

VOLUME 4

1945

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF SEX-ECONOMY AND ORGONE-RESEARCH

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE
FOR SEX-ECONOMY AND ORGONE-RESEARCH

DIRECTOR: WILHELM REICH, M. D.

EDITOR: THEODORE P. WOLFE, M. D.

LIBRARY OF
BIM & BILL MOISE

*Love, work and knowledge are the well-
springs of our life. They should also govern it.*



ORGONE INSTITUTE PRESS NEW YORK

VOLUME 4

1945

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF SEX-ECONOMY AND ORGONE-RESEARCH

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE
FOR SEX-ECONOMY AND ORGONE-RESEARCH

DIRECTOR: WILHELM REICH, M. D.

EDITOR: THEODORE P. WOLFE, M. D.

LIBRARY OF
BIM & BILL MOISE

*Love, work and knowledge are the well-
springs of our life. They should also govern it.*

ORGONE INSTITUTE PRESS



NEW YORK

THE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL
OF
SEX-ECONOMY AND ORGONE-RESEARCH

is published by the
ORGONE INSTITUTE PRESS

157 Christopher Street, New York 14

SUBSCRIPTION, \$4.00 per year

EDITOR'S ADDRESS: Dr. Theodore P. Wolfe,
401 East 56 Street, New York 22, N. Y.

Make checks payable to Orgone Institute
Press, Inc.

COPYRIGHT, 1945, ORGONE INSTITUTE PRESS, INC.
PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

CONTENTS, Vol. 4, 1945

ARTICLES

- | | |
|---|-----|
| <i>Calas, Elena</i>
Studying "The Children's Place" | 156 |
| <i>Denison, Lucille Bellamy</i>
The child and his struggle | 173 |
| <i>Hoppe, Walter</i>
My first experiences with the orgone accumulator | 200 |
| <i>Lowen, Alexander</i>
Adolescence: a problem in sex-economy | 72 |
| <i>Meyer, Gladys</i>
The making of Fascists | 191 |
| <i>Neill, A. S.</i>
Coeducation and sex | 54 |
| <i>Reich, Wilhelm</i>
Anorgonia in the carcinomatous shrinking biopathy | 1 |
| Some mechanisms of the emotional plague | 34 |
| Orgone biophysics, mechanistic science and "atomic" energy | 129 |
| Experimental demonstration of the physical orgone energy | 133 |
| The development of the authoritarian state apparatus from rational
social interrelationships | 147 |
| <i>Saxe, Felicia</i>
A case history | 59 |

REVIEWS

- | | |
|---|-----|
| Myrdal, Gunnar: AN AMERICAN DILEMMA—THE NEGRO PROBLEM AND
MODERN DEMOCRACY (<i>Gladys Meyer</i>) | 105 |
| Burnham, James: THE MACHIAVELLIANS (<i>Harry Obermayer</i>) | 216 |
| Sohar, Zvi and Shmuel Gollan: DIE SEXUELLE ERZIEHUNG (<i>Harry Obermayer</i>) | 220 |

Margaret Sanger: AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY (Gladys Meyer)

221

Gesell, Arnold, *et al.*: INFANT AND CHILD IN THE CULTURE OF TODAY
(Gladys Meyer)

224

NOTES

Outline of the present activities of the Orgone Institute

96

"Cold Facts"

100

Sexuality before the law

100

"Free love"

104

Is the orgone atomic energy?

202

Orgonotic contact. Letter from a reader

203

"A new disease"

204

A note on "Family cohesion"

206

Some practical problems of adolescent sex relationships

208

A note from the history of science

210

The position of sex-economy. A clarification

212

A. S. Neill and sex-economy. A correction

213

From the Orgone Institute

214

From the Orgone Institute Press

215

EXCERPTS from A. S. Neill's THAT DREADFUL SCHOOL

215, 228

International Journal of Sex-Economy and Orgone-Research

VOLUME 4, NUMBER 1

APRIL 1945

FROM THE ORGONE AND CANCER RESEARCH LABORATORY

ANORGONIA IN THE CARCINOMATOUS SHRINKING BIOPATHY*

A Contribution to the Problem of Cancer Prevention

By WILHELM REICH, M.D.

The term *anorgonia* refers to those biopathic conditions which are characterized by a *block in plasma motility*. This disturbance of plasmatic functioning is unknown in orthodox pathology, though it is well known to the practising physician. The reason why this disturbance remained unknown to a mechanistic pathology is that it does not consist primarily in structural tissue changes or nerve tract lesions but in a *reduction of the total energy function* of the organism. Everyday language describes the condition in various terms. They refer to the emotional *expression* of an organism, such as "un-alive," "dead," "stiff," "contactless," "cold," etc. (in contrast to "alive," "sparkling," "warm," "having immediate contact," etc.), and render the immediate *impression* which another person makes on us. However, the concept of "anorgonia" which is here introduced for the first time means more than mere "contactlessness" or "unaliveness." It refers to a well-defined, heretofore unknown disease picture which I have found most outspoken in patients with cancer or with a cancer disposition.

Before describing the anorgonia in cancer shrinking biopathy, I must go back to a well-known finding of clinical sex-economy, the significance of which can be comprehended today much more

deeply than before the discovery of the orgone. I am referring to the undisturbed plasmatic functioning of the healthy organism and its counterpart, *biopathic falling anxiety* (fear of falling). Let us set out by summarizing what we have learned thus far about the falling anxiety in biopathic diseases:

Falling anxiety makes its appearance in every case of character neurosis or somatic biopathy at a time when the armoring is dissolved and orgasmic sensations begin to break through. The "orgonotic sensation" is nothing but the subjective perception of the objective "plasmatic excitation" which, heretofore, in a mechanistic manner, we termed "vegetative current." The appearance of falling anxiety indicates with certainty that plasmatic excitations and orgasmic sensations are beginning to function in the total organism. The signs of falling anxiety are various: dizziness, "sinking feelings," falling dreams, feelings of oppression in the gastric region, nausea. These and similar symptoms characterize the breakdown of the armor, which is accompanied by orgasmic sensations, involuntary muscular spasms, hot flushes, tremors, itching sensations, etc. These biological symptoms are psychically represented as a generalized anxiousness and insecurity. Roughly speaking, then, the therapeutic process has to pass through the following stages: loosening of the armor, orgonotic sensa-

* Translated from the manuscript by the Editor.

tions, breakdown of the armor, clonisms, falling anxiety, increased plasmatic excitation, orgasmic sensations in the genital apparatus.

If we proceed correctly in dissolving the armorings, the unpleasurable sensations gradually give way to a pleasurable perception of the body. Patients, after having gone through a series of clonisms, often state that "they never felt so well before." If, on the other hand, one does not correctly dissolve the armorings, layer by layer; if rigid armorings remain; if one lets the orgonotic excitations break through too immediately so that they hit on the still undissolved layers of the armor; then the patient is apt to react with a complete withdrawal into his old armor. Afraid of the plasmatic excitations (pleasure anxiety), he increases his biopathic rigidity. Overwhelmed by increased quantities of mobile biological energy, the patient may experience states of disorientation, panic and even suicidal impulses. That much about the known clinical manifestations.

The falling anxiety may express itself more in the somatic or more in the psychic realm; usually, it is a combination of both. At any rate, the appearance of symptoms of falling anxiety indicates a *biopsychic crisis*, the first step in the direction of health in the sense of orgasmic potency. If the vegetotherapist knows the structure of the case, these striking symptoms of falling anxiety need not cause him any alarm.

However, the falling anxiety is harmless only in pure character neuroses. A number of experiences in patients with cancer or cancer disposition show that *falling anxiety may be the symptom of a fatal process. In these cases, it indicates a complete failure of the plasma function in the biological core of the orgonotic system.*

Obviously, it depends on the *depth* of the biopathic disturbance. The vegeto-

therapist must know whether he is dealing with a superficial disorientation of the organism occurring with the transition from rigid to freely mobile functioning, as in pure character neuroses, or with an oscillation of the total plasma function between *pulsation* and *non-pulsation*, as in the cancer shrinking biopathy. As always, these distinctions are not sharp; there are fluid transitions. It is important for the therapist to develop a feeling precisely for these transitions from the light to the severe syndrome of falling anxiety. Really, the cancer shrinking biopathy is nothing but a particularly severe form of character neurosis if, as we must, we mean by "character" the *biophysical* mode of reaction of an organism. The attitude of resignation can progress from superficial to deep layers of the biosystem and thus extend to the cell plasma function itself.

We shall now examine the biophysical mechanism of falling anxiety in the cancer biopathy. The attentive reader of an earlier case history¹ will have been struck by the great role played by the biopathic falling anxiety. That patient could have maintained the health which she had recovered had it not been for the tremendous falling anxiety which came with her sexual excitations. The patient had actually collapsed in my laboratory a short time after she had become free of cancer, symptomatologically speaking. Her legs had suddenly failed. From then on, she remained in bed. She developed a phobic fear of getting up, thus made further orgone therapy impossible and kept shrinking until her death a few months later. Basically, I did not understand her falling anxiety; all I knew was that it had been provoked by the sexual excitation. The experimental cancer cases I have seen since (1941 to 1944) all showed this falling anxiety with the same typical mani-

¹ Cf. The carcinomatous shrinking biopathy. *This Journal* 1, 1942, 131ff.

festations. As time went on, I recognized the manifestations more easily and began to understand them better. It was to be expected that further study of the falling anxiety would lead to therapeutic measures; this expectation was confirmed in two cases of cancer biopathy which came to treatment at a relatively early stage. All in all—besides in pure character neuroses—I studied the falling anxiety in 6 cancer cases and, in the phase of first development, in an infant of 4 weeks of age. These observations provided sufficient material to justify this publication. I shall not present any complete case histories but only those parts which refer to the diagnosis and to the falling anxiety. The falling anxiety observed in the infant will provide the key to the problem.

Falling anxiety as the expression of plasmatic immobility

I shall first summarize the findings which make the biopathic falling anxiety comprehensible as the expression of plasmatic immobility. The cancer patients observed had the following symptoms of plasmatic immobility in common:

1. *General physical debility*: slowing of all motion, tendency to avoid motion and tendency to remain lying in bed. It should be noted that the disturbance of plasmatic motility had, in every one of these cases, *existed long before there were the slightest signs of cancer*. In 3 out of the 6 cases, a slowing of speech and of all motions had existed since early infancy.

One patient (cf. footnote, p. 2) had the phobia in adolescence that "somebody was after her" in the street. *Her legs would fail her and she felt she was going to fall down*. Later, in her shrinking biopathy, the legs were first to show marked atrophy; her fear of walking was based mainly on the weakness of her legs. There was a transitory paralysis of the anal and urinary sphincters. It was a fracture of the *femur* (thigh bone) which

finally led to the fatal outcome. (The local cancer growths were at the 10th, 11th and 12th dorsal vertebrae and the 5th, 6th and 7th cervical vertebrae).

The patient gave as the reason for her keeping to her bed the danger of breaking her spine; I was able to demonstrate the fact that it was not a matter of a mechanically caused pain in the vertebrae but a matter of *falling anxiety*. It was possible to make the patient walk. During her good period she had walked around a good deal, in spite of the fact that the deformation of the spine was irreversible. Later, she was unable to move her legs and was afraid that if she were to move, some part of her body would break apart.

2. In all cases, falling anxiety is accompanied by a *disturbed sense of equilibrium*. This same phenomenon was observed in the case of the infant during the period of falling anxiety. The connection between the two phenomena is probably this: *The disturbance of the sense of equilibrium determines the falling anxiety*, and not vice versa. The falling anxiety is a rational expression of a biopathic disturbance in innervation, and not its cause. In several cases, it was indirectly fatal in that it prevented the continuation of the orgone therapy, encouraged the atrophy of muscles and the development of bed sores which contributed to the fatal outcome.

One of the 6 cancer patients—with a carcinoma of the prostate—was for some time, as a result of orgone therapy, free from local symptoms (urine clear, free of cancer cells and T-bacilli, no local pain, etc.), but the legs became atrophic and he developed a *functional abasia* (inability to walk). In this case, too, the motor reflexes were normal. I treated this patient with orgone therapy and a simplified vegetotherapy daily during 4 months each during the summers of 1942 and 1943; thus I had ample opportunity to ac-

quaint myself with the peculiarities of the paralysis. After the elimination of the local tumor of the prostate, the patient walked around and seemed to get better and better. He had no pains, his appetite was excellent, he gained seven pounds within a few weeks, was hopeful and even started to work. In the midst of all this progress, he suddenly collapsed *in the knees* one day and fell down. His knees had suddenly failed him "as if life had suddenly left the legs." From then on, he was unable to move his legs, he had to keep to his bed and soon there was a progressive atrophy of the muscles in both legs. Two months later, he lost control of the urinary and anal sphincters. There was a blunting of sensation in the legs and the perineum. There was no disturbance of tactile sensation, but the perception of pain stimuli was reduced. The urinary sphincter was spastic, the anal sphincter paralytic. He was unable to urinate and unable to retain his feces. The sensory disturbance was not sharply defined, that is, it did not correspond to a definite spinal segment. That it was not a matter of a central lesion in the spinal cord but of a *biopathic* paralysis of the plasma periphery was not only shown by the irregularity of the disturbance but even more by the fact that it was possible to reduce and finally to eliminate the paralysis. *Only in the course of the vegetotherapeutic treatment of the immobility*, that is, with the return of the ability to sit up and to move the legs, did the biopathic character of the paralysis become evident; only then did the falling anxiety and the disturbance of equilibrium make their appearance.

Before entering upon this, I have to counter some possible objections: One might have assumed that the disturbance was of a mechanical nature. This seems highly unlikely, for a lesion in the spinal cord, say, a tumor, would have led to a progressive increase of the disturbance;

the elimination of the disturbance by vegetotherapeutic means would have been impossible. A peripheral paralysis of the nerve was out of the question; true, there were pains similar to those seen in neuritis, but they could be eliminated by purely vegetotherapeutic measures. In addition, neuritis itself would have to be explained as a symptom. In the case of a mechanical lesion, either central or peripheral, it also would not have been possible to influence the disturbance of anal control. The disturbance fluctuated, however, with the total biopsychic condition of the patient. If he was in a good mood and hopeful, he was able to move his legs much more easily and extensively than at times when he felt hopeless.

The localization of the tumor in the prostate was immediately caused by 8 years of sexual abstinence. The later spasm of the urinary sphincter and the paralysis of the rectum were of a sympatheticotonic nature; it was the *immediate* basis of the carcinomatous degeneration of the tissue. From this center at the perineum, the biopathic paralysis extended to the legs. Thanks to the orgone therapy, the patient had not developed any metastases. The upper part of the body and the arms remained mobile and strong until the last. There was no cachexia except in the legs. One had to assume, then, that the location of the paralysis in the legs must have its specific reason.

During the summer of 1943, I worked with the patient daily in an attempt to mobilize his legs. At first, I loosened the spasms of the ankle musculature by passive motions, gradually extending the work to new parts. This procedure was very painful, but soon the patient became able to move his toes, ankles and knee joints. Then I proceeded to the musculature of the thighs and finally to the hips. After about 4 weeks of vegetotherapy he was able to move his knees and hip joints. Soon after, he was able to sit up in bed.

This gave him new courage and increased his cooperation.

Now I suggested his moving from bed to an easy chair. His reaction was peculiar: He seemed very enthusiastic, but when he was supposed really to do it, he became evasive: he wanted to wait a while, etc. There was no doubt that he was perfectly capable of sitting in the easy chair, since he was able to sit up in bed without any difficulty. Plainly, he was afraid of the transition from bed to chair, although he knew that he would be assisted by two strong individuals and that really nothing could happen to him. As a transitional measure, I suggested sitting on the edge of the bed. He showed some hesitation about this. We helped him and supported him; but as soon as his legs swung freely, he experienced violent anxiety, became pale and broke into a cold sweat. It should be noted that he did not have pain of any kind but *merely anxiety*. After half a minute he implored us to be allowed to lie down again.

This was exactly what I had witnessed in my first cancer patient. I asked him to give me an exact description of the sensations which caused him to implore us so pitifully to be allowed to lie down again. He said he had a great feeling of insecurity, that his body, from the hips down, felt *numb*, "as if it didn't belong to him," as if "it might break any moment." He had a deadly fear that *he might fall or that we might drop him*, and then his body would break. In this connection, he remembered a peculiar condition from which he had suffered between the ages of 6 and 18: It often happened, when he was working in the woods, that *his knees and thighs failed him suddenly so that he collapsed or had to sit down suddenly*. No physician was able to interpret these states of weakness.

Now we understood that the later anorgonia of the lower part of the body was based on this anorgonia which had de-

veloped in childhood. That is, the anorgonia preceded the cancer disease by some 60 years. The mechanisms of such anorgonotic attacks of weakness is obscure. It may be relevant to mention the fact that the patient's mother had died shortly after his birth; he was brought up by foster parents who showed him little if any love and made him work hard even as a child.

The dulling of sensations in the lower part of the body had been eliminated by vegetotherapy except for a spot of about two square inches at the penis root. All stimuli were perceived. There was no pain with movement; lying on his back in bed, he could move all joints without pain and often even made dance-like movements with his legs. All the more baffling, therefore, was his violent anxiety which occurred with sitting up and having his legs dangle over the edge of the bed.

Now I had him practice sitting on the edge of the bed for a minute or two several times a day. This helped. After a week of this, his falling anxiety had been sufficiently reduced so that we could get him into a wheelchair and take him outside. The falling anxiety seemed to have been overcome. By lying in bed for months, and as a result of the atrophy in the legs, he had lost the *feeling of his body*, and with that the *feeling of equilibrium*, but had partly regained it by getting used to sitting up, so that the falling anxiety disappeared.

If we translate the process into the language of orgone biophysics, we may say the following: The biopathic shrinking process had almost extinguished orgonotic motility and, with that, the organ perception. This allows the conclusion that the *organ perception is an immediate expression of the motility of the organ plasma*. The loss of organ perception results logically in the sensation that the body is something alien, and in the fear of

falling and "breaking." The sensation of numbness in the presence of sensory-motor reactions admits of only one interpretation: *The numbness is the subjective perception of objective orgone immobility in the affected parts.* It is accompanied by a sensation similar to that in an arm or leg which "has gone to sleep" and that of "ants crawling" over the limb. The anorgonia of our patient differed from an acute numbness only in its duration and its biopathic background. Otherwise, the symptoms were the same.

The question arises: Does anorgonia consist in a *decreased orgone content* in the tissues, or in an *immobility of the tissue orgone* without a change in quantity, that is, a reduction of orgonotic pulsation? We shall postpone the answer to this question.

The patient felt well for several months, even regaining rectal control. Then, with bad weather, he experienced violent pains. A physician gave him injections of snake venom to combat the pains, and a few days later the patient died. Probably, he would have died anyhow, for the carcinomatous shrinking had been deep-reaching. However, it goes without saying that orgonotically weak tissue poorly tolerates poisonous drugs. For this reason, we have come to regard drugs with a sympathetico-tonic effect or which damage the tissue as contraindicated, even though they may alleviate pain. Instead of eliminating the anorgonia, they increase it.

I shall proceed to the description of another cancer patient who also died subsequently. The tumor, histologically a sarcoma, had developed in the right shoulder (deltoid muscle). The tumor receded under X-ray treatment; this also resulted in a third degree burn of about 8 inches square. This was bad prognostically. The general biopathic condition was also alarming. The skin all over the body was pale and clammy. The legs were cold and showed a condition which we now

know as anorgonotic: livid coloration, clamminess, no perceptible orgone field. The patient was a quiet, resigned character. He felt that he had missed his chances in life and had achieved nothing. He was particularly worried about his pelvis which he felt to be "numb, like dead." As long ago as a year *before the appearance of the tumor* he had considered coming to me for vegetotherapy, but because of the rumor spread by some psychoanalysts that I was crazy he had refrained from doing so. When, later on, the appearance of the tumor confirmed his old apprehensions, he decided to come to me for orgone therapy after all. It is difficult to say whether in this case the irresponsible talk of rumor-mongers has cost a human life; but it is more than possible that a year earlier the patient could have been saved.

In the course of four months of orgone therapy and vegetotherapy, the patient made good progress. Gradually, he became less reserved and even became able to break out in anger which he had never been able to do. Under the influence of the orgone, the X-ray burn healed rapidly. The patient gained weight, improved his neurotically complicated family situation and rapidly approached the point where the orgasm reflex was to appear.

It was clear why the tumor had become localized at the right shoulder. Ever since he could remember, his right arm had been "weak." He felt that the impulses in the right arm never had really come through. The right shoulder blade was pulled back more than the left. In the 12th session, violent beating impulses in the right arm broke through; but it took a long time before he could really let himself go and hit. *As soon as a beating impulse began to break through, the patient developed a severe spasm of the glottis.* The voice and the breath were cut off, the patient looked as if he were going to choke. His face assumed a *dying*

expression. The eyeballs were turned up, the skin became pale and livid, respiration shallow, and the pulse thin.

This syndrome had heretofore remained hidden; vegetotherapy had brought it to the surface. In a milder form, these manifestations had been present for *decades.* The patient recognized that his resignation was in part due to the fact that as a small boy he had never succeeded in holding his own in fights with other boys. *As soon as he tried to defend himself and to start hitting, he became short of breath and felt choked in his throat.* This rendered him impotent and cowardly. Naturally, this injured his pride and he soon resigned. He became cowardly, submissive, evasive, and ashamed of himself for this reason.

Let us keep this biopathic reaction of our patient in mind. We shall meet it again at the end of his life and shall understand the gigantic significance of the biophysical structure for life and death. The fact should be emphasized that this patient does not represent any extraordinary case but a *typical* one.

The glottis spasm and the dying attitude turned into the patient's typical reaction to any progress in the treatment. His pelvis, as he said, was "dead" when he came to treatment. Gradually, the orgasm reflex developed, but it was mechanical, without orgonotic sensations in the pelvis. With the working through of the infantile masturbation anxiety, there was some improvement, but the anorgonia of the pelvis remained. We both had the impression that this pelvis had never been "alive," as if it were "hopelessly dead." It was not without reason that, for many years, it had been his most serious concern. When he first heard of vegetotherapy, he knew immediately that it applied to his case.

After several weeks of sustained effort to mobilize the pelvis, a spontaneous pelvic movement forward with strong orgonotic

sensations suddenly occurred one day. That is, in the depth the orgonotic motility was still alive. But the patient's reaction was so violent that suddenly I understood the *depth* of the anorgonia.

After the pelvic contraction, he immediately fell back into the "dying attitude." The glottis spasm now was so severe that he could hardly get his breath. Several days later, several spots on his shoulder, in the region of the X-ray burn, began to swell.

The vegetotherapist is quite familiar with spastic reactions to newly mobilized plasma current. It cannot be expected that the orgasm reflex should develop without spasms. On the contrary, every new advance to plasmatic streaming in the biological core provokes ever deeper anxiety reactions, sympathetico-tonic states at the place of the breakthrough, the return of previously dissolved muscle spasms, etc. This we count on in every case.

In the cancer shrinking biopathy, this process is more complicated. Here—in contrast to other biopathies—the anorgonia works in the biological *core* and therefore can lead to a complete block of pulsation. Clinical experience leaves no doubt about this. Thus, one is never far from a cessation of the life functions. The problem, then, is whether and how quickly one can play the function of expansion against the anorgonia. The cases yet to be described will bring some clarity here.

To return to our case: Repeated blood tests showed that his biological progress continued. When he came to treatment, his blood was extremely orgone-weak: 70% hemoglobin, 99% *T-reaction*, disintegration of the erythrocytes *in seconds*, etc. After 6 weeks of orgone therapy, the blood was normal: 84% hemoglobin, *almost 100% B-reaction*, disintegration of erythrocytes in 30 minutes, full orgone margin of the red blood cells.

The complex nature of the cancer biopathy is again shown in the fact that neither the surgical removal of the tumor nor the re-establishment of the full orgonity of the blood were sufficient to halt the shrinking of the autonomic life apparatus. Nor could the prevention of the cachexia, the loss of body substance, which succeeded by orgone therapy, prevent the fatal process. *The patient died without cachexia and with healthy blood.* An authority in the field of mechanistic cancer pathology found this to be true, to his great amazement.

The reader will understand why, in my presentations of experimental orgone therapy, I keep repeating that, though we are *on the way* to an elimination of the cancer scourge, there still are many, and *deep-lying*, disease mechanisms still to be understood and mastered. In view of this complex nature of the cancer biopathy, it is strange to read in newspapers and magazines, about once every week, about a new chemical which promises to cure cancer. Radical cancer therapy is going to be much more difficult than that.

All the more peculiar is the attitude of traditional pathology which not only approaches cancer with erroneous premises, not only gets stuck in the local symptom, but which, in addition, seems to be so enmeshed in hopelessness that it seems not to take cognizance of the fruitful efforts of orgone biophysics. I repeat: seems to. It may be that its silence about sex-economic cancer research is just an attitude of waiting. In other aspects of our work, too, we often feel as if we were speaking in a large empty hall the walls of which are full of ears but without speech. This should not discourage the friends of orgone biophysics: One day what orgone biophysics promises today will be distinctly heard.

The therapeutic situation of our patient was the following: His anorgonia was

marked; in his character, he had a strong tendency to resignation; at the time of treatment, he had no tumors, but his plasmatic motility, which alone could save him, was greatly reduced; it had just, for the first time, reappeared to any appreciable degree; to this, he had reacted with severe orgasm anxiety, in particular, with a violent glottis spasm.

He took lessons in vegetotherapeutic gymnastics in order to liberate his body motility. One day, he slightly wrenched a muscle in his left buttocks. Three weeks later, a small tumor appeared at this spot which gradually, in the course of another three weeks, grew to the size of a child's head. He could still walk, but now his *tendency to lie in bed* appeared again. He stayed in bed until his death. While the tumor at the left hip ceased to grow, the small swelling at the right shoulder began to grow again.

One day, there were difficulties in urinating, and, exactly as in the patient described above, the perineum and the root of the penis became "numb." An X-ray series of the whole body revealed that—apart from the two tumors just mentioned—there were no metastases in any of the inner organs. This is an astounding finding in the case of lymphosarcoma. There were some swollen glands in the right inguinal region and in both axillae. The right shoulder became more and more threatening. The attacks of glottis spasm became more frequent. An edema developed over the whole right arm, up to the first rib. The voice became hoarse, and there was an increasing danger of death through suffocation as a result of glottis edema. The surgeons had no suggestion to make with regard to the edema. Puncture of the tumor at the hip revealed malignant small cells.

The numbness in the genital region could again and again be eliminated, so that the use of a catheter could be avoided.

One day the patient developed a con-

tinuing glottis spasm which led to his death by suffocation.

Like the other cancer patients, this patient also did not die from the local tumor, from weakness, heart failure or cachexia. *The immediate cause of death was the glottis spasm which the patient had developed decades before the appearance of the tumor.* The location of the tumor, and the later edema, at the right arm was unequivocally determined by a chronic biopathic impulse inhibition in the right shoulder.

We understand the *immediate* cause of death, and the development and function of the glottis spasm in connection with his genital anorgonia which had caused the patient so much concern. We also understand the rapid relapse as a reaction against the first intense plasmatic currents. What remains to be understood is the *biopathic mechanism in the tissues of the right shoulder* which resulted in the edema. The X-rays showed the tumor at the right clavicle to be the size of a small apple. That is, the edematous swelling of arm and shoulder were not due to the tumor growth. "Clogging of the lymph passages" may explain the edema formation in part, but certainly not in full. One can assume that the edema of the tissues impeded the flow of the tissue fluids as well as the opposite, that a clogging of the lymph passages with tumor substance caused the edema.

In the place of a purely mechanical interpretation of the edema in cancer patients, I would like to attempt a *biophysical* interpretation: this, I believe, is more in accord with cancer biopathy than the simple mechanics of the "clogging of passages." There are a sufficient number of ramifications and secondary passages to allow the flow of the fluid from the tissues. There must be something else at play here.

There is edema in starvation. Certainly, there are no "clogged lymph passages" in

this case. Nevertheless, there is edema. There is edema of the gums in the case of toothaches. Here, again, there are no clogged lymph passages, and yet, there is the edema. There is edema of the legs in pregnancy. If this edema were mechanically caused, then all pregnant women would show this edema, which is far from being the case. There is edema in burns and inflammations, where there is no clogging of passages.

Hoff writes, in L. R. Müller, *LEBENSNERVEN UND LEBENSSTRIEBE*, 3rd ed., p. 753f.:

In all cases of paraplegia of long standing one finds edema in the legs, due mostly to the impairment of circulation resulting from the lack of motion. In two cases, however, Böwing found, immediately after the spinal injury, such an extensive edema of the legs that one had to assume the existence of a trophic damage to the vessels. Marburg and Rance made similar observations in patients with bullet injuries of the spine. In hemiplegia, we have seen an edema of one side of the face appear together with a paralysis of the facial nerve. These observations also help to understand the angioneurotic edemas described by Quincke. *We do not yet understand in detail how, in these cases, a disturbance in vegetative vascular innervation leads to edema* [italics mine, W.R.]. According to the findings of Ascher and his school, however, it is probable that the vegetative nerves can influence the permeability of the membranes and with that of the walls of the capillaries . . . Unilateral edemas on the side opposite to the brain lesion are not rare where the lack of motion alone is not sufficient as an explanation. Böwing observed *the formation of vesicles on the skin, thinning of the skin with a shiny appearance, changes in the nails and increased growth of hair* on the paralyzed side. In psychotic patients with organic brain changes, Reichard often found trophic skin lesions, in particular, *ulcers*, which could be explained neither by emaciation nor by injury through pressure.

To return to the edema in cancer. Observations in cancer patients, taken together with the above-mentioned non-carcinomatous edemas, permit the assumption of a *functional, biophysical* causation of the edema. The movement of body fluids is not a mere mechanical function. It cannot be assumed that the lymph glands and lymph vessels are rigid, that, in other words, the motion of the lymph takes place purely passively and mechanically. Rather, one must assume that all organs, including nerves, vessels, lymph passages and tissue cells, are contractile, that, though in different rhythms, they *pulsate*.

The life functions of the various organs are based on their pulsation. We must be *consistent* in the application of our functional concepts. Each organ, independently of the total organism, forms a *living unit*, having perception and the ability to react to stimuli. This has been demonstrated unequivocally in extirpated organs, such as heart, intestine, bladder, etc. We must assume, then, that each organ reacts to injury and disturbances of function in the same way in which the total organism reacts to disturbing stimuli: The living reaction to disturbances in function consists either in an *intensification* of the specific function, for the purpose of *destroying the disturbing stimulus*, or else a *withdrawal from the diseased organ*. Examples of the first mode of reaction are: processes of regeneration and of inflammation, increased blood temperature, etc., as well as the formation of PA bions and cancer cells as a defense against cancerous tissue disintegration (cf. "Experimental orgone therapy of the cancer biopathy," *This Journal* 2, 1943, 1ff.), and the destructive anger reaction.

Anorgonia belongs to the second mode of reaction to disturbances of function. While the first reaction is one of fight against the injury, the second is one of *resignation*, or, in different terms, one of

isolating the injured part from the still healthy organs. The isolation of diseased parts is known in pathology in the form of sequestration, i.e., the expulsion of a diseased bone part. In the animal world, one knows the elimination of a diseased member, for example, a leg, by biting it off. The counterpart of biophysical isolation of diseased parts is inflammation with *regeneration*. Where regeneration, that is, plasmatic growth reaction, is no longer possible, isolation takes place.

This isolation of the diseased organ is readily observable in cancer patients. It is characterized chiefly by a withdrawal of the autonomic nerves and a cessation of their pulsation. This explains in a simple and logical manner a number of secondary symptoms: the local *anemia*, the *numbness*, the excess of CO₂, and, finally, the *atrophy* of the cell substance. We see severe *ascites* occur in cancer of the stomach or the ovary where one cannot speak of a mechanical clogging of drainage. This leads to general disturbances of function such as intestinal paralysis and thus accelerates the fatal course. I believe that the main factor in inhibiting the movement of body fluids in the region of the diseased organs is the *anorgonotic block of motility* in the autonomic nerves. With that, the edema is explained functionally. In edema and similar anorgonotic conditions, we are dealing not with mechanical, chemical or physical functions, but with specific *orgonotic* life functions.

Are there experimental proofs for this orgone-physical assumption? To begin with, vegetotherapeutic and orgone-therapeutic experience shows that anorgonotic conditions can be alleviated or eliminated. Since these two therapeutic methods are based on the premise that the *autonomic nervous system is contractile*, their practical results confirm the correctness of the assumption.

Furthermore, there are a great number of phenomena in classical physiology

which remain incomprehensible without a knowledge of the *orgone-physical* functions. One of these, for example, is the normal function of resorption in the intestines. The course of an edema which was caused by local anorgonia depends on whether or not the fluid of the edema can be *resorbed*. This in turn depends on the orgonotic potency and the pulsation of the respective tissues. Let us summarize the known processes of intestinal resorption:

The nature of resorption is an important and, according to the physiologists, a completely obscure problem of mechanistic physiology. The problem is this: *Does the resorbing membrane of the intestinal wall act like a dead membrane or do the cells do active work?* The processes in living tissue often contradict the purely physico-chemical processes in semi-permeable membranes. *The resorption of food through the intestinal wall cannot be ascribed to osmosis.* Heidenheim² made the following experiment: He took blood from a dog, opened his abdomen and introduced the dog's own blood serum into an empty intestinal loop which was closed off at both ends. It was shown that the dog *resorbed his own serum*. Since, in this experiment, there is *no difference in concentration between intestinal contents and tissue fluid*, the purely mechanical processes of diffusion and osmosis cannot have a part in the process of resorption. The physiologists then tried to explain resorption—which cannot be explained by the principle of osmosis or that of diffusion—by the *work done by the intestinal muscles*. They assumed that in this experiment the intestinal muscles, which can exert a pressure on the intestinal contents from all sides, pressed the serum *mechanically* into the blood; they made it filter through the intestinal membrane,

as it were. Relevant experiments showed that this assumption was erroneous. Reid used as diaphragm pieces of small intestine taken from a freshly killed rabbit. He separated two spaces which were filled with the same kind of salt solution, that is, *isotonic* spaces. It was shown that these pieces of intestine transported the solution for some time from the mucosa side to the serosa side. In the words of Höber, then, the *intestinal wall itself* did the work: "It sucks or presses the solution through itself." Höber adds:

After some time, apparently when the intestinal wall dies, but also when one chloroforms it, it fails; this proves that it depends on the viability of its cells [italics mine, W.R.]. How is this to be explained? A logical hypothesis is the following: The intestinal villi contain smooth muscle fibers which shorten them; furthermore, the lymph spaces in the sub-epithelial reticular connective tissue open into a central chyle vessel which leads into the deeper, larger lymph vessels which carry chyle, that is, intestinal lymph. Since the villi are alternately erected and shortened by the periodic activity of the muscles, a sucking and pumping effect comes about; for the villi do not get thicker when they shorten, so that the space of the central chyle vessel becomes alternately smaller and larger . . . If this mechanism of a "villus pump" actually operates, then we understand the puzzling experiment of Reid's. In this case, we have to admit unequivocally that vital activities take part in the process of resorption; but the problem which then remains to be solved is none other than that with which any muscle contraction confronts us.

As we have seen, the mechanistic interpretation of the function of resorption, of the movement of fluid through the intestinal wall, fails. The mechanical functions of osmosis and diffusion fail in the explanation of living phenomena. After

² The following data are taken from Höber, *LEHRBUCH DER PHYSIOLOGIE DES MENSCHEN*, 7th ed., 1934, p. 69ff.

having tried in vain to uphold the mechanistic viewpoint, Höber continues:

But there are also observations which are strictly at variance with what one would expect according to the laws of osmosis and diffusion. O. Cohnheim, for example, showed that when a cephalopod intestine filled with sodium iodide is suspended in ocean water, all NaI is expelled into the surrounding solution. In dogs it can also be shown that, under certain conditions, the NaCl content of a solution in the intestine becomes *less* during resorption than that of the blood plasma, that, in other words, the NaCl *does not* wander according to the potential of concentration. [The NaCl, then, does not wander, as one would expect, from the higher to the lower concentration, but from the lower to the higher concentration! W.R.] This is an achievement comparable to that of bringing a gas from a lower concentration, that is, from a lower pressure, to a higher one. This is an achievement which also takes place in other organs; for the achievement of concentration is typical of many glands . . . This proves again that the *living cells take an active part in resorption*.

This admission contributes nothing to the solution of the problem which was correctly formulated by mechanistic physiology. Mechanistic physiology leaves us in the lurch when it comes to understand *in what manner* and according to *what energy laws* the living cells perform their work which is at variance with the mechanistic laws of potential drop. The known laws of mechanics do not apply here. Does orgone physics give a better answer? It is the following:

1. According to the law of orgone physics, the stronger organotic system always attracts the weaker system. It follows that the intestinal wall can absorb the intestinal contents, but not conversely, the intestinal contents the fluids of the intestinal wall. The movement of the

fluids in one direction and only that direction, then, is determined by the law of *orgonotic* functioning. The bions of the foodstuffs in the intestine are extremely weak organotic systems compared with the orgonity of the intestinal wall. This law of organotic functioning was derived from direct observation, and not by any means thought up for the explanation of biological phenomena. Only after it had been discovered at the orgone accumulator was it, secondarily, and successfully, applied to biological processes. The attraction of the weaker by the stronger organotic system applies in the living as well as the non-living realm of functioning.

2. The circulation of the blood and the body fluids depends on the *intensity* of the function of pulsation in the organs. The more "alive," that is, the more active an organism is, the more intensive its organotic pulsation is, the more rapid and complete is the metabolism of the body fluids. Increase and decrease of metabolism are vegetative life functions which are immediately dependent on the general pulsatory activity of the organs. A "*decrease in vitality*" is orgone-biophysically understandable as a *decrease of organotic motility* which may go as far as complete anorgonia. Seen from this standpoint, the edema with a toothache, in starvation, in nerve injury or in burns, in many pregnancies and in circumscribed cancer tumors, develops for *one* essential reason:

The pulsatory activity of the respective organ or region is decreased; this results in a slowing of the movement of the body fluids. In the region with decreased pulsation an accumulation of fluid takes place; more fluid flows into the diseased region than flows from it.

The pulsatory activity of an organ depends, first of all, on the activity of the autonomic nerves. Thus, the immobilization of autonomic nerves in any part of

the body must result in a cessation of the movement of body fluids. This makes readily understandable the formation of fluid-filled vesicles in the case of burns, as well as the formation of various kinds of edemas.

To return to our cancer patient: Since childhood, he had suffered from an inhibited motility in his right arm and in his speech organs. This inhibition of motility, together with the corresponding spasms and local anorgonia of the tissues, had led to the local tumor in the right deltoid muscle. Back of this local anorgonia was his general character trait of resignation which had reference particularly to the pelvis and the genital. To this corresponded the local anorgonia of the genital apparatus which toward the end led to a paralysis of the bladder function. In these two anorgonotic regions there developed edemas due to the blocked motility of the autonomic nerves. Death took place through suffocation due to glottis spasm.

We shall now proceed to another case which demonstrated the anorgonotic paralysis particularly clearly. As a child, the patient suffered from a sore throat (suspected diphtheria) which was followed by a slight cardiac weakness. Menstruation began at the age of 12 and was normal in the beginning; later, there were always, on the first day, violent cramplike pains in the region of the left ovary. Neither hot compresses nor drugs helped. The left side of the lower abdomen remained a "weak spot" in which violent pains kept recurring. At the age of 16, the patient started working in an X-ray laboratory. Three months later, she felt poorly, suffered from nausea, palpitations and loss of hair. A physician prescribed arsenic which, however, she tolerated poorly. The cardiac complaints became worse. At the age of 17, she was found to suffer from severe anemia, swelling of the breasts and disease of the

ovaries. The pains in the region of the left ovary kept getting worse. Different physicians made different diagnoses, such as "inflammation of the ovary," "spasm of the uterus," etc. All medication was of no avail. Two years later the patient found that her left leg tired very easily, and a phlebitis appeared. Every year, the patient suffered three or four times from "grippe," at which time the weakness in the leg and the "phlebitis" always increased. Soon, there were pains in the lower abdomen. After the delivery of a child the swelling in the left leg became worse and her whole body became sensitive to pressure. Her physician found anemia: 3.2 millions of erythrocytes and 56% hemoglobin. Different kinds of treatment were tried, to no avail. The case history shows that the many physicians who were consulted conflicted with each other both as to diagnosis and therapy. At various times, the patient had been treated with diathermy, liver injections, heat treatments, and evipan.

Blood examination.

The orgone-physical examination of the blood revealed a peculiar picture which I had never seen before: Hemoglobin was 95% while at the same time the blood culture was strongly *positive* and the *T-reaction* almost 100% as shown in the autoclavation test and in the Gram stain of the blood colloid. Microscopically, the following was striking:

Although the autoclavation test pointed to an extreme orgone weakness of the erythrocytes, they showed, microscopically, *no shrinking* and *no premature bionous disintegration* (disintegration in 20 minutes); on the contrary, they showed a *wide, strongly radiating orgone margin*. What was particularly striking was that some erythrocytes were *far larger* than normal. In every field there were numerous large cells with smooth plasm, resembling macrophages. It was observed that the erythrocytes grouped themselves about

these large plasmatic cells at a certain distance, that is, without contact of the membranes; however, they formed strong orgone bridges. After a few minutes' observation, I had the impression as if the erythrocytes were tremendously overcharged. To this overcharge, which expressed itself in the color and size of the erythrocytes, corresponded their extremely slow disintegration in physiological salt solution: while normally the first bion vesicles appear in the erythrocytes after about 3 to 5 minutes, the erythrocytes of this patient showed no bionous disintegration even after 15 minutes. When it finally occurred, the resulting energy vesicles were extremely large and strongly radiating.

I shall summarize the peculiarities of the blood picture in this patient in such a manner as to make it understandable why I made the diagnosis of a *latent leukemia*.

In my article on the experimental orgone therapy of the cancer biopathy, I expressed the assumption that leukemia is not a disease of the white blood corpuscles, but of the *erythrocyte* system. My assumption was that the erythrocytes undergo a process of disintegration or putrefaction, and that then the white corpuscles increase in exactly the same manner as when there are bacteria or other foreign bodies in the blood stream. *The "foreign body" in leukemia is the disintegrating erythrocyte itself.*

The patient's blood picture showed the following contradiction: *Microscopically*, the erythrocytes were overcharged, radiating abnormally strongly. Autoclavation, on the other hand, showed inner putrefaction, that is, *almost 100% T-reaction*. It is difficult to harmonize the *orgonotic* over-radiation with the simultaneous process of putrefaction in the erythrocyte. However, we know many processes in the organism which consist in an exaggeration of normal biological functions and which

occur when the defense against pathological processes in the same organ requires this additional effort. The patient, then, suffered from a chronic, latent tendency to putrefaction in the erythrocytes. *To this putrefaction of the erythrocytes the organism reacted with an increase in white blood corpuscles, with the development of large, macrophage-like white cells,² and with temperature rises, that is, with frequent lumination of the blood system, to overcome the orgonotic weakness.*

As always, orgone therapy became the touchstone of my hypothesis. If my hypothesis was correct, the application of orgone energy would eliminate the tendency to putrefaction in the erythrocytes and the corresponding manifestations. My expectation was confirmed. As early as one week after the beginning of orgone therapy, the blood culture was negative. The erythrocytes were smaller than before and there were fewer white blood cells in the field. The disintegration of the erythrocytes began after 3 to 5 minutes, and this time there were also T-spikes.

Two weeks after the beginning of the orgone therapy, the large cells with smooth plasma had disappeared, and after another three weeks the T-spikes and the over-radiation. Three weeks later, the T-reaction after autoclavation—which on first examination had been almost 100% positive—was only 10-20% positive. The blood picture was almost normal. In the course of the following year, blood tests were made about once a month. The culture reaction remained negative, the over-radiation and the increase in white cells did not recur. But the T-reaction after autoclavation continued, in the form of a greenish discoloration of the colloid and

² A diagnosis on the basis of a stained smear is not possible in these cases. What matters here is not the name or the structure of the various kinds of white blood corpuscles, but the living function of the grouping of red cells around white ones, and the orgonotic constitution of the living and the disintegrated blood cell.

in the form of disintegration into T-bodies. In the course of this year, the culture reaction in bouillon was once positive; this happened after the application of drugs by another physician.

The *fever attacks* from which our patient had suffered for so long had to be understood as a *reaction of the blood system to its own tendency to putrefaction*. The blood had reacted toward its own orgonotic weakness as it would react toward a toxicosis. The proof of this lies in the fact that the fever attacks disappeared together with the hyporgonia and the T-reaction of the blood. It remains for further investigations to determine whether what is called "*functional or cryptogenic fever*" always is due to a *lumination* of the blood cell system, that is, a defense reaction against the disturbance of vegetative functions. In this case, the blood system reacted precisely as it does in the case of an infection with bacteria.

The father of this patient had died of leukemia. For some time, the patient had suffered from a suspicious leukocytosis. At certain times of her functional fever, she had a leukocytosis up to 14,000. Her physician, too, had suspected some kind of latent leukemia, although the customary methods of examination provided nothing to substantiate this suspicion. Our blood tests left no doubt about the *cancerous* character of the blood picture. True, there were no circumscribed malignant tumors, but numerous precursors such as tumors of the ovaries, putrefaction of the uterus, etc.

Personally, I have no doubt that the patient would have died of leukemia if the orgone therapy had not been successful.

There was, then, a latent hyporgonia of the erythrocytes. The course of the orgone therapy showed how deeply rooted this hyporgonia was, for it gave way only very gradually and there was a great tendency to relapse. In other words, *she*

coherence of the plasma in the erythrocytes was weak, and the tendency to putrefaction correspondingly great.

The attacks of weakness did not cease with the re-establishment of the normal blood reaction, although they became much less frequent, of shorter duration, and did not force the patient to keep to her bed for months. The anorgonia, then, could not be ascribed exclusively to the bio-energetic weakness of the blood system. Apparently, the anorgonia can affect special organs and organ groups and thus create disturbances in the respective organ functions and give rise to local malignant growths. But, as this case shows, the anorgonia may also exist without tissue disturbances, that is, in a purely functional manner.

Our patient was able to eliminate every attack of weakness by using the orgone accumulator. Nevertheless, the tendency to anorgonia persisted for over two years after she had become well.

We are dealing here apparently with a *disturbance of the functioning of the total body orgone, independent* of any mechanical or physiological organ disturbances which may accompany the anorgonia. It is necessary to assume the existence of such a total and independent anorgonia.

Anorgonia is not identical with the condition of plasmatic contraction which we find in vascular hypertension; true, it may accompany or follow muscular and vascular hypertension, but it may also appear *without* hypertension.

Anorgonia is not identical with the carcinomatous shrinking process, either; although the shrinking, in the last analysis, always leads to anorgonia and death, anorgonia does not necessarily lead to the shrinking. I have observed anorgonotic conditions in cases where there was no question of shrinking of the autonomic life apparatus.

The hypertonia of the life apparatus has

to be thought of as a biophysical contraction which fights against vigorous impulses originating from the biological nucleus. Shrinking biopathy is accompanied by a *decrease* in the impulses from the nucleus; there is a *gradual* slackening of the pulsatory impulse functions.

In anorgonia, on the other hand, we are dealing with a *sudden* failure of motility, as in fright paralysis which most likely represents *acute* anorgonia in the purest form. All the cases described so far showed the acute anorgonia *alongside* the gradual shrinking process: Our first cancer patient collapsed in the laboratory at a time when she was getting well and was gaining weight. The patient with the cancer of the prostate also collapsed one day during the period of getting better. Our third case, too, was suddenly overcome by anorgonia at a time when he was visibly improving.

Fright paralysis and vegetative shock suggest what we are dealing with: It is a matter of a *sudden cessation of the plasmatic functioning of the total organism*. If the acute anorgonia includes the cardiovascular system, death occurs.

Our patient disclosed a part of the mechanism which is the basis of the block of plasmatic motility. She came to vegetotherapy for the elimination of the biopathic background of her latent leukemia. For several months she made excellent progress so that she almost forgot about her illness. Then one day, suddenly, the old disease picture returned in its full strength, as if nothing had been achieved in the meantime. This was precipitated by the occurrence of vigorous but strongly warded-off genital impulses. At the moment when these impulses announced themselves in the form of sensations of streaming in the vagina, there was orgasm anxiety and with that an anorgonotic state which lasted about 10 days and appeared quite alarming. This time, however, I was not hopelessly surprised. My

earlier experiences with cancer patients had prepared me for this occurrence and I was able to take the appropriate measures. In concentrated vegetotherapeutic work—the patient came daily—I tried to eliminate the acute anxiety reactions which made the patient shrink from the *full experiencing* of her genital sensations and which made it impossible for her to let the orgasm reflex take its course. A wealth of infantile experiences which now were remembered showed that her mother had threatened dire punishment for any activity which might cause genital excitation, such as dancing, and had called such behavior that of a “whore.”

I would like to stress this connection. It forms the key to an understanding not only of the biopathies in general, but to that of the shock-like anorgonia in especial. Needless to say, it is not a matter of the word “whore,” but of everything which it represents socially, psychically, structurally and biophysically: Slight genital impulses which can always be controlled and repressed are not considered “whore-like,” either by compulsive social moralism or by the armored structure. It is the vigorous natural impulse in the form of an *uncontrollable surge (lumination)* of the body plasma which is officially designated as immoral, criminal or “whore-like” and which is subjectively experienced as “loss of self-control.”

This fact has far-reaching social and biopsychiatric consequences. The terms “pleasure anxiety” or “orgasm anxiety” are too weak and narrow to designate the bio-energetic storms which take place in an organism which is still armored and yet experiences the full orgasmic plasma excitation. The consequences of this conflict between armoring and plasmatic orgasmic excitation are extremely serious. They are a matter of life and death, far from being harmless “clinical problems.” I hope I shall succeed in conveying the full seriousness of this fact.

It was again and again the anorgonotic paralysis which killed my cancer patients who were already on their way to health. The three first-described patients all died at a time when they came up against the natural orgasmic excitation and plasma stasis. In the fourth case, I succeeded in averting the disaster. The fifth case, to follow, will set the danger of anorgonia into even sharper focus.

In this patient, the first signs of the disease began between the ages of 12 and 14, that is, in early puberty. The first sign was a pulling pain in the left hip which, intermittently, lasted for several years. Somewhat later, there were attacks of pain in the chest which recurred at very frequent intervals for about 10 years. The diagnosis was “*pleuritis*.” An X-ray of the lungs taken at the age of 22 showed “*healed tuberculosis*.” At the age of about 13, generalized “*rheumatic and neuritic pains*” set in which, also intermittently, lasted for about 15 years. At the age of 12, a tonsil operation was done for “*tonsillar infection*.” At the age of 15, there was an inflammation of the salivary gland (parotitis). At the same time, the patient suffered from violent pains in her big toes which often took on a livid discoloration; apparently, a matter of *angiospastic* attacks. The patient had suffered from severe anxiety states since early childhood; at the age of about 19, these increased to acute attacks of violent palpitation. At the age of 15, she had an “*infection*” of the jaw and the roots of her teeth, as a result of which a large part of the lower jaw, with 9 teeth, was resected. Now, the diagnosis was “*osteomyelitis*.” Between the age of 16 and 20, there were various intestinal complaints, diarrhea alternating with constipation; also febrile periods and a general weakness and fatigability which continued up to the beginning of vegetotherapy.

At the age of 19, there was such an increase in the pain in both inguinal regions

that she was operated on, this time for “*appendicitis*.” After the operation, she suffered continuously from high temperatures which were accompanied by “*diarrhea*.” The attacks of diarrhea went with cold shivers. The condition ended in a “*nervous breakdown*.”

Between the ages of 21 and 26, she underwent a second tonsil operation because of “*inflammation and infection*”; also a diagnostic laparotomy “in order to find out what caused the pains.” The febrile temperatures continued. The diagnosis, again and again, was “*infection*.” Between the ages of 24 and 27, the findings of “*anemia*” and “*enlarged liver*” were made. For a time, there were intestinal hemorrhages with every act of defecation. Two years later, a hospital diagnosed “*amebic dysentery*” and she was operated on for “*hemorrhoids*.” At the age of 30, a third tonsil operation was done because of “*pus*.” A year later, the patient developed an increased urge to urinate. She was again operated on, this time because of “*multiple benign tumors*,” the body of the uterus and one ovary with a cyst were removed. Soon after this operation, “*gastric ulcers*” were diagnosed. Two years before the beginning of vegetotherapy, a pus-producing fistula opened in the middle of the abdomen.

The gynecological findings were as follows: Two finger introitus. Urethra, Bartholin's and Skene's glands free. Cervix in axis. Uterine stump freely movable, no stump exudate. Left adnexa cannot be felt, have apparently been extirpated at the time of the supracervical hysterectomy. The right tube is normal. The right ovary extremely small. Speculum examination shows severe inflammatory changes due to trichomonas infection in an atrophic vaginal mucosa. Of other physical signs I mention only the cystic mastitis.

The diagnosis of the gynecologist was “*dysfunction of the endocrine glands*” as the cause of the many infections.

Let us not go into the tragicomedy of this history of suffering. There is an infinite number of patients who, all their lives, go from physician to physician with their acute organic diseases, without being hypochondriac neurasthenics. Such patients receive not only different diagnoses on the basis of their different symptoms; also, different physicians treat one and the same symptom in various manners on the basis of different diagnoses. The mechanistic disaster in internal medicine is characterized by the fact that medical understanding has given way to diagnostic slogans, among which two stand out: "infection" and "dysfunction of the glands." Whether the knife or vitamins are used, the basis of the misery is always the use of mechanistic slogans. The bacillus "in the air" has become an imp no less than the chemical stuff in the endocrine gland. The knife in particular represents the extreme in the disastrous mechanistic view of the organism. One does not ask *why* it is that the ligaments in the parametrium become shortened, *why* it is that tumors develop in the uterus, *why* it is that "air bacilli" can settle in all kinds of organs; one blithely assumes an infection of the vagina with protozoa, although no such protozoa can be demonstrated "in the air"; in brief, the great medical discoveries concerning infection, internal secretion, etc., have been degraded into a ready-made scheme which not only blocks the way to new problems but which also destroys innumerable human lives. Is it reasonable to assume that this patient suffered from a dozen diseases? Certainly not. *In reality, she suffered from one single disturbance, a disturbance of the function of plasmatic pulsation.* The individual diagnoses are not important here. When the body plasma as a whole does not properly function, then there will be organs which are poorly charged, so that bacteria can settle in them; then the

glands of internal secretion will function poorly; then muscles will become chronically contracted so that they pull on ligaments; then the vaginal mucosa will undergo atrophy, etc.

Imagine a building contractor who, in the course of 20 years, makes the following findings in a house which was built on sand: cracks in the chimney and ceilings, warped floor, injury of a child by a falling lamp, break in a water pipe, and seepage of water through the walls. What would be done with a contractor to whom it would not occur that the house is built on unsafe ground and that this is the reason for all the disturbances? Yet, the mechanistic splitting up in the diagnosis of somatic diseases is in no way different from the procedure of this contractor. Mechanistic slogans like "infection," "grippe," etc., disguise the fact that the causative agent is neither known nor demonstrable. If, as a vegetotherapist, one sees colds, rheumatic pains, or pains in the pleura develop as soon as the respective part of the body becomes contracted, one must needs think of the possibility that infections may be the results of biopathic disturbances of function. This is an obscure field in which *everything* remains to be done. We will have to learn to consider the orgonity of the organism as at least as important in epidemics of cholera, typhoid, poliomyelitis, etc., as the specific micro-organism. Since it has been established as a fact that specific micro-organisms can develop *autogenously, through degeneration of body cells*, the "bacillus" takes its place in the general disease process as its *result* as well as its *cause*.

The tumors of the genital apparatus which necessitated the hysterectomy, and the tendency to tissue destruction through putrefaction, make this case similar to case 4. The attacks of fever and weakness point to a severe disturbance of the bio-

logical energy equilibrium. True, with the exception of the genital tumors, the precancerous symptoms were slight; nevertheless, they were marked enough to justify the contention that the patient would have died of full-blown carcinoma. Just as the psychiatric vegetotherapist assumes the development of a psychoneurosis when he sees acute anxiety attacks, so, in cancer pathology, can one foresee the development of a cancer biopathy when its precursors make their appearance. It will be one of the tasks of *cancer prevention* to recognize the precursors of the disease as early as possible and to eliminate them. This is possible by orgone therapy and vegetotherapy.

I shall now proceed to the patient's reactions in vegetotherapy: The thorax was immobile in the typical manner, respiration was shallow, the musculature of the neck tense, the spine lordotic, and the pelvis "dead." The facial expression was that of a grimace-like, stiff smile; it was not difficult to see a deep depression and impulses to cry behind this mask.

The dissolution of the superficial inhibition of respiration immediately resulted in body impulses composed of violently jerky, *pushing* motions. This pushing soon assumed the form of a hateful defense against a sexual attack, the face being distorted with hatred: *the orgasm reflex had assumed the function of expressing hatred of sexual motions.* Between the ages of 6 and 16, the patient had often been sexually abused by her older brothers. On these occasions, she had been excited and defensive at one and the same time. The excitation forced her again and again to allow it; the defense had become somatically anchored in the "pushing away." In this way, her orgasm reflex had assumed its special form.

I shall pass over the many details of the infantile history and confine myself

to the anorgonia. It is unimportant what early experiences caused the anorgonia, since there are *no specific* experiences which do so. Anorgonia is a purely biological reaction to a chronic block of the orgasm function. What is likely to be *specific* in anorgonia is the conflict between *very vigorous* natural genital impulses and equally *vigorous disruptions* in the course of the orgasm reflex. I would like to venture the assumption that children who do not develop a particularly strong genital orgonity will also tend less to anorgonotic states; this assumption, I would like to emphasize, is very tentative. But to return to our patient.

As long as the body contractions had a hateful character, the work proceeded in the usual manner. This changed, however, when the contractions became softer, more "giving in," and consequently *pleasurable*. To the extent to which the expression of hatred disappeared and the motions became pleasurable, the movement of the pelvis changed its direction. Previously, the pelvis would move *backwards* during the contraction, would "push away." Now, *forward* movements appeared in the pelvis. As was to be expected, preorgastic sensations soon appeared in the pelvic floor. At the same time the inflammation of the vaginal mucosa receded; microscopic examination of the vaginal secretion showed a reduction of the trichomonas parasites, most of which were immobile or even disintegrating. From then on I could see over a period of months how genital coldness went with an increased formation of protozoa, while, conversely, genital excitation went with a decrease in protozoa formation. This is fully in accord with the orgone-biophysical contention that protozoa form in the organism only in the case of orgonotic weakness in the respective organs, and that they disappear with strong orgonity. Since the trichomonas

protozoa develop from bionously disintegrating vaginal or cervix epithelium,* the relationship with the orgonotic potency of the tissue is understandable.

As long as the plasmatic currents in the vagina were weak, the course of treatment did not differ from the average. This changed, however, when the patient felt the first strong surge of sexual excitation. One day, she gave in more than usual, and a strong wave of excitation appeared in the lower part of the body. Suddenly, *she was unable to move or to talk; she did not answer when spoken to; she was unable to get up; there was a flaccid paralysis of the limbs.* The picture as a whole was alarming: The skin of the neck and the upper body was bluish and patchy as in vegetative shock. The body did not react to such stimuli as pinching. However, the patient was not unconscious; after the anorgonotic attack she related that everything around her had been "black," that suddenly she no longer felt her body and had thought she was "dying."

The attack corresponded to acute anorgonia. The reflexes, as well as tactile and pain perception, were present, but *motility was lost.* The anorgonia lasted for about 40 minutes. I helped the patient to sit up, but she sank back helplessly. After an hour she was able to get up by herself, with considerable effort; but when she did, *her knees collapsed.* After another hour of rest, she was finally able to go home by herself.

During the next session, the patient was again armored very strongly. When the armoring was loosened, the anorgonia recurred; this time, however, it was less intense and did not last so long. The patient described the attack as "fading out." From then on I was able to produce

the anorgonia at will; it was sufficient, for example, to move the head to the side or backwards to produce it.

It is important to note that these attacks were *not* accompanied by anxiety. Gradually, the connection between anorgonia and vegetative current became clear. One of the patient's defense mechanisms was that of a superficial jocularity which served to ward off serious feelings. Another mechanism was that of "going dead" when her emotions became too strong. The anorgonotic attack, then, represented a *third* mechanism.

The superficiality in the character and the affect-lameness represented the *superficial armoring*; the real *depth* mechanism was the anorgonia. In the course of the ensuing months, it became clear that the anorgonia had always been functioning, though subterraneously; it had resulted in the attacks of weakness as well as in the diverse suppurative processes. The anorgonia failed to occur when the patient let herself experience sexual excitation, and it recurred immediately when the excitation was not allowed full swing, when, in other words, it was arrested while increasing.

The anorgonia was accompanied by dizziness and falling anxiety. It would either develop "superficially," stretched out over days, as it were, or else "deeply," that is, acutely and in full force. As in case 4, the use of the orgone accumulator usually eliminated the attacks of weakness. The bringing about of the orgasm reflex, also, relieved it.

The mechanism of anorgonia in this case is completely in accord with that of the cases described earlier: *The organism reacts to a strong and unaccustomed plasma excitation with a block in motility which expresses itself in "weakness," "collapsing," "fading out," disturbance of equilibrium and falling anxiety. It is as if the orgonotic expansion would start but would not be able to take*

its full course, as if the impulse to expansion became suddenly extinguished.

In the course of the treatment, the patient remembered a number of childhood situations in which such attacks of weakness had occurred. For example, when she had the impulse to show her father affection, she would feel "as if paralyzed." The exploration of the details of this situation left no doubt that what paralyzed her was an extremely strong sexual excitation which started to break through. The father was a hard, cold person, which seemed to make the sensation of sexual currents in his presence a horrendous occurrence. *Her paralysis expressed the helplessness of the child which wanted to express love without being able to prevent the physical sensation which accompanies the expression of love.* The result was a block in motility and an attack of weakness.

It was even possible to localize the block of motility: When the orgasm reflex became more intense and spread from the thorax to the abdomen, the patient developed a peculiar reflex action: *She literally collapsed below the umbilicus; the legs were pulled up rapidly, the upper part of the body jerked forward; both hands grabbed for the lower abdomen as if in pain.* Gradually it became clear—and *palpation of the abdomen confirmed it*—that the wave of orgonotic excitation, on its way to the genital, became stopped by a spasm of the intestines. This took place *precisely at the place where the suppurative fistula had broken through the abdominal wall.* (The fistula had healed in the meantime under orgone treatment). It is clear, then, that the abdominal organs became spastic as soon as waves of excitation moved toward the genital. This is how her abdominal pains, her colics, diarrhea and constipation had originated. What is less clear is the histological mechanism by which such spasms produce tumors in the uterus or the intestines.

However, the causation of benign genital tumors by spastic conditions of the abdominal organs cannot be doubted.

In the course of two weeks of hard work on this block in the lower abdomen, the condition ceased. The orgasm reflex was no longer jerky but became soft; soon there occurred the typical "melting" sensations of current in the lower abdomen and the patient, for the first time in her life, experienced preorgastic sensations of current in the genital during the sexual act. With the elimination of the block in motility, the acute anorgonotic attacks disappeared also, though the mild, stretched-out states of weakness continued to persist.

In this way, therapy confirmed the concept of anorgonia.

The anorgonotic paralysis is now satisfactorily defined, symptomatologically and dynamically. It comprises those conditions which heretofore led a Cinderella existence in pathology under the name of "functional paralyses." They now become understandable as disturbances in the functioning of a concrete biological energy, instead of as "hysterical" or mechanical lesions of the nerve tracts.

What is more difficult is the differentiation of the anorgonia which *results from gradual plasmatic shrinking* from the anorgonia which sets in acutely. *Does anorgonia consist in a loss of organismic orgone, or merely in a block of motility of undiminished orgone?* Mild anorgonotic states of weakness are easily distinguished from acute attacks of anorgonia. The principle must be assumed to be the same in either case. We must assume that anorgonia of the type of acute attacks can develop into a chronic shrinking process; and that, conversely, chronic anorgonia can end in acute functional paralysis. The organism may resign and finally shrink if its impulses to expansion cannot function; and it can cease to expand when the organism is subjected to gradual orgone

* The organization of *Trichomonas vaginalis* from the vaginal epithelium has been demonstrated microscopically and recorded on movie film.

loss. The common denominator is, biophysically speaking, the inhibition of the function of expansion, or, psychologically speaking, the inhibition of the pleasure experience.

The next question is the following: How far back does this disturbance reach in the developmental history of the organism? In all 5 cases we were able to find traces of anorgonia, slight and transitory attacks, as far back as early childhood. *The origin of anorgonia cannot be set at too early a period.* It is likely that the functions of the body orgone acquire their characteristics in the course of fetal development. This does not by any means imply "heredity"; it simply shifts the problem to the period before and shortly after birth. It is important to remember that the constitution of an organism results from a development, that it does not exist, "ready-made"; furthermore, it has to be assumed that the development of the biophysical constitution lasts beyond birth to about the end of the first year of life.

Just as the prevention of disease cannot be started early enough, so must the study of the biophysical constitution go back as far as to the formation of the embryo. This is made possible, in principle, by our knowledge of many functions of the orgone.

Scientific progress is based on the reduction of empirical facts to primary causes and on the progressive unification of these causes. Freud's psychopathology considerably reduced the importance of the imp, "heredity," by his discovery of early infantile libidinal development. The findings of psychoanalysis are based on observations of children up to the age of about two.

Orgone research goes beyond this. Vegetotherapy of schizophrenic characters leaves no doubt that the central mechanisms of a later schizophrenia are established within the first few weeks of life.

To learn more about this is of vital importance. The language of motility, the organ language and the language of emotional expression used in vegetotherapy is, phylogenetically and ontogenetically, older than the language of the word and of the idea which forms the tool of depth psychology. Unlike the language of the word and the idea, the language of bodily expression does not begin at a certain age and is not restricted to the human animal. The language of bodily expression is a function of the animal world in general, even though we have not yet learned to understand it. In this way, living functioning becomes accessible to orgone physics before the first year of life in the human, and in the animal generally, for emotion and motor expression are based on plasma pulsation.

I shall postpone an exposition of the results of experimental vegetotherapy in schizophrenics until another time, and shall conclude this report on anorgonia with a description of the expressive language of a newborn child. It will be shown that the early beginnings of anorgonia are in fact to be looked for in the period before and after birth.

Falling anxiety in an infant of 3 weeks

Recently, I had an occasion to observe the development of falling anxiety in an infant of 3 weeks. This observation filled a gap which the study of cancer biopathy had left open.

This infant was born into an environment in which the expressive language of the organism is professionally understood and handled. For this reason, it was all the more baffling that the parents felt helpless in the face of the infant's gesture language; during the first few weeks, they felt that one knows practically nothing about the emotional life of the newborn. Purely mechanical care, it goes without saying, does in no way satisfy the emotional needs of the infant. He pos-

sesses only one form of expressing needs, that is, crying. This one form covers innumerable small and great needs, from the pressure of a diaper crease to colic. The expressive language of the infant finds no response in the environment.

I shall not go into any of those injurious methods of infant care which modern education has effaced, or is still trying to efface, from the earth: rigid allotment of food quantity and of feeding time as instituted by Pirquet, violent extension of the legs by tight swaddling, as was customary some 30 years ago, denial of the breast during the first 24 hours, as still practised in many hospitals, overheating of the nurseries, the mechanical routine handling of infants in large institutions, the "letting them cry themselves out," etc. Such measures of force are the expression of a life-inimical attitude on the part of parents and physicians. They do lasting damage to the biological self-regulation of the organism shortly after birth and lay the basis for a later psychoneurosis which is then misinterpreted as hereditary. All these things are already common knowledge today although not yet common practice in infant care.

I shall confine myself here to one definite harmful influence during the first few weeks of life which has hitherto been neglected: *The lack of orgonotic contact between mother and infant.* This lack of contact may be of a direct physical or it may be of a psychic nature. It goes without saying that the infant's language of emotional expression will be the better understood the fuller the orgonotic contact.

The pre-eminent place of contact of the infant's body is the bio-energetically highly charged mouth and throat. This organ immediately reaches out for gratification. If, now, the mother's nipple reacts to the sucking movements in the proper biophysical manner with pleasure sensations, it becomes vigorously erect,

and the orgonotic excitation of the nipple combines into a unit with that of the infant's mouth, just as in the orgasmic sexual act male and female genital luminate and fuse orgonotically. There is nothing "peculiar" or "repulsive" in this. Every healthy mother experiences the sucking pleasurable and gives herself over to the experience.

There is the other fact, however, that about 80% of all women suffer from vaginal anesthesia and frigidity. Corresponding to this fact, their nipples are either anorgonotic, that is, "dead," or the mother reacts to the pleasurable sensations which the sucking arouses in the breast with anxiety or disgust. This is the reason why so many women refuse to nurse their own babies. This situation has further consequences. An anorgonotic breast functions poorly physiologically, that is, the milk production is disturbed. As a result, the excited mouth of the infant either meets a "dead" nipple so that he fails to get satisfaction, or the mother, because of her phobia of nursing, relegates the infant to the non-excitabile rubber nipple of the bottle.

The emotional disturbances of the vegetative currents in the mouth, neck and shoulder regions which one finds in the biopathies leave no doubt that these defects on the part of the mother result in a severe damage to the orgonity of head and neck. Speech disturbances, emptiness of emotional expression, eating disturbances, spastic hysterical vomiting, fear of kissing, depression, stuttering, mutism and similar disturbances are an expression of the poor orgonotic function of the mouth and throat.

So much about the first physiological contact of the infant with the world.

We shall proceed now to the emotional contact, which is determined directly by the orgonotic contact. The infant has no other means of expression than the various forms of motion (grimaces, move-

ments of arms, legs and torso, expression of eyes) and the crying. The contact of the mother with the infant is governed not by language but by the motor expression: the adult perceives the infant's motor expression through organotic contact (psychologically speaking, by identification). If the adult's own motor expression functions well, he will also comprehend the infant's expression. If, on the other hand, he is armored, hard in his character, pleasure-shy or otherwise inhibited, then his understanding of the infant is severely limited, which will inevitably impair the emotional development of the child in various ways. The need of the infant can be satisfied only if one understands the infant's expression. It is not always easy to know immediately what the infant wants.

Every newborn has its own characteristics, its own *basic trait*; without understanding this one cannot understand its individual emotional reactions. The infant in question was characterized by an "earnest looking." This "looking expression" was fully developed a few minutes after birth: the newborn baby looked with his eyes wide open and with the expression of seeing. He took to the breast immediately and sucked vigorously. In the first week, he cried very little. In the second week he cried much, and the people around him were unable to understand the reason for the crying. The pacifier did not always pacify. I often had the impression that the child wanted *something definite* but I did not know *what*. Only two weeks later did I understand that what he wanted was *bodily contact*. This I will have to explain in some detail.

During the few hours in which the baby was awake he would follow with his eyes the red, moving lines painted on the wall of his room. He distinctly preferred the red to the blue or green color: his gaze would remain longer on the red,

and the expression of looking was more intense.

At the age of two weeks, the infant had his first orgasmic excitation of the mouth region. This occurred while he was nursing: the eyeballs turned upwards and sidewise, the mouth began to tremble, as did the tongue; the contractions spread over the whole face; they took about 10 seconds, after which the musculature of the face relaxed. To the parents, this manifestation seemed only natural. But we know from practice that many parents get frightened when the mouth orgasm occurs in their child. During the next four weeks, this orgasm of the facial musculature occurred several times more.

At the end of the third week of life, there was an acute *falling anxiety*. It occurred when the child was taken out of the bath and put on his back on the table. It was not immediately clear whether the motion of laying him down had been too fast, or whether the cooling of the skin had precipitated the falling anxiety. At any rate, the child *began to cry violently, pulled back his arms as if to gain support, tried to bring his head forward, showed intense anxiety in his eyes and could not be calmed down.* It was necessary to take him up again. At the next attempt to put him down, the falling anxiety appeared again, in the same intensity. Only when taken up did he again calm down.

During the next day, the right shoulder blade and the right arm were found to be pulled back and less mobile than the left arm. There was a definite contraction in the musculature of the right shoulder. The connection between this contraction and the falling anxiety was clear: *During the anxiety attack, the child had pulled back both shoulders, as if to gain a hold.* This muscular attitude persisted now even in the periods free of anxiety.

I believe this happening to be of great

significance. In trying to explain it, we must first exclude several things:

It could not be a matter of genital orgasm anxiety as in patients after puberty. Neither could it be a rational fear, for an infant of three weeks' age has no concept of "falling," of "high and deep." Nor could it be a *psychoneurotic* falling anxiety, for before the development of *word* language there are no concepts, and without concepts there can be no phobia.

The psychoanalytic explanation of "instinct anxiety" which is used in such cases is unsatisfactory, for we would have to ask *which kind of an instinct was ward off?* There is at this age no moral ego, and, according to psychoanalytic theory, there can be no instinct anxiety unless there is a moral defense present. The anxiety cannot be a "danger signal of the ego" because there is no "ego."

Rationalistic as well as psychological interpretations, then, leave us in the lurch. *How can an acute anxiety attack come about in a child three weeks of age if there is neither a consciousness of a danger of falling nor a defensive anxiety signal of the ego?* We certainly will not take recourse to the assumption of an "archaic, inborn instinct anxiety"; that would be too easy and would not mean anything. *An anxiety attack is a functional disturbance and can be understood only from the organotic body functions.*

Let us attempt a biophysical interpretation: If it is not a matter either of a fear of danger or a defense against an instinct, there remains nothing but the *pleasure-anxiety mechanism of the organotic body system*, a mechanism which, as we know, begins to function with the first plasmatic motion. In my monograph, *PSYCHISCHER KONTAKT UND VEGETATIVE STRÖMUNG* (1934)⁸ I assumed that *the sensation of falling comes about purely biophysically*

through a sudden withdrawal of the biological energy to the vegetative center. It is a matter of a kinesthetic organ sensation as it occurs with actual falling, in fright and with sudden inhibition of orgasmic expansion. As I have shown clinically, *orgasm anxiety* is always based on *falling anxiety*; the rapid and extreme pulsation in the orgasm is experienced as *falling if the pulsation cannot take its course freely.* In contrast, the free, uninhibited orgasmic contraction conveys the sensation of *floating or flying.*

Now, the withdrawal of bio-energy from the body periphery means an anorgonia of the extremities; the anorgonia of the supporting organs goes with loss of the feeling of equilibrium.

Falling anxiety, thus, is not a "psychic formation" but the simple expression of a sudden anorgonia in those organs which maintain the body equilibrium by *opposing* the force of gravitation. Whether falling anxiety and anorgonia are precipitated by sudden orgasm anxiety, by actual falling or by a fright contraction, the mechanism is always the same: *loss of peripheral plasma motility, and with that loss of the feeling of equilibrium and of equilibrium itself.* The experience of anxiety is an automatic biophysical result of the sudden contraction of the plasma system. However, the organotic contraction goes with *loss of plasma motility in the periphery*, and for this reason expresses itself as fear of *falling.*

The effect is, of course, the same whether the immobilization takes place as a result of a secondary pleasure block or as a result of a primary anxiety contraction: *the sensation of falling is the immediate inner perception of the immobilization of the body periphery, of the loss of equilibrium.* It follows that the equilibrium of a body in the field of gravitation is a function of the full organotic pulsation in the periphery of the organotic system.

⁸ Editor's note: Soon to be published in English as an appendix to the author's book, *CHARACTER-ANALYSIS*.

At this point, I must mention an observation which supports this interpretation: A boy whom I knew had caught a squirrel which he held in his hand. I was struck by the fact that the squirrel lay there in the hand completely flaccid; it did not move, or fight or bite: it was *paralyzed with fright*, it had an *acute anorgonotic attack*. After a few minutes, the boy put it down on the ground. At first, it continued to lie there immobile, as if dead. Then it tried to get up, but fell down again; in terms of physics, it was not able to overcome the pull of gravity. These attempts to get on its legs were continued for about 15 minutes, without success. It was not injured, for later on it was perfectly able to run and climb. The disturbance of equilibrium and the continued falling down increased the anxiety, which in turn led to further falling down. For some minutes, the whole body convulsed in sudden contractions which were so violent that it was thrown into the air as high as several inches. Finally it recovered from the attack and retreated to some bushes; after having rested there for a long time, it ran off.

But to return to our infant. Can we surmise the cause of the anorgonotic attack? I think we can.

As I mentioned before, for a period of about two weeks the *orgonotic contact of the mother with the baby was poor*; apparently, the baby had strong impulses toward contact which remained ungratified. Then occurred the orgasm of the mouth region, in other words, a perfectly natural discharge took place of the high-pitched excitation of the head and throat region. This increased the need for contact even further. The lack of contact led to a contraction, to a withdrawal of biological energy as a result of unsuccessful attempts to establish contact. If it were permissible to use psychological terms here, one would say that the child "resigned," that it was

"frustrated." The "biological resignation" led to anorgonia and with that to falling anxiety. I may remind the reader of case 5, in which the same mechanism governed the biopathy.

My attempts to master the falling anxiety in the infant were successful. If my conclusions were correct, three things were required:

1. *The child had to be taken up and held when he cried. This helped.* After three more weeks, the falling anxiety no longer occurred. With the falling anxiety, a fear of strange people had also appeared. Before the first attack of falling anxiety, the child had always liked to be taken up by strangers; after the attack, he would become anxious and would cry when somebody tried to take him up. He also had once reacted with anxiety to a dog which appeared unexpectedly.

2. *The shoulders had to be brought gently forward out of their backward fixation in order to eliminate this first beginning of a characterological armoring in the shoulders.* Playfully, with laughter and sounds which the baby loved, I moved both shoulderblades forward; this was done daily for about 2 months, always in a playful manner.

3. *It was necessary actually to "let the child fall" in order to accustom him to the sensation of falling. This also was successful.* Holding the child under the armpits, I would lift him and then lower him, slowly at first, then increasingly quickly. At first, the child reacted with crying but soon he began to enjoy it. He even developed a kind of game from it: he made "walking" movements with his legs. He leaned against my chest and looked up toward my head. I understood what he wanted: to *crawl up on me*; arrived above my head, he would squeal with pleasure. In the succeeding weeks, the climbing up and "falling" became a much-beloved game.

The first biopathic reaction had happily

been overcome. During the ensuing 6 months, no trace of falling anxiety could be detected.

It is important to follow the development of this infant over a terrain which has an *immediate* connection with biopathic shrinking: *If the carcinomatous shrinking of the adult organism has its roots in a chronic contraction and resignation acquired at an early time, it follows that the prevention of the shrinking biopathy is a matter of an undisturbed development of the life impulses during the first few months of life.* True, it would be simpler and more acceptable if a drug could be discovered against the carcinomatous shrinking process. Since this is not possible, the problem is and remains that of a *sex-economic upbringing of infants*. There is, as far as I can see, no other way. As we know, this has serious social consequences.

Our starting point was the lack of understanding on the part of the adults for the expressive language of the newborn. This lack is deep and quite general. The parents of our infant believed themselves to be very understanding when they let their child determine himself when he should be fed and how much he should get. As early as the fourth week of life, they noticed that the child was restless, which expressed itself in frequent crying. At first, they did not understand. Gradually, the simple insight dawned on them that it is indeed extremely boring to lie in a crib or carriage alone, many hours each day, for months on end, with high walls to the crib on both sides, and a roof above.

The aliveness of the newborn requires aliveness of the environment. I mean aliveness not only in the expressive language of the adult, but *movement in the strict sense of the word*. The infant prefers alive colors to dull ones, and moving objects to stationary ones. If the infant is placed in a higher position so that the walls of

the carriage do not obstruct the view and if one removes the roof, the infant can observe his environment; he will show glowing interest in people who pass by, in trees, shrubs, posts, walls, etc.

The concept of the "autism of the infant," of his "being withdrawn into himself," is widespread. Nevertheless, it is *erroneous*: the autism of the infant is an *artifact* resulting from the behavior of the adults; it is *artificially produced* by the strict isolation of the infant and by the character armoring of the persons who take care of the child as well as of the theorists of nursing. It is understandable that the infant will not reach out toward the world if the environment does not meet him with alive warmth but only with rigid rules and spurious behavior.

It is true that today most newborn infants are quiet and withdrawn. But is lordosis or anxiety neurosis natural merely because it is so widespread in occurrence?

As long as parents, physicians and educators approach infants with spurious, stiff behavior and rigid concepts, with dignity and condescension instead of with *orgonotic* contact, so long will infants be quiet, withdrawn, apathetic, "autistic," "queer," and will they later be "wild little animals" which, the cultivated ones feel, must be "tamed."

All the political talk notwithstanding, this world will not change as long as the adults cannot cease to let their own deadness take effect on the still unspoiled plasma system of the infant.

An infant does not respond with any expression either to sweetish "baby talk" or to the strict language of the adult. *He responds only to an intonation of the voice, to the pitch of a voice and to a language which corresponds to his own nature, things with which he can establish a connection through his expressive language.* It is possible to evoke in an infant of a few weeks vivid pleasure and lively

responses if one talks to him in *his* guttural sounds, if one makes *his* motions, if one has, above all, a lively contact oneself. Spurious behavior on the part of the adult inevitably forces the child back into himself. The fact cannot be emphasized enough that in this respect 90% of the people in general are still deaf and blind, thus creating biopathic constitutions day in and day out.

Disturbances of inner secretion and of the so interesting enzyme functions are *results* and *symptoms*, and *not* the causes of the later diseases of the biosystem. This must be correct if the mechanico-chemical standpoint of biology is incorrect—and it is incorrect. That is proved by the deplorable state of general health everywhere on our planet.

We should not be too surprised at the East-Indian, Japanese or any other kind of Asiatic authoritarian upbringing of small children. In fact, with us, in the "cultured West," it does not look much better. Only the methods of "taming the wild little animals" are different. The old-spinster spirit which does not tolerate anything alive around it is the same. In another 20 or 50 years it will be a matter of course that those who take care of children experience love themselves, and that their organism must know the orgasmic sensation and contraction if they are to understand an infant. Today, this may still sound exaggerated; that does not alter the truth of the everyday observation that orgasmically impotent educators form the greatest danger for the development of the child's organism.

The "autism" of the infant, then, his quietness, pallor, his being withdrawn, are an artifact of education, a product of his total social misery. Soon, it will be realized that such disturbances as diarrhea, whooping cough, etc., also belong here. This is not far-fetched: if the intestinal function is of a vegetative nature—and it is—then the emotional, that is, orgone-

biophysical faulty development of the infant must play a decisive role also in such things as diarrhea, pallor, anemia and so on. It would be senseless to object here by pointing to the "social misery," for this social misery itself, in the last analysis, is a result of the rigidity of the animal, man, of a world which has ample resources for wars, but never sufficient resources—even amounting to a minimal fraction of what is expended in the war in one day—for the securing of living functioning. That is so because these shipwrecked, rigid human beings have no understanding of living functioning, only fear of it. In addition, no other kind of social misery can compare with the misery suffered by infants of biopathic parents.

It is a widespread misbelief that such functions as grasping, crawling and walking "are suddenly there," ready-made as if fallen from the sky. It is assumed that the child "simply" starts to grasp at the age of x weeks, to crawl at y weeks, and to walk at z weeks. One must marvel that the pediatricians have not yet worked out a schedule of the number of steps a child has to take every day, in the manner in which they worked out the number of daily calories. An alive, erogenous functioning nipple, a warm, contactful embrace of the infant beats any chemical prescription in stimulating digestion and the total body functioning. If there is contact between the infant and an understanding, warm, environment, then—and only then—can one observe *natural* processes, instead of artificial products of a pathological upbringing. Not until the educators are sexually healthy will the scientific statements about children be correct. A day should, and will, come when a statement will be judged according to the character structure of him who makes it just as today it is judged according to the elegance of the style or as a surgeon is judged by the technical skill of his hand.

As I just said, the framework for correct observations has first to be created:

If the orgonotic contact is present, *one sees the various functions appear in the infant long before their "goal" is present.* The eye, for example, establishes contact with the moving fist; the motions of closing the hand develop long before the child really grasps an object. This has nothing to do with "grasping reflexes" thought of in a mechanical way. *The goal-conscious grasping develops gradually through the coordination of many diverse functions, that is, a coordination of the motions of previously uncoordinated organs.* It is the contact of the eye movement with a pleasurable movement in the environment which gives rise to goal-directed seeing. Once the act of seeing is established, the function, which now is already complicated, seeks new pleasurable objects. Unpleasurable stimuli, which lead to contraction, do not form an act of seeing. It is all the unpleasure and anxiety which our infants experience which later lead to "dull eyes," "myopia," spasm of the lids and with that to a "dead" expression in the eyes.

What, in the face of these facts, is one to think of the mechanistic misconception that "seeing is the answer of the retina to a light ray"? Undoubtedly, it is that; but the reaction of the retina is merely a vehicle, a means of seeing. *Is the dancing of a child "merely" the contact of the feet with the floor or "merely" such and such a succession of muscular contractions?* Such questions disclose the emptiness of all mechanistic explanations of life.

The child looks at one in a different way when one smiles at him, and differently when one frowns at him. *What matters, then, is the motor expression of the plasma action, and not individual stimuli, reactions or muscle contractions.* The light ray which hits the retina always represents the same process of definite wave lengths. Nevertheless, the infant's

eyes may be dull or shiny. This depends on the *turgor of the tissue*, which is increased by pleasure and decreased by anxiety.

If one has good contact with the infant one can develop the functions. At the age of about 14 weeks, the infant in question would make motions of walking, in a lying position, when I came near him, indicating that he wanted to "walk." He would shout with joy when I held him under the arms, letting him put down his feet rhythmically on the floor, so that he was "moving along." During this, he would look along the walls or the ceiling as if to convince himself that "locomotion" really took place, that is, that the objects moved past him.

