WILHELM REICH

People in Trouble

Property
Esra Reich MD
Hancock Maine
04640

with misspellings and misstatements (Newark becomes Neward; South Bend, Southden; and Grand Rapids, Gerand Rapid). Though the leaflets show a growing sophistication, current American idiom often booby-traps the V.C.

Viet Cong ideologists rank *Binh Van* (subverting enemy troops) as one prong of a triple-tined war effort, accompanied by political and military action. "Direct propaganda at U.S. troops, especially draftees and colored soldiers," ordered a captured Viet Cong directive. But while Negroes are promised special treatment if they defect, other Viet Cong slander them, terrorizing villagers with tales of cannibalism by Negroes.

No Weak Links. There is overwhelming evidence that the V.C. barrage is backfiring badly. Black American soldiers are not flattered by such wooing. "It's a bunch of jibe," says Negro Platoon Sergeant John F. Foulks. "I read it—and forgot it." Other Negro soldiers get angry. "Where was all this brotherhood crap when my friends got killed?" asks SP4 Gerald Walker.

Nor have Negroes proved to be a weak link that the Viet Cong could hope to break. "The violence back home the V.C. write about is true," says Negro PFC Gregory Putnam, 20, a Detroiter from an East Side storm center of last summer's rioting. "But it has nothing to do with the war." None has ventured to seek Viet Cong help. The V.C. have not, in fact, won over a single American defector, while 27,178 Viet Cong and North Vietnamese defected last year. G.I.s flatly mistrust Viet Cong promises. "I've seen enough of their brutality," says Negro Medic John Crews, "to know that the V.C. draw no color lines in their killing or mutilating American soldiers—black or white." When it comes to standing up to Victor Charlie, there is no color difference among U.S. troops.

WALLY TERRY



NEGRO G.I.S READING VIET CONG LEAFLETS
Booby-traps in the idiom.

DESERTERS

Aggressive Campaign

Three months after they skipped ship in Japan to show their opposition to the war, America's most celebrated Viet Nam deserters—four young sailors from the carrier *Intrepid*—finally found comfortable berths in a hospitable Sweden last week. Given asylum on "humanitarian" rather than political grounds by Sweden's Aliens Commission, the sailors—John Barilla, age 20, Richard D. Bailey, 19, Craig W. Anderson, 20, and Michael A. Linder, 19—marked their farewell to arms by lifting champagne glasses in toasts to peace, expanding on their views before ever-present bands of Swedish and foreign reporters and cameramen and thoroughly enjoying the lionizing adulation of Stockholm's artistic establishment.

While the *Intrepid* crewmen basked in the limelight, Sweden also accepted three other antiwar deserters from the 200,000-man U.S. Army in Germany and examined the pleas for asylum from several other G.I.s. By week's end at least 17 American deserters were in Sweden.

Skillful Drumbeating. The spate of defections gave European peace groups considerable satisfaction. Though they boast that they are now recruiting 100 deserters a month, they have until now never been able to produce more than one or two on any single occasion. U.S. Army headquarters in Heidelberg has persistently dismissed their claims, lists no more than 365 missing G.I.s since the late 1940s. In Japan, where the 36,000 American troops are regularly augmented by thousands of G.I.s on R & R (rest and recreation) from Viet Nam, pacifist and peace groups have had no better luck. Indeed, U.S. desertions worldwide, including the Viet Nam command, are running on a par with the Korean War (two per 1,000) and at a rate considerably lower than World War II (six per 1,000).

Still, the peaceniks' skillful drumbeating, such as a recent, largely staged film on French TV about an underground railroad for defecting G.I.s, lends their campaign exaggerated importance. West Germany has a law on the books that expressly forbids the recruitment of U.S. deserters, but the radical German Socialist Student Association regularly penetrates G.I. bars, distributes antiwar tracts and occasionally intercepts U.S. soldiers on maneuvers. Helped by other peace groups, the German organization offers to smuggle disenchanted G.I.s out of the country and to provide forged passports if necessary.

In Paris, where most AWOLs take French leave, the French Communist Party has provided them with cash. A Tokyo group known as Beheiren—the Japan Peace for Viet Nam Committee—offers deserters similar hospitality, demonstrates regularly at U.S. installations and helped get the four *Intrepid* sailors to the Soviet Union. While the Pentagon does not feel that such activities are a major problem, the U.S. Navy has told the men of the U.S.S. *Enterprise* to be wary of Beheiren when the nuclear carrier docks in Sasebo this week.

PRESSENS BILD



U.S. NAVY DESERTERS IN STOCKHOLM
Skillful drumbeating, tiny audience.

RUSSIA

Off with the Mask

"A wild mockery, unthinkable in the 20th century." That is how one young Russian, Pavel Litvinov, the grandson of ex-Soviet Foreign Minister Maxim Litvinov, described the trial in Moscow last week of four young intellectuals accused of anti-Soviet agitation. In a show of defiance not seen for years in the Soviet Union, members of the country's educated elite challenged the government's case. Several petitions circulated, demanding "a full public airing" at the trial. Crowds gathered outside the courtroom, yelling, shoving and needling security guards. But Soviet justice pays scant heed to public opinion. After a five-day closed trial, the judge sentenced the three men and a woman to labor camps for terms ranging from one to seven years.

The four—Aleksandr Ginzburg, 31, Yuri Galanskov, 29, Aleksei Dobrovolsky, 29, and Vera Lashkova, 21—were accused of editing and printing manuscripts critical of Communist life with the aid of an émigré organization devoted to the overthrow of the Soviet government. They are part of a growing underground of talented young people who, far from aspiring to join the official Soviet Writers Union, write for one another or for export, publish in typewritten secret journals, and believe that they cannot be creative without at times being critical of the government. Arrested last January, they were in jail for a year before their trial began.

The Kremlin carefully chose the oc-

cupants of the 200 or so seats in the Moscow city courtroom. It excluded everyone but half a dozen relatives of the defendants and twelve or more Soviet journalists, whose reports never appeared in Pravda or Izvestia. Outside the courthouse, in temperatures that reached 50 below zero, protesters crowded against police barricades and dashed from door to door through the swirling snow, only to be turned away because they lacked official passes. Police pushed back a thin, weather-beaten man several times until someone yelled: "What kind of disgraceful situation is this? The father of Galanskov cannot even get in to the trial of his own son?" Finally the door opened and the elder Galanskov was allowed in.



LITVINOV & MRS. DANIEL OUTSIDE COURT
Patriotic to die but not to lie.

Later, the police let the crowd huddle in a stairwell near the courtroom door, where plainclothesmen snapped photos of everyone in sight. Police had replaced the hallways' dreary lights with new, high-powered bulbs to accommodate the cameramen. One of the main protesters was a balding but erect Soviet general in his 60s who circulated petitions among the assemblage, brandished his cane at a policeman who took his picture. "I'm not afraid of little boys!" shouted Major General Pyotr Grigorenko, who was fired by ex-Premier Khrushchev for protesting "lack of freedom" in the Soviet Union. "I shed blood for this country."

Showing Who Is Boss. The government tried to make out that it was prosecuting the four defendants not merely for dissenting but also for contacts with the Frankfurt-based émigré organization *Narodno-Trudovoy Soyuz* (People's Labor Alliance). Dobrovolsky, who pleaded guilty, testified that Galanskov had given him money to set up an apartment in Moscow for the organization. Galanskov denied it, admitted only to editing the underground journal *Phoenix*. Ginzburg, who had smuggled out to the West a transcript of the 1966 trial of Writers Andrei Sinyavsky and Yuli Daniel, denied that his purpose was anti-Soviet. "It is patriotic," he said, "to die, but not to lie, for one's country."

The judge sentenced Galanskov to seven years in a labor camp—the same sentence given Sinyavsky two years ago. Ginzburg got five years, Dobrovolsky, in return for helping to convict the others, only two, and Vera Lashkova, one (which she has already served). After the verdict, Yuli Daniel's wife and young Litvinov both denounced the trial as a "stain on the honor of our state," in a joint statement called on Russians to demand the ouster of those responsible for it.

The trial—and all the unusual din that accompanied it—had a double-edged result. On the one hand, it showed that Russia's rulers still find it necessary to tear off their benign mask of recent years to show the people who is really boss. On the other hand, the events outside the courtroom demonstrated that Russians now have more inclination, and greater opportunity, to speak out against the government.

CHINA

Rectifying the Revolution

In the rampaging heyday of the Red Guards, their chief cheerleader, den mother and Joan of Arc was Chiang Ching, the fourth Mrs. Mao Tse-tung. A onetime movie actress from Shanghai, she clearly enjoyed her sudden role in the limelight after years of obscurity at Mao's side. The part, however, proved all too brief. Now that Mao has called off the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and sent the Red Guards back to school, Mrs. Mao has vanished from Peking's rostrums and podiums. "Hens must not cackle too much," Mao reportedly crowed to his male colleagues at a party meeting last month. Premier Chou En-lai was more chivalric about it: "In recent months Comrade Chiang Ching worked night and day for the revolution—and the hard work has affected her health. We therefore ask that she get some rest and recreation."

For Mrs. Mao's minions, the chief word these days is "rectification"—Peking's euphemism for cooling it. As the Maoists put it ponderously in their New Year's editorial, the annual policy guideline for the coming year: "Alongside the rectification of the party organization, the Young Communist Youth League, the Red Guards and various revolutionary mass organizations should be rectified ideologically and organizationally." That was one of only two references in the 3,000-word document to the once all-important Red Guards. For all official purposes, the Red Guards have vanished as thoroughly as Mrs. Mao. Hardly a red armband has been seen in the Chinese capital in the past two months.

Stubbornly Hoarding. Keeping the kids in line continues to present problems, though. The poorer students from rural backgrounds made the first and best Red Guards, and they developed a taste for status and power that their school careers cannot provide. Their teachers are having difficulty regaining their old authority, since many of them were dragged out, beaten or put to duty in latrines by their once and future students. Nor have they books to teach with: the old texts were headily tossed out as "revisionist" during the height of the Cultural Revolution, and nobody has replaced them.

Peking is also having difficulty in pulling the nation as a whole back from the precipice of the civil war nearly brought on by the revolution. The central part of China is now fairly well pacified, but feuds rippling out from the revolution are still roiling such remoter provinces as Tibet, Yunnan and Fukien. Despite the army's efforts to control the recent harvest, the peasants are hoarding a larger-than-usual share of the grain crop. Thus, despite a better harvest than last year, Peking's take has been poorer.

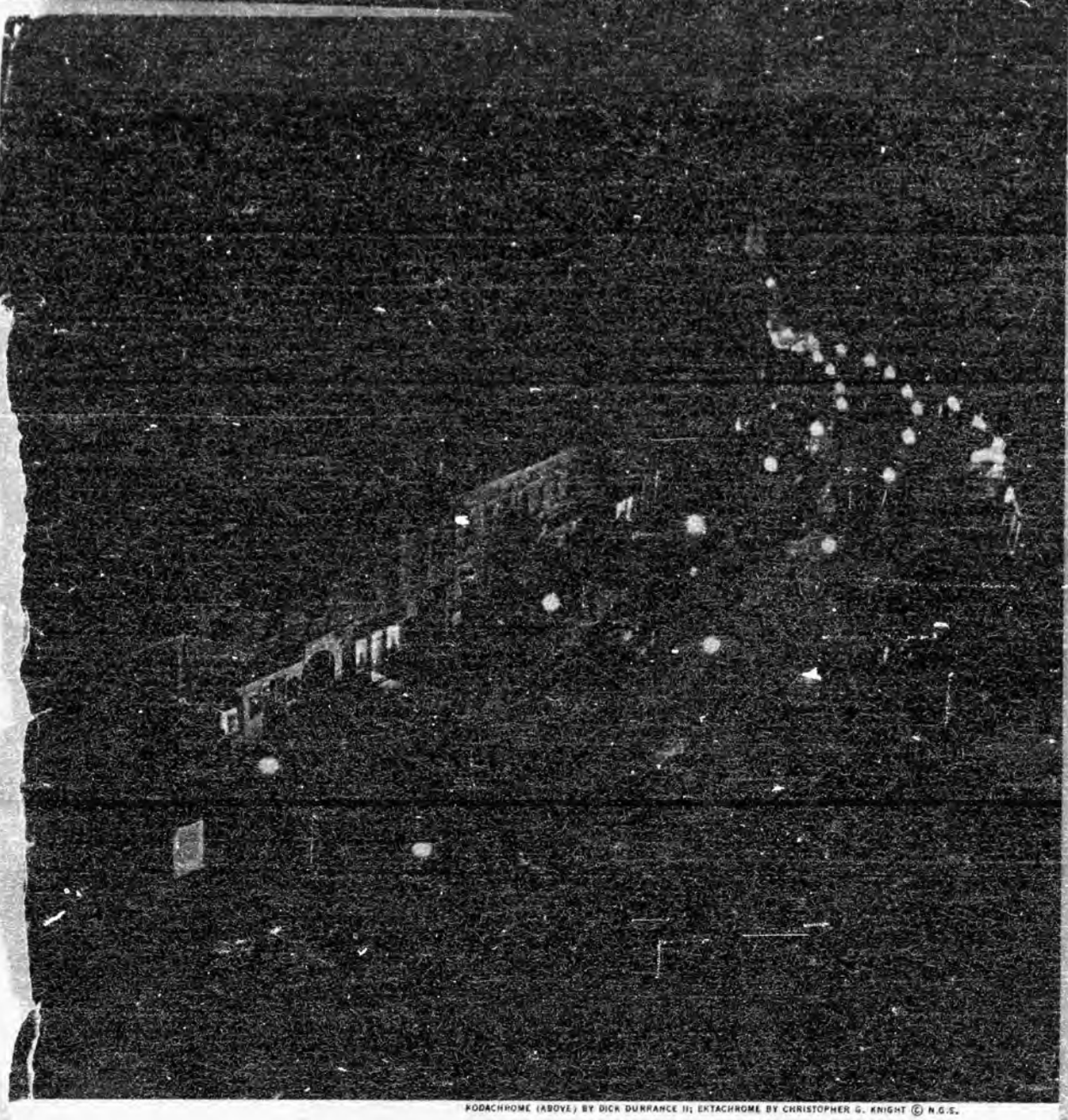
Industrial production has also suffered. Japan, one of China's preferred customers, received 10% to 12% less imports from China in 1967, and several hopeful foreign buyers at the recent Canton trade fair came back empty-handed. Since many Chinese factories were shut down all during 1967 by the revolution's upheavals and others have unexplainedly closed in recent weeks, the Chinese were simply unable to fill the foreigners' orders.

AUSTRALIA

His Own Man

John Grey Gorton, 56, likes to say that he is "Australian to my boot heels." He is an avid sportsman (tennis, swimming, water-skiing), a cool politician with an instinct for shrewdness and enterprise, and a demanding boss with a reputation for firmness and hard work. Sworn in last week as Australia's 19th Prime Minister—succeeding the late Harold Holt, who drowned last month off Portsea (TIME, Dec. 29)—Gorton is also very much his own man. He will probably wield a stronger, more decisive leadership than Holt and bend slightly to the left in his domestic policy, pushing for more government-aided health services, larger old-age pensions and a more decisive federal voice in state affairs.

In foreign policy, Gorton will not only continue Holt's support of the U.S. policy in Viet Nam but possibly even step up the Australian commitment, now running at 8,000 men. The tall, tanned Prime Minister hopes to establish the same kind of "unique" relationship with President Johnson that Holt enjoyed. "I believe aggression must be stopped anywhere it takes place," he says. "It



KODACHROME (ABOVE) BY DICK DURRANCE II; EKTACHROME BY CHRISTOPHER G. KNIGHT © N.G.S.

announcement. Quickly we decided to return to Bucharest to follow developments.

Ironically, all around the city, bright flags waved, for the capital had been preparing for Rumania's equivalent of our Fourth of July. On August 23 Rumanians were to celebrate their ousting of the Germans in 1944, when the nation welcomed Russian columns.

Plans were altered at the last minute, to include company after company of workers who paraded with guns on their shoulders. The government wanted the message to be clear: If anyone forced his way into Rumania, the people would be armed and ready.

In personal ways, Rumanians delivered the same message. "We will resist the Russians if they come!" a bus conductor told Chris. The capital was plainly nervous (pages 830-31).

We saw signs calling on the one hand for "Solidarity With the Struggling Brother Socialist State of Czechoslovakia," and on the other for continued friendship with Russia.

As it became clear that Rumania was in no immediate danger of invasion, we resumed our Carpathian trek. By train from Bucharest we reached the Făgăraş Mountains and set out to climb Moldoveanu, the country's highest peak at 8,343 feet.

Despite spells of fog and rain, the mountain rewarded us with views into deep valleys that echoed with the sound of cascading streams. At times we glimpsed dozens of wild

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A Shepherd 1969
In Roumania



LIMITED EDITION

COPY NO. 6

To the Children of the Future



WILHELM REICH
In Switzerland, 1927

WILHELM REICH

Biographical Material

HISTORY OF THE DISCOVERY of the LIFE ENERGY

THE EMOTIONAL PLAGUE OF MANKIND

Vol. II

1953

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Volume Two

PEOPLE IN TROUBLE

(1927 – 1937)

Written, 1936-1937 (Oslo, Norway)

(Archives No. 3086, WR-M, 78a)

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



MODJU AT WORK

In Austria, 1915

Observe cold, cruel facial expressions of executioners and bystanders; also mild face of victim.



ADOLESCENTS IN TROUBLE

Nowhere to go when in love.

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THE SILENT OBSERVER

The "Silent Observer (S.O.)* *in this, as in other biographical volumes, sees things backwards in time, as they appear seen from 1950 to 1952, that is, when the Oranur Experiment was running its course. This experiment, which established experimentally and theoretically the existence of the primordial cosmic orgone energy beyond any doubt in a practical and even socially penetrating manner, put to naught every single idea, slander, criticism and doubt which was uttered by the enemies of orgonomy during the Norwegian campaign of 1934-1938 and by a few psychoanalytic slanderers of 1934-1947. The Silent Observer sees not only the enemy of orgonomy in an objective light, but he also includes the discoverer himself, that is* WR, *in his silent and reckless criticism. The errors as well as the great strides, the stupid mistakes as well as the great experiences from 1927 to 1937, constitute an important lesson to everyone who in the future may try to deal with human nature in a political instead of in a scientific, bio-social manner. Only the factual, not the political way would finally come to grips with the sexual revolution of our times and master the emotional plague* (EP).

The Silent Observer knows very well, watching the events from far off, that the discovery of the primordial cosmic energy by WR *has rendered all petty political quibbling and all thinking in terms of classes or an unconscious mind, ineffective and out-of-date. The discovery of the Life Energy will – this is sure – in due time provide handy new tools of thinking and acting for mankind in its struggle against the emotional plague which besets its most skillful and laborious endeavors. However, it seems tragically true that for many decades, maybe centuries to come, the politician and the mere ideologist will hold first place on the public scene; that he will try to change human nature by way of ideas, programs, platforms, speeches, promises, illusions,*

* *The Silent Observer* is also the title of a special biographical volume.

maneuvers and politicking of all kinds without taking a single practical step in the FACTUAL *change of conditions and in the reestablishment of the natural laws of life.* WR*'s experiences between 1927 and 1937 are well suited to eliminate error and unnecessary blundering to as large an extent as possible for everyone who is ready to learn from past errors.*

With this single goal of this publication in mind, we are transmitting experiences in the socialist and psychoanalytic movements of twenty-five years ago to the public. By doing this, we hope that even the skillful slanderer, inside and outside the Communist party, will feel enough respect for human suffering and human searching to desist from evil acts of abuse and misuse of human frankness and candidness, while such historical material is being exposed on the " MEADOW. *" The snipers in the "* BUSHES *" are requested to come out from their hiding.*

[PEOPLE IN TROUBLE *is a translation of the original German manuscript entitled "Menschen im Staat." This translation was done in 1947 by a young student of orgonomy and was later corrected by several other students. The clumsiness of the translation in parts of this volume is due to the inexperience of the translators in handling such subject matter. This caused too literal an adherence to the German text.*]

INTRODUCTION (1945)

This book is composed of different writings from the years between 1927 and 1945.* I present here neither a compendium of sex-economic sociology nor a manuscript written on the occasion of a particular event. The origin of this book reveals the gradual maturing of insights which in the course of almost two decades emerged piece by piece to grow finally into a total picture. Whoever has himself worked in unexplored territories understands that it is not a predetermined goal, but the *way of searching* which itself is reflected in the end product.

One will ask why I emphasize this. The reason is simple: A natural-scientific product of thought proves its lack of bias when it represents social experiences which were lived through at different times and reflect the path of erring and discovery. I did not write this book starting from a preconceived theoretically or emotionally based opinion. I did not write it as the result of a voluntary thought process. I did not write it because I had developed some picture of a better social organization. I experienced the insights which are collected in this book, as, say, a settler in an uninhabited wilderness *must* collect and master his observations and experiences if he wishes *to survive*.

Originally, I was a clinician who was interested only in natural sciences and natural philosophy, and not in sociology or even in politics. The spontaneous course of the natural science of orgonomy, founded by me, led me in the beginning, around 1919, to the realm of individual and social sex-economy. Sex-economy was the precursor of the discovery of the orgone energy, the Cosmic Life Energy.

Looking back from 1945, I must say that the discovery of the orgone energy would have slipped through my fingers if it were not for the experiences which are described in this book. The discovery owes its existence to the obstacles thrown in its way by the irrational organization of human society and the character structure of the human animal in the twentieth century. The necessity of recognizing these obstacles as *biopathic* life expressions, and not as accidental blows of fate, and of finding the means to overcome them, endowed me with the methods of orgone energy research. I had, at that time, no more inkling of the existence of the cosmic orgone energy than any psychoanalyst occupied with depth

*(Footnote, 1952): "1945" here refers to a plan only, conceived in 1945, to publish all historical material up to that year. Due to other duties, only the period 1927 to 1939 was actually extensively described in a consistent manner. Other periods were dealt with in separate, single papers.

psychology or any physicist or biologist concerned with earth magnetism or with cell division. As I have often emphasized, it was not the discovery of Life Energy, but, on the contrary, its *non-discovery* over a time span of about twenty-five hundred years which was an achievement – to be sure, an achievement of *repression*. Two decades of clinical research on the human attitude of repression of vital processes confronted me with the question of the causes of human irrationality. *For what reason* – this was the question – *does man defend himself against nothing so much as against the recognition of his own being, his biological origin and true constitution?* I knew nothing at that time of the biological *degeneration* of the human animal, which has threatened his personal and social existence for millennia, chronically and in periodic catastrophes.

With this question in my mind, I was seized by a doubt of the rationality of human thought processes, which never again let go of me. When peace still reigned, the doubt had little to feed on. The neuroses, which Freud had learned to understand in a natural-scientific way, even though only psychologically, seemed to me, as to all others, like a sickness of otherwise healthy organisms. If anyone before 1927 had asserted that so many social institutions had for thousands of years been essentially irrational, i.e., biopathic, I would have been one of his strongest opponents. Meanwhile, the social development everywhere on this earth, starting with Europe, has made commonplace the fact that the human being and his society are emotionally ill in the strict psychiatric sense of the word. I had the good fortune, or if one will, the misfortune, to have realized this fact not, as did the majority, only around 1942, but already in 1927, and to have begun then with its investigation.

The first clash with human irrationality was a gigantic shock. That I survived it without becoming mentally ill, is incomprehensible. One should realize that this experience struck me in the middle of a comfortable adjustment to the usual way of thinking. I fell – without having an inkling of what I was dealing with – into the so-called "mill"; that is, into a state which has become very familiar in the last ten years to every newcomer to sex-economy and orgonomy. The condition can best be described as follows: *As if with one blow, one recognizes the natural-scientific nothingness, the biological senselessness and the social harmfulness of ideas and institutions which up to the moment had seemed quite natural and self-evident.* It is a kind of "end-of-the-world" experience which one so often encounters in schizophrenics in its pathological form. I would even like to presume that the schizophrenic form of psychic illness is regu-

larly accompanied with an *illuminating* flash of clarity about the irrationality of social and political processes, especially the upbringing of small children. What we call genuine "cultural progress" is basically the result of such flashes of crystal clear insights. Rousseau, Voltaire, Pestalozzi, Nietzsche and many others were their representatives. The distinction between the experience of the schizophrenic and the insights of vigorous original creators is that revolutionary insights unfold themselves in a practical way in long time spans, often over centuries. In social revolutions such as the American one of 1776, the French of 1879 and the Russian of 1917, such rational insights inundated the feelings of life in millions of the people. In time, the "radical truths" become just as self-evident as the irrational ideas and institutions were formerly. Whether rational insights lead to individual emotional breakdowns or to a rational transformation of social conditions depends on many circumstances. In the individual, it depends above all upon his capacity for genital satisfaction and the rational orderliness of his thinking; in the multitudes of humanity, the final outcome depends upon the integration of natural-scientific knowledge with social needs. It is well known that a correct insight can emerge in an individual prematurely, before the social process has reached the same stage of maturity. The history of the natural sciences and of cultural development is full of examples which prove this assertion to be correct.

The axis on which the subject of PEOPLE IN TROUBLE *revolves, is the blocking of the functions of simple and natural life processes by social irrationality which, produced by biopathic human animals, anchors itself in the human multitudes characterologically, i.e.,* BIOPHYSICALLY, and thus gains social significance. Not the existing rational organization of social life, but on the contrary, *the continual production of political irrationalism represents a gigantic accomplishment.* It is a truly devilish problem. The biological energy which for a lifetime is irrationally expended in a biopathy, would, rationally directed, solve gigantic riddles of human existence. No one who is active as a bio-psychiatrist can escape this conclusion. The dream of a better social existence remains only a dream for the reason that the thinking and feelings of the human animal are closed to the simple and close-at-hand functions of Life. This basic standpoint of work-democratic life processes became spontaneously clear through the events.

For many years I personally experienced the social irrationalism in Middle Europe. Later, in my capacity as a physician and natural research scientist, I suffered it personally from others. For years I was simultaneously a political man [i.e., a man vitally interested in social affairs] and

a working man without realizing the incompatability of work and politics. The politician in me perished, the working physician, natural researcher and sociologist not only endured but, moreover, so far survived the social chaos. I had the opportunity to follow, on the spot, and to experience personally, the course of many political catastrophes: The collapse of the Austrian monarchy; the brief dictatorship in Hungary; the brief dictatorship in Munich; the downfall of the Austrian social democracy and of the Austrian republic; the birth and collapse of the German republic. I lived through the Hungarian, Austrian and German emigrations. Then followed in sequence the collapse of Czechoslovakia, the downfall of Poland, Holland, Belgium, Denmark, Norway and France. I was connected by personal and professional ties with all of these countries. From all this political ruin, *one* fact stood out above all others: If a politician once transgressed the borders of his country, he became useless and could no longer take root socially. If, on the other hand, a working man went over the borders of his homeland, he was able in any other land, sooner or later, to get back on his feet again professionally and materially, if he was not blocked by politicians. This *one* fact contains a gigantic truth. Politics is nationally and locally limited. *Work is truly international and free from the confinement of any borderlines.* Only at the end of this book will we be able to evaluate this state of affairs in its full social impact. There are at the present time a number of groups in Europe and elsewhere who have made my sociological writings from the years between 1927 and 1938 the basis of their new social orientation. At this point it is indispensable to clarify my standpoint: I still carry the full responsibility for every natural-scientific, medical or social-pedagogic assertion of those years, in so far as later work has not introduced corrections or does not introduce them in the future. The structure of the teachings concerning personal and social orgonomy remains essentially unchanged, and having been tested by crucial social events, stands on firm ground. Orgone energy research from around 1934 has secured the experimental rooting for this body of teaching, which is no closed system of thought. Sex-economy is today a recognized branch of biophysical and physical natural research.

On the other hand, nothing remains standing of the old political concepts which one finds in my early sociological writings. They perished, morally and factually, together with the organizations under whose influence they came into my writings. A detailed correction of the social concepts of my political psychology may be found in the preface to the third, English edition of THE MASS PSYCHOLOGY OF FASCISM (1946).

The exclusion of political party concepts is no regression to academic, socially disinterested natural science; entirely on the contrary, it is a gigantic step *forward* from the realm of political irrationality out into the rational thought world of natural work-democracy. I do not and cannot know which of my old friends and co-workers have gone through the same process and which still operate with old political concepts. Whoever is acquainted with my papers on work democracy, which appeared for the most part between 1936 and 1940, also knows about the process of my separation from politics. Therefore, I would like to reject any responsibility for attempts to exploit in a party-political way, my earlier party connections of more than fourteen years ago. I would have to protest at once, publicly, if anyone wished to exploit my name or my works for the support of socialistic, communistic, parliamentarian or any other kind of *power politics. I have never had and do not have anything to do with power politics.*

However, the danger of such exploitation is small. It could be carried out only through distortion of the results of my work. According to experience, the usual party politics and orgonomy have the same relationship to one another as fire and water.

The concept of the natural work-democratic life processes of society precludes political activities in the old sense. *We advocate factual processes and not ideologies.* The serious worker adheres to his task under all circumstances and advocates it as consistently as possible. This is true for *every* life-necessary work process. We communicate to the world how we organize our work. Just as with ours, *all work processes are responsible for what becomes of this human society.* We have to organize the prophylaxis of cancer and other biopathies, and thus the sex-economic principle in the education of small children and the utilization of the cosmic life energy. We cannot prescribe to either the mining or the food industry how they should organize their special tasks work-democratically. With our psychiatric and bio-energetic knowledge, we accomplish pioneer work and clarify basic principles of the life process.

On the basis of numerous old experiences, we may be sure that in every decisive step of a social-hygienic kind, this or that powerful politician will stand in our way. Here we must declare: Through many years we tried patiently, supported by practical successes, to cooperate with responsible politicians of every type. We only experienced difficulties, and we had to overcome dangers and defamations, which regularly stemmed from politicians. Every catastrophe which orgonomy had to master in its development was brought about by politicians: by communistic politi-

cians, socialistic politicians, psychoanalytic organization politicians, medical organization politicians, Christian government politicians, fascistic state politicians, dictatorial police politicians and other politicians. The representatives of orgonomy have proven that they are ready to cooperate. The politicians have proven that they are enemies, not so much from personal motives as from motives which are the basis of their existence. It is, therefore, the fault of the politicians if the representatives of sex-economy, political psychology and orgonomy no longer take any cognizance of them. Since we are for the execution of our social work tasks, we are automatically, whether we wish it or not, against politics of every kind.

Our social standpoint is presented in this book, as in other writings, clearly and unmistakably. *We want the world of party politics to know this standpoint.* No one shall be able later to give the excuse that he "did not know." The experiences of these last twelve terrible years have taught us that the politician uses the fruits of other people's honest work, to capture votes. When he has captured enough votes and thus won social power, he then, senselessly and without scruple, throws overboard the thing which helped him to power. It is peculiar to his nature that after he has appropriated the harvest of another's work, he removes, through defamation or the firing squad, the one who did the work. It does not require much deliberation to realize that a Lenin, an Engels, etc. would not have survived 1930 in Russia, and no more would an American Freud have survived if an American Hitler had conquered power with Freud's discoveries. These things are banalities today.

We do not know the politicians of Europe, America or Asia of 1960 or 1984. Our attitude is determined by the experience of politiciandom between 1914 and 1944. It is the principle of every kind of politics to endanger natural sciences when the promises of the politicians are carried out in a *practical* way. It is not this or that worker whom the dictator attempts to eliminate, but the *ruling* principle of work. They want to *exploit* work but they do not want to grant it the right to direct the fate of humanity.

These findings are not meant personally since we do not know the politicians of the coming decades. But I shall not refrain from giving a warning about them: Open enmity is better than dishonest friendship.

We are today better armed than in former years against irrational sneak attacks by politicians. Also, the times are *with* and no longer against us. To be sure, the attacks from ambush of the emotional plague against orgonomy usually boomerang, but they cost much effort and

money; again and again they endanger our life. Hence it is indispensable to continually unmask the irrational nature of politics, so that it is well-defined and publicly stated if again someone suffering from the emotional plague should feel provoked by the facts of Life. Of course, one cannot defend oneself against the bullets of a sniper. Perhaps the politicians will be willing to forego murder if we assure them that we do not intend to compete with them for power; that we leave completely to them the realm of the "people's dictatorship" and confine ourselves to our work on shipwrecked human beings. Moreover, assassinations would be of no use. They would only create martyrs; the living search, the helping, the fighting for truth and human happiness would only return a thousandfold strong. I hope that I have expressed myself clearly enough.

WR

Chapter I

ON WAYWARD, LONELY TRAILS

After the First World War (1918-1927), there was no trace of a sex-economic outlook on the sociological processes. The social economists were either strictly oriented around Marx's economic thinking, or, in the struggle *against* the Marxist theory of "value," they advocated a kind of economic psychologism, as, say, that of Max Weber and similar schools. In the nineteenth century Marx had traced the sociological and ideological processes of society to the development of the economic-technical means of production. His predecessors as well as his contemporary and subsequent opponents, to be sure, correctly sought the psychological motivations which drive human economy. But the Freudian natural-scientific concept of depth-psychology was essentially individualistically oriented; it had pentrated socially only slightly, and, when it probed deeper, it did so in a false direction. (*Cf.* my sociological criticism of psychoanalytical sociological hypotheses in Der Einbruch der Sexualmoral, 1932.) But at that time, psychology dealt with the psychological surface manifestations, and was only a branch of philosophy or of the so-called ethical sciences. It could not claim to be called a natural science. It knew nothing of the unconscious instinctual life of the human organism and clung to the phenomena of the surface, if it did not slide off into ethics. Because of these historical bases of development, the "psychological" roads in the fields of economy and sociology led in the wrong direction; they penetrated neither to the economic core of sociology nor to the biological [*bio-energetic*] core of human structure. It is self-evident that, consequently, in 1918-1927 there could exist no trace of a relationship of the biological sexual process to the social-economic process. Ethical convictions which replaced a natural-scientific conception of the human struggle for freedom were also manifested in Marxist circles; even at that time, one felt the biological gap in the economic theory of Marx, without being able to fill it. It concerned the question of the role of the *human being* in the social process, his "essence" or his "nature" [*human character structure*]. Here we may name as a typical representative of the social psychology of that time, say, Henryk de Man, who opposed his "*ethical* socialism" to the Marxian "*materialistic* socialism." Thus the biological gap in Marxian

sociology was keenly felt, but no one knew how, concretely, to determine what was lacking in the comprehension of the social process. It was clear to everyone that besides the socio-economic processes which were independent of men, in some way *man himself* with his thinking and feeling played a decisive role. Ethical concepts and claims entered only where concrete knowledge about human nature was lacking. The concept of "classes" was, strictly understood, sociological and not psychological, although every "class" had its own "interests," "desires," "needs," etc.

It later turned out that the [*bio-psychological*] gap in social science was due to the lack of a natural-scientific, well-founded theory of sexuality. However, a *sociology* of man's love function could only develop gradually out of a *natural-scientific theory of sexuality*. At that time, one was not only far removed from such thoughts; whoever might have searched for a natural-scientific sexual sociology which was lacking in economic sociology, would only have looked into an empty, yawning abyss. There was nothing in the literature anymore than in experience which could have claimed to form that very sexual sociology which would have filled the gap in the comprehension of society left open in the Marxist economic sociology. To be sure, there existed numerous and thorough investigations on the "History of the Family"; but they had mistaken the family, which is only the *form* in which human sexual life functions, for the human sexual process itself. The family problem itself was full of irrational emotional elements and led again into ethics instead of into natural science. Thus it happened that neither the "family problem" nor the "reproduction problem" (in the form of "eugenics" or "population politics") made juncture with socio-economy. We know, today, after having experienced fascism, that it was the *ancient, mystical and unscientific concept of eugenics and population politics* which formed the basis for the development of the Hitlerian "LEBENSRAUM" and race theories.

We now understand that the Hitlerian race theory developed precisely *within that gap* in sociology which the purely economic socio-economy was unable to fill. This state of affairs I have tried to substantiate in detail in my books THE MASS PSYCHOLOGY OF FASCISM and THE SEXUAL REVOLUTION. My interpretation of the gap is today, indeed, generally accepted: *It was not a question of the family form or of the reproduction problem, but precisely of that which from time immemorial was concealed by the terms "family" and "reproduction"; it was a question of the biological pleasure process (search for happiness) in the human animal and of the social institutions in which this pleasure process (search for happiness in life) has to function.*

But around the time of the First World War and for many years thereafter, the bio-sexual process lay completely in the dark. The sexology of that time, represented by such great names as Bloch, August Forel, Havelock Ellis, Kraft-Ebbing, Hirschfeld, etc., was concerned (and could only be concerned) with the given *biopathic* sexuality, i.e., the perversions, and with the reproduction of the biologically degenerated human animal. *Orgastic potency*, the core of the later sex-economic sociology, was only discovered and described by me between 1920 and 1927. No more than anyone else would I have known how to point out the bio-psychic gap in sociology. Only one thing had become clear to me at the start of my study of Marxian and non-Marxian sociology: The lack of concrete insight into the depth structure of the human being is replaced and concealed by ethical demands in conservative quarters. And in Marxian sociology there developed out of the gap an "economistic," i.e., mechanistically rigid interpretation of the social process which, as I learned only much later, had already been sharply opposed by Lenin at the time of the preparations for the Russian Revolution. The basic principle of "*economism*" is characterized by the idea that dead machines and technology are alone decisive. The human being as the bearer and object of this mechanistic sociology, falls abandoned by the wayside. This will be clearly demonstrated later by means of concrete examples.

In short, *all attempts to understand society and to organize it anew, operated without any knowledge of the bio-sexual core problem of the human animal.*

That this does not work is today well known because fascistic irrationalism has forced into the open the question about the irrational human structure. At that time (1920-1927), it lay completely beyond the horizon of social economy. I came into this realm of problems through a remarkable interlinking of impressive social occurrences with my activity as a clinical physician working in the field of sexuality.

When I wrote my book, DIE FUNKTION DES ORGASMUS between 1925 and 1927, I already tried to utilize the question of genitality in a socio-political* way. This turned out badly. The chapter was later deleted. It was an attempt to use unusable theories under the influence of the psychoanalytic "theory of culture."

I, too, produced my "Contribution to the understanding of. . ."—harmless trifles, which, only through their accumulation, become danger-

[* 1952: The terms "social" and "political," today opposites, are still united here.]

ous in an infinite number of places – the usual mixture of half-truths and complete falsities, for example:

> The war signified a collective lifting of repressions, particularly of cruel impulses, with permission of an idealized father image, the Kaiser. . .

Thus I followed Freud's reflections on "War and Death." *The war as an expression of the sadism of the masses!!* In 1805 it was a corporal, and in 1933 again a corporal whom the multitudes made their "Kaiser." Today we know that it is not the "sadism of the masses," but the sadism of small groups to whom the human masses, who have become biologically rigid, helpless and authority-craving, fall prey.

> Economic interests brought external limitations which were added to the *individually conditioned* [!!] *genital inhibitions. The proletariat is not burdened with such economic limitations of genitality* [!!], and since the pressure of cultural demands is also lower than in the property-owning classes, the neuroses appear relatively less often. Genitality is freer, the worse the material conditions of life.

I was an unsuspecting and harmless academician: There are "individually conditioned" genital inhibitions. The proletariat is unburdened by economic brakes on genitality. It has fewer cultural needs. Genitally, people live the more freely, the greater the poverty.

No Marxist and no Freudian blamed me. They were in agreement. Later in their struggle against me, the Marxists attributed the "free sexualty" of the "proletariat" to manifestations of poor living conditions. The psychoanalysts were satisfied because I did not remove the boundaries of morality between those human beings with and those without cultural needs. A leading Hungarian psychoanalyst once said to me that the proletariat corresponded to the unconscious since it was without instinctual inhibitions; the bourgeoisie, on the other hand, corresponded to the Ego and Super-ego, for it had to keep the Id in check. This statement corresponded completely to the psychoanalytic theory of culture, as a consequence of which society was thought to be constructed psychologically exactly like an individual. Everything was in proper order! Five years later I deleted from my book DIE FUNKTION DES ORGASMUS (1927) the entire chapter on "the social significance of genital strivings." At the same time it was gladly published by Swedish socialists.

There were also obscure sentences with a core of truth which was falsely expressed:

> Whoever has learned to know the inner readiness to accept and to increase economic necessity as a way out of inner conflicts, cannot believe in a thoroughgoing solution of social problems with the usual methods.

The neuroses was an "individual" psychic conflict, and nothing but that. It had nothing to do with the social order, except for "a few hardships and injustices."

Freud's psychology began to penetrate into socialist circles, as, for instance, through the Viennese counsellor and pediatrician, Dr. Karl Friedjung. He explained to the Social Democratic physicians who were in charge of public hygiene in the city of Vienna, that the child has a sexuality. The famous Freud had discovered that; it was a true and great fact. Now one knew more about these things and could further "instinctual sublimation." The Social Democrats took Freud's part. On Freud's seventieth birthday, they made him a "citizen" (*not* an *Honored* Citizen) of the city of Vienna. Before Freud, one had not known where the Devil, Sexuality, had its dwelling place. Hence, one could not fight it adequately. Now one knew it and rejoiced that one could now fight it *better; more scientifically*, and thus more *successfully*. There sprang up the slogan "Sexual enlightenment on a scientific basis," or "Healthy Sex Education." By that they meant the demand for instinctual sublimation and scientific prevention of "living out." Psychoanalysts began to write books on sexual hygiene. One advocated the "education of the instincts." This term anyone could interpret as he pleased. Federn and Meng, both members of socialist parties, wrote: "Under our social and economic living conditions, sexual abstinence may be necessary for valid general and personal reasons. *For the majority of human beings, abstinence is not injurious to health.*" (DAS PSA. VOLKSBUCH, p. 237.) "*Accordingly, the utmost avoidance of outer stimuli* [!!] *is necessary for the carrying out of true abstinence. . . . Sexual excitation can be decreased by cold baths and swimming. . . . Spontaneous erections, which give rise to masturbation and cause sleeplessness, stop if one holds one breath as long as possible and repeats this several times. . .*" (*Ibid:* p. 240.) (Italics mine – WR.) When in 1929 I wrote my "*Kritik der bürgerlichen Sexualreform,*" I refrained from criticizing these ethical socialists. I myself had no answer, and to criticize without being able to do better oneself, is easy. I still wrote in the name of psychoanalysis.

Why do the "world," "culture," "society," not permit young people the natural satisfaction of genitality? Why are there such masses of psychically ill people? Why is Freud so pitilessly fought? Why, as a medical student, did one hear nothing at the university of the emotionally so vital processes of sexual life? In analytic treatment the social barrier against normal sexuality emerged sharply and clearly. *What sense is there in this nonsense?* I knew no answer, and in the literature there was only

the single stereotyped response: Culture demands sexual morality, chastity for girls, continence until marriage, abstinence for adolescents!! Otherwise there would be chaos and no orderly work.

I began to study *ethnology* and *sociology: Whence stem sexual repression and suppression? What function do they fulfill?**

**Cf.* My investigations on this question in THE SEXUAL REVOLUTION and in DER EINBRUCH DER SEXUALMORAL.

CHAPTER II

A PRACTICAL COURSE IN MARXIAN SOCIOLOGY

JULY 15 AND 16, 1927, IN AUSTRIA

I had taken only a few orienting steps in the study of the ethnological and sociological literature (Cunow, Mehring, Kautsky, Engels, etc.) when events brought practical sociology home to me; I did not expect it and was "theoretically unprepared" for it.

Schattendorf, a small town in the Austrian province of Burgenland, had a Social Democratic two-thirds majority. On January 30, 1927, the Social Democratic party called a meeting at 4 p.m. Before the beginning of the meeting, World War I veterans, loyal to the Kaiser, from a near-by tavern shot without provocation into the crowd. A wounded veteran, i.e., a former comrade in arms, was fatally shot in the head. An eight-year-old child was shot, a six-year-old child was severely injured and four Social Democratic *(Schutzbund)* guards were slightly wounded. The attackers fled unhindered.

Why did the threatened gathering of people not react in absolutely justified self-defense? How could the reactionary murderers escape in a township with a two-thirds Socialist majority? The population, in disciplined fashion, left the murderous affair in the hands of the courts.

The following day several large factories stopped work. On February 1, the Executive Committee of the Austrian Socialist party and the Austrian Trade Union Commission called a fifteen minute protest strike. It was carried out completely. But there were no mass demonstrations on the street, although the Social Democratic party had the apparatus to make an impressive demonstration against the murderous action of the Monarchists. "One did not wish to provoke the bourgeoisie and to incite the workers." The end was the downfall of Social Democracy on February 14, 1934, at the hands of the same monarchistically minded organization which in 1927 tried to test how far it could go.

On February 3, there was a parliamentary inquiry in the National Assembly. The Social Democrats asked the Christian Social, Hapsburg-minded, Roman Catholic government, very politely, if it was prepared:

1. "to prosecute with all its energy the guilty persons responsible for the murder in Schattendorf," and
2. "to dissolve the local veteran organizations in Burgenland."

The debate ended inconclusively. In the court proce lure, I believe in Krems, on July 14, 1927, the murderers were freed, obvio.sly by Kaiser-minded reactionary justices.

On July 15 at ten o'clock in the morning, a physician came to me for an analytic session. He told me that a strike of the Vienna workers had broken out. Several people had already been killed; the police were being provided with arms and the workers had already occupied the inner part of the city. I interrupted the session and went to the Schottenring, in the vicinity of which I lived. Police headquarters was located on one of the side streets. There stood masses of policemen; they were receiving rifles which were being handed down to them from trucks. On the Schottenring, long files of workers in working clothes marched in closed ranks – many in step, although without arms – in the direction of the University. I was impressed with the calm in their faces, with the resolute earnestness of their bearing. They did not sing and they did not shout. They marched in silence. From the University, marching in the *opposite* direction toward the Donau Kai, came – *Schutzbund* – columns of the Austrian Socialist party! Spectators asked where they were marching to. "To quarters," was the answer. No one understood it. Here a heavily armed struggle between police and industrial workers was in the making, and the defense troops, organized for years for just such an emergency, were returning to their quarters?! A week later it was the concensus of opinion that the Social Democratic *Schutzbund* could have prevented the spilling of blood if it had barred the way to the police. Vienna under the Social Democratic Community Council had at its disposal about fifty thousand *Schutzbund* troops who were militarily trained. If the battle was *not* to be carried out, at least the workers *had to be protected* from the police. No one knew what took place in the Executive Committee of the Social Democratic party. The first survey report of the Austrian Socialist party did not appear until 24 hours later, on July 16.

I report here as a simple onlooker among tens of thousands who were witness to these events. I was among the tens of thousands who were both spectators and targets of the police. The reality of such hours and days of the "class struggle" appears quite different from the description in the official reports on "civil war" and "class struggle." In the reports, the struggles are fought out, corresponding to theories, between "capitalists" and "workers." On the street, however, *human beings* are running, screaming, shooting, and dying. I saw no capitalists on the street; on the other hand, I saw thousands upon thousands of *workers in uniform* and *workers without uniform*, women, children and bystanders.

The ineradicable impression remained: *Here kind is fighting against kind!* The police, who in these two days shot to death one hundred people, were Social Democratically organized. The workers were Social Democratically organized. The *Schutzbund* was Social Democratically organized. The crowd was predominately Social Democratically organized. *Class struggle? Within the same class?* In a "socialistically" administered city? Here, in 1927, there arose for the first time an inkling of the *irrationality of politics* in general, that very question which twelve years later found its solution in the formulation of "natural work democracy." *It was the biopsychological gap of Marxism in living practice.*

I went with the crowd to the Schottentor. An armed division of policemen marched to the burning courthouse. The police troops, for the most part Social Democratically organized, looked at the ground. The police officers marched with forced steps as if they had something painful to conceal. Everywhere groups of people of every calling, age and sex stood around; not only young people, but also old women, employees, in short, people as they are to be found on any ordinary day in the center of a large city. Many shouted to the police: "Don't shoot! Don't be idiots! Who do you want to shoot, anyway?" A group at the Vienna Bank Association cried in a rage: "You murderers of the workers!" "Why, you are workers yourselves!" The heads of the policemen sank still lower. Their faces showed more disorientation. The first killings had already occurred. The excitement was tremendous. But thousands upon thousands were only passive onlookers. I went to the vast Rathaus park. Shots rang out nearby. The crowd ran toward the Schottenring and hid in the side streets. After a few minutes they slowly came out again, like curious children in whom protest and daring overcome fear. When a crowd runs, one feels an irresistable impulse to run with it. "Stop!" cried some. "If you run away, the police will shoot all the more." In the park they continued to shoot. Mounted police rode into the crowds of people. Ambulances with red flags arrived and drove away with the wounded and the dead. This was no regular street battle between two enemy camps, but tens of thousands of people and groups of police who were shooting into the defenseless crowd. Only near the courthouse was there a real fight. We soon saw flames rising. It was said that some police stations were being stormed. Four policemen had been killed near the courthouse, as against one hundred citizens killed in the crowd. At the courthouse no one could get through, not even the police, so dense was the mass of people. Some policemen had their uniforms torn off and shamefacedly had to slip away in their underclothes. Uniforms hung

symbolically on poles. I was astonished at the mildness of the people. They were strong enough to tear the relatively few policemen to pieces. But they were peaceable and in good humor. Policemen went unharmed through the crowd although in the nearest vicinity people were being shot down like rabbits. This was incomprehensible to me. How could the crowd only look on and do nothing, absolutely nothing, to stop the bloodshed? "*Sadism of the masses?*" The burning of the courthouse was enthusiastically cheered by all. "That joint had it coming to it." Justice seemed indeed "only for the princes and the rich." To be sure, they cursed, and they mourned the dead; but there was no action which could be called *purposeful.*

The courthouse had been seized by young workers. They had driven away the police and now they threw the legal documents in righteous fury out on the street, and set them on fire. Nothing was to be seen of the Socialist *Schutzbund.* The Social Democratic mayor of Vienna, Seitz himself, drove a fire engine through the crowd to the courthouse, but he could not get through. The crowd did not budge from their places, and quietly let the building burn. Here and there, as if automatically, people were being killed. Whenever it suited a policeman or a group of police, they shot blindly in front of them. Again and again people fell. So it went on for hours.

I ran to my home to tell my wife. She did not believe it. That simply could not be possible. On that day in Vienna surely hundreds of thousands must have thought the same. I asked her to convince herself with her own eyes, and I went with her to the University. We stood between the University building and the Arcaden Café, together with a crowd of about three to four hundred people. All were watching the fire. All considered it a just answer to the pardon of the two home guard ("Heimwehr") fascists, who, without reason, had shot a worker and a boy and had now been set free. That was not objective justice, but simply a "pact with murder." At the Rathaus about two hundred meters away, stood a police cordon with rifles resting on the ground. As we watched, they gradually started to move. With slow-paced steps they came nearer. Very slowly! When they were no more than about fifty paces away from the unsuspecting onlookers, the officer in charge stepped to one side and gave the command to fire. I also saw how some policemen raised the barrels of their rifles and shot into the air. However, many shot straight into the crowd. The people scattered in all directions. Dozens lay upon the ground. It was not clear whether they were dead, wounded, or only trying to protect themselves. I jumped behind a tree

and pulled my wife after me. The police cordon now stood in line with the Schottenring. They were not shooting any more. They simply stood there, as before, two hundred meters away. I again had the feelmg: "Senseless machines," nothing more. Stupid, idiotic, without rhyme or reason, an automatism which sometimes goes off and sometimes not. And we were ruled by this! At that time, this was called "civil order." This governed and prescribed whom and when I was permitted to love, whom and when not. *Machine-men!* The thought came quite clearly and could not be denied. Since that time it has never again left me. It was the germ of all later investigations on "people in trouble": Machine men. In the war, I had been such a cog in the machine. I had shot on command just as blindly, without thinking. "Lackeys of the bourgeoisie?" "Paid executioners?" False!! *Only rigid machines.*

Some of these machine men still had enough life in them to be ashamed. They looked away or shot into the air. Living life does not shoot blindly without knowing why or whither. The policemen who fired this way did so because life had died in them. It made no difference that the machines moved spontaneously. The movement was mechanical. Were it not for such rigid machine men, there would be no wars. But how did these machines work? What directed their action? What had produced them? And *why* had they been produced? How could living beings degenerate to this extent? This problem was not to be solved either with the explanation "corruption," nor with the curseword "bourgeoisie." *This was perfectly clear.* Neither was it a question of "uniforms." But undoubtedly, "organization" had something to do with the mechanization of men. The psychologist Le Bon had studied such mass mechanisms. On the foundation of Le Bon's assertions, Freud had based his GROUP PSYCHOLOGY AND EGO ANALYSIS. By means of the hierarchial organizations of army, church and political groups, Freud tried to demonstr 'e that man in rank and file surrenders his individual structure and identifies himself with the führer or the idea. He ceases to be himself and regresses to infantile stages of development in order to carry out the identification. Moreover, according to Freud, here the "primal horde" situation again came into play: The sons submit to the strong, all-powerful father and identify themselves with him through guilt feelings in terms of "culture and civilization." To this, I added silently ". . . . and of quiet and order." [S.O.: *Witness the quiet and order in the middle of the twentieth century, brought about by such culture and civilization!*]

Freud's assertions were correct. The slavish identification with the leader could be seen directly. The loss of the individual ego was equally

obvious. Similarly, the operation of an abstract idea. Still, still. . . . It was not satisfying. It eternalized this fact and anchored it in a biological lawfulness. Indeed, the family was a biological institution and thus *everything* was biological which grew out of the family constellation! Thus there would be no possibility of change. Thus policemen will forever be so irresponsible as to shoot people watching a fire. So people will eternally set justice palaces on fire and let themselves be shot down like rabbits, and "take it good-naturedly." And at the same time, one speaks of the progress of cultural development? Is *that* culture? It is said that culture requires "renunciation of the instincts!" Thus this crowd, although it was numerically far superior, refrained from lynching the few policemen because of "renunciation of the instincts"? In order to be capable of culture? In order not to live out the destructive death instincts? In order to sublimate the drives? In order to safeguard culture? Still, still. . . . The police were "the representatives of civilization," and yet they shot blindly into masses of innocent bystanders? *Where was the instinctual sublimation of the police?* And what about the "objective" judges who had quickly pardoned undoubted murderers! Was *that* the safeguarding of culture? That could not possibly be true! Here a very great deception was hidden. Here Freud acted like a hypocrite! Yet Freud was an honest, straightforward man! Why, then, was he hypocritical here? Did he know it? Surely not. Still, why then the firm, so-certain assertions about cultural morality and the necessity for repression of the instincts? I felt an honest and true urge in myself to throw myself on the police and to beat, simply to let loose blindly, as they had shot blindly. I was restrained by the thought that I would stand alone. That my action – and this thought was most peculiar – *would appear ridiculous even to the very people who had just been shot at.* This feeling was the strongest: *It would not even be understood by this mistreated crowd itself!* Otherwise, they would *spontaneously* have done it themselves! For that they did not need my act as an example! I believed that I thought this from cowardice! A true Communist surely would have leapt at the policeman's throat. [S.O.: *Here the "Communist" already appears as the one who rectifies injustice by mere proclamation, which hooks on to the yearning for justice in the individuals who later become gullible stooges of the Red Fascists.*] But far and wide nothing was to be seen of Communist and Social Democratic leaders. The Social Democratic functionaries had tried in vain to remove the crowd from the courthouse so that the fire could be put out. I felt without question that the crowd was

right and not its leaders. The judges, who should preserve and practice justice, had freed murderers.

