India, second class,¹³ a British award to Indians who had rendered loyal and meritorious service to the colonial establishment. This award appears to have marked Risaldar Major Khan's retirement from active service with the Indian Army, in which he had served for over thirty-five years (without ever apparently hearing a shot fired in anger).¹⁴

The award of titles was frequently supplemented by government grants of land to meritorious recipients and Fazal Dad appears to have been such a beneficiary. This assisted him in accumulating some 2,800 acres over time,¹⁵ government grants adding to his own purchases and apparently other inherited acreage. He now concentrated on farming what his son later called a 'primitive' estate and cattle farm at Montgomery (now Sahival), within the Multan division of the Punjab.¹⁶ The town itself, named after Sir Robert Montgomery, the then Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, had only been founded in 1864, following the arrival of the railway, its population in 1901 amounting to 6,602. There, Fazal Dad studied veterinary science to develop his cattle breeding skills and, later, some basic law.¹⁷ With the latter knowledge, in combination with his previous credentials as an army officer, Fazal Dad sought and gained an appointment as a Third Class Honorary Magistrate, probably during 1918, with jurisdiction over the Montgomery district, a large area of some 5,574 square

miles.¹⁸ He would continue there in this non-stipendiary post for the next two decades. During these turbulent years in Indian history, with the rising popular nationalism of the Independence movement and Hindu-Muslim tensions, Fazal Dad Khan showed little sign of wavering in his adherence to the British Raj establishment.

At home, Fazal Dad Khan's domestic arrangements were complex, though not untypical of the time. Islam then permitted men to have four concurrent marriages, a practice accepted by the Raj. While Fazal Dad Khan seems to have actually married four times, some of these relationships were consecutive.¹⁹ Of his first wife, Gulab Khatun, little is known: they had no children together and she may have died relatively young. Fazal Dad's second marriage was to a woman over twenty years his junior, Badshah Begum. She was born in 1875 and together they had eight children; the eldest surviving, a daughter Fatima Jehan Begum, born in 1894, being followed by Mohammed Akbar in 1897, three daughters Qumar Jahan Begum, Sardar Jehan Begum, Mumtaz Jehan Begum in 1910, 1912 and 1914 respectively, and a son Mohammed Anwar in 1915, with one son Asghar dying in childhood and the date of birth of the remaining son Mohammed Baqar²⁰ being unknown. Partly concurrent with his marriage to Badshah, Fazal Dad Khan married Amer Jan and together they had five children; a daughter Khurshed Begum born in 1906, being followed by four sons, Zafar in 1908, Mohammed Iftikhar in 1909, Mohammed Yusuf in 1911 and Mohammed Afzal in 1914. Fazal Dad's fourth marriage will be considered shortly.

The sons from these marriages largely followed in their father's footsteps, joining the army and achieving high rank, firstly within the British and then the Pakistan armed forces. Three became Major Generals and four Brigadier Generals within the Pakistan Defence Forces, a record for the sons of one man or at least so the family claim.²¹ Their rise may be illustrated through a glance at the careers of Mohammed Akbar and Mohammed Iftikhar.

Born on 19 April 1897, Akbar enlisted in the army aged seventeen on 1 May 1914. Having served just over a year in the ranks, he was commissioned on 1 July 1915 and was promoted steadily, serving as a Lieutenant Colonel throughout most of the Second World War. He was awarded an MBE for his services and made acting and then temporary Colonel on 26 July 1945 and 26 January 1946 respectively.²² Among his various appointments Akbar served as an Aide-de-Camp to the Quaid-i-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah, the Governor-General designate of Pakistan. After Independence he was among the most senior native officers within the Pakistan forces and was promoted Major-General therein, commanding an army division into at least the 1970s. Akbar died in 1984.

His younger half-brother, Mohammed Iftikhar, born on 10 January 1909, achieved rapid advancement and was widely regarded as a very good officer, though his colleague and later the Pakistan President Ayub Khan recalled him as a rather short-tempered and difficult man.²³ Iftikhar was first commissioned on 29 August 1929 and after attending the two year course at the Senior Wing Staff College, at Mingley Manor in Hampshire, rose through the ranks becoming a Temporary Major with the 7th Light Cavalry on 20 April 1943.²⁴

Further promotion followed and after Independence, Iftikhar was promoted Major General commanding the 10th Army Division.²⁵ At that point he was the candidate favoured by the British for the position of Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan army. He died however along with his family and General Sher Khan in an air crash at Jungshahi in 1949 before securing the appointment.²⁶

Iftikhar's mother, Amer Jan died when he and her other children were very young and it was at this point that her first cousin Khurshid Anwer Begum stepped in to help raise them. Khurshid was a Shia Muslim who appears to have been born between 1892 and 1893.²⁷ She was accompanied to the Khan household by her young son, Salahuddin Sla, who had been born in 1913 during Khurshid's first marriage. Now, despite an age difference of forty years, Khurshid Anwer Begum became Fazal Dad Khan's fourth wife and the future mother of Masud Khan. Characterisations of her from European secondary sources variously romanticise and disparage her as 'a Persian dancer',²⁸ 'a beautiful, young and illiterate girl, a famous singer and courtesan',²⁹ and 'a rather dreamy but removed figure',³⁰ hearsay descriptions which probably owe much to later distortions by Masud Khan. The couple's marriage purportedly caused some dissent within the extended Khan family, which crystallised when Badshah Begum departed to reside with her eldest son, Mohammed Akbar.³¹

Four children were born within the new marriage, the first of whom, Mohammed Nasir, died in infancy. The next child, Mohammed Tahir Raza Khan, was born on 15 June 1923 and early feeding difficulties ensued as Khurshid's lactation failed. The family attempted to find a suitable wet nurse for Tahir and numerous candidates were tried before a satisfactory one was found who lasted for several months.³² Towards the end of October that year, only four months after Tahir's birth, Khurshid was again pregnant, her return to fertility perhaps hastened by the abbreviated breast feeding.

EARLY YEARS

On Thursday 21 July 1924 Mohammed Masud Raza Khan was born in his maternal grandparents' home at Jhelum in the Punjab.³³ Six weeks after his birth he travelled back with Khurshid to Montgomery. Very little is known about Khan's infancy and early life, though he is said to have been raised, like his mother, within the Shia Muslim tradition.³⁴ By his own account his health was poor, he 'was a weakling child, always ailing',³⁵ suffering, as his first wife later said, from tuberculosis and lung problems, as did his brother Tahir.³⁶ These problems contributed to him staying predominantly at home, isolated, lonely and unsocialised. Indirectly, they perhaps fostered his introversion and tendency towards fantasising.

He had been born with a very minor deformity, having a somewhat enlarged left ear³⁷, which marred his otherwise fine features, a defect about which Khan was self-conscious for many years to come and one which also perhaps contributed to his shying away from social contact. From this perspective, Khan's retreat may be seen as a move away from being seen and thus humiliated in the face of the observing other (constituted by the ego-ideal rather than the super-ego, which

would have led instead to more reparable guilt), protecting him from feelings of withering shame which feel unmodifiable. While the retreat offers some shelter from such painful feelings, if it is made more than a transitional feature then it can stifle maturation, and its lack of prohibition via a mature observing other can foster delinquency and outrageousness. Emergence from such a psychic retreat is essentially fraught as it necessitates coming again under the gaze of the observing other, a constellation John Steiner links with the father and with the paternal function.³⁸ Judy Cooper suggests Khan's self-consciousness may have been exacerbated through bullying and negative attention as he was growing up, and recounts Khan telling her 'My culture is very cruel about any sort of physical deformity'.³⁹ Tahir, however, recalled him not only as having been a very beautiful but also as a very spoiled boy,⁴⁰ a family response in part perhaps to his self-consciousness. Years later, when in England, Khan would attempt to conceal his ear beneath a beret and would go on to have cosmetic surgery on it to improve its appearance. One of his early patients, Mr A, recalls telling Khan in the 1950s a nightmare in which his own ear was rotten and infested with maggots. Khan's response was a hot declaration that Mr A's dream was a disguised aggressive reference to Khan's ear.⁴¹

In 1926 when Khan was two years old, his parents had a final child, a girl, Mahmooda, whom Khan came to 'adore'.⁴² He remained however overtly shy, tending towards introversion and preoccupation with his own thoughts, entrenching within a psychic retreat. This trait became more pronounced when, aged four, Khan retreated into a predominant state of mutism, apparently precipitated by anxiety about his mother, who was at that time herself 'indisposed', as Adam Limentani later enigmatically recorded.⁴³ This symptomatic state continued to be acute until Khan was seven years old. The detachment from others and concomitant absorption in his own thoughts seems likely to be related to what would be a lifelong tendency towards confabulation and fantasising. Mutism and confabulation thus may, at least in this instance, be regarded as related epiphenomena; ways in which dissociation could be sustained, the other prevented from impinging, and one's own internal view privileged over that of the other and imposed on the world. It may be here noted that Khan's brother, Tahir, recounted how Khan was prone to invent stories, or 'tall tales', and that this presented a problem for the family from the time he was a small boy.⁴⁴

It is pertinent here to briefly consider this early manifestation of Khan's emotional problems, particularly as they appear to represent a prodrome of both his subsequent creativity and marked personal and interpersonal problems in adulthood. Elective mutism is usually 'associated with marked personality features involving social anxiety, withdrawal, sensitivity, or resistance'.⁴⁵ Associated characteristics of the difficulty 'include excessive shyness, fear of social embarrassment, social isolation and withdrawal, compulsive traits, negativism, temper tantrums, or controlling or oppositional behaviour, particularly at home'.⁴⁶ Within the research literature there is an emerging consensus on such traits, not only within affected children but also within the parents and adult relatives, shyness and inhibition in public conversation

being prominent.⁴⁷ There is some evidence for trauma as an aetiological factor, Andersson and Thomsen finding examples of such in one third of their cases,⁴⁸ while co-morbidity was common, with Black and Udhe reporting 97 per cent of their cases had either social phobia or avoidant disorder of childhood or adolescence or both.⁴⁹ Social and environmental factors such as migration, family conflict, paternal physical or emotional absence or distance and maternal over-protectiveness and proneness to depression have also been seen as frequent correlates of childhood mutism.⁵⁰

Such research coheres with the details known about Khan and his own familial environment. During his early life elective mutism, phobic states, introversion and obstinacy were manifest, with phobic and introverted or withdrawn states continuing into adulthood, where in my view they formed a volatile basis for Khan's creative imagination and intellect, the shadow side of which would be his latterly emergent alcoholism, destructive and self-destructive interpersonal relationships, serious problems in adherence to boundaries, fantasising (as Winnicott would term it), and a weakening grip on reality. His mother and father were, according principally to Khan's depiction (as will be discussed below), variously shy, phobic and imperious, distant and fiery, traits that reflect aspects of the accompanying family-spectrum of psychopathology associated with elective mutism. Among Khan's brothers, Tahir told Clifford Scott that as an adolescent and young man he himself was inclined towards:

...dominating people. He used to frighten others by the ease with which he fought... He used to act as if he was careless and he put this carefree attitude forward as a façade. He was unapproachable. He tells of how unhappy he could become when he could not stampede opposition... [In addition, he had] almost made a religion out of cleanliness and order... [although] hysterical rather than obsessional mechanisms [seemed to predominate within his personality].⁵¹

Of Khan's other brothers' personalities little is definitely known, although their gravitation towards the military and promotion therein may support a view of them as ambitious, competitive, dominant and having a concern for order and conservatism, in identification with Fazal Dad Khan in both his military and judicial careers.

The state of withdrawal into an inner world or psychic retreat (as here epitomised in his childhood mutism, solitary state and tendencies towards confabulation and fantasising) was for Khan overtly regarded as a superior existence, action being frequently viewed with suspicion. In his future career he would consistently seek to positively denote such states and processes.⁵² For example, when commenting on the protests in Paris and elsewhere in May 1968, Khan declared he was 'deeply distressed' at these events, which he regarded as essentially allied to 'violence and anarchy... and nihilism'.⁵³ Human thought and culture, he suggested, developed through 'the efforts of those who have remained at one remove from all the happenings, and persevered with the quieter effort of mind and thought'.⁵⁴ Thus, the privileging of introversion over extroversion,

thought over action, and self over other may be regarded as a dominant trait within Khan's personality, evident from his early episode of mutism through to his final years.

Adam Limentani, as mentioned earlier, suggested that Khan's state was significantly influenced by problems his mother had at this time. Their relationship was beset with chronic difficulties, as is evident from Khan's own comments, when for example he declared 'I loved my mother but we never got on well.'⁵⁵ The reasons for this Khan located firmly with his mother, portraying her, for instance, to his first wife in the early 1950s, as being a devout Muslim, in purdah and rather a 'dragon'.⁵⁶ She was devalued in his eyes, fearful, reactionary and threateningly intrusive with her 'chatter'. The latter, reminiscent of Shakespeare's depiction of life as 'a tale told by an idiot, full of sound and fury, signifying nothing',⁵⁷ is a picture Khan repeatedly returned to. A particularly interesting example may be seen in his unpublished November 1963 poem 'I Cannot Hear'.⁵⁸

I cannot hear.
I cannot hear you,
mother.
Not your wailing or chantings,
or the whispering of maids around you.
The dead leaves are crumpled
and stuffed in my ears.
I heard the shriek,
knew it was you,
killed it, mother.
My mad inconsolable mother.
I killed your voice insisting in my ears.

I cannot hear.
What I touch and see is mine,
mother,
and I cannot share.
I cannot hear.
Mother.
Mother.
Mother.

Here Khan pictures his mother as ego-alien, depressed and maddeningly intrusive, features he seeks to defend himself against by cutting himself off through self-imposed self-protective deafness, while privileging touch and sight. Later, in his *Work Book* Khan would write of 'the chattering anxious countenance of my mother from infancy' and his own response as constituting a 'manic expertise to drown her voiceless chatter and muttering in my head'.⁵⁹ Writing to Sybil Stoller he confided that his learning French was an attempt to relieve himself of the 'incessant chatter in my mind of my mother's voice'.⁶⁰

Victor Smirnoff recalled Khan's differentiation of his own social conversation as being 'intelligent gossip but never idle chatter'.⁶¹ His mother's 'chatter' appeared to be experienced as invasive, tormenting and ego-alien; an experience that needed to be evaded or shut-out (or at least managed and limited) in order to attain a degree of authentic self-experience through a facilitating initial quietude. Khan thus suggests a classical Winnicottian account of his early development, in which, instead of a facilitating yet non-intrusive maternal environment catalysing the unfolding of his innate maturational processes and sustaining his 'going-on-being', maternal impingement provokes a rather manic false-self formation.

Pierre Janet had much earlier discussed what he called 'the chattering mind', an idea that was later taken up by Marion Milner in a number of her works.⁶² Milner emphasised how the stilling of such thoughts was a precondition for emergent creativity and reflective capacity, implying that chatter could be a defence against thinking and authentic self-experience. Winnicott also had mentioned the concept of chatter. In *Playing and Reality* he had briefly discussed it as a variety of 'fantasying' and he had further alluded to it in *Holding and Interpretation*.⁶³ Khan in his introduction to the latter book discusses this phenomenon, as seen in Winnicott's patient, saying that:

It is this mentation that isolates his subjective self from others, and even from his own reflective self-awareness. Towards the outside world he is merely reactive. Towards his true self...he has only a protective attitude. He can never reach or live from it. Hence his complaints of lack of spontaneity and initiative.⁶⁴

Winnicott attributed this dissociation to overly adaptive early infant feeding experiences, which had deprived the patient of the experience of lack, which normally stimulates desire, and thus object seeking. This can be extended further to the development of ego functions, a development that has been particularly elaborated within the contemporary Kleinian group. Hanna Segal, for example, summarised this view, writing that ego functions, such as thought, 'evolve... in each individual's maturation as ways of dealing with object-relationships, particularly with the absence of a needed and desired object. Wilfred Bion said: No Breast, therefore thought!'⁶⁵ Returning to Winnicott's patient, Khan argued that in this state contact with the object:

...is the one risk he cannot take. Hence he lived in the *oubliette* of that objectless space, which constitutes *le terrain interne*, of his mentation and self-observation. In it every experience is represented by thoughts, but no experience or person is internalized. The patient himself remarks: 'chatter is talking to no person'.⁶⁶

Khan, in addition to his commentary on Winnicott's patient, had written on 'chatter' in relation to several of his own analysands. In a 1969 paper, for example, Khan describes a man who came to analysis to gain relief from a type of

compulsive intellectualisation associated with an 'insatiable chatter in his head, which he could never stop'.⁶⁷ The patient thus lived a schizoid existence, split off from first hand self-experience; for him interpretations typically fuelled his dissociating 'chatter', exacerbating his difficulties. Technically, Khan refrained from such excessive interpretation and in the key ones he made he drew the patient's attention to his demands for potentially ego-exploitable, chatter fuelling, experience-destroying interpretations. This strategy allowed the patient to gain some new self-experience that was initially private and linguistically unmediated, which could act as a corrective to his formerly ubiquitous chatter. Then, in a later paper from 1971, Khan describes a man whose 'obsessive, querulous chatter in his head...was always lividly angry, bitter and scathing with the sole aim of annihilating the resistance and opinion of the other person, so that the patient's mental judgements were omnipotently valid'.⁶⁸ In another paper from the same year, Khan again refers to similar ideas, this time with reference to two female patients, although here uses the term 'hypermentation', an exploitation of language that fosters dissociation rather than integration.⁶⁹

In 1971, in a private diary reflection, Khan wrote of 'the various paradoxical elements' of his psychic 'inheritance', detailing both his mother and father (although notably not describing them as a couple):

My sensibility I inherit from my mother: very shy, over sensitive and rather phobic and extremely emotional. From my father I inherit an imperious capacity for work and a terrible temper. From both I inherit a deep compassion for the individual human and an uncompromising haughtiness. My personal contribution is a sharp and inexhaustible mind. All these are still not cohered into a unity of character in me. To have been endowed with so much is an awesome responsibility. And it is a lifelong struggle.⁷⁰

It may be that the lack of coherence Khan here acknowledges, reflects a lack of coherence also in Khan's internalised representation of the parental couple, a psychic cleavage familiar from oedipal dynamics.⁷¹

Other people's impressions of Khan's parents and of his experience of them tally with the preceding picture, although such coherence may be misleading (given that their views derived primarily from Khan's own reminiscences). Robert Stoller describing the impression he had formed from Khan of his parents wrote that:

He had to make do with a fundamentally disparaged mother and a father whose love was so dangerous, conditional, and distant that Masud could use it only to sketch in stability, but not ever feel it as a foundation and firm skeleton on which to place the flesh. His father fed him a diet of love and humiliation, and that is a firey [sic] mix.⁷²

Stoller's view appears to have been that Khan had not managed to internalise a good maternal object, but instead had a damaged object, and thus found it very difficult to care for himself. Destructive and self-destructive relating came

more easily to him. Thus in 1975, following a by then periodic crisis, he was to urge Khan 'for once in your life, be a good mother to yourself. I do not know from where you will draw the knowledge and identifications necessary for such kindness (which, as you know, is by no means indulgence), but you must do the inner work necessary to allow such a dynamic its opportunity.'⁷³ While mother's presence was to remain extremely vestigial in Khan's published and private writings, reflective perhaps of her presence within his internal world as both an absent good maternal object and present internal maternal saboteur, father's presence was more delineated, externally and presumably internally.

As an *external object* Fazal Dad Khan must have been a towering and indeed awesome presence for his children and for Masud in particular as the youngest son. Khan would obliquely refer to having had a 'gruelling and loving apprenticeship' with his father.⁷⁴ Fazal Dad's status in the local community as the magistrate would have been considerable, even without his successful previous military career. Such a position however would also carry with it not only a potentially inhibiting effect on the other, but also political ambivalence. Thus Fazal Dad Khan inevitably incarnated the super-ego, paternally and socially, and this super-ego was inexorably bound to the colonial establishment, a fact that must have been evident to his son, as well as to the native populace. He was part of the colonial judicial system, through which he effectively maintained the establishment, just as previously he had formed part of that ultimate last-ditch authority which supported the Raj – the army. This full-blooded participation was met with official recognition and tangible rewards.

Given the rising popular nationalism in India during the period 1919 to 1940, which was fanned by the prevalent talk of freedom during the First World War and more locally radicalised following the Jallianwala Bagh outrage in Amritsar when nearly 400 civilians were killed and a further 1,200 wounded, there was an inevitable pull towards disaffection from the Raj among its one time Indian officialdom. Continuing formal British recognition and rewards were employed to shore up support, the system becoming rather more liberal in dispensing honours as the political pressure mounted. This attempt at maintaining social cohesion through the civil honours system was not, however, indiscriminate, but rather incorporated and codified rank and social status, and thus became one means by which affinities could be constructed between British and Imperial subjects, a thesis David Cannadine has recently convincingly discussed.⁷⁵

With Fazal Dad Khan further honours came in 1933 with his award of the title 'Khan Bahadur',⁷⁶ which accompanied his elevation to the second class of the Title Badge (India). Shortly afterwards Fazal Dad was promoted to Honorary Magistrate, Second Class, the formal announcement, dated 30 March 1933, reading:

Under the provisions of section 14 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, the Governor in Council is pleased to confer upon Khan Bahadur Risaldar Fazal Dad Khan, for a period of two years, with effect from 22 April 1933, the powers of a magistrate of the second class, in regard to cases generally to be exercised within the local limits of the Montgomery District.⁷⁷

On the expiry of this appointment the Governor of the Punjab, Sir H. W. Emerson, renewed Fazal Dad's post for a further two year period, by an order dated 17 May 1935.⁷⁸ Further honours followed, in 1936, with the conferral of the title 'Raja'.⁷⁹ It is unclear on the basis of surviving records whether this title was conferred as a hereditary or a personal distinction, although the majority of such awards to non-aristocratic groups were purely non-hereditary life distinctions.

2 Colonial Education

EARLY EDUCATION

Taught initially at home by a succession of tutors, Masud Khan concentrated on studying literature. Of this educational experience he said:

I did not go to school because I was a weakling child, always ailing...I went to College straight [after] taking my entrance exam and I was tutored at home. So, I had five teachers teach me languages and all that stuff...All through my childhood we were tutored all seven days.¹

Khan alleged that he had had an Oxford educated home tutor, a Miss Little, for some time.² Judy Cooper speculates that Miss Little may have been retained to enhance the status of the children and the family and counter stigma arising from the mother's reputation. Investigations at Oxford however have failed to confirm the existence of Miss Little as a student or graduate of the university during the early years of the twentieth century.³ This lack of evidence casts doubt on the historical veracity of Khan's claim. Little may not have existed or she may have existed but been educated at somewhere other than Oxford University. However, if Little is regarded as an internal object, a product of psychical reality, subject to or created from Khan's own 'wish', other hermeneutic possibilities may be discerned. She may thus become a representative of the white British ruling colonial establishment who is displaced from her position of superiority to that of the paid employee, the ruled class, of whom Khan was a member. Khan instead becomes his master's master, overthrowing the colonial and paternal order through psychic and linguistic mechanisms. The transposition of roles is concretely expressed in Little's name; she is made 'little' and Khan 'big'. Whilst this is a construction it does adhere to the known historical and psychic facts. Khan throughout most of his life rarely identified himself either with an ethnic minority or with ex-colonial groups. Surviving photographs of Khan as a child show him, typically alone, formally dressed in European suits and riding attire, with accompanying pith helmet.⁴ The adoption of such a costume cannot be without either political or psychological significance, probably being indicative of identification with the white British colonial establishment and a concomitant disavowal of his inherent ethnicity.⁵ (Such explicit contra-ethnic British identifications only diminished publicly, as shall be later detailed, during the twenty years preceding his death.) Khan

exhibited pronounced self-aggrandising, vainglorious and boastful traits. Over modesty was not a characteristic commonly attributed to him. During his life he would have great fame within the psychoanalytic world and would also be acquainted with numerous celebrities in other fields. Despite such actual success, the validity of which could be confirmed in historical reality, Khan would increasingly create sustained, sometimes grand, fictions to embroider his life.

Khan probably shared much of his early education with his elder brother, Tahir. The latter told Clifford Scott that he (Tahir) had been taught at home until he was ten, following which he attended a day school, some seven miles from home, until he matriculated at fourteen.⁶ Assuming Khan shared tutors with Tahir (and perhaps Mahmooda) his education would have continued at home in Montgomery, and possibly some day school attendance there, until 1937. In fact Khan suggests exactly this in an unpublished draft introduction intended for his final book, *When Spring Comes*, in which he wrote:

I went for a short spell to a local school in Montgomery, now Sahiwal, when I was nine years old. A teacher called the roll call of the class, and when my turn came he asked me to tell my name. I did not answer. The question had never been asked of me before. He sent me home. When I asked my esteemed father how do I answer someone who wants to know my name, he replied with asperity: 'He who does not know your name will learn little from your telling it to him'.⁷

The chronology this story suggests would have Khan going to day school at roughly the same time as Tahir (from 1933), a correspondence which supports the idea of their shared education, first with home tutoring, followed by day school and in due course university. The duration of Khan's day schooling in Montgomery is unclear, though it must have ended there no later than 1937. During this year Fazal Dad Khan appears to have finally retired, his tenure as a magistrate expiring in mid May.⁸

In that year Tahir, who was then fourteen years old, gained his university matriculation and he moved with Fazal Dad, Khurshid, Masud and Mahmooda to Lyallpur where Fazal Dad Khan had earlier commanded the 12th Cavalry's Horse Farm. Lyallpur was then a somewhat larger town than Montgomery with a 1901 population of 13,483, although it had only been founded in about 1895 by the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, Sir James Lyall. Known for its textile production, Lyallpur (which was renamed Faisalabad in 1979) was also a centre around which numerous experimental farms and cattle-breeding stations developed. Here Fazal Dad now bought a house and neighbouring large estate to continue his own farming.⁹ The house move certainly facilitated Tahir's, and later Masud's, education. Tahir was now able to attend the local Government College in Lyallpur, which was a constituent college of the University of Punjab. There, Tahir obtained his BA and would later go to the Lahore campus of the University of the Punjab where he obtained his MA in English Literature in 1943.¹⁰ His younger brother would follow him on this academic path in due

course. In preparation for this Khan may have switched to a school in Lyallpur or perhaps reverted to home tuition during 1937 and 1938.

Further pressures to dis-identify from his ethnic origins apparently came from his perception of the wretched state of many of his fellow Indians. Thus, writing about India at this time Khan commented:

Through my nurture I am able to evaluate the nihilism built into Eastern cultures by centuries of spiritual inertia, and by their obsession with rarified purity of the soul and their utter disregard for the human being as a civic organism. In my early years, I saw such body-misery, poverty and destitution of existence in the Hindu-Muslim culture of India that I will never believe that a civilization is worth a bean if it does not look after the ordinary welfare of its citizens, no matter how excellent it is with the metaphysics of the soul.¹¹

Others, of course, were spurred on towards nationalist politics by such perceptions, rather than counter-identifications with the Raj establishment. Khan at the time, however, seemed to opt for conformity with the latter, as he later recalled in his correspondence wherein he wrote:

Somewhere in my adolescence I seem to have made a decision which was the opposite of Rimbaud's...[who had said] 'I'm lousing myself up as much as I can these days...to be a poet,...to arrive at the unknown by the disordering of all the senses'. I seem to have decided to go through an ordeal of taming and disciplining my latent sensibility first...The reason, it seems to me, why I decided to deviate from a direct route to my own sensibility was that in the years that I was growing up at College (1940-1946) in Northern India the bias was for facile revolutionary stances. I became very suspicious of a revolt that was lacking both in tradition and perspective, hence opted out for an apprenticeship that will give me the way of it all, and instrumentality of a method.¹²

Khan's native revolt thus becomes concealed, hidden and arguably festering beneath a surface of colonial establishment conformity, the lack of social and personal engagement and working-through contributing to an unstable self structure.

Literature (and English literature in particular) was something Khan was drawn towards; a subject area, like both the honours system and dress style, that offered affinities with the British for Indian subjects. This feature had become an articulated mechanism of colonial rule. Thus, English literature formed a central plank of the colonial curriculum, constituting not only a traditional liberal humanistic endeavour but also a means of native containment through furthering both a cultural ideal of Britishness and concomitantly extending social and political control.¹³ The Charter Act of 1813 placed a responsibility for native education on the East India Company, while the 1835 English Education Act made the study of English language and literature compulsory. Anglicism had succeeded Orientalism¹⁴ as the dominant educational and political philosophy,

with English literature holding the status of a compromise formation between the tensions created by *laissez-faire* government on the one hand and potentially inflammatory evangelical missionary aspirations on the other. Through the advocacy of a critical hermeneutic approach to the study of English literature, an active individualistic rationalism was encouraged, a state of mind that would, it was hoped, liberate the native population from states of passive collectivist dependency on their learned classes as explicators of traditional religious texts. The latter were seen as engendering mysticism and group solidarity, potentially contra the interests of the colonial power. Being numerically inferior, the colonial Raj acquired and maintained its influence through the assertion of moral, intellectual and cultural superiority (in addition to military force and related industrial technology). The basis for this asserted superiority was held out as being benevolently available through the Anglicised Indian education system, successful participation in which would allow the native population to emulate, equate themselves to and compete with the colonial rulers. To such a system Khan was a ready recruit.

In addition to the socio-politico-cultural aspects of reading and literature in the context of British India, psychological aspects and uses proliferated. Literature provided Khan with a psychic sanctuary into which he could retreat, comforting himself in escapist fantasy, a retreat that was aided by his poor physical health which necessitated quiet convalescence. Khan said of himself that:

Books, or rather *écriture*, is the only presence that I do not consider an intrusion. All humans – and even DWW [Winnicott] is no exception – take away my authenticity from myself. This has been the case since I was eleven years old, when I realised that there was something to be gained from reading. Before this I lived in a mellow state of autism steeped in the warmth of servants – it is lamentable that I use the word servant but it signifies what humans represent to me. I was permanently surrounded by those who cared for me – and I respected their ‘holding presence’ with profound affection.¹⁵

Books thus provided Khan with a means of self-soothing and a mechanism for retrenching within the self, aspects which he expanded on later when he recounted to a friend:

Thank god I love reading, because the books always pull me into myself and I can be still, cognitive and sustained. We have become such addicts of visual-cum-auditory techniques of being kept occupied (TV, radio and cinema) that we have lost the habit of reading. And to read is always an act of wilful concentration to start with and only gradually grows into a nourishing, pleasurable experience.¹⁶

Concentrating on the English classics, Khan, by his own account, was absorbed, not only with what he read, but also with its interpretation.¹⁷ Lionel Knights’ work on Shakespeare, particularly his classic 1933 essay ‘How many children

had Lady Macbeth?' was particularly influential on Khan, in its critique of tendencies in literary criticism to treat literary characters as actual persons and thus lose their imaginal fictive status. Writing became an associated form of connectedness for Khan, an idea he later expressed to a colleague saying, 'I write with pleasure, it is a way of living with me.'¹⁸

UNIVERSITY, DEATH AND PSYCHOANALYSIS

In 1938 Khan followed in Tahir's footsteps, enrolling after matriculation in the Government College, at Lyallpur, a college affiliated to the University of Punjab. There, in addition to the then standard course in English, he read political science, history and Urdu as part of the requirements for the general BA degree. Khan was only fourteen years old and this was his first substantial foray into the world beyond that of his family. Judy Cooper records that Khan, unsurprisingly, found this period difficult, particularly socially.¹⁹ He appeared awkward, sad and depressed, with occasional possibly compensatory ostentatious or grandiose displays, such as turning up to college mounted on a white horse.²⁰

During his fourth and final year in Government College, Khan, aged about seventeen, developed a relationship with a girlfriend. In and of itself this may not have been unusual. However, Khan's girlfriend was a Hindu and on the relationship becoming known it became an issue of local controversy, having obvious social and political overtones, in connection with which his father and the College authorities became involved, apparently criticising the young Masud Khan (and facing him with a choice between his heart and his father and family), all of which left him depressed.²¹ Given the marked Hindu Muslim tensions at this time, only six years before the bloody partition of the Sub-Continent, it is perhaps unsurprising that such a relationship would have attracted critical attention. Khan's own willingness to become involved in such a relationship, however, is noteworthy, transgressing as it did contemporary religious and political boundaries. How and when precisely the relationship ended remains unclear, as is what effect it and its pressured ending may have had on Khan psychologically and academically. It seems likely that his overt acquiescence to paternal authority came at some cost; the manifest cost speculatively being the apparent surrendering of both his relationship with his girlfriend and efforts at active interpersonal and affective expression. Instead, depression, probably entailing covert resentment, and a return to a somewhat ruminative and probably imaginative interiority seems to have psychically reasserted itself, supported by the world of books and literature.

He continued with his studies, however, with English proving to be the one subject area in which he showed promise. After four years' registration Khan sat the BA examination in April 1942 and graduated with a very low second-class degree, the results of which were promulgated in the *Punjab Government Gazette* the following November.²² The *Gazette* did however note that Khan had gained 'honours' in English. Referring to his BA in later years Khan gave differing accounts of its component subjects. Around 1955 for example he claimed they were History, Political Science and honours in English,²³ in 1964

that it was 'a BA (Hons.) in Political Science',²⁴ while by the early 1980s he was saying that his BA was in 'English language, political science, and Persian Sufi literature'.²⁵ This shifting description seems to reflect a gradual movement away from a predominant defensive identification with Western thought and culture towards a greater acknowledgement of his formerly partially disavowed Indian Muslim heritage. The slippage from his actual BA study of Urdu to Persian Sufi literature may additionally highlight Khan's disdain for the mundane and a continuing wish for the esoteric.

Khan's graduation may have been the highlight of 1942, but during the year, one tragic event was to more than eclipse it. His younger sister, Mahmooda, having been ill for some four months died aged sixteen.²⁶ Her death, it was suggested, was the result of an accidental overdose of medication prescribed for tuberculosis.²⁷ In any event the loss of Mahmooda greatly affected the family; Tahir feeling that 'he had loved no woman more than his sister',²⁸ and Khan, whom associates recall as having 'loved his little sister',²⁹ being very emotionally shaken.

Having completed his BA, Khan sought to continue his studies. Again he followed in Tahir's steps, moving from the Government College, in Lyallpur, to its sister institution, the Government College, in Lahore where he enrolled on the MA course in English. The University of Punjab regulations of the time suggested this course typically extended over two academic years. Khan commenced it in the autumn term of 1942.³⁰ It was during this time at Government College, Lahore that he came into contact with a number of fellow students with whom he made lasting friendships and who would later become eminent in a variety of spheres. Included among this band was the future Chairman of the Agricultural Development Bank of Pakistan Jamil Nishtar, Sahabzada Yakub Khan who would go on to become a high ranking diplomat, the future Nobel Prize winning physicist Abdus Salam and others. Outside of college, Khan claimed to be occupied with 'various administrative appointments in Northern India and direction of a large feudal estate'.³¹ He thus again indicates his filial assistance to his father managing his land and employees, although substantiating details of the extra-familial appointments he alludes to are lacking.

Khan's life and studies were interrupted at this point by the death of his father, who at the age of ninety passed away on Monday 15 November 1943 after a short illness.³² Masud Khan was nineteen years old and apparently went into a marked depression, causing him to temporarily suspend his academic work and leisure activities.³³ During his time studying in Lahore, Fazal Dad Khan had apparently written to him on a daily basis up until his death, a link which perhaps helped to sustain Khan.³⁴ Khan's continuity of existence and sense of self was broken, of which experience he wrote: 'I can vividly recall that I had this wholeness up to 1943 and after my father's death it and I got splintered off and lost to each other.'³⁵ To Robert Stoller he later said that although he knew his father was 'ripe for [death]...I never thought he would die'.³⁶

The inheritance that Khan claimed to have received following his father's death included his titles and a disproportionate share of his assets, which he suggested left his elder brothers homicidally jealous of him. Indeed, Pearl

King recalls him in the late 1940s saying his life was in danger as they might attempt to poison him.³⁷ His father's titles however appear to have been personal distinctions and thus not heritable, while the extent of Masud Khan's own wealth would be subject to wildly varying rumours throughout the course of his life. He had in fact been left the house at Lyallpur and some 450 acres, the remaining land – which amounted to about 2,350 acres – being divided between the other sons.³⁸ What money and other assets he may have inherited is not definitely known; Fazal Dad Khan's will does not survive among those preserved in the India Office Archives. However, some estimate of his acquired financial state may be gleaned by a consideration of the situation of his brother Tahir, who suggested in London in 1948 that his own income in Pakistan would amount to £3,000 a year. Qualifying this impression, Tahir went on to state he could only bring £550 each year into Britain tax free as a student and as he was planning to undergo analysis proposed to sell his car, a modest Hillman Minx, to fund it.³⁹ In the event, despite his claims, Tahir had to negotiate a reduced session fee of one guinea, apparently due to difficulties in accessing funds from Pakistan.⁴⁰ From this, it seems clear that Masud Khan was not the only member of the family claiming to have inherited substantial assets. And, like Tahir, his circumstances during his early days in London, would certainly appear dissonant with the idea that he possessed or at least had easy access to such assets.⁴¹

It was apparently during this period at university that Khan came into contact with psychoanalysis, a highly esoteric subject in India both at the time and now. Psychoanalysis flourished predominantly in Europe and the Americas. Its spread beyond the Western world has been slow and piecemeal, with little representation in Africa or Asia.⁴² Where it has become established, it has tended to take on a distinctive national flavour, a feature Khan himself would later note, albeit without specific reference to India. Freud, Khan would argue, was significantly influenced by his contemporary cultural milieu and this influence was subsequently imprinted on psychoanalysis.⁴³ The dominant mechanistic view of Freud's time sought to 'explain the human individual on the model of a machine',⁴⁴ a tendency Freud (and psychoanalysis) retained in privileging built-in endo-psychic determinants, to the relative neglect of external and cultural factors. Khan proceeded then to suggest that from this base the development of psychoanalysis beyond Freud and Vienna was influenced by both the temperament of the individuals who came to it and the cultures in which they practised. Both influenced what was assimilated and resulted in a practice that dynamically varied between and (latterly) within countries.

In India Girindrasekhar Bose, who began to attempt to use analytic ideas with his patients from about 1912, pioneered psychoanalysis. With a small group of colleagues, primarily based around Calcutta, Bose founded the Indian Psychoanalytical Society, which became a component society of the International Psychoanalytical Association in 1922, the first non-Western society to do so. The Society's quarterly scientific journal, *Samiksa*, began in 1947, the same year as partition occurred in India on Independence (15 August 1947) with the creation of Pakistan. By 1965, when Sinha detailed the history

of these developments in his Amsterdam Congress paper,⁴⁵ the Society had a membership of only twenty-three qualified psychoanalysts, a figure that has only increased to thirty since then.⁴⁶

In the Punjab and the area that was to become Pakistan interest in psychoanalysis was minimal. What existed was centred on a single pioneer, Israil Latif.⁴⁷ Taking an MA degree in philosophy in 1916 at the University of Punjab, Latif had gone on to study psychology and psychoanalysis in the USA where he was awarded a PhD from Princeton in 1933. Subsequently he became the Head of the Department of Psychology at Forman College, Lahore, which post he held from 1934 until his retirement in 1952. In addition he held various clinical posts, worked in private practice and edited and wrote extensively, particularly on applied psychoanalysis, including studies on Hitler, Othello, myths and industry. Later, in 1955 he came to London, where, helped by Anna Freud and her group, he was elected an Associate Member of the British Psychoanalytical Society and went on to qualify as a Member before returning in 1958 to practise in Lahore, the sole psychoanalyst then in Pakistan.

It was to Israil Latif that Khan went for psychotherapeutic help. Details of their contact are vague. Limentani suggests consultations began following the controversy surrounding his Hindu girlfriend and that Khan dismissed Latif as of little help to him, while Judy Cooper claims Khan saw Latif five times a week between 1943 and 1946, with Khan referring to him ambivalently as 'a caring scoundrel'.⁴⁸ Subsequently in 1945 and into 1946 Khan's elder brother, Tahir, also consulted Latif, seeing him for up to forty sessions, which he too said he found of no benefit, but was left instead feeling patronised.⁴⁹ This feeling was something Khan afterwards emphasised during a conversation with Clifford Scott as a feature to be avoided in considering Tahir's next analyst and may well have reflected his own experience also.⁵⁰ Later in the mid 1950s, in London, when Latif came for further training Khan remained distant having little contact with him, apart from occasional common attendance at psychoanalytic meetings, further suggestive of Khan perhaps having had a less than satisfactory initial analytic experience.⁵¹

Resuming his graduate studies, the delay setting him back one year in terms of his academic standing, Khan entered for the final examination in April 1945, one of fifty-four candidates for the MA in English. Passing the examination, Khan's results were announced in the *Punjab Gazette* in November 1945, which recorded him being placed eleventh in order of merit, with a third class degree.⁵² Khan's own subsequent account of these studies was that he had written a thesis on James Joyce's *Ulysses*, which, to quote Judy Cooper, 'was so brilliant that it had to be sent to someone in London to be assessed'.⁵³ Khan added to this that when he himself later read the paper he no longer understood it,⁵⁴ while in 1984 he said it was 'a MA doctoral degree'.⁵⁵ Pearl King recalls Khan during the late 1940s in London claiming to have obtained a first class degree.⁵⁶ Unfortunately no copy of this supposed paper or any other fragments of his MA work appears to have survived to make a contemporary assessment of its content or merit, despite extensive searches at the University of Punjab and among Khan's archives.⁵⁷ In any event, Khan's actual results (a third class)

appear very discrepant with his own sustained revision of his work and obtained result, in which it became unmarkable in his University and in colonised India and had to be despatched to London, to the world of the colonial Raj masters, the superior white British cultural intellectual establishment. Khan can here be seen as clearly disidentifying with India and the colonised population and transferring his manifest cultural and intellectual allegiances to the supposed superior British establishment, towards whom he in turn claimed superiority.

EMIGRATION

Whilst India was at this time rapidly heading towards simultaneous independence and acrimonious partition as part of the process of British decolonisation, Khan's emotional and intellectual investments had been substantially with the colonial power, the now departing British. This was not a link that Khan at this time was able to sever, and he sought to maintain it, not only through continued psychical contact with European intellectual and cultural activities, but also through sustained physical contact via geographical relocation to London, the political and symbolic centre of the British Empire. Such a move was very rare at this time for an Indian to seriously contemplate and let alone act on. It was legally and ideologically however a relatively simple matter. Citizens of the Colonies and Commonwealth member states were then free to enter and reside in Britain and once settled could, almost automatically, become British citizens. This legal free access was the reciprocal of the ideology of the constituent peoples of the British Empire being a hierarchically governed 'family'. Such a move for Khan may be seen not only as representing a continuity in his already firm, mythopoetically established intellectual attachments, but also synchronously as his at least partial disavowal of his actual origins and contemporary milieu. Emigration could thus also be exploited to spuriously discount any already existing sense of otherness, in his own self, towards his own family and towards nationalist India, in so far as being resident in an actual foreign country might make a sense of alienation seem readily explicable – so long as a selective attitude to memory was utilised and mythopoesis was creatively employed to fill in the consequent gaps in the historical narrative.

Khan's own family, he later suggested, had conceived of his emigration to England as being temporary in order that he might study 'Modern Greats' at Balliol College, Oxford and then train as a barrister-at-law in preparation for a political career on his return to India.⁵⁸ The idea of a return to India, however, was something Khan apparently did not share. It is significant that he instead noted that he had wanted a profession, possibly the law, which could provide him with international scope.⁵⁹ As such he may be seen superficially as identifying with his father, not as his older siblings had known him in the persona of the Indian Army soldier and officer, but as represented in his later career as a magistrate. Such an occupational identificatory choice was not however either vigorously pursued or actualised. The lived reality of his parents as key figures within his mind was in the process of ablation.⁶⁰

Instead of centres for legal studies, Khan wrote to the Institute of Psychoanalysis, in London, enquiring about its training, his application being considered by the Training Committee at their meeting on 6 May 1946. As a choice of profession psychoanalysis can be particularly attractive, as Charles Rycroft has pointed out, to people 'whose own relationship to their bodies and their past is ambiguous and whose own inner frames of reference are ill-defined'.⁶¹ More problematically, as psychoanalysis may appear to be 'a nebulous, ill-defined field, inauthentic characters can survive and flourish'.⁶² Masud Khan would prove to be one such case in point.

Of course India had its psychoanalysts, a small Society and a training scheme to which Khan could have sought admission. However, he clearly felt the local resources were inferior to those available overseas. Such a view was prevalent then and did not quickly wane, as may be observed by the Bombay based psychoanalyst Freny Mehta's expressed wish to Donald Winnicott almost twenty years later that he 'could settle in India for a time and analyse the psycho-analysts and psychiatrists, who are willing only to subject themselves to foreigners'.⁶³ In London, the contemporary training regulations stipulated that overseas candidates might be offered 'provisional acceptance...if sufficient evidence is available'.⁶⁴ Having reviewed Khan's initial application, the Training Committee recorded its decision that:

Since this applicant was suitably qualified, and has agreed to all the conditions for the training of Indian students, it was to encourage him to come to this country for interview. The Secretary was asked to set out these conditions in detail in his letter.⁶⁵

In contrast to the formal clarity of this decision, Khan later would claim, probably mischievously, he had initially written to the Training Secretary *only* enquiring about a possible analyst he might consult there, and that John Bowlby, the then Training Secretary, had mistaken his letter instead as an enquiry about psychoanalytic training and had offered to discuss it further should he decide to come to England.⁶⁶ This extremely unlikely claim, however, is unverifiable as any formal references, application forms and other documents connected with personal application and training matters were routinely weeded upon a candidate qualifying.⁶⁷ It is clear however that the Institute of Psychoanalysis received Khan's actual application on 2 September 1946.⁶⁸ Khan, by his own account, arrived in London on 2 October 1946 and booked into the Savoy Hotel.⁶⁹ All his family, his brother Tahir would later recall, were grateful for his departure.⁷⁰

Britain and the Search for Establishment

EMPIRE IN RETREAT

Post war Britain was in the grip of austerity measures, with the continuance of rationing, and was facing marked socio-political change, the new Labour government highlighting popular enthusiasm for reform. On the world scene the emergence of the USSR and the USA as super-powers was hastening the displacement or eclipse of Britain on the international stage. This displacement was closely associated with the accelerating decline of the British Empire. A significant step in this process came on 15 August 1947 with the granting of independence to British India as the two dominions of India and Pakistan.

The process of decolonisation and the allied changes in the international status of Britain was a profound change and loss that had more than economic and political repercussions. It also had a significant psychological impact, a Copernican shift, involving relinquishment of a narcissistic position for a more socialistic one.¹ The relations between the colonial rulers and the colonised or colonial subjects was in the process of transformation, with the colonised other gaining independence (at least politically), a *sine qua non* for the development of mature, differentiated relationships, based on egalitarian mutuality. Internationally, structures, such as the Commonwealth, served both as a means to temporarily bolster previously created identities against the mutual narcissistic impact of such changes and to facilitate the process of moving towards differentiated independence. Such structures arguably function psychologically as varieties of, what Winnicott might have regarded as, transitional objects and transitional phenomena within cultural experience, providing a potential relatively safe space in which development may occur from dependence towards independence.²

Within Britain the post war period saw a significant rise in immigration, particularly of former colonial subjects. The assimilation of the other was hindered due to a dearth of local facilitating structures and endemic concretised denigratory stereotyping, often racially based, and suspicion of the other as other. As long as the other remained circumscribed in (often) far distant overseas countries it was both easier to relate to them and maintain often considerable residual narcissism. When the other came to live and work in Britain itself, that which had been located in the other, via projection and projective identification, threatened to return unexpectedly, with disruptive and destructive sequelae. The arrival on 22 June 1948 of the *Empire Windrush*, at Tilbury, is widely seen as marking the beginnings of modern immigration. In 1951 ethnic minorities in Britain constituted a mere 0.4 per cent (about 100,000 people) of the total

population.³ Immigration from the Indian sub-continent began slowly in the post war years. In 1951 there were a mere 5,000 people of Pakistani origin in Britain.⁴ The bulk of immigrants from Pakistan would arrive in the late 1960s, net Pakistani (including people from Bangladesh) immigration between 1955 and 1968 amounting to some 145,960 people.⁵ By 1991 there were 485,000 people of Pakistani origin (excluding Bangladesh) in Britain (about 0.9 per cent of the total population),⁶ whilst the total of all ethnic minority groups combined had risen to only 5.5 per cent.

THE BRITISH PSYCHOANALYTICAL SOCIETY IN 1945-46

In the years immediately preceding Khan's arrival in Britain the British Psychoanalytical Society had gone through what subsequently became known as the 'Controversial Discussions', recently superbly documented by Pearl King and Ricardo Steiner.⁷ Melanie Klein's arrival in London in 1926 had contributed to a major flourishing of psychoanalysis, in terms of theory, clinical practice and organisationally. The British Society's reputation began to rival that of the Vienna and Berlin groups, a situation that during the 1930s led to a series of rather ineffective scientific exchanges overtly designed to clarify theoretical and clinical differences and achieve coherence within a supposedly unified frame of reference. The arrival in Britain of numerous European psychoanalysts from 1933, particularly Sigmund and Anna Freud following the *Anschluss* in 1938, contributed to increased tensions within the now host British Society. These in turn led to an organised series of Scientific Meetings beginning in 1942 and continuing until 1944, in the July of which year Sylvia Payne⁸ was elected the Society's President, taking over from Ernest Jones who had held the office continuously since 1919. The Controversial Discussions had failed to achieve either scientific consensus or organisational harmony within the Society. Instead, they ended with a type of internal partition within the Society. Parallel training activities were organised, with an A group that consisted of the Kleinians and the members of the then termed Middle group, and a B group that adhered to Anna Freud. This partition in the training was supported by what became known as the 'gentleman's agreement', brokered between Sylvia Payne, Melanie Klein and Anna Freud, under which it was agreed that all groups would be represented on the main committees of the Society. Non-aligned or Middle group members of the A group, who comprised the majority of the Society membership, initially tended to occupy the key roles, such as the Presidency, thus avoiding the risk of renewed factional dispute. This continued until Willi Hoffer, a leading member of the B group, became President in 1959, after which the office rotated among the then three groups, the Middle group having become an entity distinct from the Kleinians by that time.

KHAN IN LONDON: FINDING HIS FEET

Whether or not Khan stayed initially as he claimed at the Savoy, he did relatively quickly manage to rent a furnished apartment in South Kensington, at 4 Ashburn

Gardens, SW7, off Cromwell Road, living there alone until his brother, Tahir, joined him from Pakistan the next year on 24 July 1947.⁹ Pearl King recalls Khan's accommodation here being essentially modest, even shabby in nature, without signs of marked wealth or opulence.¹⁰ This view was confirmed by Khan's first wife who described the Ashburn Gardens apartment as being (apart from the kitchen and bathroom) a mere two rooms, the larger front room being Khan's consulting room, while the rear room served as a bed-sitting room.¹¹ Khan *may* also have lived briefly, and probably prior to his time at Ashburn Gardens, in an apartment in Eaton Square, SW1, although no independent confirmation of this has been found.¹²

Psychoanalytic training in the immediate post war years in London was burgeoning, swelled in part by an influx of candidates who had been formerly engaged on military service. During the year Khan himself entered the Institute as a candidate some twenty-two applicants were accepted onto the training; seventeen were medical and five, including Khan, were non-medical.¹³ Having had a provisional acceptance as a candidate Khan needed to pass the formal admission procedures. Apart from completion of the application form, a minimum of two selection interviews with members of the Training Committee (the Chairman and Secretary or their nominees) were required, although at the time they were rather perfunctory.¹⁴ Pearl King, who also entered the training in 1946, recalled the interviews as being 'very British', she having a ten minute interview with Sylvia Payne and a somewhat longer one with John Rickman who explained the A and B groups to her.¹⁵ Khan was interviewed by John Bowlby, the Training Secretary, and Sylvia Payne, who was then Chairman of the Board of Directors and President of the Society, and accepted as a candidate on 24 October 1946.¹⁶

In retrospect, Khan's suitability as a potential candidate may seem somewhat dubious, due principally to what is known about his personality and behaviour that emerged in latter years. Yet, the issue of selection was and remains fraught with uncertainty, Willem Kappelle concluding his 1996 review of the selection of psychoanalytic candidates by reaffirming a previous IPA study to the effect that a prospective candidate *should* be acceptable if he 'seems analysable, says he wants to be an analyst, and has accomplished in life enough so far to give promise that he can carry out what he intends to do or wants to be'.¹⁷ More contemporaneously with Khan's training were John Rickman's observations from February 1950 about the need to sustain and prioritise creativity and spontaneity both institutionally and among applicants. Thus he suggested the Training Committee was obliged to favour:

...the protection of spontaneity and the lessening of Institutionalism. Is the Training Committee allowing itself in any way to drift into stultifying efficiency and routine? Arguments in support of efficiency and routine are always easy to verbalise, the activities which favour spontaneity are more elusive but vital.¹⁸

And then, continuing, Rickman turned to candidates arguing:

We must be careful to choose those with not only a high intelligence but a suppleness of imagination. This suppleness is related to two things, to a perception of the inner world of unconscious forces, and to a capacity to conceptualise mental and social forces.¹⁹

Khan's academic background clearly showed he possessed intelligence, although his obtained results were by no means distinguished. He may in fact have exaggerated these in his training application, as he did with colleagues such as Pearl King. Rickman's second quality, 'suppleness of imagination', however was something Khan had in plenty, a quality that perhaps enabled him to make a sufficiently convincing impression on his Institute selectors.

The British Psychoanalytical Society had from its inception included non-medical (or lay) members, though most non-medical candidates tended to have established careers in professions more or less allied to medicine, Pearl King for example being a psychologist engaged in organisational consultancy. For those without such qualifications or experience it was frequently recommended during the time of Ernest Jones's Presidency (1919–44) that the applicant undergo medical training prior to or concurrent with training as an analyst.²⁰ Among those given such advice was James Strachey, who having enrolled in medical school abandoned it in favour of travelling to Vienna where he was analysed by Freud for two years, before returning to London where he was admitted to the Society as an Associate Member in 1922.²¹ Later, Karen and Adrian Stephen would follow Jones' recommendation to gain medical qualifications. They in turn advised Charles Rycroft to apply for psychoanalytic training, he having at that time gained a BA in history and economics from Cambridge followed by a year's post-graduate research. Interviewed by Jones, John Rickman and Edward Glover, Rycroft was turned down for training when he initially applied in 1936. Advised to study medicine he was admitted as a candidate the following year, and completed his medical and psychoanalytic training concurrently, qualifying as an analyst in 1947, just after Khan was admitted.²² Gregorio Kohon quotes Ella Sharpe that year as advocating the diversity of disciplines required by psychoanalysis for it to become a comprehensive psychology, there following Freud's earlier 1926 work, *The Question of Lay Analysis*, to claim that the question of lay analysis had been resolved in Britain by that date.²³ This, I suggest, is rather an overstatement vis-à-vis 1947 and indeed currently, as may be inferred, for example, from Jennifer Johns' remark that the contemporary decline in medical candidates is 'often bewailed',²⁴ indicative of a continued at least implicit medical prioritisation. Earlier, Winnicott had in 1954 advocated restricting the number of non-medical applicants (to less than one third of the student body) *supposedly* in order to preserve the links between the Society and the medical establishment, without which public confidence would decline, and due to concerns about non-medical analysts in private practice.²⁵ The Training Committee at this time remained clearly uneasy about the increase in lay applicants, contemporary discussions from 1954 noting that 31 per cent

of candidates in the preceding five years had been non-medical, a percentage the Committee reckoned should be closer to 25 per cent.²⁶ The Committee's uneasiness had a direct bearing on decisions made about applicants. Peter Hildebrand for instance, who applied at this point for training, had his initial application rejected and was advised this decision might be reconsidered if he studied medicine.²⁷

With Khan the documentary evidence, though circumstantial, appears to suggest that he, like Strachey, Rycroft and other non-medical *applicants*, was recommended to gain a medical degree, or at least that gaining such was part of his own avowed career plan. Thus *Institute of Psychoanalysis Report for the Year Ending 30 June 1947* states that 'amongst our 50 odd students there are 5 who expect to practice abroad. Two are from India, one a psychologist and the other starting his medical studies'.²⁸ The psychologist was L. C. Bhandari, while, I suggest, Khan was the latter. Support for this hypothesis comes from Khan himself, who briefly in his correspondence later remarked: 'often I regret in London that I didn't complete my medical studies'.²⁹

Training, following Max Eitingon,³⁰ at that time, as now, consisted of three inter-linked elements:

- (1) personal analysis at a frequency of five times a week for at least the duration of the training,
- (2) a three year academic programme that would usually begin after the first year of the training analysis, subject to the agreement of the training analyst, and
- (3) the supervised treatment of two control cases, commencement of each of the latter again being subject to the agreement of the training analyst.

Training Analysts thus occupied a pivotal role in the British psychoanalytic training. This position was clearly reinforced by the training's 'reporting' nature, with a candidate's progression dependent on the analyst's agreement. The contemporary training regulations stipulated that the choice of Training Analyst was to be:

- (a) according to the candidate's wishes, assuming the particular Analyst had a vacancy and was 'recognised for training purposes' and
- (b) where no definite preferences were expressed the candidate would be allocated if possible to a 'Middle Group' analyst.³¹

It was, as Khan later wrote, 'a very uneasy situation and very confusing for the students'.³²

Khan (in 1964 and again in 1984) claimed he had initially wanted Edward Glover as his training analyst, not knowing that Glover had resigned from the Society in January 1944 during the final stages of the Controversial Discussions, a fact he says Bowlby had informed him of during his application interview.³³ Edward Glover, Khan later and perhaps unreliably said, had been recommended by his English professor, from whom he had also obtained Bowlby's address.³⁴

Whether Khan's retrospective suggestion that he had wanted analysis with Glover indicates that he at this stage had a definite preference for the Middle Group within the Society, or whether the institutional leaning towards the Middle Group were instrumental in determining his actual training stream and analysts is unclear. He quickly however gravitated towards this Group, within which he would nominally remain for the duration of his career. Such a stance positioned Khan *outside* the Anna Freudian and Kleinian wings of the Society and thus either by choice or default *inside* the Middle Group, which at that time at least had a more fluid identity defined in part by what it is not. By nominating Glover as his preferred training analyst Khan however may have been more or less consciously aligning himself *not* with the Middle Group, but with an *insider* who became an *outsider*. Khan's association to Glover (who through his resignation from the Society became increasingly marginalised within British psychoanalysis) thus potentially prefigures his own latterly overt apostate status.

ELLA SHARPE

For his training analysis Khan was placed with Ella Freeman Sharpe,³⁵ who, according to Sylvia Payne, was the most experienced training analyst in the country at that time.³⁶ Sharpe had begun her career in education teaching English before turning, in middle age, to psychoanalysis, undergoing analysis with Jesse Murray, James Glover and later Hanns Sachs.³⁷ In 1921 she was elected an Associate Member of the Society and became a full member in 1923. Politically Sharpe was a leading member of the Middle (A) Group, having become critical of the Kleinians after a period of early support for them.³⁸ By the time Khan began his analysis with her, Sharpe, though productive in her writing endeavours, was in failing health. She was significantly overweight, had high blood pressure, chain smoked and had suffered the stresses and privations of wartime London, all of which contributed to her ongoing heart problems. She may thus be seen as a curious choice of analyst to place a vulnerable candidate with.

Khan was to be Sharpe's last analysand, as he later announced in his preface to the reissue of her book, *Dream Analysis: a Practical Handbook for Psycho-Analysts*.³⁹ No detailed record of the analysis is known to have survived, although Khan said, perhaps mistakenly or misleadingly, that it began on 17 October 1946.⁴⁰ This date was one week *before* Khan was formally accepted for training, as detailed above, thus producing a chronology somewhat discrepant with that he later described to Robert Stoller, to whom he wrote that his analysis began *after* his acceptance as a candidate.⁴¹ The latter sequence of events coheres with the data within the surviving institutional records and is thus probably closer to the actual historical facts.

Writing to Donald Winnicott on 7 November 1946, Sharpe actually remarks on the beginning of Khan's analysis, noting:

I am just starting the analysis of an Indian (a *candidate*). I can think no one more than yourself would enjoy the constant need I have to shift out of ruts and see the world through other eyes than Western ones.⁴²

These brief comments suggest that Khan occupied a special place with Sharpe, the position of the exotic non-Western other, who needed to be viewed and treated in an essentially different manner from European analysands. Such a view accords closely with one Khan himself expressed some four years later, when he would argue that Indian narratives required contextualising in terms of their 'local frame of reference and native environment' to be properly understood.⁴³ The emphasis placed here by Khan (and Sharpe) on socio-cultural understanding implicitly critiques psychoanalysis as having a Western-centric bias and challenges the radical psychoanalytic aspiration towards universalisable knowledge of the mind and human subjectivity.⁴⁴ Equally, the demand may be seen as a challenge to and subversion of the authority of the analyst and a refusal of the necessary dependency and partial emotional surrender required within the analytic situation for mutative change. Ella Sharpe's identification of Winnicott as the other analyst most likely to 'enjoy' the demands of analysing Khan seems prophetic in view of his later role in Khan's life and ominous in her unconscious identification of his vulnerability to such seduction by her analysand.

Margaret Little, who was in analysis with Sharpe at the time, described her as employing an on-the-couch technique that concentrated on oedipal sexuality and the elicitation of repressed phantasy via the transference neurosis.⁴⁵ Little regarded Sharpe as neglecting both external reality and pre-oedipal primitive mental states involving anxieties about identity and survival. When off-the-couch she recalled Sharpe as being friendly, warm and generous towards her, in contrast to her overly focussed clinical manner as experienced lying on the couch: a split situation.

Khan himself suggested that Sharpe was in the habit of showing him copies of papers on which she was working.⁴⁶ He also suggested that Sharpe attempted to address his isolation in London by providing him with social introductions, including one to Adrian and Karen Stephen.⁴⁷ Hanna Segal, who knew Sharpe during this time thought such actions were uncharacteristic and unlikely.⁴⁸ Whether in fact they actually occurred seems unverifiable, although it does depict an idea of fluid analytic boundaries in Khan's mind, perhaps sustained by Khan's emphasis on his own non-European particularity (and thus exemption from the culture-bound demands of the treatment). The analysis itself lasted a mere seven months. In May 1947, at the Whitsun holiday, Sharpe took a vacation in Aldeburgh, Suffolk. On the train journey home she became ill, suffering from a thrombosis and died in St Bartholomew's Hospital (from its effects combined with myocardial degeneration and ultimately cardiac failure) two weeks later, on 1 June.⁴⁹

During this initial year in London Khan had not been allowed to begin attending the first year formal lectures at the Institute of Psychoanalysis,⁵⁰ but had enrolled as an Associate at the Tavistock Institute of Human Relations,

where he participated in its individual and group psychotherapy training over the 1946-47 academic year.⁵¹ As Khan had no *prior* medical, psychology or psychotherapeutic clinical experience this period at the Tavistock may have been a recommendation or stipulation by the Institute of Psychoanalysis, similar to the aforementioned hypothesised medical training.⁵² Sylvia Payne, Khan later claimed, had unilaterally organised his enrolment.⁵³ As part of the training Khan was included in one of W. R. Bion's groups,⁵⁴ and saw one patient for psychotherapy, apparently supervised by a psychoanalyst, Dr John Kelnar.⁵⁵ Of his time at the Tavistock Clinic Khan was later characteristically dismissive, claiming to have learned nothing that was worthwhile. Pearl King first met Khan during this time. She recalled him at the Tavistock as a young man sitting at a table, his ears sticking out, seeming somewhat disconcerted with her direct 'Hello, I'm Pearl King. Who are you?' approach.⁵⁶ King observed that during this early period in London Khan 'was not psychologically in good shape'.⁵⁷

JOHN RICKMAN

Following Ella Sharpe's death, the Training Committee agreed Khan could go to John Rickman⁵⁸ to continue his analysis in June 1947.⁵⁹ Khan claimed he had come across Rickman while at the Tavistock Clinic, where he had been very impressed by his seminars.⁶⁰ Like Sharpe, Rickman was affiliated with the Middle Group at this time, having recently left the Kleinians (following divergences about working with psychotic patients and the prescriptive tenets of the Kleinians).⁶¹ Rickman was at the time in less than perfect health, having been invalided out of the army in the beginning of 1945, due to a coronary thrombosis, and had returned to analytic practice 'in a gentle sort of way'.⁶² He was however highly regarded as an analyst, being commended by his pre-Second World War analysand W. R. Bion for example.⁶³ He was Physician to the London Clinic of Psychoanalysis at the time Khan came to him for analysis and by the end of July 1947 Rickman had been elected President of the Society, a post he held for three years, the maximum term of office. Rickman was the then editor of the *British Journal of Medical Psychology* and was also to become in 1947 a joint-editor of the *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis* along with Willi Hoffer and Clifford Scott. The *Psycho-Analytical Epitomes* book series also appeared under his editorship. As an author, Rickman had numerous articles and two major books⁶⁴ then to his credit. Interested in anthropology and other cultures, Rickman had written a series of articles on his work and travels in Russia,⁶⁵ a fact probably known to Khan and perhaps of importance to him. Khan saw him at his rooms at 3 Berkeley Court, Baker Street, NW1, and supposedly occupied his journeys to and from sessions reading through the *International Journal of Psychoanalysis* and similar analytic literature, apparently thus following Rickman's advice.⁶⁶

Given Rickman's position within the psychoanalytic establishment, extra-analytic contact with Khan would have been not uncommon, particularly at the Society's meetings. When Rickman, for example, delivered his paper 'Number and the human sciences' Khan was not only present but was among

its discussants, an unusual position for a young candidate, the other discussants being typically senior analysts – on this occasion including Anna Freud, Melanie Klein, Sylvia Payne, William Gillespie, Michael Balint and Paula Heimann.⁶⁷ Pearl King, who was also in analysis with Rickman at this time, recalls Rickman fondly, though thought that he, as with both Sharpe previously and other contemporaries, had difficulty maintaining clear analytic boundaries with Khan in particular.⁶⁸ More specifically, Hanna Segal recollected (hearing anecdotally from the spouse of the Rickman patient who followed Khan) that Rickman and Khan were to be seen on occasion having tea together at the end of sessions.⁶⁹ Khan was widely regarded, according to King, as a youthful post-war refugee from the Colonies whom people wanted to ‘take in’ and look after. This evocation in others of possibly racialised rescue phantasies was perhaps heightened in all of Khan’s British analysts by their own ill health, managed to a degree by projective identification. Such counter-transference, particularly if unanalysed, may have contributed to the difficulties in maintaining the analytic boundaries. As with Sharpe previously, Rickman would on occasion show Khan papers he was working on, or at least so Khan intimated to Charles Rycroft.⁷⁰ Although the truth of such a claim is open to doubt, what seems clear is that Khan conveys a sense, not of an analyst–patient relationship between himself and Rickman having developed, but rather of a mentorship relationship between colleagues. Such a type of relationship can be similarly observed in Khan’s previous attempts at analysis with Latif and Sharpe and would be a major feature in his analytic relationship with Winnicott. Indeed, arguably it may be regarded as a feature of most of Khan’s relationships, particularly with people who are both older and senior to him. Apart from the idea that Rickman showed Khan copies of his papers, Khan suggested that Rickman had Khan assist him editorially with the *British Journal of Medical Psychology* and the *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis* and taught him the technicalities of indexing.⁷¹ Here again colleagueship or mentorship, at least as an idea, is portrayed as co-existent with the analytic relationship; a co-existence that would seriously compromise the integrity of the latter.

Recorded details of the Khan–Rickman analysis have not survived among either Rickman’s papers,⁷² or those of Khan’s that are available. Within his published papers, Khan makes curiously few references to Rickman, those that he does being largely pedagogical in tone. For example, in a 1959 paper Khan remarked that ‘Rickman used to emphasise the importance of agony in patients’,⁷³ while later, in 1982, he wrote:

I have been tutored by my training analyst, John Rickman...to jot down the life events reported by the patient in the first consultation...John Rickman had always insisted that what one could not write down from a session on one side of a five-by-ten card was not worth writing, because somehow *that* session had scattered in all directions.⁷⁴

Such an implied pedagogical experience rests uneasily and perhaps incompatibly with the paranoid-schizoid ↔ depressive position dialectic, or in more classical

terminology the regressive-progressive oscillating ego states typically associated with being an analysand. Ralph Greenson authoritatively discussed this in 1967 when he stated that 'people who seek psychoanalysis for...training...should be considered as resistant and in need of preparatory psychotherapy. It is my contention that *only one who feels himself a patient can be analyzed beyond a superficial depth*. Only such a person will be willing to try to enter and work in the analytic situation.'⁷⁵ Khan instead suggests a symmetrisation of the analytic situation between himself and Rickman (as well as with his other analysts); what Greenson calls 'the inequality, the unevenness of the relationship between patient and analyst which the analytic situation calls for'⁷⁶ seemed significantly absent from Khan's analyses. He must, however, have appeared to inhabit the persona of the *patient*, while maintaining a split which served to conceal and preserve substantial parts of his personality from the analyses. Later, Khan would privately and passingly acknowledge this self-concealment, writing: 'it is impossible for anybody outside to relate to a person who is hiding himself'.⁷⁷ Thus, it appears that Khan contributed to significantly inoculating himself against psychoanalysis, secretly neutralising its psychotherapeutic aspects and instead promoting patronage and what Bion termed 'knowing about' psychoanalysis rather than being psychoanalysed.⁷⁸ I shall discuss this in greater detail later when considering Khan's analytic relationship with Winnicott.

SEMINARS, TRAINING CASES AND INDEBTEDNESS

Khan's training with the Institute was accomplished in almost the minimum time, four years from start to finish. In the autumn of 1947 Khan, having had one year of analysis, would technically have been eligible to begin lectures and seminars, subject to his analyst's agreement. However, given Ella Sharpe's death, no such check was available to the Training Committee when it met on 9 June 1947. Despite the clear lack of this control measure, no objections were recorded as forthcoming to his progressing and he (together with eight other students) was given permission to proceed to the first year of formal lectures at the Institute at this meeting, (at which it was also decided that Rickman should succeed the late Ella Sharpe as Khan's analyst).⁷⁹ Accordingly he began attending the academic programme at the Institute, at its then base at 96 Gloucester Place, W1, from the 1947 autumn term.⁸⁰

The curriculum and structure of the academic programme Khan was to follow at the Institute had been revised in the light of the Controversial Discussions and the 'gentleman's agreement' that terminated those. The committee charged with revising the training, in its report dated 28 November 1946, recommended a syllabus broadly similar to that of 1945-46, with two streams being designated 'A' and 'B', corresponding to the British (then including the Kleinians) and Anna Freudian groups respectively.⁸¹ Lectures were recommended as 'common' to both streams throughout the three years of the course, with the exception of the third year lectures on child analysis which were to be separate. Seminars on the other hand were predominantly recommended to be separate, with the exception

of a third year series of 'common' seminars. The committee recommended that if possible both lectures and seminars should be time-tabled so that candidates could attend both should they so wish. A 'Middle Group' was represented within the seminars (as opposed to the lectures). Khan, being within the Middle Group, would under this scheme have had the opportunity to attend programmes covering a wide cross section of the contemporary psychoanalytic viewpoints.

The Institute's syllabus for 1947 to 1950 provides an instructive indication of the training experience Khan was exposed to. In the autumn term 1947, Anna Freud delivered eight lectures on 'the principles of psychoanalysis', Marion Milner gave five seminars to the A-course and S. H. Foulkes gave five seminars on 'Studies on Hysteria' to the B-course. Khan attended Milner's seminar series, in which she focussed on dreams. Milner, who felt she had been prematurely asked to conduct the seminars (consequent to the teaching staff being reduced due to war work), recalled Khan years later telling her 'what a mess I had made of them, but that mine were the only ones he remembered'.⁸² Writing of this, Khan noted not too dissimilarly how he had:

...first encountered Marion Milner in the cold damp winter nights of 1947, attending her seminars on dreams, and what a hash she made of them! Yet of all the seminars and lectures that I attended as a candidate in the years 1947-51, only those by three persons stay vividly in my memory: by Winnicott, Milner and Bion. Her lectures lacked such qualities as a reliable knowledge of the relevant literature, or an organised presentation of clinical material. She was a youthful and shy person, with gleaming eyes, and distressingly modest. Every now and then she would say something that would make one listen with body and mind and then scamper away into conversing randomly.⁸³

The inclusion of Bion in this triumvirate seems an error, as Bion only qualified as an Associate of the Society in June 1948 and as a Full Member in November 1950: Khan had of course encountered him at the Tavistock and may have also heard him speak elsewhere during this period, experiences which he subsequently conflated.

In the spring term 1948 Anna Freud's lectures continued, with Ilse Hellman giving eight lectures on 'child development', and Ruth Usher and Barbara Lantos giving the A and B course seminars respectively. In the summer term, 1948 Anna Freud concluded her lecture series, John Rickman gave eight 'introductory lectures on technique', whilst the A and B course seminars respectively were given by Gwen Evans and S. H. Foulkes.⁸⁴ Khan, along with fellow candidate Doris Barnett, at this time began assisting Charles Rycroft, the Honorary Librarian, with the Society's Library.⁸⁵ The first year tutors' reports on Khan were satisfactory and in June 1948 the Training Committee having received these approved him (along with thirteen other candidates) progressing to the second year of lectures.⁸⁶

In the autumn term, 1948, Elizabeth Rosenberg gave eight lectures on 'clinical psychoanalysis', whilst S. H. Foulkes and Willi Hoffer gave four seminars each.

In spring term, 1949 Rosenberg's lecture series continued with the assistance of Denis Carroll, with Michael Balint giving the A-course and Willi Hoffer and S. H. Foulkes sharing the B-course seminars. Summer term, 1949 saw Ernst Stengel give four lectures on 'other clinical states' and Herbert Rosenfeld four lectures on 'introduction to more recent developments'. Paula Heimann gave that term's A-course seminars, whilst S. H. Foulkes and Barbara Lantos gave the B series.⁸⁷

In addition to his assistance in the library, Khan (along with his fellow trainee Martin James) was now helping James Strachey index volume five of Freud's *Collected Papers*.⁸⁸ He was clearly already regarded, at least by some, as a very promising and intellectually gifted student. Recalling him from this period, Emilio Rodrigué, who was in the seminar-year below Khan, wrote:

Masud was a seminar mate: a slightly feared guy, tall, elegant, very incisive. He was ironical and arrogant, a true prince. He was very much admired for his intelligence. Masud has been one of the most intelligent guys I have ever met. With him, we spent long nights chatting and drinking a lot of tea from his father's fields. One night I was complaining about a very difficult work, 'The nature and function of phantasy', of an analyst, Susan Isaacs (Melanie Klein's right hand), who had recently died. [Isaacs died on 12 October 1948]. I told Masud that I had not understood a word and he said: 'It took her six months to write it, it was her final word, her scientific will, and you pretend to [try to] understand it in one single day?' That phrase stuck.⁸⁹

Not content with restricting himself to contemporary class-mates like Rodrigué, King and others, Khan gravitated towards the psychoanalytic elite. Pearl King recalled him in London ably engaging with seminar leaders.⁹⁰ It was similar on the wider international stage. The first post-war IPA Congress was held in Zurich from 15 to 19 August 1949 and Khan later claimed to have attended it as John Rickman's guest. Referring to this Congress, he said that for him it had 'really been an experience to meet persons like Princess Marie Bonaparte, Heinz Hartmann, [and] Ernest Kris...[who] spoke and behaved with a courteous and cultivated passion about psychoanalysis'.⁹¹

Autumn term, 1949 saw a series of eight lectures on 'later developments in theory' delivered by Michael Balint, J. C. Flügel, Willi Hoffer and Clifford Scott. Melanie Klein and Joan Riviere gave six combined seminars, whilst Clifford Scott and Hedwig Hoffer⁹² gave the A and B course seminars respectively. In the spring term, 1950, two sets of eight lectures on 'child analysis' were given, one by Melanie Klein to the A course and the other by Ilse Hellman to the B group. Sylvia Payne and Eva Rosenfeld gave that term's six combined seminars, whilst D. W. Winnicott and Hedwig Hoffer gave five seminars to the respective A and B groups. The summer term, 1950 saw Paula Heimann give eight lectures on 'later developments in theory', S. H. Foulkes and Willi Hoffer give the six combined seminars, and Melanie Klein and Hedwig Hoffer lead the five A and B course seminars respectively.⁹³ Despite the eminence of the teaching staff however, the new academic programme was not received uncritically and a

meeting between the students and training staff was convened on 14 June 1950 to review the difficulties.⁹⁴ Khan, from his previously mentioned comments to Marion Milner, was clearly critical of the programme, although it is not known whether he attended to publicly voice his views.

During June 1948 the Training Committee had agreed that Khan, as a rising second year candidate, could begin treatment of his first adult patient under supervision later that year in September.⁹⁵ Melanie Klein was Khan's first choice as the supervisor for this case, though initially at the end of June 1948 Klein expressed doubts about her appropriateness for the role, and in the event the committee decided to consult John Rickman.⁹⁶ Klein's hesitation at this point may have related to John Rickman ceasing to be a member of her group the previous year, their theoretical and personal divergence necessitating their giving appropriate professional consideration to the needs of any joint candidates for stability and coherence. Two weeks later Klein, clearly remaining somewhat dubious, agreed to act as Khan's primary supervisor, though she suggested the arrangement be for a two month trial period, with which arrangement the committee concurred.⁹⁷ However, in September 1948, when Khan was formally ready to begin a case, Melanie Klein was unable to then see him, as was Sylvia Payne who was next solicited by the committee as Khan's second choice as supervisor.⁹⁸ Finally, in October Anna Freud agreed to supervise Khan's first case,⁹⁹ the supervision beginning in December 1948.¹⁰⁰

The case does not appear to have progressed smoothly. Barely six months into the analysis, in June 1949, the Training Committee advised that Khan should terminate the treatment, gradually if necessary, and recommence with another patient.¹⁰¹ Despite this recommendation, the analysis appears to have continued as Khan's primary control case. The supervision reports on his work with this case do not survive, although Khan himself later published a brief account of supposedly his first training case, a working class woman in her late twenties with a vomit phobia, in his paper 'Cannibalistic tenderness in nongenital sensuality'.¹⁰² The patient, as Khan recalled her, was secretive, often silent, erratic in her attendance at sessions and frightened, whilst he, in retrospect, saw himself exhibiting 'the militant rigour of a novice'.¹⁰³ She attended the analysis for two years, the required training period, then abruptly dropped out, briefly reappearing over a year later for a further six sessions. She had in the interim made significant improvements in her domestic situation, extricating herself from a loveless marriage and forming a more satisfactory caring relationship with another man. She was then also able to recount something she had previously withheld in the analysis (fearing a moral or incomprehensible response), concerning an occasional attraction to young men, whom she would seduce and fellate. Khan's discussion of this material focussed on the role of the mouth as an organ employed in relating to and coming to know an object. He argued that the behaviour and underlying impulses could be viewed not only, as others frequently emphasised, in terms of aggressive, sadistic and coercive mastery, but also in terms of their potentially adaptive cognitive developmental and sensuous aspects.

The developmental and adaptive focus within Khan's discussion of the clinical material probably owes something to his supervisor, Anna Freud, towards whom Khan was to maintain an overtly deferential stance, always referring to her as 'Miss Freud', as well as a sustained working relationship throughout his career. Khan saw her as 'an "absolutely private" person' protective of her own and her father's privacy, a trait with which he appears to have identified.¹⁰⁴ He had difficulty, however, in settling the fees owed for her supervision of his control case. It was only on 5 July 1951, after formally qualifying, that he finally paid the financial debt. Khan then wrote to her saying:

I deeply regret this long delay in paying my control fees and am very grateful to you for your kindness in waiting. I hope I have calculated right the sum of fees. I hope you'll permit me to take this opportunity to thank you for your gentle and sympathetic help during the two years of supervision and the kindly manner in which you helped me to realise my difficulties in my work and cope with them. It was indeed a great privilege for me to have this opportunity working under your guidance.¹⁰⁵

Given that fees for supervision were not levied on candidates until 1950, as will be discussed later, Khan's liability for Anna Freud's fees would have not been substantial, so his difficulty in discharging his debt is noteworthy. In fact, years later, in 1974 and again in 1978, Khan was to claim to Anna Freud that she had actually not charged him any fees for his supervision out of 'generosity', invoking him instead to thank her by 'working hard and well and publishing [his] work'.¹⁰⁶ Given both the pre-1950 no-fee policy for supervision and the evidence of Khan's actual post-1950 fee payment, his claims about Anna Freud not levying fees on him are demonstrably false and suggest the operation of powerful splitting mechanisms within Khan's object relations.¹⁰⁷

Khan's direct ingratiating eulogising or idealisation would on theoretical grounds be expected to parallel covert hostility and denigration, the former, potentially being constructed as a stalking-horse for the latter ambitiousness. Indeed, privately Khan would express the idea to others that Anna Freud was lacking in originality, that 'her compulsive orderliness and clarity did not allow her room for a confused or chaotic view on hypotheses: necessary conditions for creative thought'.¹⁰⁸ This creative 'lack', Khan suggested, suffused her close followers, as might a contagion. Khan said that he found 'a certain aridity amongst Anna Freud's colleagues and unfortunately she has this strange effect on all those who work with her. They do not seem to search for a personal vision. They all work like ants and bees – they do not have any drive or passion of their own'.¹⁰⁹ Others would make similar comments, including more recently John Gedo who visited the Hampstead Clinic in 1969 only to be profoundly unimpressed with it and felt Anna Freud exercised a '*retardataire* role in psychoanalysis'.¹¹⁰ While as a visitor Gedo could thirty years later opine that the Clinic's reputation rested on elitist transference and a 'shared...delusion that it was the center of the psychoanalytic universe',¹¹¹ as a then contemporary native Khan maintained superficially a very deferential stance. Anna Freud

appears to have been, to some extent, fertile ground for such overt idealisation. Donald Winnicott, for example, reflecting on the 1963 IPA Congress remarked that 'Anna Freud was a nuisance. She cashes in on everyone's idealisation of her – which by the way is wearing thin in places.'¹¹²

Being given permission to proceed with his second control case in June 1949, Khan again requested Mrs Klein as his first choice as supervisor, followed by Sylvia Payne.¹¹³ This time Klein agreed and was available and Khan began this case in September 1949 under her supervision.¹¹⁴ His relationship with Melanie Klein was difficult almost from the beginning. Khan said of her that she:

...charged me outrageous fees, thinking it would make me baulk. I paid readily, even though I was learning the least from her. She was a status symbol, and I was young, clinically inexperienced, of noble birth, a Muslim from the Punjab (then Northern India of the British Imperial Raj, now Pakistan). I knew I needed 'status symbols', so collected them. It was a fatuous pursuit.¹¹⁵

The issue of fees that Khan here again cites, may be regarded as a harbinger of, not only future overt preoccupations with and claims to possess vast wealth, but also and more particularly his difficulties with dependency and emotional indebtedness. In this vein John Gedo has sought to explain withholding of fees as a type of delinquency and transitional phenomena, through which realisation of separation and object loss is defended against.¹¹⁶ These and associated issues that Gedo identifies, such as a previous disrupted mother–infant relationship and the provocation of punishment, tally with much of Khan's behaviour and known history and goes some way towards a sympathetic understanding of his personality. Approaching these matters from a slightly different perspective, Charles Rycroft saw the twin issues of mythopoesis and the denial of actual indebtedness as indicative of those who ablate their parentage, finding its existence traumatic or a narcissistic affront.¹¹⁷ Rycroft's thesis, of which more later, is also rather exemplified by Khan's story, the progressive elaboration of which, nuances and reinforces the more destructive outcomes that Rycroft suggests may be anticipated.

Returning now to historical reality, the Institute of Psychoanalysis in fact only introduced fees for supervision from 1 January 1950, from which date also the basic analytic session fee was increased from one to one and a half guineas.¹¹⁸ The scale of supervision fees is likely to have closely mirrored the session fees. Khan's liability for paying supervision fees extended over less than one year, from the time of this guideline's introduction to his qualification as an Associate Member. Given this, together with the Institute's regulation of training fees, his actual financial liability during training would have been relatively modest and his claim about Klein's fees was probably as untrue as his claim that Anna Freud had not charged him at all. Indeed, Klein was known, not so much for her high fees, but, on the contrary, for her reasonableness with fees and for her willingness to tailor these where possible according to her patients' ability to pay.¹¹⁹ Despite this and despite his previously mentioned claims of wealth,

in January 1950 Khan appears to have anticipated problems in meeting the costs of his training, and approached the Training Committee for financial assistance.¹²⁰ The committee considered offering a loan, though Khan's ability (whether financial or emotional is unclear) to meet the repayments seemed in doubt and the Training Secretary, William Hewitt Gillespie, was deputised to meet with him to clarify the matter. Anna Freud then offered to waive her own supervision fees for Khan and Thomas Freeman (her other supervisee who was also seeking financial aid) until that summer, a proposal that the committee declined, fearing such a precedent would lead to increased tensions within the student body. Given the delicate balance achieved between the A and B groups following the 'gentleman's agreement' that marked the end of the Controversial Discussions, one group offering free supervision may have been perceived as a potential vehicle for undue influence in the competition for adherents. Such potential organisational destabilisation is likely to have contributed to the committee's wariness at least as much as concerns over friction between students themselves.

Such difficulties aside, Khan's work with his adult cases now appeared to be going more satisfactorily. By June 1950 his supervisors' reports suggested he was on target for qualification as soon as the minimum time requirements for the treatment of his control cases was satisfied, due to be met in December that year, and Khan was duly appraised of this opinion by the Training Committee.¹²¹

Having begun his second adult control case in September 1949, Khan applied and was given permission to commence his training in child analysis in December this year, although Winnicott (Khan's probable first choice as his child supervisor) was doubtful at this point whether he could undertake supervision.¹²² Much in demand, this had been a particularly strenuous year for Winnicott, in the midst of which he had his first major coronary, all of which were probably contributory factors to his reluctance to take on additional work as a supervisor. By February 1950, however, Winnicott had accepted Khan for supervision, at which point Khan began to treat his first child patient.¹²³ Among his published papers Khan seems to refer to two children seen under Winnicott's supervision as part of his training, the youngest being a boy of seven, about whom Khan gives no other details,¹²⁴ and secondly a boy of twelve called Tony, described in 'Exorcism of intrusive ego-alien factors in the analytic situation and process.'¹²⁵

MAN ABOUT TOWN

Whilst Khan was pursuing his analysis and training, his personal life with family and other relationships was not on hold. His elder brother, Tahir, had joined him from India in July 1947, emigrating partly following Khan's encouragement.¹²⁶ Together, they shared Khan's flat in Ashburn Gardens. Khan assumed a rather subservient attitude towards his elder brother, according to Jane Shore who considered Tahir 'a bit of a loafer'.¹²⁷ Tahir began training as a lawyer and entertained the idea of simultaneously undertaking a PhD in criminology. At this time he was planning, after the completion of his studies, to return to

Pakistan where he harboured ambitions to reform the Punjab Police and perhaps become a motorcar manufacturer in Lahore. In October 1948 Tahir went to consult Clifford Scott, on Khan's recommendation, following a diagnosis of hypertension, thought to possibly be influenced by psychogenic factors. Clifford Scott, as mentioned earlier, suggested that hysterical rather than obsessional mechanisms dominated the clinical picture, highlighting his bullying dominance (though submissive to his father), love of order and cleanliness and problems with intimacy and dependency. Tahir, like Khan, had analytic treatment in Lahore with Israil Latif, his treatment amounting to between thirty and forty sessions in 1945–46. The treatment had apparently been of little benefit, but had instead left Tahir with a feeling of having been patronised, an experience he did not wish to repeat, although he stressed that he did want an analyst who was sensitive to the cultural issues. These latter expressions were confirmed by Khan,¹²⁸ a corroboration born perhaps from his own similar experiences both with Latif and as an Asian immigrant in Britain. Scott recommended analysis and, after several enquiries, managed to place Tahir with Ronald McDonald in January 1949.

Back in Pakistan, territorial disputes over Kashmir had resulted in military conflict with India during 1947 and into 1948. The charismatic Quaid-i-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah, who had been the first Governor-General of Pakistan, had died on 11 September 1948. In his absence the domestic socio-political situation became more turbulent, with various military leaders harbouring political ambitions; a situation which contributed to considerable jockeying for promotion among the relatively young officer corps. A number of Khan's elder half-brothers now gained rapid promotion and it was at this time that Iftikhar, who was in line to become Commander-in-Chief, was killed: he and his family were among the twenty-six people who died when the Douglas DC-3 in which they were flying crashed due to a navigational error at Jungshahi, forty-five miles north-east of Karachi on 12 December 1949.¹²⁹ What effect Iftikhar's death had on Khan is not known, although given his ambivalent and more directly fearful relations with his elder brothers his mourning may have been complicated.

Despite Tahir being with him and his own increasing immersion within the London psychoanalytic scene, Khan himself recalled these years as a time of alienation and loneliness, writing that:

I was a complete stranger, strange in my way of life, wayward and insufferably arrogant in my style of living, very rich and secure in my background and utterly unconvinced that the type of people I was with were the sort I would like to work with. My contemporaries treated me with a mixture of ridicule and amusement. I was isolated and flaunted my aloneness as a superior and elected way of being. A great deal of it was bluff and both exhausting and painful for me. It was hellishly annoying for everyone, but this being England individuals are never extinguished; they are merely bullied through a persistent and cussed politeness and negation. Fortunately for me, my pride used that as a nutriment, and healthy provocation.¹³⁰

The arts, theatre and dance absorbed much of Khan's leisure time during this period and he, despite his claims about being isolated, regularly attended productions at Sadler's Wells. As a frequent visitor he made the acquaintance of various members of the dance company and thus gained an entrée to the back stage world of the ballet. It was one such friend, Hans Zullig,¹³¹ an eminent Swiss dancer with the Sadler's Wells Theatre Ballet, who at this time introduced Khan to the woman who was to become his first wife.

In June 1950 Khan accompanied Zullig, to the 21st birthday party of Jane Shore,¹³² who was at the time a dance partner of Zullig's.¹³³ Like Zullig, Jane was then with the Sadler's Wells Theatre Ballet, with which she had been with since its formation in 1946. She would however shortly afterwards that summer leave it to dance with the Sadler's Wells Ballet at Covent Garden, partly in response to the Lithuanian born dancer Svetlana Beriosova's joining the Theatre Ballet in May 1950 and taking over some of her previously performed roles.¹³⁴ At the birthday party Khan made rather a favourable impression on Jane, who later recalled him as 'tall, handsome, with thick black hair and penetrating eyes'.¹³⁵ Following this, she and Khan began to meet and, despite some opposition from her parents, particularly her mother, a relationship developed between them. Keen on ballet, Khan encouraged Jane's dancing career and anticipated she would become a ballerina in due course. For her part, Jane saw herself in retrospect as looking to Khan for 'help with the fear that my life was going nowhere'.¹³⁶ It was on such a basis that some two years after their first meeting Jane would become Khan's first wife, as will be discussed later.

Khan at this time presented as a rather elegant and exotic figure.¹³⁷ He was tall, his full height being about six feet two inches, with a slim build and with black hair which he wore parted on the left. Clearly having a light Indian complexion, his features were refined, with brown eyes above a somewhat Romanesque nose, neatly trimmed moustache and defined jaw line. The single feature that detracted from Khan's otherwise good looks was his deformed left ear, about which he was sensitive and sought to divert attention, concealing it on occasion beneath a navy blue beret. Shortly before his marriage, in early 1952, he underwent cosmetic surgery to improve its appearance.¹³⁸ Khan dressed at this time on formal occasions predominantly in traditional European clothing: photographs of him at professional events show him wearing tailored three-piece suits, although under these he would occasionally wear a Nehru style shirt or more incongruously a similar style night-shirt.¹³⁹ At home in private, his costume veered more towards Indian apparel and casual dress, pyjamas remaining on beneath a sports jacket and cravat not infrequently when a patient would arrive or a visitor show up. Khan's blend of European and Indian clothing would in time tip increasingly towards the donning of Indian garb. In manners, Khan would appear respectful in company towards senior figures, while at the same time readily engaging them in conversation and debate across a range of subjects. His interests extended beyond psychoanalysis and included horse riding, playing badminton and watching cricket, together with broad cultural concerns, including literature, poetry, the humanities and the visual and performance arts, although music appears not to have significantly gripped his

imagination. Books remained an abiding interest, being bought in considerable numbers, so many that he was unable to read them all.¹⁴⁰ Politically, Khan frequently described himself as a 'feudalist', while John Charlton regarded him as a 'Churchillian'.¹⁴¹ His overt views tended towards the political right, conservatism characterising Khan's avowed attitudes and character, a bias that is a frequent accompaniment of false-self personalities where pseudo-compliance is in the ascendant and the social habitat takes on essentially claustrum-like characteristics.¹⁴² A frequent insomniac, Khan would read and write sometimes late into the evening throughout much of his career, offsetting his lack of sleep at night with two hour afternoon siestas, without which he felt ill, as he later told Anna Freud.¹⁴³

Khan's assistance with the Society library continued somewhat more formally this year with his appointment, in July 1950, to the Library Committee as one of the Student Representatives.¹⁴⁴ The world of books, and of *écriture* in the larger sense, clearly still exerted a powerful influence on Khan, an influence which would deepen over the coming years. The influence of the other remained dominant, at least at a manifest level. Whereas previously he had assisted his father, Fazal Dad Khan, with his estate paperwork and at university had immersed himself in English and Indian literature, he now would work in the Society library organising the scientific and professional writings of his psychoanalytic 'fathers'. Khan was not content with a passive role organising, administering, conserving and augmenting the works of others. He also sought to comment on them, highlighting what he perceived to be their relative merits and shortcomings, drawing their work (together inexorably with his own views) to the attention of others. This began with his acting as a reviewer of books, initially for the *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*.

A POST-COLONIAL LENS ON THE INDIAN SELF

His first such review was published at this time, a particularly noteworthy piece in that it dealt with Verrier Elwin's 1949 book *Myths of Middle India*. Elwin's anthropological study catalogued myths and stories from forty-two Indian tribes. For Khan the resultant book's prime value lay in 'its authentic and lively translation of this oral literature into cold print and a foreign language',¹⁴⁵ a translation that retained a sense of the 'original idiom and metaphor [although the results on occasion could appear to non-indigenous readers] entirely fantastic'.¹⁴⁶ Then, having highlighted Elwin's treatment of the *vagina dentata* legends as possibly of particular interests to the *Journal's* readers, Khan proceeded to criticise the book for a lack of a theoretical and human context. He argued that the myths reported were divorced from the everyday lives of the peoples from whom they were collected, a decontextualisation that resulted in them 'retain[ing] a fantastic character...[fostering] speculation [that] might run amok with this most tempting material'.¹⁴⁷ Khan argued for the accounts to be recontextualised, linking them with their 'local frame of reference and native environment'.¹⁴⁸ This review, by an Indian living in Europe of a European's book on India, points to Khan's awareness of the prevalence of splitting

and projection, particularly on racial lines within Western culture and of the difficulties (and violence) of translation. His review argument's aim appears to be to counter a cultural stereotype of the Indian other as '*fantastic*,' unreal or illusory, a status fostered both by a limited or partial understanding of the other and the presence of a state of mind that has the potentiality to '*run amok*'. The latter suggests a violent destructive process that is predacious on that which is other. The otherness of the other becomes the focus, unwanted parts of the self are projected and abandoned therein, and any shared commonality is obliterated, thus reducing the other to a part-object status. Whilst such processes are involved in racism, the unarticulated backdrop to Khan's review, his proposal to 'de-fantasise' the Indian within the British mind or culture runs the corresponding danger of at least obscuring if not obliterating real differences between them.¹⁴⁹

Khan's presence in Britain occurred against the backdrop of a British cultural colonial rhetoric that proclaimed the equality of all the Empire's subjects. (Indeed as previously discussed Khan had moved to Britain facilitated by laws which at the time did not discriminate among colonial subjects, at least in terms of their rights of movement, domicile and employment.) The reality beneath the rhetoric was a somewhat different narrative however. Widespread prejudice and racism existed across the culture, a phenomenon that would become increasingly visible, violent and politicised as the century wore on (in part inflamed by the increasing levels of immigration).¹⁵⁰

The British Psychoanalytical Society was unlikely to be wholly sequestered off from either conscious or institutional racism. Christiane Hartnack, for example, looking at the writings of Owen Berkeley-Hill and Claude Dangar Daly, members of both the British Psychoanalytical Society and the pre-1947 Indian Raj establishment, damningly concludes that their writings:

In style and content...were derogatory, and ...failed to note any positive aspect of Indian culture. Instead, they compared the behaviour of Indians in a negative way with other dependent people, with women, infants, and the Irish, and time and again with European neurotics. To explain group behaviour they attributed it to psychopathological defects of individuals, a procedure quite common in the psychoanalytical discussion of their time.¹⁵¹

Such views, Hartnack argues (in this and a companion paper and a more recent book) were characteristic of early and continuing psychoanalytic thinking, with Freud for instance being hamstrung through an uncritical acceptance of 'European hegemonic attitudes, and so his psychoanalysis remained Eurocentric'.¹⁵²

Others in Khan's immediate proximity, such as James and Alix Strachey have been noted for their supposed anti-Semitism, a feature James McCarthy suggests may have transmitted itself to Winnicott resulting in a psychological blind spot in his later attempts to analyse Khan.¹⁵³ Whether or not this was the case, Winnicott would show signs of overt racialised thinking also. In 1948 for

example, while discussing an Indian patient with Clifford Scott, to whom he wanted to refer the man, Winnicott declared:

Like many Indians he feels that he is such an interesting case that we should pay him for the privilege of seeing him. He is really asking for analysis, and it struck me as possible that you would wish to put him in the hands of Bhandari, but I can easily see that two Indians together might get lost in a mystical cloud.¹⁵⁴

Later, in July 1957 when Bhandari applied from India for Fellowship of the British Psychological Society, Winnicott supported his application, suggesting that – while he would not have done so had he been resident in Britain – Bhandari's isolated pioneering position and future potential merited latitude in assessing his case.¹⁵⁵ While Winnicott's stance here certainly appears politicised, this may incorporate paternalistic and racialised modes of thought. Such widespread attitudes are likely to have consciously or unconsciously transmitted a powerfully devaluing message to Khan, particularly toxic at a time virtually devoid of an established body of anti-racist and cross-cultural psychoanalytic knowledge that could have raised awareness and acted as a partial antidote.

Certainly, Khan had personal experience of racism. For instance, as Judy Cooper has recorded, he had been involved in a relationship with a British woman between 1949 and 1951. She was training at the Tavistock Clinic, and perhaps they met there during Khan's Associateship; the relationship ended, her parents disapproving of the idea of an interracial marriage.¹⁵⁶ Such an experience would in all likelihood have been painful for Khan, highlighting his otherness and concomitant assumed inferiority in the British culture and society.

One typical way of trying to deal with the dissonance involved in such life experiences is, as Hickling and Hutchinson point out, through:

...the wholesale absorption of European cultural values. Best (1999) describes the crux of the Afro-Saxon philosophy as the drive to become better than the coloniser in his own idiom as the only way to succeed. It is no surprise that those who seek ascendancy and assimilation hold and defend science and rational thought as their only salvation. They will never embrace native ways of seeing and being.¹⁵⁷

Certainly such a dynamic may have contributed to Khan's ambitiousness, status claims, and so on. Perhaps more profoundly, his avowed disinclination to be in the sun could have similar roots. When on holiday in Monte-Carlo in 1962, for instance, he wrote to Winnicott that 'We have had a very...sun drenched rest here. I, of course, have stayed in the shade all the time.'¹⁵⁸ In this context, this may have been an attempt to not magnify his skin colour, a white or pale skin being commonly regarded as holding out the possibility of acceptance or assimilation into the valued coloniser group.¹⁵⁹ Beneath such a surface, Khan's declaration may be read as expressing his inclination or agreement to stay in the background, to stay in Winnicott's shadow and that of his psychoanalytic

pioneers without asserting his own wish to be centre stage – to have his own place in the sun. Interpersonally, this in all likelihood meshed with a degree of racist environmental support for a Pakistani man to 'know his place' and not presume to directly equate himself with the white upper echelons. Such repression and acquiescence cannot have been free of extensive psychic costs.

While overt attempts at compliant passing may have bolstered Khan's self-esteem in a somewhat illusory manner and served to conceal a well of self-hatred and alienation from his Pakistani roots, it also camouflaged Khan's hatred and resentment of the British as his repressors. Such camouflage was frequently thin, with Khan bitterly denouncing British atrocities in India, such as the infamous 1919 Amritsar massacre, to even recent acquaintances in the 1950s. Other supposed outrages, such as widespread rape of Indian women by British (presumably white) soldiers, were equally brandished by Khan, despite their paucity of foundation in fact, as convenient propaganda vehicles for his grievances and expression of hatred.¹⁶⁰ His father's collaboration through his membership of the judiciary of the Punjab, the epicentre of the 1919 nationalist protests and consequent atrocities, was ignored, as was his brothers' contemporaneous service in the Indian Army, a unit of which had been involved in perpetrating the Amritsar massacre. The denigrated white aspects of black Khans are split off. Such splitting and simplification into denigrated and exonerated (or ignored) caricatures suggests something of Khan's complicated relationship to his father and paternal authority figures in general, with the British Raj serving as a projective container for Khan's rivalry, fear, hatred and contempt, his father being thus defended from such hostility and further protected by idealisation.

