Bohdan Wasilewski

Symbolized thinking as background of stereotypes of enemy[1]

Abstract

Symbolized thinking, prejudices and associated stereotypes of enemy, stereotypes of racial or class-related superiority, overvalued ideas, ideas of „mission" are atavistic forms of thinking which are manifested mainly in the situations of individual or collective threat. They constitute subcultural elements of discriminated micro- or macrocommunities. During a sustainable development of civilization, they become dominated by rational thinking and dwell only in deeper layers of personality, where they participate in conscious and unconscious psychic processes. Authoritarianism is a factor which facilitates creation and activation of symbolized thinking and the related stereotypes and prejudices. Memory entries linked to symbolized thinking can have a toxic nature and are manifested in periods of an individual or social destabilization.

Introduction

In technology, biocybernetics and physiology memory as a term is reduced mainly to the functions of memorization and reproduction of information (a xerox-scan and print out mo-

del). In this chapter a broader understanding of memory was adopted. Memory entries, which are beyond the scope of information acquired from visual, auditory, olfactory and tactile receptors and from monitoring of internal organs and body posture, are related to emotions in a particular situation. They also refer to the sequence of time and to current structure of values, dominating judgements and attitudes. This reference is made with regard to currently experienced situations as well as analogies to previous personal and borrowed sensations, associated with stories told by important people from the surrounding environment, as well as virtual messages, transmitted by films, television or internet media.

I shall use the term of dynamic memory in order to differentiate it from the static memory. It emphasises the dynamic and complex nature of the phenomenon of memorising and processing sensations, with which an individual is confronted. The dynamic memory is a multidimensional phenomenon. It changes and is closely linked to other elements of the psyche. It is especially visible in case of

---

[1] This study was set up in connection with the development by the author of the chapter to be published
in the book: Hurting Memories, Edited by M. Linden and K. Rutkowski.

memory traces with a strong emotional load, related to sensitive regions of personality structure. Toxic memory is constituted by memory entries which – when manifested – can destabilize psychic structure of its bearer or - through his or her actions – the structure of other people.

According to Piaget, symbolized thinking is manifested in early stages of child development (Piaget J., 1950). Children who begin to give labels to the observed objects of everyday life are largely susceptible to internalize stereotypes from the adults. Related elements of the dynamic memory can exist in an emotional „buffer zone". They sometimes remain in disharmony with convictions of a conscious part of the personality. Liveliness and strength of the „buffer zone" depends on the location of particular information in the personality structure. The deeper it is positioned, the less often exposed and the more it is distant from an actively cultivated self-image, the bigger toxic potential it has.

Symbolized thinking is an archaic form of thinking with a simplified pattern. It occurs fully in non-pathological situations related to a strong emotional arousal or persisting disorders of logical thinking. Human memory has a social reference which is stronger proportionally to its social and emotional context. This reference can be made in relations with close people who are „internalized – identified with oneself". They can be real, physically existing people like father, mother, husband, wife, or any other object of an emotional relation, but they can also exist virtually and be known only indirectly – like gods, heroes or other significant persons. It is however difficult to make distinction between physical and virtual existence of a person, since the image of such

person is constantly processed and adapted to individual needs and psychic structure of the bearer who remembers it. Memory traces which do not match the image of the particular person become emotionally blocked, blurred and relativized, other become idealized and exaggerated. An image of a person can mix and unite with other images of people both existing and fictional. Most of the discussed identification processes take place in the sphere of convictions and expressed social attitudes, reinforced in the circle of one's close friends who are selected in the perspective of having similar opinions.