Only on the following day did the Communists hand out a leaflet. On Alser street, in front of the University clinic, I met a working woman, the mother, I soon learned, of one of the patients there. In despair she cried out: "Where are the Communists? They ought to beat them all up! Those policemen have shot my son." The Communists were not present. Perhaps one or two as individuals, but not as "leaders of the proletariat." I had learned from the many illegal meetings how at such times "the Party as leader directs the struggle," "organizes," "in order to bring about the best possible results." In deep seclusion from public scrutiny, in locked rooms they dreamt of mass uprisings which they wished to lead to victory in the revolution. Now the revolt had broken out spontaneously against a social villainy. The leaflet came a day too late.

Similarly, in July, 1931, during the German bank crash, when everyone was waiting for the Communists, their poster appeared in Berlin eight days too late, when the general "mood" had passed. So, too, Russia came to the aid of Spain a few months too late. But: "We have not understood how to mobilize the masses. . . ." "we were still too weak," etc. etc. If one is "still too weak," has "not understood how to mobilize the masses," then it is a crime to call oneself the "sole leader of the proletariat," and in such catastophes, headlessly, to do nothing for the protection of the crowd; and afterward continuously to go on inciting to revolt, opportunistically to be for or against a strike, for or against bourgeois democracy; for a pact with Hitler and against a pact with Hitler; for war against Germany and against war against Germany; for birth control and against birth control; for the abolition of export trade and for oil dealings with Italy in the Abyssinian war – in short, to be without honor, thought or backbone.

At that time I knew nothing of all this I, too, waited for the Communists. Didn't they accomplish the Russian Revolution? They would yet do everything. They were only still getting ready. On the same day, through a Communist physician, I let myself be enrolled in the medical group of the "Arbeiterhilfe," one of the affiliates of the Austrian Communist Party. I did not want to scold, nor to criticize, but to help as well as I could. When I heard from members of the *Schutzbund* that the Socialist Otto Bauer had told the representatives of the gas and electrical workers: "Do what you please," and, turning up his collar, had walked out, I was sharply aware of the monstrosity of the situation. But I did not leave the Austrian Socialist Party. I decided to work socially *as a*

physician wherever I could. I emphasize: I was unpolitical, a simple, scientific worker, a physician with a brilliant private practice and well-to-do American students, who belonged to the "bourgeoisie as a class."



WILHELM REICH, 1928

[Note, 1952: *The Arbeiterhilfe, verbatim "Workers' Help," consisted mainly of people who were not party members but sympathized openly with the Russian Revolution. The Arbeiterhilfe and the "Rote Hilfe" ("Red Help") were designed as a kind of Red Cross organization. However, these affiliates consisting of non-political members were in many cases abused for political power purposes in the early thirties, without the consent or even the knowledge of the members of these organizations. The later conflict between me and the German Communist party leadership over the Sex-Pol organization which I built up, was basically characterized by the same pattern. I always maintained that the mental hygiene* clinics had to be SUPRA-POLITICAL but clearly SOCIALLY oriented, while the *Communist party leadership, already deeply entangled in mere power politics, was out, as it is today, everywhere, to abuse the original purposes for which these organizations had been founded, as subterfuge for Moscow power politics.* In this conflict from about 1930 onward, I most strenuously fought the Communist politicians who already then quite clearly began to develop and to organize all the trends which a few years later, about 1934-35, led them into the full-fledged fascism of 1936, 1945 and 1952.

The sharp contradiction between the *factual* (social) and the *power-political* approach to human problems never since ceased to stamp my sociological work and my conflicts on the social scene. The factual approach maintains that the social organizations, including the economic ones, should be built up from the needs of the population. This was the way in the twenties, I had interpreted the Marxian economic theory. It turned out around 1930 in the first clashes with the party ideologists, that they had an entirely different interpretation of Marxian economics. To them all actions and thoughts had to be oriented along the line of the "productive powers," which means no more than machines. It is obvious that the industrial-mechanistic and my functional point of view could never agree with each other since they led into opposite mutually exclusive directions of social development. Today these two opposite views characterize two inimical camps. Of all this I had only very little knowledge in 1927. However, I was soon to learn the hard way to distinguish sharply between society built up from the needs of the people and society built up from power machines. The poverty in Russia and the great tendency toward poverty in socialist England are clear expressions of complete disregard of the human needs as the basis of social structure.

If we add to this economistic interpretation of Marxism, the confusion of state and society and a wrongly applied sharp antithesis between individual and society (which means the "state"), we can begin to comprehend the agonies into which people slid unwillingly, unknowingly, unwittingly, against their own intentions and desires. We can also appraise the importance of clear thinking and correct handling of scientific ideas for the welfare of the human community. I would suggest to the reader that he view all events as they roll by us on the following pages, from the viewpoint of this sharp antithesis of approach to human life.]

The court house burnt to the ground. Every decent human being understood the motive of the fire [S.O.: *It was a true popular mass*

emotion, reaching out for justice. Twenty years later, Red Fascists would march into countries AGAINST SUCH PEOPLE'S EMOTIONS, *brought in by traitors and underhanded, well-hidden spies, misusing such emotions in order to kill justice everywhere. But why. . . . .?*]

The inner part of the city was gradually cleared out. About a thousand severely wounded men and women lay in the overcrowded hospitals. The struggle had cost more than a hundred dead because the *Schutzbund* had gone home. No one could predict in 1927 that in 1934 the exact opposite would happen: The *Schutzbund* would bleed to death on the barricades, and the people, cheated of its protection in 1927, would stay away.

In the suburbs, especially in Ottakring and Hernals, the fighting was still going on on July 15. On the evening of this first day, I went with my wife through the streets of the inner boroughs. It was disconsolately quiet. We met many people who were very much moved, weeping women, men who perplexedly asked what one could do to prevent further bloodshed. Of the "sole leaders of the proletariat" there was still no trace to be seen. We decided to visit friends.

They did not live far away. The father of our friend was a Social Democrat and a brother was even a Social Democratic functionary. We came in and were startled. The table in the dining room was decorated with flowers. Plates were laid out; guests were expected. I was without coat and tie. The bloody events seemed not to have penetrated into this room. With my excitement over the bloodshed, I appeared, in this cool, reserved atmosphere, ridiculous to myself, somehow in the wrong place. I wanted to leave, but I was asked to stay. Then the guests arrived. They began a very "intelligent" conversation, in truly cultured, Viennese fashion, about the occurrences. I noticed that no one had an inkling of what had really happened. They spoke about the bloodshed as they might about Goethe. We said goodbye and went. We had politely stayed to the end. I would have liked to have at least overturned the table. But I was sufficiently well-bred to behave properly. I was the first assistant physician at the Polyclinic and the superior of this Socialist colleague.

July 16 passed with more fighting in the northern suburb of Ottakring. But only isolated groups were still fighting. The crowds now stayed away. A few more were killed and wounded. The police drove through the streets in special riot cars, their loaded carbines pointing to the outside. On they rode proudly and brutally through the side streets. It was frightful. On the third day, early in the morning, the street

cars started to run again, and the newspapers resumed publication. The everyday picture of a big city appeared again, as if nothing had happened. But from now on, a great deal began to happen. On this day, the Austrian Social Democracy witnessed the forces which produced its downfall in 1934. No one had any inkling of this. There was only much debating going on and quarreling about the tactics and strategy of the "proletarian class struggle." The Social Democrats blamed the Communists for having incited the fire (this was not true) which Seitz had been trying to put out. This quarrel was not resolved until the common downfall in 1933 and 1934.

The state apparatus under the Catholic priest, Seipel, and various wealthy citizens condemned the "uprising." No one said or wrote a clarifying or calming word to the effect that such conflicts should be prevented forever in the future. The party politicians, Christians here, liberals there, communists elsewhere, blamed one another, threatened, negotiated, made political deals, but there was no one who tried to get to the root of the matter. Going to the root of the matter would have meant finding and declaring that *all politics is in itself irrational* and *a social disease;* thus it would have meant the *dissolution of all political parties.* To complain about the general state of affairs, and to appeal to the human conscience of the politicians was stupid. These attitudes are part and parcel of their social misfunction. One can only either acknowledge them or radically put them out of function. Put to complain about it? The Social Democrats disowned any part in the uprising although three of their organizations – the police, the unarmed people and the *Schutzbund* – had contributed to the bloodshed: the police by shooting on the people, and the *Schutzbund* by deserting to go home.

Looking backward, in 1937, after their organization and some of their members had been annihilated at the hands of the royalists in February, 1934, a few problems which were brought up by the July revolt come sharply into focus. At that time, I knew no one who had realized any of these problems or was capable of understanding them. To see it today, is much simpler. Social history has meanwhile taught cruel lessons. To be clever *after* the event is cheap. One makes history only when one sees, *at the right time,* the processes and problems which are concealed from people in general. Social catastrophes occur precisely because there is an unawareness of and impotence toward that which one so keenly desires to prevent. Until today, the activity of world reformers exhausted itself for the most part in only collecting evidence to show that *what* HAS *happened,* HAD *to happen.* But – to elaborate a phrase of Marx – it is

not *only* a question of interpreting the world: One must also *change* it! Our politicians have remained interpreters and recorders, or otherwise, highway robbers. Changing the world radically requires integrity, the courage to face truth fully, scientific thinking, foresight; in short, qualities which no politician possesses, otherwise he would not participate in politics.

Thus the real problems of the July uprising in 1927 were:

Why is the mass of mistreated people so helpless? [S.O.: *Why, in forty years of social misery, did not a single sound, deep-reaching thought come from among the millions of workers? Why no action, no step toward peaceful living?*]

Why do "reactionary" sons of workers and peasants shoot at "socialist" workers and peasants?

Is it really the "capitalists" and the "working class" who are fighting against each other on the streets?

Or are the oppressed fighting against the oppressed?

Does the middle class really only sway back and forth between the two other classes? Why doesn't its own miserable economic situation make it step spontaneously and as a matter of course, to the side of the industrial workers?

At that time, it was impossible to pose such questions. For this, the complete unmasking of the *irrationalism* of politics in general was necessary, which happened during the next five years. On the other hand, there were the following facts to be noted in the workers' movement:

Austrian Social Democracy was numerically *strong*. In the elections of April 24, 1927, they won three seats which gave them a representation of seventy-one against eighty-five for the Catholic Christian Socialist party block. Let us note that these eighty-five representatives of the Christian Socialists and German nationalists were elected *not by capitalists, but by many hundreds of thousands of working people*. Thus in parliament, too, not capitalists and working class opposed each other, but representatives of *socialistically-minded* and representatives of Catholic-Christian-Kaiser-German-nationalistically-minded *working* people.

The vote of the Social Democrats had increased; their power and courage, on the other hand, had sunk. The Austrian Socialist party had in 1926 (of the six million population of Austria), 1,536,000 votes, as against 1,312,000 votes in 1923. And in Vienna, which numbered 1,800,000 inhabitants, it had 694,000 votes in 1926, as against 571,000 votes in 1923. When the Linz Party Convention declared that when they had reached a majority, nothing would prevent them from taking

power, there were many whom I knew in the party, who considered that the day of their attaining a 51% majority would be the day of the worst catastrophe. For then they would *have* to take power. But, then, what would they do with their power?

There was *no bridge whatsoever* between what the Socialists promised (peace, brotherhood, "bread and freedom," a socialist government, etc. etc.) and the true, deeply rooted character structure of the people which reproduced daily its own miseries of which they knew nothing and did not want to hear anything.

I claim – contrary to many politicians – that it was not personal cowardice or malicious intention that caused Otto Bauer, the leader of the Austrian Socialists, to carry on his dangerous policy of vacillation. I claim, rather, that it was a complete uncertainty as to what one should do with the people after the seizure of power which caused Dr. Otto Bauer again and again to waver and to hesitate. One feared the helplessness of the people more than their slavishness. Neither the helplessness nor the conservative submissiveness of the human multitude was known or admitted. I do not know if Otto Bauer had ever clearly considered these questions. To raise such questions was tantamount to heresy against socialistic dogma, until the victorious march of fascism finally forced them upon the world. The many high-flown political and theoretical democratic arguments and counter-arguments obfuscated the central problem: *Are the multitudes of working people capable of building up a free society? As the Russian Revolution had shown, they are certainly capable of destroying the old, authoritarian state apparatus!* [S.O.: *Up to date, the Socialists and Communists have failed to prove that they can build a new, free society. They have even failed to state this dry fact, as a first step toward improvement.*] The reactionary organizations carried on their propaganda very successfully, precisely with the objection that one should not destroy anything if one could not build up something anew and better. There was no answer and also no historical experience with which one could refute this argument, not even in Soviet Russia. One would have endangered the total foundation of the political propaganda at that time which worked according to the Coué method, with *fantasies* about a socialist society of the future, with illusions about the freedom-thirsty masses. I experienced this as did many others. One was socialistic *by conviction*, but it was precisely in life-important realms that the socialists fought against laying the foundation for a free development. To speak of the *incapacity for freedom* and *fear of freedom* in the masses, as one did later in 1935, would have appeared insane in 1927. There was a

general fear of the breaking through of "mob rule." That was admitted openly by a few: many others also admitted it, but concealed it again with empty political slogans. No one was aware of the difficult, abysmally deep problem of *the character structure of the people.* One was infinitely far removed from any theoretical and practical-organizational measures necessary for the mastery of the problem of human structure. The automatic capacity for freedom in the people was taken for granted as a matter of course. No one could doubt this. He would have been denounced as a reactionary right away. As later became apparent, there existed a fear of "the mob." And nobody dared to touch this hot potato. [S.O.: *This is largely so to this day, 1952.*]

In 1927 there were no foundations whatever which would have made it possible to judge factually the conservative attitude of the democratic leaders and the human multitudes in all camps. This became possible only after the collapse of the Austrian and German democratic movements of all types (1933-34) had forced people to question the structural *capacity for freedom in the human masses.* To begin with, reactionary politics has a much easier time of it. It does not set itself the task of solving basic social problems. Its nature is determined by ideological nationalism and chauvinism. What it accomplishes positively takes place on the basis of complete neglect and negation of the vital needs of the working people. The freedom movements, on the other hand, be they socialistic, communistic, liberal, etc., are confronted with a tremendously difficult job. The questions and tasks to be solved are innumerable and grave. The socialists and communists, to be sure, knew the laws of capitalist economy. They knew the outlines of a "socialist society" as it had been formed in the heads of the pioneers of socialism. The democrats believed in the possibility of peaceful and gradual reforms, without taking into account the activity of a brutish political reaction. Every gap in the concrete knowledge of the socialists meant an advantage for the reactionary. The hesitating and half-hearted liberality in the democratic bourgeois camp toward the advocates of freedom, their less restricted liberality toward political reaction, prepared the way for the coming catastrophe.* For all democratic organizations, – next to the successful accomplishment of the daily tasks and the mastery of the international processes of society – *the knowledge of the fear of and incapacity for freedom in the human multitudes would have been the most important thing.* For

* The same phenomenon emerged in the Second World War, 1939-1944, in the attitude of the English and American democracies.

seven years (1927-1934) I fought within the worker's movement and liberal organizations for the recognition of the role of the people in the social process and for the correct handling of their character reactions. *The role of the biopsychic process in the development of society, of the grasping of living Life* beyond the economic basis was at stake, for the first time in the history of socio-economics. There was no knowledge available for practical use. Hence everyone felt a gap which no one was able to fill. All parties raised arguments against the freedom-striving of the people. They were all right in some way: The conservatives in that they feared social chaos and asked for concrete plans; the Social Democrats in that, as they claimed, the social revolution as demanded by the Communists, could not be achieved; the Communists in that the appeasing politics of the Social Democrats was "treason" to the cause of freedom, that they strenghtened the position of the political reaction and finally would bring about a general downfall. But the Christian Socialists could not fulfill a single election promise; the Social Democrats led the masses into an abyss; and the Communists were right *theoretically,* which is very easy. In 1927, the Communists were a kind of admonishing conscience. Ten years later in Spain and France, they themselves advocated what in 1927 they had reproached the Social Democrats for in Germany and Austria. And between 1936 and 1942, they joined the forces of evil in a pact with Hitler and, furthermore, in the complete confusion and treachery of their thinking. They led the war against Hitlerism as an authoritarian, dictatorially organized nation in Russia, *not as representatives of a solution of world problems.*

The basis of *all* mistakes, which *all* parties committed, of *all* catastrophes brought about by *all* political parties, no matter how good and honest their intentions may have been – the basis, I say, was *the ideological ignorance and confusion of the working people, their exclusion from the practical guidance of the social work processes, their incapacity for freedom and consequently the fear of them on the part of all political parties,* grave matters utterly unknown at that time. One did not think or proceed from the standpoint of the life and suffering of the working multitudes, but from the standpoint of an "ideology," which one advocated "*in the interests* of the masses" and tried "to pound" into the people. The bizarre, indeed ridiculous debates after the July uprising in 1927 can only be understood and judged in the light of the above statements. I wish to present only a few examples. A systematic history of these events is not intended here.

The tactics of the European democratic liberal governments were everywhere the same: They were hard and unmerciful toward the socialist parties. They took advantage of the severe gaps in the socialist "*Weltanschauung*" which were very vividly expressed as political weaknesses, as a lack of principles of action, or as guilt feelings in the socialist leaders. The bourgeois politicians missed no opportunity to increase the emotional insecurity of the socialists and to appeal to their bourgeois conscience concerning matters of state. The Catholic prelate and Christian Socialist chancellor, Seipel, a clever, hard, psychologically acute man, had fully grasped the weaknesses of the Socialists. He justified the judicial pardon of the murderers in the Schattendorf verdict. The jury could not, he said, have acted in any other way after the press campaign of the Socialists which had preceded the trial. They had to consider that it was a question of "a political matter," and not of a private act.

This attitude was shrewd. The Social Democrats had indeed represented the shooting of the participants in the meeting as a personal act committed by murderers and they had appealed to the human conscience of the government. But this government did not in any way have to represent questions of human conscience, but it did represent certain social interests of big industry, property owners and the church; it did not in the least conceal or deny this. It was frank. It made the Social Democrats uneasy to find that those who had taken part in the uprising had correctly grasped the *political* character of the affair. So the first thing they did was *to dissociate* themselves from the uprising. Otto Bauer said, in his answering speech in the National Assembly on July 26, 1927, that, with regard to the dead, everyone first of all had the moral duty to search his own conscience. "I will therefore speak no word of accusation before I had made known to the entire public at which point, after our trial of conscience, any guilt lies on our side." Bauer said further, in a naïve, honest way revealing the Social Democrats' fear of their own people, that the party itself could have put on a demonstration "with all possible precautions to assure that peace would not be disturbed." In this way one could have given the demonstration "a political point," which could have justified it. Bauer mourned the attitude of the Christian Socialists: "To shoot, that is popular now; to shoot at citizens of the state now arouses a feeling of gratitude."

Bauer tried to move the government party members emotionally. He understood, he said, that policemen shoot in self-defense. However, the majority of the dead had fallen because of the inhuman method of clearing the streets. Why did Bauer, at that time a powerful man with

millions behind him, not have the streets barred off at once? Army and police were then predominantly Social Democratic. They would not have shot if their brother organization, the *Schutzbund*, had not been ordered to quarters. Bauer was not actually faced with the question of the seizure of power, but only with the task, supported by his *actual* power, of achieving the *actually attainable*, i.e., *preventing bloodshed*. He would not have had to beg in Parliament if he had used his power in Vienna rationally for the safeguarding of the peace. In his indecisiveness toward the masses and the Christian Socialists, he wished to avoid civil war *at any price*. Not so the Christian Socialists: there had been two civil wars; Bauer had been able to prevent them neither in 1927 nor in 1934. He had only *lost* the wars.

The people are drawn toward the camp where they see forcefulness, courage and decisiveness. There they feel safe. Every clear, forceful action increases the power and courage of its organization. It is better to fight a civil war *with* the people than to have it led against one by the police. (Compare Lincoln's decisions in the American Civil War.)

Bauer demanded a declaration of the government in favor of the arrested Socialists, and, for this, he abstained from a general strike. But "the government has supplied no explanation; we have made the sacrifice. I admit that I have advised my friends to make it, and I am proud of this. The beginning of this movement was something which must have given thoughtful pause to every man of conscience, but its end, its conclusion, was a triumph of organization and discipline." *Only until 1934!* Bauer appealed to the reason of the Christian Socialist government, to its statesmanlike insight! "Restrain me, or otherwise I will *have* to shoot against my will!" was the way Bauer acted. And he finally *had to* shoot, in 1934, after a long lost battle. Really, Bauer could not have behaved any differently. *He did not know how to act.* He would certainly have bravely held out to the end, if he had seen the whole of the question. He later proved that he was personally not a coward. [S.O.: *Appeasement is always the expression of a lack of knowledge as to how to act.*]

Thus Bauer delivered a confession of conscience before his opponents. Then he appealed to the insight of the government, to its "statesmanship and reason." The government had to try "to pacify these agitated masses through a gesture which shows that things cannot go on like this, that the government does not want the people to still more deeply fall prey to blind hatred." What fear of the indignation of the people! It is certain that Bauer felt the complexity of human character structure. He believed that this complexity was of a biological (i.e., unchangeable) nature. For

even the great psychologist of the century, Freud, had scientifically demonstrated that there are biologically immutable destructive drives in human beings. To let them loose must lead to chaos. But the Christian Socialistic opponents did not theorize about destructive drives, neither those turned inward nor those directed toward the outer world. They did not think of burdening themselves with the problem of how one could "make evil people good." Beasts had to be locked up; this was their basic attitude. One makes short shrift of them. One puts them in chains. Hitler was the extreme end product of that kind of thinking. [S.O.: *The socialists and communists have nothing to offer or to answer here themselves, except again brutal force against the people as used in Red Fascist Russia.*]

After Bauer, Kunschak, the leader of the Christian Socialist government party, spoke: He rejected an investigation; he was not interested in whether or which police group had overstepped their rights; he wanted only to know who bore the guilt for the tragedy. "The Christian Socialists will express their gratitude to the chancellor."

The Christian Socialist vice-chancellor, Hartleb, declared that he accepted all responsibility for the police measures. Gürtler, of the Christian Socialists, answered Bauer: ". . . .We would gladly have granted you this moral success [*of pacification and deflection of the masses*]. But we cannot simply pass over the fact that you were no longer in a position to achieve this moral victory. . . . *A revolution is just as much a misfortune for you as it is for us.*" How true! And Otto Bauer, the initiator of the revolutionary Linz program, had to allow himself to be talked to in this way, without being able to answer. Gürtler had in fact been right. For Bauer and his party, a mass revolution would have been a great catastrophe. He would not have known how to deal with it. Would the masses of people have known? Or the Communists? Let us wait for the answer.

The Christian Socialist Aigner recognized that Bauer's emotion "had been a deeply felt and honest one." But "during his speech, I had the impression that here stands the responsible representative of that very party which for years by uncontrolled agitation in speech and press had led these unfortunate victims before the guns of the executive power of the state." And Grailler: "Expect in the future that when you lift your hand to strike, the heavy blow will strike *you!*"

But how frighteningly right these reactionaries remained in the end! How could they be so right when they had nothing in the least to offer either their own or their opponents' multitudes?

What did the Austrian Communist party, which on the basis of its convictions considered itself the "sole leader of the working class," have to say to all this?

> [S.O.: *What would any of the "freedom" politicians have had to offer?* WR, *at that time, is already deeply involved in these problems, but he is far from knowing that no politician had anything to offer whatsoever, and that 1927 was only a small event in the chain of mass murders all through the following decades.*]

The masses of manual workers belonged to non-communistic, Christian, and Social Democratic workers' organizations. At every opportunity, the Communists demanded the arming of the workers, the dissolution of inimical organizations, a general strike, etc. etc. If the workers really entered the struggle, then the Communists came too late (Spain, July, 1936), had no contact with the popular movement, and no "leadership" (Austria, February, 1934), or they inhibited the mass movement (Germany, 1933). But always they claimed "leadership" by reason of their "conviction."

From this the question followed: Assuming that its program is correct, why has the communist movement no contact with the mass movement? The answer is not found in any of the polemics which have been written. The answer is to be found in the fact that *the people have had a different idea of socialism than the communists after 1918*, that their desires contradict each other; that, finally, the communists indeed once knew theoretically the principles of socialist economy [*which they later abandoned*] but *had no inkling of the real life of the people.*

For years the Communists had called for what happened spontaneously on July 15. On the evening of the 14th, they had called together a meeting of their factory delegates, about eighty men, "who indeed gave their word to try to lead the workers out of the factories but were not convinced of the possibility of success. If they should succeed in instigating the workers to leave the factories, a quiet demonstration should take place." ("Vienna is red with the blood of the workers." Quoted from a Letter to the International Press Correspondence: "*Imprekkor,*" July 19, 1927.)

They "analyzed" the causes of the spontaneous movement with all the most subtle finesse of their "Marxist-Leninist sole-leadership" method. They printed their conclusions as to the cause of the July uprising in an anonymous pamphlet of the international association of Berlin publishing

houses, 1927. These conclusions were that the cause of the uprising lay in the following:

1. The Social Democratic tactics of evasion and persuasion toward the bourgeoisie. (That is, the Social Democratic workers on the 15th of July let loose in rage against their hesitating leaders whom, however, they still continued to serve in complete obedience for seven full years until 1934.)

2. The Austrian Marxist habit "of accompanying all compromises with radical talk and gestures. . ." (Let it be clearly understood: The workers went out into the streets because the Social Democrats had talked so radically. The Christian Social government men claimed the same thing.)

3. The "bad economic situation of the working class." *(In 1927 in Austria there was an economic boom. Two* dead men had mobilized the workers in 1927. In 1932 there was the deepest depression and need, and no workers marched. There were dead ones everywhere all the time. Not a single worker went out on the street. It is much more complicated than the "*sole* leaders of the proletariat" thought in their theses.)

4. "The main reason for this sudden outbreak. . . .is the lack of a revolutionary mass party, a revolutionary leadership *recognized by the masses.*"

Read this sentence several times with close attention: The main reason for the uprising was the *lack* of a revolutionary mass party. Thus if there had been a revolutionary mass party, then there would have been no uprising. In Germany in 1930-1933, there was a revolutionary mass party when Hitler climbed to power. Then there was no sudden uprising! And so the sentence appears to be correct, but is actually nothing but confused nonsense, an expression of the complete factual and theoretical loss of direction on the part of the heirs of Lenin.

Where were the squads which had been trained by Soviet Russia in the "strategy and tactics of the class struggle"? And *why* did not the people, who made the uprising, wish to recognize this leadership, neither then nor now, nor in any place? [S.O. *Why did the Red Fascists have to steal and murder their way into power even after the Second World War?*] Why, then, the summons to the general strike? Why the proclamation of the workers' representatives as in the "Heimwehr" march in Pottendorf? Why, then, the Coueistic proclamations and exhortations for a general strike?

It is not my intention to present a history of the communistic movement, but only to indicate on what level politics operated, within what

kind of ideology the struggle for the recognition of mass psychology took place.

At the end of July, 1927, I had a conversation with Freud on the Semmering. It made a strong impression on me that Freud completely failed to understand the uprising, and regarded the event as a catastrophe similar to a tidal wave. I would like to emphasize that except for the spontaneous outbreak of rage on the part of the people over the *unjust* Schattendorf verdict, there was neither in the political parties nor in intellectual circles any opinion which would have thrown any light on the event. The working people neither before July 15 nor afterward showed any consistency in action which would make the uprising understandable socially. They answered the Schattendorf verdict with setting fire to the court house in Vienna and paid for this with a thousand dead and wounded. In the attacks of political reaction on their civil rights, which were far worse and more dangerous, in the following years, *they did not react at all,* until the downfall of their organizations in February, 1934. This is a good historical example of mass-psychological irrationalism.

I would have given my thoughts free reign if I had known an answer to the many questions which rushed one after another through my mind. But there was no basis for this. To be sure, everyone was talking about everything in a hit-or-miss way. As I listened to this talk, for the first time the feeling of the *senselessness of politics* must have taken possession of me. Never had I seen any *relationship of politics to the actual life of human beings.* From clinical work the conviction was strong in me that one must have experienced a thing completely in order to judge it correctly. Thus I came into practical political-sociological work.

Chapter III

THE "LIVING PRODUCTIVE POWER, WORKING POWER" OF KARL MARX *

One word more to avert misunderstandings. The persons of capitalists and landowners are not, in my book, depicted in rose-tinted colours; but if I speak of individuals, it is only in so far as they are personifications of economic categories, representatives of special class relations and class interests. Inasmuch as I conceive the development of the economic structure of society to be a natural process, I should be the last to hold the individual responsible for conditions whose creature he himself is, socially considered, however much he may raise himself above them subjectively.

Karl Marx: Capital, Preface to First Edition (1867)

INTRODUCTION

This article was written in 1936, at a time when the sociological illusions in the Soviet Union were put into the form of a constitution ("Introduction of Soviet Democracy"). At that time, it was not published. If it is published now, 8 years later, it is mainly for two reasons:

I. Humanity is more in need of scientific, that is truthful thinking than ever before. Armed disputes will not change its misery an iota. Even after the military victory over German fascism, the fascist human structure will continue to exist in Germany, Russia, America and everywhere else. It will continue to grow subterraneously, will seek new forms of political organization, and will inevitably lead to a new catastrophe, unless the responsible people all over the world will rally to protect and utter truth as today only the political lie is protected and uttered. This can be predicted with absolute certainty.

Karl Marx discovered vital facts with far-reaching social consequences, but the realization of these consequences is not possible because knowledge and technique are not sufficiently developed to bring about a correspondingly rapid change in human emotional structure. One may welcome or condemn Marx; that is a matter of taste. What one cannot do, however, if one lays any claim to decency, is to refer to Marx and at the same time to distort his scientific facts in the interest of political maneuvres. One cannot distort scientific truths without becoming sooner or later an accomplice of fascism, the master of distortion and lying. Even though the alteration of human conditions according to scientific findings is not possible, the misery of daily living should not lead one to smash the only hope of humanity, which lies in rational truth.

Ten years or so ago one was severely brought to task if one did not adhere to the letter of Marx's writings; one was condemned for the scientific statement that Marxist economy was in urgent need of being complemented by a scientific mass psychology. Yet recently, Marxism was "revised" in Soviet Russia. Official government economists "discovered" that Marx was wrong in contending that in socialism there would be no production and accumulation of surplus value, that, in other words, the production of surplus value was a specific characteristic of capitalism.

The distortion of the facts is the following: Nowhere in Marx's economic theory is to be found the contention that in socialism the production of surplus value would cease to exist. To "revise" a contention which was never made is nonsense.

The fundamental problem of Marx was not whether or not surplus value is produced in socialism; the problem was the nature of the surplus value, the question where it comes from and who disposes of it. Surplus value is produced on the basis of the specific character of living working power. The core of Marx's economics is the fundamental difference between living and dead productive power.

From the finding of the nature of living working power, and with that of the origin of surplus value, follows the further question who appropriates the surplus value. It is always appropriated by the owners of the social means of production: in private capitalism by the individual capitalists, in state capitalism by the state, and in a free work democracy by the society of the working individuals, as historically in primitive societies and as foreseen in a future truly democratic society.

One may welcome these findings or one may hate them, but it is not admissible to distort them. To shift the problem of the production of surplus value from the questions of its nature, origin and appropriation to the question of its existence is an inadmissible distortion of a scientific finding. The exposition which follows has nothing to do with any kind of political ideology but only and alone with the vital interest in the protection of scientific integrity. In these times, it is not superfluous to point out that such scientific problems cannot be solved by firing squads, the most modern means of settling differences.

* First appeared in *International Journal of Sex-Economy and Orgone Research*, Vol. 3, 1944.

2. *The second reason for the publication of this article at this time is the connection between Marx's analysis of living working power in the production of surplus value and the orgone-physical study of human biological activity. Since about 1928, sex-economy has been aware of the fact that what Marx calls living working power is identical with what orgone biophysics calls work function of the biological energy. Particularly at this time, it is a matter of profound human and scientific gratification that a thinker and searcher of the stature of Marx made a specific life function the core of his " dry " economic theory. He was the first to do so, for which working humanity owes him gratitute. That humanity almost let him starve; that it continues to smear him; that it begins to impute things to him which he never said; that it appropriates his practical scientific discoveries without giving him credit; all this adds another heavy debt to an already gigantic debt account of this humanity. It is not the fault of Marx. I felt it my scientific duty to set straight what an almost incomprehensible social mentality tries to distort and obliterate.*

Orgonon, July, 1944.

Karl Marx was for the science of economics what Freud was for psychiatry. His basic concept was simple and at variance with all traditional views. Pre-Marxian and non-Marxian economics tried to explain profit from the " natural value " of dead material, from the existing and invested capital, etc. The economists before Marx had contended that the value of commodities was determined by the law of supply and demand. Marx showed that this produces no more than slight price fluctuations, and that the value of a commodity is basically determined by the *human working power* invested in it. A tree, e.g., has no " value " in itself, i.e., not until human work is " added to it." Not until the tree is felled and sawed into boards or made into masts does it assume " value " for man. This applies to everything which has " value." The air has no " value "; it is obtained gratis, because it can be consumed without the addition of human working power. The hide of an ox has no value until human hands fashion it into shoes.

Marx distinguishes the constant from the variable capital. The *constant* capital consists of non-living raw materials and non-living machines. These, in themselves, give no profit; not until human work, *the variable capital*, changes them into commodities, into use value. Since money can be lent for interest, the *value* of the capital seemed to be determined by the fact that it brought in more money be it through investment in industry (industrial capital) or through lending (bank capital). According

to Marx, money is no more than a paper issued on the basis of a social agreement, for the facilitation of trade. In itself, it has more value than the working power which was expended in its manufacture. Its actual value it derives only from what it represents, from what it can be exchanged for, as, e.g., a commodity. However, one buys not only dead commodities, but also *living* commodities. The entrepreneur pays the worker for the use of the " commodity, working power." This working power can be sold and bought like any other commodity. When a shoemaker makes a pair of shoes and sells them, they no longer belong to him. Neither does the working power which, say, a lathe worker sells to the capital owner. Just as the buyer of the shoes can do with the *use value* of the shoes what he pleases, so can the entrepreneur do what he pleases with the *commodity, working power* which he has bought; he can exploit it as he pleases. In doing so, he is not " bad "; he acts, according to the laws of market economy, altogether legally.

The effect of the emotional plague on Marx's scientific theory of value expresses itself in the following manner: In their attempt to arouse the emotions of the masses and to win them over, the party politicians forgot about the unemotional explanation of the value of working power. They attached to the factual concept of " surplus value " an emotion composed of resentment, hatred, envy and the urge to pocket surplus value oneself. Thus the fruitful and promising objective findings of Marx got lost in a heap of irrational emotions which not only led to no practical result but brought ruin to the whole workers' movement. True, the emotional plague is able to win masses, to conquer nations, to destroy populations; but it is unable to take one single constructive measure for the improvement of economic misery. Scientific fact-finding corresponds to the biological mastery of obstacles which are in the way of unfolding life. There can be no dictatorship over the growth of trees. True, the emotional plague can shoot to pieces, burn or otherwise destroy millions of trees. But one cannot prescribe to a tree how fast and how much it should grow. On the other hand, scientific research into the laws of tree-growth can provide the means of preventing damage to trees, of improving the *conditions* under which trees grow faster and better.

This example shows clearly the biological function of natural science as contrasted with the destructive function of every kind of emotional plague: What political groups, in Europe and America, fight as " Marxism " has nothing to do with Marx's economic teachings. Similarly, the various " Marxist " parties of today have nothing in common with Marx's science.

Marx defined the concept of *capitalist* scientifically. A capitalist is not, as commonly assumed, a man who has a great deal of money, but a man who, based on the laws of market economy, can *use his money to buy and utilize the working power of others.* If I am a well-trained physician, if I develop a successful therapeutic method and have good therapeutic results, I will have many patients. They pay me for my time, i.e., for the value of my working power. In order to do my work, I must continue to re-create my working power, that is, I must have food, clothes, a house, etc. This represents a part of my working power. But this alone would not be sufficient to do my special work. It takes, in addition, a specific training which costs work and money. In addition, continuous work is needed for further training, etc. This takes instruments, etc., in which other workers, in turn, have expended their working power. The patient, then, pays for all the working power, not only my own, which is expended in my work with him; he pays with a conventional value-substitute, with " money," which enables me in turn to buy the results of the working power of others, such as food, clothing, instruments, etc., that is, use values. As long as I work *myself* I am not a capitalist, no matter how much money I may earn. If, however, I were to employ, say four physicians at a monthly salary of two hundred dollars and would let them treat patients for me, thus exploiting their working power for 8 hours a day, *then* I would be a capitalist. In that case, I would " exploit " the working power of *others*, that is, I would appropriate it in the form of money. By myself I could treat 8 patients a day and thus earn, say, 800 dollars in 25 working days. Four physicians, however, could earn four times as much, that is, 3200 dollars. I would have to pay the four physicians a total monthly salary of 800 dollars, but I would pocket the 3200 dollars for which they worked. Thus I would have made 2400 dollars *without having worked myself*, by the exploitation of others' working power. According to the laws of market economy, I would not be a swindler, but would act entirely within the law. Nobody could sue or reproach me.

It is Marx's great merit to have disclosed the secret of the *living* commodity, working power, its dual character, and the difference between the *exchange value* and the *use value* of the commodity, working power. A pair of shoes are not a *use* object for the one who produces them, but only an *exchange* object. If he does not want to use them himself, he may exchange them for meat, cloth or money. He will receive the approximate equivalent of the value of the working power expended in their manufacture. Working power is measured in *average* working time. The buyer, however, does not buy the shoes as exchange value, but as use value. He

needs them for the *satisfaction of a need*, in this case, for the protection of his feet. He is entitled to receive, in the form of the use of the shoes, the *total* exchange value of the shoes, as paid by him in meat, cloth or money. In *dead* commodities, the exchange value and the use value are *identical*. In them, human working power is represented. It is different, however, with the only *living* commodity, the commodity working power, for the very reason that it is a living power. Here exchange value and use value are *not* identical. Here, the *use value is much higher than the exchange value.*

Every kind of worker, that is, one who creates use values, sells his commodity, working power, to the entrepreneur, according to the same laws of market economy as the shoemaker sells a pair of shoes. The working individual must " re-create " his working power, by eating, keeping himself dressed and housed. In order to do so he must work, say three hours a day, if we measure the value of food, clothing and housing in terms of the average work which is necessary for the reproduction of the working power. According to the laws of market economy, these three hours represent the *exchange* value of his working power. The capitalist, then, does not cheat the worker when he pays him the exchange value of his commodity, working power, the value of three hours' daily work. For according to the laws of market economy, human working power is a salable commodity like any other. But the buyer of the commodity, working power, say, a manufacturer, uses the working power of the worker not three hours a day – that is, in the value of the hours of work necessary to reproduce the working power – but 8 or 10 hours. That means, the worker *expends the use value* of his working power, which is *far higher* (8 hours of work) than the exchange value paid to him (3 hours). *The difference between the low exchange value (3 hours' working time) and the far higher use value (8 hours' working time) of the commodity, working power, represents the profit in market economy.* If a wealthy buyer of working power buys the working power of thousands or ten of thousands of workers, he utilizes its use value that many times over its exchange value. For now a thousand or ten thousand workers, by adding their working power a thousand or ten thousand times, change dead material, dead capital, into commodities.

Their work is collective, but the appropriation of the commodities is individual (" capitalist "). If a shoemaker, in his own shop, produces two pairs of shoes a day he receives the exchange value of two pairs of shoes. If, by using machines, he produces ten pairs a day, he can get the exchange value of ten pairs of shoes. If, however, he works in a shoe

factory, which continues to improve its machinery, he receives, in spite of increased production of use values, a wage which does not exceed the exchange value of his working power. For this is still three hours of working time. The utilization of his working power by the entrepreneur has remained about the same, but the " exploitation " has increased, for now the exchange values (use values) of the commodity which he produces has increased considerably.

The working individual does not dispose of the product of his work. He continues to sell his commodity, working power, at the market price, (3 hours' working time). *Every one who lives by selling his working power is a worker. Every one who buys the exchange value of the commodity, working power, and exploits its use value,* on the virtue of the differential between the exchange value and the use value of the living working power, *is a capitalist in Marx's sense.* On the basis of Marxian principles it would be wrong to make the capitalist responsible for the exploitation of the people who create values. It is not the individual capitalist or the class of capitalists who are to be " blamed," as the narrow-minded socialist believes. The essence of the exploitation lies in the essence of a *society* which is based on market economy and which is split into economic classes. It is this society which enables individuals to acquire – in one way or another – sufficient capital to buy the working power of others and thus pocket the difference between the exchange value and the use value of working power. The economic defraudation of the working individuals lies in the capitalistic *conditions of production*, and not in human intentions.

In order to understand natural work democracy, it is indispensable to understand the following contradiction in the thinking and in the propaganda of the Marxist parties: On the one hand, they had a *purely economistic* orientation; they completely excluded from consideration the character structure of people as they are. More than that, they fought violently against the inclusion of character structure in the fight for genuine democracy. On the other hand, however, Marxist propaganda operated not with the " material " facts of biological and social existence, but essentially with secondary, neurotic drives such as hatred, envy, lust for power, etc. This statement will undoubtedly offend many Marxist party followers. It is not my intention to offend anybody, but only to point out facts which helped to bring about the catastrophe.

I would like to illustrate the difference between the attitude of Marxist party politicians on the one hand and work-democratic endeavor on the other by a simple example from medical practice. If I am presented with a neurotic child suffering from insomnia and learning difficulties, it will

soon be obvious that the neurosis was produced by a wrong kind of education on the part of the neurotic mother. Now, it would be completely useless to condemn the neurotic mother moralistically or to provoke the child's hatred against the mother. My finding that the neurosis is due to the harmful educational influence of the mother has only *one* function, that of *eliminating the child's neurosis.* This finding enables me to help. Without this knowledge, or by arousing the child's hatred, or by showing revolutionary moral indignation, I would not be able to help either the child or the mother. The neurotic mother who made her child neurotic in turn is not " bad," not a " suppressor " or an " exploiter " of infantile helplessness. She is the *tool* and, together with her child, the *victim* of an *unfortunate sex-sociological situation in society.*

The same thing applies to the " exploiting capitalist " and the " exploited wage worker." To arouse the hatred of the worker against the capitalist, to kindle envy, to incite to murder, to inveigh against the capitalists, etc., *will not in the least change the law of the market economy of private capitalism or state capitalism.* This law states: " I, the capital owner (be it state or individual) pay you, the worker, peasant, technician, scientist, etc., 30 or 50 dollars a week, in order to enable you to take care of the food, clothing and housing needs of yourself and your family, in other words, to enable you to reproduce your commodity, working power. You, in turn, sell to me your commodity, working power, for 8 hours a day, regardless of the exchange value (use value) of the commodities produced by you in these 8 hours, regardless of the fact that this exchange value may be three or five times that of what you must produce in one day to support yourself and your family." The capital owner as well as the wage earner enter their mutual relationship not of their own free will and cannot change it at their will. They are both the objects of a certain social condition which functions *independently of their wills and based on a historical development* and which governs *them both.*

Whether or not the reader will understand the development of sex-economic sociology and mass psychology depends on whether he will be able to approach Marx's analysis of the laws of market economy not ethically or moralistically, not emotionally, but factually and scientifically. It is a matter of *facts* and *laws of functioning,* not of ideals and postulates. Actual endeavors can only stem from the finding of actual facts.

One of the main reasons for the chaotic misery in which humanity finds itself again and again is that the politicians build their ideals and goals not on facts, but on mostly irrational emotional valuations. Everybody who knows my writings knows that I have always been on the side of the

emotions, but *only of emotions and goals based on actual facts;* I have always fought against illusionary and irrational goals and ideals.

The finding of the law of market economy and of the peculiar contradiction inherent in the living commodity, working power (exchange value is less than use value, in contradistinction to the dead commodity where exchange value equals use value), is a scientific finding; it is neither good nor bad, it is merely *true*. It has nothing to do with ethics or morals. The capitalist who pays for the exchange value of the working power and utilizes its far higher use value does not act out of malicious intent. Personally, he may be a scoundrel or a kindly man. Usually, he does not even know the mechanism to which he owes his wealth. He is himself enmeshed in the process, he is himself subject to all the consequences of the law of market economy, such as the competition with other concerns, the course of economic crises, etc.

I am neither fighting nor defending the capitalist. I am ready to admit that, personally, I do not like the character of the typical capitalist whose whole thinking, feeling and action is concentrated on making money, in whom financial power replaces natural love, who is an artist when it comes to taking and a nit-wit when it comes to giving, who is incapable of comprehending the joy in giving. But such a personal dislike should not keep one from distinguishing the human characteristics of an individual capitalist from the laws of market economy the functionary of which he has become by heritage or his own efforts.

I may say that I consider the discovery of this law of economics one of the greatest achievements of human thinking. True, the law of market economy was discovered and exemplified by Marx in terms of the last 300 years of capitalistic machine civilization. But it reaches much farther back, to the early history when society increasingly ceased to produce use values and proceeded to produce exchange values, that is, " commodities." With that, natural economy based on the exchange of goods developed into " money economy." At the same time, sex-affirmation, which guaranteed a natural regulation of the sexual energies, turned into sex-negation and the emotional plague.* The discovery of Marx has changed the face of society as a whole. It has made thousands of economists and sociologists conscious of what has become modern socio-economics. There are innumerable economists and sociologists who never read Marx or even refute him but who, nevertheless, wherever they work factually, are deeply influenced by Marx's economics and sociology. It was not Ricardo or

* *Cf.* my books, DIE SEXUALITAT IM KULTURKAMPF and DER EINBRUCH DER SEXUALMORAL.

Smith but Marx who brought the laws of modern technical development into general consciousness. The many liberal and socialist organizations would never have been able to keep in step with this development had they not been – consciously or unconsciously – under the influence of Marx's sociology. I know from experience that there are many responsible capitalists who hold Marxian economics in high esteem and understand them better than ever so many socialist party politicians.

Understandably enough, Marx left serious gaps in his sociology. First of all, he lacked the knowledge of *man's biological anchoring*, of his being determined by his instincts. In the place of this knowledge, the party politicians put unscientific ethical concepts, freedom slogans and formal, bureaucratic " freedom organizations." I do not know how many economists in the Soviet Union are aware of the fact that, according to the strict definitions of Marx's theory of value, Russian economy is still governed by market economy, with its conflict between exchange value and use value of working power, with its inevitable exploitation of human working power. It makes no difference whether it is the " state " or the " capitalist " who does the exploiting. What matters is whether he determines society who *creates* the surplus value which results from the differential between exchange value and use value of working power, or he who merely makes use of it, be it " state " or " capitalist."

" State " and " society " mean two basically different social facts. There is a state which is above or against society, as best exemplified in the fascist totalitarian state. There is a society without a state, as in the primitive democratic societies. There are state organizations which work essentially in the direction of social interests, and there are others which do not. What has to be remembered is that " state " does not mean " society." In the course of 20 years, I have not heard one Soviet economist mention this fact. According to Marxian principles, there is, in the Soviet Union, no socialism, that is, *no abolition of market economy;* there is *state* capitalism, that is, capitalism without individual capitalists. One cannot, without losing all sound orientation, replace scientific insights by slogans, ideologies, illusions and theses.

It is not the individual capitalist or the state which is responsible but the function of market economy. Only when one fully and clearly recognizes this, can one judge the social effects of market economy on human life; can one ask oneself whether it might be possible to abolish this market economy of thousands of years' standing and to replace it by an economy of utility. A planned economy into which economy, everywhere, increasingly develops, automatically furthers the change from mar-

ket economy to an economy of utility. One produces goods which one needs and not goods which one can sell for profit. To the extent to which Soviet economy was planned economy it developed an economy of utility. These facts are neither good nor bad, but actual processes. It was not party-political but scientific *sociological* work which led in directions which put sociology and economics on their feet.

I wish to emphasize the fact that the basic elements of Marx's discovery of the theory of value and, with that, of human work in general, are of a *biological and biosocial* nature. This basic fact escaped the attention of the party politicians. *It is only the living working power (the " variable capital ") which creates values, and not the dead capital.*

One might ask why I am such a strict advocate of Marx's theory of value. It certainly is not because of any political orientation, nor because of poor economic conditions, but for the sole reason that there is no other sociology besides that of Marx which would be in better harmony with my own discovery of the biological energy. The natural organization of work as a biological fact (that is, not as a moral or political demand) as well as the findings of orgone biophysics demand the recognition of the fact of the " living commodity, working power " and its characteristics. Such facts become of tremendous weight and decisive influence when they are supported *from two sides, independently of each other.*

Marx's economic theory meant the same for economics as Freud's theory of unconscious psychic life meant for psychology. Both presuppose a certain conception, based on facts, of the *laws* which govern human life of today.

The production of goods in society is collective, their appropriation individual. The working individual does not dispose of the product of his work, neither in private nor in state capitalism. He is a *wage worker,* that is, he is paid for the exchange value of his commodity, working power. Socially, we have on one side the capital as social power, represented in the private or state ownership of the means of production, of the soil and of houses, and on the other side we have wage work. To this correspond the two economic classes: *capital owners* (private or state) and *wage workers.* Their interests are antithetical. It is inherent in capital that " it should pay." That, however, it does only if it bears interest. And this it can do only if the capital owner gains the " surplus value," the differential between the exchange value and the use value of working power. The worker, naturally, desires to see his wages increased. The capitalist, be it individual or state, has the equally natural desire to keep wages down or to lower them. Two classes oppose each other in a hostile manner. What

causes this condition and perpetuates it by means of special institutions are the socio-economic laws of market economy.

Marx's teachings, like all great human thoughts, showed all the signs of immodest boundlessness. That this boundlessness was replaced by party-political narrow-mindedness when Marx's burning intelligence was no longer present is itself one of the problems of Marxian sociology. Marx himself early drew the line between himself and his followers when he said, " I am not a Marxist."

I am not a Marxist either, but I seriously believe to have understood Marx, in his important greatness and his unimportant weaknesses. Let us return to his great discoveries and attitudes. He was very consistent; for this he had to pay with expatriation, abject poverty and persecution. Before Marx, the belief was prevalent that " man makes history," the leader, the genius. Marx did away thoroughly with this illusion. True enough, man makes history, who else could? Certainly not the machines. *But he can make his history only under certain conditions which govern him.* The will of people and the degree to which they attain their goals are always dependent on the development of the technical mastery of nature and society at any given time. Daedalus and Icarus had the will to fly. The knowledge and the technique were lacking to produce gasoline and to construct motors which could lift a burden into the air. True, human phantasy and activity are the source of all social endeavors. But they are themselves determined and limited by the times. Copernicus and Galileo could not take away from people the feeling of the uniqueness of the role of their earth. They were severely punished because their times were as yet unable to make anything of their discovery in a practical way. There were no astronomers and no stratosphere aviators to whom the knowledge of the earth's rotation around the sun would have been indispensable. If one values one's life it is better not to be *all too far* ahead of one's times. Only Marx can make comprehensible to us the fact that he was not recognized during his lifetime and why his movement, 50 years after his death, suffered a deadly defeat at the hands of idiocy. Without Marx, we cannot understand Marx, or Marxism, or extreme metaphysics, fascism.

Every working individual is interested in the improvement of life. If, as the metaphysicists contend, man made his history by his " free will," we would have had paradise on earth long since. The fact that we do not have it, that, on the contrary, human society is threatened with destruction, shows the correctness of scientific sociology: *People have, without being aware of it, created conditions and relationships which now*

govern them. They built machines in order to produce more efficiently. The machines kill them and make them starve. They discovered the movies. Innumerable actors became destitute. The more wheat and coffee is harvested the more of it is burned up or dumped into the sea, the less do the millions have to eat. This is an idiocy which certainly deserves intensive scientific scrutiny. Capitalist economy is a *profit* economy. It does not produce goods for use but for sale. The economic system does not serve the gratification of needs; rather, the needs are created, suppressed or displaced according to the laws of profit economy. World economy does not ask how many Chinese or Negroes go barefoot. But it holds annual conventions to determine this or that small change in ladies' and gentlemen's shoes in order to propagate a new " shoe fashion " as a vital necessity. The movie industry does not ask what human, pedagogical, medical or technical problems could be treated in the films. Instead, it provokes perverse and sadistic feelings in the people, in the interest of the box office. There are hardly any films at all which really solve any human problem. Most of them do not even present vital problems, and the majority provoke pathological longings. The film does not serve the people but the profit interests.

Profit economy lives by eliminating the competitor. Competition, called free enterprise, destroys small enterprises and gathers the large ones into ever more powerful concerns and trusts. " Capital becomes concentrated in a few hands." Pauperization keeps growing. The shoe manufacturing concerns ruin the shoemaker, the agricultural machines the farmer. The big capitalist ruins the small one, after he in turn has ruined the craftsman. The free craftsmen of yore changed into an army of employed technical specialists or largely unskilled laborers.