In the context of such splitting omnipotent control over the objects into which one projects particularly bad or frightening contents is typically sought. The positioning of Khan in the shadows by himself and others seems in retrospect to have provided him with conditions that would in due course yield him a dangerous degree of such control. As a reviewer and editor he would come to regard himself as the *éminence grise* behind Winnicott and other authors. As an analyst such control would deteriorate into serious acting out and abuse with some analysands, while colleagues (who regarded him as a 'show off' socially) felt that he would be liable to upstage the patient in the analytic situation.¹⁶¹

THE NEW ASSOCIATE AND ART

Khan was formally proposed as an Associate Member of the British Psychoanalytical Society at its Council meeting on 20 November and elected at the Society's Business meeting on 6 December 1950.¹⁶² He was just twenty-six years old. Now, he began to attend the Associates' monthly meetings that had been established, following Winnicott's suggestion, towards the end of 1950. The meetings tended to be small with an average attendance of fourteen Associates, clinical topics dominating the discussions. They did provide Khan with a forum to speak about his beginning work and ideas, an opportunity he

clearly utilised as the *International Journal of Psychoanalysis* records his name as a speaker though without giving further details.¹⁶³

Having concluded his basic adult training, Khan was now looking to complete his child analysis course and in April 1950 the Training Committee agreed that he could start his second and third child cases, under the supervision of Marion Milner and Clifford Scott,¹⁶⁴ both of whom would become friends. His relationship with Milner developed particularly amicably, both professionally and socially, with the couple sharing strong interests in literature and art. Khan took up painting around this time and following an introduction by Marion Milner would in due course attend with her the weekend art classes ran by émigré Polish Professor Marian Bohusz from the University of Vilno.¹⁶⁵ Milner recalled these joint classes saying that 'Masud would drive me across Hyde Park on Sunday mornings down to the class in Knightsbridge. He did some interesting paintings in the class and I found him a charming and intelligent companion. The Art School had to move and I think he stopped coming'.¹⁶⁶

On 6 June 1951 Khan gave his first psychoanalytic paper, 'Notes on the dissolution of object-representation in modern art', which he delivered extempore at the British Psychoanalytical Society's Scientific Meeting, chaired by William Gillespie. The un-scripted format, possibly influenced by an identification with Rickman (who had an avowed preference for and skill at extempore delivery¹⁶⁷), has meant that the argumentation and content of this is now largely lost. In an active discussion various people including Michael Balint, Hanna Segal, Melanie Klein, John Rickman, Winnicott, Clifford Scott and the art critics Anton Ehrenzweig and Sir Herbert Read spoke.¹⁶⁸

Fortunately, some fragmentary echoes of Khan's paper survive among several of the audience's extant writings. Michael Balint, for instance, was influenced by the meeting to write a paper, under the same title, which was published the following year in *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*.¹⁶⁹ The decline of direct representation (frequently starting with the erosion of boundaries) was, Balint suggested, associated with increased emphasis on subjective processes and a growing tolerance of discordant features. However, the artist's narcissistic preoccupation, Balint went on to suggest, threatened to eclipse the reality of the object and the potentiality for its degradation in the course of its exploitation as a stimulus for artistic expression: future developments would need object love to be incorporated with the discoveries of modern art. In a similar vein, Clifford Scott notes Khan drew on Ella Sharpe and Marion Milner's ideas in his paper,¹⁷⁰ in emphasising the dynamic oscillating processes that incorporate both constructive and de-constructive modes (or progression and dissolution).¹⁷¹ Emphasis on such processes had of course been made by others. John Rickman, for example, had made a distinction between 'two kinds of art – that which consolidates the cultural achievements of its time and a "revolutionary art" which breaks down conventional ways of looking at things and at life and death'.¹⁷² The dialectical relation between these modes, akin to that of the fusion and de-fusion between the life and death instincts or the oscillations between paranoid-schizoid and depressive positions, Rickman argued were both essential characteristics not only of art but also of scientific and institutional

life. Similarly, Winnicott in his own squiggle drawings would emphasise the fluidity of boundaries or transitional space between figures, his 'mother and child' drawing perhaps being his best known in this respect.

The emergent common theme from these various sources suggests Khan's paper sought to focus on narcissistic object relations and the quasi dialogic processes of mergence and emergence between the representational and the abstract or between self and not-self objects, through which potentially both might become enriched. A similar theme appears to have imbued the actual style of Khan's paper, as is suggested in Clifford Scott's comments to Khan when he wrote: 'you showed the conflict of whether you would produce an oration or a poem on the one hand or, on the other hand, just ask your audience to tell you a story – in some ways my memory of the meeting has the title "Let's have a talk"'.¹⁷³

MISTER A

Now, in early June 1951, Winnicott, who was the Honorary Training Secretary, sent Khan his assessment report on a sixteen year old adolescent boy, Mr A, proposing him as Khan's prospective *second* child case.¹⁷⁴ Clifford Scott agreed on his suitability solely from a consideration of Winnicott's report and said he would act as Khan's supervisor.¹⁷⁵ Mr A presented as an isolated and anxious boy, the older of two children from a Methodist background. He lived with his mother, his parents having separated rather acrimoniously when he was seven. He was bullied at school. Early adolescence had been very difficult; he recalled that 'at eleven or twelve I felt I needed a miracle to help understand what was going on'.¹⁷⁶ His father organised his referral to the Clinic at the Institute of Psychoanalysis for help, Mr A in retrospect feeling that 'I needed the introduction of something into my life that could act as a root from which I could move on'.¹⁷⁷ Thus he came to Khan for analysis. However, before the analysis began Khan himself was to suffer a serious loss.

On Sunday 1 July 1951 John Rickman died.¹⁷⁸ He had been unwell for some years with a heart condition, although his death, aged sixty, that Sunday was very unexpected. Rickman had gone to relax with a book in Regent's Park and was later discovered dead in his deckchair, having suffered a massive coronary.¹⁷⁹ His daughter, Lucy, asked Clifford Scott to contact her father's patients and make such arrangements for them as might be appropriate. Undertaking this, Scott telephoned Khan the same day to break the news.¹⁸⁰ Bereaved thus by Rickman's sudden death, following his earlier loss of Ella Sharpe, Khan reacted perhaps worryingly without any overt recorded crisis or hesitation at the time, maintaining instead his apparent psychic poise. Later in the year, as will be discussed below, he would both seek further personal analytic help and was to immerse himself in assisting in the organisation of Rickman's papers for publication. There was, however, now no pause in Khan's child analytic training.

Before returning to a consideration of Mr A's analysis, one further happening needs to be here mentioned. Further immersion in the world of books came

with Khan's appointment in May 1951 to the post of joint-Honorary Librarian, with Charles Rycroft.¹⁸¹ Having assisted in the Society's Library and acted as a Student Representative on the Library Committee the previous year, Khan was seemingly qualified for this responsible though stereotypically unglamorous post. He would continue in it for the next twenty-seven years, initially with Rycroft and then solo from January 1954 following the latter stepping-down.¹⁸² The post would bring Khan into contact with virtually all the Society's membership as well as colleagues and the book market internationally and thus facilitated the development of his profile and authority (for example, in so far as he exercised vetting functions on library usage).¹⁸³

Khan began the Mr A analysis five times a week on the couch in July 1951 at the Institute of Psychoanalysis, which was still then located at 96 Gloucester Place. Mr A attended regularly, bicycling to his sessions, for which his father (a medically qualified psychotherapist) paid a reduced fee.¹⁸⁴ The treatment, according to Clifford Scott, proceeded satisfactorily, a view he confirmed to the Training Committee in his report of December 1951, although significantly he added that 'the patient's tendency to play the part of an adult still tempts Mr Khan to neglect the reality of the adolescent situation'.¹⁸⁵ Scott's second, and final, report, in June 1952, after twelve months of treatment said that Khan's work was progressing 'satisfactorily for a beginner, but the problem of the intensity of adolescent sexual tension is one which Mr Khan finds difficult to deal with on a realistic basis'.¹⁸⁶ Shortly afterwards, Khan was to terminate his supervision with Scott.

The supervision itself, lasting from June 1951 to July 1952, occupied only some thirty-three sessions. This satisfied the formal child training regulations, a state Khan had asked for confirmation of from Donald Winnicott, who was, as well as being the Honorary Training Secretary, Khan's then analyst as shall be discussed later. Winnicott, having raised the matter with the Training Committee, confirmed the formal regulations had been satisfied and then proceeded to add a cautionary note, writing: 'you will understand that this letter refers to the requirements according to the rules and is not a comment on what you may need or wish nor on what your supervisor may feel in regard to your needs'.¹⁸⁷ With this confirmation secured, and despite Winnicott's clear caveat, Khan dispensed with Scott's supervision the following month. This stance suggests that Khan experienced being supervised as a state to be terminated as soon as possible in favour of independent practice. The inherent asymmetry of the supervisory relationship following an apprenticeship model in which the supervisee is guided and facilitated in his development by the supervisor was here again curtailed. Subordination to and dependency on an other appeared beyond Khan's ego capacities.

Further difficulties relating to dependency and subordination were manifested in dealing with the fees Scott charged as a supervisor. As seen previously in relation to both Klein and Anna Freud, Khan had marked difficulties in acknowledging his indebtedness, which manifested itself vividly around the issue of fees. With Scott the initial debate seems to have concerned the level of the fees to be charged and whether Khan should pay a reduced rate for

candidates. Without an independent agreement being reached between them, Scott approached the Training Committee for advice and Winnicott responded in November 1951, saying that as Khan was then qualified the fee to be set was a purely professional matter between them.¹⁸⁸ Although by then five months had elapsed since the commencement of the supervisory arrangements the matter did not end there. The actual fee negotiated at this point was not recorded, though its probable extent became clear subsequently. What is evident is that the fee or a significant proportion of it was withheld for a considerable period of time. Final payment of fees did not occur until nearly ten months after the conclusion of the supervision. Scott had to issue a final account for them in March 1953, which Khan paid by sending Scott a cheque for fourteen pounds fourteen shillings two months later, on 18 May 1953.¹⁸⁹ This amount would seem to indicate the ultimately negotiated fee was one guinea per session, a low fee at the time – average analytic fees then being in the region of one-and-a-half guineas per session.¹⁹⁰

Khan claimed he had been able to learn from this relatively brief experience in supervision, valuing Scott's 'open-minded and helpful comments'.¹⁹¹ However, as with Anna Freud two years previously, Khan's conflicts over the negotiation and consequent settlement of fees again points to his ongoing difficulties with the acknowledgement of difference and consequent dependency and indebtedness, character issues which would lead to progressively worsening crises.

Khan continued the Mr A analysis after terminating supervision. In 1953 he recounted the patient was then 'doing very well and has shown marked improvement in his acutely depressive listlessness'.¹⁹² Still later, Khan recalled the patient as having 'done really well', his treatment lasting six years during which he passed his BSc and went on to work in a scientific sector in industry.¹⁹³

Mr A's recollection of his analysis, whilst corresponding in some respects to Khan's account, highlights some significant variances and, more importantly, some early departures from traditional analytic neutrality in structuring the therapeutic frame, particularly significant given their manifestation at this the very outset of Khan's career.¹⁹⁴ Mr A recalled Khan being dressed formally in European suits, corresponding to contemporary photographs of him in both social and analytic settings in the 1950s and well into the 1960s.¹⁹⁵ Khan appeared 'very remote' and 'impersonal' to Mr A, who remained unsure 'how much of the realities of my life Khan really grasped', as he seemed to deal with Mr A at an intellectual level.

When Khan moved to live and work in Harley Street in the autumn of 1952 he moved his existing patients, including Mr A, there with him. (This was the third move of venue within the analysis, a previous move in early 1952 having been occasioned by the move of the British Psychoanalytical Society from Gloucester Place to New Cavendish Street.) Khan would always meet Mr A at the door and escort him in. His rooms were quiet and without signs of other inhabitants. Harley Street of course was the geographical heart of the British private medical establishment and this was something Khan was keen to be identified with. Just as he tried to dress the part and demonstrate his establishment affiliation through conformity to its dress code, he sought

this also from those he associated with. They also had to appear to be of the establishment; an establishment here that demanded use of a prescribed uniform and accorded higher status to adults. Khan thus told Mr A to 'not wear short trousers and look like a school boy' when coming to Harley Street for his sessions, which he still did at the time by bicycle.

Mr A was anxious about being called-up for his two years compulsory National Service and going to university offered him the opportunity to petition for its deferment, which he successfully did. On completing a BSc in electrical engineering at Queen Mary's College, University of London, he was again faced with the prospect of military service. Khan recommended he write to the War Office to inform them he had various emotional problems and was having treatment for them. More explicitly, he intimated to Mr A that he would be better-off not going into the military as he (Khan) 'had a brother in the army and it was a dead end job'. In the event, Mr A gained a place on a graduate-apprenticeship scheme with Standard Telephones and Cables (a part of the ITT group) which gave him further deferment from National Service.

It was from around the middle period of the analysis, perhaps 1954 or 1955, that Khan began to be less opaque and would increasingly self-disclose. Thus, Mr A recalls being told by Khan about his family wealth, their elephants, his early entrance to and time at university, his reading Shakespeare and his supposed photographic memory. Contemporary events featured also in Khan's self-disclosures to his patient, as when, for example, Khan excitedly told him of a reception he had hosted at his apartment for delegates at a Commonwealth Conference. During this time the frame was altered further, this time physically, with Khan having a three-way meeting with his patient and his father to discuss the progress of the analysis. Given that Mr A would then have been in his late teens or early twenties at the time, such measures (appropriate perhaps within the analysis of children) appear to be outside of the analytic frame. Of further significance from this period was a comment Khan made on both the patient and Winnicott. He told Mr A that 'Winnicott got it wrong. You were psychotic and would not have been taken on [as a Clinic training case]. But we have made so much progress now that we can go on.'

Towards the latter stages of the analysis (which according to the patient lasted eight years, as compared to Khan's stated duration of six years: eight years tallies with the known facts), Mr A was due to go to New York probably sometime during 1957 for a business trip which would briefly interrupt the sessions. Out of the blue, Khan gave him a letter of introduction to his friend, the actress Julie Andrews, with the suggestion that Mr A might like to meet her backstage at the Mark Hellinger Theatre on Broadway where she was starring in *My Fair Lady*, an apposite musical given Khan's Pygmalion-like leanings.¹⁹⁶ Then, shortly after Khan moved to Hans Crescent (in July 1959), he announced he was ending the treatment. Mr A was already in the midst of the break up of a relationship with a girlfriend and felt rather unprepared for this further loss. All in all he experienced the ending as a serious crisis and felt rather abandoned by Khan to get on with his life as best he could.¹⁹⁷

The analysis of Mr A represents the earliest substantial example of Khan's clinical work on which multiple viewpoints are available. By his own account, Khan claims to have learned a lot from the supervision, while Scott voiced reservations on the emotional depth of his understanding. His dispensing with supervision at the earliest possible moment points to continued problems with dependency, as does his tendency to draw a rather rosy picture for others of the outcome of the analysis. Beneath the apparent orthodoxy and success of the work, Mr A's recollections detail not only having been helped by Khan, but also his rather quickly becoming alarmingly grandiose, erratic and unboundaried from the mid-1950s onwards; a characteristic that would become increasingly and publicly evident over the coming decades.

Khan's qualification as a child analyst had come some eighteen months into the treatment of Mr A. He had taken on his third case in May 1952, apparently under the supervision of Marion Milner.¹⁹⁸ While details of the work on that case are unknown, and Marion Milner when asked about it towards the end of her life was unable to recall it,¹⁹⁹ it is clear that (despite the reservations Winnicott can be seen to be expressing on behalf of himself and the Training Committee) Khan qualified by the end of the year.²⁰⁰ Child analysis, however, would not be a specialty in which Khan would practise to any significant extent,²⁰¹ a decision perhaps related to the dynamics of his personality being dystonic with the strain of such work.²⁰²

4

Winnicott's Protégé

Not long after Rickman's death, Khan sought a new patron and further analysis (which as he was now an Associate Member was of course not a formal requirement). He approached Donald Woods Winnicott, who agreed to take him on for further analysis probably from the autumn of 1951. Meeting initially at Winnicott's consulting rooms at 47 Queen Anne Street, W1, the analytic venue shifted early in 1952 when Winnicott moved to his new house at 87 Chester Square, SW1. This marked the commencement of the consolidation of Khan's best-known and most crucial professional relationship, to which we now turn.

WINNICOTT ASCENDING

In 1951 Winnicott, then aged fifty-five, held the offices of Honorary Training Secretary and Physician in Charge of the Children's Department in the British Psychoanalytical Society and was becoming a leading figure within the A Group. During this year his enumeration among the Kleinian wing largely ebbed away,¹ his ensuing independent minded stance within the Middle (A) Group allowing him great scope for less fettered (and potentially undisciplined or wild) development, including clinically where, as Dodi Goldman remarked, he 'was blasphemous...[in] that he did not see himself as serving any normalising function'.² An analysand of James Strachey, Joan Riviere and more briefly Clifford Scott, Winnicott came to psychoanalysis through paediatrics, being a Consultant in Children's Medicine at Paddington Green Children's Hospital, before qualifying as a Member of the British Society in 1935 and as a training analyst several years later. He was certainly familiar with troubled colleagues seeking his help. William Gillespie described him as 'an analyst's analyst, an analyst of analysts'.³ Colleagues would turn to him when they were in difficulties, although such requests could be burdensome, as he intimated to Clifford Scott in December 1956 when he wrote: 'The trouble is I get analysts throwing themselves on me when they feel they will let the side down by breaking down.'⁴ He already had a string of publications to his credit and had given a very successful series of radio broadcasts. He also had had a serious and well-known coronary in 1948, a second on 5 September 1950 and his health continued to be frail. He was at the time in considerable personal turmoil separating from his first wife, Alice, their divorce being made absolute on 11 December 1951. Just over two weeks later, on 28 December 1951, Winnicott remarried. His new wife was his wartime social work colleague Clare Britton, with whom he seems to have

been pursuing a clandestine extra-marital relationship for about eight years.⁵ Such profound personal developmental changes may be correlated with (and arguably facilitated) Winnicott's best known paper, 'Transitional objects and transitional phenomena' which he delivered to a Scientific meeting of the British Psychoanalytical Society on 30 May 1951.⁶ Masud Khan was in the audience and is recorded as being among the active discussants.⁷

PRE-ANALYTIC CONTACTS

Khan seems to have first come across Winnicott when he attended Winnicott's lecture on 'Paediatrics and society', which he delivered as Chairman of the British Psychological Society's Medical Section on 28 January 1948.⁸ Later Winnicott, apparently following Rickman's request, allowed Khan to observe one of his child psychiatry consultation clinics at Paddington Green Children's Hospital in 1949.⁹ Nearly forty years later Khan described the memory of that meeting as it survived in his mind, in which he saw Winnicott:

...amidst five children, all drawing, or what he would call doodling, with him, plus their parents. Winnicott would move from child to child, then go to the parents of the particular child, talk to them and come back, and so on. I witnessed this for two hours. At the end of it he came over to me and said: 'You are Masud Khan?' I said 'Yes, sir.' He asked me: 'What are you doing here, you are too well dressed to be here?' I was only 25 years of age and a candidate at the British Institute of Psychoanalysis, but I wasn't going to be taunted by him, so I replied: 'One dresses to the manner born!' Winnicott smiled and said: 'You have some cheek'.¹⁰

Shortly after this, in 1949 Winnicott had referred and supervised Khan's first child analytic training case, as has been discussed earlier, an event which would have inevitably involved substantial contact between the two men.

Given this background, the integrity of the analytic frame for the purposes of Khan's analysis was compromised. Whilst this may have been redeemable and 'grist to the analytic mill' in other circumstances, with Winnicott and Khan it can be seen as a harbinger, setting the tone for their subsequent relationship.

THE ANALYTIC PERIOD

While Winnicott's analysis of Khan has become a highly controversial episode in psychoanalytic history, the known facts about it are extremely meagre, with no definitively identifiable case history available. Even the basics about the actual duration of the analysis are unclear. In the immediate wake of Winnicott's death Khan claimed in his *Work Books* (a private or semi-private space) that it had covered some *fifteen* years, from 1951 to 1966.¹¹ Fifteen years later, in 1986, two years *after* Clare Winnicott's death, he publicly wrote that it had lasted only *ten* years, although this time without giving dates.¹² Both claims are misleading. The first is demonstrably inflated and inaccurate, while the second claim, although it

may be closer to the actual total duration of the analysis, misleadingly suggests a sustained analysis. Assuming the analysis began during the autumn of 1951, the most reliable evidence suggests that it continued only for some *four* years, until 1955, when it was substantially interrupted if not terminated. This punctuation occurred during a crisis in Khan's relationship with Jane Shore, as will be discussed later. Whether the analysis recommenced subsequently is unclear. Apart from Khan's own previously mentioned claims, there is no independent documentary evidence available as corroboration. Speculatively, it is *possible* that the analysis was resumed for a period during the early to mid 1960s, the most likely time being from around 1960 to 1965 or 1966. If the latter were correct, and there are good reasons to doubt it is so, it would tally with Khan's 1986 claim that his analysis with Winnicott had lasted ten years.

Historical claims substantially depend on the quality of the informants and on the degree of corroboration between independent sources for their reliability and credibility. With Masud Khan multiple sources point to his tendency to not only inflate but also to invent himself through narrative, a tendency that began in childhood and increased markedly during the last twenty years of his life. He thus becomes an unreliable source, perhaps particularly so when the examined claims are substantial and inflate Khan's reputation and self.

In the case of his analysis with Winnicott, knowledge of the cessation of this analysis in 1955 is derived not from Khan but from Marion Milner, Judith Issroff and Jane Shore, the latter at that point in time beginning to consult Winnicott *in lieu of Khan, at Khan's own insistence*.¹³ Her analysis with Winnicott continued up to 1960 as will be discussed later, during which time Khan began to increasingly and substantially assist Winnicott editorially, which, combined with other social contacts to be detailed, would have made concurrent analysis unlikely. After 1960 the cessation of Jane's analysis could have partially facilitated a resumption of Khan's analytic relationship with Winnicott, although there was a continuation of substantial editorial, professional and social contacts between the two men. The level of this was such that a viable analytic relationship would be highly unlikely, if not impossible during this time. This is not to say that an attempt at analysis did not occur during this time, and that such an attempt may have continued for an extended time. However, on the basis of the sources and supported by the tone and content of the available documentary evidence to be discussed, it seems that *no prima facie analytic relationship as such existed after 1955*.

It is clear that Winnicott was, initially at least, very impressed with Masud Khan. Thus, for example, roughly two years into the analysis, in October 1953, in a letter to the eminent American ego-psychologist David Rapaport, he wrote:

I would like to feel that Masud Khan and yourself will give time for a discussion together. He is junior in the ordinary term as a psycho-analyst but I believe his knowledge of the literature and of the development of psycho-analytic thought is not equalled in our Society. If you and he are able to have a talk I shall personally benefit in an indirect way.¹⁴

Winnicott can here be seen as directly sponsoring Khan in an extra-analytic fashion. His expression of hope for 'personal...benefit in an indirect way' from a liaison between Khan and Rapaport is highly suggestive. Previously it had been Klein who Winnicott had sparred with as a catalyst for his own development. Now, having more definitively split from her, Khan seems to have fulfilled something of her dialectical function in Winnicott's psychic economy, albeit with more masculine or even homoerotic overtones. In his letter to Rapaport Khan is depicted as the man who, having been commissioned to explore the psychoanalytic world, will bring his discoveries back to enrich his patriarch Winnicott, a point Robert Rodman has also recently made.¹⁵ Khan quickly and willingly acceded to this role and Winnicott would in due course comment that Khan was 'responsible for my gradually coming to see the relationship of my work to that of other analysts, past and present'.¹⁶ Learning from the patient has always been a *sine qua non* for a fruitful psychoanalysis, for all parties concerned (patient, analyst and psychoanalysis). However, Winnicott's relationship with Khan was transacted on multiple levels and this extra-analytic involvement probably fatally compromised the analysis and thus deprived Khan of an opportunity for much needed help.

Publishing became a prime arena within which Khan and Winnicott's mutual relating would occur, texts perhaps serving as a playing space for them and as a means of triangulating their relationship. The bulk of Winnicott's writings were produced during his last twenty years, during which period Khan is progressively and prominently acknowledged as assisting with suggestions and editorial input, as will be later discussed. Whereas previously Winnicott had habitually felt he had struggled for recognition with Klein, now with new independence he eschewed subordination and, still wanting to be in a couple – the fount of creativity, he looked to Khan amongst others for supportive incremental mirroring; his others being assigned the relative role of second banana as it were. Performing a catalytic role in Winnicott's creative life, Khan would work in the background to facilitate his writing and its dissemination.

The prelude to the two men's involvement with each other textually emerged very early in the analysis itself, at a point in the late spring of 1952. Melanie Klein had asked Winnicott to review *Smooth and Rough*, a psychoanalytically informed book on art by her analysand Adrian Stokes, published the previous year. In response, Winnicott wrote that 'a review which satisfies the editor [of the *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*] has already been received by [Willi] Hoffer; probably you know about this, and it is by Masud Khan'.¹⁷ Despite this, Winnicott went on to suggest that 'if I find that I can write a review of some interest I will write one and offer it to Hoffer who I think will accept it as a second comment to be published alongside that of Masud Khan'.¹⁸ Winnicott never wrote the review, having disliked the book's Kleinian frame and in October and November cited it (as one might use a brickbat) in his independence struggles with Klein.¹⁹ Leaving that aside, knowing his analysand had already penned a review which had been accepted, Winnicott's apparent willingness to countenance writing another seems extraordinary. He thus seemed ready to potentially overshadow Khan, Winnicott's idea for side-by-

side reviews inevitably fostering comparison of the known senior white analyst with the then unknown junior Pakistani. Khan's soon to be evinced tendencies to overshadow his own patients cannot have been lessened by his analyst's attitude, indeed it would be easy to see such being reinforced. As regards the review of *Smooth and Rough* Khan's curiously was not ultimately published, a review instead appearing written by the psychoanalytically influenced art critic Anton Ehrenzweig.²⁰

Although the *Smooth and Rough* affair did not result in Winnicott's review appearing 'alongside' Khan's, their foray the next year resulted in a far closer enmeshment of the two men. On this occasion the produce of their extra-analytic relationship was a lengthy 4,000 word controversial joint review in the *International Journal of Psychoanalysis* of Ronald Fairbairn's landmark book *Psychoanalytic Studies of the Personality*.²¹ The review began by praising Fairbairn's 'sincere and bold attempt to revise psycho-analytic metapsychology',²² within which Winnicott and Khan suggest his most important clinical contribution is 'the idea that at the root of the schizoid personality is [a] failure on the part of the mother to be felt by the infant as loving him in his own right',²³ Despite such faint praise, the whole tone of the review is clearly hostile, criticism centring on both a challenge Winnicott and Khan claim Fairbairn is making to 'supplant' Freud and Freudian theory, and (relatedly) on Fairbairn's independence of the existing psychoanalytic theoretical (and political) groups.

Harry Guntrip, who convincingly and thoroughly answered these criticisms, commented that the hostility was curious, particularly for what here may be called its *fidei defensor* type stance vis-à-vis Freud. Guntrip goes on to write: 'This emotional standing-ground of Winnicott and Kahn [sic] appears to impose on them a kind of duty to criticise the "new theory" with which, in fact, Winnicott at least has much in common.'²⁴ John Sutherland, concurring with Guntrip's commentary, goes on to suggest that for Winnicott the 'savage attack' may have been motivated by 'Winnicott's envy and hate of his father, feelings in a secret self which he projected into Fairbairn in his attack'.²⁵ Peter Rudnytsky agrees, although he focuses on Winnicott's psychoanalytic 'fathers', and quotes Greenberg and Mitchell's work in partial explanation. The combined argument runs thus: 'Winnicott exhibits a Bloomian "anxiety of influence" towards his precursors, most notably Freud and Klein, and that he "recounts the history of psychoanalytic ideas not so much as it developed, but as he would like it to have been".'²⁶ Propagandist methods were thus employed by *Winnicott and Khan* together to clothe themselves at that time in a classical Freudian mantle.

Later, Winnicott privately acknowledged, 'I do think our review of Fairbairn's book was not a good review',²⁷ subsequent to which in 1965 (in the wake of Fairbairn's death) both Winnicott and Khan individually stated the review was based on a misunderstanding of his work.²⁸ The reasons for this claimed misunderstanding are likely to be complex, perhaps involving *both* Winnicott and Khan's displaced envy and hatred towards their respective fathers being turned onto Fairbairn's challenging work, while they adopt a veil of establishment orthodoxy or filial piety towards the paternal image of Freud. As a joint activity between analyst and analysand the book review is likely to have

also served particular purposes for the analytic couple, most explicitly safely linking them together against a common foe (who was, as has been suggested above, something of a straw man anyway), an activity which would constitute an excursion, to use Edna O'Shaughnessy's term, from the analysis. O'Shaughnessy suggests that such a deterioration of the analytic situation moves *both analyst and patient* away from consideration of the most urgent psychic issues. Such a patient, she writes:

...believes no manageable contact is possible with his object and the level of anxiety is horrendous. Contact must be evaded, a new situation constructed, which characteristically in its turn becomes untenable. These patients are hyper-active, their talk proliferates, as, typically, do their dream images.²⁹

Winnicott perhaps shared this or a similar phantasy also, the excursion thus being akin to a *folie-à-deux*. Such a view both fits the known facts of Khan's analysis with Winnicott, which was characterised by repeated excursions from the work, and throws an added light of Khan's wider relationships. The two men's rivalrous and indeed hostile attitude toward Klein may be seen similarly, as may Khan's apparently frequently missing sessions with Winnicott due to oversleeping³⁰ and Winnicott's corresponding tendency to nod off during sessions.

Another example of an excursion appears the following year, when Winnicott wrote his paper 'Meta-psychological and clinical aspects of regression within the psychoanalytic set-up'; he completed and read this to the British Society in March 1954. In a postscript to the circulated paper, he wrote: 'Although this formulation of my ideas comes straight out of my clinical work I am conscious of indebtedness as I re-read and reconsider almost every phrase. Instead of trying myself to trace sources I have asked the Librarian, Masud Khan, to prepare a brief statement linking my ideas with those of my teachers and colleagues.'³¹ This does not appear to have been a solitary occurrence, as Michael Balint would later testify. Writing to Winnicott, Balint, frustrated by Winnicott's occlusion of him and others, declared that:

...this has happened several times during our friendship. You emphasised on more than one occasion that 'though – (I quote from memory) – Ferenczi and Dr Balint have said all these many years ago, here I am not concerned with what they said', or 'I have not had time to read that but I shall ask the Honorary Librarian [Khan] to fill this gap', etc. Of course in this way you always have the audience laughing and on your side – no one among us likes to read boring scientific literature and if somebody of your stature admits it in public, he can be certain of his success.³²

By accepting such invitations to link his analyst's ideas to the wider intellectual firmament and tacitly preserve Winnicott's conceptual narcissistic solipsism, Khan acquires a degree of recognition and acknowledgment, his place however being akin to a rather unappealing, subordinate dogsbody. Furthermore,

Winnicott's aforementioned characterisations of Khan as 'the Librarian' offered a certain aura of legitimation to his repeated use of Khan, an aura of legitimation that would have been more difficult to sustain had alternative characterisations been employed, such as 'my analysand' or 'my patient'. Then, the excursion would have been clear.

In claiming that he was himself aware of the derivation of the terms and concepts he was employing, Winnicott may have rather overstated his insight: Winnicott is well known for his intuitive rather than his intellectual grasp of psychoanalysis. A well known instance will, perhaps, serve to illustrate this. During his first Presidency of the British Psychoanalytical Society he privately declared: 'I feel odd when in the President's chair because I don't know my Freud the way a President should do; yet I do find I have Freud in my bones.'³³ Further support may be gleaned from even a cursory examination of Winnicott's published papers, the dearth of references to the psychoanalytic literature they contain being conspicuous. Prior to Masud Khan's arrival in London, Winnicott had acknowledged in his 1945 paper 'Primitive emotional development' his own failure to link his ideas with other people's, to position that job 'last of all' and to look to others to facilitate the task. Thus, he said 'By listening to what I have to say, and criticizing, you may help me take my next step, which is the study of the sources of my ideas, both in clinical work and in the published writings of analysts.'³⁴ And again later, in a January 1967 address to the 1952 Club, similar sentiments were reiterated, along with an acknowledgement that 'I've realised more and more as time went on what a tremendous lot I've lost from not properly correlating my work with the work of others.'³⁵ It is clear from this that over several decades at the very least Winnicott explicitly looked for an other as a type of accomplice, particularly to function as an editor and a Boswell. It was Khan who, in the role of Winnicott's other, was significantly responsible for alerting Winnicott to his intellectual pedigree, even during the early 1950s, a suggestion supported by Winnicott's earlier mentioned letter to Rapaport from October 1953 as well as Winnicott's inclusion of Khan's 'brief statement' as an appendix to his March 1954 paper. This debt was later acknowledged by Winnicott some eleven years later when he explicitly wrote that 'Mr Masud Khan...is responsible for my gradually coming to see the relationship of my work to that of other analysts, past and present.'³⁶ Thus, in ways similar to Hegel's master-slave dialectic, the dogsbody may be seen as coming to exercise a paternal function, allowing Winnicott to begin to acknowledge his filial and fraternal position in psychoanalysis.

Winnicott's management of boundaries was a source of controversy within the British Society, with Melanie Klein, for example, sharply criticising his use of active techniques, which she regarded as malignant: the thin end of the wedge. Hanna Segal quotes Klein in this context as having 'often paraphrased Freud's letter to Ferenczi: "the first generation holds hands – the second generation takes patients to bed" (Jones, 1957, pp. 174–5)'.³⁷ Khan of course was 'the second generation', a figure Klein might have *now* pointed to as confirmation of her reservations about Winnicott's technique and its potentially pernicious influence on analysands' own subsequent practice. Such a conclusion would be risking

a logical fallacy of the *post hoc ergo propter hoc* kind, wherein a coincidental correlation is supposed to be a causal one. What the influence and outcome was of Winnicott's analysis of Khan remains a question still in need of examination, though on the face of it Winnicott's boundary laxity can hardly have assisted Khan in establishing a secure frame for his own patients.

One area of boundary negotiation that Winnicott, in a way strongly reminiscent of Khan, had apparent difficulties in from his earliest days in psychoanalysis was in his reluctance to settle fees he owed. Thus he failed to pay Ernest Jones his initial consultation fee in 1923, in one way or another delayed payments to James Strachey and apparently misled Joan Riviere into agreeing to accept a reduced fee.³⁸ Such delinquency seemed to later partly inform Winnicott's definition of transitional phenomena, which incorporates the intermediate area between 'primary unawareness of indebtedness and the acknowledgement of indebtedness ("Say: Ta")'.³⁹ There is no available information suggesting that Khan had a better record paying Winnicott than he had previously with the fees due to the Institute, Anna Freud, Klein or Scott. The *overlapping* nature of this and other difficulties may have contributed to a degree of narcissistic identification between the two men, conditions conducive to the enclaves and excursions previously noted. Both men may be seen to suffer in varying degrees from difficulties in separation and acknowledging their true indebtedness to their actual predecessors, preferring instead their own supposedly self-generated narratives – a theme Charles Rycroft would later elaborate as will be discussed in due course.⁴⁰ Problems in the settlement of fees from this vantage point may be seen to externally represent an ablation of indebtedness to real internal figures, their scotomisation or at least marked conflicts within one's object relations.

Adam Limentani suggested that Khan was dissatisfied and disillusioned with all his analyses, including that with Winnicott.⁴¹ Malcolm Pines recalls Khan speaking disparagingly of Winnicott during the 1950s, saying he was 'a rotten analyst' during meetings, comments overtly ignored by Winnicott.⁴² During the last ten years of his life, Khan would increasingly express disillusionment with analysis as a vehicle for profound personal change and instead laid increasing emphasis on external circumstance, action and interpersonal interaction as mediums for self-experience and self-actualisation. Thus, in 1980, when reflecting on both his own self-experience and his physical and psychological difficulties, he would privately declare:

...one never really changes at the root; but one very drastically rearranges oneself, given will, motivation and *helpful circumstance* from the *outside* (as analysts we grossly and grievously neglect or cussedly disregard that!). I would go so far as to say, that to recover from an *ailment* like mine, *reality is destiny*.⁴³

This sentiment was not a conclusion arrived at merely at the end of Khan's life when his psychological difficulties were at their most florid, but may be discerned, albeit in a more latent form, throughout Khan's life and work. With Sharpe and Rickman Khan intimated they showed him papers on which they

were working and gave him practical assistance and social introductions. In addition he demonstrably busied himself with posthumous editorial work on Rickman's literary estate. Now, with Winnicott Khan seems to have sought to similarly substitute editorial and intellectual lieutenancy for a true psychoanalytic relationship, a substitution that Winnicott not only tolerated but also professionally benefited from.

5

Personal and Professional

Other happenings in Khan's personal and professional life during the 1950s were to have an important and direct bearing on the course of his analysis with Winnicott, the principal such events being Khan's marriage to Jane Shore, his administrative work for the British Psychoanalytical Society and his quests to procure membership of and then an appointment as a training analyst with the Society. For the sake of clarity, these events will be here described successively, though in terms of the historical narrative the various episodes were of course frequently synchronous and complexly interactive.

MARRIAGE

At the time Khan ceased his supervision with Clifford Scott and was beginning his own analytic relationship with Winnicott the arrangements for his wedding to Jane Shore were well advanced. Sociologically, such an inter-racial marriage was unusual in Britain for a Pakistani man, only 7 per cent of whom married native Britons.¹ During this period however Khan would have little contact with the expatriate Pakistani or Indian communities, instead associating himself primarily with the white British establishment, towards which he sought to position himself at least as having equal if not superior status. Typically it was the latter. Thus, when Jane was to place an announcement about their forthcoming wedding in social and personal columns of *The Times*, Khan wanted the piece to style him as '*Khan Bahadur Masud Khan*', the life title his father had received in 1933. The newspaper declined to print the notice without corroboration of Khan's personal entitlement, which Khan then did not and indeed could not produce.² With that assertion of his own status thus stymied, Khan resorted to emphasising his *paternal* pedigree, reference to his mother being entirely omitted. *The Times* notice read:

Forthcoming Marriages

Mr M M R Khan and Miss A J Shore

The engagement is announced between

Mohammed Masud Raza, youngest son of the
late Khan Bahadur Raja Fazaldad Khan,

OBI, of the Punjab, and Angela Jane, younger
daughter of Mr and Mrs Bernard Shore,

1 Holland Lane, London.³

Over twenty years later, Khan would again unilaterally seek to assume his father's final title, 'Raja', again a non-hereditary distinction, which he would compound with the Europeanised 'Prince', although at that point his assertion

would go largely unchecked and would be sustained for the remainder of his life. At this point in 1952 however, Khan appears to have let the matter drop.

Jane had left the Sadler's Wells Ballet company earlier in the year and was now the principal dancer in *London Laughs*, a revue starring Jimmy Edwards, Vera Lynn and Tony Hancock which was playing twice nightly at the Adelphi Theatre. She was having voice lessons at the same time, with a view to going into opera.⁴ Subsequent to *The Times* notice, the *Evening News* of 15 July 1952 announced Khan and Jane's wedding plans, describing Jane's planned outfit for the day as being a 'ballet-length dress...in white sharkskin [with] a full skirt and strapless bodice. Over it will go a bolero of white broderie anglaise and she will wear a white hat.'⁵ The wedding, a civil ceremony, was held on Saturday 26 July 1952, at Kensington Register Office. Bernard Shore, Jane's father, and Tahir acted as the formal witnesses,⁶ whilst a large number of colleagues and friends including Clifford Scott and his wife, Marion Milner, Charles Rycroft, Jim Armstrong Harris and Pearl King attended the ceremony and reception held afterwards. After a quiet lunch at the Ritz with about six guests, the couple's main reception was held at Jane's parents' apartment at 1 Holland Lane where the guest list topped a hundred. Leaving the reception together in Tahir's Sunbeam-Talbot 90 Drop Head Coupe (Khan's usual mode of transport at the time, until he bought a Humber Hawk a few years later), Jane, abandoning her white hat, donned Khan's Jinnah cap and went to perform at the Adelphi. The following day *London Laughs* began a week's break, and the couple took this time to go on their honeymoon to Geneva. Hans Zullig had his home there and the newly-married couple would pass much of their time in Geneva socialising with him there and at their hotel.

Returning to London, the couple initially lived in the increasingly cramped and down-at-heel Ashburn Gardens apartment, Tahir having left some time previously, before moving in the autumn of 1952 to 8 Harley Street, where they occupied a large apartment that covered the top two floors. The Harley Street apartment was leased from Equity at a modest rent, Jane having learned of its availability and secured an option on it through her membership of that organisation. Of course, it suited Khan ideally: it was affordable, large, in a fashionable area, the heartland of the British private medical elite. Khan organised one of the apartment's back rooms as his consulting room, dimly lit, with a couch, chairs and a number of modern paintings.⁷ The strong smell of cigarette smoke from Khan's heavy Gauloise consumption also clung to the room, smoking in sessions then being a not uncommon occurrence (for either analyst or patient).⁸

PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

In addition to trying both to settle in to married life and build a private clinical practice from the Harley Street apartment, Khan was occupied with developments at the British Psychoanalytical Society. The Society had moved its headquarters in the beginning of 1952 from 96 Gloucester Place to Mansfield House, 63 New Cavendish Street, W1.⁹ The accommodation here for the library

was considerably better than at Gloucester Place and Khan took full advantage of it in the ongoing reorganisation and expansion of the holdings and the catalogues. Among his projects as librarian at this time was the gathering of an extensive collection of reprints of key journal articles, which were then systematically bound and catalogued.¹⁰ Naturally this would have brought Khan into contact with an extensive range of psychoanalytic and other authors and publishers. By 1954, the continually expanding reprint collection amounted to some 1,700 separate papers.¹¹ At the same time as dealing with this collection Khan began to attempt to organise the archival holding of the Society, about which he now approached Clifford Scott for advice.¹² The library and archives were at this time combined responsibilities, the latter then being particularly undeveloped (and unexploited), and it would be some sixteen years before responsibility for the archives became an independent Society appointment, one to which Khan would in due course be the inaugural post holder.

Despite the energy Khan was putting into the British Psychoanalytical Society and its library at this time, as well as his pursuit of further professional advancement therein as will be discussed later, he was, along with other recent graduates, dissatisfied with the scientific life of the Society. The so called 'gentleman's agreement' with which the Controversial Discussions had been terminated had resulted in something of a stand-off between the differing scientific cum political groupings that had been involved. Debate at the Society's Scientific Meetings was felt by many to be both stale and partisan, with attendance at meetings or the discussion of papers from the floor often being along party lines. In response to this situation, Khan, Charles Rycroft, Jim Armstrong Harris, Barbara Woodhead, Pearl King, and a few other then junior analysts began to meet together at monthly dinners to discuss cases, ideas and papers, away from the somewhat stagnant atmosphere of debate within the Society.¹³ This evolved in April 1952 into a more formalised structure, thus the 1952 Club was formed, so named from the year of its initiation, a choice Rycroft insisted upon in order to avoid any air of political factionalism.¹⁴ Many of the Club's early meetings were held at 7 Park Square West, NW1, the home of Enid and Michael Balint, where it continued to meet for about the next ten years, after which the venue shifted, meetings typically being hosted by its successive chairmen.¹⁵ The Club represented an alternative forum for psychoanalytic debate to the British Society and would draw its members primarily from the non-aligned analysts within the A Group, who would come to constitute the Middle or Independent Group. As a member of this group, Khan was thus able to meet with his contemporaries at Club meetings for discussion, less fettered by the politics and hierarchies of the Society. He would continue to attend 1952 Club meetings for more than twenty years, this continuity of participation with his *contemporaries* marking out this forum from Khan's other psychoanalytic relationships which primarily involved contacts with an older analytic generation.

Since John Rickman's death moves had been afoot, lead initially by Clifford Scott, to publish a collection of his papers, a project Rickman's widow, Lydia, and daughter, Lucy, were understandably enthusiastic about. Khan became

closely involved with this project, a task to which he was suited by virtue of his literary interests and post as librarian, though one that ordinarily might well have been considered emotionally difficult for him, as the bereaved patient of the deceased analyst-author. It may also have been considered an inappropriate activity for Rickman's analysands to be engaged on, particularly where their treatment was still in progress at the time of his death, on account of its disruption to both their continuing psychoanalytic process and the integrity of the psychoanalytic frame. However, ritual display, oratory and publication have been long established ways of individual and communal celebration of a deceased individual's life and are more particularly ways in which the processes of mourning may be pursued. Within psychoanalysis, publication and conferences have predominantly served this ritual function, a function that sometimes concomitantly furthers scientific progress.¹⁶ Whether the British Psychoanalytical Society's needs to mourn its deceased President and Khan's needs to mourn the loss of his analyst happily coincided however is debatable. It may have been that the needs of one unconsciously exploited the needs of the other.

In any event, Michael Balint and Khan together examined and sorted the papers and by June 1952 concluded there was enough specifically psychoanalytic material for one large volume.¹⁷ By November 1952 the process had stalled a little and Khan returned a number of manuscripts to Clifford Scott, adding: 'I would very much like to hear what decision is taken regarding Rickman manuscripts, ultimately. Because the whole affair has been a bit of a mystery to me and I had to put in a lot of work in sorting out' (sic).¹⁸ Despite this, by the following August a second volume of Rickman's papers, this time with a more sociological bent, was being proposed for publication by Tavistock Publications, to be jointly edited by Pearl King and Khan.¹⁹ Lydia Rickman gave what papers she had to them in October 1953,²⁰ while the Board at the Institute of Psychoanalysis sent further Rickman papers to Khan for sorting the following month.²¹ Khan would, Lydia Rickman informed Scott, be willing to collect the papers using his own car and had volunteered to house them during the editing process.²² Following these efforts, however, the process again stalled and it was four years before Rickman's *Selected Contributions to Psychoanalysis*, under the general editorship of Clifford Scott, appeared in print.²³ In his editorial note Scott thanked Khan and Pearl King for their assistance and announced they were continuing to prepare the second volume. This companion volume was not forthcoming however until 2003, by which time King was the sole editor, yet further delays having resulted in the plan being shelved during the interim decades.²⁴ Years later, Clare Winnicott would perhaps mischievously suggest that Khan had in fact 'sat on' Rickman's papers, never progressing their publication.²⁵

FIRST MEMBERSHIP ATTEMPT

In the beginning of 1953 Khan attempted to gain full Membership of the British Psychoanalytical Society, with a clinical paper about a woman in her twenties,

who was diffident, avoided men, and had a transient manifestly homosexual relationship during her analysis. Progression to full Membership was an important professional step for Khan and securing a slot within the Scientific Meetings programme to present his paper was in itself an achievement, a bottleneck existing due to the then large number of Associates vying for a limited number of slots; five years was the then average time before progression.²⁶ Khan circulated his paper, 'A homosexual episode as defence against masturbation' at the end of January 1953,²⁷ and then, as though having doubts about what he had written, hurriedly followed this with a theoretical postscript on 3 February.²⁸ He read the paper the following evening, Wednesday 4 February 1953. William Gillespie, the Society President, chaired the meeting and participated in the ensuing discussion, along with Marion Milner, Willi Hoffer, Sylvia Payne and others.²⁹ In writing to Anna Freud (who had been unable to attend the meeting due to illness) the next day, Khan opined that he felt he had 'rather shabbily presented [the] case'.³⁰ Nevertheless, he submitted the paper for the membership vote.³¹ Formal nomination for Membership occurred at the Council Meeting on 16 March, following which the Society's Business Meeting rejected Khan's paper as being unsuitable,³² the Kleinian group (according to Khan) leading this opposition. This in turn characteristically provoked remonstrations to Melanie Klein from Winnicott,³³ who appears to have regularly seen himself as persecuted by her. Various problems had been raised at the Business Meeting, although the crux of the matter apparently lay in Khan's failure to adequately disguise the identity of his patient, which breach in confidentiality left the patient identifiable.³⁴ Given the critical importance of analyst-patient confidentiality in the psychoanalytic situation, Khan's laxity about its preservation was a serious problem, one which in retrospect may be seen as part of the prodrome of his future flagrant boundary problems. At the time, as the patient worked within the mental health services the breach resonated with particular power.³⁵ Khan wrote to Anna Freud thanking her for her kindness and support, contrasting it with: 'the stand which the Kleinian group took [which was] distressing for me but quite understandable'.³⁶

The paper itself, 'A homosexual episode as defence against masturbation', the original of which is not presently available,³⁷ raised a number of issues deserving of mention here. Infantile masturbation is, Khan suggests, a means of gaining independence from the parents, their concomitant internalisation providing the psychic material for object relations.³⁸ Early maternal failure during the infant's oral phase may allow for adequate mental-ego development but Khan suggested it:

...creates a trauma-prone disposition at the phallic level of the body-ego development and leads to acute inhibitions of auto-erotic play and psychic elaborations (fantasies) of the new excitements and experiences which are urgent and phase-adequate at this stage.³⁹

Negativism and a fear of emotional surrender, ideas previously articulated by Anna Freud,⁴⁰ alienated the patient from her own bodily excitement, the

experience of which she acquired through identification with her lover, or, as Khan put it, 'her partner was her own excited self in absolute surrender to her (the patient)'.⁴¹ The homosexual episode during the analysis gave rise to critical questions from colleagues about the adequacy of Khan's management of the case.⁴² Commenting on this criticism, Adam Limentani later wrote that:

Her acting out of homosexual impulses with a friend (a novel experience) was precipitated by the patient's incapacity to tolerate frustration, and on reading the report it is easy to form the impression that the analyst did little to prevent it. Khan stresses that he does not recommend acting out as a therapeutic device, but he further argues that the careful and sustained analysis of the homosexual episode enables the patient to understand her experience fully.⁴³

It is evident from this case that Khan, a mere two years after qualifying, was raising questions about the psychoanalytic process, its boundaries and its aims which were controversial and which senior colleagues considered sufficiently indicative of Khan's own problematic character and his being unready to be adjudged fit for progression to full Membership status within the Society.

REFERRALS

Khan's private practice was at this time slowly developing, his caseload building as colleagues referred him patients. In May 1953 Scott referred a psychiatric colleague, Dr C, to Khan, who in accepting and acknowledging the case confirmed that he still had morning vacancies for three more analytic patients.⁴⁴ Referral of patients to those who might both be suitable to treat them and have vacancies has been (and remains) an important professional clinical activity, which also has significant political, social, economic and emotional implications.⁴⁵ Winnicott echoed this when he wrote that he was 'not too happy with our Society. It seems to be full of stooges. Perhaps it's the same everywhere. One finds what one thinks when one comes to place a friend or relation. Then it is a question of: who could one bear to watch failing?'⁴⁶ Winnicott himself was referred patients by a wide network of colleagues and would refer on to a similarly broad group of analysts, predominantly within the Independent Group, as evidenced through his correspondence.⁴⁷

Apart from sending Khan Clinic patients (e.g. Mr A and Tony as discussed above) as part of his training, Winnicott is known to have occasionally recommended him in conversation with people in need of analysis. An early case of the latter was his referral in about November 1953 of Robert Shields,⁴⁸ who he had interviewed on two occasions as a training applicant to the Institute. The Committee appears to have deferred Shields' application and he was advised by Winnicott to have a preparatory period of personal analysis. He accepted Winnicott's suggestion that he go to Khan for this, and began an analysis which would last ten years, finishing in 1963.⁴⁹ This recommendation would have come approximately two years into Winnicott's analysis of Khan and shows Winnicott

materially helping his analysand, possibly enacting his counter-transference and certainly disregarding Freud's rule of abstinence, as his action in making the referral would have undoubtedly highly gratified Khan. Such gratification was of course not solely of Khan, but was *between* Khan and Winnicott as a couple. Remarking on this, Shields noted that Winnicott 'thought most highly of Masud Khan...[and] I had no doubt that they mutually admired one another, Khan and Winnicott. They thought the world of one another.'⁵⁰

Further referrals were to follow, although details of only a few appear in the surviving Winnicott correspondence. One occurred in July 1957, when Khan was no longer in analysis with Winnicott. In responding to Hannah Ries, who had asked him to take the wife of a psychoanalytic colleague on as a patient for a re-analysis, Winnicott declined the referral, but suggested that 'I *might* find myself sending her to Mr Khan, who *seems to me to be doing steady and good work*' (emphasis added).⁵¹ Another occurred two years later, in May 1959, when Winnicott suggested Khan to a Parisian colleague who had sought a recommendation for a Russian man.⁵² Several years later, in March 1966 a Brazilian analyst had sought a twenty month re-analysis with Winnicott or his nominee, specifying that the analyst be capable of paying 'attention both to the environmental factors and to the individual fantasy, one who can accept equally the great contributions both of Freud and Melanie Klein, and Hartmann and others. In a few words, someone with a minimum of one sidedness.'⁵³ In response Winnicott recommended Khan, 'in the belief that he does fulfil your quite reasonable needs'.⁵⁴ In his own writings Khan recounted Winnicott referring two other patients to him when he was well established in his career. Thus, in his 1971 paper 'The role of illusion in the analytic space and process' Khan writes that his patient, Miss X, had been informed by Winnicott that 'if she was not able to see him, she should get in touch with [Khan]'.⁵⁵ Years later, in 'When spring comes' Khan writes of a thirteen year old adolescent girl, Veronique, who Winnicott allegedly referred to him in November 1969.⁵⁶

Why there are not more recommendations to Khan to be found among the numerous patient referrals recorded in Winnicott's surviving correspondence is a tantalising question. Winnicott's 1957 comment to Ries itself shows a certain hesitancy, his use of 'might' suggesting ambivalence rather than a full-blooded recommendation of Khan, while his estimation that Khan was doing good steady clinical work is more definite. This may have been to counter a prevalent impression within the analytic community to the contrary. The psychoanalyst Robert Gosling, for example, wrote of his theatricality, erudition and authorial flair, but in relation to Khan's clinical practice commented that:

I never for a moment thought of referring a patient to him. Why? I never felt, rightly or wrongly, that he was sufficiently in control of himself or reflective enough of his counter-transference. As he was certainly something of a show-off with his colleagues, I wondered how he was with his patients!⁵⁷

Given his position, Winnicott more than most must have had some awareness of Khan's problems in just this area in matters both large and small. A gross

example is the story of Barbara Corke who, having been one of his patients, Winnicott apparently transferred to Khan. Based solely on information from Joyce Coles, Winnicott's secretary, Robert Rodman claims Corke was at some point seduced by Khan and that Winnicott knew of this.⁵⁸ From circumstantial evidence it is clear that Corke had been a patient of Winnicott's during at least the time he was using consulting rooms in Queen Anne Street, from which he moved early in 1952. Hypothetically, her transfer to Khan and the happenings thereafter probably occurred during the 1950s and if true would represent the earliest known example of what would become a chronic pattern of sexual enactment. Even aside from such an uncorroborated story, Winnicott's awareness of Khan's personality and behaviour seems likely to have contributed to some unsettling thoughts about him, even if most were projected into the minds of others. Such insight would go some way in explaining the detectable inhibition in Winnicott's recommendations of him as an analyst.

Whatever concerns may have been entertained, enough colleagues sent him patients to enable Khan to have a substantial private practice during the early 1950s. Jane Shore recalled his heavy clinical workload during this time in their Harley Street home and remarked that with certain of his patients Khan would encourage her to greet them at the door, under the guise of being a maid, while with others she had to remain quiet and out of sight during their arrival and departure.⁵⁹ She, together with any guests present in the apartment when patients were being seen, was bound by Khan to silence until the session's end. During the breaks between patients Khan would go into the living room, sometimes chat and have tea and was particularly keen to catch up on radio commentary on any cricket test matches during the season.⁶⁰

MEMBERSHIP ACHIEVED: BILL'S STORY

By November 1954 Khan was preparing a new clinical paper to attempt to secure his Membership of the British Society and sent drafts to Anna Freud for her comments on 26 and 30 November.⁶¹ In the paper, entitled 'Notes on homosexual episodes in a male patient', Khan discussed an ongoing analysis with a homosexual man, ultimately to be called Bill, in his late thirties, who came complaining of a 'theoretical dislike of homosexuality',⁶² together with a loss of ambition and vitality. Bill was to become a central character in Khan's clinical narratives over the ensuing years, being discussed in at least five of Khan's subsequently published papers.⁶³ Given this position, this first unpublished account will be here described in some detail.

Born the middle of his parents' three children, Bill's parents divorced when he was six, following which his mother remarried and had one further child. In both marriages his mother was embittered towards her husbands and confided such grievances to Bill. The reconstituted family emigrated when the patient was ten and the parents returned to Britain nine years later, Bill remaining overseas initially at university and then working in mining and cattle farming. During his adolescence, Bill participated in homosexual episodes with his elder brother and developed a sexual obsession with the foreskin, wishing that others

be deprived of theirs. He himself had been circumcised at birth. During the Second World War he enlisted in the military and was captured by the Japanese, spending over three years as a prisoner-of-war.

Following the war, in 1950, Bill had thirteen months of psychotherapy three times a week, during which he became actively and promiscuously homosexual, with a predilection for performing fellatio. Then, in 1952 he returned to Britain, where (after a brief wait) he began analysis with Khan with an attitude 'of passivity, enthusiasm and benign denigration'.⁶⁴ Outside the analysis, Bill's relationships pursued a markedly promiscuous and crusading course, in which he serially sought to educate and sponsor his partners; an unrequited activity which left him with an increasing sense of futility and unloveability. In sessions Bill's limited capacity to bear anxiety and frustration became a focus of clinical attention, as did his inability to affectively and imaginatively elaborate his life, his hypomanic state and his reliance on manic defence. As Bill's manic defence eased so did his foreskin fetishism and he concomitantly began to want sustained mutual relationships. At this point, six months into the analysis, Bill began a relationship with a young circumcised man, with whom he closely identified, spent much energy tutoring his sensibility and began then to experience feelings of jealousy and insecurity. These feelings were particularly difficult at night and appeared linked to the emergence of persecutory dreams. As he began to recognise his own difficulties in loving, a more evidently bi-polar affective disorder became manifest. Despite this, his capacity for concern increased, his relationships improved with both men and women and the sexual promiscuity seemed to peter out.

In his theoretical discussion, Khan focussed *inter alia* on issues of transference, which he regarded as being continually both strong and positive, while the sexual acting out represented not so much a neurotic resistance to the analysis but a means of managing his states of acute passivity and helplessness. It was, Khan suggested, Bill's acting out that 'alone made analysis possible for the patient in the first two phases'.⁶⁵ Thus, by means of narrating his sexual encounters as 'psycho-dramatic rehearsals' and 'objectively' observing Khan's emotional reaction, Bill could ward off his terrors of real transference delusion, while allowing both of them a glimpse at his life. However, such a self-protective dissociative and projective stance also left him emotionally impoverished and fractured. Musing on ways to technically address such states, Khan refers positively to Anna Freud's ideas on emotional surrender, Winnicott on regression and Marion Milner on relaxing the stifling grip of rationality on emotional life, before going on to suggest:

... that where in ordinary neurotic cases one can harness the patient's 'capacity for illusion' to develop a transference neurosis and where in psychotics a delusion is presented as [a] fait accompli, in the personality structure of patients like mine we have to deal with the dread of delusion in the transference because there is no capacity for illusion to work with. Kris has discussed regressions in the service of the ego in the artists. I feel that in cases I have in view, no regression in the service of the ego is possible, instead these cases

only make a start through acting out in the service of the ego and one just has to respect that fact and work in its context until they develop enough to be able to sustain transference as an emotional experience in the session.⁶⁶

Acting out within the perversions, Khan thus implies, may be both a defence felt necessity against a fear of incipient psychosis and a possible precursor to the development of imaginative and emotional thinking which may be catalysed through the analytic process.

The suggestion about the value of Bill's behaviour was challenging and followed the similar thesis he had earlier advanced about the female subject of his first membership paper and her homosexual episode. Action and acting out tended to be regarded as the inverse of remembering and thought and thus analytically somewhat frowned upon. A few analysts however had taken a different tack: Winnicott for example had discussed a case involving 'a very severe regression...[during which] by acting out the patient informed herself of the bit of psychic reality which was difficult to get at at the moment, but of which the patient so acutely needed to become aware'.⁶⁷ Winnicott's article was one of those Khan referenced in his paper on Bill, yet Khan's treatment of the issue was significant in its own right and represents a characteristic independent stance he would develop in the years ahead.⁶⁸

This stance towards working with severe disturbance clearly has its forerunners, Khan's citation of Winnicott only alluding to one of this tradition's more recent representatives. Others, such as Michael Balint (who would increasingly figure – both implicitly and explicitly – in Khan's thinking), preceded him and this tradition with its strong interest in the potentially therapeutic role of regression follows directly from the line from Freud that Sándor Ferenczi developed. His exploration of the relations between action or repetition on the one hand and remembering on the other, epitomised in his groundbreaking 'Confusion of tongues' paper, saw childhood sexual, aggressive or strain traumas resulting from a confusion between infantile affection and adult passion. Ferenczi saw this as leading to a splitting of the child's unconsolidated personality, with both regression and defensive precocious ego development which involves identification with (and introjection of) the guilty aggressor ensuing. Seeing this split as liable to reinforcement by traditional verbal interpretation, Ferenczi suggested an attitude of 'maternal friendliness' and a 'willingness on our part [as analysts] to admit our mistakes' was essential in helping such patients establish a 'contrast between the present and the unbearable traumatogenic past...which...enable[s] him to re-experience the past no longer as hallucinatory reproduction but as an objective memory'.⁶⁹ These views implicitly touch on Freud's key notion of deferred action (*nachträglichkeit* or the *après-coup* as Lacan would term it) and reappear in typically unacknowledged form in Winnicott's writings, for example when in a paper written in about 1963 he attributes a fear of breakdown to 'a fear of a past event that has not yet been experienced' due to the earlier immature nature of child's ego.⁷⁰ It is in the territory between such confusion of tongues that Khan's best work would develop, particularly in his

exploration of early trauma, regression, action in its various manifestations and dream experience, both clinically and within the wider cultural sphere.

Having had written comments from Anna Freud on the paper, Khan proceeded to read it at the British Society's Scientific Meeting on Wednesday 1 December 1954, chaired by Sylvia Payne, who was now the Society President. Anna Freud commended his clinical work during the discussion,⁷¹ in which Payne, Marion Milner, Charles Rycroft, Gillespie, Winnicott, Klein and Michael Balint among others also participated.⁷² Everything did not go smoothly however. Michael Balint, Melanie Klein and others criticised aspects of the paper and, subsequent to the meeting, Bion became involved with Sylvia Payne in considering Khan's defence of his paper.⁷³ The substance of these particular criticisms is unknown, although it is clear that Khan had previously sought to allay questions about the durability of changes within the patient, who he claimed had 'moved a long way towards heterosexuality...[and] so far as his homosexuality is concerned the change is securely established'.⁷⁴ The Council met on 6 December and agreed that the paper could go ahead to the next stage, the Society's Business Meeting, where it would be voted on by the Members.⁷⁵ There, on 19 January 1955 after still further discussion the paper was passed, with thirty-two votes in favour and (significantly) fifteen against. Hanna Segal recalls the preceding discussion, in which she took an active part, as centring on concerns by many members, particularly Klein and her followers, about Khan's personal suitability, especially his character.⁷⁶ Charles Rycroft, amongst others, was uneasy about such public discussion of his friend's personality and Membership election procedures were subsequently modified; the merits of papers in and of themselves would be considered without reference to professional, ethical and other indicators and contra-indicators of suitability, these now being split-off to be raised with the Council.⁷⁷ At the time however no other hurdles stood in Khan's way and the majority vote of the Business Meeting was ratified by the Board on 21 February, thus finally making Khan a full Member of the British Psychoanalytical Society.⁷⁸

Full Membership of the Society entitled Khan to similar status in the International Psychoanalytical Association, a status he was soon able to sport with colleagues when he attended the 19th IPA Congress, held in July that year in Geneva. Being a full Member however did not inure him from narcissistic blows. Indeed, such heightened status may have conferred on Khan a greater susceptibility to such injury. At the Congress Anna Freud apparently introduced him to Princess Marie Bonaparte, in whose presence he was when, as he later described, Winnicott 'playing the Charlie Chaplin toppled his chair and fell flat on the floor tipping the Princess's plate on her lap. I could have died of shame and embarrassment. He was my analyst then.'⁷⁹ Winnicott was well known for such clowning antics.⁸⁰ It was not long after this that Khan would cease his analysis with Winnicott.

Khan's heavy involvement in British psychoanalysis since qualification had, by 1955, seen him establish his private practice, attain a certain standing within the analytic milieu (through his writing, speaking and politico-administrative involvement) and achieve his full Membership of the British Society. All of this

left him well placed to now look forward to further professional advancement, with appointment as a training analyst being the typical next major career milestone. Within the year, Khan would be quietly lobbying for nomination as a training analyst. This step, however, would follow the ending of his analysis with Winnicott; an event which was inexorably bound up with serious problems within Khan's marriage that would in due course lead to Jane's breakdown and the couple's divorce. Considering these events will allow a more comprehensive re-approach to understanding the Khan-Winnicott analysis.

MARITAL BREAKDOWN

Following their marriage, difficulties soon began to emerge within the couple's relationship. Bickering was a frequent occurrence. Ambitious for Jane to become a ballerina, Khan appears to have been frustrated with her lack of progress towards this goal, a goal which by the time of their marriage Jane was clearly already having second thoughts about.⁸¹ In relationships Khan appeared to want to associate and be identified with the social elite, or as Jane Shore later remarked, with those who were 'top-drawer', an echelon which she began to feel her husband now neither saw her within, nor saw her as capable of attaining.

Within the couple's physical relationship psychosexual difficulties became manifest, most overtly with Jane suffering from vaginismus, about which Khan appeared insensitive. His attitude and sexual technique proved to be brusque and inept; for instance, Khan, at this time at least, did not believe in or at least practise foreplay.⁸² Whether Winnicott, who himself seems to have had profound sexual difficulties at least in his first marriage,⁸³ was suited to help Khan with these problems seems rather unlikely. In retrospect, Jane wondered whether Khan struggled with latent homosexual traits, particularly in view of his proclivity towards socialising with young homosexual men, an idea that was also entertained about him by a number of his colleagues. Hans Zullig certainly felt painfully teased and tantalised by Khan's behaviour towards him, especially his too familiar physicality, which encroached into Zullig's personal space. It is hardly conceivable that Khan was blind to the effect of such actions on others, their role in his own mental economy being something that will be revisited here in due course.

Socialising with Khan's psychoanalytic contemporaries was a frequent occurrence, although the conversation during such encounters often became hateful and alienating for Jane, its character dissection, pathologising and 'shredding' tone towards others putting her to sleep. Particularly odious for her was the way in which a patient's death or the prospect of such through suicide could be spoken of as if such a tragedy enhanced the status of the analyst; a macabre rite of passage by means of a blood sacrifice towards a more macho persona. Suicides of course were not unknown among analytic patients; one of Winnicott's patients had killed herself when hospitalised in the psychodynamically oriented Cassel Hospital in July 1950.⁸⁴ Knowledge of this transference sibling's death and possibly sexualised rivalry with Winnicott may have contributed to Khan's conversational callousness, as may similar feelings

towards his father especially in the latter's role as a hardened professional soldier. Faced with such an emotional environment Jane, as she now describes herself, became a virtual cipher, a silent, sometimes dozing, witness on the margins of her husband's psychoanalytic social scene. With senior colleagues the tone was different. With Winnicott and his wife Clare, for example, who were occasional guests at 8 Harley Street, Khan tended to be 'very respectful, even reverential'. Reciprocally, Winnicott would praise Khan's abilities and was not infrequently of practical help. Once for example, during a difficult time in the Khans' relationship in about 1954, Winnicott arranged for Jane to stay in Aldringham, in Suffolk, with his friend Hannah Henry. He informed Henry that Jane was 'a lovely ballet dancer, having a dreadful time with a difficult husband...a very handsome Pakistani'.⁸⁵ After a break of a couple of weeks, Khan turned up and the couple returned to London. Henry would for a number of years afterwards remain in friendly contact with Jane by letter, Winnicott being used on one occasion at least (in May 1959) as postman for her letters to his then patient.⁸⁶

Other social and cultural activities were less problematic, such as Khan's keenness for modern art, particularly the Cubists such as Braque and to a lesser extent Picasso, Persian, Indian and European poetry and contemporary European drama. Thus for example, the couple attended Beckett's celebrated *Waiting for Godot*, directed by a young Peter Hall, during its first run at the Arts Theatre Club in London in August 1955.⁸⁷ By this point, however, such activities were occurring on borrowed time.

Jane had been on tour with Michael Benthall's production of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* with the Old Vic Theatre Company in the United States and Canada, immediately following its staging at the Empire Theatre during the Edinburgh Festival on 31 August 1954.⁸⁸ The North American tour began in New York at the Metropolitan Opera House on 21 September to critical reviews,⁸⁹ before continuing its run from coast to coast, being some four months on the road before Jane got back to England in January 1955. During this time the couple had exchanged letters and telephone calls, although Khan (in the midst of his membership paper process) had not ventured to join Jane in the USA at any time during the long tour. On her return to London and Khan, she experienced herself as being displaced within the marriage. In retrospect, Jane saw the period of her long North American tour as probably the occasion when Khan initiated a clandestine affair with Svetlana Beriosova,⁹⁰ now a rising star at the Sadler's Wells Ballet (which in 1956 became the Royal Ballet) and previously with the Sadler's Wells Theatre Ballet – her arrival there in May 1950 having contributed to Jane's decision to depart that company.⁹¹ At the time however, none of this was clear to Jane; instead she was aware of being unhappy, an unhappiness that deepened into a marked depression which included thoughts of suicide using the gas cooker.⁹² At this point Khan encouraged her to consult Winnicott, something she was initially hesitant about. However, with no other practical help seeming to be on offer, Jane accepted her husband's idea. Jane's consultation with Winnicott was quickly succeeded by her going into five times

a week analysis with him during the autumn of 1955, the session times being physically made available by Khan's cessation of his own analysis.

Despite thus ending his analysis, which was he later consistently told Judith Issroff 'sacrificed...for his first wife',⁹³ Khan did not renounce contact with Winnicott. Instead, he *substituted* one overt form of contact for another, for it was from this point onwards that Khan would become Winnicott's editorial assistant and primary explicator. Marion Milner later privately wrote of these events:

I heard that Jane, his first wife, was in serious psychological trouble and that Masud had demanded that Winnicott take Jane for analysis, instead of him. Unbelievably, Winnicott had agreed and, instead of having his own analysis Masud was to go to Winnicott's house...every Sunday morning to work on editing Winnicott's collected papers. This was splendid for us readers, since the editing was done so well, but was disastrous for Masud. I believe the arrangement went on for a whole year and Masud told me he was not ever asked to stay for Sunday lunch after the morning's work on the books. I have always thought that this stopping of his analysis in this way was totally disastrous for Masud and I felt angry for him, since I can't help seeing it as a catastrophe which played a big part in the troubles he got himself into later. Why Winnicott agreed to do it I have no idea...There were many other people who could have analysed Jane...My last letter to him which he was too ill to answer was about my anger and sorrow for the way I thought he had been harmed over his own analysis.⁹⁴

Milner's account is important both in itself and for its further corroboration of that of Jane Shore. Her expression of surprise and anger at Winnicott's accession to both Khan's 'demand' that Winnicott treat Jane in his stead and for permitting Khan to undertake editorial work '*for a whole year*', however, radically understates the magnitude of the latter. In fact, Khan would be involved with Winnicott editorially up to his death in 1971, that is, *for a whole fifteen years*. This involvement will be detailed later in succeeding chapters.

Beginning analysis with Winnicott provided Jane with important support. However, it also served as a palliative in that it maintained the existing interpersonal scenario that fuelled the distress, allowing Khan to continue his unrecognised affair and divest himself of concerns for his wife. Whether this was something Winnicott was consciously aware of at the time is unclear, but his motivation may be wondered at, particularly in the light of his own lengthy infidelity with Clare Britton during his marriage to Alice. Was he perhaps supporting Khan as his equally unfaithful twin or was he attempting some displaced reparation to Alice? Whatever the varied initial motivations of the participants, Jane's analysis and the affair would continue uncomfortably in parallel for about a year. At the end of this time, in mid 1956, Jane, still unconscious of her husband's affair with Beriosova, hosted a dinner party with Khan at 8 Harley Street that would precipitate the final crisis.⁹⁵ Beriosova was among the guests and was the last to leave, Khan showing her out. On

leaning out the window to wave her goodbye, Jane saw her husband and Beriosova in a passionate embrace on the hall steps. Suppressing her urge to hurl something at them, she retreated into a deeper depression, with increased self-destructive thoughts.

The traumatic recognition of the affair was experienced as a disaster by Jane. Continuing to live with Khan, who continued his relationship with Beriosova, the tensions increased with Jane distraught and ruminating on suicide. Khan declared he would hospitalise her to prevent an embarrassing suicide at home. Seeing her desperate situation, Winnicott suggested she should perhaps return to live with her parents, a suggestion Jane felt unable to then follow. Then, with no alternative provision for Jane's daily safety, care and support, Winnicott acceded to her hospitalisation, which he arranged with a psychiatric colleague, Desmond Bardon,⁹⁶ who admitted Jane to the massive Shenley Hospital, near St Albans, probably around August 1956.⁹⁷ Even then, however, Jane was to once again re-encounter the traumatic *ménage à trois* of the dinner party evening. This came about as a result of the Bolshoi Ballet's historic arrival in London in October 1956, whose opening night Jane keenly wanted to attend. Khan collected her from Shenley and together they went to see the Bolshoi perform *Romeo and Juliet*, with Galina Ulanova as Juliet, at Covent Garden on Wednesday 3 October.⁹⁸ Sitting in the dress circle with Khan, Jane uncomfortably found Beriosova was seated in the very next row, about whom she now recalls Khan critically commenting on the incongruity of Beriosova's black bra visible underneath her white blouse. Then, after staying that night back at 8 Harley Street, Jane returned to Shenley, with Khan declaring rather ambiguously to her, 'You will thank me some day for this.'⁹⁹ Jane would remain an in-patient in Shenley for a total of eighteen months. During this time she, with the support of Bardon, was able to continue her analysis with Winnicott, commuting to her sessions and using the analytic breaks in 1957 and 1958 to visit Montana with her longstanding New York friend Louise Carpenter (who ten years later would look after Winnicott following his heart attack in New York). Following Jane's eventual discharge from Shenley she would further pursue the analysis, before reaching an agreed end during 1960, having divorced Khan in June 1958. The divorce will be briefly discussed later. However, at this point it is apposite, given the new material, to once again examine the Winnicott-Khan analysis.

On and Off Winnicott's Couch

THE KHAN-WINNICOTT ANALYSIS REVISITED

The detailed issues spoken of during the Winnicott-Khan analysis are unfortunately unavailable for consideration here. From the fragmentary references that survive (all being culled from the period after 1955 when it is here supposed the analysis was terminated), it appears that it was to Khan's tendency to idealise his objects and to his omnipotence that Winnicott directed many of his interpretations. Thus, in August 1957 in a brief note to Winnicott, whom Khan here addresses as 'Dear DWW', he writes:

It was very pleasant to hear your voice full of rest and health. I sincerely hope you will not overload yourself in haste with work. I am saying this out of the blue and blatantly because I have been profoundly impressed by the value of your work and in my opinion you need another decade to really write it out to its fullness of potential. *There is little transference fervour in this* and a lot of hard and very arduous work behind this judgement of mine.¹ (Emphasis added)

The reassurance that his note contained 'little transference fervour' seems a prime example of Freud's thesis on negation: Khan's note seems redolent with transference fervour, as is another from several years later. In that example, from September 1961, while acknowledging a psychiatric report he had earlier requested from Winnicott on one of his patients, Khan remarked:

No, I did not expect you to do one of your magic cures with him and I am happy to know that you did precisely what I hoped you would do (I am complimenting your perspicacity here and *not congratulating my omnipotence as you might think*) which was that you would save him from searching after further psychotherapeutic remedies.² (Emphasis added)

A focus on Khan's tendencies to inflate and idealise his objects and his own grandiosity and omnipotence is hardly surprising. These character traits were widely recognised by those who had even a passing acquaintance with him.

What use Khan made of interpretation of such manifest traits and transference is doubtful. It is perhaps equally doubtful what use he may have made of interpretation of the deeper phantasies and affects that these manifest states were evoked to manage. Utilising such an object relations view, it seems

probable that idealisation of his objects served to mask Khan's envy, aggression and contempt, while his own grandiosity was an inexorably related form of narcissistic or manic defence against object-relating, dependency, shame, guilt and marked fragile vulnerability.

However, Khan was critical of Winnicott's tendency to interpret what he called a patient's '*non-sense*' by...reconstructing *the facts* of infancy (Winnicott),³ and would favour his later technical emphasis on patient holding over interpretation as Winnicott describes in, for example, his paper 'The use of an object and relating through identifications'.⁴ As such, Khan seeks to emphasise the limits of language and comes close to Lacan in the latter's emphasis on the cost to the real exacted by an individual's entry into the symbolic register and on the importance of analysis focussing without premature foreclosure on that which is not understood.⁵ The picture was inevitably further complicated for Khan given that his native origins and vernacular were un-understood by and large by his London colleagues and analysts, something that allowed a degree of privacy, necessitated translation and challenged communication.

In remarking on his experiences as an analysand, it would be rare non-interpreted moments of relating that Khan would recall as at least subjectively important. Thus, he would write some four months after Winnicott's death:

What a difficult thing psycho-analysis is to report about to others. No, even to myself...25 years of analysis with four analysts is a long odyssey and each of them helped me, without my being able to talk to any of them significantly about myself ever...D.W. alone was aware of it and allowed for it... It is for this reason that...I did succeed at three occasions to sink into my Self, be silent...and related to him. All these three occasions were physical...He was in his chair seated and I had got off the couch and buried my head into the side of his coat. I can still hear his heart and watch beating. All else was still...and I was at peace. And D.W. never interpreted those three occasions. He had enabled me to reach to that point.⁶

For Khan, it was Winnicott's quiet sentient presence that he appeared to value rather than his words, which, as with those of others – most prominently his mother during his childhood, were experienced as disruptively intrusive. Writing of this to Victor Smirnoff, Khan declared: 'All humans – and even DWW is no exception – take away my authenticity from myself.'⁷ Indeed, Khan here directly suggests that his own 'free associations' were equally felt to be an *insignificant* or unreliable link to the other. Extending this, Khan may be regarded as drawing attention to language, not as a vehicle for communication and interpersonal connectedness, but as a means of expropriation, colonisation, dissembling, concealing, prevaricating and distance regulation. Secretiveness and lying were characteristic modes for Khan and were in all probability manifest during Khan's analysis, a point Hopkins makes, which she supports by quoting Khan as remarking: 'Persons like me are too private to be analysed.'⁸ In an era of object relations, Khan may thus be seen as publicly paying a certain lip-service to such a theory – that development and insight come about most profoundly

in relation to and through the other – and at the same time holding a private view that object relations are inimical to at least his own such self knowledge and development.

In his emphasis on Winnicott's *presence*, Khan may be regarded as pointing to, what were for him, the more stable and authentic characteristics of self and other, characteristics more definitive than utterances. Thus, in his address to the Winnicott Memorial Meeting of the British Psychoanalytical Society on 19 January 1972, Khan began his remarks writing:

As I look back over some twenty years of working with Winnicott, what stands out most vividly is his relaxed physicality and a lambent concentration in his person. Winnicott listened with his whole body and had keen unintrusive eyes that gazed at one with a mixture of unbelief and utter acceptance. A childlike clownish spontaneity imbued his movements. Yet he could be still, so very inheld and still! A certain palpable but indefinable *me-ness* threaded all his variegated antics into coherence. I have not met another analyst who was more inevitably himself. It was this quality of his inviolable *me-ness* that enabled him to be so many different persons to such diverse people. Each of us has encountered his *own* Winnicott, and he never transgressed the other's invention of him by any assertion of his own style of being. And yet he always stayed so inexorably Winnicott.⁹

This presentation of Winnicott as a transitional object, allowing himself to be found and used by the other, Khan clearly intimates would have been threatened by an 'assertion of his own style', words puncturing the illusory space that Winnicott regarded as curative. In another obituary note, Khan writes how 'All those he had *nurtured by his presence*...will remember him with a tenderness and gratitude as the maverick sage of psychoanalysis'¹⁰ (emphasis added). Here again, Khan's stress on presence over interpretation highlights the type of Winnicott perhaps he would have wanted as his analyst.

However, Khan's preference for presence over interpretation may have represented a rather defensive and partial view of his own analytic *needs*, which would have included addressing at least his aggression and his grandiosity. Marion Milner focussed on the former aspects when she suggested that 'Winnicott didn't give him a successful analysis. He couldn't handle Khan's destructiveness.'¹¹ It is likely that Winnicott's anxieties about his own health and very survival following his heart attacks immediately prior to starting Khan's analysis contributed to this, as would a further probable coronary he seems to have had during the period of the analysis in December 1953 or January 1954 which led him to working only half-time during his subsequent recuperation.¹² The latter is clearly likely to have disrupted the equilibrium of ongoing analyses. Milner is followed in her conclusion about destructiveness by Linda Hopkins, whose extended discussion of the Winnicott–Khan analysis focuses on the role and mismanagement of hostility within it.¹³ Arguing that Winnicott had a tendency to withdraw from his patients' aggressivity, Hopkins convincingly supports this contention citing Winnicott's work with Margaret

Little, Harry Guntrip and the case of the nine year old evacuee described in his 1947 paper 'Hate in the counter-transference'.¹⁴ On the basis of this foundation, Hopkins suggests that a similar pattern of failures by Winnicott to confront and by Khan to frankly express his hostility may have led to an incomplete analysis, which short-changed Khan. Despite her thesis being seemingly skewed and overextended due to accepting Khan's claim to have had a fifteen-year analysis with Winnicott, Hopkins' argument about the role of insufficiently analysed hostility remains both plausible and probable. It is indeed supported by Joyce McDougall who recalled Khan criticising Winnicott for his failure to confront and forbid his destructive drinking, a failure McDougall attributed to Winnicott's being 'sometimes chary of dealing with transference [as distinct from counter-transference] hatred...[perhaps due to his] strong wish to be loved by his patients'.¹⁵ Winnicott, however, not only apparently failed to forbid Khan's drinking, he appears (by Khan's own not necessarily reliable account at least) to have colluded with it in so far as he would offer Khan whisky during some of their meetings at a time when – in the 1960s – his problems with alcohol were patent.¹⁶ It was, however, Khan's grandiosity that significantly underlay his hostility, drinking and other symptomatic behaviours and it was this that he was perhaps most in need of Winnicott's analytic help with, which, while it is linked with aggression, is not identical to it.

Grandiosity was central to Khan's overt self-presentation, which if it were questioned could lead to a more open display of hostility. Numerous examples might here be cited, although a few will suffice to illustrate this point.¹⁷ As a child, Tahir recalled him as a very beautiful, spoiled boy with a penchant for tall stories and fabrication.¹⁸ In later adulthood, he would pick on people and seek to impose his own views.¹⁹ David Holbrook thus describes how, at a dinner party, Khan, having targeted many of his guests, excused himself to one apprehensive guest by claiming he:

...was in a childish, 'roistering' mood. [To which the guest] replied, 'Surely, Masud, not so much roistering as *rude*'. He stood up, and from his exceptional height glared down at her. 'No-one speaks to me like that! I'm afraid I must ask you to leave'. So she did. As did all the other guests: banished for *lèse majesté*!²⁰

Other adjectives might be employed to describe Khan in such instances also, such as haughty, arrogant, narcissistic, gauche, defensive, proud, and so on. Such a penumbra suggests Khan had a preponderance of the death instinct within his personality. Within such a framework, Bion pertinently argues that 'in the personality where life instincts predominate, pride becomes self-respect, where death instincts predominate, pride becomes arrogance'.²¹

Support for such a view comes from Khan's colleague within the Independent Group, Eric Rayner, who said of Khan:

He was...tragically the poorer for his inability to be guilty or ashamed, or to ask for forgiveness of others. Instead he seems to have been compelled

only to provoke others to punish him...Pride was his sin and his downfall. He was also too proud to be anything but startling: he had to be special; he never seems to have discovered the bliss of being ordinary.²²

Notions of 'being ordinary' were certainly consciously an anathema to Khan, who would show marked disdain for the bourgeois and proletarian worlds. Never one willingly or graciously to tolerate being eclipsed in any domain of his life, dependency on an other seems to have been unsustainable for Khan. In his attempt at analysis with Winnicott, who became a well known exponent of the controlled use of regression with certain patients, the issue of regression and dependency for Khan seems likely to have been among the major obstacles on which it foundered. Khan himself offers some support for this hypothesis. In 1969, for example, in his *Work Book* he wrote that one-day with Winnicott:

I told him bluntly one reason why I had failed to use him creatively during all those years of analysis was because I was *larger* as a person than him and he could not stand that. He agreed!²³

Later, Khan would repeatedly relate a variation of this story to Judy Cooper at a time towards the end of his life when they were discussing his biography. Cooper thus recounts how:

Khan regaled me many times with a lively account of how he put Winnicott down by saying, what would Winnicott as a man of merely 5'5" know of the internal power of a man whose father was 6'5" tall!²⁴

Here Khan suggests that his omnipotence and grandiosity were clearly linked to his idealisation and internalisation of and identification with his father. The Winnicott Khan would so propound in much of his published work he can be here seen privately concretely belittling, the public lieutenancy offering him both a special place within the psychoanalytic establishment and a cover beneath which he could conceal his envy, rivalry and ambitiousness. To put this another way, as the Winnicottian prince Khan had a special place in the kingdom, though the route to his further advancement necessitated Winnicott's death. Further signs of Khan's antipathy to being regressed and dependent in his analysis with Winnicott may be discerned in a letter from 1973, when he would criticise Winnicott's use of regression and the 'tyrannical dependents' that he regarded it as producing, further privately confiding that:

I have no sympathy for Winnicott's...type of inculcated *complicity* of transference-dependence. I will work *with* any patient through all the messes and collapses and at all cost and all times – *but never for* a patient. That is corruption and devious omnipotence...D.W.W. was infested with failings like an unkempt shaggy pet dog. But his virtues were equally large and unique.²⁵

The alternative stance (namely working *with* rather than *for*), that Khan here proposes vis-à-vis the other, discourages both various expressions of regression and dependency in the patient (the corollary of which may be a certain support for ego functioning) and the assumption of responsibility by the analyst.

Instead of dependency on the other, being special and the focus of attention was Khan's *métier*, which, if it could not be achieved through his own individuality and mere fact of being, or through merit, effort, position or performance, then it might be attained through outrageousness. In discussing the need to be special, Peter Lomas developed Tom Main's ideas on the special patient and stressed that such a need can result from a failure of early environmental recognition of the child's individuality (fostering a craving for recognition), combined with a substitute offer of a putatively special relationship based on the terms of an idealised family set-up (the other), which if accepted confers a sense of *place* and a refuge from a real identity.²⁶ Lomas concludes that:

When he enters the sphere of adult activity he will once again look for a special place, and if he can find one due to special talent or fortuitous circumstances, his pathological craving for recognition may pass unnoticed. If this does not happen his drive to be special will be culturally dystonic and personally self-destructive.²⁷

Such a view may be readily applied to Khan, during both his childhood and through his adult years wherein it provides an explanatory model for his ambitious drive and self-destructiveness. Taking up the latter, Dodi Goldman suggests that 'in the absence of quiet recognition, one needs desire noisily confirmed to survive psychologically' and that with Khan his perception of his provocative outrageousness having an impact on the other conferred on him at least transient relief from an underlying sense of insubstantiality.²⁸ Acknowledging the latter, Khan suggested that Winnicott sought to address this during the analysis, as on one occasion he recounted seemingly proudly to Joyce McDougall how 'during a session... Winnicott suddenly leaned forward and said: "The trouble with you, Khan, is that you don't exist"''.²⁹ McDougall's quick-fire response of 'So it was with you that he discovered the false self!' apparently left Khan furious.³⁰

Extending his thesis, Dodi Goldman incisively suggests that as flamboyance and then outrageousness failed to yield a sense of substance, vitality and self-coherence for Khan (perhaps due to a type of psychic and environmental habituation), the stakes were increased through heightened self-destructive behaviour in a desperate attempt to at least maintain a semblance of psychic equilibrium. Goldman thus ominously writes that 'in the absence of recognition, self-destructiveness becomes a last ditch effort to preserve a semblance of control as the illusion of the integrity of the self collapses... The problem, of course, is that self-destructiveness as guardian of integrity is analogous to blood letting; there is a race between cure and death.'³¹ Concluding his discussion of the Winnicott-Khan analysis, Goldman argues that while Winnicott clearly helped Khan, he also failed him and (more provocatively for the present discussion) that

Khan could not have been helped. The latter he attributes to Khan's psychological state: his hypomanic temperament, under the yoke of which, Goldman suggests, Khan felt profoundly powerless to modify his own precocious mind, as well as his reactiveness and defensive indifference to others.

In the main, Goldman's conclusions about the Winnicott-Khan analysis appear balanced and convincing in as far as they go, although (as with other commentators) Goldman's arguments are partly distorted through acceptance of the exaggerated idea that the analysis extended over some fifteen years. It seems likely that it was largely Khan's omnipotence and grandiosity that would limit the extent and effectiveness of his analysis. Marion Milner offered a verdict on Margaret Little that probably equally applies to Khan when she said that Little 'couldn't be totally analysed because she was too grandiose, she didn't have the humility that would have made her analysable'.³² His grandiosity, evident from early in his childhood, from whence it was fanned by parental indulgence, comfortable circumstance, fear and his own talent and capacities, left an essential core of psychic pain, rage and a need for recognition dissociated during both his day-to-day life and in his analysis. In the latter, Winnicott, in the midst of the transference-countertransference storm, appears to have repeatedly engaged with Khan in mutual enactments, causing extensive excursions from the analytic work, probably occasioned by issues of deep hostility and fear within both Khan and Winnicott. As an analytic couple, their incapacity to effectively come to grips with this led to the analysis being initially seriously compromised and then collapsing, which is likely to have powerfully recapitulated and thus reinforced Khan's pre-existing difficulties and modes of coping.

IN LIEU OF ANALYSIS

Following the ending of Khan's analysis in the autumn of 1955, his relationship with Winnicott seems to have grown socially, while professionally it focussed on *mutual* career and intellectual-cum-editorial sponsorship and some case discussion or supervision. At the meetings of the Society Training Committee in November and December 1955, for example, Winnicott proposed Khan as a potential Training Analyst on the pretext that he was seeing Robert Shields who had been accepted as a candidate for psychoanalytic training and who would need placing with an analyst recognised for training purposes.³³ Given the recency of Winnicott's analytic relationship with Khan and the fact that Winnicott was actively engaged in the analysis of Khan's wife, Jane, there was significant scope for bias and conflict of interest in Winnicott's proposal of Khan to his colleagues on the Training Committee. The criteria for such posts had been the subject of close discussion the previous year, the highlights of which are here relevant to consider.

The contemporaneous regulations for the selection of Training Analysts recommended that as a prerequisite each should have a minimum of five years post-qualification analytic experience before eligibility for the appointment.³⁴ The regulations further indicated that potential Training Analysts should 'have

participated in the work and Scientific Meetings of the Institute actively enough to permit the members of the Training Committee getting to know something of his personality, outlook and analytic understanding'.³⁵ Professional competence was to be the primary selection consideration. With the increase in the numbers of training applications in the decade following the Second World War the Institute was finding it difficult to cater for them within existing resources. The then teaching, supervising and training analysts were a relatively small coterie.

At the beginning of 1954 the Training Committee began to reconsider the minimum criteria Members should meet for their appointment as Training Analysts (and, relatedly, for Members participation in the teaching and supervision of candidates at the Institute). Clifford Scott circulated an initial memorandum on 6 January 1954, which was followed by others from Hedwig Hoffer, Winnicott, Heimann, Payne, and Barbara Lantos. Clifford Scott recommended that prospective Training Analysts' work is briefly surveyed by the committee after the equivalent of four years full time post-qualification analytic work and that they have had 'several patients in lengthy analysis before he begins the analysis of students'.³⁶ Hoffer in a thoughtful memorandum, having briefly reviewed the impact being a candidate makes on the nature of the training analysis, argued that 'a specific assessment of the analyst's qualification is hardly possible' and that the five year criterion as a *middle way* is the most appropriate.³⁷ Winnicott urged that 'It is essential to avoid creating a set of standards so that when an analyst reaches a certain well-defined position the matter of employment on the training scheme is automatic; in such a case non-employment becomes synonymous with rejection of the analyst as a person. In this way the emphasis passes over from the students' *amour propre*'.³⁸ Winnicott concluded with a basic endorsement of the five year post-Membership criterion. However, he then (after four pages of criteria and caveats) wrote: 'the exact details are not vitally important, however, since the Training Committee of the year will be guided by the analyst's analytic contributions'.³⁹ Heimann favoured keeping the five year full-time criterion for training analysts and that it would be preferable to suspend training than to compromise its quality.⁴⁰ Payne recommended that prospective training analysts who were in full time practice for five years, should have treated at least four cases over a minimum of four years five times a week bringing each to a termination. She suggested that where analysts were working part time the same number of cases be seen over a six year period.⁴¹ Lantos was broadly in agreement with Scott in favouring the equivalent of a four year period of full time post-qualification work as a generally necessary benchmark criterion.⁴²

Although Khan had been an Associate Member since 1950, he had been a full Member less than twelve months by the time of his proposal as a training analyst. In discussing criteria for selection Winnicott had stated prospective training analysts must be both a Member and have been qualified and practising full or almost full time for five years, and they should show general technical competence, which might be judged by among other things the candidate's Membership paper.⁴³ Technically, Khan would seem to have satisfied such basic

criteria and, with his peer, Pearl King, being appointed a training analyst this year, he might reasonably have thought he also would be appointed. However, the failure of his first Membership application and the critical discussion that surrounded his second successful application highlights the existence of ongoing doubts among at least part of the Society about interrelated issues of suitability, readiness and the quality of his clinical practice. Whatever the precise issues they discussed, the committee decided 'that Mr Khan was not at present suitable to undertake training analyses', before going on to seek an agreed recognised analyst for Shields, who at the time may have been considering moving to a Kleinian.⁴⁴ The latter deliberations came to nothing and Khan's analysis of Shields continued, which circumstance was to be of professional significance in due course.

The following year, 1956, as Khan's personal life became increasingly and probably painfully complex, the known facts about his professional life dwindle. Winnicott was elected President of the British Psychoanalytical Society in July 1956 (holding the office until 1959, when Willi Hoffer took over) and was beginning to assemble his *Collected Papers* which were due to appear with Tavistock Publications. Whether Khan assisted Winnicott at this stage with his book remains unclear, although it appears possible that some such collaboration began towards the end of the year. At this time Khan seems to have been publicly displaying a certain erraticness and volatility, signs perhaps of the conflictual strain he was under. Thus, at a rather unusual Scientific Meeting on Wednesday 21 November 1956 the standing agenda of a speaker followed by discussion was replaced by an open discussion on the subject of ghosts.⁴⁵ During this, Khan spoke about one of his patients apparently reporting some supernatural experience and alluded to Anna Freud's open-minded attitude when he (Khan) had sought her opinion on the matter, comments colleagues heard as disparaging. The gossip spread and duly made its way back to Khan. Writing to Anna Freud on Monday 10 December, he ingratiatingly declared what he had said was intended as 'a gesture of gratitude' for her non-dogmatic approach, which he suggested had been previously exemplified when he was a candidate in supervision with her and she had impressed him with 'the vivid way you let me make my mistakes and helped me to find my way out gradually'.⁴⁶ She responded, commenting on (and apparently chastising him for) his behaviour; which rebuke Khan significantly and only too readily took up, thanking her for her observations and replying:

I too always feel that every time I get up to speak I misrepresent myself. I get side-tracked and end up by saying things that at best 'score a point'. And I fully agree with you that strict discipline is the answer towards a solution of this anomaly in my character.⁴⁷

Continuing in a manner that might now be considered indicative of manic reparation, Khan proceeded to assure Anna Freud that he was already planning a self-cure through the use of 'strict discipline' by writing a metapsychological paper, on problems of modern ego psychology, which he hoped to read at

a Scientific Meeting during February 1957. The proposed paper would, however, have a significantly longer gestation than the two months Khan here intimated, the delay being rather reminiscent of his former tardy settlement of financial debts.

Editorial work would occupy Khan significantly during 1957, alongside which he would attempt to progress his ideas for his paper on metapsychology. Winnicott had received the galley proofs for his *Collected Papers* from the publishers in January 1957 and felt it necessary to extensively rewrite various passages, which delayed the production process.⁴⁸ Khan now became involved working with Winnicott on the proofs and compiling the index, and, with his being ill for a time, further delays were incurred.⁴⁹ By June, however, the editorial arrangements were well under way and compilation of the index could begin. An Associate Editor at Tavistock Publications, Diana Burfield, offered to send Khan an additional set of proofs for this purpose,⁵⁰ but Winnicott told John Harvard-Watts, the Director of Tavistock Publications, that Khan had already commenced the index and anticipated its completion by 21 July.⁵¹ Even Khan's vacation, planned for the latter part of June 1957, would not stand in the way of the work's completion; for, as Winnicott explained, Khan would be taking the book with him on holiday.⁵² By mid July Winnicott was able to report to John Harvard-Watts that his own proof reading would probably be completed by Monday 22 July, as would Khan's work on the index.⁵³

Here, Khan can be seen working on Winnicott's writings in his own time and environment. The two men would also work together, meeting to do so usually at Winnicott's home, often for several hours on a Sunday morning. These meetings, variously described as running from seven to ten o'clock or (towards the end of their relationship) from ten to twelve o'clock, were always concluded by noon, something Clare Winnicott seems to have insisted on as she sought to wrest her husband from Khan and have some private time with him.⁵⁴ This placed Khan outside of the family, a status that was underlined by his regular exclusion from joining in with the Winnicotts' Sunday lunch. Characteristically, Khan attributed responsibility for this to Clare and years later would declare with feeling that 'In fifteen years, she never asked me up for lunch.'⁵⁵

In addition to editorial collaboration on the *Collected Papers*, Khan continued to encounter and engage with Winnicott at various professional meetings and with regard to other writings by Winnicott. For example, when Winnicott read 'On the capacity to be alone'⁵⁶ to the British Psychoanalytical Society on 24 July 1957 Khan was among the discussants from the floor.⁵⁷ Then, just over two months later, Khan offered Winnicott a critique of his review of Klein's book *Envy and Gratitude*,⁵⁸ which began:

I have studied your 'critical essay' on *Envy and Gratitude* many times. It seems to me that all the criticisms you make are worthy of serious consideration and also metapsychologically correct. And yet the paper as a whole leaves me dissatisfied. It is too 'conversational', to the point of being casual. I think that is a great pity because what you say is weighty substance.⁵⁹

Having gone on to then detail a number of omissions from and inconsistencies in Winnicott's review, the amendment of which could make it more incisive, Khan concludes: 'Otherwise the paper is a useful and constructive criticism!!!'⁶⁰ Here Khan appears firmly in editorial mode with Winnicott, encouraging him, highlighting shortcomings and tutoring his style, while collaboratively engaged in the face of Klein who appears to here function as a mutually projective device holding their hostility and other displaced affects. (The transferential oedipal scenario appears strongly evident, with Khan engaging with father and critical of mother.) It was through such professional contacts, the nature of which allowed Khan to assume an editorial role (or that of quasi parentified child) in relation to (the senior) Winnicott, that Khan declared he gained most, thus implicitly privileging such a role over his experience in analysis with Winnicott.⁶¹

Khan's editorial involvement extended beyond his work with Winnicott. Some of its fruits now began to appear, the publication of John Rickman's *Selected Contributions to Psychoanalysis* on 11 June 1957,⁶² with which Khan had assisted during its early phases, being one such tangible outcome. In addition, Khan was elected an Ordinary Member of the Publications Committee for the year 1957–58,⁶³ a post highly syntonetic with his literary leanings. The Committee at the time was chaired by Sylvia Payne, the other members being Willi Hoffer as Editor of the *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, John Sutherland, Pierre Turquet, James Strachey and G. G. Gray.⁶⁴ John Sutherland was during the year appointed Assistant Editor to Hoffer, and Editor Designate to follow Hoffer on his retirement at the end of 1959. Khan would remain on the Publications Committee in one capacity or another for the next twenty-one years.

The December 1956 proposal Khan had made to Anna Freud that he write a paper began to be slowly actualised over 1957. Undoubtedly, his assistance to Winnicott must have delayed its production, although it appears that it was to Winnicott that Khan actually directed one of the initial drafts for reciprocal comments. Enclosing his manuscript to 'Dear DWW' on 31 August 1957, Khan encouraged him to 'Please treat this first draft with the sympathy due to a toddler as it is not quite of age yet but will be very soon.'⁶⁵ Work continued sporadically on the paper over the ensuing months, with Khan initially concentrating on detailing his clinical material, about which, with apparent hesitation, he then sought Anna Freud's comments at the end of January 1958.⁶⁶ She and Khan consequently met to discuss the draft and afterwards Khan set about reworking the paper over the next twelve months, shaping it slowly into its final form, when it would appear under the title 'Regression and integration in the analytic setting'.⁶⁷

In the meantime, during October 1957 Winnicott again brought Khan's case before the Training Committee for consideration as a potential training analyst.⁶⁸ Again the application was declined. Winnicott, having failed in propounding Khan's case with the Training Committee, sought to at least ensure recognition of his contribution to his *Collected Papers*. He thus wrote to John Harvard-Watts on 28 October 1957 saying: 'I do very much want to have Masud Khan's name in as having compiled the Index...I think it is rather an unusual index and, although not perfect, its source should be acknowledged.'⁶⁹

Winnicott's ultimately published acknowledgement of Khan, however, went beyond recognising his work on the book's index. 'I am grateful', Winnicott wrote, 'to Mr M. Masud R. Khan for compiling the index and for many helpful criticisms and suggestions.'⁷⁰

In early 1958 Jane finally left Shenley Hospital, initially to live with her parents, who had beneath their Holland Lane home a vacant apartment which she took over. She and Khan had previously discussed divorce proceedings, which Khan had insisted *she* should instigate, something which at the height of her depressive breakdown Jane had felt unable to do.⁷¹ Now, in the beginning of 1958, feeling emotionally stronger and in better circumstances, Jane began the formal proceedings to end the marriage, citing grounds of both mental cruelty and adultery. In support of this Khan agreed to provide the then necessary corroborating evidence, this coming in the form of a diary detailing his contact with Beriosova.⁷² The petition for divorce then proceeded without delay, the decree being made on 6 March and three months later on Wednesday 11 June 1958 the decree absolute was issued finally dissolving the marriage.⁷³ Jane and Khan would only meet on one occasion after this, in 1972 at the Winnicott Memorial Meeting. Following the divorce Jane would go on to successfully remarry, having met William Nicholas, her future husband-to-be in Shenley where he also was a patient. Her interests in the arts and dance in particular continued and out of this she would develop a sustained and successful career with the Arts Council, for which work she received the OBE in 1990.⁷⁴ For Khan, the way was now clear for him to marry Svetlana Beriosova, which he would do at the beginning of 1959.

Apart from the divorce proceedings, 1958 saw Khan seemingly persevere with his efforts to write his own paper and have continuing contact with Winnicott (whose *Collected Papers* was published during the year). In March, for example, Khan, in his role as the Society's Honorary Librarian, would thank Winnicott for his donation of various papers to the library,⁷⁵ and later, in November, Winnicott would ask Khan to compile:

...a short reading list. Can you suggest six or so references suitable for Italians – psychiatrists, psychologists, etc? One of them ought to help Italians to understand that fantasy refers to unconscious as well as conscious matters. It appears that there is no Italian word that can be used in the translation of the word fantasy as we use it in this country since Freud.⁷⁶

Winnicott's request, which related to the translation of his paper 'The first year of life' into Italian,⁷⁷ appears somewhat incongruous given his own prominent position in and knowledge of child analysis. It demonstrates the continuance of a style of mutually idealising and gratifying relating through lieutenancy and pseudo mentorship, which evaded deeper issues of aggressivity between the two men. The assigned role Khan has is to be the academic hermeneutist of his patron's more oceanic creativity as well as his foreign other: in the latter guise Italians of course fall within his purview.