Preferred model of social functioning and associated convictions and lifestyle define models of socio-political and religious identification in a given period. The acceptance of a particular model gives access to a related group of people and to structures of support which they have at their disposal. The dynamics of historical and sociological changes support or eliminate particular socio-ideological structures and involve changes in identification of individuals. It is especially visible in the present period of intensive social and economical changes which destabilize mechanisms of social reference. They increase loneliness of individuals confronted with demands of life which they are not able to meet. This destabilization is transferred onto the structure of personality, including the structure of memory images, and fosters the expression of toxic resources of memory. Authoritarianism is a factor which facilitates creation and activation of symbolized thinking and the related stereotypes and prejudices, which will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

As it was mentioned above, the resources of dynamic memory are not static; they are

constantly modified, valuated and updated with regard to the current dimension of our identity and the image of the surrounding world. This process is located in both conscious and unconscious layers of our psyche. Memory adapts the individuals to a constantly changing environment. Studies of memory reactivation show that states of plasticity can be induced in representations which were supposedly stable. The mechanisms that induce plasticity, update some memories and protect other from modifications, are scientifically proven but still poorly explored (Nadel L., & Hardt O, 2011).

Memory entries which do not harmonise with a current, auto-accepted dimension of our identity (those dissonant ones) are subject to various adaptation mechanisms. These include value judgments, which deactivate or reduce the importance or timeliness of the entries. Liveliness (distinctness) of memory traces depends on the force of emotional component at the entry of the particular trace and on the degree of emotional support accompanying its maintenance (Berntsen D., & Rubin D.C. 2002). Memory entries which are not emotionally supported gradually become weaker and relativized under a considerable influence of environmental factors, including culture forming ones. Emotional maintenance can happen through contacts with an object, a person or literary fiction, which refer to a memory trace located in the „emotional buffer zone".

The above mentioned relations shall be discussed in more detail further in the chapter describing experimental situations.

Memory traces can undergo a process of personalization and become an autobiographic memory (Conway M.A., & Pleydell-Pearce C.W.,2000).

The autobiographic memory is influenced especially by emotional factors at the stages of both memorization and reproduction, as documented in the scientific observations (Holland A.C., & Kensinger E.A., 2010). Personalized memories are in permanent process of transformation. Recreation of verbalized personal information does not make a direct reference to recollection of particular experiences. It is mainly subordinated to sensations, convictions and similarities. Every recollection of a past sensation causes that it is experienced again and the chronology of particular events is rearranged (Wheeler M.A., Stuss D.T. & Tulving E., 1997). Recollected information is integrated with many subsystems: sensory, linguistic, emotional, narrative and other (Rubin D.C., 2006).

They are integrated into the rest of the personality in a partly conscious process. It involves different levels: individual, familiar, national and global. Personalized memories constitute an integral part of continuous process of sustainable development. When a certain memory stays in a conflict with the main core of our personality, it must be changed or „relativized". Prejudices, stereotypes and symbolized thinking are the methods used to simplify the current psychological integration. They modify some categories of memories which are difficult to integrate with the current image of oneself. To a large extent, prejudices and stereotypes observed in adulthood are related to the memory learned in childhood. In his classic book, „The Nature of Prejudice", the psychologist Gordon Allport (Allport G. W., 1954) concluded that children are more likely to grow up tolerant if they live in supportive and loving family. „They feel welcome, accep-

ted, loved, no matter what they do". In such an environment, different views are welcomed; punishment is not harsh or capricious. Children generally think of people positively and carry a sense of goodwill and even affection". Atmosphere of family house has therefore a dominating influence on the formation of stereotypes and non-logical judgements in future of children. The convictions of parents and the atmosphere at home depend on social and cultural situation in which the family functions. A child can become distanced in the period of revolt and disagreement towards convictions cultivated by the family. The memory traces remain in their psyche deeply imprinted by strong affective priming. It is especially relevant in cases of social groups involved in long-lasting, multigenerational conflicts which result in persecution and discrimination.