The rationalization of economy, instead of reducing working time, created unemployment. If business was good, if the demand was high, one kept producing more and more. The capitalists the world over do the same thing, in order to make more money, in order not to be left behind. Then the demand decreases. The capitalists have huge stocks of which they cannot dispose. The economic crisis begins, and with it a dreadful vicious circle. The entrepreneurs dismiss workers. This decreases the purchasing power of the population. Banks fail because of failing trade. This ruins the small fortunes which again reduces purchasing power. The reduced purchasing power of the population increases the stagnation of distribution. This leads to new dismissals of workers, and so on. Wages are lowered. Working time, if possible, is increased *without* increase in wages, or decreased *with* decrease in wages. Neither the entrepreneur nor the worker really comprehends what is going on. This was the effect of *objective* conditions of production around 1930.

Society is not simply a sum of individuals who live and work side by side. Social life is determined by the over-all effect of all forces in and between people. The determining factors are the *mutual " social " interdependencies.* Sociology is the teaching of these interpersonal relationships. The " well-ordered legal state " is an illusion, not a reality. It is an illusion just like the " harmony of the perfect personality " in the old ethical psychology. Since people know only the smallest fraction of their interrelations, they also are unable to govern or alter them. For this reason, the interpersonal relationships take on the character of an inexorable fate. The average individual considers his social position such a fate. Those who see through the maze of the social dependencies and the mechanism of exploitation become " class-conscious," the capital owner as well as the owner of working power, the wage worker. Then, the former can exploit all the better, the latter can fight more successfully against exploitation. This was the theory of the Marxist parties.

This conflict remains unsolvable within the capitalist order. Either the working producers possess the means of production, or the capital owners do. That both should do so at the same time is inconceivable. The will to exploit others' working power cannot be united with the will not to let oneself be exploited. Any such union would take place at the expense of the consciousness of the process of exploitation. Capital and labor can get along " peacefully " with each other only if the exploitation is kept from the consciousness of the exploited. He who fights against this is a " Communist agitator." Marx was the greatest " Communist agitator " for nobody else has more clearly demonstrated the nature of the creation of values out of the " commodity, working power."

The practical consequence of Marx's theory of value is the appropriation of the use values by *all* working individuals, that is, the *social appropriation of the products.* I repeat: the *social* appropriation, not appropriation by the " state " or private monopolies. The socialist politicians confused social appropriation and appropriation by the state, greatly to the detriment of the clarification of socio-economic questions. While social development as a whole, as a result of the war, is more and more in the direction against private monopoly *as well as* state monopoly, the socialist parties still wish to replace private monopoly by state monopoly. This follows logically from their equating state and society. Genuine democratic endeavor, however, is in the direction of eliminating private as well as state monopoly. The " labor management committees " in the

U.S.A. represent a beginning of a work-democratic form of social appropriation; here, part of the social responsibility is shifted to *work* itself. What is meant here is the participation of the industrial workers in the management of production and distribution, in contrast to a representation of their interests by party or trade union in which the workers themselves remain *passive*.

Work democracy is based essentially on two facts:

1. A worker is every one who does socially necessary work, that is, not only the manual worker.

2. Social responsibility rests with the society of the workers and not with private individuals or individual state functionaries.

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?*

Marx himself did not ask the question *what would be the attitude of the suppressed and exploited themselves toward the disclosure of the process of exploitation and suppression.* The Marxists did not doubt that the exploited would joyfully accept the " gospel of liberation." From the point of view of rationalism, this was entirely correct. Unfortunately, human thought and action is determined not only rationally. There is also *irrational* thinking and acting. This is a fact which Freud had demonstrated. Nobody had an inkling then that this fact would one day confront the workers' movement as a central and crucial problem. Marx and Freud formed two enemy camps fighting each other for the recognition of their respective interpretation of social living. This was the starting point of my attempt to unite the two theories, an attempt which, logically, failed.

Marx's sociology demonstrated the economic processes which determine the interpersonal, that is, social relationships. Freud's psychology, on the other hand, demonstrated the unconscious, that is, in the last analysis, *biological* forces which govern human thought and action. Thus we had, side by side, or, rather, opposed to each other, a scientific *sociological* and a scientific *psychological* interpretation of human existence.

" Objective socio-economic conditions and processes, independent of conscious human will, determine your thinking and existence," is what Karl Marx found.

" Psychic instinctual forces which are independent of conscious human will and which are, in the last analysis, rooted in as yet unknown biological sources of energy, determine your thinking and existence," is what Sigmund Freud found.

The socio-economic conditions, Marx's " productive forces," are at work *outside* of the human biopsychic organisms, or *between* them: technical development, labor conditions, family conditions, ideologies, organizations, etc. Freud's psychic instinctual forces, however, are at work *inside* the biopsychic organisms. They are as inaccessible to conscious control as are the socio-economic productive forces of Marx.

These two scientific interpretations of human existence seemed to be contradictory and mutually exclusive. Accordingly, the schools of sociology and psychoanalysis were engaged in a bitter feud. The Marxist socio-economists who had a fundamental influence on the public life of Germany and Austria viewed psychoanalysis as a dangerous and undesirable competitor in the interpretation of social and individual existence, just as the psychoanalysts considered Marxism as such.

Yet, the two schools had a common meeting ground: both of them looked for and described the *objective* process which, hidden from human consciousness, is at work behind the superficial phenomena of ideology, of valuation, of ethical concepts and social demands. In so doing, they both proceeded truly scientifically, like physics which seeks to find the *law* of kinetics behind the phenomenon of motion or the functional laws of the invisible electrical energy behind the spark of a battery. Both did away with the psychologisms and ethicisms of economics and psychology which did not go below the surface phenomena.

It was a gigantic achievement of human thought to progress from empty demands and moral evaluations which had no basis in fact, no matter how well-meant they may have been, to the *nature* of factual processes. Only from such facts, and not from empty demands, could a non-utopian, realistic practice for the improvement of individual and social existence develop.

The economists, philosphers and psychologists of Marx's times continued to adhere to the metaphysical concept of man's " free will." They were unable to let go of this concept because it meant an illusory consolation in the existing chaos. We know that illusions always have a greater attraction than tangible truths. The illusion of a free will and of a supernatural determination of man, of a Providence and a fatefulness of life, fulfills two irrational functions: For one, it makes man forget his helplessness in the face of nature, including his own drives, and drowns out his feeling of impotence and his fear of living, by giving him a feeling of being like God. This function found its extreme expression in the fascist emotional plague. As we know today, but did not know in 1928, it was

the result of the irrationalism in the masses of people, and not the achievement of one man, a man who had completely failed in any rational work.

The second function of the concept of free determination has a rational, though always misleading, core. This is the function of giving people the courage to fight for their existence even where they feel helpless, small and impotent, where they lack the knowledge of the processes they are dealing with. Man has to exist in any case, with or without knowledge. For that he needs the emotion of illusion. Illusions, then, are not just irrational formations; seen from the emotional point of view, they are also power-giving attitudes. Hence the simile of " the faith that moves mountains." The success of Hitlerist mysticism has clearly demonstrated the fact that mysticism, based on emotions as it is, has a much more powerful social effect than scientific knowledge.

Illusion, then, has to be recognized as justified and necessary, but only where man has not progressed to actual knowledge. If we were to condemn illusion as such in an absolute and mechanistic manner, we would be apt to be intolerant toward such achievements as are based on illusions. The actual achievement of the Soviet Union in creating a better economy and in eliminating the crassest social injustices was based on the illusion that one was " developing socialism." The illusion of mechanistic natural science that, in fighting religion and mysticism, it was discovering the " nature of the soul " led to great achievements in the fields of physiology and colloid chemistry.

Nevertheless, the dangers and the harmfulness of illusions are far greater than their usefulness. What achievements spring from them cannot stand comparison with practical achievements springing from actual knowledge concerning facts and processes. Again and again, illusionary Weltanschauungen nullify the rational striving of man to reduce the realm of the unknown and to widen the field of knowledge. Illusions again and again lead to reactionary, regressive social institutions. This is shown in the regressive development of the Soviet Union as well as in the inhibition which mechanistic concepts in natural science exert on the growth of knowledge of the living function. Thus, if I point out the rational function of the illusion, this does not mean that the *scientific* struggle for the expansion of human knowledge should be relaxed. If I cannot use my leg I will use a crutch in order to walk as best I can. Just the same, I shall throw away the crutch as soon as I regain the natural motility of my leg.

Because of the bolstering of their egos which the metaphysicists and mystics of every kind obtained from their illusions, they have continued to take a violent stand against Marxism and Freudism. Yet, their cries,

" I am so free, so superior, so God-like, master of myself and of nature," such cries have not changed in the least their dependence on psychic irrationalism on the one hand and on the chaotic socio-economic processes on the other. Indeed, the world catastophe of the past decade has demonstrated this tragic dependence in an unmistakable manner.

The sciences of Marx and of Freud were indispensable prerequisites for a mastery of these two kinds of human dependency. They had a common meeting ground also in the fact that Marx as well as Freud built his science on as yet undiscovered bio-social and biological laws:

Marx's whole socio-economic concept rests on the *living* nature of human work. *Work is a basic biological activity,* characteristic of even primitive organisms. Man, in his work functions, is not distinguished from other animals by the fact that he works; that, all living beings do, or they could not exist. What distinguishes him is only the fact that he tried to improve his work functions by the *invention of tools.* Marx has shown us that man, in this social differentiation from other animals, came to grief in that he became the slave of the tools which he had created. To judge from their publications, the fact has escaped the Marxists that it is the difference between the use value and the exchange value of the *living* working power which for thousands of years has determined the social mechanisms of patriarchal civilization. In his philosophical writings, Marx continually stressed the fact that, in the last analysis, man with his *biological* organization is the " *prerequisite* of all history." Of the concrete nature of this " biological organization," of course, Marx knew nothing, for biology did not know anything about it, either; and the specific biological energy, the cosmic orgone, was not discovered until the years between 1936 and 1939.

The two basic objective biological functions of the living, then, " *work* " on the one hand, " *sexuality* " or " *pleasure function* " on the other, were treated, apart from each other, in two separate scientific systems, Marx's sociology on the one hand, and Freud's psychology on the other. In Marx's system, the sexual process led a Cinderella existence under the misnomer, " development of the family." The work process, on the other hand, suffered the same fate in Freud's psychology under such misnomers as " sublimation," " hunger instinct," or " ego instincts." Far from being basically antithetical, the two scientific systems, their originators being altogether unaware of it, met in the biological basis of living matter, in the *biological energy of all living organisms* which, according to our functional method of thinking, expresses itself in *work* on the one hand and *sexuality* on the other.

The clarification of this functional character of biological energy, its simultaneous identity and antithesis, remained the task of sex-economic research. Of that I had, of course, no inkling at the time when, between 1928 and 1930, I made the first attempts to introduce psychological methods into sociological thinking. My attempts of that time to solve the conflict between the two scientific systems forced me, with the logic of fact-



Law of biological energy of living matter.

finding, on the path which finally led to the discovery of the orgone, the cosmic life energy. I doubt that I would ever have succeeded in discovering the orgone had I not for years, in the hard struggle of everyday work, applied sociological criticism to Freud's psychology and had I not demonstrated the gap in Marx's socio-economy and bridged it with the concept of " character structure."

The laws of biological energy, of the orgone, comprise the basic mechanisms of work as well as of sexuality, and, with that, the emotional forces *within, without and between* people. These laws are the basis of rational human strivings as well as of irrational strivings, of scientific search as well as of the mystical belief in the existence of an unknown Almighty.

The basic biological mechanisms of the living are not a mechanical summation of work functions plus sexual functions. Rather, they constitute a *third* factor which is at one and the same time *identical* and *different* as well as something *deeper*. Sex-economy and orgone biophysics, then, are not a summation of Marxian and Freudian concepts. They are new disciplines based on sociological as well as depth-psychological findings, the *incompatability* of which led to the discovery of the third factor which they have in common.

*This is clear today. It was not clear in 1928. Let us return to the events which marked the milestone in this development.

After that July 15th which so tragically demonstrated the basic mechanisms of class society, I studied, besides Marx, especially Engels. It was

* The following addition was written in 1937, and has not been published heretofore.

obvious that a psychoanalyst would find his book THE ORIGIN OF THE FAMILY of very great interest. There was a sharp contradiction between the Marxian and the Freudian explanation of the family. Both seemed to be correct in decisive questions, yet both could not be correct at the same time. Through Engels I was led to Bachofen and Morgan. I studied DAS MUTTERRECHT and URGESELLSCHAFT very carefully. Since these works contradicted the Freudian concept, I had to undertake the study of the most important ethnological works. For four years I found myself in the chaos of ethnology. Then light dawned on a central riddle of primitive human history. This I have presented in a different context. (DER EINBRUCH DER SEXUALMORAL, 1st edition, 1932; 2nd edition, 1936.)

The actual secrets of the social function of sexual suppression were revealed through practical experiences in the course of my sexological-medical work among Viennese youth. Between 1927 and 1930, when I moved to Berlin, lay years heavy with doubts. In this period I collected the material for DER EINBRUCH DER SEXUALMORAL. In 1929, my brochures SEXUALERREGUNG UND SEXUALBEFRIEDIGUNG and the KRITIK DER BURGERLICHEN SEXUALREFORM appeared. In these three years, the sociological critique of psychoanalysis was formulated. The article " *Dialektischer Materialismus und Psychoanalyse* " appeared in 1929 in the Moscow Journal of the Academy of Sciences, in Russian, and its German equivalent in *Unter dem Banner des Marxisms;* my paper " *Dialektik im Seelischen* " was reprinted in German in the psa. [*psychoanalytic*] periodical, *Imago,* in 1930, in Austria.

In 1928, with a few Viennese physicians, I founded the Society for Sexual Counselling and Sexual Research, which organized on a sex-economic basis the first sex-hygiene clinics in Vienna for workers and employees. In these years I learned to know the inner workings of the contemporary revolutionary movement. [" *Revolutionary" is in no way identical with " communistic."*] Not a line which I later wrote would have been conceivable without these experiences. In these years, in connection with the formulation of the most important sex-economic concepts, the complete parting of the ways with Freud was developing. At that time also, " character-analysis " developed and matured, and was published in the form of single clinical articles. This development included the clarification of the problem of masochism and the refutation of the death instinct theory, which until then I had opposed without any counter-theory. Finally, in this period several social experiences took place which became the foundation of my later MASS PSYCHOLOGY OF FASCISM. Since these

experiences had a decisive influence on my social-psychological work, I will begin with their description.

I decided to introduce the sociological work into psychoanalysis after a few conversations with Freud. I described my plans to him and asked what he thought of them. Sex-hygiene clinics should be organized and the knowledge of psychoanalysis should be applied on a wide social scale in the form of "*social sex-economy.*" In this way they should serve the broad masses of people. Freud was very much in sympathy. He had no more of an idea than I as to where it would lead us all. When I showed him the necessity of attacking the family problem energetically, he said: "There you are poking into a hornet's nest." (*"Hier greifen Sie in ein Wespennest."*) He was critical but sympathetic toward the "Russian experiment." Correct sociological views had already begun to question the psychoanalytic interpretations of primitive history. While the psychoanalytic ethnologist, Roheim, quite thoughtlessly, arbitrarily and uncritically interpreted ancient human history, Malinowski had already sounded a warning in London. In 1926, there appeared a work of Malinowski on the Oedipus complex in matriarchal society.

He polemicized against Ernest Jones, and the latter in turn against Malinowski, over the question whether the family was a *biological or* a historically conditioned, i.e., *sociological institution. Jones asserted that* the biological Oedipus complex was the "*fons et origo,*" i.e., source and origin, of *everything*: society, justice, law, culture, etc. Malinowski claimed that the Oedipus complex is different in matriarchal society because of the different social structure. Freud took a neutral position. Everyone felt that these questions were no mere academic debates. In a very definite, but still somewhat intangible way, they touched on the great Russian revolution. In a private conversation, Freud expressed the guarded hope that it was conceivable that the "light would come from the East." This was a great deal for an academic professor. Freud asked me if I could carry at one and the same time such extensive work in the clinical and technical seminar, in the polyclinic, in private practice, and in the sex-hygiene centers. We were agreed that we would have to wait and see if it were possible. Freud opposed an attempt by leading functionaries of the psychoanalytic association [*really only Paul Federn*] to use this opportunity to relieve me of [*rather, remove me from*] the leadership of the technical seminar of the polyclinic. The technical seminar was not to be taken from me, Freud said, if I still wished to conduct it. [*Letter of November 22, 1928.*] At that time I did not even begin to see correctly the function of such a "consideration" for my being "overburdened with

work." The contradiction within psychoanalysis itself concerning its basic social function had already cut deep, long before any of the participants had any inkling of it.

From the standpoint of present-day insights (1937), the collapse of the Austrian Social Democratic Party meant not only the downfall of *one* political party; more than that, this downfall was only the symptom of a social process which bluntly revealed itself in the coming to power of the National Socialist Party of Hitler. In the course of the next ten years, a gigantic insight presented itself, namely, that *politics on the whole is completely without factual basis, unscientific and irrational;* that in it are expressed the *biopathic structure* and the *biopathic thinking* of a sick humanity. *Politics is essentially an organized satisfaction of the* BIOPATHIC *emotions of the party followers, formulated into a "political program."* One cannot say that there are "good" politics *here* and "bad" politics *there.* Politics is always and everywhere, because of a lack of concrete knowledge, basically a proof that a particular social situation cannot be mastered factually and scientifically. If one clings to the distinction between a "good" and a "bad" politics, one cannot get at the question of what is the function of politics and what is hidden *behind* politics. It required the bloodshed of three decades (1914-1945) to discover behind the political uproar and machinations the quiet, rational process of *work* and of *natural work democracy.*

Between 1927 and 1934, I myself was stuck in the middle of this political mess. Since the sciences had no social orientation whatsoever, although the social chaos penetrated into the smallest corner of personal daily life, all hope was set upon the "right politics," and not on natural science. The following examples may serve to prove that I, along with millions of others, set my hopes on political activity, instead of anchoring them in *work on human beings.* It is incorrect to reproach the Austrian Social Democrats for "false politics." The Social Democrats were just as much caught in the irrationalism of politics as the English conservatives who, under Chamberlain, made a pact with German fascism in order to "keep the peace" or to have "peace in our time." The political reactionary, no matter whether black or red, professes himself always and everywhere, openly, practically and clearly in favor of the essence of politics generally; in favor of lies, deceit, irrationalism and bloody force. The politics of giving in, of "appeasement," is, strictly understood, neither "bad" nor "good" politics, but a confession of factual insecurity in the face of the strong political reactionary, to whom the general irrational structure of the people is powerful support. *One cannot put truths into*

effect politically. Politics and truth contradict each other. If representatives of truth try to compete with politics, they are inevitably condemned to moral degeneration. So it happened with Austrian Social Democracy between 1927 and 1934, and so it happened with the English under Chamberlain. *Genuine democratic "politics" can basically be nothing else than a radical, pitiless unmasking and abolishment of every kind of politics.*

There we find a gigantic difficulty: Everyday life of human existence requires millions of instant practical solutions. It is the essence of natural science that it can penetrate only slowly in solving basic questions practically. Politics and mysticism fill the yawning gaps with illusions, promises of sham satisfactions, etc. That means: *Natural-scientific guidance of social life cannot do away with the political-illusory mass leadership overnight.* I do not know any answers to this dilemma between realistic (rational) and illusory (irrational) mass leadership. It is not my task to conceal such difficulties, but to *reveal* them. This at first arouses the erroneous belief that one can quickly fill the gaps in understanding. However, I do believe that politics *can* be replaced practically by a *different kind* of mass leadership. A twisted path full of snares led to these decisive conclusions.

Chapter IV

THIS IS POLITICS!

After the profound moral defeat of July 15, 1927, the powerful Austrian Social Democracy went slowly, but surely downhill. The Social Democratic, former foreign minister spoke a prophetic sentence: "The Austrian working class is so strong that it cannot be conquered, it can only fall through its own mistakes." The Mayor of Vienna, Seitz, said in his closing speech at the party convention after July 15: "We are so sure that the democratic development leads us to our goals, that we do not need at all to push this development with force." I now wish to give a short chronicle of the events.

On November 1, 1927, the Social Democratic Party Convention unanimously resolved: The political reaction had armed facsist formations, but the Austrian Socialist party had kept Austria from civil war. Since 1923 it had emphasized that it "is ready at any time to enter into serious negotiations on disarmament. . ." The Linz program had recognized the cooperation of the classes in the form of a coalition government. But a coalition was not possible as long as the Catholic and nationalist bourgeoisie tended to wipe out the Austrian Socialist party. The Social Democratic party wished to prevent civil war and to collaborate with everyone who was ready to do so. It would only use force in one single case: If political reaction tried to overthrow the democratic republic or to rob the working class of the rights which the "republic had guaranteed it." Increased discipline was necessary: "No demonstration without the decision of all. No strike in vital industries without the consent of the entire union organization." (!) The republic had to be made into a "true republic of the working people in city and country."

And this is what happened in the process of appeasement:

In August, 1927, the Christian Social parliament pushed through a series of reactionary educational laws *without debate.*

In the same month, the leaders of the Social Democratic *Schutzbund* and the workers' sport association cancelled the convention for organizers in Graz, a convention which was to have been held on the 7th of August and which had been prepared for months.

In the beginning of August, *Seitz himself ordered the dissolution of the Social Democratic Community Guard* which had been organized after the bloodshed on July 15.

At the end of August, the new election resulted in the representation on the Vienna security guard of five Christian Socialists and one Independent Trade Unionist, instead of, as previously five Independent Trade Unionists and one Christian Socialist.

In September, 1927, the Parliament decided to reduce the social security payments for older workers. The amnesty proposal for the accused of July 15th was rejected by the Christian Socialist government.

On October, 1927, Otto Bauer, at a convention of metal workers, ascertained the fact of the weakening of Social Democracy. He recommended "quiet democratic development." The trade unionist Domes declared himself for technical rationalization. Pitzel, who represented the International Association of Trade Unions, was excluded.

In the same month, Dr. Renner demanded a coalition with the Christian Socialists. The Christian Socialists rejected the coalition through Dr. Schmitz.

On October 16, 1927, the new election of the "Soldatenvertrauensleute" resulted in 9000 Social Democratic votes, with 118 representatives, and 6000 Christian Socialist and German Nationalist votes with 220 (!) representatives. The Social Democratic Party lost 2000, and the conservatives won 3000 votes through maneuvers rigged by the party apparatus. The Army personnel now consisted of two instead of nine Social Democratic, and seven instead of no conservative representatives.

On November 21, 1927, the Steirian Convention waived the immunity of the Steirian delegate, Wallisch, a brave, honest, straightforward man. He was executed in 1934 by the Christian Dollfuss government.

On December 11, the Social Democratic party suffered a severe defeat at the election of police representatives.

On January 18, 1928, the Social Democrats were excluded from the government election at the Tyrol convention. On February 20, 1928, the home property owners won a victory in Parliament through the introduction of a proposal for the removal of the rent control law which was so popular with the people. They later forced it through, and the Social Democrats declared it was a "victory of the Social Democrats" *that things had not turned out still worse.*

On March 3, 1928, at the new election of police representatives, the Social Democrats suffered a complete defeat.

On March 16, 1928, the elections of factory representatives at the blast furnaces in Donawitz resulted in an increase of Social Democratic votes from 1991 to 2404, a decrease of Communist votes from 706 to 227 and an increase of government votes from 131 to 951! Donawitz later became a bastion of the semi-fascistic *Heimwehr*.

On March 18, the representatives of workers, together with those of commerce and agriculture, created an "economic board of trustees" for the common execution of the rationalization of factory direction. This rationalization led a year later to the deepening of the economic crisis which in Austria had frightful results.

From April 5 to 10, 1928, there were mass layoffs in the mines of the Alpine Montan Company in Seegraben. The dismissals were supposed to clear the industry of socialists. The workers demanded a strike. The conference of factory representatives rejected the strike under the pressure of the party leadership. (On February 14, 1934, not a single large factory went on strike, while the Social Democratic *Schutzbund* was bleeding to death.) This is the result of appeasement.

On May 11, 1928, the Christian Army minister, Vougoin, announced the dismissal of all members of the Army who had taken part in the May Day celebration.

On May 12, there was a spontaneous protest strike against political terror in the factories of the Alpine Montan Company in the mines at Hüttenberg. The union leadership was against the strike.

Between May 16 and 22, there were many spontaneous partial strikes in the Styiran-Corynthian mining industry and in the foundries. The movement was so strong that the union leadership had to "spearhead it." [*RF* talk.*] The leadership threatened a little, came to terms a few days later, and ended the strike officially, but the workers continued to strike.

On June 3, 1928, the jute workers of a large factory near Vienna began to strike. They had been working ten hours daily for a miserable wage of about 60 shillings a month. Together with some other friends, I helped to take care of their children. The strike ended badly because there was neither force nor courage behind it.

The founder of the *Heimwehr*, Steidel, announced his first great march of the *Heimwehr* for October 7 in Wiener-Neustadt, an industrial workers' city with a Social Democratic majority. Protected by the Christian Socialist government, he had quietly begun to build up his *Heimwehr* in Tyrol after

* Red Fascist

the 15th of July, 1927. Around this time, members of the Heimwehr did not dare to let themselves be seen in the Vienna workers' districts. Every Heimwehr member was beaten up. The Austrian Social Democratic party said one should not annoy them. They were not dangerous. They were "only show-offs." The best method was not to notice them, not to let them become important. On February, 1934, these "Heimwehr" members cannonaded the workers' homes in the workers' districts.

A year full of defeats had embittered the Social Democratic party membership to such an extent that their leaders could no longer afford to simply tolerate this great provocation by the political reaction. It would have meant their defeat at the hands of their own followers. Hence, the leadership called for a counter-march *on the same day* and *at the same place* in Wiener-Neustadt. It had tried to avoid the battle, constantly weakening its own position, until at last it was forced to proceed in a weakened condition, all along the line, finally ending in defeat on February 14, 1934.

The Christian Socialist government had victory so securely in its grasp, and furthermore, was so fearful of competition with the Heimwehr that for security it ordered army, police and gendarmes to gather on the same day at Wiener-Neustadt.

On December 21, the Communists had founded their "red-front-fighters-bund" according to the German model. The later German party leader of the Communists, Thälmann, had come to Austria. The Bund of the "red-front-fighters" was outlawed on April 27, 1928, and continued to exist as a Workers' Defense Organization. In all of Austria it numbered no more than 250 members, and of these about 150 were in Vienna. The Communist party had, throughout the whole country, about three thousand members, predominately from the unemployed. The Communists, too, would not simply accept this thing gracefully. They "mobilized" their workers' defense for October 7 with the express order – meant to be taken literally – *to disturb the march of all three inimical groups in Wiener-Neustadt.* Thus: With all the earnestness of revolutionary courage – I do not say this mockingly – an organization of about 250 unarmed men *undertook to fight armed and organized groups with a combined force of about 40,000 men;* that is, *to prevent* their march! *In all seriousness, with deep conviction and with the absolute will to victory!* I can bear witness, for I was among these 250 men. On this day, I learned to know and to judge correctly the *power of "ideology," independent of its economic basis.* On this day there began to germinate an understanding of the misuse of this power of ideology – a misuse which drove a mass-psychologically

ignorant and therefore practically helpless mass workers' movement to play poker with the holy zeal of the working people and their will to freedom. Only in political circles did the mass march of armed organizations in Wiener-Neustadt stir up excitement. The politicians formed a *negligible minority* of the total working population. The Communist party of Austria gave the "order" that the 250 men should go to Wiener-Neustadt "inconspicuously," in small groups. There were three physicians in the workers' defense. These physicians – carrying knapsacks filled with bandages – were supposed to join the "fighting troops." I packed my knapsack full of bandages, said goodbye to my wife and children, as it was questionable whether I would ever come home, and went off with a woman doctor friend, who was very courageous.

It was Saturday; knapsack together with hiking clothes would not be noticeable. Everything was to take place very "illegally."

We were so filled with rage over the "fascist provocation" and the "coming betrayal by the Social Democratic *Schutzbund* leadership," that it was not hard for us to drown out the question of what we were actually supposed *to do.* We only knew that "Communists had to spearhead the class struggle by setting a good example," had "to place themselves in the front ranks of the proletariat in civil war situations." And in Wiener-Neustadt on that Sunday there were actually about fifteen thousand armed "fighters of the working class," the *Schutzbund* troops. We were not thinking about how we would actually go about "making ourselves their spearhead." Everything would be all right if we just showed enough courage. I emphasize: We were not fools, but *respected citizens and physicians with flourishing medical practices and many influential connections; also, we were skilled workers.* The physician, who was in psychoanalytic treatment with me, was supposed "to conquer" Wiener-Neustadt with another troop.

I met my woman doctor friend in the waiting room at the South Station. We both looked very "harmless." The knapsacks on our backs were not "conspicuous." The large waiting room was like an armed camp. Hundreds of *Schutzbund* troops stood around and waited until it was their turn to be searched for weapons by the police. Many secret detectives, called "bulls" *(Bullen),* with typical faces, stood around and observed, just as "inconspicuously," the elements "dangerous to the state." We recognized them at once as they did us. We could not possibly overlook one another, we were so inconspicuous. About fifty equally inconspicuous workers' defense men stood around and we did *not* look at one another, so every detective knew that we belonged together. Federal police and gen-

darmes were entrained by the hundreds. They were the first to leave by train. Then went the *Schutzbund* troops. We "revolutionary leaders of the proletariat," certain that on the following day we would carry with us at least the fifteen thousand *Schutzbund* troops, quite inconspicuously bought third-class coach tickets for Pottendorf, a small village before Wiener-Neustadt. From there we wanted to reach Wiener-Neustadt "inconspicuously." We were still clever enough not to travel directly to Wiener-Neustadt. We had heard that civilians were not allowed to go through. Good spirits and high courage animated us as we sat in the coaches with a few dozen comrades-in-arms. We spoke about this and that. No one said a word with suspicious content. Secret detectives were sitting around. We knew them. We looked openly at one or the other of them so long that he would finally disappear to give a report to the police. Some friends told us that we were awaited "quite inconspicuously" in Pottendorf. When we arrived, there really stood on the platform a worker, recognizable as a functionary a mile away, who recognized us as immediately as we did him. He whispered to us to follow him to an inn. The Social Democratic mayor was just as indignant as the Communists; he had put his inn at our disposal for overnight shelter. When we arrived there, hundreds of *Schutzbund* men were sitting around. We drank beer, and the innkeeper led us into the overnight shelter, a large dance hall. Gradually, small groups of workers' defense troops arrived from all directions. Among them were workers' defense men who could not afford the train fare and who had set out the day before from Vienna to walk the forty kilometers. We ate a little and spoke about the events which we expected on the next day. What that day was to bring! None of us knew what actually was supposed to happen. But we had learned that "in times of civil war, every Communist advances as the leader of thousands," and thus something was sure to happen. We tried to sleep. We lay on the floor, head on knapsack. We could not sleep.

Late at night, a small group of men arrived from Vienna. One of them, a young unemployed workman, lay down next to me. We began to talk at once. He had an old mother at home and wanted to fight *for her*. It couldn't go on like this. The whole gang of them had to be beaten up. Together with the *Schutzbund* men we would clean up. At last the day of reckoning had come. For two years he had been unemployed and lived with his mother, almost starving on the unemployment compensation. Only rarely were there any earned wages to supplement the dole. If that were discovered, the officials would withdraw the compensation. And now they were even going to reduce the dole. After a time it would

stop anyway, and then the only thing between us and real starvation will be emergency aid. The soles of his shoes were worn through from the long march. But that didn't matter to him. Tomorrow we were going to clean up. We were soon good friends, and we ate bacon and bread together. Thus several hours passed. In the hall some hundred slept or talked quietly. One waited for the great day. It came.

At about seven o'clock in the morning, someone looked out of the window. The building was surrounded by policemen with fixed bayonets. We all sprang up. What now? "We'll beat them up!" shouted some. "First let's hear what's doing," said others. Then a police officer came into the hall with two men and said good-naturedly, in Viennese: "Children, pack your things, the train for Vienna is waiting for you." "We'll go where we want to!" and other cries of protest rang out. The policeman said he didn't know anything, orders were orders, he had been given the job of moving to the railroad station the whole group that was quartered here. They entrusted me with the negotiations. I told the officer that we first wanted to consult with each other. He went away and we held a brief meeting. Some were for giving in; others cried that it would be cowardly to simply let ourselves be arrested. Rather fight than that. "With what, then?" said one. We decided that each of the two standpoints be given "a voice" by *one* speaker and then we would take a vote. So it happened. The "reasonable one" said there was absolutely no sense in undertaking anything here. We had gone into a trap, period. Now we must go home and then could try to break through somehow. The other said that that was not "revolutionary." It would be a "disgrace to revolutionary thought." What would people say? They would simply laugh. And he was not so wrong! No one had any idea how the vote would come out. I shuddered at the thought of the possible coming bloodshed. July 15 was still in my bones. And without arms! To fight with bare hands! Surrounded by heavily armed police. I felt fury mounting up in me over this infamy which was being done to us. I did not vote. The majority voted for giving in. Indeed, there was no sense in doing anything else. It was really an infamy.

We later learned that the Social Democratic innkeeper had planned the thing with the police the evening before. He had lured us into the trap.

One of us went downstairs and informed the others of our decision. We packed our knapsacks and went into the courtyard. We were lined up by fours, the police flanked us, and so we went off. "We must at least sing!" someone called. Loudly we sang the "Internationale." Sleepy,

indifferent faces appeared at the windows in this workers' suburb. "They are only taking away some Communists," we could almost hear them say. The Communists were not liked by the majority of workers. They disturbed the emotional quiet of the peaceful development of socialism.

At the railroad station stood a chain of empty coaches. We got in. On every platform were posted two policemen with blank faces and fixed bayonets on their loaded rifles. The train started to move. After a few minutes it stopped with a jerk. Someone had pulled the emergency brake. Someone looked for the place where the brake had been pulled and the train started again. Once more the train stood still. At last we moved again. We felt wretched. One man proposed beating up the few policemen on the platforms. Others were against this. Then it dawned on us that the police would surely be waiting for us in Vienna. And to get on the "list" meant that many would lose their jobs. It must not happen. But how to prevent it? Then someone had a marvellous idea: Shortly before Vienna, when the train stopped, we would simply get off. Would the police shoot? It was uncertain! The train stopped at the station before Vienna. The word was passed along: "Everyone get off." We took our knapsacks and went out. The policemen gaped and asked with astonishment: "Just where are you going?" "To Vienna!" we all shouted. We went, and the policemen, dumbfounded, watched us go. They didn't know what to do. The engineer looked at us. A worker gave a kind of speech. They had arrested us "unjustly," when we wished to go to Wiener-Neustadt; this was the rule of the bourgeoisie! And so it certainly was. Still, the Social Democratic engineer looked at us with only bland indifference. The railroad men, in 1918 the most revolutionary troops of the Austrian workers' republic, were uninterested, they did not think of coming to our support. We went on foot to Vienna. The third doctor with his troop had actually been met in Vienna by the police. We passed the police stations as harmless tourists, which in fact we were.

Only very few workers' defense men had reached Wiener-Neustadt. When they tried to distribute leaflets among the Socialist *Schutzbund* troops, they were horribly beaten up. In Wiener-Neustadt nothing happened. With field cannons and machine guns, fifteen thousand sons of workers and peasants in state uniforms held just as many workers' and peasants' sons in green uniforms back from just as many sons of workers and peasants in gray uniforms. This was called high politics and class struggle, defense of the homeland and defense of the working class. At that time no one saw it as it really was. But everyone must have somehow felt the great senselessness of it all. Otherwise it would have been im-

possible a few years later for dozens of millions of German workers, peasants and employees to fall prey to the Hitlerian *phantasy* of a *Volksgemeinschaft*. How many victims has it cost to attain this one insight: that in living reality it is not capitalists who are fighting out the "struggle of the classes" against workers, but that oppressed are fighting against oppressed! To eliminate the mental inhibition of *everyone* who cannot *immediately* recognize such insanity, would alone be worth the fight against the oppression, against the mental inhibition, a million times over! This knowledge remained from then on one of the most important problems in the search for the meaning of the word "*freedom*."

There were still other insights which required years before they fully matured.

Two hundred unarmed, genuinely revolutionary-minded men went out to storm forty thousand armed, non-revolutionary-minded men of the same social level but in uniform. That is senselessness raised to the 20th power! But, how was it still possible? I have already said that we were no fools. We imagined that we knew more than the millions. Indeed, we did know much more, but far from everything which had to be known in order, instead of becoming ridiculous, to help human freedom to victory. These two hundred men, I among them, believed in all honesty that if they were *subjectively* for freedom, and thought correctly, the others would "have to recognize it very soon." More: According to the thesis of "the party," "the others" knew it even now; they were prevented only by force from turning their knowledge into action. These two hundred Communists believed that when industry *objectively* collapses, when wages are *objectively* reduced, and when the simplest freedom strivings are *objectively* repressed, – that these things must automatically and self-evidently incite the people to revolutionary indignation. The whole of revolutionary politics in Germany and Austria until 1933 was built up on this idea. This thinking was wrong. For this reason the workers' movement collapsed where it did not reerect exactly that type of social order that it had formerly attacked. Every – but *every* – compromise was made. Every – but *every* – correct basic principle of the socialist movement was sacrificed. All this happened for one reason: *The complete incapacity to keep clearly in mind the correct concept of living reality in the confusion of daily tasks.* This reality, this life which thirsted for liberation, thirsted in everyone, but lay on the streets and was tread upon so long that putrescence set in. The bearers of the ideas of freedom were themselves unfree, spiritually unfree; the social suppression which they fought in their environment, was active within themselves. They were afraid of think-

ing, afraid of looking squarely at the facts of life. I have the right to assert this. I was one of the few who, year in, year out, in complete self-sacrifice to the cause of human freedom, pointed to living Life, grasped it, formulated it, tried to make the responsibility involved understandable. But we ourselves were also not mentally free. We, too, were bound to the old. We, also, were far from understanding everything that we felt. And feelings alone, as indispensable as they are in the struggle, cannot overturn a world with rigid forms of living! Life itself seems to be able to become conscious of itself only with great difficulty. Consciousness means turning one's attention toward one's own origin, one's own organizations, one's own stagnation. The human will which undertook to regulate life according to the laws of reason, was itself only a bundle of irrational feelings. The psychoanalytic movements, with hundreds of professionals all over the world, rejected the thesis that psychic health is possible only with a fulfilled love-life. Marxism rejected the fact that the emotional functions of human beings constituted the actual driving force of history, even if under certain historical economic preconditions. Both teachings were turned toward the Living in the name of the better mastery of living needs, but both were at the same time bound to their age. The times were against the Living. *This* society existed only through the fact that it destroyed the Living. But no one yet knew what the *Living* was.

Further catastrophes – the complete triumph of the organized political irrationalism (of the emotional plague), the collapse of economistic rationalism, the threat by the emotional plague to the very life of great nations – were required to clear the way for *thought-work* on the problem of freedom. It suffocated until around 1934 in formal, bureaucratic, machine-like "freedom apparatuses."

> [*S.O.: These forms of "liberation" would never attain true liberty. Twenty years later an imperialist Russia, led by a son of the working class, would threaten to conquer the world under the disguise of the liberation of peoples. Instead of government by the toiling men and women in all professions, a minority of political crooks and spies and armed gangsters would destroy even the last possibility of freeodm – the freedom to talk about freedom.*]

It is a part of the tragedy of the human animal that he does not learn to think correctly in times of peace; that he must be persecuted and threatened with death in order to attain insight into his life-dangerous errors in thinking and acting, and in order not to stifle the rational, living

thinking in himself and others. It is a triumph of *scientific* thinking that in spite of its acute social helplessness and lack of influence in the confusion of political, everyday tumult, in the long run it is always right; that it is the real guide and the sole attitude toward *Life* which guaranteed social progress *in a practical way*.

I can assert this from my own experience as follows: In the years of confusion between 1927 and 1937, my writings on social psychology and mental hygiene were a mixture of natural-scientific factual findings and political ideas which I had borrowed from the political organizations in the framework of which my professional work was carried on. I could not have presented any of my scientifically proven facts in any of the political organizations, if I had not mixed them with the ideological slogans of the parties. But objective facts and processes inevitably unveil themselves sooner or later.

1. The mingling of natural-scientific facts with political phrases was to no avail. When the discovered facts began to take effect socially, the party politicians sharply interferred.

2. Today, 1937, not a single one of the political party slogans of that period have stood the test of time. They have perished forever in the social chaos.

3. My natural-scientific factual findings of 1928 have remained completely right to this day, 1937; more, they have gained great significance. On the other hand, all the party slogans in my writings of that time have become false and unusable so that they have had to be deleted from all my mass-psychological writings. None of this happened because I or anyone else wanted it that way, but solely because natural-science endures and political slogans are irrational ephemera.

Unfortunately, natural-scientific thinking, be it in the physical or be it in the social realms, has not yet found a way to create an *international organization* which could save the hard-working, naïve, and helpless human multitudes from bloody erring in the daily political tumult; an organization which would be able not only to recognize, but also to eliminate irrational actions *in time*. It is a gigantic secret of the irrational structure of human beings why living functioning, which includes rational thinking, is so very much feared.

MASS PSYCHOLOGY – SEEN FROM BELOW

If one reads the daily newspapers, reports on parliament committees, government reports, and so on, one gets the impression that the social life of the human animal takes place and regulates itself exclusively in diplo-

matic conferences, in state budget debates, parliamentary election speeches, proposal of laws, etc. When social catastrophes break through periodically, the flood of social chaos carries the concrete problems of life (which caused the havoc) to the surface. Then one recognizes in astonishment that these crucial social processes are not mentioned in the newspapers, debates, meetings, resolutions, etc. "State politics" and the "social life" of humanity seem to be coming from different planets, which have no connection whatsoever with each other.

I now wish to compare the parliamentary debates in Austria after July 15 which were described earlier, with a part of this social reality as I observed it from "below."*

One of the basic tenets of social sex-economy is: *The chaos of human society is grounded in the irrational, psychic mechanisms working in the masses, in the universal biopathy of the human animal.* Without *naive* participation in these social mass irrationalisms, I would have remained stuck in economic socialism or in an academic interpretation of the "social unconscious mind." The economic process is the basis, but *not* the living content of social existence; and society has neither an unconscious nor a death instinct nor a super-ego. The *reality* looks like this:

The Viennese Communist party organized on special occasions, and for merely political purposes, *demonstrations of the unemployed.* With tremendous expenditure of effort, they were announced in the *Rote Fahne* (a Communist newspaper) and in leaflets distributed in unemployment offices and in the workers' districts; all this was organized as completely as possible. Since I was a well-known Vienna physician, my collaboration was very much valued as a moral support, and with good reason. I was known in the different unemployment committees, spoke at meetings on problems of mass hygiene, and personally took part in almost every demonstration, as it was indispensable in order to do the field work.

I never had a definite political function. To be sure, I was offered a seat on the executive committee ("Direktorium") of the party, and I was nominated at the election of the National Assembly as a national representative; but I refused political functions. I had neither the inclination nor the time for this. On the other hand, the demonstrations seemed to me to be tremendously instructive, that is, as a school of sociology in political life. I did not take part "in order to study," but because as a physician I was accustomed not to make any assertions or form any opinion if I had not myself worked "at the sick bed." It was, truly, clinical work in social pathology.

* When in 1943 I read Wendell Willkie's book, ONE WORLD, an American "best seller," this contradiction once more became clear to me. Wendell Willkie doubtless belongs among the most honest, democratically-minded fighters for human freedom. One cannot but agree with his goals and viewpoints. But his book suffers from the fact that he describes the problems of democracy "from above" as it were: through conversations with national leaders, army chiefs, at conferences and in social activities *above* the people. In addition to the official side of the people whom he met, Wendell Willkie did not emphasize the unofficial, private, everyday factor of human existence. For in reality, social life takes place not "above," but "below."

Our society would look very much better if our leading social economists did not acquire their opinions at the desk or from textbooks, but at the sickbed of society, on the streets, in the slums, among the unemployed and poverty-stricken. In ethnology one has learned long ago to value a scientific book more highly if it results from "field work," instead of from academic investigations. On the other hand, official sociology in Europe was mostly conceived from dead statistics. Therefore one would like to require that the social economist gain his knowledge from six years of practical work as a "*social worker,*" exactly as the physician gains his knowledge in six years of hard work in laboratory and clinic. Many "clever" and "superior" people looked down upon my practical course in social economy and mass psychology as "craziness."

And so I marched in the ranks of the unemployed and had a frightfully bad conscience because of my ten-room apartment and two servants. Thus I learned to know the bad social conscience of economically secure intellectuals, from which stems their active "party fellowship." I compensated for my guilt feelings in the face of these cruelly mistreated victims of a cruel social disorder, with regular and opportune large financial contributions. These human beings simply had the right to demand money. One must have known the unemployed of Vienna (in 1929-1930) to understand this; one must have known them with their wonderful human qualities in spite of the gigantic misery, their child-like hopes, their primitive brutalities, their humor in the midst of utter poverty, their raggedness and dirt, their patience and their impatience, and above all their *decency and solidarity.* This did not at all change the fact that they showed all the emotional characteristics common to people in a miserable economic position. Thievery, drunkenness, beatings and sexual brutalities, all occurred frequently. But in relation to the misery in which they lived, they were much more decent, moral, ready-to-help, honest and aware than the vain, fat-stomached, high-nosed and no-good spenders and phrasemakers who could generate no trace of humanity and who were sexually far sicker, only in a less honest way. Any one of these reactionary parasites should just try to live like one of those unemployed; to be without

work for years, to support a whole family on sixty schillings (about twenty dollars) a month, and at the same time *not turn regularly* to theft or burglary; never, literally never, to be able to be alone with one's girl; not to have the money even for the bare necessities of sexual life; for years, in spite of bodily health, to be forced to live in abstinence or to masturbate; to have to stand around in bureaucratic unemployment agencies for hours in the cold, without an overcoat, for the sake of five schillings; to let oneself be pushed around by someone in uniform and then to have to say "thank you"; to let the beautiful cars, with the well-dressed women and the fat faces, roll quietly past and *not* start breaking windows on the spot, come what may; to live oneself on potatoes and dry bread, and to look into the brightly lit food stores, *without* stealing what one needs, simply taking it, no matter what happens. Later, I understood that the *character armor* makes this possible. To have thus learned to recognize the restraint and self-control of the dispossessed, I count among my deepest experiences as a physician. And so, I understood the organizing of the "purchases without payment" in the well-stocked stores, when the starvation winters of 1929-1932 broke over these people in great waves of misery. In Vienna there were a hundred thousand unemployed who were literally starving. In 1930, in Austria, their number rose to almost four hundred thousand – this in a population of six million. At the demonstrations one hardly ever saw an overcoat. Many had only shoes with holes, and no gloves or woolen sweaters. Thus, for me to have appeared at a demonstration in a winter coat and gloves would have been ridiculous and a provocation. So I always wore a leather jacket and sports trousers.

At first I expected the unemployed to give some powerful expression to their demands, so that the people on the street would stop and be moved to some social action. For this was the very reason for such demonstrations. The first demonstration was a miserable failure. So they'd make it on the second or the third. They didn't make it.

It is hard to grasp correctly the reasons for the senselessness of such demonstrations of the poor. Those people marching on the streets were not the "economic factors" of the state politicians, but hungry men in ragged clothes; it was not the "rebelling productive forces" of the social economists that were demonstrating, but three to four thousand unemployed in a city of two million. Their "conquest" depended on the *impression* made by these demonstrations and from this finally (as seen from the Marxist point of view) also the "iron march of history" of the dialecticians. I will try to describe this impression as well as I can, in the way the unemployed themselves felt and expressed it.

The demonstrations were announced beforehand and permitted by the police. The marchers gathered at the prescribed places. There were also "illegal demonstrations." The party of the unemployed called for "a mighty demonstration against the fascists and social fascists," at 3 p.m., for instance, in front of the City Hall. The police were there by half-past two and sent every "illegal demonstrator" home singly. Were these men stupid? No, they were simply overloaded with the theories about "the necessary collapse of capitalism," about the "iron march of history," and with the purely *subjective* feeling of being "the Leaders of the Proletariat." [S.O.: *From the emptiness of this subjective feeling of being "the Leaders of the Proletariat" grew their bloody imperialism which surpassed that of Peter the Great.*] The marchers moved along the Lastenstrasse to the Wollzeile, waited until all the marchers had caught up, then continued along the Ring to the Votiv Church, and there they disbanded. Occasionally they shouted "Down with capitalism," or "Freedom and bread." But the people on the sidewalk were used to that soon, and hardly looked at them any more. Everyone had his own troubles. All were afraid of disturbances, *even the demonstrators themselves.* Hot-heads were quieted down by their own people.

These men had been mistreated by and excluded from society. They were making the demand for leadership *of society.* Yet at their demonstration against "Hunger and the System" they had the feeling of being *outcasts,* which in fact they were. The people who passed by them were indifferent, or felt sorry for them. And some turned guiltily away. Others, in private meetings, tried to strengthen their defenses against a possible domination by this army of the poor. Workers with jobs did not take part in these demonstrations. Those who still had work were afraid of being thrown into the same pot with those already unemployed. This could be clearly seen at the May Day demonstrations. The working men marched by the hundred-thousands along the Ring. The unemployed greeted the "comrades of Social Democracy" with a three-fold hearty cry of "Red Front!" The Social Democrats didn't even look at them. It was tragic. The Social Democratic parliamentarians stood at their windows and watched the demonstration. The unemployed shouted: "Down with the social-fascists!" "Down with Seitz!" or "Down with Otto Bauer!" or "Give us our unemployment insurance." They shook their fists threateningly. They sang the "Internationale" or "Red Wedding" (Wedding was a workers' district in Berlin). I felt their fury and could experience it with them. The parliamentary tramplings and swindlings of that time were too great a provocation. A police cordon was drawn between the

representatives of democratic socialism and the jobless. At every demonstration, hundreds of German nationalist students stood near the University and tried to provoke the marchers by singing nationalistic songs. They were better dressed. They sang better. They were not so blue with cold, and also, they had and held the University, the palace of knowledge. The workers regarded the University as the high bastion of political reaction. The students made fun of the unemployed. There was no trace of the democratic rebel students of 1848 in them. At one of these demonstrations, the marchers broke through the police cordon when the nationalists began to provoke them, and stormed the ramp. The police cordon did not hold. Several students were soundly beaten up. But as a whole, the column of marchers moved quietly ahead. The police struck with their clubs, blindly around at the marchers. Many demonstrators ran away. This encouraged the police to hit harder.

A small incident brought me an important insight. I had gotten into the midst of a knot of men who were beating each other. One policeman, tall as a tree, lifted his hand to strike the representative of the committee of the unemployed, but the latter fell down in a faint and had to be carried away. Then the policeman went after me. I stood still, and since I could not do anything better, I looked him firmly in the eye. *The human animal in uniform became embarrassed and did nothing.* The effect of his identification with the state by means of his uniform suddenly broke down. I have been present at many public beatings, yet I myself was never beaten. Bullies only feel strong and brutal when they face the weak. At the slightest show of courage without provocation, they become human and show human sympathy. *Human* and *hangman, both* live in them, — it all depends!

Thus I learned to understand that one strengthens the power of the police or other public authority and endows them with a mystical might in the eyes of the poor and helpless, as long as one does nothing except to inculcate hatred for them. The strong man is hated, to be sure, but he is *also feared and envied and followed. This fear and this envy on the part of the destitute constitute a part of the power of political reaction. To disarm the reactionary autocrats by stripping them of their illusory power is one of the chief tasks of the rational fight for freedom.* This presupposes that as a fighter for freedom, one has first stifled all claims to power in oneself, and that one develops no hatred against individuals or social strata, but solely against the *conditions* which generate social misery.

After these experiences at the demonstrations, I would, at the social hygiene meetings, describe very vividly a picture of the police chiefs as

human beings, fathers and husbands at home, or as animals on the toilet. In this way I tried to work against the fear of authority and the irrational hate in the helpless people, which were only increased by the false technique of Communist propaganda. When they described the police chiefs or the head of the government as brutal, all-powerful devils, worthy only of their hate, they were at the same time implanting fear and feelings of inferiority and weakness in the public. One of the secrets of the National Socialist success in Germany was that the leaders instilled in their followers a hatred of their political opponents, not based on the latter's superiority and strength, but on their weaknesses and stupidities. [S.O.: *One can apply all this today, 1952, to the Red Fascist autocrats, their police and their hangmen.*]

To let oneself be ruled by stupid and corrupt weaklings was rankling to human pride, to natural self-reliance. Together with the feeling of "national greatness," this self-reliance to them was to become an unconquerable power. On the other hand, the appeal to need and poverty alone could arouse no feelings of either self-reliance or strength. One is ashamed of poverty. One feels more insecure in ragged clothes than in decent ones. And a uniform gives one self-confidence. This state of affairs had to be counteracted. But no one knew how. One felt the destitution of the available social power compared with the earnest high goals of the social revolution, without being able to do anything about it. And so one shouted louder than the other, and developed a *false* sense of power, a *false* heroism, and *annihilating* asceticism. This was not enough to tempt a mouse out of its hole. [S.O.: *Therefore, socialism turned into imperialism.*]

The mastery of concrete tasks, whether they be big or small, is far more radical and more convincing than "revolutionary" cursing which links up with feelings of inferiority of the poverty-stricken and creates only contempt, hate, and brutality in their brethren who are better placed in society.

In practical social work, it is not necessary to sacrifice even one single basic scientific principle. It lies in the very nature of every practical kind of work that it is *basic;* only ideologies and political slogans can be both basic and not basic at the same time. At the public hygiene meetings, described above, it was clear to everyone *which* social conditions were sick and *which* were healthy. And from this there developed by itself, without a lot of radical talk, an understanding as to which of them would have to be changed. Several years later, in Germany, this kind of social work had developed to such an extent that policemen, government

officials and other "guardians of order" came to our counselling clinics in droves and, as well as they could, helped those unemployed whom previously they had looked down on as good-for-nothing "rebels against the state." At the same time, we did not keep silent about the fact that in society there are privileged classes and classes without rights; that injustice and social murder perpetuate their misdeeds. But the emphasis was always placed on the necessity of hating the pathological social *conditions*, not the representatives of these conditions.