High Society and Schizoid Developments

BERIOSOVA

Svetlana Beriosova, born in 1932 in Lithuania, had experienced a peripatetic life, following her father, the dancer and ballet producer Nicholas Beriozoff, on his European and trans-Atlantic tours, initially with the Lithuanian State Ballet and later with the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo. Her mother died in New York when Svetlana was nine, one year after Svetlana had embarked on her own ballet training with two of Diaghilev's pupils, Anatole Wilzak and Ludmilla Shollar. In May 1950 she joined the Sadler's Wells Theatre Ballet, progressing two years later to Covent Garden and the Royal Ballet where she worked as a ballerina from 1955. Her fame as a dancer, in roles such as Odette in *Swan Lake*, Aurora in *Sleeping Beauty* and the title role in *Giselle*, brought her huge popular attention, with books on her by Cyril Swinson¹ appearing in 1956 and A. H. Franks² in 1958.

Despite her stardom, few details appeared publicly linking Svetlana to Khan in the years before his divorce. Privately, Svetlana was reticent in speaking to even close girlfriends about who she was in love with. With one such friend she took two years before confiding to her Khan's identity. On learning the news Svetlana's friend was horrified: she also was close to Jane.³ The merest traces of Khan's background presence can be discerned in Franks' biography of Svetlana. Visiting her apartment in 1958 Franks described it, noting 'she had recently acquired from Paris some splendid Braque reproductions, and one of her favourite paintings, a cubistically inspired picture of her in *Fanciulla delle Rose*, decorated another wall. Another bookcase had been added since my last visit and I noticed with envy that it contained a number of beautiful books on art.'⁴ All of these items, particularly the Braque works, were quintessentially Khan hallmarks. Shortly after this Franks noted 'Svetlana had... fallen in love for possibly the first and certainly no more than the second time in her life',⁵ though discreetly and tantalisingly makes no reference to whom her affections are directed. The frontispiece of his book however yields a fraternal clue. It is a photograph of Svetlana as La Capricciosa in *The Lady and the Fool*, a ballet she starred in during 1957: the photographer was Tahir Khan, Masud's elder brother.

On Friday 23 January 1959 Svetlana, then twenty-six, and Khan, thirty-four, married at the Chelsea Register Office, with four witnesses: Khan's brother Tahir and his wife Margot, with Svetlana's father Nicholas Beriozoff and Irena Beriosova. *The Times*, which reported this as it did other society weddings,

included a photograph of the couple and described 'the bride [as wearing] a champagne coloured silk dress with a high neckline, the fitting bodice buttoned down the front and a full bell-shaped skirt. She had a bandeau to match and carried a bouquet of white flowers.'⁶ Pearl King and Enid Balint were among the numerous psychoanalytic guests.⁷ After a reception at Beriosova's apartment at 35 Sloane Street, the couple went to Paris for their honeymoon.

BEGINNING WITH GODLEY

Shortly before the wedding Khan had had an initial meeting with a new patient, Wynne Godley, who had previously seen Winnicott for a consultation, the result of which was his recommendation of Khan so long as Godley had no 'objection to seeing a Pakistani analyst'.⁸ Godley, then an economic advisor at the Treasury, took up Winnicott's recommendation and his account of his initial meeting with Khan is particularly important in its depiction of Khan's then clinical practice. He wrote that Khan:

Met me at the foot of the stairs leading to his attic apartment in Harley Street. He was in his mid-thirties, a tall, erect and substantially built man with beautiful oriental features. He had abundant black hair swept back over his ears and was slightly overdressed in the style of an English gentleman.

I repeated to Khan the story of my impasse and in the course of telling it mentioned that I read a lot of newspapers. He looked up and asked me whether, if I read all these papers, I hadn't read something about him. When I said I hadn't he assumed an expression of mock disbelief. A little later he broke into my narrative and asked irrelevantly: 'Haven't you got some connection with Epstein?' At this I checked, expressing concern about the confidentiality of what I was telling him, since his question implied that he already knew something about me and perhaps that we had social friends in common. Khan did not answer directly. He grunted and tried to look impassive.

Khan next explained that he was going to get married to Svetlana Beriosova...in about ten days' time; this was why I might have read about him in the press. At the end of the interview, he drove me slowly part of the way home in his Armstrong Siddeley. In the car he produced a book of poems by James Joyce from the pouch in the door and told me he read them when he was stuck in traffic jams. He asked me, 'Did you ever think of killing yourself?' but answered the question himself: 'You would not know whom to kill'.⁹

This account of Godley's first meeting with Khan coheres with that of other patients previously treated during the 1950s, such as Mr A, in its portrayal of significant self disclosures by Khan and a distinct lack of an attitude of classical analytic neutrality. Khan, in this relatively early stage of his career, was already departing significantly from accepted analytic orthodoxy with its profound emphasis on the integrity of the psychoanalytic frame. Worse was to

follow, some of which Godley would later document on the basis of his analysis with Khan, into which he entered despite the misgivings he felt as a result of his first consultation. His analysis continued until the mid 1960s and will be further discussed later in the present chapter.

REGRESSION AND INTEGRATION

Following his return from Paris Khan read his paper 'Regression and integration in the analytic setting' to a Scientific Meeting of the British Society on Wednesday 4 February 1959. The paper had taken over two years to write, from its initial germ in December 1956 to its completion during January 1959.¹⁰ Winnicott, who as Society President was chairing the meeting, opened what appears to have been a lively discussion with Anna Freud, Payne, Balint, Rycroft, Hanna Segal, Paula Heimann, and Betty Joseph among others participating.¹¹ This paper, which would be published the following year in the *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, marked the start of Khan's considered and 'mature' psychoanalytic writings. It also showed Khan's willingness to actively intervene in the management of his patients' lives, for all of which reasons it will be described here in some detail.

Khan begins the paper by emphasising the importance of the psychoanalytic setting or frame, particularly its spatio-temporal aspects, and the psychoanalyst's contribution in terms of counter-transference to establishing an analytic process. Counter-transference he defined as 'the conscious and total sensitivity of the analyst towards the patient; it is more than a merely intellectual rapport and comprehension'.¹² Within that environment a new type of patient was presenting in those post war years, their difficulties being essentially what Ralph Greenson called an identity disorder,¹³ or Winnicott saw in terms of a false self.¹⁴ Khan, drawing explicitly on their writings, described his patient as attempting:

...to meet [her] basic needs in such a way that a reactive and defensive character-formation has been established in the personality. This sort of character-formation has the sole function of caretaking...the self, and hence distorts both ego-development and ego-enrichment and militates against genuine instinctual experience as well as object relationships.¹⁵

The patient, a middle aged woman teacher whom he terms Mrs X, came to Khan experiencing severe depression and dissociative states. Having had a difficult early relationship with her mother, she was closer to her somewhat ineffective father during her early adolescence, his death when she was sixteen leaving her rather dissociated. Then, after completing university she fled to England to avoid the invading Nazis, her remaining family all perishing at their hands. After the war she married a man who turned out to be a rather disturbed alcoholic and with him had a son. The prospect of moving to live in another town precipitated her depressive and dissociative breakdown which was accompanied by suicidal thoughts. Entering analysis was followed by increasing mania, which dissolved after an episode of shoplifting when she

stole two books, which Khan returned to the shop on her behalf. As Mrs X now regressed, Khan would allow her to wait in the waiting room after sessions if she was upset, offered her advice on a degree course, offered to do a home visit when she was ill and 'helped her with most of her reality affairs whenever she asked for help'.¹⁶ Through such good enough adaptation, as Khan termed it citing Winnicott, the patient shifted from a false self towards a more authentic life. The final phase of the analysis saw Mrs X, as she was faced with sole custody of her son as her marriage broke down, develop and work through a pervasive paranoid state in which aggression and envy were progressively integrated into her personality (rather than exploited provocatively or masochistically submitted to). The analysis then terminated, after which, Khan claimed, she went on to live independently, secure a new job and take responsibility for raising her son.

In considering this paper, Paula Heimann's comments are particularly pertinent. Seeing Mrs X as 'one of the most baffling patients',¹⁷ Heimann suggested that her breakdowns represented both the repetition of a longstanding pattern of collapse when faced with new situations, and a protest against such a fate. Her regression during the middle stages of the analysis seems crucial and was something Khan highlighted as a means of her achieving a new beginning. Heimann suggested that the occurrence of such regressive episodes may be connected not only with the patient, but also with Khan's personality. 'As Freud was the first to point out,' Heimann wrote, 'the analyst's personality influences his procedure in some ways to make it differ from that of his colleagues, while there is uniformity with regard to fundamental issues.'¹⁸ Continuing, Heimann remarks that:

I feel she could allow herself to sink into this state of nothingness and near-absolute incapacity for work, because her analyst was willing and capable of taking on the role of supplementary ego (in my terms) and the maternal shielding functions (in Khan's terms), and also because the residential school [where Mrs X worked] provided her with a holding environment.¹⁹

Paula Heimann's highlighting of Khan's active contribution to fostering what in this case appears to have been a benign regression occurs in the context of an assumed '*uniformity with regard to fundamental issues*', an assumption however which even at this time seems to have been ill founded. Khan's practice was now becoming increasingly interventionist and – more ominously – unboundaried, the extent of which is not wholly apparent from the present paper. Clearer evidence of the extent of Khan's deviations from analytic orthodoxy can be seen in his analysis of Wynne Godley, which will be discussed later.

HANS CRESCENT SOCIETY

Following their wedding, Khan and Svetlana began looking for a home of their own together and duly settled on an exclusive Knightsbridge apartment, number 9, 3 Hans Crescent, SW1, adjacent to Harrods, which they moved into in July

1959.²⁰ Three Hans Crescent was home at the time also to Sir Michael Redgrave and his family,²¹ and today remains an exclusive address, housing in addition to its private residents the embassies of Colombia and Ecuador. While living in Hans Crescent Khan and Svetlana would entertain widely, Khan's social circle now broadening considerably as he became acquainted with Svetlana's friends and associates. Thus he would get to know Henri Cartier-Bresson, Julie Andrews and her then husband Tony Walton, Julie Christie, Mike Nichols, Zoë Dominic, Rudolf Nureyev, François Truffaut and many others from the worlds of art and entertainment. Svetlana became godmother to Julie Andrews' daughter Emma Kate following the latter's birth on 27 November 1962.

The whole atmosphere was heady and Khan, having manically craved such celebrity company for so long, seems to have had his own theatrical, grandiose and omnipotent personality traits further inflated by it. At their parties during the ensuing years Khan would now mingle with the guests in the persona of what Frank Kermode called a 'circus analyst', performing unasked for 'instant analyses' for them.²² It is important however to here stress the contemporary atmosphere: it was the end of the conservative 1950s and with the beginning of the 1960s the mood was of anything being possible. The established order was being challenged in all its institutions. R. D. Laing would publish *The Divided Self* in 1960, the same year as the *Lady Chatterley's Lover* obscenity trial allowed the book's British publication. The catalogue of social change would continue with for instance the Cold War, CND protests, the Profumo scandal, feminism and widespread civil rights campaigns. Against such a backdrop, Khan's behaviour was patently visible to acquaintances, friends and colleagues, yet his 'wild analysis' (which increasingly permeated his professional practice) could also be seen and interpreted as forming part of the fabric of the era.

SCHIZOID PERSONALITY

Having completed his move of home, Khan attended the 21st IPA Congress in Copenhagen at the end of July 1959. There he read his first Congress paper, 'Clinical aspects of the schizoid personality: affects and technique', on Monday afternoon 27 July, in a session chaired by Ruth Eissler. Apparent last minute doubts about the merit of the paper had been allayed by Anna Freud, to whom Khan had sent a copy four days prior to reading it. She tempered her support somewhat with the suggestion that the paper's message might be clarified if Khan was more explicit in declaring that he was advocating working through in analysis towards mature ego-mastery and not the rather maligned ideas about so called corrective emotional experience.²³ Clearly this was an ambivalent area not only in the draft paper but also for Khan, who, while he still sought identification with the psychoanalytic establishment, was increasingly critical of the orthodoxy that frequently accompanied it.

Khan's congress paper was a theoretical companion to his clinical 'Regression and integration' paper, which he had read to the British Society in February. Now, Khan summarised some of the analytic literature on so called 'borderline' patients, grounding his discussion in Ronald Fairbairn's studies of schizoid

processes, which he supplements with a review of work by Helene Deutsch and Winnicott on the 'as if' and 'false self' personalities respectively. This foundation would form the basis for much of Khan's later writings. Khan ends his literature review briefly quoting studies by Erik Erikson, Anna Freud and Ralph Greenson, before summarising his own findings. Displacing Freud's second topography, the tri-partite id, ego, super-ego structure, as the primary model of thinking in favour of a monistic model involving an 'undifferentiated matrix of energetic potential structures',²⁴ out of which the id and ego emerge, Khan sees his patients' tenacious seeking of self-cure through such undifferentiation being both a prime motivator and source of resistance. He goes on to focus on the role of the environment. This is delineated as comprising maternal care-giving, feeding and emotional relating, which together as a complex is seen as facilitative of initial self-experience. The resilient nature of the infant's ego is emphasised over its vulnerability. Khan cites Winnicott's contention that effective ego capacities can co-exist alongside gross pervasive personality disturbance and sees Hartmann's work on conflict-free spheres of the ego as augmenting this view. Reconstruction is given a central place clinically and therapeutically, its aim being to articulate 'the exact nature and actuality of [the patient's] mothering environment'.²⁵ This Khan asserts is essential for clinical progress, as:

...only thus can [the patient] be helped to sort out the personal imaginative primitive psychic fantasy in their experience from what was pathogenic external reality. This alone can enable them to achieve a true capacity for reality-testing and a personal inner life. Otherwise they live in a personal mad world with a very elaborate façade of normality and socialisation.²⁶

The infant's dependency on mother is emphasised and Khan parallels and equates the mother-infant situation with the therapeutic situation between analyst and patient. The juxtaposition of the patient's psyche, here conceived of as initially dependent, personal, imaginative, and primitive, next to 'pathogenic external reality' highlights Khan's view on the primary locus of the origins of dysfunction. It is external to the self, a self that is rather idealised and sanctified. Nonetheless, the paper was a valuable contribution to emergent ideas on working with borderline patients, its importance being quickly recognised by Marion Milner and others.²⁷

During the IPA Business Meeting held on Wednesday 29 July 1959 Roger Money-Kyrle, on behalf of W. R. Bion (then Director of the London Clinic of Psychoanalysis) and himself, proposed that the Association institute a Sigmund Freud Essay Prize. The Central Executive and Anna Freud particularly were cool about the idea, though there was support for it from the floor, including some it appears from Winnicott. Against this, Khan, with establishment caution, spoke saying: 'I think what *we* would like to hear from Mr Money-Kyrle is in what way this prize is going to be different from the three prizes [currently] available' (emphasis added).²⁸ The proposal was soon left for the Executive's further deliberations.²⁹ The end of the congress was marked with

a party given by Princess Marie Bonaparte at her house, Lille Bernstorff, 70 Voeldegardsvej, Gentofte. Khan attended and found it 'a very exciting and welcome experience... It gave me the opportunity of really meeting some senior American analysts.'³⁰

After the congress, in November 1959 Khan was finally appointed as a Training Analyst, his case yet again being sponsored by Winnicott.³¹ Robert Shields, who had remained in analysis with Khan since 1953, following Winnicott's then recommendation, still did not wish to change analysts and now requested that the Training Committee allow him to commence lectures and seminars within this status quo. The committee assented to Shields' request, noting that 'Khan may continue as his analyst.'³² Khan's appointment thus appears to have come about somewhat fortuitously, aided by his patient and the lack of alternative resolution by the Institute of Shields' training needs. Such a confluence of circumstances and the pressures towards convenience militated against a dispassionate assessment of Khan's suitability as a potential Training Analyst, and it is uncertain whether he would have been granted recognition for training purposes had he not had a candidate in an established analysis at the time. In retrospect, the Society's Ethical Committee recently suggested that the earlier Training Committee's decision resulted in 'an exception...[being] made for Khan to conduct a training analysis before he had been recognised as a training analyst'.³³ Clearly this is correct, yet the focus of the Training Committee's decision was arguably more on, and the exception thus more for Shields than Khan. Authentic recognition therefore may be said to have still eluded what was essential in Khan's self, his otherness remaining unseen. However, it is evident that Khan's persona or profile was in the ascendant, not only as a clinician, but also as an able and willing administrator, writer and speaker.

TEACHING AND GHOSTING

As Khan was acceding to the role of Training Analyst, Winnicott was further recommending him as a potential Tavistock child psychotherapy group clinical seminar leader. Helen Carr had approached Winnicott in November 1959 to take on this task, to which request Winnicott had responded that he could not do so for the next term. He then revealingly went on:

May I make a suggestion which there is no need for you to follow at all. I believe that Masud Khan, with a little practice, would be really very good at the sort of thing you are suggesting I should do for the group; in fact I think he would be very much better at it than I would be, because he has the power to conceptualise, whereas I always seem to think in terms of the child I saw last week! I thought I would just put this suggestion into your mind, partly because I would personally like to see Masud Khan used in this sort of way. I think it will be a long time before the Psycho-analytic Society comes around to making use of him, because there are so many people in the queue.³⁴

Actually it would not be very long before Khan began to be employed as a teacher by the British Society, as will be discussed in due course, yet what is of interest here is Winnicott's direct sponsorship of Khan and his contrasting of his own ad hoc clinical acumen with Khan's greater conceptual ability. The two men's respective strengths suggests something of the dynamic ties operating between them, a dialectic between Winnicott's spontaneity and Khan's synthetic conceptual capacities, between the unstructured and the structured wherein each believes they need the other and the created object emerges out of the interplay of their positions. It is not known whether Khan was asked to take the Tavistock seminar at this stage, although in years to come he would read several papers there.

Shortly after these events, in December 1959, William Gillespie, as IPA President, set up the Programme Committee to organise the next Congress, scheduled to be held in 1961 in Edinburgh, Fairbairn's home city. Khan was appointed a London Member of the nine-strong committee, chaired by Willi Hoffer, other members being Cecily de Monchaux, Paula Heimann, Hanna Segal, Jock Sutherland, Winnicott, Gillespie and Pearl King.³⁵

Little is known about Khan's life and work during the following year, 1960, though some of what is known is intriguing. The reason for the relative dearth of information at this time is unclear. Khan had of course come through a series of major life events during the preceding few years and this year may have represented what Khan himself would later term a period of lying fallow.³⁶

Indications suggest that he continued his contacts with others. With Winnicott, for example, Khan maintained his social liaison, including him and his wife, Clare, among his dinner guests, solicitously writing that 'we are looking forward to seeing you and Mrs Winnicott on Wednesday and I shall collect you around 7pm'.³⁷

Rather more significantly, Khan also involved himself in Winnicott's writing of the preface to a book, *A Cure of Delinquents*, his analysand Robert Shields was in the process of finishing. Shields had approached Winnicott about the preface in September of the previous year, having been told by Khan that Winnicott was back at work (the reason for him having been off being unclear).³⁸ Winnicott agreed to write the preface and, after a negotiated first draft, Shields at the beginning of February 1960 declared: 'I cannot see any way in which the introduction you have written so kindly could be improved, and I feel it is exactly the sort of thing the publishers would want'.³⁹ A couple of days later however he again contacted Winnicott, writing:

I believe that Mr Khan has mentioned to you that he would like to see a couple of sentences added to your introduction. He suggests that on page 2, following the words '...sentimental or revengeful' the following passage, or something like it, might be inserted:

'Only an insight into the child's inner predicament, conflicts and need distortions can lead to a true perspective. In the crystallization of this perspective if the psychotherapist plays a more significant role in the understanding of the inner world of the child, for the total cure to materialize

an awareness and provision by the environment of the real needs of the child is indispensable.’

I hope this meets his point – and with your approval.⁴⁰

Thus Khan, having told his analysand of Winnicott’s movements, was further compromising the analytic frame by now reviewing the state of Shields’ manuscript, speaking to Winnicott about it and then trying to modify his own (former) analyst’s actual preface. Demurring that Khan’s paragraph ‘is not good from my point of view because it does not sound like me’,⁴¹ Winnicott went on to formulate the idea in his own idiom, writing:

A specialised environment is needed for these children in order that they may begin to reach to their own personal problems instead of compulsively seeking a solution in antisocial behaviour. In this environment each child begins to experience the personal conflicts which were hidden by reactions to environmental failures of one kind and another. The psychotherapist plays his part in enabling the child to resolve the inner predicament which belongs to that of any child, whether antisocial or not.⁴²

Winnicott’s notoriety for using his own language rather than that of other authorities clearly comes across here in his refusal to simply adopt Khan’s suggested form of words. However, the very fact of Khan’s active suggestion and Winnicott’s acceptance and then mere idiomatic revision of his core idea, shows the degree of the two men’s relationship and particularly their textual collaboration.

The extent of similar suggestions by Khan to Winnicott about his writing cannot be comprehensively documented, though given the present example it must be supposed such commentary was not uncommon. Indeed, Winnicott would publicly acknowledge this, as will be illustrated later. Others have suggested that Khan’s contribution went further, to the point that he was actually the co-author of some of Winnicott’s papers.⁴³ In the context of the present episode with Shields’ preface, this seems an overestimate of his input and unlikely given Winnicott’s insistence on being himself. With Winnicott, as well as with other senior figures, Khan’s characteristic stance at least at this time was to adopt a subsidiary position in the other’s shadow, as previously discussed. Such would be consistent with a consultative, editorial or at an extreme a ghost writing type collaboration, which covertly might foster phantasies of being something of an *éminence grise*, with an inflated rage-fuelled boastful sense of his own contribution and importance.

Apart from the degree of literary collaboration between the two men, the story of Shields’ preface highlights Winnicott’s awareness of Khan’s then divergence from a classical frame with his patients. Given Winnicott’s own latitude in this regard, including with Khan in his analysis, his apparent turning a blind eye is unsurprising.

GODLEY'S STORY

Within his analytic practice Khan was seeing Wynne Godley during this time, his analysis continuing up to perhaps 1966. The earlier quoted inauspicious beginning to this analysis was followed by what Godley called 'a long and fruitless battle culminating in a spiral of degradation'.⁴⁴ Alongside what Godley acknowledges as Khan's 'formidable and quick-acting intelligence, astonishing powers of observation and an unrivalled ability straightaway to see deeply below the surface',⁴⁵ Khan would 'at the least slight...invariabl[y] respon[d]...[by] deliver[ing] a righteous speech, often finishing it up with some withering coda such as "And to think you people ruled the world!"'.⁴⁶ As time went on, Khan would increasingly self-disclose in sessions. Of this, Godley recounted that:

The stories were not good ones. Many were obscene and many were flat, but there was one feature common to every one of them: Khan had got the better of someone. He had rescued Mike Nichols from a man with a fierce dog in New York. He had fought physically with Peter O'Toole, using a broken bottle...⁴⁷

The external situation escalated with the already married Godley being encouraged to date another of Khan's patients, he and Khan increasingly socialising and having to witness drunken scenes between Khan and Svetlana, receiving gifts from Khan and having sessions regularly interrupted by Khan taking telephone calls, including several from Winnicott. Finally, apparently in 1966, after one particularly outrageous episode whilst dining out, during which Khan aggressively mocked the waiters, and in a follow-up telephone call in which he had verbally abused Godley's precariously pregnant wife, Godley contacted Winnicott and told him of the awful situation (about which Winnicott appeared unsurprised). Visiting Godley post-haste, Winnicott said to him he had told Khan to cease communications with Godley, a direction Khan ignored, leaving Godley to terminate contact with Khan by telephone when the latter called demanding they meet.

Perhaps not coincidentally, Winnicott would this year go out of his way to stress the importance of a secure analytic frame. Commenting on the interrelation of internal and external objects Winnicott wrote:

If...the dependability of the internal figures does not derive from actual experience in early infantile life, then one can say also that it does not matter whether the analyst is dependable or lacks dependability, and I feel that we cannot hold this view.⁴⁸

Clearly Winnicott had an awareness that his ex-analysand 'lacks dependability' at the very least, Khan's mistreatment of Wynne Godley being only the latest in a series of both chronic and acute breaches of the analytic frame within his practice that Winnicott knew of. One probable casualty of this string of outrages

was Khan's relationship with Winnicott, which at this point in time appears to have become seriously soured, as will be considered later.

Godley's account of his supposedly analytic relationship with Khan is the most explicit available by one of his patients and provides an important insight into Khan's life and practice during the first half of the 1960s. It shows the increasingly rapid abandonment of the classical psychoanalytic frame, earlier signs of which departure were manifested with Khan's previously discussed adolescent training case, Mr A. While Khan's in-session behaviour with Godley is uncorroborated, the photographer Zoë Dominic (who was closely acquainted with Khan and Godley to a lesser extent at this time) has confirmed not only the general tone of Godley's account, but more specifically recalled how Khan seemed to regard Godley as a rather narcissistic ornament about whose social status he would inform his friends with pride, basking in Godley's reflected glory.⁴⁹

LECTURING OTHERS

Alongside his quasi clinical contacts, Khan as a new training analyst was invited during 1960 to participate in teaching at the Institute of Psychoanalysis. Accepting the invitation, Khan delivered four lectures on 'Ego psychology and perversions' to second year students at the Institute during the spring term of 1961, his first foray there into teaching. Having prepared his lectures he had discussed them initially with Anna Freud to assess their appropriateness.⁵⁰ Unfortunately details of Khan's lectures are unavailable, though it's probable that he drew on his earlier 1953 and 1954 papers on female and male homosexuality and perhaps adumbrated his ideas as they would appear in his published papers, beginning in 1962 with 'The role of polymorph-perverse body-experiences and object-relations in ego-integration'. Afterwards, having enjoyed the opportunity and experience of teaching, Khan wrote to Clifford Scott remarking that 'it is astonishing how vague one's knowledge is and how little one registers this vagueness until one starts to teach others'.⁵¹ Whether Khan's audience equally enjoyed the lectures is uncertain. The experience of being taught by Khan later on certainly could be a tense one. One of his later Institute seminar students, Gregorio Kohon, remarked that 'He was an abuser, but he was also one of the most inspired teachers I've ever had...He'd walk into a seminar, point to a student and say, "I've been hearing a lot about you!" And what he had been hearing was obviously *from the couch!* Now, if you are a student and a teacher says that to you, you don't dare open your mouth'.⁵²

In contrast to teaching candidates a core curriculum, Khan was by this time chafing at psychoanalytic theoretical and technical orthodoxy, which he appears to have felt surrounded and stifled by. This was a feeling that appears to have been increasing for Khan, an earlier expression of it being in a note from about 1959 to Winnicott. Writing enthusiastically to Winnicott about the Jungian Alfred Plaut's forthcoming favourable review of his *Collected Papers*,⁵³ Khan had declared: 'What a pity it is that the [psycho]analysts are so defensively inhibited that they cannot allow themselves the *joy* of sharing new ideas and

ways of exploring psychic reality. We have become so cautious and sombre in our outlook that we have lost receptiveness to anything new.⁵⁴ Now, at the start of May 1961 he wrote similarly to Scott, lamenting the discouragement of experimentation and innovation, which sense of repression now went along with a feeling of professional isolation, saying:

One of the real failings of our Society is that one is not very encouraged to present 'new' experimental try-out...ideas. Everyone looks with grave suspicion at one and one meets with little response. Apart from occasional talks with Dr Rycroft, Mrs Milner and Dr Winnicott, I find few opportunities for the exchange of ideas, and we all miss you very much. Perhaps every Society goes through phases of orthodox rigidity.⁵⁵

Khan's expressed view of being held back by a rather hide-bound mediocritising orthodoxy arguably tallies with Thomas Hayley's previously noted comments about the pressures during the 1950s towards conformity, particularly on younger analysts, fostered by their economic dependency on gaining referrals.⁵⁶ Despite this, or indeed perhaps partly because of this culture, this period in the British Society's history yielded profound psychoanalytic developments.⁵⁷ However, whatever an external audit of the state of analytic creativity might record and however this might tally with Khan's view, his subjective sense of isolation in combination with his disdain for most colleagues left him both overly reliant on those few with whom he claimed he could discuss ideas and concomitantly at risk of wild-analysis.

With Winnicott, Khan's professional 'exchange of ideas' at this time focussed on integration and dissociation, concepts closely echoing Khan's own sense of isolation. Having written to the analyst Liselotte Frankl in response to an enquiry she had made about the concept of integration in Winnicott's writings, Khan sent a copy of his response to Winnicott himself.⁵⁸ In reply, Winnicott sought to clarify integration as a normal developmental tendency that gradually supersedes unintegration, from the more psychopathological defence of disintegration (and dissociation as its more sophisticated less fracturing variant).⁵⁹ Winnicott's attempts to restate his own position however, did not meet with Khan's immediate and unqualified agreement. Khan, beginning with a quotation from Winnicott's 'Primitive emotional development' paper,⁶⁰ argued that dissociation was more allied with unintegration and integration than with psychopathological processes. Dissociation thus, Khan argued, 'is more a state of developmental arrest where something has not been allowed to grow to its second stage as it were...Dissociation processes (not mechanisms) are a transitional developmental state between primitive unintegration and the latter integrated wholeness of the unit states of the individual ego.'⁶¹

It does not seem, however, that Khan won over Winnicott with his argument, as may be judged from Winnicott's subsequent papers, within which he tended to maintain his view that dissociation is a defence (although it may be here noted that in his posthumously published *Human Nature* – a first draft of which was written in 1954 – Winnicott does briefly refer to 'normal dissociation').⁶²

For his part, Khan stoutly retained his own view of dissociation as a normal mental phenomenon, allied to Glover's discussion of ego nuclei which gradually synthesise in the infant towards the end of its second year, to Brierley's thesis about ego-dissociated systems, and to Winnicott's already quoted view from 'Primitive emotional development'. The latter was clearly despite Winnicott's assertions of its unrepresentativeness or indeed its misrepresenting his views. Ignoring such inconvenient facts, Khan later summarised the analytic support for his position in his 1971 paper 'L'oeil entend'.⁶³ In contrast to psychic conflict, defence and repression, Khan suggested that non-conflictual areas of (dissociated) mental life do not have absences and obtruding defence mechanisms to alert the analyst to their reality. In such an expanded view of dissociation Khan states that 'the person *is* all the elements of his dissociated states and lives them as such. It is for the analyst operating as an auxiliary ego...to register these dissociations and help the patient to integrate them into a coherent totality of experience'.⁶⁴ Such registering requires more than auditory attending to the patient's speech: Khan stresses in 'L'oeil entend' the importance of *looking* at the patient also as a source of psychic information and as an aid to appropriate recognition, by extension implicitly raising the possibility of, if not validating, the use of information from all available sensory modalities in such clinical endeavours. Here Khan echoes Bion's notion of 'common-sense', although Khan's is a more concrete view, Bion emphasising the non-sensuous nature of the psychoanalytic object.⁶⁵ This theme within Khan's thinking re-emerges in other of his papers and in his life as will be discussed in due course.

Alongside their written correspondence, Khan's involvement with Winnicott at this time included attendance at meetings of the A-scheme analysts (that Winnicott was then chairing) and continued editorial assistance on his manuscripts.⁶⁶

Dream, Perversion and Trauma

THE GOOD DREAM

The 22nd IPA Congress was held in Edinburgh from 30 July to 3 August 1961. Before the congress Clifford Scott had visited Khan and Svetlana in London, attending a party the couple hosted on 25 July,¹ and later they all booked into the Caledonian Hotel on Princes Street, Edinburgh, with a large group of other delegates.² While in Edinburgh Khan had hoped to meet with Scott further socially and had earlier suggested to him that he would try to organise a get-together there along with Winnicott and Marion Milner.³ In addition to having contributed to the organisation of the congress Khan was active as a speaker. Together with Marion Milner, he led the discussion group on 'Psychoanalysis applied to art', chaired by Charles Rycroft on Tuesday evening 1 August at 8.30pm,⁴ and delivered his paper 'Dream psychology and the evolution of the psychoanalytic situation' the following day, on the afternoon of 2 August. Khan had completed a draft of the latter paper in April 1961, then titling it 'The psychoanalytic situation: the setting and process of treatment', though he replaced the latter subtitle with the more precise: 'its origins and evolution'.⁵

In his paper, the first of what was to become a series of three on dreams, Khan proposed that Freud's invention of the analytic situation (derived from both his own self analysis of his dreams and his empathic attunement to his patients) created a setting analogous to the psychic state that is necessary for what Khan now termed a 'good dream'. This latter concept, similar to Kris's concept of the 'good analytic hour',⁶ Khan defines as:

...a dream which incorporates through successful dream-work an unconscious wish and can thus enable sleep to be sustained on the one hand and can be available for psychic experience to the ego when the person wakes up.⁷

Emphasising analytic rather than therapeutic aims within the analytic situation, Khan, while suggesting that 'dreaming is prototypic of all psychic creativity in the human adult',⁸ argued that the capacity to have a 'good dream' paralleled these same individuals' capacity to utilise the analytic situation. In the final section of the paper, Khan returns to a consideration of what he terms borderline or schizoid cases. For such people, such a dual capacity is lacking, and, although they can intellectually comprehend the analytic situation's parameters, they are unable to surrender to it. This lack, Khan suggested, derives from their having insufficient or distorted early experiences of satisfaction on which to

draw. When faced with such a deficit, more extreme, typically manic means of coping may be employed. Thus, Khan writes that:

In these circumstances later ego-development can be used as a magical way of making good the deficiency of early satisfaction experiences. Intra-psychically this can mean *abuse* of dreaming to create a magical omnipotent dream-world which aims at creating the illusion of satisfying actual needs with an omnipotent denial of the necessity of external objects for satisfaction and the dependence on them.⁹

Finally, in the absence of an agreed clear and effective analytic technique to address such patients' needs, Khan invokes Freud in encouraging clinicians to approach them without intrusive narcissistic therapeutic ambition which would risk foreclosure.

Given Khan's own struggles in his training analysis and during his analysis with Winnicott, a clear autobiographical foundation may be discerned in this paper, both in his capacity to have a 'good dream' and in its absence. For instance, writing to Zoë Dominic during this period, Khan lamented his inability to settle to complete a paper he was then trying to work on for publication.¹⁰ (The paper in question, 'The role of infantile sexuality and early object-relations in female homosexuality', was a massive re-write and extension of his first membership paper – the humiliating failure of which in 1953 perhaps contributed to both the current wish to rework it and Khan's writer's block.) Then, he went on:

So I went to sleep very disgruntled and self-critical. And then [I] had a 'good dream'. It is quite astonishing how unfailingly my father still boosts my inner morale. When I can't muster personal discipline and initiative I always dream of him and he is always nourishing and supportive. And the dreams are always very simple.¹¹

Here the oscillation between stasis and creativity is evident within Khan's mental economy, with his internalised image of his father acting as the fount of psychic equilibrium and creativity.

Immediately after the congress, on 4 August 1961, Khan departed with Svetlana for their summer vacation in Monte-Carlo.¹² Afterwards, back in London anti-nuclear protests and a growing youth culture attracted Khan's disdain, as most popular movements would. Thus he mused about:

Whether all this shouting and sitting on wet pavements to be cuddled away by the police is not an anti-depressive social technique. We are living in an age which is so free from natural fears and anxieties that in order to lend significance to our over cerebral, over entertained lives we have to think of causes to fret about. Are we really going to be blown off by H-bombs galore? And are those in authority really so insensitive to all this doom which the beatniks from Kings Road are so awake and alive to?¹³

On the day Khan wrote this, his neighbour, Vanessa Redgrave, was among those arrested in a ban-the-bomb demonstration in Trafalgar Square: it wasn't a fact he mentioned.

In contrast to such movements within the popular culture, other groups powerfully attracted Khan. Thus, when Winnicott announced in September that he was going to hold a clinical seminar at his home (on 1 October), Khan told him he was delighted at the news. Then, he promptly suggested a list of ten analysts as possible members, to which he added himself, writing: 'lastly may I recommend myself, not for any virtue that lies in me, but that I have an appetite for learning and can be quite well behaved when I put my heart to it'.¹⁴ Socialism or social populism was thus contrasted with narcissism and elitism, with Khan showing little affinity with the former, an attitude which previously undermined his relations with his various analysts.

EDITING AND WRITING

Writing and editorial work continued through the end of 1961, for example with Khan continuing to closely collaborate with Winnicott in the organisation of the latter's papers and his opening discussions of their publication with the Director of Tavistock Publications, John Harvard-Watts during October. Harvard-Watts thus wrote to Winnicott, 'I understand from Masud Khan that I am shortly to have the pleasure of discussing with you and him the publication of works from your pen on which he is at present collaborating with you.'¹⁵

Others were also beneficiaries of Khan's editorial efforts. In the beginning of 1962 the Publications Committee at the Institute of Psychoanalysis revised its policy on book reviews within the *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*. Its new emphasis was to be on more detailed authoritative reviews of selected books of psychoanalytic importance. Khan was appointed by the Committee as the *Journal's* Book Review Editor, a decision announced by Jock Sutherland, the *Journal's* editor, in February 1962.¹⁶ In this capacity Khan would draw heavily on existing contacts, for example requesting Anna Freud to review Leo Stone's *The Psychoanalytic Situation* in April 1962 and having Winnicott review Klein's *Narrative of a Child Analysis* during May that year, as well as extending his associations internationally.¹⁷ Khan was also becoming involved in editorial work with the *International Psychoanalytical Library*, of which Sutherland was also the then editor. Thus for example, Khan solicited a chapter from Clifford Scott for a projected book, to be jointly edited by himself and Sutherland, on *Psychoanalytic Approaches to Borderline Cases*.¹⁸

In addition to such work and assistance to others with their writings, Khan was now increasingly involved in penning his own works. Part of the impetus to this was an invitation he had received to lecture in New York prior to the 1962 Easter break. Having sent Winnicott a copy of one work intended for this occasion, probably 'Perverse sexual practices' which Khan would duly develop into 'The role of polymorph-perverse body experiences and object relations in ego-integration', Winnicott responded fulsomely, writing:

I want you to know that I find a real contribution in this paper, especially in the way that it brings out the effect on a child, especially a young boy, of the mother's perhaps minor seductions which produce a sort of pseudo Oedipus complex of a conscious kind which sometimes passes for normal; it is however highly abnormal and complicates the latency period. These considerations also emphasize the concept of the true Oedipus complex as not only belonging to the toddler but also being in the main unconscious. I think that this idea is not absolutely new but the way you have brought it out has really helped me in my work. You say that sometimes my concepts have helped you and I want to let you know when the traffic is the other way around.¹⁹

Anna Freud was similarly complimentary when she read the paper, noting: 'I was very impressed by the contents as well as by the excellently clear presentation. I do not see any reason why it should not be well received in New York, or here, or wherever you give it...I am very glad that you can write papers of this kind.'²⁰

Other works followed including Khan's lengthiest paper 'The role of infantile sexuality and early object-relations in female homosexuality', which was completed in mid February 1962.²¹ Giving this paper to Winnicott, it was only during his recuperation from a virus contracted during an evening at the ballet that Winnicott had the leisure to read it.²² At the ballet, on Saturday 25 February, Svetlana, though herself unwell, was dancing the title role in Sir Frederick Ashton's production of *Persephone*, based on lyrics by André Gide and music by Stravinsky, (which had opened at the Royal Opera House on 12 December 1961).²³ Winnicott and his wife, Clare, attended as Khan and Svetlana's guests, along with Ashton himself, the photographer Zoë Dominic,²⁴ and the psychoanalyst Ismond Rosen (who had accepted Khan's female homosexuality paper for his forthcoming book on sexual deviation). During the evening Khan had used the opportunity to propose an outline for a further collection of Winnicott's papers. Most were in a finalised form and Khan proposed shortly afterwards that 'What will be needed, of course, will be connecting, that is linking passages and short introductions here and there and a certain amount of re-writing of a few papers that are too colloquial and intimate in tone. *I shall settle down to all this very soon now with real vigour*' (emphasis added).²⁵ Khan here depicts himself as Winnicott's active editorial collaborator, the parameters of which role he arguably oversteps with his promise to ghost write portions of Winnicott's work. However, given that Winnicott did not directly challenge him on what otherwise might seem highly presumptive, Khan's statement may represent their mutual understanding. For his part Winnicott, having now read Khan's paper, reciprocated by declaring that:

I read the paper through last night. *It's very good indeed*. I do think you have at last achieved a personal statement that does you credit, that shows the results of your hard work, your clear thinking, your willingness to quote sources, and your good clinical analysis. I have learned a great deal from

your paper, and I think you have put things in such a way that others will like to learn too.²⁶

Clearly appreciative of his comments, Khan thanked him for his help and support with the paper, the writing of which he claimed had left him exhausted (and unable to attend one of Winnicott's lectures), while its reading he hoped would be successful barring fainting. Then, returning to his earlier promise, Khan remarked that 'When I return [from the USA] I shall settle down to really completing the editing of your manuscripts and hope to hand them back to you after Easter. Then it will be up to you.'²⁷

However, reasons other than tiredness, his own writing and the USA trip may also have contributed to Khan's deferment of editorial assistance to Winnicott and missing his lecture, reasons perhaps more allied to rivalry, hostility and disillusionment. A hint of this is given in a letter Khan penned to Anna Freud at this time, in which he wrote:

I must confess I am feeling bitterly disappointed in Winnicott about the way he is 'leading' the Middle Group and I have to admit that all Dr Payne's misgivings about him, as well as yours, are unfortunately quite true. On this score he is a very 'split' person. He really doesn't believe in the veracity and validity of most of Mrs Klein's hypotheses and in his own work and writings he is getting farther and farther away from this bondage. But *administratively* he goes quite the other way. He is compelled by some curious and compelling sense of guilt to give the Kleinians protection and encouragement.²⁸

This largely covert sense of disappointment in Winnicott as a leader followed on, I suggest, from preceding disappointment and disillusionment in him as his analyst, states exacerbated by their secretiveness which had divorced them from being worked through.

GOING WEST

Several days after his exchange with Winnicott, Khan, on 29 March 1962, departed on his trip to the USA, where he would spend almost two weeks before returning on 10 April.²⁹ The visit had come about at the invitation of Charles Kaufman, who was a Professor of Psychiatry at Downstate Medical Center, and whom Khan had previously met at the 1959 IPA Copenhagen Congress. Despite an apparently modest speaker's fee, supposedly of \$100, Khan accepted the offer, being keen to develop his profile in the United States.³⁰ Hopes of reading a paper to the New York Psychoanalytic Society during this visit had been dashed due to its full programme.³¹ Despite this, the visit seemed to be very successful. Khan delivered his paper 'The role of polymorph-perverse body experiences and object relations in ego-integration' to the Downstate Medical Center, Psychoanalytic Faculty, University of New York, on 31 March, having completed writing it on the 10th of that month.³² Describing the experience, Khan noted: 'It was a great change for me to address a paper to a group of

analysts who really tried to see the positive and discuss it with enthusiasm and goodwill. I learnt a lot from them, and I think they enjoyed having me among them.³³ In addition to giving his own paper Khan attended various other seminars by the Downstate faculty and participated in a case presentation there.³⁴ He had planned to visit Clifford Scott in Montreal during his American visit but cancelled this, writing: 'an elder brother of mine, whom I have not seen for ten years, is going to be in Washington to meet President Kennedy and I am flying over from New York to be with him for a day'.³⁵

POLYMORPH-PERVERSITY

In his paper Khan built on his earlier 1959 work, 'Clinical aspects of the schizoid personality', this time seeking to discuss dissociative emotional states that are expressed through, what he terms, polymorph-perverse body-relations (particularly oral and anal sexual preoccupations) by schizoid patients. Arguing that maternal inconsistency (typically over-indulgence alternating or coexisting with over-restrictiveness) produces distorted and precocious ego-development together with body-ego erotisation based on a lack of differentiation between self and object, Khan saw these individuals continuing polymorph-perverse practices as a means of attempted self cure utilising libidinised defence mechanisms. Regression to illusory transitional states of benign oneness are addictively sought both with the other and the self, which dynamics Khan relates to ideas derived from Winnicott, Anna Freud and Marion Milner.³⁶ The enticement of the other into the collusive role of accomplice involves their idealisation and grooming through a 'technique of intimacy', a key concept Khan would develop in more detail in later papers. Such patients' egos develop as an unintegrated collage, the hope for resolution of which into a unitary structure fuels both their acting out and entering into analysis. Khan concluded with a hint that, although he was not recommending acting out as a 'corrective emotional experience', acting out as a drive towards self-cure could be therapeutically harnessed and reoriented as an aid to developmental ends. This coda echoes that in his earlier paper on the schizoid personality in its tolerance of and partially ambiguous stance vis-à-vis acting out, an issue that would continue to manifest itself in Khan's writings and life in the years ahead.

VOLATILE EXPRESSIONS

Back in London during the spring and summer of 1962 Khan resumed working on Winnicott's papers, the result of which efforts Tavistock Publications hoped to publish. Thus, its director John Harvard-Watts declared to Winnicott: 'we very much hope, in your own and Masud Khan's good time, we may shortly be discussing with you plans for future publications'.³⁷ Khan also attended during this time further case discussion meetings hosted by Winnicott, during one of which at least (that held on 29 May) he appeared in rather volatile mood with Winnicott, perhaps showing further signs of a mostly latent rivalry and hostility towards him. Writing to him afterwards, significantly in a letter

primarily taken up with lengthily highlighting inadequacies in and seeking a rewrite of Winnicott's submitted book review of Klein's *Narrative of a Child Analysis*, Khan concluded:

I haven't quite got my perspective on last Tuesday's meeting and your case. I enjoyed your case presentation and even though you have been kind about it, some people thought it was belligerent and negativistic of me. I didn't mean it to be.³⁸

Winnicott does not appear to have been the only person with whom Khan was having volatile relations at this time however. The most florid instance was with one of his Hans Crescent staff, Antonio. In a fit of temper Khan physically assaulted him one day in the apartment before Antonio was able to escape. The consequences of this Khan described:

I am sitting writing in Cluchen's Inn awaiting to be called before the judge at Marlborough Judge's Court for criminal assault on my servant, Antonio Viana...I have been expecting trouble from Antonio and it arrived yesterday [13 June 1962] when two plain clothed policemen called at 3pm with a warrant for my arrest and asked me to go with them to Chelsea Police Station...My fingerprints were taken and I withheld making a statement on Solicitor's advice. And was discharged on bail...If I am lucky I shall get merely a fine – first offence! If not, a few days in the prison – 3 months is maximum.³⁹

The whole episode left Khan feeling consumed with rage and shame,⁴⁰ although it did not curtail his social engagements, among which at this time was a dinner on 27 June hosted by the High Commissioner for Pakistan, in company with the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, miscellaneous Commonwealth High Commissioners, the Lord Mayor of London and various glitterati from London society.⁴¹ Clearly Khan was not so overwhelmed with remorse over beating his staff that he was unable to show his face in such society. Nor did his encounter with the law, the legal outcome of which was unclear, serve to modify his behaviour. In the late 1960s a friend of Svetlana's visited her only to discover her restricted to bed extensively bruised,⁴² while later his endorsement of beatings and hangings and support for the execution of Ali Bhutto in April 1979 was observed by Mark Paterson, who actually subsequently intervened to prevent Khan slapping one of his then girlfriends.⁴³

The following month, Khan was invited to participate in teaching at the Hampstead Child Therapy Course by Joseph Sandler on behalf of Anna Freud, which offer he accepted just prior to leaving with Svetlana on 24 July for four weeks vacation in Monte-Carlo.⁴⁴ Staying there at the Old Beach Hotel, Khan wrote to Winnicott that he has 'of course, stayed in the shade all the time and also stayed clear of the water and read vast quantities of literature: analytic and creative'.⁴⁵ Seeing Edith Piaf sing one evening, Khan enthused about her performance, noting that 'there are very few great artists who can bear the exposure of personal contact and add to their image thereby'.⁴⁶

Associated with his reading over his vacation, Khan informed Anna Freud that he was in the process of writing not one but four papers of his own, which he hoped to have at first draft stage by December.⁴⁷ Part of his impetus he privately declared was his experience with Antonio, which started him thinking about shame. Thus on 27 July he wrote 'I am working hard on my paper on shame. I am convinced that the feeling of shame, even though it is superficially discredited, plays a much deeper and more dynamic point in certain forms of psychosexual inertia and even perversions than we allow for.'⁴⁸ Later, reflecting on his experience and its motivational role in his writing Khan wrote:

Since one is the laboratory in which all psychological research takes place, it is but inevitable that all new investigations of insight are started off by some subjective experience. It has always been so with me. And from what we know of Freud's private life it seems true of him too. Only this beginning in subjective sensibility must not be allowed to spread into the content of ones contribution. It is only a point of start.⁴⁹

It was to be from this period of work that one of the concepts with which Khan has been chiefly associated emerged, that of cumulative trauma.

CUMULATIVE TRAUMA

On returning from Monte-Carlo on 20 August, Khan was initially inundated with editorial work for the *International Journal* and assisting Winnicott prepare lectures for a trip to the USA. He noted:

I am vastly overloaded with administrative work at the present. The *International Journal* really takes a great deal of choring – and some of it daft enough to make a donkey kick! I am shamefully behind time with getting my own papers into shape. But the first duty is getting DWW off on his Columbus-trip to the States. He has got three papers ready: still four to write. I shall be struggling with that tonight.⁵⁰

Despite such demands (and brief trips made to Alderney to visit Julie Andrews and Tony Walton at the beginning of September and to Hamburg at the beginning of October to join Svetlana while she was on a tour),⁵¹ Khan was able to complete a draft of his paper 'The concept of cumulative trauma' on 27 November 1962, titling this version 'Cumulative trauma and its effects on ego autonomy'.⁵² Originally Khan had intended to include a second section on reconstruction in this paper, although he now decided to develop this as a separate work.⁵³ The latter would duly appear as 'Ego-distortion, cumulative trauma and the role of reconstruction in the analytic situation'.⁵⁴

In his first paper on the subject, cumulative trauma was regarded by Khan as arising out of chronic though individually non-significant repetitive maternal failures to averagely protect the ego-dependent child over the course of its development from birth through to the end of adolescence. Such failures

in the mothers role as protective shield and auxiliary ego, occurring due to the intrusion of her own needs and personality, are not initially registered as traumatogenic, but rather become so only collectively and retrospectively having accumulated both invisibly and silently to bias nascent ego-development. This bias involves both precocious, relatively unsynthesised ego development and a quasi symbiotic bond between the child and the mother, which inhibits the appropriate integration of aggressivity into the personality, as well as creating difficulties with separation and loss. Body-ego development is specifically affected, according to Khan, the clinical observation of such body-ego behaviour (e.g. sexuality) in adult patients being a prime aid in the reconstruction of the aetiology of cumulative trauma.

Directly following on from this picture Khan went on in his companion paper, 'Ego-distortion, cumulative trauma and the role of reconstruction in the analytic situation', to associate cumulative trauma with personality disorder, particularly schizoid states and the related perversions, as he had addressed in preceding papers. Reconstruction is here given prominence, with material from the patient's use of the analytic setting, his or her acting out and the analyst's counter-transference acting as the building blocks for therapeutic intervention. Acting out in particular required analytic tolerance, especially as Khan suggested it is a necessity of such patient's mental economy and can be a precursor to remembering and working through within sessions. Thus Khan articulated a significant challenge to analytic orthodoxy, one which built on earlier suggestions, the first of which he had put forward in his membership papers of 1953 and 1954 and which would be further developed in the future. Now, concluding his present paper with a brief discussion of the therapeutic task (in which he was perhaps influenced by Anna Freud), Khan emphasised the analyst's role as an available auxiliary ego, rather than as intervening through the creation of an illusory corrective emotional experience.

By the start of 1963 Khan had the first paper finalised for its presentation, which initially occurred at the Hampstead Child Therapy Clinic at two o'clock on Wednesday 16 January 1963.⁵⁵ The presentation and discussion went well, with Khan subsequently incorporating into his paper suggestions from Anna Freud and Dr Frankl about the resilience of the ego and its capacity to utilise a degree of frustration as an increment to development.⁵⁶ The following month, on 6 February, Khan delivered the revised version to a Scientific Meeting of the British Society. In the lead up to this meeting Khan intimated to Wilfred Bion, the new Society President, that Marion Milner might 'be willing to participate in the beginning of the discussion'.⁵⁷ This suggestion, however, took Milner by total surprise when Bion approached her to act as the discussant. A telephone call ensued followed by a letter on 15 January in which Khan said to Milner that he was 'still smarting from pangs of remorse about the churlish [telephone] conversation'.⁵⁸ On 29 January he sent her the revised version of his paper, dated 21 January 1963, whilst again apologising for the 'misunderstanding' and saying he would be 'very grateful' if she would open the discussion. Khan ended his note, adopting a tone inviting of rapprochement, through reassurance, writing: 'I wonder whether the additions and revisions have improved it at all.'⁵⁹

On this occasion, however, Milner was not persuaded and was not among the discussants on 6 February. Instead, it was Bion who, having chaired the meeting, opened the discussion, after which Martin James, Margaret Little, Anna Freud, Balint, Winnicott and others joined in.⁶⁰

AMERICAN HIGHS AND LONDON LOWS

Following on from all of this, Khan travelled to the USA in April 1963, where in Kansas he read 'Silence as communication' at the Menninger School of Psychiatry on 10 April before going on to the Topeka Psychoanalytic Society on 12 April, there giving his 'Concept of cumulative trauma' paper. Describing this beginning, Khan wrote:

I have been enjoying a really happy and successful time here. This is the world's most unique psychiatric-psychoanalytic set-up. My two papers were a great success. Dr Karl Menninger (whose father founded this place, and who is the boss now: a man in his late sixties) and I have got on famously together. I owe it all to my father who taught riding. Dr Karl has a passion for horses and I went riding with him on their local horses that have a quaint rocking walk which is known as Tennessee walk.⁶¹

Later, Menninger would frequently recount Khan's seductive visit, noting how Khan had extravagantly offered him four Arabian stallions from his stables in Pakistan. The horses never arrived and Khan when subsequently asked about it by a colleague reputedly said: 'I *always* tell people what they want to hear.'⁶²

From Kansas Khan went on to New York, giving papers at the New York Psychoanalytic Association on 15 April ('Ego-ideal, excitement and the threat of annihilation') and Downstate Medical Center on 17 April ('Silence as communication'), in addition to attending various seminars and meetings on editorial matters. 'I was really slave driven in New York', Khan later wrote, with 'conferences with editors, lecturers and seminars. It all went splendidly. But the sheer exhaustion of it. My lectures have been fabulously successful.'⁶³ Continuing his tour, Khan was in Chicago on 24 and 25 April staying with Herman Serota, at whose home he had solicited meetings with a number of analysts including the past-President of the American Psychoanalytic Association, Maxwell Gitelson.⁶⁴ Gerhart Piers had arranged for Khan to give his 'Ego ideal' paper at the Chicago Institute of Psychoanalysis, following which Khan moved on to New Orleans for the next two days where he again gave his 'Silence as communication' lecture at Tulane University on 27 April, with a final lecture (the 'Ego ideal' paper yet again) being given at Chestnut Lodge, Maryland on 1 May 1963. He then returned to New York for a few days with Svetlana, who was performing there with the ballet, before going back to London on 5 May.⁶⁵

In 'Silence as communication' and 'Ego ideal, excitement and the threat of annihilation', both of which Khan first read on the US trip and which he published in minor American journals later this year, the concept of cumulative trauma and analytic transference reconstruction formed the framework for

these clinical discussions. The former paper described an initial phase of sixteen once weekly psychotherapy sessions with Peter, an eighteen year old adolescent who threw up his academic studies and retreated into literature and music. In sessions he was largely silent and using the counter-transference Khan when attentive felt Peter was having him re-experience his own infantile passive experience of his mother's depression, which curbed Peter's early exuberance. Peter's excitement seemed to be now experienced passively and projectively in his musical interests and his reading, just as earlier on he had dissociated his liveliness. The interpretation of this reconstruction after some eleven weeks was confirmed by Peter who was then able to gradually emerge from his mute state and, deferring university entrance for a year, begin a full analysis. This enabled him to regress to dependence and make a new beginning, with ice skating proving an important supplement to the analysis in engaging Peter's interest and dormant liveliness.

In contrast to the work with Peter, Khan's involvement with Mr 'Here comes everybody' (or HCE), as the patient will be termed here, proved frustrating and protracted, the treatment ultimately continuing for about twenty years. A rather schizoid obsessional neurotic, Mr HCE was a diligent yet put-upon teacher who had crippling religious obsessions alternating with a rather perverse sexuality and alcoholic binges. When Mr HCE was seven his father had suffered a severe depressive breakdown from which he never recovered. Inchoate panics and more general states of excitement from this time tended to be managed by displacing them onto relatively trivial concrete external matters, which would then elicit his distracted mother's attention (albeit misdirecting it away from the actual cause of distress). In this manner a spurious semblance of a personality (or rather personalities) was created as a cover for identity dissociation (with depersonalisation and derealisation) and his evasion of emotional surrender and real dependency. This latter avoidance was fuelled by separation and consequent annihilation anxieties. Focussing on the dissociations, Khan saw these as ways of getting by until a wished for ideal state, or ego-ideal, could be miraculously realised, or annihilation would finally put an end to the uncertainty of waiting. Seeing the ego-ideal as pre-dating the super-ego and as involving idealisation, illusion and magical thinking in its formation and character, Khan suggested this structure manifested itself in Mr HCE's longed for actualisation of a pristine self: a lost, idealised, at least semi-undifferentiated infantile state that was projected into the future rather than being mourned. In the analytic situation, when the ego-ideal was dominant, verbal communication, understanding and insight were felt to be unnecessary and disruptive given the idealised state of merger that in fantasy pertained, a feature linking Mr HCE's presentation with that of Peter. Work with Mr HCE continued far beyond 1963 and glimpses of his case would reappear in several later papers including 'The finding and becoming of self' published in 1972 and 'Beyond the dreaming experience' from 1975. The magical transformation Mr HCE hoped for did not occur and in that sense the case was a failure, yet Khan offered long-term support, about which he later noted that he 'learned from Winnicott that, if we fail our patients,

we must not abandon them as persons. This is endorsed by my tradition of nurture as well.⁶⁶

The USA trip left Khan 'stimulated and vitalised' as he told Anna Freud, contrasting it with the uninspiring atmosphere in London, which included witnessing Winnicott read his paper 'Communicating and not communicating leading to a study of certain opposites' to the British Society on 15 May.⁶⁷ Winnicott had previously read a version of this paper in October 1962 in San Francisco and it must have been one of the lectures Khan had spoken about assisting him with just prior to that time. Interestingly, Winnicott's argument in fact bore striking similarities to Khan's own recent and more lucid 'Silence as communication' lecture, although neither man mentioned the other's specific paper. It seems probable that both men influenced one another in these twin compositions, papers which André Green appropriately recommends being read in tandem.⁶⁸ For his part, Khan was sharply critical of Winnicott's paper, privately describing it as:

...one of his most confused, ill-formed and carelessly thought-out papers. It is a pity that in our Society we equate lack of clarity and confusion with profundity. Winnicott has a point somewhere but it was to be found nowhere in the paper given. I find it all rather distressing personally because I feel it both harms and misrepresents Winnicott to give such naïve and childish displays of his work and thinking.⁶⁹

Despite such overt criticism of Winnicott and his paper, Khan would continue his overt collaboration with him and sustain a public image of their continued close association. When Winnicott was invited by Jock Sutherland to contribute to the *International Psychoanalytical Library* book series for instance, he confirmed his willingness to do so, adding: 'As Masud knows, I am really intending to produce something.'⁷⁰ In New York George S. Klein, the editor of *Psychological Monographs*, clearly seeing Khan as a conduit to Winnicott, had spoken with him during his recent visit about the possibility of Winnicott contributing to the series, and went on to approach Winnicott directly.⁷¹ Relatedly, Winnicott's colleagues would compliment Khan to him; Bernard Brandschaft, for example, saying to Winnicott that Khan 'was so hospitable and we are eager to reciprocate'⁷² and Marilyn Monroe's controversial analyst Ralph Greenson writing how during this year's congress he had 'spent a delightful evening with Masud Khan and his wife',⁷³ pointing to the widespread public perception of their supposed intimacy.

The 23rd IPA Congress, held in Stockholm between Sunday 28 July and Thursday 1 August 1963, saw one of the men Khan had met on his American trip, Maxwell Gitelson, elected President of the International Psychoanalytical Association. Khan, who attended with Svetlana, was himself appointed a Corresponding Member of the IPA Congress Programme Committee that was charged with the organisation of the next congress.⁷⁴ During this congress Khan made the acquaintance of the Parisian Wladimir (Wova) Granoff, who was at the time seeking to get the Association Psychanalytique de France recognised

by the IPA, a task Khan later hinted he aided him in through facilitating introductions to the pertinent IPA officers.⁷⁵

The Stockholm congress itself saw Khan deliver, on Tuesday afternoon 30 July, his paper 'Ego distortion, cumulative trauma, and the role of reconstruction in the analytic situation', in a session chaired by Winnicott. In the discussion Eleanor Galenson began by cautioning against a one sided, overly simplified view of mother-infant interaction, arguing, contra Khan, that essentially it is a 'mutual adaptation' and that his notion of mother's function as 'protective shield' appeared merely to imply 'a simple barrier function', rather than a dynamic structuring process.⁷⁶ Galenson further argued that 'cumulative trauma' was an alternative terminology for both the person's propensity to choose certain defence mechanisms, rather than others, and the resultant effect on the personality of such a choice.

During this time Khan had been dogged with rather poor health and after the congress spent several days during August in the Harley Street Nursing Home where he had a tonsillectomy and some time for recuperation.⁷⁷ By the time of the October, however, Khan was much improved and had been able to resume work. Donald and Clare Winnicott again went to the USA this month. When Khan wished them *bon voyage* on 9 October, he took the opportunity to praise Winnicott's recent paper 'The young child at home and at school', while adding the rider that it was 'a pity it is such a banal title. When we include it in your collected papers may we consider changing it to "On the capacity to discover God" or some such title?"⁷⁸ It seems that Winnicott was thus swayed, as he altered the paper's title to 'Morals and education' for its inclusion in *The Maturation Processes and the Facilitating Environment*.

Events during the balance of 1963 and the following year 1964 appear diffusely recorded. Khan later would suggest that 1964 'was a hard year! No other word for it. A complex symptom of unexistence'.⁷⁹ To Robert Stoller he suggested that he had 'got far too involved with administration and professional chores in 1964', to the detriment of critical reflection.⁸⁰ He appears to have been at times rather emotionally disturbed and was drinking increasingly heavily, as related by Wynne Godley, whom Khan was still seeing at this time. A similar experience was had by Robert Shields, who had qualified as a psychoanalyst in 1962 and had ceased his analysis with Khan in 1963. In around 1964 Khan took to turning up in disturbed probably drunken states on his now ex-analysand's doorstep, leaving Shields rather traumatised.⁸¹

One paper that Khan composed during this time was 'Intimacy, complicity and mutuality in perversions', which was published in 1964.⁸² In it he continues his exploration of action and social acting out in the perversions, within which the hope of the subject is for magical instantaneous identity and ego development. Khan suggests the acting out is of the subject's early deprivation and infantile neurosis. He further develops his description of the technique of intimacy through which an accomplice is recruited, not so much for their inherent desirability or as an object of relating, but to assist in the activity that is an *idée fixe*. The actualisation of the fixation through acting out temporarily transforms passive internal anxiety situations into active

ego-directed dramaturgy, a counter-phobic manoeuvre that also provides a modicum of contact with reality and with others. The rub of course is that emotional surrender is curtailed and the subject is sequestered from help due to the other being, as Khan says quoting Lewis Carroll, 'only a sort of thing in his dream'.⁸³

These were ideas which Khan would further elaborate and illustrate in the future and they would prove widely influential; yet the initial critical reaction took up not the paper's content, but its style. In reviewing the collection within which Khan's paper appeared, Bion made particular note of the paper for its inaccessibility to non-analytic readers due to the preponderance of specialist terminology.⁸⁴ This style was something Khan only gradually came to relax, its relinquishment being particularly evident in those works written from about 1975 onwards when much else in his life would also change.

A significant proportion of 1964 was spent undertaking successive visits to the USA. These commenced towards the end of March, when Svetlana was also there dancing scenes from *La Esmerelda* with Nureyev on the *Bell Telephone Hour*. During the course of this first visit Khan delivered an updated account of his analysis of Bill, the first instalment of which he had given ten years previously as his membership paper. He read the update, under the title 'Foreskin fetishism and its relation to ego-pathology in a male homosexual',⁸⁵ first to the Philadelphia Association for Psychoanalysis and then to the Los Angeles Psychoanalytic Society. The paper was, as he told Anna Freud, a clinical 'complement' to his recent 'Intimacy and acting out' paper.⁸⁶ Khan was now able to describe the whole course of Bill's first analysis with him, which had taken some five years. In the context of a detailed review of the analytic literature on fetishism, Khan discussed how the emotional alliance Bill had been involved in during his childhood with his mother (and the concomitant disparagement of his father) had undermined his masculine identity formation and contributed to his absorption into fetishistic reveries, which in turn produced further identity diffusion. The construction of the fetish, Khan argued, is founded on the dissociative and synthesising capacities of the ego and it is utilised as an omnipotent though precarious means of self-protection from collapse in the face of the unmanageable emotionality, which in Bill's case derived principally from his mother. Structured like a collage, the fetish serves to stabilise and partially encapsulate diverse affects, mental processes and part-object relationships in an unintegrated state, which then allows the residual ego to function with a degree of Hartmann-like secondary autonomy and object relationships to occur. Acting out however, while facilitating the ego in object-relating and increasing contact with reality, threatens the viability of the self by withering enslavement to sexual impulses and the object. Through the analysis, Khan claimed, Bill had managed to assimilate the manic excitement previously encapsulated in the fetish into an ego capacity linked to self, object and environment and that these changes had been sustained since the end of the analysis.

During this visit Khan had spent part of the time staying with Robert Stoller and his wife Sybil in Los Angeles, with whom he began to form a close friendship, one of the few that would be sustained over the course of Khan's

life. While returning to London on 5 April, Khan wrote to thank the Stollers for their hospitality, during which letter he began to articulate an idea about the Shakespearean hero, who 'is tragic because he is essentially suicidal: only his suicide is engineered as murderous response from the environment'.⁸⁷ This idea spawned derivatives including, firstly the hypothesis that the suicide is a person who has failed to find an accomplice to murder them, and secondly that the hero who is prepared to be killed is needed by society to ensure the survival of the average man. In this manner the hero becomes a totemic figure, serving an essentially fructifying function for the cultural imagination of the populace, whose personal downfall is destined and whose destructive suicidal behaviour is exonerated as fulfilling a dialectical utilitarianism. Khan's casually recorded hypothesis about self-destructive behaviour both epitomised an evolving central preoccupation in his theorising and could be seen as a prediction of his own ultimate fate.

Less than a fortnight later Khan was back in the United States, firstly visiting New York, where he was a guest of Kurt Eissler.⁸⁸ His trip continued with lecturing stops in Baltimore, on 15 April, and then Topeka, where he again read his paper on Bill 'Foreskin fetishism'. Going on to Los Angeles, Khan attended a meeting of the American Psychoanalytic Association at the beginning of May and gave substantially the same paper, albeit under the title 'Homosexuality and the sensual nursing of self and object'.⁸⁹

While in Los Angeles Khan stayed this time with Robert Stoller and his family and was a guest at parties given by Ralph Greenson and the Los Angeles Psychoanalytic Society president Leo Rangell. Talking with the latter, Khan raised the issue of a paper about Heinz Hartmann that Rangell was preparing for the *International Journal*. The conversation did not go smoothly however, Khan ending up dropping the topic and later concluding to Anna Freud that Rangell was 'going through some sort of personal crisis and reacts to any criticism with intense sensitivity and self assertion'.⁹⁰ Whether alcohol contributed to the contretemps is unclear, though Rangell told Robert Rodman more recently that Stoller had warned him privately (precisely when is unclear) that one could socialise with Khan but 'I wouldn't trust him as far as I can see him'.⁹¹

Reflecting on his initial contacts with Robert Stoller and his wife Sybil during the stay in Los Angeles, Khan wrote that:

From our very first talk... I felt at ease and confident with you. This is rather rare for me. My social alacrity of manner is a mere screen for both shyness and a built-in negativity against all strangers. It has taken me a very long time to accept that the species has more people in it than my father's peasants... When I met Sybil [Stoller] I was nervous and diffident. So often my relation to a man has been thwarted and crippled by the simple (and for them necessary!) fact that they had wives and I could not bear these good ladies. Sybil found such a quietly affluent good humoured and ironic way of putting me at ease that we were friends before I had recovered from my defensive edgedness.⁹²

Khan returned to London on 6 May from this visit.⁹³ Two months later, the third expedition of the year to the USA occurred. It seems to have been a pure vacation, Khan and Svetlana staying with friends variously in New York, Vineyard Haven and Annapolis for about four weeks from the middle of July.⁹⁴

Following these trips, back in London the autumn passed seemingly uneventfully, with Khan seemingly unruffled by the victory of labour under Harold Wilson in the General Election on 16 October. He was engaged in his usual professional pursuits. These now included membership of the Curriculum Committee at the Institute of Psychoanalysis which had been convened to overhaul the training programme for new candidates.⁹⁵ By the beginning of December 1964 Khan had drafted an outline for the Institute's basic Freud course to be run over the four years of the Associate Membership course as a core requirement for candidates from all groups.⁹⁶ Characteristically however, Khan found it difficult to be a real team player and privately he railed against his committee colleagues, whom he saw as both shallow and arrogant.⁹⁷

His own willingness to participate in administrative, pedagogic, and professional activities was further recognised around this time by his elevation within the *International Journal's* editorial team from the role of Assistant Editor with special responsibility for book reviews to the position of Associate Editor, the deputy to its editor John Sutherland. This new role first appeared against Khan's name in the October 1964 issue of the journal and marked an important rise in his international profile.

The year ended with Khan and Svetlana travelling that December to Pakistan where they vacationed at Khan's house in Lyallpur. Writing of the stay to his friend Zoë Dominic, Khan hinted at the gulf he experienced between East and West, a gulf across which he felt little translation could be effected. Thus he tellingly wrote:

Here we are blissfully rested in our archaic rhythm of feudal existence and are really loving it. Svetlana has developed a profound attachment to my mother, the peasants and the place. So we shall be coming here quite often in the future. There is really no way of describing of what has been happening. It is all so foreign to the idiom and sensibility of the English language: we have had emotional storms, endless battles over estate matters and yet the total ambience has been restful and tranquil. In its anachronistic way, this is a beautiful little hide-out of feudal nobility and leisure here.⁹⁸

Khan's expressed intention to increasingly frequent his native 'hideout', perhaps aided by its gaining Svetlana's apparent seal of approval, may be seen as bringing him nearer to his hitherto rather silenced cultural origins and self.

Dis-Establishment: The Gitelson Affair

1965 was to be a watershed year for Khan, both personally and professionally. His profile within the psychoanalytic world grew with his appearance as a speaker at meetings and conferences, participation in organisational development both within the British Society and the IPA, a consolidation of his editorial work and even a television appearance. Alongside this however Khan's capacity for generating narcissistic and covertly tendentious and even seditious narratives grew, and it became explosively and disastrously semi-public at the IPA's Amsterdam Congress with the Gitelson affair. The fault lines this episode both revealed and exacerbated would, over Khan's remaining twenty-five years, wax and wane before ultimately destroying both his life and reputation and causing varying degrees of damage to those around him.

PRELUDE

The year began slowly with Khan and Svetlana's return from their holiday in Pakistan, with January seeing them 'gradually weaning ourselves from the nostalgic emotions about my village...and sinking into our habits of life here'.¹ On Wednesday 20 January Khan gave his paper 'Foreskin fetichisms' at the Scientific Meeting of the British Society. Bion, in his final year as President, was in the Chair, the meeting commencing with John Sutherland's address in commemoration of Fairbairn who had died on the previous New Year's Eve, a moving though sombre start to the professional year.²

On 3 February 1965 Maxwell Gitelson died suddenly from an acute coronary whilst on holiday in Sanibel Island, Florida.³ He had been closely involved in the organisation of the forthcoming 24th IPA Congress. Khan, as a Corresponding Member of the congress's organising Programme Committee, would have soon learnt of Gitelson's untimely death. In lieu of Gitelson, Phyllis Greenacre and William Gillespie became acting IPA Chairmen, the latter delivering an oration about Gitelson to a Scientific Meeting of the British Society on 17 March 1965.

Khan and Svetlana attended a dinner party at Donald and Clare Winnicott's home on Friday evening 19 February 1965.⁴ This may have been to celebrate the completion and immanent arrival of Winnicott's new book *The Family and Individual Development*, due to be published in March by Tavistock Publications. In the book's acknowledgements Winnicott, having first thanked his secretary Mrs Joyce Coles, wrote: 'to Mr M Masud Khan I am grateful for his advice and for his work on the index'.⁵

March also saw Khan appearing for the first time on television. At the end of 1964 the Reverend Vernon Sproxton, Producer of Religious Programmes for Television at the BBC, had approached him about participating in a programme, *Freud and the Freudians: Viewpoint*. Reluctant to do so initially, Khan had been swayed to participate in part by John Sutherland, who also appeared, as did Harry Guntrip and the Reverend Martin Jarret-Kerr, all under the chairmanship of Brian Redhead.⁶ The half-hour programme was broadcast on BBC1 beginning at 11.10pm on Wednesday evening 3 March. Its intention, as *The Times* put it, was to 'take a fresh look at Jewish thinkers whose writings have challenged orthodox Christian ideas'.⁷ To Anna Freud, Khan said that his initial reservation about the programme was that within both the medium and the time constraints it would be unlikely to educate its audience, who he viewed with marked disdain. His comments on the public are instructive, writing that 'they are so well anchored in their mental inertia and prefer gossipy entertainment anyway'. He continued, castigating the programme chairman saying:

He is reputed to be a very clever man but had felt singularly without identity or purpose among four professionals. He had reacted to it with insufferable silliness and nonsensical provocation. It took all my self-discipline and Dr Sutherland's quieting influence for me not to tear him apart and I am very relieved I did not because in front of an audience all controversial badinage sounds stupid. Personally I think Mr Redhead served the function they had set for him which was to be a sort of absurd human blob of a different sound and texture to break the monotony of the professional speakers. From the point of view of the producer there had to be a gimmick which would stop the viewers from switching off and few things are so effective in holding TV audiences as a self-confessed ignorant and impertinent manner in a chairman. I guess it provides them with their ready made object to identify with.⁸

The 'audience' and chairman as iconic of bourgeois and proletarian humanity, seems to have represented for Khan a particular type of hateful other, locked in a passive dependent relationship to both the active expert participants and the medium. Part of this otherness is its ordinariness, something Khan feared and denigrated, linking it perhaps, as Dodi Goldman suggested, with his own projected fears of identity dissolution.⁹ On another level, Khan's discourse may be taken as a post-colonial projective narrative, wherein a fragile sense of power and identity may be constructed and shored-up. Clare Pajaczowska and Lola Young address such issues further, writing:

The fear of loss of individuality is projected onto the idea of the 'masses', so that the working class become a mirror reflecting disowned envy and discontent. These projections leave White, middle class, male identity as one of safety, power, control, independence and contentment, perhaps smug or self-righteous. Yet this is an illusory identity because it is actually highly dependent on its others to shore up its sense of security, to reflect back the disowned parts of itself as inferior, contemptible, dependent, frightened

or threatening, perhaps excremental. The illusory identity needs narratives constantly to reaffirm its fictitious centrality. This is what is meant by 'androcentrism' and 'ethnocentrism' of cultural forms where emotional and intellectual distortions are created in order to shore up the narcissistic illusion of the centrality of White, masculine, middle class identity.¹⁰

It was to be just such 'narratives' and 'emotional and intellectual distortions' that would shortly propel Khan into the midst of the Gitelson crisis.

While Khan's letter to Anna Freud is revealing about his disdain for the public, his colleagues were as much targets for his vitriol, although this was something Khan expressed at this time in relative privacy. In his March 1965 correspondence with Robert Stoller, for example, Khan launched vituperative and pathologising attacks on his Los Angeles colleague Leo Rangell, whose paper on Heinz Hartmann had just appeared in the *International Journal*.¹¹ Ten months previously Khan had expressed to Anna Freud his opinion that Rangell was going through a rather difficult time and his misgivings about the paper Rangell might produce. Now, with the paper published, Khan expressed his views rather more candidly to the more fraternal Stoller writing that:

He has done a very erudite job in summarising Hartmann's works but I am afraid it is too much like a school boy's essay. I have not said this to him of course and am only saying it to you in privacy to get it off my chest. What is really sickening about Rangell's article on Hartmann is his arse-crawling political adulation...Of course I had not realised that when a man is as paranoid as Rangell is he is just as likely to be as viciously hostile as abjectly servile and I must say that his using this commission from us to do the review, to advertise himself, is obnoxious...

When I encountered Rangell in person last year in Los Angeles, I had been shocked by his megalomania and insecurity...Please keep it all to yourself because one cannot have a more subversive antagonist than Rangell and for God's sake either tear this paper up or keep it at home, but don't drag it through your university files.¹²

It was a vicious and unwarranted attack. Stoller responded with considerable tact and forbearance, prefacing his reply by saying that he felt rather uneasy about Khan's letter, after which he praised Khan's qualities and talents at some length and only then proceeded to take up the comments about Rangell. Having pointed out that there may be other sides to the story, Stoller questioned Khan's terming Rangell 'paranoid' suggesting this was inappropriately pathologising, that there seemed no evidence to support this view, and then advised Khan that, both for his own sake and for that of his future professional contributions, it would be better to adopt a different approach to such episodes.¹³ Thanking Stoller for his warmth and counsel, Khan (whilst maintaining the appropriateness of his description of Rangell as paranoid) wrote that he would try in future to be more cautious and attempt to keep out of such skirmishes.¹⁴ Both Stoller's advice and Khan's apparent resolution however were ineffective in averting

indiscretions that would have more serious consequences during the coming months and years.

The following month saw Winnicott's 70th birthday being marked by both a celebration at Mansfield House on Friday 30 April 1965, with almost 250 people attending, and a series of seminars on child analysis which he delivered to a group of forty invited psychoanalysts. Judith Issroff, who attended the former event as a new analytic candidate in the company of an Egyptian-born Copt, the analyst Shafiq Fahmy, recalled Khan there and the dramatic impression he generated. Issroff remembers:

It was the first time I saw Khan. He was dazzlingly handsome, elegant and flamboyant. He came swooping across the room, warmly and affectionately hugged and embraced small, slight Shafiq, looking extremely tall, melodramatically to play 'we special foreign outsider gentlemen who must stick together', even saying something like that. Then he commanded Shafiq to introduce me: 'And who is this?' Shafiq told him I'd just been accepted and memorably, with his arm outstretched, Masud gazed at me with a meaningful pause, and then delivered himself prophetically and solemnly of: 'Beautiful women like you who are also intelligent can never be happy in psychoanalysis!', then turned and swept off, leaving me quite dumbfounded.¹⁵

Khan here seems like a hypomanic character in his own drama, the exotic young turk who seductively seeks to rival the guest of honour.

Assuming Issroff's recall about the party is correct, Khan must have left it and went almost directly for a flight to New York with Svetlana, perhaps flying overnight. Svetlana was scheduled to appear in New York with the Royal Ballet. Joining them from California, Robert and Sybil Stoller spent several days with the couple, attending the ballet and socialising together.¹⁶ Khan used the visit to attend part of the American Psychoanalytic Association's 52nd Annual Meeting, held this year at the Commodore Hotel from 30 April to 3 May.¹⁷ He had been invited to participate in a panel on the concept of trauma, chaired by the recently lambasted Leo Rangell, on Saturday 1 May and, as panellists were restricted to presentations of ten to fifteen minutes each, Khan may have had to cut down his contribution, later to be published as 'On symbiotic omnipotence' in 1969.

In the paper Khan built upon his earlier ideas on cumulative trauma and the importance of reconstruction in the analytic situation to discuss certain high functioning schizoid patients who are regarded by others as special. Suggesting that they had an intense and exclusive mutually idealising relationship with their mothers within which 'the "self" of the child functions as a "transitional object" between the child's ego and the mother',¹⁸ Khan highlights how the early marginalisation of aggression and aggressive drives constitutes such patients' key developmental deficit, one which hampers healthy personality growth. It is this deficit that such patients particularly need addressing through 'the right dosage of positive aggression and even hate by the analyst'.¹⁹ In his conclusion Khan notes the treatment similarities with patients who have perverse and

anti-social presentations, but distinguishes cases of symbiotic omnipotence from such patients by their lack of overt excessive acting out and suggests they instead externalise or act-in within the transference situation in an attempt to gain endorsement of their idolised self. Later, in his 1972 paper 'Dread of surrender to resourcesless dependence in the analytic situation', Khan would come to see symbiotic omnipotence somewhat differently: as a reactive state evading aggression and as a defence against emotional surrender. However, more of that later.

After the APA meeting and some socialising, Khan returned to London while Svetlana remained with the Royal Ballet's American tour, during which she was able to lunch with Clifford Scott and probably at least again met with the Stollers in California, Robert Stoller having had to refer her when there to a Beverly Hills orthopaedic colleague for treatment of a chronic right ankle sprain which perhaps temporarily curtailed her performance.²⁰

In July, just prior to the IPA congress, Winnicott's *The Maturation Processes and the Facilitating Environment* came out as Volume 64 of the *International Psychoanalytical Library*, with John Sutherland as the series editor. Khan wrote the Editorial Note in his then capacity as Associate Editor and drew attention to the book's bibliographies and the index. He omitted mentioning however that these parts were his own work! The index was particularly significant as it sought to highlight both the links between and implications of Winnicott's themes and concepts and their connections with Freud's work. Winnicott himself in the book's acknowledgements noted Khan's contribution, writing:

Lastly, I want to thank Mr Masud Khan, who has provided the drive which has resulted in the publication of this book. Mr Khan has given a great deal of his time to the work of editing. He has also made innumerable valuable minor suggestions, most of which I have accepted. He is responsible for my gradually coming to see the relationship of my work to that of other analysts, past and present. In particular I am grateful to him for his preparation of the index.²¹

At about the same time as his book appeared, Winnicott was elected to his second period of office as President of the British Society, a position he would hold until 1968.

THE FATEFUL LETTER

At some point during these months Khan in his private correspondence wrote to his friend, the Parisian one time colleague of Lacan, Wladimer (Wova) Granoff, about the then recently deceased IPA President, Maxwell Gitelson. This letter was to cause serious embarrassment to Khan, tarnish his career and precipitate a process of distancing himself from the British and International psychoanalytic establishment.²² While copies of the letter have proved to be untraceable (and thus it represents a very specific lacuna in the available records) Pearl King, who came to be involved in the denouement of this episode, recalls

the substance of the matter. Khan had basically claimed 'how helpful I was to Max', Granoff taking this as both favourable to Khan and a potential comfort to his widow.²³ Other sources suggest that Khan had claimed a close association with Gitelson, apparently suggesting he was on familiar terms with and was supported by him, including Gitelson attending Khan's delivery of his 1963 IPA Congress paper, praising it and the pair dining out together subsequently.²⁴ These claims appear to have been largely without foundation.

Khan's actual contacts with Gitelson were rather meagre, beginning perhaps in July 1959 when Gitelson delivered his paper 'A critique of psychosomatic theory (in the United States)'²⁵ to the British Psychoanalytical Society, Khan being one of the discussants from the audience.²⁶ Gitelson and his wife had afterwards dined at the Royal Society of Medicine with Winnicott (as President of the British Society) and Clare and had with them attended a party at the Hoffers', though there is no indication Khan was present at either occasion.²⁷ Khan does very briefly refer to Gitelson's work (particularly Gitelson's 1958 paper 'On ego distortion'²⁸) in his own writings and thanks him for comments on his 1963 paper 'Ego-ideal, excitement and the threat of annihilation', comments given when Khan read this paper in Chicago in April 1963 as part of his United States lecture tour. In fact, Khan had contacted Gitelson immediately prior to *that* visit seeking a meeting and had as a result met him and his wife, the psychoanalyst Frances Hannett, at Herman Serota's home on 24 April 1963. Afterwards, having thanked him for sparing this time, Khan had asked for two reprints and invited the Gitelsons to dinner when they were next in London. Maxwell Gitelson declined the latter offer, pleading an already full schedule,²⁹ after which surviving correspondence between the men evaporates. Some additional contact may have occurred due to Khan's editorial assistance with the *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, in whose pages several of Gitelson's papers appeared. For his part, Gitelson does not appear to have made any reference to Khan or his work in his own collected papers.³⁰ The brief references and contacts, and the apparent absence of citations of Khan's works by Gitelson, seem hardly to support a claim that there had been either a substantial or close friendship or association between the two analysts. Masud Khan's claim to such closeness might not have come to light or been of much consequence but for Wladimer Granoff sending a copy of Khan's letter to Gitelson's widow.³¹

THE AMSTERDAM CONGRESS

The 1965 IPA Congress, held in Amsterdam's RAI Building, Internationaal Congrescentrum, in Europaplein, from Sunday 25 to Friday 30 July, was to prove a turning point in Khan's life. Over 1,200 psychoanalysts and their guests had registered to attend. Khan and Svetlana stayed at the Amsterdam Hilton.³² Before the congress proper began, a select international group of training analysts attended the IPA pre-congress meeting on psychoanalytic training. Beginning with a reception at the Hilton on Thursday evening, 22 July, the pre-congress met at Congrescentrum until lunchtime on Saturday 24 July. Participants were organised into four parallel discussion groups, Khan acting

as Secretary to Group Four, chaired by Pearl King.³³ As attested by his role here amongst the senior figures of the IPA, Khan had attained an international status and profile within the psychoanalytic community. He was, however, to leave the congress the following week with his career and self in crisis, having been censured by that very establishment.

SCHIZOID WITHDRAWAL

The congress scientific theme was focussed around obsessional neurosis, Freud's Rat Man case study acting as the key referent. Khan's congress paper, 'The role of phobic and counter-phobic mechanisms and separation anxiety in schizoid character formation', read on Thursday 29 July, in a session chaired by Jacob Arlow, was well received. In the pre-published congress brochure Khan had titled his paper 'Role of phobic and counter-phobic mechanisms in the regulation of self-esteem in the schizoid character'. Khan describes how self-absorption, as a sub-type of defensive withdrawal, is maintained within the schizoid character by the use of phobic mechanisms. These defences serve concomitantly to bind aggression and to support self-esteem and omnipotence, both of which the patient believes are threatened if he were to come into contact with an object. This state is not, however, objectless, as the withdrawal is withdrawal *to* an object, a narcissistic ideal self believed to be special, dissociated from the everyday social persona. Environmental support for such beliefs is evoked through the use of intense narcissistic emotionality to create a pseudo intimacy within social encounters, temporarily inducing the other into occupying the role of the ideal. Khan regarded 'this projective re-living of the self through making others sponsor one [as] typical of the schizoid character'.³⁴ Following the achievement of the other's seduction into the role of the ideal, and the patient's own consequent attainment of specialness and indispensability as the progenitor of such a state, phobic and paranoid anxieties about the consequences of emotional surrender to the object set in and lead to withdrawal from the object, back into a state of self-absorption. Khan emphasises the highly private, secretive and very defended nature of this psychic retreat, which opposes analytic progress and personality integration. The paper was well received by the audience, with David Rubinfine, from New York, commenting how 'it is a great pleasure to discuss a paper by Mr Khan, for its vivid statements, its speculative breadth, its appeal to the senses, and its freedom from dogma, it is an unabashed and courageous demand for argument'.³⁵ However, it was the Gitelson letter affair that was to be the more decisive congress event for Khan, as it was here amongst the psychoanalytic establishment and Khan's would-be benefactors that it unravelled.

CONFRONTATION, HUMILIATION AND WITHDRAWAL

Adam Limentani said that 'at the time of the Amsterdam Congress... a serious indiscretion provoked the wrath of many senior colleagues'.³⁶ Frances Gitelson having received Khan's letter from Granoff had been very hurt by it, apparently

feeling that Khan was trying to usurp her husband's reputation.³⁷ In her distress and anger she remonstrated to the IPA's Executive Council, who convened a special meeting during the week of the congress to consider the matter. Present were the then acting IPA Chairmen, Phyllis Greenacre and William Gillespie, along with at least Pearl King and Elizabeth Zetzel. Feelings ran high, Gitelson having been well liked and his psychoanalyst widow's distress compelling. Having deliberated the options, the Council decided that Khan should be censured for his statements and asked to apologise to Mrs Gitelson. William Gillespie met with Khan and told him of the Council's decision.³⁸ Several years later Khan in his own account of Gillespie and this meeting wrote: 'He is [an] Irish [man] who has made [it] big in England amongst the Jewish International. Well, if you can survive and rule over that amalgam you spare none – as he proved to me in my person in Amsterdam 1965! And I respect him for it, because he challenged me and we both have survived honourably.'³⁹ At the time, however, Khan declared that personally he felt that his removal from the membership was being sought. Khan left the congress privately and bitterly proclaiming to Stoller (who with his wife had visited Khan in London prior to then travelling on to Amsterdam) that he would not attend another, nor would he return to the United States, whose psychoanalytic community he declaimed as being without a belief in the unconscious.⁴⁰ Later, Khan wrote that 'Granoff nearly gutted my whole analytic career in Amsterdam 1965 through Mrs Gitelson!!!!...After the...debacle I retreated.'⁴¹

On his return to Los Angeles Robert Stoller reflected on the Gitelson affair, writing to Khan that:

I'm still quite disturbed about your unpleasant experience. I cannot believe anyone will be able to get you as a result of a private letter, but you have certainly seen the intensity with which some of our colleagues operate. You sometimes act lightly and whimsically, but what for you is defined within yourself as only a trial action, or a game, or an encounter, others may take much more seriously. I think you go to a meeting like that one or involve yourself with certain people the way Sybil and I have visited cities – but you can't sightsee certain people. They'll try to tear out your eyes, like natives do with tourists. I know you are very ambivalent about common sense and would be irritated if you ever had to take my brand of it seriously, but I still think your creativity is too valuable to waste on the excitements – thrills and disasters – of the politics and connivances of psychoanalysis. There's a lot of fun and games in it for all of us, but there's too much murder in it too.⁴²

Following the Amsterdam congress, Khan and Svetlana went for three weeks to Monte-Carlo on vacation, staying at the Hotel de Paris. There he passed much of the time voraciously reading non-analytic literature. Little guilt or contrition seemed to trouble him over the Gitelson affair; instead shame, outrage and contempt appeared to prevail, at least on the surface. Writing appreciatively to Stoller, Khan remarked that:

I see things now in a quieter perspective. I was far too tired and had too much to do to cope really adequately with the Gitelson charade. You are absolutely right. I have so far gone in too naively and childishly into an excited exchange of combativeness with my colleagues and I gravely miscalculated the vigour and consistency of their venom...I worked very hard for the British Society and for my colleagues all over the place, my conscience is clear on that score. I shall gradually withdraw now because I loathe social scandals and dramas.⁴³

In addition to his contact with Stoller and a few other American analysts, Khan singled out one professional relationship with a London colleague that he continued to value: his collaboration with Jock Sutherland. Of him he noted that 'it is a blessing to find good and affectionate camaraderie with an older colleague'.⁴⁴ The actual editorial work task however, upon which that relationship pivoted, was something at this moment that Khan resented, it being viewed as having stifled his own creative work during the preceding five years. Thus, Khan remarked that 'all my time was taken up reading and editing other people's tripe. Only 10 per cent of what I read for the *Journal* was of any real merit. Now I shall devote my energies to myself, to my own thinking, reading and writing'.⁴⁵

On his return to London Khan resigned from the British Society's Curriculum Committee in early September.⁴⁶ Joseph Sandler and Pearl King had both left the committee and William Gillespie was going to take up one of the vacancies, a prospect that Khan apparently felt unable to adapt to. Writing to Anna Freud about this, Khan commented with now noteworthy circumspection that 'for reasons that I can tell you only in conversation it is no longer possible for me to work with Dr Gillespie. Hence I leave'.⁴⁷ Other external factors may also have contributed to Khan's apparent feelings of persecution, one of the more obvious possibilities being the Pakistani-Indian war that began on 8 September.

With Winnicott, Khan's relationship seems to have suffered something of a rupture around this time. Rodman records Khan writing that 'DWW...faltered in 1965...Not his fault, my lapse! This I respected in DWW. We loved each other from an uneasy - no, a traumatic alliance' and then proceeds to quote Wladimir Granoff recalling to Khan Khan's own words to him: 'Dr Winnicott, you said you did not speak to each other anymore, all was finished between you, and you had no other communication except what was strictly formal. And in the company of two people besides myself, you said that Dr Winnicott had failed you completely when you were in trouble'.⁴⁸ As the British Society President, Winnicott would have been inevitably aware of the recent congress outcry over Khan's behaviour and of the official sanctions, something he may have been bound to lend his at least tacit support to and it may have been this that left Khan feeling Winnicott had failed him as a patron. Several contemporary events undoubtedly contributed to cementing the men's more overt coolness towards each other. For Winnicott one personal factor may have been his decision earlier in the year to leave his total estate to his wife, which he formalised in a will he signed in May 1965: which act can be seen analytically as his placing of his

objects in his internal world and in reality, while separating himself somewhat from idealised illusions of Khan as his analytic son and heir. Other factors are likely to have included the final collapse during 1966 of Khan's destructive quasi-analytic relationship with Wynne Godley – who had invoked and gained Winnicott's support in its termination – and other enactments by Khan, of which more later. Indeed, it seems clear from earlier correspondence that the ambivalence within Khan's relationship with Winnicott had been brewing for some time and a move now to a 'strictly formal' stance could be regarded as the precipitated culmination of this and was perhaps a somewhat welcome respite for both men.

During the remainder of the year the available sources are largely silent on Khan's life and activities. The Society's *Annual Report* for 1965–66 notes he claimed he had given three papers: 'The creative act' to St Anne's Society, in London in November 1965 and 'Polarities and relatedness' and 'The myth of effortless living' to the Progressive League at unspecified dates during the year.⁴⁹ The nature of these papers is unclear and, given that the titles do not appear among Khan's known published works, he may have regarded them as insubstantial. Indeed, while the very existence of these papers is open to doubt, it is noteworthy that Khan utilises the *Annual Report* as a propaganda vehicle for letting his colleagues know of his supposedly unbowed productivity in a place other than the psychoanalytic establishment.

Two other events from this year that may also be here noted, both being connected with others writings. First was the appearance in November of Helene Deutsch's *Neurosis and Character Types*, edited jointly by John Sutherland and Khan, as Volume 62 of the *International Psychoanalytical Library*. This was the first volume of this series that carried Khan's name as a contributing editor. In contrast to the appearance of Deutsch's book was the non-appearance of an important essay by Charles Rycroft. His paper 'On ablation of the parental images, or the illusion of having created oneself' discussed a type of analytic patient attracted to psychoanalysis who discount their own parents and lineage and substitute idealised self-chosen figures in their stead. Rycroft's paper was twice rejected this year for publication, initially by the *International Journal of Psychoanalysis* and then by John Sutherland and Khan, who were editing Rycroft's own essay collection *Imagination and Reality* for publication within the *International Psychoanalytical Library* series, apparently 'because it was thought impolitic to publish an essay which discussed some of the psychopathological reasons which may lead people to become psychoanalysts'.⁵⁰ It is an essay that, though it wasn't, could have been written about Khan himself and the ways in which he disowned his origins, failed to follow in his actual parents' footsteps, attached himself to new idealised psychoanalytic surrogates, and inflated traits of creativity, falsity and narcissism in his personality, a false-self stance that Rycroft suggests is typically subsequent to:

...suffer[ing] some emotional catastrophe, some gross breach in communication with their parents, which they dealt with by withdrawing all interest from their parents and by divesting their images of all meaning; and that they 'recovered'

from the resulting state of despair and disillusion by a process similar to that described by Freud in his paper on Schreber...[They] 'recovered' from their infantile catastrophe by constructing a mythical 'false self' which is conceived to owe its origins to some source other than their own actual, physical parents...I have the impression that as children these patients were...humiliated,...totally misunderstood...or were treated as things, as possessions of their parents.⁵¹

While we may but wonder what Khan thought of Rycroft's paper and whether it stirred uncomfortable feelings of self-recognition that in turn influenced the contemporary suppression of the paper, his life up to this point can be seen to be marked by repeated ablations and concurrent mythopoesis, a trend which accelerates with increasing destructiveness in the remaining chapters of his life.

10

Alienation and Enactment

STRUGGLING WITH REALITY

In the aftermath of the Gitelson affair Khan began to gradually withdraw from the London psychoanalytic scene. Personally he would describe the years 1966 and 1967 as a period when 'many things have been a bit adrift...with me'.¹ Fewer of his papers began to appear in the *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*.

Khan's relationship with Svetlana was becoming increasingly difficult. Concomitant with this, Svetlana's mental state was deteriorating and her drinking increased. Khan remained in a state of relative passivity, writing to Marion Milner about 'the private nightmare I am living through at home at present. One can only wait'.² Some support from Winnicott failed to turn her situation around and encouragement from both him and Khan for Svetlana to go into intensive psychotherapy apparently with Michael Balint was fruitless.³ Svetlana's drinking unsurprisingly had its knock-on effect on Khan's own behaviour, as Robert Stoller later noted when he wrote: 'it is too bad that Svetlana has such a grand and awful way of using alcohol; she just serves him as a model when he chooses to dramatize his own feelings'.⁴ This would be increasingly problematic for Khan, whose own proneness to alcohol abuse would in the years ahead increase and ultimately directly contribute to his death.

The beginning of 1966 saw Khan lamenting what he regarded as his colleagues lacklustre and complacent thinking, which he predicted would give way to an era in which there would be a more dedicated scientific phenomenological study of the psychoanalytic situation. This would, Khan speculated, be little better, but may instead be:

Yet another attempt on the part of the unconscious to stay unconscious. The creative mind expresses the affectivity and the dynamic sensibility through metaphor, symbol, simile and analogy. Surely these are the *facts* of the living human experience. Anything that tethers these facts [or tends] to ossify them in the experimental data, may teach us a lot [about] how to manipulate the human being but not how to know him and understand him.⁵

Khan advocated modelling psychoanalysis on the humanities and hermeneutics, instead of on medicine and the sciences as he thought epitomised it in the United States.⁶ Psychoanalysis as a therapeutic endeavour was thus downgraded by Khan, the analyst's clinical responsibility for the patient blurred and metaphor (with its inherent potential for both elucidation through emphasis and distortion)

rather idealised. The revelation of 'facts' at the Amsterdam Congress had been painful for Khan and facts were something he now appeared less inclined to acknowledge.

In 1966 Khan was working with Marion Milner editing what would become her magnum opus, provisionally entitled *Sanity and the Devil*, a title dropped at Khan's suggestion,⁷ to be eventually published as *The Hands of the Living God*. On reading the first draft Khan said to her: 'This is not really an account of an analysis but of a research into how to let oneself be used, become the servant of a process.'⁸ As the book began to take shape it became clear that, due to the number of illustrations whose inclusion was integral to understanding the work, its predicted retail price would be prohibitively expensive. Khan and Sutherland decided to seek subsidies to ameliorate this. One result of Khan's approaches to various possible benefactors was a donation of \$1,500 from Robert Stoller in September 1966.⁹

Shortly after this the Stollers, whilst en route between Madrid and Los Angeles, met Khan very briefly in London. There had been a marked diminution in both the amount and quality of communication Khan had had with them since the preceding year and they were clearly concerned for their friend. They found him distracted and were left unclear as to Khan's true state of mind. Robert Stoller wrote to Khan that he had been:

...distressed...that the past year has been a troubled one for you and can only hope that you have consolidated the loose ends, difficulties, blind alleys, or whatever has been preoccupying you, and that you are now able to proceed in ways that permit you to let your productivity loose again. You really are a great one for squandering yourself as if you have no limits.¹⁰

Whilst Khan's response to this letter has not been found some indication of it is contained in Stoller's subsequent letter wherein he wrote:

We were saddened to get your last letter with its sense of regret and waste for this past year...It's especially irritating – immoral – for us to pour down the drain any part of our time during these good years. Where fate works against us, we can feel regret, but when we help do it to ourselves, then we can really feel disgusted...The pleasure you get in messing around with psychoanalytic politics and even your desire to reprimand some of our colleagues for their undignified manipulating isn't worth what it has taken out of you. Your... thinking...is a jolting stimulus throughout analysis today – one can't hear a scholarly paper on early development or on the perversions without your work being cited and discussed. That, your practice, and your teaching are the solid ground under you, your only dependable criteria for measuring your worth, and the rest...really amounts to selling yourself too cheaply.¹¹

Such encouragement for Khan to renounce disputative politico-social encounters and instead concentrate on clinical practice together with the development and exposition of his clinical and theoretical ideas was to become an increasing

and mostly unheeded refrain for Stoller and Khan's other friends. As Stoller suggests, Khan's creativity of the early 1960s had shown a marked inhibition since the Gitelson affair and along with this he had neglected his healthier social relationships. This withdrawal or introversion marked a prodromal deviation towards what proved to be increasingly disturbed states of mind and relationships. This appears to have partly involved wilder, grandiose ideas, often involving gaining proximity to senior psychoanalytic and other celebrities. For instance, with Erik Erikson Khan (having modestly proposed they might meet at the Austen Riggs Center if a trip Khan was planning to take to New York materialised) suggested flamboyantly that if Erikson had time when in Italy then Khan could meet him there as 'it's no difficulty for me at all to fly over and visit you...for a week-end'.¹² While this has a rather manic tinge to it, with others his wildness was more unbound and clearly destructive. Marion Milner recounted how she was the unfortunate witness and unwitting accomplice to a particularly serious instance of this during this period.

TRANSGRESSING BOUNDARIES

Simultaneous with Khan's editorial work on Marion Milner's book, he had asked her if she would take over the treatment of one of his patients, an artist and sculptress, Miss B. Khan intimated to Milner that Miss B's analysis had been completed and that 'all that was left to do was resolve the transference'.¹³ Accepting the referral, Milner, once the treatment had begun, soon discovered that her new patient was actually engaged in an ongoing sexual relationship with Khan. Unsurprisingly, the analysis proved to be anything but complete, and Miss B remained with Milner for a number of years. The analysis was further complicated by Khan occasionally taking her to Paris, where they socialised with his colleagues, despite Miss B wanting (according to Marion Milner) a more regressive dependent relationship.¹⁴

It appears likely that Milner was not Khan's first choice of analyst for Miss B. He had during this period drunkenly approached Robert Shields, confessing to him that he had slept with one of his own female patients and beseeching Shields to take her on for treatment. Before any such psychotherapy could begin, Khan retracted the referral and Shields himself was left in a rather shocked state.¹⁵ It was perhaps the trauma of this, as well as transferentially reinforced loyalty to his ex-analyst, that inhibited Shields in bringing the matter to the attention of the British Psychoanalytical Society at the time, and it was only after his death, thirty-five years later, that his widow raised the matter in the wake of the Wynne Godley publicity. Why Khan decided against entrusting the patient to Shields is uncertain, though it seems probable that he placed greater trust in Milner's silence.