We carry stereotypes, attitudes and instinctive forms of reactions, which create only partially, and the majority of which we inherit together with our culture and family tradition, closely linked with national, class, religious and tribal identity. They are often an integral element of our own identity. While having a permissive attitude towards the tradition as a whole, we unconsciously practice stereotypes despite our declarative individual detachment from these stereotypes or other particular elements of the tradition. It is fully and clearly expressed in critical situations of a high emotional load or in the crowd psychology. It is also expressed while talking about people with whom one identifies him- or herself but differs in terms of declared opinions. Various psychological mechanisms are then used to avoid taking stance on their behaviours. One rationalizes them or – if all else fails – one admits that in a given situation they would be-

have in the same way. It is especially visible in conflicts which last many years or centuries and cover several generations, brought up in a culture of fight and confrontation. Stereotypes of enemy become the basic element of keeping the group identity and the stereotype of warrior becomes a way of realizing one's life vocation. In a situation of an existing conflict, attempts undertaken by individuals to break these stereotypes, are treated as a treason or collaboration and are punished with ostracism, persecution or physical elimination.

Nations or ethnic and religious groups in a long-lasting open or hidden confrontation associated with violence using military or police methods, terrorism, repression or various forms of persecutions and discrimination, adapt by using mainly authoritarian model of thinking. They implement it by creating authoritarian family relations and social structures. Authoritarian style of social interactions is adapted to the functioning of militarized institutions of these societies. It is a fertile soil for the development of authoritarian forms of political and religious movements, countries or international organizations. Authoritarian thinking is adapted to a situation of fight, where quick and strong decisions are required. They are facilitated by the use of stereotypes and intentional thinking, in which arguments are subordinated to one's needs and serve the determined goal. This strengthens stereotypes and prejudices and fosters consolidation of the group in the fight. After the end of a direct conflict stereotypes and prejudices constitute a significant inhibitor for subsequent generations, despite a gradual evolution of attitudes. Strong mechanisms from the period of an aggravated confrontation remain in insular forms. This issue shall be further di-

scussed later in this chapter using an example of Yugoslavia.

Large-scale studies which were initiated by renown scientific centres: the Harvard University, the University of Virginia, and the University of Washington under the project "Implicit" (Andersen S. M., Moskowitz G. B., Blair I. V., & Nosek B. A. 2007) covered 34 countries and over 500 000 people. The project proved that despite declarations of egalitarian opinions, non-logical judgements and prejudices with regard to sex, race, religion or mental illness are still common. These studies have demonstrated that biases considered to be absent or extinguished persist as "mental residue" in most examined individuals. It has been demonstrated that people can reconcile conscious commitment to egalitarianism and deliberate attempts to behave without prejudice with hidden negative prejudices or stereotypes. Implicit Association Tests (IATs) are examples of the tests used in the studies. They elicit hidden, or automatic stereotypes and prejudices that evade conscious control.

Psychiatry examines thinking disorders occurring in psychotic states, especially in schizophrenic ones. They are usually accompanied by emotional disorders and can be largely helpful in the analysis of thinking disorders related to strong emotional states in healthy individuals. Very intensive emotional states can lead to the domination of an atavistic thinking based on instincts and drives, with symbolized thinking, assumptions, prejudices and stereotypes as constant elements. The collision of instinct-based thinking with the rational - cause and effect thinking is reduced by suppression of neocortical activity, manifested in a narrowing or sometimes even temporary disconnection of the conscio-

usness despite continuation of complex motor functions and maintenance of verbal contact. Apparently, analogical mechanisms function not only in special life-threatening situations, but also in everyday life in smaller degree. The mechanism of emotional narrowing of the scope of analysed associated memory traces processed in different degree facilitates their easier relocation in auto-identification structure. It also gives access to sensitive entries, protected by emotions. Personalized memory traces, including those constituting autobiographic memory are especially influenced by emotional factors at the stages of both memorization and reproduction, as documented in the scientific observations (Holland A.C., & Kensinger E.A., 2010). This goal can also be achieved through dream experiences and products of culture such as films, computer games, literature, music and other. Both the contents and the frames (emotional, social, cultural and volitional) of an induced memory trace are partially modified. The "Auschwitz experiment" reported in the further part of this chapter was based on these grounds.

We carry stereotypes, attitudes and instinctive forms of reactions, which we create only partially. Mostly, we inherit them, together with our culture and family tradition, closely linked with national, class, religious and tribal identity. They are an integral element of our own identity. Despite an individual adaptation to the requirements of our culture, which rejects some stereotypes, we often reproduce them unconsciously, regardless of our declarative denial. It is fully and clearly expressed in critical situations of a high emotional load or in the crowd psychology.