Infants go through a phase of development characterized by vigorous activity of the voice musculature. The pleasure in shouting and the formation of various sounds is regarded as a pathological aggressivity by a great many parents. Accordingly, the infants are admonished to be "quiet," not to shout, etc. With that, the impulses of the voice apparatus are inhibited, its muscles become chronically contracted, and the child becomes quiet, "well-behaved" and withdrawn. The results of such mistreatment soon become obvious in the form of eating disturbances, general apathy, pallor of the face, etc. We must assume that retardation of speech and speech disturbances are caused in this manner. In the adult, we find the result of such mistreatment in the form of spasms of the throat. What seems particularly typical is the automatic constriction of the glottis and the deep muscles of the throat, a contraction which inhibits the aggressive impulses in head and neck. Clinical experience demonstrates that one must let children "cry themselves out" when the shouting is a pleasurable activity. Many parents will find this inconvenient. But in deciding problems of education our concern must be *exclusively*

the interests of the child and not those of the adults.

I trust to make it clear where I see the problem of the prevention of biopathic shrinking processes: *In the dependency of psychic and physico-chemical functions on the bio-emotional activity of the organism in the earliest phases of development.* Here, and only here, will one also have to look for a solution, and not in drugs or cultural theories of sublimation.

I emphasized the dependency of the psychosomatic functions on the *bio-energetic functions of plasma pulsation. Lively pulsatory activity from birth is the only conceivable means against chronic contraction and premature shrinking.*

Bio-energetic pulsation is a function which depends entirely on the stimuli from and the contacts with the environment. The character structures of the parents form the main part of this environment from the moment of birth. *In particular, the maternal organism plays the role of environment from the formation of the embryo until birth.*

I should like to talk now about the insights we have into the *prenatal* development of the organism. They are meager and not decisive. Much more has to be learned before we can make a breach into the obscure problem of heredity. But the notes to follow are at least a beginning which may lead to further observations.

If we assume the beginning of a shrinking biopathy to take place in the phase of *embryonic development*, the first question is that of the influence on the fetus of the maternal blood, of the orgonity of her organism and in particular the bio-energetic state of the maternal genital organs.

The contractions of the chicken embryo as they have been demonstrated on movie film confirm the clonic-pulsatory nature of embryonic growth. *The vitality of an embryo is expressed in these contractions.* The bladder form itself indicates that what is at work here are the typical bio-

energetic functions of protoplasmic protrusion as they are most easily studied in flowing amoebae. We must assume that a freely contractile uterus which is capable of contractions represents a far more favorable environment for the embryo than a spastic and anorgonotic uterus. Not only is the circulation of blood and body fluids more complete, and with that, the energy metabolism more rapid in a strongly orgonotic uterus; *the chargeability of the maternal tissue is transferred to that of the embryo which, after all, forms only a functional part of the uterine mucosa.*

Thus it becomes understandable why the children of orgasmically potent women are so much more vital than those of frigid and armored women, a fact which is corroborated by everyday observation. What is customarily called "heredity of temperament" is essentially nothing but the effect of the maternal tissue on the embryo. In this manner, we gain for the first time access to a corner of the gigantic problem of the "heredity of character." Since the emotional functions are determined by the orgonotic energy function, it follows that the basic character is, to begin with, only a greater or lesser energy activity; in other words, *the temperament is an expression of the degree of pulsatory activity of the orgonotic body system.*

The "heredity factor," then, becomes tangible, in principle, as a quantitative energy factor. Naturally, a system rich in energy will not as easily resign as one poor in energy. It follows that the energy weakness of an embryo is determined by the energy weakness of the maternal genital organs. Energy weakness may be thought of quantitatively as a decrease in orgonity, or functionally as a decreased pulsatory activity of the plasma. It must be assumed that the decrease in plasma pulsation in the embryo can secondarily lead to anorgonia. That is, the embryo need not be

originally anorgonotic, even though the parents may suffer from a decreased orgone energy metabolism. We must assume both possibilities: *original* anorgonia in the embryo, or *secondary* anorgonia as a result of anorgonia in the maternal genital apparatus.

Let us follow this train of thought further. It remains, of course, for concrete observations to correct or amplify what is obscure here.

The embryo participates in the orgasmic contraction of the uterus during the sexual act of the parents. The physiological and anatomical situation being what it is, this cannot be otherwise. The maternal orgasm during pregnancy extends to the embryo in the form of contractions. *Before birth there are growth contractions* which, bio-energetically, cannot be distinguished from orgasmic contractions. To these are added, the orgasmic contractions which are aroused by the maternal orgasm. If there is, in addition, a high orgonity of the maternal organism before pregnancy, we have a picture of *favorable* bio-energetic conditions for the orgonity of the embryo. Hand in hand with this goes the genital character structure of the parents which later continues to develop, in the realm of *psychic* development, what the bio-energetic function has established in the embryo and continues to maintain later on. *After birth*, there is an independent orgasm of the head and neck regions in the newborn.

Since high orgonity causes vigorous expansive instinctual activity, a prevention of anorgonia is established. The development of a cancer shrinking biopathy or of anorgonia has become unlikely even though not impossible; for unfortunate experiences in later life may force even the most vigorous life apparatus into resignation and shrinking.

To return to our infant: The movements of the embryo were extraordinarily vigorous beginning from the fifth

month of pregnancy; so vigorous as to cause the mother pain quite frequently. The obstetrician also noted that the heart sounds were extraordinarily strong. In spite of a difficult delivery (first pregnancy, premature rupture of the bag of waters, 20 hours of labor) there was no asphyxia at birth. To the end of the pregnancy, the blood of the mother was strongly orgonotic and completely free of T-bacilli.

To summarize: *High orgonity and orgasmic potency of the parents, absence of anorgonia of the uterus, absence of T-bacilli and CO₂-excess in the blood—these are the biosocial prerequisites for a strong orgonity of the child in the embryonic stage.*

Conversely, *orgasmic impotence of the parents, anorgonia of the uterus, disturbed tissue respiration, T-bacilli in the blood, hyporgonia of the blood, and vegetative armoring—these are the disturbances of functioning which have now become tangible as causing a later anorgonia in the child.*

With that, the mechanistic and mystical theory of heredity has lost another piece of its ground to *functional* pathology. It is no longer a matter of a "hereditary disposition to cancer" which is beyond our control; it is a matter of life functions which can be influenced, a matter of energy quantities and of disturbances of pulsation. These disturbances, it is true, create a tendency to anorgonia, but this tendency must not of necessity develop; favorable circumstances in later life may render the original damage innocuous. The living is very adaptable; it adapts to favorable as well as to poor conditions of life.

Orgone biophysics considers the period from the formation of the embryo to about the end of the first year of life the "critical period" in which the "constitution of the system of orgonotic functioning" is established. The core of this "con-

stitution" is determined by the amount of orgonity and of the ability of the tissues to pulsate; these factors determine the extent of vegetative impulse motility.

If we see the termination of embryonic development not at birth but at the time when all biological functions become coordinated into a unitary *biosystem*, at the age of about 10 to 12 months, we have before us the critical span which determines the later bio-energetic functioning. The critical period of "psychic" development lies between the third and fifth year of life; its outcome is largely determined by the outcome of the *biophysically* critical earlier period. This biophysically critical period contains the solution to the riddle that, in every vegetotherapeutic treatment, after the working through of the pathological mechanisms, an *intangible* something remains: an unalterable hopelessness in general life activity, a resigned quietness, an irritability, in one word, what classical psychiatry calls "inborn disposition."

Many aspects of falling anxiety and anorgonia remain obscure. Neither anxiety nor anger are pathological manifestations of the life system. It is only natural that a child should experience anxiety when it falls or is attacked by a dog; only natural that the infant should express anger when its needs are not satisfied.

But falling anxiety is more than a fear of danger. It can occur long before there is any consciousness of danger. It is connected with rapid contractions of the life apparatus, is, in fact, produced by them. Just as actual falling causes biological contraction, so does contraction, conversely, cause the sensation of falling. We understand now why a *contraction* with orgasmic *expansion* results in falling anxiety, and why falling anxiety appears when the muscular armor is broken down and the first plasmatic currents make themselves felt. *A contraction in the course of a plasmatic expansion disturbs the sensation of*

equilibrium. But something remains unexplained. Let us try to define it, even though we cannot find a solution.

A basic function of the living organotic system is that it must oppose and overcome the pull of gravitation. The *dead* stalk of a plant is completely subject to the force of gravitation. The *living* stalk grows in a direction *opposite* to gravitation. (It goes without saying that this cannot be due to mechanical tension alone, for a *dead* stalk, even if full of water, remains lying, does not become erect). The flight of birds is based on the overcoming of gravitation. The erect gait of man requires a tremendous amount of balance *against* the pull of gravitation. We know that this balance fails when the unitary character of the motor functions is somehow disturbed. This motor disturbance may be of a purely mechanical nature as in the case of an injury to a leg or in tabes (locomotor ataxia); but it may also be of a *functional* nature. Anorgonia of the total body or of essential body organs means a disturbance of balance, and with that a tendency to fall and corresponding falling anxiety. Up to this point, it is clear. But the expression of falling anxiety in an infant of three weeks, precipitated by a cooling of the skin, remains somehow obscure. True, there is the function of rapid vascular contraction, but the *experience* of falling is lacking. Whence the *expression* of the falling anxiety? Recourse to a "phylogenetic experience" does not explain anything, for the phylogenetic experience must become effective in some *actual* anchoring. There is no memory function without an actual mechanism.

Here we have to renounce the ambition to understand *everything* about anorgonia and falling anxiety. For the time being, we shall be satisfied with the understanding of the *connection between the block of organotic pulsation on the one hand and the loss of the feeling of the organs and of equilibrium on the other.* The connec-

tion between orgonity and anorgonia on the one hand and gravitation on the other hand is obvious. In a state of anorgonia, the members are "heavy," motion takes place only with great effort. In the state of high orgonity, on the other hand, one feels "light," as if "floating." Such linguistic expressions are to be taken literally and seriously. *In anorgonia, less biological energy is free and active; the inert mass of the organism becomes greater, that is, heavier, in relation to the active energy which has to move the body. In a state of high orgonity, more bio-energy is free and active, and in relation to it the mass of the organism becomes lighter.* We are dealing with a genuine,

alterable relationship between mass and energy in the biosystem.

This is as far as we can go at the present—unless we were again to take recourse to the metaphysical imp which is alleged to act, think, feel and react in the background of living functioning. That would lead nowhere. Let us wait for a better opportunity to finally comprehend this obscure remainder. For the time being, it is sufficient to have comprehended how early and in what organotic functions the carcinomatous shrinking process with its anorgonia has its beginnings.

Concluded October 1944

SOME MECHANISMS OF THE EMOTIONAL PLAGUE*

By WILHELM REICH, M.D.

The term "emotional plague" has no defamatory connotation. It does not refer to conscious malice, moral or biological degeneration, immorality, etc. An organism which, from birth, is constantly impeded in its natural way of locomotion *develops artificial forms of locomotion*. It limps or moves on crutches. Similarly, an individual moves through life by the means of the emotional plague if, from birth, his natural, self-regulatory life manifestations have been suppressed. The individual afflicted with the emotional plague *limps, characterologically speaking*. The emotional plague is a chronic biopathy of the organism. It made its appearance with the first suppression of genital love life on a mass scale; it became an *epidemic* which has tortured the peoples of the earth for thousands of years. There are no grounds for the assumption that it passes, in a hereditary manner, from mother to child. Rather, it is implanted in the child from his first day of life on. It is an epidemic disease, like schizophrenia or cancer, with this important difference: it manifests itself essentially in *social living*. Schizophrenia and cancer are biopathies resulting from the emotional plague in social life. The effects of the emotional plague are to be seen in the organism as well as in social living. Periodically, like any other plague, such as bubonic plague or cholera, the emotional plague takes on the dimensions of a pandemic, in the form of a gigantic breakthrough of sadism and criminality, such as the Catholic inquisition of the middle

ages or the international fascism of the present century.

If we did not consider the emotional plague a disease in the strict sense of the word we would be in danger of mobilizing the policeman's club against it instead of medicine and education. It is characteristic of the emotional plague that it necessitates the policeman's club and thus reproduces itself. Nevertheless, in spite of the threat to life which the emotional plague represents, it will never be mastered by means of the club.

Nobody will feel offended when he is called nervous or a cardiac patient. Nobody can feel offended when he is told that he suffers from an "acute attack of the emotional plague." A sex-economist is apt to say of himself: "I'm no good today, I have the plague." In our circles, such attacks of the emotional plague, if slight, are handled by one's withdrawing for a while until the attack of irrationalism subsides. In serious cases, where rational thinking and friendly counsel are not enough, one clears up the situation vegeto-therapeutically. One finds regularly that such acute attacks are caused by a disturbance in love life, and that they subside when the disturbance is eliminated. To me and the close co-workers, the acute attack of the emotional plague is such a familiar phenomenon that we take it with calm and master it objectively. It is one of the most important requirements in the training of vegeto-therapists that they learn to perceive acute attacks of the emotional plague in themselves in time, not to get lost in them, not to let them take any effect in the social environment.

SOME MECHANISMS OF THE EMOTIONAL PLAGUE

35

and to master them by assuming an objective attitude toward them. In this manner, possible harm to common work can be reduced to a minimum. It happens, of course, that such an attack of the emotional plague is not mastered, that the individual afflicted with it does more or less harm or that he withdraws from the work. We take such accidents in the same manner as one takes a serious physical disease or the death of an esteemed co-worker.

The emotional plague is more closely allied to the character neurosis than to organic heart disease, but in the long run it may lead to cardiac disease or cancer. Like the character neurosis, it is maintained by secondary drives. It differs from physical defects in being a function of the character and, as such, being strongly *defended*. Unlike, say, a hysterical attack, it is not experienced as ego-alien and pathological. As we know, character-neurotic behavior is usually highly rationalized. In the emotional plague reaction, this is the case even to a far higher degree: the lack of insight is far greater. One may ask what makes it possible to recognize a plague reaction and to distinguish it from a rational reaction. The answer is the same as in the case of distinguishing a character-neurotic reaction from a rational reaction: *As soon as one touches upon the motives of the plague reaction, anxiety or anger inevitably appears*. This we shall discuss in some detail:

An orgasmically potent individual, essentially free of the emotional plague, will not develop anxiety but, on the contrary, vivid interest when a physician discusses, say, the dynamics of natural life processes. The individual suffering from the emotional plague, on the other hand, will become restless or angry when the mechanisms of the emotional plague are discussed. Not every orgasmic impotence leads to the emotional plague, but everyone

afflicted with it is either lastingly impotent, orgasmically, or becomes so shortly before the attack. This makes it possible easily to distinguish plague reactions from rational reactions.

Further: A natural, healthy behavior cannot be disturbed or eliminated by any influences of genuine therapy. For example, there is no rational means of "curing," of disturbing, a happy love relationship. On the other hand, a neurotic symptom can be eliminated; similarly, a plague reaction is accessible to genuine character-analytic therapy and can be eliminated by it. Thus, one may be able to cure greediness for money, a typical character trait of the emotional plague, but one cannot cure generosity in money matters. One can cure clever underhandedness, but not openness and honesty. The emotional plague reaction may be likened to impotence, which can be eliminated, that is, cured. Genital potency, on the other hand, is "incurable."

It is an essential characteristic of the emotional plague reaction that *action and the reason given for it are never congruent. The real motive is always covered up and replaced by a seeming motive*. In the natural reaction of the healthy character, *motive, action and goal form an organic unity*. Nothing is hidden here; the reaction is immediately understandable. For example: The healthy individual has no other reason for his sexual behavior than his natural need for love and its goal of gratification. The ascetic plague individual, on the other hand, justifies his sexual weakness secondarily with ethical demands. This justification has nothing to do with the way of living. *The attitude of life-negating asceticism is present before the justification*. The healthy individual will not try to impose his way of living on anybody else; but he will give help, therapeutic or otherwise, if he is asked for help and has the means of helping. In no case will a healthy indi-

* From an unpublished German manuscript (1940-1942). Translated by the Editor.

vidual *decree* that all people "must be healthy." To begin with, such a decree would not be rational, for health cannot be commandeered. Further, the healthy individual has no impulse whatsoever to impose his way of living on other people, for the motives for his way of living have to do with his own way of life and not that of others. The emotional plague individual differs from the healthy individual in that he makes his life demands not only on himself, but *primarily and above all on his environment*. Where the healthy individual advises and helps, where he, with his experiences, simply lives ahead of others and leaves it to them whether they want to follow his example or not, the plague individual imposes his way of living on others *by force*. Plague individuals do not tolerate views which threaten their armorings or which disclose their irrational motives. The healthy individual experiences only pleasure when his motives are discussed; the plague individual becomes furious. The healthy individual, where other views of life disturb his life and work, fights in a rational manner for the preservation of his way of living. The plague individual fights against *other* ways of living even where they do not touch him at all. The motive of his fight is the provocation which other ways of living represent by their mere existence.

The energy which nourishes the emotional plague reactions regularly derives from sexual frustration, no matter whether we are dealing with sadistic war or with the defamation of friends. The stasis of sexual energy is what the plague individual has in common with all other biopathies. As to the differences, I shall soon come to that. The biopathic nature of the emotional plague is seen in the fact that, like any other biopathy, it can be cured by the establishment of the natural capacity for love.

The disposition to the emotional plague

is general. There is no such thing as individuals completely free of the emotional plague on the one hand and emotional plague individuals on the other. Just as every individual, somewhere in the depth, has a tendency toward cancer, schizophrenia or alcoholism, so every individual, be it the most healthy and alive, has a tendency to irrational plague reactions in himself.

To distinguish the emotional plague from the genital character structure is easier than to distinguish it from the simple character neuroses. True, the emotional plague is a character neurosis or a biopathy in the strict sense of the word, but it is more than that, and it is this "more" which distinguishes it from the biopathy and the character neurosis: *The emotional plague is that human behavior which, on the basis of a biopathic character structure, makes itself felt in interpersonal, that is, social relationships and which becomes organized in corresponding institutions*. The sphere of the emotional plague is as large as that of the character biopathy. That is, wherever there are character biopathies, there is at least the possibility of a chronic effect or an acute epidemic outbreak of the emotional plague. In defining some typical fields in which this takes place we shall see immediately that it is precisely the most important sectors of life in which the emotional plague is active: mysticism in its most destructive form; passive and active striving for authority; moralism; biopathies of the autonomic life system; party politics; the familial plague which I termed "familitis"; sadistic methods of upbringing; masochistic toleration of such methods or criminal rebellion against them; gossip and defamation; authoritarian bureaucracy; imperialistic war ideology; everything which is subsumed under "racket"; criminal antisociality; pornography; usury; and race hatred.

We see that the realm of the emo-

tional plague is about the same as that of all the social evils which any social freedom movement has fought against since time immemorial. It would not be incorrect to equate the realm of the emotional plague with that of the "political reaction" or even with the principle of politics in general. In order to do this in a correct manner, one must apply the basic principle of all politics, to wit, greed for power and advantage, to the various spheres of life where one does not speak of politics in the ordinary sense of the word. A mother, for example, who uses the methods of politics in an attempt to estrange her child from her husband, would fall under this wider concept of political emotional plague; so would a career-minded scientist who attains a high social position not by factual achievement but by methods of intrigue, a position which in no way corresponds to his achievements.

We have already mentioned biological *sexual stasis* as the biophysical core which all forms of emotional plague have in common. As far as our experience goes, a genital character is incapable of using the methods of the emotional plague. This constitutes a great disadvantage in a social life which, to such a high degree, is dominated by the institutions of the emotional plague. There is a second common denominator of all forms of emotional plague: *The lack of the ability to experience natural sexual gratification regularly leads to the development of secondary impulses, in particular, of sadistic impulses*. This is a clinical fact established beyond any doubt. It is not surprising, then, that the biopsychic energy which nourishes the emotional plague reactions has always the character of the energy of secondary drives. In full-blown cases, *sadism*, this specifically human drive, is never absent.

We understand now why *honesty* and *straightforwardness* are such rare human

character traits; more than that, why such behavior, when it occasionally prevails, regularly evokes amazement and admiration. From the standpoint of "cultural" ideals, one would expect that honesty and straightforwardness would be everyday and matter-of-course attitudes. The fact that they are not, but, on the contrary, evoke amazement; that truthful and straightforward people are regarded as somehow queer; that, furthermore, to be honest and straightforward so often involves social danger to life; all this cannot be understood in any way on the basis of the governing cultural ideology, but only with a knowledge of the organized emotional plague. Only this knowledge will make understandable the fact that, century after century, the forces of any freedom movement, *truthfulness* and *objectivity*, failed to prevail. We must assume, then, that no freedom movement has any chance of success unless it opposes the organized emotional plague with truthfulness, and does it clearly and vigorously.

The fact that the nature of the emotional plague has remained unrecognized has been, up until now, its best safeguard. Consequently, the exact investigation of its nature and of the ways in which it works will tear down this protection. The bearers of the emotional plague, rightly, will interpret this as a fatal threat to their existence. The reaction of the bearers and spreaders of the plague to the factual presentations which are to follow will prove this inexorably. The reactions to come will make it possible, and mandatory, clearly to separate those who wish to help in the fight against the emotional plague from those others who wish to maintain its institutions. It has been shown again and again that the emotional plague—willy-nilly—discloses its *irrational* nature when one probes it. This cannot be otherwise, because the emotional plague cannot react but irrationally. It

has to give way when confronted, clearly and uncompromisingly, with rational thinking and with the natural feeling for life. It is not at all necessary to attack it directly or to fight it. It will, automatically and inevitably, react with furor if one does no more than give a factual and truthful description of the natural living functions. There is nothing that the emotional plague hates more than precisely this.

THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE GENITAL CHARACTER, THE NEUROTIC CHARACTER, AND EMOTIONAL PLAGUE REACTIONS

a. In thinking:

In the genital character, thinking takes its orientation from *objective facts and processes*; it differentiates between what is essential and non-essential or less essential; it attempts to detect and eliminate irrational, emotional disturbances; it is in its nature *functional*, not mechanistic and not mystical; judgment is the result of a thought process; rational thinking is accessible to *factual* arguments for it functions poorly without *factual* counter-arguments.

In the neurotic character, true, the thinking also tries to take its orientation from objective processes and facts. Since, however, in the back of rational thinking, and interlaced with it, chronic sexual stasis is at work, it takes its orientation, at the same time, from the principle of *avoiding unpleasure*. That is, processes the thinking through of which would cause unpleasure or are at variance with the thought system, say, of a compulsion neurotic, such processes are avoided in various ways, or they are thought through in such a manner that the rational goal becomes unattainable. To exemplify: Everybody longs for peace. Since, however, the thinking takes place in largely neurotic character structures, since, consequently, there is at the same time *fear of freedom* and *fear of*

responsibility (pleasure anxiety), peace and freedom are discussed in a formalistic, and not in a factual, manner; the simplest and most self-evident facts of life which obviously represent the natural foundations of peace and freedom are avoided as if intentionally; important connections are overlooked; thus, for example, the well-known facts that politics is ruinous and that humanity is sick in the psychiatric sense are in no way connected with the conscious demand for a usable democratic order. Thus, two more or less well-known and generally valid facts co-exist, side by side, without any connection. The reason for this is the following: A connecting of these facts would immediately call for *practical changes in everyday living*. These changes, the neurotic character is ready to *affirm ideologically* but he is *afraid of them practically*; his character armor does not allow of a change in his way of living which has become a rut; thus he will agree with the criticism of irrationality in society and science, but will change, in a practical way, neither himself nor society according to this criticism; consequently, he will not form a social center of necessary reform. More than that, it happens very often that the very character who agrees ideologically turns practically into a violent opponent if somebody else actually brings about a change. At this point, the boundaries between the neurotic character and the plague individual become blurred.

The individual afflicted with the emotional plague does not content himself with a passive attitude; he is distinguished from the neurotic character by a more or less life-destructive *social activity*. His thinking is completely blurred by irrational concepts and essentially determined by *irrational* emotions. True, as in the genital character, his thinking is fully in accord with his actions (as distinguished from the neurotic character, where thinking and acting are dissociated); but, in

the emotional plague, the conclusion is always there ready-made *before* the thinking process; the thinking does not serve, as in the rational realm, to arrive at a correct conclusion; rather, it serves to confirm an already existing irrational conclusion and to rationalize it. This is generally called "prejudice"; what is overlooked is that this prejudice has social consequences of considerable magnitude, that it is very widespread and practically synonymous with what is called "tradition"; it is intolerant, that is, it does not tolerate the rational thinking which might do away with it; consequently, the thinking of the emotional plague is inaccessible to arguments; it has its own technique within its own realm, its own "logicality," as it were; for this reason, it gives the impression of rationality without being actually rational.

A strict authoritarian educator, for example, points, quite logically and correctly, to the existing unmanageableness of the children. In this narrow framework his conclusion seems to be correct. If, now, the rational thinking explains that this unmanageableness to which the irrational thinking points is itself a social result of precisely this irrational thinking in education, then one meets, typically, a block in thinking; it is precisely at this point that the irrational character of the plague thinking becomes evident.

Another example: Moralistic sexual repression creates the secondary drives, and the secondary drives make moralistic suppression necessary. Every conclusion here is in itself logical. If, now, one proposes to the one who advocates the necessity of repression the elimination of the secondary drives through the liberation of *natural* gratification, one has, it is true, broken through the thought system of the plague individual, but to that he reacts, in a typical manner, not with insight and correction, but with irrational arguments, with silence or even with hatred. That is,

it is *emotionally important to him that repression as well as secondary drives continue to exist*. As paradoxical as this may seem, the reason is simple: *He is afraid of the natural impulses*. This fear is the irrational motor power behind his whole system of thought, logical as it may be in itself; it is this fear which drives him to dangerous actions if one seriously endangers his social system.

b. In acting:

In the genital character, motive, goal and action are in harmony; motives and goals have a rational, i.e., *social goal*. Motives and goals, on the basis of their primary *biological* nature, strive for an *improvement of the living conditions of one's self and of others*; it is what we call "social achievement."

In the neurotic character, the capacity for action is regularly reduced, because the motives are devoid of affect or are contradictory. Since the neurotic character usually has well repressed his irrationality, he has to fight it constantly. This, precisely, makes the reduction of his ability to act. He is afraid to let himself go in any activity because he never can be sure whether sadistic or other pathological impulses might not break through also. As a rule, he suffers under the insight into the fact that he is inhibited in his vital functioning, *without*, however, developing *envy of healthy individuals*. His attitude is: "I have had bad luck in life, and my children should have a better life." This attitude makes him a sympathetic though sterile spectator of progress. He does not impede progress.

In the individual afflicted with the emotional plague, things are different. Here, *the motive of an action is always an assumed one; the given motive is never the actual motive*, no matter whether the actual motive is conscious or unconscious. Nor are the given and the real goal identical. In German fascism, for example, the

alleged goal was that of the "preservation of a peaceful German nation"; the real goal—based on character structure—was the imperialist war, the subjugation of the world, and nothing but that. It is a basic characteristic of the plague-ridden individual that he believes, seriously and honestly, in the alleged goal and motive. I should like to emphasize the fact that one cannot understand the character structure of the plague-ridden individual if one does not take seriously the following facts: The plague-ridden individual acts under a *structural compulsion*; no matter how well-meaning he may be, *he cannot act but in the manner of the emotional plague*; acting in this manner is as much of his essence as the need for love or the truth is of the essence of the genital character; but the plague-ridden individual, protected by his subjective conviction, does not suffer under the insight into the harmfulness of his actions. A man may demand the custody of his child because he hates his wife who, say, was unfaithful to him; in doing so, he honestly believes to be acting "in the interest of the child"; he will be unable to correct this attitude when the child suffers under the separation from the mother and may even fall ill. The plague-ridden father will, secondarily, elaborate all kinds of rationalizations enabling him to maintain his conviction that he is acting "solely for the good of the child" when he keeps the child from the mother; he *cannot* be convinced that the *real* motive is that of a sadistic punishment for the mother. The plague-ridden individual—in contrast to the neurotic character—regularly develops an intense envy which goes with a deadly hatred for anything healthy. A character-neurotic spinster lives in resignation and does not interfere in the love life of other girls. A plague-ridden spinster, on the other hand, does not tolerate happiness in love in other girls; if she is an educator she will do everything in her power to

make the girls in her charge incapable of experiencing happiness in love. This applies to all life situations. The plague character will, under all circumstances and by all means, try to change his environment in such a manner that *his* way of living and thinking is not interfered with. He experiences everything which contradicts his ways as provocation and consequently hates and fights it. This is particularly evident in ascetics. The ascetic attitude is basically the following: "*Others should not be any happier than I was; they should suffer the way I did.*" This basic attitude, in every case, is so well camouflaged by an ideology or theory of life which is in itself quite logical that it takes a great deal of experience and thought to discover it. It must be said that European education, as recently as the early part of this century, followed this pattern.

c. In sexuality:

In the genital character, the sexual life is essentially determined by the basic natural laws of the biological energy. To the genital character, joy in witnessing happiness in love in others is a matter of course, as is indifference toward perversions and repulsion toward pornography. The genital character is easily recognized by the good contact he has with healthy infants. To his structure, it is a matter of course that the interests of children and adolescents are largely *sexual* ones, and that the demands resulting from these biological facts should be fulfilled; this attitude is spontaneous, no matter whether there is, in addition, a corresponding knowledge. In the social life of today it is precisely such fathers and mothers—unless, by chance, they live in a favorable milieu which supports them—who are exposed to the great danger of being regarded and treated as criminals by the authoritarian institutions. They deserve the exact opposite, the maximum social

protection. They form centers in society from which one day will come the rationally acting educators and physicians; the basis of their lives and their actions is the happiness in love which they experience. Yet today, parents who would let children live completely according to healthy, natural laws would be in danger of being pulled into court by any ascetic with influence, and of losing their children.

The neurotic character lives in sexual resignation or engages secretly in perverse activities. His orgasmic impotence goes with longing for happiness in love. He is indifferent toward other people's happiness in love. He reacts with anxiety rather than with hatred when he comes in contact with the sexual problem. His armoring refers only to his own sexuality, not to that of others. His orgasmic longing is often elaborated into cultural or religious ideals which do little harm or good to the health of the community. He usually is active in circles or groups with little social influence. Many of these groups have doubtless cultural value, but they cannot contribute anything to the problem of mass mental hygiene because the masses have a much more direct and immediate attitude toward the question of a natural love life than they have.

The basic attitude just described, of the sexually harmless neurotic character, may, given certain external conditions, take on the form of the emotional plague at any time. What happens is usually this: the secondary drives which were held in check by the cultural and religious ideals, break through. *The sexuality of the plague-ridden individual is always sadistic and pornographic.* It is characterized by the *simultaneous existence of sexual lasciviousness* (because of incapacity for sexual gratification) and *sadistic moralism*. This fact is given in his *structure*; he could not change it even if he had insight and knowledge; on the basis of his structure,

he cannot be any different than *pornographically lascivious* and *sadistically moralistic* at one and the same time.

This is the core of the character structure of the emotional plague. It develops violent hatred against any process which provokes orgasmic longing and, with that, orgasm anxiety. *The demand for asceticism is directed not only against the self, but even more so, and in a sadistic manner, against the natural love life of other people.* Plague-ridden individuals have a strong tendency to form social circles. Such circles become centers of public opinion, which is characterized by a violent intolerance in questions of natural love life. These centers are everywhere and well known. They persecute severely any manifestation of natural love life under the guise of "culture" and "morals." In the course of time, they have developed a special *technique of defamation*; more about this later.

Clinical investigation leaves no doubt that to these circles of plague-ridden individuals, sexual gossip and defamation represent a kind of perverse sexual gratification. It is a matter of gaining sexual pleasure with exclusion of the natural genital function. Homosexuality, sexual intercourse with animals, and other perversions, are particularly often met with in these circles. The sadistic condemnation is directed against the *NATURAL*, and *not against the perverse*, sexuality of others. It is directed, furthermore, in a particularly violent manner, against the *natural sexuality of children and adolescents*. At the same time, it is as if blind toward any kind of perverse sexual activity. These people, who sit in secret court over the natural sexuality of others, as it were, have many human lives on their conscience.

d. In work:

The genital character follows the development of a work process in an active manner. The work process is left to take

its own course. The interest is essentially directed toward the work process itself; the result of the work comes about without any special effort, since it results spontaneously from the work process. *The product resulting from the course of the work process is an essential characteristic of biological joy in work.* These facts and considerations lead to a sharp criticism of all present methods of early upbringing in which the activity of the child is determined by an anticipated, ready-made work product. The anticipation of the product and the rigid determination of the work process chokes off the child's own imagination, that is, his *productivity*. Biological joy in work goes with the ability to develop *enthusiasm*. Compulsive moralism does not tolerate genuine enthusiasm, it tolerates only mystical ecstasy. A child which must build an *already given* house with *given* blocks in a *given* manner cannot utilize his imagination and therefore cannot develop any enthusiasm. It is not difficult to understand that this basic trait of authoritarian education owes its existence to the pleasure anxiety of the adults; it always strangles the child's joy in work. *The genital character guides the work achievement of others by his example, and not by dictating the product and the work methods.* This presupposes vegetative motility and the ability to let oneself go.

The neurotic character is more or less restricted in his work. His biological energy is essentially used up in the defense against perverse phantasies. The neurotic disturbance of work is due to the misuse of biological energy. For this reason, the work of the neurotic character is typically automatic, mechanical and devoid of joy. Since the neurotic character is incapable of genuine enthusiasm, he experiences children's capacity for enthusiasm as "improper"; just the same, he presumes, in a compulsion-neurotic manner, to determine the work of others.

The plague-ridden individual *hates*

work, for he experiences it as a burden. He flees any responsibility and particularly any work which involves patient persistence. He may dream of writing an important book, of doing an extraordinary painting, of working a farm; but since he is incapable of working, he avoids the step-by-step organic development inherent in any work process. This makes him inclined to become an ideologist, mystic or politician, in other words, to engage in activities which require no patience and no organic development; he may equally well become a non-working vagrant as a dictator in this or that realm of life. He has erected in himself a ready-made picture of life woven of neurotic phantasies; since he himself is incapable of working, he wants to force others to work on the production of this pathological picture of life. What Americans call "boss" in the bad sense of the word is a product of this constellation. The genital character, who guides a collective work process, spontaneously sets an example; he works *more* than the others. The plague-ridden individual, on the other hand, always wants to work less than the others; the less his work capacity, the less, as a result, his self-confidence, the more he presumes to tell others how to work.

The above differentiation is of necessity schematic. In living reality, every genital character also has his character-neurotic inhibitions and his plague reactions; similarly, every plague-ridden individual has in himself the *possibilities* of the genital character. Vegetotherapeutic experience leaves no doubt that such individuals afflicted with the emotional plague as fall under the psychiatric concept of "moral insanity" are not only curable in principle, but are capable of developing extraordinary capacities as regards intellect, work and sexuality. This again emphasizes the fact that the concept of "emotional plague" does not imply any deprecation. In the

course of almost 25 years of psychiatric work I have come to the conclusion that the tendency to fall victim to the emotional plague is a sign that the individual in question is endowed with particularly high quantities of biological energy. It is precisely the *high tension of his biological energy* which makes the individual fall victim to the emotional plague if, as the result of a rigid muscular and character armor, he cannot develop in a natural manner. The plague-ridden individual is a product of authoritarian compulsive education; he rebels against it, due to his greater capacities which remain unfulfilled, much more successfully than does the quiet and resigned neurotic character. He is distinguished from the genital character in that his *rebellion is aimless socially* and cannot bring about any rational changes in the direction of social betterment. He is distinguished from the neurotic character in that he *does not resign*.

The genital character masters his own emotional plague reactions in two ways: First, on the basis of his essentially rational character structure, he experiences his own plague reaction as alien and senseless. Second, he is rooted in rational processes to such an extent that he immediately senses the dangers to his life process as they might arise from his irrational tendencies. This enables him to control himself in a rational manner. The plague-ridden individual, on the other hand, derives so much secondary, sadistic pleasure from his behavior that he is inaccessible to any correction. The actions of the healthy individual derive, in an immediate manner, from the reservoir of biological energy. The actions of the plague-ridden individual, it is true, derive from the same reservoir, but with each action the energies have to break through the characterological and the muscular armor; as a result of this, the best motives turn into antisocial and irrational actions.

In passing through the character armor, *the actions change their function*: The impulse begins with a rational intention; the armoring makes a natural and organic development of the impulse impossible; this, the plague-ridden individual experiences as an intolerable inhibition; in order to express itself at all, the impulse first has to break through the armor; *in this process, the original intention and the rational goal get lost*. The result of the action contains very little of the original, rational intention; it reflects the *destructiveness* which had to be mobilized for the breakthrough through the armor. *The brutality of the plague-ridden individual, then, corresponds to the failure to break the muscular and character armor.* A dissolution of the armor is impossible, because a plague action does neither provide the orgasmic discharge of energy nor does it convey a rational self-confidence. In this manner, many contradictions in the structure of plague-ridden individuals can be understood. Such an individual may long for love and may find a woman whom he thinks he can love. When he proves incapable of love, he is driven to sadistic fury against himself or against the beloved woman, a fury which not infrequently ends in murder.

What characterizes the plague individual basically, then, is the *contradiction between intense longing for life and the inability to find a corresponding fulfillment in life*, resulting from the armor. The careful observer could notice that the political irrationalism in Europe was characterized precisely by this contradiction: the best intentions, with the logic of a compulsion, led to destructive results.

We shall now try to illustrate the above differentiations by way of everyday examples:

As the first example we take the *fight for the child* as it typically occurs in divorce cases. We have to expect one of three different reactions: the rational, the

character-neurotically inhibited, and the plague reaction.

a. Rational:

Father and mother fight for the healthy development of the child on rational grounds and with rational means. They may agree on principles in which case things are simple, or they may be of widely divergent opinions. In either case, they will, in the interest of the child, avoid the use of underhanded methods. They will talk frankly with the child and will let the child decide. They will not let themselves be influenced by their own personal interest in the possession of the child but will be guided by the inclination of the child. If one or the other marital partner is alcoholic or psychotic, the child will have to be made to understand this fact in a considerate manner as a misfortune which has to be borne. *The motive is that of avoiding damage to the child.* The attitude is determined by a relinquishing of personal interests.

b. Character-neurotic:

The fight for the child is hemmed in by all kinds of irrelevant considerations such as fear of public opinion. It is determined not by the interest of the child but by adaptation to public opinion. Character-neurotic parents adjust to the current views in such things, such as the tenet that the child, under all circumstances, should remain with the mother, or they leave the decision to some authority such as a court. If one or the other marital partner is an alcoholic or is psychotic, the tendency is that of sacrifice, of hushing up the facts, with the result that the child as well as the other marital partner suffer and are endangered: *divorce is avoided.* The motive of this behavior is the motto: "Let's not make ourselves conspicuous." The attitude is determined by *resignation.*

c. Emotional plague:

The interest of the child is regularly a *pretended*, and, as the result shows, an *unfulfilled* motive. *The true motive is revenge on the partner through robbing him or her of the pleasure in the child.* The fight for the child, therefore, makes use of the technique of defaming the partner, regardless of whether the partner is healthy or sick. The lack of any consideration of the child is expressed in the fact that the child's love for the other partner is not taken into account. In order to alienate the child from the partner, it is told that the partner is an alcoholic or psychotic, without there being any truth to such statements. *The result is damage to the child, the motive is destructive revenge on the partner and domination over the child, but not love for the child.*

This example allows of infinite variations, but in its basic traits it is typical and of general social significance. A rational jurisdiction would have to give primary consideration to such distinctions in passing judgment. It is safe to assume that divorces will increase considerably in numbers, and it is also safe to say that only the correctly trained psychiatrist and therapeutic pedagogue can estimate the extent of damage done by such reactions of the emotional plague in divorces.

Let us take another example in which the emotional plague rages far and wide: the infidelity of a love partner.

a. Rational:

In the case of threatening or actual "infidelity" of the love partner, the healthy individual reacts, in principle, in one of three ways: 1. with factual separation from the partner; 2. with competition and an attempt to regain the love partner; or, 3. with toleration, if the new relationship is not too serious and is of a transitory character. In this situation, the healthy individual does not take flight into neurosis; he does not make any demands of posses-

sion; and he shows anger only if what is happening takes on forms which are not decent.

b. Character-neurotic:

The infidelity is either suffered masochistically, or the armor prevents its cognisance. There is severe fear of separation. Very often, there is flight into neurotic illness, into alcoholism or hysterical attacks, or resignation.

c. Emotional plague reaction:

Infidelity, as a rule, is not the result of falling in love with another partner, but is motivated by weariness of the partner or revenge on the partner. On the part of the wronged partner, there are attempts of various kinds to hold him in the house, to break him down by hysterical attacks, to dominate him by scenes of the most abominable kind, or even to have him watched by detectives. Often, there is flight into alcoholism in order to facilitate the brutalization of the partner. The motive is not love for the partner, but lust of power and possession.

The tragedies of jealousy constitute a large sector of the activity of the emotional plague. There are at present neither medical or social nor legal views and measures that would take this vast and desperate realm of life into account.

We shall now consider a particularly impressive and typical mode of reaction of the emotional plague, a reaction which we call the SPECIFIC PLAGUE REACTION.

The specific plague reaction likes to make use of sexual, that is, moral, defamation. It functions in a way similar to the mechanism of projection in delusions of persecution: In this case, a perverse impulse which has broken through the armor is displaced to persons or objects of the outer world. What in reality is an inner impulse is misinterpreted as a threat from the outside. The same is true of

sensations arising from vegetative plasma currents: what to the healthy individual is part of his joyful experiencing of life becomes to the schizophrenic—as a result of his character armor—a mysterious machine which allegedly is used by some enemy to destroy the patient's body by means of electric currents. These delusional mechanisms of projection are well known in psychiatry. The mistake which psychiatry made was that of restricting such mechanisms of projection to psychotic patients. It overlooked the fact that precisely the same mechanism of projection is at large in social life in the form of the specific plague reaction in allegedly normal people. This is what we shall go into now.

The biopsychic mechanism is the following: Compulsive moralism in education and in life creates sexual lasciviousness. This has nothing in common with the natural need for love; it represents a true secondary impulse, like, say, sadism or masochism. Since vegetative aliveness in the natural experience of pleasure no longer exists, lasciviousness and sexual gossiping take its place, as a secondary, compulsive drive. Now, just as the schizophrenic projects his vegetative currents and his perverse impulses to other people, and experiences them as a threat emanating from them, so does the plague-ridden individual project his own lasciviousness and perversity to other people. In contradistinction to the psychotic individual, he experiences his own impulses which he projects to other people not in a masochistic way as a threat. Rather, he uses gossip and defamation in a *sadistic* way, ascribing to others what he does not dare to take cognisance of in himself. This is true of natural genitality as well as of the secondary, perverse impulse. The way of living of the genitally healthy individual reminds the plague-ridden individual painfully of his own genital weakness and thus represents a threat to his neurotic equilibrium.

All that remains for him to do is to drag into the dirt the other fellow's natural genitality, according to the principle of the sour grapes. Since, furthermore, he is not able completely to hide his lasciviousness behind the appearance of ethical moralism, he ascribes his lasciviousness to the victim of his gossiping. In every case of this kind of plague reaction, one will find that precisely those characteristics are being ascribed to the healthy individual against which the plague-ridden individual fights in himself in vain, or which, *with a bad conscience*, he is living out.

We shall now illustrate the specific plague reactions with a few examples from everyday life:

There is a type of "intellectual" who always talks of "cultural values." Such people keep referring to the classics without ever having understood or experienced the serious problems portrayed by, say, a Goethe or a Nietzsche. At the same time, they are cynical and consider themselves modern and liberal, untrammelled by convention. Incapable of a serious experience, they consider sexual love a kind of game about which one makes clever jokes, intimating how often one played the "game" the previous night, etc. The serious listener to such talk, who knows the abysmal sexual misery of the masses of people and the destructive role played by the lack of sexual seriousness, knows this lasciviousness to stem from sex hunger as it results from orgasmic impotence.

Such "cultured" individuals are apt to consider sex-economy, which—against the greatest obstacles—seriously fights the emotional plague in the masses of people, as the product of a distorted mind. They keep talking of "cultural values" which have to be upheld, but they become furious when somebody translates this talk of the cultural values into social practice on a mass scale. Such an individual happened to meet a woman who intended to come to study with me. The subject of my work

came up, and he warned her, saying he would not send his worst enemy to me, since, as he said, I was the "director of a brothel, without license." He immediately covered up this statement by saying that I was an excellent clinician. This defamation—which bears all the earmarks of the specific plague reaction—made, of course, the rounds. The woman came to study sex-economic pedagogy with me just the same and soon understood what we call the emotional plague.

In such situations, it is difficult to remain objective and correct. One cannot give in to one's understandable impulse to beat up such an individual, for one wishes to keep one's hands clean. To ignore such a happening means doing precisely what the plague-ridden individual counts on so that he can continue his social mischief. There remains the possibility of a libel suit. That would mean, however, fighting the emotional plague not *medically*, but by descending to its own level. One becomes inclined, then, to let matters take their course, at the risk that similar plague-ridden individuals take hold of the matter and that among them is some "scientific historian" who writes one down in history as a secret brothel keeper. The matter is important because the emotional plague has succeeded again and again in smashing honest and important achievements by such rumors. This makes the fight against the emotional plague a social necessity, for it is more destructive than thousands of guns. One only has to read in Lange's *GESCHICHTE DES MATERIALISMUS* what defamations were suffered by De la Mettrie, the 17th century pioneer in natural science. He had not only correctly comprehended the essential connections between perception and physiological stimulus, but had even correctly described the connection between the mind-body problem and the biological sexual process. That was too much for the Philistines whose number is

ever so much greater than that of honest and courageous searchers. They began to spread the rumor that De la Mettrie could develop such concepts only because he was a "libertine." In this manner has come down to us the rumor that he died from eating a pie with which he gorged himself in the typical manner of the voluptuary. Not only is this nonsense, medically speaking. It is a typical example of plague-ridden rumor-mongering, which, taken over by human organisms incapable of pleasure, comes down to posterity, defiling a decent name without any rhyme or reason. It is easy to see what catastrophic role such plague reactions play in social life.

I shall cite another example, one in which the projection mechanism of the emotional plague, in the form of a defamation, is even more clearly evident. Back in Norway, I heard that a rumor was going around to the effect that I had developed schizophrenia and had spent some time in a mental institution. When I came to the United States in 1939, I found that this rumor had become widespread in this country, even more so than in Europe, where my work was better known. It soon became evident that the rumor emanated from the same European source, a person who had since moved to America.¹ The situation did not lack a certain irony: This person, shortly after my break with the Psychoanalytic Association, had suffered a nervous breakdown and had to spend some weeks in a mental institution. This I learned from a University professor who was fully informed. The accident of the nervous breakdown apparently gave the later rumor-monger quite a shock. At

¹Translator's note: On my return from Oslo in 1939, I spent a few days in Zürich where I told a former psychiatric colleague that I had been working with Reich. Much surprised, he said: "But So-and-So said Reich had become schizophrenic." "So-and-So" was the person in question. Soon after my return to the States, I learned from an acquaintance that his analyst had told him the same thing: "So-and-So [again the same person] told me Reich was schizophrenic."—T. P. W.

that time, he found himself in a difficult conflict: On the one hand, he realized the correctness of my scientific development; on the other hand, he was incapable of breaking with an organization which had come into sharp conflict with my development. As is apt to happen in such cases, he grasped the opportunity of diverting attention from himself to me, who at that time was in the center of dangerous polemics. He was convinced that I was hopelessly lost, and the temptation to give me an additional push was too great. His reaction was a projection according to the specific pattern of the emotional plague. I had never been psychotic or in a mental institution. Rather, I have carried the heaviest burden to this day without disturbances of my capacity for work and for love. After all, a mental disease is not in itself a disgrace. Like any decent psychiatrist, I have deep sympathy for mental patients and often even admiration for their conflicts. A mental patient is much more serious, much closer to living functioning, than a Babbitt or a socially dangerous plague-ridden individual. This defamation was intended to ruin me and my work. It led to some dangerous and difficult situations. For example, in many students I now had the additional task of convincing them that I was *not* psychotic. In certain phases of vegetotherapy, a specific mechanism of the emotional plague makes its appearance in a typical manner: As soon as the patient or student comes in contact with his plasmatic currents, he develops severe orgasm anxiety. In this phase, the vegetotherapist is considered a "dirty, sexual swine" or as "crazy." I emphasize the fact that this reaction occurs in all cases. Now, most of the students had heard of the rumor in question. The theory of sex-economy is in many ways so revolutionary that it is very easy to call it "crazy." It must be said that, as a result of this rumor, complicated situations became

such as to be a danger to life. Such consequences of a plague reaction should be made impossible by all available legal means. I owe it only to my clinical experience that I was able to master the dangers resulting from this rumor.

When, a few years later, it was talked about that my scientific work was incompatible with the diagnosis of schizophrenia, our rumor-monger altered his statement in an almost humorous manner. Now he said that I had "recovered" from my schizophrenic disease.

The specific reactions of the emotional plague are seen with particular frequency in political life. In recent history, we have seen again and again how imperialistic dictatorships, with every new act of aggression, ascribe to their victim the very intention which they had themselves and which they proceeded to put into action. Thus, Poland was accused of secretly planning to attack the Reich, that one had to anticipate such an action and thus was justified in attacking Poland, etc.

If we go back only a few decades in the history of politics we find the famous Dreyfus case: High members of the French General Staff had sold plans to the Germans; in order to cover themselves, they accused Dreyfus, an innocent and decent captain, of their very crime, and succeeded in having him banned to a far island. Without the courageous action of Zola, this specific plague reaction would not even have been uncovered. If politics were not governed to such a far-reaching extent by the laws of the emotional plague, it would be a matter of course that such catastrophes could not happen at all. But since the emotional plague governs the formation of public opinion, it succeeds again and again in presenting its misdeeds as a regrettable miscarriage of justice, only to be able to continue its mischief.

If one takes the trouble of really studying the working of the emotional plague

in high politics, one is hard put to it to believe in history. Is it possible, one must ask oneself, that the clericalism of a political dictator, or a love affair of a king, should be able to influence the weal and woe of several generations, of millions of people? Does irrationalism in social life really go that far? Is it really possible that millions of adult, industrious people do not know this, or even refuse to acknowledge it?

These questions seem peculiar only because the effects of the emotional plague are too fantastic to be felt really to exist. Human reasoning apparently refuses to admit that such nonsensicality should be prevailing. It is precisely the gigantic illogicality of such social conditions which safeguard their continued existence. I would like to ask the reader to take this contradiction between the *immensity* and the *incredibility* of the emotional plague as seriously as it deserves to be taken. I am deeply convinced that not one social evil of any dimension can be effaced from the earth as long as public consciousness refuses to accept the fact that this nonsensicality actually exists and that it is actually so gigantic that it is *not* seen. Compared with the immensity of the social nonsense which is constantly nourished by the well-rooted emotional plague, the basic social functions which govern the life process, *love, work, and knowledge*, appear dwarfish; more than that, they appear socially ridiculous. This is not difficult to see:

We know from extensive medical experience that the problem of adolescent sexuality, unsolved as it is, has a much more far-reaching effect on social life and moral ideologies than say, a tariff law. Let us imagine a parliamentarian, who happened to be a physician, suggesting to his government an extensive presentation and parliamentary discussion of the problem of puberty. Let us imagine, further, that this parliamentarian, after his suggestion

was turned down, would use the method of filibuster. This illustration shows clearly the basic contradiction between everyday human life and the form of administration which governs it. If we consider the matter calmly and factually, we find that there would really be nothing extraordinary in a parliamentary discussion of the problem of puberty. Everyone, including every parliamentarian, has gone through the hell of the sexual puberty neurosis. Nothing in life can compare in severity and significance with this conflict. It is a problem of general social interest. A rational solution of the puberty problem would, at one stroke, eliminate a number of social evils, such as adolescent criminality, the misery attending divorces, the misery governing early upbringing, etc. Thus, we will have to consider the demand of our hypothetical parliamentarian as completely rational and useful. But at the same time we will feel ourselves shrink from it. Something in us recoils from a public, parliamentary discussion of the puberty problem. This "something" is precisely the intention and the effect of the social emotional plague which strives constantly to preserve itself and its institutions. It has divided social life in a private and an official life. Private life is excluded from the public stage. Official life is asexual toward the outside, and pornographic or perverse inside. It would immediately be identical with the private life, and would correctly represent everyday life in large social forms if this chasm did not exist. This unification of life as it is lived and of social institutions would be simple and uncomplicated. But then that sector in the social structure would automatically disappear which not only does not contribute anything to the continuation of social life but which, periodically, and again and again, brings it to the verge of disaster. This sector is what is called "high politics," in all its aspects.

The maintenance of the chasm between the actual life of a social organism and its official façade is a violently defended intention of the emotional plague. This is why the emotional plague regularly becomes destructive when this chasm is approached in a factual and rational manner. Again and again, it was representatives of high politics who proceeded against a spreading of the sex-economic realization of the connection between the biological organism of the animal, man, and its state. This procedure, in its *mildest* form, is somewhat like this: "These 'sex philosophers' are immoral sores of the body social which continue to break open from time to time. Unfortunately, it is true that the animal, man, has a sexuality; it is a deplorable fact. For the rest, sexuality is not everything in life. There are other, more important questions, such as economics and politics. Sex-economy exaggerates. We would be much better off without it."

This argument is regularly met in the individual treatment of a biopathy or the training of a student. It is an unequivocal fact that this argument stems from orgasm anxiety and is made in an attempt to avoid having the resignation disturbed. Confronted with this same argument in a public meeting, say, one on mental hygiene, one cannot disarm the representative of cultural and other "values" by pointing to his personal armoring and pleasure anxiety. The sex-economist who did that would find that the meeting was *against him*, for its members have these character traits, and the irrational argument stemming from them, in common with the adversary. This is the point in the dispute at which many a physician or teacher has suffered shipwreck. But there is an irrefutable, purely logical argument which, according to our experience, is successful:

We agree with the adversary: It is perfectly true that sexuality is not everything

in life. We can even add the further fact that in healthy individuals sexuality is not a subject for talk and not in the center of thinking. Why, then, we must ask, does 'sexuality—in spite of these facts—assume the central spot in the life and the thinking of people? Let us illustrate by an example:

It goes without saying that the circulation of the steam in a factory is the prerequisite of its functioning. Yet, the workers in this factory never give a thought to the circulation of the steam; they are completely concentrated on the manufacture of their product. The steam energy is indeed not "everything"; there are other, more important interests, such as the making of machines, etc. But let us assume that suddenly some valves in the circulation system get stuck: the circulation of the energy ceases, the machines stop, and with that, the work. Now, the workers' attention becomes centered exclusively on the disturbance of energy circulation, and on how it could be remedied. But what if some workers were to argue as follows: "This silly heat theory exaggerates the role of the steam. Yes, it is true that the steam is necessary, but, by golly, that is not everything. Don't you see that we have other interests, that there are economic factors to be considered?" In this case, these "wise guys" would simply be laughed at and one would first try to eliminate the disturbance in steam circulation before one would "think of other things."

In such a situation is the sexual problem in our society. The flow of biological energy, of sexual energy, is disturbed in the overwhelming majority of people. This is the reason why the biosocial mechanism of society does not function properly or does not function at all. This is why there is irrational politics, irresponsibility of the masses of people, biopathies, murder and manslaughter, in brief, the emotional plague. If all people

were able to fulfil their natural sexual needs without disturbance, there would be no talk about the sexual problem. Then one would be justified in saying that "there are other interests."

The tremendous effort of sex-economy consists precisely in trying to help these so-called "other" things *get their proper due*. That today everything revolves around sexuality is the surest indication of a severe disturbance in the flow of sexual energy in man, and with that in his biosocial functioning. Sex-economy strives to unlock the valves of the biological energy flow so that, as a result, "other" important things, such as clear thinking, natural decency, and joyful work, can function, so that, in other words, sexuality, in its prevailing pornographic form, ceases to comprise *all* thinking as it does today.

The disturbance of energy flow, as just described, acts deep down as the basis of biosocial functioning and thus governs all functions of man. I doubt that the basically biological character of this disturbance has been comprehended even by some sex-economists in its full measure and depth. Let us study this depth, and the relationship of sex-economy to other natural sciences, by way of the following example:

Let us compare the natural sciences who leave out of consideration the basic biological disturbance which we just described to a group of railroad construction engineers: These engineers write thousands of books, all of them most exact, about the size and material of doors and windows, seats, etc.; about the chemical constitution of the steel and wood, the strength of the brakes, about speeds, arrangement of stations, etc. Let us assume that, in a typical manner, they regularly leave out *one* definite thing: they leave out the steam energy and its functioning. The natural sciences do not know the functional exploration of living function-

ing. They can be compared, therefore, to these engineers. The *sex-economist* cannot do his work unless he comprehends fully that he is the *engineer of the life apparatus*. It is not of our doing that, as engineers of the life apparatus, we have to deal first and all with biosexual energy. Nor is there any reason why this fact should make us feel inferior. On the contrary: we have every reason to be proud of our hard work.

One will ask how it was possible that the raging of such a plague could be overlooked so thoroughly and for such a long time. The point is that this obscurity is part of the essence of the emotional plague. The impossibility of seeing it and seeing through it is the intention and success of the plague. As I have said before, the immensity of the pandemic was too obvious to be remarkable (Hitler: "The bigger the lie, the more readily is it believed"). Before the development of character-analysis, there was no scientific method for the discovery and understanding of the emotional plague. Politics not only appeared to have its own kind of reason; not only did nobody have an inkling of the irrational character of the political plague; the plague even had at its disposal the most important social means of preventing a recognition of its nature.

In every case of treating a biopathy or of changing the character structure of a physician or teacher we run into the emotional plague in the form of characterological resistance reactions. In this way, we learn to know it clinically. Clinical experience fully justifies our contention that there is no human being which the emotional plague has left undamaged.

Another way in which we become acquainted with the emotional plague is the reaction to the scientific discoveries of sex-economy. The bearers of the emotional plague may not be at all affected directly by the effects of our scientific work; they may be quite unacquainted with it; yet,

they have sensed the disclosure of the emotional plague as it took place in the studies of the character-analysts, and felt it to be a threat. To this, they reacted with the means of defamation and the specific plague reaction, long before any of the sex-economists were aware of the fact that they were entering upon the hardest struggle in which physicians and teachers had ever engaged. By well-disguised and rationalized actions, the plague knew how to prevent its unmasking. It behaved like a criminal in dinner dress whose mask is torn from his face. For more than a decade, it was successful; it almost succeeded in securing its continued existence for centuries more. It would have succeeded if it had not made its appearance, in an all too disastrous and often revealing manner, in the form of dictatorships and mass infections. It stirred up a war of undreamed-of proportions, adding it to chronic, everyday murder. It tried to hide behind the "interests of the state," behind "New Orders," and the "demands of the race." For years, a psychically sick world gave it credence. But it betrayed itself too thoroughly. It has come in conflict with the natural feeling for life in all people; for there is no family or profession which it left untouched. That which the character-analytic vegetotherapist had learned to comprehend and to master in his study suddenly converged into *one* with the manifestations of the world catastrophe. The basic traits were the same on the large scale as on the small one. In this manner, the emotional plague itself came to the aid of natural science, of a few psychiatrists and educators. The world began to ask about the nature of the emotional plague and expects an answer. It will be given to our best knowledge. Every conscientious person will discover the emotional plague in himself and thus will begin to understand what it is that again and again brings the world to the verge of disaster. The "New Order," as

always, has to begin in one's own house.

The disclosure of these hidden activities and mechanisms of a distorted life has two aims: First, the fulfilment of a duty toward society; if, in the case of a fire, the water supply fails and there is someone who knows the location of the trouble, it is his duty to name it. Second, the future of sex-economy and orgone biophysics has to be protected against the emotional plague. One is almost inclined to feel grateful to those who, in 1930 in Austria, in 1932 and 1933 in Germany, in 1933 in Denmark, in 1934 in Luzern, in 1934 and 1935 in Denmark and Sweden, and in 1937 and 1938 in Norway, ganged up on honest but guileless work on the human structure; grateful for having done away with such guilelessness and having opened one's eyes for a socially dangerous, though pathological, system of defamation and persecution. If a burglar goes too far and becomes careless, he risks being caught and put out of commission. About 10 years ago, the bearers and spreaders of the emotional plague still felt secure. They were sure of their victory and, in fact, it looked for years as if they were going to succeed. Only great perseverance, deep roots in natural-scientific work, and independence of public opinion, prevented their success. The emotional plague has never rested until it had annihilated great achievements, the fruits of human industry and search for truth. I do not think that it has succeeded this time, or that it will succeed. It is the first time that the emotional plague has met not merely with decent sentiments but with the necessary knowledge of life processes, processes which, to an increasing degree, prove their superior strength. It was the strength and the consistency of sex-economic natural science which made it possible for me to recover from the heavy and dangerous blows from the emotional plague. If that was possible, then the greatest difficulty seems overcome.

With regard to my person and my work, I would like to ask the reader to consider a simple fact: Neurotic psychoanalysts call me schizophrenic; fascist Communists fight me as a Trotskyite; sexually lascivious persons accuse me of keeping a brothel; the German secret police pursued me as a Bolshevik, the American secret police as a Nazi spy; domineering mothers want me to be known as a seducer of children; charlatans in psychiatry call me a charlatan; future saviors of the world call me a new Jesus or Lenin. All this may be flattering or not. In addition, as I have shown, I am engaged in other work which takes up all available time and strength: the work on the irrational human structure and on the study of the cosmic life energy discovered a few years ago, in brief, my work in sex-economy and orgone biophysics.

Great writers and poets have described and fought the emotional plague ever since it has been raging. However, these great literary achievements *have remained, on the whole, without social effects*. They were neither organized nor have social administrations made them the basis for life-furthering institutions. True, monuments were erected for these masters of literature, but it looks all too often as if the emotional plague had succeeded in building a gigantic museum in which all achievements were locked up, disguised by false admiration; achievements which, each by itself, had been sufficient to build a reasonable world if they had been taken seriously in a practical manner. Thus, I am far from being the first who tried to comprehend and fight the emotional plague. I only believe myself to be the first worker in natural science who, by the discovery of the orgone, provided a solid scientific basis on which the emotional plague can be *understood and mastered*.

Today, five, eight, ten and fourteen years after different unexpected and incompre-

hensible catastrophes, my standpoint is the following: *Just as the bacteriologist sees his lifework in the elimination of infectious diseases, so is it the task of the sex-economist to disclose the nature of the emotional plague and to fight it as a ubiquitous disease*. The world will become accustomed to this new field of medical work. One will learn to comprehend the emotional plague in oneself and outside one, and will appeal to scientific centers instead of the police, the district attorney or the party leader. The police and the district attorneys too, and even saviors, have an interest in mastering the emotional plague in themselves and outside of themselves. For the police and the district attorney deal with biopathic criminality, and the savior with the helplessness and the mass biopathies of humanity. From now on we shall consider it a crucial criterion whether somebody in his discussion with us uses the means of the police and of political persecution, or whether he uses the means of scientific discussion. This will show who is plague-ridden and who is not. It may be said at the outset that we shall not enter into political discussion. On the other hand, we are always ready for scientific discussion; more than that, we are waiting for it.

I believe the time has come when the helplessness in the face of the emotional plague begins to pass. Up until now, one experienced its attacks as one experiences the falling of a tree or the falling of a stone from a roof: such things, one says, happen; either one is lucky and does not get hit, or one is unlucky and gets killed

or maimed. From now on we know that the tree does not fall by accident and the stone does not fall harmlessly. We know that in either case some disturbed human, keeping himself hidden, causes the falling of the tree or the stone. From that, everything else follows by itself.

We cannot believe in a satisfactory human existence as long as biology, psychiatry and pedagogy do not come to grips with the universal emotional plague and fight it as ruthlessly as one fights plague-transmitting rats. Extensive, painstaking and conscientious clinical investigation makes unequivocally clear the fact that *one thing alone, the re-establishment of the natural love life of children, adolescents and adults can eliminate from the world the character neuroses, and with the character neuroses the emotional plague in its various forms*. If, then, some physician causes a suit to be brought against some sex-economist because of this or that "illegal activity"; if a politician reports a sex-economist to the police because of "income tax fraud," or "seduction of children," or "espionage," or "Trotskyism"; if we hear rumors that this or that sex-economist is psychotic, that he seduces his patients, that he keeps a brothel, etc., then we know that we are dealing with political and not with scientific discussion. The by-laws of the Orgone Institute, with its training requirements, and the demands of our daily work are a guarantee to the community that it is precisely we who wage a vigorous fight against these basic traits of the emotional plague.

COEDUCATION AND SEX

By A. S. NEILL

Coeducation without freedom is a poor compromise. There are schools in which coeducation means that boys and girls are at the same school, but never meet unless carefully watched. Our coeducation in Summerhill is real: both sexes mix the whole day long, use the same lavatories and baths, the same cuss words. Both sexes know that masturbation is not frowned on and that sex isn't a thing for moral talks and warnings. When a beautiful girl of 15 at a General Meeting said, "I propose that we all use piss-pots and carry them up to Neill's compost heap," the only person in the room who sniggered was a religious visitor. Our attitude to excrement and sex is as natural as one as is possible in our warped civilization.

Good. Summerhill is a school in which there is freedom, that is, you can do what you like so long as you don't interfere with others, so that recently Toddy, who fancies himself as a hot trumpeter, was forbidden to practise during lesson hours— forbidden by the community of course, not by me. There is no compulsion nor even suggestion about going to lessons, and all laws are made by the community. But . . . I am often asked the question: "Should not Summerhill freedom lead naturally to sexual freedom? Why don't you allow your adolescents to sleep together?" And since I first met my friend Reich and realized how much of a genius he was and is, the question has troubled me a lot. Of course freedom should lead to sex freedom. It does to an extent. There are love affairs, naturally, and the older ones ask me: "Why don't you provide us with contraceptives?" My answer is usually so: "I don't because I am a coward.

I fear that the Ministry of Education would end my career as a school director, and, another important aspect, I have sounded your parents on the subject and the great majority hold that sex must wait till much later. So that, provided I was brave enough to provide you with contraceptives, the fact would have to be hidden from your parents, and a sex life with hidden guilt towards your parents would be hopeless and unsuccessful."

One evil consequence is that fear becomes attached to sex, fear of pregnancy. Adolescents seldom have money enough to buy contraceptives, and if they do they can only afford cheaper and unsafe brands, so that a girl in my school said to me: "I want to sleep with Tom but I am scared of having a kid. God, wouldn't there be a stink at home!"

At the same time I hold that having to wait a few years isn't so bad when adolescents have no personal feeling that sex is sin. After all there are a few million men today who are away from their women, many of them not having the pale substitute for love that hired women afford them. They have to be celibate, and their sex is being transformed into hate and fear and aggression. What I mean is that sex controlled by outside factors (in the case of Summerhill, society and fear of damaging the school) is infinitely better than a non-sex life due to inhibitions. It is the old story of repression. If I have two conscious wishes—to go to church and to go to the public house—and I chose one (the pub of course) I make a deliberate conscious choice, and reject the other wish. But if I am invited to go and have a quick one, while unconsciously I feel I should be doing my duty as an

usher in the evening service, I shall not enjoy thoroughly my drink. In repression one factor or wish is unconscious, and in adolescent sex, if and when the youth has no acquired unconscious feeling that sex is evil and leading to hell fire, the limitations of society will not have a deep damaging result.

Lecturing the other night I was asked this question: "How do your boys fit into the discipline of the army after a youth of freedom and self-determination?" My answer was: "I have put the same question to old boys returning on leave. I have said to them: 'How can you, after 12 years of freedom, put up with the stern discipline of the army?'" And they all smiled and said it was quite easy. I was puzzled until the explanation dawned on me. Under early discipline the child acquires an authority complex, fearing parents, teacher, and later policeman and army sergeant. When treated with discipline he resents it inside, goes stiff and hates the disciplinarian. My boys have none of this inner authority complex, and when they meet a strict officer, when they have to click their heels and salute, when they have to obey without question, nothing inside makes them resent the discipline. As one of them put it to me: "I take it for what it's worth. If you have to have wars and armies you've got to have discipline even if some of it is just damned silly."

I take it that what applies to discipline and authority applies also to sex. If one has inner freedom about sex, outer restrictions do not cause the misery that internal inhibitions will cause. But, all the same, the situation is an unsatisfactory one, for youth should have a sex life when it is biologically ready for one.

Sex instruction as such I do not consider so important as the attitude to sex a school affords. Natives probably know very little about sex anatomy, yet their ignorance does not seem to mar their full

sex life; hence I am just a little doubtful about an elaborate scheme of sex instruction that starts with the bees and the pollen and ends with a thou-shalt-not. The school of tomorrow will have instruction on the art of love-making, ignorance of which today makes many a marriage unsuccessful, but I cannot see such instruction being given in groups; it is likely that a group emotion about sex would be the wrong one, and I use the word emotion deliberately, for no lesson on the technique of making love can be, or should be, divorced from its emotional content. I can imagine a specialist saying to Mr. Brown in private: "You must do such and such to your wife before you go on to the final consummation," but I can't see him saying to a gathering of men: "You men must, etc." Maybe my Calvinistic upbringing, but sex is a private thing at present and I feel it should be treated privately, but not so when children are young and are in the pre-potency stage. You can and must tell young children about sex even if they only get it intellectually. Knowledge in itself is a minor matter; it is the feeling that is important. There never has been any evidence that doctors who know their anatomy are better love-makers than plumbers or lawyers. I say, therefore, that it is the attitude that matters, the looking on sex as a natural thing, divorced, as Reich says, from procreation. To a man who recently tried to tell me that sex should never be used unless for procreation, I answered: "You eat bread and meat to nourish your body, but when you eat chocolate you are eating primarily for pleasure. Why don't you apply the same argument to sex?"

I am sure that only a healthy attitude to sex will abolish prostitution (wedded or the other kind), and do away with promiscuity. I am not quite convinced that Reich is right in holding that a love partnership should be such that neither will want to sleep with another (not quite

convinced, indeed, that Reich says so). I see youth trying experiments, it may be neurotically seeking an old buried love, yet youth is easily stirred by attraction in the opposite sex. Here one can't be certain, for in a repressed civilization one cannot view the normal easily. What happens is that the film star arouses sex desires in the young that cannot be expressed, and I think D. H. Lawrence was right in holding that the sex film leads to much masturbation. That would be no danger if masturbation were looked upon as natural and necessary today; indeed, the first step in a free sex attitude is the abolition of the guilt tradition in masturbation. Sexual intercourse is too often masturbation on promotion, and since, as one of my pupils has it, masturbation is the pale shadow of sex, such intercourse must be frigid and impotent.

When someone asked me what my aim in education was, I replied: To produce children who later on won't need to be psychoanalyzed. This seems to me to be an obvious aim. Analysis, even the best (Reichian) should be unnecessary. You can't analyze the U.S.A. and Europe in a consulting room at so many dollars a session. The American, Williams, in his book, *SOVIET RUSSIA FIGHTS NEUROSIS*, showed that after the revolution Russia was trying to do by mass means what the analysts were doing in consulting rooms, but now Russia has abolished coeducation and tightened up the sex laws, so that we cannot look for salvation there. The only way is freedom in education, especially freedom from adult moralists and clergymen and kill-joys. This bloody war with all its agony and sorrow and misery will help youth in this way, that youth has had the chance to get away from age for five years, the chance to get away from home. Home should not be a dangerous place, but it is today, and its sex taboos and adult authority fix forever the incestuous loves and hates that are in danger

of destroying humanity altogether. So that in my new book, *HEARTS, NOT HEADS*, I have a chapter advocating universal boarding schools for all children until such a time when the home will no longer be suppressive and anti-youth.

Here in Britain I am glad to say that Reich's work is becoming known. The pedants and professors and scientists refuse it bitterly, but among the laity and workers his new message is popular. His name is often mentioned in my school, by staff and older pupils, and the *JOURNALS* are so popular that I can never find a copy when I want to. The encouraging fact is that while age and the academic mind talk of Reich as a charlatan, youth accepts him without any doubt whatever. As one girl of 18 said to me: "I just know that Reich is right." At the age of 60 I echo that remark, and today when a woman asked me what I thought of his orgone theory I simply replied: "I can't grasp it, having no scientific training, so that I can't give an opinion of its rightness or wrongness; only, I know that he is so right about psychology that I take it for granted he is right about the orgone." A childish answer, to be sure, but I mention it because I find that youth has a similar attitude. I praise Reich even though the man has made me (a Scot) lose money, for since I took up his sex-economy I have lost pupils whose parents were afraid of sex.

At the same time I realize that there is and should be no salvation in a name, whether that name be Darwin, Marx, Freud, or Reich. My view is that a movement takes place in the underground of humanity, the melting-pot, so to say; one or two men, in whom the process has gone farther, raise their heads and become leaders. The genius is the man who is a step ahead of the other fellow in consciousness. Without the potential support from the underground movement the big man would get nowhere. So in the case of

Reich, he made conscious what many people, especially young people, were almost conscious of themselves, and when he led they cried, "Why, this is what we have been looking for." It is possible that in the future the people will not need their great men, possible that the lead will come spontaneously from the group, not the individual.

Reich's sex-economy comes at its proper time in evolution. For myself I think that Reich overemphasized the dangers of martyrdom for pioneers in sex reform. The public is just about ready for it, although today I grant that you can say or write what you like, whereas if you put your sayings into practice society will kill you. You can preach free sex for youth, but if you take a hand in making it practical, society will kill your work. I know that if I handed out money for contraceptives, gave an "undress allowance" so to speak, the Education authorities would close my school as an immoral blot on a noble profession. True, but the mere fact that one can advocate sex freedom openly and get a public for the advocacy, shows that we are on the edge of a new tomorrow. Moralists can put the clock back, but putting the clock back does not alter the time—the time for youth's freedom. When the only answer to the question of venereal disease is the official one of the British Board of Health and the Church of England, that the best remedy is abstinence, youth remains sceptical and unconvinced. Many already are prepared to see in the new sex morality of love and freedom the cure for venereal and bought sex. Hence I am not pessimistic about the future, especially after hearing a young lady say: "I wish Reich weren't such a damned moralist!" Youth has its eyes open.

There is one difficulty in this sex-economy business: one so often hears the complaint, "Why make sex the center? It isn't everything. There is art, science, work,

economics, play." Many Communists pooh-pooh the sex element, and a prominent English Party Member tells me that when man is free economically, all complexes will vanish, and he will live happily ever afterwards. He dismissed airily my mild suggestions that Communism won't necessarily make one child feel that mother loves Billy more than she does him, and that a Commissar may not automatically be free from sex inhibitions which he will transfer to his children. And there is the answer to so many Freudians . . . "Why should Reich hold that he alone knows what a perfect orgasm should be? Why should we adopt his criterion of an orgasm anyway?" Others say: "Sex, of course, but what of the other main instinct, eating? Sex has become of exaggerated importance because man eats the wrong food, and with so many stimulants (alcohol, tea, coffee, tobacco, etc.) his sex becomes abnormally stimulated and artificial." The answer to this is that the Trobrianders who live on natural food seem to have a sex life that is less inhibited than that of all the tea and beer drinkers in civilized countries.

My own view is that sex is not the center of all things. The center is life itself, only sex must appear to be the center because for some reason it is good to enjoy tasty food, but wrong to enjoy tasty sex. In a world of good sex-economy sex would automatically take its proper place. After all, I have no interest in sex when I write a book, or use my lathe, or dig my garden. And I fancy that most men if faced with the cruel alternative of giving up sex or work would choose their work. Sex is only the center of everything when it is repressed and hated. Hence it is evident that when humanity comes to approve of sex, it will take its proper place. Today sex repression holds back the whole world: it is the real Hitler that we all have to combat in ourselves, and this war will be lost to the United Nations if the stiff

stomachs implied in the Hitler salute are to live on under another guise. The war is annihilating the German goose step and putting the abolition of Soviet co-education in its place.

I believe, then, that the future does not lie primarily in politics and economics; it lies in the education of youth in freedom from all moulders of character. Already I see fascism springing up among some young teachers. They say to me: "You have done a great work, but you are out-of-date. Freedom is not enough. We must go on and guide the children more. It is not right to give them freedom for they have to face a hard world later and . . . etc." I say that that is a going back to all that has damaged humanity. It means conscience-formation from outside. It means a dead religion raising its head in a new form. It means our old friend repression coming back in an intellectualized guise. No, no, the only hope is freedom, real freedom, not the ersatz "ordered freedom" so many new schools

offer. No one can order freedom; no one can give freedom. Freedom is a natural state, and all one can do is to refrain from setting up barbed-wire fences around it.

After the war is ended I hope to arrange to come to America on a lecture tour. I want to see your coeducation, want to meet your progressive teachers, want to meet again old Reich and Wolfe and see what they have been doing these past years. There is not nearly enough contact between teachers in our respective countries. Your gangsters are better known over here than your educationists; more people here know of Al Capone than of John Dewey. Perhaps that is right and good, for gangsters are at least alive, while education is more or less a neglected baby with a doubtful future, but it is a pity that the America we seem to know best here is that of O. Henry and Damon Runyon, and, of course, Hollywood. I want to discover the other America, the America of youth and hope and creation and freedom.

A CASE HISTORY

By FELICIA SAXE

The following case history of a little boy, 2 years of age, who is not able to speak, illustrates by means of a practical example the importance of Wilhelm Reich's definition of the mechanistic conception of classical medicine versus the functional understanding of the disturbances of the life process. By presenting it I shall try to convey to the reader an insight into the far-reaching consequences of the struggle between these two different approaches to a medical problem, as I experienced it in connection with my work. The story of this child's fate, unfolding itself within four hours of therapeutic work, including in addition two interviews with his parents and one final telephone conversation with his father, shows how the outcome of this struggle determines the continuation or suffocation of the life of an individual. It is an overwhelming example of the precise cooperation of two most destructive factors: the moralistic antisexual education of society and the mechanistic evaluation of symptoms in disease. These two factors, pertaining to two different aspects of life, but resulting from one and the same attitude toward life, work with clocklike precision if their driving forces become linked together and thus accelerate the annihilation of life.

The history of the child's neurosis, in my opinion, starts as early as during his prenatal life. The act of birth played an important part in it. The mother, who constituted the main source of his misery, as we shall see later, probably did not provide the proper conditions for her child's development during pregnancy. She undoubtedly inhibited the natural progress of birth during labor through her

unconscious rejection of motherhood. The only information which I could ascertain about the delivery was the fact that it was a difficult one and that it lasted abnormally long. The mother did not remember any details except that her physician "tortured" her and that she was told again and again that she would never give birth to her child unless she gave up her resistance against labor. The father, talking more freely about it in her absence, confessed that "something terribly cruel must have happened" during labor, judging from the gynecologist's report. He told me that he had been wondering about this mysterious intimation of cruelty, but that he had never been able to get any more detailed information about it, either from the mother or from the physician.

Two days after the boy's birth the parents asked a pediatrician to take him under his care. While making his examinations the pediatrician noticed that the child's hand was playing with his penis and that the whole body was rocking with rhythmical movements. He pointed out that the child was deriving sexual pleasure from his body in this way, and he declared that sexual experiences at such a tender age were very unusual and dangerous. He instructed the parents to do everything in their power to inhibit the baby's sensual tendencies. He asked the mother to keep his hands away from his genitals whenever he tried to touch them. He suggested that she do this in such a way that she would deceive the child. She must not let him be aware of the interference with his sexual impulses, she must constantly keep his hand and mind busy with some other interesting simulants by presenting him with a toy

or by leading his hand toward some other object. Gradually he would thus become distracted by means of the substitute and forget his initial sexual desire. After a while the latter would be inhibited to such an extent that he would no longer be aware of his sexual impulses.

The mother carried out these instructions most faithfully, thus providing an outlet for her own frustrated sexual feelings. According to the parents' judgment, which is of course not objective, the boy developed normally until the age of 6 months, despite this interference with his biological requirements.

At the age of 6 months the pediatrician decided that the child should be given a series of six inoculations against different contagious diseases. When the first shot was injected into his arm the boy screamed as soon as the needle entered the tissue. As the injection proceeded (in the judgment of the parents, in a fairly brutal way) his utterances of pain increased to an abnormal degree. It seemed as if the ever-increasing screams could not release his emotions any longer; he started kicking, biting his fists, shaking in convulsions, until finally his whole body stiffened up. This cramp took on such proportions that he could be held by his feet while his body would remain suspended in the air in a horizontal position, sustained by its own tension. Hard as it is to understand, the inoculations were carried on, although the parents began to realize that the child's agony became worse each time and that his abnormal reactions became more and more severe. By the time the last shot was given, the child's reactions had become fixed as a chronic symptom. His body remained stiff, the fists beat constantly against each other in a clenched position. The screaming developed into a constant whining during the day and usually continued for many hours into the night. His mental development seemed to be interrupted as well as his ability to

establish contact with human beings. No matter which way one tried to approach him, he responded with his unhappy moaning and kicking. Around the age of 18 months he learned to walk. When I first saw him at the age of 2, his walking was still clumsy and awkward. The lack of free muscular action, and consequently of equilibrium, made the transition of weight from one foot to the other a rather dangerous experience. Consequently each step was accompanied with fear which was reflected in his facial expression. The center of gravity was constantly out of place because of the retracted pelvis. There was no coordination of the limbs during movements. In order to keep himself from falling over, his toes clutched the ground, thus creating a constant spastic condition of the muscles of the feet. The pediatrician implied that all this was due to a congenital weakness and a disposition to flat feet. He prescribed arch supporters, declaring that in order to prevent serious accidents, he should not be allowed to walk without them. All these symptoms did not alarm the parents as yet; they still believed that their child was just a bit retarded and nervous. When he did not begin to talk at all, they became alarmed.

They asked the pediatrician for help, but he took the "don't worry" attitude and told them that the child was only retarded and that he would begin to talk sooner or later.

After a while they could no longer convince themselves that he was right and they consulted another pediatrician. He declared that the child was a hopeless idiot and that he would never learn to speak.

Next they consulted a psychiatrist. She examined the child for 5 minutes, 3 of which were taken up by clerical work at the desk. She declared that the child was a deaf-mute and an idiot. She predicted that he would have no mental develop-

ment whatsoever and that he would become dangerous to society when he grew up. Therefore he would have to be confined for his whole life, the sooner the better.

The parents did not know whether to believe this statement or not. In one point alone they were absolutely sure that the psychiatrist was wrong, namely, the statement that he was a deaf-mute. To them it was clear that the child was able to hear because he reacted to sounds. When he heard the mother opening the door of the icebox, for instance, he would run out of his room into the kitchen and reach for his favorite food. Their feelings regarding his alleged stupidity were antagonistic. They could not help seeing certain signs of intelligence in the baby's actions. Among other examples, that of the icebox proved that his mind was able to associate the noise of the opening of the door with the opportunity of coming out of his room, asking for the food which seemed unobtainable to him as long as the door was closed. By that time the burden of the child's disposition had already roused deep hatred within the mother. Her judgment was shadowed by her feelings, she was openminded to the facts that were apt to release her from the fulfillment of her motherly duties and she belittled the significance of those that proved the opposite. If the child was an idiot, then she could not be blamed for being unable to tolerate his presence and she would have ample reason for turning him over to the care of some qualified person.

At this point the parents learned about the work of Reich. They brought the child to him for a consultation. He watched the boy's actions and gained the impression that he was intelligent. In his opinion the impulse to speak existed, but the mouth was paralyzed and could not form any words. Whenever he wanted to express himself he tried hard to speak and became furious when he was unable to

push the impulse through. It was clear to Reich that the inability to speak as well as the whining and fist-beating were the manifestations of a tremendous amount of anger and fear that had accumulated as a result of the deprivation of his sexual pleasure. The anger was constantly nourished anew because of the inability to express his feelings. In this way his condition became worse with every unsuccessful attempt to speak. The evaluation of these facts formed the basis of a plan to liberate the muscles of the mouth so that the impulse to speak could break through. In order to attain this objective it was necessary to provoke an outburst of his emotions. Once the anger and fear were released, the stagnated sexual energy would break through, and by sensible handling of the child one could restore his ability to indulge in pleasurable sexual activity without fear. It was impossible to predict the outcome of a vegetotherapeutic treatment or to give assurance of a cure, but Reich considered the chances promising enough to suggest that I should start working with the child.

In teaching vegetotherapeutic gymnastics I am accustomed to understand my pupil's bodily impulses, as well as their inhibitions, by the content of their spontaneous movements. In the case of this child I had to go one step further: I had to speak to his body by means of impulses and gestures of my own body in a way that would induce him to give vent to his emotions. Once I should be fortunate enough to loosen in this way the tensions of his muscular armor, I hoped to carry him along with my own impulses, first passively, later actively, following his own natural rhythm, thus re-establishing his normal functioning.

The first meeting with him took place in a rather interesting way. When I opened the door of my apartment, the father stood directly in front of me. The mother, on the other hand, stood a few

steps apart and sideways with an air of reluctance. Of course, I was anxious to see the child. But I could not detect any trace of him until I took a step out into the hall and discovered him hidden behind the mother's back. As soon as he saw the curiosity in my eyes, he responded and challenged it. He bent his body around the mother's back, and we played hide and seek, while he smiled at me. Then he ran straight toward me in a very lively manner. I opened my arms and invited him to come in, and he hastened to climb up the step. Not a bit shy, he looked around. He seemed to be attracted by the pictures on the wall. I asked him whether he would like to take a better look at them and moved my arms, as if I would lift him, so he would be at the same level with the pictures. While I lifted him, he started to climb up my legs and made very affirmative movements and sounds. When I held him in my arms, I felt strong vibrations in his body: Everything was alive; there was the quality of the shy and at the same time mercury-like quivering that a deer shows in its movements. This, I felt, was not the sluggish body of an idiot. While I held him so that he could see the pictures, he seemed to be happy in my arms and flung his arms around my neck, burrowing his head against my chest. It seemed as if he was not used to friendliness and enjoyed it in an exaggerated way. The minute the mother noticed this, she said to me in a sharp voice: "Please stop that! You make him afraid." Her mouth was stiff and stern while she spoke, the corners of the mouth were drawn down. Immediately the child stiffened up, began to whine and to beat his fists and shook in convulsions. He behaved in the manner that had been described to me as characteristic of him. The abrupt change from a perfectly natural and lovable expression to this neurotic behavior through the mother's interference, although her words were

only directed against me, made me immediately aware of the fact that she was the one who killed his natural impulses. There existed a connection between the unkind expression of her mouth, of which the child was afraid, and his inability to use his own mouth in order to speak. The child enjoyed running along the hall, although he was handicapped by his inability to keep his balance. Again I was impressed by his lively interest in the new place. But the mother interfered and predicted that he would fall and hurt himself. She prevented him from moving by holding him back by his arm. I asked her to keep the child in the adjoining room while the father had a chance to talk alone with me.