The progress of the work simply forced me and my co-workers to play up the *common human factors* against the separating official poses. These basic principles not only led a stream of people from all social circles into the organization – which I directed without presidents, vice-presidents, secretaries and honorary presidents – but also led to one of the basic principles of what later was called "work democracy": *"Help yourself, and fight for the social opportunities which will enable you to help yourself. Do not beg for Freedom and Bread. Do not let them be handed out to you by economic oppressors or political pirates.* Win them in purposeful, rational work on your own self, on nonliving nature, and on your fellow human beings. And, above all, do not shift the responsibility on to others, but *learn to bear the responsibility yourself.*"

The systematic diversion of the hatred of the oppressed people from the REPRESENTATIVES *of miserable living conditions to the* CONDITIONS THEMSELVES, *proved to be a rationally effective educational measure.*

The hatred on the part of the poor and the neurotics of all circles lost its aimless, irrational character. It transformed itself into thought operations and realistic undertakings. This in turn awakened sympathy in many who until then had been without interest or were scornfully inimical. In the place of senseless shouting with complete lack of responsibility, there came to be co-operative work, directed toward a goal and conscious of its social responsibility.

For instance, the young people did not present petitions to parliamentary hygiene commissions, but instead they helped each other, and they themselves organized, in a rational manner, what was most vitally necessary. When they had practical successes, many a hygienist began to follow them. It sounds unbelievable, but it is true that in Germany it was not the State apparatus that interfered with the self-help-in-need, but the "Freedom Parties" to which the young belonged. It was a crazy lesson: *The "Freedom Parties" actually lived on the helplessness of their followers.*

It often happened that police officers who formerly, rightly or wrongly, had been physically attacked as murderous hangmen, now turned to the cause of society's outcasts. Many of the social hygiene meetings were attended by police officials who had been instructed to break up the meeting as soon as the "power of the State" was attacked in the speeches. This was the general practice at political party meetings. But their stern, inimical faces became milder, and they showed a lively interest when I did not even touch on the question of oppression by means of law and state power, but instead described the *tasks* that the unemployed, the factory workers, the young people, the women, etc. had to carry out *themselves*. For instance, it was entirely possible for *them* to organize children's clinics for poor children, to found sex-hygiene clinics, to undertake this or that practical measure in questions of bad housing conditions. Then the *human being* in the "guardian of order" came to the fore. And when I began to speak about the misery in marriages, in families and in the lives of children, all feeling disappeared that "guardians of class interests" were sitting there. Then everyone could see clearly and impressively: these officers and policemen were employees themselves, even though in uniform. They themselves had children, wives, marriage difficulties, worries concerning education and housing. Thus the class boundaries looked quite different from a practical psychological point of view than the way they had been represented in the purely economistic party programs.

[S.O.: *Only much later, from 1939 on, in America, did I have any inkling that the police may also be officially democratically-minded. Here I am, of course, not overlooking the emotional plague which reigns also in America.*]

FIRST STEPS IN SEX-POLITICAL ACTIVITY

[S.O.: *The Sexpol of 1927-1937 is dead. It had, together with all human endeavors which are based on political thinking, no future. It died with the old patterns of life in the Second World War. It was well meant, but* WRONGLY BUILT, *in unison with all other human hopes in the 1920's. Nobody knew it then. Now we have learned from such mistakes that:*

No political line-up of human problems will ever accomplish anything.

The politician stands, and must stand, against every positive human endeavor, since his existence depends on unsolved problems.

The politician will try to exploit the sexual misery of people in the future as he did with other needs in the past.
Society must be rebuilt according to human needs, beginning with babies' needs.]

In the attitude of the people themselves, even after the founding of the sex-hygiene clinics, I experienced the irrational mechanisms which contradict every step toward freedom. There grew up a circle of workers, employees and small shopkeepers, who for a short time were of some importance in the "state-political" movement. We knew that demonstrations and shouts of "Down with" or "Up with" could not accomplish anything. *What was needed was constructive practical work that would set an example.* The working people cannot make any claim to govern society if they do not everywhere, step by step, take hold of and try practically to solve the problems which arose during the breakdown of human society.

In the beginning, after July 1927, I was not satisfied with my activities. Different organizations — workers' aid, *(Arbeiterhilfe)*, Free Thinkers, high school organizations, university students' societies, factories —asked me to lecture to them. (The multitudes, industrial as well as administrative and business, were organized by the millions in the Marxist party of Austrian Social Democrats. To know Marxist sociology, keep clear in your mind that it has nothing to do with so-called political Marxism, except as to name.) I spoke frequently, in various places, on psychoanalysis, the Oedipus complex, the castration complex, etc. But I soon noticed that the listeners were not able to put these things to use either in their everyday life or in the "movement." Indeed, they did not need to learn any theories. They needed practical understanding and simple knowledge to help them along in their exhausting lives.

I already knew some *theoretical* connections between psychoanalysis and Marxist sociology, but this was of no practical significance. Things went better in talks to university students, especially medical students. I gave my first lecture to the Association of Students on the subject of "The Sexual Plight of the Masses." It was a great success. Since I already knew that psychoanalytic theory, as it was formulated, was not appropriate for lectures to active social groups, I shifted the subject to the problems of the *sex life of the masses.* And here my experiences from the Psychoanalytic Polyclinic were of great help to me. The theories of repression and of the unconscious were of no interest. On the other hand, burning interest was aroused by questions of *sexual disturbances*, of *child upbringing*

and of the *family.* I very soon saw the subject of the "Oedipus complex" had to be presented as the subject of the "*family.*" In the question period after the very first lecture, I was faced for the first time with the task of explaining just *why the family so regularly represses the sexual life of the children.* It was the same question which had bothered me during my medical work at the polyclinic. I was astonished that such a crucial question of sociology arose spontaneously among lay people. No one as yet knew the answer. The "revolutionary socialists" rejected the family politically as an *apparatus of suppression.* But, according to the viewpoint of that time, they thought family suppression was merely an economic question. The economically stronger father subdues wife and children. Therefore, they demanded the "*Abolishment of the Family.*" Nothing further was said along these lines. They could not possibly have solved a single problem of practical family life.

Marxian sociology had confirmed the *sociological* origin of the family form, and expected the question to be solved spontaneously through the overthrow of property relationships. I came from psychoanalysis where the subject "*family form,*" did not constitute any problem; however, in psychoanalysis, the *emotional interrelations* in *any given* family were the focal point of interest. The gap between the "*family form*" (of *sociology)* and the *emotional* interrelations among the members of a family (of *psychoanalysis)* still remained to be spanned.

In a second large meeting of university students (1928), I spoke on "*The Relationship of Psychoanalysis to Marxian Sociology.*" I tried to work out the sociological role of the Oedipus complex. The communistically-minded students in this liberal and socialist organization, had invited a "Red professor" from Moscow to the meeting. In the discussion period, the "Red professor" declared strictly, in a form akin to a party resolution, that *the Oedipus complex was "unmarxian,"* an *absurdity,* in fact, that *there was simply no such thing.* LITERALLY THIS!! I had most of the students on my side, but the authority of Moscow loomed tremendously large on the basis of the 1917 social revolution. And I had no satisfactory answer. *Where was the function of the family to be sociologically integrated, and how?* [S.O.: *The Communists since then have never ceased to fight my views, obviously fearing the competition between economic Marxism and psychology.*]

"SCIENCE" OR "POLITICS"?

My medical and scientific work was not interrupted by my sociopolitical activity. But very soon I began to feel the sharp contradiction

between science and politics; a contradiction that I later tried to solve through the concepts of "*scientific politics*" and "*political science.*" I must describe the way which led me to the solution of this contradiction for my own realm of work. Then, in 1928, I had no idea that in party politics I would one day recognize social irrationalism. At that time I was still far from realizing the later sharp distinction between "social" and "political."

For a well-known physician and scientist to take part in demonstrations of the unemployed, to distribute leaflets on social hygiene in the workers' districts, and to be present at clashes between the unemployed and the police, was considered "*crazy.*" The intellectuals and academicians couldn't understand why I did such things, risking my social position. As sociologists and psychologists they wrote about problems of society. But they were acting like a doctor who writes learned books on typhoid without ever having seen a case of typhoid. And so the most elaborate textbooks of desk sociology were without influence on the development of society. For this reason, organized irrationalism was victorious during the following decades. The sexologists of that time, too, wrote their books only around their experiences in private practice. But the problems of sexuality and neurosis look different in the human multitudes and present basically different questions than those which are met in private practice.

In 1928, a young physician from New York, Ralph Kaufmann, M.D., came to me for training. Today he is highly regarded as a psychiatrist and the president of an American psychoanalytic organization. One day he saw me taking part in a march of the unemployed – the same one which led to the fight near the University. On the following day, he came to his session in a *red* tie. I noticed this. When I spoke to him about it, he recalled having seen me the day before at the demonstration. He was not a socialist. Seeing me in the demonstration had not struck him unfavorably, on the contrary, it came out later that he had not quite been able to suppress his admiration for me.

I continually feared for my medical practice. Any political action could destroy me. Yet, strangely enough, both of my activities increased in scope, my *medical* as well as my *social* work. I did not understand it, for one could clearly see how in my professional circle, fear of losing one's practice could inhibit any sincere occupation with social problems.

In the XX. district of Vienna, I had made friends with a young married lathe worker. His name was Zadniker, and he was the finest kind of human being. Through him I learned to know and to appreciate the

special qualities of the industrial workers. Just because of this I never fell into the fake enthusiasm for the proletariat of the hyper-radical intellectuals, who rushed to join the workers' movement as stooges of Red Imperialism, and later disappeared just as quickly. Zadniker was simple, straightforward, without forced politeness and without deceitfulness. When he said something, he meant it. When he was angry, he showed it openly, and soon afterward we were good friends again. He had a natural dignity, which had no trace of affectation. He had a firm handclasp. About the sexual problems of all human beings, not only of industrial workers, he could speak quietly, objectively, without a trace of cynicism or dirty grinning. He had never read or heard anything of Freud; but it was self-evident to him that children develop sexual desires and hatred. There was not a single question relating to my later "*sex-economy*" which he did not understand spontaneously, without learning, self-evidently, "out of his guts." Through him, I came more and more in contact with circles of unpretentious working people who convinced me that knowledge of sex-economic processes and laws is *generally* and *spontaneously* present in the silent, toiling, down-to-earth strata of society.

Zadniker had difficulties with his wife, who suffered from hysterical attacks. He easily understood the sexual etiology of the neuroses. And he knew that one is physically healthy when one is sexually satisfied. From him I learned extraordinarily important details concerning the life of the "lower" strata of the people, the bad as well as the magnificent qualities, the dirt and the beauty in the lives of these people. He was surprised that I, an academician from the higher strata of the bourgeoisie, was so well informed. Then I told him about my experiences in the Psychoanalytic Polyclinic. He understood everything, directly and immediately. He understood, with a human simplicity worthy of great respect, what decades of scientific debates and thousands of articles could not teach the psychiatrists and "Bearers of Culture." My devotion to social sex-economy derives from such experiences.

I began to attend the meetings of different workers' organizations and to make myself useful. I gave lectures on the neuroses, and from there I went on to the problem of the family and to sex hygiene. He (Zadniker) said to me: "Listen, this business of the Oedipus complex seems so right when you discuss it; but what are we going to do with it in our fight for better living conditions? We can't analyze all the sick people to make them healthy. We have to change society and living conditions. First we must have something to say, before we can be listened to, and can put a stop to the suffering. We workers like to learn, even though many of us are

slow at thinking, and worn out. But you academicians must learn to express yourselves more simply, to present the scientific questions so that everyone can understand them. And today only those questions are important which *everyone* can understand." He spoke from his heart. I myself had seen, at the time of my first tentative efforts with the subject "Psychology in the Workers' Movement," that there was little to be done with the psychoanalytic concepts as they stood. The subject was understood, but it was of no practical use. Theories such as those that the "family is a biological institution," that "culture is built up on sexual repression," that "health is only to be attained through the renunciation of the instincts and their sublimation," sounded perfectly ridiculous in these circles; truly, *completely* ridiculous!

I sounded silly to myself when I heard myself telling a robust lathe worker or stone mason that he must "sublimate his sexuality" in order to become "capable of culture." If he was healthy, he embraced his girl with love and without complications. If he was sick, he acted as any neurotic person would have done under the same circumstances.

Work depends on the "sublimation of pregenital impulses?" I learned to observe a stonebreaker: year in, year out he beat large stones into small ones, and put them together again in street pavings. Was that the "sublimation of a drive"? Of what kind? Anal, sadistic? Ridiculous! Very soon I saw the *mechanical* character of this work, which had nothing to do with "narcissistic elevation of the Ego." It seemed to me more of a problem how the manual worker or bookkeeper can bear to carry out mechanical work for so long a time without any satisfaction. I could not have done it, or only if I had completely deadened myself, and made myself into a machine. *And now, all at once a gap was closed:* THE CHARACTER ARMOR MAKES IT POSSIBLE FOR THE WORKER TO BEAR THE DEAD MECHANICS OF THIS KIND OF WORK. Quickly I understood more: The Freudian theory of sublimation was, perhaps, applicable for the research scientist or research engineer; it was ill-suited for the average physician or technician, and not at all for the mechanical work of the millions.

Zadniker told me that things were especially bad in the case of the unemployed. Regularly, sooner or later, they went to pieces emotionally. Zadniker did not believe in the theory of the Comintern that it is "*not* sexual repression," "*but only* hunger" that causes neuroses. Zadniker said that the unemployed did not do anything useful for months and years. This ruined them. I added: *Because biological energy without activity makes people nervous and gradually destroys them.* Zadniker told me that it was practically impossible for an unemployed man to keep himself physically

fit. This broke up the family, the relationship to his wife, and made a beggar out of him. If a worker's family is exposed to hunger for any length of time, all those unconscious well-springs of hate burst forth, which in better economic situations remain covered up by conventional attitudes. But Zadniker revealed to me also the deepest secret of the function of the family and of marriage. His wife was dependent on him, and he on her. He suffered because of her. She was sexually disturbed and he was a healthy man. He went to other, healthier girls. And so she was jealous, without being able to give him love. Therefore she tried to keep him at home. At meetings he could easily get to know other women. He knew it, and said it to me, in a simple manner.

The men in the political parties, he said, including the Communists, have their mouths full of "proletarian class consciousness" and "comradely companionship between man and wife" but they kept their wives at the hearth like any bourgeois Babbitt. They were afraid that the women, too, could get to know other men. He told me much more, and I learned to see much, very much, that is not written in any of the textbooks of politics or of science. I began to be painfully aware of the worthlessness of academic science. Much that had been of value to me collapsed. To be a scientist of that kind was just a pretense. How could I remain a scientist and at the same time overlook these realities – realities involving questions which it seemed to be the main function of many scientists to kill by silence?

At that time, social events in Austria were being precipitated to such an extent that the separation of academic science from life became unbearable to me. The Soviet economist Varga predicted a new great crisis in capitalist economy. With it "must come the World Revolution" and with world revolution, reason must come into human life. I threw myself still more into politics, which to me meant "social work." Some kind of feeling kept me from entering upon the usual career of the political functionary of a worker's party. I would have had to renounce my profession and dedicate myself as a politician to "party work." But I clung to my scientific and medical work with body and soul. I was aware of the beginnings of a productive criticism of the academic social psychology of that time, without as yet being able to formulate it. To give up my privileged bourgeois way of life meant much, to be sure, but this risk has so far never prevented me from taking the socially very dangerous consequences of my work.

At that time I went through a phase which every feeling person lives through. I began to perceive the *emptiness of the usual social amusements*

and conversation. The "just dancing" or "just talking about Goethe" I had left behind me a long time ago. To be sure, I was often invited to spend the evening with professional friends, but I invited them less and less often. It seemed like a farce to me. I also lost my capacity for the superficial social tone, for "being entertaining," which I formerly had possessed to a very high degree. My friend Zadniker had instilled an idea in me which did not let me go: I was a psychiatrist and sexologist. As a politician, he said, I could accomplish far less than as a physician. I ought to help the *young people* and the *women workers* medically and carry on educational work among them.

In January, 1929, the Vienna newspapers carried the first notices of the "sexual hygiene clinics for workers and employees" opened by the "Socialist Society for Sex Hygiene and Sexological Research." I had spent several months and much money in preparation. With four young psychoanalytic colleagues and three obstetricians, I founded the association.

We sent out an announcement. Professional people working in the field of sexual science, had joined together in order to give free information, in the different districts of Vienna, to those seeking advice on problems of child upbringing, sexual life and general mental hygiene. Every month a meeting was to be held, each time in a different district, with a lecture on the causes and possible mastery of emotional difficulties. This association regarded the causes of sexual misery as essentially social. They were rooted in the authoritarian social order. They could not be entirely removed, but could be partially alleviated by help rendered to individual people.

In addition, knowledge about sexual life was to be circulated among wide circles of people in general. Moreover, knowledge was to be systematically enriched through social work and research. I took upon myself the scientific direction of the whole project. Six sexual hygiene clinics were opened at once, each one directed by a physician. Three physicians trained in obstetrics and a lawyer had gladly put themselves at our disposal.

The sexual hygiene clinics were at once so overrun that there was no longer any doubt about the crucial nature of our social activity. During my consulting hour there were always about ten people waiting, so that I had to arrange for a second hour. The same thing was happening with the other physicians. When the lecturing began, things became very bad.

Each case required about half an hour to be handled conscientiously. At first there were very many girls and women who had become pregnant

through clumsiness or lack of knowledge. We sent them to the birth control clinics of the City of Vienna. But we ourselves undertook to instruct them in the use of contraception and in the physiological function of the genital embrace. Among these women, I rarely saw one instance where it would not have been medically wrong, inhuman, base and cowardly to encourage the bearing of and upbringing of children. *Not one,— literally, not one of these women and girls should have given birth to a child.* Compared with this reality, the discussions about the various medical, eugenic "indications" (for interruptions of pregnancy) — *social ones didn't even exist* — very soon seemed to me truly insane. For decades quarrels, without result, went on as to whether or not one should allow a "medical" judgment of a case in addition to the "eugenic" one, and how far the status of health was permitted to influence the medical judgment. No decent physician denied an "indication" to a poor or sick woman. No physician engaged in "population politics" would *himself* have accepted even a fraction of what he demanded from "the people" to "secure morals" and to "increase the population." In SEXUALITAT IN KULTURKAMPF* I have discussed these questions in such detail that I can limit myself here to the essential. The problem was no longer the "indication" to interrupt pregnancy, but of the kind of thinking of those who proposed such cruel laws, who advocated them and enforced them mercilessly. At this exact point the problem was that of the attitudes and thinking of the reformers who did *not* uncover and sharply describe what I saw, but argued about this and that with the representatives of a fake "culture." [S.O.: *Mothers did not count; infant misery did not count. What counted was a sick moralism that was to break down only a few years later when "planned parenthood" became a matter of fact. How many lives were lost in this instance alone . . .*] I did not yet know their real opinion, but I was soon to come into conflict with it. They discussed whether a tuberculosis of the lungs, or a child born as an idiot, or a flat-footed person in the family, meant an indication for the interruption of pregnancy or not. Out-and-out radicals advocated the "Right of the Woman to Her Own Body." At the same time, they defended their position with the reassuring statement that only in this way would women give birth joyfully, that the population would nevertheless increase, that the women would *want* to have children. The women first have to be freed from their "economic distress." This was doubtless correct, but it was only a small part of the problem. The far more important and

* THE SEXUAL REVOLUTION, 1945

comprehensive part at once shifted the objective of my work in the clinics. *Even if proper material circumstances were present* – in the case of some women they *were* present – *these gravely neurotic women whom I saw, simply ought not to have children, at least not as they were then.* The problem presented itself to me from a new side, from the *characterological make-up* of the pregnant mothers, in addition to all other considerations, i.e., the social-economic *and* the medical ones. There were rarely reasons for establishing a medical indication, in the sense of the interpretations of that time. To appeal to that, to excuse oneself by means of that, and not to see the *main thing*, was stupidity and a crime against the women and the children to come. Besides the question of their bearing a child, these women and girls were completely incapable of also loving the child, caring for it, understanding it, bringing it up, of NOT smashing it to pieces. All, all of these women without exception, were emotionally severely sick. All, all without exception, had a bad relationship, or none at all, to the man who had made them pregnant. They were frigid, worn out with cares, hiddenly sadistic or openly masochistic; latent schizophrenics or melancholic depressives; vain little ladies or worry-worn beasts of burden, with no interest in life. They hated their husbands if they were married, or else they slept today with this one, tomorrow with that one, without any kind of happiness. They lived together with from five to eight people in a room and a kitchen. They slaved as house servants from early morning until late at night to earn twenty-five shillings a week, or less. They already had three to six children, or they were bringing up the children of others. They hated the child, even before it was born. They were beaten by their drunken husbands and were becoming demoralized because of it. They had deadly hatred for the children who were already around, for these brought them nothing but vexation and trouble. To talk about "holy mother love" in the face of this murderous misery seemed like a crime. Even if the gross misery were eliminated, there would still be a vast amount of reconstruction work to do to make a reality of even a hundredth part of the talk about "culture" and "the child." Every one of these mothers was hysterical or compulsively ill. Their children were little dolls or beaten puppies. Women of this kind ought not to give birth! – even without taking into account the inhuman economic living conditions of most of them.

So from the beginning, I took the stand that every woman who had become pregnant against her will *must* have the right to the interruption of pregnancy, with or without this or that indication. At that time we could cite the Soviet legislation as an example. I knew, as early as 1929,

that this legislation was not honestly meant. Five years later it was repealed. I sent every woman who had become pregnant without knowing it or against her will to the official maternity clinics. I knew exactly what I was doing. To take this risk upon myself was a matter of course. I had always before my eyes the well-known hatred of such mothers toward their children. I did not bother about the worries of the "population politicians." I knew the dishonesty of the sociological reasons for the compulsion imposed on poor mothers to bear unwanted children. Thus I got into a quarrel with the Communists, who were against Malthusianism because Marx had not understood it. Malthus had declared that social misery would disappear if the number of births were restricted. Marx had rejected Malthus because his theory might divert people from the "real tasks of the struggle" to illusory ones. But, because Marx had not clarified it, the theory of the necessary limitation of births ("planned parenthood") was in a miserable condition, and in the Soviet Union soon disappeared completely. The solution might be expressed as follows: *Social struggle to eliminate the misery of the masses,* AND *qualitative, not quantitative birth control!!!* [*Today, 1952, fully functioning in the USA.*]

The new thing at our sexual hygiene clinics was that we integrated the problems of the neuroses, the sexual disturbances, and the everyday conflicts. Another new thing was the attack on the neuroses *by prevention* rather than *treatment;* this depended basically on the handling of the sexuality in children and young people. On the other hand, we did not occupy ourselves at all with population politics, and only theoretically with birth control. We sent those in need to the relevant birth control centers of the Vienna community. *At this point I wish to claim priority and the full responsibility for the introduction of the sex-economic view of the sexuality of children and adolescents; as well as for the introduction of the sex-economic view of the practice and the affirmation of natural genitality.* Before this, no attention had been paid to this central realm of mental hygiene. And whatever public treatment of the neuroses took place in later years, in Germany, in Scandinavia, and finally in America, the problem of the genitality of children and adolescents was by-passed with moralizing ideas. Here it is not only a matter of my claim to priority; it is the advocacy of a social question as forbidden as it is basic. It lead into the core of the *Emotional Plague.*

For two years I was so besieged by the crushing experiences of the sexual misery of people in general that I sank deeper and deeper into the internal conflict in me between the natural scientist and the social politician. This was particularly intensified when, through the sexual hygiene

clinics, I came in contact with average Viennese boys and girls from industrial workers', office employees' and peasants' circles. I had, of course, learned to know the plight of adolescents long before this. But the observations of adolescents in the polyclinic and in my private practice seemed to me – against the background of the psychiatric concepts of that time – to be pathological exceptions to the rule: to the rule of the "normal, well-adjusted young person who has overcome his Oedipus complex and has adapted himself to the demands of reality." No one pondered about the concept "normal, healthy young person" and still less about "adaptation to reality." One simply accepted what was, as given and unalterable. Nowhere in the literature or anywhere else, was the slightest doubt voiced about this accepted social reality.

In the sex-political youth meetings, the picture was completely different. I now had to deal with young people who were considered "healthy." For the most part, they only came to me to get advice about contraception. As a rule, they were young people from about fourteen to twenty years of age. Immediately the problem presented itself: *Should one give contraceptives to young people fourteen or fifteen years old?*

This one question brought up the whole youth problem, consistently and relentlessly. It was the customary thing not even to see such young people in the clinics or to send them away again, consoling them by saying that they should wait until they were "more mature." Naturally, this was an impossible procedure if one wished to stick to the problem of the prevention of the neuroses. Before I gave my answer, I investigated the complete facts – psychic, physical and social – concerning the young people. These youngsters were grown-up human beings. They worked as apprentices in factories. Many of the young men were in the workers' youth defense corps. The great majority of them belonged to the socialist Social Democratic Youth Association of Austria. Either they already had their sexual partners, or they asked me what they could do "to stop being lonely." "But you are in a youth group," I said at first, naively. "That – why, that's not what I mean," was the approximate answer. I did not need to question further. *The matter was completely clear.* Gradually I learned to understand their deep and fully justified distrust of everything that is called "authority" or "grown-up," to agree with their distrust and to eliminate it by telling them that they were *right*. After this there was hardly a young person who did not become more confiding. They knew the facts. *They wanted happiness in love.* They didn't believe a word of what people tried to talk into them. In the youth organizations the question was not even allowed to come up; one was too occupied with "high politics." Many had simply run away from home. They were in a deep conflict with their parents because of the suppression of their love life. Those who had sexual partners seemed to find it quite a matter of course to hug and kiss each other, usually in doorways and hidden corners, to wear their clothes during sexual intercourse, to have to hurry, to be afraid of being discovered and of pregnancy. They had no idea of the connection between the nervous disturbances which they suffered from and this horrible atmosphere in which their genital love life took place. The connection between a disorderly genital love life and shattered psychic health was unknown in the political organizations, walled off as it was by false concepts and perfect evasion. One had no eye for the pallor, depression, nervousness, disturbances in ability to work, quarrelsomeness, criminal inclinations, and perversion in these adolescents. Homosexuality flourished, usually in the form of mutual masturbation. Thus, correct knowledge and the stupidest phrases of the party or culture-chatter variety lived peacefully side by side. When I explained the simple connections between genital frustration and nervousness, the young people understood at once, without contradiction, without doubts, immediately and irrevocably. At first I could hardly believe that this was possible when, still, "the strict Super-ego is so deeply rooted in the biologic Id."

With the change of the basic adjustment from sex-negative to *sex-positive*, naturally not very much was altered in the character structure. If there was still genital anxiety in the depths (fear of defloration, fear of ejaculation, orgasm anxiety, etc.), then the situation was not really changed. And yet: The younger the boy or girl concerned was, the more quickly and more fully they swung around after listening to only a few clarifying sentences. It was as if they had been waiting a long time for this, as if they had been marching sluggishly under a yoke, the significance of which they did not know. But they knew everything about their genitality. They knew that they needed love, and that, without it, their life was a desert. They did not know everything about the obstacles that stood between them and the carrying out of their biological demands. They lived a double life without any idea of the contradiction, without any inkling of the *social* premises and conditions of a satisfying love life. The girls, no matter how firmly they insisted politically on their "sexual rights," all had genital anxiety consciously or unconsciously. The boys suffered mainly from guilt feelings about masturbation, from hypochondriacal anxiety, or premature ejaculation. Within a few months I learned more about sexology and sociology than in ten years of private medical practice. Many an emphasis was shifted.

I had learned that premature ejaculation is based on "urethral-erotic fixation, and Oedipus complex." Correct. But here I learned *in addition:* When genital intercourse is carried out in one's clothes and in anxious haste, ejaculation is premature, before the excitation has properly increased. From this the neurotic symptoms of bio-sexual stasis resulted. I investigated the history of the disturbances. Here it became clear that these young people were more or less neurotic at the beginning of puberty, but that the actual neurosis developed only after several years of adolescent sexual conflicts. The fixation on the sexual taboos of childhood acted as a brake from the very beginning but it was basically the inhibition of the final step toward a natural love life in their maturity which threw them completely back into the conflicts of their childhood. I had to make a first decisive correction of the psychoanalytic viewpoint: *The puberty conflict is the result of the social denial of adolescent love life. When from the beginning the way to normal, healthy love is blocked, then the adolescent falls back into the neurosis of childhood in an intensified form, aggravated as it is by the increased and simultaneously frustrated genital desire.* And this psychoanalysis had completely overlooked, or rather, *had not dared to touch.* Other psychiatric schools did not even dare to mention the problem at all.

As a youth counsellor, I could not chatter about "cultural puberty" or console the young people by saying: "Later!" One could commit such a medical crime only because of lack of knowledge or out of fear for one's livelihood. I had a choice between only *three* kinds of advice: To advise *abstinence,* to recommend *masturbation,* or simply to affirm the young person's desire for the *genital embrace.* There was no fourth choice. I admit that for a time I sought for one in great perplexity, out of fear of "public opinion," which was adamant and relentlessly cruel in this matter.

I will now relate how I overcame this gigantic threat to my professional existence. As one scientific worker standing alone, I would certainly have succumbed. I learned perseverance and clear conviction from young workers whom I saw fighting for freedom and clarity of existence. Young *Schutzbund* men from the Social Democratic Workers' Youth Defense came to my sexual hygiene clinic. They had this or that difficulty with their girls, this or that disturbance in their genital love life. We understood each other at once. I did not need to give them long reasoned arguments for my medical advice. They grasped it *structurally,* "with their guts" as it were. Neither could I nor did I wish to evade conversations about the highly charged social situation. On the contrary: *I was interested in the interlacing of the "large political" with the "little personal" life.* I had often noticed that the worker becomes socially inactive when he gets entangled in his personal conflicts. From this fact, every political party drew the false conclusion that there ought not to be any personal conflicts for the active political worker. I, on the other hand, saw that this was simply a pious wish, a dangerous "ostrich" policy toward the working people led by this or that party. And those whom it concerned shared my opinion. Many came to me with the express desire that I should help them to solve their personal conflicts so that they could be better armed for the social struggle of existence.

Among these Workers' Youth Defense men there were two particularly splendid human beings. One was seventeen, the other twenty-one years old. They told me that things were seething in the Workers' Youth of the Social Democrats. At this time, the "Emergency Laws" had begun to pour into the public, undoing all the social accomplishments of the Republic. Something had to be done! Schober, the new president of the government, who was at the same time chief of police, acted very sharply. The crisis began to spread. The boys told me that in Ottakring there was a *Schutzbund* ready for anything. Would I like to come over there sometime? I went there with them. We spoke with the district leader of the *Schutzbund,* an old soldier of the Austrian Army. No sensible person, he said, agreed with the politics of the Socialist party. But he felt it represented the *unity* of the Austrian socialist movement in contradistinction to the German movement, and they did not wish to sacrifice this unity at any price. The Communists were right about many things, it was said, but the workers didn't want to have anything to do with them. They shouted too loudly; they were not productive, not practical enough, and they slandered decent people so profusely.

A young married machinist had built up a secret machine gun division. On the occasion of the most recent issuance of restrictive emergency decrees, he wanted to occupy the inner part of the city, quite alone with his men, and shoot everything to pieces. These people had nothing. They lived only for a better tomorrow. They were waiting for their big chance to intervene in the general stream of social life. "Society" had excluded them. Now they would punish it. I understood their arguments so well that I knew of no objections against their plan, nor did I wish to present any. I would have thought and wanted to act exactly in the same way, had I been mistreated as they had been. That was simple and entirely rational. But the workers themselves brought forward the correct counter arguments. The bulk of the population would not be ready to take over

social responsibility. Their leadership had settled for giving in and for fatal compromises which were bound to carry them into the abyss. They wanted to hold a meeting.

The large hall at Stahlener's in Hernals which could hold about two thousand people, was rented. I put the money at their disposal. The hall was full to bursting. They had asked me to give the main speech. Most of the participants were active *Schutzbund* men, and Social Democratic workers with jobs. I spoke of the failures which had occurred up till now, and showed that this way must lead to certain downfall. (The events of 1934 confirmed this view: The Social Democratic organization was not destroyed by Hitler in 1938, but by the Christian Socialist Party under Dollfuss in 1934.) There were many interruptions: The mood of the people was almost boiling over with excitement. They were waiting for a positive, productive answer: *What is to be done?* I had no answer. The answer of the Communists of that time was: "The working class must gain the mastery of society by force." It was all they had to say. Everyone knew that that answer was catastrophically wrong. Looking backward from today it is understandable that the people did not want to join forces with this formulation. "In principle, Marxistic-scientifically," the Communists seemed right. Everyone knew that. But in practical everyday matters, the Social Democrats seemed to be right. Everyone was afraid of the civil war to which the Communists tried to encourage them. Many knew that they were also afraid of taking the responsibility involved in social power. The Social Democrats could prevail again and again by yielding. They relied on the *fear of social revolution* in those who were supposed to carry out the social revolution.

In this meeting, I for the first time became keenly, palpably aware of the *emotional content of party submissiveness* and the party as a home for the homeless. Those assembled agreed with me. But when things began to be dangerous for Social Democratic party politics, a man obviously appointed for that purpose, called out loudly through the hall: "The Communists want only to divide and sow dissension. All Social Democrats leave the hall!" At this one shout, the opposition socialists left the hall as one unit. There remained about four hundred Communists, who had just met the *Schutzbund* men. Several courageous Social Democratic functionaries, and bourgeois liberals of different organizations also remained. The meeting was continued, but we had lost. At that time, the Communists believed that once again the Social Democrats were "traitors in the service of the bourgeoisie." Now I know that it was a logical consequence of the whole constellation of the politics of the democratic

workers' movement. But I must first lead up to this conclusion intelligibly. I was still far from seeing the common principle of all these tangled matters: THE HELPLESSNESS OF AVERAGE PEOPLE IN THE FACE OF THE POLITICAL PLAGUE.

Chapter V

THE BREAK-IN OF COMPULSIVE MORALITY INTO NATURAL, PRIMITIVE SOCIETY

In Berlin, my work at once became connected with the great social freedom movement. When one has the heavy burden of an answer to a decisive social question on one's mind, the possibility of quickly finding one's right place means a great deal; it means, above all, protection of a psychic apparatus which because of particular experiences, has grasped, formulated and answered the problem. The deeper the problem lies and the more comprehensive it is, the more intimately it is interwoven with the history of him who represents it. And so, all the greater is his responsibility not to permit his structure to commit too great irrational blunders. The most important barometer of the reality content of an idea is the reaction of the surrounding world, be it positive or negative. If the right idea does not find a suitable form of expression, it is a sign of or leads to insanity. I mean here insane in the correct sense: *The awareness of a basic problem of living Life, without the capacity to withdraw from it, solve it factually or at least to anchor it rationally.* I was very well acquainted with my personal equation which threatened me from within. I was not disquieted by anybody's suspicion of insanity. I was not certain that I would have an adequate measure of success, and thus might fall victim to an old insecurity acquired in childhood – that sexual guilt feeling which devastates the world.

I was firmly convinced that I was perceiving and thinking correctly, yet at the same time was not "adjusted" in the sense of the usual way of thinking, and that I had to seek confirmations in my environment of the correctness of my position. At first, psychoanalysis seemed to confirm my position. It turned out that psychoanalysis did confirm it in part, but did not want to take the responsibility for it. So I had to accept that. Then I expected that the Communist party would side with me. It advocated a program that contained some presuppositions and also several elements of what I had worked out on a different basis. Thus it is clear that I was not from the very beginning independent and free of organizational connections; on the contrary, I advocated my cause in the name of psychoanalysis or of Marxism. When things became serious, the Marxists followed the reactionary direction in so far as this question was concerned. For agitational reasons, the reactionary world ascribes to psychoanalysis as well as to Marxism ideas which these organizations do not accept or even advocate – factually, organizationally or politically.

Just as the incorporation of sex-economy in psychoanalysis and the Marxist movement was the first important step, so was its *complete separation* from *both* movements between 1934 and 1937, the second, more decisive step. Its result was the conception of the relationship *between the people and the state* – a concept which took over the best elements of both mother movements but beyond that, introduced a piece of knowledge from sex-economic research on the Living, which contains the answer to the problem of the fascist movement, both black and red.

The problem "people and the state" can be divided, according to its development, into four large groups of questions:

1. The handling of the *ethnological proof* for the correctness of sex-economy by way of the society of the Trobrianders as investigated by Malinowski.
2. The development of the sex-economic movement.
3. The confirmation of my sociological and sex-political concept by the new problems which German fascism and Russian Stalinism raised, and which could not be answered by the old movements.

Finally,

4. The concept of the *natural organization of work* as the basis of a cultural movement, in the center of which stands the practical and social *affirmation of happiness in love for children, adolescents and grown-ups.*

Besides the research results and formulations, which sex-economy can let speak for themselves, the *manner* in which they came about is very important. This manner proves indeed that nothing was thought out or subtly reasoned in a preconceived way. Thus it proves that it was not a question of my thinking out a "new system of political psychology." If unformulated ideas or confused thoughts were suddenly confirmed by this or that experience, which, maturing, yielded new concepts, which again found confirmation, then the theory was alive. Thus, quite unexpectedly, the ethnologist Malinowski, without knowledge of my concepts, produced material which confirmed my work completely. Similarly, my presentiment of 1929, that the Russian sexual revolution was a first attempt and bound to fail, was confirmed in 1935 by the complete legislative and ideological retrogression. So, also, when on first seeing the columns of German Storm-troopers, I felt that they represented the German revolu-



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tion which had been stolen and used by a reactionary ideology. So, also, my certainty in 1930 that the struggle for the German and Austrian workers' movement was definitely lost because it could not compete with the mass-psychological methods of its opponents. *Political reaction rules the multitudes of working and subservient people by means of Life-negation.* The socialist movement did not advocate Life-affirmation for the people, but only some basic economic prerequisites. There was no organized center which dared to advocate happiness in Love, the core of Life-affirmation. Since the vast majority of simple people know only the longing for happiness in life, but are not interested in its prerequisites, the political reaction had to win out everywhere.

It conquered by means of an ideology which claimed that the stability of society, civilization and culture was completely dependent on the negation of sexual happiness in life. I had long since formulated the clinical proof for the opposite fact. Since the political reaction cited the chaotic and barbaric conditions of the savages, the ethnological data of Malinowski meant a gigantic triumph for my scientific position. From the ethnological material clearly emerged the proof that culture, of which the Philistines only dream, not only is not antithetical to sexual happiness, but, on the contrary, depends on it.

In November, 1930, I received for review Malinowski's THE SEXUAL LIFE OF SAVAGES in the English edition. It formed a logical continuation of his earlier publications, CRIME AND CUSTOM IN SAVAGE SOCIETY and SEX AND REPRESSION. Bachofen had inferred the "free sexual life" and matriarchy from classical myths. Morgan had concluded from the "primitive society" of the Iroquois, where he spent decades of his life, and which he studied in terms of systems of consanguinity, that in primeval times brothers and sisters were *natural mates.* Thus, incest, far from being something contrary to nature, was the basis of human civilization. It was self-evident that matriarchy was the natural state of human society after the first primitive epoch. Based on this finding, Engels built his theory of the state in his famed work DER URSPRUNG DER FAMILIE. If one now connected the theoretical line from Bachofen through Morgan and Engels to Malinowski, a unitary picture of the development of humanity resulted. Malinowski succeeded in actually investigating the relationships in a society still largely organized according to matriarchy, and in so doing, he confirmed the reconstructions of his predecessors. The fact that he was not aware of doing so makes the value of his factual reports all the greater. They show irrefutably that communal property, matriarchy, absence of a tight family organization, sexual freedom for children and adolescents,

and open and frank character structures belong together just as do love of money, patriarchy, asceticism for children and adolescents, subjugation of women, strict family and marriage relations, character armoring of human beings, sexual perversions and mental illnesses – the ever-present symptoms of social sexual suppression.

First I studied the English edition; then I obtained a German copy and again read it thoroughly. Most of the descriptions were familiar to me. From many youth groups, I knew very well the atmosphere which Malinowski described. For a long time I had felt, in spite of all moralistic condemnations in the reports of missionaries and culturally oriented ethnological presentations, the simple, matter-of-fact kind of sexual life, its natural morality and the depths of natural sexual experience, which makes it impossible even to think of an obscenity. However, I felt there was a contradiction in Malinowski's presentation which at first I did not know how to explain. In the middle of the society of the Trobrianders, who followed natural laws, a moral-ascetic demand had slipped in like a wedge. And in so far as this demand was effective, there prevailed a sexual and moralistic misery which was in no way distinguishable from our capitalistic conditions. In this social sector, different laws and ideologies prevailed than in the remaining free part of the society. They could be distinguished under the concepts of "*moralistic regulation*" and "*Sex-economic self-regulation.*" Two such antithetical principles in *one* social organization! Such a condition must have a very important basis. In the further study of the material, the social development of the moralistic compulsion of today from natural sexual organization (traces of which I had found buried deep in the neurotic structures of modern men) revealed itself step by step and feature by feature. The structure of the "genital character" which results from a successful character analysis, and the average structure of the Trobrianders in the still free social sector, completely coincided. They coincided so closely that for a long time I was distrustful and feared that I was a victim of an artificial product of thought. The final doubts were abandoned only when Roheim, who was a sharp opponent of Malinowski and myself, presented, against his intention and without suspecting it, confirmations of my concept from a different ethnological territory: *Sexual suppression of children and adolescents is of a social-economic origin,* thus it arose historically and it is not biologically given. Culture-formation with free sexuality of children and adolescents *is possible.*

Three unusual sets of facts stand out from Malinowski's material: *The demand of sexual abstinence for a certain group of children and adolescents,* the complicated, apparently senseless marriage system between the clans of the tribe, and the *rite of the marriage gift.*

Those children who were destined for a specific marriage were under a strict *verbot* against sexual activity. Asceticism during childhood would make them capable of marriage. Children who have an active, free sexuality are incapable of submitting to the demands of strict life-long monogamy in the patriarchal sense. Statistical investigations by Barash in the Soviet Union revealed the same fact: *The earlier adolescents begin sexual intercourse, the shorter the length of marriage later.*

If, thus, the connection between the demand for asceticism and the institution of monogamy was confirmed clinically, statistically and ethnologically, one had to seek further for the economic function of the whole question. Protection of economic interests can indeed be easily concluded from the relationship of bourgeois ideology to natural sexual life. I had for a long time presumed that the real function behind the paralysis of will power was the long suppression of bodily excitation in the mass of the population. But the connection of this psychic paralysis with the political interests of the suppressors was still concealed. No oppressor has any idea why he advocates "morality for the people." Nor do the police, the clergy or the district attorney. Sexual ideology has assumed its own lawfulness, has become a material power independent and separated from its origin. Moreover, the people themselves, as a result of organic pleasure anxiety, firmly maintain it and perpetually reproduce it. In short, in present-day social functioning the economic function of the demand for asceticism cannot be directly grasped. It was, then, all the more rewarding when the sought-for connection was directly presented in the beginning of economic exploitation in the primitive communism of the Trobrianders.

The Trobrianders distinguished moralistically between "good" and "bad" marriages. The marriage between the daughters of the sisters and the sons of the brothers, the so-called "cross-cousin marriage," was considered a good one; any other kind of marriage was considered, to a greater or lesser degree, bad. Whence stemmed this evaluation? It did not correspond at all to the general attitude of the Trobrianders and formed a part of the alien wedge. The following schema illustrates what has been said.

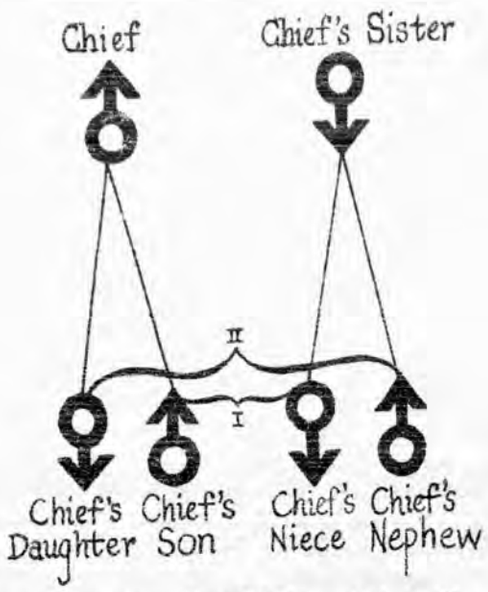


Fig. 1: Diagram to show the " legal " (I) and the " illegal " marriage (II) according to Malinowski; I – *cross-cousin marriage.*

Three basic *economic* mechanisms resulted. Figure 2 represents the course of the *compulsory* marriage gift in the " good " marriage. The brother had to furnish to the sister, on her marriage, a dowry for the husband. If, now, her daughter later marries the brother's son, then the family of the girl, particularly her brother, i.e., the nephew of the mother's brother, must again supply a marriage gift. In this instance, the marriage gift *returns to the mother's brother.* If the mother's brother is at the same time a chief and has the right to have several wives, he can amass wealth. For *all* brothers of *all* his wives must deliver a dowry to him. Thus, the judgment " good marriage " becomes understandable. It brings advantages to the man. The children, now, who later are to secure this advantage through marriage, are compelled to live ascetically. They are not permitted to play sexually with one another like the other children. For the first time in the history of a human society, negative sexual morality breaks in. For the first time an economic interest begins to form a social ideology. And the morality which thus arises begins for the first time to influence the structures of the children. They become outwardly and inwardly enslaved through stasis of their sexual energy.

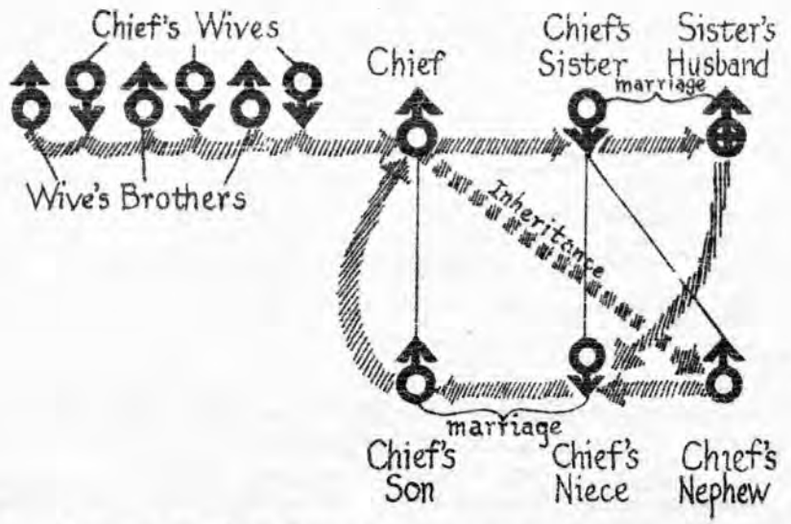


Fig. 2: Diagram to show how the cross-cousin marriage benefits the chief. It returns to him the marriage-tribute which he gives his brother-in-law and thus makes possible an accumulation of wealth.

In the two following schemas we see that other kinds of marriages bring only disadvantages;

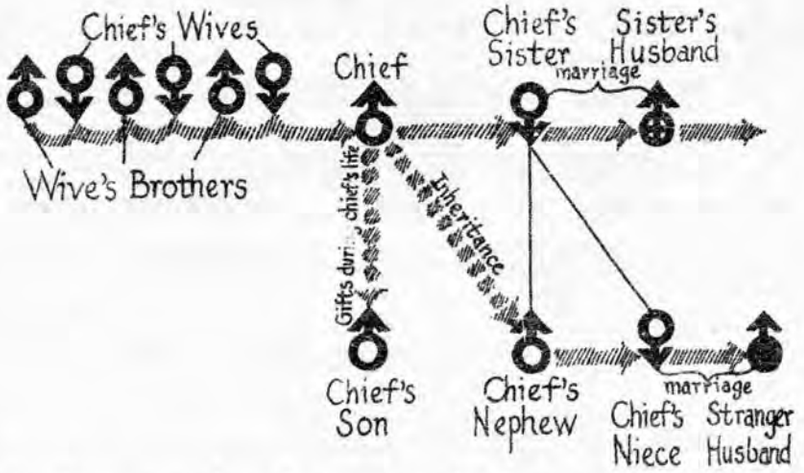


Fig. 3: Diagram to show the economic disadvantages for the chief if his niece marries whom she will. (Arrows show the course of the marriage-gift.)

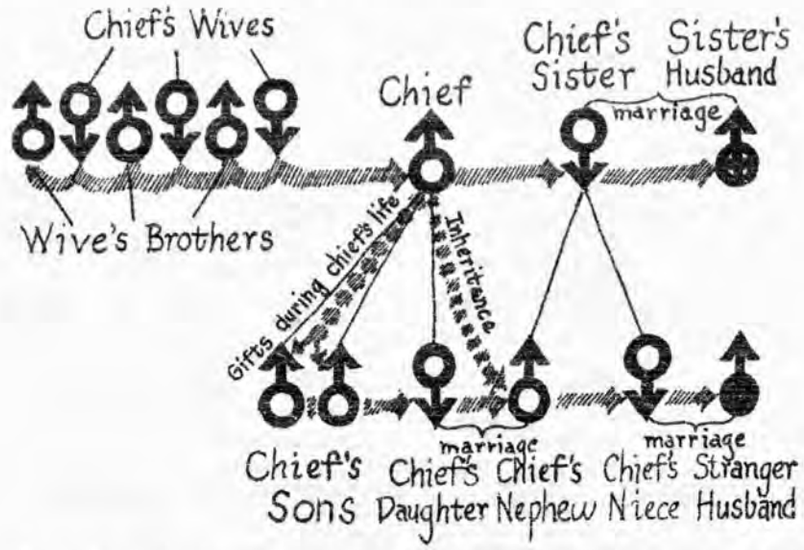


Fig. 4: The "bad" marriage (between the chief's daughter and the chief's nephew); the fortunes of the chief's sons, too, leave the chief's line.

The "bad marriage" is the one which brings the greatest economic disadvantages. In such a marriage there is a possibility of the mother's brother losing property in three ways: 1) through the gifts to his son who, as a brother, must care for his sister from the different clan; 2) through the marriage gift to his own sister, who marries a man from a different clan; and finally 3) through the inheritance which passes to the son of the sister.

The cross-cousin marriage is the only "good" one since it eliminates all three disadvantages. The inheritance of the nephew returns. The wealth only passes through the foreign clan, and is completely returned.

The institution of the dowry from the clan of the wife and her family to that of the husband soon revealed itself to be *the* key to an understanding of the most important questions of primitive society. I shall repeat only the results; for the remainder of the description the reader is referred to DER EINBRUCH DER SEXUALMORAL.

A survey of ethnological literature revealed that the marriage gift is a general phenomenon of primitive society. So also is the "cross-cousin marriage." After difficult calculations, I succeeded in drawing up a schema based on the research of Lewis Morgan. The complicated marriage system of the Iroquois logically reveals itself as a system of "cross-cousin marriages." The Iroquois were already completely organized on the basis of patriarchy. When I spoke to Roheim, after his return from Australia, about my discovery, he said that it "was nothing new" because in Australia, too, this system of marriage exists. The good Roheim had no idea that he had laid himself wide open to attack. He did not understand the significance of this fact. If the marriage gift from the sister's brother to the husband of the sister is universal, then I was right in assuming that it was *the* social mechanism which transforms a matriarchal society into a patriarchal one. It revealed several things at one stroke:

1. The marriage gift to the sister is an expression of a *duty to provide for her.* This corresponds to the fact that in naturally organized primeval hordes, brothers and sisters were mates and had children together. Logically, the son of the sister, i.e., the nephew, was the lawful heir of the mother's brother. There was certainly no one else who could compete with him.

2. The division of the matriarchal tribes into clans with inter-marriage between clans and with exclusion of marriage within the clan is a general phenomenon of human primitive history. In this period, the marriage gift moves within a tribe from one clan to another. The division into clans, each of which had its own history of rituals and origin, could only be understood as an expression of a combination, completed in antiquity, of several naturally organized hordes with an incest system (anything else was still impossible) into *one* tribe. The later clans are the original hordes each of which were derived from *one* primeval mother. From this, the necessary assumption followed that the taboo against sexual intercourse between brother and sister and the institution of inter-marriages between clans (hordes), resulted from the combination of different hordes which were at first inimical to one another and then later became friendly. *Thus the incest taboo was of social origin.* In this way, a problem of primitive history, which has hitherto been interpreted either biologically or psychologistically, was solved. One tried to explain the origin of the incest taboo as stemming from an instinct for "natural selection" (Engels) or on the basis of guilt feelings after the murder of the father of the primeval horde (Freud). After the joining of the hordes, the brother had to continue to carry all the burdens for his sister, but could not have her as a sexual partner.

3. The marriage gift was not given as a direct gift for use, but already had the character of a *commodity.* It was the excess beyond what was necessary for their own lives which the brother and his family had to produce. Thus, the marriage gift made the brother and his clan eco-

nomically dependent upon the clan of the husband of his sister. Since now, the original conquering clan had gained for itself an advantage in the form of the chieftainship, and since this chief was permitted " to marry " several wives, a material advantage arose at first in the *clan* and then in the *family* of the chief as against the rest of the tribe. In this way, in the course of hundreds of years the defeated clan was subjugated to the victorious one, particularly to the family of the chief. When his power had reached a certain stage of predominance, the chief needed only to make his son rather than his nephew his heir, and the whole organization was automatically shifted from matriarchy to patriarchy. The care of the sister's son, the nephew, he who only passed the wealth along to a foreign clan, was a responsibility that had no interest and only became a burden. The cross-cousin marriage only legally confirmed a condition which had long been present through the use of the marriage gift in the tribe which was divided into clans. *Now the son inherited.* The development from the chieftain without special power in the matriarchal tribe to the patriarch in the patriarchal tribe with exclusive power over the obedient members of the tribe, and from there to the " princes " or " king " of the tribe, which becomes a " nation," is only a result of a series of logical steps, which Engels has illuminatingly described in his book on the origin of the family.