Prior to the Miss B episode, Khan had both struggled with and been critical of the boundaries involved in the psychoanalytic frame, particularly with the generally accepted prohibitions on self-disclosure. This time, however, Khan had exceeded the psychoanalytic boundaries in a far more extreme manner, blatantly flouting his professional duty and responsibility. Despite the then lack

of ethical codification, there had been sufficient precedents within the history of psychoanalysis for it to be clear to all that Khan's relationship with Miss B was inappropriate, unprofessional and likely to be damaging.¹⁶ There were also various professional regulatory means by which Khan's actions could have been addressed, probably involving a disciplinary hearing and suspension or removal from the British Society (and hence also from the IPA). Khan's stopping of his analysis of Miss B and his transferring her to Milner (when it appears probable that the therapeutic boundaries had already been compromised) may have served to distance him from any sense of his own professional obligations towards her, yet by contemporary standards this would still be regarded as a clear abuse of his duty of care.

The specific professional difficulty, of course, was that nobody actually brought the case to the attention of the professional institutions (either the British Society or the IPA) that could have been involved. Shields was traumatised and clearly emotionally undermined by the whole affair. Similarly, Milner had been placed by Khan in an unenviable position, where she was caught between her professional obligations to her new patient, her relationship with Khan (who had been her supervisee, and was now a friend, current colleague and simultaneously her editor) whom she saw as needing help, and her obligations to the profession and the public.¹⁷ Marion Milner decided to treat the case 'analytically' by her own account, maintaining Miss B's treatment within the bounds of appropriate professional confidentiality.¹⁸ Apart from Shields and Milner however, it appears that some of Khan's Parisian colleagues may have known that Miss B had been his patient and thus that he was in breach of appropriate professional boundaries. They, unlike Shields and Milner, could have challenged Khan and instigated professional disciplinary procedures without the encumbrance of divided loyalties or risking the integrity and confidentiality of a patient's treatment. Nothing however of the sort appears to have occurred and thus Khan continued to practise and be publicly regarded as a perhaps flamboyant but nonetheless reputable and professional psychoanalyst for at least the next decade. Khan's affair with Miss B beginning in late 1966 is the earliest verified instance of a very serious boundary transgression in his psychoanalytic practice and pre-dates by some five or more years the previously accepted chronology of Khan's transgressive behaviour as recorded by other commentators.¹⁹

A CONTINUED HOSTILE RETREAT

The next year, 1967, continued much as its predecessor had with Khan in a withdrawn state, due, as he put it, to 'a stammer in my rhythm of life'.²⁰ He did not begin work until 23 January, having it appears taken an extended Christmas break, perhaps to visit Pakistan.²¹ During his absence one of his analysands, an Institute trainee who had been in analysis with Khan since 1962, suffered a crisis when his girlfriend left him. It was to Winnicott that Khan's candidate turned for interim support, by telephone and letter, his choice of substitute perhaps highlighting Winnicott's psychic presence in the analysis. Characteristically

helpful, Winnicott's reassurance of his availability if needed seemed enough to support him.²²

The Easter period proved to be a rather mixed time, it beginning positively with the *International Journal* publishing a review of Rosen's 1964 book *The Pathology and Treatment of Sexual Deviation* which singled out Khan's mammoth essay of female homosexuality as 'by far the most impressive psycho-analytic contribution to the volume'. The review's author, who rather unsurprisingly was none other than Khan's Parisian friend Victor Smirnoff, particularly highlighted his discussion of analytic toleration of acting out rather than its encouragement with his patient and Khan's self-questioning and self-exposure which allowed readers 'to pry into the analyst's every-day life and problems'.²³ In the light of later events Smirnoff's comment seems presentient. Later, in mid April Khan spent a week at the Gotham Hotel in New York accompanying Svetlana who was performing at the recently opened Metropolitan Opera House with the Royal Ballet. On his return, however, news of James Strachey's death on the 25th of that month left him feeling increasingly adrift emotionally.²⁴ 'I have had', he wrote, 'more rapport with the older generation than with my contemporaries and with the death of each I experience a void increasing around me.'²⁵

Perhaps seeking to address this void, Khan turned to recollection of the past, a central element in mourning, in addressing the Literary Society at the University of Nottingham during May.²⁶ Having apparently spoken there on 'Styles of remembering: a study of Virginia Woolf's *Orlando*, Genet's *Journal de Voleur*, and Nabakov's *Lolita*', Khan's own talk went unpublished, although his title suggests autobiographical resonances. Similar echoes may be discerned in other talks Khan gave in June, these consisting of three seemingly unpublished lectures on 'Styles of relating and non-relating in the analytic situation' given at the Tavistock Clinic, and a paper on 'The four awakenings of Meursault: a study of Camus's *L'Etranger*' delivered to the Lapis Society, in London.²⁷ It was at the former Tavistock talk that Khan bombastically declared he had compiled a list of the 100 essential books in psychoanalysis which covered everything of importance to potential readers in the subject. When Judith Issroff, who had been in the audience and was curious about the list, telephoned and then wrote to him requesting a copy no reply was forthcoming: it was the first indicator as she later saw it of Khan's unreliability.²⁸ Here again he was 'non-relating', mirroring part of his own paper's title. The *L'Etranger* study went to make up the first part of Khan's paper 'Suicide: the condition of consciousness', later published in 1975, in which he argues that Camus's character Meursault epitomises a form of alienated European, who having failed to retrieve a sense of authenticity through interpersonal relatedness opts for suicide as his acme of self-realisation.

Looking at the consequences of Strachey's death more directly, his passing was a serious setback to the final production of the *Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, the editing and translation of which he had devoted many years to. Khan began to address this now with the Publications Committee, and he, Sutherland and Bion met Alix Strachey on 22

July 1967 to further the editing of Freud for the *International Psychoanalytical Library* and to plan the *Penguin Freud Library* series.²⁹

The Stollers briefly visited Khan in London that July before they went on to attend the 25th IPA Congress, held that year in Copenhagen. Khan, shunning the event, instead went on holiday with Svetlana to Monte-Carlo. From there he declared the congress a 'flop' and its supposed free election of officers stifled by members' uncritical adherence to factional group alliances. The IPA establishment, Khan pronounced, was becoming inappropriately dominated by the members and politics of the American Psychoanalytic Association, which was replacing the former Viennese hegemony, who themselves had:

...done great harm to psychoanalysis as a science: it kept it swaddled in the Judaic phobic Talmudic tradition and did not permit any creative intellectual interchange between psychoanalysis and other disciplines of human thought with their distinctive cultural styles and sensibilities... If psychoanalysis is not to die from atrophy, from phobic purity and paranoid exclusion of others then...[a] widening of its institutional structure is necessary. All this has to wait until Anna Freud dies. She has become a mythical symbol of inertia and authority and little can be made grow while she is up there. It is not her wish it should be so, but she exudes this stasis all the same.³⁰

As Khan's angry alienation from the IPA and the psychoanalytic establishment clearly continued, his affinity was now explicitly with the psychoanalytic other; with those who emanate from 'other disciplines' and who have 'distinctive cultural styles and sensibilities'. His position as an outsider vis-à-vis the establishment is, he suggests, a consequence of the establishment's pathology and explicit prejudice that takes a racist form, as with its supposed preoccupation with 'phobic purity' and the 'paranoid exclusion of others'.

The congress had sought to explore 'acting out', although Khan suggested most of his analytic colleagues approached this with the belief that 'all adventurous free life is acting out; only phobic introspection is true integration'.³¹ He went on to claim that 'the analytic vision for the individual is innately phobic and carries a strange dread both of pleasure and movement (as well as touch!). Between sitting and lying is the whole spectrum of experience'.³² By mockingly depicting psychoanalytic orthodoxy in this way as inhibited, repressive, anti-libidinal and anti-life, Khan may be seen as seeking to restore a degree of balance into analytic practice through advocating modifications in technique. Such modifications were now not only increasingly part of his practice, but were also documented in successive papers from this time onwards. Some commentators, notably Linda Hopkins, have argued strongly that Khan was developing and adapting Winnicott's play techniques (such as the spatula and squiggle games) for work with adults.³³ There is a certain truth in this, yet Khan had essentially crossed the line between appropriate and creative developments in analytic technique and gross enactment by the analyst, beyond the realms of any professional consensus about the constituents of a therapeutic relationship. His relationship with his ex-patient, Miss B, was ongoing at this time, while she

continued in analysis with Milner. Khan's statements thus almost inevitably carry with them the impression of a degree of narcissistic self-justification for his own transgressive position. His statements appear more like rationalisations that distance him from a sense of guilt or shame. Hypocrisy does not logically invalidate the argument however, but it does tend to prejudice others towards it and elevate the burden of proof required for assent.

Alluding to his continuing relationship with Miss B, Khan later looked back on this period in his correspondence with Marion Milner and in a somewhat confessional tone thanked Milner for her support. Thus, he wrote: 'I am and have been consistently aware, Marion, how tactfully, subtly and effectively you have sustained me through [Miss B] during the past year.'³⁴ Then he continues with superficial though perhaps seductive frankness, describing 1966 and 1967 as having been:

...very hard and arduous years...I know I have been very disturbed and ill, and you know it too...[Miss B] has been a most loving, loyal, devoted and understanding ally of mine – and you behind her. I hope I will not cause her the terrible pain I have caused Jane and Svetlana. I know that by my curious militancy of uncompromise I drove them to a maddening despair that was latent in them. But my responsibility towards their breakdown has been no less than their own contribution.³⁵

The allusions Khan here makes to insight into his own mental state and feeling some responsibility for the distress of others with whom he has contact are made to Milner, whom he had good reason to placate given her knowledge of his behaviour. In view of the continuation of his relationship with Miss B, Khan's 'insights' appear to lack real consequences and thus inevitably seem rather disingenuous.

DECEPTION AND ALIENATION

Khan had written during the early 1960s about just such a type of relating in his elaboration of what he termed the 'technique of intimacy'.³⁶ In essence this consists of an object relation ossified in transitional space, in which the object is deceived and controlled via pseudo-confessional disclosures into being a living involved accomplice in a scripted scenario. The resultant quasi relationship re-enacts the subject's infantile neurosis. A 'real relationship' fails to actualise, or develop, to both the external object and the individual's own instinctual life due to the retention of ego control and an incapacity for or terror of emotional surrender.

This account, however, is significant for a variety of reasons including the split that it itself embodies from its own intellectual origins; origins which can be observed in Khan's previous writings on the schizoid personality, particularly his 1960 publication 'Clinical aspects of the schizoid personality: affects and technique'. In that paper Khan had drawn heavily on Fairbairn's seminal 1940

work 'Schizoid factors in the personality'. Fairbairn had contended that the schizoid individual engages in a:

...type of regressive process [which] may perhaps best be described as *Depersonalisation of the Object*; and it is characteristically accompanied by a regression in the quality of the relationship desired. Here again the regressive movement is in the interests of a simplification of relationships; and it takes the form of a substitution of bodily for emotional contacts. It may perhaps be described as *De-emotionalization of the Object relationship*.³⁷

Fairbairn details the significant problems such people have in emotional giving, due in part to their belief that 'at a deep mental level, there is an emotional equivalence between mental and bodily contents'³⁸ and a consequent over-valuation and over-attachment to mental contents and a marked tendency towards intellectualisation. In an attempt to manage the stifling consequences of this on their relationships, the schizoid individual resorts to various methods of relating, particularly prominent among which are the technique of playing roles and the exhibitionistic technique. In the first of these the subject plays a role without their own personality being involved, while in the second case 'showing' or displaying is substituted for emotional 'giving' which results in no actual emotional giving occurring.

In his public writings on perversion Khan re-deployed his theoretical model of the schizoid personality, which he had largely derived from Ronald Fairbairn's work, although such an attribution was no longer manifestly present within his writings on this topic. This is unfortunate as Khan's writings on perversion have been widely influential and his employment of Fairbairn's ideas therein was a valuable extension of the theoretical model. Khan failed to publicly offer any extended account of a unified theory to account for what may be termed the choice of neurosis. Only scattered references occur in a few papers, such as Khan's 1969 essay 'On symbiotic omnipotence', which was written at about this time. Privately however, in 1968, he did sketch such a unifying developmental hypothesis as a conceptual aid to understanding:

...whether a person builds up a split sensibility which is then organised in terms of schizoid character, or whether he will go for perversions proper. My own clinical experience guides me to think that the matter here is very much determined by the presence or absence of a father. Wherever the children had this early intimacy with the mother and then later did not have any male presence to identify with, invariably they opted for polymorphous-perverse relationships, heterosexual or homosexual, and their gender identity was definitely disturbed. When I talk of the presence of a father I really mean to include even earlier stages of infancy where there is a father *behind* the mother, even though it is the mother who is overtly and directly the sole object of the infant's attention...I think two distinct styles here are mothers who really treat their infants as their *creations*, and in this context one has to postulate that even if the father is there the mother's psycho-physical attitudes

do not include him. This is, par excellence, the matrix for later development of perversions. Then there are the mothers who are intimate with the infant but there is a link in them with the father's genitality. It is not all their own work, though it is in their *sole possession*; it, of course, being the infant. In this latter case the result is [a variety of schizoid personality].³⁹

The distinction Khan thus attempts to make here is one between dyadic and triadic organisations, composed of mother-child and mother-father-child respectively, pre-oedipal and oedipal, within which the degree of mental space and (what Ronald Britton has later termed) triangulation⁴⁰ serves to partially determine the manifest symptomatology and character structure. The failure to achieve in a sustained manner a triadic oedipal position, Khan suggests, is a result of the maternal inhibition of aggressivity within both the self and object. He argues that what such patients psychotherapeutically need is 'an aggressive encounter within the analytic situation, through which they will be able to experience the validity of their own aggression and hate as well as that of the not-self person (the analyst)'.⁴¹ Such a boundaried, sustained and survived experience when worked through and integrated into the personality aids the move from two to three, the working through of the Oedipus complex (and concomitantly the depressive position, as Britton points out). In the absence of such aggressivity (either developmentally or in the psychoanalytic situation) as an aid to synthesis, psyche soma unintegration continues and the mind may exploit degrees of precocious ego functions in an attempt at sustaining the self, or what Khan would call self cure.⁴²

Prominent among such precocious ego functions is intellectualisation, which has been identified for many years in psychoanalysis as being a defence that is highly resistant to modification. Anna Freud gave one of the first sustained discussions of the topic in her *The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defence*, in which she suggests that it is the ego's 'attempt to lay hold of the instinctual processes by connecting them with ideas which can be dealt with in consciousness'.⁴³ Laplanche and Pontalis emphasise its apparently 'discursive' manifestation in treatment, during which it may be perceived by 'the preponderance...of abstract thought over the emergence and acknowledgement of affects and phantasies',⁴⁴ and thus hint at an underlying state of emotional and cognitive ego unintegration. Ronald Britton has more recently evocatively discussed such split off intellectual functioning in his discussion of complacency and the seemingly agreeable patient. He makes the point that such a patient can employ 'his ability to find a third position to provide himself with a place to escape to from the ineluctability of subjective belief. In other words, *he thought about himself in order to avoid being himself*'.⁴⁵

In his ongoing critique of both psychoanalysis and contemporary Western culture Khan employs the terminology rather differently. He suggests that there is rather a failure of appropriate synthesising 'intellectuality' which is supplanted by, on the one hand, 'a partisan exploitation of "theorising"...which [is] more a screen against the human identity and experience of a patient rather than an instrument for exploring and discovering its nature and character'.⁴⁶ On the

other hand, neglect of such ego capacities, Khan argued, can lead to 'clinicians work[ing] with a febrile over-empathy with their patient's affectivity...[while being] omnipotently disdainful of...their intellectual equipment'.⁴⁷ Applying this to the contemporary culture Khan suggested that the decline in intellectuality is the most widespread problem of the twentieth century and linked it with the 'absence of transcendental value systems'.⁴⁸ Intellectuality for Khan acts as a link to human life and experience, which he regarded as fundamentally unknowable except in so far as such a link can be forged with the aid of ineluctable metaphor, the unfettered imagination and a capacity to tolerate not knowing.⁴⁹

Khan would go on to elaborate these ideas over the next few years, particularly in his papers 'The catalytic role of crucial friendship in the epistemology of self-experience in Montaigne, Rousseau and Freud' of 1970 and 'The becoming of a psychoanalyst' and 'Pornography and the politics of rage and subversion' published in 1972. His current work in this area, however, was the second part of his Camus study 'The abyss of omniloquent selfconsciousness: an essay on Camus's *La Chute*', which he would deliver to the Lapis Society, in London on 2 December 1967.⁵⁰ This paper, later to appear as part of Khan's 1975 study on 'Suicide: the condition of consciousness', describes Camus's character Clamence as being alienated from true dialogue through his own mental omnipotence and narcissistic chatter which actually functions to obliterate the otherness of his interlocutor. This 'murder' deprives Clamence of a dialogical other through whom he might have discovered himself and thus is an essentially suicidal act. Clinically, Khan suggests the encounter 'changes from relating to being understood',⁵¹ a manoeuvre which for the individual at a micro level and the culture at a macro level evades creativity in favour of masturbatory stagnation. Transferentially, this story and its earlier companion piece on Meursault may be read as thinly veiled autobiography, ominously prefiguring Khan's own gathering personal alienation and increasingly flagrant and self-destructively reckless acts. Thus, while alienation, its effects and attempts at its amelioration became an increasingly central concept in Khan's thinking, not only on clinical topics but also within his cultural view, his own private alienation deepened. As this happened, Khan now immersed himself more in editorial work as well as in his own writing in efforts to achieve increased integration and vitality. This, however, through its potentiality for bolstering omnipotence risked drawing Khan closer to Clamence and Meursault.

11

The Rising Editor

By November 1967 Khan was heavily taken up in assisting Jock Sutherland with editorial work on the *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*. Willi Hoffer had died the previous month and Khan went about the organisation of his obituary notices for the *Journal*.¹ Reflecting on Hoffer's death Khan privately wrote:

...my tradition of nurture inclines me to be almost sentimental about these ancients in Psycho-Analysis who banded around Freud from zeal, vision and curiosity. Hoffer was authentically one of these personsages. I do not know whether he has left any written account of his long involvement with psychoanalysis but if he has not it is a great pity. Silence creates a mystique whereas documents establish a tradition. Psycho-Analysis as it stands today very badly needs a true sociological record of its development as a corrective to the ossification of dogma that has been visibly setting in in recent decades. It is ironic and paradoxical that analysts whose primary preoccupation is with historical processes are extremely phobic and evasive when it comes to recording their own history.²

As with Strachey's death six months earlier, Hoffer's appeared to evoke for Khan profound feelings of loss, the appellation 'ancients' suggesting a rather idolised figure within a psychoanalytic pantheon. Again as with previous losses, his immediate response was to be drawn to memorialise Hoffer through his writings or literary remains. It would take some thirteen years before the results of this emerged with the publication of a collection of Hoffer's papers, entitled *Early Development and Education of the Child*.³

Khan's urge to memorialise was given further sustained expression in his contemporaneous and ongoing work as the British Society's Honorary Archivist, an adjunct to his role as its Honorary Librarian. He also began to document himself at about this time through a series of what has come to be referred to as his *Work Books*, begun in 1967 and continuing up to 1980, in which he would record ideas and events.⁴ Sending Robert Stoller an early volume, entitled *Anticahier*, resulted in an enthusiastic reception, Stoller praising Khan's combination of drawings and occasional writings. As Stoller suggested, it reflected an aspect of Khan's persona that was very different from his prevalent public image: 'something wilder and wonderful' the publication of which would need 'either a self destructive urge or a pseudonym'.⁵ In response Khan acknowledged his 'somehow hiding behind analytic orthodoxy and dogma so far',⁶ a proclivity he saw as an attempt at mastering a prevalent though

covert rebellious sensibility. This false-self strategy, together with the inevitable episodic eruptions of dissociated rebelliousness, had, Khan wrote, 'traumatis[ed] my professional environment'.⁷ Continuing, Khan intimated that:

I am also aware of my profound debt to my colleagues who have put up with all the antics and bizarre provocativeness of my temperament and character. I can now see that all these wild antics which antagonised most of my colleagues were almost a magical way of keeping myself reminded that *I was not where I was*. I feel truly sorry that I have aggravated, as well as hurt many of my colleagues who showed true generosity and goodwill towards me.⁸

This apparent recognition of his indebtedness and suggestion of contrition Khan coupled with an aspiration towards elaborating or publishing a more authentic self, a self less fettered by non-self modes of relating which Khan saw as having a stultifying effect on his underlying creativity.⁹ The *Work Books* may be regarded as a preliminary private attempt at such expression, Khan later suggesting that 'they write themselves out of me. They are really my way of internalising and assembling my literary vécu.'¹⁰ Over the next twenty years Khan's public writings began to increasingly express this formerly silent self, an expression that would have a range of adverse repercussions for himself as well as for the standing of psychoanalysis. His *Work Books* however, in which this expression initially fructified and *perhaps* within which it is at its most concentrated, have remained private, a privacy posthumously reinforced by an International Psychoanalytical Association embargo on their scholarly consultation.

The proneness of the ego to seductive illusion and the key role of survived aggressivity in facilitating the emergence of object usage was an idea Winnicott had been articulating and would present within the year, when he would read his paper 'The use of an object and relating through identifications'¹¹ in New York on 12 November 1968. Previously Lacan had famously emphasised the spectral nature of the ego, which he argued was constituted through cumulative misrecognitions, or *méconnaissance*, prototypically during the mirror stage.¹² Winnicott's concentration on the emergence of the objectively perceived object may be regarded as a reciprocal of Lacan's critique of the ego or self, his objectively perceived self being a spoken subject, spoken by the unconscious. Khan's '*I was not where I was*' has clear affinities with both Winnicott's and Lacan's concepts, although he appears to be mirroring more immediately T. S. Eliot's lines from *East Coker*:

In order to arrive at what you are not
You must go through the way in which you are not.
And what you do not know is the only thing you know
And what you own is what you do not own
And where you are is where you are not.¹³

Other influences, or day's residues, can be also gleaned that may have contributed to Khan's quasi dream work insight. At this time Khan was in the throes of negotiating the publication of his paper 'On omnipotent symbiosis' in *The Psychoanalytic Forum* with its editor, John Lindon, and actually briefly discusses this with Stoller in the previously quoted letter.¹⁴ The previous year, 1967, Bion's paper 'Notes on memory and desire' had appeared in the *Forum* advocating that the analyst should proceed without 'memory, desire and understanding'.¹⁵ Khan suggested that he was proceeding in such a manner. However, unlike Bion's confidence in the unconscious and the analytic process, Khan's own confidence was more like that of T. S. Eliot, placed in God's hands, Khan now declaring to Stoller that he was 'a very devout Mohammedan'.¹⁶ Thus he here suggests that where he actually is, his indigenous or true self, is identified with his Muslim Indian heritage and culture. Somewhat more obliquely, Khan, in May 1967 (in his joint introduction with John Sutherland to Charles Rycroft's *Imagination and Reality: Psycho-Analytical Essays 1951-1961*), had argued that psychoanalysis is particularised and acculturated through the language and indigenous culture of each follower and the host country. Reflexively applied to Khan, rather than Rycroft, his thesis suggests that his own incarnation of psychoanalysis must have a definite Indian Muslim aspect.

That November, Khan's ex-analysand Robert Shields, in conjunction with the publishers Routledge and Kegan Paul, began negotiating, with Khan as an intermediary, for a volume of Marion Milner's selected papers, provisionally to be titled *Imagination and Creativity*. The publisher's limit of 30,000 words for the book however proved too restrictive for the body of material Milner wanted to include and the project was abandoned.¹⁷ Khan however continued to work on her magnum opus, *The Hands of the Living God*, as part of his duties as Sutherland's Associate Editor for the *International Psychoanalytical Library* book series.

INTRIGUES OVER EDITORIAL SUCCESSION

John Sutherland was due to retire from his post as the editor of the *International Psychoanalytical Library* and the *International Journal* in 1969, at the end of his ten-year term of office. He decided, however, to resign early in order to pursue his plans to develop psychoanalytic education and practice in Edinburgh, a decision he announced towards the end of 1967 with the intention that it would take effect early in the New Year. The prospective vacancy as editor was one that Khan aspired to, clearly seeing himself as the prime candidate, a view for which *on paper* he had reasonable grounds, given his experience and position as Sutherland's Associate Editor over the previous seven years. They remained active editorially at this time, for example jointly writing the editorial to the *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*' Copenhagen Congress numbers.¹⁸ Khan had other reasons for optimism. In addition to his association with Sutherland, Khan's longstanding though strained connection with Winnicott, who was the Society President at this time, could, he seemed to hope, be instrumental and perhaps sufficient for him to secure his ambition.

In early January 1968 Khan gained an intimation however, that what he appeared to regard as his due inheritance of Sutherland's editorial mantle was being questioned. Allies now would be important and he encouraged one of his analysands, who happened to be an author, to send Winnicott a poem,¹⁹ perhaps as testimony to Khan's analytic efficacy; perhaps also as a more general means of grooming Khan's profile in Winnicott's consciousness. He also dramatically told Miss B that he might resign from his posts if he was not appointed Sutherland's successor, a claim Khan later suggested he had only made strategically. Predictably, Miss B told Marion Milner this in an analytic session and she in turn telephoned and then wrote to Khan to attempt to dissuade him from resigning and encouraging in him a belief of his centrality and indispensability, saying that it would be 'a real loss to the Society if you gave up... The Society needs you in every way, brains are in such short supply.'²⁰ That same day, Thursday 11 January 1968, Khan met Sutherland to discuss the editorship. Sutherland told him that he felt that the Council and Society would not support his nomination as the editor of the *Journal*, for which Sutherland now planned to propose Martin James (who was then one of its Assistant Editors), but that he would nominate Khan for the post of editor of the *International Psychoanalytical Library*.²¹ It was a fraught week for Khan, not only with the machinations around the questions of editorial succession but also in his domestic life. Beriosova's mental state deteriorated, probably exacerbated by her increasing alcohol dependency, Khan saying she 'had a ghastly episode of breakdown'²² and his anxieties about the editorship were 'so trivial [compared] to the private nightmare I am living through at home at present. One can only wait.'²³ Khan's self-management technique of 'waiting' was something he saw as a necessary antidote to his manic obsessional disposition. Thus he described how over that week 'it was imperative for me to come through it quietly, privately and without the effective pseudo-technics of my machinery of mind and its methods. I have partially succeeded in retaining an honourable reticence and perspective.'²⁴

Khan felt humiliated and angry at what he regarded as unfair treatment. His belief that status and preferment could be derived from a system of preferential patronage, which he could secure within the psychoanalytic establishment by his cultivation of its luminaries (Winnicott and Sutherland being key examples in the present context), was breaking down. Writing to Milner on Saturday 13 January 1968 he said:

I am very hurt and desolate with it all. Evidently loyalty and service are not enough... It does grieve me deeply that the two persons I have served with the utmost devotion and loyalty and effort, Winnicott and Jock, have both failed to endorse my identity in the British Society. Jock may wish to hide behind the statement that Council and Sandler and people think I am arrogant, provocative and impulsive and that is why he cannot sponsor me, but in fact somewhere he himself decided some time ago that I should not be the next Editor and the logic of this decision is known to him alone.²⁵

This apparent feeling of betrayal by two of the colleagues with whom he had been closest, appears to correlate with and perhaps have evoked an increased sense of alienation in Khan, weakening his emotional affinities with his colleagues and heightening his cynicism towards them. Khan appeared to feel he was being unjustifiably objectified as an unacceptable outsider, whose otherness was perceived as inferiority (rather than a valued diversity) by his colleagues, as a means of their defensive self-aggrandisement. Their patients were similarly regarded, Khan declared, in contrast to his own claimed more empathic, tolerant and less objectifying attitudes towards his own analysands. This outraged contrast Khan describes in a letter to Victor Smirnoff of 15 January 1968 wherein he writes:

How many times in a working day, whilst giving a patient an interpretation, did I question my capability to face the same discipline (intrapsychic or interpersonal) that I was implicitly requiring of the patient...I have felt like this from my first day of clinical practice. That is why I feel overcome with contempt, dismay, disgust, when I hear my colleagues referring to their patients as 'destitute, neurotic, phobic, schizoid, depressive, paranoid, obsessional.' I look around me and I find colleagues who are themselves insufficient as human beings and I ask myself who authorises such arrogance with which they utter these judgements about others, without ever questioning themselves.²⁶

Milner suggested organising an informal meeting, to which Rycroft and Michael and Enid Balint amongst others might be invited, to get a 'diagnosis about all that's wrong with [the Society and]...how to put it right'.²⁷ Khan responded positively to Milner's proposal suggesting Winnicott, Sutherland and Martin James as additional people who might be invited. He qualified his response however writing: 'I have never intrigued myself into a role or position in the Society. I have done to the best of my ability and within the limits of my personality and character what was asked of me. I shall always try to do that. But I don't want to manipulate any role for myself.'²⁸

Having said this to Milner Khan made contact with Anna Freud and met with her on 30 January 1968, at which meeting he sought her support and influence with the Society establishment in his efforts to secure the editorship. The next day Khan wrote thanking her for her 'very gracious kindness and sympathy...I feel more whole and me from it.'²⁹ He then recapitulated his case, highlighting firstly that he had invested seven years effort in the editorial work with which he did not want to now lose contact, secondly that the 'tradition' he had helped to consolidate may lapse or be undermined through 'other factors and influences [which] may creep in' and thirdly the personally detrimental consequences of shame. Thus Khan concluded writing that 'it is shaming to be so disregarded for what one has done and has to offer and shame is the most disruptive inner experience for me. I will be most grateful for any help you can give me which you think I and my work may merit.'³⁰ Although Anna Freud replied to Khan on 3 February, it is unclear what help she was able to offer him. Others however,

did lend Khan public support: Pearl King for example propounded his virtues on the Publications Committee, saying how helpful Khan had been in coaching her with her own writings, highlighting relevant literature and so on.³¹

The Society Council met on 5 February 1968 to discuss the matter and two days later, on 7 February, Sutherland telephoned Khan to discuss the meeting's tenor and its tentative proposals. Council's inclination was towards a division of editorial tasks, appointing Joseph Sandler³² to the editorship of the *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, with Khan as both his Associate Editor and as the series editor of the *International Psychoanalytical Library*.³³ Writing of this discussion to Anna Freud, Khan declared to her that he 'never had any personal prejudices about colleagues guiding my choice of roles. I am basically interested in the work and who I can work with in the context of a given policy.'³⁴ Anna Freud replied apparently sympathetically although without volunteering any intervention, in response to which Khan wrote that 'I also wait to see what will eventually crystallise with the Council...[and that after the difficulties of the last two years] I am reassembling myself or, to use your more apt phrase, solidifying myself.'³⁵ His intimation that his 'reassembly' or rehabilitation was going to be achieved, in part at least, through the organisation of various literary and administrative projects, echoed the strategy he had previously proposed for himself in December 1956 following his contretemps with Anna Freud.

In writing to Winnicott on Tuesday 13 February 1968, Khan, in a formal businesslike tone, discussed a number of topics including recommending Winnicott publish his 1935 Manic Defence paper in a Spanish-American journal. Linking manic defence to Winnicott's later concept of the Transitional Object, Khan suggested that the combined concepts derived from a common developmental stage, pre-dating established reality testing as well as symbolisation, and together they help conceptualise 'fetishism and addictions and pseudologica fantastica and thieving'. Then, he recounted visiting Oscar Nemon and described his statue of Freud as 'monumental without being heroic, and it has a texture of Freud's bold unfinishedness of thought in the style in which Mr Nemon has carved it', before advocating Winnicott kick-start fundraising for the statue's casting by soliciting donations from key colleagues and friends in advance of a wider appeal to the general body of psychoanalysts and others. Khan then added what superficially appeared to be a post-script though it can be seen as the letter's sub-text, saying he had indicated to Sutherland that Winnicott would be willing to accept the post of chairman of the Publications Committee, a suggestion that Sutherland had welcomed according to Khan, who added that it would be ideal if Winnicott were in post by September 1968.³⁶

On 19 February the Council ratified the proposals for the editorial posts, appointing Sandler and Khan to the *Journal* and *Library* respectively, a decision Sutherland conveyed to Khan, who was then formally invited by Sandler to be his Associate Editor on the *Journal*.³⁷ It was only after these decisions had been thus communicated that Winnicott on Thursday 22 February replied to Khan's earlier letter, writing to him with a similar formality. After briefly and cautiously responding to Khan's comments on his Manic Defence essay and Oscar Nemon's work, he told Khan:

You will already have been told that the Council decided to start off by separating the *Journal* from the Library. This meant that the Council was in a position to appoint an Editor of the *Journal* and an Editor of Books; the Council did appoint Sandler to the first and yourself to the second. Any further stages in terms of assistance and interaction will have to evolve according to circumstances, temperaments and convenience. You will have heard this from Jock but at any rate I'm glad you have been invited to become Editor of the Library (that is to say unless I misunderstood everything that was going on but I think I have got it correct).³⁸

Winnicott's portrayal of himself as a passive participant in the Council's deliberations appears curious and indeed rather disingenuous given his key position as the then President of the Society. It is unsurprising Khan thought Winnicott had failed to endorse his identity in the Society. Superficially it appears that Winnicott did not wish to be perceived by Khan as being actively supportive of Khan's rival, or perhaps as harbouring doubts about his prime suitability for the role of *Journal* editor. Such reassurance (perhaps driven by Winnicott's anxiety) may have further served to maintain superficial pseudo-cordiality, thus evading direct expression of Khan's anger. The delay in and formal style of Winnicott's response appears to suggest that he wanted to leave breaking the news, thus disappointing, shaming and possibly outraging Khan, to others. Such avoidance by Winnicott of the other's aggressivity perpetuated a disservice to Khan.

Winnicott's difficulty with and avoidant stance towards direct confrontation (and thus aggression) can be further seen in his contemporaneous contacts with Joseph Sandler. Winnicott wrote to Sandler on 26 February 1968 to candidly ask for his 'actual feeling' about his own potential candidature for the role of Chairman of the Publications Committee. With apparent diffidence Winnicott wrote: 'I really want your reaction to this as I would not want to offer myself for this if you don't like the idea (no need to give your reasons).'³⁹ Sandler responded the following day welcoming Winnicott's candidature, to which entrée Winnicott replied: 'possibly I shall stand for Chairman...but I'm not sure yet...I do want to congratulate you on your position as Editor, which is one of the most important positions in the Society.'⁴⁰ Having ascertained that the way was clear, Winnicott stood and was appointed Chairman of the Publications Committee by the Council at their meeting on 18 March 1968, Khan's Associate Editorship of the *Journal* being confirmed at the same time, whilst Sutherland was appointed Associate Editor of Books.⁴¹ As a separate item of business at this meeting, the Council now sought to promote the Society archives and established the post of Archivist as a distinct role, to which Khan was appointed.⁴²

During all of these struggles over the editorial succession Khan had not confided in his various friends, the most conspicuous lacunae being in his contacts with Robert Stoller. Thus, writing at length to Stoller on 30 January 1968 at the height of the appointment competition his only mention of the succession issue was to say en passant: 'I do not think I shall be in my editorial roles for long now.'⁴³ Once the Council had made and promulgated its decision Khan then,

and only then, suggested that 'the past few months have been extremely taxing',⁴⁴ before going on to proclaim that the achieved result was very positive and indeed ideal. To this he shortly afterwards added that he was 'most grateful to my senior colleagues, like Anna Freud, Winnicott, Sutherland, Wride, Milner and Payne, for ensuring the fact that I continue to be both editor and in the editorial climate'.⁴⁵ After Stoller had expressed 'dismay' that he was not appointed to the editorship of the *Journal*, Khan responded writing: 'I am really rather surprised at your dismay... Either I have an enormous capacity to kid myself about adverse circumstances, or my judgement is faulty, but I do not feel very much put out by not having been given the editorship'.⁴⁶ The glaring lack of reference to both his very recent marked sense of injustice and his strong wish for the role of *Journal* editor suggests not so much a working through of ambivalence, but rather a reassertion of the status quo ante, with the appointment's result and Khan's colleagues being again superficially idealised.

ATTACHMENTS AND LOSSES

Khan departed alone for Pakistan on 10 April for his 1968 Easter vacation, returning on 1 May, while Svetlana went to New York on 17 April for a six week tour with the Royal Ballet.⁴⁷ Evidently Khan's business interests in Pakistan had been somewhat mismanaged and whilst there he had partially redressed this and had decided against continuing to delegate their running to local agents.⁴⁸ He also apparently took the opportunity of the trip to speak to a post-graduate group at his *alma mater*, the Government College at Lyallpur, on 'The advent of Freud', although the substance of this talk is unknown.⁴⁹

On his return, Khan solicited and (with Sutherland's approval) accepted Robert Stoller's *Sex and Gender* for British publication within the *International Psychoanalytical Library*, it having been published in the United States in March that year by Science House Publications.⁵⁰ Then, as if by way of compliment, Khan informed Stoller that 'you have established yourself as my pace-maker, because only today I have offered to Jock, for consideration as the Editor, my book on perversions, titled *Alienation in Perversions*. If it is accepted I shall have it all written and polished by the end of November'.⁵¹ In fact it would be eleven years before *Alienation in Perversions* would appear (in 1979), only five of its constituent eleven papers cum chapters having been written and published when Khan made this double-edged compliment to his friend in May 1968. Later, Khan suggested the delay was due to both his reluctance to publish his own work within the *Library* during his first year as its Editor and his growing awareness that his own analytic style and thinking were evolving into a more personal idiom.⁵²

The following month saw Khan read his paper 'The vicissitudes of experiencing, knowing and being in the analytic situation' over two meetings at the Tavistock Clinic.⁵³ In the paper Khan discussed ways in which a patient may *use* the analyst, taking up distinctions he had articulated previously and here emphasising the need for *being* and *experiencing* to be established within the patient and the analytic situation, before mutative insight might be fostered

through interpretation thus leading to *knowing*. In facilitating the development of the latter, Khan emphasised the need to establish the nature of a patient's privacy: specifically, whether it was a domain within which relating to the authentic self was occurring or whether it was an aggressive paranoid retreat that challenged the analytic situation. This emphasis on privacy would in due course be incorporated into the title of Khan's first collection of his papers, to be published as *The Privacy of the Self*.

Illustrating being, experiencing and knowing, Khan used material from three patients, only one of whom will be mentioned here. The patient, an intelligent twenty-four year old woman, who for ease will be here referred to as Helen, had come to Khan after previous attempts at psychotherapy and analysis broke down, due in significant part to Helen's violence. While she could talk and think about others with ease, she found it impossible to do so about herself within the analytic situation, action appearing her sole defence mechanism. She was intolerant of interpretations, demanded she be given absolute truth and nothing less without her own participation, was negativistic and stood often leaning against the wall during her sessions. Focussing somewhat arbitrarily on Helen's refusal to use the couch, Khan ultimately came to interpret this as a form of action that protected her from the vulnerability of being. Then, a recurrent dream emerged in which her teeth were rotting and she had to wake herself to prevent total bodily decay. Working on this dream revealed a sequestered 'other world' in which absolute perfection prevails and her true self is protected from tarnishing and annihilation in this world, though at the cost of being and relatedness. With Helen's analysis ongoing, Khan in ending noted her ominous suicidal thoughts and the limits of the analytic situation. He would return to discuss her case in at least four further papers published over the next thirteen years.⁵⁴

June also saw Khan giving a farewell supper for Jock Sutherland, this party being in advance of both Sutherland's departure and the formal marking of that event by the British Society. Hosting the supper at Hans Crescent on Saturday evening 29 June 1968, Khan on his and Svetlana's behalf issued invitations to 'the Winnicotts' amongst others.⁵⁵ Writing in response to 'Svetlana and Masud' Winnicott declined the invitation, pleading a previous and unavoidable commitment at the LSE.⁵⁶ Somewhat cool and rather businesslike relations continued between Khan and Winnicott over the following months, with Winnicott making various offers and overtures to Khan. For instance, that same month Winnicott suggested that, if Khan were willing, he would recommend him to give a memorial address to the Society on Willi Hoffer's English-language analytic publications; contributions which Winnicott somewhat disdainfully labelled as 'significant although small'.⁵⁷ The ambiguity in Winnicott's suggestion seems suggestive in retrospect: the place on offer while significant was small. Later, in October Winnicott donated various books to the Society library and supported an external reader's application to use the library facilities. Khan's response as Honorary Librarian was to gratefully recognise the donations, while remaining non-committal towards Winnicott's sponsored applicant, the fiancée of Elizabeth Zetzel's son.⁵⁸

Michael Balint had this year been elected President of the British Psychoanalytical Society, into which office he came in August 1968. He had known Khan since Khan was a candidate and their relationship had tended to be something of a sparring one, at least according to Enid Balint.⁵⁹ Now, as Balint (who was somewhat of an outsider) was recognised within the Society, Khan characteristically chose this moment to discuss his work in a paper titled 'On the clinical provision of frustrations, recognitions and failures in the analytic situation: an essay on Dr Michael Balint's researches on the theory of psychoanalytic technique'.⁶⁰ Of course, both men's analytic interests significantly overlapped, particularly in terms of their studies of character, regression, sexual deviation and the unobtrusive analyst, which would have fuelled writing such a paper. In addition, Balint himself had recently suggested their affinities, particularly with regard to regression which placed Khan, himself and a small band of others as belonging 'not to the "classical" massive centre – but to the fringe. We are known, tolerated, perhaps even read, but certainly not quoted.'⁶¹ Beyond these factors it seems likely that Khan was courting Balint as a potential new patron and benefactor, in lieu of the increasingly ambivalently regarded Winnicott. Later, Khan would boast to Judith Issroff that the paper would be judged to be the definitive work on Balint and more outrageously that he had penned it 'in order to be assured that his reputation will rest in my hands'.⁶²

Khan's paper was provisionally timetabled to be read at the Society's first Scientific Meeting in November. Winnicott however wanted to present a paper also that term and Hanna Segal, who was Scientific Secretary at the time, told him that she had 'warned Mr Kahn [sic] that I may like to postpone his paper if you [Winnicott] wished to read yours in November'.⁶³ Although Winnicott declined the offered slot, pleading the after-effects of a 'complicated holiday' (a euphemism perhaps for his then frail state of health),⁶⁴ Segal's intercession can be seen as asserting the relative precedence of Winnicott and Khan, with Khan, his name misspelled, being asked to be ready to step aside in Winnicott's favour. Nevertheless, Khan now had the slot secure in the Society's Scientific Meeting calendar and duly read his paper there on Wednesday evening 6 November 1968. Balint was in the Chair and (as was customary) opened the discussion, participation being sparse, only D. Sherret, Paula Heimann, Joseph Sandler and Martin James speaking.⁶⁵ The general tone of the response to the paper was appreciative, with Balint being 'very pleased', at least according to Khan, who noted that the only quibble came from Anna Freud who privately opined that the paper was insufficiently critical.⁶⁶ Writing to her, Khan was quick to point out his intention had been to honour Balint with a portrayal of his work in its own terms, albeit with the caveat that he 'endorse[d] none of Dr Balint's mythology of permissive primary love – the discussion brought that point out very clearly'.⁶⁷ Such subtleties in Khan's portrait were not lost on subsequent Balint commentators: Harold Stewart for instance highlights Khan's criticism of Balint's views on primary object-love and his relative neglect of patients' reparative drives.⁶⁸

Winnicott was going to New York early the next day and was unable to attend the meeting, although he wrote to Khan explaining this, wishing him

well and saying he intended to listen to the audio recording of the paper and its discussion.⁶⁹ The fact that Winnicott had to thus inform Khan of his agenda highlights the extent of the gap that had developed between the two men, a further indication of which may be seen in Khan's absence from Ginette Rimbault's seminar on her work with dying children which Winnicott had hosted at his home the previous month.⁷⁰

On his USA trip Winnicott, having delivered his paper 'The use of an object and relating through identifications', was taken seriously ill on 12 November 1968, necessitating a long 'convalescence [in New York and subsequently] at home from a rather severe illness and while I am liable to attacks of irregular heart rhythm'.⁷¹ News of this heart attack left Khan shaken. Writing to Winnicott during his gradual recovery in New York, Khan confessed that it was 'comforting...know[ing] that you are regaining the confidence of your inner workings'.⁷² Whether Khan was concerned over his own deleterious impact on Winnicott's 'inner workings' is unclear, though the possibility seems likely. Around this time his overt attitude to Winnicott softened, while communication between them increased with Khan penning several chatty letters and in due course mooted editing a collection of other authors' papers on transitional objects.⁷³ While Khan suggested to Winnicott that the contents of his own letters from this period were 'just to keep you informed of the fact how alive D.W.W.'s influence and thinking is on Khan',⁷⁴ such reassurance may have been as important to their author given his history of aggression towards the now seriously ill Winnicott. In a more general vein, Khan sought to allay Winnicott's gloomy belief that his New York 'Use of an object' paper had proved a 'failure', suggesting on the contrary that it broke new ground and as such inevitably provoked an uncomfortable reaction within the establishment.⁷⁵

During all of these events Khan's professional practice was continuing and during the year he took on the supervision of another outsider, the Peruvian psychiatrist and advanced analytic candidate Saúl Peña. They had first met at one of the Society's Scientific Meetings and took an evident liking to each other. Describing their first encounter at Hans Crescent, Peña recalled the atmosphere which began with:

...a very lively and agreeable small young man opening the door for me, asking me to go through to a large room, with big windows and an armchair surrounded with piles of books. Mr Khan appeared and after we had greeted each other he asked 'Do you want me to supervise you from a suggestion by Dr Heimann or by yourself?' I replied 'I think that the answer that I will give you, is the one that you are expecting, that my choices are my own'. At once he stated that he would gladly accept me, but on one condition; 'as long as you teach me, I will continue to supervise you, and the moment you stop doing this, I will throw you out'. I accepted the challenge, understanding what was implied. He always received me with a cup of coffee with milk and biscuits: 'You like coffee with milk and biscuits, don't you?'⁷⁶

In supervising Peña's case, a sixteen year old depressed and rather silent boy, it was his dreams that were particularly memorable and characteristically Khan

stressed the patient's use of them 'as a way of approaching the living experience itself'. Recognising Peña's financial circumstances, straitened by the expenses of training, Khan waived his own fees and assisted Peña to reflect on and conceptualise his clinical experiences, as well as situating these within the context of others' writings. Moving beyond the parameters of the analytic setting, Peña found in Khan a model of the analyst as 'a worldly man and lover of culture, [fostered]...through life and books, [who]...in his bond with me, cultivated tenderness and delicacy with examples of a fine sensibility'. Although only with Khan for a year before returning to Peru, Peña recalled that time and their subsequent long-distance friendship as being 'impeccable, affectionate and enriching [and] I feel very grateful to him'.⁷⁷

Turning now back to matters editorial, the conclusion of Sutherland's London commitments and other work there was formally marked with a dinner, organised by the Society's Council and the Publications Committee, at the Savoy Hotel on Friday 29 November 1968. As Winnicott, who was chairman of the Publications Committee, was still recuperating in New York and thus obviously unable to attend, Michael Balint asked Khan to propose the toast to Sutherland. Writing of this later to Winnicott Khan said it had:

...literally ruined the whole of last week and the dinner for me, because as you know, I have no talent for that sort of pre-arranged and calculated spontaneity which goes into the proposing of a toast. Was devilishly nervous, but did manage it without fainting. I am told it was ordinarily alright – thank God for that – but of course I have no doubt that it was a very poor substitute for what you could have done.⁷⁸

Jock Sutherland by his own account had enjoyed the dinner and described Khan as having 'to say a few things about me and did this very well, though he was a bit anxious about it'.⁷⁹ Sutherland had gone dressed in his kilt in celebration of his return to Scotland, in response to which costume Khan 'at once had to...don his Pakistan dress – a dash of colour if nothing else'.⁸⁰ The 'Pakistan dress' Sutherland refers to here, presumably the traditional shalwar and kameez (a loose tunic and trousers), had become increasingly part of Khan's wardrobe. Donning it for Khan became a political and psychological statement of his Pakistani Islamic identity. His early prevalent use of the British three-piece suit had slowly yielded to more casual attire, supplemented with Pakistani clothing from the 1960s.

Khan's attire at Sutherland's farewell dinner may also reflect wider emergent cultural forces, particularly the rise of fundamentalism and the crises of modernity, particularly in the West.⁸¹ The relaxing of Western cultural norms, decolonisation, the rise of feminism, birth control, student and political activism, increases in drug usage, and so on during the 1960s and subsequently may be seen as aspects of this crisis, and viewed polemically as either the shedding of repression or as the breakdown of the vital social fabric. David Holbrook, who came into contact with Khan during this time and employed his ideas extensively in his own writings, trenchantly articulated the latter position.⁸² Khan's own

views were rather more complex, emphasising both a lament for the decline of a partially illusory view of the West, yet at the same time proposing the contemporary necessity here for blasphemy and perversion. This dynamic may be perceived in various commentators' views on the rise of fundamentalism, Yuval-Davis for instance suggesting that it is linked 'to a general sense of despair and disorientation, in which there is no clear societal moral order. This has moved people from all over the world to go back to religion as a source of solace, stability, and identity.'⁸³

Moving into Sutherland's shoes as substantive editor of the *International Psychoanalytical Library* Khan continued the *Library's* work commissioning both new titles and British editions of existing works. Milner's *The Hands of the Living God* had been his particular responsibility for some time, while Stoller's *Sex and Gender* was taken on in May as one of his first commissions as editor: both would be published within twelve months. Other *Library* projects however were taking far longer to bring to completion. A case in point was Serge Lebovici and Joyce McDougall's *Dialogue with Sammy*, which had originally appeared in 1960 as *Un Cas de Psychose Infantile: Etude Psychanalytique*, published by Presses Universitaires de France. McDougall had declined an early offer by Tavistock Publications to bring out a British edition in favour of its publication within the *Library* series. By the time the book proofs finally arrived in late 1968 and Khan approached her to correct these and suggest the inclusion of formal acknowledgements to Sutherland, John Klauber, Beryl Sandford and Martin James,⁸⁴ the frustrated McDougall was in caustic mood. Replying to Khan she wrote that for 'the proposed epitaph, I am tempted to send you the following: "Our thanks to the editorial staff without whose well-intentioned interventions this book would have appeared in English some six to seven years ago"'.⁸⁵ When the book finally appeared in 1969 it carried McDougall's unmodified acknowledgements, although Martin James was included (presumably at Khan's insistence) as its editor. Relations between the couple improved rather after this, as McDougall confided to Winnicott, hinting to him that this might be related to the preceding 'apparent snappishness'.⁸⁶ McDougall, of course, felt Winnicott shied away from *transference hatred* and may here have been gently chiding him over this, his earlier failed treatment of Khan being probably attributable, at least in part, to his neglect of this in the treatment.⁸⁷

12

Engagement and Loss

January 1969 saw Khan briefly visit Paris and feeling that, after several years trying to acquire the language, he had at last become fluent. A permanent move there was, he thought, only a matter of time, as 'I have put all my concentration of sensibility and intellectual effort, plus social relationships, with friends and colleagues in Paris, and I live in London merely to do my professional work.'¹ Such a shift, he hypothesised, might free him from a restrictive attachment to his cultural heritage and in turn require him to individuate and articulate his own self.² Parisian friends had been very supportive during the difficult years of the late 1960s, most conspicuous amongst them being Victor Smirnoff, of whom Khan wrote: 'no one has helped sustain me more over the past three years of terrible anguish in my private life'.³ The idea of relocating to Paris at this time of course occurs in the context of Winnicott's ill health. He had returned to London on 20 December, though it was not until two weeks later, on Sunday afternoon 5 January 1969, that Khan actually visited him.⁴ Whether he was discouraged perhaps by Clare from visiting earlier or delayed for other reasons is not clear, but Khan did appear to characteristically seek a certain 'elbow room' from him, as from others, to sustain relating. Without such space he seemed to feel confined and it may be that maintaining Paris (or indeed Lyallpur or Los Angeles) as a potential space, rather than actualising a full-scale move there, went some way to sustaining his less conflictual relationships there.

At the beginning of May, Khan was able to briefly visit the United States, flying into Los Angeles, where Svetlana was appearing with the Royal Ballet. Together they met with Robert and Sybil Stoller, who both then came to Svetlana's performance. Evidently the performance and visit went well, Svetlana's own emotional difficulties having receded, at least temporarily. Robert Stoller thus expressed his hope to Khan that 'she will no longer be dragged down by her demons'.⁵ Congruently perhaps, Khan's thoughts reparatively touched on their wish for children, their lack being something he felt more acutely as he saw the Stoller family.⁶ Then, leaving such thoughts and Los Angeles, Khan travelled on to New York following Svetlana and the Ballet, the Stollers flying to visit them there for the weekend of 10 and 11 May.⁷

Later that summer, back in London, Khan read 'Role of the *collated internal object* in perversion formations' to a meeting of analysts belonging to the Independent Group on 12 June.⁸ Then, the following month, as Khan was en route to the Pre-Congress meeting on 21 July, he called on Karl Menninger and his wife at the Savoy Hotel, where he watched the first moon landing on their television. The subsequent Pre-Congress reception was, Khan recounted,

'as always, very enjoyable, but the human contact with my colleagues was as pointless as ever'.⁹ This 'pointlessness' of the latter however became juxtaposed with the former moon landing, which became transformed by Khan and his cohort, in jest at least on a manifest level, into the American's grand gesture of celebration for Khan's 45th birthday!¹⁰

The 26th IPA Congress, held at the Cavalieri Hilton in Rome from Sunday 27 July to Friday 1 August 1969, saw Khan, not this time reading a paper of his own, but as an active discussant from the floor. Earlier in the year he had been unenthusiastic about going to the congress, expressing an antipathy towards Italians, as well as Rome's summer heat and noise.¹¹ Given the events at the Amsterdam congress four years previously, his reluctance now may be seen as an expression of the continued effects of shame on the narcissistic personality. This may have also contributed to a certain combativeness discernable in Khan's recorded congress contributions.

In the plenary session for Ralph Greenson and Milton Wexler's paper 'The non-transference relationship in the psychoanalytic situation', on 28 July, Greenson stressed the importance of the 'real', non-transference relations between analyst and patient, quoting both Freud and Anna Freud in support of this position. Greenson addressed Khan and other discussants saying that 'we are putting into words what many of you have been doing for years, but you have been silent about it. You have not conceptualised it, and you have not stressed it, and at times I feel you are ashamed of it.'¹² Greenson went on to agree with Khan as to the importance of Winnicott's emphasis on 'the mutual recognition of patient and analyst as two human beings'¹³ and further concurred as to the intractability of 'errors in being human',¹⁴ as opposed to the more manageable errors of technique. In discussing Leo Rangell's paper on 'The intrapsychic process and its analysis' on 1 August Khan emphasised the creative possibilities for the ego that are inherent in facing conflicts and dilemmas, involving a 'creative elaboration of tension-states into adaptive solutions in life',¹⁵ as his point was summarised by Rangell. Khan was further noted in the Rangell discussion as being 'very much in favour of metaphorical speaking, in contrast to other speakers'.¹⁶

During the intervening IPA Business Meeting, on 30 July, Khan spoke several times on a variety of topics, including Dutch Psychoanalytic Society proposals on a stand-alone child analysis training and enquiries regarding the Freud Archives. He was particularly trenchant in criticising an IPA Study Group, to be chaired by Heinz Kohut, on criteria for the selection of analytic candidates. Khan criticised the Group's uniform character structure as representatively unconvincing and creatively sterile due to its manifest lack of theoretical and other diversity in its membership. Related to these points, Khan railed against the lack of consultation plus the high-handed paternalism of the centralised establishment, saying:

Here we come as individual people – of course we are a community, but that doesn't mean we have lost intelligence, that every time there has to be a Committee that tells us what to do. You set up a Committee to look into

psychoanalysts. We are not consulted. We come here every two years. We are given a Committee – this Committee I have no doubt will do very good work, but I can promise you that that work is already available in Hartmann's Collected Papers.¹⁷

Khan's comments were greeted with widespread applause and his critique was taken up by others in the ensuing discussion. Sensitive to the comments, Kohut afterwards wrote to Khan in an effort to address and mollify his criticism, suggesting that (although the Study Group's composition was not ideal) a non-factional committee membership who were, like himself, open minded could, given a quiet atmosphere, work best.¹⁸

On the final day of the congress Khan was one of the delegates assisting New Yorker Robert Bak in summarising the contributions of the meeting. He had arranged to depart before the close of the congress and was thus given the opportunity to open the final evaluation session. After welcoming Leo Rangell as the incoming IPA President, Khan urged his colleagues to 'not let the wisdom of our elders, which guides us, ossify into a régime...[and that the next congress should focus on] the analytic stance and attitude in the clinical situation, particularly in terms of aggression and violence'.¹⁹ His arguments against complacent acceptance of received wisdom and reliance on self-perpetuating authority, whilst probably fuelled by his own 1968 oedipal narcissistic disappointments vis-à-vis the editorship of the *International Journal*, appeared to have resonated with Khan's fellow delegates. Khan's early departure appears to have been to facilitate his summer vacation, again spent with Svetlana at the Hotel de Paris in Monte-Carlo, the Stollers co-ordinating their own vacation plans so as to coincide with them there for one week together.²⁰

After an enjoyable vacation, Khan's autumn of 1969 began actively, divided professionally between speaking engagements, editorial work, clinical practice and his own writing. At the October meeting of the 1952 Club he read 'Vicissitudes of being, knowing and experiencing in the therapeutic situation', which paper he had slightly reworked (and retitled) since first delivering it at the Tavistock the previous year.²¹ Socially, Stoller's sons, Richard and Stephen, visited London, where they were entertained and chaperoned by both Khan and Svetlana. Henri Cartier-Bresson then visited in October en route to Los Angeles, Khan providing him with an introduction to Robert Stoller.²² And Marion Milner's book, *The Hands of the Living God*, now also finally appeared as Volume 76 of the *International Psychoanalytical Library*, the first volume to appear under Khan's editorship. Some thirty further volumes were to follow during Khan's tenure of office (see Appendix A for details). A planned French edition, to be published by J.-B. Pontalis at Gallimard, however, quickly ran into difficulties apparently due to the cost of translation. Khan once again approached the reliable Robert Stoller at the end of October, who donated \$1,500 by return of post to subsidise the translation.²³

It was sometime during this latter part of 1969 that Winnicott suggested to his supervisee Judith Issroff, by then an advanced candidate in analytic training who had started in analysis with Paula Heimann and then Charles

Rycroft and now needed another training analyst with whom to conclude her training requirements, that Khan might be the appropriate choice. Alluding to the relative analyst–patient fit, Winnicott suggested Khan and Issroff had ‘matching headpieces’, that she needed an analyst of Khan’s intellectual ilk and then ‘insisted that I was enough myself and hale to risk further analysis with his protégé and enriching cultural alien shadow’.²⁴ Not everyone concurred with Winnicott’s view about Khan’s suitability and indeed Adam Limentani explicitly cautioned her against going to Khan. Such doubts as Limentani may have raised were perhaps allayed somewhat during the first week of the analysis when Khan said he would like Winnicott to also supervise his work with her. While Issroff agreed to Khan’s unusual, possibly rivalrous proposal, it isn’t clear whether he actually did approach Winnicott for such supervision and if so what eventuated is unknown. However, during Issroff’s brief analysis with Khan, the denouement of which will be related shortly, she would find their moments of quiet being together most valuable; an existential reality linked to Winnicott’s emphasis on the importance of continuity-of-being.²⁵ Interspersed with such moments unfortunately, Khan initially made disruptive self-aggrandising disclosures, such as his fabricated claim that ‘his father’s suit of armour was on display in the Imperial War Museum’,²⁶ the potential re-eruption of which lingered in the background. Reflecting over thirty years later on her contact with Khan, Issroff speculates that Winnicott’s initial encouragement may have stemmed as much from his wish to have someone to hold Khan in check as it was for her benefit.²⁷

Another candidate also came to Khan during this year, not this time for analysis but for supervision. Max Hernández, like Saúl Peña before him, had come from Peru to train as an analyst and approached Khan having read and liked the 1953 review of Fairbairn’s book he had penned with Winnicott and several of his subsequent papers. On their first meeting, Khan told him he suffered ‘la maladie de Flaubert’. The literary reference was not lost on Hernández who, from reading Flaubert’s correspondence, knew of the author’s inability to put up with stupidity, an inability that stemmed from a ‘*faculté pitoyable*’. Hernández answered with the riposte ‘we are two’ and both men laughed as they settled down to supervision. It was a mutative experience for Hernández from the initial session when Khan told him that ‘Every ego gain by your patient amounts to a loss of her self’, through his references to Stoller, Searles, Pontalis, Green and Lacan, to his quotations from Maurice Blanchot and Octavio Paz. He would continue in supervision weekly until 1971 and then monthly until he returned to Peru at the end of 1973. Over thirty years later Hernández still regards Khan as having been a ‘superb supervisor’.²⁸

CRUCIAL FRIENDSHIPS

As part of his own essaying at this time, Khan wrote ‘The catalytic role of crucial friendship in the epistemology of self-experience in Montaigne, Rousseau and Freud’,²⁹ finishing it during the beginning of November before reading it to the Progressive League Weekend Conference at High Leigh, in Hoddesdon, on

Saturday 8 November. In this paper Khan hypothesised that self-consciousness and self-experience within Western culture has necessitated a dialectical involvement with a reflecting other, science and the machine gradually replacing God in the latter role from the sixteenth century onwards. The machine metaphor for the mind, Khan argues (as Bion had previously), is profoundly mistaken and essentially entails degrees of dehumanisation. Instead, a human other is required and the decline of theological belief permitted such an emergence, as an alternative to the totemic scientific machine. Thus a 'secularisation of self-experience'³⁰ is inaugurated. Using three pairs of friends (Montaigne and La Boétie; Rousseau and the other; and Freud and Fliess) as iconic representations of humanistic, visionary idealist and empiricist epistemologies, Khan argued that these converge to sustain a 'triangle of psychic reality in the individual which allows for maximal experience of Self'.³¹ Continuing, he suggests that it was from the Freud–Fliess friendship that Freud's self-analysis and consequently the psychoanalytic method emerged. This essentially allows an individual, as Khan writes, to 'observe himself as-if the other through the presence and instrumentality of an actual other'.³² Implicit in Khan's thesis is the idea that Freud's *early* quest for a scientific psychology reflected a continuation of the rise of the scientific machine metaphor, yet Freud's greatness rested on the displacement of this in favour of an inherently human relational paradigm within a specific context, the analytic situation. As scientific psychology thus gave way to metapsychology, psychoanalysis reversed the machine's usurpation of the metaphysical, though instead of reverting to the status quo ante – that is to the theological – it offered a psychological perspective on inter-personal and intra-psychic connectedness. In his conclusion, Khan emphasises Freud's incorporation not only of love but also of hate within this connectedness, an essential ambivalence that (when worked through within the analytic situation) yields enrichment though this may be at the cost of the other. Khan thus notes that in crucial friendships one person always suffers and that particularly for gifted or talented individuals the development of such may involve the destruction of the other whose friendship facilitated such growth. Khan's argument here however interestingly appears to conflate the other with the relationship. Typically what is outgrown and thus destroyed is the relationship, the parties to it generally surviving as individuals.

Considering these ideas from the perspective of Khan's own friendships is informative. With Robert Stoller for example, Khan would occasionally intimate that he would or had assisted Stoller, for example by accepting his work for publication, not on its own merits but rather as an expression of their friendship and thus undermining the actual value of the work. Whenever Stoller heard this he would typically challenge Khan and sometimes would do so pre-emptively. Thus for example after his \$1,500 donation for the translation of Milner's book Stoller wrote to Khan that he had done so essentially for and to further psychoanalysis, rather than for Khan, and he delicately went on:

I beg you not to take advantage of me because I can do such a thing. Do not do me any professional favours because of this or imply to anyone that you

could or would. That would not only harm my reputation but would also hurt me by saying that it took my 'generosity' for me to get what I want, the most obvious being by publication.³³

Khan's response was rapid, coming in the form of a twenty-six page handwritten letter in which he attempted to assure Stoller that he had sought his backing in this instance as the project was congruent with Stoller's 'ideals and ethos',³⁴ that he did 'not think there is a single living or dead person who can say I took advantage of them',³⁵ and that he did not do 'professional favours' for colleagues where this would compromise the quality of his projects, irrespective of the possible rewards or recriminations. In contrast to Stoller, Khan declared that he himself has 'always needed the sponsoring of friends and use it avidly and creatively. One thing I can say: I never *abuse* it.'³⁶ Friendships provide one with opportunities for development and achievement, Khan argued, and offered a horse racing analogy by way of illustration. 'There is no Derby winner', he wrote, 'without the Derby track. Friendships provide precisely the access to that Derby course: no more and no less. This is what my paper on "Friendship" is about.'³⁷

Robert Stoller in his response seemed to be won over, indeed one might say seduced, beginning his reply: 'What a fine letter. I am so grateful to you for having written so fully, wisely, and in such generous spirit. You have said all that needs be said, and of course I am very happy.'³⁸ Taking up Khan's racing analogy Stoller continues: 'So – for a good man, all must be done to provide the track, and that more or less has happened with you, and the aphorism holds.'³⁹ Stoller thus buttressed a mutually idealising friendship with Khan. Turning to his paper, Stoller was largely enthusiastic about it, though correctly suggested that crucial friendships as a vehicle for self experience are not the exclusive preserve of secular eras and that such may be observed within religious times and contexts.

Khan had also sent a copy of his paper to Harry Guntrip on 12 November asking for his opinion, enticing Guntrip by depicting him as:

The only person in England who, in my judgement, could give me a candid opinion as to whether there is anything in this way of looking at the problem...And please, Harry, I do not want kindness or politeness. I want candid criticism and assessment...I know you are a busy man – all the same, I shall be searching each post for a response from you.⁴⁰

Six days later Guntrip penned his response, a dense 2,500 word letter, in which he warmly welcomed Khan's paper and linked it with other conversations they had previously, Guntrip particularly emphasising a suggestion Khan had made that he employ 'religious sensibility' as a core notion in lieu of 'religious experience'.⁴¹ Thus Guntrip stresses the *capacity to feel* and posits psychoanalysis as an emergent form of its meta-science with which future generations may:

...begin to understand 'reality' not by reference to atoms and electrons etc, but by reference to 'Self-Experience in the relationship to the Personal'...[This future] truer philosophy...[should involve] a mature, developed realization of the 'mix-up of the individual and his environment', recaptured not this time in its original pre-personal embryonic form (Freud's 'oceanic' feeling) but in a form that constitutes adult religious sensibility...[This] could be a discovery of the ultimate possibilities of 'love' as the essential 'religious experience', oneness with the ultimately real, which must be in essence personal since we are only able to achieve 'personal experience' in so far as we develop 'in relationship'.⁴²

The emphasis Guntrip places here on personal relationships, as epitomised in the psychoanalytic relationship between analyst and patient, closely accords with Khan's, wherein they are the medium through which a rapprochement may be achieved between self and object which leads to a fuller appreciation of the self.

In practice, relationships between Khan and others in the psychoanalytic community were often more strained and combative than the generative picture he and Guntrip portrayed as their model. When John Gedo came over this year from Chicago to experience something of Anna Freud's Hampstead set-up, for example, he attended several British Society meetings and was rather taken aback at one of these to witness 'an unbelievably savage verbal duel between Masud Khan and Donald Meltzer there. What I learned from this display was that the level of psychoanalytic discourse in Chicago was higher, as well as more polite.'⁴³ November saw another example when Eugenio Gaddini read a paper, 'On imitation', to the British Society, which Winnicott had been scheduled to respond to as the discussant. He was unwell however and thus not able to attend. As if filling the absent Winnicott's shoes Khan opened the discussion from the floor, as Renata Gaddini remembers:

The first [remark] came from Masud Khan, who always felt he was Winnicott's *alter ego* on earth. In his comment, Masud referred to 'imitation' (originally studied by E Gaddini in relation to babies affected by rumination) as if it were an expression of children's rivalry with their mother, whom they had suddenly lost. In other words, for Masud imitation was a falsification of mother rather than an early self-protective manoeuvre for survival. This drastic misunderstanding provoked a discussion at the conference, due mainly to the way in which Masud defended his point, and was soon reported to Winnicott by a number of colleagues (Balint, Rosenfeld and myself).⁴⁴

In response, Winnicott wryly remarked: 'It seems that Masud K made a bit of an ass of himself – but no matter – I hope I was or will be able somehow to.'⁴⁵ While Winnicott seems here to find Khan's aliveness personally attractive, perhaps particularly in view of his own serious ill health, his response shows what can also easily be seen as his continuing failure to challenge – and he thus tacitly condones – his protégé's disconcerting behaviour. He was not alone

of course in this failure, a failure which may have been reinforced by Khan's willingness to put his not inconsiderable talents at others service, rather akin to the well known competence/deviance hypothesis.⁴⁶ Thus, at this point, despite the preceding public spectacles, which with others may have given cause for hesitation at the very least, Khan was appointed to yet another significant post. He was nominated by the Council on 1 December 1969 as the British Psychoanalytical Society's representative to the Board of Sigmund Freud Copyrights, the company that managed Freud's literary estate.⁴⁷ He would sit on this Board until January 1986.

The new year began with Svetlana in a fragile state of health, she and Khan being uncertain whether and how much dance practice would be appropriate. Writing to Robert Stoller at the end of February 1970 Khan was reticent about the precise nature of Svetlana's difficulties, and, although giving him three volumes of his *Work Books* containing 'the most authentic expression of my mind', was vague about his own reality, describing himself elliptically as 'a bit cluttered'.⁴⁸ Focussing on the *Work Books*, Stoller declared them:

...the most fertile and brilliant repository of ideas in psychoanalysis. It would be enough were they simply the marvellous running account of your life that they are, but they are additionally a series of lightning flashes, striking from any direction with tremendous energy. It's too bad they must not be published now as they are, but of course they are too destructive to too many of our colleagues and so would damage you terribly as well (though there are plenty of instances where you have been more gentle and discreet, thoughtful and curious, constructive and healing than you may have felt during the living of the experience about which you write later). But then, you know well your capacity to speak impulsively and only later to repair with discretion. You certainly have a genius for avoiding tranquillity.⁴⁹

Responding, Khan acknowledged a sense of relief and deep gratitude to his friend for his recognition of the private self he expressed in the *Work Books* and went on to note how, in contrast to the rural tranquillity of his youth, 'the last twenty four years of my life I seem to have spent chasing myself through others. A truly exhausting addiction'.⁵⁰ Undoubtedly, the written sharing of his private and immediate thoughts with the respected, thoughtful and sympathetic Stoller was containing, as were his friend's responses. There were, however, things left unsaid. The *private* seemed to obscure the more public and interpersonal scene. In the background, behind the deceptive pyrotechnics associated with the *Work Books*, Svetlana was actually depressed and drinking. Winnicott again saw her for psychotherapeutic support, although without marked improvements in her mental state. It was perhaps at this time that he referred her to a conventional psychiatric colleague, of which more later.

Writing to Winnicott on 26 March, Khan said he was departing the next day for Pakistan for his Easter vacation, thanked Winnicott for his 'kindness, goodness and sympathy' and, after giving him Lyallpur postal and telegraphic addresses in case of an emergency, added: 'I need hardly say how grateful I

am to you for what you have done for Svetlana. One has to accept the fact that nothing takes root at the present moment.⁵¹ Thus Khan departed for Pakistan, not long after which departure Svetlana deteriorated, as he confided from Pakistan to Stoller:

Three days after arriving here I received a cable from Zoë [Dominic] saying Svetlana had to go into a clinic again. I had left her rather precariously on the edge of another breakdown. There is nothing so mortifying as helplessness vis-à-vis those one loves. And what is even more harrowing is the dawning conviction in me that perhaps the vital pathogenic factor in Svetlana's life is me, myself. This is a very terrible truth to have to acknowledge and accept, and the remedy for it is even more painful and frightening. But in the end facts have to be faced, lived and survived – if possible!⁵²

Svetlana's difficulties in London evidently did not abbreviate Khan's stay in Pakistan, a stance that retrospectively may be regarded as a harbinger of the couple's future separation and divorce, 'the remedy' Khan may have been alluding to in his letter to Stoller.

Lyallpur was Khan's self-described 'feudal hide-out',⁵³ although he spent considerable time there ensconced reading English and European literature, a pursuit that he saw as having led him personally to psychoanalysis. Over and above this, however, Khan proposed that 'the truest approach to psychoanalysis is through the humanistic and intellectual discipline of literature',⁵⁴ medicine and natural science being typified as limiting and stultifying bases for psychoanalysis. Co-existent with this attachment to European culture and particularly its literary canon, Khan now acknowledged the distinctiveness of India and the Eastern mind. Particularising their 'sentient transparent physicality,...biologic intelligence and cunning' he contrasts this to the 'capacity for...psychological internal reality...[of] the European races, reared in the Judeo-Christian civilisation and culture'.⁵⁵ Khan continues:

The expectancy that everyone has the capacity for verbalised introjection and intrapsychic conflict is so germane to the European ethos now, that it cannot begin to understand and accept that many peoples and cultures can evolve extremely sophisticated and complex stances of psychic and affective experience without their achieving the specific quality of psychological experience and conflict.⁵⁶

Free association, Khan then claimed, would be unintelligible to such non-Europeans, an assertion that if true would remove one of the central pillars of the psychoanalytic method and essentially questioned the universality and applicability of psychoanalytic theory. Khan's own dual Indo-European affinities however he seems to suggest situates him in both places and in neither, Indian and European, analysed and unanalysable, establishment figure and revolutionary. When out and about in Lyallpur, Khan described himself as having an unfamiliar though relaxing 'feeling of being anonymous in my own

culture',⁵⁷ implicitly in contrast to his putative experience in London and the West where visually he would have been conspicuous (rather than anonymous) as an ethnic minority. Khan returned to London on 20 April, briefly stopping en route in Paris.

Shortly after his return from Pakistan Khan gave his paper 'Towards an epistemology of the process of cure' to a conference on 'The role of theory in psychoanalytical technique' on 28 April 1970 at the Institut Français du Royaume-Uni, in London. Victor Smirnoff came over for the conference and stayed with Khan for several days. It was around this time that Khan, having failed to secure the Editorship of the *International Journal*, turned towards a new journal, the French *Nouvelle Revue de Psychanalyse*. Founded by J.-B. Pontalis, the *Nouvelle Revue's* first issue had appeared in the spring of 1970, in which number Khan's 'Le cadre thérapeutique de Freud' ['On Freud's provision of the therapeutic frame'] paper first appeared. Smirnoff, who was on the journal's Editorial Board, suggested Khan as a potential new Board member, a recommendation Pontalis took up with enthusiasm, Khan accepting his offer of a Board place, although he distinguished himself from his colleagues there by his adoption of the title *Co-Redacteur Etranger* (literally Foreign Co-Editor).⁵⁸ He participated thus on the Editorial Board of the *Nouvelle Revue* from its second issue, which appeared in the autumn of 1970, and which carried his paper 'Le fétichisme comme négation du soi' ['Fetish as negation of the self: clinical notes on foreskin fetishism in a male homosexual']. The *Nouvelle Revue* became from this point onwards the primary publication vehicle for Khan's new work: twenty-seven pieces by Khan would appear in its pages over the forthcoming years.

During the latter part of July, as part of their summer vacation, the Stollers together with their children visited Khan,⁵⁹ as did Clifford Scott who came for dinner on 29 July,⁶⁰ following which Khan returned to Pakistan where he spent all of the August of 1970.⁶¹ Professionally, Khan claimed to be busy, both clinically and editorially, though his personal relationship with Svetlana continued to be difficult. During the day she attempted to practise for a new ballet, although during the evenings 'things are really no better – in fact, much worse, because chronicity creates its own sort of stasis'.⁶² This despondency emanated at least in part out of the failure of the most recent attempt to treat Svetlana's depression and alcoholism. With analytic approaches being dismissed by Svetlana, Winnicott had asked William Sargant, a senior organically oriented psychiatrist, to take on her case.⁶³ He had admitted her to St Thomas' Hospital where she seems to have stabilised as an in-patient being 'dried-out', with her depression being treated pharmacologically and possibly with electro-convulsive therapy. The in-patient gains however did not last when Svetlana was discharged home. She resumed drinking, defeating Sargant's efforts as he noted to Winnicott at the end of July. Describing his contact with Svetlana and the unhappy denouement of the treatment, Sargant acknowledged:

I was very pleased to have tried to help Mrs Kahn [sic], and I am quite certain that no-one will be able to help her unless she finally agrees to give up alcohol.

It was only when I found that she had begun secretly drinking again that I realised my ability to help her was at an end. It is such a pity because, off alcohol and on the anti-depressant drugs, she was so well, and I think her personality is still fairly intact. If only somehow she could give up alcohol.

In many cases I have found that once the patient takes alcohol she finds herself unable to cope with the real problems that exist in her environment. Off alcohol, she can cope with the same problems. Mrs Kahn [sic] had real problems as you know, but alcohol is never a solution to these.

If, however, she really seriously wanted to give up alcohol, I would be prepared to have her back, but while she is drinking, no drugs, psychotherapy or anything else will help her.⁶⁴

Among the 'real problems' Svetlana's relationship with Khan is likely to have featured prominently, while his own drinking can only be seen as supporting hers, features whose sobering significance can hardly have been lost on any of those involved.

While his wife drank, Khan increased his already substantial commitments by writing a paper, 'Infantile neurosis as a false-self organisation', which he began with a suggestion that infantile neuroses may be subdivided into three types, which vary according to the individual's response to cumulative trauma. Central to Khan's classification appears to be a conception of psychic *flexibility* in meeting life's exigencies, resulting in either: (a) a potential intra-psychic structure that leads to average development, (b) an open and undecided internal psychic state which may include schizoid and borderline characters, or (c) a more rigid false-self organisation resulting from precocious ego activity. Then, concentrating on the latter Khan states that:

Here the ego of the child has prematurely and precociously brought the traumata of early childhood under its omnipotence and created an intra-psychic structure in the nature of infantile neurosis which is a false-self organization, and which will henceforth set up a rigidity of split-existence and defensive exploitation of pregenital instincts and archaic mental functioning, most commonly met with in obsessional neurosis.⁶⁵

Illustrating this with clinical material from a middle-aged male patient whose obsessional state originated following a prolonged separation beginning at age six from already distant parents (with nannies providing substitute care), Khan argued that in such cases the fundamental technical question is *how would the analyst present himself as an object in order to maximise the possibilities that the patient could perceive, tolerate and relate to him as an independent benign figure*. Here Khan stressed the *real* as opposed to the *transference* relationship between analyst and patient, as a means of directing attention towards the patient's stultifying reliance on ego omnipotence and tendencies towards a solipsistic state. Fear of self-annihilation and pent-up rage at his objects remained latent, inhibiting object relations. With his patient Khan reported that:

I decided to be as much of a human, ordinary person as I could... I constantly interpreted the ways in which he had replaced a *lacking* expectable environment by inventing a psychic structure of religious thoughts and rituals to which he could be *attached*. Furthermore, I interpreted how he had tried to bring under his mental omnipotence, and thus to provide for himself, something to be attached to, something that was inherently outside his capacities to manipulate: namely: the provided care.⁶⁶

It had been, Khan suggested, the patient's invention of and subsequent attachment to his own particular intra-psychic structure that had deprived him of true contact with others, froze his personality development and left him alienated as an adult, without a sense of a benign (non-coerced) providing other. Making explicit use of John Bowlby's ideas on attachment theory, Khan suggested attachment may encourage *security and safety*, as distinct from Winnicott's ideas on holding which encourage the *differentiation and articulation of ego from id*.

Khan's shift towards Bowlby's ideas on separation and attachment was accompanied by a personal approach to him on 22 September 1970 by letter, with which he sent a copy of the 'Infantile neurosis' paper.⁶⁷ Bowlby's response was very positive, suggesting Khan's articulation of attachment theory agreed with his own and that together they were 'so obviously viewing things in the same perspective'.⁶⁸ Then, after some brief discussion of the paper, during which Bowlby emphasised the *distorting* effect of separation on the patient's psychic structure (rather than there being a structural deficit filled by invention) and hypothesised a pre-existing foundation of traumatic experience ante-dating the separation at six, he suggested meeting together with any others from the Society who may be interested. In response, Khan welcomed Bowlby's comments and thought there may be a group of Associate Members of the Society who would be open to meeting with Bowlby to discuss his ideas on attachment theory.⁶⁹ Khan had already included the first volume of Bowlby's *Attachment and Loss* trilogy in 1969 in the *International Psychoanalytical Library* series, the second volume following in 1973 also under his editorship. The present contact, however, as will be briefly discussed below, marked a closer professional collaboration between the two men which would continue until 1976, from which point much of Khan's institutional involvement with the Society and hence London based analytic colleagues would cease.

October was to see a temporary influx of Khan's European colleagues into London. From the second to the fourth of October the first 'Weekend Conference of English Speaking Psycho-Analysts from European Countries', a biennial event inaugurated by Michael Balint, was held at the Royal Garden Hotel, London. Victor Smirnoff, despite anticipating that the conference would be 'an awful affair',⁷⁰ was among the delegates attending and stayed the three days with Khan. The first day saw Winnicott's sponsorship of Oscar Nemon's statue of Freud come to fruition, when the statue was unveiled on a site near the Swiss Cottage Library.⁷¹ In contrast to his rather positive comments to Winnicott in early 1968 about the statue, Khan now declared to Alix Strachey

that he thought it was 'grotesque' and that he was not going to attend the unveiling.⁷² The next day Khan delivered his paper 'Infantile neurosis as a false-self organisation', in a session chaired by Serge Lebovici. Later this month, on the 21st, Joyce McDougall gave an invited lecture to the Society entitled 'The primal scene and sexual perversion'.⁷³ Khan was among the discussants from the audience and is recalled by McDougall as springing to his feet and announcing, 'the two most perverse people I know in this world are myself and Joyce' as a preface to some uncoordinated comments on the paper.⁷⁴

At the beginning of November 1970 Khan went to Paris briefly, where, in addition to some editorial commitments, he passed a pleasant time with Smirnoff,⁷⁵ before travelling on to Berlin where he read his paper 'Apprenticeship, instruction and communication in psycho-analytic pedagogy'⁷⁶ to the Deutschen Akademie für Psychoanalyse and the German Group Therapeutic Society.⁷⁷ To Stoller, who had earlier occupied a visiting professorship, Khan declared he was 'also now enjoy[ing] the somewhat phoney but prestigious title "Visiting Professor"' in Berlin.⁷⁸ Congratulating him, Robert Stoller suggested Khan and the wider intellectual community would benefit from him gaining even more such appointments.⁷⁹ Back in London on 18 November Khan was among the speakers at the British Society's commemorative evening on the work of Heinz Hartmann.

A TRILOGY OF LOSS

Some of the key losses of Khan's adulthood would be condensed within the following six months, when three of the most salient figures in his life died. The first two of these occurred in swift succession. The end of the year saw the death of Michael Balint on New Year's Eve 1970, who was at the time still President of the British Society.⁸⁰ He had been a long term senior colleague, a desired mentor and occupied an intellectual position to which Khan was in many ways closely allied. Of the various losses his passing however perhaps would have been the easiest for Khan to bear. Khan was in Pakistan at the time for his Christmas vacation, his return to London which was scheduled for the weekend of 16–17 January being delayed until Sunday 24 January 1971.⁸¹

Hours after Khan's return, at around 4am the next morning, Monday 25 January 1971, Donald Winnicott died quietly during the night of heart failure.⁸² Having been among the mourners at Winnicott's funeral and the smaller group of people who returned to the subsequent reception at 87 Chester Square,⁸³ Khan looked back on their association over the preceding twenty-odd years. By his own account, Khan regarded Winnicott as having:

...anchored me in my being...[and] enabled me in his lifetime to *enrich* myself from my loss of him. Yes, precisely that. *For two decades he had shielded and protected me* and enabled me to grow as I could and must. Now he has left me the strange and uniquely human task to be adult, individual and separate. And I know my way about it from my own tradition of nurture. Because he

only facilitated me to possess what I had been given at root! That was his unique talent and genius as a clinician.⁸⁴ (Emphasis added)

Here Khan clearly emphasises his relationship with Winnicott over the duration of their acquaintance, without distinguishing between the analytic, professional or social dimensions. The depiction of Winnicott as 'shielding and protecting' Khan casts him essentially in the role of mentor or patron, as one whose 'crucial friendship' performed, not so much what Khan had previously referred to as a 'catalytic role', but rather what Guntrip suggested was a 'precipitating role',⁸⁵ facilitating Khan's development whilst in the process accruing his own self-actualisation. Thus Khan went on to suggest that through their relationship he had:

...maximalised [sic] [Winnicott's] last years *as him!*...We were friends: mutually and variously. And we loved each other at the end, after an arduous combat over more than a decade. I aggravated him and he traumatised me by his public Christian masochistic humility: so phoney and yet so him. How I fought him over his self-negating genuflections [sic] to Klein and his instant rejection of Anna Freud – all for good reasons, of course. As always! And he suffered outraged agonies of despair vis-à-vis my abreactive and arrogant insolences of ego and instinct – quite often patently foolish and bizarre, but always honourable by my code of nurturance and culture. Gradually we learnt to respect each other. He was much larger than me in his genius, but I was vaster than him in my heritage and character. And in the end we augmented and cherished each other.⁸⁶

The mutuality Khan here suggests as having existed between himself and Winnicott appears significantly untroubled by Winnicott's demise, as though Khan had no sense of indebtedness to or dependency on him. Indeed, Dodi Goldman has remarked on the curious lack of grief Khan evinced following Winnicott's death, as evident in Khan's diary entries during this period.⁸⁷

In other situations, however, feelings of depression and loss after Winnicott's death (and indeed consequent to other losses he experienced during this period) were more evident. Khan alluded to such feelings to one of his then patients, the trainee psychoanalyst Dean Eyre,⁸⁸ while with Judith Issroff they passed the analytic hour following Winnicott's funeral in silent communication. At the end of the session Khan, perhaps to emphasise which of them was to carry the painful loss, hugged Issroff and told her that Winnicott's death had been 'a personal tragedy for you...DWW said you gained more from him in five years than everyone else in twenty five: you needed one more year to become like me'.⁸⁹ Issroff, who felt she had no wish to become like Khan, continued to see him for analysis for about a year following Winnicott's death. Inverting the usual symmetry of analytic sessions, Khan would now increasingly regale her with his own daily woes. Undoubtedly the further losses Khan was to suffer during these months must have weighed heavily on him and contributed to his state. Then, when he uttered the very lightest of hints that theirs could develop into

something other than an analytic relationship at the end of a session Issroff decided enough was enough and having qualified from the Institute terminated the analysis forthwith.⁹⁰ From such accounts it does seem that Winnicott had indeed served as a partial check on his protégé's excesses and without his holding presence Khan's wildness increased.

Perhaps fuelled in part by the same underlying dynamics, Khan's general activities and in particular his writing also increased during this period, notably with his publishing four of Winnicott's principal obituaries. These would duly appear in *The Times*, the *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, the *British Journal of Medical Psychology* and the *International Journal of Child Psychotherapy*. Then, on 1 February Khan was appointed to fill a temporary vacancy on the Curriculum Committee of the Institute of Psychoanalysis.⁹¹ Taking on this new task together with his concurrent writing seems likely to have been part of Khan's attempt to cope with the recent deaths and consequent feelings of fragmentation. Thus, he wrote to Smirnoff:

I am sometimes struck with admiration and fear at my ability to absorb *écriture*. Because what I read becomes my responsibility, this is what keeps me going so that I can finish my book on perversions. The section that deals with analytic practice and theory is already written. But – this intimidating 'but' – in my tradition of thinking there is something more important than psychoanalysis: this is what needs a great effort to organise into an account – a narrative. Failing to achieve this I would not recognise my book as being authentic vis-à-vis myself. Incidentally, the antonym of alienation is authenticity...⁹²

Écriture, Khan here suggests, provides ballast and a framework for coherence, actively aiding structuring and synthesising processes against alienation. As such it may be a form of transitional phenomena that serves development. However, for Khan the framework is also a masquerade, its actual nature being that of a dominant narcissistic organisation or psychic retreat, which is essentially hostile to dependency and loss.

Knowledge of Winnicott's surviving unpublished papers and an expectation that their care might fall to him may have provided Khan with a transitional link to the deceased Winnicott, buffering him narcissistically from the impact of his death. However, Khan's period at the epicentre of Winnicott's literary world was unbeknownst to him also drawing to a close. The deaths of Balint and particularly that of Winnicott, Stoller observed, left Khan having 'to suffer grievously',⁹³ the pain of which he hoped would be offset by Khan being able to organise and publish Winnicott's hitherto unpublished writings, before then going on to advance his own contribution from that base.

Unprompted by Stoller's idea, Khan had already written to Clare Winnicott less than two weeks after her husband's death, to discuss Winnicott's apparent wish that his books be donated to the Institute of Psychoanalysis library, organising a meeting to consider the issue of his literary copyrights, and finally, he continued: 'this, of course, is a much larger issue, which is to start looking into

what other books we can put together from Winnicott's manuscripts, and in what order we should start editing and offering them for publication' (emphasis added).⁹⁴ At the same time he wrote to Alfred Flarsheim in Chicago and Ishak Ramzy at the Menninger Foundation notifying them of Winnicott's death and inviting contact about the Winnicott manuscripts they were separately editing, a quasi supervisory stance which Khan intimated was in accordance with Winnicott's wishes.⁹⁵ This seems to have been taken by Flarsheim, at least, to indicate that Khan was administering Winnicott's literary estate. Thus, when Winnicott's 'Fragment of an analysis' first appeared in 1972 (with Aronson in the USA and the *International Psychoanalytical Library* series in Britain), Flarsheim and his editor, Peter Giovacchini, noted that subsequent to Winnicott's death 'Mrs Clare Winnicott and Mr M M R Khan, Dr Winnicott's literary executor, graciously gave us permission to proceed with publication' (emphasis added).⁹⁶

The reality, however, was very different. Clare Winnicott had been the principal recipient of Winnicott's estate according to his will dated 18 May 1965 and thus, though there was no specific mention of it in the will (contrary to the assumptions of some commentators), by default she became his literary executor. This remaining connection to Winnicott was not something Clare was then going to delegate to or even significantly share with others, let alone Khan with whom there was widely known ongoing competition for her husband, both pre and post mortem.⁹⁷ In connection with this Robert Rodman recalled her look of 'distinct satisfaction' when recounting to him her decision to decline Khan's assumptive overture to act as Winnicott's literary executor and editor.⁹⁸ By most accounts Khan was devastated at his exclusion from this role in Winnicott's legacy.⁹⁹ Winnicott had left in excess of a hundred papers unpublished at the time of his death and had sketched out how various of these might be collated into books,¹⁰⁰ a plan with which Khan is likely to have been familiar from his regular Sunday morning meetings with Winnicott. Indeed, Khan may well have been not only familiar with the plan, he is perhaps likely, given his editorial roles, to have assisted directly in formulating the structure and contents of these projected works with Winnicott.

With her inheritance and consequent assertion of authority over her husband's surviving writings, Clare Winnicott not only may have derived some satisfaction from rebuffing Khan (perhaps partly in lieu of Winnicott's first wife, Alice) as her rival, but also may have sought to prolong this victory. Certainly, Khan was not by and large significantly involved in assembling the posthumous volumes, a task Clare Winnicott would herself undertake with associates of her own choosing, but she did ask that he be kept informed with at least one project and perhaps more. A couple of weeks after Winnicott's death, the same time as Khan was raising the question of collating his residual material, Clare Winnicott entrusted Judith Issroff with the editing of Winnicott's manuscript of *Human Nature*. Clare made it clear to Issroff that she did not trust Khan's integrity to carry through the work, that he might plagiarise the text or procrastinate over it as she suggested he had done with Rickman's papers twenty years previously, and that she herself was frightened of him. Despite such apparently serious reservations, the substance of which is disputable, Clare instructed Issroff to ask

Khan to review and approve her editing of the manuscript. He agreed, stating that this 'begins a new phase of our relationship', but then went on to point out that she had been only given access to a portion of the available Winnicott papers ideally needed to complete the editing. It was at this point that Issroff realised that Clare's choice of her as editor instead of Khan may have been partly motivated by Clare's wish to humiliate him.¹⁰¹ Continuing her efforts over several years during the early 1970s, Issroff thus found herself placed uncomfortably as the intermediary between Clare and Khan – a 'nightmare period' – with their mutual animosity plainly evident. While Khan did organise to regularly meet with Issroff, ostensibly to review the editorial progress, these meetings would prove frustratingly ineffective. Thus, Issroff recalls:

We almost never discussed the work I wanted to discuss. Instead he was always having some crisis, or he'd have someone else there and we'd go out to dinner instead, as once when Pearl King was there. So all I met with were a series of unrelenting disappointments and curious adventures... One time Bhutto's mistress, another Max Hernández visiting, or some Pakistani dignitary, or someone from the French Society... Always he wasn't in the mood to work on that or had something else for me to read.¹⁰²

Unsurprisingly, with Khan's dubious help and Clare's seemingly mixed motivations, Issroff's editing of *Human Nature* foundered after several years fruitlessly spent on the project. Extricating herself from this untenable scenario, Issroff left London around 1979 to pursue her own career in Israel.¹⁰³ As a parting gesture then, Khan would rudely decline her request for a reference, saying 'it was not in his culture and style' to so recommend people and that as he was related to the King of Jordan he could not support any Jewish people or Israeli projects.¹⁰⁴ Such statements, as André Green pointed out, were not uncommon from Khan, who differentiated himself, as the supposed product of seven centuries of feudalism, from Western and particularly Jewish colleagues, who he depicted as emanating from petty bourgeois origins: the Freuds being exempted from such an indictment on account of their genius.¹⁰⁵

In time, Clare entrusted Winnicott's literary copyrights and editorial responsibility to the Winnicott Trust, which she established along with Madeline Davis, Robert Tod and Ray Shepherd. The Trust would become a registered charity on 30 May 1984 following Clare Winnicott's death in the preceding April and at that point Christopher Bollas came to join its board of editors.¹⁰⁶ Judith Issroff had been one of those to suggest such a trust, doing so in the immediate aftermath of Winnicott's death when she had also mooted the idea of depositing the surviving papers with an academic institution in the United States.¹⁰⁷ The papers were duly deposited with the Institute for the History of Psychiatry's Oskar Diethelm Library at the New York Hospital-Cornell Medical Center.

Apart from all of the foregoing and indeed ongoing scenarios and turmoil, Khan appears to have undertaken several European engagements at this time. Travelling to Berlin he delivered a paper 'The scope and limits of playing in the

analytic situation' to the Deutschen Akademie für Psychoanalyse in April and then read 'Actualisations of self-experience through the analytic situation' to the Association Psychanalytique de France in Paris in June.¹⁰⁸ Only the latter paper appears to have been published as here titled,¹⁰⁹ although it also was published in English during this year as 'The finding and becoming of self'.¹¹⁰ It seems possible that the Berlin and Paris papers were actually two versions of the same work, particularly given the inclusion of the concept of 'play' in the title of the first and its illustration within the second.

When 'The finding and becoming of self' was later included in *The Privacy of the Self*, Rosemary Gordon declared it the key paper of the volume and one that would be of particular interest to her fellow Jungians.¹¹¹ In the paper Khan sought to explore the clinical manifestations of the self and self-experience. Emphasising the imprecise nature of the concept, Khan depicted the self as essentially incommunicado, much as Winnicott had in his 1963 paper 'Communicating and not communicating leading to a study of certain opposites'. However, Khan eschewed his idealisation of the true self and similar romanticisations of the concept of the self by Guntrip, Laing, Cooper and others. For him 'the self is as much created by its symbols, as it is represented and expressed by them',¹¹² while fleeting self-experience (akin to Balint's 'new beginning') is metabolised and worded to the patient, thus making it available to the psyche. Such self-experience, Khan appears to suggest, is closely linked to early psychosomatic undifferentiation and the body-ego and its expression can require a degree of physical exertion or play, easily mistaken as acting out within the analytic situation. The sense of the unity of the self (something that is over and above the classical analytic topographies) can be fractured and self-experience dislocated or stunted through maladaptive early care. Addressing this clinically initially requires holding during regression, rather than verbal interpretation of structural conflicts and the transference situation. Inherent in this type of holding is a certain 'contractual distance' within which self-experiences may crystallise and be recognised, before any other interpretative type work gets under way; a stance he associated with Winnicott's ideas on being alone in the presence of an other and Balint's emphasis on the unobtrusive analyst.¹¹³ In illustrating his argument Khan used further material from his analysis of Mr HCE (amongst others), who previously appeared in 'Ego-ideal, excitement and the threat of annihilation' back in 1963. Although at the end of the paper Khan had failed to define self-experience to his own satisfaction, he had firmly placed the subject of the self and its clinical management on the analytic map, to which he would add further details over the ensuing years.

Roughly synchronous with these engagements Khan was facing yet another loss, one which significantly compounded those of the preceding months. In between his Berlin and Paris lectures he had travelled to Lyallpur for a brief visit, arriving there on 7 May 1971. Khan's now elderly mother, Khurshid, who had continued to live outside of the town at the family home, Kot Fazal Dad Khan (KFD), which Khan had inherited, was now proposing to move into Lyallpur with Salahuddin Sla and his children where day-to-day life might be easier. Very distressed at the prospect of symbolically losing his family, Khan

sought to dissuade them from the move. It was to no avail and on 14 May 1971 Khurshid moved out of the house and into the town. Kot Fazal Dad Khan was left largely empty, a part-time manager taking over its day-to-day cleaning and general upkeep. Worse was to follow, when on 10 June 1971 Khurshid died. On receiving the news Khan immediately flew to Pakistan, arriving there on 11 June to prepare for her funeral.¹¹⁴ She was buried next to Fazal Dad in the tiny family graveyard at Lyallpur. While details are scant, Khan clearly found his mother's death very difficult to cope with, exacerbated perhaps through their earlier ambivalences being rekindled by Khurshid's leaving the family home.

13

Liaisons and Dreams

On Khan's return from his mother's funeral he began to prepare for the forthcoming 27th IPA Congress, scheduled to be held in Vienna in 1971. Initially having again expressed ambivalence about attending, Robert Stoller encouraged Khan to go partially with the prospect of their meeting there. Agreeing to go, Khan announced that he did not intend to participate in 'any of the circuses of sociability or psycho-analytic politicking masquerading as science',¹ but rather was looking forward to being again with Stoller in person. Barrington Cooper, Khan's physician and friend, was also among those attending, having been registered as a 'guest'. Khan arrived in Vienna on Sunday afternoon 25 July.² He and Svetlana appear to have temporarily separated sometime previous to the congress and Khan now met a new companion apparently during this time, a Hapsburg Princess referred to as Lili. As a couple Stoller declared their relating was 'a most remarkable event', although if it were to flourish it would need care as 'beneath the veneer, you both have a wildness that can flare out when you are most vulnerable'.³ Despite a flurry of social activity and emotional and intellectual fervour, Khan was exhausted, which state was evident to both himself and the Stollers. However, he delivered his paper 'Dread of surrender to resourceless dependence in the analytic situation' to the congress on Thursday 29 July 1971, in a session chaired by Samuel Guttman, with James Bing as the discussant. Leaving the congress Khan departed directly for Pakistan on Saturday 31 July.⁴

In his congress paper Khan had extended his earlier exegesis of Balint's ideas as well as those of his own earlier paper 'On symbiotic omnipotence' to now focus specifically on malignant regression. The clinical features of such regression, Khan suggests, relate to the patient's dread of emotional surrender, the addressing of which therapeutically has a better prognosis when patients are young and have not yet managed or structured such dread through chronic dissociation or its encapsulation within perversions. Selective childhood over-care inhibits separate identity development and personalisation, due principally to the splitting off of aggressivity. Such patients, he further suggests, need to experience the hitherto concealed environmental failure to tolerate their aggressive and libidinal demands, to liberate such and to render the previously idolised self-image less ego-syntonic.

In illustration of these ideas Khan discussed material derived from his analysis of Helen, who had first featured in his 1968 paper on the 'Vicissitudes of being, knowing and experiencing in the analytic situation'. Concentrating on their initial anxious contacts when Helen's incipient aggression was palpable, Khan

here emphasises his attempts to use a playful verbal equivalent of Winnicott's squiggle technique. Thus for example when she arrives in a state of manic defiance, Khan evokes a smile as he tells her 'it was not my usual style to have a patient *trumpeting* all over the place'.⁵ Later in the process, when progress was being made this became the object of destructive attacks, something Khan now related to Bion's notion of attacks on linking and interpreted in terms of envy. Added to this however he noted the importance of these attacks, his unashamed recognition and survival of them and their relative justification in view of Helen's perception of the less than ideal fit within the analytic situation. Such a situation aided the discrimination of fantasy from reality and fostered mental growth.

Two further papers which Khan published during this year develop his views on these subjects. The first, 'L'oeil entend', described aspects of the psychotherapy of a nineteen year old model and part-time art student, who behaved very permissively towards the sexual demands others made towards her. Having experienced a dissonance between his visual perception of her and the impact of hearing her verbal accounts of sexual imbroglios, Khan came to interpret this duality as marking a dissociation between the patient as a female object and a male subject, rather as Winnicott earlier had (on which paper Khan had in fact published a commentary).⁶ In his discussion Khan now emphasised the value of his *looking* as a way of *experiencing* the patient, here developing thoughts he had put forward in 1968 and 1969 in 'Vicissitudes of being, knowing and experiencing in the therapeutic situation'. In contrast to *knowing*, looking can never be a neutral activity: it is either empathetic or rejecting. Neither is it translatable into language, the incommensurability of which Khan illustrates by emphasising the difference between the narrated dream text and the dream as a *seen* and *experienced* entity, prefiguring here other work to come. Supported by such illustrations of his patient's wish for recognition (rather than insight) and the role of the non-verbal within the communicative repertoire, Khan uses a transferred epithet 'to hear with eyes' (the paper's English title) as a means of inviting an expansion of the psychoanalytic field to include the 'iconicity of a patient's body-presence'.⁷

Issues of communication and its level of symbolisation also formed the basis for the second paper, 'Toucher pour voir', which would appear in English as 'The role of illusion in the analytic space and process'. Here, Khan emphasises the need for participants within the Freudian therapeutic space to have a capacity for illusion in order to relate to each other within its setting, within which acting out contravened classical demands for expression to be restricted to symbolic discourse. Drawing on his experience of analysis with his patient Helen, Khan highlights her unexpected crisis at puberty when she developed aggressive, phobic and bulimic difficulties. Concentrating, as he had in his recent paper on the 'Dread of surrender', on their early fraught contacts and his attempts to establish rapport, Khan described Helen's often silent looking and moving around the consulting room and touching its walls and his books during the initial months. Such actions he felt made the situation bearable and somewhat more personalised for her and gradually as trust increased

verbal dialogue became more tolerable. Influenced by Winnicott and Marion Milner, Khan understood these months as a 'period of hesitation', from which the ego's capacity for illusion may subsequently crystallise. Helen's story is contrasted to that of another woman patient who exhibited hypermentation, verbally dominating the session space to the exclusion of Khan and negating the possibility of assimilating mutative experience. Khan ended therapy with her, the failure of the endeavour being due as he saw it to allowing the patient to dominate what should have been an area of illusion and period of hesitation.