During the few minutes with the mother I gained a decided impression of falseness and destructiveness. She tried to appear friendly, but the expression of her mouth was mean, cold and cruel. She covered her destructiveness with an air of martyrdom. She told me that she understood her child so well that she allowed him every liberty; she gave him all the love he needed, she even let him play with knives and forks when he wished to, she let him urinate on the floor, and worst of all, she was forced to tolerate it when he played in the gutter and squeezed mud with his hands. The latter, she said, made her so furious that at times she could not stand it, but still managed, so she said, to be gentle with him. Every gesture and word was as though she said: I hate my child, but I must not show this, for this would indicate that I am mean. I want to prove just the opposite, namely, that he is mean to me, while I am gentle and kind to him.

The father gave quite a different impression. He seemed to have genuine gentle feelings toward his child. He wanted to do everything he could to help him. In response to the sex-economical enlightenment he had gained during his

interview with Reich, he had deeply repented of the mistakes made in ignorance which had caused so much suffering to the child. He seemed bewildered and scared because he was forced to deal with sexual problems. But there was understanding on his part, whereas in the case of the mother there was nothing but destructiveness and rejection. It took him quite a while before he was able to talk openly about the mistakes his wife was making. He told me that she lived in constant fear that the child might become infected and fall ill. Therefore she did not allow him to touch anything. Besides she was afraid of accidents, so she checked every healthy impulse of the child, to try out new activities such as climbing stairs, jumping from a bench, climbing on a chair, etc. For these reasons he was never taken to a playground and was forced to stay alone in a little backyard. By this method she had gradually deprived him of the opportunity of exploring the world through personal experience: a most important element in the healthy development of any child. This overanxiety of the mother and her compulsive behavior made me suspect that she had deep unconscious death-wishes toward the child which she overcompensated for in this way. Her husband expressed real anger toward her in this regard, but at the same time he was evidently afraid of her. No sooner had he spoken about her mistakes than he felt guilty about doing so.

When I disclosed my plans for treatment of the child, the father responded gratefully, saying: "You have my permission to do what you think best. Whatever you say, will be all right." Then, to my complete astonishment, he hastened to ask me when I would be willing to take the child into my home, declaring that he would like to leave him with me that day. I explained at once that I did not intend to board the baby and that the sessions of the treatment would last only an hour

each. When he heard this he collapsed entirely. He confessed that he was most anxious to leave the baby here. When I steadfastly refused this, his courage failed him; he was afraid to let his wife know this bad news and tried to bargain with me, suggesting that they leave the child at least a few hours a day with me, asking to give him his luncheon at my home. I explained that I did not intend to provide a parking place for his baby but that I wanted to treat him. Finally he seemed to understand. When the mother was called in and told that the child could not live with me, she declared that she could not undertake the burden of bringing the baby back and forth for treatment. If the father insisted on the treatment he would have to do this himself, which would mean that he would have to change his working hours in a defense factory from day to nightshift. She could hardly control her anger and said abruptly: "Sometimes I could kill him." Then, correcting herself: "I mean, I feel like crying. I had hoped so much that this would solve the problem."

When the child came for the first treatment he was engaged in his habitual whining and fist-beating. This increased as soon as the parents had left the room. I tried to make him feel that he was understood; consequently I reacted to his distorted utterances exactly as I would react to a child who is able to speak. I understood that he was upset at being left alone in a strange place. So I lifted him up in order to give him a feeling of security and asked him whether he wondered where his parents had gone. He answered by bending his torso toward the door, and I understood that he wanted to look around to see where they might have gone. I opened the door and carried him into the next room. He grasped the fact immediately that there was a possibility of being understood, and proceeded to convey to me all that he wanted, partly

in gestures, partly in affirmative fist-beating and whining. It may sound paradoxical to call these latter symptoms affirmative, but they were this poor child's only method of expressing himself. No longer did he experience genuine impulses, instead there seemed to be only the general feeling of impotent despair and rage that had taken their place. He wanted to be carried from one room to another; his curiosity grew regarding the whereabouts of his parents. When he discovered that they had left, he uttered a sigh of relief and made a soft melting gesture toward my body. It seemed to me as if he was catching up from the moment when we had been interrupted in our relationship during our first meeting in the hall.

Now I felt that the moment had come to start working with him. The first symptom I attacked was the cramped position of the arms during the fist-beating. I widened them gently and slowly in broad sidewise movements, making them end in front of his chest whenever I felt that the widening became unbearable for the contracted condition of his organism. The reaction was very favorable. He sighed in relief, and the shallow breathing deepened a trifle. The fists not only remained stiff, but increased their tension. He seemed to have a pleasurable feeling during these manipulations, there was no reaction of anger or fear connected with them. While I carried him around I explored his body and found that the thighs were the seat of greatest tightness. The slightest attempt to relax them by means of movement was met by violent resistance. He jammed his fists into his mouth, the corners of which tightened up, the pelvis was thrown back, and he pulled his breath up in a long lasting inhalation that did not seem to be able to turn over to an exhalation. At the climax of this tension there was an explosion in violent screaming. An unbelievable amount of anxiety was released with this screaming.

The awareness of anxiety seemed to make him also aware of my mouth; he tried to silence me; with all his might his fingers prevented my lips from moving when I tried to speak. The more I made an effort to speak, the more fear was expressed. He evidently identified me with his mother, and I became convinced that he suffered from a fear of death. That he had chosen his mother's mouth as a symbol of death did not seem irrational to me, since I had myself observed the cruel expression of her mouth. After this outbreak of anxiety I brought about some relaxation by helping him again with widening movements, so that he breathed more evenly. I also relaxed the muscular cramp in his thighs. He calmed down, gave up the whining, and the first normal sounds came out of his throat. They were the first pleasurable sounds I had heard him make. Simultaneously he became interested in the bright colors of the room and wanted to look out of the window of my ground-floor apartment, to find out what was going on in the street. While he looked out of the window I responded to every sound of his, partly with words, partly in his own way, just carrying the articulation a little further than he was able to. He enjoyed himself in this way, until I tried to get him to play with toys. He resented this and reacted with anxiety. Touching things and doing things by himself was taboo to him. I could not decide whether this had anything to do with the prohibition against masturbation, or whether it was just a general consequence of his inhibited way of life. He did not fall back into the habitual whining until he was again confronted by his parents when they called for him at the end of the hour. Although the mother had forced her husband to shift his working hours to the inconvenient nightshift, she never failed to accompany him when he brought the child for treatment.

At the beginning of the second treat-

ment I walked again through the apartment, carrying him in my arms and following his impulses to look around. Already he did this with less tension and his interest in his parents was not maintained as long as the first time. I worked on his thighs (while I held him in my arms) by swinging movements, which were taken over in this way by his dangling legs. Part of the time I held his legs in my hands and made them move very softly, the way an infant enjoys himself kicking his legs. Purposely I progressed very carefully and did not yet accelerate the movement to a real kicking, as this might have resulted in too strong an emotional reaction at this stage. As he gave in a little bit with these movements, I took his shoes off. I found his feet stiff as a board and bent inward with twisted toes. As soon as he seemed to enjoy the freedom of moving his feet without the arch supports I brought the feet into a normal position by means of gentle rotating movements and loosened the toes. Switching from working on his thighs to working on his feet and vice versa, I let him slowly slide to the floor. He began stamping on the floor, regulating the position of his feet on the floor by himself. He tried himself out in different positions, becoming a bit more relaxed after each stamping. He ended up in a fairly normal position of the feet, showing a perfectly formed arch. (In doing so he proved again what I had experienced with many an adult, that most so-called "flat feet" represent nothing but a psychosomatic disturbance of the muscles of the thigh. This disturbance in a mechanical way prevents the feet from distributing the weight of the body in the proper way and forces the feet into a wrong position.) After this I lifted the child onto the couch and repeated the widening arm movements. While I worked this way with him, I took gradually the rest of his clothes off and he seemed to feel freer this way. The arm

widening was immediately accompanied by sighs. I proceeded to movements of his legs. The sighing increased in a sort of pleasurable relief. This was accompanied by involuntary pelvic movements. All of this took place in a passive way. As soon as he became aware of his movements, he had an attack of fear. He bit his fists violently, his head became dark red, as if he was going to burst. Suddenly there was a pleasurable breakthrough. He made gurgling sounds and moved in rhythmical waves. Suddenly he urinated. I petted him and told him that he was a good boy to let himself go. His hand reached for the region of his penis, but as he did this, he had a sudden attack of anxiety. He screamed, kicked with his fists and legs and began to bite my hands. While I tried to calm him down, the screaming went over into the accustomed whining. I made him feel that he was accepted when he gave way to his feelings and that he had been on the right track while he gave way to his pleasurable impulses. This did not seem difficult to convey to him. I told him that I knew how badly he had been treated and that I could perfectly understand how he felt. When he increased his lamentations, I gave him the sympathy he seemed to be longing for, and while I stroked him and tried to make him feel comfortable, I told him that I knew how he had suffered. But at the same time I conveyed to him rather strictly the fact that he did not get anywhere acting this way. While I broke the resistance on his thighs by actual work on them, I told him that he had to go through this the hard way, if he wanted me to help him. That he understood the meaning of my words, partly because of the sound, partly because they were attuned to his own impulses, was proved to me, because he started what I called "telling the whole story over and over again." He did this by moaning pitifully, while he pointed again and again

with his right hand to his left upper arm, trembling with his whole body. The more I sympathized with him, the more violent the pointing became, until he finally changed to a wild fist-beating of both hands. It seemed as if he could not get enough of this. When he stopped to rest for a moment, it was just the beginning of another spell of lamentation with more screaming. By doing so, he seemed to live through the agony of the injections, which, I believed, he unconsciously connected with the prohibition against masturbation. When his emotions seemed to be at a climax, I helped him to live his anger out. Whenever he beat his fists I would kick my arms around saying: "Now give it to them, you have told me the whole story, give it back to them, kick them back!" This worked; he began to kick, the arm movements became less cramped. With each movement he reached further out, while I told him: "As soon as you can speak you tell them how mean they have been to you!" And we both were very furious and kicked around. To my greatest joy he followed me, gave vent to his anger, and gradually the angry kicking passed over into a pleasurable leg-kicking. While he did this he seemed to fall back into the inhibited pleasurable activities which he had missed when he was about 3 months old. He took on the look of an infant of that age, which was proof to me that the release was a genuine one. He laughed with joy. His hand tried several times to touch his penis, but each time he drew it back in fear. All of a sudden he became completely quiet. He began to stare at a picture which hung on the wall directly above the couch and which had attracted his attention as soon as his actions became more free. He got on his knees and remained there quite a while in perfect silence. It was the picture of a Polish peasant couple dancing a gay folk dance. I was not able to find out why he was

suddenly so fascinated by the picture that had been there all the time. Later I heard that his mother never allowed him to touch any pictures and that she used to drag him away whenever he wanted to look at them. Probably he made up for this, when he was released of his general anxiety during the treatment. But he still had to pay for doing so. After a few minutes of quiet gazing he became overwhelmed by anxiety and screamed, until I took the picture off the wall. Then he lay down exhausted, but happy and relaxed. The whining had ceased entirely as on the preceding day. In addition he had given up the fist-beating at the end of the second treatment. His movements were more balanced than they used to be. When he met his parents the reaction was again unfavorable. After this second hour he slept peacefully throughout the whole night for the first time in a long while.

When he came the next morning for the third treatment he did not pay any more attention to his parents. He was anxious to see them go away, the sooner the better. Then he ran right to the picture which had puzzled him so intensely the day before. There he knelt again quietly and looked at it, giving himself with his whole body to this experience. He gave the impression of a person who had been waiting longingly for the repetition of a pleasurable experience. After a little while he raised himself to his feet, showing again the desire to touch the picture, but his deadly fear again intervened. So I touched it myself. But this made him scream and yell, until I put the picture out of sight. This time he was not satisfied when I did this, and protested by yelling more loudly. This, in my opinion, showed progress, because it meant active acknowledgment of his desires, even though they were still accompanied by anxiety. This attitude began to take the place of his former resignation. His feet

were very tense while he yelled. As I tried to release them with rotating and shaking movements he slid gradually into a general feeling of ease. His face took on an expression of contentment. The tight ring of white, sometimes even bluish, color around his mouth disappeared. Instead appeared curly movements of the lips, the blood seemed to stream into this region of his face, giving it a healthy, rosy color. His breathing became less abrupt, his exhalation deepened. This gave him a pleasant feeling, and as if in fear of losing it again, he tried to link his breathing to the rhythm of my breathing. He did this by leaning his half-open mouth against my mouth, following my rhythm of inhalation and exhalation eagerly. This further loosened his lips and he happily made some sounds. I tried to imitate his sounds and interspersed friendly words. He responded with an effort to imitate the movements of my lips and was most happy when he succeeded in moving his lips at the same time that he produced sounds in the throat.

Now I considered the time had come to provide a discharge of energy from the genitals in order to bring about more unity between the upper part of the body and the pelvic region. This could only be done by breaking through the armor at the place of its strongest resistance, namely, the retracted pelvis. I helped him to rest in my arms. Then I swung him in a smooth rocking motion from the right to the left. When he gave in to the softness of this three-quarter rhythm, I widened the swings. Now I felt pulsation in his body, indicating that he experienced the flow of the movement in a pleasurable way. I intensified this by cutting through space in more audacious swings up and down. This gave him a feeling of flying. He began to contract and expand according to the crescendo and decrescendo of the movement. This reaction was the sign for me to let the wave of movement go

through his body in a more central way. I held him by his feet and made him hang down backwards, supporting the small of his back slightly with one raised knee. The tightness in the pelvis vanished a bit while he hung this way. Then I started little pushing movements with my hands at rhythmical intervals which continued through his relaxed body. As he dangled this way, I intensified these impulses to large swinging movements, thus making his body movements become more wave-like. For moments the pelvis moved in unity with the rest of the body, but in general it interfered with the movement and remained in its retracted position. So I repeated the swings in the same manner slightly above the couch with the difference that the resistance of the couch bounced the pelvis into a forward position whenever it retracted during the swings, the speed of which I accelerated. From this phase on a tremendous amount of anxiety broke through, his face turned red, he wanted to scream, but could not release any sound and suddenly fainted for a few seconds. As soon as he became conscious again, he gurgled pleasurably and laughed wholeheartedly. While he was lying quietly with the most happy expression on his face, I supported the pelvis with my hand and prevented it from retracting again. So the resistance jumped to another place and settled in the muscles of the stomach, which became stonehard. While this happened his hand struggled to touch his penis. I broke the resistance in the stomach immediately in a bold manner with my hands, provoking a great outburst of anxiety. He yelled and perspired in anxiety all over his body. Suddenly he relaxed and played openly and fearlessly with his penis. Then he urinated, thus indicating that the relaxation of the muscles of the pelvic floor was complete. Then he started a happy conversation in sounds with me. When he saw his parents at the end of this session,

he remained well balanced and was much less afraid of them.

When he came for the fourth treatment he ran right into my room. While I was sitting on the couch, he crept on my lap, made himself all passive and waited in silent expectation for his treatment. I repeated the swings in the air and worked again on the pelvis. While I made him hang upside down his body was much more unified than the day before. All his muscles were softer and smoother. This encouraged me to show him how to move his lips. He reacted by imitating me and made faces of his own. When I gave him toys he touched them without any sign of fear and played with them for the first time. He longed for the couch where he had experienced pleasurable sensations the day before. But this time I sat on the floor and made him rest between my crossed legs. Then I worked on the tensions of his pelvis. My position gave me the advantage of being able to feel immediately the slightest tendency toward retraction of his pelvis. So I could counteract it and break his resistance more thoroughly by adjusting the level of my supporting legs in a way that brought the pelvis constantly back into a harmonious position. The more I broke the pelvic resistance in this way, the greater became his desire to touch his penis with his hand. But again he struggled in fear. He did not touch the penis, but his hand traveled up to his mouth and he sucked his thumb. The pleasurable sensation of sucking found its climax in a real mouth orgasm, such as infants have, while the orgasm reflex ran through his body. After the discharge he began sound formations. What he produced were not words, but his sounds had become articulated and he played with funny sound combinations. This seemed to me to be the starting point for teaching him the formation of words in the near future. He felt perfectly at ease and showed me that he did

not want to leave my room at the end of the session. This made me fear that the meeting with his parents might have an unfavorable effect and I decided to adjust him to their presence in a very delicate way. I lifted him in my arms and made him lean on my shoulder, so that he looked backwards. Then I walked into the next room where his parents were waiting. I sat down in front of them in such a way that the child, who was still hanging on my shoulder, did not face them, but had a chance to look out of the window, where he enjoyed watching the busses going by. While I explained in a few words the progress of the treatment, he was still under the influence of his pleasurable experiences. He kept making sounds, going up and down the scale. He remained on my shoulder as if he intended to stay there forever. His mother laughed and asked jokingly whether I had pasted him there. I explained that it was his feeling of peace, which he did not want to lose again, that made him stay in his position. Vaguely he seemed to become aware of the fact that his parents were there; still he did not feel afraid. After a while I considered his feelings stable enough. So I turned my chair around. This made him face a mirror in which he saw the faces of his parents. He laughed happily at them and screamed with joy, as his father gave him a smile in the mirror. It required some effort on my part to bring the mother to the point where she produced something that was intended to be a friendly look. He felt her insincerity and began whining and beating his fists again. I spoke to him in quiet words, saying: "Listen, you can't act this way again. You will have to get used to the situation, that your parents can't show you their love all the time. Nothing has changed since you left the other room with me, and you can be just as happy as before." While I talked, he stopped acting neurotically and listened carefully to my words. Then he

relaxed, laughed happily and continued making gurgling sounds. Both parents were overwhelmed by the effect of these few words and declared that they were convinced that their child had understood the sense of words for the first time. After a few minutes the boy became daring. He wanted to test the fact that he was accepted by his parents, when he followed his impulses. He jumped from my lap. Then he walked around in perfect balance and began to play with some objects on the table. The mother was ready to protest, but before she could tell him not to touch anything, I told her that everything in this room could be broken, urging her to let the child do what he wanted. He was kind enough to choose an unbreakable metal box. It was pretty heavy, but he lifted it skillfully, bent down and placed it safely on the floor. His body felt as an entity and he moved harmoniously, discovering the laws of equilibrium. As if he wanted to test how far he could let himself go without fear, he urinated on the floor. With that he had an expression of triumph on his face and behaved happily like a normal child, while the mother dressed him and led him to the car.

At this time I did not know that I would not see him again. He had made such progress during these four treatments, that I was convinced it would be possible to help him regain his full sexual capacity. Once he was healthy in this respect, the secondary problems like learning the technique of word formation, or getting adjusted to the outside world, seemed to me to be easy problems to solve. Here his intelligence would help him a great deal. It had been sufficiently developed to enable him to find a way to express his desires despite his handicaps. There was not one doubtful moment during his treatments, so it would certainly be easy for him to stand on his own feet, once he was cured.

There was just one problem that worried me the more I tried to find ways of

solving it. This was the task of changing the mother's hateful attitude toward her child. By now I knew that she would never be able to give him genuine love. If I could not succeed in establishing at least a bearable relationship between her and the child, all my work would be in vain. I felt ashamed to tell the child that he was accepted by his mother; I did not believe my own words, and I decided that I could not afford to cheat him again without endangering the success of my work. I asked the parents for an interview which would give me a chance to explain the course of the treatment and to work out a plan with them as to how the child should be handled at home. They agreed enthusiastically and came to see me the following evening.

The mother was silent and embarrassed. The father did not know where to start. Finally he asked me to tell him whether I believed that his child was an idiot or not. While I told him my opinion he gasped for air and interrupted, by saying: "I must tell you the truth. We don't believe a word you are telling us. Yes, there is progress, we saw it yesterday. He seemed to understand you, while you spoke. He was quiet here, but how does this help if he keeps whining and beating his fists as soon as he is at home!" The mother interrupted him: "We know that he is an idiot. Nobody in the world can tell me that the frustration of a child in his sexual activities can put him into such a state of mind. You can't prove your theory, but we can prove that he is an idiot, and we are going to do so." Now the father told me that they had been consulting different physicians without my knowledge. They had found a brain specialist who intended to take the baby to the hospital for tests, which, as he could predict already, would prove that he had a defect of the brain. Probably there would be a tumor which would have to be operated on. I asked the father whether he had taken into consideration the fact

that the hospital routine would be unbearable to the child's disposition and that he would probably suffer another severe shock on account of his phobia against medical manipulations. I asked him to give me a chance to prove that the child was not an idiot by continuing the treatment that had started so successfully. If I failed there would yet be time to surrender him to the hospital routine as a last resort. He said that his decision was made, that he owed this to the condition of the mother who could not stand the agony of the child's disposition any longer. She is so completely run down, he said, that she refuses to have another child as a substitute for this one, a measure the physician had suggested in case he would have to operate on the baby. I told him that his child was still alive and that I intended to fight for his rights with his permission by continuing the treatment. If I should fail to prove that he was not an idiot, there would still be time for the decisive step. He said that there was no time to lose because every day of delay would endanger the success of the fortunate outcome of the operation. He thought that they had nothing to lose, but a slight chance to gain. At least the operation would bring relief to the mother. I suggested that she should be temporarily relieved of her motherly duties while I continued the treatment. At this point the mother jumped up from her chair and shouted: "What do you think, I can't cry any more! I could kill him, I could kill him!" I pointed out to her that she was doing that successfully. He lived in constant fear of death, his mouth had been paralysed because of the cruel thoughts hidden behind her mouth. And now she found ways to prove that he was an idiot by interfering with his treatment. The father said that it was fruitless to discuss these things. He turned the responsibility over to God and said: "He knows best and will decide." Besides he mentioned that he had been reading all

the literature in different libraries about child psychology and infantile sex life. He had discovered one book by a little known author, this man seemed to him to be right. He quoted this man as saying: "Surely there exists such a thing as infantile sex life, but why make such an issue of it? Deceive the children so they can't live out their sexuality, and they will be happy just the same." I told him that this attitude seemed very familiar to me. It reminded me of the early statements of the Nazis when they came to power. They said: "We don't do any harm to the Jews, they can do whatever they want." And they just deprived them of the right to work, which meant starvation to them. The father was evidently ashamed and said in a humble way, that I was right in this point. Then he thanked me for the enlightenment about children's sex life, but said he could not change his decision to turn the baby over to the hospital immediately. He promised to let me know the outcome of the tests. If against all his expectations they did not prove that the child was an idiot, he would be glad to bring him back to me.

For weeks I did not hear from him. One day he called me on the telephone, saying that the news "was not too good." The tests had not shown any tumor of the brain, but an encephalogram had proved that there was a cavity in the brain. Nature fills up all cavities with water, which means in this case that the brain cannot function. The verdict was that the child would grow to adulthood with the mental development of a baby. He would want to eat and would have sexual desires. The gratification of the latter would become dangerous to society. Therefore he would have to be confined right away. I told the father that I still would like a chance to continue the treatment, hoping to save the child, although it was very probable that he had been ruined by the shock of the experience of having air blown into his brain. I told him that I still was

convinced that the boy was not an idiot, and that X-ray pictures have proved to be erroneous in more than one case on account of the inaccuracy of technique in reading them. Since the child could only be dangerous as an adult, nothing would be lost in trying to help him with vegetotherapy while he was a baby. The father answered that the baby was already under the care of the state, but that he would be glad to give me a chance to treat him, if God would allow a miracle to take place. When I asked him how his wife had taken it, he answered that she seemed to take it hard at the beginning, but that she was doing pretty well and seemed to have gotten over it by this time. I told him that I could not understand why they had been in such a hurry to deliver the child to such an awful fate. Any normal parent in such a situation would cling to the last vestige of hope. I asked the father whether he had been forced to act in a hurry by the physician's request. He said that this had not been the case, he and his wife had felt that it was best so and the physician had agreed.

The parents have obtained the diagnosis they wanted. The mother's death wishes have doomed her child to a life which is worse than death. Her warped character structure could rather stand the loss of her baby than the gratification of his sexual desires. She managed to ruin him in such a way that his neurotic symptoms deceived the physicians. Consequently they deprived him of his right to grow up in freedom. By giving him this final blow, they will probably make a real idiot out of him in the course of his confinement. Then the circle will be closed.

It is fruitless to discuss the root of the evil, the emotional pest, in connection with this unhappy story. As I pointed out at the beginning, it was my aim, by presenting this case history, to shed some light on the different interpretations that can be put on the same symptom according to the character structure of the

observer. A mechanist, on his side, will make use of his overdeveloped skill. He will look for a defect in the machinery of the body as a direct cause of the symptom. But to one who understands how living matter functions through contraction and expansion, there is no routine method of procedure, except that of logical thinking.

The knowledge of the laws of movement helped me in understanding the child. In my eyes he was intelligent, lovable and lively. I felt this, because I was not impressed by his awkwardness, which seemed to shock everybody in a formidable, love-killing way. I hardly noticed it, because I am used to seeing frozen movements of frustrated impulses in the deviation of normal movement. Since movement is my medium of reaching a pupil's emotions as well as of understanding his inner struggle, it does not make any difference in my relationship to a child, whether he uses the language of words, or whether he speaks in gestures to me, and even, if his gestures do not function properly, in neurotic symptoms. Whenever this child wanted to speak, finding himself blocked and unable to make his speaking apparatus work, the resulting furious movements of his head and throat were certainly not hard to understand. The unpleasant whining which he produced, as a substitute for words in his utter desperation must unfortunately have touched upon people's frustrated feelings. This process again brought them into close contact with their own secondary criminal drives. This was his bad luck and made him become so easily a victim of their destructive tendencies. Here lies the irrational factor which prevented physicians from getting an objective picture of his condition.

The other main symptom, the fist-beating, meant to me the affirmation of life, protest against frustration, the existence of biological energy diverted from its normal functioning.

ADOLESCENCE: A PROBLEM IN SEX-ECONOMY*

By ALEXANDER LOWEN

This article aims to explore some of the problems of youth in the light of sex-economic principles.

That young people have problems no one who has worked with them or taken an active interest in their affairs will deny. One need only enter into serious discussion with adolescents to ascertain the depth of their emotional conflicts. One phase of the subject, juvenile delinquency, has received widespread public attention. Recently, November 1944, the American Academy of Political and Social Science devoted its entire issue to "Adolescents in Wartime." The emotional difficulties of young people are not due to the war, however; for, as Dr. Caroline B. Zachry states in an article in the above journal, "the war has only aggravated and made more overt in youth an instability which has long been present." That the problems are such as to cause concern is indicated in another remark by the same writer: "we face what amounts to a crisis in regard to our youth; there is grave danger of widespread emotional breakdown among them."

Our field of inquiry will include not only the overt problems, those which arise from conflict with authority but also the inner conflicts. Some of these are within the adolescents' awareness; others are revealed by irrational and neurotic behavior, and may be more severe for the lack of contact with them.

An adolescent may be troubled by guilt feelings about masturbatory practices or by an inability to establish social and physi-

cal contact with some member of the opposite sex. Or, only slightly less pathological, the adolescent may have this contact but be unable to obtain the requisite satisfaction. In all these cases we are dealing with unhappy adolescents, and their number is far greater than one would suspect.

But, as we said before, these are not all. Zoot-suiters and jitterbugs present a type of behavior which is hardly what we would expect of healthy adolescents. The type of boy who roams in gangs, swash-buckling, destructive, and who thinks it is the height of manhood to get drunk on beer, is merely hiding his misery from himself. But, in this category too, we must include those young people who are paragons of good deportment, docile and obedient to their parents, submissive to authority. This should not be surprising: the unhealthy rebellion of the hoodlum or so-called "victory girl" is but the opposite extreme of the reaction of submission of the teacher's pet.

It should be evident, then, that we wish neither for "goody-goodies" nor for adolescents in whom all "goodness" of disposition is lost. What criterion can we apply? The healthy adolescent is characterized by natural motility of action and spontaneity of feeling and expression. He is aggressive for his pleasure but not sadistic, self-asserting but not dominating. In his behavior, he exhibits a sense of responsibility for his own actions and affairs; and to others engaged in constructive activities, he extends his cooperation. Therefore, we cannot accept as criteria that the adolescent is quiet, that he conforms to approved modes of conduct and that his grades in

school are excellent. We must ask: is he happy? is he lively? and is he growing towards adulthood?

In contrast to this simple statement of what sex-economy considers to be healthy adolescent behavior, what do we find in the great mass of literature on the subject?

Luella Cole in *PSYCHOLOGY OF ADOLESCENCE* states: "The main purpose of appropriate training during the early years is therefore the production of better-adjusted, healthier adults through the development of better-adjusted, healthier children." What this adjustment consists of emotionally we find in another paragraph: "The small child inhibits his emotions hardly at all; whatever he feels is translated into action. If he does not like a new acquaintance, he pushes him away. An adolescent has somewhat more self-control and can inhibit his expression well enough to observe the common courtesies to those whom he does not like, although he soon regresses to childish levels if he is forced to work with or be with a disliked person. It takes an adult with well developed powers of inhibition to work day after day in moderately close contact with someone he dislikes and neither wear out under the strain nor precipitate scenes."

So the adult takes it, but the child rebels. Unfortunately, the child's rebellion is crushed very early, and he, too, is forced to adopt the common hypocrisies which to some people pass for courtesy. Adjustment means more, however; it means he must learn to accept the deprivations of a social system which, in many ways, is in conflict with his real nature and biological needs—without protest.

Dorothy Hankins in "Mental Hygiene Problems of the Adolescent Period" writes: "Moreover, in our society it is during the adolescent years that the psychological problem of achieving such a balance (between one's self as an indi-

vidual and one's self as a member of society) is at its peak, and many of the difficulties of the adolescent can be traced to his conflict over his own individuality and his relation to the community as represented by his parents, other adults, such institutions as school, church, and law, and society's customs in general."

So here, too, the test of the adolescent is his power to adjust, to compromise his biological needs with the demands of the social system, regardless of whether these demands are rational or irrational.

What this involves more specifically is stated by Dr. George E. Gardner in "Sex Behavior of Adolescents in Wartime" and published in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* previously mentioned. "... is the ever-present demand that the adolescent forego the expression of the sex instinct. That this repression and control is necessary if the best interests of the child and the community are to be served is of course beyond argument... The presence of this inner control, this ability to forego the pleasure of the moment for a later socially acceptable type of expression, in short, the strength of the ego of the individual, is also... an indicator of maturity."

But when we subject the basic premise to analysis, we will find that it is not in the best interests of the child nor in the best interests of the community, though it may be to the advantage of some social institutions. But Dr. Gardner is right. There are forms of sexual expression which should be controlled. One must always ask, therefore, what kind of sexual expression are we talking about. Further, if one wishes effectively to control such behavior, one must seek, first, to determine scientifically its cause.

Such a scientific investigation must be based primarily upon an understanding of the biological functioning of the human organism. Secondly, one must have a

*Much of the material presented in this article was discussed in the Seminar in Sex-economy led by Dr. Theodore P. Wolfe.

knowledge of the interaction between the instinctual drives of the individual and the restrictive demands of the social system and the effect of that interaction upon the formation of character. This body of information constitutes the principles of sex-economy.

Now, what are those principles of sex-economy which will guide this investigation? A full answer to this question is contained in the book, *THE FUNCTION OF THE ORGASM* by Wilhelm Reich. I shall only attempt, here, to highlight a few of its pertinent facts and ideas.

The term sex-economy refers to the regulation of the biological energy of the body. A healthy sex-economic condition exists only in those individuals who are capable of full orgasm in the sexual function. It is coincident with the presence or establishment of the natural, genital character and is opposed to the neurotic personality. The healthy adolescent, therefore, can only be a genital character.

Disturbances in the household of biological energy are manifested in pathological muscular armoring and neurotic character traits. The individual loses his natural motility of action. The change is not difficult to observe. In the course of an extensive teaching career, I have seen many cases where gay, lively boys and girls of thirteen and fourteen have become transformed into the average, "stiff" and conventional adolescents at seventeen or eighteen. Frequently, the loss of motility and spontaneity occurs earlier, during childhood; but in all cases, the factors which cause this change are social and environmental. For example:

A child touches and plays with its genitals. The mother interferes and stops the activity. The child becomes angry and strikes at its mother. At this point, punishment sets in. The child is severely reprimanded or slapped for daring to strike at its mother. It gives in, but the desire for the sexual pleasure is not lost. In the fu-

ture the child will seek its pleasure secretly for fear of being caught, and the first step towards slyness as a character trait has been taken. The anger towards the mother becomes bound in a chronic muscular spasm.

One further term needs clarification: adolescence. It must be distinguished from childhood on the one side and adulthood on the other. From the former, it is demarcated by the onset of puberty. Its later limit, however, is subject to some confusion. Some writers set it arbitrarily at 18 or 21. In the periodical mentioned above, "Adolescents in Wartime," the age limits are from 14 to 18. Caroline Zachry suggests 14 to 21 with individual variations. Kingsley Davis, writing on "Adolescence and the Social Structure," says: "The Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, for example, defines adolescence as 'the period of human development from the beginning of puberty to the end of the maturation process.' The definition implies that sexual maturity appears earlier and more conspicuously than numerous other phases of maturation, but acknowledges that nothing outstanding marks the end of the period." His own definition, though correct, is even more indefinite. "Adolescence is ordinarily the time when the lag of physical development behind social development [the order was meant, probably, to be reversed. —A.L.] first becomes pronounced."

Since adolescence represents the period of transition and growth from childhood to full maturity, no arbitrary time limits are valid. It begins with a biological phenomenon, the establishment of the genital function, and ends when that function reaches its full development. This occurs only when an individual establishes a satisfactory sexual relationship with a member of the opposite sex. To be satisfactory the sexual experience with the partner must result in orgasm. Without it, no individual can be con-

sidered a biologically sexually mature person. But two other determinants exist: A period of trial has come to an end; the sexually mature adult has one partner and the relationship between them is one of cohabitation. By this definition adolescence becomes a biological and psychological phenomenon and so not subject to the particular views of one sociopsychologist or another.

If, according to the above, many persons who are otherwise regarded as adults would be considered here as adolescents, the fault is not with the definition. The bachelor of thirty or so whose sexual relationships are haphazard and promiscuous is not only acting as an adolescent, he is one. We are now provided with another important distinction. Healthy adolescent behavior is characterized by the growth of sexual power from puberty to maturity; that behavior which is indicative of the retardation or failure of that development is neurotic. The over-extension of the period of adolescence is one unfortunate result of our present civilization.

You will agree, now, that too few adolescents can be described as healthy. Is this, then, too much to expect? If I thought so, this article would be superfluous. Fortunately, both the cause and the mechanisms of the neurotic character are known. Therapy, though effective, is difficult and limited, but it is not too much to hope that prevention is possible.

THE PROBLEM OF MASTURBATION

With these few introductory remarks, we may proceed to a more detailed consideration of adolescent behavior and conflicts.

The story of Ned F. illustrates one of the most common and avoided problems of youth. He was sent to me by Dr. Reich. The manner in which he came to Reich's attention is interesting and

revealing. An old woman was selling papers on the street in one of the better residential neighborhoods of the city. Sales were few and she was crying bitterly. Two young boys competed with her and were effectively depriving her of business.

Reich approached her and asked why she cried. The reason wasn't the lack of sales, it wasn't the competition, it wasn't her condition. She had a son, a boy of seventeen, who sat home all day brooding and demanding money. Her son was unhappy and she could not help him, nor could she give him all the money he asked for. Reich told her to send the boy to him.

Ned had left school a year before this but he was unable to work. He had a hang-dog expression: shoulders hunched, neck forward, head drooping. His eyes were wild and shifting, his face looked distraught. He sat home most of the time with his head buried in his arms or stared vacantly at the walls. He was close to a catatonic condition.

The present trouble, as Reich learned, began about a year ago. One day Ned's mother discovered him masturbating. She became hysterical. With a look of horror on her face, she told Ned that if he did that, he would go crazy. Frightened and embarrassed at being caught, he stopped. Immediately afterwards his condition deteriorated.

Fortunately for Ned, he was reached in time. The feeling of guilt about his masturbation was removed and he was encouraged to continue. The problem was not so easily solved, however. Each act of masturbation brought in its wake a fit of depression. He suffered from a feeling of worthlessness and he was tormented by a strong feeling of inferiority when he tried to approach a girl. Continued treatments brought about a marked improvement in his physical appearance; the distraught look disappeared from his

face; and he manifested a desire to learn to dance.

It now became necessary to help Ned find a job. Sex-economy, in its theory and practice, recognizes the interplay of social forces and biological needs. Success in therapy cannot be achieved, therefore, if the effort is made in one direction only. But Ned did not hold his first job nor his second. He had come late and was fired. No one but the physician knew that he had not slept that night but had tossed on his bed. Once again, the old trouble arose. And again, it was the physician whose help was sought.

The number of boys and girls—though the former exceed the latter—who suffer from conscious masturbation conflicts which rob them of their vitality and happiness is almost unbelievable. Most physicians will advise the boy or girl that the practice is natural and harmless if kept within reasonable limits. It is regrettable that there are some who for religious or so-called moral reasons think otherwise and add further to the confusion of the adolescent. But the cases which come to the physician are few; the heart-breaking anxiety which these young people suffer is beyond imagination.

If masturbation is an expression of a natural impulse, and harmless, why is there an almost universal reaction against it? Before we proceed to an answer, let us consider another case history, one which presents the problem in an entirely different light.

Frank S. was twenty-nine, lonely, almost defeated but making one last desperate effort to gain some happiness. He was completing his studies towards a master's degree in bacteriology at one of the large state universities. Frank was clubfooted, but this handicap could not be accounted responsible for his difficulties; for he was also personable and talented: he had a good voice, knew music and could draw well.

At twenty-two, this boy fell in love with a girl of fifteen who lived in his neighborhood. She was not only his first love, she was the first girl he had ever gone with. Both were ignorant about sex; it was a matter of growing up together; and their feeble attempts at love were confined to kissing and petting. Lack of knowledge was not the only cause of this. Frank lived in a three-room apartment with his mother and sister, his girl friend lived with her parents in the back of a candy store.

We have here another example of how economic pressure and environment interfere with and thwart basic biological drives. As we shall see later, the lack of a proper place where the two lovers could have some privacy was one of the most important factors in the failure of this relationship to mature.

Sometime during the first year of this friendship, Frank began to suffer from ulcers of the stomach. When I met him, the condition had lasted for six years. He was frequently hospitalized and had just recovered from a particularly severe attack. Frank was bitter about the doctors who had attended him at the hospital. Not one of them made an effort to discover the cause of his illness, which he earnestly believed was due to his sexual tension.

During all this time, Frank and his girl continued to "go steady." She visited him constantly whenever he was in the hospital despite the objections of her parents who regarded Frank as an unworthy suitor because of his sickness. Yet, notwithstanding the real affection each had for the other, Frank felt that they would break up and he would lose the girl unless they were able to establish a more solid basis for their relationship on the grounds of sexual satisfaction. He made the attempt just before his last attack of ulcers. They were in her home, her parents were out; but they did not un-

dress for fear that her parents would return. The girl was willing, the boy tried; the result was a premature ejaculation, and both were disappointed and unsatisfied. One other later attempt was equally unsuccessful. The girl accepted a position in Washington and left New York. Frank became ill again. She visited him once during this illness, but her feeling for him was gone, she said. She had met another boy in Washington.

It would not be correct to ascribe Frank's emotional difficulties to the ferment of an unsuccessful love affair. We may ask why this boy, at twenty-two, chose a fifteen-year-old girl for his love interest. This fact belies any assumption that Frank had reached maturity. And what of the years between puberty and so-called maturity? Frank made little mention of them; he referred only to the circumstances of his affair. I asked Frank, point-blank, if he had masturbated during that time. He was not surprised. His answer was in the negative. I was surprised. Had he not, then, felt any impulse to do so? Again, no. He had masturbated once, he admitted, when he was fourteen, but never again.

Here is the core of his problem. No intercourse, no masturbation, not even an impulse to masturbate. Then Frank told me that he had great difficulty in falling asleep at night. He would lie awake and toss for two or three hours before dropping off into a fitful slumber. And this had gone on for years, extending back to his puberty. Little wonder that with such pent-up energies and passions, of which he had made himself unaware, his body should succumb to disease!

Is masturbation really an important problem of youth? Are not the two cases cited exceptions? Do all adolescents masturbate?

The figures are misleading. There is no adequate attempt to define masturba-

tory action. Therefore despite reports which show an incidence of the practice, at one time or another, of sixty to ninety percent of boys and forty to sixty-five percent of girls, we must agree with Dr. Harold Kelman that, "In some form, it occurs at some time in the normal development of all individuals."

A more revealing conclusion is the following by R. R. Willoughby in *SEXUALITY IN THE SECOND DECADE*: "A surprising subsidiary finding that masturbation is rather often practiced without orgasmic climax, and even without (i.e., before the appearance) of sex feeling, and in both sexes." This is an observation that will require more extended discussion later.

The situation is accurately described by Caroline B. Zachry and Margaret Lighty in their book, *EMOTION AND CONDUCT IN ADOLESCENCE*: "His body is urgently ready for expression for which society affords him no approved means. Masturbation, which is his readiest available response to this urgency, is a source of emotional conflict for him, even though many adults now recognize—intellectually, at least—that it is normal. It is forbidden by one of his strongest early moral imperatives. Whatever may be his own factual knowledge or his rationalization in this dilemma, he is unlikely to escape self-reproach."

Before we proceed, we may ask how this fits into the sex-economic concepts of the energy relationships in the body. We have known for many years that sexual activity is a phenomenon which is manifested throughout life. In fact, as Reich has shown, the sexual process may be equated with the life process which follows the rhythm tension, charge (biological energy charge), discharge and relaxation. At puberty the tension becomes intensified and the excitation is strongly felt in the genitals. Masturbation is "his

readiest available response to this urgency."

It matters little to us how or where the adolescent learns about masturbation. Some say that they learned about it from an older friend, others that the practice developed spontaneously. But learn about it they will. What is important are the attitudes which accompany the action and their effect upon the adolescent.

Psychologically and physiologically, the experience is pleasurable and satisfactory only when the discharge of the energy is quantitatively equal to the amount of the tension or charge. If, then, because of guilt feelings, the adolescent holds back (inhibits the full release by contracting the expanding musculature), the result is pain and disappointment. The failure of a full discharge to occur leaves a residue of energy (tension) which is experienced as unpleasure and perceived as regret or sin when mixed with moralistic or religious values.

We are now in a position to answer a question which was propounded earlier. If masturbation is a natural act and harmless, why is there such fear of it? As Dr. Kelman says, "Unfortunately the mistaken notion still exists that masturbation is a particularly harmful practice," despite the fact that "there is no medical basis for this belief." But masturbation is healthy only when it results in deep satisfaction and pleasure, i.e., when a pre-existing tension (energy charge) is fully discharged. The ability to achieve a full discharge is dependent upon the capacity to give one's self over to the sexual feeling. However, it is just this capacity to give one's self over (sexually and otherwise) which has been destroyed in adolescents and lost to adults by a false education in the home and outside of it.

Long before the boy or girl reaches puberty, a state of mind inimical to the natural function of masturbation has been created. From the talk on the streets,

which is where so many of our early attitudes towards sex derive, the young boy or girl learns the expression "jerk." A jerk is a person who is "whacked up," i.e., obviously neurotic and unstable. The connection between a "jerk" and to jerk off, the slang expression for masturbation, is obvious. Nor does the "street" ever abstain from its derision of the natural sex functions. Its greatest contempt is expressed in phrases referring to the sex functions. And with the unfailing instinct of the vulture for its prey, the gang can sense the boy with guilt feelings about his masturbation. The uncertain eyes, the unvoiced appeal for friendship and understanding, bring forth only scorn. Therefore, long before the parents throw a real scare into youth with their threat about the dangers of masturbation, a background of guilt feelings and anxiety accompany the act.

To counteract this influence should be the duty of the parents. They have the happiness and welfare of their children at heart; but they, too, have been blinded by the same forces. Their intrusion, on the wrong side, is often tragic. Ned's case is one example. Another young man, whose youth was marred by anxiety and guilt feelings about his masturbation, told me this story:

His father approached him one day, the young man was about fifteen at the time, and said: "My boy, do you know what will happen to you if you play with yourself?" The boy shook his head. "You will go crazy. I have a relative in Europe who touched himself and he went crazy. They had to put him in an institution. The doctors told him that he could never marry and if he slept with a girl, he might die."

The shock of this threat upon his mind, he related to me, was unbelievable. He could not desist from masturbating; and, at times, in his bewilderment, he felt that his father's warning was about to

come true. The first break in his misery came when he was twenty years old. His physician told him, then, apropos a routine examination, that masturbation was harmless and that everyone did it. But the physician advised against overdoing it; once in two or three weeks was all right. The young man was afraid to admit that he masturbated as often as twice or three times a week. The misery did not end for him, he told me, until two years later when he found his way to sexual intercourse.

Why is the adolescent receptive to threats about his masturbation? Should not his own experience convince him that the act is natural and harmless? It should, if (and this is the critical point in any understanding of the subject) his experience of the act approaches the orgasm in pleasure and satisfaction. We must recognize, therefore, that for the majority of adolescents the act of masturbation is not a pleasurable experience. Their capacity to surrender to their sexual feelings (a prerequisite to the pleasure of which we spoke earlier) has been lost through a pathological character armoring—represented in the physiological sphere as a muscular inhibition of the flow of biological energy to the genitals. And this armoring process begins not in adolescence, nor in pre-adolescence, but in early childhood and infancy.

Masturbation begins with sexuality which begins with life. If Freud had made no other contribution, his forceful presentation of the facts of infantile sexuality would mark him as one of the great benefactors of mankind. Today, the knowledge of infantile sexuality is fairly common. One has only to observe children, particularly between the ages of three to five, on the street or in their homes, to become convinced that genital masturbation is practised. But despite this general knowledge, an affirmation of the

infant's right to sexual pleasure is found nowhere but in sex-economy.

Here are two specific instances. A young lady told me that her three-year-old brother casually walked up to her holding his penis in his hand. She was surprised and she remarked involuntarily, "Don't hold it, put it away." He looked hurt, then brightened and said, "You hold it for me." Someone should, he knew.

A student at the Sex-Economic Institute recollected the following from the time when he was five years old. He used to walk through his apartment holding his penis outside his pants. His father saw him doing it one day. With a severe and angry expression, the parent scolded the boy. My informant still recalls the innocent and bewildered expression with which he looked at his father. He was hurt that so natural and harmless an act should bring this censure upon him. The next day, to get even for his hurt, he urinated all over the apartment, defying his father. This, however, resulted in a beating which was never forgotten. He continued his masturbation, but now his practice became secret.

In an article entitled "Psychological Aspects of Pediatric Practice," Drs. Benjamin Spock and Mabel Huschka speak of the effect of parental interference with infantile and childhood masturbation: "The harm lies not in the habit itself but in the guilty feelings associated with it . . . Finally, the most destructive feature of the whole experience is that usually when the parent discovers his child playing with its genitals, he becomes deeply perturbed and often makes amazing threats in the effort to stop the habit at once. Such threats usually carry the idea that the genitals will be cut off, infected or otherwise incapacitated; as a result the child's fears of mutilation are stirred to the depths and he develops anxiety."

It is not even necessary for the parent to voice such drastic threats to accomplish

this purpose. The attitude of the parent has an important effect regardless of how it is expressed. Witness what Zachry and Lighty say on this subject: "Boys and girls who have grown up in families in which the body has been regarded by adults with fear and shame are likely to experience anxiety over their physical development."

If the danger lies in the child's developing guilty feelings over his masturbation, what, then, should the parents do when confronted with such actions? The almost unanimous answer is sublimation.

Spock and Hushka write: "Instead the procedure of choice is to so enrich the child's social and recreational life and his facilities for creative pursuits that he will find opportunity for sublimation in more appropriate pleasures."

Sublimation sounds good; unfortunately, it doesn't work. Of course, one can tire a child with strenuous physical exercise to a degree that it has no energy for sex play; but how long can one keep it up? And is it in the best interest of the child?

Sublimation proceeds upon the theory that the organism has a certain quantity of energy, and if part of it is diverted into cultural channels, less is available for sexual pursuits. Physiologically, however, the very attempt to block the expression of a sexual impulse (the development of inner controls) ties up energy in the mechanism of the block, the muscular armor, and less is available for other interests. In addition, the sexual impulse is not eradicated; rather it becomes distorted and finds expression in daydreams, fantasies or other symbolic acts.

Today, many more parents are aware of infantile masturbation than ever before. Their attitude may be summed up in the remarks of one parent to me: "We know it's natural and harmless. We don't

try to stop it. When we see the child touching its genitals, we simply try to distract its attention; offer it a toy to play with or something to eat."

The incongruity of this remark is obvious. Of course they stop the activity. Further, their own guilt feeling is revealed in the following: "We don't want him to masturbate in front of people when he grows up." I don't think they fool the child by these tactics. After all, its desire for sexual pleasure is unsatisfied, and it is aware of the fact that the activity is being discouraged.

Many adolescents to whom I have spoken echo this attitude. They say: "We know that masturbation is harmless, but we refrain." At most, they admit to occasional acts in early adolescence. But then, they have no heterosexual intercourse, either. There is an incongruity here too; for, if they have no guilt feelings, why do they refrain?

The problem of masturbation is completely misunderstood by most writers, parents and adolescents. And so long as they think in terms of discouraging or, at most, tolerating the practice, the real nature of the problem will escape them. Masturbation serves an important physiological function. In infancy and childhood it is one of main mechanisms by which the organism releases its sexual tension. In adolescence it fulfils the same function until the individual takes up regular heterosexual intercourse. That masturbation may produce a deep, "soul-satisfying" pleasure is indicative of the importance of this function. The real problem of masturbation lies in its failure to fulfil, adequately, this function. In such cases, one should always ask why.

Let me illustrate. The average psychologist, when confronted with a case of excessive masturbation, will say: it is harmful, it must be stopped, he should sublimate. The sex-economist, on the other hand, will inquire why. What im-

pedes the full release of the sexual tension? What characterological and muscular blocks prevent the full discharge of the biological energy? What guilt feelings are present? He would try, then, to remove these blocks and, thereby, remove the cause for such action. And, in a similar way, he would handle any other disturbance in or resulting from the practice of masturbation. The cardinal point in this technique is that *satisfactory* masturbation never creates a problem for the adolescent or his environment.

One illustrative experience is, I believe, worth recounting. One summer, I was a counselor at a children's camp in charge of a bunk of nine boys, between 10 and 11 years of age. They were a tough bunch to manage, I was told. Many were old campers who knew all the ropes. And, indeed, they were tough. They had their cliques, but they could present a united front against me. I was their friend, but I was also authority, and I could sense the barrier between us.

Returning from a visit to the girls' camp, one day, they began to use some "dirty" words. Towards the girls, they certainly were not "cissies." When they met a girl, they immediately began to wrestle with her. I introduced two boys to some girls, and in sheer embarrassment they ran down to the lake, a quarter of a mile, and back in less than ten minutes. I remarked that a knowledge of such words was no manly achievement, which they obviously thought it was, and that I could tell them all they wanted to know about this subject. Would I dare? They were ready to put me to the test.

One boy, bolder and shrewder than the others, asked me to explain a "son of a b—," I did. Then, a "bastard." Without hesitation, I told them what it meant. He was not surprised; he, too, knew their meanings. Then, with a sly look on his face, he pulled one boy aside and whispered in his ear. He had a word

which could not even be mentioned. "I know what word you are thinking of," I said. He looked up challengingly. "What is it?" "It begins with an F," I said. Would I dare say it, he demanded. I did, and he was surprised. All the other boys were listening very attentively, now. Would I tell them its meaning. Yes, I said, when we get back to the bunk.

We returned to the bunk, it was a rest period, and everyone sat back. I began slowly. That word refers to a man and a woman. Yes, but what do they do, one demanded. They were no longer interested in the word, they wanted some honest sexual information. Without embarrassment, I told them simply all about the sexual act. My first inquisitor knew about rubber contraceptives. How were they used? What were they for? he wanted to know. Facts was what they were after, without moralizing or preaching. But I also told them the difference between the loving embrace of a girl and "f—." It was a difference they grasped immediately. Henceforth, they never used the slang expression, but always referred to the act of intercourse as "a sexual embrace." Fortunately, I had an anatomy book with me, and I could satisfy their curiosity with pictures.

They knew my wife was up at camp. "Did I do that to her?" Yes, but not in the dirty sense of the word. "I didn't do anything to her. We were in love, and our embrace was a mutual affair. A girl has the same feeling for sex as a boy," I explained. And so the questions ran on. "Could they do it?" Strangely, the slyness had vanished from their manner. With no fear of punishment, they spoke simply and directly of a subject important to them. And without my admonitions, they did not babble about our conversations to other campers. It was something our bunk had in common.

Towards me, their manner also un-

derwent a profound change. No longer was I an "asexual authority." I was simply their friend. I had lost the authority to command, but I had won their confidence and affection, and they extended to me their sincere cooperation. It was, for me, a thrilling experience.

Infantile sexuality manifests itself in another form, sexual curiosity. We can agree, in general, with Dr. Kelman in this statement on the subject: "Many of us attempt to blind ourselves to normal and abnormal manifestations of sexual curiosity in childhood. It is something of an anomaly in our society that the natural curiosity of children is applauded in all directions except with respect to biological facts. A child is aware of its body before it has any real appreciation of self. It is normal and natural for it, therefore, to explore all the bodily orifices and to stimulate any part of its body for pleasure. Yet the attitude of the majority of parents is such that the child's natural curiosity becomes inhibited and frustrated. This consequently leads to the development of abnormal fears with resultant distortions of interest and activities in bowel, bladder and genital functions."

This statement, however, is incomplete in that it fails to include reference to the natural curiosity of the child in the opposite sex. This interest is, at first, centered on one of the parents. It is in such situations that the shame of the adult in his own body is communicated to the child. Deliberate display of the body by a parent, on the other hand, is equally harmful, for the child can sense the guilt feeling of the parent behind the mask of indifference. Fortunately, the child has another outlet in children of the same age. If, then, the natural sexual play of children is obstructed, the harm to the future health of the individual will be considerable. The morbid curiosity and pornography of some adolescents and

adults has its roots in the frustration of this early infantile curiosity. It is the same with all neurotic sexual manifestations. We lay the basis for the disturbance in early childhood, then try, in later life, to prevent its manifestation through law and order. How much easier to prevent the disturbance!

However, direct sexual suppression during childhood is not the only way in which parents inhibit the natural functions of children and so prepare the groundwork for the neurotic adolescent and adult. That independence of character (born with the child and so integral a part of the capacity to give one's self wholly) is destroyed through a blind but vicious authoritarian upbringing. The most important factor is training to excremental cleanliness at an age when the child is without the ability to comprehend the necessity for such cleanliness. The harm engendered by this universal practice is well detailed by Reich in *THE FUNCTION OF THE ORGASM*. Perhaps more than any other factor, anal sphincter training is responsible for the loss of sexual sensations. But in every aspect of the child's life, feeding and sleeping, in play or at rest, the natural rhythms of the child are displaced by mechanistic rituals. If the child learns that he cannot determine when and what he will eat, how can we, later, expect him to show more independence in the more remote problems of life—politics, etc.?

I cannot say too much or speak too strongly against this early authoritarian upbringing. Both in its theory and therapy, sex-economy is forced back into the conflicts of this critical period of life. In an article entitled "Sex-Economic Upbringing" in Volume I, Number 1 of this JOURNAL, Dr. Paul Martin sets forth what can be done as opposed to what is done in the early upbringing of children. I can only incorporate his remarks by reference here.

A complete understanding of the problem of masturbation is impossible without some knowledge of masturbatory practices and the feelings and thoughts which accompany them. Many of the following ideas and illustrations, I have taken from Reich's book, *DER SEXUELLE KAMPF DER JUGEND*. Among the practices which are definitely harmful are those in which the pleasure is inhibited; provocation without permitting the final satisfaction (in the boy by cessation before the seminal flow); or prolonging the provocation by too frequent interruptions; and the attempt to bring the slack penis to erection without the existence of sexual excitation. In the girls, masturbation with sharp pointed instruments is not an uncommon practice. Or the masturbation may be between a boy and girl or with members of the same sex in which the final satisfaction is prevented.

It is important, too, to know the fantasies which accompany masturbation. Fantasies of sexual intercourse, of kissing and embracing, are perfectly natural; but when the fantasies are those of beating or being beaten, there is some cause for alarm. Then there are the ideas which youth has with respect to the act of masturbation. It is a common belief that masturbation weakens the body: as one boy expressed it, "When I have a discharge, it feels as if my lifeblood were ebbing away." This phenomenon is quite real. It is due to the inhibition of the strong preorgastic sensations which then are not followed by the experience of orgasmic pleasure and satisfaction, and is one of the reasons why boys stop the act before the discharge.

This phenomenon, so completely misunderstood by the boy or girl, is distorted with future serious consequences. The flow of biological energy to the genital during masturbation or during the sexual act is experienced as feelings and sensations of "melting" and "draining" in the

thighs and pelvic musculature. In healthy individuals, this feeling of melting suddenly becomes intensified just prior to the discharge or release. This increase in the excitation, perceived as a sensation of the whole body flowing or melting into the genital, is what the boy or girl fears most and tries to prevent. But it is this melting sensation of the whole body which constitutes the giving one's self over of which we have spoken so much. Without it no orgasm is possible; the ejaculation of the boy then becomes a sluggish outflowing instead of the quickened pulsation it should be. Then, indeed, a waste has occurred and the fantasy is not unjustified.

How does the adolescent, boy or girl, prevent the increase of the excitation? The mechanism of inhibition consists in becoming muscularly rigid, extending the legs and constricting the musculature surrounding the abdominal and pelvic cavity. In contrast, the body of the healthy individual is mobile and responsive to the impulses. But since character armoring likewise consists in a muscular rigidity, the individual with neurotic character defense mechanisms is incapable of yielding to the consummation of the preorgastic sensations.

Masturbation is not the central problem of youth; but in their relation to it, they manifest all the contradictions in their attitude towards their sexuality. Also, because masturbation is the threshold to the mature and satisfactory sex life, any disturbance which occurs at this point will exert a detrimental influence upon the future sexual happiness of the individual.

Sex-counselors must know that masturbation is beneficial only when it is deeply satisfying, and it is their function to remove all hindrances to the complete enjoyment of the act. It is not sufficient, therefore, to tell an adolescent that he need have no guilt feelings about his masturbation; it is necessary to follow

through the counseling to the point where the adolescent achieves the capacity of full surrender. Frequently, this may require vegetotherapeutic treatment, and where this is indicated, counseling alone is inadvisable. Nor would it do to encourage masturbation where it would result in conflicts which cannot be handled within the scope of the counseling service.

How long shall the period of self-satisfaction continue and how often shall recourse be had to it? The answer to these questions in individual cases must depend upon the individual. From a biological point of view, the answer is simple: As long as masturbation affords a satisfactory and pleasurable release from a pre-existing tension, it is beneficial and may be continued. This concept, based upon natural self-regulation and the pleasure principle, is basic to any understanding of this problem.

If masturbation serves the function of bridging the gap between childhood and sexual maturity, it can become harmful if unduly prolonged. We must be careful, however, not to condemn masturbation even during maturity. In addition to the personal problems which most young boys and girls face, there are, frequently, almost insurmountable obstacles to a healthy sexual relationship between young persons. The difficulty of finding a place where the boy and girl can be alone and undisturbed is tremendous, especially in large cities where whole families, including grown children, live in a series of interconnecting rooms.

But masturbation at maturity does have the disadvantage of isolating the individual. It is an easy way out and removes the necessity on the part of the boy or girl of going out and finding a partner of the opposite sex. Its undue continuance may lead to homosexuality which is further encouraged by a society which in many ways segregates the sexes.

Masturbation is not the solution to the

problem of the adolescent's sexual need and must not be regarded as a satisfactory substitute for intercourse. After a short period of masturbation, the healthy adolescent will demand a sexual partner and in this he will not be frustrated.

ADOLESCENT SEX LIFE AND THE PARENTS

To close one's eyes to the fact that many adolescents have sexual relations is both foolish and a gesture of helplessness. To inveigh against this situation is futile. Healthy adolescents will find their way to satisfactory sexual relationships; others may not reach this goal but they, too, will engage in sexual acts under a variety of conditions.

Some indication of the extent of adolescent sexual activity may be obtained from the following statement by George E. Gardner in "Sex Behavior of Adolescents In Wartime": "However, in a recent as yet unpublished study by the writer, it was found that in a group of 321 late adolescent males (17-20) 172, or 78 per cent of them, had had heterosexual experiences by the age of 15.5 years."

It is certainly not a question of the proper environment, as this quotation from "The Social Background of Wartime Adolescents" shows: "The increase in this type of delinquency (sexual) has been startling. The young girl has become a serious problem even in the transmission of venereal diseases. It would be a great mistake also to suppose that these girls who are offering themselves to soldiers and sailors come only from homes of poverty and ignorance. Although no doubt in greater proportion they do, every experienced social worker will bear testimony that they also come forth from families that are of high quality."

Judge Lindsey has an interesting comment in *THE REVOLT OF MODERN YOUTH* on one such case of the very many which came to his attention: "They thought they knew all about their daughter; that

her mind in adolescence was as much an open book to them as it had been when she was just coming out of infancy—and fearlessly prattled whatever came into her little head—and continued to prattle till she found for some reason or other, she mustn't, and henceforth educated herself in hypocrisy and deceit for her own protection."

Of course, the answer to this is greater parental supervision. James S. Plant, in the *Annals*, says: "A considerable amount of the present increase in delinquency is due to the lack of home supervision." But what to do? In view of the above, shall we lock the children in?

Then, more school supervision. Dr. E. R. van Kleeck, in an article entitled, "A Return to Religion—The Cure for Delinquency," makes this recommendation among others: "Get increased state aid . . . and thus get smaller classes and more individual attention. Then you can catch the germ in time. Then the teacher can give the home more information about the individual child. Thus two-thirds of the trouble will disappear."

Here is another quotation from Lindsey's book. Speaking about the principal who thought she knew what went on in her school and could control the activities of her students, he wrote: "The amazing thing, not only about her but about an unfortunately large portion of the teaching profession, was this belief that the job could be done that way; that people could be managed that way; and that the thing was actually working, when she could not have made it work if she had had a hundred eyes, and a corps of trained spies with periscopes and microscopes in every nook and recess of her school."

In New York, in the poorer sections of the city, it is not uncommon for a boy to take a girl up to the roof and there "lay her," as he puts it. Among the wealthier classes, the automobile, parked on some

lonely road, affords the necessary privacy. Or it has been done (and is done) in dark hallways behind the stairs, in the living room of the girl's home after her parents have gone to bed. In the summer, a secluded spot in a park behind some cover is a favorite place. Yes, youth finds some way. If, now, we deplore the expression of the sexual impulse under these circumstances, we do not condemn the boys or girls who engage in such acts. It is only because full surrender to the sexual feeling is impossible under these circumstances, that such actions lose their character as expressions of love.

This lack of condemnation must not be construed as an approval of the neurotic sexual behavior of adolescents referred to above. Two viewpoints are possible. One is to attempt to prevent such acts by restricting the expression of the sexual impulse in adolescence; for example, the demand for premarital chastity. This is the attitude of our present social organization. Unfortunately, it doesn't work despite every pressure brought to bear upon the adolescent, and its failure is becoming more evident every day. Where, in specific cases, it is effective in suppressing adolescent sexuality, the result is an unhappy adolescent and a neurotic adult. Superficially, he has conformed; inwardly, the rebellion takes the form of neurotic sexual fantasies, neurasthenic symptoms, etc.

On the other hand, one can proceed scientifically to investigate the reasons for such behavior. Behind every case of indiscriminate and promiscuous sexual conduct, one will find a disturbance in the sexual function. To the sex-economist the actions of the so-called "victory girl" are as much a medical problem as a tie of the diaphragm or a psychotic condition. But, though the problem can be handled therapeutically in individual cases, on a mass scale, the only solution lies in prevention. We must know, therefore, the causes of

through the counseling to the point where the adolescent achieves the capacity of full surrender. Frequently, this may require vegetotherapeutic treatment, and where this is indicated, counseling alone is inadvisable. Nor would it do to encourage masturbation where it would result in conflicts which cannot be handled within the scope of the counseling service.

How long shall the period of self-satisfaction continue and how often shall recourse be had to it? The answer to these questions in individual cases must depend upon the individual. From a biological point of view, the answer is simple: As long as masturbation affords a satisfactory and pleasurable release from a pre-existing tension, it is beneficial and may be continued. This concept, based upon natural self-regulation and the pleasure principle, is basic to any understanding of this problem.

If masturbation serves the function of bridging the gap between childhood and sexual maturity, it can become harmful if unduly prolonged. We must be careful, however, not to condemn masturbation even during maturity. In addition to the personal problems which most young boys and girls face, there are, frequently, almost insurmountable obstacles to a healthy sexual relationship between young persons. The difficulty of finding a place where the boy and girl can be alone and undisturbed is tremendous, especially in large cities where whole families, including grown children, live in a series of interconnecting rooms.

But masturbation at maturity does have the disadvantage of isolating the individual. It is an easy way out and removes the necessity on the part of the boy or girl of going out and finding a partner of the opposite sex. Its undue continuance may lead to homosexuality which is further encouraged by a society which in many ways segregates the sexes.

Masturbation is not the solution to the

problem of the adolescent's sexual need and must not be regarded as a satisfactory substitute for intercourse. After a short period of masturbation, the healthy adolescent will demand a sexual partner and in this he will not be frustrated.

ADOLESCENT SEX LIFE AND THE PARENTS

To close one's eyes to the fact that many adolescents have sexual relations is both foolish and a gesture of helplessness. To inveigh against this situation is futile. Healthy adolescents will find their way to satisfactory sexual relationships; others may not reach this goal but they, too, will engage in sexual acts under a variety of conditions.

Some indication of the extent of adolescent sexual activity may be obtained from the following statement by George E. Gardner in "Sex Behavior of Adolescents In Wartime": "However, in a recent as yet unpublished study by the writer, it was found that in a group of 221 late adolescent males (17-20) 172, or 78 per cent of them, had had heterosexual experiences by the age of 15.5 years."

It is certainly not a question of the proper environment, as this quotation from "The Social Background of Wartime Adolescents" shows: "The increase in this type of delinquency (sexual) has been startling. The young girl has become a serious problem even in the transmission of venereal diseases. It would be a great mistake also to suppose that these girls who are offering themselves to soldiers and sailors come only from homes of poverty and ignorance. Although no doubt in greater proportion they do, every experienced social worker will bear testimony that they also come forth from families that are of high quality."

Judge Lindsey has an interesting comment in *THE REVOLT OF MODERN YOUTH* on one such case of the very many which came to his attention: "They thought they knew all about their daughter; that

her mind in adolescence was as much an open book to them as it had been when she was just coming out of infancy—and fearlessly prattled whatever came into her little head—and continued to prattle till she found for some reason or other, she mustn't, and henceforth educated herself in hypocrisy and deceit for her own protection."

Of course, the answer to this is greater parental supervision. James S. Plant, in the *Annals*, says: "A considerable amount of the present increase in delinquency is due to the lack of home supervision." But what to do? In view of the above, shall we lock the children in?

Then, more school supervision. Dr. E. R. van Kleeck, in an article entitled, "A Return to Religion—The Cure for Delinquency," makes this recommendation among others: "Get increased state aid . . . and thus get smaller classes and more individual attention. Then you can catch the germ in time. Then the teacher can give the home more information about the individual child. Thus two-thirds of the trouble will disappear."

Here is another quotation from Lindsey's book, *Speaking about the principal who thought she knew what went on in her school and could control the activities of her students*, he wrote: "The amazing thing, not only about her but about an unfortunately large portion of the teaching profession, was this belief that the job could be done that way; that people could be managed that way; and that the thing was actually working, when she could not have made it work if she had had a hundred eyes, and a corps of trained spies with periscopes and microscopes in every nook and recess of her school."

In New York, in the poorer sections of the city, it is not uncommon for a boy to take a girl up to the roof and there "lay her," as he puts it. Among the wealthier classes, the automobile, parked on some

lonely road, affords the necessary privacy. Or it has been done (and is done) in dark hallways behind the stairs, in the living room of the girl's home after her parents have gone to bed. In the summer, a secluded spot in a park behind some cover is a favorite place. Yes, youth finds some way. If, now, we deplore the expression of the sexual impulse under these circumstances, we do not condemn the boys or girls who engage in such acts. It is only because full surrender to the sexual feeling is impossible under these circumstances, that such actions lose their character as expressions of love.

This lack of condemnation must not be construed as an approval of the neurotic sexual behavior of adolescents referred to above. Two viewpoints are possible. One is to attempt to prevent such acts by restricting the expression of the sexual impulse in adolescence; for example, the demand for premarital chastity. This is the attitude of our present social organization. Unfortunately, it doesn't work despite every pressure brought to bear upon the adolescent, and its failure is becoming more evident every day. Where, in specific cases, it is effective in suppressing adolescent sexuality, the result is an unhappy adolescent and a neurotic adult. Superficially, he has conformed; inwardly, the rebellion takes the form of neurotic sexual fantasies, neurasthenic symptoms, etc.

On the other hand, one can proceed scientifically to investigate the reasons for such behavior. Behind every case of indiscriminate and promiscuous sexual conduct, one will find a disturbance in the sexual function. To the sex-economist the actions of the so-called "victory girl" are as much a medical problem as a tic of the diaphragm or a psychotic condition. But, though the problem can be handled therapeutically in individual cases, on a mass scale, the only solution lies in prevention. We must know, therefore, the causes of

the common disturbances in the sexual function, and knowing this, we must eliminate them. The individual capable of orgasmic experience in the sexual act does not enter into promiscuous sexual relations, is not a bearer of venereal disease, and is, always, a productive member of society.

Adolescents must be helped to a satisfactory sexual life, if possible. Bear in mind that the alternative is a generation of neurotic adults, dominated by secondary drives, who confuse pornography with sex. How is this help to be extended? Certainly not by clamping a lid of secrecy upon the sexual needs of youth, nor by all the talk about venereal disease. Strangely, those most impressed and frightened by the danger of venereal disease are the strongly inhibited and repressed adolescents, those furthest from any sexual contact.

The effect of secrecy has only been to create an estrangement between parents and children about the most vital problems of the adolescent. Few, indeed, of the boys and girls I have known, or have had occasion to speak to, have told their parents about their sexual experiences. In fact, the idea that one or both parents should know was quite shocking to them. One young lady, about thirty-four, who had had relations with men since her early twenties, was amazed when I asked her if her mother knew of it. "Oh, no," she said, "I couldn't bear to let her find out." And one adolescent I knew, past thirty, would not let the thought be mentioned in his mother's presence that he had ever been intimate with a girl. In most cases, it is the mother of whom most fear is felt. Another girl, of nineteen, who had been sexually intimate with one boy for three years and frequently spent week-ends at his home, was certain that her mother suspected nothing.

Are parents really ignorant about the sexual activities of their children? Some

undoubtedly are. Many, I feel, suspect the possibility but are themselves afraid openly to recognize the fact. Here, then, is one cause of the mess.

In one home with which I am familiar, the mother learned, by opening a letter, that her eighteen-year-old daughter had been intimate with a sailor to whom the mother objected. She found out, too, that they had had relations without contraceptive precautions. It would seem that a frank discussion about sex between mother and daughter was called for now. The mother could not have prevented the girl from continuing her relations with this boy; she was too much under his domination; and on one previous occasion, the girl had defied her mother successfully. But contraceptive advice would have been welcome if properly presented.

Yet the mother could do nothing; she could no more mention the subject than if it had been taboo. Between the two there were acrimonious arguments about other matters, then gushing reconciliations. The girl was obviously neurotic and had stated that she had experienced no sensation whatsoever in the sexual act. And without the mother's support no one else could help the girl, until deterioration had progressed to the point that psychiatric treatment would be necessary.

Are the parents responsible for these situations? To a great extent, yes. We do not blame them, however. They are burdened with guilt feelings about their own sexuality and are more in need of counsel than their children. The latter cannot be effectively approached, however, unless the parents are included in the discussion or program of action. So in his European work, Reich found it necessary and advisable to speak to adolescents and parents in one group. Both have similar problems (for in these meetings the parents were as concerned with their own personal sexual problems as their children

were with theirs), and are brought closer together in the common solution.

Such neighborhood discussion meetings have not yet proved possible here. It becomes the duty, therefore, of the parents to become acquainted with sex-economic information. There are two groups of parents, however. One consists of those parents who have so repressed their children that the latter are utterly incapable of entering into any sexual relationship with the opposite sex. Dominated, frequently, by strong religious feelings, they are deaf to any rational appeal. On the other hand, there are those parents who profess a liberal attitude towards their children's sexual needs. These parents encourage their children to be popular and have frequent dates, they manifest an active interest in their children's social life, and play the part of the modern mother of modern children. And it is in just these homes, that the greatest tragedies often occur.

Is that statement surprising? It does require some elucidation and the explanation of a phenomenon which is completely misunderstood. In the Puritanical, authoritarian home, regardless of religion, the children, brought up under a moral code which imposes duties but provides for no pleasure, are, in large measure, resigned to their fate. This is not an absolute statement, but is dependent on the degree of repression and the innate energy of the child. Where there is no expectation, there can be no disappointment; only great aspiration can result in great tragedy. In the modern home, where repression is not severe and the sex attitude is tolerant but not negative, where the promise of real happiness is held forth but unfulfilled, the threat of an acute misery and unhappiness is greatest.

Looked at from the biological viewpoint, the greater the amount of free energy, the more it becomes imperative to release that energy through the primary

sexual channels. In this respect, the genital is the safety-valve of the human organism; any failure in its proper function can result only in explosive releases in secondary (destructive) channels. This explains the attraction of fascism for the modern youth and the sexual perversions which go with it. For in these cases, it is not a question of sex or no sex but of a healthy and satisfactory sexual life as compared with the secretive, promiscuous, and unsatisfying relationships which occur. The sex-tolerant attitude must be replaced by a sex-affirmative attitude.

We must distinguish the so-called progressive home where the patriarchal authority is replaced by the domination of the mother. Simply stated, it is a home governed by the precept "mother knows best," and is in no way less authoritative than the patriarchal establishment. Superficially, these homes appear to be progressive; but insidiously, and with sweetness, the mother imposes her will upon the conduct of her children with their active acquiescence. Adolescents, in these homes, never make a decision or take a step without previously "talking it over with mother." These are not the almost healthy adolescents; they are severely repressed; and their path to sexual happiness is seriously blocked.

The whole problem of the relationship between the adolescent and his parents sooner or later becomes focused on the question of whether the youth shall leave or remain in his parental home. In his answer to that question lies the key to an understanding of the youth's attitude towards his sexual feeling. For the girl, this question frequently crystallizes about her right to stay away from her home overnight or for a longer period.

In the literature on the subject, this problem is recognized as one of the major conflicts of adolescence. Peter Blox, in his book, *THE ADOLESCENT PERSONALITY*, lists "emancipation from the family" as one

of the three major goals of adolescents. In the *PSYCHOLOGY OF ADOLESCENCE*, Luella Cole lists the following as problems of adolescence: "He must develop heterosexual interests, he must become free from home supervision, he must achieve economic and intellectual independence." The effect of the war upon this conflict is set forth by E. R. and G. H. Groves in an article, "The Social Background of Wartime Adolescents": "It is apparent that one of the most important effects of the war has been both to increase this desire for independence in the emotional feeling of being self-important and self-controlled, and to provide extraordinary opportunity for the establishment of the self-direction so deeply craved."

There are several aspects to this adolescent-parent conflict. Superficially, it represents the rebellion of a younger generation against domination by an older generation and frequently the clash of different cultures. More fundamentally, however, it is the struggle of youth for sexual happiness. Few writers are aware of this phase of the conflict for it has already become internalized. Psychologically, the desire for sexual pleasure is restrained by fear of punishment. Physiologically, the impulse for sexual satisfaction is inhibited by repressive mechanisms which have in the past been developed in the child. On no other basis can we adequately explain phenomena such as are revealed in the following account taken from Phyllis Blanchard's *PROBLEMS OF THE ADOLESCENT GIRL*:

"Much has been written of the rebellious attitude of the girl toward her parents when she becomes adolescent, but less has been said of the guilt and remorse which assail her after her outbursts of defiance and rebellion. Perhaps the tormenting conscience of the adolescent is less apparent to ordinary observation than the defiant and rebellious behavior; the latter is shown openly, the former is endured secretly in many instances. But any-

one who has worked professionally with girls in a therapeutic situation, has heard not only their descriptions of their behavior towards their parents, but also their questions as to whether after all, the parents may be 'right' and themselves 'wrong,' and their accounts of remorseful feelings and tears shed in secret after they have disobeyed parents or criticized them."

So that even if the girls are "right," they are without that inner certainty which would enable them to translate their conviction into constructive action. How then are young people to gain that "emancipation from the family" so requisite to adulthood? The answer is that they don't. The almost universal reference to mother-in-law problems is a humorous allusion to a tragic situation. With this background, we are prepared to consider the first of the two case histories which follow.

Howard was a pre-dental student at one of the New York Universities when he came to consult with me about his emotional difficulties. Howard was twenty-two; and he had been in love with a girl for about four years. During this time, there was an interval of about one year when they did not see each other. The affair was not a satisfactory one, and Howard's face reflected his unhappiness. His eyes were small and, behind his glasses, hateful; his face was thin and drawn. There had been no sexual intimacy between them.

The crux of his problem was, as he stated it: shall I leave my girl or shall I continue seeing her? The boys at the place where I work say that I am a fool; they say that I am just buying her affections. But I don't think so; I think she really cares for me. They say that I should go out and get laid, and they want to take me out and get me fixed up. I don't want to leave her, but I'm afraid that I am going to lose her. She wants the same thing that I want; and if I can't make her

happy, she will turn to someone else. Shall I leave her?

There were, in addition, obstacles interposed by their parents. Howard's mother objected to his becoming serious with the girl because, as a student, he was in no position to assume marital obligations. Her parents were opposed to him because he was too moody and he was not yet earning a living.

Howard was sure that the girl cared for him; she liked to be close to him physically, and she dated with him regularly. He believed, and in this he was right, that her affection would remain unsteady unless it could be established upon more substantial happiness than dates and kisses. What was the difficulty, then? When he brought her home at night, after an evening out, her mother would join them in the living room and watch them until after midnight. Howard was certain, too, that after she retired to her bedroom, which was just off the living room, she lay awake and listened to hear what was going on. In the early morning hours, she would get up and cross the living room to go to the bathroom. Under these circumstances, Howard was afraid to do anything but lie close to the girl fully dressed. Frequently, he ejaculated in his clothes but the experience was unsatisfactory. And, he said, he dared not take her to his mother's home.

Well, young man, you might solve your problem if you had your own apartment or furnished room. Howard was working, and the money he spent on one date alone could have paid for a furnished room. But as soon suggest that he commit a crime! No, he couldn't do that; his mother would object. His condition was really desperate: he couldn't study, his frustration and desire drove him constantly to the girl's house. There, he was uncomfortable, and in consequence he suffered protracted periods of depression.

On the other hand, the advice he got

from the men with whom he worked only confused him further. They derided his affection and ridiculed him for the lack of sexual intimacy; they found no difficulty in going to sleep with a girl, in fact with a different girl every other night.

This attitude of the "street" towards sex made it difficult for Howard to approach his own girl physically. It disgusted him and he could not reconcile it with his own feelings for his girl. But he was uncertain; maybe they are right, he said.

This same attitude is responsible for much of the misery of youth. Young people cannot easily deny their sexual needs, but they hesitate, too, to accept a barren sex, one that is divorced from their feelings of love and affection. And in this confusion, they adopt the double standard of society.

Howard was quite surprised when I told him that sex was love, love in action; that is, if we distinguish between a sex based upon the ability to give one's self to a partner and a sex dominated by secondary drives (domination, the desire to assert one's manhood, sadism). The distinction is important: the former is as much to be desired as the latter is to be condemned. And youth will reject any advocacy of sex which does not emphasize this distinction.

Individual problems, as we have seen in Ned's case, are frequently not solved with advice. Underlying Howard's difficulties were disturbing sexual fantasies. He was under the impression that intercourse with a girl in whom the hymenal membrane was unbroken would result in a voluminous flow of blood. True, some blood would flow, but his fear was irrational. In addition, he lacked the feeling that he could bring a girl pleasure by caressing her body with his hands. He had never touched a girl's breast, and he was convinced that if he did, she would shrink from his touch. This phenomenon is not unknown in vegetotherapy. The feeling of

lack of contact with one's hands—biophysically, a reduced orgone charge in them deriving from muscular tensions—is of widespread occurrence.

Now, what about Howard? He shows the picture of an immature youth, unhappy, sexually disturbed and in a fair way to make a failure of his career. His mother is unaware of this situation, but, nonetheless, plays a decisive role in it. The central conflict in Howard's life is his relationship to his mother: his dependence on her and resentment of that dependence; his need for her affection and anger at her lack of feeling; his sexuality and her aloofness. In the crush of these conflicting emotions and impulses, a young man's soul and body are being ground to ashes—the ashes of bitterness. This dependence upon the maternal influence (I have never seen it manifested so strongly towards the father) has its counterpart in a lack of independence and maturity in the social and emotional life of the youth.

Howard's conscious difficulty is but the superficial manifestation of his fundamental mother conflict. He cannot approach his girl sexually because she is his mother and he cannot give himself to her sexually. But she is at the same time the antithesis of the maternal influence, the object of an impulse directed away from the home, and he cannot yield to it. Yet the need for sexual expression is urgent, and the outlet is a girl who is outside of his class or social group and, therefore, does not represent the mother.

In almost every case in which an adolescent approaching maturity lives in his parental home, an ambivalence of emotion towards the mother can be demonstrated: love and hate, desire and repulsion. And in their sexual conduct, such adolescents invariably exhibit a double standard of morality.

It is virtually impossible for an adolescent, or for an adult, too, for that matter,

to surrender fully to his or her sexual feelings without the privacy of a separate room. The average apartment affords no such privacy. True, the fact that a youth does have his own place is no guarantee that he will experience the orgasm but it does provide the prerequisites (both in terms of character and surroundings) for its occurrence. And the failure of a youth to make the break is indicative of retardation in his sexual and emotional development.

I spoke of another case history. George W. is also twenty-two and a student in one of the engineering schools in the city of New York. During the past year in which I have known him he has resided in a furnished room not far from where his family lives. I visited the home of George's parents; it is in most respects superior to the home of the average New York family. His parents are well educated and intelligent.

Why, then, did George leave? His answer was that his presence gave rise to innumerable small frictions with his mother. Her well-intentioned advice about the small details of everyday existence annoyed him, and he could not tolerate the feeling of surveillance which his parents aroused in him. This answer is valid but superficial. There were two more fundamental reasons. There was the desire to have a place of privacy where he could sleep with his girl friend. No parental home, no matter how luxurious, satisfies this need unless the adolescent's room has a private entrance and bath. And there was the underlying desire to break away from the parental influence, to gain his independence and freedom.

In contrast to Howard, George was happy. His relationship with his girl friend was good and he had no low moods or depressions. The effect of this showed in his work; not in his school work which was average but in his other pursuits. He read extensively in psychology, economics

and anthropology and his grasp of social problems was excellent.

George was not financially independent; his father contributed to his support. Where it is financially necessary that a young man, or girl, should live with his parents, the economic pressure is a factor which, in these cases, adversely affects the satisfaction of biological needs. It is my experience, however, that this is rarely the real reason. It is the first assigned motive and becomes a point of irrational defense. Can we criticize a young man who claims that he is under obligation to contribute to the support of his parents and that, therefore, he cannot afford to establish an independent domicile? But, then, this young man marries, and he finds no difficulty in supporting a wife, maintaining a home, and, perhaps, raising children.

Girls advance one other argument. They do not wish to lose the companionship of their mother. To live alone is lonely but only until one establishes a sexual relationship that is satisfactory. The need for this liaison becomes so strong that living alone becomes painful without it; and the need is not assuaged by casual dates or temporary intimacies be they ever so numerous. But this is good, for just such a longing forms the basis of a true union between a man and a woman. This dependence on the mother (both a cause and the result of the disturbance in the economy of the biological energies) is rationalized by youth to avoid the reality of his sexual need.

What are the causative factors which bring about this condition of dependence on the mother? To answer this question, we must go back to the early upbringing of the child. Our remarks, necessarily, will be general. The interplay of the instinctual demands of the child with the environmental forces, parental and social, is such that in particular cases only an extensive character-analysis can assign respective spheres of influence.

Educators and pediatricians have long been aware of the importance of and need for affection in the emotional development of the child. There is no question but that the lack of affection provides the basis for the neurotic character. What is not so well understood, however, is the exact nature of this affection.

Child guidance counselors speak of the need of a child to feel that it is wanted. They emphasize, too, the fact that a child is aware of its parents' attitude. It is our contention that the child can sense the difference between genuine affection and pretended love, that it knows when it is really wanted and when the parents are merely trying to cover a real antagonism or indifference. There is no sense, then, in making a child feel that it is wanted if, in fact, it is unwanted. Such hypocritical situations only serve to pervert the child's natural honesty. One cannot give a child affection if one has no affection to give.