Natural and matriarchal society is still free from sex-negation. During the transition to patriarchy, a sexually moralistic sector arises in the society. In complete patriarchy, sex-negation and suppression include the *entire society.* If, before, the family was an economic unit within the clan and subordinated to it, now the family gains predominance over the clan of related members and finally the clan organization disappears completely. From the temporary marriage union which characterizes matriarchy, life-long monogamy arises. It is strictly anchored in economic laws, social mechanisms and moralistic taboos.

With the transformation of the free clan society into the society of enslaved families, the character of human beings is also changed. A few miles from the Trobriand Islands was a society already having a strict family organization. In contrast to the open and confident Trobrianders, the people of this other society were shy and closed. They were infested with neuroses and perversions which were lacking in the Trobrianders, who scorned masturbation and did not understand homosexuality.

The invasion of West European traders and missionaries into primitive society encountered indigenous processes which could be exploited. Worthless trinkets were easily exchanged for valuable natural products

since the genitally organized primitive is gullible and decent without any suspicions; he does not know the word " thief " and is naturally hospitable. To the degenerated, corrupted, impotent spirit of the white traders this structure needs must represent a provocation, which he quickly transforms into exploitation. The missionary schools finish the job. They beat the children for their innocent sexual play, sow the seeds of psychic misery and compulsion, and thus prepare the soil for colonization. There is good reason for the fact that the missionaries always form the advance troops for the colonial armies. Nowhere is the function of sexual morality so clearly revealed as here. Primitive peoples are becoming extinct. Earlier, they evoked much romantic longing in white men. Today we record their service to humanity, service which they accomplished while they demonstrated the laws of natural morality and dignity. Shallow romanticizing has no place here. In its stead emerges the struggle for a human society on a higher technical level, which always protects the memory of human dignity; a social organization which will correct a mistaken development of several thousands of years and make the picture of a lewd, pot-bellied and brutal colonizer, himself a victim of this cultural shame, appear as a bad dream.

APPLICATION IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

The ethnological proof for the sex-economic regulation of sexual life gave me just as much confidence in the conclusions which I had drawn from clinical experience as I had gained from sex-political work among youth. Armed *clinically, socially,* and now *ethnologically,* I could venture to sketch in its broad features the development of sexual modes of living. First of all, *individual* and *social* sex-economy had to be clearly distinguished. The regulation of the sexual household of the organism depends, as we now know, on the degree of orgastic potency. But this in its turn is conditioned by the social order of sexual life. Originally, there was no contradiction between individual and social sex-economy. On the contrary, the society of the primitives carefully protected sexual happiness in life. *Social sex-affirmation* (and not merely toleration) prevailed. With the break-in of sexual morality, *sex-affirmation* changed into *sex-negation.* And with this change sexual culture was on its way to sexual degeneration. With the inhibition of natural joy of love all the phenomena arose which today are called " sexuality " and which cannot be thought of in any other way than as condemnable: neuroses, perversions, enslavery of women and children, and sexual antisociality. The process of sexual suppression which arose sociologically and not biologically, introduced a second social pro-

cess which we are familiar with as the splitting up of a unitary society of equal people into classes, into owners of the means of production and owners of working power. This meant a progressive concentration of social power into a few hands which took the form of princely power in ancient times and during the Middle Ages. The division into classes maintained and solidified sexual suppression. With the advent of Christianity sexual oppression became organized in a special form.

In the social revolution of the twentieth century, which was carried through in Russia, one could discern the first signs of a reversal of sex-negation back to sex-affirmation. This process was interrupted after a few years. But that does not change the fact that here a social movement was started which represented the exact opposite of the transformation which occurred at the beginning of patriarchal society.

The laws of economy, i.e., the arrangement of material satisfaction in life, were investigated by Marx. There was at that time no economy of sexual energy, for no social movement had yet raised this question. The Russian Revolution was the first social transformation which, especially through laws but also with many unclarities, dealt with the problem of social sex-economy. That problem seemed to me to be divisible into three parts:

1. *What are the natural processes of sexual energy?*
2. *How is society structured concretely?* Does it contradict or correspond to a sex-economic order of sexuality?
3. *What obstacles due to conservative ideologies and economic difficulties are there in the way of a transformation of sexual chaos into sexual order?*

The sexual problem progressed now from the private realm where, in spite of the efforts of individual sexologists, it had led a very poor existence, into the realm of the great questions of social politics; indeed, it now assumed a position of the first rank, right alongside the economic questions. It was neither "superstructure," as the Marxists had consistently and erroneously asserted, nor a "relation of production," as Engels had formulated in rejection of the economic concept, "production of offspring." If one distinguished sexual energy from the *forms* in which it existed, and these in turn from the *human structure* and from the *ideologies* regarding sexual life, then it was clear: Human structure is determined by the way the social forms of the social organization influence, at any given time, the biologically given sexual energy. The structure so formed, *produced* by the social process, in its turn *reproduces* the moralistic concepts regarding sexuality. And from here on the concepts regarding

"good" and "evil" in general develop. All ethics are basically also sexual. This statement has nothing to do with anarchism. A sex-economically organized human structure must necessarily develop a basically different sexual orientation than the shattered structure which neither feels nor knows its sexual energy. Reproduced anti-sexual morality claims as proof for its right to exist exactly that which it owes its origin to: The unnatural, sick, distorted sexual expressions of patriarchally reared human beings. Sexual suppression is older than sexual morality and created this morality to begin with. On the other hand, sexual morality creates exactly those secondary drives which it is to suppress. It has brought sexual moralism into this world. Hence the elimination of *moralistic* regulation of the love life of people and its gradual replacement by the *natural* regulation of life is the first prerequisite for the elimination of what sexual moralism *rightly* wants to suppress: sexual antisociality and perversion, sexual brutality and degradation.

I soon learned that I meant something different than the clergy did when I spoke of "sexuality" in discussions with them. They were thinking of the sexuality that is visible and active today, i.e., *sick* sexuality; but I meant the sexuality which lies buried in the depths of the organism. I could agree with the clergy regarding the condemnation of present-day expressions of sexuality. *But I did not for a moment believe that they would agree with me regarding the affirmation of the natural expressions of sexual life.* [*This began to change in the* USA *around 1950.*]

Now I could coordinate the patriarchal-capitalistic way of regulating sexual conditions of living with the total social process. I summarize here what is already known:

Sexual suppression supports the force of the church which is deeply anchored with the help of sexual guilt feelings and sexual anxiety in the suppressed people. This is the most important requisite of present-day family and marriage institutions, which depend upon the atrophy of sexuality. However, at the same time it creates the longing for sexual satisfaction, the sexual disturbances and perversions which in turn destroy the family and marriage.

It makes children subservient to their parents and thus creates adults who in turn are subservient to the authoritarian state power and capitalistic exploitation; at the same time it creates fear of authority. [*Soviet Russia is a capitalistic, monopolistic state.*]

It paralyzes the critical faculties of the suppressed people, for such suppression uses up most of the available vegetative energy.

Finally, it paralyzes purposeful development of creative forces and thus blocks the fulfillment of the goal of human freedom which everyone longs for.

Thus the ruling economic system through which individuals can easily dominate the multitudes of people is anchored in the psychic structure of the very people who are suppressed. When I realized this, I had no idea to what extent this statement would soon be confirmed by Hitler's dictatorship and the developments in Russia.

My sex-political practice which I now began in Germany followed logically from all these connections. It had to sharply separate itself from the old sex-reform movements which were unpolitical. It had to include the fight for sexual liberation in the general struggle for freedom. Furthermore, it had to harvest the experiences from the vital struggles of the practical work at that time and constantly readapt them. Finally, it had to wage battle with all the powers, be they of the right or left, which opposed a conscious guidance of the process of sexual liberation. It was always directed FORWARD.

In spite of the wealth of insights which had been gained, the scientific bases were still full of gaps. Just how deeply human pleasure anxiety was anchored and especially the *way* it was anchored were not clear at that time. This made the work for freedom difficult, in spite of the strong positive longings which I met everywhere. But there is a long, hard way between longing and fulfillment. I keenly felt that I did not have the correct answer to the arguments and misdeeds of that "school of knowledge" which is called the "science of racialism." Hitler's race nonsense already made itself clearly felt. On the other hand, the socialists argued "logically." But it was not an intellectual question, still less a question of shapes of skulls. However, I could pacify my political conscience. For the time being there were enough secure experiences to give the movement a solid scientific basis. And it was not good to want to have too much at once.

The work in Germany did not proceed from well-calculated plans and goals. The realm was too wide for that and there had been too little practical experience. I could gain confidence from the fact that step by step sex-politics was met in the same way it had been met in the past. I did not need at all "to get it across" or to agitate. Soon it was shown that social conditions and the mistaken policy of Socialist party politics itself produced the correct answer. The presentation of this subject is the task of the following chapters.

CHAPTER VI

EVERYONE IS "ENTHUSIASTIC" (1930-1933)

In 1933 I was defamed by the Communists, in 1934 by the International Psychoanalytic Association, *after both organizations had ceased to exist in Germany.* Those defamations were catastrophes which threatened my personal, professional and social existence. Moreover, they placed in question the further development of sex-economy. I found myself suddenly in empty space, so to speak, far from the life of the multitudes of people. The slandering of my person – which was bent upon annihilation of my work and existence – on the part of the socialists, communists and psychoanalysts, stood in peculiar contradiction with the recognition which the same people and organizations had formerly bestowed upon my views and accomplishments. When I came to Berlin, I had, in spite of my bad experiences in Vienna, no awareness of what was in store for me later. Only after the complete dissolution of every organizational tie did I obtain the emotional leisure to let the character attitudes of average human beings impress me. Out of this came my best social lessons. Many things would have evolved differently if I had at that time possessed the necessary foresight. Every newly won scientific position cost me sacrifices which I could not avoid. They represented indispensable labor pains at the birth of crucial mass-psychological knowledge. They also served the function of forging the iron resolve which was necessary for the execution of the task: *Never to yield to the pressure of wrong public opinion.*

In Berlin, the first close connection was established with the German psychoanalysts. They were far more progressive in social matters than the Viennese. The psa. youth breathed more freely. My orgasm theory met with better understanding. Marxian sociology was not discussed very much in a systematic way. Of the psychoanalysts, only Erich Fromm was considered to be a Marxian sociologist. Around this time he published his analysis of Christian dogma, a remarkably valuable work. However, it had no connection with either sex-economic questions or contemporary sociology. In an extensive conversation which we soon had, in Berlin in my home at Schwäbische Strasse, Erich Fromm listened to my extensive sex-economic interpretation. It seemed clear to him, so he stated, that

only the concept of sexual energy could clarify mass-psychological dynamics. To be sure, father and mother fixations were the central content of authoritarian rule and every patriarchal religion. To be sure, the sociological character of a religion could only be explained in the context of its time. However, the fact that human beings produced and needed religious mysticism at all was incomprehensible without knowledge of their sex-economy. Above all, the emotional content of every religious experience required *sexual, bio-energetic* explanation, just as the doctrine of original sin and asceticism did. In my apartment on Schwäbische Strasse, I presented my basic views in the presence of three young analysts, especially emphasizing the method of the integration of psychoanalytic theory into Marxist sociology. Present at this meeting were Erich Fromm, Otto Fenichel and Barbara Lantos. With Fenichel, whom I met again in Berlin, I often discussed the basic psychological factors in the social movement. He belonged to no party, had read little sociological literature and had never participated in a street demonstration or in practical social work. I understood that he wished to keep away from all this. He understood and accepted my criticism of psychoanalysis. He gladly accepted my suggestion to help me in the organizing of young psychoanalysts for practical social work. He worked at this regularly for two years. Since I soon had much work outside the professional organization, I happily left this function to him. I had no inkling of the trap which I thus laid for myself. Everything seemed in good order. Only two things disquieted me. First, his disinclination toward participation in social field work, without which true understanding of people is not possible. Secondly, his complete lack of understanding of the incompatible antithesis of my then embryonic functionalism and abstract logic. [S.O.: *At that time, I ascribed my functionalism to Engels as I had ascribed my sex-economy to Freudian psychoanalysis. My own ideas and thoughts streamed freely and of themselves into a strange environment which did not and could not absorb them.*] Bernfeld Siegfried, too, who occasionally took part in our discussions, did not understand the reality of the functional processes. Functionalism was, so he said, only one form of thinking, as abstract logic was another. I soon gave up trying to convince them. Bernfeld, too, was a Socialist and considered himself a theoretical Marxist.

[S.O.: *Marxism at that time held in Germany an academic position similar to "Deweyism" in the USA. Marxism was not as yet so badly soiled by its confusion with plain social murder of the Djugashvilli type. The mass murders in the process of the Russian collectivization*

of farming were just ahead of us. So were the murderous trials in Moscow, the revocation of sexual legislation, and the uniformed, bemedalled Marshalls of the USSR.

The fight against the Red Fascist political plague in the USA around the 1950's suffered gravely from several gaps in the understanding of the development of Red Fascism and fascism in general from originally democratic freedom organizations in the lower strata of the population. Up till about 1932, at least in the central European and Western European countries, no Communist party member, even if very rabid, would have thought seriously of seizing the government of a country by force and violence against the will of the majority. Such tendencies or actions were disclaimed in all Socialist or Communist circles as "Putsch," on all occasions where such "Putsch" attempts were made by small and insignificant political groups. The Socialists and Communists used to disassociate themselves completely and sharply from these events. The public policy always was the attainment of power in society by majority vote in parliament. This we may term the original idea of the democratic Communistic movement. Lenin's distribution of land to the peasants of Russia, which so sharply disagreed with the later Stalinist collectivization and nationalization of the agricultural enterprises by force, was a clear-cut manifestation of the democratic Communistic tendency to win the majority of the population.

In sharp contradistinction to this DEMOCRATIC *Communism with its rule from below, election and not appointment of functionaries, and so on, stands* RED FASCISM *which has turned every democratic rule of original Communism into its opposite:*

Sneaking into power by way of minority terror.

Sneaking into power by conspiracy and underhanded maneuvering instead of by open public conviction.

Use of military force, the rule of the Communist party and reliance on the military force of Russia which by 1936 was a clear-cut, imperialist, Czarist power which had only one thing in common with original communism: The reliance on the people's hope for a better existence, exploited to the nth degree and abused by the Red Fascists as never before in history.

These distinctions are sharp and clear-cut, as well as indispensable for a successful conquest, with the least possible victims, of the Red Fascist political plague. The inner dynamics of this change from

democratic into RF *is the inability and reluctance of the people to administer their own affairs.*]

The Association of Socialist Physicians, of which Georg Simmel was one of the leaders, invited me to lecture on my special field of prophylaxis of the neuroses. Before about two hundred physicians and students, I could establish good contact in presenting what – under the concept of prevention of neuroses – I viewed as the social tasks for serious social endeavor of psychoanalysis. I met with a great deal of understanding, indeed even enthusiasm, and lasting acclaim.

Students organized a mass meeting on the subject of the "Fiasco of Bourgeois Morality." The organization of fascist students was also represented, as was a company of the "red front 'bund'." After the lecture, I had to answer many questions from nationalistic students on "self-control," "honor," "faithfulness," "character," etc. The mood was good. The discussion went on till 5 a.m. Communists, socialists and fascists talked excitedly together about these questions, but without violence. The proletarian participants appeared to be extremely well-satisfied, for when I left at 1 a.m., they cheered me with three powerful "red fronts." They did not do that often, especially not during intellectual lectures.

The Marxist Workers' School (Masch) gave a course on the subjects "Marxism and Psychology" and "Sexology." In the summer semester of 1931, I gave the first course, and in the fall the second course, in a school on Garten Strasse. The number of participants increased from hour to hour. In the sexology course, attendance reached two hundred and fifty persons from all strata of society. The first course, which was more difficult, was attended by about eighty to a hundred political functionaries, students, teachers, etc. My writings were spread throughout Germany by the Masch apparatus.

After a few weeks, I was invited to speak, on an average of twice a week, in various meetings. This was very instructive for me, as I had not only to master the subject of medical psychology in simple language but also to learn how to answer correctly the numerous questions and objections. The German youth demanded much; above all, unconditional clarity and simplicity. Already in these gatherings, the *cultural*-political aspect of the subject increasingly dominated the discussion. The economistic and purely political side as they knew it disappeared. Sociology returned in a *different and new* form. Statistics were used only as examples. The questions were posed in a more personal manner, such as: "Is the housing development already so far advanced that it can quickly,

with little friction, be used to meet the hygienic demands of the people?" That the current administration of housing would never allow such hygienic living seemed too self-evident to be especially emphasized. "Will not the ruined character structures of the majority of present-day teachers and nursery educators contradict the dynamics of a sex-affirming child education?" "How would you organize the distribution of goods to supply a firm basis for the steadily increasing cultural level of the working multitudes?" Thus we did not talk about the "principles of socialization." Indeed, these "principles" were only important inasmuch as they helped to fulfill a concrete task; otherwise, they could quietly be dropped. *They were means to secure the joie de vivre of everyone* who was creating social values! Thus we arrived at *questions of economy from human needs, and not, as did the Marxist economists, from historical or economic principles which did not interest the people.* Personally, one had to be ceaselessly honest in such expositions. Insincerity or dignified authoritarianism was punished quickly and thoroughly.

Once a young worker asked me why I dedicated myself to this social work at all. I held a prominent social position, earned much money as a physician and could make a good career! Something seemed fishy here. I could answer only the way I felt: It was not personally at all necessary for me. But I learned very much for my scientific work from it. "Ah-ha! So we are guinea pigs for you!" I answered honestly: "If you eat a ham-sandwich, your pleasure is spoiled if near-by a starved person stares at you with envy. Since human production economy is rich enough for all of us, or could be if it did not serve life-inimical purposes such as war, I gladly work toward the end that all may have their 'ham sandwich'." "That is a most primitive idea of class-conscious socialism," replied someone from the audience. To that, from somewhere in the hall, someone retorted: "To hell with your historical socialism. First let's look out for ourselves. Your socialism will more certainly come about that way than if you just go on making noises." *It was true!* And out of this – developing social views from practical fulfillment of human needs and *not abusing* human needs for political power purposes – gradually grew the deep convictions concerning the correct views in social matters which I could integrate into a larger social framework after the collapse of 1933.

On the Economic Needs

In practical work among the unschooled and usually politically uninterested members of the organization, only *one* kind of behavior was possible and successful: *The winning of personal and human confidence, the*

avoidance of all theorization and the awakening of an awareness of small and great personal needs. Once this was accomplished, the socialistic definition of aims became self-evident. From the beginning, I learned that nothing could be accomplished with the political pamphlets of the party organization. I consoled myself as did many others with the idea that through the *personal* kind of work we would gradually arrive at the stage where we could bring the high politics, which the parties carried on, closer to the simple party members. Only the catastrophe of two years later completely freed me from this illusion. As seen from today's viewpoint, the kind of social work of that time becomes simply ridiculous. The party functionaries indeed tried "to educate" the people through high-political debates and economic presentations. I do not remember a group meeting in which the members did not have to put up a hard fight against sleepiness. And they were conscious Communists. How far removed from this kind of thinking and living is the vast majority of people!

I remember a gigantic meeting in the sports arena *(Sportpalast)* where Thälmann spoke before about twenty thousand industrial and white collar workers. Shortly before, there had been fatalities during a demonstration. The mood had risen to the boiling point. The performance of the "march-with-flags" was good. Everyone waited tensely for the speech. Thälmann killed the mood within a half hour, reduced it to zero. He analyzed the complicated budget of the German bourgeoisie. It was frightful. Especially catastrophic was the pseudo-scientific "education toward class consciousness" with the help of high politics in the youth organizations. It was always astonishing to witness the respect paid by intellectuals and bourgeois people to these weak and empty fraudulent mass deceptions.

I had concentrated on visiting the typical youth evening meetings only in order to listen and get the feel of them. In the Communist youth cells, a strict, organized formality prevailed. In the Fichte sport groups it was somewhat better. The youth bravely endured the hour of lecturing because of their habitual discipline, in order to show good will. The youth leaders had only partial contact with the mass of young workers even on important demonstration days. Constantly these youths tortured themselves with the question of how one "should approach" youth. They distributed leaflets and pamphlets from house to house. Threatened by the police, they painted slogans in red on the walls and asphalt streets. They organized youth meetings. All in vain. Youth stayed away. And in youth organizations there was a constant turnover of functionaries and members. For a long time, I participated in the efforts to gain new members. In so-doing, I was indelibly impressed with the sterility – more, with the *harmfulness* of this kind of recruiting. Recruiting was conducted usually on Sunday, even in the most beautiful weather. This corresponded to the heroic ideology of renunciation. The Communist functionary must not have any private life. Officially there were no sexual questions. Privately, a comradely attitude often prevailed without any Philistinism. But just as frequently there was a severely ascetic attitude. Since the sex-political attitude of Communist youth was not officially represented, the "class-fighting" dried-up ascetics could rule the field. In discussions about socialistic morality one heard much of the "new moral attitudes," but nothing about concrete things as they occur in daily life in thousands of ways. There were no sex-political pamphlets for mass propaganda, only economic and high-flown political ones about the "position of the working class in capitalism," about "socialization of industry in capitalism," about "the position of women in industry," etc. One rang doorbells with these pamphlets in hand and offered them for sale. If possible, one was supposed to start a conversation and explain the plight of the masses. Social Democrats slammed the door angrily, if they saw a Communist brochure. Indifferent people harshly refused. The number of sales was frightfully small and depressing. Recruiting in the country was no more successful. The rural pamphlets were stuffed with figures and proposals for collectivization according to the Russian model. Once I was scheduled as the speaker at a meeting of rural workers and farmers in the vicinity of Berlin. I knew a great deal about Russian collectivization and the reorganization of Soviet estates. I was also able to present the subject well. When I finished speaking, there was not a single question on what I had spoken about, not a single contribution of a positive kind. But some peasants asked what would happen to the Church in case of a revolution.

The first deep impression of the chasm between politics and factual knowledge, I gained in a recruiting meeting for peasants in which a functionary gave a good description of the advantages of Soviet agricultural collectivization, but met with an embarrassing end. A peasant who had listened quietly, took a handful of corn from his pocket, stuck it in front of the functionary's nose and asked: "What's this?" The functionary had no idea. The recruiting was over.

"Red front" divisions were also sent out for rural recruiting; they made an impression through their singing and military appearance. They aroused curiosity, but the small amount of sympathy was overshadowed by the deep fear of military things. For this reason, the National Socialists had more success, precisely because they used local groups in the villages

themselves, which were much more brutal, and, besides, clearly represented the reactionary peasant ideology, especially the Nationalist family and home ideology. That was so striking that I was astonished to see how little it was noticed.

In the rural meetings it was revealed that the Communistic, Social-Democratic and National Socialistic speakers were of the same social strata, and often worked at the same occupation. I asked myself how that was possible. Nobody thought it particularly striking that the peasant was called " revolutionary " if he spoke for the Communists, " reformist " if he spoke for the Social Democrats, and " reactionary " if he spoke for the National Socialists. An opinion alone, which most people quickly exchanged for another, was sufficient to categorize its bearer. How was it possible that human beings of the same social strata were split into such different political camps, all represented with the same zeal?

The demonstrations in Berlin were much more militantly organized than in Vienna. One marched in a very military manner and lustily sang the revolutionary songs. One tried to attract the attention of the crowd by shouting " red front " or some other slogan. But the population had gotten used to that. Since I took part in all of the larger demonstrations, I learned to see that they served more to raise one's own morale than to win over the population. One demonstrated one's courage and one's honest conviction, even to the extent of giving one's life for the cause, but the mass of people were indifferent. A few thousand demonstrators in all of Berlin made no particular impression. And defamation through the term " communist " worked well.

It was better during the large May Day demonstrations. The Communist party was able to call out a crowd of from around 80,000 to 100,000; the Social Democratic party even more. The route along which the demonstration procession was permitted to pass was sharply limited. The police were strict. On the first of May, 1931, I offered my services as a monitor. The monitors wore a red arm band. It was their task to flank the procession and to protect it from attacking policemen. My troop and I accompanied a group of small children. The children sang brightly and happily, without stopping to consider whether the song they sang was forbidden or not. Many songs were strictly " *verboten*," such as " Red Wedding " by Erich Weinert. When the song rang out a dozen policemen suddenly jumped out from their automobiles and struck blindly at the children. At the last moment we succeeded in forming a tight ring of clasped hands so that the police cordon could not completely break through. We argued with the troopers. I was astonished at the machine-

like quality of these police attacks. Again and again during such incidents, I had the impression that a conditioned reflex replaced living thinking and feeling: *Forbidden song – reach for the club!*

The pistols lay loosely in the pockets of the troopers. There was hardly a meeting in which shots were not heard. I never saw the participants of a meeting attack the police. Occasionally youthful socialists would shout curses. I thought I noticed that the police became nervous when they were called " capitalist lackeys." However, there were often clashes when a typically Prussian police lieutenant, only to show off, began to command his men. The mounted police especially liked to demonstrate its official authority by riding through the crowd and expecting the people to make way. Again and again there was this emphasis on state authority, this education of the state subjects. It was provocative, and the participants in the gathering were not any less assertive.

The hatred for the arrogant police officers was great. However, the hatred for the ordinary policemen was no less. It didn't occur to everyone that they were sons of workers and peasants. They shot and they beat, and so one hated them. Here, too, capitalists did not fight against workers, but workers in uniform against workers without uniform.

If in Vienna practical social work had laid the bases for an empirical mass psychology, so in Berlin it offered great possibilities, not only for sharpening concepts, but also for completing the restructuring in personal thinking and feeling. The atmosphere of ivory-tower, academic " bookwormishness " became unbearable. It was felt all the more painfully when one met it right in the middle of the organization which intended to organize German society on a new basis. I was invited to the circle of the scientific organization of the party, which at that time was presided over by the clever and scientifically so productive Karl August Wittfogel. There were some economists and very many, all too many philosophers. In the discussions one noticed the fear of letting one's thoughts wander freely. To be sure, there was not unanimity, but always the differences were within the framework of a way of thinking that the party had strictly demarcated. It was dangerous to go against the " party line." To be sure, the party could be a signpost in the general current of thought, but nothing more than that. The party could not decide factual questions in every case. Such decisions depended entirely on the functionary in the particular situation. One functionary, for instance. was not adverse to psychology, so under his regime one could discuss the problems of psychology in the socialist movement. Another functionary did not understand anything at all about psychology and hence was inimical. Thus under his regime

psychology had no role in politics. I very soon understood that this attitude was not only stupid narrow-mindedness. When a popular party sees itself confronted with questions such as those that were rocking Germany at that time, for instance, if it does not possess enough independent scientific and free minds; if the intellectually trained men waste their intellectual force on irrelevant, academic side-issues; if the multitudes call for an answer which they themselves cannot supply, then understandably the small group of pioneer fighters in a difficult cause cling to a "line" as to a life-belt. But it is clear that in so doing, one cannot learn to swim freely. It appears to be better to solve a few problems at least partially than to let clear thinking be destroyed by intellectual acrobatics. "*Appears*," I said. For without earnest and well-organized, radical scientific research, the thousands of questions which the movement poses cannot be correctly mastered. Admittedly, the way the party tried to solve its difficulties could only be destructive. It was not confronted with the choice between "line" and mental acrobatics, but with the task of letting the people themselves pose the questions. Then the correct answers would also have been found. For then the honest young scientific forces would have joined the movement, and would perhaps have prevented its downfall. *The party did not let the people speak.* This was the cause of its disintegration. I experienced this disintegration and its cause step by step in the course of two-and-a-half years. In this struggle against the *fear of the people*, I not only elaborated my later MASS PSYCHOLOGY OF FASCISM, but also many of the practical-organizational basic principles which I present to the world for the first time now, seventeen years later.

In the academician's group, I found again all the evil qualities of academism, only this time glorified as "revolutionary." There was a philosopher, Kurt Sauerland, who later published a book on "Dialektischer Materialismus." In it Stalin was hailed as the greatest philosopher of the age. This man infected and dominated the party intelligentsia with his dogma which he claimed to be dialectical-materialistic philosophy. In the stupidest way he mistook the slogans of the day for scientific research methods. Some young economists hit upon the idea of presenting Marx's theory of value in a pictorial way in order to make it understandable to the uneducated. Some of us saw the film. We thought it was brilliant. Although the organizations praised it, the philosophers prevented its appearance because here and there it was said to have contradicted this or that word in Marx. In such discussions "from above" one could see at work all the irrationalisms which deform a human being. Uprooted men ragefully lived out their pettinesses. But always within the framework

of the "line." They never transgressed it. Serious friends talked about it very often amongst themselves. We saw with horror how all initiative was stifled. My friend Neugebauer, who was deputy to the Reichtag from the Communist faction, a brilliant, scientifically trained sociologist and a decent fellow, said to me once: What should we do? One really should throw them out, but will their successors be any better? We lack trained intelligentsia. In the meantime there is no other choice but to go on with clenched teeth.

We could still go on working quietly alongside the philosophers. Only when my book on youth was presented for discussion did I clash with them.

None of the party personages had read Hitler's MEIN KAMPF. Only a few – Wittfogel, Dunker, and some others – were concerned with analyzing the works of opponents. Already great numbers of SA troops marched in a threatening way through the streets. No one noticed that they were the same kind of human beings who made up our fighting troops. The same types, workers and employees. Instead, they were considered reactionary hirelings.

In July, 1931, the gigantic collapse of the German banks occurred. Everyone expected that the Communists would utter the decisive word. The first statements came eight days later. After that the good workers in the party knew that the cause was lost. The National Socialists who had increased their votes in 1930 from eight hundred thousand to some eight million, now began to gather real momentum. More and more frequently there were "marches on Berlin." In the cells, defense squads had been formed together with the workers' troops. I was deputied to the so-called "red houses block" on Wilmersdorfer Strasse. Rage over the many deaths which we had suffered, deep conviction in the just cause which we advocated, and the practical helplessness which we felt in the face of the rolling avalanche of the political reaction, all combined together led often to grotesque, even if courageous behavior. The SA in July, 1931, had again announced a demonstration march. It was rumored that afterward they were going to occupy Berlin. The party mobilized. Some thirty of us, including women and girls, were in the quarters of the cell and were supposed to ward off a possible attack on the inhabitants. There were three pistols in the group, and only four men who had experience in such fighting. To be sure, the rest were brave in distributing and pasting up posters, brave in conviction, but here it was a question of *power*. In our desperation we filled jugs with water and placed them by the hundreds on the windows and doors to throw on the heads of the SA men if necessary.

That may give a picture, among many others, of "class struggle" situations. Fortunately, nothing happened that night. If the SA had really attacked, there would have been a stupid slaughter between men of the same trade, of the same economic position, and even of the same resolve to "clear up the mess."

In the newspapers and books one read of inimical political groups, programs, capitalistic and anticapitalistic interests. Here in the cells, on the streets, at night with the pasting up of posters, in the demonstrations, things looked different. *The class struggle took place between members of the same class.* When I spoke with friends from the youth organizations about that, they understood my question: "How does it come about that these workers, office employees, small business men, housewives, domestics split up in such a way in spite of their common economic position, so that contradictory political opinions developed?" The answer was: "We have not yet convinced them of the correctness of the class point of view. They are again and again duped by the capitalists." In my cell there was a mechanic who was also a chauffeur. He took an active interest in the meetings, raised questions, wished to increase the activity, but he could not be satisfied with the ponderous theoretical answers. He went over to the Nazis. In the presidential election of 1932, his former cell comrades spat in his face. He was a "traitor." But how, why? He was not particularly different from the others.

I first learned to understand well the Fascist movement in Germany in 1930. The answer, which experiences in practical work gave me, I could not bring into the circles of the party. Some timid attempts had convinced me that I made myself disliked by doing so; not if I spoke privately with friends, but in the official meeting of the cells. I finally gave up any desire to convince, and concentrated on the sex-political work with the people. This developed rapidly from the early months of 1931 on. *It structuralized within me the conviction that mass psychology and sex-politics contained the answer to the question which fascism had placed before German society.*

THE BUILDING UP OF THE GERMAN SEXPOL

The development of sex-political work during 1931 and 1932 made necessary the analysis of fascistic ideology. The connection was not sought. I had not, that is to say, started a movement with the immediate goal of "smashing fascism" or "conquering it ideologically." The problems which I collided with in Germany as I had earlier in Austria, were the same which stood at the center of the mass influence of fascism: *Marriage,*

family, race, morality, honor. From the beginning, numerous people from the middle class, semi-intellectuals and students joined my groups and also brought with them the great interest which the middle class has for precisely these problems. In this way, the scope of the work was enlarged in an organic fashion. It spread to the youth, the existing sex reform organizations, the free thinking and cultural organizations, the children's organizations and the women's groups.

For some months I visited the youth groups of different Berlin districts in order to make contact with the atmosphere in these groups. I declined to give lectures, as I was not sufficiently well acquainted with these youth groups and they knew nothing of my views.

On the basis of the experiences in Vienna, I worked out a "sex-political platform." Essentially it contained the same points as my address before the Congress of the World League for Sexual Reform in 1930. The cultural representative of the Central Committee of the Communist Party accepted it, and I presented it to the World League Commission in Berlin. Leunbach (who later became one of the leading fighters in the Sexpol) also participated at the meeting which was to decide on the matter. In this discussion they all – the chairman of the Association for Birth Control, the secretary of the World League and Leunbach – rejected the platform. The platform was felt to be "Communistic," and the sex-political organizations did not want to have anything to do with communistic views. To be sure, all admitted that my concepts were correct, but they did not want "to provoke" anyone. The associations had to remain "unpolitical," and could not be subordinated to any party. False though that was in principle, it was correct in practice as later turned out. I, too, was later forced, out of necessity, to assume the supra-political, if not unpolitical point of view, after the connection of the work with the interests of the party had led to a fiasco. Unfortunately, I had at that time not yet distinguished between "social" and "political."

In 1930 in Germany there were about eighty sex-political organizations which were separately organized, separately led and often inimical toward each other; all in all, they had around three hundred and fifty thousand members, i.e., more members than any one of the large parties. To be sure, most of the functionaries were at the same time members of the Christian, Social Democratic or Communist parties. But there was no connection between their roles as functionaries of the sex-political associations and their positions as members of the political parties. Indeed, many of them who were strongly for their parties, fought against the incorporation of the sex-political organizations into the parties. And the

parties were not concerned with the sex-political organizations in spite of their printing of announcements of meetings, etc. in their newspapers. The sex-political organizations had their own newspapers. Many of them were – according to the custom of that time – accompanied with pictures, to attract the public. They were not pornographic, but they were not clearly enough separated from real pornography. There was no basic thinking regarding sexuality. Social-political orientation was also lacking. Still, they advocated the freedom of birth control, legal abortion, and were against punishment of sexual deviations, particularly homosexuality. They wanted to safeguard marriage better than the bourgeoisie did. There was no mention of youth problems. It was instinctively avoided. Hirschfeld's incorrect views dominated theoretical thinking and practical work. Much valuable incidental work was accomplished, but any kind of united, purposeful effort and collaboration was strictly avoided.

In the course of decades, all of Germany was, thanks to the sacrificing work of people like Helene Stoecker who directed the "Bund für Mutterschutz" and edited the *Neue Generation,* covered with a net-work of birth control clinics. To be sure, they did not reach a tenth of the population, but they were a strong beginning of social hygiene. In abortion trials, the defendants received legal and moral support. Through regular lectures, the members became familiar with the social problems of sexual life. To be sure, they were often misleading in their approach, overburdened with eugenic and population questions. Also, dealers sneaked in and profited from the selling of contraceptives, which was a great evil. Some of these dealers were underhanded and sinister. That is not meant as a reproach to the associations. They were driven to such dealers since the official sources were not concerned with their problems and only caused difficulties.

My plan was to form a "united association" out of these organizations. Through the introduction of a goal-conscious task, and through juncture with the Communist party, the different, split-up sex organizations could be welded together into a united sex-*political* organization. After thrashing it over in the medical faction, the work was turned over to the IFA for preliminary organization. The IFA was the comprehensive organization for all cultural associations of the party. Three physicians (among them myself), a Reichstag deputy and two leaders of the IFA were chosen for sex-political leadership. The organization and *party* political leadership was delegated to the last-mentioned two, the *sex*-political leadership throughout Germany was delegated to myself. There was a unanimous opinion regarding the usefulness of my platform; very much was expected

from it. A sex reform association in Düsseldorf had printed the platform and it had at once attracted a great deal of attention. Thus it came about naturally that the work began in West Germany. The first West German Congress took place in Düsseldorf in 1931. Twenty thousand members were immediately combined from some eight associations. I delivered the main address. In it I only presented in detail what the platform had summarized in concise form. Not a single one of the attending non-political organizations disagreed with what I said. In Berlin and its vicinity, individual local groups were founded where no associations were as yet established, or existing organizations were combined. Here unification was more difficult. Hitherto, the Communist party had no sexual organizations and also no orientation in sex-politics except for the Soviet legislation. Hence I enjoyed great recognition on the part of the party leadership. In the course of a year, united organizations also formed in Leipzig, Dresden, Stettin, etc. The movement spread rapidly, within a few months more than doubling its membership to around forty thousand members.

When the movement became bigger, the demands on us also grew. Three most difficult problems were sharply outlined. I, too, could not solve them, for their practical mastery would have presupposed winning over the party leadership, and that was not possible. The three problems were:

1. *The factual training of the leaders of the movement.* In the party there was no theory, or only inconcrete views, concerning sexual life. The associations and the broad public which we now included had no trained personnel. As simple as basic sex-economic principles were, I still could not hope to quickly train sufficient functionaries for the movement. Today this situation has become somewhat better, but the main problem remains unsolved.

2. *The inclusion of youth.* The sex reform organizations had so zealously avoided the sexual questions of youth, that they had no contact with the young people from the lower and middle classes. They were predominately made up of middle-aged people. In 1931, the Communist youth numbered some forty thousand, the Social Democratic some fifty thousand, and the National Socialistic also some forty to fifty thousand members. The Christian Center party had almost two million young people in its organizations. That the Christian party, in contrast to the other parties, carried on a consistent sex-politics, and also had the largest number of young people, pointed to the fact that only *youth* could be the bearers of the *sex-political movement.*

3. *The unavoidable upheaval in the orientation of all politics,* which

resulted from the inclusion of the sexual question and of psychology. Although I saw the signs of this upheaval everywhere, I consciously avoided its full development. For in the beginning the only position that could be held was that sex-politics had to be included in the total political work of revolutionary socialism. On the one hand, no party functionary could oppose this. But the results and influence of the sex-political work on the people were so forceful, that the party leadership watched it helplessly and uncomprehendingly. My cautious formulation was of no use. Instinctively, the functionaries grasped the " danger " for the mass politics of the party. Consistently they asserted that I wanted to " substitute sex-politics for economic politics."

I would now like to attempt to illustrate the three basic problems of the sex-political movement by means of individual, typical examples.

The gaps in training appeared in the following way: So long as I was in the Ruhr area, things went well in the meetings. However, several months after my departure, complaints came from the functionaries. Nothing except sexual questions was discussed now. Interest in class struggle questions was diminishing. Some women had been against it. United front politics was not maintained in some organizations. What had happened? The platform and the discussions on the occasion of the first congress had stirred things up a great deal and had immediately posed a thousand questions. The party functionaries who up till then had worked with slogans far removed from the public masses, were helpless in the face of the demands. In addition, National Socialistic and Christian women registered in the organizations in great numbers. The party functionaries had never learned how to get along with them, how to establish human contact and to master the complicated emotional reactions. The " population politics," which they had presented up till then, were now less interesting than ever. The people wanted simple practical advice in their marital difficulties and problems with their children, in their sexual disturbances and their moralistic guilt feelings. The clergy came into the picture. Nothing could be done now with the old arguments when one confronted them face to face. The functionaries claimed that the expressions of sexual anxiety were proof of the harmfulness of sex-political work. They were not able to understand that finally *movement* was stirring in the people and that that was a great event. *They became anxious.*

To present all of this to psychologically untrained party people was impossible. I tried as best I could to preserve my own work. For example, I took young functionaries and teachers along with me to my youth evenings and showed them practically how tremendous the burning interest was and how easily one could also arrive at the large social questions. The fear of the movement and of the demands of the people spread to Berlin. The leaders of the IFA, Bischoff and Schneider, began to sabotage. Hence I quietly withdrew from the German leadership and set up training courses in the districts, and with very much success! In Charlottenburg I concentrated the best forces in order to form a model group. I communicated that to the party leadership. All the others were to profit from the experiences of this one group which was under my leadership. Gradually the simple basic principles of the movement, together with the practical application, would penetrate. But the storm of demands was too great. It simply left no time for quiet study of the problems. As the intensity of the movement grew, so also did the nervousness of the untrained functionaries. Instead of learning and preparing *for the long view*, they began to call " united congresses." They wanted to incorporate *quickly* all sex organizations in Germany. In this way they provoked all opponents in the sex-reform organizations. The movement of the united organization became bogged down in political and organizational discussion. In addition, the police began to interfere. On May 23, 1932, they dissolved the Workers' Cultural Congress and the United Congress of the organization. I simply let matters run their course and no longer took part in any negotiations. Instead, I worked in the organizations *from below*, especially through teaching. I took the best people from my current courses at the Masch (the Marxist Workers' School) and distributed them throughout the organization. In this way I was able to resist the party bureaucracy when it attacked me. I believe that I experienced on a small scale what later occurred on a vast scale in the Soviet Union. *From the contradiction between the demands of the people and the inability to solve the problems arising from these demands, grows a hierarchically constructed apparatus which terrorizes those who have aroused questions in the people.*

Meanwhile, through my medical activity, I had become acquainted with very many young people from different circles. On all sides I was asked to write a book for youth. In several weeks I prepared a manuscript and let copies of it be circulated. These copies of the manuscript came back full of reactions and suggestions. I studied them. Then I submitted the final version to the Central Committee for youth which accepted it and sent it to the Central Committee for youth in Moscow. The publishing house for youth was to print it. From Moscow came the report that the book was good, to be sure, but " it would be better not to be identified with

it." It should be published by the workers' cultural organization which was less official. However, the leadership of the publishing house for the workers' cultural organization sabotaged the publication of the book for a whole year. In the summer of 1931, I had given them the book DER SEXUELLE KAMF DER JUGEND. In March, 1932, it had still not appeared. I established my own publishing house for sex-politics *(Verlag für Sexualpolitik)* and the youth book and DER EINBRUCH DER SEXUALMORAL were published; it was crucial to be fully independent of these petty politicians.

On my suggestion, a sex-political pedagogic workers' group had also written a small booklet for children called DAS KREIDEDREIECK (THE CHALK TRIANGLE) and a brochure for mothers, WENN DEIN KIND DICH FRAGT (WHEN YOUR CHILD ASKS YOU). I paid for the printing of both. These two publications were read and discussed in children's and women's groups. In a Fichte children's group in Charlottenburg, my wife read THE CHALK TRIANGLE. The audience consisted of children from eight to twelve years old. Usually about thirty children came to the meetings. This time eighty kids with glowing faces sat there. And *how* they spoke and asked and demanded! "And you must write more about parents!" "About the teachers, too!" "Why don't you say anything about the street-walkers (*Nutten*)?" "We see them on the streets!" The leader of the Fichte children was embarrassed and pleased at the same time. He had never seen the children like this. "We will go to the Christian children with this. They always say such dumb stuff. Now they will really hear something!" My daughter was in a school in the northern part of Berlin. A few weeks later there was an uproar in the school. The children, who formerly only spoke about sexual things among themselves, keeping them secret from the adults and being fearful about them, saw that now they and the adults were on the same side. To speak of such matters was no longer taboo. The whole work gained direction. We had a tremendous success with the functionaries who were directly in contact with the children. They themselves now were able to become confidants to the deepest secrets of children. The book for working mothers on child enlightenment had the same success. My cleaning woman took dozens of the booklets for the women of her circle. They were literally torn from her hands. Thousands of copies went out. The book on youth was printed in an edition of ten thousand. Four thousand copies were gone within six weeks. Our youth paved the way to the youth of all circles – the high school, Social Democratic, Christian and National Socialistic youths. These experiences gave me the strength later to endure and to resist the impressive rhetoric of the party socialists.

CHAPTER VII

IRRATIONALISM IN POLITICS AND SOCIETY

THE CONTRADICTION IN NATIONAL SOCIALISM

Much of what today (1937) sounds banal was in 1930 a new discovery, difficult to understand; for instance, the *subjectively* socialistic character of the SA, and also the resultant split in National Socialism; the force which the deep desire of the broad masses lent to it; the newness of this desire and the power of mystical submissiveness to a Führer. The power of "the leader" over the will of "the led" was incomprehensible to the average politician. The deep cleft which separates the hopes of the human Germany from the reality of Hitlerian barbarism confused thinking. The collapse of the formal (bourgeois) democracies shattered the structure of liberal thinking. The undoubtedly "socialistically" *intended* measures of Hitler baffled the anti-fascists. They did not understand the blending of these measures with an equally doubtless predatory imperialistic expansion; just as little did they understand the many similarities between the Soviet Union and the National Socialistic ideology and mass leadership. When in December, 1932, German National Socialists carried out the Berlin transportation workers' strike in common with German Communists and Social Democrats, one spoke of a "maneuver." In 1930, I saw Berlin storm-trooper columns march through the streets. They were indistinguishable in attitude, expression and songs from the Communist Red Front fighter divisions. Leading representatives of the Communist party declared that it was "counter-revolutionary" to say that the storm-troopers were industrial workers and office employees. German fascism was considered "political reaction" in the same fashion as, say, the dictatorship of Horthy in Hungary was, or, later, that of Dollfuss in Austria. Even long after 1933 it was impossible to make clear to a party Socialist or Communist that German fascism was basically different from any of the other kinds of political reaction because it had popular support which carried it to power.

Everyone knew that conditions in Germany were unbearable. Everyone wanted to change them, but no one knew what should be changed. Only the National Socialists had a program that all could easily grasp:

Revision of the Versaille Treaty under all conditions and with all means. The reactionary and imperialistic goals of Hitler were unmistakably presented in MEIN KAMPF. In spite of that, new millions flocked to Hitler with every new election. The Communists saw that their revolutionary slogans were not attracting the people. So they began to compete with Hitler in the advocacy of "national and social liberation." [*They surpassed Hitler in 1952.*] In 1932, they acted, together with the National Socialists, against the Braun government in Prussia. As early as July, 1931, after the great bank crash, many in the party knew that the cause was lost. Those with the most insight felt that the people, who were subjectively stirred in a revolutionary direction, for the most part ran to Hitler because they wanted an upheaval but simultaneously were afraid of rational change. Hitler freed them from the responsibility for their own fate which the German revolutionary movement burdened them with. "Hitler can and will do everything for us," it was said. And he could do anything and did in fact the most incredible things because the people's fear of rational change helped him. At the same time, he satisfied the revolutionary, anti-capitalistic, socialist longing of the masses *in an illusory way through fantasies*. The German socialists were completely unable to see such contradictions. If economic need alone determines the desires and behavior of the working masses, as they thought, then the masses can only desire social upheaval and cannot at the same time fear it. According to this reasoning, the attraction to Hitler must be due to "obfuscation" and "demagogy." It was incredible that in the tumultuous events between 1930 and 1933, human beings could fantasy themselves leaders of a better Germany and not for a moment be disquieted by the evidence that "mere obfuscation and demagogy" could have such great results. They stood on the edge of the abyss, but they did not want to think about it. We will soon understand why. Even in 1938, I met "representatives of the workers" who, exactly as in 1930, spoke of "obfuscation and demagogy." They comforted themselves exactly as they had before by the fact that butter had again become more expensive and that here and there someone uttered "criticism in the factories." Looking back on these last eight years from the standpoint of present-day events, one must be astonished at the kind of mentality millions of people once had confidence in! A kind of mentality which, with the utmost naiveté and with the greatest dignity, wanted to reduce the gigantic problems of German society to the increased price of butter and the expressions of some dissatisfied workers in industry. More, it wanted to base its work on that. Still more: No other thoughts were permitted.

None of the "leaders of the workers" whom I knew had seriously studied Hitler's MEIN KAMPF and the other writings for the people. None had asked himself why these super-reactionary stenches of a brigand group could seize and poison the warm and honest hearts of the German millions. The race theory was simply "nonsense," only "imperialistic chatter," basically "nothing new." The attack on the Jews was only an "old technique of diversion from the class struggle." At one time, socialism had prided itself on being the first social movement to function on a serious scientific basis. But no one was prepared to pose the simple question as to why millions of people let themselves be influenced to such an extent by nonsense and chatter. More, they became furious if someone did raise such questions. To beat a sharp opponent one must learn his motives and methods with great exactness. To acknowledge them as facts is a long shot from affirming them. However, even to take Hitler's mass-psychological gift seriously was considered beyond the pale of legitimate discussion. The German party Socialists felt it as a personal insult if one asserted that *essential and unrecognized things must go on in the people if Hitler could have such a success.*

There could be no talk at all of real mastery of the problem of fascism before 1933. The simplest formulations were sharply rejected; hence answers to these questions could not be found. And these answers were, as has been shown, shocking, far-reaching, and revolutionary to such an extent that at first they only increased the helplessness in the face of onrushing events. The fear of this perception of the helplessness explains a part of the clinging to empty formulae, which even today lends an illusion of security to the workers' movement. It is simpler to believe in the healing power of a useless medication than to realize that one is treating a moribund patient and cannot help him, although one begins to understand the causes of his death.

The statements of the opponents of fascism were correct in principle. Fascism threatened "the freedom of democratic expression." Still, millions of people affirmed this threat to their freedom of opinion. Fascism spoke openly of war, indeed it clothed mass murder with high-sounding words like "duty," "sacrifice," "obedience." Still, millions of people accepted such duty, obedience and sacrifices with body and soul. Fascism divided mankind into "natural leaders" and those "born to be led." Still, millions of people accepted the role of *Untermenschen*. Fascism promised the capitalists security in their industrial dominance, and promised the workers a share of this power with these masters; both promises were accepted. Hitler proclaimed the relentless militarization of the people,

and the people affirmed the militarization. In short, every political position of fascism should, on the face of it, have elicited the hottest rebellion, and actually evoked just the opposite. Many socialists fled from these crazy facts and gave up their belief in the value of the will of the people, in the capacity of people to think at all. Very many were ready to declare the old basic thoughts of the freedom movement null and void, in so far as they were not compelled by economic considerations to continue to speak of "freedom" in their function as employees of the parties. Their advocacy of freedom for brutal fascism, which was ready for anything and which, moreover, promised the urgently desired national freedom, was most distasteful, harmful and undignified. The opponent of freedom smashed whatever he could. The advocate of freedom complained to the police officials about the wicked enemy: that he smashed. What else should he do, then? That was precisely his function, and *to complain* about it was senseless. The advocates of freedom aped the slogans of the fascist and at the same time they preached democratic thinking which, for the people, had long since been ruined through misuse. Hitler's strength was the disappointment of the people in "scientific socialism," and in the blind alley of the parliamentary-democratic and reformistic-socialistic ideologies. Neither the experience of bourgeois-democratic freedom nor the also experience of the freedom of "scientific socialism" was tempting. Not tempting – note – for the working people of whom almost seven million were unemployed. The people were, as was shown in 1933, not only not ready to defend freedom, but, on the contrary, the great majority of them willingly and enthusiastically submitted to the authoritarian yoke of fascism which negated every freedom. Even if the freedom concept of Hitler's opponents was empty, this popular reaction raised the question of whether people wanted freedom at all – whether they did not prefer irresponsibility at the price of their personal freedom. The confidence of democratic and socialistic leaders in the people had – if, indeed, it ever existed at all – sunk to zero. The Communists organized "spontaneous mass demonstrations" to which they summoned the party members. On the decisive election day of March 5, 1933, forty thousand workers, some of whom were armed, waited for the "spontaneous mass demonstrations" in the workers' quarters, in order, together with the demonstrators, to block Hitler's seizure of power. No one stirred. Not a single person seemed to want to defend his freedom. That was incomprehensible in Germany with its very strong trade-union and socialistic tradition. It was incomprehensible in the light of the thinking of that time which was purely rationalistic: "The economic crisis pauperizes the population: the people then want socialism and the collectivization of production." Hitler represents big capital, so the masses will fight against Hitler. The exact opposite occurred. The whole socialistic theory, the work of many generations of outstanding intellects and fighters, seemed to collapse at one stroke.