The thoughts Khan had advanced in these papers went some way towards publicly clarifying his views on action, acting out and the role of the non-verbalisable (especially seeing and touch) in development, as well as within the psychoanalytic situation. Not only are they placed as precursors to thinking, language and social experience, and seen as aiding crystallisation and personalisation of mental space, the self and self-experience, but they are also validated as non reducible categories in their own right. These thoughts would be developed over the next several years as will be seen, with particular emphasis on privacy, the ineffable nature of the self and how self-experience of such might be fostered, symbolised and integrated.

Alongside these intellectual developments Khan was of course continuing with his everyday life. The autumn of 1971 saw him have a riding accident, in which he broke a rib and fractured three others on Sunday 10 October, an event which led him to spend two days in Kingston Hospital.⁸ Though in considerable pain, his convalescence, spent quietly at home, proved to be (by his own account) 'the first sane, wholesome, private, unharassed and unencumbered week that I have lived for God knows how many years'.⁹ He and Svetlana had separated for what was to prove to be the final time the previous month, on 10 September, and her departure from the Hans Crescent apartment initially left Khan vigilant and missing her volatility and the dramatics of their relationship.¹⁰ As he described it, 'a sort of addictive bondage to being terrorised and anguished had established itself and some part of my mind was always expecting the worst to appear from somewhere'.¹¹ The enforced post riding accident recuperation provided him with some respite from his reliance on predominantly manic defences, Khan's own description being that previously he 'was existing through sheer euphoria and counter-phobic devices'.¹² The suspension of such coping may have allowed some working through of his feelings about the ending of his second marriage, while his physical suffering may have provided a degree of welcome respite from his inner emotional state.

His quietude was not to last long, for at around this time he wrote to the Scientific Committee of the British Psychoanalytical Society questioning its support of the library, criticism they quickly sought to allay; though the committee also referred the matter to the Council.¹³ Then, on 29 October Khan went to Berlin as he had in 1970, there delivering his paper 'The finding and becoming of self' and two seminars on schizoid personality at the Deutschen Akademie für Psychoanalyse, before returning to London, via Vienna where he was able to continue his liaison with Princess Lili, arriving home on 1 November.¹⁴ Nineteen seventy-one ended with Khan spending New Year in

Paris, going there on 30 December and returning on 2 January, 1972. The brief break was a welcome relief from the strains of 1971, during the second half of which year he had repeatedly remarked that he had been unable to write or read significantly.¹⁵ Among the other external stresses of the year had been the civil war between East and West Pakistan and the outbreak of the Indo-Pakistan war at the end of 1971, the former ending in the secession of East Pakistan which then became Bangladesh, while the latter rapidly ended in Indian victory, the cease-fire beginning on 17 December.

HOLDING ON TO WINNICOTT

Back in London in the beginning of January 1972 Khan suggested he was going to settle to living 'in my monastic asylum here without much anguish and gratefully'.¹⁶ On 19 January the British Society held a memorial meeting for Donald Winnicott, at which Khan delivered an address, along with William Gillespie, Marion Milner, Barbara Woodhead and others.¹⁷ In his paper Khan concentrated on Winnicott's essential psychosomatic individuality, a presence that did not encroach on the other, though one which the other could encounter idiosyncratically and without contradiction. Thus Khan said: 'each of us who has encountered him has his *own* Winnicott, and he never transgressed the other's invention of him by any assertion of his own style of being. And yet he always stayed so inexorably Winnicott'.¹⁸ Then, concentrating on Winnicott's ideas on regression to dependence in the analytic situation, Khan declared that Winnicott 'met [the patient's] regressive need on demand and sustained it till the patient as a person could begin to assemble his innate and true autonomy towards self-fruition'.¹⁹ Such 'sustained' holding is, Khan went on to suggest, required for some patients in order to 'shift reactive compliance into true dependence, [which]...alone engenders growth and self-hood in the patient'.²⁰ Here Khan may have had his own analysis with Winnicott in mind, as his emphasis here tallies significantly with his own remarks on that experience and the previous reconstruction of it. His meditation on Winnicott continued with his writing at this point the introduction to the French edition of Winnicott's *Therapeutic Consultations*.²¹

LIAISONS DANGEREUSES

Apart from such notices on Winnicott, Khan now began to work on other papers, the first of which, 'Pornography and the politics of rage and subversion', appeared in the *Times Literary Supplement* on 4 February 1972. Taking up his idea from 1967 that Western man misperceives himself as an industrial or mechanical reification since the Industrial Revolution, rather than in humanist or metaphysical terms, Khan argues that pornography needs to be considered on two principal grounds: literary and psychological. Concentrating on the latter, Khan suggested that psychologically it achieves part of its utility through generating excitement in its user through a disavowal of the rage, hatred and degradation of the object. Responding to Khan's article, Ronald

Markillie argued Khan insufficiently addressed the question of motivation, which, Markillie suggested, hinged on questions of envy and rivalry which in pornography were dealt with either through encouraging spurious identification with the supposed female experience or through total devaluation where this forced identification fails. Culturally, Markillie thought that these questions of sexual envy and rivalry became increasingly manifest during periods of cultural change and collapse.²²

The Pakistan Peoples Party under Zulfikar Ali Bhutto had come to power with the ending of the Indo-Pakistan war the previous December with considerable popular support. Bhutto planned to introduce land reforms, an action actualised by 1 March. In an attempt to conserve what he could of his land there, Khan flew to Pakistan on 25 February for one week.²³ The land reform programme sought to limit the power of landlords by restricting their individual ownership to 150 acres of irrigated or 300 acres of non-irrigated land, though large land owning families frequently circumvented any actual diminution in their holdings through distribution of nominal title among the family.²⁴ It appears that Khan may have attempted a similar evasion of the impact of Bhutto's reforms, which he termed 'fascist'.²⁵

During early May 1972 Khan briefly entertained the Stollers, who were on their way back to Los Angeles after Robert Stoller had delivered psychoanalytic papers in Copenhagen and Paris. Khan was, 'as always, exploding with ideas and intensities as he survives and repairs his private life'.²⁶ As part of this he was now in a new relationship, with Ms F, whom he introduced to the Stollers during their visit.²⁷ Then, during June Khan, as if paralleling Stoller's earlier engagements, went on a round of European visits, lecturing in Helsinki and Copenhagen, before arriving in Paris on the 16th to there stay with Victor Smirnoff.²⁸ On his return he was again enmeshed in renewed personal difficulties, his relationship with Ms F ending, which circumstance Khan attributed to a lack of resolution of all the difficulties he had faced in 1971, and now he was again suffering from writer's block.²⁹ All of this he hoped would be eased by a vacation in Paris over the first two weeks of August,³⁰ an easing however which took some further time to even partly materialise. Thus, after one of their periodic telephone conversations, Robert Stoller noted at the beginning of November how 'Sybil and I have been very concerned about you in recent months, knowing – even without the details – that life has been a turmoil for you. We were relieved when you said last night that your analytic work and writing has not been hampered by all the pain, but we wish you could have a little of the peacefulness which we take almost for granted'.³¹

He was, however, able to complete 'The use and abuse of dream in psychic experience' during this period and first read it on 1 November 1972 to a Scientific Meeting of the British Society, with Walter Joffe as the Chairman.³² The meeting was the first of two successive linked symposia devoted to 'The role of dreams in psychoanalysis', Khan and Ilse Hellman reading papers at the first and Hanna Segal and Harold Stewart at the second.³³ Robert Stoller described the paper as 'the most important [one] on dreams since Freud's work',³⁴ its crucial innovations being Khan's concept of the dream-space and his description of

the dream as an organised psychic structure which may usurp the dreamer. Despite such plaudits, the paper, in abbreviated form, initially appeared in the first volume of a new and untried journal with rather limited circulation, *The International Journal of Psychoanalytic Psychotherapy*, rather than the then premier psychoanalytic periodicals, a curious choice that Stoller later criticised.³⁵

Given the importance of Khan's dream papers, the present one shall be here elaborated in some detail. Khan claimed that 'it is as important to search for the *meaning* of the dreamt and the reported dream, as the patient's *experience* of the dream as a thing-in-itself',³⁶ the nature of such *experience* being crucially influenced by the capacity for symbolisation and the nature of the dream-space container. Taking the issue of symbolisation first, Khan built on Winnicott's ideas of the interpenetrating nature of dream and the external world, in contrast to the split off stagnant nature of dissociated fantasising, and on his description of the struggle to move from object relating to object use by way of recognition of the object's independence. In the discussion Khan was at pains to amplify this, noting that for a dream to be symbolic and communicative 'one has to have someone to dream for'.³⁷ Having laid out these ideas, Khan then suggested that certain bizarre dream-mentation and related psychic structures, that arose consequent to adversity, could colonise the dreamer and aid defensive dissociation, while concomitantly being unusable for creative purposes. Thus, Khan noted how one of his patients 'could not distance himself from this structure in him. He felt literally possessed by it. He was as much *the dream* itself as the dream was his concoction'.³⁸ Then, moving on to (and incidentally coining) the notion of the dream-space, Khan suggested that this is a psychic *locale*, the subjective nature of which critically influences the dreams which actualise within it. It is a version of a facilitating environment, analogous to the parental home, Freud's analytic situation and the transitional space Winnicott created in his *Therapeutic Consultations*, a point Martin James emphasised during the discussion at the Scientific Meeting.³⁹ The dream-space allows greater inner freedom and creative personalised use of the dream, expanding possibilities for creative living and at the same time reducing the need for acting out of dreams within the social-space, the latter being an argument Khan highlighted in the paper's first publication by employing the title 'Actualisation of dream-space as a cure of acting out'.⁴⁰

Despite its presentation as such, Khan's argument here was not in fact wholly new: Winnicott (for one) had previously suggested that unavailability of the dream world may lead an individual to compulsive acting out in an attempt to reconnect with it and integrate dissociated parts of the personality.⁴¹ Khan's usurpation of what was in all probability to him a familiar Winnicottian thesis may highlight, among other things, his rivalry with and covert hostility towards Winnicott, his longstanding difficulties with dependency and emotional surrender, and his own antisocial tendency in the acquisition of the other's intellectual property following that other's (Winnicott's) subjectively experienced failure to meet his need.⁴²

The paper was generally well received, particularly by British and European analysts, Khan's notion of the dream-space being linked to Bion's concept of the container by Hanna Segal in her own contribution to the Scientific Meeting.⁴³ The Meeting's Chairman, Walter Joffe, however, pointed out that Khan appeared to employ 'a developmental and maturational framework in which the gradual growth (or lack of growth) of certain ego capacities, skills and creativity play a crucial part...[whereas Segal] refers the matter back entirely to the early preverbal period...[and suggested that] the dream-space and symbolisation are inter-related phenomena'.⁴⁴ The spatial metaphor entailed in the idea of dream-space was something other analysts, particularly from the USA, struggled with. Toni Alston and her colleagues suggested that Khan employs:

...a spatial metaphor to describe a psychic process. Thus, in reference to the 'space' in intrapsychic functioning, a dream actualisation is said to be occurring, which allows the dream per se to be dreamt. What Khan seems to be trying to conceptualise is that of an affect-experience which is so defended against – by dissociation, isolation, and reversal – that the capacity of the person to use the dream process productively is negated.⁴⁵

This debate would continue and indeed come into far sharper focus with Khan's third and final paper on dreams, which will be considered in due course.

Life in London during this time was difficult for Khan. Feeling low and depressed, he was isolated from professional colleagues. Thus, in mid-January 1973 he wrote: 'at the present moment I am in a curiously phobic stance about the rabblement of my colleagues...I do not really want to see many other analysts'.⁴⁶ Experiencing this directly, Khan's ex-analysand Dean Eyre (who had qualified in July 1972 after what was by his own account a beneficial and boundaried analysis) was invited by Khan to join him in attending a study group looking at Freud's *Project*, only to be repeatedly telephoned in the very early hours of the morning requesting that Eyre tender Khan's apologies to the group later that day. This outrageously continued for the next two years, Eyre subsequently hearing from another of Khan's analysands, Harry Karnac, that he also had similar experiences at Khan's hands during this period and that he had actually informed Adam Limentani of them.⁴⁷ Khan's relations with his other then current patients also fluctuated, therapeutic boundaries being on increasing occasions neglected with both male and female analysands. Just after the 1973 New Year, for example, Khan had one of his male patients deliver a tranche of *Work Books* to Stoller in Los Angeles.⁴⁸ With others the boundaries were even more flagrantly disregarded. These facts had been dawning on several senior British colleagues for some time. Hanna Segal for instance had seen several women for consultations 'who were not only sexually abused by Khan but also treated with utmost cruelty', information which when repeatedly brought to the attention of the Society authorities she was told was not officially actable on given its hearsay nature. This was particularly galling for Segal, knowing the general reluctance of people to testify and having heard in session the coerciveness Khan employed to silence his unfortunate patients.⁴⁹ Nevertheless,

as such narratives accumulated Khan alienated local colleagues, added to his own alienation and edged continually closer to an eventual reckoning.

Occasional visits to Paris served to temporarily lift his mood, his contact with French colleagues such as Smirnoff, Pontalis, Laplanche, Granoff and André Green, enticing him out of his state of isolation. The first three months of 1973 saw three such visits,⁵⁰ while Easter saw Khan visit Los Angeles, where he stayed with the Stollers, between Wednesday 18 and Saturday 28 April.⁵¹ On 19 April he delivered his paper 'The use and abuse of dream in psychic experience', as given in London the previous November, to the Los Angeles Psychoanalytic Society and Institute.⁵² During his stay, Stoller gave Khan a copy of the manuscript of *The Transsexual Experiment*, in the hope that it could appear within the *International Psychoanalytical Library*, an act he confirmed by letter on 27 April.⁵³ On 30 April Khan responded to this letter, officially accepting it for inclusion,⁵⁴ leaving the negotiation of US rights to John Charlton at the Hogarth Press, who he simultaneously encouraged to publish Stoller's other book, *Splitting: A Case of Female Masculinity* in Britain, it having just appeared in the USA with Quadrangle Press.⁵⁵ These negotiations did not reach fruition however, and by October Khan would offer to include the latter book also within the *International Psychoanalytical Library* series, an offer Stoller would then quickly accept.⁵⁶

The weekend following his return from Los Angeles saw Khan visited by a Parisian woman, Mme Arnold, a new girlfriend who he enigmatically describes as having 'corporeally actualised the affluence of well being that [the Stollers'] affection had engendered in' him.⁵⁷ Princess Lili then arrived in London, Khan's dinner with her on Sunday 6 May being less than an unqualified success, since he had 'saturated [his] body into total ease elsewhere, and therefore was more a "performer" than a person in the situation'.⁵⁸ In contrast with such excited embroglios, receipt the next day of the news of Alix Strachey's death on the previous 28 April evoked feelings of loneliness, combined with thoughts that perhaps her death was suicide. Clearly feeling a close affinity with her, Khan proceeded to wonder, prophetically, why such 'persons...turn against their own Self?'.⁵⁹ At the Scientific Meeting on 16 May he gave a brief obituary address on Alix Strachey, later published in the *International Journal*.⁶⁰

During June, as Mme Arnold continued living with Khan, their life was social and pleasant, with analytic colleagues coming to dinner and trips to the cinema – Pasolini's *Decameron* and Bob Fosse's *Cabaret* proving entertaining, although Khan's insomnia continued as usual.⁶¹ Within this atmosphere Khan wrote 'The role of will and power in perversions' for inclusion as 'L'alliance perverse' in the autumn 1973 *Pouvoirs* issue of the *Nouvelle Revue de Psychanalyse*. It was a fine paper. Here Khan, in considering the psychodynamics of perversions, highlights their interpersonal context, within which there is an active and a passive partner and sees the exercise of will and power as characteristic of perverse personality organisations. Using material from a woman patient who initially seemed to recount being the seduced victim of an active pervert, their sexual acts came to be seen as emanating as much through her passive will. The acts exteriorised and anchored a core of psychic pain and rage into an interpersonal relationship,

the sexualisation of which made the affects bearable and this acting out served to avoid incapacitating depression. In the perverse scenario the other becomes reduced to a subjective object, actualising the pervert's intentions while leaving them as an impoverished alienated spectator. Looking at technique in such cases, Khan suggests that the stereotyped passive analytic stance may only breed resourcelessness and apathy. What is needed is a more participatory involvement within which, drawing on Winnicott, there is an overlap of two areas of playing: that of therapist and patient. Contrasting this to perverse gameplaying, Khan stresses the analytic aim is different in that it seeks to support the other's exercise of will, power and quest for personal autonomy.

Khan and Mme Arnold were joined by Robert and Sybil Stoller around 18 July for a few days before leaving together on Saturday 21 July for Paris.⁶² There, the 28th IPA Congress was taking place at the Palais de l'UNESCO. Prior to the Stollers arrival, Khan had mooted the idea of writing a joint paper under the arresting title 'The necessity of perversion' with Robert Stoller, the latter having gone so far as writing a draft of his sections, only for the project to be quietly abandoned during the visit, Khan's contribution never materialising.⁶³ Khan having attended the congress, departed for Pakistan for his summer vacation, supplemented by some further time in the French countryside, this latter time accompanied by another Parisian woman, referred to as Dodo.⁶⁴ She, having returned with Khan to London, did not remain with him for long, however, before returning to Paris, leaving Khan 'alone and hoping to assemble myself in my private time to get various papers done'.⁶⁵ Friends now began to anticipate that Khan's relationships with individual women would not last for long, although their existence some saw as supportive. Robert Stoller for example at this time wrote: 'if [Mme Arnold] is still with you, give her Sybil's and my love; we are glad – indeed grateful – that she is around to keep you comfortable in these distracted times'.⁶⁶ Writing alone did not prove to be the fluid medium or activity through which Khan could 'assemble' himself as he had hoped and by October he was noting that he had not:

...been able to write a word for the past few months and now I'm being haunted by the idea of having to give papers to Ammon's Academy in Berlin and Munich at the end of this month. This inertia is really quite new and different for me because I am neither depressed nor dismayed, in fact I am very well and enormously enjoying doing my clinic work but I am in a militantly idle mood and have no wish to harass myself.⁶⁷

Whether the suggested lectures in Berlin and Munich materialised is unclear and on balance appears rather doubtful. By the end of the year Khan was to claim that, since the summer, he had 'been in a very benign and suspended state of laziness in my private time and have done little reading and no writing'.⁶⁸ As he suggested however, some of his clinical practice remained fulfilling and creative.

CHRISTOPHER BOLLAS

At this period between 1973 and 1974 Khan was still closely involved in the training programme at the Institute of Psychoanalysis. He had four candidates in analysis with him and was a member of the Institute's Curriculum Committee, then being chaired by Pearl King.⁶⁹ In 1973 Khan commenced the analysis of his best known psychoanalytic protégé, a young American Professor of English, Christopher Bollas. He had been accepted as a candidate at the Institute of Psychoanalysis and it was early in his training analysis with Khan that, as a result of this catalytic experience, he then began to develop his now famous notion of the 'transformational object'. Thus, Bollas wrote that this concept:

...was a reflection of my own experience of being in analysis for the first time: of what it feels like to speak oneself and then be understood in a very particular way, and for that understanding to change one's perspective. It was the generative dimension of that ordinary aspect of a psychoanalysis which got me to thinking, among other things what kind of object accomplishes that?...Later, when I first began doing analysis in 1974...I developed a different view of technique, and of the crucial nature of wording a person to themselves.⁷⁰

If this may be taken as a measure of being a psychoanalytic object, Khan seems to have been this for Bollas during his analysis, the experience with him appearing to bear fruit, both in terms of what was internalised and what creativity was facilitated. Bollas was, according to Eric Rayner, to remain very grateful to Khan for his training analysis.⁷¹

Reflecting further on his experience with Khan (and his other analysts), Bollas highlighted how, although each was from a different culture and had different perspectives on life, his perception was that:

...each one was operating, in his best moments, in a way that conveyed a sense of the universality of psychoanalytical methodology. So I was always, in some ways, in the same place...They all had a language other than English as their mother tongue...I think each of them also had built into him what I would call a generative hesitation. That is, I was not immediately sensible to any of them, but there was built into their speech, into their form of address, a form of translation that slowed down the process. I think this was enormously helpful to me, because the last thing I needed was quick response, or premature interpretation or precocious comprehension.⁷²

The emphasis Bollas here places on translation may be taken as fundamental to the sense of a psychoanalytic locale in which the subject is worded to him or her self. Freud's *übersetzung* (translation) additionally connotes transposition, the self being constructed through successive translations across developmental stages, with symptoms being failures of this process – lacunae in the narrative

– which the psychoanalyst addresses through translating the unconscious into the conscious.⁷³

BOGGED DOWN

Although at least some of his clinical work was proceeding creatively and productively, as instanced in the Bollas analysis, the end of 1973 saw Khan physically incapacitated with lower back pain in November,⁷⁴ avoidant of others, disinclined to write for publication (he did however send Stoller three volumes – numbers 16 to 18 – of his private *Work Books* at this time) and contemplating cancelling a planned Christmas vacation in Paris.⁷⁵ Editorially he remained engaged, though in a restricted way, being involved in ongoing negotiations over the publication by Jason Aronson of Stoller's books,⁷⁶ and just before Christmas managing to write a brief handout on volumes 1 to 7 of *The Writings of Anna Freud* for the Behavioural Science Book Service.⁷⁷ His editorial role, while fertile ground for his own narcissistic grandiosity, could concomitantly be irksome, as he was wont to periodically express, and Judith Issroff from this period recalled Khan's denigration towards several authors manuscripts – one by Marion Milner being unceremoniously tossed into the waste paper bin.⁷⁸ Christmas Eve found Khan at Hans Crescent claiming to be untouched by the then widespread shortages, cuts and crises of the winter of discontent, looking down on the 'English – how they gloat in the hardships they so deliberately inflict upon themselves, and how self-righteous they feel about it'.⁷⁹ More ominously or prophetically he turned to Ralph Greenson's interview about his analysis of Marilyn Monroe,⁸⁰ an interview Stoller suggested had been professionally damaging, which Khan felt sympathetic towards, saying:

I was deeply moved by the *essential* courage and sincerity of Romi. Yes, we must be *gullible* with our patients and also *take risks*. What Romi says on these counts gives me faith in my work and I am grateful to him for saying it. I have written to him stating that but fear he may not like my style of putting it.⁸¹

Greenson's clinical use as well as public advocacy of the real or non-transference relationship between analyst and patient, which he had previously discussed at the Rome Congress in 1969, significantly differed however from the real relationships Khan had and increasingly would entertain with some of his patients. His support thus for Greenson's public stance would need to be disambiguated from an exploitation of Greenson's authority to shield or disavow himself from recrimination and guilt over qualitatively different relations with some of his analysands.

Khan ended the year by going to Paris on Saturday 29 December 1973 for New Year in the hope that he would be revitalised and able to shed the creative impasse that affected his writing during much of the year.⁸² His stay there brought renewed contact with Mme Arnold, who was to return with Khan to London.⁸³

The Stollers, at the end of a vacation in India and the Far East, briefly visited Khan and Mme Arnold towards the end of February 1974.⁸⁴ During this time Khan continued to find writing elusive, recounting to Stoller that he was 'struggling to get two papers written'.⁸⁵ Hearing that Clifford Scott was due to briefly visit London, Khan invited him to dinner, which duly proved an enjoyable event.⁸⁶ Their discussion ranged over many topics, including Scott's plans for a future book and the newly inaugurated *International Review of Psychoanalysis*, a quarterly journal edited by Joseph Sandler with Khan as his Associate Editor. Two papers from the first issue seemed to particularly capture the conversation: Winnicott's 'Fear of breakdown' and the English version of Khan's own 'Ego-orgasm in bisexual love', first published the previous year in the *Nouvelle Revue de Psychanalyse*. While Khan's paper substantially rested on ideas Winnicott had elaborated in 'The split-off male and female elements to be found in men and women' and in 'The capacity to be alone', Khan had substantially clarified certain patients' ego interest in same sex objects, where id-energy is neutralised and the satiation of involvement may be defined as ego-orgasm rather than sexual orgasm. Distinguishing this state from inhibited homosexuality, the 'bisexual love' rests on a dissociation between ego and sexual instincts which if it becomes entrenched in a person's life can result in, what Limentani would later term 'a perversity affecting their personal relationships rather than a perversion'.⁸⁷

By April Khan was more relaxed and spent ten days of his 1974 Easter vacation roaming Paris. Victor Smirnoff, who saw him then, reported he was in better mood and was occupied with his own writing, as well as with numerous editorial commitments.⁸⁸ One of the fruits of Khan's writing at this time was his paper 'Secret as potential space', which he delivered in honour of Paula Heimann's 75th birthday at a Scientific Meeting of the British Society chaired by the then Society President, Walter Joffe, on Wednesday 1 May 1974. Anticipating that the audience would 'carp and fidget', Khan went on to privately remark that 'somehow I never succeed in establishing an easy relaxed rapport with them. All over Europe and America I find it so natural to share my work, but not here'.⁸⁹ This seems rather an overstatement, Khan's phobic disposition leaving him visibly nervous when speaking abroad as well as in Britain.⁹⁰ Whether Khan escaped without the rough-and-tumble of scientific debate on this particular occasion is unclear, though we do know Eric Brenman, Paula Heimann, Eric Rayner and Marion Milner joined in the discussion from the floor.⁹¹ Walter Joffe's death one week later, on 9 May, left Khan once more feeling bereft, remarking that 'we have reached the sad and tragic years now in our lives. One has neither the initiative nor resources to seek new friends and quickly one is losing one's old friends'.⁹² Khan proceeded to claim to Stoller that he had spoken to Joffe the very evening he died, about him writing a paper for the autumn edition of the *Nouvelle Revue de Psychanalyse*, to which request Joffe had supposedly agreed on condition that Khan would assist him.

In April Khan and Stoller had briefly entertained the idea of writing a joint paper for the IPA Congress on what Khan described as 'the incapacity in certain schizoid individuals to *act out* their perverse sensual fantasies. They

stay seething and imprisoned in their mental machinations in the head and this becomes a source of the most acute negative therapeutic reaction.⁹³ The idea was abandoned, Khan declaring that both their lack of geographical proximity and their independence would make actualising the proposal difficult,⁹⁴ only for it to be revived again a week later by Khan under the banner of the abandoned 1973 paper 'The necessity of perversions'.⁹⁵ This time Khan's suggestion was altogether bolder, that together they would engage in a dialogue during their planned time together in August, these dialogues would be audio taped, then transcribed, edited and published by Basic Books. Stoller greeted the suggestion with enthusiasm,⁹⁶ although the project was to quietly fade away, just as its predecessors had.

Part of the background to the events of the spring of 1974 was Khan's impending divorce. He and Beriosova, having finally separated in September 1971, agreed to divorce and it was Beriosova who then initiated the formal proceedings, perhaps prompted by Khan as he had earlier prompted his first wife. Her petition for an uncontested divorce was granted on 24 May in the London Divorce Court on grounds of two years separation.⁹⁷ The following month, June 1974, saw Khan's first collection of papers published as Volume 98 in the *International Psychoanalytical Library*, under the joint imprint of the Institute of Psychoanalysis and the Hogarth Press. *The Privacy of the Self*, a title John Charlton had helped Khan arrive at,⁹⁸ he dedicated to Beriosova: 'whose discipline and genius taught me the true measure of effort, with love and gratitude'.⁹⁹

The Hogarth Press marked Khan's book launch with a party, to which Khan did not go, claiming he wanted to avoid 'manic jubilations', although did deign to attend a quieter dinner given by John Charlton.¹⁰⁰ Among the complimentary copies of *The Privacy of the Self* dispatched, Khan sent one to Anna Freud on 18 June, with a note acknowledging her sponsorship of his work and disingenuously claiming that she had not charged him fees for his supervision when a candidate, encouraging him instead to work hard and publish his work. Then, continuing, Khan highlighted his mention of her on the book's acknowledgements page.¹⁰¹ In her response ten days later Anna Freud thanked 'Mr Masud Khan' and praised the work, particularly the papers 'Montaigne, Rousseau and Freud' and those that elaborated the notion of cumulative trauma, something which since its publication 'has become a standard concept'.¹⁰² The issues of Khan's supervision fees and her encouragement of his work were not mentioned, although she had Khan's remittance note, together with a note of the fees she had charged him twenty-four years previously on file.

The critical reception of *The Privacy of the Self* was very positive, with a number of good reviews appearing, including one by Paula Heimann that covered an almost unprecedented twelve pages in the *International Journal*.¹⁰³ From a different analytic perspective, Rosemary Gordon, having without apparent irony suggested that 'in his recognising, valuing and ultimate commitment to "privacy" and to "exclusivity" Masud Khan takes a stand and strikes a blow at promiscuity, indiscriminateness and intrusiveness',¹⁰⁴ went on to single out his efforts to clarify the nature of the self, which she felt brought him closer to

Jung. Similarly, Anthony Storr highlighted the book's discussion of the self and endorsed Khan's aetiological view that it is a type of mutually idealising symbiotic mother-child relationship that predisposes a child towards later schizoid remoteness, as other real-worldly relationships fail to match up to the spurious ideal. Like Bion had earlier, Storr finished by chiding Khan for his use of jargon which he felt made his book less widely accessible.¹⁰⁵ On a more straightforwardly personal note, Robert Stoller privately wrote: 'I know that it will be one of the great contributions to the literature of psychoanalysis.'¹⁰⁶

During the latter part of June Khan, together with a newly acquired girlfriend, Mrs G, passed a few days vacation in Paris and then Geneva, Khan introducing Mrs G to friends as 'his new wife'.¹⁰⁷ Victor Smirnoff, who saw him at this time, regarded Khan's state and the relationship as ominous, writing: 'here we go again...I'm afraid we are in for another difficult experience.'¹⁰⁸ Describing the beginning of this relationship, Khan remarked:

If you...had witnessed the momentum with which I launched myself with [Mrs G] it would have amused and frightened you a little. I mean frightened for my sake because of the *utterness* with which I gave myself to [Mrs G] makes what you saw of the beginning of my relationship with Princess Lili in Vienna look very pallid. After seven years of arid suspended living, I have given of all that I am worth to [Mrs G] and she has matched it with equal generosity and mutuality of living. Hence we are abundant in each other...I now wait on God's patience and benignity to help us with harvesting our relationship.¹⁰⁹

Three days later, on 8 July, Khan's divorce decree was made absolute.

That summer Khan went on vacation with Mrs G to the USA, leaving on Monday 5 August, first going to the Stollers' home in Los Angeles, then on to Washington towards the latter part of August, before returning to London on the 31st. This period was to be the zenith of the relationship. During October the relationship had deteriorated and Khan at least was talking of Mrs G having psychotherapy in an attempt at its salvage.¹¹⁰ By the beginning of November the difficulties appear to have worsened, a fact evident to those close to Khan. Victor Smirnoff thought that the relationship had collapsed and that Khan was depressed.¹¹¹ He was also drinking increasingly heavily. The relationship's death throws, however, were not straightforward and Stoller in December described the pair as engaged in a 'sad, painful and dangerous interplay',¹¹² which he and his wife witnessed through regular telephone calls with one or other of the couple.

HYSTERIA

Despite the vicissitudes of his relationships during 1974, the year witnessed the publication of a number of significant works, which may be mentioned here. The appearance of 'La rancune de l'hystérique' ['Grudge and the hysteric'] in the autumn issue of the *Nouvelle Revue de Psychanalyse* marked a return to

writing on clinical topics. In this paper Khan argued that hysteria involves a failure of ego-integration due to maternal concentration on the child's id wishes and a corresponding failure to cater for the child's ego needs, which leads to precocious sexual development as a means of managing such unmet needs and the consequent anxieties of ego breakdown. The hysteric thus epitomises a category mistake, action and sexuality being employed to achieve affective and ego relating (such as wishes for care and protection) which ultimately it cannot deliver and which thus leads to a state of ongoing grievance or grudge. The other is held responsible, while the hysteric feels victimised. Objects (or rather part-objects) are maintained at arm's length, psychic surrender being avoided as the hysteric anticipates this would reveal their own profound psychic and affective impoverishment. In his conclusion, Khan returns to the putative early maternal failures, suggesting that it is the precocious awareness of the mother's subjective affectivity, which the infant perceives as unmanageable, that leads the infant to disavow such maternal affectivity and simultaneously evade acknowledgement of this through diversionary sexualisation of less intrusive modes of part-object relating. The precipitate of this for the hysteric is an inner world that, as Khan graphically describes, 'is a cemetery of refusals'.¹¹³ Illustrating this, Khan briefly discusses material from his analysis of Helen, highlighting her acceptance and simultaneous rejection of him in the transference and the developmental progenitors of this in her awareness of her mother's early indulgence towards her and her own need to shield herself from her mother's emotional neediness.

Responding to this paper Robert Stoller, although welcoming it, suggested the paper's aetiological argument needed greater refinement to specify the differentiating nature of the environmental failures. Mothers, he hypothesised, may intrude their own frustrated ambitions on their children and groom them in the hope that they may succeed where their mother failed, while with fathers the chronic intrusion was of their own sexuality (though without gross overt sexual abuse) which led to marked frustration. Given these factors, Stoller thought that rage would be the more prominent state, rather than grudge.¹¹⁴

In addition to such clinical works, Khan now resurrected his 1967 Lapis Society talks on Camus and integrated them into a single substantial paper on literary criticism, 'Suicide: the condition of consciousness: an essay on Albert Camus's *The Outsider* and *The Fall*' which appeared at the end of December.¹¹⁵ He also participated in renewed teaching, this time in association with John Bowlby, with whom he led a study group for candidates at the Institute of Psychoanalysis on the 'Clinical implications of John Bowlby's researches' from 12 November to 10 December.¹¹⁶

Khan spent the Christmas of 1974 in Paris, suffering flu and a bronchial infection that dragged on until nearly the end of January 1975. Writing to Anna Freud he commented that 'it is strange how in some of us stress invariably takes the form of a somatic breakdown'.¹¹⁷ By then the relationship with Mrs G appears to have finally ended, she seemingly having left Khan and had begun another relationship, while her ex-husband took over the care of their children.¹¹⁸

A RENEWED PERIOD OF CREATIVITY

With the ending of this relationship Khan began a period of renewed productivity, teaching, lecturing and writing. This began with five lectures to candidates at the Institute of Psychoanalysis on 'Sexuality, aggression and narcissism' from 6 January to 3 February 1975.¹¹⁹ Three months into the year Robert Stoller would write of Khan that he was 'so full of life again, so sparkling and yet so solid, creative, curious, enthused, and original, like a river that has been turned loose to flow where it will and where it should'.¹²⁰ Stoller went on to suggest that this renewal might be consolidated if Khan could let go of Winnicott, Khan then being involved in completing a substantial introduction to the second edition of Winnicott's *Collected Papers* for the *International Psychoanalytical Library*, an edition to be titled *Through Paediatrics to Psychoanalysis*. Declaring that Clare Winnicott's response to it was 'blasé', Khan said: 'she is a very envious woman and I am refusing to involve myself any further with her projects for DWW'.¹²¹ The reality however appears to be that by this time Khan had little or no involvement anyway in compiling Winnicott's posthumous works, Clare Winnicott and the Winnicott Trust having taken this on, leaving Khan effectively marginalised.

February saw Jacques Lacan in London, speaking at the French Institute. Khan attended and, although liking Lacan personally, was left somewhat intrigued by his mode of presentation; it was the first time Khan had heard Lacan lecture.¹²² Later, writing to Smirnoff, Khan commented that it was 'a non-event!...[Lacan] has a way of capturing the inattention of the audience. Peculiarly: he does not address anyone in the audience. He remains still and lets his language engage in a strange and intimate relationship within the discourse. I liked his style.'¹²³ Outside of the confines of the lecture, Khan and Lacan were able to speak together more directly, firstly over lunch at the Garrick Club, and then at dinner that evening, Khan organising a table at a Tandoori restaurant in Fulham Road. Over the meals they discussed Lacan's concepts of the symbolic, real and imaginary, ideas that Khan felt he then had a better grasp of.¹²⁴ Publishing matters are likely to have been discussed also, as it must have been around this time that Khan accepted *The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psychoanalysis* for publication within the *IPL* (the translation appearing in 1977), a brave step in the light of Lacan's apostate status. Indeed, Khan seems to have felt a certain fascination for the latter, particularly Lacan's transgressive behaviour as André Green would recall.¹²⁵

TOWARDS THE DREAMING EXPERIENCE

Following Lacan's visit, Khan returned to his own lecturing, giving a paper to a meeting of the B group analysts at 21 Maresfield Gardens at the beginning of March.¹²⁶ What this paper consisted of is unclear. Khan had however, been trying to write a new congress paper on dreams since the beginning of the year, and finished a first draft after a difficult struggle, at the end of April.¹²⁷ When Robert Stoller received this draft he greeted it with enthusiasm, describing

it as 'intelligent, original, rich, provocative at many levels. It extends our understanding of the dream into new ideas, ideas which are not just dumped upon us but which are presented so that we will begin reaching into the new areas upon which you are throwing a light.'¹²⁸ The paper would be Khan's final substantial work on dreams, perhaps his final first rank contribution and would be delivered in the context of the 1975 congress, the last one Khan would ever attend.

Following a brief conference in Oxford, Khan attended another in Paris at the end of May.¹²⁹ Picturing Khan in Paris, Stoller imagined him 'populating it, hurrying from bookshop to bookshop, from friend to friend, in and out of cabs, up and down stairs, gesticulating, burbling, crackling, and even – at certain times – stretching out imperiously and relaxing your tautness'.¹³⁰ Victor Smirnoff, probably Khan's closest friend in Paris and with whom he would often stay when on such visits, recounted that Khan was at this time, with the summer approaching, attempting to dry-out, his abstinence appearing to hold, which precipitated a loss of much of the weight he had put on whilst drinking, all of which left him looking healthier.¹³¹ The following month however, renewed health difficulties, the nature of which is unclear, prevented a planned visit to Geneva.¹³²

The 29th IPA Congress was held at the Grosvenor House Hotel in London towards the end of July 1975. The Stollers arrived from Los Angeles to attend and spent the week of the congress with Khan. On Monday evening, 21 July Khan participated with Michael Fordham and Erik Erikson in a panel discussion, chaired by Malcolm Pines, titled 'Intimate voices' on Freud's correspondence with his friends and colleagues. The concept for the panel originated with Khan himself, who had proposed it to Pines and Anna Freud with the suggestion that it should include 'an eminent analyst who is familiar with the correspondence'.¹³³ Anna Freud perhaps teasingly responded by asking, 'whom would you suggest as the analyst who is familiar with the correspondence? Could it be yourself? I know that you have the right outlook for it.'¹³⁴ Khan confirmed he had already volunteered and (with her support) was able to accept Pines' formal offer of a place on the panel on 19 February.¹³⁵

Later that week, on Thursday morning 24 July Khan delivered his final and most controversial dream paper as part of a dialogue on 'The changing use of dreams in psychoanalytic practice', chaired by J-B. Pontalis. Following the first paper of the session, an ego psychology perspective by the New Yorker Harold Blum, Khan read 'In search of the dreaming experience'. This title was already a change from that which he had included in the congress delegates' *Precis and Position Statements*, wherein it appeared as 'The making, the sharing and the nurture of dreams'. This was not the paper's final change of persona however, as it later appeared as 'From the dreaming experience to psychic reality' when Khan read it to the British Society and it finally became 'Beyond the dreaming experience' when published in *Hidden Selves*. Underneath these various titles Khan's text remained the same, his epigraph about 'Bottom's Dream' from Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* foretelling his theme, and it is to this and the controversy it elicited that we now turn.

Beginning the paper with a recap of his two earlier contributions, Khan framed the total by stating that the 'fundamental bias of my thinking is that psychoanalysis tries to abstract and make sense of the very private subjective experiences in a person. This person can be a patient, the analyst himself or a *mélange* of both.'¹³⁶ He goes on to suggest that the remembered dream, or what he terms the dream text, is an abstraction from 'the whole dream as an experiential entity [and that the whole dream] can have a quite different value and function for a person'.¹³⁷ Sharpening this distinction between the dreaming experience or dreaming on the one hand and the dream text on the other becomes Khan's aim within the paper. Having suggested that the dream text may be exploited as a defensive retreat from inner and outer reality and that, as Jean Starobinski maintained, the unconscious (and by implication dream) is more than language, it is dramaturgy or 'words in theatrical production, spoken action between the extremes of clamour and silence',¹³⁸ Khan then elevates the whole-dream beyond the realm of language into a position of unknowable and sacred primacy. Thus at one point he writes:

I would like to make a variation on Pontalis' (1955) aphorism, 'The speaking subject is the entire subject'...and say, 'The dreaming subject is the entire subject'. The dreaming experience is an entirety that actualizes the self in an unknowable way. The dream text gets hold of some aspects of this dreaming experience and works into it the conflictual data from the *vécu* (remembered or repressed) of the person, to make a narrative that can be communicated, shared and interpreted. Dreaming itself is beyond interpretation.¹³⁹

Later, Khan suggested that it had been his experience of working with drug addicts that had first alerted him to this distinction and particularly to the inarticulate nature of his patients' subjective experience of their drug 'trips'; their reports (texts) being banal, repetitive and prosaic whereas the experience was felt to be intense, vivid and unique. One such patient felt an onlooker on life, not fully participating, during states of ordinary consciousness, but while smoking cannabis felt simultaneously separate from, together with, and equated with his object. Similar material was drawn by Khan from his long running analysis of Mr HCE (who Khan had first written about in 1963) to illustrate this dissociation. From such observations Khan suggested that these reports, partial pale copies of an original, pointed to 'a failure to be in and with the *dreaming experience* outside sleep, and even in sleep'.¹⁴⁰ The dread of and wish for unity with the dreaming experience, what appears to be a state of authentic *being*, led such patients to shallowness of experience in their avoidance of relating and emotional surrender and to drugs to artificially induce such self experience. Reiterating that the dreaming experience may actualise otherwise potentially inaccessible parts of the self, 'even though it cannot be cognized or brought into anecdotal narrative (pictorially or verbally),...[in other words, that it is] not symbolic',¹⁴¹ Khan concluded that such actualisation must involve primary process thinking within the nebulous realm of what Freud termed primal repression.

Given the radical nature of the paper, it is unsurprising that the consequent discussion was vigorous and polarised, and, as Curtis and Sachs later reported, participants from the stage and floor tended to use the subsequent time to advance their own positions at the expense of a synthesising dialogue.¹⁴² Objections came from various quarters, their focus being chiefly on Khan's employment of spatial concepts and more especially on what was perceived as his mystical stance, as well as his generalisation of supposed incommunicable dreaming experience. Otto Kernberg, for example, suggested the supposed irrecoverability of the dreaming experience 'has the net effect of mystifying the dream by taking it out of our understanding of normal development and placing it into a too abstractly theoretical frame of reference',¹⁴³ while space was similarly treated in a mystical manner, all of which he felt stemmed from privileging an artistic and existential stance over a more scientific approach. He further suggested that, as the experience of affects differs between people according to their psychopathology, Khan's generalisation of the dreaming experience was inappropriate. Harold Blum was even more pointed, claiming Khan was advocating an existential philosophical and aesthetic understanding rather than a psychoanalytical one, that language was a necessary means of interpersonal corroborative understanding of intrapsychic experience without which isolation increased, and that 'Khan's emphasis on the incommunicable aesthetic and mystical experiences of the patient could lead to mysticism, and a return to an abreactive theory of therapy where the concept of cure would be to release strangled feelings.'¹⁴⁴

In contrast with the views of Kernberg and Blum, notable support for Khan's position was voiced by Ralph Greenson, Marion Milner, Donald Meltzer, André Green and René Diatkine amongst others. Interestingly, Milner linked Khan's ideas with those of Jacques Maritain's notion of an 'unnameable something or the incommunicable world of creative subjectivity', which Maritain also refers to as 'a margin of dreaming experience', and with Anton Ehrenzweig's ideas on the 'inarticulate structure of...the depth mind', ungraspable due to its structure, its activities being consciously experienced as a gap.¹⁴⁵ It is Green's comments however that appear key in elucidating Khan's argument, his emphasis being on the transformations of perception. Noting Freud's focus on the verbal transformation of the primarily visual dream experience, Green pointed out that:

The process of shifting from the visual to the verbal level certainly provides us with a gain of dream analysis which Freud revealed for us, but we must realize that in every such transformation something is lost...If we strive for the meaning in verbal terms, we sacrifice our interest in the lived experience of the dream and its significance.¹⁴⁶

Green here appears close to Bion's ideas expressed elsewhere on transformation and his observation that the experience of 'loneliness...is related to the change from paranoid-schizoid to depressive position which is involved in each new learning experience of any importance'.¹⁴⁷ He further echoes not only Ferenczi's

distinction between the language of tenderness and that of passion, but also Lacan's emphasis on the concomitant sense of disappointment or failure that accompanies the verbalisation of something that has been on one's mind: the shift from the imaginary to the symbolic.

In his response to the discussion, Khan, in acknowledging his paper's speculative content and disagreeing he was engaged in mystification, highlighted his orientation towards the frontiers of psychoanalytic knowledge and that which is unconscious and unknown in the patient and not as yet understood by the analyst. He thus acidly commented on Kernberg and Bloom's contributions as being 'excellently organised' and 'inordinately clear' respectively and disappointing in their contentment at remaining within the sphere of the known. Characterising himself as a maverick, Khan claimed his stance towards analysis was to use it not so much as a normative work-space but rather as a play-space oriented towards the unknown, within which he 'can help a patient tell a dream in a way that does not kill the dream, but helps the patient be astonished in the telling of it'.¹⁴⁸ Concluding with a flourish, Khan now propounded the symbolic function as that which makes humans human and that 'The metaphor of language, the symbolism of language, the very incapacity of language is the capacity of man.'¹⁴⁹

In retrospect, Toni Alston and her colleagues, in summarising later psychoanalytic work on dreaming, have suggested the dreaming experience may be more accessible if conceptualised as either an unstructured affect experience from which the dream as an inchoately structured cognitive-ideational product emerges, or as a component of what Balint termed the basic fault.¹⁵⁰ Considering the concept here, it appears that the dreaming experience relates to primitive undifferentiated and only very partly verbally articulable mental *being-in-the-dream* states, related to narcissism and its meaning, its value and its mental functions, as Carlos Plata-Mújica suggested,¹⁵¹ and to primeval oceanic states akin to Bion's discussion of ultimate reality or O.¹⁵² Relatedly, it may be here observed that Bion's statement that the 'analyst must focus his attention on O, the unknown and unknowable'¹⁵³ is conceptually close to the technical position Khan at least avows. Khan propounds the dreaming experience as personal, private and beyond appropriation by the other and, even though a dream's meaning may be subject to a more public debate (within the consulting room for example), competition and attempted expropriation as Adam Phillips has pointed out,¹⁵⁴ the dream itself remains essentially un-colonisable. From this viewpoint Khan's argument may be seen as an assertion of his own otherness and his resistance to being wholly known; the simultaneously protective and alienating chasm between his dream text and his dreaming experience being perhaps widened by the superimposition of English as the colonial language on to a Punjabi unconscious, just as his public persona at the congress was now increasingly divergent from private life.

A MIND IN ITS OWN PLACE

The *Work Books* written at this time were greeted by Robert Stoller as 'an autobiography of a mind and not a person',¹⁵⁵ works that, although not

necessarily representing historical fact, could transform the intellectual landscape, their continuous production since 1967 being perhaps Khan's most sustained creative act. Stoller's verdict may be seen as inadvertently pointing to an increasing dislocation in Khan between wish and reality, as will be argued later.

At the time of the congress, Khan was having to face moving from his home and consulting room at Hans Crescent, SW1, a situation that was perhaps brought about by his divorce the previous year. He eventually found, largely with the help of another girlfriend, a suitable new apartment, this time across Kensington Gardens in Bayswater, at Flat 7, 24 Palace Court, W2. Khan wrote of his move to Smirnoff on 10 August saying that:

...for the last two weeks I have spent a lot of time setting up Flat 7. But I must be careful not to allocate it more time and importance in my life than it merits. My private identity means that I have chosen to live in 'exile'. My roots are internal and a dwelling can at best be simply a space where one lives. I would be deluding and belittling myself if I were to think of it as a home. In this respect I feel closer to you than any of my other friends. You and I are solitaires – loners – by choice. And what could have been formerly necessity and circumstances, we have fructified, [and allowed to] mature until it became a decision. We must make our habitats worthy of ourselves, but we must never make the mistake of thinking that they are homes.¹⁵⁶

Renovations delayed the move and it was not until the middle of September 1975 that Khan finally took possession of the new apartment. Palace Court was a downward move in terms of social address from the prestige of Hans Crescent, a decline that its regal name could not obscure. Undoubtedly this fact was not lost on Khan. It was to be his final move and, as his note to Smirnoff intimates, he was in a state of considerable dislocation, feeling rootless, the absence of belief in a 'home' being aggrandised into a supposed good object present, an experience of absence which is nourishing (psychically enriching and liberating) rather than depleting. The immaterial was again elevated in relation to material reality, the relegation of the latter to a supporting position preventing working through of loss and reinforcing Khan's grandiose sense of himself. In retrospect it may be said that the move from Hans Crescent to Palace Court roughly marks the transition in Khan's life and work from substantive intellectual and personal achievement to narrated and largely chimerical or illusory creations.

14

The Beginning of the End

The move of flat proved very unsettling for Khan. It was however only the harbinger of things to come. Over the ensuing fourteen years Khan's physical and mental health was to progressively deteriorate. A diagnosis of cancer combined with his ongoing and worsening alcohol abuse problems would wreck his body and exacerbate his psychological difficulties, these latter devastating his professional and personal life through what his friend Robert Stoller graphically called 'a prolonged fuck with death'.¹ This final period was a narrative of tragedy with colleagues and friends witnessing what Smirnoff wrote of as 'this slow deterioration of one of the most fascinating, intelligent and lively persons'.²

DETERIORATIONS AND ATTEMPTED RENOVATIONS

Khan's move to Palace Court preceded the completion of its renovation and decoration, a process that proved both time consuming and a source of irritation. Smirnoff saw him briefly in London at the beginning of November 1975 and noted he appeared 'harassed' by the noise and disruption the work involved.³ Khan had then just read 'From the dreaming experience to psychic reality' to the British Society, which paper he had previously delivered at the IPA congress on 24 July. Adam Limentani (who had taken over as the Society President in September 1974) chaired the meeting, with Eric Brenman, Marion Milner, Anne Hayman, Henri Rey and Donald Meltzer joining in the discussion.⁴ It was the last time that Khan read a paper to the Society.

By the end of the month Khan's state had deteriorated. At an analytic meeting in London, in honour of Michael Fordham, Khan had rather shocked fellow participants with his outrageous behaviour. His recent relationship with the woman who had found the Palace Court apartment for him had broken down. He had also been to Geneva briefly for a meeting of the Centre for Advanced Psychoanalytic Studies (CAPS Europe One), a highly select group of analysts of which Khan had been a member since the first European inauguration of the scheme in 1972. During this visit he had been arrested, fined and temporarily barred from re-entering the country by the Swiss police for what Smirnoff discretely referred to as 'a minor offence',⁵ André Green more explicitly linking this to 'kleptomaniac behaviour'.⁶ Apparently, Khan had been caught trying to steal a watch from a shop and ended up being kept overnight in the police cells before being bailed out by a colleague.⁷

When Smirnoff stayed with him at the Palace Court apartment at the end of November Khan had resumed drinking, after being dry for almost a year.

Despite this, Smirnoff observed that Khan continued lecturing and was clinically very active.⁸ Talking at length about his tribulations with fitting out his flat and being reassured about the emergent splendour of the results appeared to be the only story that raised his mood with Smirnoff. Otherwise he appeared to be:

...in a rather 'paranoid' state, polishing his jack-knives, talking about how he could defend himself against aggressive patients, how he was still physically strong, but that a time would come where he would be weak and helpless... I was preoccupied... about his mental state, his drinking, and his strange joke: he called Pontalis and told him that I was very sick!! He thought that this was a very funny joke and it took me a good ten minutes over the phone to reassure JB... [Khan also] seemed sad, distant, distrustful and unusually disinterested in other people.⁹

Smirnoff sought to optimistically attribute Khan's state to transitory environmental features, such as the ongoing renovations and his arrest in Geneva, but was clear when he opined that his friend was 'very depressed and maybe he is pulling out of it by selecting bad exterior objects'.¹⁰

Periodic attempts to abstain from alcohol now proved short lived, terminating in relapse. Khan complained of feeling tired, appeared depressed, withdrawn and uncommunicative. His correspondence dwindled, letters to him eliciting no response. Telephone calls met a similar fate, with Khan being frequently unavailable and then not returning the call. Friends worried about him and tried to remain hopeful. In December 1975 Robert Stoller wrote: 'I hope the bad times have passed and that they were due to something as transient as the move to Flat 7. He simply must not drink. Our concern is... [that Khan's drinking may] be an indication of some stronger, underlying disruption.'¹¹ Khan's withdrawal continued, from friends, colleagues and activities large and small. A planned trip to the United States in March 1976 to attend a Menninger Clinic symposium followed by a visit to Stoller in Los Angeles, accompanied partly by André Green, was cancelled, Khan informing Stoller of this when the latter visited him at the start of February 1976.¹² At that point Stoller found him ill with bronchitis, exhausted, phobic and depressed, unable to write and melancholic, feeling that Smirnoff during his visit the previous November had not appeared sufficiently interested in or enthusiastic about the work on Palace Court.¹³ (The renovations were in fact continuing at the time of Robert and Sybil Stoller's visit.¹⁴) In replying to Stoller's suggestion that he reassure Khan that this was not the case, Smirnoff, having catalogued the counter-factual nature of Khan's claim and highlighting that he had made similar allegations about other visitors, added a more reflective postscript:

I... suddenly had an insight about what Masud's statement really means: 'He didn't pay enough attention to my efforts concerning the new flat' – Translated: 'Victor did not accept the explanation that my psychic state was entirely due to the circumstantial stress, but he thinks that there is something basically wrong with me and independently from what I am going through at this

difficult moment of moving and settling down in unfamiliar surroundings'. And he is *right*. I did (still do) think that the additional psychic burden did break the camel's back, but that there are maybe more serious underlying factors which explain his present disturbance. Quite understandably Masud cannot accept what he knows himself to be true – blames it on me – displaces both the affect and the significance of the statement – projects and distorts his own perception: 'I want to think that the moving is the cause of my depression' into 'He (Victor) does not pay enough attention to...'¹⁵

This insight into Khan's difficulties was one Stoller concurred with, although Smirnoff's hypothesis that 'there are *maybe* more serious underlying factors' (emphasis added) suggests a degree of continuing resistance to accepting the reality and degree of Khan's difficulties. Such prevarication contributed to the lack of assertive intervention offered to Khan by his friends and colleagues. Just as Khan had watched passively Svetlana's deterioration ten years before, Smirnoff, Stoller and others frequently reported feeling unable to help him. Thus, Smirnoff wrote on 24 March 1977: 'I would really hate to see him deteriorate and destroy his own image. But I am afraid that there is nothing any of us can do for him: it is all in his own hands.'¹⁶ Similarly André Green wrote on 29 November 1977: '...there is nothing to do about him except to express to him one's affection. The rest is in the hands of God, but, unfortunately, I do not think God is very merciful with him.'¹⁷ Some three years later, on 13 November 1980, Robert Stoller remarked that 'we worry greatly about you. We know that what is happening occurs in you down to your very marrow, that the issues are beyond the reach of even your mind, and that the battles must be fought at levels so primitive that no words from the outside or even from you can reach far enough.'¹⁸

Colleagues' reluctance to take more decisive action was undoubtedly partially influenced by the volatility of Khan's mental state, fluctuations in which were frequently precipitated, or at least exacerbated, by his alcohol abuse. States of marked disturbance would give way to periods of apparent integration and creativity. Thus, a few weeks after Stoller's visit, he delivered a course of lectures entitled 'Models of the mind' to candidates at the Institute of Psychoanalysis. Clifford Scott, having read the course outline, was 'intrigued' and encouraged Khan to write these up for publication,¹⁹ whilst Smirnoff commented that he had heard that they were 'excellent'.²⁰ At the end of March 1976 the French edition of *The Privacy of the Self* was launched, published by Gallimard under the title *Le Soi Caché*. Claud Monod and Pontalis had done the translation and it was prefaced with a substantial introduction by André Green. Pontalis planned a launch party for Khan, who whilst he was in Paris was to stay with Smirnoff for four or five days. It was a delicate matter however, with Smirnoff apprehensive that the visit might destabilise Khan further, in part as Smirnoff had separated from his wife who previously would have held his attention playing canasta and backgammon. Without this, Smirnoff feared Khan would be less contained and could become hypomanic, roaming around the city drinking.²¹ In view of this, Smirnoff and Pontalis sought to minimise likely flash-points, keeping the crowd

small and arranging the party at Pontalis's home rather than a restaurant.²² Their planning seemed to pay off. Recounting the book's launch, Khan declared it had been 'a real event for me and it has restored my morale'.²³

In the second quarter of the year some of Khan's friends thought, albeit with reservations, that there was a glimmer of improvement in their friend's state. Easter saw Khan withdraw from a holiday break in Los Angeles he had organised with Stoller, during the latter's February visit. This time, however, Khan was reported to 'be doing well...[and] in fine shape'.²⁴ He attended a meeting of Independent Group Training Analysts in May and there supported the nomination of Martin James for the post of Chairman of the Scientific Committee, afterwards writing to Anna Freud urging her to employ her influence to secure James' appointment. As an enticement Khan suggested that through mutual support the Independent and B Groups could counter 'the Kleinians [who] are gradually creeping into every post in all spheres of significan[ce]...at the Institute'.²⁵

Following this, he was in Paris attending a meeting of the *Nouvelle Revue de Psychanalyse's* Editorial Board at which 'he seemed somewhat strange but did not make any fuss',²⁶ and later read 'De l'espace du secret à la vie privée' to the Paris Psychoanalytical Society,²⁷ during which, as Victor Smirnoff remarked, 'he looked happy and relaxed'.²⁸ A special Winnicott issue of the French journal *L'Arc*, edited by Bernard Pingaud, was being planned at this stage, and Khan, who apparently was both intending to contribute a paper and assist in the issue's editorial compilation, sought a paper for it from Clifford Scott on his return to London. While leaving the topic of Scott's contribution open, as long as it related in some manner to Winnicott, Khan suggested one possible subject when he intimated: 'I know you had been very close to Winnicott and had helped him a lot in his treatment of that anorexia-girl-patient who died because D.W.W. went down with heart ailment'.²⁹ As a suggestion for a paper this may have been one that could have been very instructive for others, yet soliciting the publication of an other's therapeutic failures (particularly where that other is one's former analyst) exhibits a curious relation towards the other; not just critical but arguably aggressive and iconoclastic. Perhaps in a similar vein, Khan went to hear Bion on 23 June speaking on 'Evidence' at the British Society,³⁰ both Bion and his ideas later being declared derivative, unimpressive and omnipotent in his correspondence with André Green.³¹ With Winnicott and Bion, Khan's comments suggest a certain cavalier attitude to people's reputation, status and authority and arguably a certain active undermining of the latter, the possible motivation for which may have lain not only in a degree of disenchantment with psychoanalysts and psychoanalysis, but also in a need to regulate his own psychic equilibrium, prompted by events to which we shall now turn.

SCANDAL AND MRS E

Part of Khan's apparent improvement but general opacity over this period is likely to have been connected with the vicissitudes of his intimate relationships.

It appears he had no regular girlfriend for some months after the break up of the relationship in November 1975 previously mentioned. Sometime following that, most probably during this second quarter of 1976, he embarked on a new relationship; one which would rapidly become public, scandalise the British psychoanalytic establishment and inaugurate the final collapse of Khan's career as a Training Analyst.

The relationship was with Mrs E, the wife of Dr E, both of whom were undertaking analytic training in London; Mrs E's training analysis being with Khan. The chronology of events with Mrs E is rather sketchy as what little correspondence is available is rather uninformative, a feature indicative of both the sensitivity of the situation and Khan's withdrawal from friends and colleagues consequent to his now transgressive relationship. In fact, the relationship had moved from being psychoanalytic, and hence private, to being doubly transgressive, extra-maritally and 'extra-psychoanalytically', and hence secret. This differentiation of privacy from secrecy is here based on the notion that privacy essentially involves a transitory need for non-impingement during a creative endeavour, whereas secrecy involves an essentially hostile world, in which the secret is maintained in order to either preserve the self from damage or inflict damage on an other. The nature of the splitting vis-à-vis privacy is more benign, moderate and congruent with the depressive position, whereas in the case of the secret it is malign, extensive and characteristic of functioning at the paranoid schizoid level.³² Within Khan's internal economy such putative splitting may have served to weaken conflict with his super-ego and ego-ideal structures, his contemporary previously mentioned expressions towards Bion and Winnicott thus being possible examples of internal guilt and shame management.

During this time (perhaps the end of July and certainly the early weeks of August) Khan went to Pakistan, from whence he informed friends that he was 'comfortable, enthusiastic and healthy',³³ his correspondence address at the time, Lyallpur's Rex Cinema (of which he was a shareholder), perhaps betokening an increasing immersion in the imaginary. This impression is somewhat supported by Khan during this vacation prefixing his name in social correspondence from Pakistan with the title Raja, an action he would in due course extend publicly as will be discussed later. Arriving back in London probably during the third week of August Khan was no longer able to evade the consequences of his affair with Mrs E.

It was Mrs E's husband who first voiced disquiet about the nature of Khan's practice or involvement with her, voicing his suspicions that they were having an affair. Signs of this were writ large, with Mrs E being out for hours on end, returning late at night, and being hostile and rejecting towards her husband.³⁴ Having spoken about this to his own training analyst, Joseph Sandler, it was some time before he was taken seriously. Dr E also apparently raised his suspicions with Eva Rosenfeld,³⁵ both Dr E and Rosenfeld raising the matter with the Institute. Dr E attempted unsuccessfully to obtain written corroboration from Mrs E's mother, herself an elderly retired analyst, and then approached Hanna Segal, who was then Chairman of the Education Committee, with his worries. (The Education Committee was the reorganised successor of the Training Committee, its rebranding having occurred in 1971-72.)

Khan met with Segal on Tuesday evening, 21 August, to discuss the situation. At this time he had three Institute candidates in analysis with him, of whom Christopher Bollas was the most advanced and the now best known. It was the junior candidates however that Khan now called as 'witnesses', saying that he needed them as he was 'convinced that the very meagre and inconsequential episode vis-à-vis Dr E is being exploited to cover his inadequacy as a student on the one hand, and to damage my standing at the Institute on the other...[and that Dr E] was very carefully planning an organised assault on my reputation'.³⁶ The Education Committee had been unable to get corroboration of the complaint, either from Mrs E, who said she would not make any complaint against Khan, or from other patients or colleagues.³⁷ Eric Rayner, who at the time was the committee's Secretary, recalled its 'earnest deliberations' and Khan's own prevarication, neither denying nor admitting the charges. Rayner further noted Anna Freud's expression of part of the committee's dilemma (of which she was a part) saying: 'if we do not throw him out of the Society we have further trouble ahead, whereas if we do we deprive ourselves of one of our most gifted people'.³⁸ There was no Ethical Committee or detailed policy at the time and ethical issues would have to be referred to the Council. However, with the third party complaint and serious concerns supported by hearsay rather than a direct first hand complaint from a patient, the committee rather struggled. There was evidence of non-sexual exploitation, as Hanna Segal recalled, saying: 'we did get proof of how he used her, and other analysands'.³⁹ The Student Progress Committee contributed to this varied portfolio of evidence, independently requesting Khan's suspension due to complaints about his recent supervision of trainees.⁴⁰

One option that appeared to be aired among the Education Committee was to suspend Khan's Training Analyst status. Khan spoke of totally resigning from the Society, claiming he was 'being humiliated and pushed on a most meagre issue'.⁴¹ However, he assured Anna Freud privately that he would not do so, as though it was her request that he stay, but added that he 'may withdraw from training and teaching'.⁴² As with the struggles surrounding John Sutherland's successor as *IPL* and *International Journal* editor in 1968, the surviving correspondence with Robert Stoller is again silent at this time about this new professional crisis, a significant lacuna, with which perhaps he attempted to retain a comforting relationship with his key colleague. Here again silence appears to be employed as a characteristic defence, its earliest manifestation of course being Khan's childhood mutism.

The Weekend Conference of English Speaking Psychoanalysts and the European Conference on Training both took place in London at the start of October and Khan invited Smirnoff, Pontalis and André Green and his wife to stay with him whilst they attended. Smirnoff arrived in advance of the others, on Tuesday 28 September, expecting Khan 'to be rather nervous since he is giving his paper on Saturday [even though] he sounded well over the phone and has taken foot on Pakistani ground again'.⁴³ At first sight Smirnoff recalled Khan as being 'in fine shape, as far as I can tell, and his apartment has become an elegant, and at the same time intimate space'.⁴⁴ However, it quickly became

apparent that Khan was drinking extremely heavily, gallons of fluid in fact, with his heavy alcohol consumption now being supplemented with large quantities of orange juice and tea, which situation Smirnoff discussed with Stoller. The latter commented:

Your description of Masud's dipsomania is really amazing; I see plenty of alcoholics, but this kind of crazy imbibing of any liquids is rare. I guess that as long as he does not stop being creative, we should not get frantic at the way he treats himself. (No; that is not correct. He can still do enough damage to himself that there is still plenty left for us to worry about).⁴⁵

This exacerbation of Khan's drinking was clearly in the context of his appearance before the Education Committee and all that this implied about potential humiliation and loss of face. In addition, however, he was physically unwell.

CANCER

On Friday 15 October 1976, Khan went into hospital for a bronchoscopy,⁴⁶ cancer was discovered in his left lung and he was rapidly scheduled for surgery. In due course it transpired that Khan had oat cell cancer, a rapidly progressing variety with a poor prognosis for survival.⁴⁷ By the end of the following week a left side pneumonectomy had been successfully performed, apart from Khan's left plueric nerve having to be cut during the surgery.⁴⁸ This resulted in paralysis of his vocal cord and reduced his communication to whispering. Khan was to remain two weeks post surgery in hospital, after which he was advised to have six weeks convalescence.⁴⁹ While colleagues and friends were informed and worried, most were kept at a distance. Shortly after he left hospital Clare Winnicott wrote: 'I do not know the outcome of the path[ology] tests or the likely prognosis. I don't even know if Masud himself knows, and I can only communicate through his secretary. He is seeing nobody at the present time.'⁵⁰ One person who did manage to get to see him was Victor Smirnoff who came over from Paris, staying with Khan for four days from 4 November. He found Khan in a withdrawn depressed state, staying in bed, the room darkened, constantly dozing or ruminating. He was reluctant to have visitors other than close friends and when they would visit his mood brightened, only to slump back into his former state after a few hours. Mrs E, Dr H (one of the candidate 'witnesses' Khan had called) and his housekeeper Almantero all strove to nurse him in whatever ways possible. Smirnoff suggested to Khan's doctor, Barrington Cooper, via Dr H, that Khan might benefit from being prescribed an anti-depressant.⁵¹ Barrington Cooper at this time wrote: 'the prognosis is...very far from happy and I think Masud is just beginning to enter into a reality recognition of this and is very cast down...He is, is he not, well nigh castrated without an effective voice.'⁵² Despite this, Khan appeared to pick up a little as November progressed, walking in Kensington Gardens and going to the cinema. On Friday 26 November he returned to hospital where he underwent surgery

on his paralysed vocal cord to improve its functioning, and at the same time had blood, liver and bone marrow tests. Further treatment via chemotherapy or steroids continued to be debated by Khan's oncologists, before finally settling on a course of chemotherapy.

DEBARMENT AND THE SELF STYLED RAJA

Khan's fragile health, while it may have delayed the Education Committee's deliberations, did not derail its due process. Indeed, during his illness some of Khan's other analysands, in addition to Mrs E, were rather openly both nursing and visiting him. Further support actually came from Segal and the Education Committee who requested Adam Limentani and Pearl King to tend to his pastoral needs during this extended crisis.⁵³ Smirnoff visited again briefly at the beginning of December and at approximately this time, on Saturday 4 December, Limentani, who was a longstanding friend and colleague as well as the then President of the Society, visited him.⁵⁴ Limentani encouraged Khan to facilitate his two junior candidates transferring to other training analysts, while retaining the third candidate who was in any event nearing the end of his training. Initially he appeared to agree, which decision he confirmed by telephoning Pearl King, only to withdraw his assent the following day, having Barrington Cooper inform Limentani on his behalf, a message Cooper suggested supplementing with a medical report. Limentani responded quickly and firmly:

...to put it on the record that it would be a ghastly mistake to drag me as President into whatever trouble Masud may be having with his employers. So far I have succeeded in refusing to act as President because I did not wish to hold an enquiry into the very numerous complaints which I have received over the last few months.⁵⁵

Continuing, Limentani cautioned Cooper that any report he might write would be likely to elicit questions from the committee as to Khan's mental state, and by implication about his fitness to practise, and that:

No one is certainly going to make a fuss about Masud's eccentricities and habit of insisting, when he is angry, that people should address him as Raja. But people do mind when, after having been warned that he has developed too intimate a relationship with his students, he follows it up openly and defiantly inviting them to a party at his own home.⁵⁶

While sympathetic to Khan's plight, Limentani's primary concern appeared to be with the welfare of the candidates involved (without any reference to the welfare of Khan's *other* patients) and he concluded by again emphasising their needs. As Society President his relative inaction however appears in retrospect to be so *laissez-faire* that it amounts to a certain disavowal of and tacit collusion with Khan and his practice.

Robert and Sybil Stoller arrived on 17 December, staying part of the time in London with Khan, with whom they then travelled along with Mrs E to Paris on 23 December, where they stayed for four nights before returning to London and subsequently Los Angeles just before New Year.⁵⁷ Shortly after their arrival Khan would have received the Education Committee's view, via a letter from its Secretary, Eric Rayner, that whilst the Council would not be involved in deliberating the present allegations the committee had decided to withdraw his status as a Training Analyst and teacher on the Institute's training course.⁵⁸ The committee's decision had been arrived at after its review of the (limited first hand but substantial hearsay) evidence available to them, possible further investigations and sanctions being foregone in view of Khan's distinguished services and the news of his serious ill health.⁵⁹ In the background, backing for the committee's decision was sought and unanimously gained from an ad hoc committee consisting of senior analysts (past-Presidents or Heads of the three Groups, the precise composition being unclear) including William Gillespie, convened by Segal to forestall possible questions from the Council.⁶⁰ The Stollers' presence is likely to have been a support for Khan in the face of this news, as well as with his cancer. While with Khan and Mrs E, they found him cared for, sanguine, energetic; this and more being reflected enthusiastically to Khan by Stoller on his return home, his caveats being reserved for Khan's next meeting with the Education Committee – that he present himself calmly, be receptive to the committee and seek to best accommodate his candidates' needs.⁶¹ Additionally, Khan was encouraged to try to abstain from alcohol, an attempt however that (if it ever began) did not last long into January of the new year.⁶²

Earlier, when the Education Committee had raised the received charges with Khan he had expressed the idea (to Anna Freud in September 1976) of himself resigning from training and teaching. This would have served to pre-empt the committee's action, maintaining the idea of them (as other) as ineffectual, whilst preserving an omnipotent view of himself. The committee's decision however deprived him of this option and faced him with his dependency in relation to others, the organisation and the culture. He had been further requested to attend a hearing with the Education Committee on Friday 14 January 1977, the agenda of which appeared to be to discuss the position of those candidates whose training analyses Khan was supposed to be conducting. Khan's response to this invitation and the committee's decision to disbar him came in typical form: in writing and with grandiose omnipotent self-assertion. Thus, on 10 January he wrote to Hanna Segal, as Chairman of the Education Committee, 'asking to be allowed to retire from teaching and training at the British Society. This is irrespective of the letter I received from Mr Rayner, dated 17 December.'⁶³ Then he urged the committee to allow his senior candidate to complete his analysis with him and offered to cooperate in placing his two remaining trainees with other training analysts. Finally he signed the letter, his signature in a bold hand, and styled himself Raja M. Masud R. Khan.

As his correspondence from Pakistan during August and Adam Limentani's comments from December 1976 indicate, Khan appears to have deployed

the title on an occasional basis previously, seemingly chiefly as a prop to his narcissism. This time however appears to have been the first *formal* and *sustained* use of the title Raja as a personal epithet and it seems less than accidental that Khan introduced or awarded himself this grandiose fictional title during this time. His response to Segal and the committee appears thus to be to a form of disavowal of the reality of *their* decision and censure (as represented in the reference to Rayner's letter) together with a corresponding assertion of his own status and agency. His losses however were only too real, they including not only his position as a training and supervising analyst, but also the candidates and income associated with this, his professional reputation upon which his livelihood partially depended, and his teaching role at the Institute. As part of the latter, Khan had been scheduled to lead a Monday study group over five sessions from 25 April to 23 May 1977 on the 'Theory of affects' and a series of five Tuesday lectures from 7 June to 5 July on 'New developments in psychoanalysis'.⁶⁴ Given Khan's resignation these scheduled engagements lapsed, to be taken up by other lecturers in due course. The Council noted Khan's resignation on 21 February 1977, and after praising the Education Committee for their 'discretion and tact' the matter appears to have been allowed by the institution to lapse, at least as far as Khan was concerned.⁶⁵

The outcome of Khan's appearance before the Education Committee could be regarded as resulting in a return to the psychological status quo ante. Close friends, reflecting on the outcome of his hearing with the Education Committee, thought Khan was relieved.⁶⁶ Writing to Khan, Stoller portrayed the outcome as Khan's achievement: 'you have saved your students, freed yourself, treated your colleagues with grace, and spared the Institute'.⁶⁷

Among the literary outcomes of this period was 'On lying fallow', apparently completed during early January 1977.⁶⁸ Beginning with Rilke's statement that 'Ultimately, each of us experiences only *one* conflict in life which constantly reappears under a different guise',⁶⁹ Khan states his own such conflict as being 'a preoccupation with a person's relation to himself'.⁷⁰ Then proceeding without his usual clutter of quotations and citations, Khan describes lying fallow as a non-conflictual area of self-experience, an ego-capacity dependent on differentiation, individuation and the capacity to tolerate aloneness from which authentic creativity and creative authenticity may emerge.

This paper also saw a continuation of Khan's critique of Western culture, including psychoanalysis, for its failure to sustain the individual within an integrated though non-intrusive psycho-social milieu, within which the individual could emerge gradually into a personalised existence. Khan asserted that in place of such provision the culture erroneously conflated the appropriate goal of relief of misery and poverty with expectations that life ought to be unrelenting fun, which latter expectation it intrusively catered for with (amongst other things) a burgeoning leisure industry. The expectation, when combined with the provision of such supposed rapid solutions, Khan argued, can lead to 'a depersonalised parasite, as well as a victim',⁷¹ with a personality that is 'over-demanding in its claims on the environment and others, and its need to be related to by others, but has little comprehension of the necessity of the

responsibility for an inner relation to its own self'.⁷² Lying fallow was one means to sustaining relating to the self, as well as facilitating the development of mind and authentic relating to others. Whilst it is predominantly non-verbal, lying fallow can be facilitated or expressed via visual mediums, such as in doodling or art. Taking up the latter, Khan writes:

It is perhaps one of the few genuine achievements of modern art between 1900 and 1940 that it divested the pictorial activity of painting of its too close alliance with thematic representation. The cubists (Picasso, Braque, Leger, Gris, etcetera) staked a claim for expressing transitional states of visual experience – a claim that derived from lying fallow rather than from dream states. The enchanting exponent of painting as a vehicle of the fallow mood is Miro, with his wayward somnambulant doodles and blotches of colour, which are so playful in their stillness.⁷³

Previous psychoanalytic authors have described the utility of states of free floating attention (Freud), of being without memory or desire (Bion), or of cultivating what John Keats called 'negative capability'.⁷⁴ Bion had discussed similar themes the previous year in his paper on 'Evidence', which Khan had attended and his notion of lying fallow appears to be conceptually associated with such forerunners, although his emphasis seems to be on it as a means of self-actualisation, rather than as a precursor to perception and intervention via interpretation to an other. Khan's valorisation of holding over interpretation, and of self-involvement over interpersonal relating can be seen to here dominate his work at this time, a narrative which would reinforce his isolation from friends and colleagues.

At the same time as his letter to Segal and the Education Committee, Khan wrote to Anna Freud (enclosing a copy of the former letter), suggesting that consequent to the 'machinations of the Kleinians to push [him] out' he had 'retired from teaching and training' due to his ill health. He concluded his letter asking her for a psychoanalytic consultation to help him manage the 'traumatic, somatic and institutional crisis [of the] past six months [with regard to which] I need to put myself in some sort of perspective which I cannot find on my own'.⁷⁵ Thus Khan began a fifth attempt at psychotherapy, seeing Anna Freud initially for two sessions a week.

When Smirnoff visited him in February he was attending regularly and apparently finding the sessions beneficial, although Smirnoff noted that Hampstead colleagues were of the opinion that Anna Freud and Khan shared a common belief that they were the common object of a hostile Kleinian conspiracy. Such a shared belief or *folie-à-deux*, with its externalising of the bad or hostile object, would be inimical to the possibility of Khan having a mutative experience in his psychotherapy. As evident in Khan's letter to Anna Freud of 10 January (quoted earlier) and his previous correspondence to her, he maintained a narrative in which he was depicted as the victim of Kleinian hostility. This narrative was intended and designed for an audience, Anna Freud, whom Khan had good grounds to believe would identify with this position, and

thus it invited collusion and complacency between analyst and patient. How actual or widespread such collusion may have been is difficult to determine. Ilse Hellman recalled Anna Freud being 'always concerned about him. She worried about his self destructive acts and what he would do next to get himself into trouble.'⁷⁶ Writing to Khan, Anna Freud did on occasion patiently reassure him of her support, saying for example 'As you see, you must not worry. I am always there.'⁷⁷ Problems with emotional surrender and collusion inevitably tend towards in-authenticity within and a neutralisation of the efficacy of psychoanalytic experience, and with Khan this whole episode came to be disavowed. Thus, he would later claim (apparently as an illustration of Anna Freud's perspicacity) that, although he had sought psychoanalytic treatment with Anna Freud, she had advised him against this, suggesting instead that '...you come and see me very regularly for supervision'.⁷⁸

Meanwhile, the institutional position of the candidates undergoing training analysis with Khan was being reviewed. Nina Coltart interviewed two of them for the Education Committee, her reports, which highlighted their psychic state, angering Khan who blamed the committee for *all* stress his candidates were under.⁷⁹ Despite Khan's posturing, by the time Smirnoff visited him between 18 and 22 February, his candidates had all been either suspended or withdrawn from their training or allowed to terminate their training analysis early.⁸⁰

Before Smirnoff's February visit Khan had written to him, in his capacity as the President of the Association Psychanalytique de France, saying he wanted to resign from the British Society and would like instead to join the APF as an ordinary member.⁸¹ This placed Smirnoff in a difficult position, wanting to help his friend yet feeling that granting his request would be inappropriate vis-à-vis the psychoanalytic institution. Smirnoff discussed the dilemma with the APF Council and together decided to nominate Khan unanimously for Honorary Membership.⁸² As a solution this gave Khan some recognition, yet as a membership grade it would neither carry affiliation to the International Psychoanalytical Association nor sanction him to practise. Thus, it fell considerably short of the status Khan wanted and would have made resigning from the British Society an action whose repercussions would have been personally and professionally very costly, rather than a grand gesture which would not have had appreciable personal consequences.

WORSENING DRINKING

Victor Smirnoff found him that February of 1977 physically rather better, his chemotherapy stopped, without signs of a recurrence of cancer, more active and with his voice significantly improved, although on the down side his liver functioning was impaired and he was drinking very heavily. Of the latter Smirnoff wrote:

The booze is in heavily – a bottle of scotch a day, plus some wine. He has tried to stop, but it never lasts more than two days, if that long. Gets up in the morning, stays dry for three hours, looks well and alive, and then he

sneaks to the bottle and gulps down two or three rather stiff whiskies in a row...with the obvious intention of getting drunk.⁸³

When in such a state he would rant and rave about his 'enemies' at the British Society and his retaliatory plans to revenge himself. It may be that Khan gave further expression to this destructive narrative targeted against his colleagues, for at around this period, according to Eric Rayner, the Institute received several telephoned bomb threats, and the receptionist there suspected that the calls were from Khan, although nothing was proved.⁸⁴ Whatever the actual reality of these threats and the identity of the hoax caller, the entertainment of such ideas and beliefs highlights the climate that surrounded Khan at this time.

Mrs E thought she was pregnant that February and she and Khan were elated at the prospect. However, Khan voiced worries that if Mrs E's divorce was not granted in time then his anticipated 'son' would be illegitimate and unable to inherit Khan's 'title'. He further worried about his ignorance of Spanish, Mrs E's mother tongue, fearing that she and the expected son would converse through this medium leaving him uncomprehending and consequently excluded. The discovery that there was no actual pregnancy left the couple markedly disappointed.⁸⁵ Khan stopped drinking and retired depressed to his bedroom, in a state he himself termed 'psychotic rage'.⁸⁶ He re-emerged from this state slowly over the ensuing four months, resuming psychoanalytic work with a small number of patients that Barrington Cooper and others continued to refer. He continued to consult Anna Freud, although now only once weekly. His attention, concentration and creative capacity were poor, he was neither reading nor writing and had resumed drinking, his consumption having increased now to an average of one and a half bottles of whisky a day.⁸⁷ Smirnoff noted that Khan's functioning and conversation appeared to be facilitated by a moderate use of alcohol. One or two drinks could shift him from a state of marked negativistic withdrawal to a more alert, apparently productive and cheerful state, although contact with others appeared to be through 'performing'. Khan thus said of himself 'I really don't relate to anybody: I just perform.'⁸⁸ Amidst this, Khan and Mrs E talked of visiting Peru, which, as with other such plans, appeared rather less than realistic given Khan's health, and by April the trip was cancelled.⁸⁹ In a similar way to his 'performing', these stories appear to have served as temporary sources of narcissistic gratification, comforting wish fulfilling fantasies that served as a retreat from painful reality.

THE NEED FOR A WITNESS

Khan's meagre published literary output this year reflected his then predominant preoccupations: suffering, survival and death. In 'From masochism to psychic pain', published in the spring issue of the *Nouvelle Revue de Psychanalyse*, Khan hypothesised that humanity's need to have its psychic pain recognised, silently and unobtrusively, contributed to the creation of God. The decline in religious belief however, Khan argued, has left this basic need for a witnessing other unsatisfied, which deficit has in turn fostered both a plethora of masochistic

psychopathology in an attempt at self-cure of the psychic pain formerly contained by religion, and an increased need for psychotherapeutic help. Masochism, Khan wrote:

...is a special variant of manic defence that the ego uses for holding together the self from a psychic pain that threatens to annihilate it, and hence the ego...The ego creates characters, real or imaginary, in the space of fantasy...to create and sustain an atmosphere of pain, that stays under its control and can be libidized. In these cases the task of analysis is to enable the ego to relax its omnipotent control-systems so that the person's self can experience psychic pain, without threat of annihilation. (Italics in original)⁹⁰

Then, using a brief case history of a female patient who had, while employing a consciously masochistic fantasy, appeared to experience a vitality in her life, Khan concluded that 'in all masochistic fantasy or practice there is always a kernel of psychic pain, that has been lived and lost, and instead, proliferations of screen-fantasies take its place'.⁹¹

Such a formulation could be easily and directly applied to Khan's life, particularly during this period. His own narratives, or 'screen-fantasies', by this theory, acted as an omnipotent means of control, developed and exerted with the idea of preserving the self from catastrophic disintegration, consequent to trauma experienced transiently and then dissociated, in the absence of alternative functional containment.

Expression remained a topic of fundamental concern in his writings, particularly through verbal and written media. The former, Khan argued in 'Between spoken words and written language: playing',⁹² could recapture the more primitive, developmentally earlier personal experience, as could play, more than writing which was a later developmental emergence. The latter however offered a transcendent quality, less ephemeral than conversation and unaffected by the mortality of its creator. It thus held out a possibility of a continuing aliveness of the creator's symbolic expression, both beyond the contextual confines of its production and across time, available as a link to an other; the reader. Thus in 'Entre les mots et la mort' [Between words and death], in the autumn issue of the *Nouvelle Revue de Psychanalyse*, Khan remarked: 'I write neither to instruct nor to preach, simply to share that which to me is able to live in the written word, because the written-word simultaneously transcends words and death'.⁹³

During July the Stollers came to visit Khan for a few days before they went on to the 30th IPA Congress, held this year in Jerusalem.⁹⁴ Khan did not go with them, being 'phobic about being in Israel'.⁹⁵ Some events he did attend however. At the beginning of September 1977 for instance, Khan went with André Green to Stratford for the weekend to attend a play one of his patients was performing in. Green found Khan drinking heavily and in a highly phobic state, despite which they 'had one of those wonderful conversations where he is at his best'.⁹⁶

Following this Khan's medical situation took a downward turn, another hospital admission being scheduled. Writing beforehand to Anna Freud, Khan's anxiety state is palpable as he declares:

I unfortunately have perhaps secondaries. Maybe I will not be able to see you again, because I go into hospital on Sunday, the 18th [September] and if it is secondaries, they will put me back into death. What I want to say to you is, it was not only a great honour for me to be supervised by you, but an even greater honour that you should care for me when I was in total distress. I have always honoured your father and you. I hope to God that you still accept this as a gift from me.⁹⁷

Beneath a very scrawled signature Khan now styled himself 'Prince Masud Khan', his earliest available recorded such use of this title. Such increasing and desperate attempts to psychically support himself, through homage to and association with eminent people as well as promotion and maintenance of a view of himself as aristocratic, failed to achieve the results for which he perhaps hoped. By the end of the month the presence of a further carcinoma had been confirmed, which though encapsulated was clearly very frightening.⁹⁸

Mental states beneath the manifest symptomatology became the subject of his writing, giving perhaps some view into Khan's own affectivity at this time. Thus Khan penned a synopsis for a possible paper, entitled 'The scream in the hysteric', hypothesising that hysterics contain an elusive dissociated scream induced by cumulative trauma, enacted rather than expressed with the aid of environmental contingencies.⁹⁹

A trip to Paris for a week in November did little to help him, Green again noting that 'he was subject to phobic fits, cancelling many appointments with friends he planned to meet and even a lunch with me, cancelled at the last minute'.¹⁰⁰ This withdrawal continued back in London, with friends frequently being unable to contact or elicit a response from Khan, through whatever mode of communication was employed. Clifford Scott, for example, wrote from Canada to several London colleagues for news of Khan, before hearing back from Marion Milner and then Robert Stoller whom he met in Toronto.¹⁰¹ Trying to offer support, Scott wrote: 'we think kindly of you so often and we wish we could help in some way to make your life happier. We do so much hope that circumstance will be kinder to you and that your strength and understanding serves you well.'¹⁰² As with others, Scott's letter does not appear to have had any response, Khan's 'understanding' seemed something he could make little constructive use of at this time, and 'circumstance' was less than favourable. In December Khan suffered for a while with eye problems (ocular paralysis and double vision), possibly a result of his excessive drinking.¹⁰³ At the same time his oncology treatment continued with chemotherapy.¹⁰⁴

The new year brought little change. His heavy drinking continued, interspersed as before with periodic attempts at abstinence. In March 1978 Smirnoff wrote that Khan was unable 'to break his stubborn destructiveness to remain mute and unproductive...Masud must have some "basic fault" which he has been

nurturing but also patching up more or less successfully for many years now.¹⁰⁵ He slept for long periods, up to fifteen hours a day during Smirnoff's visit at the end of March, and when awake would sit staring blankly, such dissociation frequently exacerbated by alcohol, Khan himself saying: 'I have put myself in total inactivity.'¹⁰⁶ Despite this, he still saw two to three patients a day and continued his own consultations with Anna Freud, although his appointments appeared to have become somewhat sporadic. In July 1978, Khan was apparently admitted to hospital for tests, having suspected cancer of the thorax.¹⁰⁷ The outcome of this hospital admission is unknown; although he had, prior to the admission, planned to see Anna Freud, following it, on 27 July, after which he was due to go on vacation to Pakistan. Concentrating on the anxieties of the latter rather than the former, Khan declared to Anna Freud that visiting the Sub-Continent 'is always a risky business for me, but if God is with me I shall survive'.¹⁰⁸ This consultation appeared to mark the final petering out of Khan's consultations with her. He would write to Anna Freud briefly firstly just prior to Christmas, acknowledging that he had not been in touch for a long while, that his life in that time had been 'very checkered' (sic) and then he paid his outstanding consultation fees for 1978, amounting to £60, the following March, over seven months after his last session.¹⁰⁹

August 1st 1978 saw Khan's ten-year term of office as Editor of the *International Psychoanalytical Library* and as Associate Editor of the *International Journal of Psychoanalysis* come to its end. Twelve months previously, Khan had attempted to forestall the ending by applying to the Council for his tenure to be extended, his application however being turned down.¹¹⁰ Now, when the end of his term of office actually arrived, Khan was sojourning in Pakistan and seemed very much in a state of self-imposed incommunicado. Joseph Sandler, whose term as Editor of the *International Journal* similarly expired, in his final editorial wrote that Khan had 'been a source of help over the years, as well as a stimulating critic'.¹¹¹ Marking their retirement the Council agreed that Sandler and Khan be presented with gifts at the Annual General Meeting.¹¹² This retirement was not, however, a total severance from links with the *International Journal*, as Khan was now appointed a Consultant Associate Editor, a role to which Sandler also was appointed. He would continue in this role until 1982. Clifford Yorke, the *IPA Bulletin* announced, became Editor of the *International Psychoanalytical Library* 'following the end of Raja Masud Khan's term of office'.¹¹³ The transition was not easy, Clifford Yorke, as he later stated, being denied access to the editorial business files held by Khan.¹¹⁴

Following the expiry of Khan's editorial terms he became more withdrawn, negativistic and argumentative. Those people who had remained close to him, particularly those who were in day-to-day contact with him, found the experience very wearing. His doctor, Barrington Cooper, felt unable to effectively manage Khan's situation and encouraged him to travel, at this point suggesting he visit the Stollers in Los Angeles (in part so he himself might gain some respite). Mrs E was also despairing at Khan's continued self-destructive state, as well as his now increasingly overt hostility towards her. Khan had thrown her out on several occasions. She had resumed analysis, this time with Tomas Hayley, and was

working at the Tavistock Clinic. In October Victor Smirnoff stayed with Khan and Mrs E for five days and during that time she packed her possessions,¹¹⁵ and moved out just after his departure.¹¹⁶ It was not a surprise to anybody. Indeed, five months earlier Robert Stoller had mused: '...how – and how long – [Mrs E] will survive. She certainly is the ultimate experiment in the measurement of the strength of the transference.'¹¹⁷

A CALIFORNIAN CHRISTMAS

In an effort to help Khan and provide some much needed respite for Barrington Cooper and others in Khan's immediate orbit, Stoller invited him out to Los Angeles.¹¹⁸ Khan accepted the offer and arrived there on 23 December 1978, to spend two weeks over the Christmas period. Before the visit he had managed to moderate his drinking, and had renewed some contact with Adam Limentani and Pearl King.¹¹⁹ However, he disembarked from the plane drunk, having consumed two bottles of champagne and caused a scene during the flight. Stoller declined his demands for alcohol firmly, locked away what drink there was in the house, and stated clear ground rules to Khan about his only being permitted wine in moderation with meals and the unacceptability of his destructive, nihilistic and acerbic comments. Khan soon acceded to Stoller's firm management regime, became more alert, sociably engaged and showed some signs of creativity: reading and writing. In addition to the behavioural and environmental support he provided, Stoller engaged Khan in extended two to three hour marathon psychotherapeutic sessions each evening. Describing these, Stoller noted that Khan 'feels – at least he says – that we are getting at and into issues that are important and enlightening for him',¹²⁰ and later continued:

...we were able to get into some of his dreams and some of his past life. I think he enjoyed this work, but it is hard to know whether its therapeutic work is more than skin deep...It was especially to his destructiveness – of others and of himself – that I continuously went. He is in a prolonged fuck with Death, and my efforts were aimed primarily at trying to get him to release that mutual embrace. But it probably is the case that he has too much erotized destruction (and I am not talking about something as romantic and ethereal as 'death instinct'). We shall wait, with great concern and modest hope, to see whether he will begin to extricate himself. It depends on the alcohol.¹²¹

Stoller's provision of a therapeutic environment, with firm and explicit boundary setting, combined with his tenacity in addressing Khan's destructiveness was probably the most concentrated psychotherapeutic experience of Khan's life. Clearly it had limitations, such as the absence of neutrality between the parties and its very brief duration. Nevertheless, Khan appeared to be able to accept this management, and under it curb his drinking and hostile expression. Returning to London after New Year however, removed Khan from Stoller's facilitating environment and he gradually resumed drinking, although his consumption was reduced.

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Illusional, Delusional and Alcoholic Yarns

Following the massive difficulties he had experienced, 1979 was to see Khan's self-narratives assume increasingly grand proportions. They began on the centenary of the birth of Ernest Jones, on 1 January, with a story about a verbal put-down to Jones when he asked Khan his name on meeting him in the Society library in 1948; a story Khan purportedly related to the British Society's commemorative meeting 'A Tribute to Ernest Jones'.¹ The details of the meeting later published in the Society's *Annual Report* make no mention of Khan being among the schedule of speakers;² an omission perhaps, although it is more suggestive of the paper's delivery at the very least being a fabrication.

In contrast with such stories, writing for publication was clearly difficult, as may be seen in Khan's struggle to compose the three brief paragraphs of the preface to his forthcoming book *Alienation in Perversions*.³ In these lines, he concentrated on *alienation as the contemporary problem of the West*, a diagnosis reached by Marx and Freud, which when imported into the study of perversions highlighted how 'the pervert puts an *impersonal object* between his desire and his accomplice: this *object* can be a stereotype fantasy, a gadget or a pornographic image. All three alienate the pervert from himself, as, alas, from the object of his desire'.⁴ Khan thus succinctly formulates his thesis on alienation and simultaneously neutralises any yield for himself, by his specification of it as 'the sickness of Western Judaeo-Christian cultures'.⁵ He situates himself as a non-Western other in relation to his thesis, a dissociation that he articulates further in 'Enfance, solitude et folie' which he composed at this time.⁶

In this very brief paper Khan valorises quiet states of contented aloneness during infancy and later life, as necessary for personalisation; with the inchoate un-metabolised residues of these states being potentially actualisable in adulthood through the arts, unexcited mutuality and mysticism. In infancy and early childhood, given the maturational level of the mental apparatus, such early pre-verbal states are unthinkable and hence pass into primary repression, or what Khan terms 'oblivion...[and] turn up later in private mad states of being'.⁷ The imposition by the other, whether mother or psychoanalyst, of their active presence on such states, warps the self's innate maturational unfolding. Psychoanalysts may:

...try to make sense of the *nonsense* of the analysand's spoken madness in terms of our conceptual vocabulary, through which we are addicted to listening to the analysand's normal or pathological material, and interpreting

it. Misguidedly, but from concern, we try to make sense of this *non-sense* by either reconstructing *the facts* of infancy (Winnicott) or its *fantasies* (Klein). Neither helps; the creative potential of the madness lapses back into oblivion and the analysand is no longer either mad or alone, but merely lonely and lost!⁸

Khan's implication appears to be that in the technical management of such primitive and potentially creative states the analyst needs to adopt an attitude of quiet mutuality with the patient, without intruding with interpretations and instead accepting the privacy of the patient and the limits on his or her knowability. To regard such states as resistance and non-sense as material for transformation through verbal interpretation would be to radically mistake the nature of the patient's psychic organisation. In contrasting his clinical stance with that of Klein and Winnicott, he depicts them as making a type of category mistake; where silent inchoate primitive phenomena are mistakenly treated as if they were more advanced differentiated verbal(isable) phenomena. Autobiographically, Khan's comments here are important in their critique of two of his most salient psychoanalytic objects: Winnicott and (to a lesser extent) Klein. Previously, in his contribution to the Winnicott Memorial Meeting in 1972, Khan had merely noted that for Winnicott 'facts were the reality' and that as a student he had observed Winnicott speaking with the parents of a child who was 'absorbed drawing some *nonsense* of private and acute significance'.⁹ This now more explicit criticism of Winnicott particularly is noteworthy, especially in the light of Khan's earlier gratitude to Winnicott for *not* interpreting on several key occasions during his analysis.

Following this paper, Khan went on to write a document that would epitomise his omnipotence and grandiosity, a document that could paradigmatically only be written by an other, and at a time when the document's subject could have no direct influence on its content. It was his own obituary notice, something he claimed the editors of the *Financial Times*, the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Daily Telegraph* had requested he compose.¹⁰ The 'obituary', dated 6 February, depicts Khan as Raja of Minhas, the last of a noble house of Persian-Rajput princes in a romanticised decline, himself sponsored and fêted by the European elite while he achieved professional and social success despite setbacks. The document (reproduced in Appendix B), though its claims are often historical fiction or at best confabulation, presents a narrative whose structure epitomises that of a tragic romantic hero myth. The hero in a long line of heroes, the last of his clan, achieves epic victories, yet the inexorable fate of his interwoven character and genealogy lead to his extinction, and subsequent memorialisation. This latter aspect is key in understanding such myths as Green pointed out when he wrote: 'the important feature in the personal myth is not success or failure but the aim [is] to overcome obscurity or anonymity and to meet with an exceptional destiny'.¹¹ Viewing Khan through this lens – seeing him as entangled within such a myth – facilitates a more unified view of his otherwise diverse seeming *dramatis personae*, including what otherwise might be reductively seen purely in terms of his destructiveness. In addition, while the 'obituary' points to such a heroic

identification and thus offers an insight into Masud Khan's psychodynamics, it also illuminates some of the springs of his intellectual output.

Such an analysis may be aided by viewing the 'obituary' as analogous to a dream, about which Khan's own published writings here offer hermeneutic assistance. Recapping on the earlier discussion of those papers, Khan had suggested in 1972 that dream-space can function as a psychic container and is necessary for self-actualisation, in the absence of which, acting-out within social space may occur. Certain dreams and daydreams may represent a type of manic defence against trauma, these psychic products being consequent to 'an incapacity to use dream as a *creative* intra-psychic function and structure' (emphasis added).¹² Instead, dream can appear to *use* the dreamer, *un-creatively* maintaining the status quo of the repetition compulsion. In illustration, Khan described a patient who 'felt literally possessed by [the dream]. He was as much *the dream* itself as the dream was his concoction.'¹³ This lack of differentiation between the dream and the dreamer involves a failure of triangulation and hence of symbolisation, and may be indicative of ego-weakness and defective containment. In terms of Khan's earlier 1962 paper, such phenomena may be seen as representing an *abuse* of dreaming and can be contrasted to the 'good dream', which he had then defined as 'a dream which...enable[s] sleep to be sustained...and can be available for psychic experience to the ego when the person wakes up'.¹⁴

The 'obituary' in this context fails to meet the criteria of a 'good dream', as although it clearly contains a wish, overtly of a grandiose kind, it is predicated on the death of its subject and does not appear to be a psychic entity from which Khan can make creative use *if* he does awake. Khan's self-spun myth is not one from which he is roused, he remains possessed by its narrative, just as he previously perceived his 1972 dream paper's patient to have been. This differs from a creative reciprocity, as for example expressed by William Butler Yeats in his poem 'Among school children' when he wrote:

O body swayed to the music, O brightening glance,
How can we know the dancer from the dance?¹⁵

Khan unfortunately did not appear to really ponder over such a question any more. For him, the dreamer and the dream were now becoming dangerously equated, allied with the death rather than the life instinct.¹⁶ Robert Stoller, among possibly other colleagues, received a copy of the 'obituary' from Khan, his response to which was to suggest it was '*too romanticised*' (emphasis added) and that Khan's reputation rested not on his ancestors but on his own substantial achievements.¹⁷ This seems hardly an effective response to Khan's then currently manifest disturbance.

As well as writing the 'obituary' during early February, Khan together with Mark Paterson, his fellow director of Sigmund Freud Copyrights, began to plan the establishment of a 'Sigmund Freud Society', to provide a focus for analysts, academics and others with an interest in what would now be termed psychoanalytic studies. Khan suggested that the Society be established with

himself as 'Chairman and Miss Freud as Patron, we do not need anyone else'.¹⁸ The idea was however rapidly scotched, as Anna Freud considered it would be both divisive as regards the British Society and would lack public support.¹⁹

Then, writing to Anna Freud on 1 March his prose suggested he was in a particularly manic omnipotent state. He enclosed for her attention a copy of a letter he said he had sent to Lord Summerhill, which Khan asked her to destroy after reading as it was 'strictly private'. Its contents provide a first hand indicator of Khan's seriously disturbed mental state during this period. In the letter, Khan thanked Summerhill for visiting him and offering him on behalf of the Privy Council the Chairmanship of a 'Royal Commission on the Psychotherapeutic Clinics that the Honourable Prime Minister Mr Callaghan is trying to set up'.²⁰ The offer, Khan wrote, he had to decline, due to the interference the duties would cause to his clinical and other work, as well as the strain it might place on his health. In his stead he suggested Sir John Haynes as a possible Chairman, and closed styling himself 'Prince Masud of Minhas'.