Experimental observations

In the European perspective, we are stigmatized by a global confrontation and cruelties of the Second World War, after which it seemed that the logic of hatred and cruelty would not be reborn.

However the symbolized thinking which cultivates the stereotype of enemy, survives in many places on our continent. The nations of former Yugoslavia have become a sad example of this, despite 50 years of their peaceful co-existence and joint successes in the development of the country.

When the organisation of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW) was awarded a Nobel Peace prize, I was elected by the VII World Congress of IPPNW In Moscow in 1987, as its active member of the Board, to represent this organization as a Nobel prize laureate with rights to finance from prize funds meetings and lectures dedicated to the psychological and medical consequences of stress in life associated with social factors. Consequently, I went on a round of lectures to popularize the Official Statement of the Nobel Committee Upon Awarding the 1985 Nobel Peace Prize to IPPNW across Europe, USA, Canada, Asia, Australia and Japan.

As a continuation of my tasks, I was entrusted by IPPNW with a "mission of last resort" in the Yugoslavia threatened by dissolution and civil war. In an attempt to enable renewal of peace negotiations aimed at ending the conflict, I visited most of the successor republics of the former Yugoslavia and had conversations with significant representatives of administrations, medical doctors and politicians. While analysing conversations, especially with doctors and scientists of a high personal culture and both professional and personal experience, I observed manifestations of symbolized thinking, resistant to rational arguments. Dissolution of the previous state structures and social relations generated sensation of threat, fear of others, distrust and hidden or openly expressed hostility. Friendly neighbourly or professional relations, which had existed for 50 years, were replaced by clan-tribal logic, in with friendly and peaceful people were attributed cruelty and ruthlessness observed in their nations in the Middle Ages or marginally in the times of the Second World War. When a subject of Serbs was brought up with Croats or inversely, conversations, which started in a conciliatory atmosphere and a friendly emotional attitude, became negatively emotional and aggressive to an extent of being a threat to the interlocutor. It happened despite the fact that the interlocutor was neutral in the conflict and had initially declared lack of prejudices towards the other party, as well as readiness to look for ways of agreement. Almost none of my interlocutors had personal traumatizing experiences associated with the other party of the conflict. During the conversation however, they identified themselves with even remote past situations of their far relatives to document their convictions about the cruelty, ruthlessness and deceitfulness of the other party.

Authoritarianism was a common feature of my interlocutors regardless their nationality, religion, liberal or radical opinions. It was expressed in the conversations in which they stated their opinions and defended their beliefs, event to the extent threatening with physical violence. It was also conveyed by an authoritarian personal style of functioning, probably affecting their professional

and family relations. The authoritarianism of the authority, based on the personality cult of Marshal Josip Broz Tito and the single political party created a favourable background for this scheme. The motive of a constant fight with an external and internal enemy was the main issue which consolidated the country. When the leader and the central authority involved in internal fights were gone, the existing mechanisms reinforced the nationalism and religious radicalism with their whole potential, leading to a conflict, in which humanitarian and positivist arguments lost their significance.

In such circumstances I was forced to end my peace mission and prepare report concluding the failure of the mission and expecting an armed conflict. Few months later, it actually started with all of its cruelty.

Observations in Yugoslavia supported my previous analogical conclusions from studies related to prejudices and stereotypes in Polish-German, Polish-Jewish and Jewish-German relations. The framework of this chapter does not allow a broader development of this topic; I will however refer to its most important elements. First however, I will discuss in more detail the issue of the authoritarianism as a mechanism which paves the way for the manifestation of stereotypes of enemy, using non-rational opinions and creating philosophy of hate or revenge.