Reduced to the briefest formulation: Marxist theory, which guided the German workers' movement, maintained that as the result of a deep and enduring economic crisis, the ideology of the population would become revolutionary. In reality, in Germany the crisis had brought about a *paralysis* of the people, on the one hand, and a clear popular trend to the right, on the other hand. *Thus there was a split between the economic and the ideological development.* More, the latter was in direct contradiction to the former. One could not complain about or bemoan the split. One had to *understand* it. Then a practical solution could emerge. Once again, scientific, unsentimental thinking proved its consistency. While the political party representatives of Marxism hid behind thick clouds of illusions, political psychology logically connected powerful factual conditions into a unitary picture. I felt myself more as the executive organ of a certain logic than as a wise thinker who draws scientific conclusions and feels "superior." I accomplished the reduction of all problems to *one* basic question during the experience of the negative reaction of the people to "freedom" propaganda. To be sure, I was prepared for it by years of practical work in handling freedom problems and experiencing human beings in political situations. I knew well the mechanisms – discovered by Freud – of the irrational, unconscious emotional life. My own efforts in properly coordinating mass-psychological problems with social processes allowed me to pay constant attention to a decisive basic question: Powerful processes, unknown and misunderstood by all participants, had to exist in the emotional life of the people for Germany to present the picture that it did in those years. *"What goes on in the people? How do they experience the social process to which they are subjected and which they determine through their reactions?"* were suddenly questions of so decisive a nature that I was ever more astonished to see how inaccessible they were to the leaders of the people. Hitler's MEIN KAMPF showed that the National Socialist movement had come closest, even if unconsciously, to the comprehension of the psychic reactions of the people around 1930. The Marxists pre-supposed a finished "class consciousness" of the working people which only had to be organized. I had experienced people differently in everyday life. Their feeling for justice, capitalistic contradictions, for life generally was in-

finitely richer and more many-sided than the content of the Marxist concepts. Above all, it was *different* from those concepts. Thus there were two kinds of "*class consciousness*," i.e., "consciousness" of social conditions and what is required to change them. The one, that of the leaders, consisted of intellectual knowledge of the large historical perspectives and economic processes. The other, that of the people, understood nothing of all these things, *did not want* to know anything of them, but was filled with small everyday questions, primarily cares of a sexual and cultural kind, where acute hunger did not stifle all other longings. Approximately two million people in Germany were on the verge of starvation. About sixty millions suffered under the general pressure of the social disorder. A young youth group leader from Neukolln once impressed on me very factually and succinctly what this meant: "If the average young person has stilled his hunger even just a little, then he immediately thinks of his girl, – if he has one, and of the amount of money which he must have to enjoy himself with her. If he has no girl, then, as soon as he has something in his belly, he wants personal independence and the means to find a girl and make her happy." Cinema, theater, books, decent clothing, and a room of one's own are elementary needs of every young and middle-aged human being. My irrefutable experiences filled out for me the picture which was not shown elsewhere: In all this, the longing for sexual happiness, in the narrowest sensual and the widest cultural sense, is the driving force. Future historians will search through the Socialist party literature of those decades in vain for a presentation of this powerful simple fact. The people thought – where they had not rotted and disintegrated – of a social order in which the needs of all should determine what the economy had to produce. A high party official, on the other hand, declared to me that such views were "reactionary"; it was solely a question of the "development of the means of production." !!

The average mass-individual suffered from a contradiction. He wanted to change the world, but this change should overwhelm him as exploitation and life-suppression had always overwhelmed him. Aside from very conscious workers, the people could not conceive of change in any other way than they had experienced it: *by force*. And no leader thought it necessary to tell them *the truth*: namely, that they had *to think and to behave responsibly for their freedom*. On the contrary: The Communists, for instance, did everything they could to make the masses *abject*. A few years later, events occurred in the Soviet Union and in Spain which proved this statement. *Thus Hitler had to conquer*. For he united the antitheses of this contradiction. He replaced the unclear freedom

of determining social life, inconceivable to the people, with the illusion of national freedom, which has been readily understandable throughout the ages. He demanded no responsibility; on the contrary, he promised to let everything collapse: he would change the system quite alone. And the "upheaval" did erupt, accomplished almost singlehanded by an ignoramus like Hitler! The more powerfully affective the problem, the more emotionally charged the passivity of the people.

Hitler did not win the public through his economic program. In his daily propaganda, the strengthening of the self-confidence of the Germans through powerful *race* propaganda, through the declared war against "world *Jewry*," and, finally through the advocacy of the *authoritarian family*, led to victory. At first glance this was incomprehensible, and it is not understood even to this day by the Marxists. Most working people are not anti-Semitic. Nevertheless, anti-Semitic propaganda had a strong influence. The people, by and large, were never "race-proud"; on the contrary, they tended to be outspokenly cosmopolitan and international. Nevertheless, race propaganda was effective. The family propaganda was *not* successful because the people were *for* the authoritarian family. Nevertheless, it had tremendous results. Each of these three main points of National Socialistic propaganda had its special mechanism. From 1930 on, I followed every essential step of the National Socialists, and in 1932 I was able to record on paper a complete understanding of the problem. In my book MASSENPSYCHOLOGIE DES FASCHISMUS, which I conceived from 1931 to 1932, I have presented the essential facts in such detail that I can express myself briefly here.

Racial thinking influenced the unconscious emotional life of human beings through its consonance with "*rassich*," that is, pure-blooded, powerful, strong, unique. This meant a dazzling compensation for the miserable sexual life and general lack of self-confidence of people in the world crisis. Since everyone, without exception, suffers more or less unconsciously from hypochondriacal syphilis anxiety, and syphilis in turn means poisoning of the blood, the promised protection of the "purity of the blood" needs must hit deep. Hitler's presentation of syphilis in his MEIN KAMPF cannot possibly be misunderstood here. The concept "*Untermensch*" is inseparably linked with that of the "underworld" ("*Unterwelt*"), and this in turn, with "proletarian," "*Lumpenproletarier*" and "criminal." The unconscious, moreover, must equate "criminal" with *sexual* criminal. No one wants to be an *Untermensch*, proletarian, criminal, sexual criminal, Negro, nor also, in this sense, "French." The fear of the "French disease" lies deep in common thinking, including that of the proletariat. Thus the

average worker does not like to be called "*prolet.*" All interpretations and explanations to the contrary, it means simply to be "run down," i.e., "syphilitic." If we add the raising of self-confidence which helps alleviate the illusory instead of the real misery, then the ring of necessary emotional reactions is completed. Hitler revealed the social power of fantasy.

The "*Jewish problem*" is logically connected with the race problem. Generally, the Jew is, especially under the pressure of such consistent propaganda as that of the pervert Streicher, experienced as a "slaughtering Jew," i.e., as a man with a long knife, who slaughters Christian and German children at Passover. Since he circumcises his children, the fear of him is buttressed by the age-old castration anxiety which is in everyone. Such things are only done by a creature who wants to steal all pleasure, especially sexual pleasure, so that he can have it all for himself. Thus the Jew takes the girls away from the Aryan, after he has castrated the men. The Jew always takes something away. Since he has had the misfortune of being excluded from commerce because of earlier persecutions of the Jews, he steals gold. Only a step more and he has become the incarnation of the "capitalist." And so through a most clever manipulation of the sexual fear of the slaughtering Jews, the whole emotional hatred of the people against the money usurers, in other words, the "capitalists," can be shifted onto the Jews. Thus the Jew becomes the target for both the socialistic hatred of capitalism and the deeply ingrained sexual anxiety. Marxists, including Jewish Marxists, very often defend themselves in vain against this logical chain of unconscious prejudices. This logical chain makes comprehensible all the irrational phenomena which have characterized Germany since Nazi domination. The fact that in the process all energy is diverted from the real mastery of difficult life questions, only completes the picture of the influence of the emotional plague in Germany. Its background is thousands of years of degeneration of the human structure.

The problem of the *family* is different. Here both bourgeois and Marxist popular education had not only missed the boat completely, but had even paved the way for fascism. I have presented the family problem in another connection* in such detail that I now need only establish the connection to the special family problem of fascism.

The race and with it the Jewish problem was predominately an efflorescence – incomprehensible to usual thinking – of an irrational human reaction determined by sexual anxiety; thus it was a *result* of the sexually

*Die Sexualitat im Kultur Kampf, 1935 (English edition, The Sexual Revolution, 1945.)

deteriorated human structure. The transformation of primitive sex-economy into patriarchal form and its development into the form of the absolute state, provided the sociological basis on which the grotesque expressions of human irrationalism could proliferate. At the center of social sex-economy stands, as we already know, *the family*. The pre-fascist period had already left no doubt about its function, its social anchoring and its structural consequences. The family politics of fascism, with its sharp tribal ideology, introduced nothing new but only sharpened old conditions to a fine point. *In the patriarchal family, the patriarchal state is reproduced.* Thus the absolute state, the total dictatorship, must affirm family ideology and defend it most vigorously. Authoritarian family ideology is *the* transmission belt from the demands of the dictatorship to the seats of structure formation. This must be so wherever we find dictatorship. Through this, the dictatorship – in addition to the terror which it applies – supports itself on powerful psychic forces in the people: The bourgeois sex-economy, like the patriarchal sex-economy before it, had changed the natural sexual impulses into grotesque, deformed *secondary drives* which are socially intolerable. Sexuality becomes the horrifying spectre, the real content of social chaos. Social revolution means the regaining of sexual happiness within the framework of the general order of life. But neither the representatives of the revolution nor the people are usually capable of really imagining the nature of this happiness. *One is afraid of it;* one feels an irrational, powerful terror in the face of it! Thus "saving the family and the state from cultural bolshevik chaos" through fascism must find a responsive note in the people. In this way, two birds are killed with one stone: Revolutionary thinking is annihilated and one's own tyranny is powerfully supported. The "infection and poisoning of emotional life" is real; it is no fantasy. Hitherto, no organization has taken up the fight against it. The doors were wide open for pornography, perversion, sexual prostitution. No one had undertaken to exterminate the "sexual plague." No one thought of making a *sharp distinction between natural and perverted sexuality.* Why? Because science pointedly avoids the problem – "plague!" – and the political parties had no inkling of what was going on. The birth-control propaganda of the Communist and sex-reform associations, apart from small social circles, could be only a dazzling pretense at "purification," if observed within the framework of the general plague. And the flight from the sexual "bolshevik plague" ends in a clearly sexually-toned enthusiasm for Hitler, the uniform, the marching, the liberation of German girls and women from the sensual Jewish swine. Here was the source of the greatest strength of National Socialism. Familial com-

pulsion had laid the basis for these reactions in everyone. More: *In the flight from the sexual plague very healthy expressions, premonitions of the natural sexual force emerged.* In circles of young National Socialists concepts emerged against which no reproach can be made, even from the strictest sex-economic viewpoint.

Although they were suffocating in the mystical veiling of a healthy sexual orientation, nevertheless they aroused the concern of the state leadership, and led here and there to conflicts and to orders against group trips for young people. The relations were reversed. National Socialists, who had set out to exterminate the sexual plague, coined the expression "*Bubi drück mich*" ("Boyfriend, hug me") for BDM ("Bund für Deutsche Maedchen"). Communists and Christians both reproached National Socialism with immorality. In 1935, the Communists in France offered to save the family better than the National Socialists. In short, there was a monstrously entangled chaos of events and ideologies. Fascism is built on the firm foundation of a forced family ideology, but at the same time it supports the demands of the young against the old, draws youth in large numbers from parental homes, collectivizes its life and thus also its sexuality. It does all this without the slightest premonition of the processes which it sets in motion, without any idea of the positive measures which are necessary to master such movements and upheavals, of the precautions necessary for their development. I would like to assert that the same forces which gave fascism its domination over the people, must lead to its downfall. Fascism is antisexual. But it thrives on the veiled sexual longing of the population. Its authoritarian family ideology and its provocation of strong life-expressions are incompatible. Thus fascism, without wanting to do so, provided invaluable services far beyond its own end. It destroyed democratic illusions, aroused the vegetative longing for life, freed youth, and annihilated the exploiters of sexual misery. Still, fascism cannot harvest a single fruit of that which it set in motion. It lacks the sense organ for it because of its political, social and psychic structure, on which it stands or falls. An intensification of the family order beyond its present level is impossible. The contradictions given within the family have already been driven to their highest peak. The suppression of involuntary life expressions has reached a point which can only boomerang in the future – and precisely with the help of the anti-capitalistic, sexual, vegetative longing which bore fascism to power and which fascism could neither understand nor satisfy.

Many have by now (1938) been able to grasp these grotesque contradictions. The whole mass propaganda of the opponents of Hitler missed

these contradictions completely or considered them senseless and irrelevant. Or they introduced the contradictions in a weaker and less stirring form but in principle the same thing. Factually and unsentimentally observed, they were and are not fascism's opponents, but its preparers and pathfinders. Before Hitler, race lore and mystical hereditary science dominated the thinking of the times, including that of the Communists, even in the Soviet Union. German hereditary scientists were later horrified by Hitlerian race practices because these ruined the concept of race for them and aroused justified hatred against the expression "hereditary." This belongs logically to all these processes.

From 1930 to 1933, all aspects of the events could not be surveyed. There could be no premonition of the confirmations which my political-psychological orientation gained in the following years. But sex-political work among different classes of the population permitted connections here and there which granted, in the midst of all the misery, some view into free, clear territory: Before Hitler, socialism had dealt with a problem of about three hundred years' standing: the *capitalistic* phase of patriarchy in only its *economic* function. Hitler forced consideration of the problem of thousands of years of suppression of human life through patriarchy. This could no longer be avoided. He forced the sharp consideration of the relationship of the psychic to the social-political process. After him, the thinking and feeling of the people could never again be overlooked and neglected as they were before. Until Hitler, the people had always been only passive tolerators of tyranny. With Hitler, they emerged as active bearers of this tyranny against their own life interests, i.e., they behaved irrationally. In this way, for the first time in history, the significance of irrationalism in the social process was unveiled. In order to let the deteriorated human structure exert an influence of its own, National Socialism had to inspire in it so much new life, to tap so much of its energy, that the reactionary content of the movement fell into insoluble conflict with its revolutionary élan. Everything depended on what forces were available to understand this gigantic process, to direct it, to supply the necessary clarity, to let it drive where it impelled everyone unconsciously. As early as 1932, it was clear that a movement which was to smash Hitler could, essentially, develop only from National Socialism itself, through the disentangling and factual solution of the tremendous questions which Hitler had unsuspectingly raised. This knowledge protected one from the illusion that Chamberlain and Deladier could "save" the Germans.

Thus the experience of fascistic mass propaganda confirmed feature by feature the assertions of my young political psychology. In summary:

1. The objective process of a society and the subjective experience of this process must be sharply distinguished. Both have their own lawfulness and their own energy.

2. Leaders are always the expression of a popular will, of the average human structure. Their thinking and acting, riddled as they are with contradictions, correspond exactly to the contradictions in the average human being.

3. The structure of the mass individual is contradictory; progressive and reactionary at the same time.

4. This structure was formed in the family and continues its influence in the state order. The problem of the family, i.e., the sexual embrace, is older and in every respect more significant than the problem of technology. This is true even though the change in the family form certainly depends on change in the technological mastery of the world.

5. Economy and ideology are not in a simple, direct relationship with one another. Just as the former can determine the latter, so can the latter basically determine the former. Moreover, in their development they can be in contradiction with one another (Schere).

6. On the basis of the technological process, the moving force of history is vegetative energy, which is expressed both socially and individually as sexual energy and longing for happiness. The results of these expressions depend upon the given political, social and economic conditions.*

7. If the energy expression of a community exceeds the limits set by these conditions, then inevitably, there is a regression, as in Russia. The life expression of the people under fascism retreated into the deepest spiritual and material misery, because it was not conscious of its own intentions and goals. Thus the old statement was confirmed that a society can accomplish only those tasks which it has consciously set for itself and which it IS ABLE TO SOLVE WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE AVAILABLE RESOURCES OF ITS SOCIAL EXISTENCE.

8. Unaware of the progressive process in German society, conservatism and political reaction excelled in understanding the ENERGY OF THE PEOPLE *and knew how to direct it to serve reactionary ends. Hence the mastery of reaction can come only from the conscious guidance of the movement set in motion by reaction.*

*The terms "bio-electric," "vegetative," and "sexual energy" were replaced by the unequivocal term BIO-ENERGETIC when, in 1939, the orgone energy, i.e., life energy, was discovered in the bions, and in 1940 in the atmosphere.

ALL POLITICIANS IN LEAGUE AGAINST SOCIAL PSYCHIATRY

I had joined the Socialist and Communist cultural and medical organizations in 1927 in order to supplant by mass pyschology the merely economistic view of society in socialist theory – a mass psychology of which at that time there was no trace. *Technically,* I had been a Socialist and a Communist in 1927-1932. *Factually, functionally,* I had never been a Socialist or a Communist and I was never accepted as such by the party bureaucrats. I never believed in the ability of the socialists and communists to really solve human emotional problems. Accordingly, I never held any party position. I knew well their dry, economistic orientation, and I wanted to help them, since they played in the 1920's in Europe the role of "progressives." I was never duped by politics, but I was slow in distinguishing *"social"* from *"political" processes.* However, I had a high regard for Karl Marx as a nineteenth century thinker in economy; today I deem his theory far surpassed and out-dated by the discovery of the Cosmic Life Energy. Of Marx's teaching, I believe only the *living* character of human productivity will remain standing, a point of view that is utterly neglected and was forgotten long ago in the socialist and communist movements alike. They fell victim to mechanistic economy and mystical mass psychology, a mistake one does not commit so consistently without forfeiting one's place in the Book of History.

And finally, there was no trace of distinction between a scientific view of society and the bestial, ignorant, despicable cruelties perpetrated upon working people by biopaths who knew how to attain power by way of intrigue. To confuse a Dunker or Kautsky or Engels with criminal murderers of the Moscow Modju type, is the surest sign of a degenerate, scientifically incompetent and confused mind. If anyone today claims to fight Communism, he must prove that in addition to chopping off heads, he knows what it is all about.

(NOTE, 1952)

[It is impossible to master functions of life well if one does not live them fully. No coal miner can mine coal while avoiding coal-mining. No bridge builder can build a bridge over an abyss without actually risking falling into the abyss. No physician can cure an infectious disease without risking getting killed himself. The one knows nothing about marriage who never was married, and no one knows what giving birth to a child is like who never gave birth to a child or at least assisted practically in the birth of infants. This is the meaning of WORK DEMOCRACY.

When Malinowski went to study ancient cultures, he went to the Trobriand Islands; there he lived with the Trobriands in their huts, living their lives and loving their loves, and thus he came to discover FUNCTIONALISM IN ETHNOLOGY. TO THINK FUNCTIONALLY, YOU MUST LIVE FUNCTIONALLY.

In the same vein, when I decided to do preventive mental hygiene work, on the broad social scene (today called " SOCIAL PSYCHIATRY *"), I had to – and I gladly, even enthusiastically did so – join the people at the very roots of society wherever and however they lived, loved, hated, suffered and dreamt into an uncertain future. At that time in Europe the so-called lower classes were organized under socialist and communist leadership. There were four to five million communist and seven million socialist voters in Germany alone, and the twelve million leftist votes loomed large among about thirty million total votes in Germany. One must have lived these facts to know what "leftists" are, and one cannot possibly judge Europe from the American continent without having lived and known these facts. One must also know that the Communist party in Austria and Germany in the late twenties was still predominantly democratically oriented, and had not as yet fallen fully prey to the Red Fascists as was the case in the thirties.*

This, then, was my realm of field work in Social Psychiatry, and my first steps in Social Psychiatry soon met with the full evil force of the Emotional Plague of man. It was not long before I began to realize:

I WAS THE FIRST PHYSICIAN AND PSYCHIATRIST TO DISCOVER THE EMOTIONAL PLAGUE ON THE SOCIAL SCENE. I ALSO WAS THE FIRST PHYSICIAN TO FIND MYSELF ENTANGLED IN A DEADLY FIGHT WITH THE WORST ENDEMIC DISEASE WHICH EVER HAD RAVAGED MANKIND, A FIGHT WHICH WAS TO CONTINUE TO THE PRESENT DAY. *To realize this was a crucial prerequisite to muster the skill and the will to learn which were indispensable if I was to survive in this struggle.* – WR]

I can only hope that I have succeeded in showing the importance of the sexual life of the people, i.e., that it represents a universal, human and thus also a social fact. The sexualizing of the political life of our time should be replaced by the socially correct mastery of deteriorated private life. Communists, Social Democrats, National Socialists, psychoanalysts and police each claimed that they could arrange life on a new basis. Let us see what lessons our work taught after it was no longer carried on in academic and private circles, but where alone it had a meaning and a goal: Among the people themselves, who, in the last analysis, decide the further development of society. The picture that they placed before my

eyes was that of the stage setting on which fascism paraded its victory march. In this setting there was both the splendid display of its ideological force and also the confusion and the plunder, which the brilliance of the set concealed. And in the midst of the plunder there were simple human beings with simple, self-evident human desires. For instance, a fourteen-year-old girl who had come over from the Hitler Youth to one of the youth groups I counselled. She had become pregnant; she had heard that "the Reds" had sympathetic doctors who understood such things, and now she sought help. I helped her to give birth to the child under proper conditions and without fear. At one of the evening meetings of the youth group, I had explained what social conditions threatened to plunge this girl into deep misery. Had the girl not accidentally come to me, but hit upon the usual kind of physician, she would immediately have been sent to a reform school. I will never forget the burning expression in the eyes of this girl. She thought and felt for millions. After the end of the discussion, a ten-year-old girl came up to me, remained standing next to me



Courtesy, New York Times

PEOPLE, WATCHING A MARRIAGE CEREMONY

for a long time with a thoughtful expression on her face, then, silently, she stroked my arm, her eyes filled with tears. We did not exchange a word. We knew what we both wanted. We realized how close, how uncomfortably and dangerously close, our thinking and our work were to the filthy, most horrible realms of human existence in present-day life. But we both understood that one cannot clear away a pile of dung if one anxiously protects oneself from coming in contact with that dung.

In these years, in the midst of young people and adults of different parties and political convictions, it became completely clear that my work in the "lower" realms of society ("*Unterwelt*") was gradually supplying the answer to the whole problem of National Socialistic ideology, the answer to the problem "Man, Culture and Nature." I zealously avoided giving way to philosophic thinking on the subject. I would have needed ten-fold Hitler's grace of the gods to keep myself humanly clean if I did. The events which met me and my work in the following six years could be survived only by keeping the picture of these people before me in every situation which seemed to mean my end. I am not shrewd by nature, but on the contrary, naive. The picture of these human beings taught me to be shrewd. Like many others, I, too, could have withdrawn from all political matters. The crimes committed everywhere against children and adolescents prevented me from doing so. To behave any differently had become impossible. In 1937, some Fascist youths came to me when I was in exile, and took away for their comrades some copies of the manuscript of my book on youth – necessarily "expurgated." The high politics of Hitler had made a wasteland of Germany and the world. My problem had remained unchanged. I had only to delete from my book those passages which the bureaucratic party politicians had led me to insert. In logical fashion, five years later everything was false and unusable that dehumanized party thinking had considered correct, and everything was correct which the young people themselves were able to put into my hands as answers to the problems of their life.

To assert that one possesses the answer to the whole problem of National Socialistic ideology is rash. I will have to describe how the events between 1932 and 1938 gave me the right answer; to describe how obsolete became that which my former opponents maintained, and how that which they fought stood the test of time independent of me. To describe this is indispensable. For it was possible only under the pressure of the ruin of the world by fascism, which these opponents did not understand and did not wish to understand; which, on the contrary, they bore in

themselves as a basic attitude. Fascism has placed three great questions before the world:

1. *How can the sexual misery be mastered?* The answer was in principle, through the establishment of natural sexual life and *its distinction from the deformed, present-day sexual life which everyone opposed.*

2. *How can the borrowed, false, illusory self-confidence of people be replaced by natural self-confidence which is based on a satisfying life?* Clinical and mass-psychological experience gave the answer: *By the establishment of unarmored, freely motile, vigorous, sex-affirming structures.*

3. *How can the establishing of dictatorships of a few individuals over millions be prevented?* By creating the capacity in human beings for self-determination and self-mastery of their life, i.e., through *genuine social democracy.*

Socialists, democrats and communists gave the following answers to the above questions:

On December 5, 1932, two months before the great bank crash, a notice appeared in the German *Fichte* newspaper *Red Sport,* which most strictly prohibited the further distribution and sale of literature published by me. This included DER EINBRUCH DER SEXUALMORAL, DER SEXUELLE KAMPF DER JUGEND, WENN DEIN KIND DICH FRAGT, DAS KREIDERDREIECK, etc. The notice read:

> *"Stop Distribution!*
>
> "The pamphlets by Reich taken over by the literature distributor of the KG from the Verlag für Sexualpolitik, have been withdrawn and their further distribution is banned.
>
> "The taking over of the distribution resulted from a misunderstanding. In the pamphlets by Reich, the problems are treated in a way that is contradictory to the correct, revolutionary education of children and adolescents. (Detailed exposition of our stand follows in the next number.)"
>
> *It never followed!*

My sex-political organization thereupon spontaneously demanded a meeting of Greater Berlin party functionaries. This and all further actions, which were undertaken in difficult circumstances, to support my work, always were spontaneous. I have made it a principle not "to lead" or "instigate campaigns." If the cause was right, it had first to show that it spoke up for itself through the words and actions of those concerned. Only thus could the necessary bitter experiences be gathered regarding the capacity of people who had little or no factual training *to guide their own cause.* A letter of the Charlottenburg group to the party leadership stated (December 10, 1932): "By means of the shabbiest kinds of in-

trigue, the leaders of the cultural organizations have sabotaged the distribution of the literature necessary for our movement and are also trying now to suppress this literature, *against* the decisions of the Greater Berlin faction of the organization." The organization demanded the removal of the leaders of the German Cultural Organization of the Communist party. In December, 1932, soon after the edict against my books, the leader of the Berlin-Brandenburg sport organization "Fichte" (Deputy Grube) called a conference of functionaries. With the worst kind of distortions and threats, he defended and argued for the edict: It would simply be "counter-revolutionary" to offer this kind of stuff to the young people. It corrupted their fighting spirit and had nothing to do with "proletarian class morality." A short while ago, some adolescents had approached the Fichte sport leaders and had asked that the organization provide clean rooms and the opportunity for an undisturbed love life. One of the assertions made was that such inadequacies damaged the organization. They had "cited Reich." When he heard of the "scandal," Reich had written to the Fichte leadership that the youths were completely right, only they had gone to the wrong address. The Association was the proper place, not a sport organization. Unheard of!

A friend of the work came to me afterward and explained that eighty percent of all functionaries, otherwise loyal, obedient members of the party, had stood up against the leaders of the organization. There had been a big uproar. On the following day, some young workers came to me and explained that my manuscripts would continue to be circulated, in spite of the edict. And so it went!

One day a commotion arose in the Communist parliamentary faction. In Dresden, a resolution formulated on October 16, 1932 by the Socialist youth organizations circulated among the youth of all political affiliations. This resolution was considered a gigantic scandal. It endangered the "dignity of the Party." It dragged the great political tasks down to the level of the gutter. One was ashamed. At any time, opponents could attack this work and make "political capital" out of it. The slogan "A room of his own for every adolescent" was "incredible." Every chance was being lost of "winning over the Christians." (In 1936, there was a *pact* with the Christians!!) The instigator of the resolution had to be excluded from the party immediately. When it was learned that the resolution was formulated after a youth conference to which I had been invited, there was the greatest embarrassment. At that time I could not be excluded. The organizations of the Communist, Social Democratic and bourgeois youth had spread my writings by the thousands. There

would have been a fierce rebellion. Shortly before, the Berlin Communist youth organization together with the Socialist youth had, for the first time since the united front efforts, succeeded in calling a general conference for discussion of the personal and from there the general social situation of youth. I had spoken at this conference. The young people were enthusiastic. They had finally bridged the contradictions and found a *common* work for themselves. Moreover, I had written the book on youth at the request of the organization. It was not a pretty picture! A former, severely critical opponent of my work with youth had attended a youth gathering in Neukolln and was completely surprised at the youths' interest, how actively they took part in the debate, and that even the "great political" questions were brought up. The work had spoken for itself. The above-mentioned person had become a friend. The Dresden resolution of the revolutionary youth in common with other youth groups stated:

Resolution prepared at the conference of the representatives of the proletarian-revolutionary youth organizations of the U.B. *Dresden on October 16, 1932.*

The assembled representatives of the proletarian youth organizations (K.J.V., I.A.H.V.) resolved to incorporate the work in the sex-political realm into the general work for the overthrow of capitalism, having as a goal the broadest mobilization of active youth. They were clearly and unanimously of the opinion that the former neglect of the sexual question of youth has had a harmful effect on the revolutionary work of the youth organizations. Disintegration of the groups, great turnover in members, political passivity, etc. have the closest connection with the disturbed and undisturbed sexual life of youth. This confusion and unclarity regarding the sexual question of youth is itself a result of the capitalistic sexual order and serves the interests of the church and the ruling classes, with the goal of the intellectual subjugation of the youth of all circles. Sex-political work as an essential part of revolutionary work in general must first of all concentrate on the following points:

1. Clarification of the question in the Party itself and its organizations; *connection* and not separation of the personal and the political questions, that is, *ceaseless politicization of sexual life*.

2. Destruction of the one-sided truce which still rules in these realms between bourgeoisie and proletariat (only the bourgeoisie fights for its own interests in all sexual questions); that is, declaration of war on the bourgeoisie by means of proletarian strategy in these realms also (actions, for instance, against the morality laws such as those of Bracht, etc.).

3. Mobilization of the youth of all political persuasions on the basis of a clear, affirmative stand on the sexual life of youth, with demonstration of the impossibility of acquiring the prerequisites for a healthy sexual life under capitalism. Penetration into the Christian, National Socialist and Social Democratic organizations through constant exposition of the contradictions between the members of these organizations and their leadership.

4. The prerequisite for the above is ideological clarity with regard to the difficulties in the youth organizations (proportion of girls to boys, attraction of indifferent youths from the dance halls with the help of the sexual questions, etc.).

The conference is aware of the enormous difficulties which have to be overcome in this realm, but it is equally convinced that the sexual question of youth is one

of the most important class struggle questions in the sense of the mobilization of youth for the overthrow of capitalism, that capitalism not only causes hunger, but also takes away the right to a sexual life through laws and persecutions as well as education, and thus creates misery. The reactionary sex-politics of the bourgeoisie of all political shadings, with the help of which active youth is bound in chains of submissiveness to capitalism (as for instance the Center Party with its one-and-a-half million youth), must be opposed by a clear, sex-affirming, revolutionary sex-politics, for the powerful strengthening of the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. The overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the attainment of power for the workers will solve the burning question of the sexual life of youth in the framework of all questions of the social revolution.

"Long live the proletarian revolution!"

"Well-meaning friends" had always advised me to take "a less aggressive and more tactical" stand. In the Dresden district, the work was led by a friend of our cause, a 21-year-old youth who hardly knew me. Here are some excerpts from his written reports:

"I would like to communicate to you some of my experiences and to show the difficulties that arise when these questions are dealt with in the youth organizations . . . . Even the secretariat of the youth association makes difficulties for me in my speaking on these questions in the groups, and would like to stop me from speaking. I discussed these questions so clearly and soberly that they were understood by the youths with the exception of a few, and, to be sure, it was just these few who politically were at the head of the movement and should have understood what was the matter with the organization. They opposed me. I can only tell you what a satisfaction it was for me to see how the youths defended their rights. I had the impression — figuratively speaking — of youth defending itself here against the suppression of its body. Thirty-eight to forty of the adolescents present agreed with me . . . . But the two political leaders and another youth took a different stand. I wanted to resign; then the youths told me that they didn't want anyone else to handle these questions and asked that I come back. I am faced with the question of fighting the cause through correctly and discrediting the political leadership, or yielding. The decision is very difficult for me . . ."

The lesson is: It is impossible for human beings of today, including youth, to maintain a position of leadership and not thereby become sexually rigid themselves. Present-day organizations demand "dignity" from leaders. *Stiff dignity and sexual health appear to be incompatible.* Thus vital life questions of human beings cannot be solved with these leaders. Bureaucracy and the Living form a deadly antithesis. We will meet the gigantic significance of this problem again and again. *It is the core question of every earnest endeavor for something new.* It is carried by the need for authority on the part of the people who want simply to live sexually themselves, but demand that their leaders be authoritarian, that is, bureaucratic — in short, chaste. And the leaders, forced into chastity, revenge themselves on the people by imposing on them chastity, morality, "good conduct," instead of solving the sexual life question *positively. No!*

An honest leader says to the people: I am only a man, a living being, and so like everyone else must also embrace and love women (or, men if the leader is a woman). Whoever does not understand that is incapable of understanding the revolution in our life. How am I to understand Life if I become stone-like or secretly live out my longing for love on back-door steps? *That* is how genuine guides of social organizations speak!!! Everything else is Hitlerism, i.e., *divine impotence!!* And so sat the Hitlers in the leadership of the party which wanted to secure for Germany a "new, better, free future."

On January 29, 1933, four weeks before the onset of the catastrophe, a conference of the German Association took place in Berlin. It stated that Hitler unjustly accused the Communist of "*Kulturbolschewismus.*" The physician Dr. Friedlander who had been most warmly in favor of my book on youth when *everyone* was for it, led one of those deadening discussions, on "The political situation and our tasks." The following excerpts are from the stenographic protocol:

"Sexual pleasure is not, as Reich says, a moving force in history . . ."

"The theory of Reich is a concession to the petty bourgeoisie . . ." [*who ran right to Hitler with waving flags and burning hearts!*]

The leader of the Bolshevik-Communist cultural organization of Germany: "Why, then, should only hunger and sexuality make history? One can say just as well that the need to breathe makes history. With that kind of nonsense we only divert the masses from the struggle against the economic basis." [!!]

(The good man, fortunately prevented from becoming a protector of culture, had no idea of what he was saying when he referred to *the people's need to breathe.* I would have been able to confirm this sentence clinically for him three years later.)

"Equally monstrous is Reich's view that sexual repression occurs in all classes. In this way he denies the existence of the antithesis of the classes. Worst of all, however, is the fact that in SEXUELLE KAMPF DER JUGEND he asserts that there are conflicts between generations. That means that the class struggle is to be shifted to the family instead of concentrating all forces on the political struggle against exploitation and impoverishment."

E., leader of the German sex-political organization: "The great majority of our members do not come to us because of sexual needs. The statistics of our organization proves that the majority of our members are unemployed." [*Logic!!*]

A functionary from Essen: "We have discovered that people are attracted by sexual subjects who otherwise would not have come. Not only Christian women, but also National Socialists. We have even succeeded in getting them to take part in demonstrations."

D., woman leader of the West German organization: "We have also seen that with sexual topics one can attract strata of the population which otherwise aren't approachable. At the first meeting on sex-politics in an armament factory

which we hadn't organized at all, sixty women were present. Now we have groups in this factory which come forward with special demands of a social-hygienic nature." [*But of what concern was this to these organizations?*]

A Communist physician: "Reich wishes to make fornication organizations out of our associations! That is a crime against our youth, and our youth is our future." [*The majority of the assembled functionaries protested.*] "For ten years I have never had difficulties with sex-political work." [*How very much I envied this cheerful class fighter!*]

The matter would not quiet down! In the voting of the German functionaries on a resolution directed against my work, thirty-nine voted for the party representatives, thirty-two for me. The party leadership had prepared for a week. I had not lifted a finger to corral votes for myself, as I always believed that persuasions and suggestive measures are senseless. *Only one who himself fights for his viewpoint was useful in this struggle.* The discussions continued on February 18 and 19, 1933. Now "The party" itself through its cultural representative B states in a talk entitled "Political report and our tasks":

"The books by Reich are consciously or unconsciously, I tentatively assume unconsciously, counter-revolutionary . . . The Central Committee of the CP has fully and completely approved our interpretation. A thorough analysis of Reich's falsification of Marxism will follow [*it never appeared* — WR] . . . The Berlin faction has decided against the decisions of the Reich leadership to distribute Reichian literature . . . Reich's writings are an attempt to discredit Marxism. Whoever believes in our organizations [*note well: sex-political organizations!!*] and thinks he can carry on sex-politics, is mistaken. *Politics* will be carried on by us, not sex-politics!!"

The same woman functionary who previously had boasted of her good experiences with sex-political work, reversed her stand: Anatomical details and "unaesthetic irrelevancies" should not be brought in. It was incorrect to place sexual questions in the foreground in the training of the functionaries. [*Why, then, were there sex-political organizations???*] "Our members are more interested in the strategy and tactics of the class struggle."

Party representative of Marxism, B: "Monstrous is Reich's assertion in the EINBRUCH DER SEXUAL MORAL that the productive force, working power, is sublimated sexual energy. This would mean that dialectical materialism is wrong. Accordingly, Marx's DAS KAPITAL is also sublimated sexual energy."

The Communist woman physician Marta Ruben-Wolff declared that there were no orgasm disturbances among the proletariat. They appeared only in the bourgeoisie. It was, moreover, the fault of the Communist party faction that Reich had gained so much influence. He had worked

seriously but the Communist medical faction had done nothing with these questions. On the other hand, Reich's theoretical basis had to be discarded.

Thus the love of the people was stolen, but the safeguarding of their final independence by such representatives of dialectical-materialistic theory and revolutionary freedom was perfidious. A young physician who for years had been enthusiastic about my work, declared innocently that my theory must be discarded, for the questions had to be posed "politically." In contrast to mine, psychology in Russia was "materialistic."

After an impressive remark of the party representatives that a split threatened if the resolution were not unanimously accepted, the vote resulted in fifteen votes for the party leadership, seven for me, and three abstained from voting. Since I had no organizational power whatsoever, it was a gigantic success for me, and my only weapon: *Truth about living Life.*

At the same time, reactions to the youth book came in from the organization:

Neue Lehrerzeitung, February, 1933, Berlin:

"This book of the author, who is known through numerous psychoanalytical and psychopathological works, assumes a special position with regard to similar writings since he examines sexual problems from the standpoint of the class character of present-day ruling concepts. While, for example, Hodann, in spite of the clear factual presentations in his writings, quite unmistakably reveals his weakness when it is a question of showing ways to solve the sexual problems, Reich, on the other hand, gives a thorough analysis of the social roots of sexual misery and demonstrates that the sexual liberation can be expected only from a change in the economic and political bases of society. The book is written in popular language and thus will be of special service as a trail-blazer to youth, for whom it was written. We also recommend it to all teachers and educaters who want an introduction to the sexual question from the Marxian point of view."

Reaction of a stenographer:

"Absolutely no fault can be found with the book. It is clearly and simply written and it would be very good if everyone would at least dip into it. The way it is published is also splendid."

Die Rote Fahne, Vienna, December 14, 1932:

"This book was written already in 1931. Nevertheless, it is and remains a book of the greatest timeliness because here comrade Reich demonstrates clearly and relentlessly the indivisible connections between sexual misery and the ruling order. However, the author also endeavors to give proletarian youth — suffering in its sexual life — as much practical advice as can be given within this social order. But he gives the best advice when he says: 'If you fight against this order, then you also fight for your sexual freedom and dignity.' Hence this richly instructive book must be recommended to fighting proletarian youth."

That was embarrassing for the party leadership!

Reaction of a youth district cell in Charlottenburg:

"I have read the book with some other fellows. They were enthusiastic and said that there haven't been any such pamphlets up till now. Everything in the book is swell. You have dealt clearly with all that concerns us. A lot has become clear to us just from reading it."

From a youth group leader in Neukölln:

"Have read your book SEXUAL KAMPF DER JUGEND with excited interest. I could see that in content and style it far surpasses your pamphlet SEXUALERREGUNG UND BEFRIEDIGUNG. The fact is to be especially emphasized that almost every chapter is discussed on a Marxist basis [means here "true" basis] and is a brilliant source of study for the proletarian youth organizations, all the more since practical examples are selected from the KJVD and Fichte groups, which also illustrate the sexual misery of youth in the youth organizations.

"If I have nothing critical to say in general, I do take the liberty of saying something about or completing individual questions which the pamphlet touches upon. We hope that the pamphlet will appear soon in our youth organizations, since it is the first piece of writing which tells us: 'What is — What must be done?' 'When is the adolescent really mature enough to begin having sexual intercourse?' The sexual problem is solved in so clear and understandable a fashion that it would be a help not only for all proletarian youth but also for many other adolescents. I find that the last sections contain too much Communist propaganda [*which had been forced upon the publication by party politicians.*] If a more general form were chosen, it would certainly be read by more youths, for not all adolescents are Communistic. I believe the most important thing is that it comes into the hands of very many youths so that youth can win sexual liberation."

Let us pause a moment in order to survey the questions which such conferences, decisions, betrayals, etc., raise. They are not questions of a local nature. They concern not only the realm of sex-politics. They are basic questions of every human organization. Without their being answered there will be no real changes, but only illusions about freedom. The infinite difficulties of social living have heretofore destroyed every attempt to solve the basic problem of our society – the separation of its members into classes. After the fiasco of the Russian Revolution, there can be no doubt of this. In the conferences and quarrels described above, one experienced the following:

However revolutionary may be their gestures, human beings are afraid of stepping out of line, of leaving the solid ranks of the mass of people. This is valid for all circles and realms of life.

Pettinesses, which human beings commit because they have a bad conscience, are committed completely *unconsciously*, because the feeling of self does not allow anything else. The processes in the Soviet Union with regard to sabotage and espionage, which filled the following years, were full of these mechanisms and hence incomprehensible to purely rationalistic thinking.

The powerful attraction to the thoughts of human freedom, but the

simultaneous helpless collapse when the first difficulties turn up. Again the contradiction between *longing* for freedom and *capacity* for freedom.

The running of official, political functions by private, completely personal feelings and attitudes. Hence the complete senselessness of politics in general.

The infantile expectations of the people as soon as they come under authoritarian influence of whatever kind.

The irresponsible readiness of the Socialist organizations to support correct ideas so long as they do not fully understand them, and their equally prompt readiness to throw them over as soon as they perceive the effect of *correct* ideas.

The deep, unbridgeable chasm which separates the life of the people from their organized representatives who are equipped with power.

The compulsion toward bureaucratization on the part of every leader of the people as soon as he rises above the mass level. The sexual core of every bureaucracy. The incompatible antithesis of bureaucracy and natural sexual living.

The seeming untrustworthiness of the people which results from their inability to master objective situations. The contempt for the people on the part of those who never make the effort to pursue a social problem to its roots.

I often considered giving up the whole mass-psychological endeavor and devoting myself solely to medical-clinical work. Social guilt feelings could have been overcome: Accomplishments from social guilt feelings do not endure. Nor would deep conviction in the correctness of Marxian sociology have prevented me from withdrawing. Rather, the unscientific nature of the Marxist parties would have called for a rapid break on my part. Burning interest in the extraordinary human reactions held my undeviating attention. Urgently important research work depended on understanding them. Hence I did not leave any organization or workers' group with which I was active, but let everything come as it had to. That brought me invaluable knowledge and, I may say, it also implanted strength. First of all, it meant overcoming personal "touchy feelings"; secondly, experiences for the future; thirdly and finally, correct mass-psychological insight. *If one wishes to fight the plague, one must expose oneself to it. There could be no doubt that neuroses and politics were such a plague of humanity.* All of this appeared to be "unproletarian" or "unscientific" adventuring to the staid politicians and professional colleagues.

It was not without dangerous situations. The socialist *Reichsbanner*

youth had merged in some districts with the Communist youth. The different party leaders fought one another in a shameful fashion. For instance, the Communists in December, 1932, ordered the party members not to mix in the ranks but only to "stand on the sidewalk" during the large common demonstrations of the Social Democrats. The people joined forces against the will of the party. I had put myself and my car at the disposal of an armed formation, consisting of the *Reichsbanner* and workers' defense. Men of all professions and circles wanted to take part in the fight against fascism. I wrote a leaflet for the fighting formations, several hundred thousand copies of which were distributed; it called for more flexibility in the parties and common action against the planned Fascist seizure of power in Berlin during the March election.

My meetings in Leipzig, Stettin, Dresden, etc. were filled to overflowing. On February 24, 1933, invited by the Danish student organization to give a lecture on problems of race and fascism, I traveled to Copenhagen. On the ship, I was interviewed by "*Politiken*," the largest Danish newspaper of the government. I was also to speak in a meeting which "*Politiken*" wanted to arrange. After the first evening at the students' meeting, there was intense enthusiasm. After the second lecture at a workers' meeting, where I spoke on fascism and Germany, "*Politiken*" called off their meeting. It must have been too much for an organ of the government. Early on February 28, I returned to Berlin. In the evening, the Reichstag burned and in the morning, fifteen hundred functionaries and intellectuals were arrested. I escaped this arrest only because the Fascist lists were prepared according to the official positions held by those to be arrested. I, however, had never held an official position.

The six days after the arrests were frightful. The organizations seemed to be paralyzed. No one could be found. On March 1, 1933, I accidentally met a Communist Reichstag deputy at a colleague's house. The question was what was to happen on March 5, the election day which Hitler, as the Chancellor appointed by Hindenburg, had set. The Communist deputy said that the rest of the party leadership had given the order to protect the workers' dwellings and to break up the Fascist marching columns. I knew from a worker in the socialist military formation that the already organized forty thousand armed workers wanted nothing more than to "let loose" if it came to spontaneous mass demonstrations. It did not come to any mass demonstrations. The last one occurred in the middle of February when one hundred thousand people, in the bitter cold, mute and grave, marched by the Karl Liebknecht house where Thälmann and the Central Committee of the party were. They

expected the party to begin the fight. Although the party knew that the broad public was passive, still it gave the order to break up the Fascist columns while the armed formations waited for the masses and made their action dependent upon the masses.

Three good friends of mine were among the arrested. They were workers who led divisions of the defense unit. Two of them were shot on the same day in the SA barracks on Pape Strasse. The death penalty was given for possession of arms and distribution of leaflets, or for aiding in this work. Four days before the election, youths came to me to borrow my car. Arms and leaflets were to be transported into a suburb of Berlin. We agreed that in case of an arrest, the driver should explain that the auto had been stolen. After they drove off, it occurred to me that we had not decided *where* the auto was to have been stolen. This omission meant that everything was lost if they were caught. They were to bring the auto at the latest at one o'clock to a definite place in the inner part of the city. We agreed that I should report the theft of the auto if they were not there by one o'clock. That would be the sign that things had gone badly. An anxious six hours passed. They were splendid human beings who had gone out at the risk of their lives if the leaflets were found. I waited at the place agreed upon. The time went by. It was one o'clock, but the car did not come. That meant they had been arrested. What to do? To report a theft was impossible since the next question would be where had the car been. Then everything would be revealed. There was no way out. The only possible one was immediate flight. I had neither money nor papers with me. I could not go to my house since my home was watched. The SA had already been there. I lived at that time in another hotel where I was registered under a false name. Two days ago, my children had moved to their grandparents in Vienna. My wife lived with friends. Not to report the car as lost also meant sure catastrophe. Anxiety swept over me, but soon it was followed by a remarkable icy coldness. I still wanted to wait. A half hour passed after one o'clock. The auto did not come. I felt miserable. I was on the point of going away when I saw the car in the distance. They had had a flat tire on the way back. All had gone well. We went into a bar and had a strong whiskey – and were good friends. They, too, had thought of our stupid mistake.

The next day, an article on my youth book appeared in *Völkischer Beobachter*. I could not stay any longer. Two friends from the Sexpol organization urged that I flee immediately. I had no money. To where? We decided that I should first travel across the southern border with my

wife in ski dress as tourists. We left at night. On the train we saw some friends, but we did not greet each other. At a small Bavarian town, we got off *before* the border. No one knew whether lists of those to be arrested had arrived at the border. We wanted to learn that first of all. We lived for two days with an old couple who were all for the Nazis. Bavaria had not yet been won over. Held still ruled there. But the SA was everywhere. The newspaper reports from Berlin eliminated any thought of return. Anxiously, we went across the border. All went smoothly with our Austrian passports. On the other side, we got out. My wife was then to travel back to Berlin and write me whether I could return. From Berlin she informed me that under no circumstance should I return. Nevertheless, I returned across the border to Berlin. I was without clothes and washing utensils, without the most necessary equipment for a possible long emigration. In Berlin, my friends believed that I had gone crazy. It was, to be sure, not the first time.

I registered under my own full name in a "Stunden" hotel. That seemed to me to be the safest thing to do. An Austrian in a "Stunden" hotel, correctly registered with name and with a deposited passport, couldn't be anything but a harmless foreigner who didn't know his way around. I sent an unsuspected person to my home to find out whether I could return home and fetch my clothes. The SA, I heard, had been there again, had taken with them a watch and books, among which were one on Indian love technique by Kamasutran and one with Japanese woodcuts. That was completely in line with my diagnosis of the psychic roots of National Socialistic enthusiasm. The girl had innocently reported the theft to the police and some objects were returned. On a dark evening, I crept into my home and packed a few clothes. Furniture, library and car had to remain behind. An invaluable file and an archives, including many manuscripts, had already – after my first flight – been taken by friends into safety and were located in different parts of Germany. I remained a few days longer, but could not reach anyone. Unpolitical acquaintances showed clearly, even if in friendly fashion, that they did not want to be compromised. And so I journeyed back to Vienna with a few Marks in my pocket; there I could take up my practice again without difficulties. In the strict sense, I was not an "emigrant."

BACK IN VIENNA

In Vienna, I did not encounter a very promising situation. The three years' absence had disrupted former relations. I had to begin anew. I lived with friends. In their behavior they were, I noticed, extremely

helpful, but they did not have at all a correct view of the processes in Germany. "In Austria something like that would not have happened." "To clear out without a fight was a shame." "In Austria the cause goes forward." "A revolutionary section of the *Schutzbund* was just formed within the Social Democratic party." One would learn from the German events. "The Austrians would smash fascism." No one had any inkling of February, 1934, still less of March, 1938. I did not want to be discouraging and remained silent. I did not believe in victory in the near future. The student organization of the Austrian Socialist party invited me to give a lecture. As well as I could, I presented what I knew, but said nothing about the political consequences. It would have been of no use. It was too deep a problem to be understood and mastered practically in a short time. However, everyone understood the "schism" (*Schere*) in the historical development. I refused to draw the political consequences when some friends, who knew them, challenged me to do so. Not because police were in the hall, but because I rejected the idea of only making speeches without any chance of also getting a real movement going. First, many illusions about politics, the nature of the party and the "class struggle" had to be removed before mass psychology could be taken seriously. [*This dangerously evasive attitude governs wide realms on the American scene, 1952.*]

Early in the summer of 1938, Freud had to leave Vienna and flee to London, robbed of his possessions by the SA. Most Viennese psychoanalysts became homeless emigrants. They had been "unpolitical" scientists who did not wish to mix science with politics.

In January, 1932, Freud, as editor of the *Psychoanalytic Journal* had added a prefatory note to my work on masochism in which I clinically refuted the death instinct theory. Through the efforts of German Socialist physicians, the publication of this note was prevented. It read:

> Special circumstances force the editor here to remind the reader of something which elsewhere is taken as self-evident: Namely, that this journal grants, within the framework of psychoanalysis, to every author who submits an article for publication, the full right to free expression of opinion and assumes no responsibility for these expressions. In the case of Dr. Reich, however, the reader should be informed that the author is a member of the Bolshevik party. Now it is known that Bolshevism sets limits to the freedom of scientific research just as does the church. Party obedience demands that everything be refuted which contradicts the assumptions of its own theory of salvation. It is left to the reader of the journal to clear the author of this article from any such suspicion. The editor would have decided to insert the same kind of note if a paper by a member of the Society Jesu were presented to him.

I knew that Freud's remarks about the Communist party were com-

pletely correct. But I also knew that he avoided the same question the Communists avoided, and also that he did nothing against the bureaucratization of the International Psychoanalytical Association. In order to do something, one must first have suffered from the bureaucracy which one wants to master. I also did not want to omit that I had learned much among the Communists regarding the criticism of social existence, just as I had learned in all other organizations. Hence I refrained from withdrawing or changing my article in order to spare embarrassment. A way out was finally found: Bernfeld wrote a counter-article which appeared in the journal together with my work on masochism. Freud's foreword did not appear. Bernfeld damaged himself very much by his rejoinder. My article met with agreement everywhere. Still, factual and organizational ties are different things. This, too, is a part of social psychiatry: *The organizational tie of people hurts their factual convictions, if the organization begins to contradict the cause.* In my answer to the editorial board of the Journal, I stuck to my view that:

1. *My criticism of the death instinct theory has nothing to do with any party. It is* CLINICALLY *based.*

2. *I had complete freedom in the party to give courses on psychoanalytic psychology. On the other hand, I had been requested by the chairman of the Berlin Psychoanalytic Association after my arrival not to introduce* SOCIOLOGICAL *themes into the professional organization.*

3. *The direction of my analytical research has social consequences: The death instinct theory was established in order to* AVOID *these consequences. I had already criticized this theory at a time when I was as yet not socially active.*

4. *Works heavily burdened with* WELTANSCHAUNG *such as those by Pastor Pfister or the metaphysicist Kolnai were never limited in any way. Hence, the criticism directed toward me was biased.*

5. *My refutation of the death instinct theory was never answered factually. The question remains open.*

Eitingon, the President of the Association, had asked me as early as October, 1932 not to permit any candidates to attend my technical seminar. It was attended by some twenty practicing Berlin analysts. I rejected this unjustified demand. Eitingon rejected my election to membership in the Berlin Teaching Institute. Nevertheless, I gave lectures at the Institute which were very popular.

In January, 1933, I had made a contract with the Psychoanalytic Publishing House whereby it was to publish my book CHARACTER ANALYSIS. When I came to Vienna, the director of the publishing house explained

to me that the contract had to be canceled because of the political situation. I protested, but the decision was not changed. Since the galley proofs of the book had already been run off, the book could be published "by your own press" and then taken on commission by the publishing house of the International Psychoanalytic Association. I paid the printing costs. The incident was intended to reduce the influence of my book. One did not want to be compromised by my name, and the organization, in which I was still a fully authorized member, took no regard for my work, my expenditures or my situation. I could only hold to the principles involved (letter of March 17, 1933):

1. *The political reaction identifies psychoanalysis with the concept "cultural bolshevism." With good reason, since the science of analysis is a threat to the existence of Fascist ideology. The sociological, cultural-political character of psychoanalysis can not be wiped out of the world and it also cannot be concealed. Such an attempt would only damage the scientific work, but would never prevent reactionary political powers from scenting the danger wherever it was.*

2. *The cultural-political character of psychoanalysis beyond its medical value is admitted by the professional organization. Any concealment of this fact is senseless self-sacrifice. There exists a strong group of psychoanalysts who intend to carry on the cultural-political struggle. The existence of this group remains politically compromising, no matter whether it is inside or outside of the International Psychoanalytic Association.*

3. *The role of psychoanalysis in this struggle can only be on the side of the workers.* Psychoanalysis as a research method must be safeguarded, and not the existence of the analyst at any price. It has only* ONE *master, the progressive social movement, which right now is learning a bloody lesson in Germany. "The historical process has in no way been concluded with Hitler. If ever proof of the historical justification for the existence of psychoanalysis and its sociological function was needed, then now, in this present phase of development, is the time it must be shown."*

I was aware that this letter would change nothing, but I wished to separate myself at any cost from the attitude of the professional organization. No one could know what fate would bring. I harmed myself personally, as my letter must of necessity arouse a bad conscience and hence anger. But that I could not help.