The Summerhill letter was a total fabrication. Neither Summerhill,²¹ nor Haynes, nor the Royal Commission actually existed.²² In the letter Khan depicts himself as being on favoured, intimate terms with the upper echelons of the British establishment, and active both clinically and as a writer and lecturer. He thus psychically satisfied his wish for establishment recognition and placed himself at the head of an inquiry into his colleagues, thus reversing his fortunes. The preservation of these psychic functions necessitated their containment within a closed system, hence Khan's demand that the letter be destroyed after reading. It had served its intent with its transmission; its continued survival rendered it potentially hazardous to its author. Whilst a fear of exposure and consequent shame may straightforwardly contribute to a partial conceptualisation of the injunction to destroy the letter, as an act the secret sharing of something supposedly 'strictly private' may be regarded as encouraging intimacy and trust. Based though as it was on a deceit, the intent may be more clearly seen as a seduction involving hatred and mockery of the object, inveigling Anna Freud into acting as his accomplice, using what he himself had called the technique of intimacy.²³ Khan went on to ask Anna Freud for a bill for her fees to be sent to him, as he owed her 'a lot of money' for having consulted her. He did not seek any sessions then, as 'at present I am suddenly taken up with the livingness of life, which is quite a change after three years of torpor and inertia'.²⁴ In conclusion, Khan announced that he was 'particularly pleased that my old College, Balliol, Oxford are giving me the DLitt next year'.²⁵ This was yet another fiction; indeed it was a double fiction, as Khan had neither been to Balliol, nor was he scheduled to have a DLitt conferred.²⁶ Anna Freud's response was unchallenging, congratulating Khan on his supposedly forthcoming doctoral award, reassuring him that his financial debt to her was relatively small (£60) and that 'as you see, you must not worry. I am always there'.²⁷

The appearance now of Khan's previously discussed brief paper, 'Infancy, aloneness and madness', in the spring 1979 issue of the *Nouvelle Revue de Psychanalyse*, cheered Victor Smirnoff who took it as a sign that Khan's

situation was improving, and he looked forward to Khan visiting him in Paris over Easter.²⁸ Food poisoning contracted while dining out however, combined with his continued and probably out of control drinking, resulted in Khan developing a gastrointestinal disturbance and hepatitis, Khan's liver being enlarged; all of which together caused the Paris trip to be postponed until May.²⁹ That also was cancelled, possibly as Khan's liver problems continued to be troublesome with clear signs of jaundice. Smirnoff, however, travelled over to visit him during mid-May, at which time he found Khan abstemious, capable of sustained attentiveness and engagement without being manic, and working collating his writings on perversion, as well as thinking about a possible book on Virginia Woolf. To emphasise the observed change Smirnoff wrote that Khan now 'dresses, washes (!) and drives his car (!) with elegance and skill'.³⁰ The changes Smirnoff partly attributed to an influential new relationship Khan had formed with a Lebanese woman, Tarfa Salem, whom he described as being 'a different kind than all...[of Masud's previous] women we have known: intelligent, rich, mature and with excellent taste. She seems to be quite wealthy and very affectionate, but firm with Masud'.³¹ In his correspondence with Anna Freud Khan confirmed his improved state albeit with a different causal attribution, writing that it is 'thanks to you I am in really good health, and doing a lot of writing and my life is again worthy of me'.³²

On 21 May Khan's retirement from the Publications Committee was noted by the Council, who agreed that his leaving after 21 years' service should be appropriately marked, a dinner and a gift of books being mooted.³³ Apart from such events, about which he probably harboured very mixed feelings, Khan planned a visit to Paris with Tarfa for the end of June.³⁴ His relations with Svetlana improved somewhat at around this time, the period since the separation and divorce having been acrimonious,³⁵ as well as being relatively financially straightened for Svetlana as Khan typically paid her little maintenance and that was only fitfully.

One of the pieces of writing Khan had been doing was a review of *Sigmund Freud: His Life in Pictures and Words*, edited by Ernst Freud, Lucie Freud and Ilse Grubrich-Simitis, for the *International Journal*. The review, greatly admired by Anna Freud to whom Khan had sent a draft copy,³⁶ was eulogistic about both the book and its compilers. Of particular relevance here was Khan's depiction of Freud as a revolutionary, who simultaneously disturbed the complacent Western consciousness centred within its imperial status quo and developed a method (psychoanalysis) for the perception of travellers from another land, 'the vast and unknowable terrain of the unconscious'.³⁷ Thus of the former he writes that:

Freud had rattled the smug composure of the established nineteenth century values: values that had the sovereignty of Empires and the solidity of the middle class wealth to bolster and defend them. Even if ever so precariously... the puritan arrogance of... Imperial England's self-satisfaction with its own virtues [was] at [its] height in human social intercourse. In this cultural climate Freud [along with Marx and Darwin] launched... ideas that would escalate

with an unpredictable momentum and within a century, thanks to the rate of change due to advances in technology and the mass media, catastrophically disrupt as well as change all the ethos of the Christian European civilisation and its values with its institutional, social as well as political structures.³⁸

This placing of Freud, and by extension both psychoanalysis and Khan himself, as a revolutionary force shaking Western colonial civilisation out of its smug narcissistic complacency permits a glimpse into Khan's sentiments, as one of the colonised, towards his colonial host. Feelings of self-righteousness, disdain and triumph over the former colonial power, a power depicted as transient, are only very thinly veiled within Khan's remarks. Then, turning to Freud's achievements, Khan portrays him as showing to Western man that his consciousness, though important, was only a small outcrop on another 'vast and unknowable terrain', the unconscious. This 'other land' could not be known directly, but might be apprehended through 'deciphering how the unknowable unconscious transforms itself into the psychic and the conscious, through dreams, and free associations in the clinical analytic situation'.³⁹ Khan's employment of topographical metaphor clearly supports linking this material with his earlier colonial dialectics. The Freud Khan depicts now represents a non-imperialist subject coming to know something about another 'terrain' through its nomadic derivatives. Any such knowledge of the other in this context would be partial, derivative and subject to comprehension on the basis of the vicissitudes of the deciphering or translating process; never in its own 'language' and never as an objectified thing-in-itself. The other thus, whether the unconscious or a foreign civilisation, is depicted as essentially terra incognita, private, known as Plato's cave-dwellers knew the world on the basis of the shadows reflected on the cave wall.⁴⁰

Over the summer months of 1979 Khan's emotional state appeared to deteriorate as he became more introverted, lonely, drank heavily and was preoccupied with increasingly dramatic stories. Reflecting on the latter, Stoller thought that 'he is losing his capacity to differentiate tall tales from reality'.⁴¹ However, others commented that Khan largely managed to attend to his appearance and self-care, could be appropriate in company, and had at least intermittent insight into his mental state.⁴²

The appearance in October 1979 of Khan's collected psychoanalytic papers on sexual deviation, *Alienation in Perversions*, was greeted with widespread critical acclaim. Among the detailed reviews, Anthony Storr declared Khan to be 'an original psychoanalyst with an exceptional gift for empathic, compassionate, deep penetration into the lives of [perverse] patients. He...has the flexibility to be creative and unorthodox. Khan really listens to his patients...[and] has written so deeply interesting a book.'⁴³ Similarly positive, Adam Limentani labelled the book 'unique' and endorsed many of the ideas within it, singling out for particular note the critical role of alienation: his chief reservation by contrast centred on what he regarded as an overemphasis on the aetiological role of the maternal, to the relative neglect of that of the father.⁴⁴ *Alienation in Perversions* would become a psychoanalytic best seller, its popularity further

evident from it becoming the most frequently borrowed book from the library of the Institute of Psychoanalysis in London.

This collection of Khan's papers had been a long time in its gestation, it having been initially mooted in May 1968, eleven years previously.⁴⁵ Alienation was familiar territory to Khan, his own personal knowledge of it probably contributing to his capacity to identify and address it in his patients, and then to depict it convincingly in his subsequent writings. In his own experience as a patient, Khan suggested that his personal needs had too often been neglected in favour of a defensive state of collusion between himself and his analysts. Writing of and to Anna Freud, Khan suggested she was an exception: 'Miss Freud has the capacity to meet the need of the other, without complicity. This is rare among analysts, no matter how much they pretend to be otherwise. I speak it from personal experience.'⁴⁶

Khan dedicated *Alienation in Perversions* to five of his friends (Smirnoff, Sutherland, Stoller, Pontalis and Barrington Cooper) who had remained close to him, despite provocation and criticism from others, during the preceding turbulent years. Little changed however in Khan's behaviour; indeed, the remainder of 1979 passed with him in a continuing withdrawn state, episodically paranoid, drunk and depressed, states which probably contributed to his secretary and housekeeper both resigning.⁴⁷

Having passed the Christmas and New Year period in Paris, 1980 appeared to begin well, with Khan more active in his correspondence and submitting a paper to the *Nouvelle Revue de Psychanalyse* for its spring issue.⁴⁸ He had become involved with another woman in Paris, Agathe Nivoix, with whom he would continue a relationship for about the next year. The geographical logistics of the relationship, between London and Paris, may have suited Khan's need for independence and privacy. Thus he wrote: 'I cannot live too intimately for long with anyone. This I now accept as a necessary condition to my staying "healthy", me and functional.'⁴⁹ His improved psychological status, however, he attributed to a renewed attempt at sobriety, begun on 23 December 1979 in Paris,⁵⁰ an effort he saw as emanating solely from within himself. Writing to Robert Stoller he declared 'I am quite sure Bob I shall never drink again, just as after the lung operation I gave up smoking, which was an even greater necessity and addiction for me.'⁵¹ His Paris visit had been a 'charade', from which he had returned determined to sell his property in London and return to live in Pakistan, not wanting 'to be seen degraded or incapacitated in London or Europe'.⁵² Having reached this decision it appeared to motivate him to cease his drinking and to declare: 'that with persons like Svetlana, me, Dylan Thomas, etc, alcoholism is not the illness but a vicious attempt at cure of an "ungraspable illness"; in time the cure takes over and is more damaging than perhaps the illness could ever be'.⁵³

This theme of self destructiveness was taken up in an essay written at this time for the *Nouvelle Revue*, 'Meurtre, frénésie et folie', which, although putatively on Dostoyevsky's *The Idiot*, may be read as an allegory for Khan's own mental state.⁵⁴ Reviving his old notion that sometimes murder may be suicide engineered by provoking a third party to do the killing, Khan argues that such killing, as

well as humiliations and frenzied states serve to actualise and exteriorise core private inchoate mad and essentially authentic states of being. Within this context, humiliations (which Khan here categorises as being of either an active or passive type, i.e. humiliating or being humiliated) serve to create or sustain the semblance of identity and a sense of interpersonal relatedness in the face of loneliness. Seeing the novel structured as a collage and its characters existing as doubles, one to another and to the author, the central character of Prince Myshkin is ill, yet hugely energetic, influential and transformative of those he comes into contact with, as well as a native Russian schooled in the Western canon. While Khan sees the Prince as Dostoyevsky's double, the portrait seems to be equally representative of Khan's heroic Indian self. Although the paper cannot be regarded as a wholly successful exegesis on Dostoyevsky's novel or on the psychoanalysis of humiliation, it was a sign of its author's unextinguished creativity and Khan went on to muse about writing further on Dostoyevsky, as well as planning a book on Virginia Woolf's diaries – to be called *Death by Water*, and clinical writings on drug addiction.⁵⁵

Ten days in Paris with Smirnoff at the end of February and the beginning of March saw Khan more balanced and creative, despite occasional arrogant episodes with officials and tall tales.⁵⁶ A proposal to go to the IPA Helsinki Congress was mooted, as were titles for a congress paper such as 'The unknowability of childhood experiences and their reconstruction in psychoanalytic theory and practice' or 'Between the given and the simulated desire'.⁵⁷ At the same time, Khan raised the idea of a book chapter, entitled 'The bitterness with women and the empty solitude: from Baudelaire to T. S. Eliot', with Marie Nelson for her planned volume *Psychoanalysis and the Concept of Evil*, with one eye on its inclusion also in the *Nouvelle Revue*.⁵⁸

Then, after a repeated ten-day Easter visit to Paris, from 3 to 13 April, during which Khan continued with his appearance of relative stability, he again withdrew into heavy drinking and an uncommunicative state. Preoccupied with, what Barrington Cooper called, 'grandiose ideas of intellectual achievement',⁵⁹ Khan denigrated his analytic colleagues as stupid and incompetent, and then departed to Pakistan with Agathe on 15 August to 'straighten out the political mess his people got themselves in'.⁶⁰ On his return Khan's stories were full of political conspiracy as the *éminence grise* behind world events. When Smirnoff met him in London and later in Paris during October, Khan was typically in varying states of intoxication and appeared to be:

...entirely self-centered, egotistic and immersed in a megalomaniac narcissism... I heard nothing but the repetitious account of his estates, 7 Rolls-Royces, 37 servants, his gunmen and his body-guards. Physically he seems fit though and I don't really know whether his state of mind has to be attributed to alcohol or (senile) deterioration. Not a question, not one personal remark, no interest in others *at all*.⁶¹

Khan claimed to Smirnoff that during his trip to Pakistan with Agathe he had married her 'without her knowledge or consent'.⁶² Although Agathe had

not been one of Khan's patients, Smirnoff makes it clear that 'most of [Khan's girlfriends] are picked up from the couch and put to a different use (?) in bed (?)...And then, let's be fair, couch or no couch, Masud can be at times (even now) a pretty fascinating figure.'⁶³ Friends also became Khan's victims. André Green, for example, now attracted Khan's envious displeasure, Green having been appointed to the editorial board of the new French psychoanalytic Annual, *Le Temps de la Reflexion*, by J.-B. Pontalis. He drew Khan's further envy over his appointment as Freud Memorial Professor at University College London and when hurtful fabrications about his personal life began to circulate Green was quickly able to track the rumours back to Khan. Wounded, Green ceased contact with him pending a public retraction, though Khan's response was to try to bluff his way out. With no apology forthcoming, the men's relationship foundered, with Green for his part publicly exorcising some of the wreckage he carried from it later in his remarkable book *Un Psychanalyste Engagé*.⁶⁴

JEFFREY MASSON

During the year a proposal for a revised and complete edition of the correspondence between Freud and Wilhelm Fliess had gathered pace, the idea having been initiated by Jeffrey Masson during 1978, and had begun to involve Khan in his capacity as a director of Sigmund Freud Copyrights.⁶⁵ Khan had supported the idea of the new edition, the discussions on which he was initially involved in during February 1979,⁶⁶ and now during 1980 he met with Masson on 28 April and became increasingly convinced of Masson's capacities: his scholarly weight, erudition and integrity, his energy and his psychoanalytic loyalty.⁶⁷ Indeed, Masson was so quickly regarded as a rising establishment psychoanalytic scholar that by the end of the year he was being proposed for a place on the board of Sigmund Freud Copyrights, there joining Khan, Mark Paterson and Lucie Freud. Masson was elected to the board at the AGM held in early January 1981. Describing his appointment and first meeting with Khan, Masson said:

My appointment happened through Masud Khan. He's a well-known English analyst. At first he was very suspicious of me, but when he saw the future – how I was coming in and taking over from Eissler – he wanted to be on good terms. So he invited me to his house and wrapped his arms around me and said, 'My dear boy, you must become a director of the Copyrights.' He's a very handsome man, about six feet seven. His full title is Prince Masud Khan – he's an Indian raja – and he's very fashionable. He used to be married to a Russian prima ballerina. And he's generous – he gave me books and a big picture of himself at our first meeting – and very articulate. He says what he thinks. He's got class and he's fun, and we took to each other right away.⁶⁸

In due course, Masson's critique of psychoanalysis, and particularly of Freud's seduction theory, would leave him a *persona non grata* within the psychoanalytic community and with Khan, as will be discussed below.

The year ended with Khan showing some signs of increased creativity and of having at least moderated his drinking, though to friends he continued to be grandiose in his contacts. Stoller reaffirmed his view, expressed first in the autumn of 1979, that Khan's capacity for reality testing was failing. Now he wrote that 'the line inside him that used to mark the difference between reality and fantasy has become, it seems, permanently smeared and makes him vulnerable, when he is even less stable, to being, as you know, flat out delusional'.⁶⁹

During the first half of 1981 Khan appeared to increasingly distance himself from friends and colleagues, with both face-to-face social contacts and his correspondence diminishing. Friends witnessed this withdrawal and unreachability, voicing their views and hopes for his recovery, while at the same time suffering and accepting Khan's view that 'people are furniture to me now and I cathect neither reality nor internalise it. Hence my paralysis of being. The solution, the only one left, is *output*, since I refuse *in-put*'.⁷⁰ The idea of attending the Helsinki IPA Congress was dropped during January, as was the proposed paper, it having been declined by the congress organisers, a decision Khan appeared to see as evidence of a hostile conspiracy.⁷¹ Anna Freud's health was deteriorating, a fact Khan lamented in his contacts with her and their mutual friends. Neither was Khan's own health good. He lost the total sight in his right eye temporarily during June.⁷² Prompted by this, he again tried to abstain from alcohol and concomitantly became both somewhat more social and active in pursuit of his own writing.⁷³

Among the results of this renewed productivity was an essay, 'Negotiating the impossible', on the ideas of Robert Langs, to whom Khan expressed gratitude for support during his illness.⁷⁴ In this paper Khan returned to discussing Freud's ideas on the psychoanalytic method in which relating is mutatively negotiated only in the context of the therapeutic situation, which involves for both analyst and patient wishes and demands which must remain unfulfilled, yet fructifying. Such notions, Khan suggests, underpin Langs' emphasis on interactional aspects of psychoanalysis, in both the clinical and training contexts, the negotiation of such aspects being, as his title suggests, 'impossible' without *relating*.⁷⁵

The spring 1981 issue of the *Nouvelle Revue de Psychanalyse* carried a paper by Khan, written during this time. In 'Personne ne peut dire sa folie', Khan, using clinical material from a fifteen year old adolescent whom he called Judy, illustrated and expanded on his ideas about potential madness, previously discussed in his 1979 paper 'Infancy, aloneness and madness'. Drawing heavily on Foucault, Khan highlighted how the segregation of heterogeneous others (the proverbial mad, bad and sad) within the institution and the culture brought about a homogenisation of this other both within the recognised prefabricated options of the culture (e.g. drug addiction, psychosis) and within an objectivising establishment discourse (e.g. psychiatric nosology and nomenclature). The result for the other as individual was that their idiosyncratic individuation was compromised through the active or passive imposition of such alien structures; structures which deprive the other of the opportunity to speak *from* themselves and in their own manner.

In addition to 'Personne ne peut dire sa folie', Khan also wrote a number of book reviews this year which appeared in the *International Journal* and the *International Review*. Perhaps the most interesting of these is his review of Phyllis Grosskurth's *Havelock Ellis: A Biography*, wherein Khan emphasised the biographer's efforts 'to collate and decipher the verity from the myriad half-truths and self-representations that the person concerned has arranged for his posthumous future through autobiography, journals, correspondences, etc.', a task of particular difficulty:

...in the cases of persons...who vigorously self-narrated themselves for posterity, and saw themselves as 'prophets' in one guise or another. To make human fabric from such self-creations takes both generosity and a shrewd sense of the *real*, as opposed to the *true*. Because all fictions are true for the person who fabricates them, since they reflect an inner necessity.⁷⁶

This focus for his review suggests a sympathetic identification with both the biographer and the subject, a view supported by a diary entry of 15 December 1981 in which he wrote: 'In a strange way, I am leaving behind materials which I hope someone will put together and that will constitute the VERITY of Masud Khan.'⁷⁷

Other reviews were to follow, reviewing becoming an established, or rather re-established activity this year, although Khan was slow in their production and Thomas Hayley, the Editor of the *International Journal* and *International Review*, had to prompt him for delivery.⁷⁸ Five book reviews by Khan were to appear in 1981, with a further twelve published in 1982, a significant number of the latter being work actually produced during 1981.⁷⁹ More substantial works were mooted during mid 1981, the renewed idea of writing a book on Virginia Woolf being one such proposal.⁸⁰

During the summer Khan went to Pakistan, holidaying there from 9 August to 7 September 1981, a sojourn that probably aided his abstinence from alcohol.⁸¹ In anticipation of his visit he wrote to Anna Freud saying that his journeys there are:

...always a hazard, but once in my estates I do luxuriate in their primitive ancestral ambience of 'space' and persons. I do not mix much with others, because there is only a handful of us left, and even those are scattered in all the capitals of Europe and the Americas. The only mode of survival, I reckon. What always surprises me is that I still retain a fluent talking verve in my native languages: Persian, Urdu, Punjabi, and Pashto. Of course amongst the *nouveau riche* and the bureaucratic classes, everyone speaks English, but more and more of the American coinage.⁸²

While in Pakistan, Khan recommenced his correspondence with friends and colleagues, adopting a style and tone that was 'strong, free, and with proper Masudic arrogance'.⁸³ On his return to London Khan's thoughts turned to his own mortality and the arrangements for his projects in the event of his death,

about which he wrote to Robert and Sybil Stoller on 20 September to ask them to act as trustees, which request they accepted.⁸⁴ Khan's proposal called for the setting up of a 'non-profit making fund, called Masud-Fazaldad Khan', to be directed by Stoller, who was to house Khan's literary remains and hold their copyright.⁸⁵ The balance of the year saw Khan apparently sustain his equilibrium, liveliness and creativity.⁸⁶ At least, this was the Stollers' trans-Atlantic view. There were, however, disquieting stories, signs of a renewed fictional self-narrative.

Khan continued with ideas of writing on Dostoyevsky and Virginia Woolf, as previously mooted in February 1980, this time suggesting *Epilepsy, Murder and Epiphany* and *No Walls* as the respective titles for the proposed two books.⁸⁷ The former, Khan suggested to Clifford Yorke (Khan's successor as Editor of the *International Library*), were lectures he was delivering as part of his 'Lenin-Dostoevsky [sic] Professorship...at Leningrad University 1981-1982, three of which are already published in Russian and French [with] three more to go'.⁸⁸ There appears no evidence that Khan held any such post and only one paper on Dostoyevsky appears to have been ever published: 'Meurtre, frénésie et folie'. In November, however, the French edition of *Alienation in Perversions*, titled *Figure de la Perversion*, appeared, published by Gallimard and Khan went to its publicity launch and to perform book signings from 4 to 10 November.⁸⁹

In addition to the above events, the last three months of the year witnessed the breakdown of relations with Jeffrey Masson, the translator and editor of the Freud-Fliess correspondence. The Masson story broke initially with Ralf Blumenthal's articles on his work in the *New York Times* on 18 and 25 August and the *Herald Tribune* on 20 August, detailing Masson's critique of Freud's abandonment of the seduction theory, which he claimed was a profound error prompted by a failure of intellectual nerve. Quickly becoming aware of the stories, Khan liaised with Anna Freud, Kurt Eissler and Mark Paterson in an attempt at damage limitation, during which he contrasted Masson's behaviour with his own. Thus he wrote 'In spite of my own outrageousness, I do live by a tradition of reticence where the elders, whom I respect, are concerned',⁹⁰ and went on to seek Masson's removal as a director of Sigmund Freud Copyrights.⁹¹

Among the other events of 1981, one, a revision of the British Psychoanalytical Society's complaints procedures, would come to impact on Khan in due course and may be briefly mentioned here. The management of complaints within the Society had tended, up to this time, to be both informal and highly confidential. Typically the Council or complainant would refer the issue to the President for his attention and appropriate action. Now, Alex Pollock, the Honorary Secretary, circulated a memorandum to the Members, Associates and Students that began a move towards more formalised procedures.⁹² This memorandum announced a new mechanism whereby the President could convene an ad hoc committee to assist him in considering and dealing with such professional matters as might arise. This provision of, in effect, an 'Ethics Committee' was at this point instituted for a trial period of one year.

On 18 December Khan returned to Pakistan for a vacation over the Christmas and New Year period,⁹³ returning to London in mid-January apparently in a

state of withdrawal, which ominous silence left his friends worried.⁹⁴ This year, 1982, was to prove a bad year for Khan.

TAHIR'S DEATH

Khan's elder brother, Tahir, died of heart failure on 11 March 1982, age fifty-eight. In 'Outrage, compliance and authenticity' Khan described his illness and death and its impact in him. The account depicted Tahir mortally ill and moving from an initial façade of manic omnipotence, proclaiming that he could 'handle everything', to total tearful dependence on his younger brother. Khan wrote of him winning the Military Cross as a captain during the Second World War. Finally, as Tahir's putative heir, Khan described consulting with Tahir's estranged wife about his care and organising for him to be moved to a private clinic, in which he died. Much of this account is fictive, at least in so far as it purports to describe Tahir. He had not been awarded the M.C., had only served as a second lieutenant and had never been involved on active military service. His wife, though they were separated, remained his heir and legal beneficiary and his death had occurred in the Royal Free Hospital. Little love seems to have been lost between the brothers and Tahir's estranged wife and daughter – his wife declaring her 'comments [about Khan] would be unprintable',⁹⁵ while his daughter said her father and Khan 'were absolute bastards'⁹⁶ – so Khan's more general claim to have visited and assisted him seems likely to be true.

Khan's rationale for this discussion in his paper and his self-disclosure about his bereavement to his patient is interesting. He writes:

I am telling this because analysts rarely speak about events in their personal life that affect their work mutatively. The death of my brother had changed my whole outlook on life, and I knew my patients would sense it; so I told them as much. And it is not a question of transference or counter-transference, but real, *lived* life that makes our fatedness or destiny, and about which we are often somewhat devious, both with ourselves and others.⁹⁷

Following his brother's death Khan decided that he would return permanently to Pakistan and there directly manage his property.⁹⁸ He went there in March, apparently to initiate this process and to construct a memorial for Tahir, or as he put it: 'to make the grave for my brother in the ancestral graveyard, even though he was buried in England, and [I] returned five weeks later'.⁹⁹ Before this journey, Khan had reviewed and revised the arrangements that were to take place in the event of his death of his own affairs, and had, with the assistance of his solicitor, Paul Kimber, drafted a will and a declaration of trust to establish 'The Masud Khan Foundation', to which his residual estate would be left.¹⁰⁰ Two months after Tahir's death Khan was styling himself 'Prince of Chatter',¹⁰¹ a variant of the 'Prince of Kathar' sobriquet Mark Paterson later recalled him using.¹⁰² By the beginning of July Khan had reversed his earlier decision to move permanently back to Pakistan,¹⁰³ although it was to be an idea that would resurface periodically during the remaining seven years of his life.

The majority of Khan's writings that appeared in print this year consisted of book reviews for either the *International Journal* or its sister quarterly, the *International Review*, many of which appear to have been written the previous year. The only substantial paper to appear was 'Du vide plein la tête', which was included in the spring 1982 issue of the *Nouvelle Revue de Psychanalyse*. The date of its composition is somewhat uncertain; like the reviews it may have actually been written during 1981.

In 'The empty-headed', to give it its English title, Khan returns to reflect on his work with Helen. His preface to the essay sets the scene. He writes:

In the beginning, there is the *act* and the *gesture*. Fantasies, thoughts, dreams, playing and imaginings follow afterwards. Psychic reality is an *après coup*! *Acts* and *gestures* initiate it, dictate its fatedness and destiny.¹⁰⁴

Now Khan saw Helen's acting out as chiefly relating to her lack of internal or external framed space. He again recounted their initial encounters, including their joint meeting with Helen's previous analyst – whose consulting room she had wrecked – and Khan's active management of her environment, including an expectation that she would attend sessions (though without any obligation to remain for a full fifty minutes), have daily private tuition and dine *en famille* (though without further guests) at least three times a week. Therapeutically, Khan emphasised the novelty of his clinical space, Helen's behaviour and the need to establish a mode of measured conscious clinical *relating* with her (as distinct from fostering a *relationship*).

Regarding Helen as immature rather than sick, Khan saw this as stemming from a dissociated state of personality unintegration. Sketching the five years of Helen's analysis, Khan shows her success at university and in a developing relationship with her fiancé being dogged with her own envy of self and others. Becoming the indiscriminate confidante of her peers temporarily fended this off externally, while 'lousing things up' served a similar internal function. All of this provided a modicum of 'empty-headedness' which served as a desirable defensive respite from her inability to distinguish thoughts from her thinking-self, a separateness that only slowly became established along with her corporeality. Utilising her developing capacity to dream as a touchstone of her increasing integration and capacities for symbolisation, Khan is able to again highlight how the ability to dream curtails acting out, while conversely showing how Helen's acts had served as a concrete means of expression beyond the verbal.

Returning to the happenings in Khan's day-to-day life, little is definitively known about him during the second half of 1982. He appears to have gone to Pakistan for at least part of August, from whence he returned and became embroiled in a probably lone protest against plans to hold the following year's European Psychoanalytic Congress in Jerusalem. The Israeli military action in southern Lebanon that year seems to have increased Khan's persecutory anxieties. On 1 September he wrote (having apparently already spoken to Adam Limentani) to Daniel Widlocher, the then President of the European Psychoanalytic Federation (EPF), demanding the cancellation of the congress

on the grounds that Israel was not a European state, the location precluded him and fellow Muslim analysts attending and the venue implied tacit support for 'Begin's atrocious fascist murder of Arabs in Lebanon'.¹⁰⁵ Threatening to resign from the European Psychoanalytic Federation and the International Psychoanalytical Association unless his demands were acceded to, Khan distributed his letter to the Pakistan Minister for Foreign Affairs, the Lebanese Ambassador in London, Anna Freud, and the Presidents of the IPA, EPF and the British Society amongst others and said he would then write to the newspapers. Anna Freud died on 8 October, without herself managing to respond to Khan's letter.¹⁰⁶ What response others made remains unclear, although Khan himself by the year's end remained very isolated and talked to friends in an apparently paranoid fashion about waging war on Israel.¹⁰⁷

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Homeward Bound

The new year, 1983, saw Khan briefly and intermittently re-emerge from the profound isolation that had characterised 1982. Telephoning Stoller in January, the first time he had done so in over six months, Khan told him 'that he now feels he has returned to the living and that 1982 was hell for him'.¹ His heavy drinking continued however, Jean Pouillon saying Khan was consuming four to five bottles of claret daily at this time.² One factor that may have partially mitigated Khan's isolation at this time was the arrival of his niece from Pakistan to live with and companion him. Shahnaz was described by Khan as his twenty-six year old niece and a Princess. She was in fact the daughter of Salahuddin Sla, Khurshid's first son and had been close to her grandmother during the latter part of her life. It took Shahnaz some time to adjust both to living in London and with Khan, who she found both 'generous and cruel'.³ As she accompanied Khan on holiday in Paris, he appeared more stable and socially engaged, Shahnaz being, according to Victor Smirnoff, 'rather congenial, gay and easygoing...and seems to take care of our friend [Khan]'.⁴ At around the same time however Khan was complaining to Adam Limentani about Robert Stoller's submission being declined for inclusion in the forthcoming 33rd IPA Congress, planned to be held in Madrid this year.⁵ He seemed to regard the decision as indicative of a closed-shop establishment's exclusion of an out-group, the latter including himself, and his close colleagues, such as Stoller, Pontalis, Smirnoff, and others.⁶

During April he completed the proof reading on the galleys of his third volume of collected papers, *Hidden Selves: Between Theory and Practice in Psychoanalysis*, due for publication in the autumn.⁷ John Charlton,⁸ the Director of Hogarth Press and a friend of Khan's, had helped him with the book's title, changing it to *Hidden Selves* from the working title Khan had employed, *Passions, Grudges and Persons*.⁹ Writing at this time was proving difficult, something that had been so since Tahir's death the previous year.¹⁰ Among his writing commitments were the *Nouvelle Revue de Psychanalyse*, for which Pontalis wanted his contribution, and a book Khan had undertaken to write on Winnicott for the *Fontana Modern Masters* series, commissioned by Frank Kermode and scheduled for delivery by 1 October.¹¹

In June Bob and Sybil Stoller came over for a European vacation, arriving on the 18th in London and there staying with Khan before going on to the Continent. They apparently found Khan in his usual generous mood towards them, with Shahnaz looking after him ably, although with indications that her enthusiasm was flagging. Telephoning after their visit, Khan intimated

that writing still eluded him and he was again contemplating abandoning all psychoanalytic work and returning permanently to Pakistan.¹² He and Shahnaz went there following the Stollers' stay and were there in the latter part of July and into August 1983, during which time *Hidden Selves* was published, as volume 113 of the *International Psychoanalytical Library*.

The popular reception of *Hidden Selves* was somewhat more reserved than that which had greeted Khan's two previous volumes. Clive Gordon struggled with the diffuse nature of the concept of the self as well as Khan's characteristic reluctance to foreclose and thus make premature 'sense' of it and his patients, features which he felt rendered the book 'extremely difficult to make sense of as a whole'.¹³ Similarly, John Kelly, while finding much to praise in its contents, noted the book's relative lack of conceptual clarity, its 'not altogether satisfying or complete' conclusions and Khan's 'highly individualistic approach', his 'sweeping generalisations' and a 'tendency to be less than clear and even esoteric'.¹⁴ Like Kelly, other reviewers also singled out Khan's idiosyncratic style, including Khan's ex-analysand Judy Cooper and his longstanding friend Rosemary Gordon.¹⁵ In the midst of her review, in which Gordon welcomes Khan's 'poet's sensitivity to language and...capacity to personalise it' especially through metaphor and anecdote, she sounds a more cautionary note about the prevalent role of management within the cases described when she writes:

Whether his method was the only possible one, or whether he tends to choose patients who need such active intervention, the frequent employment of these manoeuvres might, I suspect, issue from his own shadow side, from that part of his personality that is the complementary opposite to his expressed and consciously valued belief in the patient's right to the therapist's respect for his personal language, silence, time, space and privacy.¹⁶

This recognition of Khan's shadow side, whether as an alert to Gordon's readers or as the statement of an existential fact, was undoubtedly right and publicly long overdue, but was also prescient given future events.

It is unclear how long Khan remained this time in Pakistan, although he was certainly back in London during November, where he appeared once again to be mentally more stable.¹⁷ He had had little contact with his closest friends (Victor Smirnoff or Robert Stoller) again during the second half of the year,¹⁸ and what news there was suggested that although he had few patients, he was in reasonable health, his drinking having slightly moderated, due to his 'stabilising on Bordeaux'.¹⁹

Indications from the early months of 1984 suggested Khan's health remained unremarkable, against which background he was evincing some enthusiasm for and capacity to write.²⁰ He spoke about various brief submissions for the *Nouvelle Revue* and, after a bout of flu at the end of January, attempted to dry out. 'I drink', Khan wrote towards the end of February, 'from an indulgent dismay. The Institute has really ostracised me. But even that I have used as an excuse...I have stayed inert in bed, and the last year very cosily cared for by Shahnaz'.²¹ Along with such insight into his own retreats into grievance

states, both facilitated and compounded by alcohol, Khan expressed renewed determination to resume his writing. He had missed his submission date for his book on Winnicott and had agreed a ten month extension with Frank Kermode, with delivery now due by 31 July 1984.²² Beginning this book, Khan detailed a schema for the chapters at the beginning of March,²³ and then set about collecting material for a biographical sketch of Winnicott's life.²⁴

Feeling acutely isolated from others during this time was, in his own words, 'my real problem and has been since the [Mrs E] scandal and the Kleinian take-over of the Institute, and my total ostracisation by them now'.²⁵ The latter sense had been augmented by the cessation of Khan's role as Consultant Associate Editor to the *International Journal* and *International Review* in January, which loss angered him,²⁶ and which he later viewed as Adam Limentani's revenge for his 'outrageous' letter of complaint to him the previous March.²⁷ Like his posts, Khan's colleagues were dwindling, senior colleagues through death and infirmity and protégés (such as Bollas and Andreas Giannakoulas) through the prospect of their emigration.²⁸ Others were summarily dismissed as 'sub-cultural...middle class products'.²⁹ Following this however, Khan went to hear Albert Solnit speaking at a meeting on 12 March at the British Society, his first venture back there, he claimed, in over three years and one at which he said he was well received and which he seemed to enjoy.³⁰

During this time Khan wrote his final essay on Bill under the initial title 'Fate neurosis, false self and destiny'.³¹ Loss continued as a theme in this paper, which began with the announcement of Bill's death and ended with Khan's statement that the paper was a means of mourning as much as it was a case history. Sandwiched in between these points, Khan discussed his last analytic encounter with Bill that occurred over three months in 1975. These sessions concentrated on Bill's time as a prisoner of war of the Japanese and a subsequent jail sentence for homosexuality, which he had survived by maintaining an isolated stance, passively spectating on deadly scenarios. Khan saw this serendipitously self protective stance as deriving from Bill's observation of his mother's behaviour towards her two husbands and it being Bill's subsequent exertion of unconscious murderousness over others, who in the process he objectified. This left Bill fated, his omnipotent living from a false self eradicating authentic relating to others. With this understanding, Bill was able to relinquish his control, Khan suggested, and finally live in a more dependent and independent way with others: shifting from fatedness to destiny. For Khan, his association with Bill had spanned the bulk of his own professional life and mourning Bill seemed intertwined with mourning his own losses. These were all too clearly evident when Khan sought to deliver the paper at a meeting of the Squiggle Foundation, in London on 2 June. As his voice was now reduced to a rasping whisper, the text was read by a Squiggle Foundation member on his behalf. Then, despite the difficulties, Khan resurrected himself to field questions in the subsequent lively discussion.

Having completed this paper, Khan again found himself unable to write in a sustained way, and he now abandoned the projected book on Winnicott.³² This commission would be taken up and brought to fruition in due course by one of Khan's students, Adam Phillips. In addition to the crisis with his writing, Khan's

psychoanalytic practice had evaporated: he had no patients. His day-to-day income thus declined, to which fact he responded by 'fantasizing impractical solutions to his increasingly uncertain situation'.³³

On 18 July Khan returned to Pakistan,³⁴ where he passed the next four months in relative seclusion, a domicile he now planned to incorporate into his life by routinely moving between his London apartment and his house in Faisalabad.³⁵ He informed friends and colleagues of his intended arrangements by circulating a printed notice of his 'periods of residence' for the next three years, 1986 to 1988. Styling himself 'Prince Raja M Masud R Khan, MA, DLitt', he announced that he would be in London from April to the end of November, whilst the remaining months of the year would be spent in Pakistan.³⁶ Stoller gently expressed doubt about the viability of such a life split between two worlds, and rather more forthrightly told Khan that his idea of spending the months in the West lecturing 'can only be a daydream'.³⁷ Despite such an alarm call, this particular expression of the split between irreconcilable European and Indian antagonistic attachments would continue to be lived out by Khan. During this particular stay in Pakistan Khan seemed to remain withdrawn, he claiming to have spent much of his time in bed, only venturing out for meals and sporadic discussions with his bank manager, Jamil Nishtar, with whom he arranged the sale of property, necessitated by his liquidity problems.³⁸

Returning to London with Shahnaz on 23 November, Khan, in a seemingly sober state, reflected on his breakdown, which he linked with the progressive loss of his 'patrons', of his appointments since 1976, and his contracting cancer, all of which he managed or reacted to by:

...being drunk and outrageous to everyone...One real gain from letting go and just [being] ill...has been that...I do realise that I brought all the disasters almost wilfully on myself. It is futile to accuse anyone. They were willing to do their best...[My life] is all melodramatic ruptures and amplitudes of living and working, since my father died in 1943.³⁹

Along with such insight Khan experienced renewed concerns about his physical health, although his doctor reassured him and organised further specialist opinion.⁴⁰ Despite such anxieties Khan did manage to pen a review, which he dated 8 December 1984, of Janine Chasseguet-Smirgel's *Creativity and Perversion*, highlighting in it the universality of perversion as a latent psychic core capable of activation given certain contingencies.⁴¹ Interestingly, Khan misquotes Chasseguet-Smirgel in one part of his review. She suggests *en passant* that the basis of the incest taboo may rest on a substitution of incest 'for infantile impotence',⁴² which Khan turns on its head by misquoting it as 'for infantile *omnipotence*'.⁴³ It is perhaps a small point, but one that arguably reflects Khan's personality, particularly his difficulties with dependency, which he evaded through haughty grandiosity. This may be illustrated further by Khan's claims at the end of January 1985 that he had realised capital during his stay in Pakistan that would by the year's end supposedly result in his accrual of one million dollars in interest alone.⁴⁴ To this he added that he was again

busy with clinical patients, all of whom travelled from abroad to see him, and that he had just written a paper 'Outrageousness, compliance and authenticity' for the spring issue of the *Nouvelle Revue de Psychanalyse*. The latter at least was true.

In his new paper Khan explored outrageousness as an affective ego-state and illustrated his ideas on it with the story of his work with Johnny Roberts, a businessman in his mid thirties who suggested his own obsessionality, depression and non-relating compliance followed farting during his fifth birthday party, this being punished by his mother who declared him 'outrageous'. Khan saw this as an alibi covering an earlier time when Mr Roberts had been indulgently looked after by his grandparents during his mother's unexpected hospitalisation with septicaemia for three months. When he returned home his mother was silently outraged at his grubby appearance and he was once again tidied up, his messy reactive aggression being cumulatively inhibited by his mother's over-care and it only seeping out in subtle spitefulness and later outrageousness. Thus, Khan concluded that adolescent and later outrageousness is typically consequent to early care that overly restricts spontaneity and relatedness. Khan's style in the paper, as in others from these years, was very free, uncluttered with jargon and self revelatory, including stories of Tahir's death and allusions to his own life and behaviour. Thus, for instance, he noted: 'I had been a more outrageous person in my private life. I knew all the ruses of that affect, both in private life and professionally. I was a much cuddled infant/child, who grew up, very precociously, to speak seven languages, be a champion international rider and squash player.'⁴⁵ Of course in the context such claims themselves exemplify Khan's thesis and constitute a certain critique of psychoanalytic culture, which discourages self-disclosure by analysts in favour of a more neutral stance.

Further publications were planned at this stage, their collation in book form being raised now with the director of the Hogarth Press, John Charlton, for publication under their specific imprint. Using the working title *From Anti-Social Tendency to Drug Dependence*, Khan suggested this book would contain a substantial introduction followed by seven case histories, that it would be ready for submission by mid 1986, and that he did not intend it for inclusion within the *International Psychoanalytical Library* series.⁴⁶ In this and other works Khan stipulated he was to be styled 'Prince Masud Khan, MA, DLitt', beginning with his contribution to Winnicott's *Holding and Interpretation*, which Khan had edited and introduced, and which would appear in 1986.⁴⁷

Little is known about Khan or his activities during the ensuing months of 1985. His accessible surviving correspondence dwindled to nothing and indications from his friends were that he had been incommunicado.⁴⁸ The silence probably correlated with an acceleration in his drinking, which by the autumn of this year was having an increasingly negative effect on his health. Thus, he developed acute toxic (alcohol induced) hepatitis and was hospitalised in the London Clinic for over a month, his physician, Barrington Cooper, and close friends thinking that his condition could be fatal.⁴⁹ It did not prove to be so on this occasion. Discharged from hospital, Khan continued on heavy doses of medication and tranquillisers, and was nursed by Shahnaz who continued

to live at Khan's Palace Court apartment.⁵⁰ When Victor Smirnoff called to visit him at the beginning of October, Khan got out of bed and dined with his friend who he was pleased to see. He rapidly tired however, his conversation was superficial, and he looked forward to returning to Pakistan.⁵¹ By the following month, Khan was sounding a little better and told Smirnoff that he was going to write a new paper for the *Nouvelle Revue de Psychanalyse*, and that (despite his lack of patients and consequent cash flow) he had no financial needs due to his considerable capital resources.⁵² The actual extent of Khan's wealth, however, was something his friends now no longer simply accepted; instead many viewed such claims as yet another 'yarn' whose basis in reality was uncertain. Robert Stoller entertained the view that Khan inflated his financial assets in the same way that he inflated anything else that was of potential narcissistic value to him.⁵³ Not everything was illusory however, for by the end of the year he had completed the paper he had earlier mentioned to Smirnoff,⁵⁴ and it appeared in the spring 1986 edition of the *Nouvelle Revue de Psychanalyse*, under the title 'Pensées'. It was Khan's final paper in the *Nouvelle Revue*.

'Thoughts', to give the paper its later English title, centred on the case of twenty-two year old Benjamin, who came, compliantly, after four other attempts at psychotherapy had ended in impasse, due apparently to his silence over his seemingly obsessional thoughts. Beginning with the idea that Benjamin had a false or reactive (Khan's preferred term) self, Khan suggested this was a result of his obsessional mother's superficially over-protective and over-caring behaviour, which was itself a reaction-formation to conceal her unconscious hatred of him; for his part, Benjamin's emotional and predominantly passive attachment to her was through a 'love of hate' and a later corresponding 'hate of love'. As Benjamin's story unfolded, Khan, in what was for him a rather uncharacteristic vein, came to highlight not so much Benjamin's status as his mother's hapless victim, but rather his 'unacknowledged complicity...[with his mother, such that their] mutual complicity of relating...led to his "Divided Self"...and the resultant surrender to "love of hate"'.⁵⁵ Hiding emotionally behind an 'alibi...[of mother as] the spoilsport in every ongoing activity',⁵⁶ Benjamin obsessively supported a narcissistic ego-ideal, his 'innocence' being preserved by his regime of exercise, in a manner reminiscent of the physical hygiene movement, and other strategies. However, when inescapably faced with or a witness to intimacy, his latent murderous, sexual and vindictive 'thoughts' became a bulwark against dammed-up and subjectively unbearable feelings, particularly of longing, the 'thoughts' thus being 'his patent technique of splitting his ego, [and] distancing himself from the loving object';⁵⁷ the price (and payoff) of the technique was de-compensation, involving a painful resurgence of alienating shame for the transgression of his precocious ego-ideal. In terms of his own clinical technique, Khan depicts himself as eschewing therapeutic zeal and the role of accomplice, attuning himself instead to the patient's *non-sense*, and actively adapting his clinical stance – particularly in the face of the patient's turgid passivity and projection of responsibility onto others, features he sought to interpret and to undermine through directive interventions. As an

account, it has echoes of Khan's earlier work with Peter, reported in his 1963 paper 'Silence as communication'.

As previously suggested, a notable shift in Khan's thinking is made more explicit in this present paper. The picture of the mother as the prime exogenous traumatogenic object gives way to a view of both mother *and* infant being active co-participants in a mutual seduction that vivifies their relationship and catalyses the infant's maturational processes. Distortion of the latter developmental process and the creation of neurotic symptoms, Khan here claims, is not primarily due to monadic transient traumatic events or seductions, whether these are construed as real historical events in the external interpersonal world *or* subjective, intrapsychic phantasy; both of these are viewed as part of the ubiquitous grit of human developmental history. Earlier, in his brief 1979 paper 'Enfance, solitude et folie', Khan had linked the fact and phantasy views of trauma with Winnicott and Klein respectively. Now, reasserting his early notion of cumulative trauma more trenchantly, Khan proposed symptoms of illness (and health) emanate principally from the chronic experience of adversity. He thus declared that 'It is cumulative trauma, cumulative seduction and cumulative deprivation that play the mutative role in developmental arrest or its normal fructification.'⁵⁸

Certainly, Khan's own life course exhibited the chronic patterns he articulated in 'Thoughts', and, in the absence of available detail, it may be assumed the remainder of the year followed the now well established trajectory. By the year's end, on 29 December 1985, he re-emerges into the available record as he departs with Shahnaz for Pakistan, where he planned to remain over the first three months of 1986.⁵⁹ His parting act just prior to leaving London was to write and send a fourteen page letter, full of invective, denouncing his long-time friend, the head of Sigmund Freud Copyrights, Mark Paterson, for an alleged lack of consultation and ended it by suggesting that his own re-election as a director be subject to Mark Paterson's judgement of his value.⁶⁰ Having circulated copies of his letter to the other directors, Albert Solnit, Clifford Yorke and J-B. Pontalis, Khan followed it up with a nine page letter on 30 January 1986 from Pakistan, more temperate in tone, enquiring about the outcome of the AGM and his own fate as a director; which letter, Khan made clear, took time away from his quiet 'retreat' where he flamboyantly claimed to be occupied playing croquet and beginning to breed horses.⁶¹

Khan had not been re-appointed as a director of Sigmund Freud Copyrights at its AGM on 16 January, a decision about which he was informed by Paterson, who was clearly personally hurt by Khan's vitriolic comments.⁶² The loss of his directorship of Sigmund Freud Copyrights marked almost the end of Khan's British institutional affiliations, only his membership of the British Psychoanalytical Society remaining. Through his correspondence Khan had provoked his own loss of role, thus perhaps reinforcing his sense of grievance against the other for their supposed perfidy, while simultaneously confirming himself as a tragic hero. Paterson later described Khan as a director as being:

...interested in the grand design and had no time for detail, nor did he understand the problems that had to be solved. Having misunderstood an issue, he would often write to one of the parties concerned and mischievously send copies to others who were not. This caused confusion and trouble. He seemed to enjoy the ensuing effects, but someone else had to smooth ruffled feathers and pick up the pieces.⁶³

The loss of his directorship was, it seems clear, a result Khan had engineered, his provocation being a knowing instrument designed to bring about his own dismissal. He himself had written insightfully about this dynamic in his 1980 paper 'Meurtre, frénésie et folie', republished in English in 1985 in the first volume of *The Yearbook of Psychoanalysis and Psychotherapy* (of whose editorial board Khan was a member) as 'Murder, frenzy and madness – the logistics of humiliations: notes on Dostoevsky and *The Idiot*' which he commenced with the succinct statement:

One definition of some murders could be: suicide through the Other. A person who has exhausted all his or her antics of self-sustenance and self-cure by external distractions or internal delusions needs to commit suicide but cannot. He or she then finds a 'victim' to kill him or her and end the agony of non-being.⁶⁴

This idea Khan had again expressed in 'Pensées', written during the last three months of 1985, in which he wrote: 'The surest way to commit suicide is to provoke someone to kill you',⁶⁵ and had previously been expressed by him as far back as April 1964. His own engineering and enactment of this with Mark Paterson occurred significantly at the point of his return to Pakistan, and at a time of heightened ill health, both somatically and mentally. Privately, Khan at this time suggested how he sought stimulation as a temporary antidote to his own psychic state. 'I get provoked', he wrote, 'to engineer some "happening" from sheer boredom. Or I chat up anyone whom I encounter, and they mistake it for a real committed interest in them; whereas I have forgotten them as soon as I stop "chatting up"'.⁶⁶

A GRAND SCHEME

While in Pakistan in February, Khan contacted the Nobel Prize winning theoretical physicist Abdus Salam, with whom he had been acquainted since their time together at the Government College in Lahore. Khan sought his backing for a proposal to establish a Pakistan based organisation, the 'Fazaldad Foundation', with the intention that it would foster research in the sciences and humanities, including the publication of an annual, to be entitled *Crossroads*.⁶⁷ Perhaps allied to the latter, Khan went on to draft a proposal for three volumes of writings collectively titled *The Humanities at the Crossroads*, the successive volumes of which he planned to call *Aloneness*, *Passions and Solitudes*, *Apostacy*, (sic) *Persons and Certitudes* and *From Sigmund to Freud*.⁶⁸ In the outline proposal

Khan once again styled himself 'Prince Masud Khan, MA, DLitt', as he had to John Charlton twelve months earlier when discussing his provisionally titled book *From Anti-Social Tendency to Drug Dependence*. Much of the outline of the latter work Khan incorporated into the plan for *Aloneness, Passions and Solitudes*, intimating this would comprise two principal parts: one dealing with essays on Sophocles, Shakespeare, Baudelaire, Dostoyevsky and Camus (the last two of which had been published), and the other consisting of clinical essays on Counter-transferences, The Long Wait, Outrageousness, Thoughts, and False-self existing (the last three of which Khan said had been published). *Apostacy, Persons and Certitudes* was to consist of ten essays explicating the work of Klein, Edward Glover, Anna Freud, Hartmann, Fairbairn, Winnicott, Erikson, Lacan, Bowlby and Bion, the majority of which Khan claimed had by then been published. The final volume of the trilogy, *From Sigmund to Freud*, was intended as an intellectual biography of Freud, demonstrating the coherence and interdependence within his public writings and private correspondence. Then, to add to this already mammoth agenda, Khan intimated in mid March that he had accepted a commission for a book, *Oedipus the King, Oedipus Complex and After*, supposedly to be published in Paris by the charismatic psychoanalyst and philosopher Pierre Fédida.⁶⁹ This work was to trace the vicissitudes of 'the tragic hero' from classical Greek literature, particularly Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex*, through to debased versions cast as 'the neurotic/criminal types', exemplified in the works of Goethe, Victor Hugo, Dostoyevsky, and James Joyce. It was to then situate Freud as physician to 'the neurotic/criminal types', detail the Freudian Oedipus complex and conclude with a chapter on 'the person', as illustrated by both the poetic imagination of Rilke, T. S. Eliot, and others, and the primarily *hermeneutic* intellectual output of the likes of Levi-Strauss, Ricoeur and Anzieu.

Shahnaz, Khan suggested, had relaxed now she was back in Faisalabad, without the strain that caring for him during 1985 had been, and was able to socialise with her friends, while he now idled playing croquet and thinking about horse breeding (saying to Stoller he was looking for two thoroughbred mares – not that he actually had any, as had been implied to Mark Paterson).⁷⁰ Some of the time during this stay was passed organising his abode, the description Stoller got being one that depicted a 'soft religious ambience, which honours your father, respects your people, and pleases your aesthetic sensibilities'.⁷¹ Old grievances continued to surface about colleagues and the psychoanalytic movement. Harking back to the events of 1965, Khan disparaged the IPA and its membership saying:

The rot set in when William Gillespie became President, and Pearl King (with a third class degree in BA, from London University; she was a fellow candidate with me at the Institute) was his general-secretary. It was then that the bureaucratization of the International started.⁷²

Gillespie and King had been key figures in the 1965 Gitelson affair, and Khan's private disparagement of them occurs here in its historically distant (though

psychically near) wake. Pearl King had actually obtained a very good upper second class degree in 1941, sitting her finals in Cambridge University as a wartime evacuee from London University,⁷³ in contrast to Khan with his own very low second class BA and third class MA.

On his return to London Khan responded to Robert Stoller's doubts about how realistically accomplishable *The Humanities at the Crossroads* trilogy might be,⁷⁴ saying that he was already ahead of schedule, having only two chapters remaining before *Aloneness, Passions and Solitudes* was complete, which he claimed would be ready by the end of June 1986.⁷⁵ In addition to this, Khan went on to suggest that *Oedipus the King*, *Oedipus Complex* and *After* might be completed by the end of the year.⁷⁶ Such claims were accompanied by even more inflated stories, including one of new-found wealth from the disposal of two pieces of his Pakistan property for 37 million rupees, some of which he claimed he was going to now spend on a Mercedes. Khan suggested the exchange rate was approximately five rupees to the dollar, which would have yielded \$7,400,000. Based on contemporary exchange rates, however, Khan would have realised a more modest £351,773 or \$635,738, his self-inflation being by over a factor of ten. All of this was in the context of assertions that he was remaining abstinent from alcohol,⁷⁷ a claim that is otherwise unsubstantiated. Victor Smirnoff who met Khan during April said he appeared to be 'quite well' and 'in good shape', though by May, when Jean Pouillon saw him, Khan was looking tired and appeared somewhat grandiose.⁷⁸

The pressure to produce substantial writings, or at least retention of the wish and plan to do so, was extended by Khan to those around him. With Clifford Scott, for example, Khan now encouraged him to publish a volume of his selected papers, and that he should 'not dilly dally perfecting [them, as]...the important thing is to have them published'.⁷⁹ The urgency Khan here evinces regarding publication, that now overrides concern for quality, suggests he was in an increasingly desperate state of mind, probably aware of his own deteriorating health and preoccupied with the creation of his own durable memorial. Being remembered became the overwhelming aim, rather than how or in what way he might be remembered. The act of writing and the fact of publication here appear to become a vehicle for rather desperate manic omnipotent wishes. In concluding his letter to Scott, Khan said he would not be at the 35th IPA Congress in Montreal next year due to 'lecturing in Leningrad University on Dostoevsky, Tolstoi and Chekkov. Anyway, [I] haven't attended a *meeting* since 1975 and have felt no lack from that'.⁸⁰ Scott, apparently accepting Khan at his word, congratulated him on his 'lecturing' and went on to share his thoughts about a previous conference in the USSR, before receiving a card at the end of the year whose post script was 'Hope to see you in 1987/IPA Congress'.⁸¹ Such a *volte face* was without explanation and without recognition of its inconsistency with his previous story: requirements of secondary process thinking that Khan seemed decreasingly to recognise.

The Stollers again came to Europe on holiday this year, which trip they began with a three-day stay with Khan at the end of June 1986.⁸² During their visit Khan had renewed problems with his sight which necessitated a

brief hospital admission in July.⁸³ On discharge he was able to make a little headway with the completion of *Aloneness, Passions and Solitudes*, though he had now retitled it *Transgression: Passions, Pain and Solitudes*. The central contents of this he listed as Prisons, Outrageousness, Thoughts, The Long Wait, When Spring Comes, and Empty Chairs – Vacant Spaces, together with his essays on Dostoyevsky and Camus and an as yet to be written chapter titled Asides and Utterances.⁸⁴ These chapters would in due course form *When Spring Comes: Awakenings in Clinical Psychoanalysis*, Khan's final book, albeit without the last three chapters here listed. In addition to this work Khan wrote a brief foreword to Anne Clancier and Jeannine Kalmanovitch's *Winnicott and Paradox*, dated 29 August 1986, which work was the first to be published with his new form of address and persona: Prince Masud Khan, MA, DLitt.⁸⁵ Khan privately further magnified the latter at this time, presenting himself to Mark Paterson as 'His Excellency Prince/Raja M Masud R Khan, MA, DLitt, Ambassador à U.N.E.S.C.O. Paris',⁸⁶ perhaps mirroring his long-time friend Sahabzada Yakub Khan who had in reality occupied this post alongside his post as Pakistani ambassador in Paris during the early 1980s. Following this, Khan and Shahnaz departed for Pakistan around the end of August 1986, a trip that, he claimed, was necessitated partly by the negative impact of Benazir Bhutto's government on his assets there.⁸⁷ Despite indications that he intended to remain in Faisalabad until the beginning of January 1987,⁸⁸ Khan arrived back in London alone in October 1986 much to the surprise of friends.⁸⁹ In fact, during the trip Shahnaz had become engaged to and would go on to marry Chaudri Nazir Ahmed, who she had known for a long time, initially as the manager of Khan's Faisalabad home and attached land.⁹⁰ Her decision was rather mixed news for Khan and seems likely to have influenced his early return to London, although he suggested this may have been connected with seeking treatment for a recurrence of the eye trouble he had experienced earlier this year.⁹¹ For the balance of 1986 Khan's life remains obscure, as least as far as available sources are concerned.

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The Final Act

The beginning of 1987 saw Shahnaz, despite her recent marriage, persuaded to return to Palace Court as Khan's companion and nurse and saw him revive some contact with friends.¹ The year was to be marked for Khan with renewed serious health problems. A recurrence of cancer was diagnosed during the spring,² which, while it shocked Khan's friends, appeared to respond to renewed radiotherapy.³ Following this Khan went to recuperate in Pakistan during August.⁴ Back in London, when colleagues attempted to visit they faced a very uncertain reception. Clifford Scott, for example, was due in London at this time and Khan urged him to call when he had arrived and then come to dinner.⁵ When Scott did telephone however Khan was unable to speak to him, the dinner failed to materialise and Khan wrote apologising and saying he was going to spend the winter in Pakistan, departing that October and staying until the end of March 1988.⁶ The two men appear to have had no further contact. Neither did the mooted trip to Pakistan materialise. In its place, Khan had to now undergo further aggressive treatment for cancer during the autumn, Khan's surgeons performing a laryngectomy, following which talking was impossible.

One visitor from around this time was Max Hernández, who had maintained occasional contact since finishing his supervision in 1973. Describing the encounter and reflecting on his friend's odyssey Hernández writes:

On my last visit, he had to write what he wanted to tell me because he had a throat operation. By then he had done some 'extravagant', 'nasty', 'outrageous', 'human, all too human' things. Maybe one should keep in mind that it was – 'still is' – not particularly easy to be a Pakistani in Britain. [I] do not say this as an excuse; I am just mentioning a fact. He was in bad shape but tried to 'keep the aspidistra going'.⁷

When Victor Smirnoff saw him their communication was similarly impaired. He painted a bleak and painful picture of these last months of Khan's life, writing:

Masud could no longer speak and conversation was one-sided: he would listen then reply with short written notes. Communication became more and more difficult. Then bit by bit even correspondence became rarer, until it finally stopped: he replied to neither my letters nor my post cards which had once been his preferred means of correspondence.⁸

Khan had refused all vocal rehabilitation and speech therapy, which effectively sealed him into a state of near mutism,⁹ curiously symmetrising the mutism of his early childhood. His correspondence, as Victor Smirnoff intimated, virtually ceased, and his visitors dwindled in number and frequency. Even his patient-doctor relationship with his physician, the redoubtable Barrington Cooper, collapsed, after what Victor Smirnoff described as 'a somewhat sour... year', Khan transferring to another doctor.¹⁰ Despite this, Cooper continued to visit Khan episodically and provide what friendly support he could. It was remarkable, given the enormous traumas of 1987, that Khan had managed to complete his final collection of papers, preparing them for publication in the new year with Chatto and Windus, who had acquired the Hogarth Press.

The new year brought a little contact with friends, Khan telephoning Robert Stoller in February 1988, although with his almost total loss of speech it must have been a difficult call.¹¹ Describing perhaps this call, Robert Stoller said 'he could hardly articulate a sound, and so we talked to his secretary. Since then, we have not tried to call; it is futile.'¹² Shortly after this, at the end of March 1988, Khan said that, while he was struggling to adjust to his virtual mutism, he was still seeing some patients and that he was expecting his new book to be published on 23 April.¹³ While Khan's claim to be seeing patients seems very unlikely and was probably fiction, his book's imminent publication was only too true.

WHEN SPRING COMES

The book, *When Spring Comes: Awakenings in Clinical Psychoanalysis*, was widely and rapidly greeted on its publication in April with horror within the psychoanalytic community. Many of the papers in it were self-revelatory and provocative, with that on his treatment of Mr Luis attracting particular opprobrium. In that account, under the title 'A dismaying homosexual', Khan described his stinging early responses to a seventy minute flood of material from Mr Luis during their initial meeting. In amongst his invective of prejudice Khan reported saying:

Yes, I am anti-Semitic. You know why, Mr Luis? Because I am an Aryan and had thought all of you Jews had perished when Jesus, from sheer dismay – and he was one of you – had flown up to Heaven, leaving you in the scorching care of Hitler, Himmler and the crematoriums. Don't fret, Mr Luis; like the rest of your species, you will survive and continue to harass others, and lament, and bewail yourselves. Remarkable how Yiddish/Jewish you are. Vintage quality, too. Only you have gathered too much moss on your arse.¹⁴

His statements were arresting and strategically intended, or at least that was what Khan appeared to imply as he went on: 'Do you hear me, Mr Luis? It is not difficult to splurge obscenities and outrageousness. Now, is it? I can be a deft hand with it at times, when provoked. But what is the point of that, with you?'¹⁵ Such counter-outrageousness, Khan seems to suggest, was effective in

punctuating the 'texts' Mr Luis 'flaunted and exhibited' and facilitated a shift in their relating. The account of this work and the subsequent management dominated treatment, however, which appears to be set sometime between 1965 and 1973 and which he suggests ended satisfactorily, led unsurprisingly to a major public backlash from the psychoanalytic world.

Privately, Robert Stoller declared to Khan that he had burnt his bridges with the book and that, although he subverted and critiqued the traditional stance of analytic neutrality, replacing it with a more direct approach to the person who is the patient (including 'how you use "terroristic" techniques to bring understanding to your patients and retribution to former colleagues'), his display of arrogance, anti-Semitism and the general sense that Khan's analytic narratives are 'simulations' would lead to 'a fuss...[that could] be massively damaging to you'.¹⁶ Stoller was right. The published reviews began relatively cautiously. Peter Lomas, writing in the *Times Literary Supplement* in May, raised concerns about the intrusion of Khan's 'idiosyncratic, swashbuckling, self-revealing style' into the therapeutic situation to the detriment of dependent patients.¹⁷ Later reviews would be more forthright, a condemnation perhaps coloured by the psychoanalytic establishment's official response to *When Spring Comes* and its author.

The British Psychoanalytical Society's Ethical Committee, which had its contemporary genesis in the 1981 ad hoc committee discussed earlier, now received five complaints from members of the Society, the substance of which were that Khan had cast the profession into disrepute and had been explicitly anti-Semitic in the book. Eric Rayner, who was a member of the Ethical Committee at the time, recalled its deliberations:

We knew that Masud was dying and that it was cruel to judge him at that time. We went over the evidence in the company of lawyers very carefully and were, as I remember, unanimous in deciding that enough was enough. We had a duty to uncompromisingly disassociate psychoanalysis from overt expressions of racism and from indulgence in malicious defamation, especially when it is published for all to see for years to come. So we recommended to our Council that his membership be terminated; this was then carried out.¹⁸

Khan had been invited to meet or otherwise discuss with the Ethical Committee the charges, an invitation he declined citing his cancer and vocal impairment for his non attendance.¹⁹ In his absence the committee recommended to the Council of the British Psychoanalytical Society that Khan's membership be terminated forthwith, which proposal it considered and unanimously endorsed at a special Council meeting convened on Khan's 64th birthday, 21 July 1988. Prior to this, Khan had been invited by the Secretary to attend this meeting,²⁰ an invitation he also declined, writing instead to Eric Brenman, the then Society President, saying:

All of 1987 I was gravely ill with cancer of the throat. X-ray and chemotherapy could not control it. In December 1987 the whole of my larynx was surgically

removed to stop the cancer spreading to my only lung. It seems to have done that, but has left me with no voice whatsoever. So I have had to give up clinical practice and other activities.

Given my present disabled condition, I have decided to resign from the membership of the British Psycho-Analytic Society and the British Institute of Psycho-Analysis, and am hereby offering my resignation as from today, 13 July 1988.²¹

He made no mention to Brenman of the Ethical Committee's charges. However, he did write to them separately informing them that he was resigning his Society membership. This final attempt at maintaining his omnipotence through forestalling the other's decision, by his active resignation rather than being removed, was too late: the Society stood firm with its decision in favour of Khan's removal. Furious, Khan replied to Richard Lucas (who had informed him of the decision) writing:

I have received your letter of 22 July 1988.

I cannot comprehend what was your need to write this unsavoury letter to me, since I resigned from membership of the British Psycho-Analytical Society as from 13 July 1988, as stated in my letter to the President, Dr E Brennen [sic], a copy of which is enclosed.

I have taken note of all the issues raised in your letter, and most of these you will find well answered in my autobiography which will appear late next year under the title *It Happened Thus*.²²

So, yet again Khan was seeking to rewrite his history and indeed seems to have seriously toyed with the idea of an autobiography, although he actually turned to the psychotherapist Judy Cooper at this time to undertake the task on his behalf. She had been in analysis with him from 1967 to 1973 and had during that time received a set of Khan's *Work Books* as a wedding present. After meeting weekly for a couple of months Khan dismissed her and the project, alternative titles of which he had mused might be *Try Being Me* or *King and Son*.²³ Meanwhile, within the Society a briefer, more factual and sombre document had been written. Anne-Marie Sandler, the Chairman of the Society's Council, promulgated their decision to terminate Khan's membership by writing to all the Society's Members, Associates and students on 30 July 1988.²⁴

Looking back on the Society's decision to disbar Khan, Robert Stoller noted that *When Spring Comes* was both the final straw that broke their tolerance and a legitimate excuse, but that their action had been provoked by Khan's destructiveness, which latter feature Stoller charted in his own response to the book. Thus, he wrote that he had:

...found reading it a most interesting experience, interesting in the way it is interesting to watch a kamikaze pilot in his final plunge. None of the cases are, I believe, factual reports but are rather daydreams that have, for our friend, replaced drab reality. Not that this is a sudden condition; he has for years

played at the borderland but, with a gentle prod, could step back onto our side of reality. That began slipping some years ago and seems now to have become a more or less unalterable state. (The 'Prince' and 'DLitt' exemplify earlier manifestations.) Where I have direct information on the 'cases' that make up the book, I find nothing that is true, and there is plenty of evidence in the rest that the reported conversations are fictions. His jolly, light-hearted rages (e.g. the foul anti-Semitism) end his career as a psychoanalyst.²⁵

Later, reflecting further on his reactions to Khan's book, Stoller wrote that he was 'shocked at what a ruinous display it was. He has now made public that he is a madman.'²⁶ Khan was apparently unrepentant. Indeed, Victor Smirnoff later wrote that Khan, 'hurt as he must have been [by his expulsion from the British Society] rather took a megalomaniac pride or satisfaction in this. It must have been the final proof that his despicable colleagues...deserved the poor opinion he had shown them for all these years'.²⁷ Those friends and colleagues who had remained close to Khan, such as Robert Stoller, Victor Smirnoff and Christopher Bollas, heard virtually nothing from him over the summer and autumn months, despite their enquiries.²⁸ During July Shahnaz had finally quit London, returning to Faisalabad and her new husband.²⁹ An almost total recluse, Khan drank continually whilst lying in his darkened room, alone and idle.³⁰

DYING DAYS

Then, in November some further news came in the form of a brief letter written to Robert and Sybil Stoller on Armistice Day 1988. 'God bless you', Khan wrote, 'for your persistent friendship. I have been gravely ill with further cancer growths and I have had four operations. I have no voice left now so clinical work is possible with only a very few patients. I am writing my autobiography now.'³¹ Still he continued to drink, which now began to exact its inevitable toll particularly on his liver and his general capacity to function. Perhaps having some recognition of this Khan signed an enduring power of attorney on 14 January 1989, which would allow his solicitor, Paul Kimber, to manage his affairs if and when Khan was deemed mentally incapable. Two months later, on 21 March, Kimber applied to the Court of Protection for the registration of the previously executed form and, being granted it, took over the legal management of Khan's affairs.³²

Hospitalised with serious liver failure towards the end of March 1989 in the London Clinic, Khan, recognising that he was dying, wrote his will and then signed it on 29 March.³³ In it he left his British based assets in trust to Chaudri Nazir Ahmed, his long-time estate manager in Faisalabad and husband of his niece Shahnaz, Khan's sole other bequest being his Nelson desk which he left to Paul Kimber. Nothing was to be left to his friends who had tolerated so much for so long. Victor Smirnoff visited him in the London Clinic twice, lastly on 10 April. Now, Khan appeared to have 'given up any appetite for life'

and Smirnoff was conscious that this visit might be the last time he would see his friend.³⁴ Recalling that meeting of 10 April Smirnoff wrote that:

In the half-light he seemed exhausted but he was still handsome. I spoke to him; he smiled to me, silently, holding my hand. From time to time he would ask for his notebook and would scribble a few lines in a shaky hand. 'What an end to my life. I was getting too sick so I decided to withdraw. I have no friends in London. Keep in touch.' This was my last letter from Masud Khan.³⁵

Expanding on this to Robert Stoller, Smirnoff wrote that Khan had 'been destroying himself for years: in a grandiose way earlier in life, but later with a bitter and sordid vengeance'.³⁶ Those of his friends who he had not totally alienated worried about him. Svetlana Beriosova, who had retained some contact with Khan since their divorce, telephoned Stoller to express her worries for him, as did various American friends.³⁷ In his attempts now to provide for Khan's immediate welfare and pay for his medical care (the last stay in hospital had cost about £12,000) Paul Kimber found Khan's liquid assets in London to be meagre, while funds from Pakistan appeared uncertain, both in their size and accessibility.³⁸ What verifiable and accessible funds Khan had were invested in shares and securities in the United States, Robert Stoller having managed these on his behalf since at least 1969. By 1989 the investment portfolio was worth a little over \$200,000 and, anticipating further medical expenses, Kimber on 28 April requested the entire portfolio be liquidated and remitted to him in London.³⁹

Khan had by this time been discharged from the London Clinic, his doctors suggesting he could with appropriate care be expected to recover.⁴⁰ Robert Stoller, having garnered the latest news from Barrington Cooper and Paul Kimber, described Khan's circumstances at this time. 'The situation', he wrote, 'is settling down to its usual chronic awful state in which he lies in the dark seeing no one and doing nothing. I would guess that by now, following the several weeks of drying out, he is again hammering his liver and his soul with whiskey and wine.'⁴¹

By this time, the US edition of *When Spring Comes* was published by Summit Books, under the title *The Long Wait and Other Psychoanalytic Narratives*. Reviewing it in April 1989, in a full-page article in *The New York Times Review of Books*, Janet Malcolm was strongly critical, especially of its 'snobbery, arrogance and anti-Semitism' and went on to then speculate about its author, writing:

Mr Khan's transgressions against the minimum decencies of psychotherapeutic conduct are so extreme and so grotesque that midway through the book one ceases to read it as an account of actual encounters with real people and begins to think of it as a kind of recurrent dream of grandiosity and omnipotence, dreamed by an analyst who has perhaps been in practice too long and for whom the impossible profession was probably not the best career choice... When one compares this outrageous and repellent book to the sane

and civilized *Privacy of the Self*...one can only assume that something bad has happened to Mr Khan in the intervening 15 years.⁴²

It was, as Stoller pointed out, 'a justifiable slaughter'.⁴³ What Khan may have made of it, if he actually saw the review, is not known. He had now, however, other worries, his health taking another downward turn due to acute liver failure.

Admitted to St Mary's Hospital, Khan died there on Wednesday 7 June 1989, his death certificate stating the causes of death as being hepatic encephalopathy, cirrhosis of the liver and carcinomatosis.⁴⁴ Khan's drinking had at last killed him. Paul Kimber, who acted as the executor, registered Khan's death the following day and organised his funeral, in accordance with Khan's British last will and testament. Khan's body was flown to Pakistan where, according to his final instructions, it was to be 'taken to Kot Fazalddad Khan in Faisalabad...and buried on my father's right side in the family graveyard'.⁴⁵ There had been no form of service, ceremony or memorial event in London to mark Khan's passing and his funeral in Pakistan appears to have been similarly conspicuous by the lack of any formal representation.⁴⁶ Instead, his funeral in the tiny family graveyard was a fittingly private event with family and a few Pakistani friends attending. Masud Khan had at last returned home.

In the wake of his death questions arose about the merit or otherwise of preserving Khan's various papers, *Work Books*, diaries, drawings and so on. Christopher Bollas, concerned they may be destroyed, lobbied colleagues to petition Paul Kimber, Khan's executor, to ensure their appropriate preservation, an action which resulted in Adam Limentani accepting the bulk of them for inclusion within the archives of the International Psychoanalytical Association, to be housed at the Association's London headquarters.⁴⁷ This was apparently with the exception of patients' case-notes, which were shredded by Kimber and Bollas in the interests of confidentiality.⁴⁸ Harry Karnac was called in to value Khan's library, which was then purchased by his analysand Andreas Giannokulus, who donated it to the Hellenic Society for Psychoanalytic Psychotherapy, in Athens. The remainder of Khan's British estate was sold, his pictures and associated art being auctioned at Phillips, and the resultant assets (amounting to £401,175 gross and £365,330 net⁴⁹) remitted to his heir Chaudri Nazir Ahmed in Faisalabad. On this accounting at least stories of Khan's stupendous wealth were significantly exaggerated. However, such assets – remnants of a clearly financially comfortable life in London – did not represent the sum total of Khan's material estate. An estimate of the latter would need to also encompass his house, KFD, and property in Pakistan. There, in contrast to the rather impersonal disposal of his London property, the house and lands were distributed among his remaining relatives.⁵⁰

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Retrospective

Responses to Khan's death were mixed. Smirnoff said that for him 'there was no real mourning. In a certain way [Khan] had disappeared from my mental life for quite some time: no letters, no answers to my cards. He had cut off the line of communication.'¹ Then, after angrily criticising various bodies (including the British Psychoanalytical Society and the Pakistan government) for their treatment of Khan, Smirnoff offered his own *in memoriam* oration, saying that Khan:

Certainly was an unusual man: gifted, beautiful, rich, intelligent. But he was also cunning, boastful, 'narcissistic', stingy, prejudiced and cruel. He was a strange, talented, sometimes disquieting analyst. But he had style, taste and flair. And he was a faithful friend. Requiescat in pace.²

Robert Stoller's view was more balanced, understanding the position of the British Psychoanalytical Society and the lack of a tribute from the Pakistan government, he was angry with Khan for his destructive behaviour, his ungenerous snubbing last will and testament and especially his final book. It was to Khan's destructiveness that Stoller returned in considering his own angry quizzical mourning, writing that: 'he burns down the house, and he is inside it' and then continues, writing that:

I realize now that this complex form of anger I have for him is the form my mourning takes. For one can mourn with the idea: 'Fuck you. Why did you do it this way?' In this regard, I cannot agree with you that 'he was a faithful friend'. Though I can join you in RIP, I think he was, in the end, faithless to himself, to the goddam tradition he was always hooting about, and to the rest of us. He was, however, a wonderful friend, and in the long run that will be the main thing for those of us who knew him below the surface.³

Khan's death was publicly noted with a number of published obituaries, beginning with one in the *Guardian* written by Christopher Bollas,⁴ then an anonymous piece in *The Times*,⁵ and a special memorial section in the *Nouvelle Revue de Psychanalyse* which included pieces by J.-B. Pontalis,⁶ Didier Anzieu,⁷ Jean-Yves Tamet,⁸ Adam Phillips,⁹ Victor Smirnoff,¹⁰ and a translation of the previously published piece by Bollas.¹¹ Then, after two years, in 1991, the journal *Free Associations* published tributes by Khan's analysand Judy Cooper,¹² Mark

Paterson of Sigmund Freud Copyrights¹³ and a reprint of Adam Phillips' essay in English.¹⁴

Notable by its contemporary absence was any such explicit notice in the *International Journal of Psychoanalysis* or the *International Review of Psychoanalysis*, an omission that appears to have had some active encouragement. This initial writing out was only rectified three years after Khan's death when an obituary written by Adam Limentani appeared.¹⁵ This followed on the heels of a purportedly psychoanalytic paper in 1991 also by Limentani, looking at the neglect within the literature of the role of the father in the aetiology of perversions.¹⁶ While the formal obituary would sketch some of the facts of Khan's life and had broadly alluded to key areas of controversy, this earlier paper was in certain respects the more revelatory. It opens with what appears to be a thinly veiled account of Khan and *in toto* represents a critique and judgement by Adam Limentani (and the psychoanalytic establishment, in so far as Limentani – a past President of both the British Society and the IPA – may be said to represent it) on his former colleague and friend and his oeuvre. Limentani begins:

Some time ago I met a man who boasted of the 'epic' presence of his father in his childhood. He felt that his analyst, in keeping with his constant preoccupation with maternal influences on child development, had been quite cynical about it. It struck me that this man had desperately been looking for a father in his analyst but this had never materialized. I was aware that throughout his life he had engaged in sado-masochistic relationships with women and that his way of relating to various people in his immediate world was unquestionably perverse. This encounter created a feeling of uneasiness in me as I could not decide how his father had failed this man, who had felt that he was his father's favourite. Had he been too seductive? Or had he overwhelmed him with his power and compensated for the state of fear he had engendered in his son by lavishing large amounts of money on him, which did nothing to help the establishment of some identificatory process with a helpful loving paternal image? We do know that the father is the object who has the competence and capacity for restoring a good relationship to the primary object. Was this the source of failure in the relationship? A child has the right to be protected by father against his incestuous wishes and, indeed, a child who is exposed to incest blames the environment and will say that father was not there. As I thought about the state of mind of my interlocutor, I became aware that this father, who died when the patient was still an adolescent, had somehow vanished from his psyche; and although he searched for another in analysis and outside it, he failed to make any meaningful contact with a paternal figure. I am also aware that he had utterly rejected a proffered hand or any help that could have been forthcoming.¹⁷

Having thus sketched this forensic meditation, Limentani proceeded to quote his book review of *Alienation in Perversions*, pointing out his earlier criticism of Khan's insufficient attention to the role of fathers in the aetiology of

sexual deviations, the juxtaposition leaving little doubt as to the identity of Limentani's 'interlocutor'.¹⁸ While the merits of Limentani's thesis about fathers' neglected aetiological role is well substantiated and his depiction of Khan is interesting psychobiographically – particularly in relation to the theme of ablation of his own father's image,¹⁹ the paper seems also a prime example of psychoanalytic psycho-pathologising of its dissidents.²⁰ No serious attempt was made to examine Khan's ideas. Instead, it was towards Khan's thinly disguised character that Limentani chose to direct his attention, marking Khan out to the psychoanalytic cognoscenti as a *persona non grata*.

It was 'an analytic heresy' that Clifford Yorke intimated Khan would be widely seen as having committed through his personal disclosures, when he reviewed *When Spring Comes*, a work which he said 'makes compelling reading. It is written with a flair that many good novelists would envy.'²¹ While carefully highlighting the disclosures and transgressions, Yorke emphasises their claimed therapeutic intentionality, while simultaneously questioning the compatibility of such a 'manipulative and provocative technique...with the kind of self-understanding that analysts generally seek to impart'.²² Khan's claim, as Yorke pointed out, was that such an approach could enable his patients 'not only to be in better touch with themselves, but to have "private selves" of their own and to achieve a degree of mutual enrichment that cannot be brought about by more standardized techniques'.²³ While the relative efficacy of such approaches could be empirically determined, the question of whether Khan's work could be included within the psychoanalytic canon or had his heresies placed it beyond the pale was left hanging.

The self-disclosure issue was something Julia Borossa later took up, suggesting that the psychoanalytic establishment's denunciation of *When Spring Comes* and its author was as much to do with Khan's textual self-disclosures as it was to do with known but unproven sexual transgressions, textual disclosures which highlighted cultural diversity and otherness.²⁴ Support for her argument may be gleaned from the reactions to Wynne Godley's recent accounts of his analysis with Khan, accounts which provoked a flurry of letters in *The Times* and the *London Review of Books*.²⁵ Those by Donald Campbell, President of the British Psychoanalytical Society, and Coline Covington, Chair of the British Confederation of Psychotherapists, both stress the contemporary safeguards such as Codes of Ethics, complaints procedures and heightened standards, suggestive of a reassertion of a univocal view of psychoanalysis and psychoanalysts.²⁶ Robin Cooper goes against this current in pointing out that 'It is *despite* this new culture of "strengthened self-regulation" that openness of mind, existential vigilance and sceptical sensibility sometimes survive.'²⁷

Aside from the letters columns and their rather defensive public display of contemporary psychoanalytic rectitude, Donald Campbell instigated a more questioning study within the British Society to consider its role in caring for Khan's analysands, as well as the profession's reputation, and to identify any 'institutional issues and unconscious collusion that took place' in order to improve future governance.²⁸ Having gathered *some* of the available published and archival evidence and having heard from a number of informants, Patricia

Daniel, the Honorary Secretary of the Ethical Committee, framed the findings for the 120 analysts who attended a closed meeting of the Society on 19 June 2001 in a memorandum of the same date.²⁹ Daniel unflinchingly pointed to a sustained pattern of organisational collusion with Khan's behaviour: that the initial training and later organisational atmosphere around him appeared uncritically well-disposed, hinting thus at a certain enacted group counter-transference; that his behaviour was well known to a number of senior Society members; and that procedural loopholes (such as not prohibiting resignations during ethical investigations) were repeatedly left available for further opportunistic exploitation. In concluding, Daniel raised the issue of shortcomings of psychoanalysis as a treatment, especially in addressing perverse and psychotic areas of the personality, tendencies towards closing ranks in the face of problems, and finally advocated the need for appropriate systems of clinical governance. While this appears a more thoughtful and promising avenue than the immediate post-Godley public 'reassurances', its mature fruits are as yet unknown. Its initial sproutings, in the form of a review by Anne-Marie Sandler on 'Institutional responses to boundary violations', usefully highlights collusive group processes, though overall seems cautious, bureaucratic and offers very limited understanding of Masud Khan.³⁰

As Wynne Godley had been at pains to emphasise, while Khan's behavioural boundary problems were the most public aspect of his dysfunction, they were in a certain manner the lowest common denominator. It was the prior and more subtle private spoken and unspoken transformational promises which he extended that were the toxic foundation. In the organisational context therefore, professional regulatory codes, as Robin Cooper had argued, could merely narcissistically mask more fundamental dynamics that opposed the creation and sustaining of a culture oriented towards truth, reality and the therapeutic. The psycho-social issues of unresolved transferences, idealisation, hierarchical status, elitism, and arrogance within the profession and the organisation, attracted and meshed with Khan's own narcissistic and grandiose personality traits from the very beginning of his contact with psychoanalysis and the Society; a matrix which formed a blind spot that fostered an unquestioning collusion. Where questioning did arise this was too often and too easily passed off as between-group factionalism. (More speculatively, it may be wondered whether the Middle or Independent Group's non-aligned nature contributed to processes of disavowal in Khan and in those around him.) Given that it was primarily the *external* spur of Godley's paper and the attendant publicity that provoked the Society into reflection (putatively as a precursor to reforms), without such an external other the Society's and profession's past may have continued to be unexamined and un-worked through, rendering it, as Freud emphasised, a root for repetition through action. After all, as George Santayana wrote, 'Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it.'³¹

Remembering of the past in this context would require more than memory, which, given its constructional nature and its susceptibility to wish-fulfilment, is liable to yield something other than historical truth. The use, preservation and study of other information sources (such as contemporary documents)

are an essential check on and supplement to individual and collective memory. With Khan the relative absence, destruction and inaccessibility of certain key archival sources has served to perpetuate and indeed encourage the proliferation of myths about him. However, at other crucial points myths have been individually and communally perpetuated by subjective assertion as the favoured narrative, ignoring definitive historical material that, though perhaps difficult to access, is with a little effort possible to obtain. Within psychoanalysis Hume's old observation about humanity's 'usual propensity...towards the marvellous'³² is well known, yet it is this very propensity unchecked *within the psychoanalytic community itself* that contributed to its collusion with Khan's repeated enactments. Communally favoured theories or myths contributed to an occlusion of the analytic thinking space.³³ Organisational and professional change needs a willingness to think about and a motivation to enquire into such evidence and history: material which can exercise a paternal function, dissolving narcissistic and symbiotic illusions.

What of Khan's 'paper' history? The ideas for foundations of various sorts, the Anglo-American based Masud-Fazaldad Foundation tentatively established in 1984 to house and exploit Khan's archives and heritage and the Pakistan based Fazaldad Foundation of 1986, failed to develop, neither the requisite funds nor the promised archives and related property being detailed in Khan's final will. It is fortunate that the IPA, which only serendipitously came into possession of Khan's papers, preserves them as a valuable collection. However, scholarly access to them has been severely restricted from the start. The IPA archivist, Adam Limentani declared in 1994 that Khan's personal files were subject to a thirty year restriction on access, apart from the manuscripts of already published papers.³⁴ On further enquiry in 1999 the new archivist, Randal Urquhart, said that the position with Khan's papers had changed, such that they were now only accessible on permission being granted by the IPA President who would have to take advice from the Council.³⁵ Why this apparent hardening of attitude? Discussing the Khan archive materials, particularly the *Work Books*, Robert Stoller described them as:

...invariably fiction. I judge that not only from the versions of the stories he told in the *Work Books* where Sybil and I were present but also about events where I know other participants' versions. The whole business of storytelling – he called these tales 'yarns' – became in time the sad delusions of grandeur we all had to suffer.³⁶

In response, Adam Limentani noted that the *Work Books* might be of future value for Khan's commentary on psychoanalytic subjects and as a supplementary vertex on his published papers. He went on to note that in addition to the *Work Books* there are among Khan's papers:

...small diaries with entries on each day since 1965, that was the year he broke therapeutic contact with Winnicott. It is unfortunately, a mock

self-analysis but *unhappily his account of certain events is quite accurate*.³⁷
(Emphasis added)

While the diagnosis of Khan's narratives as 'invariably fiction' would have perhaps mitigated the possible impact on institutions and third parties mentioned therein, recognition that '*his account of certain events is quite accurate*' renders it potentially explosive material reflecting not only on Khan's state of mind but also on those around him.

This point is strengthened if it is recognised, as for instance Paul Roazen and Hanna Segal have,³⁸ that Khan's challenges to the institution were not merely recent aberrant phenomena that occurred during the time after Winnicott's death under the pressure of physical ill health and alcoholism, but had a far earlier genesis and were far more widely known. From this perspective Khan's undeniable otherness, professional transgressions, lying, myth making, and delusions, which are documented in the present work, may both parallel and obscure uncomfortable realities within the mainstream establishment. After all, myth and its constituent processes, such as idealisation and what André Green termed 'heroization', are components of the thinking of the psychoanalytic establishment, as much as they were of Khan, as well as of patients and humanity in general.³⁹ The British Psychoanalytical Society's meeting on Khan of 19 June 2001 may be seen as the beginning of a wider recognition of this, which if sustained may form a basis for working through. Defensive or mythical views of the present and similar recreations of the past can be no basis for present or future good practice and intellectual endeavour. Greater critical openness to both history and cultural diversity may allow for a fuller appreciation of both outer social and inner psychological reality, the total situation.

Appendix A

Volumes within the *International Psychoanalytical Library* under the editorship of Masud Khan

- Volume 76 M. Milner. *The Hands of the Living God*. 1969.
Volume 77–78 [Under J. D. Sutherland's editorship].
Volume 79 J. Bowlby. *Attachment and Loss: Volume one: Attachment*. 1969.
Volume 80 A. Freud. *Indications for Child Analysis and Other Papers*. 1969.
Volume 81 R. Stoller. *Sex and Gender: on the Development of Masculinity and Femininity*. 1968.
Volume 82 J. McDougall and S. Lebovici. *Dialogue with Sammy: a Psychoanalytical Contribution to Understanding Child Psychosis*. 1969.
Volume 83 M. Malher. *On Human Symbiosis and the Vicissitudes of Individuation: Volume one: Infantile Psychosis*. 1969.
Volume 84 S. Freud. *The Letters of Sigmund Freud and Arnold Zweig*, edited by E. L. Freud. 1970.
Volume 85 A. Freud. *Research at the Hampstead Child Therapy Clinic and Other Papers 1956–1965*. 1970.
Volume 86 E. R. Zetzel. *The Capacity for Emotional Growth*. 1970.
Volume 87 D. W. Winnicott. *Therapeutic Consultations in Child Psychiatry*. 1971.
Volume 88 M. Gardiner. *The Wolf Man and Sigmund Freud*. 1972.
Volume 89 E. Pfeiffer. [Editor]. *Sigmund Freud and Lou Andreas-Salomé: Letters*. 1972.
Volume 90 A. Freud. *Problems of Psychoanalytical Technique and Therapy 1966–1970*. 1972.
Volume 91 H. Segal. *Introduction to the Work of Melanie Klein*. 1973.
Volume 92 M. Schur. *Freud: Living and Dying*. 1972.
Volume 93 P. L. Giovacchini. *Tactics and Techniques in Psychoanalytic Therapy*. 1972.
Volume 94 J. Laplanche and J.-B. Pontalis. *The Language of Psychoanalysis*. 1973.
Volume 95 J. Bowlby. *Attachment and Loss: Volume two: Separation: Anxiety and Anger*. 1973.
Volume 96 A. Freud. *Infants Without Families*. 1974.
Volume 97 R. Stoller. *Splitting: a Case of Female Masculinity*. 1974.
Volume 98 M. Khan. *The Privacy of the Self*. 1974.
Volume 99 A. Freud. *Introduction to Psychoanalysis: Lectures for Child Analysts and Teachers*. 1974.
Volume 100 D. W. Winnicott. *Through Paediatrics to Psychoanalysis: Collected Papers*. 1975.
Volume 101 R. Stoller. *The Transsexual Experiment: Volume two of Sex and Gender*. 1975.
Volume 102 W. Hoffer. *Early Development and Education of the Child*, edited by M. Brierley. 1981.
Volume 103 M. Klein. *Love, Guilt and Reparation and Other Work 1921–1945*. 1975.
Volume 104 M. Klein. *Envy and Gratitude and Other Works 1946–1963*. 1975.
Volume 105 G. Groddeck. *The Meaning of Illness: Selected Psychoanalytic Writings*, edited by L. Schacht. 1977.
Volume 106 J. Lacan. *The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psycho-Analysis*. 1977.
Volume 107 D. W. Winnicott. *The Piggie*, edited by I. Ramzy. 1978.

Appendix B

The fictional obituary Khan composed on 6 February 1979, a copy of which he sent to Robert Stoller which can be now found housed in the latter's archives; see Khan to R. J. Stoller, 7 February 1979, SP.

Raja Mohammad Masud Raza Khan of Minhas

OBITUARY

Dictated at the request of the Editors of:

**The Manchester Guardian
The Financial Times
The Daily Telegraph**

Raja Mohammad Masud Raza Khan was the last of his ancestors, who had travelled from Isfahan to Rajasthan with the Persian conquerors in the fourteenth century. Hence he was born of the marriages to the Persian princes and Rajput princesses of Kashatriya blood. Across centuries as the Persian Empire dwindled so did his ancestors. Eventually, after the Indian mutiny in 1865 one Englishman, Field Marshall Lord Napier laid to waste all that remained of the sovereignty of his ancestors. His grandfather committed suicide from loss of honour. His grandmother put his father on horseback, at the age of thirteen, and gave him 150 gold sovereigns. A servant was to accompany him, with the orders, that he was not to tell his father's name to anyone, because Napier was out to kill him.

Twenty years passed and the English Government replaced Napier by Field Marshall John Dean, who realised that without the Muslim feudal princes of the North and their own population, India could not be ruled, because the Hindus had been slaves for so long that they could only complain, like Gandhi, but not act. They found his father as a batman to an English soldier. Like Aga Khan, they retrieved him; gave him his titles but not his sovereignty, except over his own estates, but no longer over the Punjab and Kashmir.

He was born the youngest eighth son, from the fourth wife of his father, when his father was 76 years of age. All the other sons went to the army, but Field Marshall Lord Birdwood of Gallipoli [sic], who was Commander-in-Chief of India in 1924, the year of his birth, by protocol became his godfather. When the Field Marshall was retiring in 1931, he came to stay at his father's estates and advised him not to send his youngest son to the army, because by this time he could speak 5 languages fluently, but could write only English. He was only 7 years of age.

When he was 7 years of age his father also decided that he shall be the inheritor of the title, and arranged that seven gunmen shall protect him. He was a youth of considerable intelligence and erudition.

He took over from his father in 1943, not only the care of his vast estates and peasants, but the defence of Northern India and the recruitment which Gandhi was trying to sabotage, as well as the care of nine thousand German prisoners of war and eleven thousand Italians.

He had been nurtured by love and care, but apprenticed in cruelty and service. He knew his job. The late Field Marshall Lord Wavell promised him that when the war was over he would be the first person to fly to England to continue his studies.

On 5 October 1946 he arrived at Balliol, Oxford, with 37 suitcases of luggage and was told that only one suitcase was allowed. So he put all the rest in the hotel opposite, which was fortunately available. He was shown his room. He had grown up in vast mansions and here was this small attic room with one small bed and one mirror table, and no heating. Fortunately he had enough clothes, so he slept every night fully dressed in his overcoat and clothes, but even so he nearly froze to death.

He was lucky to have Lord David Cecil and Dame Helen Gardiner for his tutors. He was also very handsome and within a short time was going to become the best known youth in Paris to Jean Cassou, George Braque, Andre Malreaux, Zedkin, Picasso, Miro etc.

At the end of 1947 he was advised, by his private teacher, Sir George Painter, who had been the Governor of Bengal, to leave Oxford, and to take up an International Career Education. This brought him to London where Dr Sylvia Payne, Dr John Rickman and Miss Anna Freud sponsored him to become a student. In due course he finished his studies in 1951, and by a special dispensation by his late Majesty King George VI, he was permitted to return to Balliol to finish his studies. He got a...double first in Elizabethan Literature and Marxist political philosophy in 1952, and returned to start practice as a psychoanalyst in Harley Street.

He married Sir Bernard Shore's daughter, called Jane. It was a disastrous marriage for both of them and ended in divorce. Then he met the Beriozowa [sic], and they married in 1959. A marriage that was witnessed on the screen, televised all over the world. He had seventeen years of hard work and great joyousness of mutuality with his wife. Then his wife fell ill and he fell apart and they divorced. Some ten years later he met Arad Khanum from Beirut who put him together.

In the meantime, he had become famous, and his work had been published in more than seven languages. He had also served for some 30 years or more The British Psychoanalytical Society in various roles: as Editor, as Teacher, as Honorary Librarian and Archivist. He was also the Director of Freud Copyrights.

He was courtier to both his Majesty the late King George VI and her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II like his father had been before.

Meanwhile his vast estates in Pakistan had been nibbled away by the changes of Government. He had never taken any money out to the country. He had lived by what he earned. He had promised this to his analyst, John Rickman. His greatest debt is to three persons apart from Rickman: Miss Anna Freud, Dr Donald Winnicott and Dr J. Sutherland.

In 1976 he got cancer of the most vicious type and was given only twelve months to live. He got another cancer within twelve months, but he survived both, and kept working to the end.

All along he was much loved by his friends, as he loved them; and equally hated by others. He lived life to the hilt, both with passion and ruthlessness. He had no regrets only gratitudes, and a certain benediction to the Lord God for all the well-being of his life.

Six centuries have ended with him, since he has no heirs, but he had lived nobly and in the tradition of his ancestors.

M. Masud R. Khan
6 February 1979

Notes

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN NOTES

AFP:	Anna Freud Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, DC
AP:	<i>Alienation in Perversions</i> , London: Hogarth, 1979
BJMP:	<i>British Journal of Medical Psychology</i>
BJP:	<i>British Journal of Psychotherapy</i>
BP:	Bowlby Papers, Contemporary Medical Archives Centre, Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, London
BPAS/Institute:	British Psychoanalytical Society/Institute of Psychoanalysis, London
CSP:	Clifford Scott Papers, National Archives of Canada, Ottawa
DP:	Dominic Papers, London (privately held)
HS:	<i>Hidden Selves</i> , London: Hogarth, 1983
IJP:	<i>International Journal of Psychoanalysis</i>
IJPP:	<i>International Journal of Psychoanalytic Psychotherapy</i>
IPL:	<i>International Psychoanalytical Library</i>
IRP:	<i>International Review of Psychoanalysis</i>
MP:	Milner Papers, London (privately held)
NRP:	<i>Nouvelle Revue de Psychanalyse</i>
PS:	<i>The Privacy of the Self</i> , London: Hogarth, 1974
PSC:	<i>Psychoanalytic Study of the Child</i>
SFC:	Sigmund Freud Copyrights, Mark Paterson Associates, Wivenhoe
SP:	Stoller Papers, University of California at Los Angeles, University Research Library
WP:	Winnicott Papers, Archives of Psychiatry, Oskar Diethelm Library, Cornell Medical Center New York Hospital, New York
WSC:	<i>When Spring Comes</i> , London: Chatto and Windus, 1987

PREFACE

1. C. Rycroft during discussion of Brett Kahr's paper 'Masud Khan's analysis with Winnicott: on the hazards of befriending the patient', Philadelphia Association, London, 9 October 1994.
2. P. Roazen, 'Review of M. Khan's *The Long Wait and Other Psychoanalytic Narratives*', *Psychoanalytic Books*, 1991, 2:1: 20–21.
3. A. Roland, *In Search of Self in India and Japan: Towards a Cross-Cultural Psychology*, Oxford: Princeton University Press, 1988, especially pp. 17–54. See also Roland's paper 'Psycho-Analytic perspectives on personality development in India', *IRP*, 1980, 7: 73–87.
4. G. Kohon, *The British School of Psychoanalysis: the Independent Tradition*, London: Free Association, 1986, p. 77.
5. Fromm suggested the history of psychoanalysis could be read as a type of Stalinist history, within which judgement without expulsion was a rarity and dissenting views and persons tended to be written out of the narrative. See E. Fromm (1958), 'Vom parteigekist der psychoanalytischen bewegung und ihren opfern' [On the party-spiritedness of the psychoanalytic movement and its victims], *Schriften ueber Sigmund Freud*, Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1989, pp. 195–204; M. Leitner, 'Pathologising as a way of dealing with conflicts and dissent in the psychoanalytic movement', *Free Associations*, 1999, 7:3: (No.43): 459–483.
6. Khan to Z. Dominic, 7 November 1961, DP.

7. E. Kris, 'The personal myth: a problem in psychoanalytic technique', *JAPA*, 4: (1956b): 653–681. The concept has been extensively discussed in P. Hartocollis and I. D. Graham's *The Personal Myth in Psychoanalytic Theory*, Madison, CT: International Universities Press, 1991.
8. For an interesting discussion of this see H. Segal, 'Delusion and artistic creativity', *IRP*, 1974, 1: 135–141.