One mother told me that she and her husband had difficulty with their child at dinner. The child, a boy of about twenty months, insisted upon sitting on his father's lap while the father ate. The father, middle-aged and hard-working, wanted to enjoy his meal quietly but, knowing that he paid little attention to the child, took him up. The child was not content just to sit; he wanted his father to give him constant attention and to play with him, and his constant efforts to obtain attention aggravated the situation.

Such situations are possible only because the parent has guilt feelings about the child. Where they are present, one feels compelled to cater to every wish of the child. But even this does not satisfy the child; the real affection which it wants is missing. The spoiled child is not the result of too much affection, rather it is a product of overindulgence growing out of the parent's feelings of guilt.

The real affection is characterized by a regard for the infant or child as a per-

sonality in its own right able to receive and to give love. Too many parents consider the love of their children to be their due. Unfortunately, the child fails to understand this. As a little animal, free and independent in its emotional responses, it gives its love only in return for the parent's affection. When the parents, exercising their superior power and authority, dominate the child's life, its reaction is resentment and aggression. The healthy child will strike its parents or kick at them. At this point, the parents buttress their position with a moral authority. To hit a parent, to speak in anger to one, nay, even to refuse to obey, is sinful. What child can express hatred of a parent? The necessities of existence require a show of affection and the hate, too, is repressed. Years later, the picture shows a devoted and loving adolescent in whose depths are wells of hatred.

It is the existence of this subconscious stratum of hate which is responsible for the dependence of children upon the parents, especially the mother. Rising upwards through unconscious guilt feelings, this hatred becomes transformed into a surface devotion the strength of which is proportionate to the amount of hatred in which it has its genesis.

In another respect, however, the dependence upon the mother grows out of a withholding by her of the physical affection which the infant and child need. Here we come to the essence of a real love. The infant derives most of its pleasure from the body of its mother and from her caresses. An infant can be as emotionally starved through a failure to obtain this physical intimacy as any adult through the lack of sexual intimacy. In each case, the result is the same: a nervous tension and anxiety which become familiar as the "insecurity" of psychologists. Security is never an objective phenomenon; it is only a mental state growing out of an awareness of continuing deep satisfactions.

And now we see why the dependence of the adolescent is always on the mother. He craves her body (frequently this desire is directed towards her breasts) which she withheld from him in his infancy and he hates her for having denied him on the one hand and dominated him on the other.

We have yet to inquire into the ways in which this domination is expressed and also into the reason why a mother will deny to her offspring this physical contact and affectionate understanding. To fully appreciate the significance of the present-day upbringing of children we must conceive of the infant as a young animal as indeed it is. The same person who would deem it absurd to set up a sleeping schedule for a pup would not hesitate to apply one to a child or infant. If we consider that nature provides the young animal with an awareness of its own needs, why except the human? When parents intrude their wishes into the lives of their children, that is, when they determine when and how the child is to sleep, when and what it is to eat, how long it shall play and how long it shall rest, they are interfering with the innate vital rhythm of the new personality.¹ Unfortunately, the disturbance is not limited to the time of the acts; once the child acquiesces and adjusts to this artificial and formulary pattern of living, its character becomes anchored in a muscular armor which may stifle its energies throughout its life. In addition, there is the brutal training to excremental cleanliness the effect of which, as Reich has so clearly demonstrated, is to destroy the free pelvic movement and decrease the intensity of genital sensations.

In view of the foregoing, how much real constructive value is there in such general statements about love and domination as the following by Caroline Zachry: "Similarly, those who have never really

¹ Cf. Martin, Paul: Sex-economic "Upbringing," *This Journal* 1, 1942, 18ff.

felt or even known the love of their parents approach adolescence lonely and unsure and afraid, without the basic belief in themselves to weather its stresses and strains. And those who have been dominated by one or both parents, whose fathers and mothers have been trying to force them to conform to some pattern of behavior, or to choose a profession simply because this represented their ideal and not that of the boy or girl himself—these will be unable to achieve real independence."

Compare this talk about "some pattern of behavior" with what actually happens. A little boy ran up to his mother, who was sitting and talking with other mothers, and said that he wanted to go down to the corner to play with some friends. His mother said, "No." The boy persisted trying to obtain her consent. She looked at him sternly for annoying her and with a tone of absolute finality, said, "I said no." I had witnessed the scene and could see no rational reason for her refusal; the other children were just a short distance away. On another occasion, a mother told her small son to go upstairs. He refused. She grabbed him and administered a solid smack. Hurt, he turned and went up, but I heard him mutter under his breath, "Louse."

What is the pattern of behavior in these cases? Simply that the child must listen to and obey its mother implicitly. But is that not, also, the basis of our so highly vaunted family life?

Visiting at the home of a couple, both teachers, I was introduced to their three-year-old son. He looked thin, unhappy and disturbed. I remarked to the mother, "You are going to have trouble with him, later." "Oh, no!" she said. "When his father isn't home, and I just look at him, he cries: 'Mummy doesn't love me any more.' He obeys me immediately."

These illustrations are not exceptions. They are the rule. Exceptions are rare,

indeed. Talk about the family as a protective and security agency for the child is misleading unless we distinguish between the common, authoritarian family and one based upon the principle of natural self-regulation.

The actual practice of parents is, of course, supported by "authority." Few writers fail to include discipline as one of the purposes of the family. Luella Cole writes: "Third, it should in a consistent manner supervise the child's behavior. Finally, it should educate children in acceptable modes of response to social situations." Dorothy Hanks states: "If a child comes to adolescence with a past experience that has included love, a reasonable degree of discipline from those who love him . . ." Lest we forget, the parent is prosecutor, judge and executioner in all cases.

We return, now, to the question as to what accounts for the fact that mothers withhold affection from their children and subject them to a mechanistic, lifeless upbringing. Reich has stated that from the point of view of the energy relationships there is no difference between the contact of the mother's nipple and the child's mouth on the one hand and the penis and vagina on the other. We are justified in speaking of both as sexual phenomena. If this is so, a woman who is sexually impotent will be equally frigid in her physical and emotional response to her child. And this, despite the fact that such women are most vociferous in proclaiming their love for their children!

To such women, love is not physical intimacy and affectionate caress but the guiding hand which knows what is best for the child. Whereas the sexually potent woman regards her child as an individual with its own personality capable of regulating its own life, the frigid woman treats her child as a domesticated animal which must be taught the proper responses. If this seems an overstatement, I am sure

that it can be justified by numerous cases. The armored mother must, perforce, attempt to armor her child, for to her, though subconsciously, the armor is a protective device which the child, too, will need. Unfortunately, they seem justified in this action by their own experience. How to convince them that the natural motility of the child is its own best protection is the problem. Here, too, we see that the genital character, capable of sexual surrender to her husband, is capable of surrender to her child. And to the degree that the woman is sexually disturbed the mother is physically unresponsive to the child.

It is not unknown that the woman who is sexually unsatisfied with her husband substitutes the child as a love interest for the man she cannot have. Where the healthy woman would seek a new partner who could satisfy her, the impotent woman holds on to her husband and expresses her sexuality in perverse ways with the child whom she dominates. Only on such a basis can we understand the practice of mothers who find pleasure in giving enemas to their male children. On this basis can we understand the common objections and protests mothers voice to the marriage of their sons especially when there is only one boy in a family.

Now, what about the father? If we have neglected him so far, it is not to mean that he is not in this picture. Generally, there is one dominating personality in the family. If that one is the father and if he is a strong disciplinarian, the sexual repression of the children will be equally severe, with this difference: His influence is felt at a later time in life by the child and becomes especially strong during the adolescent period. The effect upon the child is different, too. The child does not need the affection of its father to the degree that it requires it of its mother. No child or youth, therefore, depends upon the father to the point that he can-

not feel anger and hate for any attempt by the latter to dominate him. If the father is so strong that the anger and hatred cannot be expressed, they become suppressed and are covered by fear.

Children cannot live in a constant state of fear. They become submissive and obedient to their father and cruel and dominating towards younger children and those weaker than themselves. This is the typical pattern of development of the fascist character (*cf.* Reich, *THE FUNCTION OF THE ORGASM*). The existence of such a character structure precludes the orgasm reflex and so ruins both the health and happiness of such persons. When these individuals become, in their turn, parents and teachers, they enforce against their own children and students the very authority which once they hated.

The father, more than the mother in our society, represents the conventional moral force of the community. The community represses and inhibits the natural sexual function directly and indirectly through its institutions and mores. But we must remember that the sanctions of these customs gain their validity only from the authority of the father. Were it not so, each generation would re-examine the precepts and teachings of its predecessor.

Though the authority of the father is considerably weakened today, in many homes it is still the dominant influence. Prohibitions against masturbation and against staying out late on social dates stem mostly from the father. How important this latter prohibition is may be gleaned from the fact that the adolescent's first step towards independence and maturity is his determination to stay out as late as he wishes. Among Italians, for example, stern fathers require young adolescent girls to be in their homes after dark.

One case which illustrates the extremes to which this prohibition is carried is the following: At 21, R. B. did not yet have

a key to his home. He was required to be in by ten o'clock on weekdays and twelve on Saturdays, as his family retired at that time. If he did not get home by that time, there was no way for him to get into the house.

In MIDDLETOWN, the Lynds report that 45 percent of 348 boys in the upper grades of the high school and 43 percent of 382 girls who replied to their questionnaire admitted they were having difficulty with their parents about the question of late hours. The others either had no such difficulty or did not admit to it. The latter is a more probable assumption, for my experience has been that this question is an almost universal point of conflict between parents and adolescents.

If we do no more than mention some of the restrictions parents place upon adolescents, it will yet show the degree to which they dominate their children. Most parents claim and exercise the right to determine with whom their children shall associate. Many parents buy or choose their children's clothes. And even when the adolescent begins to work, it is not the rare father who takes his child's earnings.

To realize the extent to which some

prohibitions are carried, we need only recall instances of interfaith marriages. A young Catholic girl married a Protestant boy. Her family renounced her and forbade her to enter their home. In three years she has not seen nor heard from them. Think of the passions which are engendered in the parents on both sides when the relationship is between a boy or girl of Jewish ancestry and one of Christian faith.

But though there be but one restriction or prohibition, if it be strongly enforced, the effect is one of autocratic authority denying the independence of the child. We must insist that in his own affairs, each adolescent, each child, and even each infant has the inalienable right to determine his own course of conduct. No less constitutes a real democracy in the home; and without such a home set-up, no real democracy is possible in the greater society outside the home. Unfortunately, our insistence is of little value unless backed by the demonstration of the fact that any other basis for the relationship between parents and children undermines the character of the children and destroys the possibility of their happiness in life.

OUTLINE OF THE PRESENT ACTIVITIES OF THE ORGONE INSTITUTE

The activities of the Orgone Institute comprise three distinct fields: I. Research; II. Teaching; and III. Organization. For the experiments, methods and results reference is made to the publications of the Institute.

I. RESEARCH

1. Orgone physics and Orgone biophysics.

This work is devoted to the experimental and theoretical investigation of the orgone energy. It is organized in a special subdivision of the Institute, the *Orgone Institute Laboratories*, comprising a mechanical workshop and an experimental physical laboratory. The latter is equipped with high-power microscopes, galvanometers, X-ray apparatus, electroscopes, apparatus for microphotography, both still and movie, complete bacteriological laboratory, apparatus for photometry, secondary coil systems, telescope, projection apparatus, etc., and devices specially constructed for the study of the orgone energy, such as orgone accumulators, apparatus for measuring the orgone field, orgonoscopes, etc.

The orgone energy represents an entirely new, hitherto unknown type of energy. Its study, thus, presents three main tasks: Observation and study of the orgone energy as such; the relations of the orgone energy to electromagnetism and problems of astronomy; and the relation of the orgone energy to living matter. Accordingly, the following studies are being conducted:

a) Continuous investigation of the biogenous, vesicular structure of disintegrating matter, living as well as non-living, and

its changes from non-living to living, and from living to non-living state.

b) Continuous microscopic and microphotographic study of the organization of micro-organisms from orgone energy vesicles, special attention being paid to basically similar processes in cancerous tissues.

c) Investigation of the properties of the atmospheric orgone energy in its relations to so-called static electricity, to light, heat, weather formation, etc.

d) Formulation of the natural laws according to which the cosmic orgone energy functions. The main problem here is the question whether the basic functional characteristic of the orgone, *pulsation* (i.e., alternating expansion and contraction), which is clearly demonstrable in living matter, also functions in non-living nature (*orgonometry*).

The archives of the Institute contain approximately 2,000 meters of microfilm recording some of the findings.

2. Orgone-physical research in the field of the biopathies, that is, the biopsychiatric diseases due to stasis of biological (sexual) energy.

This branch of the work is organized in the *Orgone and Cancer Research Laboratory*. Experimental orgone-physical research in cancer has been carried on for some ten years. The cancer biopathy came to be the center of this work because of its psychosomatic structure which connects it with every branch of natural science, thus promising to lead to a unification and integration of scientific effort. Although the work is centered on the study and the prevention of the carcinomatous shrinking biopathy, other biopathies, such as functional heart disease and emotional disorders,

are also within the scope of our research. This research is done by means of the three basic techniques which enable us to investigate and practically handle biological energy: *character-analysis*, *vegetotherapy*, and *orgone therapy*.

The biophysical causes and mechanisms of many biopathies are as yet unknown. The experimental patients come, as a rule, with the consent or on the recommendation of their own physicians. During the past 4 years, 43 patients with biopathic diseases were under experimental research and treatment; among these, there were 26 with cancer biopathies. Before the orgone experiments on human biopathies were begun in 1941, extensive work on animals had been done since 1936. The fact that the application of the orgone energy is in no way harmful has been established beyond any doubt. Before 1939, over 600 mice were experimentally treated with orgone in Europe, and about 250 between 1939 and 1941 in the U.S.A. All the scientific workers of the Laboratory and most of the co-workers of the Institute use the orgone accumulator themselves. The biological effects of the orgone energy are constantly checked by standard tests as well as by blood tests specifically designed for the purpose. Between 1941 and 1944, a total of about 500 tests have been made, including tests for an early diagnosis of the cancer biopathy. (About 400 of these tests were made free of charge).

Between December 1942 and October 1944, a total of 45 orgone accumulators were put in use for experimental purposes at the homes of co-workers, students and patients; the latter were mostly cancer patients whose prognosis had been declared to be hopeless. 13 of these accumulators were distributed free of charge to people unable to pay the rental fee. This fee, which goes to the Orgone Research Fund, is very small and serves only to defray some of the costs of the experimen-

tal work. During the period between September 1939 and June 1944, eight assistants have done about 18,000 hours of laboratory work. This does not include the work of the research director. At present, six people (of whom four are on the payroll) work in the research department of the Institute: the research director, two assistants for bion research, an assistant in the physical laboratory, an assistant in theoretical psychosomatic medicine, and the manager of the workshop. Consultations have been given free of charge.

During the past 2 years, an experimental orgone-biophysical laboratory was established in Tel Aviv, Palestine, under Walter Hoppe, M.D. This laboratory, which maintains close contact with the New York Institute, has already made a series of important findings in the experimental orgone therapy of organic diseases. Dr. Hoppe recently published an account of his experiences in a Palestine newspaper.

II. TEACHING

Whereas the research work described under (I) is mainly pioneer work in this new field of natural science, the teaching activities of the Orgone Institute are centered on the well-established and confirmed body of knowledge known as *clinical and social sex-economy*. With regard to this, reference is again made to the publications of the Institute. In the fall of 1944, certain aspects of experimental orgone physics were also tentatively included in the educational program of the Institute.

Since the Institute, in its teaching activities, stresses quality rather than quantity, the total of graduate and post-graduate students since 1941 has been only 25. The main fields of study were *Education* (specifically, sex-economy and character formation in childhood and puberty); *Medicine* (medical application of character-analysis, vegetotherapy and orgone therapy); *Biology* (as an indispensable

background for all other fields of study); *Vegetotherapeutic gymnastics*; *Social sex-economy*; and *Social mental hygiene*. In the latter, special attention is paid to the central problem of the social chaos of today: *human irrationalism* as exemplified in the blind submission of masses of people to dictatorial authority.

Most of the students of the Orgone Institute are already established as professional workers in some field, in medical, educational or other social practice, while others are preparing for such professions.

The Institute accepts college students as well as post-graduates for education in orgone biophysics. However, in order to be admitted to the special courses in orgone biophysics, they have to meet the following qualifications:

1. They must have absolved, or be engaged in, a course in some special field of study at a recognized institution of higher education. A kindergarten teacher or social worker, for example, before being permitted to apply in his or her field the special knowledge acquired at our Institute, must not only have passed the examinations in his or her special field, but must have absolved courses, at recognized institutions, in biology, anatomy and physiology.

2. The student must have undergone a character-analysis of sufficient duration to bring about the necessary alteration in character structure. The future worker, in whatever practical or theoretical field he may choose, must be free from emotional disturbances at least to such an extent that irrational reactions do not endanger him or his work on human beings. He must be *sexually healthy* in the sex-economic sense of the word, free from pornographic tendencies and irrational ascetic demands.

3. The clinical and theoretical ground-work is done under supervision for at least 2 years, longer if necessary. This supervisory work is done by highly trained

and experienced specialists in our field, in the form of seminars and discussions of practical case work and the fundamental methods on which the work is based.

4. Special, intensive, seminar work is concerned with the typical lack of *co-ordination* of knowledge on the part of the students. The kindergarten teacher, for example, must become able to connect his or her observations and practical work with natural-scientific as well as sociological facts. The medical vegetotherapist must not only be skillful in handling biopathic diseases, but he must also be able to see the general social as well as the biophysical background of the individual disease picture with which he is dealing. The emphasis in all studies is on *prevention rather than cure of disease*.

The course of study in sex-economy and orgone biophysics thus requires in each case a period of from 3 to 5 years. The Institute does not confer any special degrees, but it keeps, as well as possible, a check on the practical activities of the student who has specialized in some branch of social endeavor.

During the past 3 years, the teaching at the Institute was done by only two professors and two instructors. Recently, however, a special seminar was established to educate teachers in our field from among the present students. (The main body of well-trained teachers of the International Institute are living and working in Europe).

III. ORGANIZATION

1. In 1942, the Institute established, and registered with the authorities, the *ORGONE RESEARCH FUND* which handles the financial matters. The income of the Orgone Research Fund consists mainly of tuition fees, of gifts, and of contributions for the use of orgone accumulators and for tests. It is to be expected that the use of orgone accumulators will become more wide-

spread and thus will contribute more to the financial support of the Institute than it does now. In the interest of the financial future of the Institute, Wilhelm Reich has renounced any financial rights deriving from the orgone accumulators. In order to exclude private profit-making, a patent application for the orgone accumulator has been filed. Wilhelm Reich's renunciation of financial interest goes with only one proviso: *that the public, through its various agencies, takes its share of economic responsibility for the further development of orgone research*.

The expenses of the Institute at present far exceed its income. For example, during the period of September 1943 to September 1944, the total income from seminar tuitions, contributions and gifts was

\$10,480.50

The expenses were 26,224.66

leaving a deficit of \$15,744.16

This deficit was made up from the income earned by work of Wilhelm Reich which

was paid not to him but to the Orgone Research Fund.

2. *Publications*. In 1941, the Orgone Institute organized its own publishing house, the *ORGONE INSTITUTE PRESS*, which publishes books and the official organ of the international organization, the *International Journal of Sex-economy and Orgone-Research*. The Orgone Institute Press is financed partly by private contributions, partly by the sale of books and journals, and partly by the Orgone Research Fund.

3. The research and teaching director of the Institute, Wilhelm Reich, is also director of the International Institute for Sex-economy and Orgone-Research, with branches in several European countries. The connection with some of these branches has been interrupted by the war, while other international connections have been maintained. A report on the European co-workers of the Institute will be published as soon as the necessary contacts can be established.

NOTES

"COLD FACTS"

TIME, December 18, 1944, reports the following:

N.G.

Does it do any good to be inoculated against the common cold? This question has stumped the experts ever since the capsules, shots and sprays were introduced. Last week the American Medical Association's Councils on Pharmacy and Industrial Health gave their considered answer: there is still no proof that the vaccines do any good. Experiments on large groups of people show that the cold rates of those with and without vaccines tend to even up in the course of time. The A.M.A.'s official advice: no doctor should give cold vaccine except as an experiment; industrial groups should not be inoculated *en masse*.

TIME, January 22, 1945:

COLD FACTS

After a national runny-nose count, the indefatigable Dr. Gallup announced last week that 1) children under ten have nearly twice as many colds as people in their 20s, 2) more farmers (by a handkerchief's breadth) have colds than villagers and cosmopolites, 3) 21,000,000 citizens had colds between Dec. 15 and 22.

If one considers the common cold primarily an infection, then the attempt to cure or prevent it by means of capsules, shots and sprays seems entirely logical. If, as we do, one considers the cold es-

entially a sign of lowered biological resistance, of a decreased "orgonotic potency" of the organism, it appears equally logical that such therapeutic and preventive methods must fail. On the other hand, experience over a number of years with the orgone accumulator shows conclusively that the basic factor is a lowered orgonotic potency of the organism. It is the general experience of those who have an orgone accumulator that if they use it when they feel a cold coming on the cold either does not develop at all or lasts only a day or two, without developing serious proportions. This is even more true with regard to the general feeling of malaise than with regard to local symptoms. It is staggering to contemplate the amount of money wasted, in terms of working incapacity and useless medication, by 21,000,000 people with colds in one single week. For that money, an enormous number of orgone accumulators—which could prevent or cut short the colds—could be built. But before that time comes, the realization of the fruitlessness of present methods must become more widespread and with that the realization that there are no "miracle drugs" in medicine. Until medicine takes seriously the study of biological functioning and its disturbances, it will continue to discover and then to "debunk" one "miracle drug" after the other.

SEXUALITY BEFORE THE LAW

Irrationalism in our social life and our social and legal institutions is so ubiquitous that the most outrageous actions are taken more or less for granted. It may be well, therefore, to point out some of these as they are reported in the press.

1. "Custody of children."

The following is an excerpt from a story by Tom O'Connor, in *PM*, December 6, 1944. We do not give the names of the contestants since we are not interested in personalities but in the mechanisms of the

emotional plague seen at operation in the case:

Mrs. X., 37, is fighting for the custody of three children, all girls, aged 12, 11 and 8 . . . Her husband, 53, head of Heyden Chemical Co., American Aniline Products, Inc., and connected with numerous other prosperous concerns in chemical and allied fields, has accused her of having committed adultery on 21 separate occasions with three different men . . .

The case, since it involves both wealthy people and allegations of sexual irregularities, has been sensationalized by the tabloids in customary style . . . No such play, of course, was given to the testimony of almost a score of physicians, rabbis, clubwomen and civic leaders from New Jersey communities who swore that they knew Mrs. X. well and that her reputation for "chastity, morality, decorum and veracity" was unblemished . . .

The majority decision of the 15-man Court of Errors and Appeals, awarding the children to the father, cited these as the determining factors in deciding the fitness of the mother to rear her children:

Testimony of a former governess and the chauffeur's wife tended to show that the children had "knowledge of sex relations . . . far beyond the knowledge of information which is normally possessed by children of their ages."

"The mother read to the children a book concerning sex, having to do with the birth of children."

"The mother had a fondness for pictures of nude people of which she had a collection."

"She also had several books on sex, one of which advocated sex freedom . . ."

Six members of the 15-man court joined in an historic dissenting opinion . . . The majority's conclusion that the mother was unfit was examined point by point. Said the minority:

"The incident or incidents testified to

by the governess . . . with relation to the children playing about the mother's bed and romping with her while she was in a nightgown, was more susceptible of an innocent interpretation than the interpretation placed upon it by the governess. In measuring the weight of this testimony, it is to be borne in mind that though the witness was discharged by Mrs. X. in May, 1940, she did not see fit to impart knowledge of it to Mr. X. for over three years."

"The same witness also testified that Mrs. X. gave her a book on sex to read to her children . . . The book, written by Karl de Schweinitz, a biologist and psychologist, is entitled *Growing Up*. In simple language, it tells the story of how the ovum is fertilized by the sperm; how the egg or fetus grows in the body of the mother and how, in due course, the offspring is born. There is not one sentence in this book that is salacious or obscene. It attempts to explode the one-time fashionable myths that babies are brought by storks, are found under gooseberry bushes and like nonsense. It is a startling proposition to find a court of law disapproving of a mother's efforts to educate properly her children in the matter of sex. The book has been approved by psychologists, pediatricians and child educators throughout the country."

"As further bearing on the unfitness of the mother and as evidential of her 'misconduct,' the court calls attention to 'her fondness for nude pictures of which she had a collection.' It must be borne in mind that there is no evidence that these pictures were shown to any of the children . . . The record brings up reproductions of these 35 works of art, every one of which has won a place in a well-known art gallery. Eighteen of the paintings or pieces of sculpture were, at one time, in the Louvre in Paris. They include masterpieces by Rembrandt, Giorgione, Michelangelo, Praxiteles and Titian, to

mention but a few . . . There is nothing sinful in nakedness *per se*, and that Mrs. X. permitted her children to see her in that state is no basis upon which to judge her unfit to have the custody of these children."

"The statement in the majority opinion that 'she had several books on sex, one of which advocated sex freedom . . . ' refers to *MARRIAGE AND MORALS*, by Bertrand Russell. Whether one agrees or disagrees with the author's viewpoint is immaterial. The significant fact is that the court sets itself up as a censor of an individual's preference in matters of reading."

"The record will be searched in vain," Justice Colie continued, "for evidence that Mrs. X.'s habits, practices, instruction or example had an influence on her children tending to corrupt their morals and undermine their principles. In fact, the testimony of the children's spiritual advisers and teachers stands undisputed that they were normal, wholesome children . . ."

"When a court undertakes to proscribe the possession and enjoyment of reproductions of painting and statuary and when it undertakes to proscribe certain types of reading and makes such possession and enjoyment evidential on the question of unfitness and misconduct, it is trespassing upon forbidden fields and is guilty of anachronistic thinking. For a court to set itself up as a censor of an individual's personal predilection in matters of art and reading is an unwarranted blow at personal freedom."

So much for the newspaper report. It is obvious that this "fight for the custody of the children" was not waged on rational grounds. The interest of the children, their wishes as to whether they wanted to stay with their father or their mother, are not even mentioned. Instead, the fight is waged with one of the

favorite weapons of the emotional plague, that of *sexual defamation*. The ubiquitous nature of the emotional plague is again demonstrated in the fact that the majority of the court, in its decision of awarding the children to the father, accepted the defamatory statements as "evidence," and in the further fact that the decent reasoning of six members in a 15-man court constitutes a "*historic dissenting opinion*." One must realize the full import of this: It is true that the thinking of the emotional plague permeates our social life and its institutions to such an extent that decent and honest thinking and acting appear as striking, as a "historic" event.

2. "Statutory rape."

This is one of the vilest concepts in our law books. If a girl under 18 years of age has sexual intercourse with a man, the man is guilty of "statutory rape," even if the girl engages in the sexual act with her full consent, even if she loves the man. Only one other concept is equally vile, its exact counterpart: "marital duty." Every day of the week thousands of men rape their wives, that is, they engage in sexual intercourse whether the woman wants to or not, whether she is loved or not, whether she is sexually aroused or not. This actual rape, however, is not called rape before the law; more than that, it has the protection of the law under the term of "marital duty"; if the wife refuses to engage in this sexual act which is actually rape, the man has the law on his side.

TIME, October 26, 1942, reports the following:

Like many another star-struck adolescent, blonde Betty H. knew what she wanted when she left Lincoln, Neb., recently for Hollywood. She "wanted to get into the movies." . . . In Hollywood, Betty kept a sharp eye out for film contracts. Three turned up in the persons of

a trio of youthful Warner Bros. employees. Betty frankly admitted that she had been intimate with all three. . . . One of her young men invited Betty to a swimming-dancing party . . .

Result: last week Flynn and Betty's three young men were charged with statutory rape by Los Angeles District Attorney John F. Dockweiler . . . Said Betty, when asked whether the alleged rape had happened with her consent: "With my consent? Why, of course with my consent." Said District Attorney Dockweiler: "It doesn't matter whether she consented to these acts or not. She's under age. That's statutory rape under California law."

In a story, *The State Parole Board Meets at Sing Sing*, again by Tom O'Connor, in *PM*, November 19, 1944, we find the following (italics are ours):

The saddest case of all was that of a 40-year-old Italian fruit peddler from Brooklyn, who had been sentenced to one-and-a-half to five years in Sing Sing for rape. His "rape" consisted of going to a furnished room with a girl *who accosted him* on the street, and who turned out later to have been *a few days* under 18.

She was a runaway from an industrial school in Massachusetts—committed there *for sexual promiscuity*. The fruit peddler had apparently been faithful for nine years to a *feeble-minded wife who would sit for days moaning prayers* while dead flies accumulated on the floor and lice accumulated *on* their three rickety children. And

they lived with the peddler's *insane mother* who screamed all day, and two warped sisters who hadn't married and were viciously jealous of their brother's wife.

The peddler worked 16 hours a day, brought his money home, never got in trouble except for things like not renewing his peddling license or not having a tail-light on his cart. After nine years of hell, he had a night out; and a "hanging judge" in Brooklyn found him guilty of statutory rape and sent him to Sing Sing. The law says there's no such thing as "consent" when the girl is under 18.

The Board lost no time making up its mind about the peddler; out he'll go, as soon as a job and a new environment can be arranged for him. And you got the feeling, from a couple of unquotable things a couple of Board members said, that if they had the judge who sentenced the peddler up before them, he'd rot in prison before they'd let him go back to dispensing "justice" from the bench.

That's Tom O'Connor's story. It speaks for itself. There seems to be an increasing awareness that such "dispensing of justice" is a social crime of the first order. What social crime, one should ask, had made the girl "sexually promiscuous" in the first place? And what social crime forced the peddler to live under circumstances which were such that one wonders why he did not commit murder or go insane?

"FREE LOVE"

The sex-economic standpoint in questions of love life is often confused with the advocacy of "Free Love." We ask all co-workers of the Institute to see to it that a strict distinction is made between the concepts of "*sex-economic*" and "*free*" love life. The concept of "Free Love" has been misinterpreted and misused by the pornographic human structure no less than by the compulsive moralistic one. With such misinterpretations and misuses, sex-economy has nothing to do. We fight for sexual *health*, for the gratification of the natural sexual demands of children and adolescents. Every love relationship carries with it a tie and a responsibility, and is, therefore, not "free" in the libertine sense. Sex-economy should not be burdened with discredited concepts. What sex-economy stands for is the right of the healthy individual to his own responsibility for his happiness in love, and not for the right to sexual activities which spring from a neurotic or perverse character structure.

REVIEW

MYRDAL, GUNNAR: *An American Dilemma—The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy*. London and New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944. 2 volumes. 1483 pages.

AN AMERICAN DILEMMA warrants special attention from all who are concerned with the gross and subtle mechanisms of fascism. The appeal to "racial purity," and the personal and social suppression accompanying it, is in the minds of everyone through Nazi utterance and demonstration. Yet this "doctrine" is more deeply integrated into the accepted attitudes of the masses of the people in the United States than anywhere in the world in the relations between the majority of white Americans and the 13 million Negroes in the population. Because of this acceptance and integration, the forms in which the fascist mentality shows itself are varied, often diffuse. They are guiltily covered up in some sections of the country and in some social strata. But the problem of fascism is there in a pure form, and because it goes unrecognized as such (I do not believe the word fascism occurs in the Myrdal volumes), because of its tolerance by practically the whole society of the United States, even those parts which give legal equal rights to Negroes, the situation of the American Negro deserves careful analysis. As the author points out, the Negro problem is a white man's problem.

The Study Itself. The study, the final report of which is contained in these volumes, was begun in 1938, initiated and financed by the Carnegie Corporation of America. Gunnar Myrdal was invited to come from Sweden to direct the study because it was felt that someone "in a non-imperialistic country with no background of domination of one race over

the other . . . would approach the problem with an entirely fresh mind." (Initial letter from the director of the Carnegie Corporation to Dr. Myrdal). In the conduct of the study Myrdal had the assistance of a large research staff, Negro and white; he was enabled to travel extensively throughout the United States, making firsthand observations; the resources of libraries and the files of organizations having information on the subject were put at his disposal. The understanding was that the director of the study was to be free to write the final report without review by the sponsoring corporation, and that he would take full responsibility for it. In the course of the work six other volumes appeared by other members of the staff on special aspects of the race situation in America. These two final volumes are Myrdal's own statement.

A mass of material is assembled and is presented clearly and readably. We are given a view of the actual situation with awareness of the central symptom and its accompanying disabilities to the society. Myrdal could not be expected to fully see the implications of his own analysis, for he clearly has no concept of fascism as being rooted in human character structure. But it is important to recognize how astutely he has observed, and how uncompromisingly he has presented what he observed.

The sexual character of the core of the problem. The ordinary white man's notion of what constitutes the heart of the Negro problem (writes Myrdal in Chapter Three of the first volume) is the anti-amalgamation doctrine . . . Miscegenation is said to be a threat to "racial purity." It is alleged to be contrary to "human instincts." It is "contrary to nature" and "detestable" . . .

Considering the biological emphasis of the anti-amalgamation doctrine and the strong social sanctions against intermarriage tied to that doctrine, the astonishing fact is the great indifference of most white Americans toward real but illicit miscegenation. In spite of the doctrine, in some regions with a large Negro population, cohabitation with a Negro woman is, apparently, considered a less serious breach of sexual morals than illicit intercourse with a white woman. The illicit relations freely allowed or only frowned upon are, however, restricted to those between white men and Negro women. A white woman's relation with a Negro man is met by the full fury of anti-amalgamation sanctions.

The white man's theory of color-caste, as Myrdal presents it, proceeds according to the following logic:

The concern for "race purity" is basic to the whole issue; the primary and essential command is to prevent amalgamation; the whites are determined to use every means to this end.

Rejection of "social equality" is to be understood as a precaution to hinder miscegenation and particularly intermarriage.¹

The danger of miscegenation is so tremendous that the segregation and discrimination inherent in the refusal of "social equality" must be extended to nearly all spheres of life. There must be segregation in recreation, in religious service, in education, before the law, in politics, in housing, in stores, in bread-winning.

The fear underlying this theory has, of course, another aspect which emphasizes the deep-lying sexual character of these fears.

The response is likely to be anything but pleasant if one jestingly argues that

¹ Because this would sanction the relations of white women with Negro men.

Negro blood in the American people . . . might produce a race of unsurpassed excellence; a people . . . with perhaps a little more emotional warmth . . . and carefreeness in their lives. Amalgamation is, to the ordinary American, not a proper subject for jokes at all, unless it can be pulled down to the level of dirty stories, where, however, it enjoys a favored place.

Here then we have the picture: a deep fear of and longing for the natural sexuality attributed to Negroes in popular designations such as "warm" or "amoral." The result of this combination of fear and longing is perversity. The white woman is representative wife, mother and hostess or housekeeper, a nonsexual object who must be protected as such with "fury" and violence if need be. The Negro man becomes the symbol of freely expressed sexuality which can only be understood in terms of brutality. The Negro woman is an object for sexual exploitation. The whole subject is a matter for pornographic stories.

There are, of course, regional modifications in the degree to which the basic attitude is permitted to express itself. All but one of the Northern states permit intermarriage of Negroes and whites. Equality before the law, no segregation in schools or public places is usual in the North. But the fact remains that there are very few Negro-white marriages, and these are punished by social isolation, and that it is precisely white hotels in the North which refuse to accommodate Negroes over night, showing that people in the Northern states do not really face the problem or meet it and that the same sanctions operate, if more subtly. Most Northern Negroes are urban, and their natural congregation in sections of their own has made possible a skillful segregation and isolation in the usual adult social relationships. "There is plenty of discrimination in the North," writes Myrdal, "but

it is—or rather its rationalization is kept hidden."

There is another aspect to this picture which Myrdal is quick to see and introduces also in the same chapter. This is the acceptance by the masses of disadvantaged whites and by the Negroes themselves of the doctrine of race expressing itself in the caste barrier between the races. But the acceptance is somewhat different in these two groups. As one might expect, the mass of white people who are economically deprived and socially suppressed express with intensified vigor the hostile attitudes allowed by the culture.

It has often occurred to me, when reflecting upon the responses I get from white laboring people, that my friends among the Negro intellectuals . . . have not had enough occasion to find out for themselves what a bitter, spiteful, and relentless feeling often prevails against Negroes among the lower class white people in America. Again relying on my own observations, I have become convinced that laboring Negroes do not resent whites in any degree comparable with the resentment shown in the opposite direction by laboring whites.

Whether a white observer could really detect the rational resentment present in many Negroes is a matter for speculation. On the other hand it is true that in the past Negroes have had to repress rational resentment and have developed a mass masochistic attitude so well revealed in Negro religious life and familiar to every American in the texts of Negro spirituals. So among many Negro leaders there is an inner acceptance of the need for accommodation. Myrdal quotes the former president of a Negro college as follows:

As for amalgamation, very few expect it; still fewer want it; no one advocates it; and only a constantly diminishing

minority practise it, and that surreptitiously. It is generally accepted on both sides of the color line that it is best for the two races to remain ethnologically separate. (Robert K. Moton: WHAT THE NEGRO THINKS.)

In presenting the attitude of white disadvantaged Americans, their fear and hostility, and the Negroes' struggle taking place only around the fringes of the problem as they fight for the elimination of job discrimination, for political and legal equality. Myrdal correctly observes, "The lower class groups will, to a great extent, take care of keeping each other down."

It is unfortunate that Myrdal concludes this excellent chapter with an attack and interpretation both of which show the superficiality of contemporary academic sociology. The attack is against "Marxian theory." The Marxian theory is understood in terms of vulgar Marxism, and much of what Myrdal says against it is correct. For example, he does not make the mistake of many political Marxists of seeing the "race theory" as a rationalization invented for the sole purpose of economically exploiting Negroes. He recognizes that the race theory, as the core of the problem, is more deep-lying than the accompanying exploitation, even though he cannot go further in interpreting what his intelligence and intuition perceive. Nevertheless one has the feeling that Myrdal has never read Marx with any understanding. He does not see the strength and correctness in Marx, just as he cannot see what other knowledge must supplement Marx for the full understanding of human behavior. The interpretation which concludes the chapter is in the style of the pseudo-mathematical-scientific analyses which characterize contemporary American sociological theory. Myrdal perhaps perceives the emptiness of this, for his final

appeal is a moral one. The weak and confused interpretation reminds one of the weak title of this study. I am inclined to feel that Myrdal views such a profoundly serious situation as a "dilemma" because his study puts him in a dilemma, like that of all liberal scholarship throughout the world: to see clearly, but not to be able to face and therefore not to be able to interpret what is seen.

The nature of fascism. In order to think clearly about and put to use the array of material in the Myrdal volumes it is important to review Reich's presentation of fascism. It is Reich who has pointed out that the fascist is a person with a particular type of character structure, and that specific social conditions, especially a society built around the patriarchal family, create this type of structure. It is a structure characterized by the conflict between the longing for freedom and the fear of freedom. That is, there is in the fascist an *unconscious* longing for sexual happiness and sexual purity, a fear of normal sexuality, an abhorrence of perverse sexuality. These simultaneously operating unconscious longings, fears and abhorrences attract the individual to the object which represents naturalness and freedom, make him fear it so that he must always suppress, exploit and control the object, make him project on to the object a perversity which it does not possess. In the accepted mores of white-Negro sexual relationships we see a stabilization of this neurotic conflict. But the stability is precarious. A minor threat may be enough to unleash the full force of the sadism in a man-hunt or a lynching which takes on the character of a mass festival.

Helplessness and incapacity for taking responsibility for the chaotic social problems within the old political system and frame of thinking characterizes the fascist mentality wherever it is found in whatever nation or whatever stratum of society.

A craving for freedom which should be guaranteed by someone else—a master, employer, leader, husband or father—makes these people rally in response to fascist promises.

Since these characteristics are so clearly present in large masses of American people both white and Negro, let us look at the conditions in which the present mentality developed. Every schoolboy knows that the Southern states in America were a plantation slave economy until 1860. The patriarchal system flourished in a pure form in the best part of the South, strengthening its hold in protest against an even worse attitude which viewed Negroes purely as a commodity. "For sale: a likely young breeding Negro" ran the advertisement for the sale of a woman in Benjamin Franklin's newspaper. Slave markets and auction blocks provide the horror stories of Southern history. The stablest elements in Southern society saw paternalism, even to the point of entailing slaves so that they and their descendants could never be sold out of the family, as a protection against a crasser exploitation. It was precisely because the best and most responsible elements of Southern society defended and supported the patriarchal system that patriarchal attitudes have persisted, despite changed conditions, in dominant strata of Southern society and have been taken over by the dependent classes of whites and by migrating Northern industrialists.

An aspect of the patriarchal family structure is the sexual suppression of women and children. We find these attitudes in pre-civil-war Southern writers linked spontaneously and naturally with the defense of slavery. The whole configuration is presented in a quotation by Myrdal from a pro-slavery publication (1853) where space is given not merely to the slavery issue but to an attack on "women's rights."

In this country we believe that the general good requires us to deprive the whole female sex of the right of self-government . . . We treat all minors in much the same way . . .

There is no form of human excellence before which we bow with profounder deference than that which appears in a delicate woman . . . and there is no deformity of human character from which we turn with greater loathing than from a woman forgetful of her nature . . . The "Rights of Women" may all be conceded to the sex, yet the rights of men withheld from them.

Myrdal goes on to state in an appendix devoted to the parallel between attitudes toward Negroes and attitudes toward women:

This close relation is no accident. The ideological forces behind the two movements—the emancipation of women and children and the emancipation of Negroes—have much in common . . . Paternalism was a pre-industrial scheme of life . . . Negroes and women, both of whom had been under the yoke of the paternalistic system, were both strongly and fatefully influenced by the Industrial Revolution . . . The women's problem is the center of the whole complex of problems of how to reorganize the institution of the family . . . a problem which is not solved in any part of the Western world, unless it be in the Soviet Union or Palestine.

Here again, though still thinking in terms of descriptive sociology, and failing to carry his interpretation into the sphere of sexual functioning, Myrdal nevertheless cannot fail to see the whole pattern, nor fail to recognize the helplessness of ideologies in the face of human structure.

Although the patriarchal character of Southern society is familiar to all Americans, what is less well recognized is that

the dominant persons in American life today, as the national influence of the Southerner has declined, are equally paternalistic figures. Myrdal says: "This country is a 'white man's country,' but in addition it is a country belonging primarily to the elderly, male, upper class, Protestant Northerner."

The significance of this statement bears elaboration. Organized religion has always drawn its support from the mystical longings present in all people who are not free to find the natural expression of these longings in a healthy sex life. In America, however, wherever the Puritan tradition survives, as in the Northern upper class, Protestantism has flourished in its most dour and repressive form. In the barrenness of Protestant ritual there was little outlet for feeling. On the other hand, American Protestantism took its authority primarily from the Old Testament with its images of a patriarchal society. A further aspect of the picture is the importance of the clergy in American society and the doctrine of a theocratic state which they preached. So deep is this in American life today that most major political speeches conclude with an appeal to God as ultimate governor and guide of the state. A patriarchal society, a church providing little opportunity for expression of mystical longings, a God-governed state make the transition from religious to political mysticism easy and inevitable.

The thought of America as a country of political mysticism will be resisted by those who have a need to believe in the United States as a bulwark of democracy. Yet Myrdal perceived it clearly enough and presents it briefly in the current stage of its expression in the first chapter of Volume Two, "The American Pattern of Individual Leadership and Mass Passivity." Even the general American public has an uneasy recognition of this symptom. For example, a current popular movie

ridicules the hysterical nomination of a war hero to office. But thus far external factors—the frontier to which young people could go, finding actual self-determination and early marriage; the influx of varieties of other European peoples; and the rapid economic development of the country—have confused the picture and staved off the inevitable logical outcome of the family, religious and political structure of American Protestantism.

As serious as the structure of the dominating group is the accommodation which Negro Americans show to the structure which threatens them. In an attempt to alleviate external pressures, Negro Americans, as has already been pointed out, shy away from the central problem. All the more because they face real dangers, they seek and depend upon leaders, "ambassadors" who can act for them across the color barrier. These Negro leaders need to be more acceptable than whites themselves in their behavior according to dominant white standards. The "education" of the Negro has been a process of enforced accommodation, and one can say with some assurance that the higher a Negro is in the Negro social scale, the more rigid and restricted his behavior must become, the more his real self-determination dwindles before accepted societal repressions.

The road to fascism. Helplessness and incapacity for taking responsibility for the solution of chaotic social problems, we pointed out, was one of Reich's attributes of the fascist character structure. Myrdal gives ample illustration of how this operates, in his sections on "Explaining the Problem Away," "Explorations in Escape," "The Convenience of Ignorance," "The Etiquette of Discussion" which present white attitudes toward the race question. He is able to say:

The simple fact is that an educational offensive against racial intolerance, going

deeper than the re-iteration of "glittering generalities" in the nation's political creed, has never been seriously attempted in America.

He cannot see, however, why this could not be attempted and never will be attempted until human beings with a different structure dominate American life. One of the most important aspects of Reich's analysis of fascism is his pointing out that fascism derives its dynamic force from the tremendous longing for freedom in people who are structurally incapable of taking the responsibility for their own freedom. Therefore any "serious" educational campaign would of necessity be toward the change of the conditions which create the fascist human structure, and for the providing of natural, rather than perverse outlets for the energy on which fascism rests. Any other type of "education" on the race question can achieve little for it is treatment directed only to a single symptom of an identical neurotic and social structure.

Not that there are no voices of protest. There are "liberal" organizations with white or Negro or mixed membership which carry on different types of protest or "education" either as their sole function or as aspects of their total function. Some concern themselves with greater educational opportunity for Negroes, some with improved health facilities, some with housing, some with political rights or with economic opportunity. Only a few tackle the taboo area of informal social relationships, and these are primarily a few church groups or religiously oriented agencies like the Y.M.C.A. or Y.W.C.A. where social relationships are entertained with almost the *guarantee* that the behavior will conform to upper class white standards with all the negation of freedom therein implied. Disillusionment in the gains won by liberal organizations plus the tremendous urge to freedom, will, in

time of economic crisis, as Reich points out, lead to fascism.

Although mention has already been made of the effect of the Protestant tradition on the dominating group in American life, something further should be said about the specific role of the churches. Apart from the increasing movement of a minority of Negro people to the Catholic Church and to Christian Science, where there is no segregation in religious participation and therefore there is the hope for still wider social acceptance, most Negroes, like most working-class Americans of Northern European stock, belong to the evangelical Protestant sects. These sects are distinguished by the spontaneous emotionalism of their meetings, the fervent singing, the passionate appeal of a dogmatic theology from the pulpit and the "revival" of "religious emotion" which they engender. A few Catholics, clergy and laity, and a few upper class Protestants, both lay and clerical, have been actively attempting to improve race relations within the framework of their various authoritarian patterns, and have been often very courageous in specific projects which they have undertaken. But these are isolated instances, and of deluding "significance" compared to the mass influence of the evangelistic groups. Since in the North the working class is primarily composed of Southern and Eastern Europeans who are not Protestant, the Northerner associates emotional religion only with the Negro. Myrdal says:

Whites, in searching for rationalizations to justify the subordination of the Negro, have seized upon the fact of religious emotionalism and ascribed it to "animal nature" and even to "excessive sexuality" . . . Especially Northerners have done this.

This type of religion supports the mass masochism of the Negro as we have already pointed out. In the white population, where, in many sections of the coun-

try, the same type of religious expression is common, "revivals" have been known to directly precede acts of mob violence against Negroes, or sometimes against whites, such as lynchings, or fires. The violence and hatred characteristic of this mentality can be expressed by whites. It could not be expressed by the Negroes in similar circumstances for the reprisals would be too terrible. Reactionary concepts and revolutionary emotion, as Reich points out, lead to fascism.

The effects of fascism. By far the largest part of Myrdal's material is an elaboration of the open and subtle segregation and suppression of the Negro as it actually operates in daily life, and of the accommodation of Negro life and institutions to these pressures. In the presentation of these facts lies the greatest value in the book. Remarkably condensed, well-arranged, with a wealth of illustrative detail, the material offers an informed basis for discussion of specific or larger aspects of the situation. It emphasizes the unrelieved, daily pressures and discrimination in work, housing, education, leisure, organization of family life, rather than centering the argument around the moments of critical tension in which fundamental fears promote violent outbursts.

Only a few indicative bits of information can be mentioned. To this reviewer one of the most interesting chapters is that on "Patterns of Segregation" revealing the elaborate etiquette surrounding Negro-white relationships in the South. (Practically none of this etiquette exists in the North.) For example, a white man may offer to shake hands with a Negro, but a Negro may never offer to shake hands with a white man. A white woman practically never shakes hands with a Negro. A Negro may in some instances sit down in the same room with a white person, but usually only at the request of the white person. A white man in entering the house of a Negro will

enter without knocking, and will not remove his hat. There is, however, little occasion for a white man to enter the house of a Negro. If a white man wishes to see a Negro he will send for him. Southern whites and the Southern press will never refer to a Negro as Mr. or Mrs., but only as Jane So-and-So or William So-and-So. Myrdal quotes a Negro college president to whom a white clergyman who "was a known friend of the race" remarked: "It would seem like saying Mr. Mule." Deprived of police and court protection, a Negro in the South dares not take the risk of violating the etiquette. It remains enforced by public opinion with always the threat of violence behind it.

The poverty of Negroes is another impressive picture. The majority of the Negro population, says Myrdal, with supporting data, suffers from malnutrition. In the South, due to the practice of total segregation in working and living, whole industries have been closed to Negroes. They become known as "white shops" and usually Negroes do not even attempt to seek employment there. Labor unions have been slow in breaking down job discrimination, because in the past ignorant Negroes have often been employed as strike breakers, and the threat of replacement by Negro workers is continually used by white employers to intimidate workers in plants and industries which the unions are trying to reach. In the large mass production industries these attitudes on the part of employers and workers are slowly breaking down. Interesting, too, is the role of the Federal Government as employer in civil service and in public works where by law, which on the whole is enforced, there can be no discrimination.

A great deal of space is given to the political and legal structure as it operates regionally and nationally to discriminate against, or in some instances to protect, Negroes. A further large section of the

material deals with Negro institutional and group life showing the patterns of accommodation and the trends and conflicts arising in the attempts to adjust. Unfortunately, relatively little space is allotted to a presentation of Negro family life. Myrdal excuses himself from fuller treatment with a reference to Franklin Frazier's classic discussion in *THE NEGRO FAMILY IN AMERICA*. The most important aspect of Negro family life is not designated—namely, that the Negro in the United States is traditionally matriarchal. The slave system, and the active internal slave trade, presented a constant threat to any enduring partnership and thereby supported the matriarchal family among most plantation Negroes. (There are a few exceptions where the religious zeal of the slave owner forced slaves to conform to the white pattern, and Myrdal refers to these as the "Black Puritans.") Since slaves had no legal rights, common-law unions were customary, and children from any union were welcome not only to their parents, but to the planters as potential economic assets. In the slave community children were usually cared for by the eldest female relative, freeing the younger women for field or domestic labor. Many attitudes from this type of family structure persist today among working-class Negroes, especially in densely populated areas, particularly in the rural South. As Myrdal brings out, in all but the urban middle and upper class families, the illegitimate child is accepted in the family circle. There is little or no stigma on his mother. Common-law marriages have status. Forced marriages are more censured than desertion after a forced marriage. "Fast" women and philandering men are condemned. Myrdal makes the important point only too casually:

The Negro lower classes, especially in the rural South, have built up a type of family organization conducive to social

health, even though the practices are outside the American tradition. When these practices are brought into closer contact with white norms, as occurs when Negroes go to cities, they tend to break down partially, and cause disorganization on the part of some individuals.

On the other hand, urban middle and upper class Negroes present a conservative, almost Puritan, family structure:

This has been a more or less spontaneous trend, developing not so much with a positive model from white society, but more with the negative stimulus of white derisiveness. Whites do not realize that one of the most stable types of urban families is that of the Negro upper class, so that in one sense their effort to build a reputation is wasted.

Despite these two statements, Myrdal equivocates in drawing the implication. He feels that these upper class families provide a model for the lower classes, that they take away some ammunition from white attackers, and that therefore they will have an important effect. One can only point out that the effect will not be in the direction of "social health" which Myrdal ascribed to the mores of working-class Negro families.

The outlook. If this review is interpreted as saying that America is fascist this is correct only insofar as one recognizes that fascism is everywhere. As Reich states, the longing for love and the fear of love are international facts. In this, America is no different from any other country. The fortunate circumstances of economic expansion, of less formal authority in family, political and religious life, in education, and also the regional antagonisms within the country, have enabled America to evade the problem, and have thus far kept any organized political fascist groups from attaining national control. But none can

deny that American society reveals as clearly as any the neurotic character of its vital functioning. The intensely competitive character of American life, the emphasis on display, the concern for community approval in the smallest details of life, the standardization of these details, the excessive drinking and the prohibition movements, the puritanism and the promiscuity are all aspects of this.

There are voices of true protest. Myrdal cites some. These are still individual voices. There are also changing social conditions which, if not checkmated by prolonged economic depression, will in themselves permit a healthier type of human being to develop. There are efforts on the part of progressive trade unions to help Negroes and whites together to establish a rational relationship to work. Low-cost housing developments, where they exist, make possible the privacy necessary to health. The increased social and economic freedom of women in America is now two generations old. The needs of the war have made possible some new social and work relationships. Though all efforts of this sort are a beginning, and need to be positively supported, they remain at the level of modifying the environment in which human structure must operate, leaving the central problem untouched. As Myrdal points out, "the youthful moral optimism of America" will lead to cynicism if it is not translated into deeds. As Reich points out, sermonizing about freedom, without the constant resolute struggle to set the responsibility involved in freedom into operation in the occurrences of everyday life, together with the social prerequisites of such freedom, leads to fascism. There is little in the situation presented in Myrdal's study to lead us to hope that knowledge and rational action will avert this danger in the United States. If overt and organized political fascism develops in America it will be because the long-

ings of the people for happiness have been unable to wait for the few voices and the cautious reform groups, and will break through to what they hope is their release in the perverse mass psychology we have been witnessing in Europe.

In conclusion, inasmuch as the term fascism is not used by Myrdal in his writing on the Negro problem, it is perhaps well to remind ourselves of his warning at the close of the Introduction to Volume One:

Anyone who uncritically utilizes the viewpoints and findings of this inquiry on the American Negro problem for wider conclusions concerning the United States and its civilization than are warranted by its direction of interest is misusing them.

It is important to accept the responsibility for the use of the material in the way in which it has been presented here, in the face of any irrational charge of misuse. For if the problem which Myrdal's excellent volumes portray is to be solved it is necessary to go beyond Myr-

dal's analysis, to show what needs to be added in understanding and dealing with this white man's problem, and what we may expect if a rational solution is not found. The goal we must work toward to achieve a healthy society is the responsible, self-determining expression of sexual love in childhood, youth and adult life with the approval of society and the adjustment of social conditions to make this possible. Only thus can fear and oppression be overcome. Work on the external aspects of the problem alone, or within the ideology and human structure called to mind by the description "white, elderly, upper class, Protestant males" can only defeat itself in the end. The vitality of the people is stronger than suppressive traditionalism. It is stronger than can be met by superficial measures. Its demands are more real. It will keep breaking through in perverse forms until real freedom with the acceptance of the responsibility entailed in freedom is allowed to establish itself in individual human structure and community life.

GLADYS MEYER

EXCERPTS FROM A. S. NEILL'S "THAT DREADFUL SCHOOL"*

SELF-GOVERNMENT

When we founded the school we resolved to have no government from above, and self-government was, as it were, forced on the children. Much has been said and written about the iniquity of "forcing" self-government on children. Some time ago at a meeting of progressive school teachers in London the theme was self-government. Two teachers from progressive schools got up and each told the same tale—that they had given their children self-government, and in three weeks the children came and beseeched them to bring back the old way of benevolent adult authority. Currie of Dartington Hall sat by me.

"For God's sake, Neill," he said impatiently, "get up and tell them what self-government is. You are the only man in the room who has had it for years."

I declined. "What's the good?" I said wearily. "They don't want to believe that self-government can succeed."

The school that has no self-government should not be called a progressive school at all. It is a compromise school. You cannot have progression unless children feel completely free to govern their own social life. When there is a boss, freedom is not there, and this applies more to the benevolent boss than to the disciplinarian. The child of spirit can rebel against the hard boss, but the soft boss merely makes him impotently soft himself.

Is it worth while giving the arguments for self-government? I wonder if it is. All that it is necessary to say is that one weekly general meeting is, in my opinion, of more value than a week's curriculum of school subjects. The educational value

of practical civics cannot be over-emphasized. The child realizes the value of self-government and in Summerhill the pupils would fight to the death for their right to govern themselves.

Our system of self-government has gone through various phases and changes. When we had six pupils it was a kind of family affair. If Derrick punched Inge she would call a meeting and we would all sit round and give our opinions. We had no jury system; the verdict and sentence were given by show of hands. As the school grew bigger this family method gradually changed, and the first change was the election of a chairman. Following that came trial by jury, a jury elected on the spot by the chairman. The culprit had the right of challenging any member of the jury, but this seldom happened; only occasionally would one hear the protest: "I won't have Bill on the jury, for he's a pal of Pat's (Pat being the plaintiff who got punched)."

During the last year or two we have had another form of government. At the beginning of each term a government of five is elected by vote. This sort of cabinet deals with all cases of charges and acts as a jury, giving punishment. The cases are read out at the general Saturday night meeting, and the verdicts are announced. Here is a typical example of such a procedure:

Jim has taken the pedals from Jack's cycle because his own cycle is a dud and he wants to go away with some others for a week-end hike. The government after due consideration of the evidence announces that Jim has to replace the pedals and be forbidden to go on the hike. The chairman says: "Any objections?"

Jim gets up and shouts that there jolly well are (only his adjective isn't exactly "jolly").

* Editor's note: This continues the excerpts begun in vol. 3, 1944, 220ff.

"This isn't fair," he cries. "I didn't know that Jack ever used his old crock of a grid; it has been kicking about among the bushes for days. I don't mind shoving his pedals back but I think the punishment unfair. I don't want to have the hike cut out."

Follows a breezy discussion. In this it transpires that Jim should have a weekly allowance from home, but it hasn't come for six weeks and he hasn't a bean. The meeting votes that the sentence be squashed and it is duly squashed. But what to do about Jim? Finally it is decided to open a subscription fund to put Jim's bike in order . . . and he sets off on his hike happily.

Usually the government's verdict is accepted both by the culprit and the community. On appeal I cannot remember a government sentence being increased. The ordinary procedure on an appeal is for the chairman (nearly always a pupil) to elect a jury to decide the appeal, and in the case of Jim and the bike the jury had disagreed and had left the decision to the general vote.

Certain classes of offenses come under the automatic fine rule. If you ride another's cycle without permission there is an automatic fine of sixpence. Swearing down town (but you can swear as much as you like in the school grounds), bad behavior in the cinema, climbing on roofs, throwing food in the dining room, these and others are automatic fine rules. Punishments are nearly always fines . . . half a pocket money or miss a cinema. When, recently, Paxton Chadwick (Chad) was tried for riding Ginger's bike without permission, he and two other members of the staff, who had also ridden it, were ordered to push each other on Ginger's bike ten times round the front lawn. Four small boys who climbed the ladder of the builders erecting the new workshop were ordered to climb up and down the ladder for ten minutes on end. A jury never seeks

advice from an adult, well, I can remember only one occasion when it was done. Three girls had raided the kitchen larder. The government fined them their pocket money. They raided the larder again that night, and the jury fined them a cinema. They raided it once more, and the government was gravelled what to do. The foreman consulted me.

"Give them tuppence reward each," I suggested.

"What? Why, man, you'll have the whole school raiding the larder if we do that."

"You won't," I said. "Try it."

They tried it. Two of the girls refused to take the money, and all three were heard to declare that they would never raid the larder again . . . they didn't for about two months all the same.

If I am giving the impression that our self-government is only a police court I am giving the wrong impression. It sometimes happens that no one has broken a law during the week. The function of the government is to make all laws and to discuss social features of the community. At the beginning of each term bedtime rules are made by vote . . . you go to bed according to your age. Then questions of general behavior come up. Sports committees have to be elected, end of term dance committee, the theatre committee, bedtime officers, down town officers (who report any disgraceful behavior out of the school boundary). The most exciting subject ever brought up is that of food. I have more than once wakened up a dull meeting by proposing that second helpings should be abolished. Any sign of kitchen favoritism in the matter of food is severely handled, but when the kitchen brings up the question of food wastage the meeting is not much interested. Children's attitude to food is essentially a personal and self-centered one. Incidentally I remark that Summerhill food is excellent. All visitors praise it, and the children are mostly un-

conscious of it, which is as it should be. Good feeding should come before everything else in a school. No school should require the tuck box system, and when children are well fed the sweets they buy with their pocket money do no harm. Children like sweets because their bodies crave for sugar, and sugar they should have.

In our government meetings all academic discussions are eschewed; children are eminently practical, and theory bores them. They are concrete and not abstract. I once brought forward a motion that swearing should be abolished by law, and gave my reasons . . . I had been showing a prospective parent round with her little boy. Suddenly from upstairs came a very strong adjective; the mother hastily gathered her son to her and went off in a hurry.

"Why," I asked in the general meeting, "should my income suffer because some fathead swears in front of a prospective parent? It isn't a moral question at all; it is purely financial: You swear and I lose a pupil."

My question was answered by a lad of fourteen.

"Neill is talking rot," he said. "Obviously if this woman was shocked she didn't believe in Summerhill, and even if she had sent her boy, the first time he came home saying Bloody or Hell she would have taken him away."

The meeting agreed with him, and voted my proposal down. But the swearing business is always cropping up, for it is indeed a matter of moment, so much so that I shall devote a chapter to it later.

The general meeting often has to tackle the problem of bullying. Bullying is not so rife in Summerhill as in strict schools, and the reason for that is not far to seek. Under adult discipline the child becomes a hater, and as he cannot express his hate of adults with impunity, he takes it out of smaller or weaker boys. This element is

absent from Summerhill, and practically every case of bullying is a family one. That is if Peter has a younger brother at home who is the favorite (or the imagined favorite) of Daddy or Mummy, Peter will unconsciously bully the younger boys in the school. But again the only child will bully. At present we have a girl of ten who has come straight from a convent (where she could only take a bath if she had a cloak to hide her nakedness). She bullies the others badly, for she is full of hate and insincerity. We have boys and girls who are really nice kids, but they bully in the process of finding their power outlet. Very often a charge of bullying when investigated by a jury amounts to this, that Jenny called Peggy a lunatic. Juries are pretty hard on bullies, and I notice that the present government has underlined its bullying rule on the notice board . . . All cases of bullying will be severely dealt with.

It is a fact that any child who persistently complains of being bullied is always a bully. Sadism and masochism are closely allied, and the bullied child always gets some sort of pleasurable satisfaction in being the victim.

Sometimes a case of stealing is brought up. There is seldom any punishment for this, but there is always reparation. Often the government will come to me and say: "John pinched a bob from David. Is this a case of psychology or shall we bring it up?" If I consider it a case for psychology I tell them to leave it to me, and I give John a few Private Lessons, known as P.Ls. Later I shall describe these P.Ls.

If John is a happy, normal boy who has done what we have all done—pinched a bob—I leave the government to charge him, and all that happens is that he is docked of his pocket money until the debt is paid. No culprit ever shows any signs of defiance or hate of the authority of his peers. I am always surprised at the docility they show when punished. This

term four of the biggest boys were charged with doing an illegal thing—selling articles from their wardrobes in the town. The law was made on the grounds that it is unfair to the parents who buy the clothes and also unfair to the school, because when kids go home with things missing the parents blame the school for carelessness. The four boys were punished by being kept in the grounds for four days and by being sent to bed at eight each night. They accepted the verdict without a murmur. On the Monday night when everyone had gone to the town cinema I found Dick in bed reading.

"You are a chump," I said. "The government has all gone to the cinema. Why don't you get up?"

"Don't try to be funny," he said.

This loyalty to their own democracy is an amazing thing. It has no fear in it and no resentment. I have seen a boy go through a long trial for some antisocial act; I have seen him sentenced . . . and then the next case would come on. The chairman elects a new jury for each trial, and as often as not the boy who has just been sentenced is elected as a jurymen. The sense of justice that children have has never ceased to make me marvel. And their administrative ability is great. As an education self-government is something of infinite value. I have often heard sensible speeches from children who could not read nor write. They do not become prigs either, and any sign of priggishness is frowned upon by the community. One boy of eleven, a strong exhibitionist, gets up and draws attention to himself by making long involved remarks of obvious irrelevancy. At least he tries to, but the meeting shouts him down. The young have a sensitive nose for insincerity.

One of the drawbacks in self-government is that popularity too often pushes aside ability. At the beginning of each term Bert is always elected as a member of the government, simply because he is

a general favorite. But Bert has not outlived his antisocial component and is more interested in breaking than in making laws. So that regularly each term Bert is accused of being hopeless as a government member and by general vote he is thrown out. Joe, a quiet capable lad of seventeen, an excellent social member, fails to be elected because he is not popular. Sometimes a motion is brought forward that only citizens over twelve should be allowed to vote in a government election, on the ground that the small children have no ideas on ability and merely vote emotionally. It has never been carried, and the vote of a seven-year-old has the same value as my vote has.

In our scheme of self-government there is a peculiar dictatorship element. This is a body known as the Big Five . . . five elder pupils. Their function is the guardianship of the school reputation outside the school. Any crime taking place outside the school grounds comes before the Five. When two girls took money from the pockets of a visiting hockey team they were tried by the Five. The Big Five has unlimited power, even that of expulsion, a power they have never wanted to use, but one which makes it a thing to respect, for expulsion from Summerhill would be to any child an unspeakable tragedy.

I have expelled pupils myself, that is I have arranged that children should leave, taking care that a proper place was found for them beforehand. In the very few cases in which this has happened my action was prompted by the knowledge that the child in question was a danger or a nuisance to others. That is a difficulty that every teacher is up against: shall I sacrifice twenty children for one? Lucy came from a convent at the age of thirteen. She hated everyone, and bullied her room mates. When at last two girls told me that they didn't want to come back next term because of Lucy I got her mother to send her to a dance school in London. John,

aged fourteen, turned out to be an incurable bully. He would hit a small child in the eye just for fun. I had to send him away. Ned, a boy we had had for years, could not live through his gangster stage, so we sent him to Texas, where he lived with the cowboys for over a year. He now has come back to us with his gangster stage behind him. How I wish that Texas were nearer! In each of these cases the general meetings had again and again complained of the presence of these children in the school. I confess to a feeling of failure in such cases, for previously I have scoffed at schools which solved their own problems by expelling undesirable elements, doing nothing to help the ones expelled. It is some consolation to feel that in each case we have seen to it that the child was not sent back to harsh discipline and moral lectures. And in each case we have done it only after making a brave attempt to help the individual by psychological means. All children are not to be helped by analysis. Some of them won't have it, and they don't see why they should. When an adult goes to a psychoanalyst he feels that he wants to be cured, but if a wild girl is sent to me from a convent she has no desire to be cured, and without the cooperation of the patient every psychologist knows that there is nothing to be done. I find that between the ages of eight and eighteen children do not want analysis, and if one forces it on them the result is nil, for the child simply withdraws into itself and sits silently through the lessons.

Yet children in what I call the latent period will react to social analysis if the environment is one of complete personal freedom. After all Summerhill means personal freedom to be what you like, so long as in being what you like you do not interfere with the freedom of others . . . which is about all that you can demand of anyone. But this means that your neighbors must have a reasonable standard of living.

A Summerhill child would feel cramped in being himself if he lived in a community that thought the word damn was sinful or that stealing was immoral. You can only be free when you live among others who have the same idea of freedom as you have. An example of that is that of the Public School boy who came to us when seventeen. A week after his arrival he chummed up with the men who fill coal carts at the station, and he began to help them in their loading. He came in to meals with his face and hands all black, but no one said a word. No one cared. It took him a good few weeks to live down his Public School and home idea of cleanliness. When he gave up his coal-heaving he once more became clean in person and dress, but with a difference: cleanliness was no longer something forced on him; his dirt complex had lived itself out. So on a hot day boys and staff will sit at lunch shirtless. No one minds. Summerhill relegates minor things to their proper place—indifference, but this morning crossing the Line I walked into the dining room for breakfast without my jacket, and the chief steward very quickly informed me that that was not allowed. If Summerhill went to sea I guess that it wouldn't dine in stiff hot evening shirts as we have to do on this ship, nor would anyone worry if you came to lunch in bathing trunks.

It is the broad outlook that free children acquire that makes self-government so important. Their laws deal with essentials, not appearances (saving the down town laws which are the compromise with a less free civilization). "Down town," that is the outside world, wastes its precious energy in worrying over trifles . . . as if it matters in the scheme of life whether you wear dress clothes or say Hell. Summerhill, by getting away from the outward nothings of life, can have and really has a community spirit that is in advance of its time. True, it is apt to call a spade a bloody

shovel, but any navvy will tell you with truth that a spade is a bloody shovel.

In this ship, crossing the equator for the first time, I see so much of what is unessential in life. Most of the passengers talk of what does not matter, and I think that few of them really are aware of life at all. To many passengers ship life is a lazy, flirtatious or restful holiday. Food is in plenty, and if the entertainment is on the childish side that is partly due to lack of space. Yes, life is pleasant. In the heat all you have to do is to cry: "Steward!" and an obliging youth in white comes at once with an iced drink. But when you are aware of things you see a ship as something different. The stewards appear to get up early and finish very late at night. They are all pasty-faced, for they seldom see the sun. Obviously they have a hard life on any ship. They are not always in white; they wash and scrub while the passengers sleep and dance. Yet most people take them for granted, possibly excusing their indifference by thinking that the end-of-the-voyage tip covers a multitude of services. To enter the dining-room without a jacket is in this life on ship an important shortcoming but to be unconscious of stewards is the thing to do apparently.

Summerhill has its maids, and they work long and hard, and perhaps I ought to begin my reforms at home, but Summerhill maids are not considered inferiors. They dance with us, and our bigger lads take them to dances in the town. They are not asked for deference and respect for employers (Ivy always addresses me as "Neill") and they all appear to be happy in their work. Work is necessary, whereas the frills of service, the bowing and scraping are not only unessential but degrading. Stewards look as if they hated their job, and I heard of one recently, who, rather than wash up his plates and cups, threw a thousand of them through a porthole.

Summerhill has its insoluble problem of

its middle-class population, yet the future of the world is obviously one of socialism of some kind . . . and in the creative society of the future sincerity and a standard of values will count for much. If all schools had real self-government—not the brand that makes the pupils do the dirty police work for the teachers—a new generation would face life with a high standard of public morality, and a scheme of values that eliminated the non-essentials.

I have failed to convey in words what self-government really is like. Every Saturday night at eight we have a full meeting. A chairman is elected on the spot, and the success of the meetings depends largely on whether the chairman is weak or strong, for to keep order among seventy vigorous children is no easy task. The chairman has power to fine noisy citizens, and under a weak chairman the fines run up too much. The staff takes a hand, of course, in the discussions, but as a rule I do not take part. In any "trial" I dare not take a part, for I must remain a neutral. In fact I have seen a lad charged with an offense and get away with it with a complete alibi, after telling me in his P.L. that he had done the deed. I must always be on the side of the individual. That leads on naturally to the next chapter.

BEING ON THE SIDE OF THE CHILD

Summerhill owes its psychology to the greatest child psychologist of our time, Homer Lane. I wrote my *DOMINIE'S LOG* in 1915, knowing nothing of psychology at all. It was a groping book: I felt that schooling was all wrong, but did not know how to put it right. I read the report of a lecture by Lane, and in 1917, when I was a cadet in the artillery school at Trowbridge, I made a week-end visit to the Little Commonwealth, in Dorset. I arrived in time to see a self-government meeting, and a breezy one it was. The Commonwealth was divided into houses,

and one house was attacking the other on its disorderliness, saying that the rest of the Commonwealth was kept awake late at nights by the unseemly noise coming from the unsocial house. I forgot how the meeting ended; all I remember is my surprise to see a company of delinquent children manage their social affairs so easily and cleverly. The meeting went on till eleven, and then Lane sat and talked to me until three in the morning. It was a new world that he opened up to me, and when next day Lane invited me to come and help when the war should be over, I was delighted. But by the time I was free to go back to civil life the Commonwealth had been closed, and I got a job in King Alfred School, in Hampstead. Luckily Lane had come to Town, and I not only went to every lecture he gave, but also became his patient for analysis.

Lane was a genius, and like all geniuses was erratic. He sometimes said wild things that could not be proved, and as an analyst he was often unsatisfactory because he was always moving on to something new. A dream would suddenly give him a new theory and he would spend the rest of the session expanding his new theory . . . fascinating but hardly the best analysis. Throughout his whole career, however, Lane never wavered from his belief that love alone could cure, and it was his conception of love that made him stand out as a great man. To Lane love was not a sentimental thing, not even an emotional thing: love to him was being on the side of a person, love was approval. His success with delinquents was due to his loving them. I used to think that children are not conscious of this kind of love, but I had a proof that they are. I had a youth sent to me, a real crook, who stole cleverly. A week after his arrival I had a telephone message from Liverpool. "This is Mr. X speaking (a well-known man in England) and I have a nephew at your

school. He has written me asking if he can come to Liverpool for a few days. Do you mind?"

"Not a bit," I answered, "but he has no money. Who will pay his fare? Better get into touch with his parents."

On the following afternoon the boy's mother rang me up saying that they had had a phone message from Uncle Dick, and so far as they were concerned he could go. They had looked up the fare, and it was 28s., and would I give Arthur £2 10s.?

Arthur had put through both calls from a local box and his imitation of an old uncle's voice was perfect. It was obvious that he had tricked me, for I had given him the £2 10s. before I was conscious of being done. I talked it over with my wife, and we both agreed that the wrong thing to do would be to demand the money back, for that was what had been happening to him for years. My wife suggested rewarding him, and I agreed. I went up to his bedroom late at night.

"You're in luck today," I said cheerfully.

"I jolly well am," he said.

"Yes, but you are in greater luck than you know," I said.

"What do you mean?"

"Oh, your mother has just telephoned again," I said easily. "She says she made a mistake about the fare: it isn't 28s., it is 38s. So she asked me if I'd give you another ten bob," and I carelessly threw a ten shilling note on his bed and departed before he could say anything.

He went off to Liverpool next morning, leaving a letter to be given to me after the train had gone. It began: "Dear Neill, I have discovered that you are a greater actor than I am." And for weeks he kept asking me why I had given him that ten shilling note. I said to him: "How did you feel when I gave it to you?"

He thought hard for a minute and then he said slowly: "You know, I got the biggest shock of my life. I said to myself:

Here is the first man in my life who has been on my side."

Here was a case of being conscious of the love that is approval, but I should think that usually consciousness is late in coming. In past days, when I had much to do with misfits and crooks, I again and again rewarded them for stealing, sometimes stole with them, but it was only after a few years when the child was cured that he or she had any realization of the fact that my approval had helped them.

Approval is just as necessary for normal children as for neurotics. The one commandment that every parent and teacher must obey is this: Thou shalt be on the child's side. The obeying of this commandment is the success of Summerhill, for we are definitely on the child's side, and the child knows it unconsciously. I do not say that we are a crowd of angels. There are times when we adults make a fuss, as I did over my potatoes. If I were painting a door and Robert came along and threw mud on my fresh paint I should swear at him heartily, because he is one of us and what I say to him does not matter. But suppose Robert had just come from a hateful school and his mud-slinging was an attempt to get his own back against authority, I would join in his mud-slinging because his salvation is more important than a door. It isn't easy. I have stood by and seen a boy treat my precious lathe badly; I knew that if I protested he would at once identify me with his stern father who threatened to beat him if he touched his tools. I confess that as I grow older I find it more difficult to approve of the spoilt child in everything he does. Maybe courage lessens. A few years ago we had a spoilt boy of ten who had ruled his home by threatening to jump from a window if he did not get his own way. One day his sister came to me in terror: "Frank says he'll jump from his bedroom window if I don't give him sixpence,"

she cried, "and I don't have sixpence." I went upstairs and found Frank poised on his window sill.

"I'm going to jump," he said tensely and glared at me.

"I know," I said. "That's why I came up. I want to see it. Go on, jump."

He looked at me and his look said: "You dirty dog, you see through me."

But I was not courageous there, for I knew that Frank was bluffing. The strange thing is that you can be on the child's side even though you may sometimes swear at him. If your life is on the side of the child's life the child realizes it, and any minor disagreement you may have about potatoes or scratched motor wings does not disturb the fundamental relationship. It works negatively rather than positively. When you treat a child without bringing in authority and morality the child feels that you are on his side, because in his previous life authority and morality were policemen who restricted his activities. And children deal much with negatives. When a girl of eight passes me and says in passing: "Neill is a silly fool," I know that that is her negative way of expressing her love. Children do not love so much as want to be loved, and adult approval means love to every child, whereas disapproval means hate. Just before I sailed last week I overheard a boy of sixteen say: "The school will be queer without Neill. Gosh, if the head in my last school had gone off to South Africa wouldn't we have had a bingel!"

The attitude of the children to all the staff is similar to their attitude to me. They feel that the staff is on their side all the time.

The most frequent remark that visitors make is that they cannot make out who is staff and who is pupil. It is so true: the feeling of unity is so strong when children are approved of. Thus there is no deference to staff as staff. Staff and pupils have the same food and both have to obey the

community laws. The children would resent any special privileges given to the staff, and when I used to give the staff a talk on psychology every week, there was a muttering that it wasn't fair. I changed the plan and made the talks open to all over twelve, and every Tuesday night my room is filled with eager young folks who not only listen but give their opinions freely. When I saw that among the subjects the children have asked me to talk about were The Inferiority Complex, The Psychology of Pinching, The Psychology of the Gangster, The Psychology of Humor, Why did man become a moralist? Masturbation, Crowd Psychology . . . it is obvious that such children will go out into life with a broad clear knowledge of themselves and others. When you approve of children you can talk to them about anything and everything, for approval will make any inhibitions fly away. But the question arises: Is it possible to approve of children if you do not approve of yourself? And the further question arises: Is it possible for any man to approve of himself? It depends largely on what Dr. J. C. Young calls awareness. If you are aware of yourself you can approve of yourself, or in other words the more conscious you are of yourself and your motives the more likely you are to be an approver of yourself. Our self-disapproval comes mainly from infancy, and a large part of it originates from the conscience about masturbation. The unhappy child is one who has too big a conscience about masturbation, and the taking away of this conscience is the greatest step to advance.

The happiness and verve of Summerhill children is largely due to their having got over their guilty conscience about masturbation and sex. They are led to approve of their bodies, and to have no sense of shame about sex. In our open discussion on masturbation boys and girls asked questions on masturbation quite openly

without any embarrassment. One boy who has not outlived the smutty side his prep-school gave him, tried to be pornographic, but the others shut him up, not because he was being pornographic but merely because he was sidetracking an interesting talk. All children are pornographic either openly or more often secretly, but the least pornographic are those who have no moral taboos about sex in their infancy and early childhood. For that matter adults are pornographic too, especially men. It is a fallacy that women are more pure-minded than men . . . what is purity anyway? . . . but in the main a man's club or bar or canteen is much more likely to be pornographic than a woman's Rural Institute. Pornography is directly proportionate to sex repressions, and I am sure that later on our pupils will be less inclined to pornography than the children brought up under hush hush methods. As Derrick said to me when he came back on vacation from the university: "Summerhill spoils you in one way . . . you find chaps of your own age too dull. They talk about things I grew out of years ago."

"Sex stories?" I asked.

"Yes, more or less. I like a good sex story myself, but the ones they tell are crude and pointless. But it isn't only sex; other things too. Psychology, politics . . . I don't know, but I find myself tending to chum up with chaps ten years older than myself."

I have more than once mentioned the sincerity of free children. This sincerity is the result of their being approved of. They have no artificial standard of behavior to live up to, no taboos to restrain them: they have no necessity to live a life that is a lie. But under adult discipline a child must live a lying life, for the mainspring of discipline is fear of censure or punishment. Punishment from their fellows does not involve fear, but when an adult punishes fear comes automatically, for the adult is big and strong and awe-inspiring

and, most important of all, a symbol of the feared father or mother.

On Sunday nights I tell the younger children a story about their own adventures. I have done it for fifteen years, and the strain on the imagination is great. I have taken them to Darkest Africa, under the sea, over the clouds, to heaven, to hell. Some weeks ago I made myself die and Summerhill was taken over by a strict man called Muggins. He made lesson-going compulsory, and if you said Dash you got caned. I pictured how they all meekly obeyed his orders, and those three to eight year olds got furious with me.

"We didn't. We all ran away. We killed him with a hammer. Think we would stand a man like that?"

In the end I found I could only satisfy them by coming to life again and kicking Mr. Muggins out of the front door. These were mostly children who had never known a strict school, and their reaction of fury was spontaneous and natural. A world in which the master was not on their side was an appalling one for them to think of, not only because of their experience of Summerhill but also because of their experience of home, where Mummy and Daddy are on their side also (if they weren't they would send their children elsewhere).

THE PRIVATE LESSONS

I never teach. My main work is giving Private Lessons. Most of the children do not require psychological attention, but there are always a proportion just come from other schools, and the P.L.s. are intended to hasten their adaptation to freedom. If a child is all tied up inside he cannot adapt himself to being free. Hence I have a timetable.

The P.L.s. are informal talks by the fireside; I sit with my pipe in my mouth and the child can smoke if he or she likes. The cigarette is often an easy means of breaking the ice. When a big boy came

from a Public School and I asked him to come and have a chat with me, I noticed that his fingers were yellow with nicotine. I took out my cigarette packet and offered it to him.

"Thanks," he stuttered, "but I don't smoke, sir."

"Take one, you bloody liar," I said with a smile, and he took one.

Here I was killing two birds with one stone. Here was a boy to whom headmasters were stern moral disciplinarians to be cheated every time. By offering him a cigarette I was showing that I approved of his smoking. By calling him a bloody liar I was showing him that I could meet him on his own level, and at the same time attacking his authority complex by showing that a headmaster could swear easily and cheerfully. I wish I could have photographed his facial expression during that first interview. He had been expelled for stealing.

"I hear you are a bit of a crook," I said. "What's your best way of swindling the railway company?"

"I never tried to swindle it, sir."

"Oh," I said, "this won't do. You must have a try. I know lots of methods," and I told him a few. His mouth gaped. This surely was Bedlam he had come to. The Head telling him how to be a better crook? Years later he told me that that interview was the biggest shock of his life.

But now that problem children are nearly eliminated it may be asked what necessity there is for P.L.s. What kind of kids need them? The best answer will be a few illustrations.

Lucy, the infant mistress, comes to me and says that Peggy seems very unhappy and antisocial. I say: "Righto, tell her to come and have a P.L." Peggy comes over to my sitting room.

"I don't want a P.L.," she says as she sits down. "They are just silly."

"Absolutely," I agree. "Waste of time. We won't have one."

She considers this. "Well," she says slowly, "I don't mind a tiny wee one." By this time she has placed herself on my knee. I ask about her Daddy and Mummy and especially about her little brother, who is a very silly little ass.

"He must be," I agree. "Do you think that Mummy likes him better than she likes you?"

"She likes us both the same," she says quickly, and adds: "She says that anyway." Sometimes the fit of unhappiness has arisen from a quarrel with another child, but more often it is a letter from home that has caused the trouble, a letter perhaps saying that her brother or sister has got a new doll or bike. The end of the P.L. generally is that Peggy goes out quite happily.

With newcomers it is not so easy. When we get a child of eleven who has been told that babies are brought by the doctor it takes some hard work to free the child from lies and fears. For naturally such a child has a guilt sense toward masturbation, and that sense of guilt must be destroyed if the child is to find happiness.

Among young children I find bed-wetting the most difficult problem of all. I have had but little success in curing it. When it is a case of repressed masturbation (the wetting being masturbation in sleep and therefore guiltless) it is easy, but I have found bed-wetting among children who have never had repressions about sex at all. Fundamentally it is a regression to infancy; the motive is to be a baby again and be tended by mother. The cure should result from letting the child have its motive fulfilled, but in a school it is impossible to do this, even if the mother substitutes there are willing to help. In general the cure for any habit is the living out of it, and it is wrong to try to force a child to grow up. All punishment and talks make bed-wetting more fixed than ever. Hard as it is, we must approve of the wetting if we are to help

the child, only our approval will not cure so swiftly as the approval of Mummy.

Some years ago we had a small boy sent to us because he messed his trousers all day long. His mother had thrashed him for it, and in desperation had finally made him eat his feces. You can imagine the problem we had to face. I have a vague idea that I mentioned this lad in an earlier book. Briefly his case was that of a boy with a younger brother. The messing began with the birth of the brother, and the motive was apparently: "He has taken Mummy's love from me; if I am like him and mess my trousers like he messes his nappies, Mummy will love me too."

I gave him P.L.s. and showed him what his motive was, but it is only in textbooks of psychology that cures are sudden and dramatic. For over a year that boy messed himself three times daily. No one said a bitter word to him, and Mrs. Corkhill, the nurse then, did all the cleaning without one word of reproach . . . but she did protest when I began to reward him every time he did a really big mess. During all this period the boy was a hateful little devil . . . no wonder! He stayed with us for three years, a nice lovable lad, absolutely clean after his cure. His mother took him away on the ground that she wanted a school where he would learn something. He came back to see us after a year at such a school, came back a changed lad—insincere, afraid, unhappy. He said he would never forgive his mother for taking him away from Summerhill, and he never will. Strangely enough, he is about the only case of trouser messing we have had in fifteen years. I am sure that every case is one of hate against the mother for starving of love.