In the 70's, when a soviet model of so called „real socialism" was used as an intermediary form in the implementation of the communist regime, the Polish Academy of Sciences (PAN) used its special status to conduct a large-scale research. The research exploited results achieved by the Institute of Social Research in Frankfurt, whose employees looked for reasons of a mass support to the then emerging fascism in Germany. When the fascists came to power, this research was interrupted and the scientists were forced to emigrate. They started cooperation with researchers from the Berkley University, where they continued the interrupted work. The book entitled „The Authoritarian Personality", published in 1950 was the effect of this cooperation. The authors: T. W. Adorno, E. Frenkel-Brunswik, D. J. Levison and R. N. Sanford included in it some basic assumptions of their authoritarian personality theory and presented a tool for measuring it. In the studies carried out in the Institute of Psychology of the Polish Academy of Sciences, authoritarianism was defined as „orientation based on conviction of a hierarchical organisation of human relations and on the necessity to surrender one's subjectivity" (Korzeniowski K., 1993). The studies conducted in 1978-1980 showed a high level of authoritarianism in Polish society. They also comprised intercultural comparisons of the authoritarianism level, which demonstrated a significant disproportion between capitalist and socialist countries showing a low level of authoritarianism in the former and the high level – in the latter.

The same team of sociologists from PAN conducted comparative studies in 1993, after four years of functioning of a new socio-political framework, adopted from the West. They showed a statistically significant reduction of the level of authoritarianism of Polish society and the level of manifestation of stereotypes and non-logical opinions, as compared to the results of 1978-1980 studies.

A positive trend of democratization of Polish population's social awareness, noted after an increasing democratisation of the state institutions, was unfortunately inhibited in the 90's

and then changed into an opposite tendency. This phenomenon worried the researchers working on the issue of authoritarianism so much that it resulted in publishing of an intellectuals' appeal related to an increasingly authoritarian style of government in Poland and subsequent increase of authoritarianism of the Polish society.

Thanks to the support of the international organization of IPPNW and institutions such as Auschwitz Committee, the Polish Medical Association, the Psychiatric Department and Clinic of the Medical Academy in Cracow and important people such as professors K. Bonhoffer, J. Groen, J. Bogusz and A. Szymusik, I conducted in 1989 an experiment at the terrain of Auschwitz-Birkenau camp.

The experiment was organized as a 6-day working meeting of Polish and German students – 10 in each group – and students from the Czech Republic, and the Netherlands. They stayed together in the camp or in buildings directly attached to it. They communicated in English, which was the language of the majority of the meetings. The author of this work (BW) was a tutor of the group, observer and interpreter of former prisoners' testimonies. The experiment preceded directly the celebration of the 50th Anniversary of the Second World War organised in Auschwitz. After the experiment was finished, its participants took part in a scientific conference related to the anniversary and in the celebration in the camp, including an assembly at night and meditation at the place where the ashes of the cremated prisoners were damped.

The experiment reconstructed the course of life in the camp and involved every-day participation of two former prisoners of the camp who had spent 5-6 years in it, where they were imprisoned as children but treated like adults. Every day before midday the participants in a joint group recreated subsequent stages of the life in the camp, starting at the Selection Ramp. Reconstruction included listening of personal stories told by the former prisoners in the setting arranged with elements of the camp equipment in the background, supported by the photographic and material documentation – based on the exhibitions of the Museum in Auschwitz. After a meal and a short break, the participants took part in discussion sessions about the reality of camp life, including motivations and behaviours of prisoners, supervising and administrative staff of the camp. They had exhibits of the Museum in Auschwitz at their disposal with a rich collection of memoirs and diaries of prisoners, SS soldiers, officers and other camp staff members.

The group had formal and informal discussions which took place both in scheduled sessions and in spontaneous meetings – during meals, free time, which the participants spent together, reading of camp documents and diaries, exchange of thoughts in organised morning and afternoon meetings and during conversations before going to sleep (the participants stayed in rooms divided according to nationality). In order to maintain the spontaneity of the meetings they were not recorded and the notes were not taken during the sessions. The notes were taken by the observer in his room, after the sessions were finished.