CHAPTER 1: A FAMILY IN PUNJAB

1. Fiona Gardner, 'The colonial inheritance in theory and practice', *Psychoanalytic Psychotherapy*, 1996, 13: 135–149. Such a view is not without its precursors. A similar thesis is advanced within the context of an individual case study by A. W. Watt, for example, who described a case of a man suffering from claustrophobia who had a Western education superimposed on an Eastern unconscious. 'Investigation and treatment of early mental disorders', *Medycyna-Pracy*, 1942, 207: 270–274.
2. G. W. F. Hegel (1807), *The Phenomenology of Spirit*. Translated by A. V. Miller. London: Oxford University Press, 1977. See also A. Kojève (1934–35), *Introduction to the Reading of Hegel*. Translated by J. H. Nichols. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969.
3. For a background discussion on the constitution and culture of the Indian Army see for example P. Mason, *A Matter of Honour: an Account of the Indian Army and its Officers and Men*, London: Jonathan Cape, 1974; and D. Omissi *The Sepoy and the Raj: the Indian Army 1860–1940*, London: Macmillan, 1994. For details on the post-partition Pakistan army see B. Cloughley, *A History of the Pakistan Army: Wars and Insurrections*, Karachi: Oxford, 2000 and S. P. Cohen *The Pakistan Army*, Karachi: Oxford, 1998.
4. Fazal Dad Khan's name is occasionally also recorded as 'Fazaldad', though the majority of the contemporary British official records detail it as used here. Such variation with his and other Indian names is common and largely attributable to transliteration into roman spelling from the original Urdu or Punjabi.
5. Chaudri Nazir and Shahnaz Ahmed, drawing on Khan family sources, suggest he was born in 1852 (e-mail to the author 14 May 2004), while Fazal Dad Khan's son Tahir stated in October 1948 that Fazal Dad was ninety when he died in 1943 (less than five years previously), implying a birth-date of either late 1852 or 1853 (W. C. M. Scott, 'Mr. M. T. R. Khan: interview report, 20 October 1948', CSP). Other secondary sources suggest dates of 1846 (J. Cooper, *Speak of me as I am*, London: Karnac, 1993, p. 5) and 1850 (A. Limentani, 'Obituary: M. Masud R. Khan (1924–1989)', *IJP*, 1992, 73: 155), while towards the end of his life Masud Khan probably exaggeratedly claimed his father was 93 at the time of his death, implying a birth-date of 1850 (Khan (1988d), 'Empty chairs, vast spaces', *WSC*, p. 50).
6. Chaudri Nazir Ahmed letter to the author, October 1995. Shahnaz Ahmed, personal communication 24 October 2003.
7. See *Notes on the Services of the XII Cavalry*, Lahore: The Civil and Military Gazette, 1908, for a more detailed account of the regiment and its history.
8. *Indian Army List, January 1911*. Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, p. 271.
9. The Title Badge (India) was a relatively minor award, instituted by George V at his Coronation Durbar at Delhi in 1911, in three classes, to be awarded to Indian civilians and Viceroy's Commissioned Officers of the Indian Army for faithful service or acts of public welfare. For more information see H. T. Dorling *Ribbons and Medals*, London: George Philip and Son, 1974, pp. 148–149.
10. *Who's Who in India (Second Supplement)*. Lucknow: Newul Kishore Press, 1914, p. 145.
11. *Gazette of India*, 4 January 1913, pp. 19–20.
12. *Indian Army List, January 1916*. Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, p. 49.
13. *Indian Army List, July 1916*. Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, p. 748.
14. Risaldar Major Khan does not appear in the *Indian Army Lists* after the April 1916 edition, which suggests he retired at this time, being then aged between sixty-two and sixty-three

- years old. No active military campaign service is noted in the various relevant editions of the *Indian Army List*.
15. Chaudri Nazir and Shahnaz Ahmed, e-mail to the author 14 May 2004.
 16. A. Limentani, 'Obituary: M. Masud R. Khan (1924-1989)', *IJP*, 1992, 73: 155.
 17. Ibid.
 18. Fazal Dad Khan's appointment is first recorded in *Thackers Indian Directory for 1919* (Calcutta: Thackers Press), Mofussil Stations section, p. 350.
 19. Chaudri Nazir and Shahnaz Ahmed, personal communication 24 October 2003 and e-mail to the author 14 May 2004; A. Limentani, 'Obituary: M. Masud R. Khan (1924-1989)', *IJP*, 1992, 73: 155; and J. Cooper, *Speak of me as I am*, London: Karnac, 1993, p. 5. In contrast to the preceding sources, Tahir Khan suggested his father had married three times: see W. C. M. Scott, 'Mr. M. T. R. Khan: interview report, 20 October 1948', CSP. Details of the Khan family structure are here primarily derived from Masud Khan's niece Shahnaz Ahmed and her husband Chaudri Nazir Ahmed, Khan's heir.
 20. Mohammed Baqar is said to have been killed aged nineteen in a motor-cycle accident while a student at Oxford. Linda Hopkins, personal communication 14 February 1999.
 21. Chaudri Nazir Ahmed, letter to the author, October 1995.
 22. *Indian Army List October 1946*. Part one. Delhi: Government of India Press, 1947, p. 127.
 23. M. A. Khan, *Friends not Masters: a Political Autobiography*, London: Oxford, 1967, p. 35.
 24. *Indian Army List, October 1946*. Part one. Delhi: Government of India Press, 1947, pp. 160-161.
 25. G. H. Khan, *Memoirs of Lt. Gen. Gul Hassan Khan*, Karachi: Oxford, 1993, *passim*.
 26. M. A. Khan, *Friends not Masters: a Political Autobiography*, London: Oxford, 1967, p. 35.
 27. Shahnaz Ahmed, Khurshid's grand-daughter, suggests she was born in 1893 (e-mail to the author 14 May 2004), while Khurshid's son Tahir stated in October 1948 that his mother was then fifty-six, implying a birth-date around 1892 (W. C. M. Scott, 'Mr. M. T. R. Khan: interview report, 20 October 1948', CSP). Curiously, some secondary sources have suggested Khurshid was considerably younger than she actually appears to have been. Cooper, for example, claimed she was born in 1905: see J. Cooper, *Speak of me as I am*, London: Karnac, 1993, p. 5.
 28. A. Limentani, 'Obituary: M. Masud R. Khan (1924-1989)', *IJP*, 1992, 73: 155.
 29. J. Cooper, 'Masud Khan (1924-1989): a personal tribute', *Free Associations*, 1991, 2:1: (No.21): 93.
 30. C. Bolas, 'Obituary: Masud Khan, portrait of an extraordinary psychoanalytic personality', *Guardian*, 26 June 1989, p. 39.
 31. J. Cooper, *The Life and Work of Masud Khan*. Unpublished MA thesis, Antioch University, London, 1992, pp. 7-8; see also A. Limentani, 'Obituary: M. Masud R. Khan (1924-1989)', *IJP*, 1992, 73: 155.
 32. W. C. M. Scott, 'Mr. M. T. R. Khan: interview report, 20 October 1948', CSP. This report suggests that some twenty wet nurses were tried before a satisfactory nurse was obtained.
 33. J. Cooper, *Speak of me as I am*, London: Karnac, 1993, p. 4.
 34. Chaudri Nazir and Shahnaz Ahmed, personal communication 24 October 2003.
 35. Khan during the discussion following his paper 'Fate neurosis, false self and destiny' at the Squiggle Foundation, London, 2 June 1984.
 36. Jane Nicholas (previously Khan, née Shore), personal communication 13 April 1995.
 37. In contrast to Pearl King and Jane Nicholas, Khan's first wife, who both recall the deformity being of Khan's left ear, Judy Cooper suggests it was his right ear. See J. Cooper, *Speak of me as I am*, London: Karnac, 1993, p. 10.
 38. J. Steiner, 'Individual and groups in the inner world'. Unpublished paper given at the Bridge Foundation, Bristol, 10 March 2001. For a more general discussion of retreats see J. Steiner's *Psychic Retreats: Pathological Organizations in Psychotic, Neurotic and Borderline Patients*, London: Routledge, 1993.
 39. J. Cooper, *Speak of me as I am*, London: Karnac, 1993, p. 10.

40. Tahir Khan, quoted by J. McDougall, letter to the author, 26 February 2001.
41. Mr A. Personal communication 28 September 1999.
42. A. Limentani, 'Obituary: M. Masud R. Khan (1924–1989)', *JJP*, 1992, 73: 155.
43. Ibid.
44. Tahir Khan, quoted by J. McDougall, letter to the author, 26 February 2001.
45. *The ICD-10 Classification of Mental and Behavioural Disorders*, Geneva: World Health Organisation, 1992, p. 278.
46. *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (Fourth Edition), Washington: American Psychiatric Association, 1994, p. 114.
47. See for example C. B. Andersson and P. H. Thomsen, 'Electively mute children: an analysis of 37 Danish cases', *Nordic Journal of Psychiatry*, 1998, 52: 231–238; H. C. Steinhausen and R. Adamek, 'The family history of children with elective mutism: a research report', *European Child and Adolescent Psychiatry*, 1997, 6: 107–111.
48. C. B. Andersson and P. H. Thomsen, 'Electively mute children: an analysis of 37 Danish cases', *Nordic Journal of Psychiatry*, 1998, 52: 231–238.
49. B. Black and T. W. Udhe, 'Psychiatric characteristics of children with selective mutism: a pilot study', *Journal of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry*, 1995, 34: 847–856.
50. H. C. Steinhausen and C. Juzi, 'Elective mutism: an analysis of 100 cases', *Journal of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry*, 1996, 35: 606–614; P. Shvartzman et al., 'Elective mutism in family practice', 1990, 31: 319–320.
51. W. C. M. Scott, 'Mr. M. T. R. Khan: interview report, 20 October 1948', CSP.
52. See for example his papers 'Silence as communication' (1963c), *Bulletin of the Menninger Clinic*, 27: (6): 300–313; 'Secret as potential space' (1974c), *Scientific Bulletin of the British Psycho-analytical Society*, 3: 19–34; and 'None can speak his/her folly' (1981a), *NRP*, 23: 83–116.
53. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 29 May 1968, SP.
54. Ibid.
55. Khan, 1988, quoted in J. Cooper, *The Life and Work of Masud Khan*. Unpublished MA thesis, Antioch University, London, 1992, p. 9.
56. Jane Nicholas, personal communication 13 April 1995.
57. W. Shakespeare, *Macbeth* (1606) act 5, sc. 5, l.16.
58. Khan to Z. Dominic, 6 November 1963, DP.
59. Khan, *Work Books*, 1967: 8, quoted in J. Cooper, *The Life and Work of Masud Khan*. Unpublished MA thesis, Antioch University, London, 1992, p. 9.
60. Khan to S. Stoller, 14 May 1974, SP.
61. Khan quoted by V. Smirnoff, 'In memoriam Masud Khan', *NRP*, 40 (Autumn 1989): 353.
62. See for example M. Milner, *The Hands of the Living God: an Account of a Psychoanalytic Treatment*, London: Hogarth, 1969, p. 254.
63. See D. W. Winnicott's *Playing and Reality*, London: Tavistock, 1971 and *Holding and Interpretation: Fragment of an Analysis*, London: Hogarth, 1986.
64. Khan (1986b), 'Introduction' to *Holding and Interpretation: Fragment of an Analysis*, by D. W. Winnicott, London: Hogarth, p. 14.
65. H. Segal, 'Comments on Charles Brenner's paper: The mind as conflict and compromise formation'. Unpublished IPA San Francisco Congress paper, July 1995.
66. Khan (1986b), 'Introduction' to *Holding and Interpretation: Fragment of an Analysis*, by D. W. Winnicott, London: Hogarth, p. 15.
67. Khan (1969g), 'Vicissitudes of being, knowing and experiencing in the therapeutic situation', *PS*, p. 212.
68. Khan (1971d), 'Infantile neurosis as a false-self organisation', *PS*, pp. 221–230.
69. Khan (1971e), 'The role of illusion in the analytic space and process', *PS*, p. 269.
70. Khan, *Work Book* 13, p. 925, 15 June 1971, quoted in J. Cooper, *The Life and Work of Masud Khan*. Unpublished MA thesis, Antioch University, London, 1992, p. 10.

71. For a contemporary discussion of these issues see R. Britton's 'Subjectivity, objectivity and triangular space' in his *Belief and Imagination: Explorations in Psychoanalysis*, London: Routledge, 1998, pp. 41–58.
72. R. J. Stoller to V. Smirnoff, 29 March 1978, SP.
73. R. J. Stoller to Khan, 20 March 1975, SP.
74. Khan (1988c), 'When spring comes', in *WSC*, p. 50.
75. D. Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British saw their Empire*, London: Allen Lane, 2001.
76. *Thackers Indian Directory for 1934*, part two, (Calcutta: Thackers Press), Mofussil Stations section, p. 292.
77. *Punjab Government Gazette*, 7 April 1933, part I, p. 368.
78. *Ibid.*, 24 May 1935, part I, p. 493.
79. *Thackers Indian Directory for 1937–38* (Calcutta: Thackers Press), Mofussil Stations section, p. 239. The award does not appear to have been listed in the *Punjab Government Gazette*, contrary to the usual custom for such distinctions.

CHAPTER 2: COLONIAL EDUCATION

1. Khan during the discussion following his paper 'Fate neurosis, false self and destiny' at the Squiggle Foundation, London, 2 June 1984.
2. J. Cooper, *Speak of me as I am*, London: Karnac, 1993, p. 10.
3. There were two sisters, Marjorie and Joy Little, together with a Keturah Little, who graduated from Oxford University at a period when they might feasibly have resided for some time in India during Khan's school days. However, neither sister was in India or knew Khan (Marjorie Reid (née Little) to the author, 16 September 1994), while Keturah Little was confirmed by Elizabeth Cooke of the Association of Senior Members of Somerville College, Oxford, (letter to the author, 7 September 1994) as being in the UK during the relevant period.
4. Linda Hopkins collection, USA.
5. Such strategies were and remain a common means of trying to support self-esteem and attain a valued identity within colonised and even post-colonial groups. For a discussion see A. Roland's *In Search of Self in India and Japan: Towards a Cross-Cultural Psychology*, Oxford: Princeton University Press, 1988, especially pp. 17–54; F. Gardiner's 'The colonial inheritance in theory and practice', *Psychoanalytic Psychotherapy*, 1999, 13:2: 135–149; and F. W. Hickling and G. Hutchinson's 'Post-colonialism and mental health', *Psychiatric Bulletin*, 2000, 24: 94–95.
6. W. C. M. Scott, 'Mr. M. T. R. Khan: interview report, 20 October 1948', CSP.
7. Khan, 'The how of it'. An unpublished draft introduction enclosed with Khan to R. J. Stoller, 27 August 1986, SP.
8. He last appears recorded as an Honorary Magistrate in *Thackers Indian Directory for 1937–38* (Calcutta: Thackers Press), Mofussil Stations section, p. 239. His retirement is not noted in the *Punjab Government Gazette*, despite searching all editions between 1935 through to 1939, thus an exact date cannot at present be established.
9. A. Limentani, 'Obituary: M. Masud R. Khan (1924–1989)', *IJP*, 1992, 73: 155.
10. W. C. M. Scott, 'Mr. M. T. R. Khan: interview report, 20 October 1948', CSP.
11. Khan (1977c), 'On lying fallow', in *HS*, pp. 184–185.
12. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 30 January 1968, SP. Khan reemploys this Rimbaud quotation later in his (1971e) paper 'Toucher pour voir' ['The role of illusion in the analytic space and process']: see *PS*, p. 267.
13. This section draws particularly on the work of Gauri Viswanathan who argues, along with Gramsci, that 'cultural domination operates by consent, indeed often preceding conquest by force...Consent of the governed is secured primarily through the moral and intellectual suasion, a strategy clearly spelled out by the British themselves: "The Natives must either be kept down by a sense of our power, or they must willingly submit from a conviction that

- we are more wise, more just, more humane, and more anxious to improve their condition than any other rulers they could have'" (Viswanathan, 1992, p. 167). See his 'The beginnings of English literary study in British India', in J. Donald and A. Rattansi (eds) *Race, Culture and Difference*, London: Sage, 1992, pp. 149–170. See also Judith E. Walsh's *Growing up in British India: Indian Autobiographers on Childhood and Education under the Raj*, New York: Holmes and Meier, 1983.
14. Orientalism, in this context, emerged as a policy of the Indian administration during the Governor-Generalship of Warren Hastings (1774–1785). As a policy, it aimed to promote 'knowledge' of native languages, traditions and culture among the administration and support similar study by the native population to facilitate a rapprochement between an administration that was increasingly seen as out of touch with the local population, inefficient and flagrantly immoral, and a native population which was felt to be vulnerable, facing cultural collapse and hence ripe for disorder as a consequence of the East India Company's maladministration. Anglicism arose as a 'counter-revolutionary' policy, fuelled by discontent with the primacy of indigenous cultural forms within native education and the consequent relegation of English to a subsidiary position. See G. Viswanathan 'The beginnings of English literary study in British India', in J. Donald and A. Rattansi (eds) *Race, Culture and Difference*, London: Sage, 1992. In the more recent and influential work of Edward Said, the term Orientalism is used rather differently, wherein it refers to what psychoanalytically might be thought of as the Western preformed (negative paternalist) transference towards the East. Said writes that within his project 'Orientalism is better grasped as a set of constraints on and limitations of thought' (p. 42), or 'as a kind of Western projection onto and will to govern over the Orient' (p. 95), such that 'the Orient that appears in Orientalism, then, is a system of representations framed by a whole set of forces that brought the Orient into Western learning, Western consciousness, and later, Western Empire' (pp. 202–203). See his *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the East*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1995.
 15. Khan to V. Smirnoff, 18 February 1971, 'In memoriam Masud Khan', *NRP*, 40 (Autumn 1989): 352.
 16. Khan to Z. Dominic, 15 July 1961, DP.
 17. See for example Khan's account of this in his letter to R. J. Stoller, 3 July 1964, SP.
 18. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 5 April 1964, SP.
 19. J. Cooper, *Speak of me as I am*, London: Karnac, 1993, p. 11.
 20. Ibid.
 21. A. Limentani, 'Obituary: M. Masud R. Khan (1924–1989)', *IJP*, 1992, 73: 155.
 22. *Punjab Government Gazette*, 20 November 1942, Part III-A, p. 301. Khan is recorded in the *Gazette* as having serial number 1,416; roll number 3,143; registered number 38. il. 18 (indicating his matriculation date); having passed Political Science, History and Urdu, as well as English; with an overall mark of 259 (a 2nd class was between 250 and 324 marks); and being a Muhammadan.
 23. Khan, 'Curriculum Vitae', BPAS/Institute archives.
 24. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 20 May 1964, SP.
 25. See Khan's biographical note in M. C. Nelson and M. Eigen (eds) *Evil: Self and Culture*, New York: Human Sciences, 1984, p. 8.
 26. W. C. M. Scott, 'Mr. M. T. R. Khan: Interview Report, 20 October 1948', CSP.
 27. J. Cooper, *Speak of me as I am*, London: Karnac, 1993, p. 11.
 28. W. C. M. Scott, 'Mr. M. T. R. Khan: interview report, 20 October 1948', CSP.
 29. J. Cooper, *The Life and Work of Masud Khan*. Unpublished MA thesis, Antioch University, London, 1992, p. 12. A. Limentani, 'Obituary: M. Masud R. Khan (1924–1989)', *IJP*, 1992, 73: 155, says Khan 'adored her'.
 30. Khan, 'Curriculum Vitae', BPAS/Institute archives.
 31. Ibid.
 32. W. C. M. Scott, 'Mr. M. T. R. Khan: Interview Report, 20 October 1948', CSP. Masud Khan later suggested that his father had died on 17 October 1943. See his letter to R. Stoller, 20 May 1964, SP.

33. J. Cooper, *Speak of me as I am*, London: Karnac, 1993, p. 11. Cooper here records Khan as telling her in 1988 that he 'stopped going to College for a time or even playing polo'.
34. J. Cooper, *The Life and Work of Masud Khan*. Unpublished MA thesis, Antioch University, London, 1992, p. 13. Cooper here draws on Charles Rycroft's recollections of Khan.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
36. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 20 May 1964, SP.
37. Pearl King, personal communication 4 May 2001.
38. Chaudri Nazir Ahmed, e-mail to the author 17 November 2003.
39. W. C. M. Scott, 'Mr. M. T. R. Khan: Interview Report, 20 October 1948', CSP.
40. W. C. M. Scott memoranda of 16 and 22 December 1948, CSP.
41. Pearl King, personal communication 4 May 2001; Jane Nicholas, personal communication 13 April 1995.
42. For a recent discussion of IPA psychoanalytic activities in Asia see C. P. Fisher's 'Panel report: psychoanalysis in the Pacific rim', *IJP*, 1996, 77: 373-377.
43. Khan et al. (1974d), 'The beginnings and fruition of the self: an essay on D. W. Winnicott', in J. A. Davis and J. Dobbing (eds) *Scientific Foundations of Paediatrics*, 2nd Edition, London: Heinemann, 1981. See also H. Ellenberger's *The Discovery of the Unconscious: the History and Evolution of Dynamic Psychiatry*, New York: Basic Books, 1970.
44. Khan et al. (1974d), 'The beginnings and fruition of the self: an essay on D. W. Winnicott', in J. A. Davis and J. Dobbing (eds) *Scientific Foundations of Paediatrics*, 2nd Edition, London: Heinemann, 1981, p. 275.
45. T. C. Sinha, 'Development of psychoanalysis in India', *IJP*, 1966, 47: 427-439.
46. For a comprehensive sociological discussion of the vicissitudes of psychoanalysis in India see Christiane Hartnack's 'British Psychoanalysts in Colonial India', in M. G. Ash and W. R. Woodward (eds) *Psychology in Twentieth Century Thought and Society*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987, pp. 233-251, and her 'Vishnu on Freud's desk: psychoanalysis in colonial India', *Social Research*, 1990, 57:4: 921-949. See also Julia Borossa's 'The migration of psychoanalysis and the psychoanalyst as migrant', *Oxford Literary Review*, 1997, 19: 79-104 for an extension of Hartnack's thesis with special reference to Masud Khan.
47. For further details on Latif's career see his correspondence with Anna Freud, preserved among the latter's archives, AFP.
48. A. Limentani, 'Obituary: M. Masud R. Khan (1924-1989)', *IJP*, 1992, 73: 155; J. Cooper *Speak of me as I am*, London: Karnac, 1993, p. 11.
49. W. C. M. Scott, 'Mr. M. T. R. Khan: Interview Report, 20 October 1948', CSP.
50. W. C. M. Scott, 'Memorandum, 22 October 1948', CSP.
51. Pearl King, personal communication 4 May 2001.
52. *Punjab Gazette*, 23 November 1945 Part III-A, p. 240. This lists Khan's details as merit number 11; roll number 298; registered number 38.il.18; religion Muhammadan; marks obtained 323; institution Government College, Lahore. Of the candidates at this exam one obtained a first, nine a second and the remainder thirds, Khan being at the top of the latter. The regulations of the time stipulated that a third equated to marks lower than 50% (with seconds being 50-59% and firsts being 60% and above). See the *Punjab Gazette*, 3 August 1945 Part III-A, p. 100 for further details.
53. J. Cooper, *Speak of me as I am*, London: Karnac, 1993, p. 11.
54. J. Cooper, 'Masud Khan (1924-1989): a personal tribute', *Free Associations* 2:1: (No.21): 94.
55. See Khan's biographical note in M. C. Nelson and M. Eigen (eds) *Evil: Self and Culture*, New York: Human Sciences, 1984, p. 8.
56. Pearl King, personal communication 4 May 2001.
57. I am particularly grateful to Professor S. Alam of the University of Punjab for searching the University archives (her letter to the author, 21 June 1995) and Adam Limentani for searching Khan's surviving personal papers for his MA thesis (his letters to the author, 14 and 27 January 1994).
58. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 20 May 1964; Khan to R. Steiner, 7 December 1984, SP.

59. Ibid.
60. A. Rycroft, 'On ablation of the parental images, or the illusion of having created oneself', *Psychoanalysis and Beyond*, London: Chatto and Windus, 1985, pp. 214–232.
61. Ibid., p. 230.
62. Ibid., p. 229.
63. F. Mehta to D. W. Winnicott, 23 June 1965, WP.
64. *Training Regulations of the Institute of Psycho-Analysis, July 1948*, CSP.
65. Training Committee minutes, 6 May 1946, BPAS/Institute archives. The relevant 'conditions' for overseas students included (a) agreement from the local Society to the candidate's application, (b) submission to the usual selection procedure, though provisional acceptance could be given where sufficient evidence is available, (c) an assurance that they are in a position to complete the training and (d) payment of the same fees as home students. See *Training Regulations of the Institute of Psycho-Analysis, July 1948*, pp. 4–5, CSP.
66. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 20 May 1964; Khan to R. Steiner, 7 December 1984, SP.
67. Pearl King, personal communication 4 May 2001. The Training Committee approved the 'destruction of records...as soon as the student becomes an Associate Member, with the exception of the original application form and the yearly chart of attendances at lectures and seminars and the chart relating to training analysis and analysis under supervision', at its meeting on 10 November 1947. The Training Committee minutes for 26 April 1954 noted that Khan's trainee file (along with those of numerous other analysts) had been destroyed under this policy. The policy was later reconfirmed and indeed strengthened when the committee agreed to 'the destruction of *all* training dossiers after qualification so long as students had paid their bills and finished their child training' (emphasis added). Training Committee minutes, 11 November 1957, BPAS/Institute archives.
68. Khan, 'Index card', BPAS/Institute archives.
69. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 20 May 1964, SP.
70. Tahir Khan, quoted by J. McDougall, letter to the author, 26 February 2001.

CHAPTER 3: BRITAIN AND THE SEARCH FOR ESTABLISHMENT

1. For a discussion of the conflicts in the individual between the twin concepts of narcissism and socialism see W. R. Bion's *Cogitations*, London: Karnac, 1994, especially pages 103–106. From a related perspective these dynamics have been conceptualised by Harold Bridger as being between authoritarian and democratic states, and by Maxwell Jones as being between hierarchical and democratic states. See also Bion's little known paper 'Psychiatry at a time of crisis', *BJMP*, 21 (1948): 81–89 for brief commentary on the era and the slow pace of emotional (as opposed to technological) development, problems in which tend to be greeted with solution seeking within the external quasi mechanical realm. This paper, though unmentioned by him, may have influenced Khan's ideas on the machine metaphor for the mind within Western culture.
2. D. W. Winnicott, 'Transitional objects and transitional phenomena', *IJP*, 1953, 34:2: 89–97. See also 'The location of cultural experience', *Playing and Reality*, London: Tavistock, 1971, pp. 112–121.
3. B. Bowling, 'The emergence of violent racism as a public issue in Britain, 1945–1981', in L. Panayi (ed.) *Racial Violence in Britain in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, London: Leicester University Press, 1996, pp. 185–220.
4. D. Joly, *Britannia's Crescent: Making a Place for Muslims in British Society*, Aldershot: Avebury, 1995, p. 46.
5. M. Anwar, *The Myth of the Return: Pakistanis in Britain*, London: Heinemann, 1979, p. 5.
6. D. Joly, *Britannia's Crescent: Making a Place for Muslims in British Society*, Aldershot: Avebury, 1995, p. 6.
7. P. King and R. Steiner, *The Freud–Klein Controversies 1941–1945*, London: Routledge, 1991.

8. Sylvia May Payne, (1880–1976). See *Who was Who 1971–1980* p. 613 for brief biographical details.
9. W. C. M. Scott, 'Mr. M. T. R. Khan: Interview Report, 20 October 1948', CSP.
10. Pearl King, personal communication 4 May 2001.
11. Jane Nicholas, personal communication 23 August 2001.
12. Khan to R. Steiner, 7 December 1984, SP.
13. *The British Psychoanalytical Society and Institute of Psycho-Analysis Report for the year ended 30 June 1947*, London: Institute of Psychoanalysis, 1947, p. 13.
14. See *Training Regulations of the Institute of Psycho-Analysis, July 1948*, p. 1, CSP.
15. Pearl King, personal communication 4 May 2001.
16. Khan, 'Index card', BPAS/Institute archives. The Training Committee minutes of 21 October 1946 recorded Khan having arrived in Britain, been interviewed and accepted as a student (British Psychoanalytical Society archives). Khan in his letter to Robert Stoller, 20 May 1964, SP, describes his interviews with Bowlby in most unflattering terms, though he clearly felt more in sympathy with Sylvia Payne, a split between hostile and facilitating objects that he felt epitomised his experience within the British Society. He claims to have suggested to Bowlby that 'Field Marshal Lord Wavel [sic], Governor General of India and Sir Bertrand Glancy, Governor of Punjab' knew him and his family well and could act as referees. I have found no independent support for this claim. Khan's misspelling of Wavell does not however suggest a close familiarity between them.
17. W. Kappelle, 'How useful is selection?', *IJP*, 1996, 77: 1229.
18. J. Rickman, 'Memorandum on training policy to the Training Committee, February 1950', p. 3, CSP.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
20. For a brief review of the question of lay analysis in Britain see G. Kohon's 'Notes on the history of the psychoanalytic movement in Great Britain' in his *The British School of Psychoanalysis: the Independent Tradition*, London: Free Association, 1986, pp. 24–50.
21. D. W. Winnicott, 'Obituary: James Strachey 1887–1967', *IJP*, 1969, 50: 129–131.
22. For a brief discussion see Peter Fuller's 'Introduction' to Charles Rycroft's *Psychoanalysis and Beyond*, London: Hogarth, 1985, p. 9.
23. G. Kohon, 'Notes on the history of the psychoanalytic movement in Great Britain', in *The British School of Psychoanalysis: the Independent Tradition*, London: Free Association, 1986, pp. 37–38.
24. J. Johns, 'Future choices for psychoanalytic psychotherapy', *BJP*, 2000, 17:1: 65.
25. See D. W. Winnicott's 'Memorandum: Psychoanalytic training for philosophers (non-medical)', January 1954 and his 'Memorandum: Doctors of Philosophy and the question of their training in psychoanalysis', 8 March 1954, CSP.
26. Training Committee minutes, 8 March 1954, BPAS/Institute archives.
27. *Ibid.* Hildebrand, who held a PhD, persevered and in due course was admitted to the Institute training and qualified as a psychoanalyst.
28. *British Psychoanalytical Society and Institute of Psychoanalysis Report for the Year Ending 30 June 1947*, p. 15.
29. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 10 April 1970, SP.
30. M. Eitingon, 'Report of the International Training Commission', *IJP*, 1927, 9: 135–141.
31. *Training Regulations of the Institute of Psycho-Analysis, July 1948*, CSP.
32. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 20 May 1964, SP.
33. *Ibid.*; Khan to R. Steiner, 7 December 1984, SP.
34. Khan to R. Steiner, 7 December 1984, SP. The professor is here noted by Khan as 'P I Painter', whereas in his 1979 fictional obituary (see Appendix B) Khan suggests 'his private teacher Sir George Painter, who had been Governor of Bengal' advised him at Oxford in 1947 on this course of action. It seems likely that Khan had the noted biographer and incunabilist George Duncan Painter (b1914) in mind, though no firm evidence has been found substantiating an actual relationship between the two men.
35. The Training Committee recorded that 'Miss Sharpe would be asked to undertake his analysis' in its minutes of 21 October 1946, BPAS/Institute archives.

36. S. M. Payne, 'Obituary: Ella Freeman Sharpe: an appreciation', *IJP*, 1947, 28: 55.
37. Ella Agnes Freeman Sharpe, (1875–1947). For a fuller account of her life see C. W. Wahl, 'Ella Freeman Sharpe: the search for empathy', in F. Alexander et al., *Psychoanalytic Pioneers*, New York: Basic Books, 1966; Sylvia Payne's 'Obituary Ella Freeman Sharpe: an appreciation', *IJP*, 28 (1947), 54–56; C. Netzer's 'Annals of psychoanalysis: Ella Freeman Sharpe', *The Psychoanalytic Review*, 69 (1982): 2: 207–219; and the recent book by Maurice Whelan, *Mistress of her own Thoughts: Ella Freeman Sharpe and the Practice of Psychoanalysis*, London: Rebus, 2000.
38. See P. Grosskurth, *Melanie Klein: Her World and Her Work*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1985, especially pp. 243 and 291–292.
39. Khan (1978), 'Introduction' to E. F. Sharpe's *Dream Analysis: a Practical Handbook for Psychoanalysts* by Ella Freeman Sharpe, London: Hogarth.
40. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 20 May 1964, SP.
41. Ibid.
42. F. R. Rodman, *Winnicott: Life and Work*, Cambridge, MA: Perseus, 2003, p. 146.
43. Khan (1950), 'Review of *Myths of Middle India* by V. Elwin', *IJP*, 30: 215.
44. See J. Borossa, 'The migration of psychoanalysis and the psychoanalyst as migrant,' *Oxford Literary Review*, 1997, 19: 79–104.
45. See Margaret Little's *Psychotic Anxieties and Containment: a Personal Record of an Analysis with Winnicott*, Northvale, N.J.: Aronson, 1990, especially pages 31–38 for her account of her analysis with Sharpe.
46. C. Rycroft, quoted in J. Cooper, *Speak of me as I am*, London: Karnac, 1993, p. 13.
47. Khan to R. Steiner, 7 December 1984, SP.
48. H. Segal, personal communication 1 October 2003.
49. Death Certificate, dated 5 June 1947, Family Records Centre, London.
50. Training Committee minutes, 11 November 1946, BPAS/Institute archives.
51. Khan, 'Curriculum Vitae', BPAS/Institute archives.
52. The regulations governing selection and training stipulated that applicants needed to 'have suitable experience' in addition to either medical qualifications or a university degree in order to be eligible. Medical candidates were additionally required to undertake a 12 months half time psychiatric residency if they had not obtained similar prior experience. See *Training Regulations of the Institute of Psycho-Analysis, July 1948*, pp. 1 and 3, CSP.
53. Khan to R. Steiner, 7 December 1984, SP.
54. Pearl King, personal communication 4 May 2001; see also Khan to R. Steiner, 7 December 1984, SP.
55. Khan to R. Steiner, 7 December 1984, SP.
56. Pearl King, personal communication 4 May 2001.
57. Ibid.
58. For a fuller memoir on Rickman (1891–1951) see Sylvia Payne's *Foreword* in his *Selected Contributions to Psycho-Analysis*, London: Hogarth, 1957, edited by W. C. M. Scott and the more detailed account in P. King's *No Ordinary Psychoanalyst: the Exceptional Contributions of John Rickman*, London: Karnac, 2003.
59. Khan, 'Index card'. Also, Training Committee minutes 9 June 1947, BPAS/Institute archives.
60. Khan to R. Steiner, 7 December 1984, SP.
61. See for example P. Grosskurth, *Melanie Klein: Her World and Her Work*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1985, p. 375.
62. Letter from Rickman to Clifford Scott, 2 January 1945, CSP.
63. W. R. Bion, *Seven Servants*, New York: Aronson, 1977, p. vii.
64. *Index Psycho-Analyticus* (1928) and *The Development of the Psycho-Analytical Theory of Psychoses, 1893–1926* (1928).
65. These articles, originally published in 1919 were later edited by the anthropologist Geoffrey Gorer and Rickman into a book, *The Peoples of Great Russia*, London: Cresset Press, 1949.

66. J. Cooper, 'Masud Khan (1924–1989): a personal tribute', *Free Associations*, 1991, 2:1: (No.21): 95.
67. Scientific Meeting minutes, 4 October 1950, BPAS/Institute archives.
68. Pearl King, personal communication 4 May 2001.
69. Hanna Segal, personal communication 26 September 2002.
70. C. Rycroft, quoted in J. Cooper, *Speak of me as I am*, London: Karnac, 1993, p. 13.
71. Khan to R. Steiner, 7 December 1984, SP.
72. Scott to Lydia Rickman, 9 July 1953, CSP.
73. Khan (1960a), 'Regression and integration in the analytic setting', *PS*, p. 159.
74. Khan (1982a), 'The empty-headed', *HS*, p. 112.
75. R. R. Greenson, *The Technique and Practice of Psychoanalysis*, New York: International Universities Press, 1967, p. 360.
76. Ibid.
77. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 30 January 1968, SP.
78. This distinction between knowing about and being or becoming is discussed by Bion in several places in his writings. See especially his *Transformations*, London: Heinemann, 1965, pp. 147–156.
79. Training Committee minutes, 9 June 1947, BPAS/Institute archives. The other students that made up Khan's year-group thus passed to begin lectures were Maxwell Jones, Elliott Jacques, James Armstrong Harris, Pearl King, Harold Bridger, A. T. M. Wilson, Martin James and Sadie Mervis.
80. Khan, 'Index card', BPAS/Institute archives.
81. The Committee consisted of Sylvia Payne, Anna Freud and Melanie Klein plus their respective nominees, viz. Adrian Stephen, Willi Hoffer and Susan Isaacs with John Bowlby, as Training Secretary, co-opted. It met four times, viz. on 18 and 30 September and 5 and 25 November 1946. *Report of the Ad Hoc Committee to Consider Training in the light of Divergences between Groups in the Society, 1946*, CSP.
82. M. Milner. Untitled paper, reminiscences on Masud Khan. Unpublished, no date [c. 1990].
83. Khan (1988a), 'Genius is energy': A review of Marion Milner's *The Suppressed Madness of Sane Men*, in *Winnicott Studies*, 3 (1988): 55.
84. *The British Psychoanalytical Society and Institute of Psycho-Analysis Report for the year ended 30 June 1948*, London: Institute of Psychoanalysis, 1948, p. 13.
85. Ibid., p. 20.
86. Training Committee minutes, 7 June 1948, BPAS/Institute archives.
87. *The British Psychoanalytical Society and Institute of Psycho-Analysis Report for the year ended 30 June 1949*, London: Institute of Psychoanalysis, 1949, p. 14.
88. Khan to J. Strachey, 8 August 1949; M. James to J. Strachey, 26 October 1949, BPAS/Institute archives. See also Khan to R. Steiner, 7 December 1984, SP. James Strachey thanks Khan and Martin James for their work on the index in his preface to volume five of Sigmund Freud's *Collected Papers* (London: Hogarth, 1950).
89. E. Rodrigu , *El Libro de las Separaciones*, Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 2000, p. 48 and e-mail to the author 23 December 2003.
90. P. King, quoted in J. Cooper, *Speak of me as I am*, London: Karnac, 1993, p. 14.
91. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 27 January 1986, SP.
92. Hedwig Hoffer (1888–1961). See her obituary in the *IJP*, 43 (1962): 477.
93. *The British Psychoanalytical Society and Institute of Psycho-Analysis Report for the year ended 30 June 1950*, London: Institute of Psychoanalysis, 1950, p. 17.
94. 'Institute of Psychoanalysis: meeting of students and training analysts 14 June 1950 – Aide Memoire', [No author noted], CSP.
95. Training Committee minutes, 7 June 1948, BPAS/Institute archives.
96. Ibid., 28 June 1948.
97. Ibid., 12 July 1948.
98. Ibid., 27 September 1948.
99. Ibid., 18 October 1948.

100. Khan, 'Index card', BPAS/Institute archives.
101. Training Committee minutes, 13 June 1949, BPAS/Institute archives.
102. Khan (1972i), 'Cannibalistic tenderness in nongenital sensuality', in *AP*, pp. 177–184.
103. *Ibid.*, p. 179.
104. Khan to A. Freud, 11 May 1964, AFP.
105. *Ibid.*, 5 July 1951.
106. *Ibid.*, 18 June 1974; see also Khan to Anna Freud, 12 July 1978, AFP.
107. Much has been written about the role and significance of fees and money in psychoanalysis. Among other works see K. R. Eissler, 'On some theoretical and technical problems regarding the payment of fees for psychoanalytic treatment', *IRP*, 1974, 1: 73–101; E. Bornemann, *The Psychoanalysis of Money*, New York: Urizen, 1976; W. G. Herron and S. R. Welt, *Money Matters: the Fee in Psychotherapy and Psychoanalysis*, New York: Guilford, 1992; J. Haynes and J. Wiener, 'The analyst and the counting house: money as symbol and reality in analysis', *BJP*, 1996, 13: 14–25; and J. D. Shields, 'Hostage to the fee: meanings of money, countertransference, and the beginning therapist', *Psychoanalytic Psychotherapy*, 1996, 10: 233–250.
108. Khan to V. Smirnoff, 17 February 1971, 'In memoriam Masud Khan', *NRP*, 40 (Autumn 1989): 357.
109. *Ibid.*, 26 November 1968, 'In memoriam Masud Khan', *NRP*, 40 (Autumn 1989): 353.
110. J. Gedo, *Spleen and Nostalgia: a Life and Work in Psychoanalysis*, Northvale, NJ: Aronson, 1997, p. 63.
111. *Ibid.*, p. 62.
112. D. W. Winnicott to W. C. M. Scott, 6 August 1963, CSP.
113. Training Committee minutes, 13 June 1949, BPAS/Institute archives.
114. Khan, 'Index card', BPAS/Institute archives. See also Training Committee minutes, 24 October 1949, BPAS/Institute archives.
115. Khan (1988c), 'Empty chairs, vast spaces', in *WSC*, p. 63.
116. J. Gedo, 'A note on non-payment of psychiatric fees', *IJP*, 1963, 44: 368–371.
117. C. Rycroft, 'On ablation of the parental images, or the illusion of having created oneself', *Psychoanalysis and Beyond*, London: Chatto and Windus, 1985, pp. 214–232.
118. Students prior to 1950 were entitled to free supervision of their training cases, the introduction of fees from that date causing difficulties for a number of candidates. See for example the *British Psychoanalytical Society and Institute of Psychoanalysis Report for the Year Ending 30 June 1950*, p. 15. The regulations in force during the bulk of Khan's training stipulated the minimal fee for personal analysis was to be one guinea per session, the course fees were three guineas per eight lecture course and two guineas per series of eight seminars, while no fees were levied for the supervision of clinical cases. For further details see *Training Regulations of the Institute of Psycho-Analysis, July 1948*, pp. 1 and 3, CSP.
119. Arthur Hyatt Williams, London, personal communication 27 July 1999. See also Hanna Segal, who recalled Klein as 'never a fee grabber, but I suppose she was charging an average fee which I then couldn't pay...She took me on as a [non-fee paying] clinic patient until I got a decent job', 'Hanna Segal interviewed by Jacqueline Rose', *Women: a Cultural Review*, 1990, 1:2: 199–200.
120. Training Committee minutes, 23 January 1950, BPAS/Institute archives.
121. *Ibid.*, 12 June 1950.
122. Khan, 'Curriculum Vitae' and Training Committee minutes, 12 December 1949, BPAS/Institute archives.
123. Training Committee minutes, 13 March 1950, BPAS/Institute archives.
124. Winnicott may have been merely the initial assessor in this case, rather than the supervisor. See Khan (1988c), 'Empty chairs, vast spaces', in *WSC*, p. 64.
125. Khan (1972c), 'Exorcism of intrusive ego-alien factors in the analytic situation and process', *PS*, pp. 280–293.
126. This and the succeeding details on Tahir are based primarily on W. C. M. Scott's 'Mr. M. T. R. Khan: Interview Report, 20 October 1948', CSP.
127. Jane Nicholas, personal communication 13 April 1995.

128. Memorandum 22 October 1948, CSP.
129. See <http://aviation-safety.net/database/1949/491212-1.htm>
130. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 20 May 1964, SP.
131. Hans Zullig, born Rorschach 1914, died Essen 1992, was a dancer and choreographer, soloing initially in 1932. He worked in the schools of Kurt Jooss and later Rudolf von Laban and was with the Department of Dance at the University of Chile from 1951 to 1956. From 1969 until his death he was director of the Folkwang School. For details see Cappa-Gelli's *Dizionario dello Spettacolo del 900*, Milan: Baldini and Castoldi, 1998.
132. Jane Shore [now Nicholas], born London 14 June 1929, daughter of Bernard Shore, CBE, Professor of Viola at the Royal College of Music. Having trained with the Rambert School of Ballet, the Arts Educational Trust and the Sadler's Wells Ballet School, she was a founder member of the Sadler's Wells Theatre Ballet in 1946. See P. Noble (ed.) *British Ballet*, London: Skelton Robinson, 1950, p. 344; G. B. L. Wilson's *A Dictionary of Ballet*, [Third Edition] London: Adam and Charles Black, 1974, p. 454; and *Who's Who 2001*, London: A. and C. Black, 2001, p. 1526 for further details.
133. Jane Nicholas, personal communication 13 April 1995. Details of Khan's relationship with Jane Shore derive from this interview with her, except where otherwise stated.
134. *Ibid.*, 23 August 2001. A discussion of Beriosova's joining the Sadler's Wells theatre Ballet can be found in A. H. Franks, *Svetlana Beriosova: a Biography*, London: Burke, 1958, pp. 50–58.
135. Jane Nicholas, personal communication 13 April 1995.
136. *Ibid.*, 11 August 2003.
137. C. Rycroft, quoted in P. L. Rudnytsky, *Psychoanalytic Conversations: Interviews with Clinicians, Commentators, and Critics*, Hillsdale, NJ: Analytic Press, 2000, p. 76.
138. Jane Nicholas, personal communication 13 April 1995.
139. *Ibid.*, 23 August 2001.
140. A. Limentani, 'Obituary: M. Masud R. Khan 1924–1989', *IJP*, 73 (1992): p. 157.
141. J. Charlton, personal communication 8 November 1994.
142. See D. Meltzer, *The Claustrium: an Investigation of Claustrophobic Phenomena*, Strath Tay: Clunie, 1992, especially pages 153–157.
143. Khan to A. Freud, 16 January 1964, AFP.
144. *British Psychoanalytical Society and Institute of Psychoanalysis Report for the Year Ending 30 June 1951*, p. 5.
145. Khan (1950), 'Review of *Myths of Middle India* by V. Elwin', *IJP*, 30: 214.
146. *Ibid.*
147. *Ibid.*, p. 215.
148. *Ibid.*
149. Racism thus can be regarded as involving problems in the recognition and acceptance of difference without recourse to attempts at omnipotent control of the object that is felt to be different. With the eradication of that which is different a sense of untroubling undelimited similarity is created. For an interesting elaboration of the role of similarity in racism see Richard Tan's paper 'Racism and similarity: paranoid-schizoid structures', *BJP*, 10 (1993): 33–43.
150. For a discussion of this area see J. Solomos, *Race and Racism in Britain*, Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1993; B. Bowling's 'The emergence of violent racism as a public issue in Britain, 1945–1981', in P. Panayi (ed.) *Racial Violence in Britain in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, London: Leicester University Press, 1996, pp. 185–220, and R. Young's 'Colonialism and humanism', in J. Donald and A. Rattansi (eds) *Race, Culture and Difference*, London: Sage, 1992, pp. 243–251.
151. C. Hartnack, 'British psychoanalysts in colonial India', in M. G. Ash and W. R. Woodward (eds) *Psychology in Twentieth Century Thought and Society*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987, p. 249.
152. C. Hartnack, 'Vishnu on Freud's desk: psychoanalysis in colonial India', *Social Research*, 1990, 57:4: 949. For a more developed treatment of this topic see C. Hartnack's *Psychoanalysis in Colonial India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001.

153. J. B. McCarthy, 'Disillusionment and devaluation in Winnicott's analysis of Masud Khan', *American Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 63 (2003): 1: 81–92.
154. D. W. Winnicott to W. C. M. Scott, 10 February 1948, CSP.
155. D. W. Winnicott to M. Fordham, 23 September 1957, WP.
156. J. Cooper, *Speak of me as I am*, London: Karnac, 1993, p. 16.
157. F. W. Hickling and G. Hutchinson, 'Post-colonialism and mental health', *Psychiatric Bulletin*, 2000, 24: 94.
158. Khan to D. W. Winnicott, 15 August 1962, WP.
159. F. W. Hickling and G. Hutchinson, 'Post-colonialism and mental health', *Psychiatric Bulletin*, 2000, 24: 94.
160. Jane Nicholas, personal communication 11 August 2003.
161. Robert Gosling to Linda Hopkins 27 October 1996, quoted in L. Hopkins, 'D. W. Winnicott's analysis of Masud Khan: a preliminary study of failures of object usage', *Contemporary Psychoanalysis*, 34:1: 8.
162. Council committee minutes, 20 November 1950, Business meeting minutes, 6 December 1950, BPAS/Institute archives.
163. 'British Psycho-Analytical Society: report of the Scientific Secretary for the year June 1950–1951', *IJP*, 33 (1952): 278–279. Other speakers noted included Bion, Pearl King, Barbara Woodhead and Susannah Davidson.
164. Training Committee minutes, 9 April 1951, BPAS/Institute archives.
165. For a discussion of Bohusz see M. Wykes-Joyce's *The Art of Marian Bohusz*, London: Drian Gallery, 1977.
166. M. Milner. Untitled paper, reminiscences on Masud Khan. Unpublished, no date [c. 1990]. The dating of this is somewhat uncertain. Milner thought Khan stopped attending the art classes after about 1952. In Milner's Drian Gallery, London exhibition catalogue the published notes therein say Milner herself only *began* attending the classes in 1953 and continued with them for four years. A copy of the catalogue (*Marion Milner Exhibition 27 January to 19 February 1971*, London: Drian Gallery, 1971) is among her correspondence with Scott, see CSP.
167. See for example Sylvia Payne's *Foreword* in John Rickman's *Selected Contributions to Psycho-Analysis*, London: Hogarth, 1957, p. 15.
168. Scientific Meetings records, BPAS/Institute archives.
169. Balint's paper was subsequently republished in his book *Problems of Human Pleasure and Behaviour*, London: Hogarth, 1957, pp. 117–124.
170. Key papers on visual art and psychoanalysis by both Milner and Sharpe are referenced in the bibliography.
171. W. C. M. Scott to Khan, 7 June 1951, CSP.
172. J. Rickman, 'Reflections on the function and organization of a Psycho-Analytical Society', *IJP*, 1951, 32: 229.
173. W. C. M. Scott to Khan, 7 June 1951, CSP.
174. Khan to W. C. M. Scott, 12 June 1951, CSP.
175. W. C. M. Scott to Khan, 15 June 1951, CSP. Khan later claimed ((1988c) 'When spring comes', in *WSC*, p. 64) that Scott had seen this patient for a preliminary assessment himself. Scott's correspondence however suggests he merely read and made his decision on the basis of the Institute's initial assessment report, conducted by Winnicott. Mr A (personal communication 28 September 1999) confirms this.
176. Mr A, personal communication 28 September 1999.
177. *Ibid*.
178. See the *British Medical Journal*, 14 July 1951, pp. 121–122; *The Lancet*, 14 July 1951, p. 83; *The Times*, 9 July 1951 and the *IJP*, 33: (1952): 54–60 for his obituaries.
179. Arthur Hyatt Williams, personal communication 27 July 1999 and Pearl King, personal communication 4 May 2001.
180. W. C. M. Scott, personal memorandum, 1 July 1951, CSP. This records Khan's telephone number then as FRO: 8403.

181. Board Minutes, 9 May 1951, BPAS/Institute archives. See also 'News, notes and comments', *IJP*, 32 (1951): 333. Khan would later suggest that, due to his position with the library, Sylvia Payne had him appointed as an ex-officio member of the Publications Committee while he was still a student (see Khan to R. Steiner, 7 December 1984, SP). The Society records however suggest Khan joined the latter committee in 1957. See the *British Psychoanalytical Society and Institute of Psychoanalysis Report for the Year Ending 30 June 1958*, p. 34.
182. *British Psychoanalytical Society and Institute of Psychoanalysis Report for the Year Ending 30 June 1954*, p. 21. See also the Board minutes for 18 January 1954, British Psychoanalytic Society archives. The Institute annual *Reports* typically contain an account of the library and librarian's activities. For an early example the 'Report of the joint librarians' [Khan and Rycroft] in the *British Psychoanalytical Society and Institute of Psychoanalysis Report for the Year Ending 30 June 1953*, pp. 25–26.
183. The 1953 *Report* (ibid.) for example describes 'dealing with applications to use the Library, which involves sorting the sheep from the goats...The exact figures are 13 applications of which 9 were granted...Last but not least come enquiries. Over the last two years these have included a request from the Home Office for literature on panic in air-raid shelters, a query as to whether Freud has been translated into English...a request for the gift of discarded books from a student benighted in Connemara and for the name of some book which would help a correspondent in Lincoln "to look after babies so that their mental health does not suffer".' The evident tone of superiority here may point to the potentially corrupting power of authority and the relations between knowledge and power more generally, for discussion of which Michel Foucault has of course given the baseline texts. See for instance his *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972–1977*, New York: Pantheon, 1980.
184. Mr A, personal communication 28 September 1999.
185. Memorandum W. C. M. Scott to the Training Committee, 7 December 1951, CSP.
186. Ibid., 3 June 1952.
187. D. W. Winnicott to Khan, 26 June 1952, CSP.
188. D. W. Winnicott to W. C. M. Scott, 12 November 1951, CSP.
189. Khan to W. C. M. Scott, 18 May 1953, CSP.
190. One and a half guineas was the minimum training fee per session set by the Board of the Institute of Psychoanalysis for candidates beginning from 1 January 1950. *British Psychoanalytical Society and Institute of Psychoanalysis Report for the Year Ending 30 June 1950*, p. 15.
191. Khan (1988c), 'When spring comes', in *WSC*, p. 64.
192. Khan to W. C. M. Scott, 18 May 1953, CSP.
193. Ibid., 2 May 1961.
194. This section draws heavily on personal interview material obtained from Mr A, 28 September 1999, quotations being from this source unless indicated otherwise.
195. See for example Hopkins Collection, 1999; and Jane Nicholas, personal communication 13 April 1995.
196. Julie Andrews starred in this production of *My Fair Lady* on Broadway between March 1956 and February 1958, at which point she moved back to London for another run of this musical.
197. Mr A consulted Khan again briefly in circa 1963–64 when he was feeling again somewhat stuck and after several sessions Khan referred him on to a colleague for further analytic treatment. The latter however did not develop, the analyst–patient relationship never cohering sufficiently into a good-enough therapeutic alliance, and the second analysis soon ended. Mr A, personal communication 28 September 1999.
198. Training Committee minutes, 26 May 1952, BPAS/Institute archives.
199. M. Milner, personal communication 9 March 1995.
200. Khan, 'Index card' and 'Curriculum Vitae', BPAS/Institute archives.
201. Khan's first wife did not recall him seeing any child patients whatsoever. Jane Nicholas, personal communication 23 August 2001.
202. For a brief discussion of such strain see E. Bick's 'Child analysis today', *IJP*, 43: 328–332.

CHAPTER 4: WINNICOTT'S PROTÉGÉ

1. For a discussion of the Winnicott–Klein split see P. Grosskurth, *Melanie Klein: Her World and Her Work*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1985, pp. 397–402 and J. Aguayo's 'Reassessing the clinical affinity between Melanie Klein and D. W. Winnicott (1935–51)', *IJP*, 2002, 83: 1133–1152.
2. D. Goldman, 'The outrageous prince: Winnicott's uncure of Masud Khan', *IJP*, 2003, 19:4: 500.
3. W. G. Gillespie, 'Obituary: Donald W. Winnicott', *IJP*, 1971, 52: 528.
4. D. W. Winnicott to W. C. M. Scott, 26 December 1956, CSP.
5. For a general account of Winnicott see B. Kahr's *D. W. Winnicott: a Biographical Portrait*, London: Karnac, 1996 and F. R. Rodman's *Winnicott: Life and Work*, Cambridge, MA: Perseus, 2003. A fuller account of his martial difficulties and relations with Clare Britton is given in F. R. Rodman's *Winnicott: Life and Work*, Cambridge, MA: Perseus, 2003, especially pp. 89–105 and in J. Kanter's excellent paper 'The untold story of Clare and Donald Winnicott: how Social Work influenced modern psychoanalysis', *Clinical Social Work Journal*, 2000, 28:3: 245–261.
6. D. W. Winnicott, 'Transitional objects and transitional phenomena' *IJP*, 1953, 34: 89–97.
7. Scientific Meetings records, 30 May 1951, BPAS/Institute archives. William Gillespie chaired the meeting and opened the discussion, in which he was followed by Money-Kyrle, Harold Bridger, Melanie Klein, Clifford Scott, Rickman and Michael Balint amongst others.
8. Khan (1972h), 'Introduction' to *Through Paediatrics to Psychoanalysis: Collected Papers*, by D. W. Winnicott, London: Hogarth, 1975, p. xii.
9. *Ibid.*
10. Khan (1987a), 'Foreword' to *Winnicott and Paradox: from Birth to Creation*, by Anne Clancier and Jeannie Kalmanovitch, London: Tavistock, pp. xvi–xvii.
11. Khan (WB1971g, p. 902) quoted in J. Cooper, *Speak of me as I am*, London: Karnac, 1993, p. 20.
12. Khan (1987a), 'Foreword' to *Winnicott and Paradox: from Birth to Creation*, by Anne Clancier and Jeannie Kalmanovitch, London: Tavistock, p. xvii. The 'Foreword' is actually dated 29 August 1986.
13. Jane Nicholas, personal communication 13 April 1995; M. Milner. Untitled paper, reminiscences on Masud Khan. Unpublished, no date [c. 1990].
14. D.W. Winnicott to D. Rapaport, 9 October 1953, in F. R. Rodman (ed.) *The Spontaneous Gesture: Selected Letters of D. W. Winnicott*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard, 1987, p. 54.
15. F. R. Rodman, *Winnicott: Life and Work*, Cambridge, MA: Perseus, 2003, p. 205.
16. D. W. Winnicott, *The Maturation Processes and the Facilitating Environment: Studies in the Theory of Emotional Development*. Volume 64 of the International Psychoanalytical Library, edited by J. D. Sutherland, London: Hogarth, 1965, p. 11.
17. Quoted in F. R. Rodman, *Winnicott: Life and Work*, Cambridge, MA: Perseus, 2003, p. 172.
18. *Ibid.*
19. *Ibid.*, pp. 172, 174 and 178. See also D.W. Winnicott to M. Klein, 17 November 1952 and D. W. Winnicott to R. Money-Kyrle, 17 March 1955, in F. R. Rodman (ed.) *The Spontaneous Gesture: Selected Letters of D. W. Winnicott*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard, 1987, pp. 36 and 85.
20. A. Ehrenzweig, 'Review of...*Smooth and Rough* by Adrian Stokes', *IJP*, 33: 501–502. The appearance of Ehrenzweig's review rather than Khan's is perhaps interesting. Was Khan's review known to Klein, as Winnicott seemed to suggest, and was her invitation to Winnicott part of a search for a more sympathetic or acceptable reviewer to her and her followers that found its object in Ehrenzweig? Winnicott may thus, though it would be still acting out, have been trying to support *his* analysis against an imagined opposition by Klein to Khan (and indirectly to himself). Such a hypothesis about Klein seems unlikely given Khan's own very recent supervision with her, the editorial presence of the Freudian Hoffer, Winnicott himself not being at that point regarded as an obviously reliable pro-Kleinian and Winnicott's failure to actually write a review.

21. Khan and D. W. Winnicott (1953b), review of *Psychoanalytic Studies of the Personality* by W. R. D. Fairbairn, *IJP*, 34: 329–333.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 329.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 331.
24. H. Guntrip, *Personality Structure and Human Interaction: the Developing Synthesis of Psycho-dynamic Theory*, London: Hogarth, 1961, p. 298. See also P. L. Rudnytsky, *Psychoanalytic Conversations: Interviews with Clinicians, Commentators, and Critics*, Hillsdale, NJ: Analytic Press, 2000, p. 19 for a similar view.
25. J. D. Sutherland, *Fairbairn's Journey into the Interior*, London: Free Association, 1989, p. 175.
26. P. L. Rudnytsky, *The Psychoanalytic Vocation: Rank, Winnicott, and the Legacy of Freud*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991, p. 142.
27. D. W. Winnicott to H. Guntrip, 15 September 1961, WP.
28. J. Padel, 'The psychoanalytic theories of Melanie Klein and Donald Winnicott and their interaction in the British Society of Psychoanalysis', *Psychoanalytic Review*, 78:3: 344. Padel here states that Winnicott 'and Masud Khan individually recanted the joint paper...Each confessed that he had not really understood it at the time. I should think that they both had a strong resistance to understanding it, because it put forward a scheme that bridged both Winnicott's and Klein's individual statements of infantile development.'
29. E. O'Shaughnessy, 'Enclaves and excursions', *IJP*, 1992, 73: 610.
30. J. Cooper, *Speak of me as I am*, London: Karnac, 1993, p. 20.
31. An original copy of the paper is among the Clifford Scott papers. This post-script is omitted from the subsequently published version, which (containing no references whatsoever) can be found in the *IJP*, 1955, 36: 16–26.
32. M. Balint to D. W. Winnicott, 14 December 1966, WP.
33. D. W. Winnicott to W. C. M. Scott, 26 December 1956, CSP.
34. D. W. Winnicott, 'Primitive emotional development', (1945). *Through Paediatrics to Psychoanalysis: Collected Papers*, London: Hogarth, 1975, pp. 145–146.
35. D. W. Winnicott, 'DWW on DWW'. (1967). *Psychoanalytic Explorations*, ed. by C. Winnicott, R. Shepherd and M. Davis, London: Karnac, 1987, p. 573.
36. D. W. Winnicott, *The Maturation Processes and the Facilitating Environment: Studies in the Theory of Emotional Development*. Volume 64 of the International Psychoanalytical Library, edited by J. D. Sutherland, London: Hogarth, 1965, p. 11.
37. H. Segal (2001), 'Review of *Le Génie Féminin* by Julia Kristeva', *IJP*, 82: 404.
38. F. R. Rodman, *Winnicott: Life and Work*, Cambridge, MA: Perseus, 2003, pp. 72, 81–85 and 390 note 2.
39. D. W. Winnicott, 'Transitional objects and transitional phenomena', *IJP*, 1953, 34: 89.
40. C. Rycroft, 'On ablation of the parental images, or the illusion of having created oneself', *Psychoanalysis and Beyond*, London: Chatto and Windus, 1985, pp. 214–232, and especially pages 222–223 for elaboration of indebtedness and creativity.
41. A. Limentani, 'Obituary: M. Masud R. Khan 1924–1989', *IJP*, 1992, 73: 156.
42. M. Pines. Quoted by 'Masud Khan's analysis with Donald Winnicott: on the hazards of befriending a patient', *Free Associations*, 10:2: (No.54): 207. Pines is further quoted as saying that during Society meetings during Winnicott's presidency Khan 'used to be quite rude to him, arrogant and challenging'. See L. Hopkins, 'D. W. Winnicott's analysis of Masud Khan', *Contemporary Psychoanalysis*, 1998, 34:1: 29.
43. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 11 February 1980, SP.

CHAPTER 5: PERSONAL AND PROFESSIONAL

1. D. Joly, *Britannia's Crescent: Making a Place for Muslims in British Society*, Aldershot: Avebury, 1995, p. 7.
2. Jane Nicholas, personal communications 13 April 1995 and 11 August 2003.
3. *The Times*, 12 July 1952, p. 6.

4. *Evening News*, 15 July 1952.
5. *Ibid.*
6. Marriage certificate, General Register Office, London.
7. Mr A, personal communication 28 September 1999.
8. Jane Nicholas, personal communication 13 April 1995. Winnicott was another who smoked during psychoanalytic sessions, mention of which may be found, for instance, in his paper 'Paediatrics and psychiatry', *Through Paediatrics to Psychoanalysis: Collected Papers*, London: Hogarth, 1975, p. 166.
9. E. R. Zetzel (1969), '96 Gloucester Place: Some personal recollections', *IJP*, 50: 717–719.
10. *British Psychoanalytical Society and Institute of Psychoanalysis Report for the Year Ending 30 June 1953*, p. 25.
11. *British Psychoanalytical Society and Institute of Psychoanalysis Report for the Year Ending 30 June 1954*, p. 20.
12. Khan to W. C. M. Scott, 18 May 1953, CSP.
13. C. Rycroft, quoted in P. L. Rudnytsky, *Psychoanalytic Conversations: Interviews with Clinicians, Commentators, and Critics*, Hillsdale, NJ: Analytic Press, 2000, p. 76.
14. *Ibid.*; Grosskurth says the club was formed following one particularly frustrating meeting on 9 April 1952, the founding members retiring to Pearl King's consulting rooms where the Club was inaugurated, initial membership being limited to twelve. See P. Grosskurth, *Melanie Klein: Her World and Her Work*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1985, pp. 406–407.
15. E. Balint, quoted in P. L. Rudnytsky, *Psychoanalytic Conversations: Interviews with Clinicians, Commentators, and Critics*, Hillsdale, NJ: Analytic Press, 2000, p. 8. Enid Balint here erroneously suggests the Club was named after the year of qualification of its founding group.
16. For a discussion of this and related object relations involved in efforts to publish see R. Britton's 'Publication anxiety: conflict between communication and affiliation', *IJP*, 75: 1213–1224.
17. W. C. M. Scott to L. L. Rickman, 24 June 1952, CSP.
18. Khan to W. C. M. Scott, 20 November 1952, CSP.
19. L. L. Rickman to W. C. M. Scott, 29 August 1953; W. C. M. Scott to L. L. Rickman, 21 October 1953, CSP.
20. L. L. Rickman to W. C. M. Scott, 24 October 1953, CSP.
21. Board minutes, 16 November 1953, BPAS/Institute archives.
22. L. L. Rickman to W. C. M. Scott, 10 November 1953, CSP.
23. Edited by W. C. M. Scott and published by the Hogarth Press, London, 1957, as volume 52 of the *International Psychoanalytical Library* series, it appeared on 11 June 1957.
24. P. King, editor, *No Ordinary Psychoanalyst: the Exceptional Contributions of John Rickman*, London: Karnac, 2003.
25. J. Issroff, e-mail to the author 7 October 2003.
26. 'British Psycho-Analytical Society: Report of the Scientific Secretary for the Year June 1950–1951', *IJP*, 33 (1952): 278–279. Some 60 Associates were potential Membership candidates, whilst in toto there were only 15–16 Scientific Meetings per annum.
27. See for example Khan to W. C. M. Scott, 30 January 1953, CSP. Also Khan to A. Freud, 30 January 1953, AFP.
28. Khan to W. C. M. Scott, 3 February 1953, CSP.
29. The British Psychoanalytical Society archives record the additional discussants as Lois Munro, Dr Wilson, Barbara Lantos, Hedwig Hoffer and Enid Balint.
30. Khan to A. Freud, 5 February 1953, AFP.
31. *Ibid.*, 13 February 1953.
32. Council and Business Meeting minutes, 16 March 1953, BPAS/Institute archives.
33. F. R. Rodman, *Winnicott: Life and Work*, Cambridge, MA: Perseus, 2003, p. 194.
34. J. Cooper, *Speak of me as I am*, London: Karnac, 1993, p. 18.
35. Pearl King, personal communication 4 May 2001.
36. Khan to A. Freud, 17 April 1953, AFP.

37. Much of the case history was reproduced by Khan later together with a substantial review of the literature on female homosexuality in his most substantial paper (Khan, 1964c) 'The role of infantile sexuality and early object-relations in female homosexuality', in *AP*, pp. 56-119.
38. Khan to A. Freud, 5 February 1953, AFP.
39. Khan (1964c), 'The role of infantile sexuality and early object-relations in female homosexuality', in *AP*, p. 93.
40. For details see A. Freud (1952a), 'Notes on a Connection Between the States of Negativism and Emotional Surrender', *IJP*, 33: 265 and A. Freud (1952b), 'Notes on Passivity', in her *Indications for Child Analysis and Other Papers*, London: Hogarth, 1969, pp. 245-259.
41. Khan (1964c), 'The Role of Infantile Sexuality and Early Object-Relations in Female Homosexuality', in *AP*, p. 90.
42. Khan to A. Freud, 5 February 1953, AFP. See also E. Fortineau's 'A propos de l'article de Masud Khan: "Role de la sexualité infantile et des premières relations d'objet dans l'homosexualité féminine"', *Perspectives Psychiatriques*, 1983, 21(3): 202-205.
43. A. Limentani, 'Obituary: M. Masud R. Khan 1924-1989', *IJP*, 73 (1992): p. 158.
44. Khan to W. C. M. Scott, 29 June 1953, CSP.
45. Phyllis Grosskurth refers to T. T. S. Hayley describing the 'the Scientific Meetings during the fifties as slave markets for referrals. The economic pressure became particularly intense during a students final year. "One had to toe the line in order to get patients".' See P. Grosskurth, *Melanie Klein: Her World and Her Work*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1985, p. 406.
46. D. W. Winnicott to W. C. M. Scott, Easter Day, 1959, CSP.
47. Winnicott's correspondence records at least twenty-three different analysts to whom he referred patients, including: Drs P. K. Calwell, E. A. Childe, D. Gough, H. Hardenberg, J. A. Harris, H. M. Holden, M. James, J. Klauber, K. Leddy, M. Little, P. Lomas, S. H. Lucas, D. Meltzer, R. Moody, L. Munro, G. Parker, C. Rycroft, B. Sandford, H. Segal, S. Tischler, D. Weddell, C. Weddes, and B. Woodhead, WP.
48. Robert Wylie Shields (1919-2000), BA, BD (Leeds), PhD, AMBPAS (1962). Before coming to psychoanalysis, Shields had been ordained as a clergyman in 1943 continuing in that vocation until 1950, when he took up practising psychotherapy (having himself had two episodes of personal psychotherapy). See W. C. M. Scott to Training Committee, 8 October 1953, CSP.
49. R. W. Shields during the discussion at the panel 'Winnicott and Masud Khan: a study of addiction and self-destruction' in the *Hungers and Compulsions: Contemporary Perspectives in the Psychoanalytic Treatment of Eating Disorders and Addictions* conference, William Alanson White Institute, New York, 30 October 1999. R. W. Shields' application for training was received on 14 September 1953 and the Training Committee is noted as having accepted his application on 9 November 1953. See his 'Index Card', BPAS/Institute archives.
50. R. W. Shields during the discussion at the panel 'Winnicott and Masud Khan: a study of addiction and self-destruction' in the *Hungers and Compulsions: Contemporary Perspectives in the Psychoanalytic Treatment of Eating Disorders and Addictions* conference, William Alanson White Institute, New York, 30 October 1999.
51. D. W. Winnicott to H. Ries, 3 July 1957, WP. Ries does not appear to have passed on Winnicott's suggestion to Mrs Levinson, the latter having no recollection of any such proposal. Gordon Levinson, personal communication 23 March 2000.
52. D. W. Winnicott to Dr Koupernik, 20 May 1959, WP.
53. A. B. Bahia to D. W. Winnicott, 3 March 1966, WP.
54. D. W. Winnicott to A. B. Bahia, 14 March 1966, WP.
55. Khan (1971e), 'The role of illusion in the analytic space and process', *PS*, p. 255.
56. Khan (1988c), 'When spring comes', *WSC*, pp. 26-51.
57. Robert Gosling to Linda Hopkins 27 October 1996, quoted in L. Hopkins, 'D. W. Winnicott's analysis of Masud Khan: a preliminary study of failures of object usage', *Contemporary Psychoanalysis*, 34:1: 8.
58. F. R. Rodman, *Winnicott: Life and Work*, Cambridge, MA: Perseus, 2003, pp. 208 and 398.

59. Jane Nicholas, personal communication 13 April 1995.
60. Ibid.
61. Khan to A. Freud, 26 November 1954 and 30 November 1954, AFP.
62. Khan, 'Notes on homosexual episodes in a male patient', 1954. Unpublished Membership paper, Institute of Psycho-Analysis, London, p. 1.
63. Khan (1965b) 'Foreskin fetishism and its relation to ego-pathology in a male homosexual', *IJP*, 46: 64–80; (1969c) 'The homosexual nursing of self and object', Published in Dutch in *Inval*, Inhoud I; (1970d) 'Le fétichisme comme négation du soi', *NRP*, 2: 77–112; (1972i) 'La tendresse cannibalique dans la sensualité non génitale', *NRP*, 6: 159–167; and (1984a) 'Fetish-neurosis, false self and destiny'. *Winnicott Studies: the Journal of the Squiggle Foundation*, 1: 15–25. Khan combined two of these papers (1965b and 1970d) to form 'Fetish as negation of the self: clinical notes on foreskin fetishism in a male homosexual', in *AP*, pp. 139–176.
64. Khan, 'Notes on homosexual episodes in a male patient', 1954. Unpublished Membership paper, Institute of Psycho-Analysis, London, p. 10.
65. Ibid., p. 30.
66. Ibid., p. 32.
67. D. W. Winnicott, 'Mind and its relation to the psyche-soma' (1954), *Through Paediatrics to Psychoanalysis: Collected Papers*, London: Hogarth, 1975, p. 249.
68. For a discussion of analytic views on acting out see R. H. Etchegoyen, *The Fundamentals of Psychoanalytic Technique*, London: Karnac, 1999, pp. 700–736.
69. S. Ferenczi, 'Confusion of tongues between adults and the child' (1933), in *Final Contributions to the Problems and Methods of Psychoanalysis*, edited by M. Balint, London: Maresfield, 1994, p. 160.
70. D. W. Winnicott, 'Fear of breakdown', *Psychoanalytic Explorations*, edited by Clare Winnicott et al., London: Karnac, 1989, pp. 87–95.
71. Khan to A. Freud, 2 December 1954, AFP.
72. Scientific Meetings records, 1 December 1954, BPAS/Institute archives.
73. W. R. Bion to S. Payne, 3 December 1954, BPAS/Institute archives.
74. Khan to A. Freud, 30 November 1954, AFP. Khan's attitude towards homosexuals and homosexuality appears ambivalent. Jane Nicholas described Khan during the 1950s as 'something of a prick tease' with Hans Zullig and other homosexual acquaintances, personal communication 23 August 2001. Mark Paterson described him similarly, remarking on his liking of the company of young men, while speculating that Khan may have been bisexual. M. Paterson, personal communication 20 January 1994. In a letter to Zoë Dominic, Khan himself expressed a rather different view, suggesting at least superficial adherence to the then orthodox view of homosexuality as a psychiatric disorder, writing: 'But Zoë, a disease doesn't need charity, it needs examination. That is my point. Through being generous and somewhat misguidedly indulgent towards the homosexual, we do not help him. But this is an ancient dilemma and I reckon pending solution sympathy is perhaps our best guide. That much I grant you.' See Khan to Z. Dominic, 1 June 1961, DP.
75. Council minutes, 6 December 1954, BPAS/Institute archives.
76. H. Segal to A.-M. Sandler, 17 May 2001. Courtesy of Hanna Segal.
77. Ibid. and H. Segal, personal communication 1 October 2003.
78. Business meeting minutes, 19 January 1955; Board minutes, 21 January 1955, BPAS/Institute archives. See also Khan to A. Freud, 2 December 1954 and 26 January 1955, AFP.
79. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 22 November 1969, SP.
80. F. R. Rodman, *Winnicott: Life and Work*, Cambridge, MA: Perseus, 2003, p. 113.
81. Jane Nicholas, personal communication 13 April 1995. This discussion of Khan's marriage with Jane draws primarily on material gathered during personal interviews with Jane Nicholas, unless otherwise stated.
82. Ibid., 23 August 2001.
83. F. R. Rodman, *Winnicott: Life and Work*, Cambridge, MA: Perseus, 2003, pp. 52–76.
84. Ibid., p. 162.
85. Ibid., p. 203.
86. H. Henry to D. W. Winnicott, 5 May 1959, WP.

87. James Knowlson in discussing the play's move from Paris to London, which took considerable negotiation over nearly three years, notes that Jane Shore's ballet colleague Margot Fonteyn had been among those whose opinion was asked on the merits of the script. See J. Knowlson, *Damned to Fame: the Life of Samuel Beckett*, London: Bloomsbury, 1996, pp. 411–417.
88. See *The Times*, 1 September 1954, p. 5, for details of the Edinburgh production.
89. *The Times*, 23 September 1954, p. 10.
90. Svetlana Beriosova, born 24 September 1932, Kaunas, Lithuania, died London 10 November 1998. For obituaries see: *Financial Times*, 12 November 1998; *The Times*, 13 November 1998; *The New York Times*, 14 November 1998 and the *Daily Telegraph*, 21 November 1998.
91. Jane Nicholas, personal communication 13 April 1995.
92. *Ibid.*, 23 August 2001.
93. J. Issroff, e-mail to the author 8 March 2004.
94. M. Milner. Untitled paper, reminiscences on Masud Khan. Unpublished, no date [c. 1990], MP.
95. Jane Nicholas, personal communication 23 August 2001. Details of this entire episode are derived from this interview material.
96. Dr Desmond Terence Bardon was the Chief Physician at Shenley Hospital (a vast mental hospital accommodating in excess of 2,000 patients) and appears to have had an interest in psychotherapy, perhaps fostered by his time as a Clinical Assistant at the Tavistock Clinic. For details see the *Medical Directory, 1949*, London: J. A. Churchill, 1949, p. 1270.
97. This date of admission has been extrapolated backwards from the Bolshoi's opening performance, Jane recalling that her admission occurred some four to eight weeks prior to that. Jane Nicholas, personal communication 23 August 2001.
98. The opening performance was announced in *The Times*, 3 October 1956, p. 10 and was subsequently greeted with widespread popular and critical enthusiasm. See *The Times*, 4 October 1956, p. 3 for details of the opening night.
99. Jane Nicholas, personal communication 23 August 2001.

CHAPTER 6: ON AND OFF WINNICOTT'S COUCH

1. Khan to D. W. Winnicott, 31 August 1957, WP.
2. *Ibid.*, 26 September 1961.
3. Khan (1979a), 'Infancy, aloneness and madness', in *HS*, p. 182.
4. D. W. Winnicott, 'The use of an object and relating through identifications', *IJP*, 1969, 50: 711–716.
5. J. Lacan, *The Seminars of Jacques Lacan: Book 1, Freud's Papers on Technique 1953–54*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988, see especially pp. 62–70 and 73–88.
6. Khan, Work Book, c. May 1971, quoted in D. Goldman, 'The outrageous prince: Winnicott's uncure of Masud Khan', *BJP*, 2003, 19:4: 491. Goldman further quotes Khan's *Work Book* from 5 May 1971, in which he declares 'I have never been able to share my Self with others through language spoken. And yet language has enabled me to know others – and often beyond my own insight into them. DWW often used to say: "You speak wiser than you know". And that is true' (*ibid.*, p. 498).
7. Khan to V. Smirnoff, 18 February 1971. Quoted in 'In memoriam Masud Khan', *NRP*, 40 (Autumn 1989): 352.
8. Khan to S. Stoller, 14 October 1974, quoted in L. Hopkins, 'D. W. Winnicott's analysis of Masud Khan', *Contemporary Psychoanalysis*, 1998, 34:1: 25.
9. Khan (1972g), 'Text for the Winnicott Memorial Meeting, 19th January, 1972', *Scientific Bulletin of the British Psychoanalytical Society*, 57: 11; and as 'On D. W. Winnicott', *International Journal of Child Psychotherapy*, 1: 13.
10. Khan (1971h), 'Obituary: D. W. Winnicott', *BJMP*, 44: 388.
11. M. Milner, 25 November 1996, quoted in L. Hopkins, 'D. W. Winnicott's analysis of Masud Khan', *Contemporary Psychoanalysis*, 1998, 34:1: 10.

12. F. R. Rodman, *Winnicott: Life and Work*, Cambridge, MA: Perseus, 2003, pp. 186 and 399 note 1.
13. L. Hopkins, 'D. W. Winnicott's analysis of Masud Khan', *Contemporary Psychoanalysis*, 1998, 34:1: 5-47.
14. An interesting sequel to Winnicott's 'Hate in the counter-transference' paper is to be found among Winnicott's archives in the form of a letter, dated 2 April 1958, from a twenty-six year old prisoner on remand at Brixton Prison, awaiting trial for robbery, who had a string of previous offences. He began his letter writing 'It is a long time now since we last met but I know you will remember me when I tell you that I once lived with you and Mrs Winnicott at Pilgrims Lane for two years. I never realised it was that long until the other day my mother happened to mention it. I remembered staying with you of course but I imagined it to have only been for a couple of months.' Prisoner no. 2252 to D. W. Winnicott, 2 April 1958, WP. This seems to hardly indicate a successful conclusion to Winnicott's efforts at managing hostility.
15. J. McDougall, *Donald Winnicott the Man: Reflections and Recollections*, London: Karnac, 2003, p. 35.
16. Khan (1988c), 'When spring comes', in *WSC*, p. 33.
17. Accounts of such behaviour by Khan are common within the literature on him. For well documented instances see R. S. Boynton's 'The return of the repressed: the strange case of Masud Khan', *Boston Review*, December 2002, pp. 23-29 and W. Godley's 'Saving Masud Khan', *London Review of Books*, 22 February 2001, 23:4: 3-7.
18. Tahir Khan, quoted by J. McDougall letter to the author, 26 February 2001.
19. Mark Paterson recounts that during the 1970s and 1980s when meeting with Khan he always sought to avoid dining out at restaurants as Khan would embarrassingly seek to humiliate the waiters and other staff. For related reasons, Khan found it difficult to retain the services of his secretaries and domestic help. Mark Paterson, personal communication 20 January 1994.
20. D. Holbrook, 'Fall of a prince', *The London Magazine*, April / May 1994, p. 70.
21. W. R. Bion (1958), 'On arrogance', *Second Thoughts*, London: Maresfield, 1984, p. 86.
22. E. Rayner, 'Foreword', in J. Cooper's *Speak of me as I am*, London: Karnac, 1993, p. xvi.
23. Khan, *Work Book*, 1969b, quoted in J. Cooper, *Speak of me as I am*, London: Karnac, 1993, p. 21.
24. J. Cooper, *Speak of me as I am*, London: Karnac, 1993, p. 35.
25. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 8 June 1973, SP.
26. P. Lomas, 'The origin of the need to be special', *BJMP*, 1962, 35: 339-346.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 346.
28. D. Goldman, 'The outrageous prince: Winnicott's uncure of Masud Khan', *BJP*, 2003, 19:4: 489.
29. J. McDougall, letter to the author, 26 February 2001.
30. *Ibid.*
31. D. Goldman, 'The outrageous prince: Winnicott's uncure of Masud Khan', *BJP*, 2003, 19:4: 489-490.
32. L. Hopkins, 'D. W. Winnicott's analysis of Masud Khan', *Contemporary Psychoanalysis*, 1998, 34:1: 16. Little was, like Khan, an analysand of both Ella Sharpe and Winnicott during the late 1940s and early 1950s.
33. Training Committee minutes, 28 November and 12 December 1955, BPAS/Institute archives.
34. *Training Regulations of the Institute of Psycho-Analysis, July 1948*, CSP.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
36. W. C. M. Scott, *Memorandum: Note Regarding Minimal Qualifications for Analysts Engaged in Training Activities, 6 January 1954*, CSP.
37. H. Hoffer, *Memorandum: Suggestions with regard to a Statement about 'Minimum Requirements' of Analytic Experience by Analysts to be Entrusted with Personal Analysis, 11 January 1954*, CSP.
38. D. W. Winnicott, *Memorandum: Requirements: Training Analyst, 11 January 1954*, CSP.

39. Ibid.
40. P. Heimann, *Memorandum: Re Minimal Requirements for Analysts Engaged in Training Activities*, 23 January 1954, CSP.
41. S. M. Payne, *Memorandum: Work of Training Analysts*, 30 January 1954, CSP.
42. B. Lantos, *Memorandum: Re Minimal Requirements for Analysts Engaged in Training Activities*, 18 February 1954, CSP.
43. D. W. Winnicott, *Memorandum: Requirements: Training Analyst*, 11 January 1954, CSP.
44. Training Committee minutes, 28 November 1955, BPAS/Institute archives. See also the minutes of the meeting on 12 December 1955 for further details.
45. *Annual Report of the British Psychoanalytical Society and Institute of Psychoanalysis for the Year Ended 30 June 1957*, p. 26.
46. Khan to A. Freud, 10 December 1956, AFP.
47. Ibid., 18 December 1956.
48. J. Harvard-Watts to D. W. Winnicott, 27 May 1958, WP.
49. Ibid.
50. D. Burfield to D. W. Winnicott, 17 June 1957, WP.
51. D. W. Winnicott to J. Harvard-Watts, 17 June 1957, WP.
52. Ibid.
53. Ibid., 17 July 1957.
54. J. Kanter's *Face to Face with Children: the Life and Work of Clare Winnicott*, London: Karnac, 2004, pp. 34 and 52; see also Khan (1988c), 'When spring comes', in *WSC*, p. 26.
55. Kanter, *ibid.*, p. 52.
56. D. W. Winnicott, 'On the capacity to be alone', *IJP*, 1958, 39: 416–420.
57. Scientific Meeting's minutes, 24 July 1957, BPAS/Institute archives.
58. M. Klein, *Envy and Gratitude*, London: Tavistock, 1957. Winnicott wrote various pieces on this work, beginning with a review of *Envy and Gratitude* first published in *Case Conference* in January 1959, pp. 177–178. See his *Psychoanalytic Explorations*, edited by C. Winnicott, R. Shepherd and M. Davis, London: Karnac, 1989, pp. 443–446. It is, however, not clear whether Khan was referring to a draft of this or another paper by Winnicott on the same subject.
59. Khan to D. W. Winnicott, 7 October 1957, author's collection.
60. Ibid.
61. For an account of their editorial work together see Khan (1988c), 'When spring comes', in *WSC*, p. 26.
62. P. Raymond to W. C. M. Scott, 8 May 1957, CSP.
63. *British Psychoanalytical Society and Institute of Psychoanalysis Report for the Year Ending 30 June 1958*, p. 34.
64. For a discussion of the Committee's composition see *A Statement of Recommendations from the Publications Committee to the Board of the Institute of Psychoanalysis and the Council of the British Psychoanalytical Society*, October 1955, CSP.
65. Khan to D. W. Winnicott, 31 August 1957, WP.
66. Khan to A. Freud, 30 January 1958, AFP.
67. Ibid., 21 January 1959.
68. Training Committee Minutes, October 1957, BPAS/Institute archives.
69. D. W. Winnicott to John Harvard-Watts, 28 October 1957, WP.
70. D. W. Winnicott, *Collected Papers*, London: Tavistock, 1958, p. x.
71. Jane Nicholas, personal communication 23 August 2001.
72. Ibid., 13 April 1995.
73. For details see the 'Notice of making Decree Nisi Absolute (Divorce), number 9601 of 1957', Principal Registry of the Family Division of the High Court of Justice, London.
74. See *Who's Who 2001*, London: A. and C. Black, 2001, p. 1526 for further details on Jane Nicholas and her subsequent career.
75. Khan to D. W. Winnicott, 27 March 1958, WP.
76. D. W. Winnicott to Khan, 28 November 1958, WP.

77. D. W. Winnicott (1958), 'The first year of life', in *The Family and Individual Development*, London: Tavistock, 1965, pp. 3–14.

CHAPTER 7: HIGH SOCIETY AND SCHIZOID DEVELOPMENTS

1. C. Swinson, *Svetlana Beriosova*, London: A. and C. Black, 1956.
2. A. H. Franks, *Svetlana Beriosova: a Biography*, London: Burke, 1958.
3. Anonymous source, related to Jane Nicholas, personal communication 11 August 2003.
4. H. Franks, *Svetlana Beriosova: a Biography*, London: Burke, 1958, pp. 142–143.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 143.
6. *The Times*, 24 January 1959, p. 8.
7. Pearl King, personal communication 4 May 2001; E. Balint, quoted in P. L. Rudnytsky, *Psychoanalytic Conversations: Interviews with Clinicians, Commentators, and Critics*, Hillsdale, NJ: Analytic Press, 2000, p. 7.
8. W. Godley, 'Saving Masud Khan', *London Review of Books*, 22 February 2001, 23:4: 5.
9. *Ibid.*
10. Khan to A. Freud, 21 January 1959, AFP.
11. Scientific Meeting minutes, 4 February 1959, BPAS/Institute archives.
12. Khan (1960a), 'Regression and integration in the analytic setting', *PS*, p. 137.
13. R. Greenson, 'On screen defenses, screen hunger and screen identity', *JAPA*, 1958, 6: 242–262.
14. Although reference to this concept appears in Winnicott's works from at least the early 1950s his main treatment of it is in his paper 'Ego distortion in terms of true and false self', (1960), *The Maturation Processes and the Facilitating Environment*, London: Hogarth, 1965, pp. 140–152.
15. Khan (1960a), 'Regression and integration in the analytic setting', *PS*, p. 138.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 157.
17. P. Heimann, 'From "cumulative trauma" to the *Privacy of the Self*: a critical review of M. Masud R. Khan's book', *IJP*, 1975, 56: 470.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 468.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 472.
20. Khan to A. Freud, 23 July 1959, AFP.
21. B. Kahr, 'Masud Khan's analysis with Winnicott: on the hazards of befriending a patient', unpublished paper given at the Philadelphia Association, 9 October 1994.
22. R. S. Boynton, 'The return of the repressed: the strange case of Masud Khan', *Boston Review*, December 2002, p. 25.
23. Khan to A. Freud, 23 July 1959 and 9 August 1959, AFP.
24. Khan (1960b), 'Clinical aspects of the schizoid personality: affects and technique', *PS*, p. 23.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 24.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 24.
27. M. Milner, 'Aspects of technique with borderline patients', 1961, in *The Suppressed Madness of Sane Men*, London: Routledge, 1987, pp. 238–240.
28. '117th IPA Bulletin', *IJP*, 41 (1960): 181.
29. William Gillespie later offered the chairmanship of the committee to study the proposal to Winnicott who he said had supported it at the Congress. Winnicott declined the suggestion, pleading he was over-committed and had not been particularly interested in the idea. See W. H. Gillespie to D. W. Winnicott, 21 October 1960 and Winnicott's response of 7 November 1960, WP.
30. Khan to A. Freud, 9 August 1959, AFP.
31. Training Committee minutes, November 1959, BPAS/Institute archives.
32. *Ibid.* During his formal psychoanalytic training Shields' first case was supervised by Winnicott and his second by Ilse Hellman.
33. P. Daniel. Memorandum on the 'Masud Khan and Winnicott informal joint meeting', dated 19 June 2001, British Psychoanalytical Society, London.

34. D. W. Winnicott to H. Carr, 19 November 1959, WP.
35. See for example the announcement by P. King to W. C. M. Scott, 8 December 1959, CSP.
36. Khan (1977c), 'On lying fallow: an aspect of leisure', *IJPP*, 6: 397–402.
37. Khan to D. W. Winnicott, Saturday [no date: c.1959–60], WP.
38. R. W. Shields to D. W. Winnicott, 22 September 1959, WP.
39. *Ibid.*, 2 February 1960.
40. *Ibid.*, 6 February 1960.
41. D. W. Winnicott to R. W. Shields, 4 March 1960, WP.
42. *Ibid.*, 28 March 1960.
43. See L. Hopkins, 'Masud Khan's application of Winnicott's "play" techniques to analytic consultation and treatment of adults', *Contemporary Psychoanalysis*, 2000, 36:4: 642 and the specific suggestion by Hopkins that Khan was responsible for the literature review in Winnicott's 1959 paper 'Classification: is there a psychoanalytic contribution to psychiatric classification?' detailed in F. R. Rodman, *Winnicott: Life and Work*, Cambridge, MA: Perseus, 2003, p. 407 note 7.
44. W. Godley, 'Saving Masud Khan', *London Review of Books*, 22 February 2001, 23:4: 5.
45. *Ibid.*
46. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
47. *Ibid.*
48. D. W. Winnicott to D. Meltzer, 25 October 1966, WP.
49. Zoë Dominic, personal communication 9 September 2001. See also R. S. Boynton, 'The return of the repressed: the strange case of Masud Khan', *Boston Review*, December 2002, p. 23.
50. Khan to A. Freud, 8 July 1960, AFP.
51. Khan to W. C. M. Scott, 28 March 1961, CSP.
52. R. S. Boynton, 'The return of the repressed: the strange case of Masud Khan', *Boston Review*, December 2002, p. 26.
53. A. Plaut, 'Review of D. W. Winnicott's *Collected Papers: Through Paediatrics to Psychoanalysis*', *Journal of Analytical Psychology*, 1960, 5: 74–75.
54. Khan to D. W. Winnicott, Saturday [undated, c. 1959], WP.
55. Khan to W. C. M. Scott, 2 May 1961, CSP.
56. P. Grosskurth, *Melanie Klein: Her World and Her Work*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1985, p. 406.
57. A catalogue of the significant British psychoanalytic contributions from this period (say the decade 1955 to 1965) would be extensive. Pioneering work with psychosis was developing at this time (Segal, Bion, Rosenfeld, Meltzer, Laing, Freeman, Rycroft and Guntrip), as were ideas on symbolism (Rycroft, Segal, Milner), counter-transference (Heimann, Winnicott, Money-Kyrle and Little), early development (Bowlby, Bick, Winnicott, Anna Freud, Klein, Scott, and Fairbairn), aesthetics and applied psychoanalysis (Stokes, Milner, Segal, Jones, Veszy-Wagner and Fairbairn), sexuality and sexual deviations (Gillespie, Balint, Sandler, Glover, Hyatt Williams, Rosen and Freeman), character disorders (Winnicott, Guntrip, Lomas), criminology and delinquency (Glover, Joseph, Hyatt Williams) and much more besides.
58. Khan to L. Frankl, 22 June 1961; Khan to D. W. Winnicott, 22 June 1961, WP.
59. D. W. Winnicott to Khan, 26 June 1961, in F. R. Rodman (ed.) *The Spontaneous Gesture: Selected Letters of D. W. Winnicott*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard, 1987, p. 132.
60. D. W. Winnicott, 'Primitive emotional development', (1945), in *Collected Papers*, London: Tavistock, 1958, pp. 145–156, the particular quotation being on page 151.
61. Khan to D. W. Winnicott, 28 June 1961, WP.
62. D. W. Winnicott, *Human Nature*, London: Free Association, 1988, p. 137.
63. Khan (1971c), 'L'oeil entend', *NRP*, 3: 53–69.
64. *Ibid.*, in *PS*, p. 245.
65. W. R. Bion, *Seven Servants*, New York: Aronson, 1977, *passim*.
66. Khan to D. W. Winnicott, 22 June 1961, WP.

CHAPTER 8: DREAM, PERVERSION AND TRAUMA

1. W. C. M. Scott to Khan, 18 September 1961, CSP.
2. *Programme and List of Participants: 22nd IPA Congress*, CSP.
3. Khan to W. C. M. Scott, 2 May 1961, CSP.
4. *IJP*, 43 (1962): 371.
5. Khan sent Anna Freud what he termed a first draft of this paper on 6 April 1961. Khan to A. Freud, 6 April 1961, AFP. A possibly later draft of this paper, dated 24 April 1961, is among the Milner Papers, London. Khan had also sent a copy to Clifford Scott on 21 April for comments, noting that 'it has taken me a long time to start being able to write about what you taught me in supervision'. Later on 2 May 1961, while thanking Scott for his positive comments on the paper he intimated that, as well as Anna Freud, Winnicott had been generous with his help. Khan to W. C. M. Scott, 21 April and 2 May 1961, CSP.
6. E. Kris (1956a), 'On some vicissitudes of insight in psychoanalysis', *IJP*, 37: 445–455.
7. Khan (1962a), 'Dream psychology and the evolution of the psycho-analytic situation', in *PS*, p. 35.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 34.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 40–41.
10. Khan (1964c), 'The role of infantile sexuality and early object-relations in female homosexuality', in I. Rosen (ed.) *The Pathology and Treatment of Sexual Deviation*, London: Oxford University Press, pp. 221–292.
11. Khan to Z. Dominic, 20 September 1961, DP.
12. Khan to Z. Dominic, 21 July 1961, DP.
13. *Ibid.*, 17 September 1961.
14. *Ibid.*, 26 September 1961.
15. J. Harvard-Watts to D. W. Winnicott, 10 October 1961, WP.
16. J. D. Sutherland to W. C. M. Scott, 16 February 1962, CSP. Khan first appeared listed as part of the Editorial Board of the Journal in volume 44, for 1963, where he is noted as an Assistant Editor in charge of book reviews.
17. See Khan to A. Freud, 6 April 1961, AFP and Khan to D. W. Winnicott, 31 May 1962, WP.
18. Khan to W. C. M. Scott, 28 February 1963, CSP.
19. D. W. Winnicott to Khan, 19 January 1962, WP. Wynne Godley recounts Khan taking a telephone call from Winnicott during a session and Winnicott very similarly praising a paper of Khan's, saying how he had 'learned a great deal from it'. See W. Godley, 'Saving Masud Khan', *London Review of Books*, 22 February 2001, 23:4: 6.
20. A. Freud to Khan, 15 January 1962, AFP.
21. D. W. Winnicott to Khan, 19 February 1962, WP.
22. *Ibid.*, 26 February 1962, WP.
23. For an account of this ballet see D. Vaughan, *Frederick Ashton and his Ballets*, London: A. and C. Black, 1977, pp. 324–329. Svetlana had been unwell with flu for several days before this, including one evening earlier in February when Donald and Clare Winnicott had dined with them at Hans Crescent. Svetlana later wrote to Clare to thank her for flowers and her letter, adding 'It made Sud [Masud] and I very happy to have you and Dr Winnicott at our home and I sincerely hope that it will not be long before we meet again.' S. Beriosova to C. Winnicott, 22 February 1962, WP.
24. Zoë Dominic, though predominantly a professional photographer, was closely connected to the ballet and would in due course co-author a professional biography of Ashton. See Z. Dominic and J. S. Gilbert, *Frederick Ashton: a Choreographer and His Ballets*, Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1973.
25. Khan to D. W. Winnicott, 27 February 1962, WP. The outline which Khan here details encompassed five areas, (a) infancy development in terms of parental-social environment, (b) intra-psychic personality integration of the infant, (c) problems of diagnosis, prognosis and choice of treatment, (d) problems of technique and (e) fostering and adoption. It does not directly map on to any of Winnicott's subsequent published collections.

26. D. W. Winnicott to Khan, 26 February 1962, WP.
27. Khan to D. W. Winnicott, 23 March 1962, WP.
28. Khan to A. Freud, 15 March 1962, AFP.
29. Ibid.
30. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 22 November 1969, SP. See also Khan to A. Freud, 16 November 1961, AFP, in which Khan states the invitation came from both Kaufman and Mark Kanzer.
31. Khan to A. Freud, 14 February 1962, AFP.
32. An apparently final copy of this paper, dated 10 March 1962, is among Marion Milner's papers, London. It was first published later in 1962 in the *BJMP*, 35: 245–261.
33. Khan to A. Freud, 26 April 1962, AFP.
34. Ibid.
35. Khan to W. C. M. Scott, 27 March 1962, CSP.
36. Khan (1962c), 'The role of polymorph-perverse body experiences and object relations in ego-integration', in *AP*, p. 51. The three papers Khan here highlights were D. W. Winnicott's 'Transitional objects and transitional phenomena', *IJP*, 1953, 34: 89–97; A. Freud's 'A connection between states of negativism and of emotional surrender' *IJP*, 1952, 33: 265; and M. Milner's 'Aspects of symbolism in comprehension of the not-self' *IJP*, 1952, 33: 181–195.
37. J. Harvard-Watts to D. W. Winnicott, 5 July 1962, WP.
38. Khan to D. W. Winnicott, 31 May 1962, WP.
39. Khan to Z. Dominic, 14 June 1962, DP.
40. Ibid., 15 August 1962.
41. *The Times*, 28 June 1962, p. 14.
42. Anonymous source, related to Jane Nicholas, personal communication 11 August 2003.
43. M. Paterson, 'Obituary: Masud Khan', *Free Associations*, 21, 1991, p. 111.
44. Khan to A. Freud, 20 July 1962, AFP.
45. Khan to D. W. Winnicott, 15 August 1962, WP.
46. Ibid.
47. Khan to A. Freud, 29 August 1962, AFP.
48. Khan to Z. Dominic, 27 July 1962, DP.
49. Ibid., 15 August 1962.
50. Ibid., 27 September 1962. Winnicott would go to the USA during October 1962, speaking at Topeka, San Francisco, Los Angeles and Boston.
51. Ibid., 9 September 1962 and 1 October 1962.
52. Two copies of this draft are among the Marion Milner archives, while the final version (Khan, 1963a) titled 'The concept of cumulative trauma' first appeared in *PSC*, 18: 286–306.
53. Khan to A. Freud, 27 November 1962, AFP.
54. Khan (1964a), 'Ego-Distortion, Cumulative Trauma and the Role of Reconstruction in the Analytic Situation', *IJP*, 45: 272–279.
55. Khan to A. Freud, 17 December 1962, AFP.
56. Ibid., 17 January 1963.
57. Khan to M. Milner, 15 January 1963, MP.
58. Ibid.
59. Ibid., 29 January 1963.
60. Scientific Meeting's minutes, 6 February 1963, BPAS/Institute archives.
61. Khan to Z. Dominic, 13 April 1963, DP.
62. R. S. Boynton, 'The return of the repressed: the strange case of Masud Khan', *Boston Review*, December 2002, p. 25.
63. Khan to Z. Dominic, 26 April 1963, DP.
64. Khan to M. Gitelson, 5 April 1963; M. Gitelson to Khan, 16 April 1963. Gitelson papers, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.
65. Khan to Z. Dominic, 26 April 1963, DP.
66. Khan (1972d), 'The finding and becoming of self', in *PS*, p. 299.
67. Khan to A. Freud, 16 May 1963, AFP.

68. A. Green, 'L'autre et l'expérience du soi', in M. Khan, *Le Soi Caché*, Paris: Gallimard, 1976, p. 17.
69. Khan to A. Freud, 16 May 1963, AFP.
70. D. W. Winnicott to J. D. Sutherland, 25 July 1963, WP.
71. G. S. Klein to D. W. Winnicott, 17 May 1963, WP.
72. Mrs Brandschaft to D. W. Winnicott, 18 July 1963, WP.
73. R. R. Greenson to D. W. Winnicott, 1 September 1963, WP.
74. *IJP*, 45 (1964): 480.
75. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 22 November 1969, SP.
76. E. Galenson, 'Notes on Mr Khan's paper', *IJP*, 45 (1964): 279.
77. Khan to Z. Dominic, 23 August 1963, DP; Khan to A. Freud, 21 October 1963, AFP.
78. Khan to D. W. Winnicott, 9 October 1963, WP.
79. Khan to Z. Dominic, 28 March 1965, DP.
80. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 19 February 1965, SP.
81. P. Daniel. Memorandum on the 'Masud Khan and Winnicott informal joint meeting', dated 19 June 2001, British Psychoanalytical Society, London.
82. Khan (1964b). On first publication it bore the title 'The function of intimacy and acting out in perversions', in R. Slovenko (ed.) *Sexual Behavior and the Law*, Springfield, I U: Thomas, pp. 397–412.
83. Khan (1964b), 'Intimacy, complicity and mutuality in perversions', in *AP*, p. 30.
84. W. R. Bion, 'Review of *Sexual Behavior and the Law*, edited by Ralph Slovenko', *IJP*, 47 (1966): 579–581.
85. Khan (1965b), 'Foreskin fetishism and its relation to ego-pathology in a male homosexual', *IJP*, 46: 64–80.
86. Khan to A. Freud, 13 January 1965, AFP.
87. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 5 April 1964, SP. Stoller was at the time working on a paper 'Shakespearean tragedy: "Coriolanus"', that in due course appeared in the *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, 1966, 35: 263–274.
88. Kurt R. Eissler (1908–1999). For details on his life see www.freudpsa.com and his obituary in the *Independent*, 2 March 1999, p. 7.
89. Khan to A. Freud, 23 March 1964, AFP. Khan referred to this paper also under the title 'Homosexuality as the sexual mothering of self and object' in a letter to Stoller on 3 July 1964, saying that he was going to revise the theoretical discussion following the discussion at its Los Angeles presentation. See Khan to R. J. Stoller, 3 July 1964, SP.
90. Khan to A. Freud, 11 May 1964, AFP.
91. F. R. Rodman, *Winnicott: Life and Work*, Cambridge, MA: Perseus, 2003, p. 281.
92. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 20 May 1964, SP.
93. *Ibid.*, 6 May 1964.
94. Khan to Z. Dominic, 7 July 1964, DP.
95. Khan had been involved with this since May of this year at least. See Khan to R. J. Stoller, 19 May 1964, SP.
96. Khan. Memorandum on 'The basic course', 2 December 1964, AFP.
97. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 13 November 1964, SP.
98. Khan to Z. Dominic, 1 January 1965, DP.

CHAPTER 9: DIS-ESTABLISHMENT – THE GITELSON AFFAIR

1. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 12 January 1965, SP.
2. Scientific Meeting minutes, 20 January 1965, BPAS/Institute archives.
3. Maxwell Gitelson (1902–1965), see obituaries by W. G. Gillespie and P. Greenacre in the *IJP*, 46 (1965): 244 and 47 (1966): 440–445 respectively.
4. Khan to D. W. Winnicott, 2 February 1965, WP.
5. D. W. Winnicott, *The Family and Individual Development*, London: Tavistock, 1965, p. vii.
6. Khan to A. Freud, 9 March 1965, AFP.