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And the consequences came. After my lecture before the Socialist students, a letter arrived from the chairman of the Vienna Psychoanalytical Association. Politely, but curtly he requested that I give no more lectures before Socialistic and Communistic organizations. The chairman was a member of the Austrian Social Democratic party. It was always that way: The Social Democratic party acted as a brake on decent work long before on-rushing fascism crushed it completely. I answered that I could give no binding promise, but that in every case I would consult with the committee. Thereupon, I learned by telephone that my promise to consult was not sufficient; I must *bind myself* not to lecture. I requested a written communication on the subject. I repeated that I could not make any pledge on that point. Then the chairman asked me not to take part in the meetings of the Association. He explained to my wife that were he in my position, he would long since have withdrawn from the Association. I suggested a discussion in the Vienna Executive Committee of the IPA [International Psychoanalytic Association]. It took place on April 21, 1933. At this meeting, I proposed that I would refrain from any publication and lecturing activity until the Association had officially declared whether or not it found my views compatible with my membership in the organization. Hitherto it had taken no official position and had only worked behind the scenes against me. So I wanted at least to get the organization to make its position clear. I could not avoid that. Five years later, it was obvious that I had behaved correctly. I had been aware for a long time that my views were my own, although they had been claimed by the psychoanalysts – after they had dropped the most essential parts – as concepts of psychoanalysis. That had to be avoided under all conditions, for the IPA was not ready to bear the consequences. Either my view, that psychoanalysis by its very nature had to be fought by political reaction, was correct, in which case full freedom of expression of opinion should be given to me; or, the organization did not wish to identify itself with my point of view, in which case I wanted to carry quite alone the responsibility for my work. Anna Freud remarked in the meeting that the powers that be were against me. One could not know, however, whether things might not change at some later time. But at present nothing could be done. The secretary would send me information. It never came. And so it went until the end of my membership: *I could not obtain a single official stand from the organization regarding my work.* They did not want to give up completely the possibility of later gathering laurels from this struggle over *Weltanschauung*. I was determined to give them to no one if I alone bore the responsibility and made the sacrifices.

The painful events piled up. A young physician from Copenhagen came to me in Vienna for training. As was customary, he visited some prominent colleagues. They advised him against studying with me. I was a "Marxist" and thus my students might not be recognized. The "Marxist" Bernfeld was particularly prominent among those who took this attitude. The colleague came to me anyhow, and is today a convinced and active orgone therapist. He had the idea that I could come to Copenhagen where there were some candidates for analytic training. That seemed to me to be a good solution. In Copenhagen, I asked for a work permit, and from Eitingon, the chairman of the Training Committee, I asked for recognition of my teaching activity in Copenhagen. The latter informed me in rather veiled language that because of the differences between the organization and myself, my candidates would have to undergo a stricter control. Leunbach wrote that the work permit would not be given to me because of the lectures I had delivered in Copenhagen. However, I could stay there for at least six months. Since the situation in Vienna was disagreeable because of undercover attempts to discredit me (*Hetze*), I decided to go in any case to Copenhagen. Thus I emigrated from Austria not because of the police or lack of work, but because of my professional colleagues. I knew that the secretary of the IPA, Anna Freud, was secretly on my side because she valued my work. I wrote to her several times, but she did not want to become involved. No one wanted to in those days. I was without money and home, and in great danger in the pursuit of my profession. In addition, I had to borrow money to pay the printing costs of CHARACTER ANALYSIS. I almost decided not to publish it. But the officials in the publishing house persuaded me to have it appear whatever the difficulties. It safeguarded my existence for many years.

I borrowed money for the trip to Copenhagen. I left at the end of April. My papers were in order. They were examined without any difficulties. I traveled to Denmark in a small freight boat. On the first of May, 1933, I arrived in Copenhagen and registered at a hotel. There many people had asked for me. On the following day, a group came to see me about treatment. The social intercourse was so intense that I had to vacate the hotel after two days. I moved into a small apartment which I rented from a woman who was away. There I began to work. Above all, I wanted to publish DIE MASSENPSYCHOLOGIE DES FASCHIMUS. The manuscript had only to be gone over for a final checking. I had to wait until I earned sufficient money to be able to pay for the publishing costs. I transferred the *Verlag für Sexualpolitik* (Publishing House for Sex-Politics) to Copen-

hagen. Some German emigrants helped me in that task. Meanwhile, CHARACTER ANALYSIS appeared in Vienna. In August, the book on fascism came out. Two Berlin students followed me to Copenhagen. In Copenhagen others came for treatment. I could even pay the expenses for a student who later left me horribly in the lurch.

Emigrants with wives and children were starving on the streets. Together with friends, I took up collections for these people, but there were too many. I had made connections with the Danish Communist party of which I was not a member. The "*Rote Hilfe*" ("Red Help") supported only those who were recommended by the German party. They were not concerned about the others. Again and again I met people pitifully abandoned. One day I was walking on the "Lange Linie." On a bench sat a young man, completely destitute, half starved, without lodging, without money, without any hope. He was about to drown himself. I took him along with me and supported him economically for a time. Later he wrote a splendid novel about vagabonds, which I published through our Sexpol Press. I went to the Danish Communist party and asked to speak with the German representative. The Danish party official refused to contact him for me. I declared that I would not leave the place, come what may, before I had carried through my intentions. He wanted to show me the door. Then I stated what I wanted in so forceful a fashion that a second party official came in and quieted him down. I would be informed on the following day, he said. The information came. I met the representative of the German party in the following fashion. In the most secretive way, I was led into a room. There sat a short, stout man, with a domineering expression on his face. I should be seated. Did I have a "permit of the party" to leave Germany? No? Then why had I made a rumpus in the Danish party office? That was a breach of discipline and merited expulsion. He spoke harshly and arrogantly. I shouted at him. First he had to give up his bureaucratic attitude. Only then would I speak with him. He would have to behave decently. Cowardly, as are all bureaucrats, he switched immediately and became friendly. I did not trust this fellow. Later I learned that he was one of the very worst type. They had nothing to say, they had ruined a party which had lofty goals, and then they had the impertinence to claim that they were the future leaders of Germany. The man declared that the information of the Danish party man was correct, that the German Communist party had everywhere "issued passes at stations on the borders to those members who were leaving the country." That was too stupid. I declared that it was all lies. The party had *immediately* to take care of

all emigrants, no matter whether they were recognized by the party or not. They could not be allowed to starve. Certainly one could check up on the facts later. He did not want to grasp that. I threatened to stir up all hell and the devil if this were not done. He promised to do what could be done. One had to avoid scandal now.

I knew the comrades. The success of the protest was not particularly great, but, so I heard, more was done for the refugees. My action gained for me the deepest hatred of the Danish Communist bureaucrats. Since then, the Red Fascists have slandered my work wherever they could, in Norway, England, the USA, etc.

I very soon learned about the irrationalism of politicking in the following fashion. The German "representative of emigrants" requested to see the manuscript of MASSENPSYCHOLOGIE. The first sentence of the book read: "The German working class has suffered a severe defeat." Because of this single sentence I was called to account. The German working class has, as was stated in the Comintern pronouncements of that month, suffered *no* defeat. The German catastrophe was – literally – "only a temporary defeat in the revolutionary surge." An eighteen-year-old locksmith's apprentice, who had just left Germany, told me that Communists still staying in Germany had told him that it was only an interruption in the successful course of events. Hitler would not last six months. He expected in all seriousness to return in several weeks.

"The Modju party" "excludes," "expels," "purges." The Communist journal of the Danish intellectuals, *Plan*, had, before I came to Copenhagen, translated and reprinted with my permission my article, "*Wohin führt die Nackterziehung*," which had first appeared in the *Journal for Psychoanalytic Pedagogy*. The Minister of Justice in Denmark was a Mr. Zahle, a strict, ascetic man who had far less ascetic daughters. Hence he furiously hated everything that was called sexual enlightenment, psychoanalysis, etc. His children had caused him a good deal of trouble. And so he had the editor of the Journal charged with *pornography*. As usual, the accusation rested on a not very correctly understood word. In this case it was the word "*Wipfi*" (a German child's term for the genital). The translator had not carefully taken into consideration that sexology is, in the popular mind, in dangerous proximity to pornography, and in one or two places the translation was careless. I truthfully replied to an inquiry from *Extrabladet* that the translation of this word did not completely correspond with my original text, but that there was no question of pornography and that the accusation was a grave mistake. The prominent journal *Kulturkampf* published my extensive article "What is Porno-

graphy?" In a second article I had expressly sided with the editor. He was sentenced to forty days in jail. The Danish Communist party now declared that I had betrayed the editor and left him in the lurch. A small-scale Moscow trial was set in motion. Regarding the matter itself, no one knew what to say. No one gave a clear presentation of the matter.

On February 21, 1933, the following article appeared in *Arbeiterblatt* with a large display:

COMMUNIST PARTY
Secretary of the Central Committee.
Exclusion from the Danish Communist Party

In agreement with the Central Committee of the German Communist Party, [*which had ceased to exist in March* — WR], we announce that Dr. Wilhelm Reich has been excluded from the Danish Communist Party.* The reason for this exclusion is his party-inimical and uncommunistic behavior in a series of incidents, the publishing of a book with counter-revolutionary content and his starting a publishing house without the sanction of the Party. Added to the above is his statement in Denmark, printed in the government press, wherein he renounces his article published in *Plan* and thus makes easier for the police and the state officials the trial against the editor of *Plan*.

Dr. Reich lives in Denmark and has, as the insertions show, received an immigrant's visa from the government. [*The immigrant's visa was withdrawn just at that time!* — WR.]

Party secretary.

[S.O., February, 1952:

The manner in which WR *commits grave mistakes in this official break with the Red Fascists as late as 1933, should be well observed:*

1. WR *does not say that he never belonged to or was a member of the Danish Communist party. Therefore, he could not be "excluded" from the Danish party, and the German* CP *had ceased to exist in March, 1933.*
2. *He did* NOT *state publicly right away that*
   a. *the Red Fascists had no right whatsoever to control the publishing house of* WR's *Institute;*
   b. *that the Red Fascists plainly lied when they claimed that* WR *had renounced his article in* Plan;
   c. *that they lied again when they wrote that* WR *had been given permission to stay in Denmark, by innuendo, as a reward for his betrayal of the editor of* Plan. WR's *visa to stay was withdrawn exactly at that time.*

*[*Of which I was never a member.* — WR]

Here WR *manifests one of his worst weaknesses, as seen from a fighting point of view. He had done it before and he did it again and often later. He let the plague talk and act without contradicting it in spite of clear evidence to the effect that the pestilent character was lying, cheating the public, falsifying records, reporting falsehoods, turning upside down and distorting right and left what was actually the truth.* WR *did not deny such public statements simply because he felt himself above such mire and dirt. He did not publicly deny them because he was convinced that the truth would sooner or later win out spontaneously, exactly as so many American liberals believe today and accordingly let the politicking scoundrel go on doing his mischief unopposed.* WR *also had too much practical work to do, while the political scoundrel did nothing but pestilent politicking. It is the same scoundrel who attacked in 1949-1950 and then blamed the gullible American as the attacker, as for example, in Korea, 1950.*]

In the December 1, 1933 issue of *Arbeiderbladet* there appeared an article of many columns on my book DIE MASSENPSYCHOLOGIE DES FASCHISMUS. Here there appeared, almost literally, the same sentences which I had heard in the Berlin discussion. Among other things, the following was added:

. . . . *With the cowardice* which appears to be the most prominent quality of the author (one is reminded of his behavior in the *Plan* affair), he seeks to conceal the direction in which the book is pointed, which is in reality an attack on revolutionary politics. There are only a few places where the author throws any light on the facts and where "the Communist Parties" are designated by name — elsewhere Reich prefers to aim his shots against a concept established by himself: The vulgar Marxists . . . .

. . . . The sexual instinct is the driving force in the psychic life of human beings — in capitalism there is generally not a normal sexual life [!] . . . .

. . . . Now naturally, Reich and his followers will most determinedly deny that they want to try to bring about the dissolution of the hitherto existing basis of Marxian propaganda. But the book signifies objectively such a serious undermining of the theory of Communist propaganda that one must characterize it as counter revolutionary. And it is doubly dangerous because not a shadow of a proof is presented that the Reichian idea itself will in reality mean a strengthening of Communist power. If he mentions as a proof the interest with which he was heard when he presented his views among women, children and the middle classes, that can only be characterized as naiveté. Any form of sexual discussion and enlightenment awakens interest in the politically untrained elements precisely because of capitalistic education!! [!!]

I did not understand how I could have belonged for so long a time to this party. But I did understand that now, especially, it was sharply reactionary on the sexual question because the times demanded a clear

answer. And the "liberators" could not give it. If one carefully reads the above sentences one will ask oneself what function this party organization had undertaken after it completely forgot to what it owed its origin. On April 13 and May 7, 1935, in Germany, the following notices appeared in the *Reichsgesetzblatt:*

No. 213 — April 13, 1935:
On the basis of the People's Order of February 4, 1933, the publications "*Was ist Klassenbewusstsein?*" by Ernst Parell, "*Dialektischer Materialismus und Psychoanalyse*" by Wilhelm Reich, Nr. 1 and 2 of the political-psychological series of the Verlag für Sexualpolitik, Copenhagen, Prag, Zürich, as well as all future publications in the same series, are to be seized and withdrawn from circulation in Prussia by the police, since they endanger public security and order. 41230/35 II 2 B I. Berlin, 9.4.35 Gestapo

No. 2146 — May 7, 1935:
On the basis of the People's Order of the President of the Reich on February 28, 1933, the further circulation of all foreign publications of the political-psychological series of publications of the Sexpol (Verlag für Sexualpolitik, Copenhagen, Denmark, Prague, Chekoslavakia, and Zurich, Switzerland) is prohibited. III P 3952/P 53. Berlin, 6.5.35. R.M.O.J.

The organ of the Comintern, appearing in Prague, *Der Gegenangriff*, wrote on January 7, 1934:

Where Does the Association Mess Lead to?
. . . What we find — besides the platitudinous Freudian formulae which are exemplified in National Socialism but are just as much in use in every other form of cultural reaction — is still another confirmation of two facts which are well known to us: First, that the transitory success of Hitler has torn apart all the petty bourgeoisie, including those who — like Reich — consider themselves "Communists". Secondly, that natural-scientific half-truths, already dogmatized within natural science, leading to mysticism — these half-truths applied in social matters assume that very sectarian character which, since the times of Eugen Dühring, characterizes the propaganda of the bourgeois disintegration phenomena within the workers' movement, and in the process come very close to fascism . . . .
. . . The workers' movement has sinned — according to Reich — because it placed the economic need of the exploited at the center of its propaganda, but overlooked the "core problem of the cultural front, the sexual question." For with the economic and political solutions one wins — again, according to Reich — only the "already leftist" industrial proletariat; however, one wins over the indifferent masses through the demonstration of their sexual need and through the description of a "cultural-bolshevik" state of unlimited freedom, the psychological origin of which we understand very well from the disintegration phenomena of the bourgeoisie; but its dissemination by the "Communist" Reich provides a feast for Hitlerian propaganda. And in all seriousness, we are told that one can best win the Christian workers if (as an example details at length) one proves to them that their church is an organization dedicated to the goal of blocking their sexuality.

Shortly before, *Die Weltbühne* had printed a very favorable article on DIE MASSENPSYCHOLOGIE DES FASISMUS. Embarrassing! This organ,

written by intellectuals dependent upon the Comintern, later completely switched its line. In the meantime, one edition of my book had been sold out and a second had to be printed. From Germany I heard that it circulated in many places and was very well regarded. I possess letters from German underground workers which show complete understanding and appreciation. The book is still bought today, six years after the catastrophe. Who still reads the resolutions of the Comintern of that time? Who read them at any time? This is directed toward those who cannot see beyond what is immediately in front of them and always hang on the shirttails of their organizations. Organizations come and go. Correct concepts have a development and a future. Today, MASSENPSYCHOLOGIE DES FASCHISMUS is a highly regarded and widely recognized book in the struggle of the Germans against Hitler. [*And all other forms of dictatorship.*]

In spite of knowing better, I stuck to the organization to which I had belonged for three years and for which I had fought. The party was like a second home. So it becomes for everyone who gives up bourgeois security in favor of the battle for a better future. For many it becomes the only home. Moreover, they forget the goal. This nullifies the organization and reduces it to a mere apparatus.

I drafted the following clarification:

I did not doubt for a moment the correctness of the great thoughts and actions of the founders of the socialist movement. Every step of my work and every experience I had confirmed their teachings. Still, the experiences over the last ten years had revealed a deep contradiction which I could not solve: The contradiction between the goal and the actual reality of the movement toward the goal. Was the goal still valid at all? If so, why was the movement so unlike it? If not, why was every action of its representatives based on it? The old German leader of the CP, Brandler, visited me in Copenhagen. We spoke for hours about the disaster. Everything he said was correct – in principle. But: Why did Hitler rule in Germany and not this humanly sympathetic and intelligent man who was so very right? Trotsky, too, was correct in principle. But: Why did Stalin rule in the Soviet Union and not Trotsky? Was I, also, to become a furious hater of the CP? I was correct in principle, and not the inhuman and problematic bureaucracy! Why could it and not I have the support of organizational power? *What is the nature of human organizations?* Hitherto not a single one had held to what it had promised. Not the great Christian world community, not the First or Second and now, also, not the Third Socialist International. Each had betrayed its task. Each had become the instrument of suppression. It was clear that there was no sense

in establishing a new organization to overcome the misery of the old. Trotsky's Fourth International seemed to me still-born and senseless. The essence of organization itself appeared a riddle. Very soon I was to be able to include the organization of the psychoanalysts. It took several more years before I believed that I was able to understand the riddle.

Basic Tenets on Red Fascism (1950)

1. Communism in its present form as RED FASCISM *is not a political party like other political parties. It is politically and militarily armed* ORGANIZED EMOTIONAL PLAGUE.

2. This organized political and armed emotional plague USES *conspiracy and spying in all forms, in order to destroy human happiness and well-being, as does every single biopath with human happiness. It is not, as is usually assumed, a political conspiracy to achieve certain rational social ends, as in 1918.*

3. If you ask a liberal or a socialist or a Republican what he believes in socially, he will tell you frankly. The Red Fascist will not tell you what he is, who he is, what he wants. This proves that HIDING *is his basic characteristic. And only people who are hiding by way of their character constitution will operate in and for the CP. It is* CONSPIRACY AND HIDING FOR ITS OWN SAKE, *and not to use as a tool to achieve rational ends. To believe otherwise will only lead to disaster.*

4. Red Fascism as a special form of the emotional plague, uses its basic characterological tool, hiding (" CONSPIRACY *"), "*IRON CURTAIN,*" to exploit the identical emotionally sick attitudes in ordinary people. Thus the politically* ORGANIZED EP *uses the* UNORGANIZED EP *to gratify its morbid needs. The political aims are secondary to this, and mostly subterfuges for emotionally biopathic activities. Proof: The political ends are shifted according to the "political," i.e.,* EP *needs of hiding and causing trouble from ambush.*

5. The hiding, conspiring, conniving are there BEFORE *any political goals are conceived, as draperies for the activities.*

6. The sole objective of the conspiring is POWER *with no special social ends. The subjugation of people's lives is not intended, but is a necessary and an automatic result of the lack of rationality in the organization and existence of the* EP.

7. The organized EP *relies upon and uses consistently what is worst and lowest in human nature, while it slanders, destroys and tries to put out of function all that threatens its existence, good or bad. A fact, to the* EP *is a fact only if it can be used to certain ends. It does not count on its own behalf, and there is, accordingly, no respect for facts. Truth is used only if it serves a special line of procedure or the general existence of the emotional dirtiness. It will be discarded as soon as it threatens or even contradicts such ends. Such an attitude toward fact and truth, history and human welfare is not specifically a characteristic of Red Fascism. It is typical of all politics. Red Fascism differs from other political disrespect for fact and truth in that it eliminates all checks and controls of the abuse of power and drives the nuisance politician to his utmost power. To believe that "peace negotiations" are meant as such is disastrous. They may and they may not be meant, according to the momentary expediency.* RF *is a power machine using the principle of lie or truth, fact or distortion of fact, honesty or dishonesty, always to the end of conspiracy and abuse of human malignancy.*

8. No one can ever hope to excel the pestilent character in lying and underhanded spying. Espionage and counter-espionage may belong as part of present-day social administration: It will never SOLVE *the problem of* SOCIAL PATHOLOGY. USING TRUTH *in human affairs will burst open the trap and the unsolvable entanglement of spying and counter-spying. In addition, it will be constructive in establishing the foundation for life-positive human actions.*

"And so in the course of development all former reality becomes unreal, loses its necessity, its right to existence, its reasonableness. In place of the dying reality emerges a new, viable reality – peacefully, when the old is reasonable enough to die without struggle, violently, if it blocks the path of this necessity."

Friedrich Engels
In LUDWIG FEUERBACH (1888)

PSYCHIATRISTS AS ENEMIES

I had had sufficient experience with the power of the state organization. In Denmark for the first time I became clear about one of its basic principles: The representative of this or that mass interest, who is allegedly elected by the people, enjoys an undue power in his capacity as state representative -- an illusory, but still very effective power. It is silently given to him by the people and is *used against the same people* who named him the representative of their interests. This time the principle was revealed by a minister of justice and two psychiatrists. A minister of justice is a man who has been designated by the community (in this case, a Social Democratically-governed one) to protect the law. And psychiatrists are human beings whom society has chosen to look out for the mental health of the population. *Here* is how they protect the law and *here* is how they safeguard health:

I had been solicited by Danish citizens to teach psychoanalysis. Among the many persons who visited me on my first day, was a young woman who was hysterically ill and wanted to be treated. She had already tried several times to commit suicide. No one had been able to help her. Now I should try. I refused to take her as a patient. She came again and threatened suicide. I promised her that I would observe her for four weeks and then give her my opinion. After four weeks, during which she had improved, I broke off and advised her to wait until one of my Danish students was far enough advanced in his training to treat her. She seemed to agree to this. A few days later I heard that she was in a psychiatric ward because of attempted suicide. She had done it because she *wanted* treatment and was not able to get it. The psychiatrists declared, as always in such cases, that it was "the result of treatment" and turned the case over for police action. I wrote a detailed explanation to the police. The same psychiatrists were to decide about my further activity. They made an official statement from the health office that my petition for an extension of my residence permit was rejected. Many persons spoke out against this absurdity. The Minister of Justice connected this matter with the pornography incident. Meetings of physicians and educators were held. No one wanted me to yield. All were interested in the work. But the "apparatus" in the form of *one* human being conquered. I had to leave Denmark since my residence permit was not extended. The Chief of Police, who was himself extremely interested, declared that there was nothing that could be done. *That is apparatus!*

I wrote to the psychiatrists Clemensen and Schröder:

> From your clinic, notices to the police were issued according to which I was supposed to have practiced medicine in Copenhagen. Although I made the case clear as well as your misunderstanding and ignorance of psychoanalysis, and showed that I could have behaved in no other way with the hysterical patient who forced herself on me, you were able to arrange it so that my residence permit in Denmark was not extended. It has undoubtedly become clear to you by this time that you have behaved against all the ethical laws which unite the medical profession in every country, and, to be sure, you have done this out of hatred against psychoanalysis about which you know nothing, and out of other clear motives which cannot be mentioned here. You have harmed neither me nor the psychoanalytic movement. But, undoubtedly, you have encouraged quackery in Denmark and robbed a group of honest, hard-working men, dedicated to science, of the opportunity of acquiring knowledge and scientific technique and of casting a little light into the darkness of psychiatry which I know well from professional experience. You may laud yourselves as the first in the world to have undertaken such a step against psychoanalysis. The history of science and its struggles will register this incident as a small curioso and beyond that will silently pass over it. It is not worth the effort to go into this matter in any detail if even such clinical psychiatrists as Bleuler, Pötzl and Schilder can hardly declare their solidarity with your methods of action.

The average conservative psychiatrist is usually simply a police official who has to guard the mentally ill. Also, he has to see to it that no reasonable sexological physician comes near them. The action of the two psychiatrists carried far beyond Denmark, its effect continuing according to the law of inertia. Thus I came to study, in my own person, how it feels if one is caught in the net of formal bureaucracy.

First of all, I took a leave of absence from my students, planning with them that we should continue in Malmö, Sweden, across the sound from Copenhagen, after the New Year, i.e., in four weeks. They intended to hire a boat and cross the three mile zone in order to continue their studies. This in spite of the fact that Freud had expressly declared, in answer to an inquiry, that he had not sent me to Denmark as a teacher because of my "Communist beliefs." Thus the "logical arguments" heaped up. To Freud I was a Communist; to the Comintern, a psychoanalyst. In a word: Dangerous! I travelled to London, though not without being regarded at the border as a suspicious person (German!!). There were difficulties, but when I declared that I wanted my car to be sent after me so that I could make a European tour in the spring, they became friendly. My auto very often furnished me invaluable service.

The analysts in London feared my work the most. I could not settle down there. Still, I wanted to speak with Jones, the President of the IPA. I had to leave Copenhagen, but the philosopher Neesgard, who was an outsider and so-called "wild analyst," and a depth psychologist especially well-regarded by the medical men, a man who had been with Groddeck for only fourteen days, were permitted to remain as respected representa-

tives of the analytic discipline. In London I met Berlin students and Malinowski, the latter for the first time personally. We had good contact with one another immediately. He had recommended my EINBRUCH in America. He found it very good. I was the only one, he said, who had fruitfully understood his book THE SEXUAL LIFE OF SAVAGES. In his student group I felt comfortable. There was simple comradeship there. I felt less comfortable in a meeting of ethnologists where a lecture on something from the Middle Ages was being delivered. Without giving me prior warning, Malinowski said, after he had spoken himself, that now his friend Reich had something to say. Since that time we really became friends, although I could almost have poked him for this misdeed. Embarrassed, I could do nothing else than speak. And in English, no less. I said what I had thought regarding the subject and saw that it went well. What I said I no longer remember. But Malinowski was satisfied.

The English group of psychoanalysts was strange. I attended a meeting at which rigid formality ruled. At Jones' home, a meeting of the committee members took place at which I presented my views of that time. They were very much in harmony *in principle*, particularly with regard to the social origin of neuroses, but practically they would have nothing to do with it. Politics and science did not belong together. In what way research on the social origin of neuroses was "political," I still did not understand in spite of all my knowledge. Jones was, as always, amiable and very much a gentleman: no "involvements." He repeatedly declared that he would strongly oppose my exclusion from the IPA. I did not know that my exclusion was already a closed issue, of which Jones must have been aware. He knew of my connection with Malinowski. Malinowski had been the first to deny the biological nature of the child-parent conflict and to replace it with a sociological interpretation through his research on matriarchal tribes. Jones, on the other hand, had years ago in a vehement polemic against Malinowski, declared that the Oedipus complex had nothing to do with sociology and was the "*fons et origo*" of everything. The English group of the IPA was also the one which asserted that infantile neurotic anxiety was biologically based in the weakness of the child's ego in its fight against the instincts. This statement was correctly conceived for a society which made the infant "capable of culture" within six months through strict toilet training and thus made it sick.

At this time, I was occupied with my plans for experimental work. I intended to confirm or to refute my old assumption that sexuality is identical with a bio-electrical charge. In Copenhagen I had written down, in line with known physiological facts, the hypothesis that the orgasm was

an electrical discharge. I now wished to hear the opinion of a physiologist. I visited Wright who directed an institute at the University of London. When I asked him what technical possibilities there were for conducting and measuring the electrical charges of the skin, he answered: "You are crazy! That's impossible!" He did not know, any more than did I, that there were in the scientific archives many works on the Tarchanoff phenomenon. He investigated only muscle contractions, I assume.

With the exception of Malinowski, all the people I met exuded an atmosphere which became general only in 1938 after the "Munich peace": Helplessness in the face of events and an awareness of the vileness and injustice, of the political fiasco as well as the human madness. Paralyzing passivity gripped everyone. This was also true of some young Communists who had emigrated to London. Nothing remained of the big gestures and speeches; all there was was a lack of comprehension of what had happened. I traveled to Paris. Several leading functionaries of Trotsky's party who at that time still belonged to the German Socialist party visited me in my hotel. They had read my book on the mass psychology of fascism and were in agreement with it. Theoretically! A few questions sufficed to show me that they were ready to admit the role of irrationalism in politics, but refused to grasp the question *practically*. They agreed that social sex suppression made the people submissive and inert and thus blocked rebellion against suppression in general. But the practical answer to that, which was sex-politics, was alien. Humanly, they were enthusiastic, but as a "politician" completely detached. For the first time, I sensed the sharp antithesis between *human being* and *functionary* in the politician. It was easy to see that they wished to enroll me in the party organization. At that time I was still not clear about the value of a new party organization, but an indefinable feeling kept me from joining. I sat in on several meetings of German emigrant groups. Nothing seemed to have changed. The discussions on the "categories of class consciousness" and the "role of the *avant garde*" went happily along as usual. What kind of psychic structure could experience Hitler in 1933 without feeling these scholastic discussions as impossible? In one of the meetings I raised the innocent question whether anyone could name for me five concrete elements of "class consciousness." "Hunger," someone said, but that was the end of it. After returning to my hotel, I sketched an outline for an article, "What Is Class Consciousness?" Two weeks later in Tyrol I wrote the pamphlet which appeared with the same title and was signed "by Ernst Parell." It dealt with the contradiction within the structure of the mass individual, the necessity for a mass politics based on concrete needs instead

of categories, and told of the German experiences in Sex-political work. In this pamphlet I still took a position *for* the Communist movement, but already then *against* the Communist apparatus. I still felt myself to be an adherent. My position was that of a badly mistreated and misunderstood opposition. The consequences of the criticism of "party" and "politics" were still not drawn. I was searching for a new revolutionary social organization which would be willing to learn productively from the lessons of the catastrophe. Many of my political-psychological statements of that time proceeded from this fact. It required further experiences to free me from these illusions – to realize that the problem of human organization in general, and not only of one or the other of the old models, had been raised. The development of the Soviet Union in a reactionary direction emerged clearly only around 1934. Today I know that in addition to these factual motives, a deep fear of being without an organization, i.e., homeless, inhibited me. I did not want to give up more than a decade's investment of energy and work in a political organization just like that.

The Soviet Union still existed to satisfy the need for a support, even if actually it satisfied nothing else. I enjoyed a few days more of the Parisian atmosphere and then went to Basel. There Hodann had arrived. He had had the good fortune to flee after six months' detainment in a concentration camp. We discussed plans for further work, but I noticed that he did not want to bind himself and he was far less aware than I of the catastrophe that was going on. I told him of my plan of publishing a journal on political psychology. The possibility of an organizational collaboration with him seemed possible. But nothing came of it.

In Zurich, I visited Brupbacher. Again and again this sexologist of long experience, who with deep humanity had experienced all the joys and sufferings of the workers' movement over decades, fascinated me. His book 40 JAHRE KETZER, which came out two years later, is a brilliant account of Philistinism in the workers' movement. But the conclusion is resignation. Brupbacher no longer had any hope. I told him that everything was not sinking backward into ruin; that science still had not spoken the last word. The question remained as to whether we would live to see it. But in his criticism, I had to agree with him.

In Tyrol, I met my children and my former wife, after a separation of seven months. No trace was to be seen of the wretched events and human reactions which no more than a half year later devastated our lives. In Vienna, six weeks before the February catastrophe, all went along its accustomed path. The Communists prepared for the revolution,

the Social Democrats gave in again in the interests of democracy, the political reaction quietly proceeded, and the masses had no inkling of the "historical forces" and the "conflict in the means of production." They were only depressed, starved, had their private miseries, and were political on occasion. I wanted to travel through Prague to Sweden. In Prague I intended to meet some friends. The reaction of people I knew to the events interested me. I saw no trace of decisiveness and readiness for understanding – nothing but illusions about help, which was to be expected from the church, from the Western powers, from the German Army, and of course from the increasingly maturing workers in the factories. Belated efforts for a united front between Communists and Social Democrats stamped the thinking. The thought of the popular front of the Socialists with the bourgeoisie was not yet born. Mass psychology had come into being, but no trace of an understanding of it was to be discovered. *Was this politicking itself part of social irrationalism?* This question was raised for the first time. The convenient answer, that a scientist should not be at all interested in politics, I did not consider valid. Politics existed. On it everything depended. But what was it? Why was it? I sought for the rational core of leftist politics. It seemed to me that the answers to these questions would emerge if one could understand the senseless mass reaction in Germany. Such an understanding was completely absent. More, everyone even rejected the whole problem.

At first it surprised me that a formerly enthusiastic adherent of my work, even an opponent of the party leadership, had now made a complete switch. Later I understood. To keep the problem in view meant at first only a psychic burden. The flight to the home, "The Party," was momentarily more practical.

In order to spare myself the long trip through Poland, I wanted to travel through Germany. That was considered crazy. But I thought that if there were no lists at the border, I would risk it. When I was told that there were no lists, I decided to go through Germany. At the border things seemed rather sinister, but nothing happened. In Berlin I had a three-hour stop-over. The impression from the streets was frightening. Soldiery everywhere. Depression, sluggish movement, anxious peering. A friend whom I met was cautious. We sat together in a first-class restaurant. When I boarded the train for Denmark, a man appeared who looked at me intently. I thought I knew him, but did not know whether I should greet him. Many Communists had become Fascists. Whole units from the workers' defense had joined the SA. They were no longer

comrades. What was conviction worth? How was it possible that a person could risk his life for years for *one* idea, and then suddenly risk it just as enthusiastically for *another* idea? Explanations such as corruption, lack of conviction, etc., said nothing. Was it not the nature of parties generally to combine different and contradictory opinions? Did not only *Weltanschauungen* fight against each other? Apparently in the interest of material things. But tens of thousands changed their positions from the advocacy of one opinion to the advocacy of the exact opposite opinion. Everything was upside down. Nothing seemed to endure. And old friends and acquaintances continued innocently to cling in the chaos to organizations. What answer was there to all this? None! Perhaps it was only intellectual sport? Undoubtedly there were classes! And also a class struggle! And also, corresponding ways of thinking! Only the human beings, whose well-being and travails were the main question, floated here and there without direction as if without consciousness. I knew that inside and outside the German borders there were workers of different professions who, working illegally, risked their lives because of their connection with the party cadres. But when I read their reports in the official organs, I knew this: It does not look like this in the real world. These reports are dreams or over-estimates of reality by people who yearn for social liberation. There is a deep chasm between them and the broad human masses. They have no relation with one another. Here life-risking loyalty and enthusiasm; there inertia and acceptance of the comfortable medieval ideology. How is this gap to be closed? Were the doubts of the self-satisfied intellectuals about this exhausting struggle correct? Certainly not! They put nothing in its place. Where is the answer to be found? Only the development itself can supply it. But only those without illusions will be able to perceive it. It will remain unreadable to anxious doubters.

The train rolled through the familiar German countryside. Outside nothing seemed to have changed. But, a continent was heaving.

I reached Swedish soil in Tralleborg with Elsa Lindenberg, who had joined me in Berlin. First of all, I wanted to go down to Malmö, and decide when I was there where I would settle. I would have liked to have been able to remain in London. Malmö was not at all inviting. But my Berlin student, Dr. Kathe Misch, had reported to me that Jones kept all notable colleagues out of England. London would have required a great deal of adaptation on my part. London was puritanical, and I lived with my partner without a marriage certificate. Neither of us wanted to marry legally. We were very happy without that. We knew that a marriage

license is more than a formality. It confers the right to exploit and to suppress. We did not want that. Moreover, Danish students, with whom I felt at home, were expecting me; they had gradually come to understand my work and they stuck by me. Letters came from Berlin which told me that nearby Malmö was better than distant London. In brief, I preferred quiet exile to a new career in a distant capital city. I was not to regret it, although once again, according to the usual way of thinking, it appeared to be a "crazy" decision.

In Malmö, a student from Copenhagen was waiting for me. He had reserved rooms for me and Elsa Lindenberg in a boarding house in the center of the city. When I entered the city, I became anxious – quite usual, mild anxiety. Malmö is one of those small cities in which boredom breeds fascism. I was to live there six months. It was better than being in a concentration camp. The boarding house atmosphere was horrible – stiff, cold and full of middle-aged, detached ladies who observed us with prying eyes. A few elderly gentlemen, well-dressed, with monocles and canes, conversed in refined fashion with the knitting, elderly women. We quickly had our evening meal. We concealed from each other our anxiety in the face of this city and this boarding house. We conversed as well as we could. The atmosphere was exactly the opposite of that in which, earlier, we could breathe freely alone. We clung to the letters which we received and to our connections with people throughout the world. In October, 1933, i.e., two months before, the editor of the *Weltbühne* had written a letter full of unshakeable confidence, without the slightest insight into the future. Two years later he was a dead man, intellectually and politically. In Copenhagen some physicians were interested in my work, but the neurological association had again refused to invite me to lecture when it became known that the Minister of Justice was personally against me. *Die Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung* had been moved from Frankfurt to refuge in Paris and had re-established contact with me. From Norway, the Director of the University Institute for Psychology had, by letter, referred a student to me. My CHARACTER ANALYSIS was beginning to have an influence. Four years later the same university professor became an opponent when character-analysis developed into vegetotherapy. An Oslo analyst had recommended a very well-known man for study with me. She was to visit me, together with him, for a short time in Malmö. I received a very appreciative letter from the renowned Berlin internist, Friedrich Kraus. Much was to be done. I set up my room for work. My library was in Copenhagen. Friends were to bring me, at any time, what I needed. My wife, to whom I was deeply grateful for her conduct during

this time, was afraid that she would not be able to continue the work she had begun in Copenhagen. Then a friend hit upon the idea that my Danish students could take my wife across the border at any time as a Dane. Legally she was not permitted to stay in Denmark for more than six months. The work was accomplished in six months. Four days of every week I was alone. I had sufficient leisure for scientific work. My students had arranged to come to me every other day for one-and-a-half hours. The trip over the sound both ways took about three hours. The ship's crew, police on both sides of the sound, professors and hygienists knew exactly what was going on. The affair had quickly gotten around. People were astonished and understood nothing at all.

POLICE, IGNORANCE AND CURIOSITY

This is how it was in Malmö. Leunbach had brought my car over from Copenhagen. On holidays we took long drives into southern Sweden. One Sunday late at night, we saw two girls walking tiredly on the street. I stopped and offered them both a lift. Very soon a conversation sprang up about the value of marriage. They were unmarried but they hoped soon to have a home of their own. It was bad living with one's parents. They could do so little. But it was also wonderful in their parents' home as the mother took care of everything. Could we meet again? With pleasure. Since I was alone so much, my wife advised me to call on the girls again. Perhaps that would help ease the loneliness. I did that one day. One friend had no time, but the other wanted to very much and would meet me at a certain hour at the railway station. I met her and we strolled through the streets of the city. We talked in English. At one point she became uneasy. "Someone is following us," she said. I looked in back of me. Correct. A very aristocratic man with derby and cane followed us at a distance of about twenty feet. She recognized him as her uncle. After a while I stopped and asked her to introduce me to him. Our conversation was over, but the uncle now interested me more. The man became extremely embarrassed when he reached us. We invited him to accompany us. After some ten minutes of polite chit-chat, he excused himself and went away. Then the girl let loose. It was this way always, she said. She could not take a step alone. The uncle had been sent for when she went off with me. Undoubtedly her mother had asked him to protect her. But she wasn't a child any more; she was twenty-three years old and a student. She began to cry; she asked me to excuse her. I wanted to know whether she would have unpleasant scenes at home as a result of this. She said she would get through it somehow, but that the whole

situation was no longer endurable. (This was no "Bolshevik" but an unpolitical woman!) She would have liked so much to have talked with me longer. She never meets any people except those she already knows well and is tired of. I should greet my wife for her, perhaps we would get in touch with her again.

So it is in all small cities such as Malmö. I decided from now on not to try to make contact with Malmoans. It was more dangerous than being a criminal.

In the small university city of Lund, my publications were known. The students' organization "Clarté" had even translated some of my writings. There was also a work circle where my publications were studied. The wife of a history professor had heard that I was living in Malmö in exile. She invited me to her house. I got along very well with her husband. They had an eighteen-year-old daughter who was full of modern ideas. But her mother watched closely over her and the ideas soon had to fade away. They had read the EINBRUCH, CHARACTER ANALYSIS, etc. They had a burning interest. Several times we took small trips together. Then I believed I detected the first signs of a personal entanglement in our friendship. I saw them less and less and excused myself by saying that I had a very heavy work burden. I did not always act with such foresight.

The police were not content. Two foreigners had been living in a boarding house for six weeks already. They were not married, and still they were "married." People came over from Denmark daily by boat. In Malmö the police had little to do. It was a quiet, unpretentious city, without even prostitution, in short, a city in which civilization could sleep in "law and order." There was no crime. At ten o'clock in the evening the youth walked, separated according to sexes, to and fro in the streets. They only giggled in an embarrassed way at one another. They knew everything and at the same time they knew nothing. On the corners, men in their twenties stood and made eyes at the girls. Thus the police had nothing to do. Hence it was necessarily conspicuous that for weeks two German-speaking people lived in a boarding house and regularly received visitors; that they had valid passports and still stayed in Malmö; that they did not call attention to themselves. Only, as usual, they were reported to the police. So the couple had to be observed. And so a secret service man was assigned to spy on me, a fact that did not escape my attention. There he stood for several weeks, at the usual distance of police spies, before the entrance to the boarding house. I passed him daily, looking him confidently in the eye. And he behaved as if I did not know

who he was and what he was doing there. More, he behaved as if he did not notice that I knew. That was still more conspicuous and suspicious. Quite quietly this German foreigner passes by the secret agent and behaves as if nothing were the matter. Then one must apply sharper measures. The police began to intercept my students singly on their departure and take them to the Chief of Police. What did they do there? ("Democracy!!!") What is that German up to? He lives there with "such a woman!" Unmarried! And the visitors landed at Sopha!! Psychoanalytic training sessions? What is remarkable about *that?* And so it must be a Bolshevik affair! My students quietly gave information. Finally the police invited me to appear for questioning. They asked the same questions. I could do nothing else than ask: "What accusation is there against me?" "None!" was the answer. "Why do you interrogate me, then?" Embarrassment! Indeed, for what reason did they interrogate me? They went on questioning. I said: "I expressly declare that I am ready to supply any desired information. But first I must know what you accuse or suspect me of!" "Who is questioning whom here — we you or you us?" escaped from the uniform. "Then go ahead and interrogate me! What am I suspected of?" Great embarrassment. They became more friendly. "Now, it is not so bad," or something similar! I said: "Do what you wish. You can see my papers at any time." And I went. That was still more suspicious. Remarkable person, this German. Once they stopped me when I was walking near the harbor. "Your pass, please. Thank you very much!"

May marked the end of the time that I could stay in Sweden without a special permit. I applied for an extension of my residence permit. A request to the Danish Minister of Justice for the extension, four weeks before the expiration of the lawful six months time, was refused without any reason given. Neither the police nor the psychiatrists had rested. I did not understand what, *according to their own laws,* they were accusing me of. In April, the Malmoan police attempted a house search. This happened in the following way: Our colleague Philipson was visiting me. We had an analytic session. Then there was a brisk knock at the door. "We must search your room!" "And who is this man?" I controlled my rage over this expression of anonymous power and invited the men to look at my desk. In the typewriter at that time was the manuscript on the "*Urgegensatz des vegetativen Lebens.*" They fell upon it with incredibly naïve curiosity. They read a few lines, made long faces and wished to rummage about further in the room. At that point, I blocked their path and demanded to see their warrant for a house search.

They had none and were embarrassed. Then they disappeared with a murmur that an apology should be made to me. The next day I learned that at the same time in Philipson's residence in Copenhagen, a house search had actually taken place, of course without a warrant. They did not yet know the nature of our "criminal deeds." The Danish police had planned the action in collaboration with the Swedish. And all this because they did not understand what that thing actually is that is called "psychoanalysis."

My request for an extension of my residence permit was rejected by the police official. That was disagreeable, if not dangerous. Analytic work can be interrupted only with difficulty. I protested to the immigration official. He had no idea why I had not received an extension of the permit. But that is the peculiarity of bureaucratic matters. If an official has once decided something, then the affair goes on running without any relationship to the factual matter, purely according to the rules of the book. Thus it was no longer a question of creating another kind of formula to use against the existing one. The Chief of Police invited Elsa Lindenberg and me to come to his office. Great ceremony. On a podium sat the all-powerful one, clearly embarrassed, but with a Napoleonic pose. Stenographers on his right and left. Then two officers appeared as witnesses. We had to take proper positions. And then he read the ban: By May 24 I should have to leave the country. I did not say a word and we left.

Our friend Sigurd Hoel was in Malmö. He immediately got in touch with a lawyer. The lawyer was more afraid of the police and the law than a criminal. We let him go. Hoel telegraphed immediately to the Reichstag deputy Strom in Sweden, to Freud, Malinowski and to Oslo. Two well-known Copenhagen journalists came to Malmö. They went together with Hoel to the Chief of Police of Malmö. They asked whether he did not know that he was dealing with a future Nobel prize winner? The official was deeply frightened and fell for the trick — as I believed it to be — that was being put over on him. (The friends were actually convinced that I was a potential Nobel prize winner.) I need only apply for an extension once more; it would go through, the Chief of Police said, soothingly. But meanwhile there had been excited telegraphic communication with the deputy M.P. Strom. The Minister of Justice was informed and wished to be kept in touch with what went on. In case of expulsion, I should call on the Ministry. Why the Minister of Justice did not simply give the order to extend the permit, I did not understand. But those are secrets of state leadership, incomprehensible to ordinary mortals. Strom

wrote Hoel in a letter that the rejection of my extension could be traced to a "denouncement" from a "personal enemy" of mine. State affairs! Later I was told that the Copenhagen psychiatrists had gotten in touch with the health official in Sweden. Thus an anti-sexual complex also enters into the state machinery.

Malinowski wrote a warm letter. Freud, on the other hand, wrote: "I cannot join your protest in the affair of Dr. Wilhelm Reich." The whole thing was ridiculous. It surrounded me with a dangerousness I did not have. It revealed the backstairs of highly respected institutions. It was sickening. In order to save his reputation, the Chief of Police "granted" permission for my further residence until a formal decision was reached on the application I would submit to the immigration office. I refused. Without further dealings, I continued to live in the boarding house undisturbed, until I had arranged my affairs. Hoel and I decided that I should travel "illegally" during the summer holidays to Copenhagen and then to a country home. On June 4, 1934, I drove by car to Helsingor where I was not known. My car had a Danish license. It was a Sunday. In the car were a Dane and a Norwegian. We spoke Danish eagerly and loudly. There were no difficulties. Once past the border, we laughed heartily. In Sletten I lived under the name Peter Stein. All the authorized police officials knew what was going on. But they all seemed secretly to wish me luck. I waited for my children whom I had not seen for seven months.



WR IN SWEDEN, 1934

Chapter VIII

THE CONGRESS OF THE PSYCHOANALYSTS IN LUCERNE, AUGUST, 1934

[S.O.: THE GRINDER IN LUCERNE, 1934

There are few things more tragic than man's failure to act rationally, due to ignorance, when the correct answer is right around the corner and the ignorance is due to fear of seeing truth in time:

At the Lucerne Congress of the psychoanalysts, the development of the conflicts within the IPA [International Psychoanalytic Association] reached its climax in the elimination of WR from the organization of depth psychology, in the circumstances under which it was accomplished and in the fact that WITH WR THE LIBIDO THEORY OF SF [*Sigmund Freud*] BECAME HOMELESS. *We follow WR on his tour through the misery in 1934 with amazement. WR does not seem to know what is hitting him, why or how. He is gullible and trusting like a child, to a degree incredible in an already at that time famous psychiatrist. WR refuses to quit SF's organization. He wants them to throw him out. At that time this appears stupid, self-damaging and unintelligible. Things are not usually done this way. To get rid of somebody you do not like, you must convince him that he better resign " of his own free will," that he take a " sick leave," that he declare his loyalty and that everything run its course peacefully without unnecessary upheaval. WR somehow senses that the scandal should be kept sticking to the psychoanalytic movement for all future time. He knows, of course, that he is the sole representative of the natural scientific branch in the movement which later will lead (this he does* NOT *know at the time) to the discovery of the Life Energy. He also cannot possibly know in advance that, in consequence of this struggle, the situation of psychiatry sixteen years later in the USA will be entirely as he (WR) himself will have brought it about:*

The DEATH INSTINCT THEORY, *established as an evasion of the severe social consequences of psa. [psychoanalysis], and fully active in 1934, is dead as a doornail in 1950, with the exception of a very few powerless adherents.*

The " Marxist Opposition " is dead, forgotten; but the social consequences of the psychoanalytic libido theory of 1920 are alive and factually rooted in American society in the practical handling of the genitality of children in their first puberty. The second puberty of adolescence is still handled by ignorant policemen and heredity court psychiatrists, anti-life á la Scharffenberg in Norway.

WR's book on Character Analysis, which the publishing house of the IPA had refused to publish out of fear of the Nazis and due to Paul Federn's continuous machinations from 1924 through 1934, has become the most important textbook on psychoanalytic medical technique, acknowledged all over the world as a " classic " and selling over the years in a continuous, uninterrupted stream. Every psychiatrist is eager to assure everybody that he is " practicing Character Analysis." However the psychiatric world in the USA in 1952 is still afraid to mention the words " orgasm " and " Wilhelm Reich."

WR's orgonomy flourishes in the USA; the DISCOVERY OF THE LIFE ENERGY, *accomplished in the consequent and persistent pursuit of the first indications and hypothesis in SF's much disliked libido theory, is fighting its last stretch to full public recognition; it has saved many and is going to save countless human lives. All the surviving participants in the psychoanalytic opposition movement of 1934-35, led by OF [Otto Feniche] in a* POLITICAL *manner instead of in a* FACTUAL, SCIENTIFIC *manner, are socially silent. OF abandoned WR's troubled ship in 1934.*

WR's book THE MASS PSYCHOLOGY OF FASCISM, *which was forbidden to be displayed at Lucerne, 1934, and was cursed as a " counter-revolutionary " book by the Red Fascists in Moscow, 1933, appeared in* THREE *editions, and sold, in spite of its academic, " German " literary style, many thousands of copies in Europe and in the USA; was mentioned in 1949 by the New York newspaper PM as the book most frequently demanded in the public library in New York, and has contributed its great share in securing the use of psychology in sociology, impossible to think of in 1927 when WR started out on his journey through the realm of sociology after those crucial talks with SF in 1926-28.*

CHARACTER ANALYSIS *and* MASS PSYCHOLOGY OF FASCISM, *both resting fully on the natural scientific foundation of the libido theory, first initiated by SF, have gone a long way in precluding victories of the ascetic and monastic trends of the churches of the Catholic and the Red Fascist in the USA. The churches of many denominations*

were induced to go with the times and to acknowledge the existence of the LOVE FUNCTION IN CHILDHOOD. *Puberty is still in bad straits. The doors are wide open, and no longer closed, for future educators and physicians to secure* HAPPINESS IN LOVE FOR THE UNBORN GENERATIONS, WR's "CHILDREN OF THE FUTURE."

*And, last but not least, SF's truly natural scientific thinking in psychiatry, represented by his adherence to the concept of a "*PSYCHIC ENERGY," *has become a lasting acquisition of the* SCIENCE OF MAN *by the demonstration of the* BIO-ELECTRIC *and later* ORGONOTIC *nature of the emotions and the sexual streaming at the oscillograph and the GM counter by WR.*

These are great strides in the struggle toward clarity and safety of human living. Compared with these strides, the events at Lucerne in 1934, dramatic and tragic as they were at the time, appear in a rather peculiar light:

Everybody was surprised about the exclusion of WR. Nobody had intended it to be that way, yet it happened. Anna Freud called it a "great injustice." FEDERN AND JONES FINALLY TRIUMPHED AFTER MANY YEARS OF SILENT, MOLE-LIKE DIGGING. *They would never have succeeded under normal conditions. SF had been misled, by the constant underhanded digging, into a major blunder in his scientific career, running contrary to his insights and hopes in the twenties. The truly great pioneer in science as SF was, he had early sensed the developments which were to become so real* AFTER *1934:* THE FULL ROOTING OF DEPTH PSYCHOLOGY IN THE EXPERIMENTAL SCIENCE OF NATURE AT LARGE *by WR.*]

In order to make comprehensible my conflict with the International Psychoanalytic Association (IPA), I must return for a moment to my work in Malmö. Three important lines in the development of the work clearly emerged there: The founding of the "*Zeitschrift für politische Psychologie und Sexualokonomie*," the beginnings of the clash with the IPA, of which I was still a member, and finally, the first concrete beginnings of sex-economic biophysiology.