Nowadays I never have to deal with extreme cases like this. No small child requires regular P.L.s., and the ideal circumstances are where a child demands a P.L. Some of the older ones do. There was Charlie, aged sixteen, who felt very

much inferior to lads of his own age. I asked him when he felt most inferior, and he said when they were bathing, because his penis was much smaller than theirs. I explained to him how this arose. He was the youngest child in a family of six sisters, all much older than himself; there was a gulf of ten years between him and his youngest sister. The household was a feminine one (the father was dead) and the big sisters got all the jam and did all the bossing. Hence he identified himself with the feminine in life so that he, too, could have power.

After about ten P.Ls. Charlie stopped coming to me. I asked him why. "Don't need P.Ls. now," he said cheerfully, "my tool is as big as Bert's now."

But there was more in the short analysis than that, for he had been told that masturbation would make him impotent when he was a man, and his fear (and desire) for impotency had affected the physical. So that his cure was also due to the destruction of his guilt complex and the counteraction of the silly lie about impotency. Charlie left the school a year or two ago and is now a fine, healthy, happy youth who will get on in life.

Then there is the case of Sylvia, not really a sex case at all. Sylvia has a stern father who never praises her, who, on the contrary, criticizes and nags her all day long. Her one desire in life is to get father's love, and she sits in my room and weeps bitterly while she tells her story. Hers is a difficult case to help, for all the analysis of the daughter will not change the father. I see no solution until she is old enough to get away from home, and I have warned her that there is a danger that she may marry the wrong man merely to escape from the father.

"What sort of wrong man?" she asked.

"A man like your father, one who will treat you sadistically," I said. This is a sad case. With us Sylvia is a social, friendly girl who offends no one, and at home she

is said to be a devil. Obviously it is the father who needs analysis, not the daughter.

Another insoluble case is that of little Florence. She is illegitimate and doesn't know it. My experience is that every illegitimate child knows unconsciously that it is illegitimate, and Florence assuredly knows that there is some mystery behind her. I have told the mother that the only cure for her daughter's hate and unhappiness is to tell her the truth.

"But, Neill, I daren't. I don't care a damn myself, but if I tell her she won't keep it to herself, and my mother will cut her out of her will."

Well, well, we'll just have to wait till the old lady dies I am afraid. You can do nothing if a vital truth has to be kept dark.

Child analysis is extremely difficult during the latent period. An old boy of twenty came back to stay with us for a time, and he asked me for a few P.Ls.

"But I gave you dozens when you were here," I said. "I know," he said sadly, "dozens that I didn't want, but now I feel I want them."

Nowadays I give up any analysis or shall I call it re-education if there is a resistance against it. With the average child when you have cleared up the birth and masturbation question and shown how the family situation has made hates and jealousies, there is nothing more to be done . . . Curing a neurosis in a child is a matter of the release of emotion, and what release of emotion any child or adult can get out of being told that he has a Birth Trauma complex or a mother-castration wish I cannot discover. I recall a boy of fifteen I tried to analyze. For weeks he sat silent, answering only in monosyllables. I decided to be drastic, and at his next P.L. I said to him: "I'm going to tell you what I think of you this morning. You're a lazy, stupid, conceited, spiteful fool."

"Am I?" he said red with anger. "Who

do you think you are anyway?" From that moment he talked easily and usefully.

One of the most charming analyses was that of George, a boy of eleven. His father was a small tradesman in a village near Glasgow. The boy was sent to me by a Glasgow doctor. His neurosis was one of intense fear. He feared to be away from home, even at the village school, and he screamed in terror when he had to leave home. With great difficulty his father got him to come to Summerhill: he wept and clung to his father so that the father could not return home. I advised him to stay for a few days. I had already had the case history from the doctor, and the doctor's comments were in my estimation correct and most useful. The question of getting the father to go home was becoming an acute one. I tried to talk to George, but he wept and sobbed that he wanted to go home. "This is just a prison," he sobbed.

I went on talking and ignored his tears. "When you were four," I said, "your little brother was taken to the infirmary and they brought him back in a coffin. (Increased sobbing.) Your fear of leaving home is that the same thing will happen to you . . . you'll go home in a coffin. (Louder sobs.) But that's not the main point, George, me lad: you killed your brother."

Here he protested violently, and threatened to kick me. "You didn't really kill him, George, but you thought that he got more love from your mother than you got, and you sometimes wished he would die, and when he did die you had a terrible guilty conscience because you thought that your wishes had killed him, and that God would kill you if you went away from home as punishment for your guilt."

His sobbing ceased, and next day, although he made a scene at the station, he let his father go home. George did not get over his homesickness for some time, but the sequel was that in eighteen

months he insisted on travelling home for the vacation alone, crossing London from station to station alone, and he did the same on his way back to school. He was one of the nicest lads I have known, bright and intelligent. After two years he came to me.

"I'll be leaving at the end of this term," he said.

"But why?"

"I must. I like Summerhill a lot, but my folks are not very well off and it'll be cheaper to stay with them and go to Greenock Academy (but it wasn't Greenock). Anyway I'm cured now and I don't need Summerhill."

We were all very sorry to lose him, and when, three weeks ago, the father sent us a local paper showing that George was in the prize list of his Academy, we were all happy about it.

More and more I come to the conclusion that analysis is not necessary when children can live out their complexes in freedom, yet I see that in a case like that of George freedom would not be enough. In the past I have analyzed young thieves who refused to come to P.Ls., and in three years they were cured also. I have puzzled much about this business of curing . . . In the case of Summerhill I say it is love that cures, approval, freedom to be true to self. Of our seventy children only a small fraction has P.Ls., and when I return from my lecture tour in South Africa I hope to reduce the list of P.Ls. drastically, and spend some time working with the children in handwork and dramatics and dancing.

Here I take up a question that is often put to me: "But isn't Summerhill a one man show? Could it do without your P.Ls.? Could it carry on without you?"

Summerhill is by no means a one man show. My wife is just as important as I am, and her reaction to children is as psychological as my own. In the day by day working of the school she is much

more important than I am, and much more efficient in handling business affairs and parents and correspondence. Still she and I are important, for it is our idea of non-interference that has made the school. But the staff, although it does not handle psychology, has a psychological attitude to the children, that is, like my wife and myself, they know *what not to do* . . . which is less dangerous than knowing what to do. I know I could leave the school for a year feeling that the staff would carry on in the right way . . . I have nothing but praise for our staff. In most schools where I have taught the staffroom was a little hell of intrigue and hate and jealousy. Our staffroom is a happy place . . . but it is so difficult to keep the kids out . . . and the spites so often seen are absent. That is because under freedom the adults acquire the same happiness and goodwill that the pupils acquire. Sometimes a new member of the staff will react to freedom very much in the same way as children react: he may go unshaved, stay abed too long mornings, even break school laws. Luckily the living out of complexes takes a much shorter time with adults than it takes with children.

I find hardly any fear of thunder among our small children: they will sleep out in small tents through the most violent of storms (the government makes a law that all tents must be far away from trees and wire fences). Nor do I find much fear of the dark. Sometimes a boy of eight will pitch his tent right at the far end of the field, and he will sleep there alone for nights. Freedom encourages fearlessness, and I have often seen weedy, timid little chaps grow into sturdy,

fearless youths, but to generalize would be wrong, for there are introverted children who never become brave. Some folks keep their ghosts for life. And the chief difficulty in dealing with ghosts is our ignorance of prenatal conditions, for no one knows if a pregnant mother can convey her own fears to her unborn child. If a child has been brought up without fear, and in spite of that still has fears, then it is possible that he has brought his fears with him. On the other hand, a child must acquire fears from the world around it. Today even small children cannot help hearing about Abyssinia and poison gas and coming wars with their bombs. Fear must be associated with such things, but if there is no unconscious fear of sex and hell to add to the reality fear of gas and bombs, the fear of these will be a normal one, not a phobia. A phobia is a fear of a symbol. Fear of a lion is genuine fear; fear of a house spider is a phobia.

I only give P.L.s. for emotional purposes. If a child is unhappy, I give him a P.L., but if he can't learn to read or hates mathematics I do not try to cure him, because reading and counting are of so little moment in life. Sometimes in the course of a P.L. it comes out that the inability to learn to read dates from Mummy's constant promptings to be "a nice, clever boy like your brother," or the hatred of maths comes from dislike of a previous maths teacher. Maths, however, have a complicated psychology, and the symbols get mysteriously linked up with sex symbols just as numbers do. I have seen the lifting of the masturbation guilt destroy the anti-maths complex.

ORGONE BIOPHYSICS, MECHANISTIC SCIENCE AND "ATOMIC" ENERGY

The position of orgone biophysics in our mechanistic civilization, in which the machine is more important than man, is difficult. Our laboratories have the task of developing the new realm of facts covered by the term orgone, and the task of following the lines leading from the realm of the emotions into that of biophysical processes. Biopsychiatry requires a basis in processes of strict natural science, that is, in *quantitatively* determinable processes; without this basis, it can no longer exist without degenerating into mysticism and chaotic ways of thinking. Our orgone-biophysical work brings us into contact with all kinds of specialists, physicians, physicists, biologists, etc., who are under the influence of mechanistic-metaphysical thinking and who have heard nothing of the orgone-biophysical facts in their training. Orgone biophysics must protect its field against misconceptions, it must develop its *own* methods and interpretations of processes, if it is to hold to the logical line leading from the realm of instinct biology to that of the orgone energy. In other words: *The emotions and plasmatic functions must be comprehended and made practically manageable within the realm of the objective natural sciences.*

The reactions of the mechanists and metaphysicists to this new work have undergone a change in the course of the past 10 years; it may be helpful to distinguish a few types among these reactions, in order to gain a preliminary orientation in the intercourse with the "outer world" of orgone biophysics:

Some 10 years ago, when the first facts of my natural-scientific theory were published, there was an uproar. Specialists went straight to the police and asked that my experiments be prohibited. Others declared that I was schizophrenic and spread the rumor in America that I was in a mental hospital in Europe. A latecomer in this group, a European director of public health, recently declared, on his return to Europe, that I had become psychotic in America and had been hospitalized there.

With this type of reaction one cannot enter into discussion; one can only protect oneself against it as well as possible.

A second type of reaction uses the technique of simply denying the existence of the new facts or of interpreting them away. According to this technique, the bions were "merely" the result of air infection; the orgone radiation of the bions was "non-existent" because it was not demonstrable at the radioscope; the rise of the bio-electric curve with pleasure sensations was "merely" a phantasy of mine (notwithstanding the fact that it was photographed); the temperature phenomena at the orgone accumulator were "merely" manifestations of heat convection.

With this reaction type one also cannot enter into discussion.

A third type, largely represented by officials with whom we have to deal in practical matters, declares the whole thing "impossible." One such official said in so many words he would not grant an application "no matter what proofs were submitted."

With this type one also cannot enter into discussion. One can only try to avoid it, but this is not easy when such an official has the decision on, say, patent applications.

A fourth type is at first very friendly and confirms the new facts. But as soon as it becomes clear to him how revolutionary these new facts are he withdraws, does not answer letters, etc.

It is difficult to find a correct attitude toward this type. On the one hand, one feels disinclined to swallow such insults as unanswered letters, on the other hand one does not want to lose contact with somebody who has seen and confirmed the facts.

Recently we have been meeting a fifth kind of reaction. It is that of specialists who do not conceal their amazement and their admiration of the new findings. They seem interested and willing to help. But they say that I don't know enough physics. They advise me to consult "authorities" in the field of physics to obtain a solid theoretical basis for my new findings. They refute my work hypothesis even though it has proved its usefulness by the very findings which they admire.

With this type of reaction one can enter into discussion, but only under certain conditions. First of all, the fact has to be recognized that *there are no authorities in my field of work*, simply because it is *fundamentally new*. I do not hesitate to admit that I have not mastered *mechanistic* physics as well as I might or should. But members of an allied science who would wish to help us should also realize that they can enter the field of orgone biophysics only as beginners. They must be willing not only to learn something new but also to accept the possibility that the discovery of the cosmic orgone energy may shake the foundation of their special picture of the physical world. Neither "censors" nor "authorities" can get us anywhere.

We have to admit that we cannot by ourselves work through the problems raised by the discovery of the cosmic energy. For such a task, we lack the comprehensive knowledge, the technical equipment and the financial means. Cooperation between orgone physics and other objective natural sciences, therefore, is indispensable. There should be free competition between the established electrophysical and mechanistic interpretation of the natural process and the functional energetic method of orgone physics. Such freedom of competition can only be to the advantage of all.

In my article, "Orgonotic pulsation" I tried, in the form of "Talks with an electrophysicist," to establish a new theoretical position. A friendly reader of this article pointed out that the opinions of the electrophysicist were wrong, that I had presented an erroneous picture of present-day physical knowledge. He thought I should not engage the electrical technicians in my discussion but the theoretical physicists. This reproach is not justified: The opinions of my electrophysicist were derived from my personal experience, they are the prevalent opinions of the average physicist and are included in the textbooks of physics.

In the second part of the "Talks with an electrophysicist" I had intended to enter upon *fundamental* problems of physics. The manuscript is finished, but I shall postpone publication. If we make a strict distinction between finding, method, work hypothesis and theory formation, it is well to present at first *only* the new findings. They provide ample material for discussion, for various kinds of interpretation, and for an objective argumentation between mechanistic electrophysics and functional orgone physics. When electrophysicists have made a sufficient number of serious attempts to fit the new facts into our world picture, it will be seen whether my functional interpretation is necessary and therefore justified. I can assure the

reader that I am not motivated by any striving for originality. I have discovered a sufficient number of new facts to feel myself free of any such false ambition; more than that, I shall be only too glad if the astronomers and physicists succeed in fitting the findings of orgone physics into the existing framework. My task will only be to watch and to see whether the theories of the physicists *incorporate the life process in their scientific theory or whether they leave it out of consideration*. It is clear that theories which continue to leave the life process—which is part of the natural process—in the realm of metaphysics, as did the theories of, say, Eddington or Jeans (I am referring to the world of *sensations* and *emotions*) cannot do justice to the facts. The basic plasmatic reactions of pleasure and anxiety were the point of departure for the discovery of the cosmic energy. They must, of necessity, find their place in that theory which has to unite the realms of the living and the non-living into one. It is clear, furthermore, that a theory also has to prove its usefulness by furthering, rather than hindering, the development of the experiments.

The basic question under discussion is whether the orgone energy is electricity or whether it represents a *primordial form of energy* of which electricity and magnetism are only specific functions.

Orgone biophysics contends that electromagnetism can neither explain nor cause living phenomena. It demonstrates the existence of a physical energy, the cosmic orgone, the specific characteristics of which fulfil the demands of functional biophysics.

That physical energy which governs the realm of the living must also be demonstrable in the realm of the non-living, if we postulate, as we must, the origin of life from non-living matter.

The characteristics of an energy are always deduced from the specific functions which are governed by it (free fall: energy

of acceleration; electric current: energy of potential difference; heat convection: energy of heat potential, etc.). Consequently, *the orgone energy must have specific characteristics which are expressed in the living functions*. Pulsation is a basic function of living matter; consequently, pulsation must also be a basic characteristic of the *physical* orgone. The attraction of weaker by stronger systems is another function of living matter; consequently, orgone energy must be characterized by the fact that the stronger system attracts the weaker system, *also in the non-living realm* (clearly demonstrable in the relationship of the sun to the planets). Another living function is symmetrical growth; consequently, the specific shape of organisms and organs must be explicable from *physical* laws of the orgone.

These are rigorous postulates. They must absolutely be fulfilled if one is to speak of a cosmic energy which *also* expresses itself as life energy. Living matter is restricted to the earth's crust; this fact also must find its logical explanation.

Summarizing, we can say that the specific life functions like pulsation, lumination, existence at the earth's crust, heat formation and symmetrical growth must derive in an understandable manner from the respective functions of the cosmic orgone.

I should like to add a few words about the relationship of the orgone to the "atomic bomb." The mechanists contend that they have tracked down atomic energy in an ultimate and practical way. There is no gainsaying the fact that mechanistic physics, in a practical way, has slain some hundred thousands of people with a single "atomic bomb." Whether or not it is a matter of *atomic* energy no one can say, if for no other reason because there is nobody who knows what an atom is. One might argue that the practical smashing of the atomic nucleus has, after all, been proven by the mass slaughter

achieved. To that argument one would have to say that practical results are very often achieved with the aid of erroneous theories, eclipses of the sun, for example, are correctly calculated and predicted on the basis of the Copernican theory of the world system, even though the Copernican theory of the revolution of the earth around a stationary sun is erroneous. All I wish to say with this is that all the noise of destruction should not keep one from thinking clearly. The work of this Institute will clearly show that the problem of primary formation of matter cannot be solved with the aid of the theory of electronics, but with the theory of the primordial orgone. It is characteristic of our times that everybody is wide awake to discoveries which lend themselves to mass slaughter of human beings but as if deaf and dumb toward a discovery which has made "atomic energy" accessible in its natural and original state. For seen from the standpoint of mechanistic terminology, orgone energy is nothing but "atomic" energy in its natural state. We have been working with this "atomic energy" for some 10 years, in the fields of medicine, biology and physics. The orgone energy has yielded some therapeutic results which are so incredible that I have not dared to publish them lest I appear as a charlatan.

I wish to declare publicly that orgone physics does not wish to be confused with that kind of natural science which celebrates its greatest triumphs in the discovery of ever more dreadful explosives. I wish to state, furthermore, that "atomic energy" in its natural state, that is, orgone, will never lend itself to the purposes of murder, and that, on the other hand, it has disclosed tremendous therapeutic possibilities. I do not believe that the mechanists will succeed in making their new explosive usable for medical and biological purposes. If for no other reason—as was the case with gunpowder and dynamite—because the development of energy in the process of smashing matter is far too rapid for any other use than that of killing. Orgone energy, on the other hand, is characterized by the slowness of its reactions. It is precisely this characteristic which makes it a life-furthering energy. It was also first discovered in living matter. If, against any expectation, I should ever discover any murderous potentiality of the orgone energy, I would keep the process secret. We shall have to learn to counteract the murderous form of the atomic energy with the life-furthering function of the orgone energy and thus render it harmless.

WILHELM REICH

FROM THE ORGONE INSTITUTE RESEARCH LABORATORIES

EXPERIMENTAL DEMONSTRATION OF THE PHYSICAL ORGONE ENERGY

Preliminary Communication*

By WILHELM REICH, M.D.

CONTENTS

- I. Organization of plasmatic matter from free orgone energy
- II. The process of the bion water experiment XX
- III. Demonstration of organotic pulsation in the realm of the non-living
- IV. Demonstration of organotic lumination at the orgone energy field meter
- V. Demonstration of organotic attraction in the energy field of the orgone accumulator
- VI. General conclusions concerning orgone energy which is not bound to formed matter

I. ORGANIZATION OF PLASMATIC MATTER FROM FREE ORGONE ENERGY.

In the following, I would like to report on an experimental result which owes its discovery to an "accident." It was one of those accidents which are wont to happen in the course of systematic experimental work and which, on closer examination, are shown to be logical results of the experimental thought and work process.

For several years, I had observed earth bion preparations which I kept alive by replenishing the water regularly. I noticed the development of small, rapidly moving living forms of the shape of a bean or of the head of a spermatozoon; in some preparations these appeared after a few months, in others only after years. It was possible clearly to observe the development of these living forms from strongly radiating and slowly pulsating bions. As we know, such living forms do not derive from the air. First, they are not found in air dust; second, they cannot be obtained by air infection; and third, their appearance in the non-sterile earth bion preparations only after months or years confirms their organi-

zation from the preparations themselves. Furthermore, autoclaved preparations kept under sterile conditions resulted in the same living forms.

In December, 1944, we acquired an apparatus for the quantitative measurement of fluorescence in fluids. The work with this apparatus was based on the following considerations:

Earlier experiments had shown that the orgone energy is capable of *luminating*. It was to be assumed that fluids with a higher organotic potency, that is, containing more orgone energy, would more strongly luminate than fluids with a weaker organotic potency. Correspondingly, the intensity of fluorescence in fluids could be regarded as an expression of lumination. As a working hypothesis, the degree of fluorescence was taken as the measure of organotic potency. These assumptions were fully confirmed in the course of the experiment and led to practical experimental results.

The fluorometric intensity, that is, the organotic potency, of the fluid which, for months or years, had contained earth bions, was much higher than that of ordinary water. We then set out to investigate

* Translated from the manuscript by the Editor.

changes in organotic potency as they occur under diverse conditions. We put earth bion water of known fluorometric intensity into sealed ampoules which we placed in different localities. Some ampoules we left for several weeks in the laboratory room itself, others in a small triple accumulator, others in the X-ray room, still others in the open air or buried in the soil. Our intention was merely that of repeating the fluorometric measurements after some time. After three weeks we noticed that the ampoules which had been in the open air and in which the water had frozen *contained, after thawing, dense flakes*. The accident consisted in the fact that at the very moment when we were about to throw away these ampoules as "contaminated" I had the idea of examining these flakes microscopically. To my greatest surprise, these flakes—which had developed in an absolutely clear, carefully filtrated fluid free of particles—were revealed as very strongly radiating bionous particles. At a magnification of 3000x, contracting and expanding bions could be seen, forms with which we are quite familiar. We repeated the experiment of filtrating and freezing clear bion water until there was no longer any doubt that we were dealing with a *process in which free orgone energy in water, i.e., orgone energy not connected with bionous matter*, becomes organized into plasmatic living substance with all the criteria of life.

In the following, I shall limit myself to a presentation of the technique of this "Experiment XX" and of the established facts. For the time being, I shall refrain from discussing the theoretical framework in which these facts—which are of extreme importance—belong. These facts become comprehensible only if one examines them in the total context of the orgone-physical function; this will be done elsewhere. It must be pointed out here, however, what progress this experiment constitutes in the preparation of bions, that is, viable orgone energy vesicles. To summarize:

1. Between 1936 and 1945, bions were prepared exclusively from matter already organized (humus, grass, iron, sand, coal, etc.). The progress made by Experiment XX consists in the fact that now orgone energy vesicles, with all the criteria of living matter, can be obtained not from already organized matter, but from free orgone energy. This we may call *primary bion formation* in contradistinction to *secondary bion formation* from already organized matter. The significance of this distinction for the concept of biogenesis and for biochemical processes will be discussed elsewhere.

2. A further progress represented by Experiment XX consists in the fact that it provides a new and incontrovertible proof for the life-specific nature of the orgone energy.

II. THE PROCESS OF THE BION WATER EXPERIMENT XX.*

A. THE FLUOROPHOTOMETRIC DEMONSTRATION OF THE ORGONE IN EARTH BION WATER

1. Ordinary garden soil is put through a screen and thus cleaned of stones, clumps, etc. If water is added to the screened soil, microscopic examination fails to reveal any kind of motion.

2. We examine distilled water and tap water fluorophotometrically. If we take the fluorophotometric value of distilled water as 1, salt-containing, that is, spring or tap water, is shown to have a value of 3 to 4, measured in Forest Hills, N. Y. The fluorophotometric value of the fluid is its "*orgonotic potency*." The galvanometer connected with the fluorophotometer has a scale with 100 equal divisions. *The orgonotic potency of the fluid to be measured is a multiple of the orgonotic potency of distilled water.* The following table shows the values of orgonotic potency (OP) in various fluids:

* Protocol started January 2, 1945, concluded May 26, 1945, notarized March 3, 1945.

Fluid	OP
White sugar (saturated solution)	9
Brown sugar (saturated solution)	13
Maple syrup	27
Dextri-Maltose (saturated solution)	41
Honey	73
Orange juice	7
Milk (pasteurized)	55
Milk (not pasteurized)	100+
Egg-white	25
Tea	2
Whiskey (blended)	11
Distilled water	1
Rain water	3
Tap water	4
Sea water	8
NaCl (physiol. sol.)	4
KCl (0.1 normal)	2
CaCl ₂ (0.1 normal)	2.5
Ringer's solution	1.5
HCl (0.1 normal)	1
NaOH (0.1 normal)	2
HgCl ₂ (disinfectant)	3.5
Alcohol (95%)	3
Culture broth	45
50% broth, 50% KCl	60
Sand in H ₂ O, filtered	1
Iron filings in H ₂ O, filtered	5
Charcoal powder in H ₂ O, filtered	7
Earth in H ₂ O, filtered	8
Earth bions	50 (average)
Grass in H ₂ O, after develop- ment of bions and pro- tozoa, filtered	13
Urine	43

3. The screened garden soil is boiled for an hour in distilled or ordinary water, or autoclaved for half an hour (at 120°C. and 15 lbs. pressure).

4. The water is filtrated from the boiled soil. This clear fluid we call *bion water*. In contradistinction to the original water, which was colorless, this always shows a

yellow color of varying intensity. The fluorophotometric measurement of the orgonotic potency (OP) is made immediately after the boiling and filtration. Its values vary between about 30 and 60 and average about 45. In other words, the orgonotic lumination of the bion water is, on the average, 45 times stronger than before the boiling process. The galvanometer indicates the reaction of the photoelectric cell which is hit by the fluorescence light; consequently, an increase of the fluorophotometric value of the water after the boiling of the soil indicates a higher energy content of the fluid. This can be given in micro-amperes. However, the value in micro-amperes which we read at the galvanometer is not the real measure of the orgonotic lumination; it is merely a measure of the excitation of the photoelectric cell which is transformed into electrical energy. As I have shown elsewhere, *the electric units of measurement indicate only an infinitesimal fraction of the actual energy values of the orgone.*

5. Only at first sight does it seem astounding that boiled bion water shows energy values in the range of those of organic fluids such as bouillon, milk or vitamins. On giving the matter some thought, one finds that the result is logical and matter-of-course:

The boiling changed the matter of the soil into motile *bionous* matter. Energy became liberated from the matter. This is clearly shown by microscopic examination: before boiling, the particles of the soil exhibited no motion, while after boiling the orgone energy vesicles show an inner motion, contractility and slow pulsation. In the process of boiling, not only were the soil particles changed into bions and energy was liberated in the particles; more than that: *this energy also got into the water, for water attracts orgone (and vice versa).* In this manner, the orgonotic potency of the water is increased from its original value to that of biochemical fluids

of high orgonotic potency.

6. Experience shows that in the boiled bion water no bacteria develop, even if air is immediately excluded. For this reason, we started to autoclave it for 30 minutes at 120°C. and 15 lbs. pressure. This procedure usually lowers the OP some 5 to 8 points, but in the course of the next 24 or 48 hours it rises again to the original level. The autoclaved bion water is kept in carefully sterilized flasks or in sealed ampoules which are put in the refrigerator.

B. THE ORGANIZATION OF BIONOUS AND PLASMATIC MATTER FROM THE ORGONE ENERGY IN THE BION WATER

Bion water of high OP, completely free of particles and sterile, is placed into vials or test tubes two days after boiling or autoclavation. The vials are sealed off, the test tubes stoppered with sterile cotton stoppers. We divide the tubes into three groups. *Group A* is placed in a triple orgone accumulator of 1 cubic foot; *Group B* is left standing in the laboratory; *Group C* is placed into the freezing compartment of the refrigerator. As controls we use three groups of tubes with plain sterile water which are placed in the same way.

Two to eight days after the freezing, we thaw out *Group C*. Before the thawing out, we are struck by the fact that *the yellow color of the bion water has become concentrated in the center of the ice in a dense, brownish-yellow spot*. The surrounding peripheral ice is completely clear. Immediately after the thawing of the ice, one notices whitish and brownish flakes in the previously clear fluid. These flakes have a macroscopic size of about 1 to 5 mm. length and about 1 mm. width. The fluid is yellow and clear throughout.

Groups A and B develop the same flakes, only much more slowly, that is, in a period of from 3 to 8 weeks. Control *Group B*, kept in the laboratory room, shows no flakes of any kind, nor does Control *Group C*. Control *Group A*, on the other hand,

ordinary water in the orgone accumulator, also shows flakes, but only in the course of several months, and not as dense or well-formed as the experimental Groups A, B and C.

Microscopic examination of the flakes always showed the same two basic types: *Smooth, plasmatic, but well-defined forms* in which there are found dispersed, more or less densely, dark granules and occasionally blue PA bions; or *strongly bionous heaps of orgone energy vesicles* with a strong blue glimmer and margin (cf. microphotographs on following pages).

The preparations, kept under sterile conditions, showed an *increase in flakes* after a few days, but a much greater increase after 2 to 3 weeks. Microscopic examination shows that the flakes grow individually through addition of substance and also that they increase by division. The threadlike, winding and serpentine light flakes change in the course of the weeks more or less into strongly radiating bionous heaps.

Culture experiment: In order to observe the growth and increase still more clearly, the flakes can be put into clear, sterile bion water. After 1 to 2 weeks, there is definite culture formation. *The flakes become denser*. Observation to date shows that the OP of the culture fluid remains at about the same level or even increases.

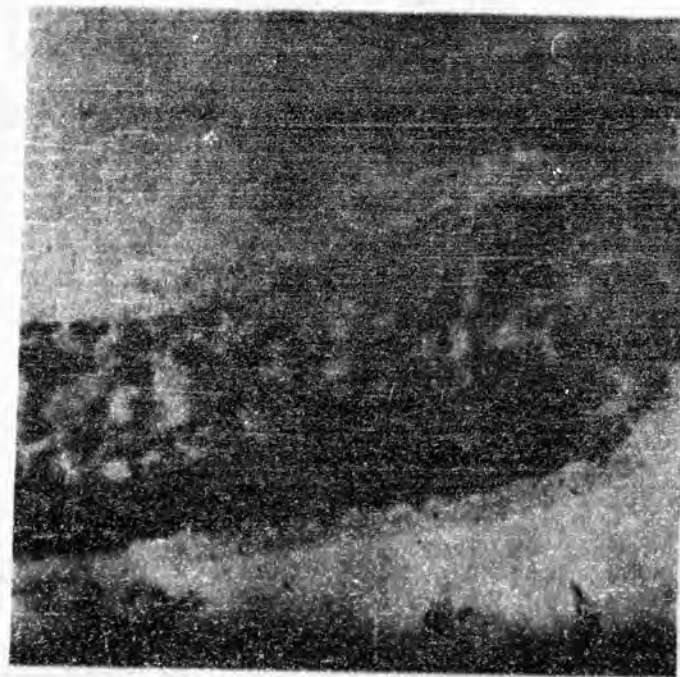
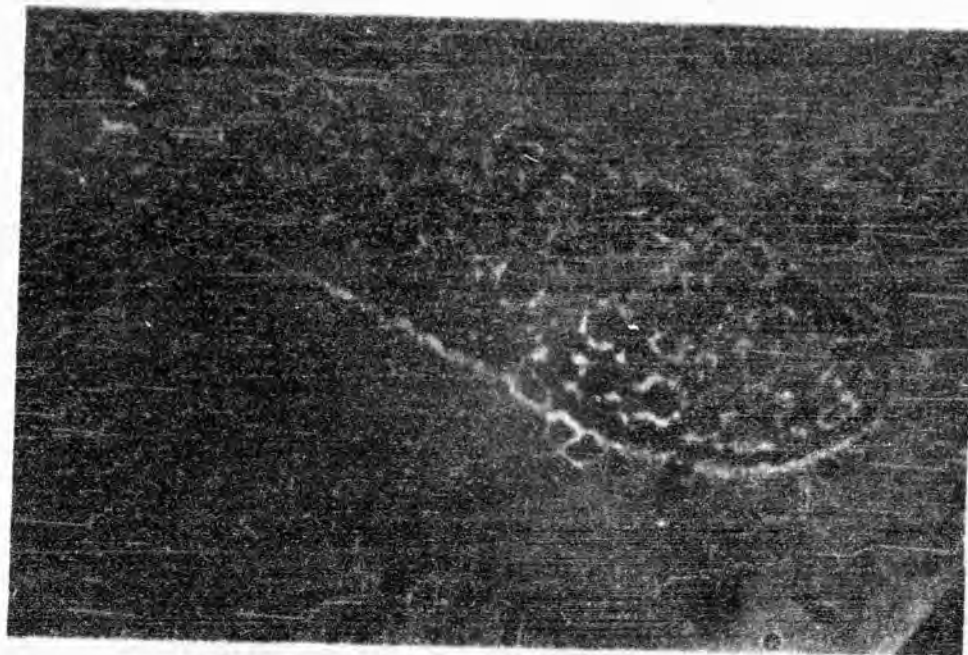
Observing the preparations microscopically at regular intervals, say once a week, over several months, one sees very gradual biophysical changes take place in the flakes. In many of them spherical bions of about 2 to 3 μ diameter, with a margin and strong blue glimmer, develop; these gradually become elongated and finally assume the shape of a bean:



These "bean forms" develop under favorable conditions, i.e., if there is no premature T-degeneration present in the preparations,







into contractile protozoa which move rapidly in a jerky manner. The plasma of most of these protozoa has a granular or striated structure; in others it is smooth, without structure. One can obtain pure cultures of these protozoa by inoculating from the fluid *above* the flakes, without stirring up the flakes themselves. They increase from culture to culture without difficulty.

C. OBSERVATIONS AND TESTS CONCERNING THE BIOLOGICAL NATURE OF THE ORGONE FLAKES

1. *The thawed-out, flake-containing preparation XX represents an unresolvable colloid:* Evaporation of clear, yellow bion water results in a yellow, smooth, opaque residue on the bottom of the container. When scraped off, it forms a powder consisting of small yellow or brownish crystals which we termed "orgontin." These crystals cannot be dissolved again, either in ordinary water or in water with a high orgone content. They merely swell up and appear exactly like the flakes which one obtains by thawing out of frozen bion water. They, too, show the manifestations of growth, of multiplication and of protozoa formation.

2. *Microscopic observation of organization:* The flakes grow, both in length and in width; bion heaps become larger through organization of further bions from the fluid. Small flakes become larger, while smaller flakes sprout from the large ones. Often, the bions arrange themselves in groups. The larger the flakes become the darker they turn, until they are brown or almost black.

3. *Orgonotic attraction and sterilizing effect:* The orgone flakes act like any other strongly bionous matter examined thus far. Brought together with rot bacteria, they kill or at least paralyze the latter; this effect takes place *at a distance*.

4. *T-degeneration and putrefaction:* Like any other organic or living substance, the orgone flakes degenerate in the form of

putrefaction, disintegrating into T-bodies. In strongly degenerated preparations, protozoa develop only poorly, compared with sterile preparations. By repeated freezing, degenerated preparations can again and again be made free of T-bacilli and rot bacteria. This process seems to facilitate the organization of moving protozoa.

5. *Dried flakes burn in the flame, turning into a black, coal-like substance; i.e., they act like living protoplasm or non-living organic carbon compounds.* Even when, without burning them, one merely lets them dry out, the same black coal-like substance develops, probably through oxidation; it burns in the flame.

6. *Sugar content:* Bion water with a high orgonotic potency has a sweet taste. Burning of the flakes results in an odor like that of caramel. (An exact biochemical analysis is yet to be done).

7. All vessels which have been in contact with bion water or bion earth for a considerable period of time have a *fatty* feel.

8. To weakening procedures, such as autoclavation, the bion water reacts as a living organism would react, that is, with a *decrease of OP*, which increases again only gradually.

9. *Contractility of the free orgone in the bion water.* The appearance of a concentrated yellow spot in the center of the clear ice admits of only one plausible explanation: *The free orgone energy in the freezing water acts exactly like the orgone energy in a freezing organism; contracting, it retracts from where the freezing takes place.* Free orgone energy, then, has the ability to contract; in the process of contraction, matter develops, apparently through condensation. This process requires intensive study.

10. The orgone flakes develop more rapidly into protozoa when one adds T-bacilli to the preparation. Then, one can observe the development of plasmatic spindle forms with a coarse structure, re-

EXPERIMENT XX

Date	Prep. No.	Procedure	OP before treat.	Type of Organization		Other Forms Present			Reproduction	T-degeneration
				Bion.	Plasm.	Single Cells	Bean-Shapes	Promotion		
Jan. 2, '45	XX 1 Org	Kept in accumulator 20 days	46	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
Jan. 3	XX 1 f	Frozen 21 days	38	++	+	+	+	+	+	+
Jan. 6	XX 1 c	Autoclaved, kept in room	41	+	-	-	-	-	+	+
Jan. 8	XX 1 x	Untreated, kept in room	40	+	-	-	-	-	+	+
Jan. 25	XX 2 f	Frozen 4 days								
Jan. 26	XX 3 cf	Autoclaved; frozen 4 days	52	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Jan. 30	XX 1 g	Dried to crystals, put in distilled water		+	-	-	-	-	+	+
Jan. 30	XX 4 cf	Autoclaved; frozen 3 days		+	-	-	-	-	+	+
Jan. 31	XX 5 cf	Autoclaved; frozen 4 days	60	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+
Jan. 31	XX 5 cg	Autoclaved; dried, put in distilled water	51	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+
Feb. 5	XX 6 cf	Autoclaved; alternately frozen & thawed 6 days	51	+	-	-	-	-	+	+
Feb. 6	XX 6 cg	Autoclaved, dried, put in bion-water	57	+	-	-	-	-	+	+
Feb. 9	XX 8 cf	Autoclaved; frozen 1 day	57	+	-	-	-	-	+	+
Feb. 9	XX 9 cf	Autoclaved; frozen 1 day	37	+	-	-	-	-	+	+

Feb. 9	XX 9 cg	Autoclaved, dried, put in bion-water	37	+	-	-	-	-	+	+
Feb. 12	XX 1 gg	1 g redried, put in tap water		+	-	-	-	-	+	+
Feb. 13	XX 10 f	Frozen 14 days	52	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Feb. 13	XX 10 cf	Autoclaved; frozen 14 days	52	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Feb. 13	XX 10 g	Dried, put in bion-water	52	+	-	-	-	-	+	+
Feb. 13	XX 10 cg	Autoclaved, dried, put in bion-water	52	+	-	-	-	-	+	+
Feb. 20	XX 11 f	Frozen 8 days	42	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Feb. 21	XX 12 f	Frozen 7 days; degenerated; refrozen 2 days	40	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Mar. 1	XX 13 f	Cloudy, full of rod bact.; frozen 4 days	44	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Mar. 1	XX 14 cf	Autoclaved; frozen 4 days	48	+	-	-	-	-	+	+
Mar. 2	XX 15 f	Frozen 15 days	61	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Mar. 5	XX 15 g	Dried, put in bion-water	61	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Mar. 7	XX 16 c dil. f	Dilution 1 part bion-water to 4 parts water autoclaved; frozen 5 days	55	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Mar. 7	XX 17 f	Contained a few rod bact. & protozoa; frozen 5 days	67	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+
Mar. 8	XX 18 cf	Autoclaved; frozen 4 days	60	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Mar. 14	XX 19 cf	Autoclaved; cloudy, some rod bact.; frozen 13 days		+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Apr. 6	XX 20 cf	Autoclaved; frozen 3 days	38	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

sembling the Ca III formations (*cf. This Journal* 2, 1943, 80).

Stages of development of protozoa in sterile bion water free of particles. Summary:

a) After the thawing of bion water there appear granulated plasmatic flakes of a typically organic form.

b) Many of the single granulae expand into spherical orgone energy vesicles with a strong blue glimmer. Most of these groups of bions conglomerate into larger forms.

c) The spherical bions, in the course of days or weeks, develop into bean-shaped, as yet immobile forms.

d) These bean-shaped forms become mobile in two ways: At a magnification of 3-5000x the content of the energy vesicles shows fine movements of expansion and contraction; the forms stretch out more and more, the membranes becoming softer, and they begin to move from place to place. Those forms which have become strongly elongated develop serpentine or corkscrew-like movements. The following drawings are from life at a magnification of about 240x, and of apparent size:



e) If one inoculates protozoa-containing bion water fluid into sterile bion water, the protozoa increase in the same way and can be reinoculated again and again. These protozoa I termed *orgonomia*.

Some control experiments:

1. Freezing of ordinary, non-sterile spring water or of distilled water produces neither flakes nor protozoa. The organization of plasmatic matter, therefore, is to be ascribed only to the high orgone content as determined by the fluorophotometer.

2. If one *distills* bion water of about 40 to 50 OP, one finds some flakes *immediately after cooling*, and numerous flakes after

freezing. This is further confirmation of the statement made under (1).

3. Since sea water is extremely rich in orgone, the fact is understandable that it, also, results in flakes and protozoal growth after filtration and autoclavation. However, there is a riddle here: Sea water taken at Jones Beach, on the Atlantic shore of Long Island, N. Y., shows, about 1 hour after being taken, an OP of only 8 to 10. Earth bion water of such low OP results in no or only poor bion growth; it remains to be explained, therefore, why in sea water the low OP makes no difference. The phenomenon is important; but we cannot understand everything at one time.

4. Water from autoclaved grass also results in flakes after freezing; they multiply and grow.

Biological effects:

Injection of bion water of high orgonotic potency into living organisms, plants as well as animals, results in vigorous vagotonic reactions. *The life-furthering effect of this preparation is established as a fact.* Detailed reports on these experiments will follow.

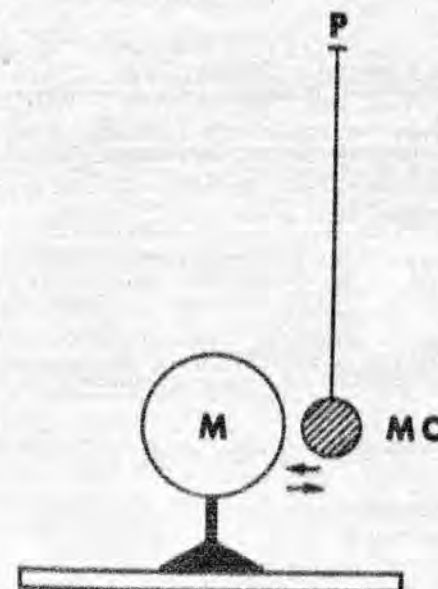
III. DEMONSTRATION OF ORGONOTIC PULSATION IN THE REALM OF THE NON-LIVING.

The following observations and experiments were undertaken in order to demonstrate the specifically biological orgone energy also in the *purely physical* realm. This undertaking was successful which takes the ground from under any mystical concept of the specific biological energy. The relevant observations and experiments are very simple and easily carried out.

A. THE OSCILLATIONS OF A PENDULUM IN THE PULSATING ORGONE ENERGY FIELD OF A METAL SPHERE

Experiment: A metal sphere (iron or steel) of about 4 to 6 cm. diameter is placed on a solid table, with or without concrete

floor. At a distance of about 0.5 cm. from the equator of this sphere, a much smaller sphere (about 1 cm. diameter) is suspended freely as a pendulum. For certain definite reasons, the length of the pendulum thread is made 16 cm. The best results, according to my experience, are obtained if one makes the pendulum sphere of a mixture of earth and iron filings (i.e., organic plus metallic material) by mixing the two substances in water and putting them into a sphere of extremely thin glass. The whole apparatus is then covered with a transparent cellulose cover which protects it against air currents.



Demonstration of orgonotic pulsation in the atmosphere

M = metal sphere
P = pendulum
MO = metal + organic matter
↔ = direction of oscillation

Observation: In dry, sunny weather, the pendulum sphere oscillates spontaneously toward the center of the metal sphere. When the relative humidity exceeds about 70%, or in rainy weather, the pendulum movements decrease or disappear altogether. The movements increase in ampli-

tude if the organism of the observer has a strong and wide orgone energy field. The oscillations continue all the time, no matter where the apparatus is placed. They vary only according to the laws of the pendulum, the number of oscillations per unit of time varying with the length of the pendulum and with the altitude.

Conclusion: This experiment demonstrates the *existence of a pulsating orgone energy field* around an ordinary iron sphere which makes a freely suspended pendulum oscillate. *The natural orgone energy field in the realm of the non-living pulsates.*

B. THE PULSATION OF THE ATMOSPHERIC ORGONE

Experiment and observation: A telescope (E. Vion, Paris, France) with an aperture of 3½ inches and 4 foot length, with a magnification of 185x, was placed on the shore of the lake so that the opposite shore, at a distance of from 4 to 8 miles, could be observed. The observations were made at my cabin on Lake Mooselookmeguntic, Maine, during 2 months in the summer of 1944 and 4 weeks during the summer of 1945, daily from morning until evening, at about half-hourly intervals. The important observation is the following: With the telescope trained toward the South, one observes against the background of the opposite shore, even at a magnification of 60x, a wave-like pulsating movement which—save certain exceptions—is always *from West to East*. This West-East movement is *constant* no matter whether the lake is smooth or rough, no matter whether the wind is from the West or from the South, no matter whether it is strong or weak. The farther toward the West or the East one trains the telescope, the less observable does the movement become, to disappear completely if one looks directly toward the West or the East. The speed of the wave-like movement varies at different times. It is independent of the air temperature. The "something" in the atmosphere

must, of course, be moving faster than the earth, or else the movement could not be seen. Always before the formation of a heavy thunderstorm in the *West*, the direction of the wave-like movement became reversed, or at least ceased. I have never seen it move from South to North or from North to South.

This telescopic observation is supported by an observation one can make with the naked eye at times of complete calm and smooth lake: Above the mirror of the lake, one sees a *pulsation* of an infinite number of small sections, while "the whole" moves, in a *pulsatory* manner, and more or less rapidly, from West to East.

These observations, which—with some patience and practice—are very easy to make, are in accordance with the finding of a pulsating orgone energy field around a metal sphere as well as with the orgone-biophysical basic concept of the *pulsatory basic function of the orgone energy*. More than that, the rotation and pulsation of the atmospheric orgone from West to East is in absolute agreement with certain astronomical observations known for a long time. The astronomical significance of these observations will be discussed extensively elsewhere. The preliminary conclusion is the following: *The earth is surrounded not only by an air atmosphere of a definite chemical composition, but also by an envelope consisting of orgone energy*. This ORGONE ENVELOPE rotates from West to East, faster than the earth. The connection between the reversal of this direction and local weather formation awaits further study in detail. The rotating orgone envelope has nothing to do with waves of vapor or with air movement, for it is independent of these processes.

What has been said here is to be regarded as a preliminary communication. When social and financial conditions permit, these findings will have to be checked and expanded by intensive studies in various places. I may add here, however, that it has

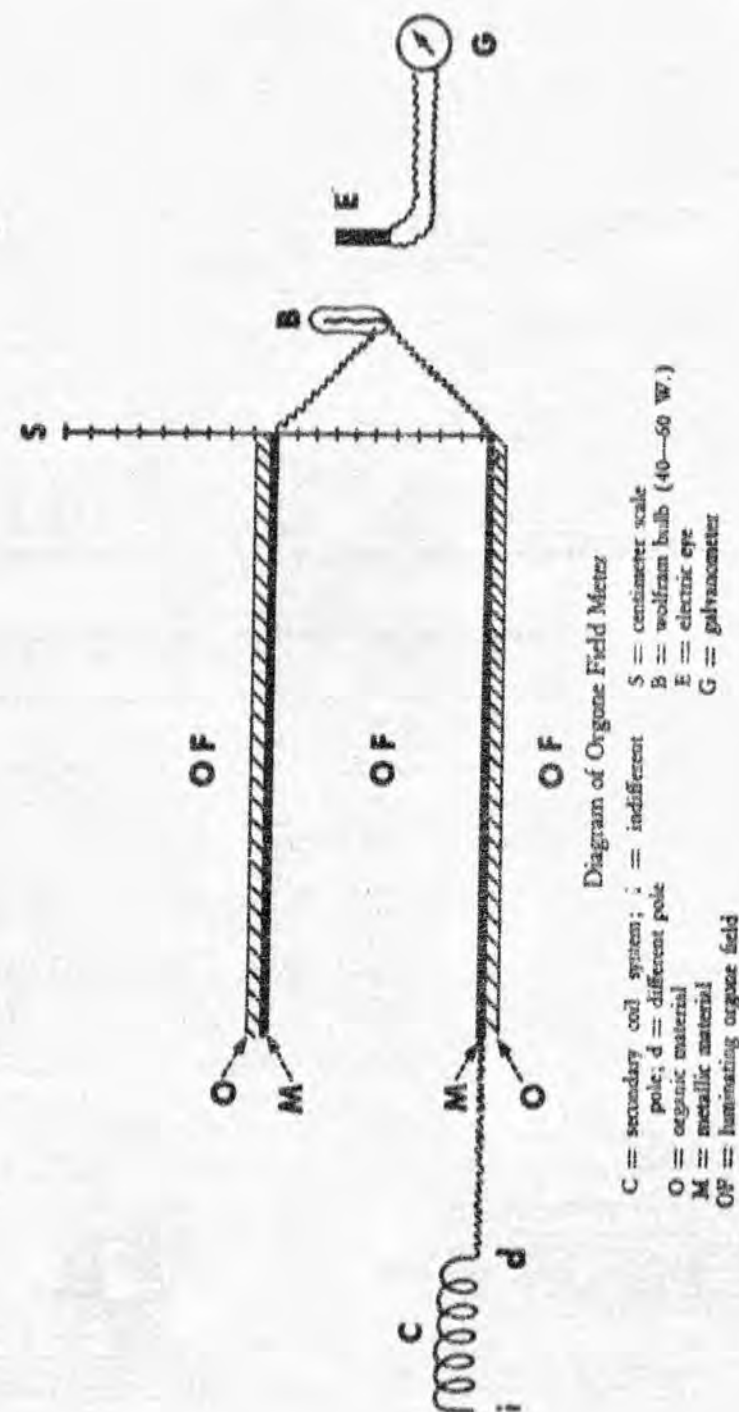
already been possible to confirm the existence of a pulsation in the atmosphere by way of the oscillograph. The presentation of these findings will have to be postponed for some time.

IV. DEMONSTRATION OF ORGONOTIC LUMINATION AT THE ORGONE ENERGY FIELD METER.

Apparatus: The different pole of the secondary coil of an induction apparatus (an old diathermy apparatus will do) is connected by an electric wire with an iron plate of 1 x 2 feet which rests on a wood plate the same size (*cf.* diagram, p. 143). About 6 to 12 inches above this plate, another metal plate of the same size is mounted in such a manner that it can be moved up and down. The upper side of this plate is insulated with a plate of plastic material (or celotex) of about 1/2 inch thickness. The lower and the upper iron plate are connected by a wire connected with a simple cylindrical bulb of about 40 watts. The primary current of the induction apparatus is turned up just to the point where the bulb begins to glow. (How this is to be achieved depends, of course, on the individual induction apparatus).

Observations: 1. If one holds a fluorescent tube in one's hand and brings it close to the upper plate, the tube luminates, at a distance from the plate depending on the strength of the primary current. If we put the tube on the upper plate and remove our hand, the light goes out. As soon as we bring our hand close to the tube, the lumination reappears and becomes more intense when we touch the tube. The lumination is most intense *between* the two metal plates and decreases steadily with the distance from the apparatus. It is intermittent, not steady. In this manner, we can determine the exact extent of the energy field of the orgone energy field meter.

2. If we bring our hands gradually closer to the upper plate from above, the connected tube (B) luminates more strongly,



and even more strongly when we put our hands on the plate (to avoid an electric shock, there must be no nails or other metallic connections with the metal plate). The more of our body surface we bring close to the upper plate, the stronger is the lumination. With careful adjustment of the primary current, it is possible to perceive the pulsation of the heart in the form of slight oscillations of the lumination.

3. A static electroscope gives no deflection if we bring our hand close to its plate. If, however, we place the electroscope into the energy field of the apparatus, on the upper plate, then we find a deflection if we bring our palm close to the electroscope plate (without, of course, touching it).

4. A freshly cut branch with many leaves, or a freshly killed fish produce lumination of the bulb if put on the upper plate. However, the lumination becomes steadily weaker and cannot be achieved at all after the fish has been dead for some time.

5. If we bring a dry piece of wood, which is long enough so that our own orgone energy field does not come into contact with the energy field of the apparatus, close to the upper plate, there is no lumination. If, however, we bring a metal plate close, parallel to the upper plate, there is lumination of the bulb.

6. In the field of an X-ray machine of 60 to 80 kilovolt, we cannot produce lumination of a fluorescent tube.

Conclusions:

1. The secondary coil of an induction apparatus—in contradistinction to ordinary electric high voltage—produces an orgone energy field which can be demonstrated by the lumination of a fluorescent gas (helium, argon, neon) without the necessity of direct contact by a wire.

2. *Orgonotic lumination is the result of the contact between two orgone energy fields.*

3. The lumination effect is obtained only through the contact of an orgone energy field with the energy field of a living organism, but not through contact with non-living organic material. That is, the living organism differs from the non-living organism in that it possesses an orgone energy field.

4. The addition of a sensitive electric eye (E) near the bulb transforms the lumination energy into electrical energy and makes it possible to measure it in electrical units by means of a galvanometer (G). In this manner, the orgone field meter can be used to determine the intensity and the extent of the orgone energy field of a living organism.

V. DEMONSTRATION OF ORGONOTIC ATTRACTION IN THE ENERGY FIELD OF THE ORGONE ACCUMULATOR.

Experiment: We bring a good magnetic needle close to an orgone accumulator of 1 cubic foot, in the following manner: a) close to the center of the 4 upper edges; b) close to the center of the lower edges.

Result: The magnetic north pole regularly turns toward the center of the upper edges, the magnetic south pole toward the center of the lower edges.

Conclusion: *The reaction of the energy field of an orgone accumulator is of an orgonotic and not of a magnetic nature.*

Proof: 1. magnetic attraction is confined to the ends of the iron; the middle is not magnetic.

2. The poles of magnetic attraction (south and north) are not interchangeable, except if one remagnetizes a weaker magnet with a stronger one. If the attraction effect of the orgone accumulator were of an iron-magnetic nature, the magnetic needle would turn toward the center of the edges always in the same way, no matter how we turn the accumulator. This, however, is not the case. *Whichever edges we make the upper, lower or side edges, the*

magnetic needle always reacts as described, that is, it turns with its north pole toward the center of the upper edges and with its south pole toward the center of the lower edges. The attraction effect of the orgone accumulator, then, is not due to definite parts of the material and can, therefore, not be of a magnetic nature. Obviously, the reaction depends on the position of the orgone accumulator in the field of the orgonotic atmosphere of the earth. It follows, under consideration of all experimental and theoretical facts, that the energy field of the earth also is not of a magnetic but of an orgonotic nature and has a definite relationship to the magnetic north and south pole of the earth.

It is likely that magnetism as such will be shown to be a function of the cosmic orgone energy. Many scientists doubt the magnetic nature of so-called "earth magnetism."

VI. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS CONCERNING ORGONE ENERGY WHICH IS NOT BOUND TO FORMED MATTER.

We shall now summarize those basic characteristics of the orgone energy which are so clearly expressed in our Experiment XX and other manifestations and which confirm orgone-physical observations made many years ago in still very primitive bion preparations, in the development of cancer cells and in the atmospheric orgone.

1. Pulsation, that is, alternating expansion and contraction, is a basic characteristic of the orgone energy. In the realm of the living, it functions specifically as "biological energy." The pulsation can be demonstrated by a pendulum in the energy field of a metal sphere; further, visually, on the smooth surface of a lake; in all kinds of living matter, in the total organism as well as in every individual organ.

2. The earth (like probably all planets and fixed stars) is surrounded by a rotating orgone envelope of yet undetermined

depth; this orgone envelope rotates more rapidly than the earth itself but in the same direction of West to East. The reversal of the direction of this movement to one from East to West has a relationship to rain formation, at least in the region in which these observations were made.

3. Like the atmosphere, humus contains orgone energy. Humus itself consists of bionous matter. By increasing the bionous disintegration in water, one obtains an increase also of the orgonotic potency of the water, from a normal value of about 3 to 4 OP up to 25 to 70 OP, compared with the OP (= 1) of distilled water.

4. Orgone energy in high concentration, above about 25 OP, colors water yellow.

5. Orgone energy which at room temperature is equally divided throughout the fluid, contracts under the influence of cold, forming a brownish-yellow core in the ice.

6. Protoplasmic matter can develop from concentrated free orgone, that is, orgone which is not bound to any particles; from the plasmatic bionous matter, protozoa develop.

7. The process mentioned under (6) apparently is of a general nature and significance: it points to a natural process according to which matter developed from orgone energy, an energy which has to be considered the primordial cosmic energy in general.

8. To judge from Experiment XX, the living plasm on our planet developed before the formation of coal substance and carbohydrates. Coal is a secondary product of past life. It follows that the biochemical molecules were not, as is generally assumed, present before the development of plasmatic substance; rather, the biochemical molecule developed in the process of plasmatic organization as one of its mechanical constituents.

9. Orgone energy has the characteristic of luminating when two orgone energy fields make contact. This is what the prin-

ciple of the orgone energy field meter is based upon.

10. The basic characteristics of the cosmic orgone which have thus far been discovered are, then, pulsation, lumination, condensation into matter, irritability, and

heat formation; all these are qualities which specifically characterize the basic process of living matter.

Orgonon, Maine, U.S.A.

June, 1945.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE AUTHORITARIAN STATE APPARATUS FROM RATIONAL SOCIAL INTERRELATIONSHIPS*

By WILHELM REICH, M.D.

The second world war has again confirmed what had been general knowledge: The political reactionary differs *fundamentally* from the true democrat in his attitude toward state power. This attitude permits an *objective* evaluation of the social character of a person, no matter to what political party he may belong. According to this criterion, there are true democrats among the Fascists and true Fascists among the party Democrats. Like character structure, this attitude toward state power permeates all political groups. Here, too, a black-and-white presentation, that is, a mechanical correlation of attitude and political party, is wrong and sociologically inadmissible.

The reactionary, typically, demands that the power of the state be above society; he demands the "*idea of the state*," which leads in a straight line to dictatorial absolutism, whether this be represented in state form by a royal, ministerial or openly fascist absolutism. The true democrat, who recognizes natural work democracy to be the natural basis of international and national cooperation, strives to make the authoritarian handling of the difficulties of social living superfluous by eliminating their social causes. This requires a thorough discussion of the development of the authoritarian state and its rational function. It is senseless and fruitless to fight an irrational social institution without asking oneself how it is possible that this institu-

tion, in spite of its irrationalism, manages to continue its existence, and even to appear necessary. We saw what made the Russian state apparatus necessary, and it was not difficult to see that, in spite of all its irrationalism, it had the rational function of keeping Russian society together and of leading it, after the masses had failed in their social task.

We will condemn as irrational the authoritarian strictness of a mother toward her neurotic child. We know that this strictness makes the child ill but we cannot overlook the fact—and this is the cardinal point in the fight against authoritarian education—that a child, once made neurotic and living in a neurotic family situation, can be made to do things, say, go to school, only by authoritarian means. That is, the mother's authoritarian strictness has also a rational aspect, even though limited and conditional. It is not fundamentally rational. We shall have to admit this *conditional* rational function if we are ever to convince the educator, who adheres to the authoritarian principle as a makeshift measure, that the authoritarian principle *can be* eliminated by the prevention of neurotic illness in the children.

The *conditional* rational function is also present in the authoritarian state, as painful as it is to admit this fact and as dangerous as this statement could become in the hands of a mystical dictator. He might say, "You see, even the work democrats, all for freedom as they are, admit the necessity and rationality of authoritarian leadership." But we know that *what makes authoritarian leadership necessary is the irrational*

* From W. Reich, *THE MASS PSYCHOLOGY OF FASCISM*, 3rd, revised and enlarged edition. Translated by Theodore P. Wolfe. To be published by the Orgone Institute Press, Spring, 1946.

character structure of the human masses. This is the only way to a comprehension of dictatorship, and this comprehension is the only hope of ever eliminating it from human life. For by recognizing the irrationality in the structure of the masses we gain the social basis to fight it and with it dictatorship, a basis, furthermore, which is objective and not illusory. Strengthening of state power is always the result of disturbances in social living. This corresponds to the moralistic-authoritarian method of always tackling difficulties at the *surface*. It never removes the evil but merely pushes it into the background from which it later breaks out with all the more violence. If there is no other way of dealing with rape murders than the execution of the rape murderer, one takes recourse to execution. This is the authoritarian way. In work democracy, the problem is how one could prevent the development of rape murderers. Only when we understand the necessity of execution and simultaneously condemn it does the problem of prevention become clear. Clearly, the prevention of social evils is one of the principal means of bringing about the withering away of the authoritarian state. The moralistic authoritarian principle will continue to function to the extent to which it cannot be replaced by the methods of self-regulation. This applies to the state as well as to all fields of social living.

The authoritarian state is essentially, though not exclusively, a suppressive apparatus. It is, at the same time, a sum of social interrelationships which have become autonomous. Originally, the state was identical with society; in the course of thousands of years, it alienated itself more and more from society and became a power above and against society.

As long as there was a social organization which was not disrupted by serious inner conflicts, such as the clan society, there was no need for any special power to hold this social organism together. If, how-

ever, society is split up by all kinds of conflicts, it needs a power which prevents its disintegration. The splitting up of German society into many inimical political parties was an important factor in the rise of fascism. Its rapid rise shows clearly that the social unity promised by the idea of the state was more important to the German masses than their party ideology. This does not change the fact that political ideologies cannot eliminate the inner disintegration of society, be that ideology that of the authoritarian state or that of diverse parties. The Fascists were not alone in emphasizing the state; they only did so better and more vigorously than the social-democratic government, the Communists or the Liberals. And for just this reason fascism was victorious. It is the political disintegration of society, then, which creates the state idea, and conversely, the state idea which creates social disintegration. It is a vicious circle with no way out unless one goes to the roots of the disintegration as well as of the state idea and reduces both to a common denominator. As we already know, this common denominator is the irrational character structure of the masses. It was never comprehended by any of the political parties. It was one of the greatest errors in evaluating dictatorship to say that the dictator forces himself on society against its own will. In reality, every dictator in history was nothing but the accentuation of already existing state ideas which he had only to exaggerate in order to gain power.

Engels long ago pointed out the double function, rational and irrational, of the state:

The state is therefore by no means a power imposed on society from the outside; just as little is it "the reality of the moral idea," "the image and reality of reason," as Hegel asserted. Rather, it is a product of society at a certain stage of development; it is the admission that this society has become entangled in an insolu-

ble contradiction with itself, that it is cleft into irreconcilable antagonisms which it is powerless to dispel. But in order that these antagonisms, classes with conflicting economic interests, may not consume themselves and society in sterile struggle, a power apparently standing above society becomes necessary, whose purpose is to moderate the conflict and keep it within the bounds of "order"; and this power arising out of society, but placing itself above it, and increasingly separating itself from it, is the state.

This sociological clarification of the state concept by the manufacturer and German sociologist Engels has invalidated all philosophies of the state which, in one way or another, go back to the abstract and metaphysical state idea of Plato. Engels' theory of the state does not reduce the state apparatus to higher values or nationalist mysticism, but gives a simple picture of the double nature of the state. In clarifying the social basis of the state apparatus and the contradiction between state and society, this theory gives the wise statesman of the caliber of, say, a Masaryk or a Roosevelt, as well as every working individual, the means of understanding the dissociation of society and the resulting necessity of a state apparatus, and, with that, the means of *eliminating* it.

Let us try to understand the double nature of the state by means of a simple illustration from its development: In the early beginnings of civilization, the social tasks of work and living together were simple. Correspondingly, the interpersonal relationships were simple. These facts can be studied in the still existing remainders of this old simple civilization. Let us take the well-known organization of the Trobrianders. They have a natural economy, that is, a use economy and hardly any market economy. One clan, say, catches fish, another grows fruit. One has an excess of fish, the other of fruit; therefore, they ex-

change fish for fruit. Their production is very simple.

Besides the economic there is a definite familial interpersonal relationship. Since sexual pairing is exogamous, the Trobriand youth of one clan establishes sexual relationships with another clan. If by a social interpersonal relationship we mean any relationship which serves the gratification of a basic biological need we have to assign the sexual relationships a full function on a par with the economic relationships. The more complex the needs become, and the more the division of labor progresses, the less is it possible for the individual working member of the society to fulfil his manifold duties. For example:

Let us transplant our Trobrianders to any region of Europe or Asia. Such an assumption is admissible, for all nations have originated from tribes, and the tribes from groups of clans. Similarly, market economy everywhere developed out of natural economy. Let us assume that in such a community of say, 200 or 300 people, the need arises of establishing contact with another small community. The need is still small, there is only *one* person among the 200 who wants to communicate with somebody in another community. He gets on his horse and rides to the other place to transmit his message. The need for social contact with other communities gradually grows. Up to now, every individual was his own postman; but now the rider is asked to take along a number of letters. The communities grow, and now hundreds of people in one community wish to correspond with hundreds of people in other communities. With the development of commerce, letter-writing has ceased to be a rare curiosity. The transmission of letters becomes a vitally necessary task which can no longer be managed in the old fashion. The community deliberates and decides to employ a "letter-carrier." It relieves one of its members of all other work, guarantees his living expenses and charges him with

the transportation of all letters for the community. *This first letter-carrier is the human embodiment of the interpersonal relationship of writing and transmitting letters.* In this manner, a social organ is established which as yet does nothing but carry out the demand of all the letter-writers. Our letter-carrier is a primitive type of social administrator, whose vitally necessary work is still strictly in the service of the social community.

Let us assume that the primitive communities develop into towns of, say, 50,000. One letter-carrier is no longer sufficient, but 100 are needed. These 100 letter-carriers need an administration of their own in the person of a *chief letter-carrier*. He comes from the ranks of the plain letter-carriers and is relieved of his job in order to take over the job of arranging the work of the 100 letter-carriers in the most advantageous manner. He does as yet not "supervise" or command. He is not distinguished from the community of letter-carriers. All he does is facilitate their work by arranging a time table and carrier routes. In order to simplify the whole procedure, he makes postage stamps.

In this manner, a simple, vitally necessary function of society has become autonomous. "The post" has become an "apparatus" of society, growing out of society for the purpose of better coordination; it does not yet assume the position of a power above society.

How is it possible for such an administrative social apparatus to become a suppressive power apparatus? It does not do so on the basis of its original function. True, the administrative apparatus maintains these social functions, but gradually it develops characteristics other than its vitally necessary activity. Let us assume that the conditions of authoritarian patriarchy have already developed in our community. For example, there are already privileged families which have developed from the original tribal chiefs. By the

accumulation of dowries, they have developed a twofold power: first, the power of wealth, and second, the power of forbidding their own children sexual intercourse with the less well-to-do strata of society. These two power functions always go hand in hand in the development of economic and sexual slavery. The increasingly powerful authoritarian patriarch wishes to prevent other, weaker members of society from maintaining contact with other communities. He wishes to prevent his daughters from exchanging love letters with men of their choice; he has an interest in limiting them to certain well-to-do men. His interests of sexual and economic suppression now begin to utilize those social functions which originally were in the hands of the total society. On the basis of his growing influence, our patriarch will see to it that the post no longer transmits all letters, without discrimination, but excludes certain letters, such as love letters and certain business letters. In order to fulfil this novel function, the post assigns to one letter-carrier the function of *postal censorship*. The social administration of letter transportation thus acquires a second function which now sets it apart from the total society as an *authoritarian apparatus*. This is the first step in the development of an authoritarian state apparatus from a social administrative apparatus. True, the letter-carriers still transmit letters, but now they also poke their noses into them and begin to decree who is allowed to write letters and what may be written. To this, the social community reacts either with toleration or with protest. The first chasm in the social community has developed, whether one calls it "class difference" or whatnot. It is not a matter of words here, but of the distinction between vitally necessary social functions and functions which restrict freedom. Now, the way is open to any kind of arbitrary action. For example, the Jesuits may utilize the postal censorship for their own purposes, or the secret police

may use it to increase its power.

This simplified example applies to the whole complicated machinery of present-day society. It applies to our banking system, the police and school system, to the distribution of goods, and certainly to the international representation of society. We can gain an orientation in the social chaos if, in evaluating any given state function, we ask ourselves consistently: *what in it corresponds to its original function of executing the demands of society, and what to the later acquired function of suppressing the freedom of the members of society?* The police, originally, had the task of protecting the community from murder and robbery. To that extent, they still fulfil a useful function of society. When the police, however, presumes to prohibit harmless games in private homes, or to tell people whether or not they may receive members of the other sex in their homes, etc., then we have the picture of a tyrannical authoritarian state power, a state power *above society and against it*.

The elimination of those functions of social administration which are above and against society is an inherent tendency of work democracy. The natural work-democratic process tolerates no administrative functions save those which serve the coherence of society and the facilitation of its vital functions. This makes it clear that one cannot be mechanistically "for" or "against" the "state." One has to make the distinctions which we discussed above. It is clear also that the state apparatus must again become the executive organ of society if it operates in the fulfilment of its natural work functions in the interest of society as a whole. With that, however, it ceases to be "state apparatus," and loses precisely those characteristics which alienate it from society, which put it above and against society and thus make it the germ cell of authoritarian dictatorships. This process represents the genuine "withering away of the state." What withers away is only its

irrational functions. The rational functions are vitally necessary and continue.

This distinction makes it possible to scrutinize every vitally necessary administrative function in time to determine whether it is beginning to assume a position above and against society, that is, turning into a new authoritarian state instrument. As long as it serves society it is part of it, is necessary and belongs in the realm of vitally necessary work. If, however, it presumes to be the master and tyrant of society, if it presumes autonomous power, the state apparatus becomes the deadly enemy of society and must be treated accordingly.

It goes without saying that none of the modern and complex social organisms could exist without an administrative apparatus. It is equally clear that the tendency to autonomous degeneration cannot be eradicated simply. Here is a vast field of study for the sociologist and social psychologist. But once the authoritarian state is abolished, the task remains of preventing a repetition of the authoritarian autonomy of administrations. Since this autonomy is the immediate result of the incapacity of the working masses to govern their own lives, it is clear that the problem of the authoritarian state cannot be handled without tackling the problem of human structure, and vice versa.

From this point, we arrive in a direct line to the question of so-called state capitalism, a phenomenon which was unknown in the 19th century and which has developed only since the first world war.

THE SOCIAL FUNCTION OF STATE CAPITALISM

In Russia until about the end of the first world war and in the United States until the world economic crisis about 1930, the relationships between private capitalism and state were simple. To Lenin and his contemporaries, the "capitalist state" was simply the power instrument of the "class of private capitalists." In Russian revolu-

tionary films, the simplicity of this relationship was represented somewhat like this:

The private owner of a factory tries to lower wages while the workers ask for an increase. The capitalist refuses to raise the wages, whereupon the workers strike. The capitalist telephones the commissioner of police and asks him to "establish order." The police commissioner here appears as the state instrument of the capitalist, thus demonstrating the fact that the state is a "state of capitalists": he sends the police, has the "ringleaders" arrested, the workers are without leadership, begin to starve and return to work. The capitalist has won out. The situation calls for better and stricter organization of the working class.

In America, state and capitalism were in a similar relationship, at least in the eyes of the sociologist who took the side of the workers. The tremendous social changes of the '20s, however, made things less simple. Out of the system of private capitalism, social structures developed which were generally termed "state-capitalistic." Russia had replaced the private capitalist by the unlimited power of the state. No matter what terms were applied, it was clear that in the correct sociological terms of Marx *state capitalism had taken the place of private capitalism*. The concept of capitalism is not determined by the existence of individual capitalists but by the existence of market economy and wage labor.

As a result of the world economic crisis of 1929 to 1933, social processes which tended in the direction of state capitalism also set in in Germany and America. The state as an organization above society began to assume an autonomy toward the system of private capitalist enterprise; in part it took over functions which previously had been left to the private capitalist, as seen, for example, in the substitution of social security for private charity; in part, it limited the previously uncon-

trolled profit-making of private capitalism, more here and less there. All this happened under pressure from the masses of wage laborers and employees. In this way, they made their social influence felt. Not, however, by having their *own* organizations take over the administration of social processes, but by exercising the necessary pressure on the state apparatus to induce it to restrict the interests of private capitalism and to safeguard their rights as much as possible.

The revolution in Russia and the economic crisis in other countries had created the need to mobilize the existing state apparatus against possible social disintegration. "The state" emphasized its original function of keeping society together at all costs.

In Germany, this process was obvious: the need for coherence during the severe crisis of 1929 to 1933 was so great that the totalitarian and authoritarian state idea could become victorious with hardly any difficulty. True, society was kept together, but none of the problems which had led to the social crisis was solved. Understandably enough, for the state ideology was incapable of solving any clash of interests factually and practically. This process explains many of the anti-capitalistic measures of fascism which led many sociologists erroneously to consider fascism a revolutionary social movement. Rather, it was a sudden change from private capitalism to state capitalism. In the Göring industries, state capitalism and private capitalism clearly converged into one. Since anti-capitalistic tendencies had always been strong among the German workers and employees, this conversion to state capitalism was possible only with anti-capitalistic propaganda. It was precisely this contradiction which made the victory of fascism the prototype of social irrationalism and thus made it incomprehensible. Since fascism had promised the masses the revolution against private capitalism and at the same time

had promised private capitalism salvation from the revolution, every movement could only become contradictory, incomprehensible and sterile. This explains a great deal of the compulsion which forced the German state apparatus into imperialist war. For within German society there was no rational possibility of bringing about order. The establishment of quiet by way of the police club and the pistol can hardly be called a "solution of social problems." The "unification of the nation," in an *illusory* manner, had succeeded. We have learned to ascribe to processes which are based on illusions an equal if not greater efficacy than to hard reality. One has only to think of the effect of the church hierarchy for thousands of years. Even though not one single actual problem of social living was solved, the illusory unification of the state gave the impression of an achievement. Subsequently, the untenability of such a state solution became clear enough. Society was torn apart more than ever, but, nevertheless, the illusory unification had been sufficient to save German society from formal disintegration for a period of ten years. The *factual* solution of this problem of disruption was left to other, more fundamental processes.

The function of the state of holding together a disrupted society remains the same whether this state calls itself capitalistic or proletarian. What we have to keep in mind is the original intention: The fascist authoritarian state openly adheres to the state idea and with that to the unalterable slave nature of the masses. The proletarian state of Lenin, on the other hand, had the intention of increasingly undermining itself and of establishing self-government. In either case, however, the core of the matter is "state control of production and consumption."

If we remind ourselves of the common denominator, the incapacity of the working masses for social self-government, we understand better the logic of the develop-

ment from private capitalism to state capitalism:

In Russia, the working masses were able to overthrow the old Tsarist state apparatus and to substitute a state apparatus from their own ranks. But they were incapable of progressing to self-government and of assuming responsibility themselves.

In other countries, the formally highly organized working masses were incapable of furthering self-government, ideologically proclaimed as it was, through their own organizations and incapable of really assuming it. For this reason, the state apparatus was forced to take over more and more functions which really belonged to the masses. It assumed them in their place, as it were, as for example in Scandinavia and the United States.

As basically different as the state control of social production and consumption may have become in Russia, Germany, Scandinavia or the United States, there is still a common denominator: the incapacity of the masses for social self-government. From this common basis of a state-capitalistic development follows logically and simply the danger of authoritarian dictatorships. It is left to chance whether a state official is a democratic or an authoritarian representative of the state. Seen from the standpoint of the structure and ideology of the working masses, there is not a single concrete guarantee that state capitalism does not develop into dictatorship. Just for this reason is the emphasis on the role of human character structure and the shifting of the responsibility from man to the processes of love, work and knowledge of such decisive significance in the struggle for true democracy and social self-regulation.

As painful as the fact may be, we are confronted with a human structure as it has developed in thousands of years of mechanistic civilization which expresses itself in social helplessness and a longing for a Führer. The German and the Russian

state apparatus originated in old despotisms. Thus the characterological serfdom of the masses was extremely pronounced in Germany and Russia. In either case, the revolution, with the unerring aim of irrational logic, led to new despotism. In contrast, the American state apparatus originated from groups of people who had escaped European or Asiatic despotism by fleeing to a young country free of oppressing traditions. Only thus can we understand that up to now no totalitarian state apparatus could develop in America, while in Europe every revolution carried out with the slogan of freedom inevitably led to despotism. This is true of Robespierre as well as of Hitler, Mussolini and Stalin. The dictators of Europe, who base their power on millions, all come from the suppressed strata. This tragic fact contains more material for social study than the comparatively simple facts of despotism under a Tsar or a Kaiser Wilhelm. The founders of the American revolution had to build their democracy from scratch on *foreign* soil. The people who achieved this had all been rebels against English despotism. The Russian revolutionaries, on the other hand, had to take over the totality of all the Russians. The Americans could make a fresh start, the Russians were weighed down by all the old things. Whether the Americans will be able to resist the forces of irrationalism or whether they will succumb to them remains to be seen.

I would like to emphasize the fact that it is not a question here of blaming anybody, but merely of describing developments as they take place on the basis of certain given conditions.

These circumstances may also explain why the Americans, in whom the memory of their own flight from despotism was still alive, had a more sympathetic attitude toward the refugees from the second world war than Soviet Russia, which closed its doors to them. They may also explain

why in the United States the attempts to maintain the old democratic ideals and to progress toward true self-government were so much more vigorous than elsewhere. True, there were many failures and inhibitions caused by tradition; nevertheless, the attempts at true democracy had found their place in America, and not in Russia. It is to be hoped that American democracy will realize thoroughly, and in time, that fascism is not a matter of nationality or party and that it will succeed in mastering the tendency to dictatorship in the people themselves.

Let us summarize briefly the connections between mass structure and state form:

The influence of the character structure of the masses determines the state form, no matter whether it expresses itself by passivity or by activity. It is the mass structure which tolerates and actively supports imperialism, which can overthrow despotisms without being able to prevent new despotisms. It is the mass structure which furthers and supports true democratic endeavors when the state operates in that direction. It releases national revolutionary movements when the true *international* democratic freedom movement fails. It takes refuge in the illusory unity of family, nation and state when democracy fails; but it also carries on the process of love, work and knowledge. Only this mass structure is capable of *implanting in itself the true democratic tendencies of a state administration*, by taking over, piece by piece, the administration "above it" and by learning to execute its function through *its own work organizations*. It does not matter whether the change from state administration to self-government takes place rapidly or gradually; it is better, for everyone concerned, if it takes place organically and without bloodshed. This is possible only if the representatives of the state above society are fully aware of the fact that they are nothing but ex-

ecutive organs of working human society; that they are *make-shift* executive organs, necessitated by the ignorance and misery in which millions of people live; that, strictly speaking, their task is that of good educators, whose aim it is to make independent adults of children. A society striving for true democracy should never lose sight of the principle that it is the task of the state to make itself progressively unnecessary, just as an educator becomes unnecessary after having done his job with the child. Only then will bloodshed become unnecessary; only to the extent to which the state clearly makes itself superfluous is *organic* work-democratic development possible; on the other hand, to the extent to which the state tends to per-

petuate itself, forgetting its educational task, it provokes human society to remind it that it owes its existence to an emergency and that it has to disappear with that emergency. The responsibility—in the good sense of the word—rests with the state as well as the masses. The state must not only further the strongest longings for freedom in the working masses, it has also the task of adding to it the *capacity for freedom*. If it fails to do so, if it suppresses the longing for freedom or even misuses it and obstructs the tendency toward self-government, it proves its fascist character. Then it must be held accountable for all the damages and perils caused by its dereliction of duty.

STUDYING "THE CHILDREN'S PLACE"*

By ELENA CALAS, M.S.

This paper is a study of a small, progressive nursery school in which the attempt is made to allow a child to develop freely in all his functioning, including the sexual. The school follows Wilhelm Reich's pedagogical concepts based on his biological findings and his sex-economic theory. It was founded in October 1944 by its director, Mrs. Lucille Denison, who was trained by Reich. At the time this study was made the school was in its fourth month of existence.

The diary form in which this paper is written was chosen because the writer knew nothing beforehand of her subject and wished to emphasize the study aspect. Thus the project is a record of day-by-day observations at the school, questions raised by the writer and her discussions of these with the director of the school.

January 4, 1945. Mrs. Denison asked me to come down to see her at her home this evening to discuss the possibility of my doing a project based on the study of "The Children's Place," a nursery school which she heads. I knew little about this nursery except that it was very small, had been started only about three months ago and followed Wilhelm Reich's pedagogical concepts based on his theory of sex-economy and his vegetotherapy. In preparation for my interview with Mrs. Denison, I had read Reich's book *THE FUNCTION OF THE ORGASM* and some articles in *The International Journal of Sex-economy and Orgone-Research* published by the Institute of which Reich is director. An article by Dr. Paul Martin, entitled *Sex-economic "Up-*

* Editor's Note: This article presents excerpts from a "professional project," in which an original study is to be made and presented in a written report, as a requirement for the Master's Degree at the New York School of Social Work, where the author was a student.

bringing," explained directly and concisely the application of the principles of sex-economy to pedagogy. Martin states as sex-economic pedagogy's one goal "the development of individuals who are healthy, vital and as capable of love as possible" and "the upbringing should not really be a bringing-up, but a matter of safeguarding to the utmost the child's natural ability to give itself fully in all its functions, particularly to pleasure and activity and to protect the natural self-regulation of all vital actions." This involves treating the child from birth as an individual personality with a way of being all its own, elimination of inhibitions without creating new suppressions (in counter-distinction to orthodox psychoanalytic thought which accepts necessity of sublimation for social adjustment), gratification of the child's need for love, the free expression of infantile sexuality developing into healthy adult sexual functioning throughout life. "What is to us of utmost importance is that the child's pleasure in its own body and its capacity for sexual gratification be not destroyed."

Reich states that the plague of the neuroses is bred during three principal phases of life: in early infancy through the atmosphere of the neurotic parental home; in puberty; and finally in compulsive marriage based on strictly moralistic standards. "Parents—unconsciously at the behest of authoritarian, mechanized society—repress the sexuality of infants and adolescents. . . . In the first phase, much harm is done by strict and premature training for excremental cleanliness and the demand to be 'good,' to show absolute self-restraint and quiet good behavior. These measures prepare the ground for the most important prohibition of the follow-

ing period, the prohibition of masturbation. Other restrictions of infantile development may vary, but these are typical. The inhibition of infantile sexuality is the basis for the fixation to the parental home and its atmosphere, the 'family.' This is the origin of the typical lack of independence in thought and action. Psychic mobility and strength go with sexual mobility and cannot exist without it. . . . sex-repression is a fact characteristic of education as a whole. . . . children thus brought up become character-neurotic adults, and re-create their illness in their own children. In this way, conservative tradition, a tradition which is afraid of life, is perpetuated." An important conclusion of Reich's is that mental hygiene on an individual basis is obviously insufficient, and that if society is to be helped out of its neurotic misery, extensive social measures for the prevention of neuroses must be undertaken.

I must mention two other concepts of Reich's as they are indispensable to the understanding of his pedagogical approach: *youth's need to "fight"* and *man's "natural goodness."*

"Self-regulation follows the natural laws of pleasure; it is not only compatible with natural instincts, but, rather, functionally identical with them. Moral regulation creates a sharp, insoluble conflict, that of nature versus morals. Thus it increases instinctual pressure, which in turn necessitates increased moral defense. . . . The individual with a moral structure appears to follow the rigid laws of the moral world; in fact, he only adjusts outwardly and rebels inwardly. Thus he is exposed in the highest degree to an unconscious compulsive and impulsive anti-sociality. The healthy self-regulating individual does not adjust himself to the irrational part of the world and insists on his natural rights." And "The function of youth at any time is that of representing the *next* step of civilization. . . . Youth has to *fight* for its capability for progress. . . . the inhibiting

factor is always the older generation's fear of youth's sexuality and fighting spirit."

"I have been accused of harboring the utopian idea of a world in which I would eliminate unpleasure and have nothing but pleasure. This is contradicted by my repeated statements that education, as it is, makes the human incapable of pleasure, *by armoring him against unpleasure. Pleasure and joie de vivre are inconceivable without fight, without painful experiences and without unpleasurable struggling with oneself.* . . . What characterizes psychic health, [is] the alternation of painful struggle and happiness, of error and truth, of mistake and reflection upon it, of rational hatred and rational love, in brief, full vitality in all possible situations of life. The capacity of tolerating unpleasure and pain without fleeing disillusioned into a state of rigidity, goes hand in hand with the capacity to take happiness and give love."

First of all, I wanted to know if the nursery was set up primarily as a demonstration center or primarily as a therapeutic and pedagogic institution for the particular children in its care. Mrs. Denison explained that both purposes were served but that work with the particular children was of primary importance. Visitors in their professional capacity came to the school and were welcome as it was hoped that interest in sex-economic theory and methodology would spread. At present the main problem was the locating of adequate staff and the training of teachers. Teachers with a traditional professional background are generally unable to function in "The Children's Place" and leave after a short period. Persons who have been psychoanalyzed in the orthodox Freudian manner, do not fit in either, as suppression and sublimation of instinctual desires has been accepted by them for the sake of social adjustment. In the course of the nursery's existence—since October 1944—three teachers and two other staff mem-

bers were given a trial appointment and released after two to three months, which is upsetting and difficult for everyone concerned. The permanent staff at present consists of Mrs. Denison herself, Miss Smith, who is being trained as a pre-school teacher by Mrs. Denison and who works with the 2- to 4-year group, and a nurse in charge of the "babies." There are also visiting teachers of art and music. As there are about 20 children in the two age-groups, Mrs. Denison feels she is seriously understaffed. Furthermore, her wish to expand is frustrated by the unavailability of personnel. She is hoping to move to larger and more adequate quarters next year and to extend her work.

My next questions were around the children: On what basis were they selected? Was each child's program individualized as to hours spent daily and length of attendance at the nursery? How were they prepared to fit into a more rigid traditional school after "graduation" from the nursery? How much insight and co-operation was asked of parents? Mrs. Denison told me that there was no selection of children but that due to shortage of teachers a child who needed individual therapy and overtly disrupted the functioning of the group, could not be kept as the present time as there was no possibility of giving it the individual attention it needed. Mrs. Denison feels that all children benefit by sex-economic upbringing and, whatever the length of the experience at the nursery, the child acquires a greater self-confidence which helps in his adjustment to any situation—i.e., he can accept or reject whatever is imposed with regard to his needs. The emphasis is not on facilitating future adjustments but on helping the child's adjustment from a too-authoritarian background. The only children who must be excluded from the school are those whose parents are too authoritative and rigid and cannot at any point accept the methods of the nursery school.