7. *The Times*, 3 March 1965, p. 3.
8. Khan to A. Freud, 9 March 1965, AFP.
9. D. Goldman, 'The outrageous prince: Winnicott's uncure of Masud Khan', *BJP*, 2003, 19:4: 486–501, but see especially pp. 489–490 and 494.
10. C. Pajaczowska and L. Young, 'Racism, representation, psychoanalysis', in J. Donald and A. Rattansi (eds) *Race, Culture and Difference*, London: Sage, 1992, p. 204.
11. L. Rangell (1965), 'The scope of Heinz Hartmann', *IJP*, 46: 5–30.
12. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 12 March 1965, SP.
13. R. J. Stoller to Khan, 7 April 1965, SP.
14. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 12 April 1965, SP.
15. J. Issroff, e-mail to the author 7 October 2003.
16. R. J. Stoller to Khan, 18 May 1965, SP.
17. 'Bulletin of the American Psychoanalytic Association' 21:2: October 1965. *JAPA*, 13: 857.
18. Khan (1969d), 'On symbiotic omnipotence', *PS*, p. 86.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 91.
20. Khan to W. C. M. Scott, 28 June 1965; W. C. M. Scott to Khan, 2 July 1965, CSP; P. E. McMaster to R. J. Stoller, 15 July 1965, SP.
21. D. W. Winnicott, *The Maturation Processes and the Facilitating Environment: Studies in the Theory of Emotional Development*. Vol. 64 *IPL*, edited by J. D. Sutherland, London: Hogarth, 1965, p. 11.
22. A. Limentani, 'Obituary: M. Masud R. Khan (1924–1989)', *IJP*, 1992, 73: 156.
23. Pearl King, personal communication 4 May 2001.
24. Linda Hopkins, personal communication 14 February 1999.
25. Published as 'A critique of current concepts in psychosomatic medicine', *Bulletin of the Menninger Clinic*, 1959, 23: 165–178.
26. Scientific Meeting's minutes, 1 July 1959, BPAS/Institute archives.
27. D. W. Winnicott to M. Gitelson, 2 July 1959, WP.
28. *IJP*, 1958, 39: 245–257.
29. See Khan to M. Gitelson, 5 April 1963; *ibid.*, 27 April 1963; M. Gitelson to Khan, 16 April 1963; *ibid.*, 6 June 1963. Gitelson papers, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.
30. See M. Gitelson, *Psychoanalysis: Science and Profession*, New York: International Universities Press, 1973.
31. Pearl King, personal communication 4 May 2001.
32. *Programme and List of Participants 24th IPA Congress*, p. 39.
33. Pre-Congress meeting agenda and membership details can be found in, amongst other places, the Clifford Scott papers.
34. Khan (1966a), 'Role of phobic and counterphobic mechanisms and separation anxiety in schizoid character formation', in *PS*, p. 73.
35. D. L. Rubinfine, 'Comment on Mr Khan's paper', *IJP*, 47 (1966): 314–318.
36. A. Limentani, 'Obituary: M. Masud R. Khan (1924–1989)', *IJP*, 1992, 73: 156.
37. Pearl King, personal communication 4 May 2001.
38. *Ibid.*
39. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 22 November 1969, SP.
40. R. J. Stoller to Khan, 11 August 1965, SP.
41. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 22 November 1969, SP.
42. R. J. Stoller to Khan, 11 August 1965, SP. Years later, Stoller acknowledged he had 'experienced the Amsterdam meeting...mostly through Masud's unbalanced vision. No matter how deeply involved he was, he managed to transform all his realities into circuses, and so I had no sense of what was going on'. Stoller to W. Granoff, 28 August 1991, SP.
43. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 16 August 1965, SP.
44. *Ibid.*
45. *Ibid.*
46. Khan to A. Freud, 10 September 1965, AFP.
47. *Ibid.*, 21 September 1965.

48. F. R. Rodman, *Winnicott: Life and Work*, Cambridge, MA: Perseus, 2003, p. 209. The quotation from Khan comes from his *Work Book* dated 7 February 1971, thirteen days after Winnicott's death, while the quotation from Granoff comes from his letter to Khan dated 3 April 1967. Rodman frames these remarks as relating to the supposed breakdown of the Khan–Winnicott analysis, in which he follows other commentators in erroneously (in my view) dating to this time.
49. *British Psychoanalytical Society and Institute of Psychoanalysis Annual Report for the Year Ending 30 June 1966*. London: Institute of Psychoanalysis, 1966, p. 55.
50. C. Rycroft, 'On ablation of the parental images, or the illusion of having created oneself', *Psychoanalysis and Beyond*, London: Chatto and Windus, 1985, p. 215.
51. *Ibid.*, pp. 218–219.

CHAPTER 10: ALIENATION AND ENACTMENT

1. Khan to A. Freud, 15 February 1968, AFP.
2. Khan to M. Milner, 15 January 1968, MP.
3. F. R. Rodman, *Winnicott: Life and Work*, Cambridge, MA: Perseus, 2003, p. 204.
4. R. J. Stoller to V. Smirnoff, 12 March 1976, SP.
5. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 1 February 1966, SP.
6. *Ibid.* The medical hegemony within American psychoanalysis had of course been critiqued the previous year by Kurt Eissler in his seminal volume *Medical Orthodoxy and the Future of Psychoanalysis*, New York: International Universities Press, 1965.
7. Khan to M. Milner, 5 March 1968, MP.
8. Quoted by Marion Milner in the Preface to her *The Hands of a Living God: an Account of a Psychoanalytic Treatment*, London: Hogarth, 1969, p. xxxi.
9. See Khan to R. J. Stoller, 19 September 1966; R. J. Stoller to Khan, 22 September 1966; Khan to R. J. Stoller, 26 September 1966; and M. Milner to R. J. Stoller, 10 October 1966, SP. In the event this donation was not needed to subsidise the British edition of Milner's book and Khan returned the cheque to Stoller; see his letter to Stoller of 29 January 1969.
10. R. J. Stoller to Khan, 4 October 1966, SP.
11. *Ibid.*, October or November 1966.
12. Khan to E. Erikson, 13 September 1966. Erikson papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University.
13. Marion Milner, personal communication 9 March 1995.
14. *Ibid.*
15. P. Daniel. Memorandum on the 'Masud Khan and Winnicott informal joint meeting', dated 19 June 2001, British Psychoanalytical Society, London.
16. See for example G. O. Gabbard's 'The early history of boundary violations in psychoanalysis', *JAPA*, 1995, 43:4: 1115–1136.
17. Robert Stoller felt placed in a similarly uncomfortable position around this time when Khan published a long paper of his in the *IJP*, after which Khan approached him to sponsor Milner's *Hands of the Living God*. This tension was made more acute when Khan suggested to Stoller that he had published his work due to their friendship and hospitality, leaving Stoller feeling that his \$1,500 in support of Milner's book was settlement of this 'debt' rather than a true donation. See R. J. Stoller to Khan, 4 October 1966, SP. This may be regarded as a further example of one of Khan's central personality difficulties: his problems in acknowledging dependency and the bounty of the other. Money-Kyrle addresses this particularly in his discussion of the vicissitudes of the 'facts of life', especially concerning problems in recognising the breast as the paradigmatic good object and the parents' intercourse as a supremely creative act. See R. Money-Kyrle's 'The aim of psychoanalysis' *IJP*, 1971, 52: 103–106.
18. Marion Milner, personal communication 9 March 1995.
19. Thus for example Judy Cooper, in *Speak of me as I am*, London: Karnac, 1993, suggests Khan's serious boundary violations occurred after Winnicott's death, in the 1970s, an

- impression Adam Limentani in his 'Obituary: M. Masud R. Khan (1924–1989)', *IJP*, 1992, 73: 155–159, also gives. Linda Hopkins writes explicitly that 'his open sexual liaisons with female students and analysts did not start until the 1970s': see her 'D. W. Winnicott's analysis of Masud Khan', *Contemporary Psychoanalysis*, 34:1: 9.
20. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 7 August 1967, SP.
 21. P. D. Elder to D. W. Winnicott, 5 January 1967, WP.
 22. Ibid., and 9 January 1967; D. W. Winnicott to P. D. Elder, 6 January 1967, WP.
 23. V. N. Smirnoff, 'Review of *The Pathology and Treatment of Sexual Deviation*', *IJP*, 1967, 48: 328.
 24. Strachey's death was announced in the *IJP*, 1967, 48: 125. For details on Strachey see D. W. Winnicott's and Anna Freud's, 'Obituary: James Strachey 1887–1967', *IJP*, 1969, 50: 129–132.
 25. Khan to A. Freud, 10 May 1967, AFP.
 26. *British Psychoanalytical Society and Institute of Psychoanalysis Annual Report for the Year Ending 30 June 1967*, London: Institute of Psychoanalysis, 1967, p. 54.
 27. Ibid.
 28. J. Issroff, personal communication 2 October 2003.
 29. Khan to D. W. Winnicott, 14 July 1967 and Khan to A. Strachey, 14 July 1967, WP.
 30. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 7 August 1967, SP.
 31. Ibid.
 32. Ibid.
 33. See L. Hopkins, 'Masud Khan's application of Winnicott's "play" techniques to analytic consultation and treatment of adults', *Contemporary Psychoanalysis*, 2000, 36:4: 639–663.
 34. Khan to M. Milner, 13 January 1968, MP.
 35. Ibid.
 36. See Khan's 1962 paper 'The role of polymorph-perverse body-experiences and object-relations in ego-integration', *BJMP*, 35: 245–261, where he first very briefly introduces this concept and then his fuller treatment of it in his 1964 paper 'The function of intimacy and acting out in perversions', in R. Slovenko (ed.) *Sexual Behaviour and the Law*, Springfield, I U: Thomas, pp. 397–412.
 37. W. R. D. Fairbairn, 'Schizoid factors in the personality', *Psychoanalytic Studies of the Personality*, London: Tavistock, 1952, p. 14.
 38. Ibid.
 39. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 30 January 1968, SP.
 40. R. Britton, 'Subjectivity, objectivity and triangular space', in *Belief and Imagination: Explorations in Psychoanalysis*, London: Routledge, 1998, 41–58.
 41. Khan (1969d), 'On symbiotic omnipotence', *PS*, p. 90.
 42. Khan (1970b), 'Towards an epistemology of the process of cure', in *PS*, pp. 93–98.
 43. A. Freud, *The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defence*, [1936] Revised Edition, London: Hogarth, 1968, p. 163.
 44. J. Laplanche and J.-B. Pontalis, *The Language of Psychoanalysis*, London: Hogarth, 1973, p. 224.
 45. R. Britton, 'Complacency in analysis and everyday life', being chapter 7 of *Belief and Imagination: Explorations in Psychoanalysis*, London: Routledge, 1998, p. 93. See also Betty Joseph's 'Agreeableness as obstacle', *IJP*, 2000, 81: 641–649.
 46. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 5 September 1967, SP.
 47. Ibid.
 48. Ibid.
 49. Ibid. W. R. Bion had in a somewhat similar vein advocated a clinical stance unfettered by memory, desire or understanding in his famous paper 'Notes on memory and desire' *Psychoanalytic Forum*, 1967, 2: 272–273, 279–280.
 50. *British Psychoanalytical Society and Institute of Psychoanalysis Annual Report for the Year Ending 30 June 1968*, London: Institute of Psychoanalysis, 1968, p. 56.
 51. Khan (1975b), 'Suicide: the condition of consciousness – an essay on Albert Camus' *The Outsider and The Fall*, P. Abbs [editor] *The Black Rainbow*, London: Heinemann, p. 89.

CHAPTER 11: THE RISING EDITOR

1. See the collated 'Obituary: Willi Hoffer 1897–1967', *IJP*, 1969, 50: 261–269. An obituary also appeared by Anna Freud, see her 'Willie Hoffer, MD, PhD', *PSC*, 1968, 23: 7–14.
2. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 1 November 1967, SP. Later Khan would privately recount (a possible subtext to this) how, when he joined the editorial board of the *IJP*, he examined Hoffer's editorial files for details of the precise fate of his earlier submissions to that journal, only to discover his papers there simply marked with a rejecting 'no' in Hoffer's handwriting, without any sign of a refereeing process. See Khan to R. J. Stoller, 22 November 1969, SP.
3. This book, edited by Marjorie Brierley, was published as volume 102 of the *International Psychoanalytical Library*, London: Hogarth, 1981.
4. J. Cooper, *Speak of me as I am*, London: Karnac, 1993, p. xviii.
5. R. J. Stoller to Khan, 24 January 1968, SP.
6. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 30 January 1968, SP.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Ibid.*
10. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 1 July 1971, SP.
11. *IJP*, 1969, 50: 711–716.
12. J. Lacan, 'The mirror stage', (1949), in *Écrits: a Selection*, London: Tavistock, 1977.
13. T. S. Eliot, 'East Coker', (1940), in *The Complete Poems and Plays 1909–1950*, New York: Harcourt Brace, 1980, p. 127.
14. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 30 January 1968, SP. The paper would actually appear in the 1969 volume of *The Psychoanalytic Forum*, 3: 137–147 and 157–158.
15. W. R. Bion, *Cogitations*, London: Karnac, 1994, p. 315. Bion had originally presented his brief paper 'Memory and desire' at a Scientific Meeting of the British Psychoanalytical Society on 16 June 1965. His ideas on memory and desire have been discussed in relation to Eliot by Chris Mawson. See his 'Memory, desire and negative capability: T. S. Eliot, S. Freud and W. R. Bion', 1997, unpublished.
16. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 30 January 1968, SP. Similarly, six weeks later, Khan declared 'I am a devout Moslem, as you know, and believe in the goodness and unknowability of God's gestures, because it is my life experience that what has been given to me has always been better than anything that I have arranged and contrived for myself, no matter how successfully', Khan to R. J. Stoller, 13 March 1968, SP.
17. See the correspondence on this in the Milner papers, particularly Khan to R. Shields, 4 December 1967; Khan to M. Milner, 15 December 1967; M. Milner to Khan, n.d. [c. December 1967]; and Khan to R. Shields, 2 January 1968. Twenty years later Milner's collected papers eventually appeared, titled *The Suppressed Madness of Sane Men*, brought out by Routledge in the New Library of Psychoanalysis series.
18. *IJP*, 49 (1968): 159.
19. G. Phelps to D. W. Winnicott, 10 January 1968, WP.
20. M. Milner to Khan, 11 January 1968, MP.
21. Khan to M. Milner, 13 January 1968, MP.
22. *Ibid.*
23. Khan to M. Milner, 19 January 1968, MP.
24. *Ibid.*, 13 January 1968.
25. *Ibid.*
26. Khan to V. Smirnov, 15 January 1968. Quoted in 'In Memoriam Masud Khan', *NRP*, 40 (Autumn 1989): 354.
27. M. Milner to Khan, 11 January 1968, MP.
28. Khan to M. Milner, 13 January 1968, MP.
29. Khan to A. Freud, 31 January 1968, AFP.
30. *Ibid.*
31. Pearl King, personal communication 26 June 2004.
32. Joseph Sandler (1927–1998). Obituary in the *Guardian*, 8 October 1998.

33. Khan to A. Freud, 7 February 1968, AFP.
34. Ibid.
35. Khan to A. Freud, 15 February 1968, AFP.
36. Khan to D. W. Winnicott, 13 February 1968, WP.
37. Council minutes, 19 February 1968, BPAS/Institute archives; Khan to A. Freud, 20 February 1968, AFP.
38. D. W. Winnicott to Khan, 22 February 1968, WP.
39. D. W. Winnicott to J. J. Sandler, 26 February 1968, WP.
40. Ibid., 1 March 1968.
41. Council minutes, 18 March 1968, BPAS/Institute archives.
42. Ibid.
43. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 30 January 1968, SP.
44. Ibid., 29 February 1968.
45. Ibid., 13 March 1968.
46. Ibid., 4 April 1968.
47. Ibid.
48. Ibid., 2 May 1968.
49. *British Psychoanalytical Society and Institute of Psychoanalysis Annual Report for the Year Ending 30 June 1968*, London: Institute of Psychoanalysis, 1968, p. 56.
50. See for example Khan to R. J. Stoller, 9 May 1968 and Khan to S. Weingarten 21 May 1968, SP. *Sex and Gender* was published on 27 January 1969 as volume 81 of the *International Psychoanalytical Library* series: see Khan to Stoller 29 January 1969, SP.
51. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 29 May 1968, SP.
52. Ibid., 29 January 1969.
53. *British Psychoanalytical Society and Institute of Psychoanalysis Annual Report for the Year Ending 30 June 1968*, London: Institute of Psychoanalysis, 1968, p. 56. The paper was first published the following year in French: see Khan (1969g) 'Les vicissitudes de l'être, du connaître et de l'éprouver dans la situation analytique', *Bulletin de l'Association Psychoanalytique de France*, 5: 132–145.
54. Khan (1971e) 'The role of illusion in the analytic space and process', in *PS*, pp. 251–269; (1972b) 'Dread of surrender to resourceless dependence in the analytic situation', *ibid.*, pp. 270–279; (1974f) 'Grudge and the hysteric', *HS*, pp. 51–58; (1982a) 'The empty-headed', *ibid.*, pp. 108–138.
55. Khan to D. W. Winnicott, 11 June 1968, WP.
56. D. W. Winnicott to Khan, 11 June 1968, WP.
57. Ibid., 21 June 1968.
58. Khan to D. W. Winnicott, 11 October 1968, WP.
59. E. Balint, quoted in P. L. Rudnytsky, *Psychoanalytic Conversations: Interviews with Clinicians, Commentators, and Critics*, Hillsdale, NJ: Analytic Press, 2000, p. 7.
60. Khan (1969f), published in the *IJP*, 1969, 50: 237–248.
61. M. Balint, *The Basic Fault: Therapeutic Aspects of Regression*, London: Tavistock, 1968, p. 155.
62. J. Issroff, 'M. M. R. Khan', *Between Sessions and Beyond the Couch*, ed. J. Raphael-Leff, Colchester: CPS Psychoanalytic Publications, University of Essex, 2002, p. 255. Also, J. Issroff, personal communication 2 October 2003.
63. H. Segal to D. W. Winnicott, undated [early September 1968], WP.
64. D. W. Winnicott to H. Segal, 9 September 1968, WP.
65. Scientific Meeting minutes, 6 November 1968, BPAS/Institute archives.
66. Khan to D. W. Winnicott, 2 December 1968, WP.
67. Khan to A. Freud, 7 November 1968, AFP.
68. H. Stewart, *Michael Balint: Object Relations Pure and Applied*, London: Routledge, 1996, pp. 69–70.
69. D. W. Winnicott to Khan, 4 November 1968. See also D. W. Winnicott to H. Segal, 4 November 1968, wherein Winnicott notes that he has specifically written to 'Michael [Balint] and Masud Khan' that he would not be able to attend due to his trip', WP.

70. D. W. Winnicott to G. Raimbault, 4 October 1968, plus an appended list of participants, WP.
71. D. W. Winnicott to H. S. Klein, 10 January 1969, WP.
72. Khan to D. W. Winnicott, 2 December 1968, WP.
73. D. W. Winnicott to L. de Borger, 3 February 1969, WP.
74. Khan to D. W. Winnicott, 2 December 1968, WP.
75. *Ibid.*, 27 [November] 1968.
76. S. Peña, 'Praxis, theory and culture: between Eros and Thanatos', e-mail to the author 12 May 2004. See also his extended paper 'My formative experience as a psychoanalyst of children and adolescents' at www.etatsgeneraux-psychanalyse.net/archives/texte173.html
77. *Ibid.*
78. Khan to D. W. Winnicott, 2 December 1968, WP.
79. J. D. Sutherland to D. W. Winnicott, 5 December 1968, WP.
80. *Ibid.*
81. For a good discussion of the latter see Z. Bauman's *Modernity and Ambivalence*, Cambridge: Polity, 1991.
82. See particularly Holbrook's *Human Hope and the Death Instinct*, London: Pergamon, 1971, *Sex and Dehumanisation*, London: Pitman, 1972, and especially *The Pseudo-Revolution: a Critical Study of Extremist 'Liberation' in Sex*, London: Tom Stacey, 1972, in which work he extensively refers to Khan's ideas.
83. N. Yuval-Davis, 'Fundamentalism, Multiculturalism and Women in Britain', in J. Donald and A. Rattansi (eds) *Race, Culture and Difference*, London: Sage, 1992, p. 280.
84. Khan to J. McDougall, 24 October 1968, WP.
85. J. McDougall to Khan, 5 November 1968, WP.
86. J. McDougall to D. W. Winnicott, 7 November 1968, WP.
87. J. McDougall, *Donald Winnicott the Man: Reflections and Recollections*, London: Karnac, 2003, p. 35.

CHAPTER 12: ENGAGEMENT AND LOSS

1. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 29 January 1969, SP.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*, 22 November 1969.
4. F. R. Rodman, *Winnicott: Life and Work*, Cambridge, MA: Perseus, 2003, pp. 342–345.
5. R. J. Stoller to Khan, 15 May 1969, SP.
6. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 5 May 1969, SP.
7. R. J. Stoller to Khan, 15 May 1969; Khan to R. J. Stoller, 5 June 1969, SP.
8. *British Psychoanalytical Society and Institute of Psychoanalysis Annual Report for the Year Ending 30 June 1969*, London: Institute of Psychoanalysis, 1969, p. 59.
9. Khan to V. Smirnoff, 21 July 1969. Quoted in 'In memoriam Masud Khan', *NRP*, 40 (Autumn 1989): 355.
10. *Ibid.*
11. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 29 January 1969, SP.
12. 'Discussion of "The non-transference relationship in the psychoanalytic situation"', *IJP*, 51 (1970): 149.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 150.
14. *Ibid.*
15. 'Discussion of "The intrapsychic process and its analysis: a recent line of thought and its current implications"', *IJP*, 51 (1970): 206.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 201.
17. '133rd Bulletin of the International Psychoanalytical Association', *IJP*, 51 (1970): 103.
18. G. Cocks (ed.) *The Curve of Life: Correspondence of Heinz Kohut 1923–1981*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994, pp. 241–243.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 132.

20. R. J. Stoller to Khan, 15 May 1969 and 9 September 1969, SP.
21. *British Psychoanalytical Society and Institute of Psychoanalysis Annual Report for the Year Ending 30 June 1970*, London: Institute of Psychoanalysis, 1970, p. 59.
22. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 3 October 1969, SP.
23. *Ibid.*, 29 October 1969 and 11 November 1969; R. J. Stoller to Khan, 4 November 1969 and 18 November 1969, SP.
24. J. Issroff, 'M. M. R. Khan', *Between Sessions and Beyond the Couch*, ed. J. Raphael-Leff, Colchester: CPS Psychoanalytic Publications, University of Essex, 2002, p. 255.
25. See for example J. Abram, *The Language of Winnicott*, London: Karnac, 1996, pp. 57–68.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 254.
27. J. Issroff, personal communication 2 October 2003.
28. M. Hernández, e-mail to the author 6 May 2004.
29. Khan (1970a), first published in *Dynamische Psychiatrie*, 3:3: 168–178.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 171.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 173.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 174.
33. R. J. Stoller to Khan, 18 November 1969, SP.
34. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 22 November 1969, SP.
35. *Ibid.*
36. *Ibid.*
37. *Ibid.*
38. R. J. Stoller to Khan, 10 December 1969, SP.
39. *Ibid.*
40. Khan to H. Guntrip, 12 November 1969. Guntrip papers, Jeremy Hazell collection, Cardiff.
41. H. Guntrip to Khan, 18 November 1969. Guntrip papers.
42. *Ibid.*
43. J. Gedo, *Spleen and Nostalgia: a Life and Work in Psychoanalysis*, Northvale, NJ: Aronson, 1997, p. 62.
44. R. Gaddini, 'Correspondence between Donald W. Winnicott and Renata Gaddini, 1964–1970', *Psychoanalysis and History*, 2003, 5:1: 37.
45. *Ibid.*
46. The hypothesis suggests that the more skilled (or in some way valuable) an individual is, the more tolerant society is of their idiosyncrasies. See M. Gold, *Did I say that?* Champaign, IL: Research Press, 1980.
47. Council minutes, 1 December 1969, BPAS/Institute archives.
48. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 27 February 1970, SP.
49. R. J. Stoller to Khan, 11 March 1970, SP.
50. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 26 March 1970, SP.
51. Khan to D. W. Winnicott, 26 March 1970, WP.
52. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 10 April 1970, SP.
53. *Ibid.*
54. *Ibid.*
55. *Ibid.*
56. *Ibid.*
57. *Ibid.*
58. J.-B. Pontalis, 'Masud, friend', *NRP*, 40 (1989): 338. Also J.-B. Pontalis unpublished letter to the author, 31 March 2000.
59. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 26 August 1970, SP.
60. Khan to W. C. M. Scott, 9 June 1970, CSP.
61. Khan to A. Freud, 30 July 1970, SFC.
62. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 30 September 1970, SP.
63. While Winnicott and Sargant were on affable terms socially, they held very divergent theoretical viewpoints with Winnicott seeing him as a leader of an expansionist organic psychiatry hostile towards and poorly versed in psychoanalytic thinking. As such, his referral

- of Svetlana Beriosova to him may seem curious, yet Winnicott clearly felt Sargant was a 'human being, a sensitive person and one who really cares about his patients', added to which he may have felt that few other options remained in what was a serious case. See also D. W. Winnicott to D. N. Parfitt, 22 December 1966 and D. W. Winnicott to W. W. Sargant, 24 June 1969, in F. R. Rodman (ed.) *The Spontaneous Gesture: Selected Letters of D. W. Winnicott*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard, 1987, pp. 162–163 and 192–194 respectively.
64. W. Sargant to D. W. Winnicott, 30 July 1970, WP. See also F. R. Rodman, *Winnicott: Life and Work*, Cambridge, MA: Perseus, 2003, pp. 204, 361 and 402 note 5.
 65. Khan (1971d), 'Infantile neurosis as a false-self organisation', in *PS*, p. 219.
 66. *Ibid.*, p. 228.
 67. Khan to J. Bowlby, 22 September 1970, BP.
 68. J. Bowlby to Khan, 30 September 1970, BP.
 69. Khan to J. Bowlby, 2 October 1970, BP.
 70. V. Smirnov to R. J. Stoller, 2 October 1970, SP.
 71. For a brief background discussion of the Freud statue see B. Kahr's 'On the memorialisation of Donald Winnicott', in J. McDougall's *Donald Winnicott the Man: Reflections and Recollections*, London: Karnac, 2003, pp. 9–14.
 72. Khan to A. Strachey, 28 September 1970, BPAS/Institute archives.
 73. Scientific Meeting minutes, 21 October 1970, BPAS/Institute archives.
 74. J. McDougall, letter to the author, 26 February 2001.
 75. V. Smirnov to R. J. Stoller, 13 November 1970, and Khan to R. J. Stoller, 21 October 1970, SP.
 76. First published (Khan, 1972a) in the *Dynamische Psychiatrie*, 5: 1–21, and later in *PS* as 'The becoming of a psycho-analyst'.
 77. *British Psychoanalytical Society and Institute of Psychoanalysis Annual Report for the Year Ending 30 June 1971*, London: Institute of Psychoanalysis, 1971, p. 52.
 78. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 21 October 1970, SP.
 79. R. J. Stoller to Khan, 30 October 1970, SP.
 80. See J. D. Sutherland's obituary of him in the *IJP*, 52 (1971): 331–333.
 81. M. Purnell (secretary to Khan) to A. Freud, 15 January 1971, AFP.
 82. Khan to A. Flarsheim, 2 February 1971, WP. See D. Goldman's *In Search of the Real: the Origins and Originality of D. W. Winnicott*, Northvale, N. J.: Aronson, 1993, for a good account of Winnicott's final years.
 83. B. Kahr, 'Masud Khan's analysis with Donald Winnicott: on the hazards of befriending a patient', *Free Associations*, 10:2: (No.54): 206.
 84. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 23 March 1971, SP.
 85. H. Guntrip to Khan, 18 November 1969, Guntrip papers.
 86. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 23 March 1971, SP.
 87. D. Goldman, 'The outrageous prince: Winnicott's uncure of Masud Khan', *BJP*, 2003, 19:4: 493.
 88. P. Daniel. Memorandum on the 'Masud Khan and Winnicott informal joint meeting', dated 19 June 2001, British Psychoanalytical Society, London.
 89. J. Issroff, 'M. M. R. Khan', *Between Sessions and Beyond the Couch*, ed. J. Raphael-Leff, Colchester: CPS Psychoanalytic Publications, University of Essex, 2002, p. 255.
 90. J. Issroff, personal communication 2 October 2003.
 91. Board minutes, 1 February 1971, BPAS/Institute archives.
 92. Khan to V. Smirnov, 22 February 1971. Quoted in 'In memoriam Masud Khan', *NRP*, 40 (Autumn 1989): 357.
 93. R. J. Stoller to Khan 16 March 1971, SP.
 94. Khan to C. Winnicott, 4 February 1971, WP.
 95. Khan to A. Flarsheim, 2 February 1971; Khan to I. Ramzy, 2 February 1971, WP. Flarsheim was at the time editing Winnicott's 'Fragment of an analysis' which appeared in *Tactics and Techniques of Psychoanalytic Therapy*, ed. by P. Giovacchini, New York: Aronson, 1972, pp. 455–693, while Ramzy was working on Winnicott's *The Piggle: an Account of the Psychoanalytic Treatment of a Little Girl*, London: Hogarth, 1977.

96. A. Flarsheim and P. L. Giovacchini, 'Introductory note' [to D. W. Winnicott's 'Fragment of an analysis']. *Tactics and Techniques of Psychoanalytic Therapy*, ed. by P. Giovacchini, New York: Aronson, 1972, p. 456.
97. L. Hopkins, 'D. W. Winnicott's analysis of Masud Khan: a preliminary study of failures of object usage', *Contemporary Psychoanalysis*, 34:1: 32–33.
98. F. R. Rodman, *Winnicott: Life and Work*, Cambridge, MA: Perseus, 2003, pp. 211 and 417 note 17.
99. See for example J. Cooper, *Speak of me as I am*, London: Karnac, 1993, p. 26, and B. Kahr, 'Masud Khan's analysis with Donald Winnicott: on the hazards of befriending a patient', *Free Associations*, 10:2: (No.54): 207.
100. R. Shepherd and R. Davis, 'Preface' to D. W. Winnicott's *Psychoanalytic Explorations*, ed. by C. Winnicott, R. Shepherd and M. Davis, London: Karnac, 1987, p. xi.
101. J. Issroff, e-mail to the author 7 October 2003.
102. Ibid.
103. J. Issroff, personal communication 2 October 2003.
104. J. Issroff, e-mail to the author 18 October 2003.
105. A. Green, *Un Psychanalyste Engagé*, Paris: Calmann Levy, 1994, p. 130.
106. For further details see J. Kanter's *Face to Face with Children: the Life and Work of Clare Winnicott*, London: Karnac, 2004, pp. 52–54.
107. J. Issroff, e-mail to the author 7 October 2003.
108. *British Psychoanalytical Society and Institute of Psychoanalysis Annual Report for the Year Ending 30 June 1971*, London: Institute of Psychoanalysis, 1971, p. 52.
109. Khan (1972d), 'Actualisation de l'expérience du self dans la situation analytique', *Documents et Débats*, 5: 29–53.
110. Khan (1972d), 'The finding and becoming of self', *IJPP*, 1: 97–111.
111. R. Gordon, 'Review of *The Privacy of the Self* by Masud Khan', *Journal of Analytical Psychology*, 20 (1975): 233.
112. Khan (1972d) 'The finding and becoming of self', in *PS*, p. 294.
113. D. W. Winnicott, 'On the capacity to be alone', *IJP*, 39 (1958): 416–420; M. Balint, *The Basic Fault*, London: Tavistock, 1968.
114. Chaudri Nazir and Shahnaz Ahmed, personal communication 24 October 2003.

CHAPTER 13: LIAISONS AND DREAMS

1. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 13 July 1971, SP.
2. Ibid., 1 July 1971.
3. R. J. Stoller to Khan, 20 August 1971, SP.
4. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 1 July 1971, SP.
5. Khan (1972b), 'Dread of surrender to resourceless dependence in the analytic situation', in *PS*, p. 276.
6. D. W. Winnicott's paper 'Split-off male and female elements found clinically in men and women: theoretical inferences' (1966) appeared in *The Psychoanalytic Forum*, volume 4, edited by J. A. Lindon, New York: International Universities Press, 1972, pp. 360–379, where it was followed by various discussions including one by Khan, pp. 384–386, and a final response by Winnicott. Production of this issue had taken far longer than anticipated and by the time it appeared Winnicott's paper was already in print as 'The split-off male and female elements to be found in men and women' in his *Playing and Reality*, London: Tavistock, 1971, pp. 84–100.
7. Khan (1971c), 'L'oeil entend', in *PS*, p. 250.
8. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 19 October 1971, SP.
9. Ibid.
10. Svetlana separated from Khan following her realisation of his continuing infidelities, including one with a female patient. Her friend, Zoë Dominic, had at one point during 1969 or 1970

unsuccessfully sought Winnicott's assistance in managing Svetlana's increasing depression and drinking. Zoë Dominic, personal communication 9 September 2001.

11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.
13. Scientific Committee minutes of 25 October 1971, BPAS/Institute archives.
14. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 3 November 1971, SP.
15. See for example Khan to R. J. Stoller, 19 October 1971 and 3 January 1972, SP.
16. Ibid., 3 January 1972, SP.
17. For details of the meeting together with copies of the various participants' addresses see the *Scientific Bulletin of the British Psychoanalytical Society*, 1972, 57: 1–32.
18. Khan (1972g), 'Text for the Winnicott Memorial Meeting, 19 January 1972', *Scientific Bulletin of the British Psychoanalytical Society*, 57: 11.
19. Ibid., p. 12.
20. Ibid., p. 14.
21. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 4 February 1972, SP.
22. R. E. D. Markillie, 'Letter to the editor', *Times Literary Supplement*, 3 March 1972, p. 244.
23. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 15 March 1972, SP.
24. For a discussion of this see O. Norman's *Pakistan: Political and Economic History Since 1947*, London: Kegan Paul International, 1990, especially pp. 93–95.
25. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 15 March 1972, SP.
26. R. J. Stoller to V. Smirnov, 23 May 1972, SP.
27. R. J. Stoller to Khan, 19 May 1972, SP.
28. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 5 June 1972, 5 July 1972, and Khan to J.-B. Pontalis, 5 June 1972, SP.
29. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 5 July 1972, 12 July 1972, SP.
30. Ibid., 12 July 1972.
31. R. J. Stoller to Khan, 1 November 1972, SP.
32. Scientific Meeting minutes, 1 November 1972, BPAS/Institute archives.
33. The other papers 'The role of dream analysis in present day practice' by Hellman, 'Atypical dreams' by Segal and 'The experience of the dream and the transference' by Stewart are reproduced (together with Khan's and the discussion) in the *Scientific Bulletin of the British Psychoanalytical Society*, 1973, 65: 26–31, 68: 10–14, and 68: 14–18 respectively.
34. R. J. Stoller to Khan, 13 November 1972, SP.
35. Ibid., 16 March 1973.
36. Khan (1972e), 'The use and abuse of dream in psychic experience', in *PS*, p. 307.
37. *Scientific Bulletin of the British Psychoanalytical Society*, 1973, 65: 41.
38. Khan (1972e), 'The use and abuse of dream in psychic experience', *ibid.*, p. 311.
39. See his comments in the *Scientific Bulletin of the British Psychoanalytical Society*, 1973, 65: 23–24.
40. Khan (1972e), 'Actualisation of dream space as a cure of acting out', *IJPP*, 1: 31–35.
41. D. W. Winnicott, *Therapeutic Consultations in Child Psychiatry*, London: Hogarth, 1971, pp. 276 and 380. In a passage from 'Dreaming, fantasising and living' that Khan actually quotes, Winnicott makes a somewhat converse point when he suggests that a female patient may have begun fantasising (as distinct from dreaming) as a replacement for or cure of her thumb sucking. See Khan (1972e), 'The use and abuse of dream in psychic experience', in *PS*, p. 308.
42. See D. W. Winnicott, 'The antisocial tendency', (1956), *Through Paediatrics to Psychoanalysis: Collected Papers*, London: Hogarth, 1975, pp. 306–315. See also J. Abram, *The Language of Winnicott: a Dictionary of Winnicott's use of Words*, London: Karnac, 1996, pp. 37–56.
43. H. Segal, 'The function of dreams', (1972), *The Work of Hanna Segal: a Kleinian Approach to Clinical Practice*, London: Free Association, 1986, pp. 92–93.
44. See his comments in the *Scientific Bulletin of the British Psychoanalytical Society*, 1973, 68: 30.

45. T. M. Alston, R. C. Calogeras and H. Deserno, 'The good dream, the dream space, and the dream experience revisited', in *Dream Reader: Psychoanalytic Articles on Dreams*. Madison: International Universities Press, 1993, p. 188.
46. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 18 January 1973, SP.
47. P. Daniel. Memorandum on the 'Masud Khan and Winnicott informal joint meeting', dated 19 June 2001, British Psychoanalytical Society, London.
48. R. J. Stoller to Khan, 8 January 1973, SP.
49. H. Segal to A.-M. Sandler, 17 May 2001. Courtesy of Hanna Segal.
50. V. Smirnov to R. J. Stoller, 10 March 1973, SP.
51. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 18 January 1973; Smirnov to R. J. Stoller, 2 April 1973, SP.
52. Khan to E. Kleinman, 8 March 1973; R. J. Stoller to Khan, 18 July 1972, SP.
53. R. J. Stoller to Khan, 27 April 1973, SP.
54. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 30 April 1973, SP.
55. Khan to J. Charlton, 30 April 1973 (two letters), SP.
56. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 16 October 1973; R. J. Stoller to Khan, 19 October 1973, SP.
57. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 7 May 1973, SP.
58. Ibid.
59. Ibid.
60. Khan (1973c), 'Mrs Alix Strachey (1892-1973)', *IJP*, 54: 370.
61. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 8 June 1973, SP.
62. Khan to P. L. Giovacchini, 8 May 1973; R. J. Stoller to Khan, 28 June 1973, SP.
63. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 7 May 1973, 2 June [July] 1973; Khan to P. L. Giovacchini, 8 May 1973; R. J. Stoller to Khan, 28 June 1973, SP. It had been intended that the paper would be included in Peter Giovacchini's planned second volume of *Tactics and Techniques in Psychoanalytic Therapy* (New York: Aronson, 1975). When it eventuated the book did actually include one paper by Stoller, 'Perversion and hostility', pp. 311-325.
64. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 2 June [July] 1973; R. J. Stoller to Khan, 10 September 1973, SP.
65. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 28 September 1973, SP.
66. R. J. Stoller to Khan, 19 October 1973, SP.
67. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 16 October 1973, SP.
68. Ibid., 13 December 1973.
69. *British Psychoanalytical Society and Institute of Psychoanalysis Annual Report for the Year Ending 30 June 1974*, London: Institute of Psychoanalysis, 1977, CSP.
70. Quoted in A. Molino, *Freely Associated: Encounters in Psychoanalysis with Christopher Bollas, Joyce McDougall, Michael Eigen, Adam Phillips and Nina Coltart*, London: Free Association, 1997, p. 36.
71. Eric Rayner, personal communication 16 June 2001. Bollas had a further analysis, following that with Khan, with Adam Limentani.
72. Quoted in A. Molino, *Freely Associated: Encounters in Psychoanalysis with Christopher Bollas, Joyce McDougall, Michael Eigen, Adam Phillips and Nina Coltart*, London: Free Association, 1997, pp. 17-18.
73. This notion of translation is discussed by Freud in his correspondence with Fliess, see *The Complete Letters of Sigmund Freud to Wilhelm Fliess 1887-1904*, translated and edited by J. M. Masson, Cambridge, Mass: Harvard, 1985, especially pp. 187-190 and 207-214. For further discussion see the *Edinburgh Encyclopaedia of Psychoanalysis*, edited by R. Skelton, Edinburgh University Press, 2005 and for an accessible contemporary French perspective see *Jean Laplanche: Seduction, Translation and the Drives*, edited by J. Fletcher and M. Stanton, London: Institute of Contemporary Arts, 1992.
74. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 14 November 1973, SP.
75. Ibid., 13 December 1973.
76. Ibid., 8 November 1973.
77. Khan claimed the handout had taken some five weeks to produce. See Khan to A. Freud, 22 December 1973, AFP. To Robert Stoller Khan said that 'Anna Freud is not an easy person to write about: she is so sane all the time, in every situation. She has a lucid mind that serves her unflinchingly. But she is not original and yet the way she gets together various issues is

- more creative than the berserk self-opinionated originality of others'. See Khan to R. J. Stoller, 24 December 1973, SP.
78. J. Issroff, personal communication 2 October 2003.
 79. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 24 December 1973, SP.
 80. *Hospital Tribune*, 1973.
 81. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 24 December 1973, SP.
 82. Ibid.
 83. Ibid., 15 January 1974.
 84. R. J. Stoller to W. Granoff, 24 January 1974, SP; R. J. Stoller to Khan, 13 March 1974, SP.
 85. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 26 March 1974, SP.
 86. Khan to W. C. M. Scott, 15 March 1974; W. C. M. Scott to Khan, 22 July 1974, CSP.
 87. A. Limentani, 'Review of *Alienation in Perversions* by Masud Khan', *IJP*, 61: 435-436.
 88. V. Smirnoff to R. J. Stoller, 19 April 1974, SP.
 89. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 1 May 1974, SP.
 90. F. R. Rodman, *Winnicott: Life and Work*, Cambridge, MA: Perseus, 2003, p. 401.
 91. Scientific Meeting minutes, 1 May 1972, BPAS/Institute archives.
 92. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 9 May 1974, SP.
 93. R. J. Stoller to Khan, 18 April 1974, SP.
 94. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 16 May 1974, SP.
 95. Ibid., 21 May 1974.
 96. R. J. Stoller to Khan, 30 May 1974, SP.
 97. A brief report appeared in *The Times*, 25 May 1974, p. 2, under the title 'Decree for ballerina'. The report included the (apparently erroneous) claim that Khan was 'a cousin of the late Field Marshall Ayub Khan, former President of Pakistan'.
 98. J. Charlton, letter to the author, 18 October 1994.
 99. Khan, *PS*, p. 5.
 100. R. J. Stoller to Khan, 27 June 1974, SP.
 101. Khan to A. Freud, 18 June 1974, AFP.
 102. A. Freud to Khan, 28 June 1974, AFP.
 103. P. Heimann, 'From "cumulative trauma" to the *Privacy of the Self*: a critical review of M. Masud R. Khan's book', *IJP*, 1975, 56: 465-476.
 104. R. Gordon, 'Review of *The Privacy of the Self* by Masud Khan', *Journal of Analytical Psychology*, 20 (1975): 233.
 105. A. Storr, 'Fantasy and futility', *Times Literary Supplement*, 24 January 1975, p. 75.
 106. R. J. Stoller to Khan, 27 June 1974, SP.
 107. V. Smirnoff to R. J. Stoller, 2 July 1974, SP.
 108. Ibid.
 109. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 4 July 1974, SP.
 110. R. J. Stoller to Khan, 31 October 1974, SP.
 111. V. Smirnoff to R. J. Stoller, 16 November 1974, SP.
 112. R. J. Stoller to V. Smirnoff, 10 December 1974, SP.
 113. Khan (1974f), 'Grudge and the hysteric', in *HS*, p. 58.
 114. R. J. Stoller to Khan, 27 September 1974, SP.
 115. Khan (1975b), 'Suicide: the condition of consciousness: an essay on Albert Camus' *The Outsider and The Fall*', in P. Abbs (ed.) *The Black Rainbow*, London: Heinemann. The book appeared at the end of December, despite its printed publication date. See R. J. Stoller to Khan, 30 December 1974, SP.
 116. *British Psychoanalytical Society and Institute of Psychoanalysis Annual Report for the Year Ending 30 June 1975*, London: Institute of Psychoanalysis, 1977, CSP.
 117. Khan to A. Freud, 24 January 1975, AFP.
 118. R. J. Stoller to Khan, 5 February 1975, SP.
 119. *British Psychoanalytical Society and Institute of Psychoanalysis Annual Report for the Year Ending 30 June 1975*, London: Institute of Psychoanalysis, 1977, CSP.
 120. R. J. Stoller to Khan, 20 March 1975, SP.

121. Ibid., 30 April 1975.
122. Robert Boynton quotes Frank Kermode on what seems to have been this very lecture, although he mistakenly dates it as being in the mid 1960s. Kermode is quoted as saying 'It was boring and went on for three hours. Finally, Masud strode up to the stage and interrupted him saying, "No, you're explaining this incorrectly".' Boynton then remarks that 'Khan then proceeded to offer his *own* version of Lacanian theory while Lacan beamed with admiration.' R. S. Boynton, 'The return of the repressed: the strange case of Masud Khan', *Boston Review*, December 2002, p. 25. While the total accuracy of Kermode's story may be disputed – it seems dissonant with Khan's own more restrained report – it does interestingly depict Khan as being welcomed by his London colleagues in the audience for enlivening the otherwise 'boring' experience.
123. Khan to V. Smirnoff, 9 February 1975, 'In memoriam Masud Khan', *NRP*, 40 (Autumn 1989): 357.
124. Ibid. See also Smirnoff's comments quoted in J. Cooper's *Speak of me as I am*, London: Karnac, 1993, p. 24.
125. A. Green, *Un Psychanalyste Engagé*, Paris: Calmann Levy, 1994, p. 128.
126. Khan to A. Freud, 5 March 1975, AFP.
127. R. J. Stoller to Khan, 5 February 1975 and 23 April 1975; Khan to R. J. Stoller, 30 April 1975, SP.
128. R. J. Stoller to Khan, 30 April 1975, SP.
129. Ibid., 23 April 1975.
130. Ibid., 30 May 1975.
131. V. Smirnoff to R. J. Stoller, 3 June 1975, SP.
132. R. J. Stoller to Khan, 2 July 1975, SP.
133. Khan to A. Freud, 24 January 1975, AFP.
134. A. Freud to Khan, 29 January 1975, AFP.
135. Khan to M. Pines, 19 February 1975, AFP.
136. Khan (1975c), 'Beyond the dreaming experience', in *HS*, p. 42.
137. Ibid., pp. 44–45.
138. Ibid., p. 46.
139. Ibid., pp. 46–47.
140. Ibid., p. 48.
141. Ibid., p. 49.
142. H. C. Curtis and D. M. Sachs, 'Dialogue on "The changing use of dreams in psychoanalytic practice"', *IJP*, 57 (1976): 343–354.
143. Ibid., p. 348.
144. Ibid., p. 354.
145. M. Milner, '1975: A discussion of Masud Khan's paper "In search of the dreaming experience"', in *The Suppressed Madness of Sane Men*, London: Routledge, 1987, pp. 275–278.
146. H. C. Curtis and D. M. Sachs, 'Dialogue on "The changing use of dreams in psychoanalytic practice"', *IJP*, 57 (1976): 349.
147. W. R. Bion to M. Klein, 14 February [1959], Klein papers.
148. H. C. Curtis and D. M. Sachs, 'Dialogue on "The changing use of dreams in psychoanalytic practice"', *IJP*, 57 (1976): 354.
149. Ibid.
150. T. M. Alston, R. C. Calogeras and H. Deserno, 'The good dream, the dream space, and the dream experience revisited', in *Dream Reader: Psychoanalytic Articles on Dreams*, Madison: International Universities Press, 1993.
151. C. Plata-Mújica, 'Discussion: "The changing use of dreams in psycho-analytic practice"', *IJP*, 57 (1976): 335–341.
152. W. R. Bion, *Attention and Interpretation*, London: Tavistock, 1970.
153. Ibid., p. 27.
154. A. Phillips, 'The dream of dreams', *Psychodynamic Counselling*, 1995, 1:2: 165–172.
155. R. J. Stoller to Khan, 2 July 1975, SP.
156. Khan to V. Smirnoff, 10 August 1975. Quoted in 'In memoriam Masud Khan', *NRP*, 40 (Autumn 1989): 358.

CHAPTER 14: THE BEGINNING OF THE END

1. R. J. Stoller to V. Smirnof, 25 January 1979, SP.
2. V. Smirnof to R. J. Stoller, 14 October 1978, SP.
3. Ibid., 16 November 1975.
4. Scientific Meeting minutes, 19 November 1975, BPAS/Institute archives.
5. Ibid., 24 November 1975.
6. A. Green, *Un Psychanalyste Engagé*, Paris: Calmann Levy, 1994, pp. 127–128.
7. R. S. Boynton, 'The return of the repressed: the strange case of Masud Khan', *Boston Review*, December 2002, p. 28.
8. V. Smirnof to R. J. Stoller, 24 November 1975, SP.
9. Ibid., 28 February 1976.
10. Ibid.
11. R. J. Stoller to V. Smirnof, 12 December 1975, SP.
12. R. J. Stoller to A. Green, 18 February 1976, SP.
13. R. J. Stoller to V. Smirnof, 23 February 1976, SP.
14. R. J. Stoller to Khan, 6 February 1976, SP.
15. V. Smirnof to R. J. Stoller, 28 February 1976, SP.
16. Ibid., 24 March 1977.
17. A. Green to R. J. Stoller, 29 November 1977, SP.
18. R. J. Stoller to Khan, 13 November 1980, SP.
19. W. C. M. Scott to Khan, 13 April 1976, CSP. Scott encouraged him to develop the lectures and publish them in the *IRP*.
20. V. Smirnof to R. J. Stoller, 23 March 1976, SP.
21. Ibid., 19 March 1976.
22. Ibid., 23 March 1976.
23. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 17 May 1976, SP.
24. R. J. Stoller to V. Smirnof, 16 April 1976, SP.
25. Khan to A. Freud, 26 May 1976, AFP.
26. V. Smirnof to R. J. Stoller, 20 June 1976, SP.
27. F. McLaughlin, 'Bulletin of the International Psychoanalytical Association', *IJP*, 59 (1978): 117.
28. V. Smirnof to R. J. Stoller, 20 June 1976, SP.
29. Khan to W. C. M. Scott, 23 May 1976. Scott, accepting the commission to write a paper, in fact responded on 28 May 1976 that he wanted to write something 'rather personal as I remember so clearly meeting him when I first went to England in 1931' and on 3 November 1976 that he had 'decided to write about...his ideas on fits and convulsions', CSP.
30. W. R. Bion, 'Evidence', in *Clinical Seminars and Four Papers*, Abingdon: Fleetwood Press, 1987, pp. 239–246.
31. Khan to A. Green, 24 June 1976, SP.
32. For background discussion of secrets and secrecy see M. Rustin, 'The social organisation of secrets: towards a sociology of psychoanalysis', *IRP*, 12 (1985): 143–159; G. J. Margolis, 'Secrets and identity', *IJP*, 47 (1966): 517–522; G. J. Margolis, 'The psychology of keeping secrets', *IRP*, 1 (1974): 291–296; M. F. Hoyt, 'Secrets in psychotherapy: theoretical and practical considerations', *IRP*, 5 (1978): 231–241; A. Gross, 'The secret', *The Yearbook of Psychoanalysis*, New York: International Universities Press, 1952, 8: 204–212; R. Ekstein and E. Caruth, 'Keeping secrets', *Tactics and Techniques in Psychoanalytic Therapy*, edited by P. L. Giovacchini, London: Hogarth, 1972, pp. 200–215; and J. W. Barron et al., 'Sigmund Freud: the secrets of nature and the nature of secrets', *IRP*, 18 (1991): 143–163.
33. R. J. Stoller to Khan, 17 August 1976, SP.
34. P. Daniel. Memorandum on the 'Masud Khan and Winnicott informal joint meeting', dated 19 June 2001, British Psychoanalytical Society, London.
35. Eva Rosenfeld, (1892–1977) had been an analysand of Freud's. See L. Appignanesi and J. Forrester's *Freud's Women*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1992, especially pp. 380–384.

- and P. Roazen's 'What is a fact: Eva Rosenfeld', *The Psychotherapy Review*, 1999, 1:5: 213–221 for accounts of her life.
36. Khan to H. Segal, 22 August 1976, AFP.
 37. E. Rayner, personal communication 14 October 1994.
 38. Ibid.
 39. H. Segal, quoted in J. Borossa, 'The migration of psychoanalysis and the psychoanalyst as migrant', *Oxford Literary Review*, 1997, 19: 93.
 40. P. Daniel. Memorandum on the 'Masud Khan and Winnicott informal joint meeting', dated 19 June 2001, British Psychoanalytical Society, London.
 41. Khan to A. Freud, 22 September 1976, AFP.
 42. Ibid.
 43. V. Smirnov to R. J. Stoller, 27 September 1976, SP.
 44. Ibid., 28 September 1976, SP.
 45. R. J. Stoller to V. Smirnov, 14 October 1976, SP.
 46. Khan to A. Freud, 15 October 1976, AFP.
 47. R. J. Stoller to V. Smirnov, 3 December 1976, SP.
 48. V. Smirnov to R. J. Stoller, 21 October 1976, SP.
 49. Ibid.
 50. C. Winnicott to W. C. M. Scott, 13 November 1976, CSP.
 51. V. Smirnov to R. J. Stoller, 21 November 1976, SP.
 52. B. Cooper to R. J. Stoller, 17 November 1976, SP.
 53. H. Segal to A.-M. Sandler, 17 May 2001. Courtesy of Hanna Segal.
 54. A. Limentani to B. Cooper, 6 December 1976, SP.
 55. Ibid.
 56. Ibid.
 57. R. J. Stoller to V. Smirnov, 3 December 1976; R. J. Stoller to Khan, 7 December 1976, SP.
 58. Khan to H. Segal, 10 January 1977, AFP.
 59. E. Rayner, personal communication 14 October 1994, and E. Rayner's 'Foreword' to J. Cooper's *Speak of me as I am*, London: Karnac, 1993, p. xii. Segal confirms this saying 'in the middle of the proceedings, he got cancer of the mouth. We can't pursue a dying man, and humiliate him... We can't take to the ethical committee a chap who has cancer of the lungs'. Hanna Segal, quoted in J. Borossa, 'The migration of psychoanalysis and the psychoanalyst as migrant', *Oxford Literary Review*, 1997, 19: 94.
 60. H. Segal to A.-M. Sandler, 17 May 2001. Courtesy of Hanna Segal.
 61. R. J. Stoller to Khan, 7 January 1977, SP.
 62. R. J. Stoller to V. Smirnov, 25 January 1977, SP.
 63. Khan to H. Segal, 10 January 1977, AFP. Khan copied this letter to Anna Freud, William Gillespie, J. D. Sutherland, Adam Limentani (then Society President), Moses Laufer (then Society Vice-President) and Pearl King.
 64. *British Psychoanalytical Society and Institute of Psychoanalysis Annual Report for the Year Ending 30 June 1977*, London: Institute of Psychoanalysis, 1977, CSP.
 65. Council minutes, 21 February 1977, BPAS/Institute archives.
 66. See for example V. Smirnov to R. J. Stoller, 13 January 1977 and R. J. Stoller to V. Smirnov 25 January 1977, SP. In the latter Stoller notes that 'his negotiations with the Institute seem the best possible solution from all sides. The damage has been minimized, and all participants free to go about their business. It is my impression, as you noted, that he is relieved; at least he should be, for it could have come out much worse...'
 67. R. J. Stoller to Khan, 20 January 1977, SP.
 68. Ibid.
 69. R. M. Rilke, *Selected Letters 1902–1926*, London: Quartet Books, 1988, p. 315. Khan had previously employed this quotation in his 1953 book review of Marion Milner's *On Not Being Able to Paint*, wherein he quotes Milner's conflict as finding 'a way to come to terms with daily life'. See Khan (1953c), review of *On Not Being Able to Paint* by Marion Milner, *IJP*, 34: 333.
 70. Khan (1977c), 'On lying fallow', in *HS*, p. 183.

71. Ibid., p. 184.
72. Ibid., p. 187.
73. Ibid., p. 186.
74. W. R. Bion, *Attention and Interpretation*, London: Tavistock, 1970, p. 125.
75. Khan to A. Freud, 10 January 1977, AFP.
76. I. Hellman, quoted in J. Cooper's *Speak of me as I am*, London: Karnac, 1993, p. 28.
77. Freud to Khan, 5 March 1979, AFP.
78. A. Couch, quoted in J. Cooper's *Speak of me as I am*, London: Karnac, 1993, p. 15.
79. See Khan to N. Coltart, 20 January 1977 and 26 January 1977, AFP. The British Psychoanalytical Society's own copy of the file containing these interviews has been mislaid. See P. Daniel. Memorandum on the 'Masud Khan and Winnicott informal joint meeting', dated 19 June 2001, British Psychoanalytical Society, London.
80. V. Smirnov to R. J. Stoller, 24 March 1977, SP. Neither of the two junior candidates would qualify as psychoanalysts; Dr H would in due course become a member of the British Association of Psychotherapists and an NHS Consultant Psychotherapist, whilst the other, Dr I works as a GP in London. Dr H denies ever having been in analysis with Khan (letter to the author, June 1999), while Dr I circumspectly acknowledges the fact, saying that contact with Khan continued until 1980 (letter to the author, 1 July 1999). Eric Rayner noted that one of the candidates unsuccessfully transferred to another training analyst, whilst the other declined to transfer and thus was unable to proceed with the training. Eric Rayner, personal communication 14 October 1994.
81. Khan to V. Smirnov, 26 January 1977, AFP.
82. V. Smirnov to Khan, 8 February 1977, AFP. See also V. Smirnov to R. J. Stoller 24 March 1977, SP.
83. V. Smirnov to R. J. Stoller 24 March 1977, SP.
84. E. Rayner, personal communication 14 October 1994.
85. V. Smirnov to R. J. Stoller 24 March 1977, SP.
86. Ibid., 30 April 1977.
87. Ibid., 21 June 1977.
88. Ibid.
89. R. J. Stoller to Khan, 21 April 1977, SP.
90. Khan (1977a), 'From masochism to psychic pain', in *AP*, p. 212.
91. Ibid., p. 217.
92. Khan (1977d), 'Between spoken word and written language: playing', *Etudes – Psychotherapies*, 29: 163–164.
93. Khan (1977b), 'Entre les mots et la mort', *NRP*, 16: 179–182, as quoted by J.-B. Pontalis, 'Masud, friend', *NRP*, 40: 340–341.
94. R. J. Stoller to Khan, 14 June 1977, SP.
95. Ibid., 21 September 1977.
96. A. Green to R. J. Stoller, 29 November 1977, SP.
97. Khan to A. Freud, 16 September 1977, AFP.
98. R. J. Stoller to A. Green, 6 October 1977, SP.
99. R. J. Stoller to Khan, 28 October 1977, SP.
100. A. Green to R. J. Stoller, 29 November 1977, SP.
101. W. C. M. Scott to Khan, 23 June 1977 and 2 December 1977, CSP.
102. Ibid., 2 December 1977.
103. V. Smirnov to R. J. Stoller, 31 December 1977 and 27 March 1978, SP.
104. R. J. Stoller to A. Green, 7 February 1978, SP.
105. V. Smirnov to R. J. Stoller, 1 March 1978, SP.
106. Ibid., 27 March 1978.
107. Khan to A. Freud, 12 July 1978, AFP.
108. Ibid.
109. Ibid., 21 December 1978 and 9 March 1979.
110. Council minutes, 19 September 1977, BPAS/Institute archives.
111. J. J. Sandler, 'Editorial', *IJP*, 59 (1978): 411.

112. Council minutes, 18 June 1979, BPAS/Institute archives.
113. '144th IPA Bulletin', *IJP*, 61 (1980): 127.
114. C. Yorke to P. Fonagy, 5 May 1995, BPAS/Institute archives.
115. V. Smirnoff to R. J. Stoller, 14 October 1978, SP.
116. R. J. Stoller to V. Smirnoff, 17 October 1978, SP.
117. *Ibid.*, 16 May 1978.
118. *Ibid.*, 31 October 1978.
119. *Ibid.*, 22 December 1978.
120. *Ibid.*, 4 January 1979.
121. *Ibid.*, 25 January 1979.

CHAPTER 15: ILLUSIONAL, DELUSIONAL AND ALCOHOLIC YARNS

1. Khan, 'Jones memorial address', 17 January 1979; R. J. Stoller to Khan, 9 February 1979, SP.
2. *British Psychoanalytical Society and Institute of Psychoanalysis Annual Report for the Year 1978/1979*, p. 27.
3. The first draft, dated 26 January 1979, contained just two paragraphs. See Khan, 'Preface to *Alienation in Perversions*, 26 January 1979', SP. The third paragraph, inserted between the first two, was added the following month.
4. Khan (1979b), *AP*, p. 9.
5. *Ibid.*
6. R. J. Stoller to Khan, 20 February 1979, SP.
7. Khan (1979a), 'Enfance, solitude et folie' ['Infancy, aloneness and madness'], in *HS*, p. 181.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 182.
9. Khan (1972g), 'On D. W. Winnicott', *International Journal of Child Psychotherapy*, 1: 14–15.
10. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 7 February 1979; R. J. Stoller to Khan, 9 February 1979, SP.
11. A. Green, 'On the constituents of the personal myth', in P. Hartocollis and I. D. Graham (eds) *The Personal Myth in Psychoanalytic Theory*, Madison, CT: International Universities Press, 1991, p. 77.
12. Khan (1972e), 'The use and abuse of dream in psychic experience', in *PS*, p. 311.
13. *Ibid.*
14. Khan (1962a), 'Dream psychology and the evolution of the psychoanalytic situation', in *PS*, p. 35.
15. W. B. Yeats (1928), 'Among school children', *Collected Poems*, edited by A. Martin, London: Arena, 1990, p. 224. This extract is reproduced by permission of A. P. Watt Ltd on behalf of Michael B. Yeats and with the permission of Scribner, an imprint of Simon & Schuster Adult Publishing Group, from *The Collected Works of W B Yeats, Volume 1: The Poems, Revised*, edited by Richard J. Finneran. Copyright © 1928 by The Macmillan Company; copyright renewed © 1956 by Georgie Yeats.
16. In her classic paper 'Notes on symbol formation' Segal describes symbolisation as a three term relationship, distinguishing between the symbol, the symbolised and the person for whom the one represents the other and suggests that the conflation of one term with another (principally the symbol with the symbolised) to be a root component of much psychopathology, a conflation she terms a symbolic equation. See her *The Work of Hanna Segal*, London: Free Association, 1986, pp. 49–65.
17. R. J. Stoller to Khan, 23 March 1979, SP.
18. Khan to M. Paterson, 9 February 1979, Archives of Sigmund Freud Copyrights, Wivenhoe, Essex.
19. M. Paterson to Khan, 13 February 1979, Archives of Sigmund Freud Copyrights, Wivenhoe, Essex. See also Khan to A. Freud, 9 March 1979, AFP, for his further encouragement of the proposal, including a hint that it could counter a supposed Kleinian ascendancy.

20. Khan to Lord John Summerhill, 1 March 1979, AFP.
21. Khan's choice of 'Summerhill' as his fictive aristocratic visitor may have been inspired by multiple motivational sources. Affectively Summerhill suggests an elevated, peak or manic state. One possible source (of the 'day's residue') was Summerhill School in Suffolk, founded in 1921 by A. S. Neill who had been influenced by his personal experience and study of psychoanalysis. The school remains famous for its principles of freedom and self-determination, which involves students in making their own regulations and decisions on, for example, whether or not to attend lessons. Such a stand vis-à-vis establishment authority would have been likely to unconsciously appeal to Khan. Winnicott knew of and took an interest in the school and had been invited to speak there in January 1959, an invitation he had to decline. See I. Leslie to D. W. Winnicott, 19 January 1959 and Winnicott's reply of 21 January 1959, WP. See also F. R. Rodman, *Winnicott: Life and Work*, Cambridge, MA: Perseus, 2003, pp. 60–61.
22. A possible antecedent of Khan's 'Royal Commission' may have been Sir John Foster's *Enquiry into the Practice and Effects of Scientology*, London: HMSO, 1971, which had recommended statutory registration of psychotherapists in order to protect the public from harm at the hands of unprofessional and/or unethical practitioners. In due course the Foster report was followed up by Paul Sieghart's *Statutory Registration of Psychotherapists*, London: Professions Joint Working Party, 1978, which strongly lobbied for registration, this process being continued 25 years later by the Joint Working Parties descendants in the form of the British Confederation of Psychotherapists and the United Kingdom Council for Psychotherapy. Regulation still appears several years off. Of course, legislation is unlikely to have deterred Khan from his seriously transgressive behaviour; it would however have made addressing it easier. It is ironic that Khan is actually cited in the Sieghart report as emphasising the paramount importance of the therapist–patient relationship (p. 20).
23. Khan (1964b), 'The function of intimacy and acting out in perversions', in R. Slovenko (ed.) *Sexual Behaviour and the Law*, Springfield, I U: Thomas, pp. 397–412.
24. Khan to A. Freud, 1 March 1979, AFP.
25. Ibid.
26. I am grateful to the Dean of Balliol College, Dr John Jones, for confirming that Khan was neither admitted to Balliol nor had a D Litt degree conferred, which would in any case be by the University rather than a constituent college. J. Jones to the author, 14 September 1995. Later, in March 1986 Khan claimed he had been awarded a D Litt degree in 1983. See Khan to P. Férida, 17 March 1986, SP.
27. A. Freud to Khan, 5 March 1979, AFP.
28. V. Smirnoff to R. J. Stoller, 19 March 1979, SP.
29. Ibid., 16 April 1979.
30. Ibid., 19 May 1979.
31. Ibid. Khan was later to thank 'Mme Tarfa Salem and her daughters, Lina and Mehreen, who took every care of me when in distress' in his acknowledgements in *HS*, p. 8.
32. Khan to A. Freud, 17 May 1979, AFP.
33. Council minutes, 21 May 1979, BPAS/Institute archives.
34. Khan to J.-B. Pontalis, 5 June 1979, SP.
35. R. J. Stoller to Khan, 15 June 1979, SP. Zoë Dominic, personal communication 9 September 2001.
36. A. Freud to Khan, 21 May 1979, AFP.
37. Khan (1979c), review of *Sigmund Freud: His Life in Pictures and Words*, edited by Ernst Freud et al., *IJP*, 60: 533.
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid.
40. See Plato's *Republic* (Book VII).
41. R. J. Stoller to V. Smirnoff, 2 November 1979, SP.
42. V. Smirnoff to R. J. Stoller, 15 November 1979, SP.
43. A. Storr, 'The frustrations of fantasy', *Times Literary Supplement*, 28 March 1980, p. 350.
44. A. Limentani, 'Review of *Alienation in Perversions* by Masud Khan', *IJP*, 61: 434–436.

45. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 29 May 1968, SP.
46. Khan to A. Freud, 9 November 1979, AFP.
47. V. Smirnof to R. J. Stoller, 29 January 1980, SP.
48. Ibid., 15 February 1980; R. J. Stoller to Khan, 7 February 1980.
49. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 11 February 1980, SP.
50. Ibid., 24 March 1980.
51. Ibid., 11 February 1980.
52. Ibid.
53. Ibid.
54. The idea for this essay on *The Idiot* had been mooted as far back as 1974, it then having been conceived of as a joint study of Dostoyevsky and Rilke: see Khan to A. Freud, 4 July 1974, AFP.
55. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 11 February 1980, SP.
56. V. Smirnof to R. J. Stoller, 12 March 1980, SP. Writing to Mark Paterson of this visit, Khan said 'I'm off to Paris to lecture and on a diplomatic mission. I will be back on 3rd March'. Khan to M. Paterson, 18 February 1980, SFC.
57. Khan to A. Limentani, 24 March 1980, SP.
58. Khan to M. C. Nelson, 24 March 1980, SP.
59. V. Smirnof to R. J. Stoller, 2 September 1980, SP.
60. Ibid.
61. V. Smirnof to R. J. Stoller, 26 October 1980, SP.
62. Ibid., 6 December 1980.
63. Ibid.
64. A. Green, *Un Psychanalyste Engagé*, Paris: Calmann Levy, 1994, see especially pp. 127–131.
65. For a full discussion of Masson's involvement with the publication of Freud–Fliess correspondence and the massive publicity surrounding him see Janet Malcolm's *In the Freud Archives*, London: Jonathan Cape, 1984.
66. Khan to M. Paterson, 9 February 1979, SFC.
67. See for example Khan to J. Masson, 31 March 1980 and 7 May 1980, SFC.
68. Quoted in J. Malcolm, *In the Freud Archives*, London: Jonathan Cape, 1984, pp. 33–34.
69. R. J. Stoller to V. Smirnof, 15 January 1981, SP.
70. R. J. Stoller to Khan, 15 January 1981, SP.
71. Ibid., 26 January 1981.
72. Ibid., 19 August 1981.
73. R. J. Stoller to V. Smirnof, 19 August 1981, SP.
74. R. J. Stoller to Khan, 19 August 1981, SP.
75. Khan (1984b), 'Negotiating the impossible', *Listening and Interpreting: the Challenge of the Work of Robert Langs*, edited by J. Raney, New York: Aronson, 1984, pp. 185–194.
76. Khan (1981c), 'Review of *Havelock Ellis: a Biography*, by P. Grosskurth', *IRP*, 8: 358.
77. A. Limentani (1992), 'Obituary: M. Masud R. Khan (1924–1989)', *IJP*, 73: 155.
78. Khan to T. Hayley, 5 August 1981, AFP.
79. Ibid.
80. R. J. Stoller to Khan, 19 August 1981, SP.
81. Khan to T. Hayley, 5 August 1981, AFP.
82. Khan to A. Freud, 4 August 1981, AFP.
83. R. J. Stoller to Khan, 21 October 1981, SP.
84. Ibid., 27 October 1981.
85. Khan to R. Steiner, 7 December 1984, SP.
86. R. J. Stoller to Khan, 10 December 1981, SP.
87. Khan to K. Eissler, 25 September 1981, AFP.
88. Khan to C. Yorke, 25 September 1981, AFP.
89. Khan to M. Paterson, 27 October 1981, AFP.
90. Ibid.

91. For details see for example Khan to A. Freud, 6 October and 10 December 1981; Khan to M. Paterson, 21 and 27 October 1981; Khan to K. Eissler, 10 November 1981, AFP.
92. A. B. Pollock, *Memorandum: Procedure to assist the President on matters of professional practice and ethics*, 22 May 1981, CSP.
93. Khan to K. Eissler, 10 December 1981, AFP.
94. R. J. Stoller to Khan, 24 February 1982, SP.
95. Margot Khan to the author, undated [1995].
96. A. Smith (née Khan) to the author, 11 August 2003.
97. Khan (1985a), 'Outrage, compliance and authenticity', in *WSC*, p. 132.
98. R. J. Stoller to Khan, 25 March 1982, SP.
99. Khan (1985a), 'Outrage, compliance and authenticity', in *WSC*, p. 132.
100. P. M. P. Kimber to R. J. Stoller, 15 April 1982, SP. The trustees were Kimber, Robert Stoller, Harry Karnac and a Mr Lawson.
101. See for example Khan's note to Frank Kermode, 9 May 1982, on his gift copy of his paper 'Du vide plein la tête' in the *NRP*, 25, Paris: Gallimard, 1982, p. 161.
102. M. Paterson, 'Obituary: Masud Khan', *Free Associations*, 21, 1991, p. 109. Paterson writes that 'Kathar...[Khan] claimed was an area of Pakistan bordering Iran...Katha (without the 'r') was an Indian sage rather than a place in Pakistan but perhaps that was Masud's joke' (ibid. p. 109). There are in fact several places with this name, one being a locality near Adampur, in Punjab, while Kathar is also the Ugaritic god of architects, artisans and weapon-makers and was the builder of Baal.
103. V. Smirnoff to R. J. Stoller, 10 July 1982; R. J. Stoller to Khan, 22 July 1982, SP.
104. Khan (1982a), 'The empty-headed', in *HS*, London: Hogarth, 1983, p. 108.
105. Khan to D. Widlocher, 1 September 1982, AFP.
106. Anna Freud's secretary had acknowledged she had received the letter but was too ill to reply at that time, which prompted Khan to write apologising for having bothered her and hoping for her recovery. See G. Bon to Khan, 15 September 1982 and Khan to G. Bon, 17 September 1982, AFP.
107. V. Smirnoff to R. J. Stoller, December 1982, SP.

CHAPTER 16: HOMEWARD BOUND

1. R. J. Stoller to V. Smirnoff, 9 February 1983, SP.
2. V. Smirnoff to R. J. Stoller, 8 March 1983, SP.
3. Chaudri Nazir and Shahnaz Ahmed, personal communication 24 October 2003.
4. V. Smirnoff to R. J. Stoller, 8 March 1983, SP.
5. Khan to A. Limentani, 1 March 1983, SP.
6. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 1 March 1983, SP.
7. Ibid., 28 April 1983.
8. J. Charlton, letter to the author, 18 October 1994 and personal communication 8 November 1994.
9. P. White, letter to the author, 2 October 1995.
10. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 26 May 1983, SP.
11. Ibid.
12. R. J. Stoller to Khan, 8 August 1983, SP.
13. C. Gordon, 'The self inside us [A review of *Hidden Selves* by Masud Khan]', *Times Literary Supplement*, 2 December 1983, p. 1351.
14. J. F. Kelly, 'Review of *Hidden Selves* by Masud Khan', *IJP*, 66: 118–121.
15. J. Cooper, 'Review of *Hidden Selves* by Masud Khan', *IRP*, 11: 497–498 and R. Gordon, 'Review of *Hidden Selves* by Masud Khan', *Journal of Analytical Psychology*, 29: 386–388.
16. Gordon, *ibid.*, p. 387.
17. V. Smirnoff to R. J. Stoller, 9 December 1983, SP.
18. Ibid.; R. J. Stoller to V. Smirnoff, 4 January 1984, SP.
19. R. J. Stoller to V. Smirnoff, 4 January 1984, SP.

20. Ibid., 25 April 1984.
21. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 20 February 1984, SP.
22. Ibid.
23. Two versions of this exist, one dated 6 March and a second dated 9 March 1984. See Khan to R. J. Stoller, 6 and 9 March 1984, SP.
24. Khan to W. C. M. Scott, 2 April 1984 and W. C. M. Scott to Khan, 16 April 1984, CSP.
25. Khan to S. Stoller, 6 March 1984, SP.
26. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 20 February 1984, SP.
27. Ibid., 29 November 1984.
28. Khan to S. Stoller, 6 March 1984, SP.
29. Ibid.
30. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 13 March 1984, SP.
31. The paper appeared under this title in *Winnicott Studies*, 1 (1984): 15–25, and later in French as 'Prisons' in the *NRP*, 30: (1984): 77–105, the same title being employed when it appeared in Khan's final collection of papers *WSC*, pp. 1–25.
32. V. Smirnov to R. J. Stoller, 4 August 1984, SP.
33. R. J. Stoller to V. Smirnov, 24 July 1984, SP.
34. R. J. Stoller to Khan, 20 July 1984; 1984; Khan to R. J. Stoller, 29 November 1984; R. J. Stoller to V. Smirnov, 24 July 1984, SP.
35. R. J. Stoller to V. Smirnov, 24 August 1984, SP.
36. See an example among the Khan papers in SFC.
37. R. J. Stoller to Khan, 20 July 1984, SP.
38. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 29 November 1984, SP.
39. Ibid.
40. Ibid.
41. Khan (1985b), 'True and False Aesthetics: a review of *Creativity and Perversion*, by Janine Chasseguet-Smirgel', *Free Associations*, 2: 61–63. A copy of the original review's manuscript was sent to Stoller. See Khan to R. J. Stoller, December 1984, SP.
42. J. Chasseguet-Smirgel, *Creativity and Perversion*, London: Free Association, 1985, p. 2.
43. Khan (1985b), 'True and false aesthetics: a review of *Creativity and Perversion*, by Janine Chasseguet-Smirgel', *Free Associations*, 2: 62.
44. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 29 January 1985, SP.
45. Khan (1985a), 'Outrage, compliance and authenticity', in *WSC*, p. 136.
46. Khan to J. Charlton, 3 February 1985, SFC.
47. Ibid.
48. R. J. Stoller to Khan, 25 July 1985, SP.
49. V. Smirnov to R. J. Stoller, 26 October 1985; R. J. Stoller to Khan, 17 December 1985, SP.
50. Ibid., 26 October 1985.
51. Ibid.
52. Ibid., 23 November 1985.
53. R. J. Stoller to V. Smirnov, 11 December 1985, SP. Smirnov's reply (16 December 1985) to this letter claimed that Barrington Cooper had confirmed Khan's financial position as being extremely comfortable; Smirnov himself though remained non-committal.
54. V. Smirnov to R. J. Stoller, 16 December 1985, SP.
55. Khan (1986a), 'Thoughts', in *WSC*, pp. 164–167.
56. Ibid., p. 169.
57. Ibid., p. 170.
58. Ibid., p. 172.
59. Khan to W. C. M. Scott, December 1985, CSP. The date of Khan's return to London was repeatedly put back. Thus on 4 December he stated he would return on 15 March 1986 (Khan to R. J. Stoller, 4 December 1985, SP), on 7 December 1985 this became 16 March 1986 (Khan to M. Paterson, 7 December 1985, SFC) on 30 January 1986 it was 25 March (Khan to M. Paterson, 3 February 1985, SFC) and finally on 8 March as being 1 April 1986 (Khan to M. Paterson, 3 February 1985, SFC).

60. Khan to M. Paterson, 7 December 1985, SFC.
61. Ibid., 30 January 1986.
62. M. Paterson to Khan, 7 February 1986. Mark Paterson had patiently and convincingly answered Khan's letter of 7 December 1985, point by point on 3 January 1986, and had written him a moving personal letter on 19 February 1986 detailing his feelings of mortification and betrayal by his one time friend's actions. Khan responded on 23 February 1986 that he was 'relieved you have so managed that I am/was not re-elected a director of SFC... Let us part, quietly and honourably. Good luck!' and later on 8 March 1986 that 'SFC is a thing of the past for me now. I have other much more personal and interesting projects engrossing me, henceforth', SFC.
63. M. Paterson, 'Obituary: Masud Khan', *Free Associations*, 21 (1991): 110–111.
64. Khan (1980b), 'Murder, frenzy and madness – the logistics of humiliations: notes on Dostoevsky and *The Idiot*', *The Yearbook of Psychoanalysis and Psychotherapy*, 1 (1985): 371.
65. Khan (1986a), 'Prisons', in *WSC*, p. 23.
66. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 27 January 1986, SP.
67. Khan to Abdus Salam, 23 February 1986, L. Hopkins archive, USA; Khan to P. Fédida, 17 March 1986, SP.
68. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 11 March 1986, SP.
69. Khan to P. Fédida, 17 March 1986, SP. Pierre Fédida (1934–2002): see Sophie de Mijolla-Mellor's obituary of him in *The IAHF Journal*, 35 (Summer 2003): 8–9.
70. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 27 January 1986, SP.
71. R. J. Stoller to Khan, 10 April 1986, SP.
72. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 27 January 1986, SP.
73. Pearl King, personal communication 21 July 2001. King says she very narrowly missed getting a first, her results never having been a topic of conversation with Khan as far as she can now recall.
74. R. J. Stoller to Khan, 10 April 1986, SP.
75. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 18 April 1986, SP.
76. Ibid.
77. Ibid.
78. V. Smirnoff to R. J. Stoller, 21 June 1986, SP. Further evidence of this occurs in Khan's letter to Clifford Scott of Sunday 18 May 1986, written in particularly grandiose terms. Khan beginning his letter 'Yes, "old man" Clifford Scott, what a happy, irrepressibly inventive and ebullient personage you are, and always were' and ending that 'today is heavily bitten a large chunk [off] from a weekend Anglo-Francais Symposium at the French Institute'. This was perhaps the occasion of Pouillon's visit. See Khan to W. C. M. Scott, 18 May 1986, CSP.
79. Khan to W. C. M. Scott, 7 May 1986, CSP.
80. Ibid.
81. W. C. M. Scott to Khan, 21 May 1986 and 10 July 1986; Khan to W. C. M. Scott, December 1986, CSP.
82. R. J. Stoller to Khan, 10 April 1986 and 16 May 1986; R. J. Stoller to V. Smirnoff, 13 June 1986, SP.
83. Ibid., 30 July 1986.
84. The outline, dated 18 June 1986 was enclosed with a copy of the foreword, titled 'The how of it', dated 17 August 1986, and sent to by Khan to R. J. Stoller in his letter of 27 August 1986, SP.
85. Khan (1987a), 'Foreword', in A. Clancier and J. Kalmanovitch *Winnicott and Paradox: From Birth to Creation*, London: Tavistock, pp. xvi–xvii.
86. Khan to M. Paterson, 7 August 1987 [1986], SFC.
87. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 27 August 1986, SP.
88. Khan to C. Bollas, 27 September 1986, SP.
89. R. J. Stoller to Khan, 31 October 1986, SP.
90. Chaudri Nazir and Shahnaz Ahmed, personal communication 24 October 2003.
91. R. J. Stoller to Khan, 31 October 1986, SP.

CHAPTER 17: THE FINAL ACT

1. R. J. Stoller to Khan, 8 January 1987, SP. Stoller recounts Khan as having sent them a (presumably) New Year telegram and then waking them by telephoning during the middle of the night, Khan apparently believing it to be the afternoon in Los Angeles.
2. *Ibid.*, 20 May 1987.
3. *Ibid.*, 18 June 1987.
4. *Ibid.*, 19 August 1987.
5. Khan to W. C. M. Scott, 14 September 1987, CSP.
6. *Ibid.*, 9 October 1987.
7. M. Hernández, e-mail to the author 6 May 2004.
8. V. Smirnof, 'In memoriam Masud Khan', *NRP*, 40 (Autumn 1989): 358–359.
9. V. Smirnof to R. J. Stoller, 6 September 1988, SP.
10. *Ibid.*
11. R. J. Stoller to Khan, 26 February 1988, SP.
12. R. J. Stoller to V. Smirnof, 28 September 1988, SP.
13. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 29 March 1988, SP.
14. Khan (1988e), 'A dismaying homosexual', in *WSC*, pp. 92–93.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 93.
16. R. J. Stoller to Khan, 1 June 1988, SP.
17. P. Lomas (1988), 'Charismatic counsellor', *Times Literary Supplement*, 29 May 1988, p. 465.
18. E. Rayner, 'Foreword', in J. Cooper's *Speak of me as I am*, London: Karnac, 1993, p. xiii.
19. P. Daniel. Memorandum on the 'Masud Khan and Winnicott informal joint meeting', dated 19 June 2001, British Psychoanalytical Society, London.
20. *Ibid.*
21. Khan to E. Brenman, 13 July 1988. Courtesy of Hanna Segal.
22. Khan to R. Lucas, 26 July 1988. Courtesy of Hanna Segal.
23. J. Cooper, *Speak of me as I am*, London: Karnac, 1993, p. vii; see also J. Cooper, 'Masud Khan (1924–1989): a personal tribute', *Free Associations* 1991:2: 1: (No.21): 97.
24. Anne-Marie Sandler, memorandum dated 30 July 1988, CSP.
25. R. J. Stoller to V. Smirnof, 28 September 1988, SP.
26. *Ibid.*, 22 May 1989.
27. V. Smirnof to R. J. Stoller, 22 December 1989, SP.
28. R. J. Stoller to Khan, 28 September 1988, SP.
29. Chaudri Nazir and Shahnaz Ahmed, personal communication 24 October 2003.
30. R. J. Stoller to V. Smirnof, 22 May 1989, SP.
31. Khan to R. J. Stoller, 11 November 1988. Four years earlier Robert Stoller had actually suggested that Khan write his 'professional autobiography'. See R. J. Stoller to Khan, 28 December 1984, SP.
32. A copy of the enduring power of attorney is appended to P. M. P. Kimber to J. F. Brenner, 13 April 1989, SP. On the form Khan's date of birth is incorrectly noted as 2 July 1921, rather than 21 July 1924, the insertion being possibly in Khan's own hand.
33. Khan's will may be found in the Probate Office, Principal Registry of the Family Division, London.
34. V. Smirnof to R. J. Stoller, 22 December 1989, SP.
35. V. Smirnof, 'In memoriam Masud Khan', *NRP*, 40 (Autumn 1989): 359.
36. V. Smirnof to R. J. Stoller, 1 May 1989, SP.
37. R. J. Stoller to V. Smirnof, 22 May 1989, SP.
38. P. M. P. Kimber to R. J. Stoller, 26 April 1989, SP.
39. *Ibid.*
40. *Ibid.*
41. R. J. Stoller to V. Smirnof, 22 May 1989, SP.
42. J. Malcolm (1989), 'The psychoanalyst plays polo', *The New York Times Review of Books*, 9 April 1989, p. 25.

43. R. J. Stoller to V. Smirnoff, 22 May 1989, SP.
44. Death certificate, General Register Office, London.
45. Will dated 29 March 1989. Probate was granted on it in London on 31 July 1989.
46. V. Smirnoff to R. J. Stoller, 22 December 1989, SP.
47. For details on this episode see C. Bollas, circular letter 29 June 1989; R. J. Stoller to P. M. P. Kimber, 11 July 1989; P. M. P. Kimber to R. J. Stoller, 21 August 1989; R. J. Stoller to P. M. P. Kimber, 31 August 1989; R. J. Stoller to A. Limentani, 6 February 1990; and A. Limentani to R. J. Stoller, 9 February 1990, SP.
48. P. M. P. Kimber, personal communication September 1994.
49. *The Times*, 16 August 1989, p. 12.
50. Shahnaz and Chaudri Nazir Ahmed, personal communication 24 October 2003.

CHAPTER 18: RETROSPECTIVE

1. V. Smirnoff to R. J. Stoller, 22 December 1989, SP.
2. Ibid.
3. R. J. Stoller to V. Smirnoff, 16 January 1990, SP.
4. C. Bollas, 'Obituary: Masud Khan, portrait of an extraordinary psychoanalytic personality', *Guardian*, 26 June 1989, p. 39.
5. 'Dr Mohammed Masud Khan: new perspectives on British psychoanalysis', *The Times*, 21 June 1989, p. 18.
6. J.-B. Pontalis, 'Masud, friend', *NRP*, 1989: 40: 338–341.
7. D. Anzieu, 'Ce que je dois à Masud Khan', *NRP*, 1989: 40: 342–344.
8. J.-Y. Tamet, 'Le vif de la rencontre', *NRP*, 1989: 40: 344–345.
9. A. Phillips, 'Retourner le rêve', *NRP*, 1989: 40: 346–352.
10. V. Smirnoff, 'By mail', *NRP*, 1989: 40: 352–359.
11. C. Bollas, 'Portrait d'une personnalité psychanalytique peu ordinaire', *NRP*, 1989: 40: 335–338.
12. J. Cooper, 'Masud Khan (1924–1989): a personal tribute', *Free Associations* 1991: 2: 1: (No.21): 91–98.
13. M. Paterson, 'Obituary Masud Khan', *Free Associations*, 1991: 2:1: (No.21): 109–111.
14. A. Phillips, 'Returning the dream: in memoriam Masud Khan', *Free Associations*, 1991: 2:1: (No.21): 99–108.
15. Adam Limentani, 'Obituary: M. Masud R. Khan 1924–1989', *IJP*, 73 (1992): 155–159, and several inaccuracies in the original piece were subsequently corrected on page 774 of the same volume.
16. A. Limentani, 'Neglected fathers in the aetiology and treatment of sexual deviations', *IJP*, 1991: 72: 573–584.
17. Ibid., p. 573.
18. A. Limentani, 'Review of *Alienation in Perversions* by Masud Khan', *IJP*, 1980, 61: 434–436.
19. C. Rycroft, 'On ablation of the parental images, or the illusion of having created oneself', *Psychoanalysis and Beyond*, London: Chatto and Windus, 1985, pp. 214–232.
20. For a discussion of this means of discrediting dissent see M. Leitner, 'Pathologising as a way of dealing with conflicts and dissent in the psychoanalytic movement', *Free Associations*, 1999, 7:3: (No.43): 459–483.
21. C. Yorke, 'Review of *When Spring Comes* by M. Masud Khan', *Bulletin of the Anna Freud Centre*, 12: 73.
22. Ibid., p. 75.
23. Ibid., p. 76.
24. J. Borossa, 'The migration of psychoanalysis and the psychoanalyst as migrant', *Oxford Literary Review*, 1997, 19: 79–104.
25. See for example *London Review of Books*, 8 March 2002, p. 4, 22 March 2001, p. 4, 5 April 2001, p. 4, 19 April 2001, p. 4; and *The Times*, 1 March 2001, p. 23.

26. See *London Review of Books*, 22 March 2001, p. 4.
27. Robin Cooper, 'Saving Masud Khan', *London Review of Books*, 5 April 2001, p. 4.
28. D. Campbell quoted in R. S. Boynton, 'The return of the repressed: the strange case of Masud Khan', *Boston Review*, December 2002, p. 24.
29. P. Daniel. Memorandum on the 'Masud Khan and Winnicott informal joint meeting', dated 19 June 2001, British Psychoanalytical Society, London. See also R. Boynton, 'The interpretation of Khan', *The Boston Globe*, 15 December 2002.
30. A. M. Sandler, 'Institutional responses to boundary violations: the case of Masud Khan', *IJP*, 85 (2004): 27-44.
31. G. Santayana, *The Life of Reason*, New York: Charles Scribner, 1905, p. 284.
32. D. Hume, *An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding* (1748). Edited by L. A. Selby-Bigge. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975, p. 119.
33. See P. Hartocollis and I. D. Graham's (eds) *The Personal Myth in Psychoanalytic Theory*, Madison, CT: International Universities Press, 1991.
34. A. Limentani to the author, 14 January 1994.
35. R. Urquhart to the author, 19 November 1999.
36. R. J. Stoller to A. Limentani, 6 February 1990, SP.
37. A. Limentani to R. J. Stoller, 9 February 1990, SP.
38. P. Roazen (1991), 'Review of *The Long Wait and other Psychoanalytic Narratives* by M. Masud R. Khan', *Psychoanalytic Books*, 2:1: 19-25; Hanna Segal, personal communication 26 September 2002.
39. See P. Hartocollis and I. D. Graham's (eds) *The Personal Myth in Psychoanalytic Theory*, Madison, CT: International Universities Press, 1991.

Bibliography

SECTION A: UNPUBLISHED SOURCE MATERIAL BY OR RELATING TO M. MASUD R. KHAN

Miscellaneous unpublished papers and talks by Khan, most of which do not appear to have survived.

- 1945 *James Joyce's Ulysses*. [precise title not known] M.A. thesis, University of Punjab, Lahore, Pakistan. This work's one time existence may be a myth.
- 1951 'Some aspects of the dissolution of object representation in modern art'. Read at Scientific Meeting of the British Psycho-Analytical Society, 6 June 1951.
- 1953 'A homosexual episode as defence against masturbation'. First submitted (and unaccepted) Membership paper read at the Scientific Meeting of the British Psycho-Analytical Society, 4 February 1953.
- 1954 'Notes on homosexual episodes in a male patient'. Membership paper, read at the Scientific Meeting of the British Psycho-Analytical Society, 1 December 1954. (Copies in the library of the Tavistock Clinic, London, and the Institute of Psycho-Analysis, London.)
- 1963 'Ego psychology and perversions'. Five lectures given to Hampstead Child Therapy Clinic [Anna Freud Centre], March 1963.
- 1975 'The analyst as transitional object'. Brief discussion papers for a CAPS Group meeting. (Pearl King, London).

The archives of the following institutions contain significant collections of Khan's papers and correspondence.

- (i) International Psychoanalytical Association, London: the Masud Khan archives, which contain his diaries, work books, correspondence and drafts of published papers. Access for scholars is restricted and requires the approval of the IPA President and Council.
- (ii) Library of Congress, Washington, DC: the Anna Freud archives, which contains her correspondence with Khan, 1951–1982.
- (iii) Archives of Psychiatry, New York Hospital, Cornell Medical Centre, New York: the D. W. Winnicott archives, which includes his correspondence with Khan, 1957–1971.
- (iv) National Archives of Canada, Ottawa: the W. Clifford M. Scott archives, which includes his correspondence with Khan, 1951–1984.
- (v) University of California at Los Angeles, University Research Library: the Robert Stoller papers, (collection 373) which includes his correspondence with Khan, 1964–1989; plus additional important source material in his correspondence with others including André Green, Victor Smirnoff and Barrington Cooper.
- (vi) Mark Paterson Associates, Wivenhoe: the archives of Sigmund Freud Copyrights.
- (vii) Houghton Library, Harvard University: the archives of Erik Erikson, which includes some correspondence with Khan, 1966–1967.
- (viii) University of Reading, archives of the Hogarth Press.

Additional and sometimes substantial material has been preserved at least temporarily in the personal files of numerous correspondents.

SECTION B: PUBLISHED WORKS BY M. MASUD R. KHAN

- 1950 Review of *Myths of Middle India* by Verrier Elwin. *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 30: 214–215.

- 1953a Review of *Schizophrenic Art: Its Meaning in Psychotherapy* by Margaret Naumberg. *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 34: 164.
- 1953b [With D. W. Winnicott] Review of *Psychoanalytic Studies of the Personality* by W. R. D. Fairbairn. *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 34: 329-333.
- 1953c Review of *On Not Being Able to Paint* by Marion Milner. *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 34: 333-336.
- 1954a Review of *The Revival of Interest in the Dream* by Robert Fliess. *British Journal of Medical Psychology*, 27: 266.
- 1954b Review of *The Gates of the Dream* by Geza Roheim. *British Journal of Medical Psychology*, 27: 266-267.
- 1955a Review of *The Analysis on an Obsessional* by R. W. Pickford. *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 36: 414.
- 1955b Review of *Symbolic Wounds: Puberty Rites and the Envious Male* by Bruno Bettelheim. *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 36: 416.
- 1960a 'Regression and integration in the analytic setting: a clinical essay on the transference and counter-transference aspects of these phenomena'. *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 41: 130-146; and in Khan (1974b).
- 1960b 'Clinical aspects of the schizoid personality: affects and technique'. *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 41: 430-437; in French as 'Aspects cliniques de la personnalite schizoid: affects et technique' in *Revue Francais Psychanalytique*, 1961, 25: 825-839; and in Khan (1974b).
- 1961a Review of *Readings in Psychoanalytic Psychology* by Morton Levitt [Ed]. *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 42: 292.
- 1961b Review of *Identity as Anxiety: Survival of the Person in Mass Society* by Maurice Stern et al. (eds). *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 42: 292.
- 1962a 'Dream psychology and the evolution of the psycho-analytic situation'. *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 43: 21-31; in French as 'La psychologie du reve et l'evolution de la situation psychanalytique' in *Revue Francais Psychanalytique*, 1964, 28: 113-132; and in Khan (1974b).
- 1962b 'Contributions to discussion (xii)' [of P. Greenacre and D. W. Winnicott 'The theory of the parent-infant relationship: further remarks']. *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 43: 253-254.
- 1962c 'The role of polymorph-perverse body-experiences and object-relations in ego-integration'. *British Journal of Medical Psychology*, 35: 245-261; and in Khan (1979b).
- 1963a 'The concept of cumulative trauma'. *The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child*, 18: 286-306; also in G. Kohon (ed.) *The British School of Psychoanalysis: the Independent Tradition*. London: Free Association, pp. 117-135; and in Khan (1974b).
- 1963b 'Ego-ideal, excitement and the threat of annihilation'. *Journal of the Hillside Hospital*, 12 (3-4); and in Khan (1974b).
- 1963c 'Silence as communication'. *Bulletin of the Menninger Clinic*, 27; (6): 300-313; and in Khan (1974b).
- 1964a 'Ego-distortion, cumulative trauma and the role of reconstruction in the analytic situation'. *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 45: 272-279; and in Khan (1974b).
- 1964b 'The function of intimacy and acting out in perversions'. In R. Slovenko (ed.) *Sexual Behaviour and the Law*. Springfield, I U: Thomas, pp. 397-412; and in Khan (1974b) under the title 'Intimacy, complicity and mutuality in perversions'.
- 1964c 'The role of infantile sexuality and early object-relations in female homosexuality'. In I. Rosen (ed.) *The Pathology and Treatment of Sexual Deviation*. London: Oxford University Press, pp. 221-292; and in Khan (1979b).
- 1965a 'Editorial note' to *The Maturation Process and the Facilitating Environment*, by D. W. Winnicott. London: Hogarth.
- 1965b 'Foreskin fetishism and its relation to ego-pathology in a male homosexual'. *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 46: 64-80; also in H. M. Ruitenbeck (ed.) *Psychoanalysis and Male Sexuality*. College and University Press, 1966, pp. 235-268; and in Khan (1979b).

- as Part I of 'Fetish as negation of the self: clinical notes on foreskin fetishism in a male homosexual'.
- 1966a 'Role of phobic and counterphobic mechanisms and separation anxiety in schizoid character formation'. *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 47: 306–313; and in Khan (1974b).
- 1966b 'Comment on Dr Naiman's paper' ['The role of the superego in certain forms of acting out']. *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 47: 293–294.
- 1967 Review of *Ecrits* by Jacques Lacan. *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 48: 611.
- 1968a 'Reparation to the self as an idolised internal object: a contribution to the theory of perversion-formation'. *Dynamische Psychiatrie*, 1: 92–98; and a slightly different version in French as 'Entre l'idole et l'ideal'. *Nouvelle Revue de Psychanalyse*, 13: (1976): 259–264; appearing in English in Khan (1979b).
- 1968b [With J. D. Sutherland] 'Introduction' to *Imagination and Reality: Psychoanalytical Essays 1951–1961*, by Charles Rycroft. London: Hogarth, pp. vii–ix.
- 1968c 'The widening scope of trauma'. Review of *Psychic Trauma* by Sidney Furst. *Psychiatry and Social Science Review*, 2: (May).
- 1969a 'Notes additionelles'. *Bulletin de l'Association Psychanalytique de France*, 5: 103–106.
- 1969b 'Envy and jealousy: letter to Dr Balint and a bibliography'. *Scientific Bulletin of the British Psychoanalytical Society*, 29: 27–31.
- 1969c 'Homosexuality and the sexual nursing of self and object'. Published in Dutch in *Inval*, Inhoud I, 11–22.
- 1969d 'On symbiotic omnipotence'. *The Psychoanalytic Forum*, New York: Science House, 3: 137–147 and 157–158; and in Khan (1974b).
- 1969e 'Role of the "collated internal object" in perversion-formation'. *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 50: 555–565; and in Khan (1979b).
- 1969f 'On the clinical provision of frustrations, recognitions and failures in the analytic situation: an essay on Dr Michael Balint's researches on the theory of psychoanalytic technique'. *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 50: 237–248, and later in French as 'Frustrer, reconnaître et faire défaut dans la situation analytique', *Nouvelle Revue de Psychanalyse*, (1978), 17: 115–138.
- 1969g 'Les vicissitudes de l'être, du connaître et de l'éprouver dans la situation analytique'. *Bulletin de l'Association Psychoanalytique de France*, 5: 132–145; a revised enlarged English version appeared as 'Vicissitudes of being, knowing and experiencing in the therapeutic situation'. *British Journal of Medical Psychology*, 42: 383–395; and in Khan (1974b).
- 1970a 'The catalytic role of crucial friendship in the epistemology of self-experience in Montaigne, Rousseau and Freud'. *Dynamische Psychiatrie*, 3: 3: 168–178; in French as 'Le rôle catalyseur d'une amitié privilégiée pour l'épistémologie de l'expérience de soi chez Montaigne, Rousseau et Freud'. *Psychanalyse et Sociologie: Comme Méthodes d'Etude des Phénomènes Historiques et Culturels*. Bruxelles: Université de Bruxelles, pp. 171–183; and in Khan (1974b) under the title 'Montaigne, Rousseau and Freud'.
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- 1970c 'Le cadre thérapeutique de Freud'. *Nouvelle Revue de Psychanalyse*, 1: 99–104; published in English in W. Muensterberger and A. Freeman, editors, *The Psychoanalytic Study of Society*, 5. New York: International Universities Press, 1972, pp. 33–39, as 'On Freud's provision of the therapeutic frame'; and under the same title in Khan (1974b).
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- 1971a 'Bibliographical note' to *Therapeutic Consultations in Child Psychiatry* by D. W. Winnicott. London: Hogarth, pp. 397–398.
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- 1971c 'L'oeil entend'. *Nouvelle Revue de Psychanalyse*, 3: 53–69; and in English as "'To hear with eyes'": clinical notes on body as subject and object'. *Adolescent Psychiatry*, Vol. 3 by S. C. Feinstein (ed.) New York: Basic Books, 1974, pp. 25–40; and in Khan (1974b).

- 1971d 'Infantile neurosis as a false-self organisation'. In *The Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, 40: 2: 245–263; and in Khan (1974b).
- 1971e 'Toucher pour voir'. *Nouvelle Revue de Psychanalyse*, 4: 25–42; and in English as 'The role of illusion in the analytic space and process' in *The Annual of Psychoanalysis*, 1 (1973): 231–246; and in Khan (1974b).
- 1971f 'Beyond conflictual dynamics: a tribute to Heinz Hartmann'. *Dynamische Psychiatrie*, 4: 1: 3–8.
- 1971g 'Obituary: Donald W. Winnicott'. *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 52: 225–226.
- 1971h 'Obituary: D. W. Winnicott'. *British Journal of Medical Psychology*, 44: 387–388.
- 1972a 'Apprenticeship, instruction and communication in psychoanalytic pedagogy / Lernen theoretischer unterricht und kommunikation in der psychoanalytischen ausbildung'. *Dynamische Psychiatrie*, 5: 1–21; and as 'The becoming of a psycho-analyst' in Khan (1974b).
- 1972b 'Dread of surrender to resourceless dependence in the analytic situation'. *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 53: 225–230; and in Khan (1974b).
- 1972c 'Exorcism of the intrusive ego-alien factors in the analytic situation and process'. In P. L. Giovacchini (ed.) *Tactics and Techniques in Psychoanalytic Therapy*. London: Hogarth, pp. 383–404; and in Khan (1974b).
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Masud Khan

The Myth and the Reality

Masud Khan: The Myth and the Reality pieces together Khan's poignant and shocking story using various sources including personal letters, other archival material and interviews with his relatives, friends and colleagues. This work, which has taken ten years to complete, allows a glimpse of both the historical reality and the pervasive personal and institutional myths that envelop 'Prince Dr' Masud Khan. Some of these myths Khan wove himself, others he was incorporated into; their aliveness today testifying to the enduring collusive lure of phantasy and wish fulfilment. Beyond that of its central character and his beautifully-crafted landmark psychoanalytic essays, the book offers an insight into the lives of Khan's analytic contemporaries, of the institutions they participated in and of the wider society.

From the Foreword by Pearl King

All through this book Dr Willoughby offers more than a biography. He has extracted and commented on each new line of thought or contribution to a theme that Masud Khan has produced, including Khan's early concept of 'Cumulative trauma', which made sense to so many colleagues. ... in reading about what Masud did to people, and his and their reactions to this, we can gradually empathise with him, and imagine what it was like to be Masud Khan living with himself. It is a brave book to have undertaken. ... with the availability of *Masud Khan: The Myth and the Reality*, we have an essential scholarly and reliable guide.