The contents of the experiment involved strong emotional reactions, especially in Polish and German participants. All of them had some basic knowledge about how the death camps functioned and about the history of the Second World War. The majority of

them were personally or indirectly (through their parents or close friends) related to organisations of antimilitary, ecological or protestant movements in Poland or Germany. Political and social opinions of the participants were not examined, however the discussions revealed mostly liberal opinions. Part of the group emphasised their relations with Evangelic Church Community. German members of the group came from both the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. Students of medicine, participants of the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW) movement constituted a large part of the group.

As the participants learnt more about the functioning of the death camp, the reality of the fascist state and the period of the occupation of Europe, they identified themselves more with characters from the period of camp's existence. The first, two-day phase of the project was dominated by the shock resulting from the confrontation with the brutality and the immensity of the crimes committed in the camp. Most opinions expressed in that phase were general, condemned the crimes and often related to official declarations and speeches of important people. Participants avoided expressing personal opinions and commenting dramatic situations reported by the former prisoners. They rather chose a detailed analysis of the general situation and knowledge about the particularities of the everyday life in the camp. None of the participants was psychically decompensated. Many of them however were in the state of a strong emotional tension and a lowered mood. It was more the case of German, rather than Polish members of the group. The dynamics of establishing closer relations in the group

was initially impeded by linguistic and national differences as well as an emotional load of the place and reported facts. In the first days of the project the participants declared condemnation of the Auschwitz crime, criminal activity of its organizers and the fascist ideology professed by them, often opinions contained expressions borrowed from press releases, official speeches and literature.

Detailed discussion about prisoners' direct relations, reading diaries of prisoners and staff members and getting used to ruthless rules of everyday life in the death camp, allowed the participants a more direct and deeper involvement in the sessions. They started expressing opinions referring to personal conclusions and family-related facts from the times of war. Opinions involving family members and close friends were no longer presented in the black-and-white perspective, but contained reflections about motivation which inclined them to either take part in activities organized under the totalitarian regime of Hitler, or to participate in illegal actions against the Germans. The language clearly changed from impersonal declarations to personal stories. Friendly relations appeared between participants from Poland, Germany and other European countries. The dominating subject evolved from the issue of the camp routines seen from the perspective of two young prisoners and the analyses of drastic scenes from their lives, to a more personal angle, including facts from private life of the participants and their relatives and their personal opinions. More attention was dedicated to motivations of people on the both sides of the camp fence, their driving forces and the meaning of particular events from prisoners' and administrators' perspective. Despite its terror, a more complete picture

of the camp life showed a surprising ability of people to adapt and to recreate elementary social mechanisms. Prisoners' constant fight for survival and dignity, which was taken away from them, was contrasted with haughtiness of the master race members in immaculate uniforms, spending their evenings with a glass of champagne and classical music as exemplary family man. The world of SS officers differed from the reality of regular soldiers living in barracks. A constant mutual observation and denunciations fomented fear in staff members. Their doubts were dispelled by provoking situations which were supposed to prove moral and physical degeneration of prisoners and their inability to live in a civilized society. This aim was achieved by provoking scenes of abuse and cruelty of kapo towards the prisoners, forcing woman to having public intercourses with dogs, used to patrol the camp, or savouring scenes of humiliating and intimidating prisoners, making them beg for mercy and ordering many-hour penal roll calls during which people died from exhaustion. Deeper knowledge of the camp life revealed the dominating fear and the sense of threat to the physical existence, most clearly visible in prisoners, but also present in camp staff, who lived in constant fear of being relocated to the East Front, which would have meant a deadly danger in the final phase of the war. The characters of prisoners and staff members seemed more realistic, which incited an emotional dissonance in the members of the experiment and co-existed with the change of reactions within the group. The meetings held in the final phase of the experiment included increasingly emotional arguments, full of symbolized thinking. Opinions became more personal and the group was gradually divided again into the Polish and German subgroups, in which most conversations were held in the rooms. The participants from other countries presented more neutral attitudes and their opinions were less emotional. Some thinking patterns, absent in the first phase of the experiment, appeared then: „The Germans may have done wrong things but their intention was to change the world into a better place" or „The Poles were the martyrs for their and others' freedom", ignoring the fact that Auschwitz was mainly the place of extermination of Jews. Increasingly, these young people, who came to seek conciliation, regained a deep sense of unredressed wrong and blame and looked for support within the nationality circles.