I was still unsatisfied in my understanding of the basis of selection of children, as apparently there had been little difficulty around the parents' acceptance of the concepts underlying the nursery school program, while there had been an outstanding problem in finding an un-rigid staff. In her discussion of this, Mrs. Denison brought out that she had "selected" the neighborhood—Greenwich Village—and that the majority of the parents were artists; this made for a more open-minded group of parents. Mrs. Denison felt that, on the whole, parents dealing with their own child and having his best interests at heart, were more ready to try out new methods of handling than were schoolteachers who, trained to handle children en masse according to some pedagogical theory not based on biological findings, were less apt to have direct contact with the individual child. Mrs. Denison does not require active co-operation from parents and does not face them with any problems until those naturally arise or unless they cannot be handled at the school in the absence of home co-operation.

The last subject under discussion was my project as such. Mrs. Denison told me that her school was too small to allow for observation by a nonparticipating adult. I agreed enthusiastically that I preferred to "work" with the children. Mrs. Denison suggested that I spend from 11 until 2 daily in the nursery, which is the time the largest number of children are in attendance, as it includes the overlapping of the morning and afternoon sessions. My study would be focused on the 2- to 4-age-group.

January 5th. "The Children's Place" is a charming, white-washed, blue-windowed, 2-floor and 2-room house to which one gains entrance through a gate and a yard. The yard has swings, a sand-box and just enough room for tots to run in. On the second floor, which can be reached both by an outside staircase and by one within, are situated the "babies'" quarters and the

kitchen facilities; on the ground floor is the children's playroom and an infinitesimal office carved out of one corner of it. Behind another partition is the children's closet space for wearing apparel. The bathroom has standard-sized fixtures but a kitchen step-ladder stands by the wash-basin. The children's towels and wash-cloths hang on individual hooks under name-labels.

Shelves for toys and nursery books run along two walls; above the shelves the wall-space is decorated with almost life-size paintings of running children with armfuls of flowers. Drawings by the children hang on the opposite wall next to the "bulletin board." There is an upright piano in a corner, and a drum and gourds. There are gaily decorated tiny chairs, a low, long table covered with red oilcloth, and a couple of smaller tables.

The toys appeared to me to be of the usual variety for 2- to 4-year-olds, sturdy and unbreakable: some of cloth but mostly of wood: blocks, trains, hammering-boards, dolls, animals, buckets and balls.

The children appeared to accept my presence easily after I had been introduced to them by Mrs. Denison, though one little girl expressed objection to my name, saying I should be called "Rose"—possibly because of the color of the sweater I was wearing. The children were willing to play with me very soon after I came in. I was impressed by their spontaneity and self-confidence: They asked for assistance from me in their climbing, carrying of water and unbuttoning to go to the toilet.

During this first day, I paid careful attention to Mrs. Denison's and Miss Smith's handling of the children and their way of dealing with situations as they arose, not only because this was what I had come to observe, but also because I was anxious to pick up *what not to do* with the children. At the end of my period of "observation," I jotted down the following situations and their treatment:

Billy and Errol had splashed water at each other, Billy getting the worst of the deal and complaining that his collar was wet. Miss Smith said to Errol: "Billy is wet; can you help me dry him?" and the two little boys followed her peacefully into the bathroom.

The children were seated, spoons in hand, but lunch was detained. A couple of children began banging their spoons against the table, the rest joined in with vigor and the noise was head-splitting. Mrs. Denison came over to them and said she had a good idea how to bring Virginia (the maid) and lunch. She started chanting in a rather low voice: "Virginia, where is our dinner?" and the children followed her joyfully and in the same pitch. After a while, as lunch still did not appear, Mrs. Denison changed her chant to: "Virginia, do we have palm-leaves for dinner?" etc. (which came from a book concerning what animals eat), the children chanting back the appropriate "no" or "yes." At the sight of the contents of their dinner plates, most of the children began to exclaim that they did not like stewed tomatoes or cauliflower or liver, etc. Mrs. Denison interrupted with: "I don't want to be told what you don't like, just don't eat it!" Actually she did use encouragement to eat in the cases of a couple of children who were coming out of eating neuroses—those she spoon-fed. The children who had emotional problems around feeding were not persuaded, Mrs. Denison simply stating: "You'll be hungry later on."

The children are not asked to take naps, with the exception of two little girls who get over-tired and need it. Mrs. Denison was unable to get 3-year-old Martha to go upstairs (to the "babies'" quarters) for her nap, so she arranged a folding cot in the corner of the playroom and placed screens around it. The child had promised to sleep if left downstairs, and did so.

Two-year-old Marietta, who has a compulsive wish to wash her hands endlessly,

was finally carried off bodily from the wash-basin with the explanation: "Your hands are clean, you don't need to wash, but the others must have a chance."

Destructive aggression against herself was thus dealt with by Mrs. Denison: Billy: "I'll knock you over!" Mrs. Denison: "Well, go ahead and try. I'm ready for you, go ahead." Billy: "No!" "Shall I knock you over then?" "Yes." Mrs. Denison does so in fun.

Destructive aggression towards another child was treated thus: "Suppose I did it to you, you would not like it, would you, and Suzy does not like it when you do it to her."

In answer to my question, Mrs. Denison told me that certain things were forbidden the children—for example, going upstairs, opening staff's closet, playing with wearing apparel, throwing sand out of sand-box, but that in each case specific reasonable explanations were given.

January 6th. Mrs. Denison had a few moments to give me, so I asked how a specific child—in this case little Marietta, whom I was particularly interested in because of her compulsive hand-washing and screaming—happened to come to the nursery and what did the nursery experience give her? Mrs. Denison told me that Marietta's mother was looking around for a nursery school, not even necessarily a "progressive" one but that the ones she applied to had no openings. Someone told her of a new nursery, "The Children's Place." Mrs. Denison had an opening and accepted Marietta. In answer to further questions, Mrs. Denison said that the mother did not see any problems in the child and that it was not in Mrs. Denison's practice to confront parents with problems unless necessary. I wondered about the mother's apparent rigidity, basing this on the symptom of the child's compulsive hand-washing, and a sentence written on Marietta's application that recent environmental changes "have resulted in a much less-dis-

ciplined and reasonable attitude than that I was accustomed to expect from her." Mrs. Denison said that actually Marietta's mother was not too rigid. Marietta herself has gained quite a bit from being at the nursery; at present she gets along much better in the group of children and she is easier to handle at home. Her mother had originally placed her for the morning period only but has recently extended her attendance until 3 P.M. as "it is doing her so much good." Mrs. Denison has had no regular conference with the mother, but speaks to her often when she is calling for the child and then gives her hints on how to relax her handling.

The handling of one situation particularly interested me today. Four-year-old Billy was brought in from the yard where he had dropped a rock on his foot. Mrs. Denison took off his shoe and sock. Billy said: "I was very brave, it hurt a lot, but I did not cry." Mrs. Denison said gently: "Sometimes it helps to cry." Then she said: "Shall I kiss it to make it feel better?" and did so. Billy was then ready to return to the yard. I asked Mrs. Denison about her using a technique which seemed to me "too childish" for the kind of little boy Billy is. Mrs. Denison said that this approach would hold true of a child of any age as it combined reassurance that nothing was seriously wrong with an emotional response to the "hurt." I was aware that if I had been faced with comforting the child, along with expression of emotional response, I would have given him recognition on the level he asked for it—that of the ego-ideal. Later, Mrs. Denison pointed out to me that in response to her "Shall I kiss it to make it feel better?" Billy said "Yes" and so she did it; if he had said "No," he would not have required it and Mrs. D. would not have kissed him.

January 7th. I asked Miss Smith if I were right in assuming that encouragement by reward was dispensed with. Miss Smith told me that the usual use of rewards was

eliminated because a child needed to gain pleasure from the activity itself, rather than to desire a reward for what it was doing. As far as humanly possible, a child should never be forced. Miss Smith emphasized that the one commandment to be obeyed by every teacher and parent was Neill's: "Thou shalt be on the side of the child." This concept was illustrated a few minutes after my arrival by a situation involving two-year-old Amy. Amy had wet herself earlier in the morning, had been changed into another child's extra clothes, and now that her own underwear was dry, Miss Smith was changing her back into her own things. Watching Amy's undressing, four-year-old Irma said scornfully: "Oh, Amy wetted herself. I never, never do that." Miss Smith's answer was: "Oh, but we all do sometimes." "I don't ever," insisted Irma. "Well, that's nice; but Amy can't help it and it's all right to wet."

Martha was difficult in her aggressiveness today—something must have taken place over the weekend, Miss Smith thought. She was particularly hostile towards little Amy, thrusting her fingers into the younger child's eyes, biting and pushing her. Miss Smith carefully watched any arising situation so as to deal with it in the proper time. At lunch Martha's aggressiveness led to a last warning: "If you hit her again, you must leave the table and eat alone." Martha did hit out once again, at which point Mrs. Denison carried her off forcibly to another table, Martha loudly crying the while. As soon as she was put down on a chair on the opposite side of the room, Martha ran to a book-shelf and said she wanted to be read to from a book she had snatched. Mrs. Denison joined her, saying: "Aren't you just escaping from something you don't like?" She then held the child, asking: "Why did you hit Amy?" After a while Martha said: "She pushed me before." Mrs. Denison brought the two children together, helped them agree they "were

quits" and that they would no more attack one another. Later, in the yard, when I was alone with Martha and Amy, I saw Martha push Amy hard off a "sliding-board." I asked Martha why she did it. Martha said: "But Amy pushed me off before." As I had not taken my eyes off the two children, I knew it was not true, but I did nothing but comfort Amy as I did not know how to deal with the situation.

In a later discussion, Mrs. Denison pointed out to me that the second episode gave the impression that Martha was also lying the first time, which might be true and Mrs. Denison was aware of it at the time. However, in her talk with Amy and Martha, she gave no reproach to either child, merely talking about not hitting each other and since those two children fight frequently, the remarks could have applied to the specific or the general situation.

January 8th. I asked Miss Smith if Martha needed and was given more protection than the other children. I referred to yesterday afternoon when some new toys arrived, among them two ironing-boards; while Martha had an ironing-board and iron all to herself for the remainder of the afternoon, the other children took turns with the other. Miss Smith said it was not a case of special protection, but that as the child was disturbed and destructive, she was given special attention to comfort her. I wondered if Neill's concept of giving approval and reward following "misdeeds," based on the fact that "adult approval means love to every child, whereas disapproval means hate," was put into practice at "The Children's Place." Miss Smith said that it was.

Five-year-old Lita was a new child to me as she had been absent the last week. I was alone in the nursery with the children, when Lita began climbing the forbidden steps to the second floor, other children starting in to follow her example. I reminded Lita that this was forbidden

was finally carried off bodily from the wash-basin with the explanation: "Your hands are clean, you don't need to wash, but the others must have a chance."

Destructive aggression against herself was thus dealt with by Mrs. Denison: Billy: "I'll knock you over!" Mrs. Denison: "Well, go ahead and try. I'm ready for you, go ahead." Billy: "No!" "Shall I knock you over then?" "Yes." Mrs. Denison does so in fun.

Destructive aggression towards another child was treated thus: "Suppose I did it to you, you would not like it, would you, and Suzy does not like it when you do it to her."

In answer to my question, Mrs. Denison told me that certain things were forbidden the children—for example, going upstairs, opening staff's closet, playing with wearing apparel, throwing sand out of sand-box, but that in each case specific reasonable explanations were given.

January 6th. Mrs. Denison had a few moments to give me, so I asked how a specific child—in this case little Marietta, whom I was particularly interested in because of her compulsive hand-washing and screaming—happened to come to the nursery and what did the nursery experience give her? Mrs. Denison told me that Marietta's mother was looking around for a nursery school, not even necessarily a "progressive" one but that the ones she applied to had no openings. Someone told her of a new nursery, "The Children's Place." Mrs. Denison had an opening and accepted Marietta. In answer to further questions, Mrs. Denison said that the mother did not see any problems in the child and that it was not in Mrs. Denison's practice to confront parents with problems unless necessary. I wondered about the mother's apparent rigidity, basing this on the symptom of the child's compulsive hand-washing, and a sentence written on Marietta's application that recent environmental changes "have resulted in a much less-dis-

ciplined and reasonable attitude than that I was accustomed to expect from her." Mrs. Denison said that actually Marietta's mother was not too rigid. Marietta herself has gained quite a bit from being at the nursery; at present she gets along much better in the group of children and she is easier to handle at home. Her mother had originally placed her for the morning period only but has recently extended her attendance until 3 P.M. as "it is doing her so much good." Mrs. Denison has had no regular conference with the mother, but speaks to her often when she is calling for the child and then gives her hints on how to relax her handling.

The handling of one situation particularly interested me today. Four-year-old Billy was brought in from the yard where he had dropped a rock on his foot. Mrs. Denison took off his shoe and sock. Billy said: "I was very brave, it hurt a lot, but I did not cry." Mrs. Denison said gently: "Sometimes it helps to cry." Then she said: "Shall I kiss it to make it feel better?" and did so. Billy was then ready to return to the yard. I asked Mrs. Denison about her using a technique which seemed to me "too childish" for the kind of little boy Billy is. Mrs. Denison said that this approach would hold true of a child of any age as it combined reassurance that nothing was seriously wrong with an emotional response to the "hurt." I was aware that if I had been faced with comforting the child, along with expression of emotional response, I would have given him recognition on the level he asked for it—that of the ego-ideal. Later, Mrs. Denison pointed out to me that in response to her "Shall I kiss it to make it feel better?" Billy said "Yes" and so she did it; if he had said "No," he would not have required it and Mrs. D. would not have kissed him.

January 7th. I asked Miss Smith if I were right in assuming that encouragement by reward was dispensed with. Miss Smith told me that the usual use of rewards was

eliminated because a child needed to gain pleasure from the activity itself, rather than to desire a reward for what it was doing. As far as humanly possible, a child should never be forced. Miss Smith emphasized that the one commandment to be obeyed by every teacher and parent was Neill's: "Thou shalt be on the side of the child." This concept was illustrated a few minutes after my arrival by a situation involving two-year-old Amy. Amy had wet herself earlier in the morning, had been changed into another child's extra clothes, and now that her own underwear was dry, Miss Smith was changing her back into her own things. Watching Amy's undressing, four-year-old Irma said scornfully: "Oh, Amy wetted herself. I never, never do that." Miss Smith's answer was: "Oh, but we all do sometimes." "I don't ever," insisted Irma. "Well, that's nice; but Amy can't help it and it's all right to wet."

Martha was difficult in her aggressiveness today—something must have taken place over the weekend, Miss Smith thought. She was particularly hostile towards little Amy, thrusting her fingers into the younger child's eyes, biting and pushing her. Miss Smith carefully watched any arising situation so as to deal with it in the proper time. At lunch Martha's aggressiveness led to a last warning: "If you hit her again, you must leave the table and eat alone." Martha did hit out once again, at which point Mrs. Denison carried her off forcibly to another table, Martha loudly crying the while. As soon as she was put down on a chair on the opposite side of the room, Martha ran to a book-shelf and said she wanted to be read to from a book she had snatched. Mrs. Denison joined her, saying: "Aren't you just escaping from something you don't like?" She then held the child, asking: "Why did you hit Amy?" After a while Martha said: "She pushed me before." Mrs. Denison brought the two children together, helped them agree they "were

quits" and that they would no more attack one another. Later, in the yard, when I was alone with Martha and Amy, I saw Martha push Amy hard off a "sliding-board." I asked Martha why she did it. Martha said: "But Amy pushed me off before." As I had not taken my eyes off the two children, I knew it was not true, but I did nothing but comfort Amy as I did not know how to deal with the situation.

In a later discussion, Mrs. Denison pointed out to me that the second episode gave the impression that Martha was also lying the first time, which might be true and Mrs. Denison was aware of it at the time. However, in her talk with Amy and Martha, she gave no reproach to either child, merely talking about not hitting each other and since those two children fight frequently, the remarks could have applied to the specific or the general situation.

January 8th. I asked Miss Smith if Martha needed and was given more protection than the other children. I referred to yesterday afternoon when some new toys arrived, among them two ironing-boards; while Martha had an ironing-board and iron all to herself for the remainder of the afternoon, the other children took turns with the other. Miss Smith said it was not a case of special protection, but that as the child was disturbed and destructive, she was given special attention to comfort her. I wondered if Neill's concept of giving approval and reward following "misdeeds," based on the fact that "adult approval means love to every child, whereas disapproval means hate," was put into practice at "The Children's Place." Miss Smith said that it was.

Five-year-old Lita was a new child to me as she had been absent the last week. I was alone in the nursery with the children, when Lita began climbing the forbidden steps to the second floor, other children starting in to follow her example. I reminded Lita that this was forbidden

and asked her to come down, to which she paid no attention. I went to Miss Smith. She said that Lita was sometimes difficult as she liked being naughty. Miss Smith spoke to Lita, explaining why the stairs were forbidden; then as Lita did not descend, Miss Smith went after her and carried her down. Miss S. immediately followed this up by suggesting a piggy-back ride to Lita, who accepted this enthusiastically.

Mrs. Denison was busy looking for a speaker for the next parent-teacher meeting. She told me she has a meeting each month and two have already taken place. The first one was devoted to readings from Neill's *THAT DREADFUL SCHOOL*, with a follow-up of valuable discussion, the second to talks by the music and art teachers on children's expression through music and art, respectively. (I have failed to mention those "lessons," each twice weekly.) The parents on the whole showed interest.

I took the opportunity to ask Mrs. Denison if, theoretically, more work with the parents was desirable in order to give them insight into their child's problems, modify handling and secure full co-operation. Mrs. Denison said decidedly so. The only reason individualized work with both parents and children was curtailed or omitted, was that at present Mrs. Denison had absolutely no time left for it.

January 10th. I was able to handle Lita! We were in the yard where she unearthed somewhere a flower pot. She threw it against the sliding-board, chipping it, and, unheeding me, was preparing to throw it again. I took hold of her and the pot, showed the sharp chipped edge, explained that if flower pot broke, sharp pieces would litter the yard and might cut any child who fell. Lita accepted this and my subsequent suggestion to "throw real hard" a ball at me, thus starting a vigorous ball game.

Irma's refusal to eat is treated by allowing her not to eat. This four-year-old has

scarcely eaten since her parents' divorce five months ago, which resulted in a serious emotional disturbance for her, and she is white and wan looking. Since her coming to the school a month ago, her mother has co-operated in refraining from making an issue of eating. Irma as a rule sits down to table with the other children, drinking maybe some milk or taking a spoonful of dessert, but today she refused to sit down to table at all. Moving about the room and from one activity to another, she kept trying to attract attention to herself by asking questions. Mrs. Denison gave as answers: "We can't talk to you now, we're all busy eating." I wondered why the situation was treated thus, rather than giving Irma "approval and reward." In this connection I referred to other incidents when children's kicking, biting, etc., was not approved of. Mrs. Denison said that in general antisocial acts were followed by the giving of love which the child needed. The concept underlying the "giving of reward" for misdeeds is that a child attempts to compensate for emotional deprivation through antisocial acts and thus treatment is a response to the child's need for love. Biting, kicking, etc., were direct expressions of destructiveness and, depending on cause and intensity, did or did not call for extra love and approval for the child. The important point was that each case needed to be understood and treated, according to the needs of the particular child—i.e., individually.

At this time, as yet, no definite rules have been formulated for treatment of different symptomatic behavior; much experimental work still needed to be done before one could answer with assurance how each situation should be treated.

During lunch, another treatment of a situation attracted my attention. Mrs. Denison said to a child who was throwing bread on the floor: "It hurts me to see it because bread is good food; don't do it again." I wondered what difference there

was between this, presumably an emotional appeal and the forbidden "Do it to please Mother" approach. Mrs. Denison pointed out that the difference lay in that her words and manner did not threaten loss of love.

January 11th. I was invited to attend the weekly staff meeting. Present were: Mrs. Denison, Miss Smith, the art teacher and the babies' nurse. Part of the discussion was around kitchen and play equipment needs and part around the problems of specific children, involving both theoretical understanding and practical handling of them. There was a free give-and-take of thinking on each problem between Mrs. Denison and her staff. Everyone knew and was interested in every child regardless of his age-group.

The first problem to receive attention was Irma's not eating. Mrs. Denison asked if anyone had a suggestion how to get the child to eat in the meantime before Mrs. Denison has had time to work out her feelings therapeutically. Suggestions crystallized into a plan to have Irma sit down to lunch at a separate table with Mrs. Denison, of whom she is very fond. This special attention would be a satisfaction to the child and might bring about a relaxation of the tension which was preventing her from eating. The possibility of talking to her mother and persuading her to let the child stay at school all day was considered and agreed to in view of Irma's invariable tears at the time of departure. Mrs. Denison will plan for a conference with the mother.

Biting was next discussed, both theoretically and in relation to specific children, including one of the babies. Mrs. Denison pointed out that, as in any other expression of destructiveness, the important thing is to find out why, fundamentally, has the child got the need? The best way to relax the child's tension is to take the child on one's knee and give him gentle loving. The biting need can be released safely by

making of it a game and substituting a washcloth to bite on, much on the idea of letting a puppy tug harmlessly at some bit of cord. Biting of another child, if it cannot be averted in time, should be handled by saying in the proper tone of voice—i.e., with feeling: "Don't do it, it hurts," which would connect with his natural understanding of hurt and not his secondary sadistic desire.

In the case of hitting, the other child should be encouraged to retaliate in kind, rather than to harbor hurt feelings, but in the case of biting this is undesirable from the point of view of the practical handling of the group of children.

The difficulty of handling Lita was brought up. Mrs. Denison spoke of the rigidity of Lita's parents. She does not plan to work with this child individually as it would be impossible to help her to any great extent while her care is shared with narrow-minded, unco-operative and punishing parents. I wondered why Mrs. Denison kept Lita on in view of the home versus school conflict. Mrs. Denison felt there was no real conflict as long as she refrained from working with the child therapeutically and that Lita was happy in school.

January 12th. Today was a perfect day from Mrs. Denison's point of view, less so from mine as there was little call for handling of situations due to the fact that the children played peacefully with hardly any tears or destructive gestures. In part, this may have been due to the small number of children in attendance and the absence of Lita, Irma and some of the other more difficult children. Also, several new trains had been purchased so that there were enough for all; trains had been the biggest bone of contention up to the present.

Typically one budding conflict was handled and resolved smoothly: Martha had been on the rocker for quite a long while. Terry, temporarily losing interest

in his train, wanted a turn on the rocker. He pushed and pulled Martha, who hit out at him determinedly until Terry started in wailing. Mrs. Denison explained to Martha that she had occupied the rocker for a long time and now Terry wanted his turn. To Martha's repeated "No," Mrs. Denison asked Terry to wait a while as Martha would soon be through, then suggested that Martha rock while she counted to 10, after which Martha would have had enough and Terry's turn would come. After the count was completed, Martha rocked a bit longer, then was willing to climb down. When Terry, from the rocker, saw that Martha now took possession of his train, he objected vigorously. Mrs. Denison pointed out that Terry could not use both toys at once and that he and Martha were taking turns at both. Terry forsook the rocker and, as a result, Martha put down the train, both children returning to their original occupations contentedly.

January 13th. The use of discipline was illustrated today. Lita behaved badly at lunch; she was noisy, demanding, jumped up with her plate and finally threatened to throw the plate. Miss Smith said: "Lita, you know, here we sit at table while we eat. Do you want to go home?" Miss Smith said this emphatically and Lita quickly answered she did not want to go home. "Well, then you'll have to behave the way we all do here," Miss Smith added. I had noticed the use of this technique "Do you want to go home?" on previous occasions when a child was deliberately naughty and later I asked Miss Smith about it. Putting it in question form did away with a too authoritarian approach as it gave the child a choice of action: to behave or go home. It worked because no child wanted to go home.

Amy deliberately knocked down onto the floor a row of trains which Mrs. Denison had just finished stacking onto a shelf to clear the room a bit before lunch. Hold-

ing and guiding Amy's hand, Mrs. Denison made her pick the trains up one by one. Amy did not protest as she knew she had deliberately been naughty, Mrs. Denison later explained to me.

Billy was playing "telephone man" with a long cord which he wound all about himself and around his neck. During his consequent vigorous playing, the cord tightened dangerously around his neck. Miss Smith caught hold of him, easing the pressure on neck with her fingers, then started with my help to disentangle him. Despite kicking, wailing, etc., the cord was unwound and taken away from Billy. Miss Smith repeatedly gave the explanation that the cord was taken away because it could hurt him, but for all the wailing the child persisted in, the cord was not returned to him.

Miss Smith told me that because of the mess, the children are to be discouraged from playing with water in the bathroom and that it must not be carried into the playroom. Even Marietta's compulsive hand-washing will now be controlled. Marietta has been given the opportunity during the last weeks to spend as much time as she wanted at the wash-bowl; now she will be handled by the statement, "Your hands are clean, you do not need to wash any more."

January 15th. Amy has been wetting the last couple of days. In answer to gently-put questions, Amy says she wets because she wants to. Mrs. Denison explained to me that the child wets "to tease her mother," both wetting on the way home and telling her mother of previous wettings. Amy has a strong need to be the center of attention and gains it in this manner as at home a fuss is made around her wetting.

The giving of special attention device worked out wonderfully with Irma. As decided at staff meeting, Mrs. Denison today asked Irma to eat with her in the office. Irma ate all her own food and some

from Mrs. Denison's plate and drank three glasses of milk. Purpose of food rejection became evident during the meal as Irma talked spontaneously and freely. Eating, in her mind, is associated with some strong emotions on the part of the adults with whom she sits at table. Since she had no comprehension of those emotions, she became overwrought at feeding time and was unable to eat. Irma told Mrs. Denison: "They all sit and eat together and B. goes to bed with P., M. goes to bed with J. and L. sleeps with A." This represented a complete confusion of partners, which might have been a correct insight on the part of Irma. Mrs. Denison pointed out that this was merely a hypothesis based on the knowledge of love-conflict in the family.

Having released her anxiety, Irma was a different child after lunch; she was rosy, played happily, and was remarkably generous to the other children. Later in the afternoon, Irma masturbated lying on the floor. She did not use her hands, but tried to obtain satisfaction through mechanical pelvic movements. Mrs. Denison said she was following position and motion observed in parents' intercourse, Irma having revealed that she had seen her father "doing it this way." Mrs. Denison has spoken to her about fuller gratification obtained by use of hand, but the child is evidently still inhibited.¹

January 18th. I could not help wondering whether opportunity for conflict in a child's mind was not created by differential handling at the school at the hands of Mrs. Denison and the three young women who have been coming in to help with the children for a couple of hours daily in response to a recent advertisement in a newspaper. I had heard one of them admonishing a child: "You're a big boy, you should not hit little girls," etc.

¹ Editor's Note: This child, under the name of Jenny, is more fully discussed in Mrs. Denison's article (*infra*, p. 173 ff.).

Another time, the door of the bathroom was closed firmly behind a child, the helper staying outside, saying: "We go to the bathroom with the door closed; you call me when you're through." In the case of Irma, a helper tried by irrelevant questions to distract her from masturbation. Today a helper said to Marietta in the course of playing "tea party": "Say please when you ask for the sugar, and thank you when I've handed it to you." I am aware that both in the case of parents and workers with the children (including myself), Mrs. Denison prefers to give explanation and interpretation as situations arise and call for them; nevertheless, I will be interested to discuss this with her specifically in relation to the workers.

January 22nd. In answer to my questioning, Mrs. Denison told me that the three young workers had been selected by her from about 40 girls who had responded to her newspaper ad. She wishes to experiment with another group than the traditionally-trained nursery school teachers; apart from this, she judged applicants purely individually on the basis of the likelihood of their fitting into the framework of "The Children's Place" and being genuinely warm persons interested in children. Of the three helpers selected, one is an art student, another has done some theatrical work, the third helps her husband run an art gallery. Mrs. Denison told me she had two preliminary talks with each, during which she gave some orientation as to point of view and method of handling, covering such questions as the amount of freedom given to children, handling of destructive aggression towards other children and the attitude towards bathroom, thumb-sucking and masturbation. After this, situations or noticed mishandling are discussed as they take place—always privately. Mrs. Denison particularly stressed one point: many persons can accept theoretical concepts which they find hard or impossible to abide by in practice due to

own conditioning and inhibitions. This is why she has had a turnover of workers.

Mrs. Denison added that in the case of training of permanent teachers, such as Miss Smith, for example, she gives them limited responsibility to begin with, maybe a couple of children for a certain time period, then gradually increases the responsibility. The best results are obtained by observation of Mrs. Denison, by asking her questions as situations arise. Mrs. Denison sometimes spends evenings discussing theory and methodology with Miss Smith.

In answer to my wondering as to the possibility of conflict being set up in a child's mind as the result of the same type of situation being handled differently by the new workers and the trained staff, Mrs. D. said that mishandling of a situation can occur only once or twice before it comes to her attention. She then discusses the matter with the worker and gives her the privilege of amending her error in a similar situation with the same child. This involves specific rectification as, for example, in the situation observed by me when the teacher said: "We go to the bathroom with the door closed," the teacher would say at the next opportunity, "You know, I made a mistake last time, we don't have to close the door when we go to the bathroom. It just does not matter." A child knows it is perfectly permissible to make a mistake and, when it is admitted and not repeated, no harm is done. In Mrs. D.'s experience, in general, the fallacious method is not used again by the worker. Mrs. D. prefers to instruct teachers on the basis of practical experience rather than fill them with "classroom theory." This too is, of course, necessary but Mrs. D. believes that theoretical instruction should arise from direct contact with the children and their functioning.

I had been wanting to discuss with Mrs. Denison the practical application of the principle of self-regulation. Both from my

reading and observation, I knew that all activities called for self-regulation rather than being regulated from outside by an adult. The range of activities included: eating, sleeping, toileting, thumb-sucking, masturbation, play, etc. In other words, a child had as much freedom as possible in his activities, in terms both of selection and content. In relation to eating, Miss Smith had previously told me that though therapeutically any eating behavior was acceptable, in practice this was impossible to allow in a group, as it involved spilled food, breakage of dishes, messing-up of playroom, drawn-out meal periods, annoyance and distraction to those children who wanted to eat. To a lesser extent than in the area of eating, other activities were sometimes adult-regulated: toileting of some of the children who wet, playing with water, getting properly clothed before going to play in the yard, washing of faces and hands before going home.

Mrs. Denison pointed out to me that if the children had been brought up from infancy in the self-regulatory manner, much regulation by adults at this stage of their development would be unnecessary. Meal-time behavior is particularly difficult due to home associations. On the other hand, the rights of adults must also receive consideration.

I have had ample opportunity to observe that the children do have great freedom in their activities. When a child comes in from the yard because he feels cold or for some other reason, he is asked whether he wants to warm up and go out again later or whether he wants to be undressed and stay indoors. A child can refuse to nap or to eat or to take part in any group activity. Actually the children eat exceedingly well, habitually asking for a second or third portion of the main course or of any part of it which they particularly like.

Having in mind two-year-old Marietta who gets tired out in a group of older children, and at the opposite extreme,

four-year-old Billy, whose vigorous activity brings him into conflict with the younger children and who could use more physical outlets for his vitality and physical energy than the common playroom provides, I asked Mrs. Denison if, theoretically, division by age-groups was desirable. Mrs. Denison likes the idea of no division, but if the group is large enough, separation for certain periods during the day may be desirable; the grouping would not follow chronological age but rather the level of the child's physical and emotional development. I wondered if an adult would be assigned to a specific group of children (as practiced by Anna Freud). Of necessity there would be some division of responsibility among the adults, but theoretically there is no call for this. If a child needs to form a special relationship with an adult, it will come out in relation to one of the teachers—this is covered by the concept of self-regulation. Unless a child is neurotic, he is satisfied by the freely given love of the several adults around him and does not need to focus on one.

January 26th. Fascinating to observe is Mrs. D.'s use of the device of "making a game of it." She is able to change into joyful activity any conflict-burdened situation and aggressive needs. Today, Terry, a very difficult little boy with a strong need to possess (Terry is the one who constantly creates conflict by wanting to have all the trains), objected with vigorous hysterical wailing to Mrs. D.'s lending his rubbers to Stewart. As Terry never wanted to play in the yard and as Stewart wanted to go outdoors at this time but had refused to do so earlier when the rest of the group was being dressed and whose own rubbers had been put on a child who had come without any, Mrs. D. was now confronted with Terry's stubborn selfishness and Stewart's equally vigorous insistence on having back his own rubbers. Mrs. D. said, "You are very selfish, Terry; both of you make so much fuss over such nonsense." Her tone

of voice arrested the children's attention and immediately following this, she continued in a playful sing-song fashion to repeat over and over again with changing intonations: "You make so much fuss over such nonsense" until both children joyfully joined in, forgetting all conflict.

I have been able to use this device successfully on quite a few occasions. While waiting for lunch and already seated at table, Lita kept hitting out at her neighbor and encouraging, by her example, hitting all around the table. Unable to stop her in any other way, I picked up Lita and her chair, lifted her high a couple of times, then put her back in her place, saying "It's fun to go high in the air on your chair"; the other children immediately joined in the refrain and hitting was forgotten. Another time, while waiting for lunch, Amy kept pulling Jill's hand until Jill was in tears; to me Amy said: "I love Jill, I want to hold her." Catching Amy's hand, I said: "Don't pull her hand, it *hurts*, hold it gently, like this." Amy and I held hands gently, then I said: "Now pull mine and it will *hurt*." Then Amy wanted her hand pulled, following which all the children asked to have their hands held gently and for comparison pulled, which I did to an appropriate refrain.

As discussed at staff meeting, children's biting has been handled by making a game of it: "Let's all bite like puppy-dogs" on a towel or doll's blanket or anything handy. Mrs. D. feels that this method of release of muscular jaw tension can be resorted to occasionally without the need for it being precipitated by biting. Apart from biting, if children are noisy and destructive, it is helpful to introduce a violent game which will release their tension. If muscular tension appears to be in the child's arms, one should engage him in a "fight": "Come on, let's fight, try harder"; if muscular tension is primarily in the legs, as expressed by kicking, one can introduce a play involving pulling at the child's legs strongly.

Observing techniques as I have been doing, I have failed to emphasize that quite apart from her skills, Mrs. D. gains the desired response by her ability to enter the child's world, to be spontaneously always on the side of the child. It is easy enough to describe or learn the how, what and when of handling children, but it is impossible to repeat intonations of voice or quality of touch which only warm love and sensitive understanding can give. I was particularly aware of this today. In the latter part of the afternoon, the children became restless and quarrelsome, possibly due to tiredness. I was alone with them and quite at the end of my ingenuity for no sooner had I handled one situation than crying or fighting would start in another corner. Mrs. D., who had been busy in the office, came to take charge. A few minutes later, she was acting out on a table the part of a rebellious child whose mother was forcing him to go to bed: she wailed, jumped up, asked for drinks of water, thumb-sucked, etc., to the children's vast glee and hilarity.

Then Mrs. D. stopped her play in order to get Irma dressed for leaving. Irma's father was calling for her (Irma is the child of separated parents who lives with her mother but adores her father whom she seldom sees). Irma became tense, overwrought, near-hysterical. There is no way to describe the quality of voice and touch with which Mrs. D. prepared Irma for her father, combing her hair to "be specially pretty" and whispering, "I know how you feel, Irma."

January 29th. I asked Mrs. D. if I was right in assuming that no special emphasis was placed on the "mental" development of the child and that no so-called educational toys were provided with this in view. Mrs. D. does have some educational games but these remain mostly in the drawers as the children have no interest in them. Mrs. D. feels that children do not need imposed activities; all that is needful

is to allow each child to develop in his own way. In this connection, Mrs. D. pointed out the importance of a child being free from fear: a child gains naturally in dexterity through handling of objects if he is not inhibited by fear and thus rendered stiff. If free of fear he does not need to learn dexterity through adult-imposed activities. I had observed an example of this "stiffness" just yesterday: Melissa, a new and very attractive little girl, joined in dancing in the circle of children but her legs moved woodenly, her gestures were tentative and she was unable to fall on the floor when the song called for this, with the gay abandon of the other children.

In view of the fact that Mrs. D. was not interested in artificially stimulating the growth of the children, in "teaching" them and having them "learn," I wondered why she selected to call "The Children's Place" a nursery school rather than just plain nursery or any other appropriate term. Mrs. D. said the children were learning the most important thing—they were learning to live. Each child was being helped to work out his own individual problems in a group setting.

I am aware that this learning to live is a process that receives continued attention at "The Children's Place" and is the basis for the handling of children in every situation. It would seem to me that the concept of equal rights—i.e., respect for others' rights and feelings in combination with the ability to stand up for oneself—is one of the most emphatically and consistently stressed. Into this area would fall many approaches to handling situations which I have already mentioned piecemeal: one cannot hit with impunity as the other child is then helped to hit back; one cannot take away toys from another child as the question is immediately put, "Who had it first? Well then, you must wait till he gets through and then you can have your turn"; or if there is a good deal of tension about this, consideration is given to "who needs it

most"; one child cannot annoy another child as an intervening adult will say, "She does not like that, how would you like me to do it to you?" and playfully follow this out. Wherever possible, use of authority is excluded and the child is given a choice: "You can have the stick back, if you do not hit Stewart again, which do you want? I can't give you the stick if you are going to hit Stewart but if you think you won't, you can have it." Yet on few occasions authority is used as when a child wilfully throws all the blocks about the playroom, in which case he is made to gather them up again; on the couple of occasions when I saw this happen, the child became resistive and tense. But this involves protection of the rights of the adults who otherwise must need gather up the blocks. To a child who persistently annoys her by wilful misbehavior or who hits her, Mrs. D. reacts spontaneously by expressing her displeasure.

The learning to live becomes apparent when you hear children use among themselves the approach of the adult: "You hurt him, kiss it and make it feel better," "He had it first, you wait till he's through" and "Now I'm through, do you want it?" and the charming "I did not mean to, may I kiss you?" Of course not all the children respond equally, but according to their needs and depending on their emotional adjustment at any given time. When Martha happened to kick me today and I said "You hurt me," she answered shyly but looking me straight in the face, "I did not mean to, I like you." Whereas Billy, who had previously kicked me much harder after I had warned him many times to desist from throwing blocks around, only giggled and ran in circles after my exclamation of pain.

February 3rd. I actually observed a complete art period for the first time today as I had missed (because of my hours of attendance) the first half of the earlier regular art periods with the art teacher and

also I had not wanted to be a disturbing factor by close observation. Due to bad weather, the children were unable to play in the yard and at a certain point in the early afternoon, sensing a general restlessness and aimlessness, Miss S. introduced the suggestion: "Who would like to paint?" to which the children responded enthusiastically. Newspapers were laid on the floor, then the children were paired off according to their own choice of painting partner, and each pair of children received a set of bottles of paint between them. Paper distributed, the children started off painting vigorously. No suggestions whatsoever were made by the adults, but Miss S. followed the work in progress, asking the individual children what they were drawing. If the answer gave any clue to what was on the child's mind or was in any way revealing and interesting, Miss S. wrote it unobtrusively on the corner of the painting. But most of the time the children repeated the answer given by another child, playing with the words without giving them any significance. For example, after one of the children exclaimed "I'm painting a green crocodile," all the others took this up as a kind of refrain with no regard to the color or form of own compositions.

Adult interference was limited to dealing with quarrels and splashing paint on one another. Miss S. had begun by prohibiting smearing paint on hands and face and using fingers in place of brushes, but Mrs. D. relaxed this prohibition. Later, when washing off paint from hands and faces, Mrs. D. repeated to each protesting child: "I would not have to rub so hard if you had not got so much paint on you. If you don't want me to rub hard, remember not to get so much paint on next time." Theoretically, Mrs. D. believes that children should be allowed to be as messy as they want to with paint, smearing it on themselves and each other, but realistically the question of clothes must be taken into

consideration because of parents' attitudes. As in the case of other activities, there is no intention to "teach" the children, in the sense of encouraging them to greater effort or better accomplishment, the emphasis at all times being solely on the pleasure derived from the activity. Mrs. D.'s common rejoinder is "What fun!" or "Isn't that fun!" (which I very quickly took over).

Enjoyment of natural bodily functions is safeguarded by giving approval, as for example, Mrs. D.'s exclamation "That will be fun" when two little boys expressed their intention of urinating at the same time. This was taken up the following day by all three little boys present who crowded gleefully around the one toilet, to the great interest of some of the little girls. But when the children saw feces in the toilet bowl, they dashed back with exclamations "Oh, that stank, it's nasty," which Mrs. D. combatted with "No, it's good." This was discussed for some minutes, Mrs. D. helping the children to overcome their disgust and take a more natural attitude.

I did not happen to hear any verbal expression of curiosity about sex differences, though some of the children showed their interest in the intent way they watched others urinate. An incident occurred a few days ago which I handled with woeful inadequacy, I am sure, and with the unhappy feeling that due to ignorance I failed the child. Little Marietta, pants already down and impatient, ran into the bathroom where Terry was urinating. But while waiting for her turn, she became absorbed in Terry's performance, edging around to see better. When, after having buttoned up Terry, I looked around, I saw Marietta attempting to assume the little boy's position. Being a very small child, she was of course unable to straddle the toilet and was pressing herself to the bowl in various positions and with a look of frustration. I watched her for a few moments and as

she was holding back her urine, I picked her up, put the toilet-seat down and sat her down, saying as gently as I could, "You don't go to the toilet that way, Marietta, you go this way." Marietta made no sign of protest, nor did she say anything.

I went with this incident to Mrs. D. who told me that I would have been more helpful to Marietta if I had explained that Terry did weewee with his penis which he held over the toilet, while girls did not have a penis, they had a vagina instead and it was more comfortable for them to weewee by sitting on the toilet. I could have illustrated this on Marietta's body. I wondered about the use of the word penis, difficult for a small child. Mrs. D. feels words are not important but she would rather use the right ones as children grasp the meaning anyway. I told Mrs. D. that I had noticed her use of difficult words, in particular the word "escape."

February 5th. I broached the subject which is of particular interest to social workers: case-work in a nursery-school setting. I had been observing work with the children and how individual children were helped to work out their problems. I was not in a position to observe work with the parents apart from occasionally overheard words which Mrs. D. spoke to parents when they were calling for the children. Those words and primarily Mrs. D.'s tone of voice conveyed her approval of and her enjoyment in the child—in other words, she invited the parent to share her attitude to the child. Apart from any verbal encouragement or interpretation given, I believe that no parent could remain uninfluenced by observation of Mrs. D.'s handling of the children.

In answer to my question, Mrs. D. said that case-work with parents is especially difficult as it meant facing them with a point of view which might prove too frightening. Mrs. D. deals with certain things in children which cannot be gen-

erally accepted. To avoid this immediate frightening off, Mrs. D. postpones discussions with parents until they are ready for this and then proceeds slowly, a step at a time. Thus when a mother sees improvement in her child, she is ready to approve of the manner in which he is handled in the school; in answer to her "You've done wonders for my child," Mrs. D. can begin to discuss what has been done and why.

Besides individual talks with the mothers, there are the parents-teachers meetings with general discussions of problems. At the January meeting, Dr. Theodore P. Wolfe, vegetotherapist, sat in on the discussion and answered questions. Mrs. D. remarked on the manner "all parents tried to escape themselves." One could not stress too much the need to proceed a little bit at a time, so that any interpretation given gradually became part of their knowledge.

When the subject of masturbation was introduced, Dr. Wolfe asked a very elementary question: Does every child masturbate? To this some mothers answered in the positive and others in the negative, the latter being under the impression that masturbation is limited to use of the hand and not realizing that children attempt to gain satisfaction through rubbing the genital against furniture, sitting astride, etc. Dr. Wolfe then pointed out that all healthy children masturbate and need to gain satisfaction through this activity which is normal, being the natural sexual expression of children who have not yet attained genital maturity.

Subjects introduced by the mothers were directly concerned with problems they saw in connection with their child. Stewart's mother brought up the question of biting and scratching: she was no longer willing to tolerate Stewart's coming home all scratched up as a result of the assaults of some of the children. Mrs. D. explained to me that the problem did not lie solely in the oral frustration of the children who

did the biting, but in the fact that Stewart was the victim—i.e., why did Stewart allow himself to be bit and scratched? Why did he self-righteously allow himself to be victimized? At "The Children's Place" the children were encouraged to fight back in self-protection; thus it was a case of dealing with Stewart's inhibitions aside from the destructiveness of other children.

The two children who contributed most to Stewart's victimizing were Terry and Martha, whom Mrs. D. was particularly interested in as she had achieved good results in her work with them. Mrs. D. suggested to Stewart's mother that it might be best to take Stewart out of the school if the parents felt so strongly about the situation; she followed this up with an attempt to lead the mother to face the question: "Why was it Stewart who always got hurt?" but the mother escaped from facing the problem from this angle.

Marietta's mother was perturbed by Marietta's too frequent request to be taken to the bathroom. The mother was able to accept that it was an attention-getting device. Mrs. D. then posed the question: Why did the child select to get attention in this particular area, when there were so many other ways to get attention? By implication this meant: the mother gave more attention to this area than to any other. Mrs. D. pointed out to me that Marietta's frequent desire to void was significant also from another angle: that pressure of the bladder is often experienced as a genital sensation.

February 12th. I could, in concluding my observation period, list and possibly group under various headings, techniques used at the school in the treatment of different situations as, for example, those involving destructiveness, possessiveness, attention-seeking, etc., but I feel this would be contrary to the whole dynamic approach of "The Children's Place." When the accepted aim is to help a child by allowing him the freedom to grow naturally, the

emphasis can not be on how and what an adult should do, but on the needs of each child and how best to meet them. Some of those needs and thus the situations to which they give rise would, in the first place, not have been present if the children had, from birth, a self-regulatory upbringing, but in fact, the school receives the children when certain neurotic manifestations are already present.

An elucidation which needs to be added belongs in the area of conflict for the child because of differential handling in the home and school environments. This is the area which admittedly disturbed me and to which I referred frequently. Mrs. D. stressed: if, due to a semi-rigid home-environment, the conflict in the child between authoritarian and self-regulatory upbringing should be too strong, Mrs. D. will work slowly until she believes that the child is prepared to handle himself more freely in day-to-day situations, and then give him the opportunity for further self-regulation.

If one accepts as final the norms of society as it stands today one must necessarily reject some of the concepts of the school as contrary to present-day mores—i.e., if the emphasis is on the necessary moulding of the child to present-day adult reality, one must reject the revolutionary implications of such a point of view in child development. No one who believes in the status quo can avoid resisting the consequences of a sex-economic upbringing of children. Necessarily the accepted

thinking on the authoritative role of family, religion and culture are challenged. However, many people are in conflict in their attitudes to the world today and thus there may be an increasing support for new ideas with a genuine acceptance of their implications.

Whereas the psychoanalytic groups, the English School and the Viennese School are interested in the adjustment of the individual to his society and thus do not specifically imply the need for social reform as such, the sex-economic point of view calls for wide social changes. Children who have been allowed to develop freely in all their functioning, who are free of inhibitions and fear and thus have strong constructive impulses, will want to create a world in which they will be happy and one where constructive impulses can find expression. Whereas psychoanalysis, stressing the importance of the parent-child relationship as basic to normal growth in all societies, aims toward adjustment within the family group, sex-economy minimizes the role of the family as essential to the healthy development of the child and would prevent the child from neurotic family ties. There can be little doubt that a happy experience in "The Children's Place," if prolonged, can create conflict between the usual home and school. The problem here is whether conscious conflict between child and parents may not be preferable to a subsequent internalized conflict due to neurotic inhibitions.

THE CHILD AND HIS STRUGGLE

By LUCILLE BELLAMY DENISON

The Children's Place was an experimental all-day nursery school conducted during the past year for youngsters from ten months to five years of age. The pedagogical approach was based on the biological findings of Wilhelm Reich, under whose training the director of the school became acquainted with sex-economy. Staff members had, in varying degrees, knowledge of sex-economy, the sex-economic schools throughout Europe, and had studied particularly the publications of A. S. Neill and Paul Martin. During the year, as director, I registered approximately forty children. The majority of the parents of these children were professional people, none of whom had any previous experience with the educational theory on which the practice of the school was based. The only entrance restriction maintained was the impossibility of admitting a child who had been brought up in a strictly authoritarian home environment.

Staff meetings and personal conferences with teachers were held as often as necessary. If a teacher was confronted with a specific problem, I would meet with her daily, perhaps several times during the day, until the difficulty of the situation was alleviated. During these talks, not only the children's problems were discussed, but also the character structure of the teacher, her relationship to the children, the parents, the city officials, and associates both within and outside of the school. This was all part of teacher training.

Parent-Teacher meetings were held monthly. Few lectures were prepared. The general form of these meetings was open forum. A wide variety of reactions on the part of the parents toward the school prac-

tice was manifested at these times. If I believed a parent to be antagonistic toward the policies of the school, I suggested that the child be withdrawn, because an irrational conflict might be created in the youngster between school and home. Most often the parent's reaction to such a proposal was: "Yes, I have thought of taking my child out, but whenever I suggest it, the child begs to be allowed to remain at school. Even though I don't agree with you at times, there must be something you have that makes the children love the school so much."

Because it is felt that many stimulating questions arose both during staff and parent-teacher meetings and from the many educators who visited our school, and because it is believed that similar questions are in the minds of many who are interested in specific handling of day-to-day behavior patterns among children, I have attempted here to answer some of these questions as I might answer them in direct conversation, including, also, some of the background for which specific suggestions are offered.

DESTRUCTIVE IMPULSES

Problem: Two and a half year old Arlene wants to hit someone as soon as she comes to school in the morning, and will single out the first available child. As soon as Joan arrives, Arlene begins to bother her in one way or another. This may continue all through the morning. Joan, who is the same age as Arlene, is Arlene's particular target of attack. Arlene seems to love Joan, but is continually repulsed in her efforts to mother Joan, who looks upon these attempts with resentment. In her frustration, Arlene turns against her love object.

Arlene delights in taking toys away from the other children, but I feel it is not so much that she wants the toy as the attention the situation arouses. When Arlene hits, she does not like to be hit back, but that a child will do so if Arlene is the aggressor, seems to make no impression on her. She likes to dress or undress the children, have them sit in her lap, or rock them, but is usually repulsed. She can play very happily by herself or in a group until the urge comes to bother someone.

Since I observed Arlene engaging in these destructive practices upon the first day of her attendance in school, and since in a discussion with our director, I find that Arlene's mother had noticed this behavior since the child was about eighteen months of age, I conclude that some problem at home has been unwisely handled, and, therefore, she can not help being as she is. I do not feel as though I want to punish her, and yet, I am at a loss as to what to do.

Discussion: My first impression of Arlene was that of a well-finished doll who had learned that she was irresistible if she cried ma-ma in just the right tones. She had a false, social smile, and calculated all her movements so that she would make an ever so graceful impression.

From my discussions with the mother, I find that Arlene is a child who has always been the center of attraction. Arlene's father is an actor, her mother is a singer. Arlene has been "taught" to sing, not simple songs which delight a youngster, but difficult arias, completely beyond the interest and comprehension of a child, as an ego-satisfaction for the parents. When Arlene came in, she would repeat, perhaps ten times within half an hour, Good morning Mrs. D., good morning Mrs. D., good morning Mrs. D., merely to attract individual response from an adult. I realized that at home she was the cute little pet of her parents and their friends. At school she was treated as a person in a

group, nothing less, nothing more. Arlene could not bear this situation. She would strike out at the other children whom she observed as sharing the interest of the teacher, interest which she believed should have been directed only toward herself. Arlene soon learned that hitting brought cries from the victim, which then brought the teacher, and in turn brought attention to Arlene. This provided a splendid method: hit, and you will be important. I mention this mechanism as the first that came to my attention in the case of Arlene's hitting difficulty. I will later discuss two other reasons which I feel to be of superior importance.

This mechanism repeated itself at the school for about two weeks, until Arlene found that there were other ways to attract attention, in functioning which also gave her sincere pleasure. When she would put some paint on a piece of paper, somebody would say: "Those colors are fun, Arlene." When she would pick up a new song, the music teacher would give her a favorable comment. When she would help to create a snow man, someone would say: "That's fine." Arlene began to display destructive impulses much less frequently. The improvement increased with her placement in school for full day care instead of partial attendance.

Within the last week, two circumstances occurred simultaneously. Arlene, due to the family's financial situation, has again been placed on the half day school schedule, and her mother is looking for a job. Again, from a new direction, Arlene feels that she does not receive enough attention, although, from what I understand of the home situation, she receives enough of her parents' time to make for satisfaction in a healthy child. However, as is invariably evident, it is not the amount of time spent with a child, but exactly what takes place during this period that is of importance. The visible outcome of this new situation expresses itself in the fact that Arlene is

once again hitting in order to gain attention from adults.

In viewing the entire case, it is my contention that, from the time Arlene was about twenty months old, she had begun to turn against her own pleasure feeling. Arlene, as all other children, enjoyed approval. This approval was not forthcoming in relation to functions that she enjoyed, such as making noises and moving about in rhythms, but was most lavished upon "musical performances," with which she had no real contact. In discussion with the mother, I also discovered that masturbation, a pleasure function in all healthy children, was not approved but considered a necessary evil. All favorable commendation to the child was displayed on an adult level of social behavior. Arlene's pleasure function was in no way considered. Little by little the child lost contact with her natural feelings, and, since they had brought her only lack of satisfaction, because mother in no way understood them and tossed them aside to superimpose something else, Arlene, too, has learned to toss aside activity which once gave her pleasure.

This loss of contact in Arlene is quite apparent in her play and in her love relationships to the other children. In play she reminds one of the neurotic man who takes a job, sticks to it for a few weeks and quits, only to start another job after a short time, and then quit again. In all his positions he may discharge his duties adequately, but he learns nothing of new value, and receives little real pleasure from these experiences. Inbetween jobs he sits at home and annoys his wife, blaming her for all his misadventure. Arlene, too, because she no longer has sincere contact with her natural feelings, does not realize that the difficulty is within herself, but blames her playmates, and, for this reason, as our teacher observed, she will play for a short period, drop her activity, and create a fracas.

Arlene is not receiving the type of love

she needs at home. Parents who demand of their child the sacrifice of natural functioning cannot, a priori, be capable of a healthy relationship with their child. Much of Arlene's hitting comes from her dissatisfaction in her love need. Her love for her parents is frustrated and manifests itself in a desire to destroy them. Because she is afraid to hit her mother, on the basis of the reproval that will be forthcoming, she has learned to release her destructive impulse by hitting others, but, with her mother, she employs the goading method. For example: Arlene will urinate when out walking with the mother and laugh about it when she knows the mother is terribly annoyed.

The psychic concept, I want to destroy, because I hate, because I am not allowed to function as I feel, becomes part of the muscular structure of the body, and may be clinically observed in Arlene as a tightness of the musculature of the back and neck. Since this painful tension may be partially relieved by activity of the muscles involved, Arlene will strike out with little or no provocation, in order to receive some release. In her report, our teacher observed: She does not like to be hit back, but, that a child will do so if Arlene is the aggressor seems to make no impression on her. We can therefore understand that Arlene's muscular tension must be quite strong, if, in attempting release, she will enter into a situation which she knows by experience will involve unpleasant consequences. ("Kickers," so often discussed in relation to nursery groups, are those children, who, through a different type of historical background, are found to have muscular leg tensions.)

The most important factor in this whole situation is that Arlene has not been approved in her masturbation, but, from what I can gather in talks with the mother, although no threat or force has been used, diversion was the usual method of handling genital interest. Her mother now

never sees Arlene masturbate at home, nor do I at the school. This would indicate either one of two things. First, Arlene has really ceased her masturbatory efforts, or, secondly, she masturbates in secret. In the first instance she would have already strongly armored herself against her own natural feelings in this respect. In the second instance, natural feeling would be surrounded by guilt and fear, which would produce a lack of complete energy release during attempted masturbation.

The result now commences to become evident. Successful masturbation, which would bring about natural release of tension, is denied Arlene. Tension built up in her musculature (particularly in the back and neck) due to parental rejection of a healthy love relationship with the child, plus, lack of contact with a simple way of being, because all approved actions were those on a superficial level from the child's point of view, are the basic factors in Arlene's hitting out at her playmates. Since, due to the character structure of the parents, as already noted, an alteration of their attitude would be impossible outside of a therapeutic situation, and, since I am convinced these parents would not entertain the idea of treatment, the best we can do is to try to help Arlene at the school.

Arlene feels that she needs special attention, and I agree with her. The common pedagogical treatment of the child who constantly seeks attention is to care for his needs, but to give him as little extra attention as possible. In this way, it is believed that the child will outgrow the need. This treatment is accompanied by the observation that, after a period of time, the child will become much less demanding of attention. Therefore an apparently successful result is achieved. Such children do not overcome their need for attention, instead, they suppress the natural feeling that originally gave rise to the need for attention. The attention demand is, indeed,

thereby lessened; however, natural functioning is lessened, too.

What Arlene needed from the time of birth was approval for natural functions. This was not forthcoming, and the need commenced to manifest itself as a demand for attention, attention for any action that would bring approval. What we must first do for Arlene now, is to give approval, in any rational way possible, with or without provocation on her part, so that the demand will lessen in its insistence. When Arlene hits another child, we must not reprove her. We must produce a reasonable explanation for the victim, and, immediately give Arlene special attention, privately if possible. Take her in a separate room, talk to her, and play games that can give her real enjoyment. Accompany her actions by a normal degree of praise. Hold her in the lap, rock her, fondle her, sing to her. Arlene has constantly displayed a need for such affection, and likes to be rocked for periods of over an hour. Her need for a great deal of affection manifests itself in her giving an excess of affection to her playmates. As observed by our teacher, she does not merely express her love for the children, she bothers them with displays of tenderness. She gives them "too much," as an overcompensation for her own lack. Our teacher has said: Arlene seems to love Joan, but is continually repulsed in her efforts to mother Joan . . . she likes to . . . have them sit in her lap, rock them, but is usually repulsed.

Give Arlene as much active, healthy love as she requires. Give her the lead in conversation. Play-act situations that she tells about. Encourage physical movements best suited to her needs. Under this treatment Arlene may begin to have more contact with feelings she experienced before the necessity to armor arose. She may then complain about the lack of parental co-operation. This should be fully and repeatedly explained to her on the basis that father and mother had never really under-

stood what she wanted, not, perhaps, because they wanted to be mean to her, but simply because they did not know. She should be advised that, perhaps, now, she can make them understand.

In any event, we must now be certain to approve all her natural functions. As an adult patient, during the course of vegetotherapy, will reject a hum-drum position, and enter into creative work, will make every effort to re-establish his relationship with his wife on a basis of new insight, and, may finally be forced to leave her out of his own need for a partner with whom he can function in a healthy manner, so, Arlene will refuse activities that give her no real enjoyment, and, with the new feeling of support of her natural way of being, will, in many ways known to children, try to get some enjoyment out of her relationship to her parents. If this attempt with father and mother again fails, Arlene may, out of her need, establish her love relationships in some other direction.

Hitting is not the "disease." It is part of the symptomatology. If we are able to bring Arlene back to contact with her natural pleasure functioning, hitting, caused by neurotic drives, will eventually disappear.

OBSERVE THE PARENT

Problem: A devoted, but severe father was putting a snow suit on his three-year-old son. Jerry kept scratching his nose, and rubbing it with the back of his hand, until his father, in exasperation, said: "What are you doing that for," at the same time jerking the boy's hand away. I suggested that perhaps the boy's nose was itching. The father looked annoyed and changed the focus of his attention.

Such behavior is characteristic of many parents who fail to understand that a child has feelings and sensations to which he reacts directly and spontaneously. For a three-year-old to scratch his nose, wriggle if his clothes itch or otherwise respond to

physical stimuli, is entirely natural. Children are much more sensitive to such stimuli than most adults, and for a child to refrain from wriggling or scratching is often a torturing experience. One should first inquire carefully and gently into the causes of a child's behavior, and, if possible, remove the source of discomfort. As children grow older, they can be told, simply, that it is not generally considered polite to scratch during certain social situations, but that they may go elsewhere to do so. Also, as the children grow older, such situations will appear less acute, since the youngster will be able to remove the cause by himself.

The father in this case was too concerned lest his child fall below certain formal standards of courtesy and breeding which are generally accepted among adults. However, it is an error to apply such standards to children. In treating Jerry with so little consideration, the father demonstrated a lack of that real feeling and understanding of another human being which can alone form a sound basis for courtesy and mutual well-being.

Discussion: Such a reaction on the part of the parent is an insight into what measures the father might employ if he found Jerry touching his penis, instead of his nose. The teacher may learn much more concerning home treatment of the child from a little incident of this type than from an hour's conference with the parent. In helping Jerry at school, it is important to know, among other things, how his masturbation is handled at home. Upon direct query the father might assert: "Oh, we always say it is all right." This might be an illusion on the part of the parent. He would not be deliberately telling a lie. He may truly believe that he does not interfere with the child's self-satisfaction. However, a parent's general attitude toward socially accepted forms would be a "lead" to his attitude toward masturbation.

SELF-REGULATED BREAST FEEDING

Problem: Marie's mother began to nurse Marie as soon as the doctor and hospital routine would permit her. She loved every moment of the nursing experience, and she knew that Marie loved it too, and thrived with the warmth and love she received. But Marie's mother wants to have her next baby at home. She thinks that even if a woman is so structured that she cannot, or does not wish to nurse her baby, the general hospital routine makes it almost impossible to treat the baby fairly. She is sure that a child which has been fed continuously in the fetal state in the mother's warm uterus, is miserable lying alone in a cold, hard hospital basket, and being fed at other people's convenience. She wants her baby close beside her. She is sure that it will soon develop a feeding schedule of its own.

She used to keep Marie with her at feeding periods as long as she could, but the baby was miserable in the hospital nursery and cried almost constantly unless someone picked her up. After they were at home, Marie was perfectly happy. When friends would worry because Marie's feeding was not "timed," the mother used to say that she and the baby were both so comfortable and happy, that she just let the baby suck all she wanted to, until she stopped of her own accord. However, Marie's mother did have occasional misgivings. Every once in a while she wondered if she were doing the right thing.

Discussion: Self-regulation should begin immediately upon birth of the child. We do not find animals pushing their newborn away from the udder, and permitting them to suck only at intervals of three hours. No more should a human mother determine the time interval of the baby's feeding urge. Sometimes the baby appears to cry for the breast, desiring merely contact with the mother. If the baby is permitted this necessary contact, and not kept

away from the mother all day, allowed to visit the mother only during specified feeding times, he will soon announce his own eating hours. He will establish them for himself, out of his own need, and no regime superimposed by nurse or doctor, grandmother or aunt, can improve upon the suckling's schedule. Many of the rules surrounding infant breast feeding are based on the antisexual structure of the individuals concerned who feel, e.g., that the breast is nasty, that the mother derives pleasure and that is disgusting, etc.

Often a newborn will continue to suck at the breast long after he is full and the flow of milk has ceased for that particular feeding period. Marie's mother was quite right in letting her suck all she wanted to until the baby stopped of her own accord. From Marie's mother's attitude toward this function, we might make the hypothesis that she is a rather healthy person, possessed of healthy breasts. A healthy breast gives a great deal of oral satisfaction to an infant, aside from food nourishment. It provides organotic contact between two organisms. If this breast, this source of contact, should be removed at feeding time before the baby has had his fill of pleasure, he will cry, be disappointed, and, eventually may refuse the breast entirely, out of fear of its being drawn away from him before he has derived his complete satisfaction. Such treatment develops an immediate feeding problem, and the groundwork for a neurosis.

Marie is an example of a self-regulated, breast-fed child. As we know her today, at three years of age, she is that rare youngster who can go to sleep in complete relaxation anytime she decides she is tired, and in any spot where she feels at home. She enjoys her food, her play, and derives satisfaction from her love relationships.

FREE CHOICE FOR THE CHILD

Problem: Everything about Jane suggests an extremely conventional upbringing. Al-

ready, at three years of age, she seems, to a great degree, the product of what her family wants her to be, rather than what she would like to be. As a result she is much too well-behaved, shows very little initiative, and gives the impression of being very inhibited. She enters so little into group activity that she is rarely the object of destructive impulses on the part of the other children. However, the other day, during some rough-and-tumble play, she was inadvertently hit. Jane did not hit back, or take it as a matter of course, but immediately wanted "to go home and stay home." Her tendency is to run away from, rather than meet an issue. She plays almost entirely by herself, and does not seem to know how, or even desire to make friends. She plays with the same toys, day after day, and has to be helped to try anything new. The first encouraging sign I have seen in her since she entered the school two weeks ago, was to put her feet up on the lunch table. Her whole expression revealed that it was one of the few times she had ever dared rebel. I had to stop her because all the other children followed suit, but have wondered since if this was one of those times the group should have been sacrificed for the individual. Also, is there any point in trying to break down this conventional upbringing when her home environment is so strongly in favor of it?

Discussion: In a group where the sex-economy of the child is given prime consideration, it is out of question to condone the functioning of a sick society, when the natural functioning of a child is at stake. I can not condone compulsive work, or compulsive marriage which are approved and applauded by society every day. No more can I, as an educator, concerned, not in the neurotic machinations of our society, but in the natural functioning of children, allow a youngster to believe that I agree with any force that disapproves his healthy impulses.

It is not my intent to break down conventional upbringing. However, as a person working with children, I feel it my responsibility to provide an opportunity for the child, whereby, he, with free-will, may make his own choice of how he wishes to live, either by adapting completely to the forms of our present culture, or making some compromise with it, thereby losing all or part of his natural functioning, or by rejecting irrational demands of this society, and maintaining his ability to live in the way that he knows to be sweet and satisfactory. For example, among the children we know, let us consider Sophie and Stanley, who are both three and a half years old.

Sophie came to us four months ago from a somewhat rigid, over-protective home environment. She was an extremely uncoordinated, rather unappealing child. Sophie had a vacant, rather stupid expression. Her skin lacked lustre. Her hands hung from her arms, which hung from her shoulders. She gave one the impression of a marionette. If one would pull a string, an arm or a leg might move, otherwise she would just sit, like the proverbial bump on a log. Sophie could sit in the middle of the room by the hour, surrounded by possessions brought from home and chosen from the school toy shelves. If a child approached her, either to take one of her play things, or to make friendly overtures, Sophie would scream, hold on to her whole collection, and cause such a general commotion that teacher intervention was necessary.

Little by little, through Sophie's actions, and by discussions with, and observations of the parents, we began to understand the child's problems. Here was a child who, from her earliest days, had never been permitted contact with, and had been frightened in relation to, anything she wanted. It was always, "Don't touch that. It will hurt you. Don't do that, you will fall." The mother had a germ phobia, and

had denied Sophie playmates on this basis. As a result of this type of upbringing, Sophie was dull and obedient.

We began to show the child that there was another way to live. Natural impulses could be carried through. As would be expected, during the course of these months, many of the impulses came out in a perverted form. For example, in learning to demand her own rights, Sophie takes on the role of authoritarian mother. We bring it out in the group, and play-act. I become the little girl who doesn't want to be put to bed. (I know that Sophie doesn't like to go to bed as a protest.) I lie down on a table and kick my legs. Sophie screams, "Go to bed." I cry, "I don't want to, I don't want to." The children become an audience. One little boy rushes over to me and says, "You don't have to go to bed if you don't want to." He has, out of his own fears, and identification with me, taken it seriously. But I explain it to him, and soon we are all laughing, Sophie included. Several of the children have, thus, been able to live out this familiar situation. We all see how unnecessary Sophie's authoritarian measures were, when I suddenly announce, "Oh, well, I am tired. I guess I will just go to sleep." This is all part of the learning process, and Sophie has learned a great deal. She has learned enough to teach her parents by making rational demands of them, backed by the support she has received at the school. She thereby is able to teach her parents in a practicable manner, whereas I could have discussed theory with these same parents all year, and never have achieved the same results. Sophie has almost made her choice. I know which direction she will try to follow. She will try to function naturally, not because I push her, but out of her own experience and her own need.

Stanley, on the other hand, will, I believe, choose to stand by his conventional upbringing. To the casual observer, Stanley is good, easy to manage, open to sugges-

tion; he plays with the other children and talks very well for his age. What is wrong with this picture?

Stanley is too good, to the point of being self-righteous. If he is on the verge of becoming embroiled in a quarrel, Stanley is not aggressive, immediately seeks adult aid, and prides himself upon not fighting it out for himself. "Wasn't that nice of me?" is his constant claim. It is too easy for the children to sway Stanley's actions. He gives up toys, games and opinions much too readily. Stanley always falls in with a suggestion. He rarely is a leader. His speech is too good. He verbalizes. One gets the impression that he often talks instead of acting. His speech is much too polite, and seems to be patterned after conventional repartee. He is so, so social. The other day we had a visitor at the school, who was engaged in repairing a broken window pane. The other children were fascinated with the process, but Stanley was uninterested. "Isn't it a lovely day?" he asked the man.

Stanley has a very stretched, smooth, polished-looking skin, particularly in the region of his forehead. He seldom moves his eyes without moving his head. His eyes have an exceedingly cautious, frightened expression. When he made his first visit to the school, instead of inspecting the toys, watching or joining in with the children, or asking me questions, he merely sat, very primly, on the edge of a chair in my conference room, and "behaved."

Stanley's parents are "modern." They attend a "modern" church, they engage in "modern" social activities, they read "modern" books on child psychology. They have learned, very well, the lesson of how to give a child enough rope so that he may hang himself. Stanley is the product of a home wherein little wishes are conceded. A child may splash in a puddle, he may have his own friends to a party, he may select, out of his wardrobe, which suit he wants to wear, but, when it comes to vital

issues, the need for healthy love, masturbation, self-regulation, Stanley is denied. However, since the parents so often concede to his desires, Stanley becomes bewildered, and doubts, with strong assurance, the demands of his natural impulses. "You see," his parents tell him, "we allow you to do everything. When we ask you to do something, then you should do as we say. It is all for your own good." Such a line of approach sounds quite reasonable to a child who has never been permitted to know the satisfaction of natural impulses.

Yes, I should have allowed Jane to put her feet up on the lunch table. This was her way of saying, at last I can act as I feel. When children have had their natural impulses repressed, we cannot possibly expect them to change from a neurotic to a healthy child, all in one jump. There must be a transition period through which we must help them to find what they are trying to do. In the situation outlined by our teacher, positive action would not have meant sacrificing the group for the individual. It seemed that most of the other children also wanted to put their feet up on the table. Several of them had the same need as Jane. It would have helped the entire group. Lunch time is not a sacred institution. Let the children have some fun. The food can wait a few minutes. A certain amount of tension will be released, and, according to my experience, everybody will eat with more enjoyment. You can explain to the children that we don't always have to put our feet up on the table because we can eat comfortably here without doing so. But, of most import, the children will know that you are on their side, that you, too, know what a torturing experience it is to sit, meal after meal, straight in your chair, like a little lady or gentleman, to mind your manners, and in general to feel painfully uncomfortable. Once the child knows that you are on his side, he will express to you, in a variety of

ways, more of his difficulties, and this is a point of departure for helping him out of his troubles.

During my experience with the Children's Place the greatest obstacle I confronted was irrational arguments and actions of adults who could not bear to condone self-regulation among children. The following are a few examples of the reaction of educators, parents and officials to a school situation wherein children were approved and treated as human beings.

NAP TIME

A regulation of the Department of Health, Day Care Unit, says that every child attending nursery school must take a mid-day nap. This infers that after the noon day meal, all children in preschool must lie on their cots for a one-and-a-half to a two hour period. We found that most of our older children, two to five years of age, did not wish to sleep after lunch. Those who wanted to rest were given the opportunity. Those who obviously did not need the sleep were allowed to continue with their games according to general or individual interest. One day we were visited by the city representatives as part of their routine observation of private schools. I was severely reprimanded for breaking the law, for allowing a child to decide whether, he, at a specified time wished to lie down on a cot for the official minimum time of ninety minutes. Also, I was warned that unless I instituted a total, specific rest hour, they would not provide me with authorization.

To be sure, the basis for such a law is valid. Educators find that most of the children become "over-stimulated" during a long morning of activity. They become irritable, fretful, and show all signs of fatigue. Our school did not lack such youngsters. Especially were these symptoms observable for a few days, and in some cases a few weeks after registration. However, in general, after a short period

of attendance a marked change was noticeable. Visitors would remark continually, and in pleased surprise, upon the relaxed, natural feeling of the children. Our part-time art, dance and craft teachers, who divided their activities among various schools commented that our children were "like a breath of fresh air." The children were at ease with themselves. General "over-stimulation" was rare.

We found that the children who tired easily were those whose total energy function was blocked. Jenny, for example, was troubled with a severe masturbation difficulty. She continually attempted to gain sexual satisfaction by rocking on the floor. She was tortured with guilt feeling if she would touch her genital with her hands. At times she was apathetic, her eyes would become dull, and deep yellow rings would appear under her lower lids. From such a state, on a moment's notice, she could become exceedingly excitable. She would be feverish, sweat, flush and exaggerate all her movements. I will further mention the case of this child. Suffice it to say here that, when Jenny first came to us, she required not one, but two or three naps a day. With just the commencement toward a solution of her problem, Jenny began to lose her symptoms of "over-stimulation." She no longer required frequent rests. As a matter of fact, she refused them. Thus, as we observed in Jenny's case, and in the behavior of several other children who came into the school, the child who was truly over-stimulated definitely required a long rest period, but, when the total condition of the child commenced to fall into a more healthy pattern, a protracted rest hour was unnecessary.

I continually hear a common complaint from teachers working in all types of nursery schools: "The only period I dread during the day is rest hour. There are always a few children who sleep, but the others are continually bobbing up and down. They squirm, they whimper, they

become irritable with the inactivity. In some cases it is actually torture for a child to lie down and be quiet when he wants to be up and doing things. Why must we, day after day, force these children into a rigid pattern when it is perfectly obvious that they want to move about." Many adults do not understand the keen aliveness and healthy behavior of children. Often high spirit is labeled "over-stimulation." There is a continual attempt to quiet children, force them to conform to the stiff patterns of our culture. Nap time is often used as an excuse to enforce such concepts.

Some mothers insist that their children take a nap, even though the child weep, refuse, and be perfectly miserable. Marie's mother, for example, was adamant. Marie was five years old. She hated naps. However, her mother had a sleeping phobia. She would lie awake during the night, hour after hour, unable to close her eyes. If she could not sleep, she was going to see to it that Marie did. She forced Marie to lie on her bed two hours during the day, and to go to bed early at night. She asked us to continue this practice at the school. After considering the situation for several days, I felt it necessary, for the wellbeing of the child, to refuse the parent's request. The mother argued, gossiped about our "radical" practices, and yet, on the other hand, disregarded my suggestion that perhaps she would prefer to withdraw Marie from the nursery.

We found the most comfortable solution for the "rest period or no rest period question" to be the following. A cot was usually open in the play room. More cots were available when the children requested them. Thus, when one child was tired, or several wanted to take a rest, whether it be the first of the morning, the last hour of the day, or after lunch, the children could regulate the rest function themselves. In actuality, such a solution appears

so simple, one may be rightly surprised to find that it is not common practice.

I believe that our City Day Care Unit is doing excellent work in demanding, establishing and maintaining suitable physical conditions in schools caring for young children, and in attempting to further what they believe to be more "modern" methods of education. However, through lack of knowledge, they may commit a fatal error by enforcing the standard concepts for emotional behavior development, and blocking the possibility for self-regulation, not merely in this specific consideration of rest hour, but in the total functioning of children.

TRAINING FOR CLEANLINESS

Little Jody was ten months old when he came to our nursery. His face had the piquant quality of a pixie, but his eyes were often sad and his face was drawn. His skin did not have a pinkish glow. It was somewhat sallow, with a yellow tinge. He was very bright for his age, able to think well, and to remember, but his general expression was sadness. His smile was gleeful, almost witty, but he smiled only with his eyes. His mouth rarely changed. His lips and jaw were not as yet set in a tense position. The lower portion of his face seemed rather immobile and passive.

Jody's mother had started his toilet training when he was four months old. Somehow she did not feel quite right about it, but the child's grandmother convinced her this was the only sane procedure, otherwise, she was warned, the child would form "bad habits" and would be "dirty" for years to come. For six months the mother had varying success with Jody's toilet habits. For a few weeks he would conform and use the toilet. Then, again, he would revert to soiling his diapers. The mother was distraught and nervous in her relationship to the child. Jody was irritable, demanding and subject to frequent colds which started in the

nasal tract and spread to the bronchial tubes.

Upon examination, I found the child to be tense through his neck. His chest was raised in a slight inspiratory attitude. His buttocks were not especially stiff. However, as I was observing the child, we were both talking and laughing. He was relaxed. A few hours later he had the urge to defecate. He commenced to scream, not the short, panting cries of anxiety, but long, full-throated yells of anger. His face was flushed. His body sweated. He pushed his pelvic region up and down. His buttocks and legs were rigid!

What harm and misery may be caused through good intentions and lack of knowledge! Children throughout our cultured society are being forced into premature toilet training and are therefore being diverted from healthy pleasure functioning. With very few exceptions, every child I have known who has had masturbation conflict was coaxed, cajoled or threatened into cleanliness before his first birthday. I found the pelvic region and legs of all such children to be hard and stiff. In my work in vegetotherapeutic gymnastics with adults, the complaint was common: "I can not move my legs freely." "I have pains in my buttocks and feel stiff there." "It is impossible for me to move my pelvis without moving my legs." Invariably these pupils would recall what they had experienced as brutality in their early toilet training, and their rigidity that had derived therefrom. All these adults, therefore, were incapable of experiencing genital pulsation, of experiencing pleasure in orgasm. Innumerable cases of this nature have been discussed in our literature.

I have had many interviews with parents who decided against sending their young ones to the "Children's Place" because I refused to force toilet training. Such parents were indignant, often disgusted, and claimed that our "theories" were based on

laziness. Those parents who were able to accept our point of view were increasingly pleased. Our laundry bills were high but our children were happy, and learned what the toilet was for with ease and comfort.

In the babies' nursery we used small pots, pottie chairs and toilet seats. No child was ever forced by threat, punishment, word or expression. Diapers were changed as a matter of course, not as a chore on the part of the nurse, but as a pleasurable experience for the child. The baby was washed, powdered, patted and loved. Wee-wee and doo-doo, the most common expressions used by the children in the nursery were adopted by the nurse. Vessels for urination were always in clear view. They were kept immaculate and fresh smelling, and it became a game for the children to crawl over or walk up to one and say wee-wee. An untrained baby would watch with interest the purpose of this pot and was soon asking to use it himself. When a child expressed interest in sitting down on the toilet, by pointing to the seat and saying doo-doo, by pulling at his diapers or pants, or by taking the nurse's hand or skirt and drawing her in the direction of the toilet, then, and only then, was he assisted in trying out this new experience. During these first attempts a child might urinate or defecate. Sometimes the request was merely an expression of curiosity. Some youngsters, after their first experience, began to form the habit. Others forgot about it for a time and then tried again. The choice was left to the child completely.

Our babies who had not been subjected to previous severe training discarded their diapers between twelve and sixteen months of age. Several infants came to us with a history of early, forced training. These children had "relapses." It was not until they were two and three years, in one case four years of age, that they were able to use the toilet consistently.

I believe that toilet training of children

in a nursery, where it is a matter of group learning, where one child observes the other, facilitates the situation. However, toilet training in the home environment has proved equally successful as far as the happiness of the child is concerned. The only difference I have observed is that the child generally learns the use of the toilet a few months later in his life.

MASTURBATION

According to our experience we find that all children masturbate. We consider this pleasure function to be a basic need for the healthy development of a child. In the practice of our school, masturbation was not merely condoned, but genuinely approved. When I say all children masturbate I mean that in the emergence from the oral phase, and often parallel with it, all infants will discover pleasure in handling the genital. Occasionally a baby will commence to touch his genital even a few days after birth.¹ It is only after this function has been denied them by threat, punishment, diversion, or by one of the other manifold methods suggested by "authorities" and condoned by parents and teachers, that we find children either masturbating in secret or entirely inhibiting the impulse.

Jenny has already been introduced to our reader as the child who required so many naps. She was four years old when registered in the school. She remained with us for three months. It is difficult to convey the pathos in this child's face. When one looked at her one did not receive a positive impression from her body in general as is the case with a healthy child. The body was passive, usually limp. But her face—her face seemed to carry the misery of the entire world. Her head was rather long, an exaggerated oval. All her features were drawn down. The color of her skin was yellow, sometimes almost brownish. Although she would actually cry only a few

¹ Cf. Saxe, Felicia: A Case History. *This Journal* 4, 1943, 39-71.

times a day, the face appeared as though it were always crying. Jenny was an ugly, bedraggled child, and yet when she smiled she was beautiful. Her whole face would take on a rosy light. Her body would move pleasurably. Her voice which usually had a whimpering quality would develop a clear tone. The two things which made Jenny happy were special loving kindness and the occasional visits with her father.

Jenny came from a home in which the father and mother had separated after several years of quarreling and bitterness. Jenny had a keen sensitivity. She reacted immediately to an emotional situation in both adults and children. She was exceedingly aware of sadness and would attempt to comfort anybody whose misery was either obvious or hidden. I was impressed by the feeling that she had suffered greatly from the incompatibility of her parents. The mother told me that Jenny constantly tried to bring about a reunion between the parents. When the father would visit the home in which Jenny and her mother lived, she would repeatedly urge the mother to sit on the father's lap. The mother considered Jenny a burden and a nuisance, and reprimanded the father for "indulging" the child when he would express love and concern for Jenny. The child often confided to me that she would prefer to live in her father's home, but I knew this would never be achieved, since the court had awarded custody of the child to the mother, and the mother was pleased to use this device as a means of wounding her former husband.

Added to Jenny's background of emotional upheaval was a history of masturbation prohibition. During her second and third years Jenny had spent the summers with her grandmother who had scolded her whenever she touched her genital. The mother was more "modern." She used the method of diversion. Jenny had evidently experienced the primal scene. Her only means of attempting to gain satisfaction

was lying down on the floor or on a cot, face down, and pushing her pelvis up and down in hard mechanical movements. "This," Jenny told me, "was the way her father did it."

I made an attempt to help the child in private therapeutic sessions. The first hour revealed intense fear of touching her genital with her hand. We discussed this for about fifteen minutes. She asked for a blanket, and proceeded to masturbate with her hands under the cover but above her clothes. She still was afraid of direct contact with her genital. She continued for about five minutes with increasing tension, flushing of the face, light perspiration and increased movement of the entire body. Finally she relaxed and rested. Soon she commenced to talk to me in low, easy tones, about her games and her toys. After a few minutes she asked to join her playmates. When she did so, I observed that she enjoyed the children in a manner which had never before been possible to her. She laughed, she suggested new games and was altogether delighted with her newly found capacity. This continued about two or three hours until her mother came to take her home, at which time she screamed, fell down on the floor, kicked her legs and rolled about, as was her general reaction upon seeing her mother after a day in school.

The next three therapeutic hours took place at lunch time. Jenny was pleased with this special attention in the two of us having our meal together, separated from the others. She rapidly gained confidence and talked compulsively about her troubles. She was exceedingly confused concerning the love relationships in her home environment. So many adults fall into the error of assuming that children understand nothing of adult life. Jenny was only four but she discussed with me observations which showed she understood the domination of her grandmother over her mother, the infantile basis of her father's relation-

ship to his father, and the extra-marital associations of both her parents. Sexual relationships had become to her situations of fear. She had witnessed in them nothing stable or healthy. This carried over to her own sexual feelings, and had influenced her achievement of satisfactory masturbation.

During this period of therapeutic sessions Jenny had already begun to improve. I felt it might be of benefit to the child to discuss the entire matter with the mother in order to enlist her support. I arranged for an interview. The mother commenced by telling me that she was so pleased with Jenny's improvement. The child appeared so much more "easy-going" and was much more comfortable to live with. I felt encouraged and told the mother of my observations and practise during the short time Jenny had been at the school. The mother was suddenly indignant and horrified. Her guilt feelings concerning the child completely clouded her argument. She insisted that Jenny's difficulty had nothing to do with a masturbation conflict, rather it was all based on the failure of the father to provide stability in the home. I assured her that I believed the dissatisfaction of the adults in her environment caused Jenny pain, but that if she were able to dissociate their sexual fears from her own, that is, if she were aided in her efforts toward healthy masturbation, the child's entire functioning would improve and she would be better able to sustain the rational disappointment which evolved from the unhappiness of her parents. No explanation could convince the mother and she left my office in an angry and spiteful state of mind.

The next day Jenny came to school as usual. When she called for Jenny, the mother told me, in an exceedingly brash manner, that she had decided to withdraw Jenny from the school, effective from that moment. She gave me no opportunity

to prepare the child for the sudden separation from the school.

I later learned from our parents and teachers that this mother gossiped about the terrible practises at the school. She declared that we taught the children to masturbate.

HEALTHY CHILDREN SUFFER

The following story derives from my observation of a child during this past summer. Jimmy did not attend The Children's Place. His father and mother are the only parents discussed in this article who were acquainted with sex-economic upbringing of children.

Jimmy, who is almost four years old, is a self-assertive, independent youngster. For the past year and a half he had been living among a group of children at a boarding school where the rights of children are given a relatively fair recognition. This past summer Jimmy's parents removed him from the school and took him to live on the outskirts of a small New England village. Jimmy enjoyed his new environment—the trees, a lake, the stars, the learning of new skills such as swimming, man-aging the boat, feeding the fire, and fixing the water pipes. He repeatedly expressed the desire to live in the new home forever and ever and never return to the city. Then Jimmy met the emotional plague in human structure.

NAKEDNESS

Jimmy enjoyed running around without any clothes. Since their home was somewhat secluded, the parents believed that a little naked boy would not give serious offense, and they did not wish to deprive the child of his desire to walk about the house and the grounds unclothed. However, Jimmy soon began to learn that strangers passing by were disturbed if he did not wear pants. "Why do they tell me to put something on?" he would ask.

One morning five-year-old Jessie came

to visit. Jimmy had just gotten out of bed. He rushed downstairs with no clothing, happily displaying a ten-cent piece. "Look what I have, Jessie. I'll buy you an ice cream cone." Jessie averted her eyes from Jimmy in disgust and fear. "Go put some clothes on, Jimmy," she admonished in a moralistic tone, and ran away from him. "She don't want ice cream," said Jimmy, amazed. He had come out to her in a sweet and generous manner, and he felt somehow rebuffed.

FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT

After Jimmy had been in his new home about two months he decided he would like to walk the mile and a half into town, on his own, to buy some candy and chewing gum. Jimmy asked his father if he could go. The father said yes. "Then give me some of your money." With the coins in his pocket Jimmy was off on an exciting new experience. But Jimmy soon learned that people, especially middle-aged ladies, cannot bear to find independence in a young child. Whenever they would see him out walking alone they would tell him, "Go home little boy, go home."

"Those people are so silly," Jimmy told his parents, with a tremor in his voice. They always say to me, where is your mother, little boy, you mustn't run away from your house. So I just tell them, you go away you dumb bitch."

It was patent that Jimmy was hurt and bewildered by people misunderstanding his motives and attempting to fetter his movement. After explaining to him that there are many people who do not realize what children like to do, Jimmy's mother gave the boy a letter to put in his pocket-book, and told him if he were out walking and people pestered him, insisting that he go home, he could show them the note, which said that this child's parents permitted him to roam around unescorted. Jimmy seemed relieved to have the extra protection in his pocket. The parents felt

the misery of knowing that their child needed such assistance in order to maintain freedom of movement in his environment.

"PEOPLE LAUGH FUNNY"

"Why do people laugh funny?" Jimmy asked his parents one day. "Not you," he said to his mother, "and not Daddy and not me, but everybody laughs funny." He gave an imitation of the false, embarrassed social cackle of a sexually repressed female. Then Jimmy commenced walking around with stiff steps, jerking his arms, making his hands hang limp and contorting his eyes and nose and mouth into all kinds of unappealing faces. He was acting out the different gestures and expressions he had felt in neurotic people with whom he had been in contact, people who lived in the town, tourists and contemporaries. Immediately after this display he reverted to infantile behavior, sucked his father's thumb, crawled, screwed up his eyes so that they were open just a tiny bit and whimpered the painful complaint of the misunderstood, bewildered baby. Intermittently he would bark like a dog in anger and resentment.

This is a reaction that an otherwise relatively healthy child can produce from contact with a sick society.

"SILLY PEOPLE GET EVERYTHING"

For several days Jimmy repeated his "silly" contortions and movements. Finally his parents were given further insight into the basis of this behavior. "Silly people get everything they want," he told them. Jimmy had begun to assume the silliness in order to avoid social disapproval. The parents began to understand that Jimmy had observed a negative response, in his social environment, to his natural impulses, but that his playmates did not receive a scolding when they were silly concerning the same impulses. For example, the parents learned from Jimmy that interest in

Jessie's going to the toilet were grounds for severe reproof on the part of the little girl's mother, but silly "shit from your ass" discussions, in secret, among the children was the accepted procedure. It became necessary for Jimmy's parents to explain to him the sickness that is bred in most human beings and to help him distinguish between rational and irrational motives in people. They encouraged him to give credence to his own way of being. They explained to him that silly people did not really get what they wanted, that their very silliness prevented them from being sincerely happy. As a result Jimmy's imitations and characterizations became less frequent, and when he did use them their content appeared patent to him. He would laugh and say, "That's silliness."

"SHE'LL SPANK ME OVER HER CHOKE"

Jessie's mother was a bitter woman with a meek mouth and crafty eyes. She was only thirty-three years old and had already born six children who swarmed over the tiny house in which the family lived. She had been brought up in a small village where everybody's actions were public knowledge. She had never known healthy freedom. She constantly screamed at her own brood and regarded them with hate and disgust. She was jealous and avaricious and could not see happiness in others. Jimmy, only by innocently following his own, easy-going patterns was a direct challenge to her. If she saw him swimming without clothes she scolded him. If he hugged Jessie, she scolded him. If he laughed, if he walked, if he ran in a natural manner, she would find some excuse to reprove him.

Jimmy began to recognize her hate for him. He refused to visit his friends in her home. He became anxious if it were necessary to pass her house on the way to town. He developed a rational fear of this woman. In his desire to explain to his

parents what he felt for this mother, he opened his mouth, took some short gasping breaths and said, "I don't want to go there. She'll spank me over her choke." He had the feeling that the woman wanted to spank him and choke him, to crush him, and it all came out as one expression.

How could the parents advise Jimmy? They could not tell him his analysis was incorrect. What he said was actually true. The best thing they could do was to bring him more frequently into the company of the few adults they knew who had a more basic understanding of children. But Jimmy had become wary. He began to say, "I don't like anybody."

NIGHTMARE

One night Jimmy woke up from his sleep crying in terror, "Go away, go away, go away." It was several minutes before his parents could comfort him sufficiently to hear about the cause of his fright. "Jessie's daddy says he will throw sharp stones at me," he cried out, and again fell into his terror.

Whether Jessie's father had actually threatened Jimmy, or whether, just by being the mean, petty, sly person he was Jimmy felt the threat was never ascertained. Whatever the case may have been is not important. The reality existed in that Jimmy had been terrorized. After he became somewhat calm, Jimmy launched forth on a phantasy of what he was going to do to Jessie's father: "I'll cut him up in little pieces. I'll poke out his eyes so he can't see, then when he crosses the street he won't see the cars and they'll run him down. I'll chop him. I'll chop him in his head all the way through his body." It can be seen that Jimmy had felt his natural impulses severely attacked.

Jimmy's father helped him along, and joined in his phantasy. Jimmy felt supported and secure. Here, at least, were his

parents who understood. He went back to sleep feeling safe. The next day, however, he renewed his phantasies. He asked his father to get down the hatchet and give it to him so that he could go into town and chop Jessie's father. They actually did take the hatchet off the shelf, but instead of hunting Jessie's father, Jimmy's father suggested they go out and chop some trees, also explaining to Jimmy why one could not just go out and kill a man. Jimmy entered into the proposed substitute with great glee. As they chopped at trees, Jimmy brought forth further "blood-curdling" phantasies. He was joyful, yelled happily, ran up and down and finally his excitement subsided. Whenever he met Jessie's father after that night of the terror dream, Jimmy expressed his dislike for the man. However, one time when the man and the boy happened to meet at a party, Jimmy was quite sociable and showed no resentment. In any event he no longer feared the man. I believe he recognized him for what he was and merely allowed the matter to stand at that point.

Jimmy's first experience with the "outside world" was a surprise and shock to him. Had his parents been less understanding, had his general behavior patterns been less healthy, these contacts might have proved a contributing factor toward the basis of a neurotic character structure. Our educational problems lie not only among the emotionally suppressed children. Rather, I might say, the healthy children place upon the parent and teacher an even greater responsibility.

The healthy child is a rare child in our culture. Self-regulation is feared by adults and denied to children. Early toilet training and masturbation prohibition are enforced; "good manners," bottle feeding, diversion are approved; and a host of rules and regulations are set up in order to train the child to conform to a sick society. Arlene and Jerry, Marie, Sophie and Stan-

ley, Jane, Jenny, Jody and Jimmy, all have the human right to function according to their own way of being. That this is not their privilege in the standard school and home environment is a situation for consideration among all parents and educators who have a deep-rooted interest in the happiness, well-being and development of children.

Note: The Children's Place is no longer a functioning school. I cannot discuss here the irrational mechanisms which made it necessary for me to close the nursery a year after its inception. However, I believe it would be of value to my colleagues to understand some of the difficulties surrounding the establishment of a school wherein the child is approved. In my experience with the Children's Place the major obstacles to the development of the school were parents, teachers, and city officials.

Parents were either false, uncooperative or openly hostile. Training of teachers remained a constant hardship. The inability of the adult to permit the child to function in a natural fashion created the need for daily discussions and several changes in staff. Some Health Department officials were antagonistic. At first, the ladies who represented this division of the city government were most encouraging to the establishment of the school. As soon as they began to observe our methods, they commenced to insist upon regulating our pedagogical policies, to the extent of demanding changes in staff and basic educational principles. I was called down to their office and had to face a most unpleasant interview during which the director of the Day Care Unit stated that unless I revised my entire approach to the emotional health of children, she would force me to close the school.

These combined conditions of an irrational nature proved to be a tremendous drain upon my energy. Three months be-

fore the proposed termination of the school session for the year, I suffered from a complete depletion of energy. Between that time and the closing day of the school year I decided that it would be the better part

of valor to close the Children's Place until such time as it would be possible to reorganize, forewarned and forearmed, with the knowledge gained during this year of experience.

THE MAKING OF FASCISTS*

By GLADYS MEYER, Ph.D.

At a servicemen's center in a waterfront neighborhood of one of the Eastern seaboard cities a gang of little boys kept trying to crash the dances. When those who slipped in were caught and put out, as was repeatedly the case, if it was decent weather they would climb up on the first floor window sills to watch. The windows were barred, which made climbing easy. When the windows were open the boys would take their revenge by spitting through the windows at the servicemen. When winter came this outlet was denied them. It happened that these boys were Irish and that the center was particularly popular with British merchant seamen. One late autumn Saturday night this gang fell on a young British sailor as he left the dance. Calling him a "goddam Limey," they beat him up and stabbed him. The leader of the gang was nine years old.

In this same neighborhood a gang of adolescent girls has standing warfare with a gang of adolescent boys. They have street battles, punching, kicking and hitting one another with sticks. On one such occasion a neighborhood Jewish girl passed by and the girls turned on her, the boys joining in to help beat her up.

In both these incidents the characteristics of political fascism are obvious. But there are other elements. Basic to the actions in both incidents was the combination of longing, deprivation, and fear of authority. In the first instance the longing to join the crowd, to be part of the warmth, light and fun, and the repeated forcible

ejection played its role. In the second instance the sexual longing of adolescents and the defense against it, gave rise to organized destructiveness. The sexual character of the problem is more immediately recognizable in this incident. A further component, which belongs in the political character of fascism, is that of the socially (neighborhood) approved object of destructiveness, in the first instance the traditional enemy, the British, and in the second the contemporary bogey, the Jew. In individual acts of violence of this sort, unprovoked, against traditional or "foreign" antagonists, we are only one step removed from the larger myth, the more inclusive rationalization, that "freedom" depends on the destruction of specific peoples—now these, now others, depending on the historic time and place. But the success of such myths lies in the character structure of the individuals who respond to and support them. It is important to look at how such character structure is formed in masses of children at the present time.

The specific history of the members of these two gangs is unknown to me, although I have seen the rows of dingy red brick tenements where these children live. From the records of cases known to social agencies in similar neighborhoods in the same and other cities, however, it is possible to reconstruct the pattern in which this kind of character structure develops, to see how suppressive behavior is socially supported, and to offer some critique of what specifically is being done about it.

Although the figure of a nine-year-old gang leader capable of murder is shocking, nine years is a very long time in the life of a child and the critical stages of his development will have been passed and

* Much of the illustrative material for this article was drawn from unpublished student projects at the New York School of Social Work. Direct quotation of cases as a whole, and specific acknowledgment to authors has been avoided to preserve the anonymity of the social agencies from whose records the material was originally gathered.

dealt with, for better or for worse. The following examples are not unusual, but are the run of the mill problems of children in our society. The fact that the illustrations are drawn from segments of the population overburdened with ignorance, economic and emotional deprivation, crowding and insecurity, is only due to the fact that these people are the ones who bring their problems to social workers, and therefore there is some record of them. Any psychiatrically oriented nursery school teacher can bear witness to the fact that the same problems are present in children from other economic strata. The deprivation, suppression and terrorization of children is all about us and goes as unnoticed as the noise and grime of city streets. People are insensitive to it; it is a taken for granted part of the environment.

A young social worker interviewed a hundred mothers at a baby clinic. Feeding problems were the most common complaint of these mothers. In this connection it is interesting to look at some of the attitudes she found toward weaning:

At thirteen months Catherine's mother decided it was time to wean her. So each time the baby approached the breast the mother stuck her with a pin. Catherine cried in fright each time this happened, but soon stopped reaching for the breast. She cried and vomited for a week and refused all food for some time. Now at sixteen months she has temper tantrums and soils against the wall. As her mother correctly, but vindictively, observes, "It's just for spite."

Another mother with a feeding problem observed of her eight-month-old baby, "She has a will of her own that just can't be broken."

One little boy was weaned abruptly at the age of one because of the birth of a new baby. At two he has persistent vomiting which is handled by forced feeding.

Another mother, two months before the arrival of a new baby, abruptly weaned her

little girl from the bottle. She decided it was time for the child "to grow up." She put away all the bottles "for the new baby" and threw out all the nipples the little girl had been using. The child cried bitterly and for several weeks refused milk in any form. The mother commented, "She's just beginning to eat again."

In contrast to these mothers there were those who showed guilt or resentment when the baby was ready to wean himself. "My milk wasn't good enough for him," was one attitude. Naturally the mother who needs to dominate her child in order to have his whole attention and love will resent the first move toward independence. An extreme example of such a need was seen in the case of a highly educated professional woman who was having a child by a man whom she had only known briefly and for whom she did not care. During the later stages of delivery she had a dream under ether in which she was inside the child instead of the child in her.

Among many mothers the fear of another pregnancy adds to or supplants the sense of personal rejection if the baby weans himself, as in large groups of the population the belief persists that conception is not possible during lactation, and the mothers are unable or unwilling to use contraceptives.

Common to both groups of mothers, those who wanted to terminate sucking, and those who wanted to prolong it, is the utter disregard of the child's own needs and rate of growth. That such experiences can leave a permanent mark on a child is either unknown or disregarded not only in the milieu of these mothers but in the majority of those concerned with child development and education. The rank-and-file child educators are still preoccupied with the child's motor responses and how quickly his "concepts" form.

Even more serious than ignorance, however, is the character attitude of the mother whose failure is not so much stupidity as

immature competition with the child. At a clinic the following was observed:

A ten-months-old youngster, who had been waiting with his mother some time, was crying with fatigue and hunger. His mother gave him the bottle which he seized eagerly. After a minute he let it fall, and then began to cry again. He was obviously all tired out. The mother shook him hard, shouting, "I'm hot and tired, too. Here!" She shoved the bottle in the baby's mouth. He choked and screamed and had to be carried out.

One of the worst aspects of feeding difficulties is that of the cultural pressure in some groups to have the baby "eat well," or that a fat baby is a healthy baby. Many mothers at clinic, whose babies show normal weight gains, complain that they are poor eaters because they do not conform to neighborhood standards. We can imagine what such children are subjected to in cajoling and threats to make them eat.

If the feeding problem is a serious one for the baby, the problem of learning to go to the toilet is even more fraught with compulsion, anxiety and terror. The cultural competition as to whose baby is toilet-trained first is a factor. The wish of the mother to be rid of the trouble of diapers and laundry is another. Compulsive cleanliness on the part of mothers is perhaps the strongest factor. The cultural myth that a "regular" bowel movement every day at a regular time is essential, is the outgrowth of this, and is continually plugged by the laxative companies and by many doctors.

For example, one mother gives her child milk of magnesia every day because it *would* be difficult for the baby without it. She doesn't know whether the baby has difficulty or not but is "afraid she would have." A young mother commented about a five-months-old baby: "It's regular every day on the dot. She never disappoints me." Another mother boasted that when her baby was "just a tiny thing" she had her bowel movement on the potty so that the

neighbors and relatives gathered around to admire the sight.

Many mothers, in their attempt to win this battle of too early toilet training, leave their children on the potty for hours at a time. One mother claimed, "I make her sit there for three hours, and she won't, she's so stubborn." Other mothers instill their own attitudes from birth: "I say 'shame' every time she wets"; "I say 'bad boy' every time I have to diaper him."

Spanking and other corporal punishments are not unknown for failure to perform when placed on the receptacle, or for accidents away from it. Naturally all these attitudes have their later harvest of hatred and fear. An extreme example may be provided by a boy of five in a psychiatric hospital who had become mute. In inquiring into the history of this child I was assured by the student social worker that the mother "was not a rejecting mother." I pressed for details of what had happened in the child's history. Finally it was admitted, very casually, that whenever this child wet or soiled the bed his mother rubbed his face in it. At the hospital the child continually saw huge pink toilets on the wall. Major progress was felt to have been made when he was able to enter a bathroom at the hospital alone.

A few children rebel. One mother said, "I trained him at one year. It wasn't easy. He hollered." Another remarked of her eight-month-old child, "She has a stool as soon as I take her off the potty." A few mothers understand the attempt at self-assertion, but take it only as a challenge to fight the battle more forcefully and win. "As soon as I take her up she wets. It's for spite. I know."

The most acute area of difficulty, however, is the attitude toward infantile masturbation. And here mothers' sexual fears and ignorance get least help from professional guidance, if they by any chance seek it. One social worker interviewing a group of mothers felt the subject was so taboo in

our culture that she could not even broach it. If a supposedly trained person has this approach what can we expect from mothers? One student social worker reported that she had been instructed by a psychiatrist treating a seriously ill child to obtain information from the mother on how she had dealt with the child's masturbation. When the query was put, the mother looked blank, then embarrassed, and finally spelled out in a whisper, "you mean s-e-l-f-a-b-u-s-e." She then denied that the child had ever masturbated. For teachers, social workers and parents who have any naturalness about children it is almost impossible to believe what happens in many families.

In one foster home record one reads that the foster mother requires the children to dress and undress in her presence "for fear they will touch themselves." Yet this mother was selected as a suitable substitute parent by an agency presumably qualified to make the selection.

In one child guidance clinic record we read the history of a boy whose mother brandished the bread knife with the threat that she would cut off his penis if he masturbated. An even more serious case of a little boy of six, who had set a number of major fires, revealed that when he was put to bed his grandfather and uncles would stand around the crib snipping at him with the scissors to emphasize that he must not touch his penis. One young social worker at the Children's Court said to the writer with the greatest casualness, "Of course, all the mothers tell their kids they'll cut it off."

When mothers who have not worked through their own infantile conflicts attempt "enlightened" attitudes toward masturbation on the part of their children one finds curious results. One mother encouraged her child to masturbate in her presence and got evident perverse satisfaction in watching. One mother who had been extremely sensible about feeding and

toilet training and very early genital play expressed relief when, after her boy had an abrasion on the glans penis, he no longer felt pleasure in touching his genital. One mother who tried to ignore the fact that her little girl masturbated while eating tied the blankets at night so tightly that the child could not move freely. The mother was very worried about this child's nightmares and continual restless sleep. The child slept well at nursery school during the nap period.

One has only to look at daily actual happenings on a broad scale to realize the reality of children's fears. Not all children can armor themselves against parental threats and actions as one little boy of five did. When his mother told him his penis would drop off if he played with it he replied, "Gee, but you're dumb."

The character attitudes of mothers, or substitute mothers, are the center of the problem whatever the specific behavior of the child may be. One mother reported that when her young baby wakes her by crying in the night she shouts, "Stop or I'll kill you." Or at the other extreme there is the mother whose husband works at night and "frankly" she likes an excuse to take the baby to bed with her. Or there is the mother who left a boy of five and a girl of two playing on the fire escape. Either intentionally or unintentionally the older child pushed the little one so she fell off the fire escape and was killed. "I tell him every day," says his mother, "he's a murderer. I ask him, how can I love a murderer." If we were to take a cross-sectional look at these mothers we would find them to be themselves the products of deprived and tyrannized childhoods. Most of them marry young, with a pathetic hope that they will find some of the infantile satisfactions they failed to have. All are ill equipped for parenthood and most do not want their children even some of the time. They meet the new burden usually by hostility and coldness for their marriage

partner "because I had all the pain and trouble and he did it to me." If they do not reject their children outright or make them the source of neurotic substitute satisfactions in place of the husband, they anxiously endeavor to be "good" mothers by some neighborhood, book or religious standard. Where ignorance, overcrowding and economic insecurity are added, the harried mother fights out in all directions, against her partner, her children, herself and sometimes the world. More often, however, the discharge against the environment takes the form of the socially approved object of wrath—the foreigner, the member of the minority group, the member of a different religious group, for this is less dangerous.

Cowering on the doorstep, climbing up to peek through windows at light and warmth; reaching for the comforting breast and being stuck with a pin; being made to sit on the potty for three hours before one is old enough to talk; having the scissors brandished over your crib and being threatened with the butcher knife for spontaneous reaching for the genital—these are the experiences of children, the more vivid because we see them as direct happenings and not as recalled infantile memories on the analyst's couch. They are occurrences today, in the 1940's, in the most favored nation in the world, occurrences that could be reduplicated by the millions. What is being done about them?

In the specific situations cited and what was done about them we see at work the "welfare" pattern with its variety of agencies, their ideals and limitations: community recreation centers, family and children's "case work" agencies, medical and psychiatric clinics.

One of the most popular solutions for "juvenile delinquency" in the public mind is supervised group recreation. Yet let us look at what actually happened to our gang of little boys. The director of the

servicemen's center went to the three settlement houses in the district asking for someone to organize block street activities for this group. All three settlement houses refused on the grounds that the children were "too tough." Because these children happened to come from Catholic families, she next approached the parish priest. The priest declined to have anything to do with the matter since the approach had come from the director of a center maintained by Protestant funds. In this city the police have public funds for recreation activities for children and it is their specific charge to provide them. Therefore the precinct police captain was approached. At first he refused to discuss the matter until he was threatened with a possible approach to his superiors. All he could or would suggest was to assign a patrolman to the street where the center was located. This the director was unwilling to have. Finally, although it was entirely out of the sphere for which her center was designated, and despite the fact that there was tremendous other pressure and no funds for work with children, the director cleared a room for afternoon activities for these children. A theological student volunteered as leader for the group, teaching the making of model airplanes and other work with tools. Occasionally some of the servicemen who came into the center joined the group. The children were so neglected that a de-lousing program had to be instituted. Some of them have over-attached themselves to the staff of the center and follow them around like puppies. Whether this afternoon workshop can continue is in the hands of a remote board of directors who will vote a budget according to their own and the contributors' interests. And even so it is only a partial solution. These children are still far from health, as they are from cleanliness, and there has been no way found to approach their homes.

The whole episode shows the difficulty in reaching basic problems through the

community recreation agencies. Each one operates with designated funds, often on a sectarian basis, and too often with a timid, disinterested staff. It has been said in professional social work circles that the community centers and settlement houses reach only two percent of the youth of the nation and some claim that these are the more passive youth—the "good boys and girls." Perhaps this is because youth is too late to reach those who suffer most. Perhaps it is because the ones who are "too tough" are a threat rather than a challenge to leaders more versed in folk dances and handicrafts than in the life struggles of human beings.

The recreation agencies are apt to excuse themselves with the claim that acute problems are the responsibility of the case work agencies, that is, those family and children's agencies where each case may receive individual and if necessary prolonged help. This type of agency is unique in the United States and the quality of service has been steadily improving. But there are a number of blocks which remind us that usually a community-supported agency is compelled to operate at the level of average community attitudes. For example, in some family agencies a social worker may not initiate a discussion of contraception. No matter how the woman seeking help has hedged around the problem, or how apparent her need may be, the social worker may only respond to a concrete request with a referral to a birth control clinic. (Of course in Catholic agencies the subject is completely taboo.) Similarly, many agencies, when approached with marital difficulties, operate on the principle of "keep the family together at all cost." I recall one case where a severely neurotic wife kept bringing complaints that her husband was threatening to leave her. For five years the agency worked with husband and wife to hold them together, using their responsibility toward their adolescent children as the

central focus. When finally the husband became psychotic, the agency assisted them to separate. Again, for many years it has been a principle in family agencies to have unmarried mothers keep their children, without regard for the feelings of the mother toward the child or toward the father of her child, or much consideration of the milieu in which the mother lives beyond whether it is "moral" or "immoral." If it is "moral" the child is considered safe, and agencies are full of cases of "problem" children whose mothers, and too often grandparents as well, have taken out their guilt feelings on the child.

If the family agencies are limited by sharing average community attitudes, even more so the children's agencies, which arrange for and supervise the care of children outside their own homes. Growing out of rebellion against poor and overcrowded children's institutions, the contemporary pattern for care of children in the U.S. is that of placing them in foster homes where the foster parents are paid for the care of the child. Orphaned and destitute children are thus provided for at the expense of the state, as well as children remanded by the children's courts because of the neglect or moral unfitness of their parents. Individual parents may place children in foster homes under some circumstances through the children's agencies, paying all or part of the cost of care. In New York City, and in other cities, this program, even where it draws on public funds, is administered through private sectarian agencies. The theory behind the development of foster home care is that the child can receive individual attention and affection in a home which he could not in an institution. Homes are supposedly carefully selected, foster parents chosen for their "warm" personalities. Contact is maintained with both foster parents and child throughout the placement. Practically, however, many difficulties arise. There are never enough suitable homes

available, so that children are placed of necessity in "substandard" homes, or foster parents are urged to take a number of children when they have not the time or interest to give to many. The motives that lead people to wish foster children are often questionable. Aside from the financial motive, which is usually concealed, many are those who like to have someone dependent on them. Furthermore, the foster parent may at will decide not to keep the child. So that the agency records reveal over and over cases of children who are returned to the agency as they approach adolescence and are no longer so docile and dependent and the sexual problem will have to be faced; or children who are perpetually threatened with "if you don't behave I won't keep you here." A child who is just beginning to find some security in a home is often thrown off by the entry into the home of a more docile or prettier child "because the agency needed to use the home." But most important of all is the fact that the children who do not behave in accordance with the foster mother's standards will not be kept by foster parents, it being a business arrangement, with the agency retaining the moral responsibility for the child. Thus we see our children who are insecure, bad-tempered, destructive or enuretic, wandering from home to home. In a study of five boys whose I.Q. was normal but who could only perform on the subnormal level and were therefore in an institution for subnormal children, we found that all five had been in twelve or more foster homes.

Some of the children whose cases were cited earlier were receiving treatment at children's psychiatric clinics, either at the children's court, a hospital, or at one of the child guidance agencies. On the whole these children found more understanding of their difficulties than community recreation agencies or foster parents show. But even here we find amazing things. There was the student social worker who claimed

that a mother who rubbed her baby's face in feces was "not a rejecting mother." Yet this young innocent was responsible for the "treatment" of the mother. In the case of the six-year-old fire setter whose uncles had stood around the crib snipping the scissors, an attempt was made to remove him from the home, but no foster home or institution could be found which would accept a fire setter. The recital of cases could be endless of children who cannot be helped because there is no way to remove them from their destructive environment.

The recital could be as long of the doctors and social workers who cannot help children or parents because of their limited or erroneous knowledge or their own structural inadequacy to deal with human problems. Here the teaching institutions are at fault, both in the content of teaching, and in the formal and superficial method of admitting students for training. There is of course no doubt that more doctors and more social workers and more teachers are becoming aware of fundamental aspects of human behavior. I cannot speak for the physicians, but in my experience social workers are still handicapped in what they are willing or able to do with this awareness, particularly as it touches on sexual behavior. Many social workers are unable to discuss contraception with an overburdened mother, even if the agency has no prohibitive policy; or they mention it gingerly without taking the responsibility for working through the woman's fears, hesitations and ignorance. Practically none would tackle the contraceptive question with an unmarried client. Yet all these social workers (the Catholics excepted) are eager to affirm the principle of contraception and do, or expect to, practise it themselves. Similarly, or concomitantly perhaps, masturbation is seldom mentioned outside the psychiatric clinic. Our young social workers are taught to think of masturbation as a neurotic

symptom, and the fact is, they usually see only neurotic forms of it in the clinics where they are trained. Too often one finds in a record a statement such as "he was seen as a behavior problem: very destructive, crying a great deal, was restless and demanding, enuretic at night and bit his nails, but he had no real neurotic symptoms such as masturbation." Many young social workers go through a good deal of inner struggle in attempts to help the "unmarried mother" or the "out-of-wedlock" child. One young woman who had worked exclusively with such cases for two years spoke of the problems of explaining his status to the "out-of-wedlock" child. It had never occurred to her that she could in many cases put a positive interpretation on the experience of his parents. Her sole aim had been to help the child feel that he need not bear the burden of his mother's mistake, that he could make his own life. I must add that she was quite willing to discuss and to modify her approach when I challenged it. But the fact remains that for two years nothing in her or in her environment had raised the challenge.

For professional workers, our so-called "trained leadership," are the victims of the larger environment in which they grew up and in which they work. In the end it is the larger environment which must be changed. The solution does not lie in agencies, institutions, or professional training alone, however valuable these may be if they are good.

The environment is changing somewhat. A Sunday paper can now run a series of articles on infantile sex play. The Academy of Political Science devotes an issue of its *Annals* to the problems of youth. But the danger lies in the number of readers who will give intellectual assent and of necessity behave traditionally, especially if there is no opportunity for discussion, questioning, exchange of experience and relief of anxiety.

It is my conviction that there is first and

foremost the need for forming groups, particularly of mothers, and of youth, where sexual questions may be freely discussed and correct information be available. No other work seems more important than this if we are to really achieve change. Contraception, infantile sexuality, adolescent relationships, and adult sexual pleasure are the areas I see as important for discussion in such groups.

This is extremely difficult to do. We do not yet have enough experience to know the best approach to different kinds of groups. In my own experience with youth groups I have always found an expressed eagerness to discuss sexual matters, but if an evening is assigned for such a discussion, invariably only about half the group turns up. It is much easier to let a discussion develop spontaneously, as for example it often does on camping trips, and for a long time I was of the opinion that this was the only good way to handle the problem. Now, however, I always raise the question of why it is that these matters are not publicly discussed and hammer away at the need to have open discussion of sexual matters. In every group there are some who will try to throw the discussion. For example there was in one group a rigid Marxist who stood up at the end of the evening and made a summarizing speech, in which he cited Engels, pointed out that family and sexual mores were different in each different type of social organization, and concluded that since we now lived in a bourgeois society we had to conform to bourgeois concepts but that after the revolution things would probably be different. Or there was the youth leader who interrupted me at one meeting to say that an occasional evening of telling dirty stories was good in every group—it let off steam. But always there will be some who are thoughtful and eager. Often these are the ones who say least, and one of the problems is not to let the more aggressive

disrupters lead the group elsewhere or cause it to break up entirely.

With mothers' groups I have no experience. However, most nursery schools have active groups of parents, some even have study groups, some require a limited amount of service in the nursery. All these should be vehicles for discussion, though so far as I know these seldom approach the sexual question, or if they do it is merely in the area of how to tell children about sex. But we need experiment in this area as in the work with youth. We need to know more about how to handle subjects correctly and in such a way that we do not frighten and lose our audience. We need to know how and to what extent these subjects can be made part of a wider range of discussion. We need to know how to deal with the American mentality about family life, the fear of

neighborhood disapproval, and the shyness which relegates sexual matters among women to kitchen gossip and old wives' tales. We need to have successes and failures reported and analyzed.

In the long run, it is my belief that only in this type of difficult face-to-face work can we lay the foundation for the changed public attitude essential to a free society. The cases which illustrate this article remind us that the aggressive sexual suppression of children is brutal and widespread. The triumph of the political ideology of fascism depends on the mass support of fascist characters. These are being created by gross and subtle deprivation and suppression all around us. Individual work with individuals cannot bring the necessary changes. We must seek and find ways to broader action.

MY FIRST EXPERIENCES WITH THE ORGONE ACCUMULATOR

By WALTER HOPPE, M.D.

When the first orgone accumulator was built I felt some doubts: Will the accumulator, I asked myself, show the effects which Reich describes? I felt somewhat like A. S. Neill: those aspects of Reich's work which I felt myself able to judge gave me confidence in those contentions and experiments which I was unable to judge. As a psychologist and physician I could follow Reich a long way, and the guiding line of sex-economy and orgone research, "the identity of antitheses," was familiar to me. Thus I soon came to understand that professional and lay people, steeped in mechanistic and irrational thinking, and splitting up psyche and soma, spirit and nature, are incapable of experiencing their unity and identity. I was thus not astonished to find that most professional people displayed a suspicious or inimical attitude toward Reich's work. I was struck, nevertheless, when reputable physicians, who were incapable of any factual criticism, preferred to let their patients with inoperable cancer die rather than to undertake even an experiment with orgone therapy. I also may mention a typical discussion with a psychoanalyst. "I wouldn't act any differently," he said, "after all, a physician cannot risk being considered a charlatan, and he would be, because the orgone accumulator is not officially recognised." When I pointed out that such opportunism makes any scientific progress impossible, he admitted that, true, this attitude on the part of the physicians was wrong, but, he said, it was psychologically understandable.

My initial doubts disappeared with the first experimental observations. The observations of prickling sensations and slight rise in body temperature were readily con-

firmed. Immediately, the sceptical critics pointed to the possibility of suggestion and reminded me of Christian Science. However, the possibility of suggestion was ruled out in a number of people who knew nothing of these reactions beforehand and who spontaneously reported the prickling sensations.

I myself was my first experimental patient, when I used the accumulator after a minor operation. The surgeon was at first surprised at the rapidity of the healing process. When I told him about my orgone experiment, however, he suddenly found it "normal" and nothing to be astonished about. My second experiment was made with a child who presented a number of cutaneous abscesses. Even after only one treatment the abscesses receded, and after five further treatments they had completely disappeared. The pediatrician could not deny the effect, but he denied the connection with the orgone irradiation, because if the orgone effect were a fact, he argued, it would be known all over the world. In the meantime, the child developed some new abscesses; again, they began to recede rapidly after the first orgone treatment.

In most patients who were underweight, orgone treatment led, in a relatively short time, to an increase in weight, improved appetite and better blood circulation in the skin. In anemic patients, the hemoglobin content and the number of erythrocytes increased. The B-reaction as described by Reich could be observed in all cases. In all people who used the accumulator regularly over a considerable period of time I was able to observe that colds were completely absent or appeared only in a very light form.

My experiences with severe biopathies

are as yet few. A patient with carcinoma of the liver in the last stages could not be saved from death, although at first there was considerable symptomatological improvement. The same was the case with a rare form of tumor, a progressed pseudomyxoma. One patient with a severe cardiovascular disturbance, when he felt strong enough, undertook, against medical advice, a long walk under a tropical mid-day sun which resulted in a relapse.

I would like to mention the case of a 5-months-old infant. The mother used the orgone accumulator during the whole period of pregnancy, with excellent results

for both mother and child. The child, who still receives daily orgone treatment, is very vigorous and shows a strikingly good blood circulation in the skin. Thus far, it has not suffered a single cold, intestinal disturbance or other disease; for this, the self-regulation of the child is undoubtedly also responsible.

In summary, I would say that one might try to interpret away individual positive results by other explanations, but that the results in their totality, in complete accordance with Reich's observations, speak an unequivocal language.

NOTES

IS THE ORGONE ATOMIC ENERGY?

A biology student sent us the following question: "I am wondering very much what Dr. Reich thinks about the 'atomic bomb.' With people's character structures the way they are, I can't help feeling that it's disastrous that this new source of power has been discovered. Does Dr. Reich have any idea about what the relationship to orgone is? All this business of calling it solar energy, cosmic, etc., makes it sound awfully much like orgone."

Answer: Your surmise is correct. Orgone energy is in fact nothing but "atomic" energy in its original and natural form. This statement calls for some amplification. The physicists' classical concepts of the atoms are hypothetical. The atoms themselves, in the sense of mechanistic physics, are not ultimate units, but are composed of energy particles, no matter whether one calls these particles electrons, neutrons, etc., or whether one calls them orgone energy particles. In this sense it is incorrect to speak of "atomic" energy, for it is a matter of subatomic energy which composes and holds together the smallest particles of matter. It is correct that the amounts of energy necessary for the formation of a single particle of matter are of such gigantic proportions as to be inconceivable. Orgone physics has already arrived at definite concepts of how orgone energy particles form atomic and molecular units of matter, though they are not ripe for publication at this time.

The atom energy of the mechanists is produced by smashing matter; that is, the exact opposite process would have to be employed in order to produce matter from the primary energy. We do not believe that it will be possible to utilize this energy for useful purposes by means of the process which was invented for the

making of the atomic bomb. A great many physicists also doubt it.

Orgone energy represents subatomic energy in its *original* and *natural* form ("primary cosmic energy"). The *slowness* of all organotic processes distinguishes it from the *explosive* processes of "atomic energy." This characteristic of orgone energy makes it available for useful purposes, such as the charging of living tissues, the sterilization of the blood, etc. One might even say that the way in which man reacts to these two basically different processes and forms of atomic energy reflects the antithesis between rigid mechanism and alive functionalism. The smashing of matter in the case of the atomic bomb is the opposite of the peaceful concentration of orgone energy. The explosive suddenness of the energy of the atomic bomb is the opposite of the slowness of all organotic processes. The sterility and dreadfulness of mechanistic thinking which produced gunpowder, dynamite and now the atomic bomb finds its counterpart in functional thinking which is constructive, life-affirmative and one with the life process itself. The horror at the "discovery" of the atomic bomb has its counterpart in the quiet but glowing enthusiasm of anyone who works with orgone energy or experiences its therapeutic effects.

It is characteristic of our mechanistic civilization that it develops full unity of purpose when it is a matter of war aims but disintegrates when it is a matter of affirming and protecting human life. Medical and biological laboratories do not get the same government subsidies that technical laboratories get. The two billion dollars which were spent for the construction of the atomic bomb make the amounts spent for medical purposes look infinitesimal.

testimal. While the discovery of the murder instrument made a noise heard around the world, honest and industrious scientists have been working on the cosmic energy for a decade, for the good of humanity, without ever receiving as much as a penny from the social administration for the support of their work. We consider the discovery of the explosive form of atomic energy the greatest disaster which has ever befallen humanity. There is a ray of hope: It could happen, with the logic and con-

sistency of the life process, that the cosmic energy in its *natural* form, in the form of our orgone energy, might put the atomic energy in its *murderous* form out of function. Of course, nobody can foresee when and how the murderous, mechanistic spirit will be overcome by the life-affirmative spirit of the biological energy. At any rate, this Institute is at one with those who did not participate in the false enthusiasm over a monstrous outrage but protested against it.

ORGONOTIC CONTACT. LETTER FROM A READER

In his article, "Anorgonia in the carcinomatous shrinking biopathy" in the last issue of the JOURNAL, Reich discussed the occurrence of falling anxiety in an infant as a consequence of an attack of anorgonia due to some yet unexplained influence, either of the rapid cooling of the skin or of a slight variation in the routine of laying the child down after the bath.

In this connection I should like to report an experience which confronted me 7 years ago with a person who—through empirical knowledge and keen observation of infant behavior—already evaluated these facts although unable to find an explanation for them. The person was the infant nurse who took care of my child from his birth on. She was an extremely experienced person with an unusual understanding of infants' needs. The latter was not based on the so-called "motherly instinct," but on systematic observation of infant behavior over a period of many years. She used to accept the care of an infant only when she was allowed to be present during the delivery. When I had gotten to know her well and had gained her confidence, I asked her for an explanation of this request, which I had felt she would not have given during the first interview. She told me the following reason: Experience had taught her that there are two types of mothers: the ones who are able to give their children what she called "bodily love"

—and which represents nothing else but Reich's concept of organotic contact—and the ones who lack this ability. In the latter case, unfortunately the most frequent, she took over this essential care. That she was fully aware of the importance of this factor for the further development of the child was proved by her words: "Even if I know very well that the child will miss this most essential quality in his mother forever it is my conviction that the lively bodily contact with another woman during these first weeks of life under my care will fortify his system." The decision as to whether she could trust this bodily contact to the mother or had to take it over herself was based on observation of the behavior of the mother during delivery and the first reaction of mother and child toward each other right after birth.

When my child was supposed to have his first bath (according to European hospital routine of that period, during the second week of his life) she asked me "to leave her completely alone and to watch her quietly." Even in those rare cases where she confined herself to the mere gratification of needs which the mother could not yet fulfil on account of her weakness, she had come to the conviction that the proper handling of the first bath represented such an important factor for the future development of the child that she did not want to take any risks. Her words were: "At the

risk of your saying I'm crazy, I have to tell you that the first bath of your child determines the future course of his life. Either he acquires a wonderful capacity of feeling pleasure which sticks to him for his whole life and makes him open for the experience of happiness, or, if the slightest mistake is made, he gets falling anxiety and will be timid and afraid for the rest of his life." After a little pause she smiled and added: "And the strangest part of it is that I don't know myself what causes the falling anxiety, but I guess it has something to do with the proper temperature of the bath and the air in the room when the child is taken out of the bath. I am not quite sure myself of creating the proper conditions in every case, but I know one thing: my experience of years will give me a better chance of avoiding the danger of falling anxiety than all those qualities which one calls so romantically 'motherly instinct.'" As a matter of fact my child had the most happy feeling during his bath, evident by

his facial expression, and this feeling appears with every bath up to now. Whenever he dawdles in the tub in that pleasurable way which gives the onlooker the feeling that there is a hidden activity in the process of dawdling, he answers the request to come out of the water with the words: "But I have that feeling, you know."

It may be of interest to note that this nurse did not have any theoretical knowledge of orgone biophysics. She told me that she had made it the goal of her life to give protection to children when she was 5 years old. At that time, she lived with her father and a very cruel stepmother. They used to lock her alone in the house when they went out. One day the house caught fire when they were away and she could not get out. Neighbors saved her life with great difficulty. That day she decided to become a baby nurse in order to help children whose mothers would not "function."

"A NEW DISEASE"

TIME, January 29, 1945, in the section MEDICINE, reports the following:

HEARTICKNESS

"Dear Jim: I have been thinking the whole thing over and I now see that it wasn't wise for us to be married. I don't want to hurt you, but . . ."

A serviceman's wife writing thus to her husband probably suffers from a condition whose other symptoms include severe depressions, colitis, heart palpitations, diarrhea, frequent headaches. Described as a "new disease" by Dr. Jacob Sergi Kasanin, chief psychiatrist at San Francisco's Mt. Zion Hospital, this psychoneurotic condition by last week had become so prevalent among service wives that San Francisco psychiatrists were begging county authorities for the use of hospital wards to treat their patients. . . .

Those women who, like Penelope, have the sense to stay home or go back to it

and keep busy, preferably at a war job, are apt to find adjustment easier. But others, particularly those recently married or childless, often develop pathological reactions in the form of physiological disturbances, resentment against the husband, inability to recall the husband's face or to sense the reality of the married state, vague fears of infidelity. . . .

Many such neurotic women find escape in throwing off marriage ties, becoming floozies or barflies. Many find a complete cure in receiving their husband's first letter, or even his allotment check, either of which can serve to reaffirm the idea of marriage in the sick wife's mind. . . .

Now, the symptoms of this "new disease" are physiological disturbances, such as colitis, heart palpitations, diarrhea, frequent headaches; and depressions, resentment against the husband, inability to recall the husband's face or to sense the reality of the

married state, vague fears of infidelity. Essentially, then, they are the symptoms of more or less acute *sexual stasis*, caused by the husband's absence. It is remarkable how a syndrome which Freud, as long ago as 1896, described as anxiety neurosis and recognized to be caused by sexual frustration, can be so consistently overlooked. It is as if the physicians had made up their minds that this syndrome should not be recognized. They have it under their very noses every day of the week, but instead of recognizing it they go on discovering it as a "new disease," always carefully overlooking its simple etiology which is obvious to any halfway healthy layman.

Is it psychoneurotic if a woman realizes that the marriage was a mistake? Most "war marriages" are gone into hastily, the marriage certificate being felt to be a certificate of permission to engage in the sexual act, and not with the real intention of building a marriage. When the husband is absent, the marriage certificate no longer fulfils its function, for with the husband the activity for which it gives permission is also gone. On the contrary, its function becomes reversed: now it prohibits the establishment of a sexual relationship with another man. Its having become nothing but a prohibitive tie, is it psychoneurotic if the woman wants to get rid of it?

Is it psychoneurotic if a woman, deprived of sexual gratification, develops "physiological disturbances"? No, such disturbances are the normal result of sexual stasis.

Is "inability to sense the reality of the married state" psychoneurotic? When the basis of the married state, a sexual partnership, is absent?

Are "vague fears of infidelity" psychoneurotic? Here we come to the crux of the problem, the point of intersection between medical fact and moralistic demand. As a matter of fact, "vague fears of infidelity" are psychoneurotic, but not in the way the classical psychiatrist or the moralist would have it. The moralist will say that

they are "bad," that the woman should not have "such thoughts." How can she help it, being, as she is, sexually frustrated? What is psychoneurotic here is not that the woman thinks of extramarital sexual gratification but that these thoughts take the form of "vague fears." If the woman were not psychoneurotic, that is, sexually inhibited, she would be confronted with a clear-cut problem: the problem that she lacks sexual gratification and consequently suffers from sexual stasis with all its psychic and somatic sequelae. Instead of "vague fears" she would have a rational, conscious conflict. If she decides, in order to safeguard her health, to establish a sexual relationship with another man, no moralist has the right to blame her or to interfere with her. That does not mean that such women "find escape in throwing off marriage ties, becoming floozies or barflies." In fact, it is not an escape at all, but a rational solution which implies more responsibility than the escape into a psychoneurosis. More than that, the majority of those who turn into "floozies and barflies" are precisely those who were unable to take such a responsible step and engage in all kinds of sexual activities short of the sexual act. Thus, though promiscuous, they uphold the illusion that they are "faithful" to their husbands, merely because they abstain from actual sexual intercourse. Others do engage in sexual intercourse, more or less promiscuously, being careful not to establish a real relationship with another man, again upholding the illusion that they are really "faithful" to their husbands, because their casual sexual relationships "don't mean anything." Instead of condemning such women moralistically, one should realize that their authoritarian antisexual upbringing has made them incapable of rationally solving their sexual conflicts, that they are promiscuous not because they are "bad" but because they have been made incapable of establishing a healthy sexual relationship. Such problems

of human relationships have always been with us, but the war has made them acute. It is regrettable that leading psychiatrists, instead of helping people to see these prob-

lems as they are, help to camouflage them by high-sounding theories about "new diseases."

A NOTE ON "FAMILY COHESION"

Certain statements in a recent article on "Some Factors in Family Cohesion"¹ aroused considerable public interest, being taken up, for example, in the Science and in the Letters sections of TIME under the heading "Double Beds & Divorce" and made the basis of an article, "Bed Without Boredom" in the magazine PAGEANT. Montagu states, for example: "The fact alone that husband and wife share the same bed is in itself a symbol of unity to them and to their children. Where separate beds are occupied there develops a peculiar sense of separateness which imperceptibly has significant effects upon both parents and children. The worst form (*sic*) of this separation is, of course, the occupation of separate bedrooms by the parents. . . . I do suggest that those sleeping arrangements constitute an important contributory factor not only to the degree and quality of the cohesion of the family but also to the personal development of each member of it. It seems to me that the experience of sharing the same bed being one of the most intimate and prolonged forms of behavior which two persons can enjoy together . . . will inevitably tend to produce an identification of one with the other . . . amounting as near to identity as it is possible to achieve. Taken together with all the other experiences which husband and wife share in common this constitutes one of the strongest means of cementing the marriage tie conceivable. . . . One might even suggest that were the double bed for husband and wife the rule in this country the divorce rate would probably be appreciably lower than it is. It may or may not be of some significance but it is a fact that the

divorce-rate in the various social classes is highest in the separate-bedroom class and lowest in the double-bed class."

Now, all depends on whether one looks at these things from an ideological or from a medical standpoint. There is no doubt that sleeping arrangements have a profound influence on family cohesion on the one hand as well as on happiness and health on the other; only, the effect is opposite. The family ideologists make no distinction between the compulsive family and natural family relationships; they consider the family something absolute, even biologically given; thus, they are only interested in the "cohesion" of the family, in "means of cementing the marriage tie" and means of reducing the "divorce-rate." The whole interest is centered on the institution of marriage and what people do to it; the question as to what it does to people recedes into the background. Now, it is undoubtedly true that "the fact alone that husband and wife share the same bed is in itself a symbol of unity to them and to their children." A symbol? Is a symbol of unity the same thing as unity?

Now let us look at the double bed not with ideological but with sex-economic eyes. Sleeping arrangements are undoubtedly one of the most important factors in sexual hygiene. A large, comfortable bed is one of the most primitive prerequisites of a satisfactory sex life. But that means a bed in which the sexual partners *can* sleep together when they *want* to, and not one in which they *must* sleep because it is there. The double bed as an institution kills spontaneity like any other institution. A young man of my acquaintance had had a very satisfactory sexual relationship for some time. Then he married

his girl, they moved together and had a double bed. After a while, he noticed that he was less sexually attracted to his wife than before. This illustrates a fact which is commonly overlooked: *the dulling of sexual desire* that occurs in any lasting sexual relationship.² What interests us here is only the fact that this dulling may occur sooner or later, and be more or less serious, depending, primarily, on good or poor conditions of sexual hygiene; and that there are few things which will lead to this dulling faster than the double bed. Physiological laws are not invalidated by ideologies. One such law is that any stimulus, if exerted continuously, loses its strength. When bodily contact, under conditions of constant physical proximity, loses its strength as a stimulus, it becomes a mere habit. What is more, the double bed *forces* people to sleep together, and who could honestly say that he always wants to sleep with another person? Or that he or she always wants to go to bed at the same time the partner does? So one suppresses one's wish to stay up longer, to finish an article or book or whatnot, in order not to disturb the partner, and this will, as Montagu has it, "inevitably tend to produce an identification of one with the other . . . amounting as near to identity as it is possible to achieve." An identification in what? With regard to a view of life, with regard to the correct way of bringing up children, etc.? No, with regard to bedtime habits—certainly an identification on a puny level. Why should not two people who live together—who share their bed when they want to—retain their individuality? Every psychotherapist who works not in the interest of an authoritarian ideology of family and marriage but in the interest of his patients' health knows the hatred against the partner resulting from such "identification," i.e., from the suppression of one's own individual wishes. This hatred

is usually repressed and appears only in its counterpart, a sticky sentimentality which serves to cover up the hatred and which then—after a natural relationship is no longer present—constitutes "one of the strongest means of cementing the marriage tie conceivable."

The psychotherapist also knows some of the reasons why people sleep in double beds. One patient not only slept with her husband in a double bed (which also was too small) but she would hold on to him tightly all night. She thought she did this because "it was so nice to be close together," but found out later that it was an infantile pattern of warding off anxiety. Now, it may be that such infantile patterns "cement the marriage tie," but there also can be no doubt that they make a healthy, adult sexual life impossible. In other people, the motive for the double-bed arrangement is that of "doing what the parents always did," something which had the connotation of being forbidden and which marriage now has made "permitted." Whatever the infantile motives may be, they are usually strongly repressed and vigorously rationalized.

PAGEANT quotes a number of people on the subject. Most of these utterances are merely an expression of subjective opinion; two, however, one by a minister and the other by a physician, are worth mentioning. The minister, John Haynes Holmes, states: "Twin beds and separate bedrooms may be described as last steps in the process of women's emancipation. Marriage in primitive days was a matter of capture or purchase. . . . A woman's body was at the free disposal of the husband, belonging to him like a piece of property, and to be enjoyed at his pleasure. A woman, therefore, occupied her husband's bed as a slave waited upon his table. . . . The emancipation of women has been a struggle for the recognition of the rights and dignities of her individuality as a person. . . . We have now reached the stage in marriage—or are in

¹ M. F. Ashley Montagu: Some Factors in Family Cohesion. *Psychiatry* 7, 1944, 349.

² Cf. W. Reich: *THE SEXUAL REVOLUTION*. Orgone Institute Press, 1943.

the process of reaching it—where a woman's body is her own, to be given to her husband at her discretion as a gift of love, and not to be surrendered to him at his dictation." The therapist may add that the safeguarding of individuality is no less important for the man, and that the compulsive atmosphere of the double bed tends to reactivate infantile attitudes; one has only to remember how many men call their wives "mother" or "mom"!

The other quotation is from Dr. Joseph A. Gaines, "a prominent gynecologist": "In most instances, after three to five years of married life, sexual gratification reaches a physiological norm which is probably not varied by nocturnal proximity." What is this "physiological norm," and why is it reached after three to five years of married

life? It is what we referred to as the "dulling" of sexual desire. There can be no doubt that this dulling is accelerated and aggravated by compulsive "nocturnal proximity." We have here an example of the dangerous use of the term "norm." True, that sexual desire diminishes and the sexual act becomes mainly a matter of habit is a "norm" in our society in the sense that it happens in the average marriage. However, that does not make it "normal." If it were, the sex life during the first three to five years of marriage, before this "physiological norm" is reached, would be "abnormal." The widespread sexological ignorance and confusion among physicians is an important factor in the perpetuation and often in the creation of neuroses.

SOME PRACTICAL PROBLEMS OF ADOLESCENT SEX RELATIONSHIPS

Few parents are able to give support and practical help to their adolescent children in establishing healthy sexual relationships. Some are tolerant, "wink" at situations they observe and keep hands off. Others refrain from interfering in an attitude of helpless confusion. Some attempt help in a wrong way. Some are punitive.

Some situations come to mind where parents were able, however, to show the understanding and help that most adolescents only find in friends outside the family. In one case two young art students formed a relationship. The girl was always welcome to stay at the home of the boy, where the relationship was accepted as natural. When the couple continued to be together, after more than a year, the girl's family, which had a large room suitable for a studio, invited the boy and girl to live and work there, which they did. The two families had no contact with one another, as their interests were different, and no one raised the question of formal marriage.

A boy who had grown up in a socialist

trade union family was always free to bring home over night or for a longer visit the girl in whom he was currently interested. The adolescent boys in this family had no separate entrance but they did have a separate floor.

A college girl writing from her home to a friend who was coming to the city where she lived to see a soldier wrote: "We'll be glad to put you both up. You'll have the whole floor to yourself and you can sleep together or not as you like."

One family seems unusual enough to discuss in detail. They lived in a suburb of a large city. There were four adolescents, three boys and a girl. These young people were housed in one wing of the house which had its own entrance. The parents in this home were anxious to avoid degrading sexual experiences for their children, and wished to encourage natural and healthy relationships. They asked their children to bring their sexual partners home, where privacy and understanding were assured. They also asked that any friends who stayed overnight be brought to breakfast. This operated to exclude

partners who would not face the family, whose attitudes toward a sexual relationship were guilty, pornographic or exploitive. The parents always took great interest in the young people their children brought home, made friends with them, and to many young people this contact with the parents was one of the most enriching parts of the experience. These children grew up with a contempt for pornography, promiscuity and irresponsibility in love relationships. The boys were responsible in discussing and helping their girls with contraceptive information. In one instance one of the boys found a doctor and accompanied his girl to have a diaphragm fitted. The daughter's first partner was a great favorite in the family, and spent a good deal of time there, even after the relationship was over. All of these children made happy marriages at an appropriate age.

Two contrasting examples show family help in a wrong direction. In one instance an older brother encouraged the younger to overcome his sexual fears, but insisted after his first intercourse that he should never see that particular girl again. The purpose undoubtedly was to prevent the boy from forming too great an attachment on the basis of too little sexual knowledge, but if the boy were decent and healthy he could have been trusted to find his own way as the relationship ran its natural course. In the second instance a father found two adolescent sons engaged in mutual masturbation. He said, "Now you are old enough to have a woman." He forthwith took them to a bawdy house and supervised their initiation. One boy continued a regular patron for years and never formed a deeper sexual attachment. The other boy reacted with disgust and at an early age married a woman from a strict puritan background.

But the situation of most adolescents is far from as good as this. Probably the back seat of the automobile, or the living room

sofa is the most common place for first intercourse. One girl described her experience in an automobile. She had to take her dress off so that it wouldn't be wrinkled when she got home. She didn't dare take the rest of her clothes off for fear she would be undressed if a cruising police car should check up on them for parking in an out-of-the-way place. This actually did happen and she hid under the automobile robe while the boy drove the car off. Another girl described first intercourse on the living room sofa where her mother walked in during the act and called her a whore, with an additional stream of biblical quotation. Still another girl described first intercourse on the floor of a laboratory in a coeducational college.

When boys and girls are a little older, if they live in large enough communities, they are apt to find some friends who have living quarters of their own. In one such case one member of a circle of friends had an apartment which was loaned to her friends in turn for their dates. This at least is better, but hardly creates an atmosphere of ease and makes the occasion take on the flavor of the Victorian assignation. People need to be able to have their loved partners with them *where they live*, and the whole problem of living arrangements for adolescents and unmarried young adults is a critical one.

One of the most difficult problems for the adolescent girl is accessibility to proper contraceptives. Many girls rely on the condom or withdrawal if the boy is willing. If not, they take incredible chances, counting on the theory of the "safe period," or relying on a douche, or on jellies. Girls who rely on a douche are apt to feel they must get up at once when intercourse is over and rush to clean up. It is not easy for an adolescent girl to get a diaphragm. The birth control clinics will not help her. Many private doctors will refuse because of her youth. One girl asked her family doctor for help, in terror however, lest he

tell her parents. Other adolescents have gone to unknown doctors, and it is not uncommon to hear that the doctors have made sexual advances to these girls.

Many urban non-Catholic parents will help an unmarried daughter to have an abortion if she becomes pregnant. In one instance a clergyman's wife defended abortion, citing the case of a girl whose "life had not been ruined," because she had been spared the disgrace of an illegitimate child. But these parents usually expect that the "narrow escape from disgrace" has taught a lesson and that their daughters will now abstain from sexual relations until marriage. Illegal abortion is very widespread, and is apt to be carried out under conditions that are in themselves traumatic. One eighteen-year-old, resting in an anteroom after such an operation, heard the doctor comment to his nurse, "See what a nice class of patients I have." The descriptions of establishments near coeducational schools are hair-raising.

Abortions, however, should be unnecessary. The case of a twenty-year-old student who had had four abortions is an indictment of the whole conspiracy against adequate contraceptive information. The generation is passing of mothers who could not give their daughters contraceptive information because they themselves did not know. But the writer has never encountered a girl who received contraceptive information from her mother, though there have been a number who were able

to discuss it with their mothers after they had eventually found out elsewhere. Contraceptive information, of course, circulates among girls, but there is no guarantee that the information is reliable. In the same way addresses of abortionists circulate via the grapevine of friends. But there is no guarantee that at the time when one is needed he will not have been closed up by the police, or have jacked his price up beyond what the girl involved can collect from among her friends. Prices of abortions seem to vary according to the degree of police vigilance, ranging on the whole from \$50 to \$300—prohibitive to adolescents who have only their own resources to draw upon.

The adolescent has also the problem of possible legal prosecution if he is under age. One father instructed his sixteen-year-old son to be careful to choose only girls over eighteen and to always give his own age as eighteen.

In this morass of practical difficulties and the often sordid results, it is not surprising that many adults turn against their own adolescent sex experiences and take suppressive measures toward their children in the hope that they will thus be spared unpleasant and difficult times. Few are able to say that their own experience was under difficulties and that they will use their ingenuity to make it less difficult for their sons and daughters. Still fewer will join the open fight to change the social attitudes that perpetuate these difficulties.

A NOTE FROM THE HISTORY OF SCIENCE

The average person often forgets, if he ever knew, the conditions under which pioneer discoveries have usually had to be made, and the stupidity shown by the organized interests of professional science, by the state, and by the public with regard to pioneer work. Yet the history of science is primarily such a history.

One is struck with this again in reading

the biography of Madame Curie.¹ In order to try to isolate radium, whose existence they had established through observation of its effects, the Curies had to secure their own pitchblende, pay for its transportation from Austria, find a place where they

¹ MADAME CURIE, A BIOGRAPHY, by Eve Curie. Translated by Vincent Sheean. New York: Doubleday Doran and Co., 1937.

could work since they had no laboratory. At this time their income was five hundred francs a month, which Pierre Curie earned at teaching, for the support of themselves, their child and their work. They found a shed without a floor behind the School of Physics and were given permission to work here. Eve Curie describes it:

The shed in the Rue Lhomond surpassed the most pessimistic expectations of discomfort. In summer, because of its skylights, it was stifling as a hothouse. In winter one did not know whether to wish for rain or frost; if it rained, the water fell drop by drop, with a soft nerve-racking noise, on the ground or on the worktables, in places which the physicists had to mark in order to avoid putting apparatus there. If it froze, one froze. There was no recourse. The stove even when it was stoked white, was a complete disappointment. If one went near enough to touch it one received a little heat, but two steps away and one was back in the zone of ice.

It was almost better for Marie and Pierre Curie to get used to the cruelty of the outside temperature, since their technical installation—hardly existent—possessed no chimneys to carry off noxious gases, and the greater part of their treatment had to be made in the open air, in the courtyard. When a shower came the physicists hastily moved their apparatus inside. . . .

Marie Curie was tubercular, yet they worked four years in such conditions, from 1898 till 1902. Marie Curie afterwards wrote of the time:

We had no money, no laboratory, and no help . . . I sometimes passed the whole day stirring a mass in ebullition, with an iron rod nearly as big as myself. In the evening I was broken with fatigue.

It is interesting to remember that Pierre Curie failed of election to the Academy of Science in 1902, and to a vacant chair at the Sorbonne in physical chemistry in 1898

and to one in mineralogy in 1902. Both these dubious honors came to him after the Nobel award in 1903 when he needed them less, but he was still without a laboratory in 1906 when he died.

In 1902, Paul Appell endeavored to propose Pierre Curie for the Legion of Honor, and even begged Madame Curie to try to influence her husband to present himself for this. His reply to Appell was:

Please be so kind as to thank the Minister and to inform him that I do not feel the slightest need of being decorated, but I am in the greatest need of a laboratory.

In 1909, twelve years after the work on radium was begun and seven after it had been effectively isolated, the Pasteur Institute offered to build a laboratory for Madame Curie. At this point the University stepped forward and also took an active part in the project, contributing an equal amount, lest it lose Madame Curie's name and reputation for the University.

Later, when the shed in the Rue Lhomond had become a romantic legend, Madame Curie wrote:

It is true that the discovery of radium was made in precarious conditions. . . . But this romantic element was not an advantage: it wore out our strength and delayed our accomplishment. With better means, the first five years of our work might have been reduced to two, and their tension lessened.

The life of productive people is of necessity outside the usual routines. There is no time and no inclination for paying and receiving visits and engaging in chit chat on petty or larger affairs. In this respect the life of the Curies was characteristic. In 1896 Madame Curie writes her brother:

We see nobody but the D's and my husband's parents. We hardly ever go to the theatre and allow ourselves no diversions.

At Easter . . . we shall go off on an excursion.

Of the period in the shed Madame Curie writes later:

We saw only a very few persons at the laboratory; among the physicists and chemists there were a few who came from time to time, either to see our experiments or to ask for advice from Pierre Curie.

In 1904, after the Nobel prize had made the Curies publicity objects, Pierre Curie writes in despair to a friend:

Collectors of autographs, snobs, society people and sometimes even scientists come to see us in the magnificent establishment in the Rue Lhomond which you know. With all this, there is not a moment of tranquillity in the laboratory. . . . I can feel myself being overwhelmed by brute stupidity.

Madame Curie in retrospect was to sum up the matter thus:

The fatigue resulting from an effort which surpassed our strength and which had been imposed upon us by the unsatisfactory physical conditions of our work, was increased by the invasion of publicity. The shattering of our voluntary isolation was a cause of real suffering to us and had all the effects of a disaster.

The post Nobel prize success has classic irony. In 1904 Pierre Curie was offered a chair of Physics at the Sorbonne but without a laboratory. In 1905 he was elected to the Academy of Science by a marginal vote. He writes of this:

I find myself in the Academy without having desired to be there and without the Academy's desire to have me. . . . I had against me the lack of sympathy of the clericals and of those who thought I had not paid enough calls.

And twice later he comments: "The interest of the meetings is null"; and finally, "I have not yet discovered what is the use of the Academy."

Nor were the endeavors, of Madame Curie in particular, free of the usual mechanisms of the emotional plague. In 1911, when Madame Curie was proposed for the Academy of Science one member declared in virtuous indignation, "Women cannot be a part of the Institute of France." Informers declared to the Catholics that Madame Curie was a Jewess and recalled to freethinkers that she was born a Catholic. She failed of election.

But far more important and painful was a gossip campaign in 1911. Because Madame Curie worked among men and had her associations among men, perhaps because she was the first woman appointed to a professorship at the Sorbonne, because she lived a life reserved from public view she was accused, says Eve Curie, of breaking up homes. She was pestered with anonymous letters and publicly threatened with violence. She was described as "a Jewess", "a Pole", "a foreigner." So severe and prolonged was the attack that Madame Curie fell ill and left Paris for a time. It did not help her nor further her work that some of those who had attacked her sought personally to beg her pardon later on.

THE POSITION OF SEX-ECONOMY. A CLARIFICATION

Sex-economy continues to be referred to as a "variation" of psychoanalysis, as a "deviation to the left" of Freudian psychoanalysis or as a "rebellion" against it similar to the theories of Adler, Jung, Rank and others. One marvels again and

again at man's slavery to slogans when he is confronted with something *new*. For example, Wilhelm Reich is called a "Marxist," his various published statements notwithstanding.

Sex-economy is not a "deviation" from

psychoanalysis or a "rebellion" against Freud. In *THE DISCOVERY OF THE ORGONE*, vol. 1 (*THE FUNCTION OF THE ORGASM*, 1942), Reich clearly presented the following facts: Sex-economy grew out of questions of *natural science* which, to begin with, had nothing to do with psychoanalysis; the orgasm theory developed in connection with psychoanalysis and in the framework of the psychoanalytic organization, but it developed *autonomously* with regard to its biophysical core; sex-economy was refuted by the psychoanalysts from the very beginning; this refutation ended in Reich's expulsion from the International Psychoanalytic Association; sex-economy made important contributions to psychoanalytic theory and brought about changes in it; finally, on the basis of the orgasm theory—which is an *orgone-biophysical* and *not* a psychoanalytic achievement—sex-economy opened an avenue of approach to *biogenesis* and to the *discovery of the cosmic orgone*.

There is no better proof for the autonomous growth of the orgasm theory than the fact that it was never accepted

by psychoanalysis. The principle of energetic functionalism is foreign to psychoanalytic thinking. Orgone biophysics grew in part from the natural-scientific *criticism* of psychoanalytic metaphysics. The statement that sex-economy is a variation of psychoanalysis has no basis in fact. Our publications make clear what sex-economy owes to its contact with psychoanalysis.

If Wilhelm Reich is a "Marxist" he is also a "Bergsonian" for he is for Bergson's functionalism. He is also a "Copernican," a "Keplerian," a "Galileist," a "Pasteurist" as well as a "Marxist" and a "Freudian," for in his practical work he uses the Copernican System, the pendulum laws of Galileo, Kepler's law of harmony and Pasteur's techniques as well as Marx's theory of value and Freud's libido theory.

It is in the interest of the further development of orgone biophysics to stress its *autonomy* and *originality* as well as its connections with other sciences. To overlook this autonomy and originality is against the interests of honest scientific endeavor.

A. S. NEILL AND SEX-ECONOMY. A CORRECTION

On March 14, 1945, we sent the following letter to International University Press, publishers of A. S. Neill's book, *THE PROBLEM TEACHER*:

Gentlemen:

We would appreciate it if you would be kind enough to correct a misinterpretation which occurred in your circular, "New Important and Forthcoming Books, 1945." The recommendation of Neill's book, *THE PROBLEM TEACHER*, runs as follows: ". . . Mr. Neill who runs his famous school in England on the sex-economic principles of Reich, is a radical in progressive reform, and the free sexuality he advocates has had exciting and heartening results." The misinterpretation is this:

Neill ran his school on his *own* principles long before he got acquainted with Wilhelm Reich's sex-economy. For the first time in 1935 did Neill begin to apply some sex-economic principles in his educational organization.

In this correction the fact should also be mentioned that the sex-economic principle is not identical with what people call "free sexuality." The word "free" is very much misused and, therefore, misleading. A note on this question will appear in the next issue of the "International Journal of Sex-economy and Orgone-Research."

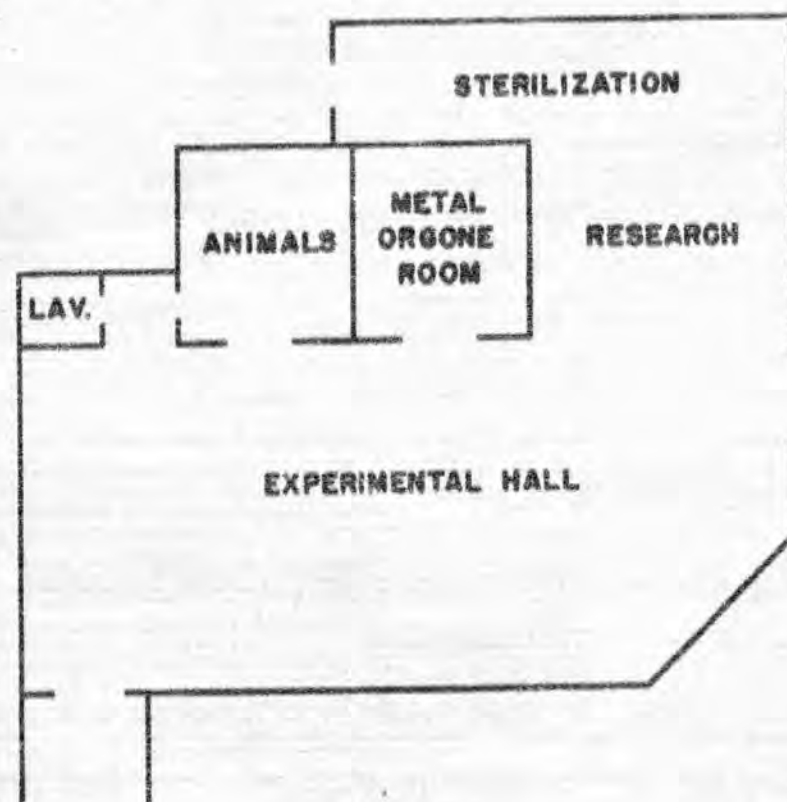
We are sure you will agree that a proper correction would be advisable.

¹ See "Free Love," *This Journal* 4, 1945, 104.

FROM THE ORGONE INSTITUTE

Incorporation. On April 30, 1945, the laboratories of the Orgone Institute were incorporated under the membership law of the State of New York as a non-profit research organization under the name of ORGONE INSTITUTE RESEARCH LABORATORIES, INC. The main office is at 99-06 Stafford Avenue, Forest Hills, N. Y.

New laboratory. During the summer of 1945, a new research laboratory was built at Orgonon, near Rangeley, Maine (see photographs on opposite page). It provides favorable facilities for about 20 research workers in comfortable surroundings. The building is about 60 by 70 feet and has the following lay-out:



The cost of the building was approximately \$12,000, including the major equipment, exclusive of microscopes. It is well insulated and thus usable the year round. The floor of the main experimental hall is of concrete, thus assuring vibration-free experimentation with delicate instruments.

The location is at an altitude of about 1600 feet. The atmospheric conditions at Orgonon are especially suitable for orgone research. The air is dry, and the orgone

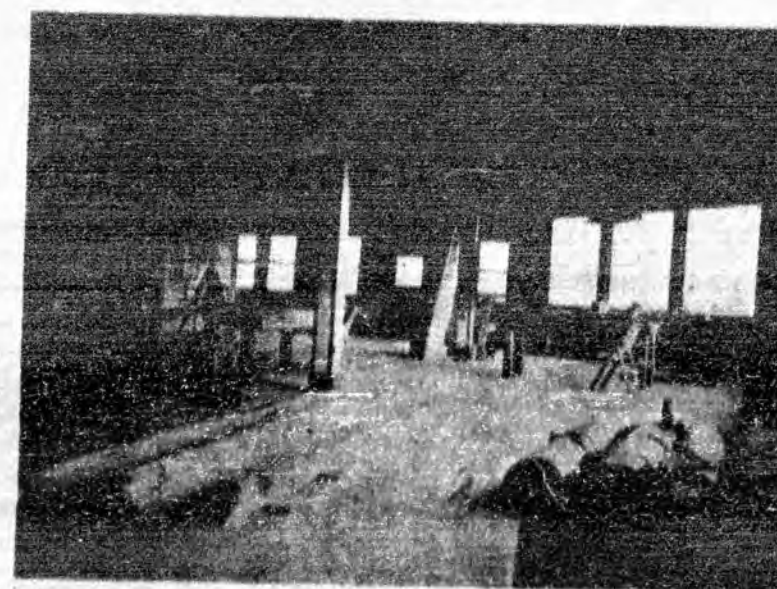
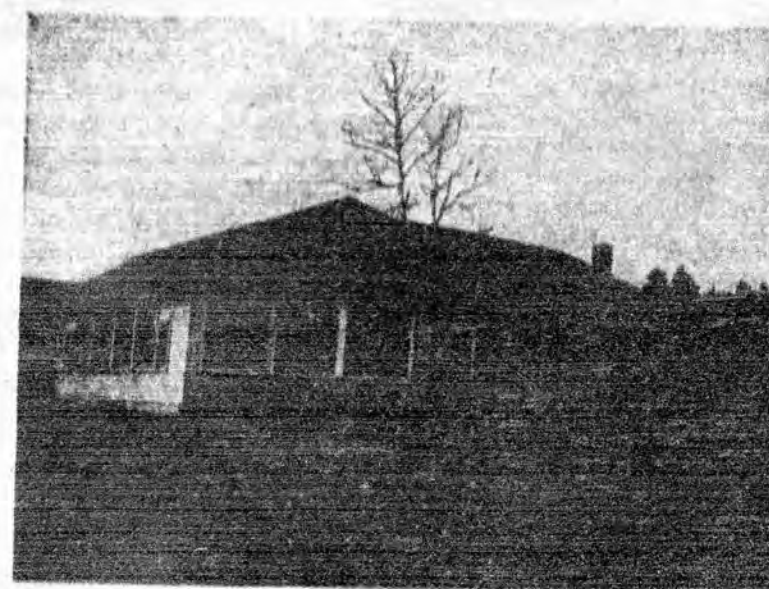
effects are much more clearly observable than in New York.

The money for the building came exclusively from private funds, through loans and contributions to the Orgone Research Fund made by Ada Radcliffe, Wilhelm Reich, Elizabeth Tyson, and Theodore P. Wolfe. Extensive research work is expected to start at Orgonon about the middle of May, 1946.

FROM THE ORGONE INSTITUTE PRESS

New address. In the spring of 1945, the Orgone Institute Press established an Order and Shipping Department, located at 157 Christopher Street, New York 14, N. Y. Please send orders to this address.

New publication. Publication of a third, revised and enlarged edition of Reich's *THE MASS PSYCHOLOGY OF FASCISM* is scheduled for Spring 1946.



The Laboratory at Orgonon, Maine, nearing completion
Autumn, 1945

BURNHAM, JAMES: *The Machiavellians*. Putnam, 1943.

By way of an extensive discussion of the works of what he terms "Machiavellian" writers, like Machiavelli, Mosca, Michels, Sorel and Pareto, the author of *THE MANAGERIAL REVOLUTION* presents the sociological basis of "managerialism," thus bringing the Machiavellian school up to date, as it were, and applying it to present-day events. He makes a good job of selecting and summarizing the concepts of these writers. Burnham makes no secret of his intention: he supports his own views by pointing to predecessors of no mean calibre whose theories, by now, have become either forgotten or distorted. One can say that he succeeds in this "rehabilitation."

Machiavellism makes the claim of being the science of the social process, a process which is one single rationalization of human irrationalism, a process of unceasing struggle for might and privileges, punctuated by cyclically recurring revolutions.

One might say that the Machiavellians see more than they are able to explain. One is struck by their description of the irrational behavior of the masses ("non-logic conduct," Pareto), of "the political formula" (Mosca), "the ideology" (in the sense of Robert Michels). All the more disappointing is the interpretation of this fundamental mass phenomenon. The unscientific theory is supplemented by a highly opportunistic policy: the Machiavellians (except for the founder of the school) developed their main activity shortly before the first world war, in the form of ruthless criticism of bourgeois democracy as well as of Marxism. According to them, the fruits of any revolution are always gathered by the "elite" of that particular

period. They fail to prove that this is a historical fact or necessity. And what is one to think of the unflattering characterization of the elite if one knows that Mosca and Michels belonged among the friends of Mussolini? It is to be regretted that Burnham fails to discuss either this fact or the literary influence of Pareto and Sorel on Italian fascism. Burnham merely wishes to describe the basis of managerialism, without making himself or the Machiavellians its champions, but one cannot help feeling that Burnham follows the argumentation of fascist theorists. Nevertheless, one should by no means consider the Machiavellians as fascist party ideologists. For that, one might say, their theories are not sufficiently "unequivocal," as further discussion will show.

An important criterion of Machiavellism is its treatment of the problem of democracy. Democracy, defined for more than a century as "self-government," "government by the people," etc., appears, from the Machiavellian point of view, as illusion, myth or political formula. We shall follow here the argumentation of Robert Michels.

In the last analysis, democracy is made impossible by problems of organization. The principle of division of labor and of specialization leads of necessity to the leadership of a small elite of specialists in whose hands rest all important decisions. It is not sufficient to point out that, after all, the leaders represent the people, for, as Michels puts it, "a mass which delegates its sovereignty, that is to say transfers its sovereignty to the hands of a few individuals, abdicates its sovereign functions. For the will of the people is not transferable, nor even the will of the single individual." This argument, which was also used by J. J. Rousseau, is considered

as somewhat "too abstract" by Burnham who thinks that such subtleties are unnecessary. To him, it is sufficient that "the leaders . . . as a group . . . are indispensable to every important organization. Their genuine indispensability is the strongest lever whereby the position of the leadership is consolidated, whereby the leaders control and are not controlled by the mass whereby, therefore, democracy succumbs." To put it more simply: Those who have the power utilize it for themselves.

At first sight, there seem to exist certain similarities between the formulations of Michels and the work-democratic concepts of Wilhelm Reich. The decisive point, however, is this: The Machiavellians consider the masses' inability to perceive their own life interests as unalterable. Reich, on the other hand, says clearly: "The question which, peculiarly enough, neither socialist nor any other 'freedom parties' ask themselves, is the following: *Are the millions of working individuals willing and able to take their responsibility for the social process?*" (In: "Living Productive Power, Working Power").

In our critique of "Machiavellian psychology" as propounded by Pareto, we shall see that far-reaching but erroneous conclusions are drawn with entirely inadequate means. Here, only a word about the erroneous sociological conclusion of the Machiavellians: Division of labor, of course, goes with the accumulation of wealth and exploitation, with the formation of a leisure class (Veblen) and of a proletariat. It has also been said again and again that exploitation, due to low productivity, first absolute and then relative, was a "historical necessity." What becomes now "historically necessary" is the abolition of exploitation. The Machiavellians, like many others, are wrong in considering this "demagoguery." They further contend that if capitalist exploitation were abolished, it would be replaced by a socialist or some other exploitation. All this

is "proved" by the "fight for privileges." Here we already encounter an erroneous psychology. For if we point out to the Machiavellian that the productive forces may reach a maximum, a point of complete satisfaction of needs—to which he agrees—he will tell us, in scientific terminology, the old tale of the fisherman and his dissatisfied wife. And with this, current psychology agrees. It is not sufficient to "see man as he is," it is also necessary to see how he could change.

The fact is undeniable that the Machiavellians have thoroughly unmasked the fraud which has been and is being perpetrated with democracy. But they failed to realize that what they criticized was not democracy at all. Starting from erroneous sociological and psychological premises, they become mournful mystics or cynically take the side of the "oligarchs." The former case is tragically illustrated by Robert Michels as follows:

The defects inherent in democracy are obvious. It is none the less true that as a form of social life we must choose democracy as the least of evils. . . . Democracy is a treasure which no one will ever discover by deliberate search. But in continuing our search, in laboring indefatigably to discover the undiscoverable, we shall perform a work which will have fertile results in the democratic sense.

The only possibility of historical development lies in the "circulation of the elites." Pareto applied a great deal of ingenuity to the demonstration of the inevitable course of this circulation. This is how Michels presents Pareto's ideas:

The democratic currents of history resemble successive waves. They break over on the same shoal. They are ever renewed. This enduring spectacle is simultaneously encouraging and depressing. When democracies have gained a certain stage of

development, they undergo a gradual transformation, adopting the aristocratic spirit, and in many cases also the aristocratic forms, against which at the outset they struggled so fiercely. Now new accusers arise to denounce the traitors after an era of glorious combat and of inglorious power, they end by fusing with the old dominant class, whereupon once more they are in their turn attacked by fresh opponents who appeal to the name of democracy. It is probable that this cruel game will continue without end.

One must admit that here the opinion of the "unpolitical individual" is expressed in unmistakable terms. Let us discuss here the seeming agreement between the work-democratic and the Machiavellian concept of the role of the politicians. We must accept Reich's repeated statements to the effect that "political parties will not be capable of bringing about a *factual* and rational new regulation of social conditions." "Political systems," says Reich, "develop and disappear without leaving any fundamental change in social living." "Work democracy is a newly discovered biosociological basic function of society, and not a political program."

Reich makes clear a very important point: It is *not* the politicians to whom society owes its functioning, even if this appears to be the case. He goes as far as comparing political systems to a malignant growth in the body social which sooner or later must lead to social chaos. Even in its most irrational forms, human society still functions as a result of natural life functions. If these functions are not scientifically understood and aided, they must lead to serious social and individual disturbances. In Machiavellism or managerialism the work-democratic concept is so diluted as to become meaningless. Burnham, in looking for the motor power of the social process, finds it in "freedom," which, primarily, means "the existence of a public opposition to the governing elite."

This principle of freedom or opposition is thought of in the following way:

The existence of an opposition means a cleavage in the ruling class. Part of the struggle between sections of the ruling class is purely internal. Manoeuvres, intrigues, even assassinations take place in the course of the continual jockeying for position. When, however, the opposition is public, this means that the conflicts cannot be solved merely by internal changes in the existing elite. The opposition is forced to undertake external moves, beyond the limits of the ruling class. Since rule depends upon the ability to control the existing social forces, the opposition seeks to draw forces to its side, and to win over new leaders who are coming up from the ranks of society. In this attempt it must promise certain benefits to various groups; if successful, it must keep at least a few of the promises. At the same time, the struggle stimulates new demands by many groups, even by the non-elite. Finally, the opposition must seek to destroy the prestige of the governing elite by exposing the inequities of its rule, which it knows much better than do the masses. Confronted with this multiple attack, the governing elite, in order to try to keep control, is in turn compelled to grant certain concessions and to correct at least some of the more glaring abuses. The net indirect result of the struggle, which from one point of view is only a fight among two sets of leaders, can thus be benefits for large sections of the masses. The masses, blocked by the iron law of oligarchy from directly and deliberately ruling themselves, are able to limit and control, indirectly, the power of their rulers. The myth of self-government is translated into a measure of reality by the fact of freedom.

Again, this description gives a correct picture of the usual political machinations, but one cannot see how human society can exist under such conditions, let alone achieve an even partial realization of self-government. One recalls here the pre-Marxist explanation of the origin of profit:

the capitalists all take advantage of each other. Marx's answer to this was simple: "The absurdity of this notion becomes evident if it is generalized. What a man would constantly win as a seller he would as constantly lose as a purchaser. . . . If a man first takes your money and afterwards returns that money in buying your commodities, you will never enrich yourselves by selling your commodities too dear to that same man."

One cannot make things as easy for oneself as do Burnham and his followers. A sociology with such vague concepts of the role of human working power ("control of the existing forces," "external moves," "winning over new leaders," "promising certain benefits," etc.) cannot be taken seriously. Its critique may resemble ours in words, but in content it is nothing but empty scolding. Burnham fails in his attempt to give his principle of freedom a concrete basis. He takes over from socialist criticism the statement that freedom is impossible in capitalism. On the other hand, the concentration of all social and economic forces in the state would preclude any possibility of freedom. His proposed solution is a division of the economic forces along "functional or syndicalist lines." Again the spectre of power appears, which he would ban through various groups with relative independence. He does not know that power is merely an economic factor which, with full gratification of human needs, loses the character of might. A splitting up of the economic forces, if it were possible, would lead us back to early capitalism. Burnham, who holds the Machiavellians in high esteem for their clear distinction between "formal meaning" and "real meaning," himself gets constantly lost in speculative constructions. Though it is correct that beliefs, myths, and ideals influence the masses and keep them from the realization of social goals, it is incorrect to say that there is no reason to believe that this could ever change. One

cannot help feeling that the Machiavellians do not wish to make any binding statements or are unable to do so. Objective research is one thing, the fear of saying too much another thing. This superior and at the same time cautious attitude is well expressed in Burnham's remarks on the role of psychology:

If we had at our disposal a completely developed and general science of psychology, presumably it would include politics and sociology, economics and history besides. But we have nothing even promising such a psychology. . . . These minor details which psychology is now able to tell us about, reaction-times, conditioned reflexes and infant peculiarities, teach us nothing at all about how forms of government change or a ruling class is wiped out.

At the same time, the Machiavellian school is highly psychologistic, as exemplified in the following illustration from Pareto's work. Pareto undoubtedly enters the realm of psychology when he considers the historical modes of human behavior as "logical" and "non-logical conduct." Formally, this distinction seems to be synonymous with what sex-economy terms rational and irrational behavior, but actually there is a fundamental difference. Significantly, Pareto has little to say about "logical conduct." It would seem to be everyday commonsense. "An investor, wanting to maintain his funds in the most profitable manner, withdraws capital from a field of enterprise that is drying up in favor of a new and expanding industry." However: "For the most part it is a delusion to believe that in social life men take deliberate steps to achieve consciously held goals." Burnham goes as far as stating: "*What happens to society, whether it progresses or decays, is free or despotic, happy or miserable, poor or prosperous, is only to the slightest degree influenced by the deliberate, rational purposes held by human beings*" (italic's the reviewer's).

This kind of "irrationalism" is based on the erroneous equation of instinctive behavior and non-logical conduct. It is a hangover from the period when philosophy stormed against Freud's theory of the unconscious. The theory of the instincts does not deal with such "judgments" as logical or non-logical. To equate psychic and irrational is not scientific. When Reich speaks of irrational behavior he means something concrete, the living structure as it has been formed in certain ways. In that case, understanding and practical mastery become one.

In spite of its irreparable theoretical shortcomings, Machiavellism has a certain significance even for our times. Not as a science of the elite's striving for power or of the failure of the great mass movements, but because of the ingenuousness of its criticism:

Many modern politicians habitually tell the people that their fate is in their own hands, they rule themselves, they make the final and fundamental decisions, they are the court of last appeal. Remarks of this kind are all derivations expressing some variant of the democratic formulas. Their real purpose is to enable the politicians, while ruling in their own interests, to protect their regime by the moral sanction of the myth of the popular will (Burnham).