In the political context of that time, the discussion was very straightforward, what was sometimes treated as breaking of the convention of the meeting and threatening – especially for the participants from the German Democratic Republic. The scientific conference related to the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of the Second World War, held in Cracow and Auschwitz, took place directly after the meeting and was an interlude which relieved the increasing tension. In the conference the author of this chapter presented a plenary paper, discussing the significance of authoritative attitudes and violence-oriented thinking as a possible threat of military confrontation and emphasized the fact that indicators of authoritarianism were high in Poland and the Soviet Union (Wasilewski B.W., 1991).

The conference and the anniversary celebrations were closed by a meditation session, which was organized at night, by the candle light, at the place where the ashes of cremated

prisoners were damped. It played a special role – it reunited the participants through a strong experience, during which, in the darkness and silence, their imagination recalled the tragic characters, about whom they had read and heard in the meetings.

The Auschwitz experiment showed the potential of the symbolized thinking and related stereotypes and prejudices. It led to manifestation of deeper contents of memory with associated emotions and created conditions for their further processing. Whether or not it contributed to a change in the participants' attitudes, especially modifications of thinking patterns based on symbolized thinking, can be stated only after repeated observations of the experimental group.

Keywords: Prejudices, stereotypes, symbolized thinking, toxic memories, authoritarian thinking, authoritarian state

Reference

1. Piaget J. (1950) *Introduction à l'épistémologie génétique.* Tome III: La pensée biologique, la pensée psychologique et la pensée sociale, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris

2. Nadel L., & Hardt O. (2011) Update on Memory Systems and Processes. *Neuropsychopharmacology.* 36(1), 251–273.

3. Berntsen D., & Rubin D.C. (2002) Emotionally charged autobiographical memories across the life span: the recall of happy, sad, traumatic, and involuntary memories. *Psychol Aging.* 17(4):636-52.

4. Holland AC, Kensinger EA (2010) Emotion and autobiographical memory. *Phys Life Rev.*7(1):88-131.

5. Wheeler M.A., Stuss D.T., & Tulving E. (1997) Toward a theory of episodic memory: the frontal lobes and autonoetic consciousness. *Psychol Bull.* 121(3): 331-54

6. Rubin D.C. (2006) The basic-systems model of episodic memory. *Perspectives on Psychological Science.* 1, 277–311.

7. Conway M.A., & Pleydell-Pearce C.W. (2000) The construction of autobiographical memories in the self-memory system. *Psychol Rev.*,107(2), 261-288.

8. Allport, G. W. (1954) The nature of prejudice. Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley.

9. Andersen, S. M., Moskowitz, G. B., Blair, I. V., & Nosek, B. A. (2007). *Automatic thought.* In E. T. Higgins & A. W. Kruglanski (Eds.), Social Psychology: Handbook of Basic Principles (pp. 138-175). New York: Guilford Press. 138-175.

10. Adorno, T. W., Frenkel-Brunswik, E., Levinson, D.J., & Sanford, R.N. (1950). *The authoritarian personality.* Norton: NY.

11. Korzeniowski K. (1999) „*Autorytaryzm i jego psychologiczne konsekwencje",* [w:] K. Skarżyńska (Eds.), Psychologia polityki, Zysk i S-ka, Poznań

12. Wasilewski B.W. (1991) *Ideologien der Gewalt – Erinnerung aus der Vergangenheit oder Problem der Gegenwart ?* In: Die Manung der Vergangenheit – ein Hinweis fur das Europa des Friedens. Internationales Symposiumzum 50 Jahrestag des Ausbruchs des II Weltkrieges. Auschwitz, 31.08 – 1.09.1989. Państwowe Zakłady Graficzne, Kraków, 57-61.

Bohdan Wasilewski, MD,
Psychosomatic Institute, Poleczki 49,
02-822 Warsaw, Poland,
e-mail: b.wasilewski@ips.pl,
tel./fax +48223327522