With this formulation one must fully agree.

HARRY OBERMAYER

ZVI SOHAR and SHMUEL GOLLAN: *Die sexuelle Erziehung*. Sifriat Poalim, Palestine, 1943.

This is the first book in the Hebrew language which summarizes and interprets most of the current sexological theories insofar as they influence practical pedagogics. The authors base their book mainly on Max Hodann and on their experiences as psychoanalytically oriented teachers in the Jewish workers' movement in Palestine. The publication of such a book, in the

"far distant" Orient, seems worthy of note. It is of particular interest to us because the authors give a rather extensive discussion of Reich's *DIE SEXUALITÄT IM KULTURKAMPF* [In English: *THE SEXUAL REVOLUTION*.—Ed.]. The authors point out that Reich's sexological writings are widely known and eagerly read among youth. They believe that, next to Hodann, it is Reich who has formed the thinking of youth in our time to a far-reaching degree.

As gratifying as this recognition is, requiring, as it does, a great deal of courage, the often inexact presentation of Reich's writings is deplorable. It makes it easy for the authors subsequently to "refute" them. Since it is necessary again and again to protest against arbitrary interpretations of sex-economic concepts we will show in the following example how "easily" this scientific unfairness is practised.

"Freedom of sexual life as advocated by Reich," the authors write, "is no solution at all, for it does not depend on the free will of the adolescents. Quite apart from the socio-economic hindrances, this freedom depends on the ontogenetic fate, the developmental history of the sexual drive up to puberty. In many cases, sexual freedom is the downfall of adolescents, driving them into intolerable situations; thus, no less than its opposite, it becomes the basis of complexes and neurotic development. If we are to affirm freedom of sexual life for adolescents, a thorough reform of early sex education is necessary. As long as this is not achieved, the sudden change during puberty, as advocated by Reich, is dangerous and irresponsible. This applies, of course, equally to its propagation."

Reich, on the other hand, devoted a considerable part of the book in question to a discussion of the difficulties presented by the old structure and the problem of altering it. The "sudden change during puberty as advocated by Reich" is a pure fabrication of the authors.

HARRY OBERMAYER

MARGARET SANGER. *An Autobiography*. New York, W. W. Norton and Co., 1938.

The life of Margaret Sanger is the account of the struggle to make sound contraceptive information available to women in the United States. Margaret Sanger, a nurse in the New York slums, initiated the fight and for a long time and in many of its aspects carried it forward almost single-handed. The lack of compromise and the integrity with which she worked, the timidity and irrationality which opposed her on every hand, the recency of this movement, are all illuminating to the present generation who take contraception for granted and are of significance to all who work for sexual reform.

Margaret Sanger was herself one of eleven children of a tubercular mother. She says she was little more than eight when she first helped wash the new-born baby after one of her mother's deliveries. As a young student nurse, later, she was often midwife. Here, mothers first put to her the question which was to haunt her always: "What can I do not to have another baby right away?" Mrs. Sanger gives, as typical of the doctors' attitude toward this question when relayed to them, the statement, "She ought to be ashamed of herself to talk to a young girl about things like that." Later as an active socialist in New York, a wife and the mother of three children, Mrs. Sanger was often called on to speak on health to women's socialist groups. Sexual questions were always asked in the discussion. As a result of these questions she wrote a column for the *Socialist Call*, "What Every Mother Should Know." Of this she says: "I attempted . . . to introduce the impersonality of nature in order to break through the rigid consciousness of sex on the part of parents who were inclined to be too intensely personal about it." A second series of articles, "What Every Girl Should Know," brought her into her first encounter with the Comstock

law. The column was prohibited because of the mention of venereal disease.

In 1912 an incident occurred which turned all Mrs. Sanger's energies into the effort to make contraceptive information available to women. As a nurse she was called to attend a woman in a crowded slum. There were three small children and the woman died of a self-induced abortion. The woman had previously asked for contraceptive information but Mrs. Sanger did not have the information to give her. The doctor had advised abstinence.

The health and economic aspects of contraception were equally important to Mrs. Sanger as she now set out to get and make available the information she had lacked. Three principles were the foundation for her work: Adequate knowledge was to be made available by qualified people. Only safe and tested products were to be recommended. There was to be no compromise with the opposition.

During the following year, in France with her artist husband, Mrs. Sanger gathered formulas for suppositories from the wives of French syndicalists, who had them handed down from their mothers and grandmothers. She also compiled statistics on the relation between poverty and size of family in the United States and in Great Britain for her campaign to try to win public support. At the end of 1913, impatient that she was not achieving more, Mrs. Sanger returned to the United States to begin her work on the dining room table of her small apartment. The beginning was an eight-page paper called "The Woman Rebel." Appeal had been made to the feminist leaders to support the paper, but there was no response from this quarter. It was Socialists and Anarchists who subscribed, who came to volunteer their time typing, addressing envelopes, looking up material, writing articles.

The first issue of "The Woman Rebel" appeared in March 1914, and was immediately met with a notice from the post-

master that it was unmailable. The first issue had given no contraceptive information, but had merely announced the intention of doing so. The newspapers picked up the incident and ran headlines, "Woman Rebel Barred From Mails" but none saw infringement of free press in the action. After a study of Section 211 of the Federal Statutes, which barred from the mails in one category pornographic literature, contraceptive information and information causing abortion, Mrs. Sanger decided she had not violated the law and continued to publish the paper. In order to avoid confiscation, she and her helpers took each issue, dispersed over the city and mailed only two or three copies in a single mail box, so that no great number of them would appear at any single branch post office and thereby attract attention. Nevertheless the May and July issues were also banned. Margaret Sanger foresaw that there would be a stiff legal fight before she had finished her work for which she was not at this time prepared. She decided to be careful not to violate the law in this publication. Discussion of contraception was not forbidden by law, only the giving of contraceptive information. This she refrained from doing at this time.

Since, however, giving information was her primary purpose, she set out to write a pamphlet, in simple language for people of limited vocabulary, including what she had learned in France, with formulas and drawings. Twenty printers refused to print the pamphlet. A liberal lawyer whom she approached as the trustee of a maternal health fund merely advised her to be psychoanalyzed. Nevertheless she wrote her pamphlet, "Family Limitation." Funds were raised to print a hundred thousand copies, and a linotype operator on a foreign language paper printed it for her at night. It was to be distributed to all who had written in to the editor of "The Woman Rebel" with their urgent requests for specific information, as well as to trade union

leaders who wished to distribute copies. Envelopes were addressed, but mailing was held up until it would be possible to send them all out at the same time. But before this could happen Mrs. Sanger was indicted.

Unwilling to have the legal fight pivot around "The Woman Rebel" which did not really come to grips with the issue, and could not—even if she were cleared—win a ruling on the right to send information through the mail, Mrs. Sanger put her children in boarding school and went abroad, notifying the judge that she would return for trial when she had prepared her case and was ready to stand trial. In her letter she enclosed a copy of "Family Limitation."

Mrs. Sanger stayed in Europe more than a year, working in the British Museum on the history of contraception, discussing plans with British leaders who were in sympathy and who had been able to go farther with their work than was possible in the United States, visiting birth control clinics in Holland, marshalling more economic arguments to support her case. Her husband, meanwhile, who had still been in France during the writing and printing of "Family Limitation," had returned to New York. There one day he was called upon by two men, one of whom told a pathetic tale about his overburdened wife and requested a copy of the pamphlet. Sanger gave it to him. It was the only copy he had ever given out. The men turned out to be a Federal Agent and an agent of the Society for the Suppression of Vice. Sanger was arrested and sentenced to thirty days in jail. This brought Mrs. Sanger home. But by now public opinion was roused in her defense. Prominent British friends had written to President Wilson in her behalf. Mrs. Sanger was eager to have the case tried, in view of the facts she would include in her defense. The press commented, "The Sanger case presents the anomaly of a prosecutor loath to prosecute

and a defendant anxious to be tried." The indictment was quashed.

The second phase of the legal struggle began in the fall of 1916 when Margaret Sanger decided to try to get a favorable judicial interpretation on the New York State law. Two statutes were involved, one which said no one could give contraceptive information to anyone for any reason, and another which stated that physicians could give prescriptions to prevent conception for the cure or prevention of disease. Lawyers whom she consulted assured Mrs. Sanger that this second part was interpreted to refer only to venereal disease. Mrs. Sanger decided to make a test case to see if a ruling could not be had to include the protection of women from ill health as a result of excessive child bearing. The situation was such at this time that a woman physician had been dropped from the staff of a New York hospital for giving contraceptive information to patients whom she thought were in need of it.

Mrs. Sanger and her sister, who was also a nurse, decided to open a birth control clinic. No doctor was willing to work with them. This was a disappointment, since there would be clear violation of the law if a nurse gave information. However, they decided to go ahead and to include poverty as well as health as a reason for giving information, for if the law was to be violated it might as well include the whole issue.

They chose a crowded section of Brooklyn, and put notices in the mail boxes throughout the neighborhood announcing their opening, and arranged with a near-by druggist to supply the pessaries which they were recommending. From the opening day the clinic was crowded with long lines waiting on the street. On the ninth day a woman in plain clothes, whom they nevertheless recognized as a policewoman, joined the line and obtained information. The next day the clinic was raided by the vice

squad. The patrol wagon carried off the people waiting in the clinic as well as Mrs. Sanger and the case records of the four hundred and sixty-four women who had thus far attended the clinic. Mrs. Sanger, her sister and their secretarial assistant were all charged. Mrs. Sanger's sister was tried first. A physician's evidence in her behalf was ruled out as "incompetent and irrelevant." The defense was allowed only fifteen minutes to present its argument on the unconstitutionality of the law. The defendant was found guilty and sentenced to thirty days in the workhouse. She announced that she would go on a hunger strike, which she did, thereby bringing nationwide publicity to the case. She was released by Governor's pardon when she was too weak to refuse it. As a result, Mrs. Sanger, who had expected a much heavier sentence since she was the real instigator, also received thirty days.

This case rallied the support of many people, among them prominent and wealthy women who now undertook to back the "birth control movement," and ushered in a third phase of the work. This period is highlighted by several events: A wider publication program, another visit to Europe in the attempt to get formulae for cheaper contraceptives, the founding by one member of the organization of the Holland Rantos Company, the first to manufacture contraceptives for women in the United States, the founding of a second clinic with women doctors cooperating, and the first International Congress on Birth Control. These were not without continued difficulties.

The events that are important to cite reveal primarily the effects of political pressure groups, and the incompetence of officials in authority. For example, the "Birth Control Review" was barred from the mails on the judgment of a sixteen-year-old clerk. A meeting of the International Congress at Town Hall was closed by the precinct police captain on his own

initiative at the suggestion of one of the Catholic hierarchy, and despite all protest the Captain went without reprimand for his unauthorized action. Here, however, the press supported Mrs. Sanger. In fact, popular support increased sufficiently so that when the second clinic was raided, twelve years after the closing of the first clinic, and the records confiscated, the medical profession and the legal profession came to the aid of the clinic and won an apology from the police commissioner. The times had changed. A higher state court had given an interpretation permitting the giving of contraceptive information by physicians to women who might be physically endangered by child bearing. The clinic was operated strictly within this interpretation. Mrs. Sanger employed a private detective service to trace the origin of the raid. The trail led again to the Catholic hierarchy which had been embarrassed by the questions of Catholic social workers. A last but not less important aspect of the difficulties was the irrationality of co-workers. Some withdrew because of political differences. Some gave up when personal ambitions could not be satisfied through this channel. The Birth Control League itself finally became so involved in the mechanics of organization that Margaret Sanger withdrew.

A sad and final chapter to the story is the six-year struggle Mrs. Sanger carried on and the hundred and fifty thousand dollars she spent trying to get Congressional action to change the Federal statute which grouped contraceptive information with pornographic literature and barred it from the mails. This effort failed. However, in 1936 a Federal District Judge gave a ruling which permitted doctors to send contraceptive supplies through the mails, and to order them, within the country or abroad. In 1937 the American Medical Association Committee on Contraception recommended that techniques of contraception be taught in medical schools. This

achievement is only nine years old. It occurred, however, twenty years after it had been impossible to find a physician who would risk working with two nurses in the first birth control clinic of New York City.

There is much more in Mrs. Sanger's account which could not be included in this review. The details of the trials and the raids show irrationalism in its purest form. The visits abroad give interesting foreshadowing glimpses of things to come, such as the German physician in the 1920's who felt it would be fatal to the state to have contraception in the hands of the women, but was in favor of legalized abortion which could be state-regulated; or the decline of the contraceptive clinics in Russia in the 1930's; the discouraging picture of population in Japan, China and India which diverted Mrs. Sanger's own arguments toward the larger questions of population control, and permitted the 1927 Birth Control Congress in Geneva to be usurped by those concerned with population policy.

Yet, though the achievements have been partial, and the original goals have become to a large measure diverted, what has been achieved is the result of one woman's pioneering, in the face of every type of obstacle including her own ill health. Her book is almost a handbook in astute and uncompromising procedure toward a goal. It is also a warning of the irrationality with which one must deal, not only in opponents but in those who merely sit on the sidelines and wait, and even more bitterly in those who wish to help but are caught in the compromising bonds of personal ambitions or personal fears.

GLADYS MEYER

ARNOLD GEsELL, M.D. and FRANCES ILG, M.D., in collaboration with JANET LEARNED and LOUISE B. AMES: *Infant and Child in the Culture of Today: The Guidance of*

Development. New York, Harper, 1943.

The continued appearance of books from the Yale Clinic for Child Development, and their increasingly wide influence on nursery education in the home and in the school, makes it important to examine the concepts and recommendations they contain. *INFANT AND CHILD IN THE CULTURE OF TODAY*, though not the most recent publication, is the one specifically addressed to the general audience of parents and teachers and therefore lends itself best to discussion.

Gesell and his associates have made wide observations of children, particularly of rates of growth and rates of learning. They recognize and stress the individual differences of development in children, and on this basis emphasize the necessity for the child to set his own pace, to determine his own rhythm, up to a point. By implication the Yale Group sees culture as a changing entity. Its central concept is one of mutual accommodation between the needs of the child and the demands of the culture.

In contrast to the rigid authoritarian type of child training, the recommendations of Gesell seem a long step forward. For example, the chapters on feeding, sleep, bowel and bladder control, emphasize the necessity of interpreting a child's behavior in terms of the process of natural growth toward maturity, rather than in terms of "training" and habit formation. The tone of the text is reassuring, attempting to relieve anxieties and pressures of parents and teachers which might be directed to any of these processes. Adult tolerance, and unemotional meeting of progress or regression or change of rhythm on the part of the child are the goals. Similarly, infantile sex interests are to be viewed with "tolerance."

There can be no doubt that parents and teachers who follow Gesell will interfere with their children much less than those who must "train" children like puppies

and force them as early as possible to be miniature adults. This is a social gain. But the point of view is still far from the positive affirmation of the rights and needs and natural, true feelings of childhood, or from the cultural criticism inherent in such affirmation.

There seem to me to be two major reasons why the point of view of the Yale Clinic, despite its excellence in comparison with older ones, has critical limitations.

First, these doctors and psychologists have only old scientific concepts within which to operate. They see physiological, mental, and emotional growth as essentially separate in character. Although they protest that the child must grow as a unit, that he must simultaneously combine adjustments in all three spheres, the functioning separateness is assumed with a corresponding limited understanding of each. The old dichotomy between physiological and mental persists despite attempts to sidestep it, and there is helplessness before the sphere of emotions which are sometimes subsumed under the mental as in "mental health" and sometimes under physiological comfort.

The phrases "mental life," "mental development," "the growing mind" are the most common terms in which Gesell and his associates describe the functioning child. For example, there is the statement, "The mental life embraces three levels of reality: 1) *the vegetative functions* of respiration, alimentation, elimination; 2) *the world of things*, in time and space; 3) *the world of persons* in home and community" (p. 20). They seem to be operating within the old psychology of perception in which the mind as unit perceives things outside itself. This leads to such amazing statements as, "This sensitivity to cultural impress is so great that he [the baby] acquires a sense of other selves before he acquires a clear sense of his own self . . . He is aware of the incoming and outgoing hand of his mother before he

becomes acquainted with his own hand as it travels in and out of his field of vision" (p. 32). Surely the pulsating organism of the new baby does not depend on the field of vision for its awareness of self or of others. But within the limits of perception psychology there is no other way to interpret awareness. Even a correct sense of the new baby's functioning unity with the natural and cosmic universe cannot be developed and dealt with because of this rigid category "mental." So we see the meaningless statement, "In the beginning he [the baby] is all universality, or all ego, as you choose" (p. 31).

With this confusion at the base of its interpretation of living functioning, it is not surprising that Gesell and his co-workers cannot move forward to the idea of really trusting the child and of criticizing the neurotic cultural demands put upon him. Although the book uses the term "self regulation" throughout, in the precept that the child must "achieve a measure of self regulation" it is never clear whether self-regulation is a kind of "mental independence" which the parents help the child climb to as a goal; or whether the home must so modify the demands of the culture as to permit "a measure" (what measure?) of self-regulation. Probably both are meant, but it is very unclear.

If the natural-scientific frame is limited, so also is the social scientific frame unclear and often by implication dependent on nineteenth-century points of view. Gesell seems to see culture and the institutions within it as entities in themselves, almost like living bodies imposing their will on others and going through a process of autonomous change and development. "The home, like the state," he writes, "has its problems of government and must give controlled scope to the spirit of liberty which animates the child." Such loose statements equivocate and leave open to the individual parent a primary emphasis on control or scope in the name of the

institution, home or state. Similarly in the central theme "the relationships between a child and his culture are highly reciprocal," the culture is seen almost as a mystic, dynamic agent, outside the character structure of the individuals who make the culture. This lack of precision in thought colors the book with naive optimism and permits statements that are mystical nonsense. "A baby is not only a specific embodiment of a future adult; he is a generic embodiment of the venerable past of the human race. He represents a vast cloud of ancestral witnesses compacted into a single individuality. He is the inheritor of the ages." Whether it intends to or not this kind of talk feeds the reactionary upholding of a past that must be sloughed off if we are to have healthy children, healthy adults and a rational world. The flight into such language, into the eulogies of Democracy and of American life, may reassure anxious parents, but they reassure them in their neurotic clinging to the past and need for approval in the present, and they bespeak a scientific superficiality or timidity unworthy of the fine descriptive content of much of the book.

A theory of child care which operates within these limitations in scientific concepts will naturally break down when it runs head on to the real clash between present-day culture and the natural functioning of the child. Thus we are told that at 40 weeks the infant discovers his genital, but that this is generally a transitory event in his physical self-discovery. He then apparently has no sexual feelings or interests until two and a half where his "comprehension" of his own urinary functions leads to "curiosity" about differences between the sexes. We next hear of him at age three and a half asking questions about marriage. At age four "under stress" he sometimes grasps his genitals.

This is all so far from what we know to be true of the healthy child that we can believe that the observers in the Yale

Clinic have been blinded by their concentration on "mental development," by their own fears and conventionalities, or have only been able to observe children in an environment such as clinic or school, where prior to observation they had already undergone the usual cultural suppression by their parents.

This book, or rather the influence of this clinic, is hard to evaluate. Children allowed to grow in a modicum of freedom may be better able to wage their own battle for their natural needs. The mother following Gesell may have no help in understanding her positive contact with the child if she has it, and no support in real affirmation, but if she has no natural contact under the influence of Gesell she may harry him less. I believe I would give the book to some parents, those perhaps who can only accept this much. It might also be a beginning for parents and teachers just becoming acquainted with children who might grow even further in time. But for students and teachers in the children's field it should undergo critical examination. As it stands, *INFANT AND CHILD IN THE CULTURE OF TODAY* will make them all too comfortable with suppressive aspects of vital areas of child life.

There is an ironic sentence in this product from one of the oldest and most elaborately equipped and staffed clinics in America: "Should science ever arrive at the happy juncture where it can focus its full force upon the interpretation of life, it will force us to do more complete and timely justice to the individual personality and the very young. And this in its turn will have far reaching effects upon the adult population" (p. 11).

It is in this concentration upon the interpretation of life, the fundamental life function of pulsation, the nature of the basic life energy, orgone, in human beings and in the cosmic universe that Reich has provided the base on which a theory of child development can be made without confusion, evasion or mystical retreat. That this leads to the development of different human structure and deep-reaching changes in the ways of behaving which make up culture is inevitable; just as it is inevitable that the translation of theory into practice will only come if there are those who can bear to be uncomfortable with the culture of today and are willing to struggle for the recognition of the young child's right to function freely.

GLADYS MEYER

EXCERPTS FROM A. S. NEILL'S "THAT DREADFUL SCHOOL"

Editor's note: *This continues the excerpts published in vol. 4, 1945, 115-128.*

THE PRIVATE LESSON (Continued)

There sometimes arises a jealousy about P.L.s. . . . "Why should Mary get P.L.s. and not me?" There have been cases in which girls have deliberately and consciously behaved as problems merely to be included in the P.L. list. One of them smashed some windows and when asked what her idea was, replied: "I want Neill to give me P.L.s." It is usually a girl who behaves in this way, a girl whose father has not, in her estimation, paid sufficient attention to her. Naturally I am the father symbol for all the children, and my wife is the mother symbol. Socially my wife fares more badly than I do, for she gets all the unconscious hate of mother displaced on to her by the girls, while I get their love. The boys give their mother love to my wife and their father hate to me, but boys do not express hate so easily as girls. That is due to their being able to deal so much with things instead of with people. A boy kicks a ball while a girl spits catty words at a mother symbol. But to be fair I must say that it is only during a certain period that girls are catty and difficult to live with—the pre-adolescent and the first year of adolescence period, and not all girls go through the stage; much depends on the previous school and more still on the mother's attitude to authority.

In the P.L.s. I point out relationships between reactions to home and school. Any criticism of me I translate as one of father; any accusation against my wife I show to be one against mother. I try to keep analysis objective, that is I do not enter into subjective depths in the Jung

and Silberer manner. That would be unfair to children. There are occasions, naturally, when a subjective explanation is necessary, as in the case of Jane recently. Jane, aged thirteen, went round the school telling various children that Neill wanted them. I had a stream of callers . . . "Jane says you want me." I told Jane later that sending others to me meant that she wanted to come herself.

What is the technique of a P.L.? How do I begin with a new pupil? I have no set method. Sometimes I begin with a question: "When you look in the glass do you like your face?" The answer is always no. "What part of your face do you hate most?" The invariable answer is: "My nose." Adults give the same reply. The face is the person so far as the outside world is concerned. We think of faces when we think of people, and we look at faces when we talk to people. So that the face becomes the outside picture of the inner self. When a child says he dislikes his face he means his personality, so that my next step is to leave the face.

"What do you hate most in yourself?" I ask, and usually the answer is a corporal one . . . "My feet are too big." "Too fat." "Too little." "My hair." I never give an opinion, never agree that he or she is fat or lean, nor do I force things. If the body is of interest we talk about it until there is nothing more to be said. Then we go on to the personality.

With young children the technique is eclectic. I follow the child's lead. A typical first P.L. with a six-year-old girl is that of Margaret. She comes into my room and says: "I want a P.L."

"THAT DREADFUL SCHOOL"

229

"Righto," I say. She sits down in an easy chair.

"What is a P.L.?" she asks.

"It isn't anything to eat," I say, "but somewhere in this pocket I have a caramel . . . ah, got it," and I give her the sweet.

"Why do you want a P.L.?" I ask.

"Evelyn had one and I want one too."

"Good. You begin it. What do you want to talk about?"

"I've got a dolly. (Pause.) Where did you get that thing on the mantelpiece? (She obviously does not want to wait for an answer.) Who was in this house before you came?"

Her questions point to a desire to know some vital truth, and I have a good suspicion that it is the truth about birth.

"Where do babies come from?" I ask suddenly.

Margaret gets up and marches to the door. "I hate P.L.s.," she says, and departs, but a few days later she asks for another P.L., and so we progress.

Little Tommy, aged six, also did not mind P.L.s. so long as I refrained from mentioning "rude" things, and for the first three sessions he went out indignantly, for I knew that only rude things interested him. He was one of the victims of the masturbation Verbot.

It will be seen that the P.L.s. are really a re-education. Their object is to lop off all complexes given by morality and fear. Many children never have them and do not want them—the children who have been properly brought up without parental lies and lectures. I say that a free school could be run without them, for they merely speed up the re-education by a scavenging spring cleaning before the summer of freedom.

I find that analysis does not work at once. The analyzed person does not benefit completely for some time, usually about a year. Hence I never feel pessimistic about older pupils who leave school in

what we might describe a half-baked psychological condition. There was Tom, sent to us because he had been a failure at his Public School. I gave him a year's intensive analysis, and there was no apparent result. When he left Summerhill he looked like being a failure all through life. But a year later his parents wrote that he had suddenly decided to be a doctor and was studying hard at the university. Bill seemed a more hopeless case. His analysis took three years. He left school apparently an aimless youth of eighteen. He drifted about from job to job for over a year, and then he decided to be a farmer. All reports say that he is doing well and is keen on his work.

The same sort of experience happens to adults who have been analyzed. It seems that after analysis has swept away the accumulation of dead litter that has warped life, there is a fallow period, a period of emptiness: the outworn emotions have been got rid of but nothing has taken their place. It is not the analyst's job to attempt to fill that void; the patient must do that for himself. And my experience is that he does it every time.

A DAY IN SUMMERHILL

Breakfast is from 8.15 to 9, and the staff and pupils fetch their breakfast from the kitchen hatch which is opposite the dining room. Beds are supposed to be made by 9.30 when lessons begin. At the beginning of each term a time-table is posted up. Children are divided into classes according to their age and interest; the classes being called by Greek letters. Thus Corkhill in the laboratory may have on Monday the Betas, on Tuesday the Gammas and so on. Max has a similar time-table for English, Cyril for Mathematics, Roger for Geography, my wife for History. There is, of course, no compulsion to attend lessons, but if Jimmy comes to English on Monday and does not make an appearance again until the Friday of the following

week, the others quite rightly object that he is keeping the work back, and they may throw him out.

Lessons go on until one, but the infants and juniors lunch at 12.30. The school has to be fed in three relays, and the staff and seniors sit down to lunch at 1.45. Afternoons are completely free for everyone. What they all do in the afternoon I do not know. I garden, and seldom see youngsters about. I see the juniors playing gangsters, but some of the seniors busy themselves with motors and radio and drawing and painting. In good weather they play games. Some tinker about in the workshop, mending their cycles or making boats or revolvers.

Tea is at four, and at five various activities begin. The juniors like to be read to; the middle group likes work in the art room—painting, linoleum cuts, leather work, basket making, and there is usually a busy group in the pottery; in fact the pottery seems to be a favorite haunt morning and evening. The wood and metal workshop is full every night.

There is no work, that is, no organized work, after six or six-thirty. On Monday nights the pupils go to the local cinema on their parents' bill, and when the program changes on the Thursday those who have the money may go again. Pocket money is given out on Thursday for this reason.

On Tuesday night the staff and seniors have my psychological talk. The juniors have various reading groups then. Wednesday night is lounge night, that is, dance night. Dance records are selected from a great pile, and as the lounge is next door to our sitting room I dread Wednesday nights, for the tunes that the children like are to me simply a dreadful noise. They are all good dancers, and some visitors say that they feel inferior when they dance with them.

Thursday night has nothing special on, for the seniors go to the cinema, and Fri-

day is left for any special event, such as play rehearsing. Saturday night is our most important one for it is General Meeting night. Dancing usually follows, and Sunday is our Theater evening.

There is no distinct time-table for handwork. There are no set lessons in woodwork. Children make what they want to, and what they want to make is nearly always a toy revolver or gun or boat or kite. They are not much interested in elaborate joints of the dovetail variety; even the older boys do not fancy elaborate joints.

A workshop is the most troublesome department of a free school. In the early days the workshop was always open, and as a result every tool got lost or damaged, for a child of nine would use a fine chisel as a screwdriver, or take out a pair of pliers to mend his bike and leave them lying on the path. I had my own private workshop separated from the main workshop by a partition and locked door. My conscience kept pricking me; I felt that I was being selfish and asocial, and at last I knocked down the partition. In six months there wasn't a good tool in what had been my division. One boy used up all the letter punches making cotter pins for his motorcycle; another tried to put my lathe in screw-cutting gear when it was running. Polished planishing hammers for brass and silver work were used for breaking bricks. Tools disappeared and were never found. Worst of all the interest in handwork died away, for the elder pupils said: "What's the good of going into the workshop? All the tools are rotten now." And rotten they were. Planes had teeth in their blades; and saws had none. I proposed at a meeting that the workshop be locked again, and the motion was carried. But in showing visitors round I had a feeling of shame when I had to unlock the workshop each time. What! Freedom, and locked doors? It looked bad indeed, and I decided to give the school an extra workshop which would

remain open all the time. I got one fitted out with everything necessary—bench, vise, saws, chisels, planes, hammers, pliers, set squares, etc. One or two of the bigger lads sharpened up all the tools.

One day about four months later I was showing a party round the school. When I unlocked the workshop one of them said: "This doesn't look like freedom, does it?"

"Well," I said hurriedly, "you see the children have another workshop which is open all day long. Come along. I'll show you it."

There was nothing left in it except the bench. Even the vise had gone, and in what sundry corners of our twelve acres the chisels and hammers lay I never knew.

The workshop business continued to worry the staff, but myself most of all, because tools mean much to me. I concluded that what was wrong was that the tools were communal. "Now," I said to myself, "if we introduce the possessive element, if each child has his own kit of tools." I brought it up at a meeting, and the idea was well received. Next term some of them brought back kits of tools, and in two months these also were kicking about the grounds. I had to conclude that children are not interested in tools. Possibly it is the range of ages that causes most of the trouble, for assuredly tools mean almost nothing to small boys and girls.

Locking doors has increased recently at Summerhill. I brought the matter up one Saturday night.

"I don't like it," I said. "I took visitors round this morning and had to unlock the workshop, the laboratory, the pottery and the theater. I propose that all public rooms be left open all day."

There was a storm of dissent.

"The laboratory must be kept locked because of the poisons, and as the pottery is joined on to the laboratory it has to be kept locked too."

"We won't have the workshop left open. Look what happened last time."

"Well, then," I pleaded, "surely to goodness we can leave the theater open. Nobody will run away with the stage."

The playwrights, actors, actresses, stage-manager, lightsman—they all rose at once.

Said the lightsman: "You left it open this morning and in the afternoon some idiot switched on all the lights, 3,000 watts at ninepence a unit."

Another said: "The small kids take out the costumes and dress in them."

The upshot was that my proposal to leave doors unlocked was supported by two hands—my own and a girl of seven, who, I discovered later, thought that we were still voting on the previous motion that children of seven be allowed to go to the cinema.

The hardest lesson we adults have had to learn is that children have no regard for property. They do not destroy it deliberately; they destroy it unconsciously. In our innocence we lined their bedrooms with beaverboard in order to make them warmer. Beaverboard is a kind of thick pasteboard, and a small child has only to see it to start picking holes in it. The beaverboard wall of the ping-pong room looks like Ypres after a bombardment. Boys seem to be more destructive than girls, possibly because they are less conscious, but destructiveness is seldom a senseless thing. The boring of beaverboard is similar to nose boring, and it is usually quite unconscious, but destruction often has a creative meaning and intention. If a boy needs a piece of metal for a boat keel he will take a nail if he can find one, but if he cannot find a nail he will use my precious Whitworth taps if one of them happens to be about the right size. A tap, like a nail, is to a child a chunk of metal. A bright lad once used a guinea whitewash brush for tarring a roof.

We have learned that children have values that are entirely different from adult values. If a school tries to uplift a child by giving it beautiful classical paintings on

the walls and beautiful furniture in the rooms, it is beginning at the wrong end. Children are primitives, and until they ask for culture they should live in as primitive environment as we can give them. Nine years ago when we came to our present house we had the agony of seeing primitive lads throwing their knives at beautiful oak doors. We hastily bought two railway carriages and made them into a bungalow with roof over all, and a sitting room between, and a bathroom overhead. There our primitives could chuck their knives as much as they wanted to. Yet today the carriages are not in a bad state. They are inhabited by boys from twelve to eighteen, and the majority of them have reached the stage of caring for comfort and decorations. Some of them keep their compartments beautifully tidy and clean; others live in untidiness, and they are mostly boys who have come from Public Schools. You can always tell the ex-Public School lads in Summerhill; they are the most unwashed and wear the greasiest flannel bags.

Girls, on the whole, are tidier than the boys. Seldom do we get a girl who won't wash. We have one at present, age nine, just arrived from a home where Granny had a complex about cleanliness and apparently washed Mildred ten times a day. Her housemother came to me saying: "Mildred hasn't washed for a week. She won't have a bath and she is beginning to smell. What shall I do?"

"Send her in to me," I said, and Mildred came in looking very dirty in hands and face.

"Look here," I said sternly, "this won't do."

"But I don't want to wash," she protested.

"Shut up," I said. "Who's talking about washing? Look in the glass. (She did so.) What do you think of your face?"

"It isn't very clean, is it?" she said with a grin.

"It's too clean," I said. "I won't have girls with clean faces in this school. Now get out."

She went straight to the coal cellar and rubbed her face black. She came back to me triumphantly.

"Will that do?" she asked cheerfully.

I examined her face with due gravity.

"No," I said. "There is a patch of white on that cheek."

Mildred had a bath that night.

Parents too often attach far too much importance to tidiness. It is one of the seven deadly virtues, and the man who prides himself on his tidiness is usually a second-rate fellow who values the second best in life. The tidiest person has the most untidy mind. I say it with all the detachment of a man whose desk always looks like a heap of papers under a No Litter notice in a public park.

I sometimes daydream about the school I should build if I had money. It would be built by the village blacksmith, at least the department for boys and girls between eight and fourteen would be. Inspired by the wonderful pictures I used to see of school children in America building their own school, I used to think that such a way was the only way. It isn't. Believe me it isn't. If children build their own school be sure that some gentleman with a breezy, benevolent authority is standing by shouting encouragement lustily. When this authority is not present children simply do not build schools.

Last summer we needed a sanatorium, and we decided to build one ourselves, a proper san. of brick and cement. None of us had ever laid a brick. We started in, and a few pupils helped to dig the foundations and knock down brick walls for the bricks. *But they demanded payment.* We refused to give wages, and in the end the san. was built by staff and visitors. The job was too dull for children, and they had no self-interest in it. But at the beginning of this term when they wanted a

cycle shed they built one themselves without any help from the staff.

I am writing of children, not as we adults think they should be, but of children as they really are. Their real community sense does not develop until the age of eighteen or more. Their interests are immediate, and the future does not exist for them. They are so much more unconscious than we are. I know that much of the work I do has a dual motive; I dig in order to get potatoes, but I realize that I could use the time more profitably if I wrote newspaper articles and paid a laborer to dig the garden. I dig because the second motive is more important to me than newspaper guineas: I want to keep healthy. My friend, R. C. Watson, the Aldeburgh car dealer, stands and tells me what a fool I am to dig in an age of mechanics and I tell him that motors are ruining the health of the nation because no one walks or digs nowadays. He and I are old enough to be conscious of health problems, but a child is completely unconscious of health. No boy would dig in order to keep himself fit, so that in any work he has only a single motive—his interest at the time. He might justly reason thus: What's the use of a san. to me? I'm not sick and ain't going to be sick. But a bike shed, now, that's different. My saddle will keep dry at nights."

Boys and girls who would not lend a hand to mix cement, will spend days digging deep trenches in a phantasy warfare. That may be the reason why we get such good reports of the industry of our ex-pupils: they have lived out their phantasy self-centred stage in Summerhill, and can face the realities of life without any unconscious longing for the playhood of childhood.

THE SEX QUESTION

Opponents of coeducation are those who fear that if you have boys and girls educated together they will sleep together. They do not say that this is behind

their doubts and fears. They rationalize: girls have a slower tempo in learning, it makes boys effeminate and girls masculine, and so on. But deep down is the moral fear, which is a jealous fear. The old want the young to be moral because the old want to keep the best things in life for themselves. That is the only excuse for morality. All other excuses are evasions. Sex is the greatest pleasure in the world, and it is repressed because it is the greatest pleasure in the world.

So that every now and again an adult comes to the school and says: "But don't they all sleep with each other?" and when I answer that they don't, he or she cries: "But why not? At their age I would have had a hell of a good time."

It is necessary to discuss sex as it appears at various ages. Freud has made us all familiar with the idea that sex is there from the beginning of life, that the baby has a sexual pleasure in sucking, and that gradually the erotic zone of the mouth gives place to that of the genitals. Thus masturbation in a child is a natural discovery, not a very important discovery at first, because the genitals are not so pleasurable as the mouth or even the skin. It is the parental Verbot that makes masturbation so great a complex, and the sterner the Verbot the deeper the sense of guilt and the greater the compulsion to indulge.

The well brought up infant should come to school with no guilty feeling about masturbation at all. There are few, if any, of our Cottage children who have any special interest in masturbation, because no Verbot has made the interest a guilty, hidden one. Sex to them has not the attraction of something mysterious: from their earliest time with us (if they have not been told at home) they know the facts of birth, not only where babies come from but how they are made. At that early age such information is received without emotion, partly because it is given without emotion. So it comes that at the age of fifteen or seven-

teen such children can discuss sex without any feeling of wrong or pornography.

It is the removal of the guilt complex about masturbation that makes Summerhill what a doubter would call "safe." It is this freedom from guilt that has given us a record of sixteen years without any signs of homosexuality. Some years ago a Public School boy tried to introduce sodomy, but he had no success, and was incidentally surprised and alarmed when he discovered that the whole school knew about his efforts. This absence of homosexuality is of the greatest importance. It suggests that homosexuality is masturbation on promotion: you masturbate with the other bloke and he shares the guilt with you and thus lightens your burden. When masturbation is not considered a sin the necessity to share the guilt does not arise. The root basis of the whole sex question is masturbation. When that is free the child naturally goes on to heterosexuality at the proper time. Many unhappy marriages are due to the fact that both parties are suffering from an unconscious hate of sexuality arising from buried self-hate due to masturbation Verbots. The question of masturbation is the super-eminent one in education. Subjects, discipline, order, games, all are vain and futile if the masturbation question remains unsolved. Freedom in masturbation means glad, happy, eager children who are not much interested in masturbation. Masturbation Verbot means miserable, unhappy children often prone to colds and epidemics, hating themselves and consequently hating others. I say that the happiness and cleverness of Summerhill children is due to the removal of the bogie of fear and self-hate that masturbation Verbots give.

I have said that there is no homosexuality in Summerhill. That is true, but there is in Summerhill, as in any other place where there are any children, an unconscious homosexuality during a certain stage of development. It is passive, negative. Our

boys of nine and ten have no use for girls at all. They despise them. Their unconscious homosexuality makes them go in gangs, but gangs that are not interested in sex; their interest is making folks "stick 'em up!" So girls of that age go in girls' gangs; their interest is still in their own sex. Boys and girls are not much interested in each other until they are about fifteen or sixteen.

I am often asked if I have any fears that things may happen between the older pupils. I have no fears, because I know that I am not dealing with children who have a repressed and therefore unnatural interest in sex. Some years ago we had two pupils arrive at the same time, a boy of seventeen from a Public School and a girl of sixteen from a girls' school. They fell in love with each other. They were always together. I met them late one night, and I stopped.

"I don't know what you two are doing," I said, "and morally I don't care, for it isn't a moral question at all. But economically I do care. If you, Kate, had a kid my school would be ruined."

I went on to expand the theme.

"You see," I said, "you have just come to Summerhill. To you it means freedom to do what you like. You have, quite naturally, no feeling for the school, and if you had been here from the age of seven I'd never have had to mention it, for you would have had so strong an attachment to the school that you would think of it."

I never spoke to them again on the subject. It was the only possible way of dealing with the problem, for sex is not a moral problem at all.

Children who are freely brought up about sex matters have an open mind about what is called vulgarity. A week or two ago, I heard that clever artist, Max Miller, in the London Palladium. Max sails very near the wind in a breezy Elizabethan manner, but it struck me then that he gets laughs from his audience that he couldn't

have got from Summerhill. Women went off into shrieks when he mentioned ladies' undergarments, but Summerhill children would not see anything funny in them. Six months ago I wrote a play for the Cottage children, quite a "vulgar" play about a woodcutter's son who found a hundred pound note and showed it round ecstatically to his family—which included the cow. The cow swallowed it, and their efforts to get the cow to drop it were in vain. Then the boy had a brilliant idea: they would open a booth at a fair and charge a shilling for a two minutes' entry. If the cow dropped the money during your entry you got it. The play would have brought the house down in a West End music hall. Our children took it in their stride, and the actors (six to nine years old) saw nothing funny about it at all. One of them, a girl of eight, told me that I was silly not to use the proper words in the play; she meant what most people would call improper words.

Improper words! That brings us to swearing.

Swearing is of three kinds: sexual, religious, excremental. In Summerhill the religious kind does not count, because the children are not taught religion. Now most children (and most adults) swear. The army is famous for what a character of Kipling's called "the adjective," and universities and clubs (not only golf clubs) have a sexual and excremental language. Schoolboys swear secretly, and they tell dirty stories. The difference between Summerhill and a prep. school is that in the one the children swear openly, in the other secretly. It is not true that freedom to swear automatically takes all attraction away from obscene words. Our little children use such words freely and without proper context, whereas if a big boy or girl swears, a noun or adjective is used as an adult uses words, that is, appropriately. Sex words are used more commonly than excrement words. Our children have no

feeling that water closets are funny things, and their lack of repression about excrement makes reference to it rather dull. It is different with sex. Sex is so important a thing in life that its vocabulary covers our whole life. In its mentionable form we see it in practically every song and dance. A film story without sex will not thrive. Sex appeal takes more of the national income than books and music; cosmetics sell better than concert tickets. But we must remember that underneath its mentionable form there is always the unmentionable. Behind the bridal carriage old shoe and the rice are the "unmentionables" that these symbolize. The vogue of the risqué story is entirely due to its unmentionableness. In a society that had no sex repressions the unmentionable would disappear. That is what is really happening in Summerhill: nothing is unmentionable. No one is shockable, because being shocked implies having an obscene interest in what shocks you.

Oh, but there are people who cry in horror: "What a crime to rob little children of their innocence!" Ostriches hiding their heads in the sand. Children are never innocent, thank God. They are often ignorant, and it is the depriving the child of ignorance that the ostriches fly into hysterics about. There should not be such a thing as ignorance, and the most suppressed child is never ignorant about much. His contact with other children gives him "knowledge," that dreadful knowledge that miserable little kids give to each other in dark corners. There are no dark corners in Summerhill, and the children have a really clean attitude to life.

One would think that being freely brought up the children would run about naked in summer. They don't. Girls up to nine will go nude on a hot day, but small boys seldom do. This is puzzling when one takes into consideration the Freudian statement that boys are proud of having a penis while girls are ashamed of not having one. Our small boys cer-

tainly do not want to exhibit themselves a lot, and the senior boys and girls never strip. In summer the boys and men wear only shorts without shirts, and the girls wear bathing dresses. There is no sense of privacy about taking baths, and only new pupils lock bathroom doors. Some of the girls take sunbaths in the field, but no boys ever think of spying on them. The boys are not Peeping Toms. Two years ago one of the men on the staff played tennis naked, but the government told him to put his pants on in case tradesmen and visitors came along the front drive. I saw Max, our English master, just before I sailed, digging a trench in the hockey field, assisted by a gang of helpers, ages from nine to fifteen, of both sexes. It was a hot day and Max had stripped. No child seemed to think anything about it.

I dislike any attempt to force nudism on children. They live in a clothed civilization, and nudism must remain something that the law does not permit: the very fact that the law does not permit it is bound to give children a warped attitude to the human body. I have used it myself, or got one of the women staff to use it, in order to satisfy the curiosity of a small child who had a sense of sin about nakedness.

Nine years ago when we came to Leiston we had a duck pond, and in the morning I would go out and have a dip. Some of the women staff and the elder girls and a few big boys used to join me. Then we got a batch of boys from Public Schools. The girls at once began to wear bathing costumes. I asked one, a pretty Swede, why.

"These new boys," she said. "Derrick and the old boys treated it as a natural thing, but these new boys leer and gape, and, well, I don't like it."

Since then I think that the only communal nude bathing has been done during evening trips to the sea.

Do the elder boys and girls fall in love with each other? Of course they do, but

pairing off is seldom seen; if it takes place it is with those of seventeen or eighteen. There is no social attempt to jeer or rag a couple, nor are chalk marks put on the walls. The smallest children play that game sometimes, and when I came away there was a large chalked notice on the playroom outside wall: "James is in love with Sally." James is four, and Sally is three.

The frequent dancing is an excellent outlet for at least unconscious sex interest. I say unconscious because a girl may be a beauty, but if she is a bad dancer she will not get many partners.

We have found that girls who have just come to puberty do not run after the boys. It would appear that the unconscious homosexual component of girls lasts longer than it does with boys. They keep in their gangs, and their relations with the boys are ragging but quite friendly relations. At this age interest in the opposite sex takes an aggressive form. It does so with boys also, so that there is no natural propensity at the age of fourteen to pair off with each other. At this age the girls are jealous of their rights, and the superiority of the boys in strength and roughness makes them annoyed. It seems to be the age of the Masculine Protest.

The sex relations between boys and girls in Summerhill appear to me to be very healthy. One sex will not grow up with any illusions or delusions about the other sex. Not that Summerhill is a family and all the nice little boys and girls are brothers and sisters to each other. If that were so I'd become a rabid anti-coeducationist at once.

Last night I was reading Aldous Huxley's *EVELESS IN GAZA*, and came to a horrible chapter about a prep. school. Miserable little boys not only rag a stutterer, but also torment a boy whom they have caught masturbating. The atmosphere of that school is nauseating. The priggishness of the boys, their complete insincerity—they

seem to be sincere only in their farting exhibitions.

Our juniors have an interest in the Old English word for feces. They use it a lot—the ones from polite homes do, I mean homes that talk of No. 2 and "going to the House of Commons" (how appropriate a name!). Children like Anglo-Saxon words and more than one child has asked me why is it wrong to say "shit" in public but right to say "feces" or "excrement." I'm gravelled if I know. I do know that excrement is to child a most important subject of study, and any suppression of the interest in the interests of "good form" is dangerous and stupid. Adults seldom realize that there is nothing shocking to a child in feces and smells. It is our shocked attitude that gives the child a conscience about them.

One persistent criticism of Summerhill is that the children swear. It is true that they swear—if saying Old English words is swearing. It is true that any new pupil will swear more than is necessary, and at our meetings a girl of thirteen who came from a convent was always being charged with shouting out the word "bugger" when she went bathing. It was impressed on her that she only did it when bathing, and that therefore she was swanking. As one boy put it: "You are just a silly little twirp. You want to swank in front of outside people and show that Summerhill is a free school, and you just do the opposite: you make people down on the school."

In a P.L. I explained to her that she was really trying to do the school harm because she hated it.

"But I don't hate Summerhill," she cried. "It's a topping place."

"Yes," I said, "it is, as you say, a topping place, but you aren't in it. You are still living in your convent, and you have brought all the hate of the convent and the nuns with you. You identify Summerhill with the hated convent, and it isn't

really Summerhill you are trying to damage; it is the convent."

But she went on shouting out her buggers until Summerhill became a real place to her and not a symbol. It is the floating population that makes swearing a social difficulty in Summerhill. Not that the old pupils are saintly in mouth, but the old-timers swear at the right time, so to speak. They use conscious control.

Children accept swearing as a natural language. Adults condemn it because their obscenity is greater than that of children. Parents must ask themselves the question: Shall I allow my children to swear openly, or shall I leave them to be obscene in dirty dark corners like the boys in Huxley's novel? There is no half-way house. The hush hush way leads to the adulthood of tiresome commercial traveller stories and music-hall innuendoes, that is, to an obscene repressive state. The open way leads to a clear clean interest in all life. At a venture I say that our old boys and girls have the cleanest minds in England.

MANNERS

The enquiring mother sometimes expresses a grave doubt: "If I send my son here won't he behave like a barbarian when he comes home for holidays?"

My answer is: "Yes, if you have made him a barbarian already."

It is true that the spoiled child coming to Summerhill goes home as a barbarian for at least the first year. If he has been brought up with manners he will regress to barbarism every time—which only shows how little manners sink into a child. They are the first layer to be dropped under freedom. New children generally show marvellous manners, that is, they behave insincerely. That in Summerhill they come to have good manners is a tribute to the goodness of childhood, for we ask for no manners at all, not even a Thank You or a Please.

Again and again visitors say: "But their

manners are delightful!" Peter, who was with us from the age of eight to nineteen, has just gone to South Africa. His hostess writes: "Everyone here is charmed with his good manners," yet I was quite unconscious of whether he had any manners or not when he was with us. Clearly this business of manners should be looked into.

Firstly let us distinguish between manners and etiquette. Manners are unconscious, but etiquette is conscious. On this ship I should call the behavior good etiquette rather than good manners. We dress for dinner; we rise when a lady approaches our table; we say excuse me when we rise from a table (God knows why). It is all outer meaningless behavior. A Scot and his wife who sit at my table: they and I show real good manners. The dinner bugle goes at seven, and we sit down promptly, but many of the rich people on board do not begin to dress till after the final *Roast Beef of Old England* has been played for dinner, that is, they unthinkingly keep the tired stewards up till late at night. Manners are thinking of others, no, feeling for others. You must be socially conscious to have good manners. Scots, for some obscure reason, have better manners than the English, and the equality a Glasgow tea-shop lassie shows when she discusses the weather with you is one of good manners. Scots are poorer than the English, and it is among the poor that manners flourish. The etiquette of the rich is a protection of their possessions, but the manners of the poor are the expression of a love for one's fellows. A classless society would not need etiquette, but it would have manners.

Now, Summerhill is a classless society. The wealth and position of your father does not count. What counts is your personality. And what counts for most is your sociability, your being a good member of the community. Our good manners spring from our self-government, for in self-government you are constantly being compelled to see the other person's point of view.

It is unthinkable that any Summerhill child would mock a stutterer or jeer at one who was lame, yet prep. school boys sometimes do both—boys who say Please, and Thank You and Excuse me, sir. Manners are a matter of sincerity.

I never notice bad manners amongst small children, no doubt because I do not look for them. Yet I have never seen a child rush in between two visitors who were talking together. They never knock at my sitting-room door, but if I have visitors they simply retire quietly, often saying, "Sorry." A good compliment to their manners was recently given by Watson, who comes to see us often and always in a different car, for his trade is selling used cars. He said to me: "I've come here with cars for the last three years, and never once has a kid scratched a wing or attempted to enter a car. And this is the school where the kids are alleged to break windows all day long."

I have already mentioned their friendliness to visitors. This friendliness might be classed as good manners, for I have never heard the most antagonistic visitor complain of being molested in any way by any pupil who has been six months in the school. Our theater performances are marked by excellent audience manners always. Even a bad turn or play is applauded more or less—naturally less, but the general feeling is that the actor or dramatist has done his or her best, and should not be censured or despised.

In the dining room etiquette is not a strong point. Feeding is so intensive and instinctive an affair that children become more or less unconscious when tucking in. Table manners come later, come without forcing or encouragement. Parents who are strict at table simply give children hate complexes about food, and it is possible that the complexes children often have about certain foods are linked up with silly parental ideas of table manners. A child should have the same choice of food

that an adult has; he should never be forced to eat what he doesn't like. In Summerhill we always give even the smallest child complete freedom to choose from the daily menu, and we always have a choice of three middle-course dishes for dinner. One result is, of course, that we have less wastage than most schools have, but that is not our motive: we want to save the child rather than the food.

Our dining room is a noisy place. Children, like animals, are loud at meal times. We only allow visitors without noise complexes to dine with us. Here I confess to cowardice, for my wife and I dine alone, but then my wife and I spend about two hours a day serving out their dinner.

Jealousy is something that has to be guarded against in the dining room. Even some of the staff are jealous when visitors receive any special dish, and if the cook gives one senior pupil asparagus the others will wax eloquent about kitchen favorites. Food is the most important thing in a child's life, much more important than sex. This is natural, sex is something that has contact with the outside world. The sex organs are the only part of the body that requires another for fulfilment, so that all social feelings originate in the sexual organs. The stomach is egocentric, selfish, and children have not the urge to extreme social contact because their sex organs are not developed. Egoism belongs to childhood, and when allowed freedom to live itself out this egoism gradually becomes altruism. The boy of ten is far more possessive about his plate of mutton than the old tribal chief was about his women. The psychology of the child must be sought for in his guts. Naturally, for feeding comes first in life. Eating is as much a sexual pleasure as intercourse is, and in childhood it is the greatest pleasure of all. It is therefore too fundamental, too vital to be marred and perverted by table manners. The sad truth is that the children in Summerhill who have the worst table manners

are those who have been brought up genteelly. The more Rolls-Roycey the home, the worse the table manners—and all other manners.

THE WEAR AND TEAR OF FREEDOM

I have suggested more than once in these pages that the adults in Summerhill are no paragons of virtue. We are human like everyone else, and our human frailties often come into conflict with our theories. An example is that of property. I have often said and written that parents seem to value their property more than they value their children, giving the illustration of how fuss is made if a chair is scratched or a plate broken. But in my own case I find that I sometimes put possession first. If a maid or a child drops a pile of plates I say nothing and my wife says nothing. Accidents are accidents. But if a child borrows a book and leaves it out in the rain my wife gets angry, because books mean much to her. In such a case I am indifferent, for books have little value for me. On the other hand, my wife seems vaguely surprised when I make a fuss about a ruined chisel, for I value tools and they mean nothing to her.

My wife and I are in a special and peculiar position with regard to possessions. Our only home is the school, and there we have hardly any privacy. Our sitting room adjoins the lounge, and we have to listen to every scrap and every painful dance record through the wall. And there is always a noise, for children are naturally noisy. Luckily we have grown accustomed to noise, and we are seldom conscious of it. Still, by the end of the term we are both rather tired not only of noise but also of the constant attention demanded from us. Our life is one of giving all the time, and visitors wear us out more than the children do, for they also want us to give; seldom, if ever, do we have a visitor who has something to give us. Visitors behave very much as children do. Recently

one lady sat herself down and said: "I hope you have the afternoon to spare, Mr. Neill, because I am sure you will be interested in the story of my life." I have been criticised for mentioning myself so much in my books, but it is my only chance to do so, for in daily life I cannot get a word in edgewise about myself. My life is one long give, and it should be. We must give to children. It may be better to give than to receive, but it certainly is more exhausting.

Hence it comes that the adults in Summerhill sometimes get annoyed. Not often, but occasionally. Children are not young adults; they are a different species. They love noise and mud; they clatter on stairs; they shout like louts; they are unconscious of furniture, and, if playing a game of touch, they would walk over the Portland Vase if it happened to be in their way, walk over it without seeing it. I once saw a normal happy girl burn holes with a red-hot poker on the walnut mantelpiece in the staff room. When challenged, she started and seemed quite surprised. "I did it without thinking," she said, and she spoke truly: her action was a symbolic one beyond the control of the conscious mind.

We must face the fact that adults are possessive and children aren't. Any living together between children and adults must result in conflict over things material. Children will mend the fire five minutes before going up to bed; they will heap it with coals, for coals to them are only black rocks, while to me they mean a bill of £200 a year. They will leave electric lights on because they do not associate light with electricity bills, but I cannot complain about the lights; the children, in the main, are considerate, possibly because of my frequent reminders that our district has the dearest electricity in England.

Furniture to a child is non-existent. We buy old car seats and old bus seats, but in a month or two they look wrecks. Every now and again some youngster, waiting for his second helping, will while away

the time by tying his fork into knots. This is a chargeable offense, but it is usually done unconsciously or at best semi-consciously. And it isn't only the school property that they neglect or destroy: their new cycles they leave out in the rain when the newness had had three weeks' vogue. Their destruction at the age of nine or ten is not meant to be evil or antisocial: it is simply because things are not real to them. When the phantasy flight is on them they take their sheets and blankets and make pirate ships in their rooms, and the sheets get black and the blankets torn in the process. And what does a dirty sheet matter when you have hoisted the black flag and fired a broadside?

Really the man who tries to give children freedom should be a millionaire, for it is not fair that the natural carelessness of children should always be in conflict with the economic factor. The argument of the disciplinarian who says that children must be compelled to respect property does not appeal to me, for it always means some sacrifice of childhood's play life. My ideal is that a child should come to a thing of his own free will and choice, and as they leave the pre-adolescent indifference to property stage children become respecters of property. Our seniors, two of them came as crooks years ago, guard our property like watchdogs; the crooks are truly wonderful detectives, but then they know all the tricks of the trade. When children have freedom to live out their indifference to property they have little chance of ever becoming profiteers and exploiters. If Summerhill produces a millionaire I shall consider it has failed.

Our general meetings, alas, show the conflict between children and adults. That is natural, for to have a community of mixed ages and to sacrifice all to the early ages would be a complete spoiling of the child. The adults make bitter complaint if a gang of seniors have laughed and talked after we have all gone to bed, for

our rooms are on top of each other. Parsons complains that he spent an hour planing up a panel for the front door, went to lunch, and came back to find that Billy had converted it into a shelf. I make accusations against the boys who borrowed my soldering outfit and didn't return it. My wife makes a fuss because three small children came after supper and said they were hungry and got bread and jam—and Ivy found the pieces lying in the passage next morning. Corkhill reports sadly that a gang threw his precious clay at each other in the pottery. So it goes on, the fight between the adult point of view and the juvenile lack of awareness of things. But it never degenerates into personalities: there is no feeling of bitterness against the individual. This conflict keeps Summerhill very much alive; there is always something happening, and there isn't a dull minute in the whole year. And luckily the staff is not too possessive. I myself am possessive only about certain things. It hurts me when I have bought a special tin of paint at 25s. a gallon and I find that a girl has taken it to paint an old bedstead with. I am possessive about my car and my typewriter and my workshop tools, but I have no feeling of possession about books and furniture and clothes and people. If you are possessive about people you ought not to be a schoolmaster. I had to face this issue boldly. I used to find that I was irritated when two young things fell in love, and I rationalized my emotion and thought that my irritation was really fear of awkward consequences. When I realized that it was nothing of the kind but a possessive jealousy of the young, all my irritation and fear went. The damnable thing is that you have to be possessive in a possessive civilization. Since our children will be forced by environment to be possessive why should we try to make them possessive before their time? Their job is to create, and if their creation involves the destruction of our precious belongings we

must grin and bear it, even when we do make a fuss about it.

The wear and tear of materials in Summerhill is a natural process. It could be obviated only by the introduction of fear. The wear and tear of psychic forces cannot be obviated in any way, for children ask and must be given. Fifty times a day my sitting room door opens and a child asks a question: "Is this cinema night?" "Why don't I get P.L.s?" "Have you seen Corks?" and most common of all: "Where's Mrs. Lins?" It is all in the day's work, and I do not feel any strain therefrom, but by the end of a term my wife and I are fatigued, fatigued by three months of giving. Then there is the fatigue of showing round visitors. Every summer I become a kind of commissionaire without uniform. Scores of times I walk with visitors. . . . "This is the lab . . . yes, we built the san. ourselves . . . and here is the theatre" . . . and so on. And most of the questions visitors ask are the same: "But how will children brought up like this fit into life?" . . . "But is it really necessary for a child to swear?" By the end of the summer term I feel like screaming if I see a strange car drive up.

The staff, on the whole, does not get sucked dry as my wife and I do. That is because my wife and I are symbolic figures in the school. She is every child's mother; I am every child's father. In some cases we represent the ideal parents who seldom scold and never moralize, and children who have fear of their real parents haunt our sitting room. The children of really free parents never come near us. The others are always testing us out. One boy of eleven whose father is a strict man opens my door twenty times a day, looks in, says nothing and shuts the door again. I sometimes cry at him: "No, I'm not dead yet." He has given me the love that his own father would not accept, and he has a fear that his ideal new father may disappear, a fear that covers the wish that his unsatisfactory father should disappear.

Sometimes my wife has weeks of wearing out when a spoiled little child comes new to school, especially the upper middle-class little girl of seven or eight who has had everything done for her by nurses. Such a child is a heavy burden, not only because of its demands, but also because of its hate: every spoilt child has a hell of a lot of hate in it.

Added to all this is the working out of the transference that comes from P.L.s. If you tell a child any vital truth, or if it confides its troubles to you, he or she gets a transference, that is, you get all the child's emotions showered on you. When I have cleared up a small child about birth and masturbation the transference is very strong. At one stage it may take the form of a negative transference, a hate transference, but with a normal child this does not last long, and the positive love transference soon follows it. A child's transference breaks easily. Soon he forgets all about me and his emotions go out to things and other children. Girls naturally get a stronger transference to me than do boys, but I cannot say that a girl gets a positive and a boy a negative transference.

It is much easier to live with children who fear you than with children who love you, that is, you have a quieter life, for when they fear you children give you a wide berth. My wife and I and our staff are loved by the children because we approve of them, and that is all they want. It is because they know that we will not give them disapproval that they often haunt us. Our sitting room is filled with children nearly every night, and we often have gramophone records on the super-radio-gram. Here disagreements arise. They want Duke Ellington and Ambrose and I hate the stuff. . . . We make no attempt to lead them to higher tastes, whatever higher may mean. Our view is that every child should have the chance of hearing Duke Ellington and Pachmann. So we have no censorship of cinema-going. By

seeing all films they find out for themselves what is good, and jolly good taste they acquire too.

On the whole, the adults in Summerhill sacrifice much for the children. We have no real private life, partly because the house is not a good one for a school, not good from the poor adult's point of view, for the children are always on top of us.

One noteworthy fact is that seldom if ever does a member of the staff lose his or her temper. I have lost mine about three times in the last nine years, and then I only swore a lot. That says as much for the children as for the staff. Really they are delightful children to live with, and the occasions for losing a temper are very few. If a child is free to approve of itself it will not be hateful, and it will not see any fun in trying to make an adult lose its temper. We had one woman teacher who was oversensitive to criticism, and the girls ragged her. They could not rag any other member of the staff, because no other member would react. You can only rag people who have dignity, and we have none. Ragging in a friendly fashion they naturally do. There is no element of wounding in their ragging; it is really an expression of love. Living with them is a full life, and the joys outweigh the annoyances so heavily that it is a happy life for adult and child.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF APPROVAL

Last night I sat on deck and listened to a discussion on the treatment of the criminal. I took no part in the discussion, partly because I hate argument, partly because these people were talking in a different language. One good lady, obviously a firm believer in the mission of the English—the civilizing mission of imperialism—was of opinion that the only way to punish the criminal is to make him feel physical pain. "He should get what he gave, only more so," she said. And she looks like a nice, kindly, normal person. Most of the others appeared to agree with

her. Bored by the talk I rose to go to bed, and the lady said to me: "What would you do with the criminal, Mr. Neill?"

"Reward him," I said, and as I departed they all laughed at my joke.

These nice people were expressing the opinion that is held by the great majority. The usual belief is that if you give a boy a reward of sixpence for stealing your goods, he will of course steal more goods in order to get more rewards. It seems the logical thing to do, and most of us work by logic, forgetting that psycho-logic is something entirely different and something infinitely more important than mere logic. That the boy does not steal in order to get further reward proves that logic is not enough. He does not steal more, and he is likely to steal less. In fact he has an excellent chance of being cured by the reward method.

The logical person leaves out one mighty factor: the unconscious motive. In every case of juvenile stealing the child feels itself an unloved child. The theft is a symbolic attempt to get something of great value, and whether the theft is one of money or jewellery or whatnot, the unconscious wish is to steal love. Hence when I give a boy sixpence for stealing my baccy I am aiming at his unconscious feeling, not his conscious thought. He may think I am a mug, but what he thinks does not matter much: it is what he feels that matters, and he feels that I am his friend, his approver, one who gives him love instead of hate. Every child feels that punishment is hate (and it is, of course), and every punishment makes the child hate more and more. If you study the diarch who says, "I believe in corporal punishment. I got my share of it when I was a kid, and damme, sir, it did me a power of good"—if you study this man you will always find him a hater. The final truth is that hate breeds hate and love breeds love, and no child was ever cured unless by love.

Every child is not a thief, only the in-

ferior child is. Yet every child requires the same love and approval that should be given to the crook proper. Symbolically every adult is a father or mother to the child, and, every time an adult punishes, the child acquires a fear and hate of the adult behind the symbol—father or mother. That is a disturbing thought.

I have said before, said for years, that many parents treat their children as if they hated them. On this boat there are children who are obviously loved by their parents, but there are others who are not loved. One mother nags her daughter of ten all day long: "Don't go in the sun, darling . . . dearest, please keep away from that railing . . . no, love, you can't go into the swimming pool today, you will catch your death of cold. . . ." The nagging is not a love token; it is a token of the mother's fear that covers an unconscious hate. The girl fears and hates her mother, and is about as spoiled a darling as one can hope to see. For that poor kid I can see only an adult life of discontent and hate, for she gets no approval at all from her mother, and the father looks as if he could approve but fears to in his wife's presence.

You can only give a child love if you have remained a child yourself. The tragedy of adults is that they have grown up and have forgotten their childhood; the little girl on this boat will be glad to forget her childhood I should imagine, and her children will in turn suffer. To deal successfully with children, whether you are a parent or a teacher, you must be able to understand their thoughts and feelings. And you must have a sense of humor—childish humor. To be humorous with a child gives the child the feeling that you love it, but the humor must never be cutting or critical. It is wrong to treat a child with humor at the wrong time, and his little dignity should never be attacked. If he has a genuine grievance it must be taken seriously.

Children under suppression are cruel in

their jokes. I have hardly ever seen a practical joke played in Summerhill, and the ones I have seen were usually engineered by new arrivals from prep. or Public Schools. Sometimes at the beginning of a term, when the children return from the greater suppression of home, there are teasing displays, hiding bicycles and so on, but these do not last over the first week. In the main the humor of Summerhill is a kindly one, and the reason for that is the sense of being loved, approved of. It proves the point that the child is born good, and remains good when all opportunity to hate and fear is abolished.

WHAT THE PUBLIC WANTS TO KNOW ABOUT SUMMERHILL

I write this chapter in South Africa. In it I shall try to answer the many questions the people here have asked me when I lectured.

If a child is doing something dangerous at Summerhill do you allow him to do it?

Of course not. People so often fail to understand that freedom for children does not mean being a fool about children. We do not allow our little children to decide what food they will eat, or when they shall go to bed. We guard them against dangers from motors or broken glass or airguns or deep water. You should never give a child responsibility that he is not ready for. But remember that half the dangers that children encounter are due to bad education. The child who is dangerous with fire is one who was forbidden to know the truth about fire by being allowed to burn himself a little.

What is your policy with a child brought up in a sincerely religious home? Do you allow it to practise religion?

Yes, the child can practise religion without having any adverse comments made by staff or pupils, but I find that no child wants to practise religion when he is free.

Some new pupils go to church for a few Sundays and then they cease going. Church is too dull. I see no signs that worship is a natural thing in children, and when the sense of sin is washed out prayer is never used. Generally children from a religious home are insincere and repressed. That is inevitable under a religious system that has lost its original love of life and concentrates on its fear of death. You can give a child fear of the Lord and that is all, a fear of the Lord that is the source of unhappiness and neurosis. Children do not need a religion because their life is a spiritual creative one.

Why do so many adults express gratitude to a strict master of their childhood?

Conceit mostly. The man who gets up at a meeting and says: "I was thrashed as a kid and it did me a hell of a lot of good," is virtually saying: "Look at me. I'm a success in spite of, even because of my early thrashings." And a slave does not really want freedom. He is incapable of appreciating freedom. Outside discipline makes men slaves, inferiors, masochists. They hug their chains. Safety First is a phrase that surely was coined by a man who thanked God that his teachers had given him it in the neck.

In your school government is there competition for government posts? If so, is this a cause of jealousy?

Being on the government is so strenuous a life that there is no competition for office. On the contrary, only the most advanced pupils will take on social duties. Even when the government members were paid officials there was no competition for offices.

What would you do with a child who plays truant?

In Pretoria I answered: "Shoot his headmaster."

Under Summerhill system how does a child's will power develop? If allowed to do what he pleases how can self-control develop?

This question (a common one) shows how difficult it is to grasp the whole idea of Summerhill. A child is not allowed to do as he pleases. His own laws hedge him in on all sides. He is allowed to do as he pleases in all things that affect him and him only; he can play all day if he wants to, because working is a matter that concerns him alone, but he is not allowed to play a cornet in the Maths' room because his playing interferes with others.

But what, after all, is will power? The quality that Mussolini has? Or the power that makes a man give up smoking? To me the will is the deep unconscious, the ID. There is no Free Will, because what we will consciously is not of the greatest importance. I can "will" myself to give up tobacco, but I cannot will myself to fall in love with Greta Garbo, nor will myself to like botany. No man can will himself to be good, or, for that matter, bad.

You cannot train a person to have a strong will, but if you educate children in freedom they will be more conscious of themselves, for freedom allows more and more of the unconscious to become conscious. That is why most Summerhill children have no doubts about life: they know what they want, and I guess they will get it too. Remember also that what is called a weak will is usually a sign of lack of interest. The "weak" person who is easily persuaded to play tennis when he has no desire to play tennis, is a person who has no ideas of what his interests really are, and a slave discipline system encourages such a person to remain weak-willed and rather futile.

What is the cause of excessive worry about work, and why do so many young people commit suicide nowadays?

I question if any child has ever worried

about work. The apparent worry has a deeper source, and almost invariably it is one arising from a sense of sin about masturbation. Children who have no guilt about masturbation are usually bright and keen in their work.

I imagine that the second part of the question deserves the same answer. The masturbation Verbot is one that causes a child to hate its body and soul, and suicide is a logical reaction.

What do you do when a young child contracts the smoking habit?

A child has no natural appetite for smoking, and if he smokes it is because he wants to be grown up. Owing to the inferiority complex that a child's small size gives him, he tends to identify himself with adults. Thus nearly every new pupil begins to smoke in Summerhill when he finds that he is free to do so. But the smoking does not last more than a day or two, and the child returns to something more enticing, his sweets. Some of the eldest pupils smoke, but others never smoke at all.

What do you do with a child who is obstinate and sulks?

I don't know. I never see one. There is no occasion for obstinacy when a child is free. Defiance in a child is always the fault of the adult. If your attitude to a child is a love one you will do nothing to make him obstinate. An obstinate child has a "grouse," and my job would be to find out what was at the root of the grouse. I should guess a feeling that he has been treated unjustly at home.

By showing that you are on the side of a young thief does he not interpret this as indicating your approval of stealing as a pastime? What causes him to discontinue a pastime which to him has your approval?

The question shows that the asker does

not think in terms of the Unconscious. A child symbolically steals love, and if reprimanded or punished he realizes that he is being given hate. If I reward a thief for stealing I make him feel that I am on his side, that I approve of him, that I love him. When he has my love (and remember that I am a father substitute) he does not need to steal love in the symbolic form of money or fountain pens. If parents were on the side of their children there would be no young thieves.

Have you ever had any failures at your school?

Oh, yes. One or two girls from convents came too late, and could not realize what freedom meant. A few boys from public schools who also came too late. Some children turned out to be pathological and had to be sent elsewhere. One boy will possibly be a failure in life because his parents gave him a fear of the supposed evils of masturbation. He could not work because his whole interest was the morbid one: Am I going to hell? I tried in vain to get his parents to take off the masturbation Verbot. They wouldn't, and the boy will possibly go through life unable to settle down to anything.

One bright boy could not get over his antisocial stage. We sent him to live with the cowboys of Texas and then with the Red Indians. He lived out his primitive interests there, and returned to Summerhill a fine lad.

There is always a good possibility of failure when the parents are against the school. It sounds incredible that such parents send their children to Summerhill, but sometimes they do because other schools have failed, and they select Summerhill in desperation. That is partly why we gave up taking young crooks who had been expelled from the Public Schools. Their parents usually had no belief in freedom; if they had their children wouldn't have been crooks.

Do children ever attend church on their own?

No. New pupils may go to church to begin with, but after about three Sundays they cease going. No one comments on their going to church, and nothing is ever said against church-going. I expect a child soon senses that Summerhill believes in original virtue, while the churches believe in original sin.

What do you do with a child who answers back?

The question was apparently asked by a class teacher. No child ever answers back, because you only answer back when you are treated as an inferior by someone who is dignified. In Summerhill we speak the language of the children, and if a teacher complained of being answered back I should know that he or she was a dud.

How does a child react to home after being at school, I mean during the holidays?

That depends on the home. Some of the homes are like the school; the children are not suppressed, and they go home and return to school with pleasure. But in the main they prefer school because their playmates are there, and a holiday in a London flat is rather dreary. Consequently some pupils return to school before the holidays end. This is occasionally a matter for jealousy on the part of the parents.

Other children have suppression at home, and we can always tell what the home is like when they return to us after a long holiday. I have taken children by train to London at the end of the term and had a quiet journey. I have brought them back to school at the beginning of the term and had a wretched journey, for the suppressed ones let off steam and made themselves a damned nuisance.

How does the Summerhill government

insist on fines? Suppose a child refuses to pay the fine?

Children never do. I expect they would refuse if they felt they had been treated unjustly. Our appeal system overcomes any fear of injustice.

You told of a row you made when some children pulled up your potato plants. Why didn't you reward them by giving them the whole field of potatoes?

If I reward a boy for stealing I am dealing with a love-starved youth, who must be treated psychologically. But when a few normal children raid my potato patch it is a social problem of give and take. I stand up for my rights socially as a matter of course, and as there is no fear of me as a headmaster I can charge a group at a general meeting just as any child can charge a group. And as I am not a perfect person and do not want to be, I have a human reaction when the labor of hours is negated by the boyishness of campers-out. I have the same right to be protected by law and order as the child has, and I use this right when it is a matter of group action. If I were to make every law breakage a matter of individual psychology, social life would be impossible, and the children would throw up self-government in disgust.

Do you believe in home lessons?

I don't even believe in school lessons unless they are chosen voluntarily. The home lesson habit is disgraceful. Children loathe home lessons, and that is enough to condemn them.

Do you believe in corporal punishment?

This question came after I had spoken for over an hour on child psychology. It reminds me of the lady who was being shown over the engine-room of a ship. "I understand it all clearly," she said, "but there is only one thing that puzzles me: what is the use of the boiler?"

But perhaps the question should be answered. Corporal punishment is evil because it is cruel and hateful. It makes the giver and the recipient hate. It is an unconscious sexual perversion. In communities where masturbation is suppressed the punishment is given on the hand, the means of masturbation. In segregated boys' schools where homosexuality is suppressed the caning is given on the bottom, the object of desire. The religious hate of the "vile flesh" makes corporal punishment popular in narrowly religious regions.

Corporal punishment is always a projected act. The giver hates himself and projects his hate on to the child. The mother who spansks her child hates herself, and in consequence hates her child. If a school were a play-place with freedom to learn or not learn strapping and caning would automatically die out. Many schools do not use corporal punishment, but they are schools in which the teachers know their job.

Why do some boys only learn when they feel physical pain?

I expect that I could learn to recite the Koran if I knew that I'd be flogged if I didn't. One result of course would be that I should hate the Koran and the flogger and myself. The only thing that a flogged boy learns is that the cane is painful. I don't know what sort of a person asked the question. It may have been a South Africa magistrate, for caning of small children for "crimes" like playing marbles on the street seems to be fashionable in the Union. One doctor told me of supervising the caning of sixty small native children. He said that the second cut drew blood. Such a custom is unspeakable, but so long as we tolerate caning in the school we cannot say much about the barbarities of magistrates. Anyway, since learning is of no moment, why cane at all? We can only discuss corporal punishment as a branch of sexual perversion.

Why do children masturbate and how should we stop them?

We must distinguish between infantile masturbation and adult masturbation. Infantile masturbation is really not masturbation at all. It begins with curiosity. The infant discovers its hands and nose and toes, and mother crows with delight. But when it discovers its sexual apparatus mother hastily takes the hand away. The main effect is to make the sexual organs the most interesting parts of the body. The infant's erotic zone is the mouth, and when small children have had no moral Verbots about masturbation they have very little interest in their sexual organs. If a small child is a masturbator the cure is to approve of the habit, for then the child has no morbid compulsion to indulge.

With older children who have reached puberty approval will lessen the habit. But remember that sex must find some outlet, and because marriage is always late owing to the fact that the young cannot marry until they can afford to set up a house, the sexually ripe are faced with two alternatives: masturbation and clandestine sexual intercourse. The moralists condemn both, but they will not offer a substitute. Oh, yes, of course, they advocate chastity, which means the crucifixion of the flesh. But since only a few monastics can apparently crucify the flesh definitely, the rest of us cannot get away from affording sex an outlet. Until marriage is made independent of the financial element the masturbation problem will continue to be a big one. Our films and novels rouse sex in the young and lead to masturbation because proper sex is denied to youth. The fact that everyone has masturbated doesn't help much. The Companionate Marriage seems about the only way out. But so long as sex is attached to sin this is not a likely social solution.

But to return to the question: tell the child that there is nothing sinful about it, and if you have already told him lies about

its alleged consequences, disease, madness, etc., be brave enough to tell him you were a liar. Then and only then will masturbation become something of less importance to him.

Do you honestly think it is right to allow a boy, naturally lazy, to go his own easy way doing as he chooses, wasting time? How do you set him to work when work is distasteful to him?

Laziness doesn't exist. The lazy boy is either physically ill or he has no interest in the things that adults think he ought to do. I have never seen a Summerhill child who came before the age of twelve who was lazy. I have had many a "lazy" lad sent from a desk school. Such a lad remains "lazy" for quite a long time, that is, until he recovers from his education. I do not set him to work that is distasteful to him, because he isn't ready for it. Like you and me he will have many a thing to do that he hates doing, but if he is left free to live through his play period he will face any difficulty later. No ex-Summerhillian has been accused of laziness.

How can I stop my child from sucking its thumb?

Don't try. If you succeed you'll probably drive the child back to a pre-sucking interest. What does it matter? Lots of efficient folk have sucked their thumbs. Thumb-sucking shows that the mother's breast interest has not been lived out, but as you cannot give a child of eight the breast, all you can do is to see that the child has as much creative interest as possible. But that does not always cure. I have had creative pupils who sucked their thumbs up to the age of puberty. Leave it alone.

If a child is given absolute freedom, how soon will it realize that self discipline is an essential of living, or will it ever realize that?

There isn't such a thing as absolute freedom, and anyone who allows a child to get all its own way is a dangerous person. Social freedom no one can have, for the rights of others must be respected. Individual freedom everyone should have. Put it concretely: no one has the right to make a boy learn Latin, because learning is a matter for individual choice, but if in a Latin class a boy insists on fooling all the time the class should throw him out, because he is interfering with the freedom of others.

As for self discipline, that is an indefinite thing. Too often it means a discipline of self that has been instilled by the moral ideas of adults. True self discipline is one that considers the rights and happiness of others.

Can a child be spoiled through too much love?

No, not if it is creative love. The spoiled child is one who receives too much possessive love, very often in the form of possessions, luxurious toys and too much money. But then parents often compensate for their lack of love by showering gifts on their children. I find that the most unloved children get the most expensive presents.

Why should a boy of sixteen be self-conscious in the presence of his friends and avoid their company?

Most likely a guilt about masturbation. He may fear that the others will see by his face that he indulges. Many children have this idea, needless to say an erroneous one. I have studied children for many years and I cannot tell by a child's face whether he masturbates or not.

Should one ever be sarcastic with children? Do you think this would help to develop a sense of humor in a child?

No. Sarcasm and humor have no connection with each other. Humor is an

affair of love, sarcasm of hate. To be sarcastic with a child is to make the child feel inferior and degraded. Only a cheap and nasty teacher will ever be sarcastic.

What do you do with a child who won't eat?

I don't know. We have never had one. If we had I should at once suspect a defiant attitude to its parents. We have had one or two who were sent to us because they wouldn't eat, but we never saw any symptoms of fasting in the school. In a difficult case I should consider the possibility of the child's having remained emotionally at the breast stage, and would try a feeding bottle with milk. I should also suspect that the parents had been faddy about food, giving the child food that it did not want.

Do you approve of gifts to show one's love?

No. Love doesn't need outward tokens. But children should have gifts at the usual times, birthdays, Christmas and so on. Only no gratitude should be looked for or demanded.

What can be done to cure untidiness?

But why cure it? Most creative people are untidy. It is usually a dull man whose room and desk are models of neatness. I find that children up to nine are in the main tidy; between nine and fifteen they are untidy. They simply do not see untidiness. Later on they become as tidy as need be.

You say that the children in Summerhill have clean minds. What do you mean?

A clean mind is one that cannot be shocked. To be shocked is to show that you have repressions that make you interested in what shocks you. Victorian old women were shocked at the word "leg" because they had an abnormal interest in things leggy. Leggy things were sexual things, repressed things. So that in an atmosphere

like Summerhill where there is no taboo about sex and no connecting of sex with sin, you find that children have no need to make sex unclean by whispering and leering. They are sincere about sex just as they are sincere about everything else.

What would you do to a child who won't stick to anything? He is interested in music for a short period, then he changes to dancing, and so on.

I'd do nothing. Such is life. In my time I have changed from photography to bookbinding, then to woodwork, then to brasswork. Life is full of fragments of interests. A child is always eclectic in his tastes. He tries all things: that's how he learns. Our boys spend days making boats, but if an aviator happens to visit us a boy will leave a half-made boat and begin to make an aeroplane. We never suggest that a child should finish his work, because if his interest has gone it is wrong to force him to finish it.

Our boy is twelve. He won't wash before coming to table. What should we do?

Well, I am not the man to advise, for I seldom wash before coming to table myself, only when I have been in my workshop or gardening. But why do you attach so much importance to washing? Have you considered that washing may be a symbol to you? Are you sure that your concern about his being clean is not covering your fear that he is unclean morally? Don't worry about the boy; take my word for it that your dirt complex is a subjective personal one. If you feel unclean you will attach an exaggerated importance to cleanliness. If you must have him appear at table clean, I mean if Aunt Mary sits at table with you and there is a prospect of her leaving her clean nephew a fortune, well the best way is to forbid him to wash.

Should parents show any affection for

each other in the presence of their children?

Why not? Only they should never have children sleeping in the same room as themselves. Overhearing or over-seeing sexual intercourse gives a child terrors. The child does not understand, and too often he thinks that father is hurting mother. I have seen some nasty phobias arising from the overhearing of intercourse.

Now do you seriously believe that the corrective in breaking bad habits is to let children continue their vices?

Vices? In whose opinion are they vices? Bad habits? You mean masturbation possibly. By breaking a habit forcibly you do not cure it. The only cure for any habit is to outlive its interest. Children who are allowed to masturbate indulge much less than children who have been forbidden to masturbate. Beating always prolongs trouser-messing. Tying up the hands makes an infant a perverted masturbator for life. Bad habits are not bad habits at all. They are the results of parental ignorance and hate. Summerhill children have no bad habits.

My daughter of twelve likes to read smutty books. What shall I do about it?

I should provide her with all the smutty books I could afford to buy. Then she would live out her interest. But why is she so interested in smut? Is she looking for the truth that you never gave her about sex? Something must have been lacking in her sexual education. My girl pupils can read anything they like. I have Kraft-Ebbing on my shelves, but they never want to read him.

What about your children's manners? Do they eat peas with their knives?

I haven't the least idea. I wouldn't notice if they did. Eating peas with a knife is a small matter of a breach of etiquette. My pupils have such good manners that if they

saw one eat peas with his knife they would make no remark.

What should I do with my child of six who draws obscene pictures?

Encourage him of course, but at the same time clean your house, for any obscenity in the home must come from you. A child of six has no obscenity. You see obscenity in his drawings because you have an obscene attitude to life. I can only imagine that the obscene drawings deal with chamber pots and sexual organs. Treat these things naturally without any idea of right and wrong and your child will pass through this interest just as he will pass through other interests.

There seems to have been a tacit implication in the speaker's attack on the theory of original sin, that hate is something foreign to human nature. Is hate not part of our instinctive make-up? Can't we admit hate without repressing it, and direct it to such things as exploitation?

The end of the question suggests an

amiable cynic. Freud holds that hate comes first, that love is a later development. I cannot follow the argument. I have never seen any signs of hate in a new-born infant. My belief in original virtue arises from my observation of children who hate. When they are loved they drop their hate. It is true that small children bicker with each other in their endeavors to find power. But the bickering is only a serious affair when the children are being made to hate themselves by being moralized to by adults. The bickering is not hate. Hate is love transformed, rather, it is thwarted love. It is not the opposite of love, for the opposite of love is obviously indifference. Thus small children are much more likely to quarrel with their brothers and sisters than with outside children, for in the home there is an emotional atmosphere which is allied to love. Hate in a child arises when he finds that he is not getting enough love from his parents. I have seen many a young hater come to Summerhill biting and scratching, but in six months our haters become social lovable characters.

THE DISCOVERY OF THE ORGONE

VOL. 1

THE FUNCTION OF THE ORGASM

SEX-ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF BIOLOGICAL ENERGY

By WILHELM REICH

Price, \$3.00

xxxvi + 368 pages

CHARACTER-ANALYSIS

PRINCIPLES AND TECHNIQUE. FOR PSYCHOANALYSTS IN
PRACTICE AND IN TRAINING

Second Edition

By WILHELM REICH

Price, \$4.50

xxii + 328 pages

ORGONE INSTITUTE PRESS

157 CHRISTOPHER STREET

New York 14, N. Y.

THE SEXUAL REVOLUTION

TOWARD A SELF-GOVERNING CHARACTER STRUCTURE

By **WILHELM REICH**

Price, \$3.25

xxvii + 373 pages

THE MASS PSYCHOLOGY OF FASCISM

THIRD, REVISED AND ENLARGED EDITION

By **WILHELM REICH**

Price, \$4.50

xxiv + 344 pages

ORGONE INSTITUTE PRESS

157 CHRISTOPHER STREET

New York 14, N. Y.