Being without a publishing organ could not be endured for long. Many works were waiting to be published. Problems of political psychology were pressing for exposition. No periodical or publishing house, I knew, would accept works from me. Moreover, I wished to be independent. The publishing house for sex-economy was established under the leadership of a German immigrant in Copenhagen. I had a teacher, who

had worked with me in Berlin and who had become impoverished in 1933, come over. He was to take care of our journal. At that time, there was still a group of so-called "dialectical-materialistic psychoanalysts." In Berlin, I had delegated the responsibility for their work to the psychoanalyst, Otto Fenichel. He had been introduced into Marxian sociology by me and appeared ready to undertake the task. I proposed a meeting of the Scandinavian psychoanalysts for Easter, 1934 in Oslo. The proposal was accepted. Schjelderup, himself a psychoanalyst and leader of the psychological institute at Oslo University, attended to the scheduling of the meeting halls in the university. From Berlin came our friend, Dr. Edith Jacobson, whose eager co-work in the movement and later misfortune – she had to suffer two years in a German concentration camp – I also have on my conscience. She was a woman of outstanding intellectual clarity and deep humanity. Our later differences of opinion, arising from organizational matters, have not altered our good relationship. [S.O., *1951: Unfortunately, she later, in the forties, succumbed to the malignant practices of a very few psychoanalysts from the Viennese circles who continued, with a zest worthy of a better cause, to slander WR's good name.*] She visited me in Malmö and we travelled together to Oslo. The auto journey took two-and-a-half days through the northern countryside. We were both full of questions and concerns. We were aware that psychoanalysis as a movement was not withstanding the test of time. We felt extremely responsible for its fate. We had formed, if one may so name it, the radical, scientific wing, as opposed to the ethical philosophers and aesthetes in the Berlin Psychoanalytic Society. Our group was inwardly bound together by friendship and a common cause. It was clear to us that Freud was right in not limiting psychoanalysis to the medical profession alone, as the clinical physicians desired. Psychoanalysis was a science and not a *Weltanschauung*. That principle we strictly held to. But it was fought as a *Weltanschauung*, especially by the National Socialists, because it could have powerful social consequences. That it did not have them was due to the brake exerted by the death instinct theory, which seemed to be created precisely to evade the social question; in addition, it rendered clinical work sterile, thereby driving the best young forces into my camp. I had demonstrated the death instinct to be nonexistent, although its replacement by a better assumption was still missing. Whoever comes into a well established scientific home and enjoys the fruits of this home without effort, rarely has a correct idea of what is called the factual tie among members of an opposition. The opposition members were originally firmly resolved

to stick to the *strictly natural-scientific* path. We all believed that the cause could still be saved *within* the association (IPA). The superiority of our position would be shown through assiduous and correct clinical work. The other side would give way of itself. We had not reckoned with the *political* development of the times. The following events confirmed our basic assumption that science is never completely objective and certainly never independent of social happenings. We still had illusions. We still had not learned our lessons about the role of "organization." But no one would have dared to predict the events of August, 1934. Today, I know that we all at that time were taken unawares by the sickness of "a feeling of belonging" (*Heimatsempfinden*). No one really wanted to leave the organization. And to desire to carry through a cause in "opposition" without this kind of risk is to be a Social Democrat. That is, to behave "as if." Everything which I had earlier suspected about the role of so-called "tactics" and afterward had suffered personally, I owe to the experience of the "leadership" of the psychoanalytic opposition movement by Fenichel. I myself may not be spared the reproach of stupid blind confidence and gullibility.

I was at that time under the sway of a dangerous characterological weakness. I supposed as a matter of course that those who led the movement would bring to it the same readiness for risks and personal independence that I had developed on the basis of so many painful experiences. Structurally and professionally I was equipped to sense dangerous attitudes in co-workers long before they were clear and even before the co-workers themselves were aware of them. I reacted to this in a two-fold way. If the person concerned was close to me, I did away with my feelings as untrue, that is, I repressed them. The development of events regularly confirmed my first correct intuition. Or, I could not ward off my apprehension and I brought on the break with the person out of the correct conviction that the person concerned was "a betrayer of the cause." The only thing incorrect in that procedure was that I believed that the co-worker had already betrayed the cause, so I did not wait until his failure unequivocally revealed itself to everyone. Thus, it often happened that I broke off at a time when no one understood my action. In the case of Fenichel, as early as the beginning of the social psychological work, I had the unexpressed presentiment that characterologically and structurally he had not grown up to a cause which required strict probity, readiness for risks, and far-reaching freedom from personal and organizational ties. These things are generally valid. They rule the outcome of all organizational developments. The organization of a cause is formed

with the goal of securing its dissemination and protection, and more — *its home*. But simultaneously there arises a contradiction. A cause which is new lives and develops so long as it is independent of even the personal ties of its representatives. If it is represented by many, then the mixture of personal inhibitions and their restricting influence grows out of the free flow of development. This mixture acts at first as a brake, then as a subtle suppression of the basic and anything that causes friction in the work; finally, the organization regresses and adjusts to the very thing against which the cause was mobilized in the first place. If the organizational process does not occur early enough, then one loses valuable co-workers who are unable to work without the support of an organization and who are unable to stand alone. If one organizes too early, then the flattening out and retrogression also begin too early, that is, before the cause has had time to pass the pioneer stage. For in the opposition, first all the forces used in criticism of what exists must be formulated in new productive thoughts, before the new is capable of taking its chances in replacing the old. In so doing, the old is first of all negated where it is false. But simultaneously the genuine opposition movement will know exactly what it wishes or must take over from the old, and will be ready to develop it further. There is, indeed, nothing which is unequivocally right or unequivocally wrong. Time changes much to "right" and "wrong." What is correct today can be wrong tomorrow, and vice versa. On the other hand, the new, in its critical action, since it has to grapple with difficult questions, cannot immediately supply answers to everything. Moreover, it should not even wish to answer everything. That would be immediately paralyzing. Thus, for example, no one who wants to fight fascism can immediately have prepared *in detail* all the positive measures which one wishes to replace it with. Basically, what is required is that the criticism be in harmony with the facts and that the positive program be no utopia. It must not only correspond with objective processes in the world. It must not only be in the forward direction of development. Moreover: An opposition movement within an ossifying or ossified organization must seek and know exactly what forces in the world strive toward the *same* goal *independent of it*. Only then is there a hope of securing the juncture of the group movement to the process in society at large. In this stage the working out of the antitheses to the immobile organization is most important. Since everything new is not only a negation of the old, but also its continuation in certain realms, the common features must always be seen in proper perspective. Whoever opposes and only asserts that he wishes to advocate the same things in

a better way, is a donkey. For he cannot advocate them better than the organization. If he stands for nothing else but the same interests as the criticized movement, then he had better keep quiet. The organization is stronger than he. To formulate and advocate the opposition in such a way that it wins the sympathy of the best forces in the organization is an art. Tactics cannot be a substitute for it. It rests on absolute honesty and consistency, even if temporary failures may threaten. That is, one must be able to stand *alone*. It should never be forgotten that the members of an old organization live in severe contradictions. They love the organization to which they belong, with which they are identified, which safeguards and protects them. They are also opposed to it, here more so, there less so, here with clarity, there without such insight. Thus they automatically sympathize with the person who knows well their organization and cause, and who shows where it fails, where it could be better. If the opposer betrays weakness, then the motions of opposition, to be sure are played out, but an earnest movement beyond the organization develops. The members of the organization have only secret or open sympathy for the opposition leader who shows them that he is also ready for absolute enmity. Thus, many prominent members of the Social Democratic party strongly sympathized with the Communists when the Communists were still taken seriously as an opposition movement. It was one of the strengths of the fascist movement that it did not have to overcome any of these difficulties of an opposition. For fascism did not advocate anything progressive, but only comfortable reaction. It raised no new problems, but only advocated old ways of life. The "new" in it was merely the revolutionary *form* which it gave to the old. In so doing, it had *in the beginning* all the advantages for itself.

In the case of psychoanalysis, the matter was particularly complicated. Fenichel did not understand that it was not a question of a few persons who, as friends, began an opposition movement. He did not understand that it was not a matter of personal considerations, but that what was called for was a clear formulation of some decisive basic issues. He tried to lead the opposition in such a way that, as far as possible, no one should learn of its existence. It should be "*secret*." The opposition should be "Marxist analysts." But it was not a question of a label, but of issues, of critical judgments, of the development of known facts. The name did not matter. I must give a somewhat detailed description of things which in themselves are not important today, but which are typical, which could be repeated at any time in our movement, and which, moreover, have a great significance historically for the evaluation of

human beings who either once played a role or who could lay claim to it at some later time. It is also useful to help prevent a similar sequence of events.

In order to make comprehensible my separation from the international organization of psychoanalysts, I must describe my scientific position around 1934. Hitherto, it could appear as if the political conflicts had been the essential thing. Nowhere had a factual exposition of the opposition to my work been given. The starting points of my theory of political psychology lay scattered, were mixed with foreign outlooks, still lacked important bases, which were only to be developed in the following years. The years between 1930, my first conflict with Freud, and 1934, the Lucerne Congress, had brought great changes. I no longer felt bound organizationally, and was forced to loneliness. To be alone is conducive to the ripening of weighty thoughts, which one does not seek, but which force themselves upon one. The separation from the illusory feeling of being at home in the professional organization, alone makes it necessary to seek new ways, materially, but also in problems of thought. The presentation of a part of the sex-economic problems which seized me at that time should explain why in 1934 I lost all, literally *all* friends in the professional circle. It should show that it was not due to lack of sociability on my part but due to an inner force, carried by clear as well as faint insights regarding my work. The following five years proved the complete correctness of my position.

My social work in Germany had shown me that sex politics, built on clear scientific facts and carried by simple human means, forms a sharp weapon against fascist irrationalism. The mass-psychological practice of fascism utilizes the unconscious instinctual forces of human beings, particularly those of sexual longing. I had at my command a mass-psychological technique to give this longing for life *real* expression instead of a mystical one. What fascism only stirred up in order to utilize – in the most devilish way – to make the masses subservient, was the very thing which drove the people to my meetings. What fascism perverted mystically and life-negatively was directed by me straight toward the goal: *Life happiness in this world*, with *sexual* happiness at the center of focus!

In work with the masses it is harmful to complicate the problems and to emphasize too much the difficulties in the way of their execution. This paralyzes the masses who already are helpless in the face of social forces. But in the background of social work every difficulty must be understood, formulated and answered with corresponding knowledge. Marxism could neither understand nor answer the problem. It was economy and

not sexology or psychology. Psychoanalysis supplied all the means with which the unconscious psychic life could be understood. But, first, it had run aground on incorrect concepts; second, it rejected organized *social* work; and, third, it was helpless in the face of economic problems. Thus it was a question of clearly maintaining the well-established arrangement of psychology within sociology, and of liberating the psychology of the unconscious from incorrect concepts, in order to utilize it better. The group of so-called "Marxist psychoanalysts" believed that it was a question of a unification of psychoanalysis and Marxism, of psychology and sociology. I myself was not completely blameless here. To be sure, I had for a long time presented the relationships in my work, but I had not given the cause any organizational framework. The Marxist psychoanalysts lived and worked in the organizational world of psychoanalysis on the one hand, and the Marxist workers' movement on the other. There was no organization for *my* work. Thus, the Marxist analysts got stuck in a mechanical, eclectic synthesis of Marx and Freud. I had long since freed myself from that. But to have carried the issue through correctly would have meant losing many very valuable co-workers who were not prepared to support the beginning of a *third* movement. On the contrary: My work in these years was stamped by difficulties which were rooted in the organizational connections of my co-workers. The concept "Sexpol," to be sure, had already been introduced; it was the term for the "Organization of Sex Politics," but there were no presidents and secretaries. I could have proposed such officers. But an undefined feeling held me back from doing so. The structure of the old organizations appeared to me to be unuseable for my work. To think out another organizational form seemed impossible and unfruitful. It would not have been in unity with the cause. The Sexpol required something thoroughly new. I did not know what that was. The problem is still not solved even today. But the concept of self-government in the forming of a proper organization was rewarding. That always alive, active problem led to formulations about the human organizational problem in general, which I will later bring forth.

Since I felt that both the present-day forms of organization and the reaction of human beings in them were irrational, it was necessary that sex-economy, if it were to be one day a most important tool in the struggle against irrationalism, should not be still-born. An organization has goals. These goals were given to us by the work itself. Social consequences from scientific knowledge was the first. Advocacy of those consequences, the second. Science and scientific practice as a single valid principle in

the guidance of society was the third and most important. Neither the organizations of Marxism nor those of psychoanalysis were suitable frameworks for these goals. Both rejected my sex-economic theory. Neither wished to have anything to do with goal-setting. All knew well theoretically that "politics had to be scientific," but the consequences of *sex-economic* knowledge were not drawn. Thus the tenor of all reproaches against me was that I drew social consequences from my science. Both rifts came from that. That is, to put it simply, one rejected the sex-economic regulation of infantile and adolescent life, and in so doing confirmed everything that today springs from the disorder of this life everywhere, among other things, fascism.

[*1952: The tragic rationale in this rejection was dealt with in* THE MURDER OF CHRIST, *to some extent at least. The Oranur Experiment revealed the core of the trouble in human bio-energetic structure which fears and resists expansion.*]

For Marxism, the acceptance of my work and goal would have meant the inclusion of the psychology of the unconscious and of sexology, thus the reconstruction of the Marxist *Weltanschauung* according to the situation in the twentieth instead of the nineteenth century. For psychoanalysis, acceptance of my work would have meant the following: unity of social outlook and science; giving up of the theory of the biological nature of perversions and of infantile conflicts; acceptance of a plan for an economic order in which the corresponding cultural policies could unfold, i.e., a work democracy; giving up of the theory of the death instinct and its replacement by my theory of the *social origin of anxiety and suffering*. Moreover, acceptance of my clinical orgasm theory would have required a radical reconstruction of psychoanalytic technique in the sense of character-analysis and later of vegetotherapy. And this again would have the consequence of penetration into the biophysiological. The analysts were not prepared for all that. In short, sex-economy had become a new discipline, cleansed in those years of outlooks which developed from the old disciplines and were no longer suitable for sex-economy. The new and the particular contribution of sex-economy was first revealed around the time of the Lucerne Congress. I will list here only the most essential items: the orgasm formula, which was at the same time valid as the life formula; the bio-electric (later orgonotic) nature of sexuality and anxiety, the understanding of organic illnesses such as rheumatism ("muscular armoring") and cancer. I had no inkling of the bions at that time. It is understandable that my urge for scientific independence was strong. My friends and co-workers at that time, on the other hand, understood noth-

ing of the development of my work, and what they did know and affirmed, they scrupulously incorporated either in Marxism or psychoanalysis. They did not think and did not wish to think of the fact that these organizations not only were not concerned about the work, but, on the contrary, fought it. It was as if the friends – by inserting my theory in alien organizations – wished to create an alibi for themselves, namely, that they wanted only "to improve" but in no way to rebel. On the other hand, the course of the work followed the laws of every development: The new, coming forth from the old, is at first opposed to the old, in order to become independent after the solution of the conflict, in order to go its own way in the beginning. If it is intelligent and prudent, the new protects the fruitful in the old; if it feels insecure, it rejects its origin and its native realms of thought. In my work, "*Uberblick über das Forschungsgebiet der Sexualokonomie*" I tried to solve the problem correctly.

Thus my inner attitude. Externally, I was still attached by many friends in these organizations to the organizations themselves and was thus dependent upon them. The complete separation of sex-economics theory only followed four years later after the monstrous campaign of its opponents in Oslo.

In the following I will describe another part of the history of the psychoanalytic movement in the IPA. In itself it would only be of interest to the historian of psychoanalysis. For us, the story gains a basic significance. All the features appear in it which hitherto have stamped every oppositional movement. It can be expected that at some time, when the pioneer stage for the representatives of sex-economy and political psychology is over, oppositions and factions will form. It is useful to anticipate for them the comprehension of their behavior, to show their pious wishes and practical weakness. If this opposition turns out to be *objectively correct*, then it *should* be able to conquer more easily than we were able to. If it is humanly and factually weak, if it cannot advance the line of strict scientific work more ably, then *it should suffer* defeat. For then something less harmful can be developed. We wish to bear that in mind when we survey the picture which the oppositional psychoanalysts presented from 1932-34, and the possible consequences, if they had been successful.

The basic problem of every earnest opposition movement is to maintain the balance between practice and principle. The first is determined by the manifold nature of daily events and human ties, the second solely by *the natural course of development of the cause*. They often contradict one another. I was not able to solve this conflict as the originator of the opposition. In the end, I fought on the side of the principle of the cause, since it could not be otherwise; the opposition analysts remained stuck in the daily and personal things. Later they were replaced by other scientific workers. The matter cost much tumult, literally tears, and it was often painful.

I return to the Oslo meeting at Easter, 1934. Only two reports were given – one by Fenichel, the other by me. Fenichel spoke first. He confined himself to criticism of conditions in the IPA, scientific as well as organizational. Afterward, he compiled his criticisms in one of his circular letters ("*Rundbriefe*"), which as leader of the opposition, he sent to the members. I abstract some typical statements from that letter. In doing so, I part with "discretion." For Fenichel wished that no one outside of the recipients of the letters should know of his opposition work through the letters. The letters should be burnt after they were read. I once asked Fenichel: "Do you really believe that you can keep the existence of our faction a secret?" Fenichel replied to that ("*Rundbrief*" of April, 1934):

> I believe, to be sure, that it cannot be kept secret that we correspond and exchange opinions with one another; but it can and must be kept secret in which manner not akin to bourgeois scientific history, our exchange of opinion takes place, who takes part in it and what opinions are expressed.

Thus, illegality according to the Communist model. But we were not politicians who had to fight against the police, but scientific workers who advocated certain convictions. These concepts were known for a long time, I thought. No IPA member was in the dark about my concepts. I naively believed that Fenichel had meant what he promised when he undertook leadership. He had declared his solidarity with my views, had spoken of my books positively in the Journal. There was no other platform than mine for an opposition movement within the IPA. Was it that he did not believe at all in my work, but only in the "directing of an opposition"? Slowly this thought dawned on me, and thereafter it could not be shaken off: Fenichel wished, with the help of the sympathy which the colleagues brought to *my* clinical and sociological work, with which they were identified, which showed the future to them – he wished with that help . . . what? To be an "opposition leader?" Nonsense! Opposition without clear factual position is but suicide. But that was really the case, and not only in the psychoanalytic movement. At one stroke I discovered that most opposition movements in parties and associations have no factual bases. They had nothing to lead further, knew

nothing better with which to replace what was criticized. They wished simply to be "leaders." Leaders in any case and at any price. What kind of structure could be the basis of such nonsense? I should soon learn.

Fenichel's criticism of psychoanalysis around 1934 was correct. I had stated it again and again from 1924 to 1934. In the conflicts of psychoanalysis, social relations are reflected. The uncertainty of existence and the fear of danger through revolutionary consequences of the theory bring the analysts back to old resistances, which cause them to forget their analytic knowledge. Goring, the leader of the German psychotherapists, expected from members "that they worked through Adolf Hitler's basic book MEIN KAMPF with all scientific zeal . . ." Künkel (individual psychology, characterology), Schultz-Henke (psychoanalyst and ethical philosopher), and Weiszaker were named as members of the German association. All Jewish members might announce their retirement. Schultz-Henke had become Reich commissar. (He had always stood very strongly for "ethical values.") Bohm, a German analyst, went to England to see the president of the IPA, Jones, and told him that only by very diplomatic conduct could he succeed in preventing the ruin of the whole association and the detention of the analysts in a concentration camp. According to Fenichel, Bohm had been especially proud of becoming "leader" of German psychoanalysis. Among other things, he had declared that psychoanalysis "serves the education of heroic human beings." The emigrated members of the German society, under such conditions, were for the dissolution of the society. Most resigned. The National Socialists took over the concern for the future development of psychoanalysis.

I limit myself to these examples from among many. They gave birth to the circular letters and were so-called analytic gossip ("*Tratsch*"). We expected to hear concrete measures regarding this at the meeting. Members of the opposition criticized Fenichel because he brought forth so much that was personal and so little that was factual. There was no word of my positive criticism of psychoanalysis, the orgasm theory, the ethnological criticism, the revealing of the social origin of neuroses, the mass psychology of fascism. Indeed, Fenichel's report contained the sentence: "Since Freud, nothing new has appeared in the realm of sexuality." I understood: Fenichel usurped my findings, but tried to kill my theory with silence, a program which he later continued in America. On the next day, I sharply told the gathering what facts Fenichel had failed to present, and I reviewed the positive criticism: Not therapy of the neuroses, but prophylaxis at the center of focus. The dynamics of the neuroses required an energetic viewpoint, that is, the orgasm theory. The standard technique is inadequate because it does not take into regard the sexual stasis. And so forth.

Fenichel, very much embarrassed, excused himself in the discussion: He had "forgotten" to mention the orgasm theory. From then on for over a year, I studied a process which up to that time had remained hidden from me. Afterward I saw it in many. Rebellion out of unsatisfied ambition and lack of one's own original thoughts easily causes one to slip into "making opposition." Envy misleads one into usurping another's work. Cowardice misleads one into promising more than one can deliver. The inevitable consequence is betrayal. And, to be sure, *unconscious* betrayal. The betrayal is covered by tactical theories which serve the purpose of concealing the personal basis.

Suspecting trouble, I wrote the group a letter which Fenichel published fully in the circular. The struggle between the scientific and the mystical direction in psychoanalysis was old. It had begun in 1925 when the orgasm theory was formed. Under the pressure of political events, the conflict at the coming congress was driven to a crisis. In science the *Weltanschauung* conflict was not usually expressed directly. The language of "objective science" forbids a direct expression of it. It takes much experience to distinguish between scientific differences springing from lack of factual knowledge or from motives of *Weltanschauung*. Within a scientific organization the struggle may not be carried on with the usual political means. It was not a question of proving that one direction was "reactionary-Hitlerian," the other "revolutionary-Marxist," but of proving *the inhibition of scientific knowledge by an unconsciously held Weltanschauung*. It was not a question of the *Weltanschauung*, but of the attitude toward research of truth. Only thus were "science" and "ethics" clearly differentiated. In this connection it was unimportant whether the French group treated the emigrants badly; that their incorrect assertions were published rather than the correct ones was important. One had to step up *openly*. Since 1924, I had had a firm clinic-theoretical position for my criticism. All other members of the opposition should also have a stable, factual viewpoint. One could not "oppose" and then not know against what one was opposed, or oppose only formal, organizational matters. (Not until four years later was I able to make the clear formulation: It is not a question of conviction and organization, but of advocacy of the *cause.*)

Furthermore, Fenichel's procedure worried me. He strove to keep Freud himself outside the conflict. It was selfevident, I answered, that we do not honor or defend Freud less well because he in recent times ad-

vocates unacceptable concepts. The scientific sins of Roheim, Laforgue, etc., were all rooted in Freud. If one wished to save Freud's work for the future, one had to be honest toward Freud, too. Only if one were able to prove how and where the natural researcher Freud came in conflict with the conservative Freud, could one carry on fruitfully. From my personal experiences with Freud, I was convinced that he himself would also have preferred this.

The responsibility for the whole conflict, I bore myself. The differences had become clear, even though one still believed that everything was still in order and only my "aggression" was to blame. Under all conditions I was obliged to defend my work. One accepted concepts of the orgasm theory without understanding them, indeed, in order to destroy them. The work had further developed into sex-economy and political psychology. It contained the best scientific elements and traditions of psychoanalysis, but had grown beyond them.

Thus my path was laid out. Since only a very few opposition analysts shared my scientific viewpoint, my position in the conflict at the congress was somewhat different than that of the others. My proposal for procedure at the congress was: No petty, organizational-political criticism. Instead, advocacy of the strictest demands of research together with factual, impersonal, but nevertheless uncompromising criticism of opponents. Organizational unity of all opposition analysts in a tightly knit organization *within the* IPA. The added requirement of an orderly sex-economy for practicing analysts in training, because of the catastrophic effect of sexually unhealthy analysts. Training in correct application of psychoanalysis in sociology and vice versa. Extensive training in the science of sexuality, a training which only a very few analysts had. Priests and physicians with reactionary orientation regarding sexuality should not be permitted to practice analysis, since this contradicted their work.

A detailed discussion yielded harmony with me on all the essential points. (*"Rundbrief"* of April, 1934, p. 6.) Let us observe now what happened at the congress. It was – unnoticed by everyone – predicted by the leader of the opposition in a single sentence:

> "Regarding Reich's letter, it is agreed that a platform from which we can carry on our oppositional work, must definitely be worked out. We [*that is, Otto Fenichel*] think, however, that this elaboration can be postponed in order not to [*tactician!!*] *make more difficult at this time the necessarily broad* discussion of practical questions [?] Such a platform ought *not* to contain comprehensive concepts such as the Reichian concepts regarding the death instinct and anxiety, in which one had to believe dogmatically [!!] but . . . . . our opinions about the scientific-historical significance of psychoanalysis, about its research methods and its natural-scientific basic principles." [!!]

Which principles were not mentioned. Just "opinions about scientific-historical . . . research methods . . . natural-scientific principles . . ." Words!!! Words in place of natural-scientific principles, high-sounding noise in place of simple formulations! Fenichel had no factual conviction. Nonetheless he managed to pull some very intelligent and decent analysts into a cause for which he had so little feeling. When I read the lines quoted above, I knew what it was all about. After that, nothing that happened at the congress surprised me. The opposition had developed around my scientific work. At the congress I was the only one who advocated it. The collapse occurred with the most innocent feelings.

It was decided: "To announce as many lectures from the opposition as possible," to let "our views" and their divergencies from the predominant ones clearly emerge. In case of a sabotage of my lecture, the whole group was to protest. In the business meeting, a resolution was to be introduced which would bring forth the concern of the opposition for the future of psychoanalysis. Furthermore, a complaint should be registered regarding the conduct of the IPA in my Copenhagen pornography incident.

In June, Fenichel gave a lecture in our Copenhagen group which revealed a complete lack of understanding of the orgasm problem. He was sharply refuted, and later tried to get support in Prague, where no one could contradict him. At the end of June, I wrote a warning letter to the group, but did not send it off. There was no sense to it. I knew that all wanted the best, but were not really prepared. Again and again I was unsuspecting.

On August 1, shortly before the congress, I received a letter from Müller-Braunschweig, the secretary of the German association. The Verlag (International Psychoanalytic Publishing House) wished to publish a calendar for the congress. I should not be surprised if my name was not found on the list of German members. "I would be glad if you could appreciate the situation and, setting the interest of the psychoanalytic cause in Germany above any possible personal feelings, would give your consent to this measure. Your standing in the international psychoanalytic world as a scientist and author is so well known that this omission of your name could not possibly do you the slightest harm . . ." Moreover, with the recognition of the Scandinavian group at the congress and the future listing of my name in this new group, the present problem would become objectless. The whole thing appeared to be a necessary measure

which I had to "understand." My membership in the Scandinavian group appeared certain. Later, I was astonished at my naiveté and political-psychological inexperience, which prevented me from seeing through this maneuver.

When I arrived in Lucerne on the 25th of August 1934, and went to the reception on the 26th, everything seemed to be in perfect order. My greetings with colleagues from near and far, were as warm as ever. No one felt that anything was different. On the evening before the congress, the German secretary took me to one side and, much embarrassed, told me that the German executive committee had decided upon my exclusion from the German society. With that, my membership in the international organization was automatically relinquished. I could no longer take part in the business meeting. I asked why I was not informed and what the reason was for the action. The secretary only shrugged his shoulders in silence. The significance of the action was clear to me. At dinner that evening, I told some colleagues about what had happened. They could not believe it. It was an error, they said, and in the meantime I would immediately be taken up as a matter of course by one of the other groups. The Executive Committee of the IPA had certainly not agreed to it. Still, it *had* agreed! More and more colleagues learned about the incident. They beseiged Müller-Braunschweig with questions. I sent one after another who did not believe what happened, to the secretary.

The "opposition" held meetings. What was to be done in this altered situation?

The most factual and most fruitful kind of behavior would doubtless have been presentation of the conflict in the lectures. A colleague spoke about the "biological bases of the Freudian theory of anxiety." As early as 1931 in Berlin, this colleague had been in contact with me. She had felt that my derivation of stasis anxiety was the correct continuation into the biology of the Freudian theory of anxiety. She wanted to carry through physiological experiments on this subject. She already had some results; these fully confirmed my concept that anxiety corresponds to a state of excitation in the vegetative system and was the direct counterpart of sexuality. We recall that Freud had rejected this view. At the congress, the colleague presented, correctly and splendidly, everything which brought just *this* problem into my realm, but she failed to mention either my name or my works on which she had built. After the lecture she came to me in embarrassment and excused herself for not having mentioned me.

She had intended to, but it had "slipped her mind." I reassured her with a few noncommittal words.

Another analyst from the opposition, who was very friendly with me, spoke on the "therapeutic problem in children's analysis." Since in children the social possibility of instinctual satisfaction is absent, the therapeutic goal valid for adults, i.e., the readiness and capacity for genital pleasure, cannot be attained. Very correct. But it was precisely this theory which formed the chief bone of contention between the IPA and myself. My name and my works were not mentioned. When I asked her why she had not mentioned me, she asked in astonishment where she could have done so. I said no more. The facts indeed had been advocated and had shown results. This comfort was a self-deception.

Fenichel spoke on the anxiety problem. We know what a central role the question of neurotic anxiety played in the thinking of the opposition. Fenichel did not mention my realm of problems with so much as a word.

An analyst, Gerö, who had followed me when I emigrated in order to learn character analysis and to test it on himself, spoke "On the Theory and Technique of Character Analysis." I quote from his published thesis the sole place where my raising of the whole problem was mentioned: "Ferenczi, Fenichel and Reich have emphasized the importance of the formal content." (!) Later he became an enemy. When my work on the orgasm reflex appeared, in which the content of his thesis, borrowed from my work, was thoroughly pursued, he declared that I had "gone astray."

The listing of these incidents may appear petty. They are given here only as examples of a remarkable characteristic of human structure: *It takes where it can and gives where it is required to.* It does so unconsciously. And it feels insulted if it is reminded and corrected. Above all, it refuses to bear the responsibility for the gift it takes.

Meanwhile, I learned that I had been excluded as early as *a year ago* in a secret executive meeting of the German association. The Executive Committee of the International, with Jones at the head, seized the opportunity eagerly.

I must go into details. Later, those who were responsible tried to shift the blame on to me. They spread the rumor that I myself had made the request for exclusion. All that may give a picture of the forces behind the scenes of a "democratic-parliamentarian" organization. The dictators simply expel or shoot. The democratic dictators strike in a sly way and with little courage and readiness for responsibility. We recall that

Jones, in London, had expressly told me that under all circumstances he would be against a proposal for exclusion.

I asked Jones whether I could still deliver my lecture and could take part in the business meeting. I could deliver the lecture *as a guest*, but I was excluded from the business meeting. Jones himself appeared to be very much concerned. I was told that he had concernedly asked what one should do if I would still come and throw out the president. One believed that I was capable of that. I confess that later I was sorry I had not done it. I spoke with Bibring, Hartmann and Kries about the matter. What would happen if I really did such a thing? I made no mention of Jones' remark. They became frightened and patiently advised me to maintain dignity. Thereupon I realized what purpose dignity, discretion and politeness serve: the better concealment of the impertinence of the cultivated. In the end I quieted them. It was not worth the effort.

The executive committee meeting was ugly. Everyone had a bad conscience. Federn had the worst. He, Jones and Eitingon* spoke sharply and badly against me. I seduced all my women patients. I was a psychopath, etc., etc. The Norwegians were enraged by these false accusations. I only asked myself why, then, these men had let me live and work for twelve years as a prominent member of the IPA. It was despicable and indecent.

Only the Norwegian analysts behaved correctly: Raknes, Nic Hoel and Schjelderup. They explained to me that I could at any time become a member of the Norwegian society. I warned them. They did not know the sharpness of the subject and its explosive nature from their own experience. What they had now experienced was only a small part of it. Nevertheless, they maintained the same position. In the summer before the congress, Schjelderup had learned character-analytic technique from me. He wanted me to continue my work in Norway. Already at this time I had definite plans for the carrying out of my bio-electrical experiments. If, through his institute, it would be possible for me to conduct them, I would come to Norway. But I had to warn them several times more. None of us had an inkling that three years later a mad campaign over just these experiments would break loose. Or that Schjelderup would emerge from it all as an opponent. One will ask if it did not reflect on me that so many prominent people joined me and then left. We let the

*[1952: *Eitingon, later, in a letter (Dec. 29, 1935), denied that he had participated in the procedures against me.*]

facts speak for themselves. They reveal the real problem of social psychiatry.

When no one any longer doubted the fact of my expulsion, a space filled with a remarkable esteem and shyness arose around me. It was almost physically palpable. All others stood beyond it. My friends cried, but soon comforted themselves. Only a few found their way back. One who did was the indefatigable and straightforward Ellen Siersted. So also did Dr. Nic Hoel, who visited me in my rooms and brought me flowers. I was very grateful to her.

Formally, my exclusion occurred in the following way: to prevent my presence in the business meeting, the executive committee decided to appoint an international commission which would meet together with me. That happened on the day before the business meeting. It was planned, as it had been already earlier in Vienna, to persuade me to resign voluntarily. That would have been convenient to them since I would have lost my chance to present my viewpoint. In the meeting, however, I stated that I fully understood my *already completed* exclusion from the IPA from the viewpoint of the death instinct theoreticians, for my concepts had, in a decisive way, grown so distant from that of the psychoanalysis of 1934 that an understanding was scarcely possible any longer. But, *at the same time*, I asserted that *I considered myself the legitimate continuer of the originally natural-scientific psychoanalysis and, from this viewpoint, I did not accept the exclusion which was already carried through.* Since, however, purely formally nothing more could be done, I demanded publication of the reasons for the exclusion in the *Journal.* (That was promised by the chairman of the committee, but never done.) My orgasm theory and the concepts developing from it in no way contradict clinical psychoanalysis. (Today I know that they do indeed contradict it on important points.) However, they could not be united with the death instinct theory. For *either the compulsion for the repression of sexuality stems from a biological drive or it stems from social processes.* That it could stem from both at the same time is not conceivable without one assuming a highly improbable hereditary transmission of very early social influences.

Since the Executive Committee of the IPA did not wish to protect my concepts, nay, more, had already secretly excluded them, I preferred to march on alone and to call my teachings sex-economy. [*1952: A few years later, I discovered the Life Energy in the organism and in the atmosphere.*]

The meeting was pervaded by a hushed excitement. Anna Freud is re-

ported to have said afterward: "Here a great injustice has been done." But as secretary of the IPA she did nothing which would have corresponded to this attitude.

Nothing happened in the business meeting on the following day. My case was not mentioned by anyone. Fenichel's lame resolution fell under the table. Only Nic Hoel came into conflict with Jones. From then on, I decided to maintain the following conduct:

1. To emphasize always the historical and factual common features of psychoanalysis and sex-economy.

2. To stress strongly the existing antitheses in the theory of sexuality and the concept of anxiety.

3. To support the new as strictly as the common store of knowledge.

On the fourth day of the congress I delivered my lecture. It was published later by the Sexpol Verlag under the title, "*Psychischer Kontact und vegetative Stromung.*" It is included in CHARACTER ANALYSIS as a special chapter. I introduced it with the words: "After fourteen years as a member, I speak for the first time as a guest of the congress . . . ." Attention was paid to me as never before. The same mood as that in the committee meeting prevailed in the hall. The statement of a participator in the congress that this congress "stood under my star" was correct. An organization teeming with problems, which started out to conquer the coming centuries, does not commit a farce like that of my exclusion without severe consequences. And as a result, the consequences set in bit by bit. I had the feeling that the IPA had excluded the theory of sexuality which formed its very core. And now the strict natural-scientific theory of sexuality spoke as a guest in the homeland to strange visages, uncomprehending people. My lecture revealed the problems in medical work which has resulted in the transition from research on the character of neurosis to the somatic mechanism of psychic illnesses. The theme of this lecture was subsequently the starting point for the experimental rooting of the bio-electrical nature of sexuality. Freud's expectation that analytic psychology would one day be placed on an organic basis met in this lecture, at this congress, with the first steps of fulfillment. I may add that for the first time a large scientific gathering listened to considerations and facts which later combined psychic and somatic functions into a natural-scientific unity. I was myself not fully conscious of this at the time. Nor was I aware that with the problems of contactlessness and of vegetative streaming both the cancer problem and the question of schizophrenia were touched centrally in a new [*bio-energetic*] way.

At the end of the set time for speaking, I was not completely finished

and asked whether I could continue. Lively applause was the answer. In my lecture there was not a word of negative criticism. Afterward I heard that probably one half of the gathering had listened without any understanding, but the other half had understood on what road I was travelling. One of my earlier Vienna students, Dr. Bergler, then spoke on "Thanatos" in dreams. I asked him after the lecture whether he had ever seen anything of the death instinct. "No, certainly not!" he answered. "That is only a theory still!" I asked him: "Why, then, do you speak of it?"

The organization had based my exclusion on the following:

My scientific concepts and my political convictions were not the reasons. In the IPA there were many different scientific concepts and there were many communists. Incompatible with membership in the IPA was my specific way of drawing *social consequences from scientific facts*, thus the development of *sex politics* from scientific sex-economy. Twelve years later my social sexual theory was generally recognized, and in America in part practically active. I did not understand why my sex-political concepts should be more dangerous or more harmful than Communism and erroneous scientific theories. I *really* did not understand it. Politically, in the usual sense, I had indeed never been active. I had only worked as a physician in social hygiene and was far removed from demands for political leadership or winning of power. But still the respect for politics was in my bones. Still, my organism did not understand that science is more decisive than politics, that the real challenge to the existing misery does not come from politics but from science. Indeed, that politics itself is threatened by science. That these respectable "unpolitical scientists" had carried through extreme political-tactical maneuvers. That they had supported the emotional misery which had just then begun to destroy Europe. That they formed a part of the big, politically so active and yet so unconscious multitude, who, choking in a sea of slogans without meaning, form the broad backs on which politicking and diplomatizing ride the world to ruin. Only in the following years was I able to recognize the revolutionary nature of science without big words. This, in spite of the fact that I had written a three-hundred page book on the mass psychology of fascism. But I gradually understood it, filled with the experience of this crazy happening at the Lucerne Congress. Fear of the responsibility for a great piece of knowledge had prevented me from immediately assuming its burden.

I said goodby to my children and traveled with my companion through France to Denmark. She had suffered very much under the events. Hu-

manly, she had stood by me without many words. I was very grateful to her.

We arrived late at night in Copenhagen amid rain and darkness. We were without dwelling, without our things, and we lived for a few days with friends. We told them what had happened, but we had the feeling that these friends began to be distant. Accidentally, and not out of factual necessity, they had been driven into the work. Just as casually they would leave again. And so it happened later. We packed clothes and books and traveled to Norway. I was detained at the Swedish border. Allegedly I was expelled from Sweden and had no permit to cross the border. I immediately telegraphed to Oslo and to Stockholm. The official was startled because I had named a university professor and a parliamentary deputy. In such cases, what does a refugee worker from a factory of millions do? The travel was finally permitted without further delay. In Oslo we took rooms again in one of those dreadful boarding houses which seem to be set up precisely for the breaking of the strongest will. It was at the end of October, 1934. The Norwegian Psychoanalytic Society invited me to their meetings, but I seldom attended. I was fully occupied with the preparations for the biophysical experiments.

After some two months, Schjelderup invited me to give lectures at the psychological institute of the Oslo University. After a few lectures there appeared in *ABC*, the Norwegian Fascist newspaper (a small, local paper), an exceptionally base smear article. They published a false picture of me, the face of an idiot. It was found some years later in the files of the police, which they had gathered to use against me. The Norwegian analysts, however, stood by me. Around this time, a conversation with Schjelderup came back to the question of whether I now should apply for re-entry into the IPA. They were prepared to have me. At the congress, great difficulties were made for the Norwegian society. They were only to be taken into the international organization if they pledged that they would not accept me. The Norwegians did not fall for that. They could have no conditions placed on them. Either they would be accepted unconditionally, or they would refuse. Here for the first time I became familiar with the Norwegian mentality, which is general. In recent years, it is true, that mentality began to make concessions to European fascism. I wrote a formal letter to the Norwegian group in which I proposed that the question of my being taken up be first thoroughly discussed in order to make completely clear the consequences of such an action. I could best give the necessary clarifications. Now, there was one man who went from one member of the Norwegian Society to the other, in order to

agitate against my acceptance. He said to one of these members that I had only come to Norway to take all of his patients away from him. To another, he said that I had become mentally ill. This man was the "leader of the 'Marxist' psychoanalysts," Otto Fenichel. This deed, which generally aroused repulsion, cost him a great deal. In the summer of 1935, he had to leave Oslo because he could no longer exist there. I had undertaken nothing against his presence there.

When I saw that the Norwegian members hesitated, I myself proposed to them that the question of my re-admission be dropped. I could indeed exist without them, and it was perhaps better not to bring up conflicts. I have not regretted this step. They attended the evenings which I had arranged for clinical discussion, and we were good friends. Almost all of them studied the rapidly developing technique of character-analysis, which grappled just at that time with the problem of the mastery of bodily rigidities. And now began the experimental biophysiological work which was so important for the development of Social Psychiatry. It completely detached me from psychoanalysis and was at the same time a strong foundation on which the correct insights of clinical psychoanalysis could be based.

Only my naiveté about human beings was not at an end. It was partly to blame for the tumultuous and dangerous occurrences which started in the fall of 1937 in the Oslo Psychiatric Society and which for almost a year held the Norwegian public in suspense. With the result that I could scarcely any longer show myself in society or in any other way publicly; but my work at one stroke was *advanced* by a decade.

APPENDIX

WILHELM REICH ON THE ROAD TO BIOGENESIS (1935-1939)*

After Wilhelm Reich's migration from Malmo, Sweden, to Oslo, Norway, in the late fall of 1934, his work floated, figuratively speaking, between heaven and hell. Numerous friends and admirers of his accomplishments claimed at least two Nobel prizes for him just as the necessity of his expulsion, police investigation, and supervision, were demanded by his enemies. And the enemies – neurologists who hated sex, court psychiatrists who believed in the hereditary nature of "criminal intercourse in puberty," fascist police officials who hated "foreigners," etc. – were in the majority. In the fight of armored life against the discovery of the bio-energy (life energy), and with that the discovery of *biogenesis*, the irrationalism in social life during the 20th century of "culture and civilization" assumed gigantic – from the viewpoint of today – incredible dimensions. Friends and distant observers praised the discovery of the bions as the greatest triumph of science in centuries. The chief of the Norwegian police, Konstad, a fascist who later faced execution for Nazi collaboration, considered Reich the most dangerous enemy of "peace and order." The discovery of the bions and the cancer process took place "on the run," so to speak, in short periods between migrations and the establishment of new working arrangements. The discovery of the Living must have developed powerful forces to be capable of surviving the time between 1934 and 1944. A description of this time is necessary for several reasons:

The struggle over biogenesis solves the riddle of why science has hitherto not succeeded in coming on the track of the Living. It shows the most damaging effects of the emotional plague in the realm of human existence. Furthermore, it is necessary to expose and do away with an infinity of false rumors which sprung up at that time about the discoverer of the bions; they were circulated and used vigorously by the enemies of early orgonomy. Finally, it reveals the position of the Living in our order of things – the "State of Man" at its worst.

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The writing down of the now infamous Norwegian newspaper campaign against the discovery of the bions (1936-38) has been postponed for years. As Reich worked on his bion preparations, observed the orgone energy, thought through, grasped and arranged the connections of the life functions and the position of the living in nonliving nature, the so boisterous and factually empty campaign appeared completely ridiculous. It was unequivocally answered by the results that followed, e.g., the discovery of the secret of the cancer cell (1938-39), the discovery of the atmospheric orgone energy and the temperature difference at the orgone accumulator (1940), the great healing effects of the orgone energy accumulator on blood, tissues, etc.

Those who had behaved irrationally in the campaign against Reich's research, now appeared in an unpleasant light. Their arguments of 1937 were like shooting at elephants with paper arrows, and were, therefore, not answered by Reich. The discoverer of orgone energy had no desire to drag unknown and irrational men into the history of science. The battle which raged against his person and which used all kinds of insult, slander and defamation, was a very painful experience; but he refused to answer invective with invective. Although he had no inkling of the great results which were later to appear in his work, he was fully conscious of his gigantic responsibility. Reich does not belong to those who consider mildness and submissiveness as signs of greatness. He can fight as well and maybe better than others. He admits that he has often felt the urge to administer a beating to one or another advocate of sham science. Still, an awareness of the seriousness of his task prevented him from mixing with this kind of prejudiced, unfair procedure – an emotion that many years later, after hundreds of observations and experiments had confirmed his first findings, he recognized with surprise as the *basic mood of unarmored life:* The Living experiences the aberrations and malicious actions of the armored human being and remains indifferent, uncomprehending, and alien, though often full of sympathy.

Reich once had occasion to observe this basic attitude of the Living in small healthy children toward the distortions and monstrosities of human maliciousness:

A kind and loving boy of four trustingly joined somewhat older boys on a playground. After a while an older boy asked the four-year-old to bring him a glass of water. Most kindly and trustingly the little boy went and brought the glass of water. Thereupon, the older boy poured the water in the little boy's face. Some of the boys laughed maliciously, others stood by embarrassed, saying nothing. None of the children nor the

many adult witnesses of the incident interfered. The misdeed occurred without reason; it was unfair and unprovoked. The little boy walked away quietly, tears in his eyes, not understanding . . . Afterward, the big boys kept annoying the little boy for quite some time. Whenever he appeared on the playground, they would giggle and make nasty remarks. Later on, the little boy withdrew and did not join the other children on the playground. One day, one of the big boys attacked the little boy again in a cowardly manner from behind, tripping him to the ground. Then it finally happened: the little fellow hit back, hard and fast. He rammed his adversary with his head, threw him to the ground and pommeled him with fists until the coward ran away screaming.

Kindly life had, in this manner, finally abandoned its misplaced tolerance and wrongly applied good will; *it had begun to fight.* One day, sooner or later, all the kind and goodnatured boys will start beating the hell out of the malicious, cowardly " BIG BOYS " and make them run screaming – EVERYWHERE.

At the time of the campaign, Reich was a resident in a foreign country. He had, to be sure, been invited to teach at the University of Oslo; still the sympathy which was mixed with envy and fear of competition lingered constantly behind the word " refugee," which – like a stamp – was impressed on each immigrant. The campaign accentuated this painful situation. Reich had actually fled before the German fascists to Scandinavia; he was most careful to burden this hospitable country as little as possible. In the course of five years' residence in Norway, Reich gave only *two* lectures before the university students and one public lecture course. He did not write in the newspapers, although he was asked to do so. He did not establish any journal in the Norwegian language but voluntarily limited himself to a *German* periodical which was little read in Scandinavia since relatively few could read German. He worked quietly in his laboratory but did not deny himself the right to invite his students to seminars and small addresses in private circles. Furthermore, he lived in a democratic country with a socialistic Labor Party in office. At the beginning of the campaign (1937), Reich discussed his quiet withdrawal with his friends. His friend, the poet Arnulf Overland, said: " I have never experienced such a loud quiet." This sentence hit the nail on the head. If Reich had taken part in the daily activities and mixed with the rest, he might not have caused the "loud quiet," but neither would he have accomplished anything. It was just his quiet way of working which provoked his opponents to make such a loud noise.

Where armored life rules the scene of social intercourse, one finds at the basis of all activity:

1) Overabundance of words and concepts which have the sole purpose of avoiding the *simple* basic laws of nature;

2) Overexcited enthusiasm where armored life comes in contact with the simple laws of life of the unarmored living;

3) Complete incapacity of armored life to penetrate to the practical application of the simple laws of the living, hence *disillusionment* and *hateful rejection* of *everything* that even distantly reminds it of living life.

These three typical ways of behavior form the content of the concept of the emotional plague. It has been shown that the natural laws of life are without social recognition and protection; that truth is free game for every kind of biopathic life expression; that the laws of the 20th century lack the feeling and language for the functions of the Living. These biopathic mechanisms of human life Reich did not imagine, but experienced as one of their many victims. It was the responsibility for his great discovery which forced him finally to search for the concealed and entwined path on which the biopathic human animal sneaks around and tries to kill his own life and well-being through slandering the giver of life.

How the struggle against Reich's work on the Living developed in Germany, Denmark and Sweden has been described in a different context. The enemies of the Living could carry it on under the cloak of the political slogan. For, unfortunately, the research on the Living took place at a time during which the " political criminal " stood at the center of interest for all the police in this world. And it is too much to ask a certain type of state official to distinguish the political " criminal " from the discoverer of biogenesis, if even a professor of cancer pathology cannot make this distinction.

Between the fall of 1934 and the beginning of 1937, thus for three years, Reich's work had the quiet necessary for development. The great campaign against the bion theory began in May, 1937. Skirmishes of lesser significance preceded it; these minor skirmishes would have warned Reich if he had not stuck to his all-too-naive belief in the objectivity of scientific circles. That mechanistic science is itself, from the methodological viewpoint, the child of mechanistic civilization, was of course known theoretically, but how to apply this knowledge practically was not known.

Healthy children, in whom the Living functions freely, soon discover and playfully practice their new life functions. While the child playfully moves his speech organs, he learns how to form words, words which

at first say nothing, false words, no words at all in the strict sense of academic language, but still sounds which gradually, under the influence of the environment, develop into " correct " words. Until the end of the second year, the newborn are our greatest scientific discoverers. They bring nothing with them except a vigorous bio-energy. The handling of a spoon or a chair, the opening and closing of a door, the selection of food, stroking, kissing and playing are not inherited in content. The same children, brought up differently in another cultural milieu, would develop other contents for the expression of their energy. Thus children are the greatest natural researchers. And the great natural researchers are, first of all, children who master *playfully* new scientific realms, exactly as children master their new world. One need only think of Leeuwenhoek, Faraday, Edison, etc.

The bionous nature of all living matter and nonliving matter allowed to swell was also discovered playfully. Whoever had observed Reich on those lonely evenings when he discovered the bions, would only have shaken his head. No " serious scientist " would have given him the slightest consideration. The practical effects of the cosmic orgone energy on tissues, on growth in animals and plants, on biopathic decay in cancer, etc., of 1951, are the results of the " childish game " of 1935. Reich played in the following way:

In the course of the year 1935, the hypothesis which had been reached on the basis of sex-economic investigations, i.e., that the life function is determined by a FOUR-BEAT in the sequence of *mechanical tension – charge – discharge – release*, was confirmed at the oscillograph. This arrangement of mechanical and bio-energetic functions could not be found in the realm of the nonliving. The access to the problem of biogenesis was to be sought in connection with this life formula, if the formula was correct. The discovery of such an access to biogenesis would naturally confirm the correctness of Reich's " life formula." If such an access did *not* result, then the formula could still be correct, but would remain sterile, for a while at least.

In 1935, Reich possessed only an oscillograph which had been set up in his study in the middle of a heap of books and manuscripts. These details are mentioned not for the sake of sensationalism, but in order to set into correct focus the antithesis of such beginnings of a great scientific development with the splendor of state palaces and monuments of politicians. Reich was not the first discoverer who was forced to work in such a fashion while the parasites of human life could disburse millions. Reich has made sacrifices to the Living and to honest work but he does *not* feel

bound, after 30 years of hard and dangerous work on man and nature, to bow before social nonsense.

At that time, there was still no microscope in his workshop. In the course of the winter of 1934/35 he had, from his earnings as professor of biopsychiatry, spent almost 3000 Norwegian kroner on the construction of the oscillograph. It did not inconvenience him, for he loved the work and did not have any great personal demands. In his prominent position, he earned enough to provide for himself and his children, and, moreover, to afford such a luxury as an oscillograph. However, he now needed a microscope. A student physician, Dr. Lotte Liebeck, who had come to Oslo to study with Reich, had taken part in the bio-electrical experiments as an experimental subject, and since she was very much interested in the research, offered to donate a microscope. Thus at the end of 1935, Reich had a splendid binocular Leitz research microscope and an arrangement for microphotography. When he obtained the microscope, he had first to refresh himself on the technique of microscopy which he had learned as a medical student sixteen years before in Vienna. The magnification of the microscope went up to 1500x.

On the same day the microscope arrived, Reich began to control his hypothesis. He still remembers well the evening during which he sat alone in his home and pondered how he should arrange the experiment. While he played around, he still felt quite hopelessly lost; he had brought all attainable materials under the objective. Then it occurred to him that the organism nourishes itself on *organic* substance, i.e., on substance which had once been living. If the living organism draws further life energy from foodstuff which was also living at one time, then here in this process, he believed – now becoming more certain – he should be able to find a connection concerning his problem.

Foodstuffs contained " chemical substances " which the organism took up and incorporated in its body fluids. This was a chemical, material process about which science still had everything to learn. The chemistry of this process could not be observed microscopically. Still, how did it come about, Reich asked himself, that the nourishment was absorbed through the intestinal wall into the body fluids of the living organism? It did not occur to him at that time that physiology had not solved the riddle of the absorption of intestinal contents through the intestinal wall.[1] If the human intellect could always keep all problems of natural science

[1] *Cf.* THE CANCER BIOPATHY, pp. 307-310.

in mind while it experimented playfully, then many riddles would be much simpler to solve.

It would be very simple, Reich thought to himself, to observe different kinds of foodstuffs microscopically. Fortunately, he had no biochemical staff to study the foodstuffs and arrange them very neatly according to fats, carbohydrates and proteins. We say *fortunately:* Had he been "strictly scientific," had he not proceeded in a naive and playful way, he would not have discovered the *bionous nature of all matter* that had been allowed to swell. Fat would have revealed that it was "only" fat pellets, sugar would "only" have dissolved molecularly, and muscle tissue and egg white would have revealed no bions. Tormented as Reich was by the basic question concerning the relationship between nutritive substances and the organism, he did not behave with too much consideration, but "crazily." He threw meat, potatoes, vegetables of all kinds, milk and eggs into a pot which he filled with water; he cooked the mixture for half an hour, took a sample and hurried with it to the microscope. What he saw appeared just as "crazy" as his undertaking. When he went to the microscope, he expected that he could clearly distinguish the different substances. The accident, which one usually calls "fate," pushed his research miles ahead. *The preparation contained nothing except vesicles,* of different sizes, to be sure, but still vesicles of the same basic type. Even the particles of starch and fat appeared to him now as larger vesicles. Thus the hodge-podge which he had brewed was a basically unitary mass. The individual vesicles showed a *blue* or *blue-green* glimmer. At first Reich did away with his phenomenon by "explaining" to himself that it was "just" a question of "light refraction," exactly as even today "strict" scientists are accustomed to do, when they see the blue or blue-green glimmer of biological colloids. Reich's first orgone-physical conclusion was correct; on cooking, i.e., swelling, organic substances disintegrate into vesicles. He had come on the track of the "*bions.*"

Reich now used the high magnification of 1500x. It was sufficient to detect motility in the contents of the vesicles, but still not high enough to permit conclusions. Reich asked the Leitz company what its strongest objectives were; the answer was 150x. Together with a 16x or a 25x eyepiece, the magnification could be increased up to around 5000x. He was aware that one can no longer dissolve structures clearly using a magnification of over 2000x; however, he was not interested in the observation of finer structures, but in the *observation of* MOTILITY WITHIN *the bions.* Although he has stressed in publications on several occasions this distinction between *structure* and *movement* in the observation of microscopic objects,

in 1945 Reich still met the reproach that he did not understand microscopy since he did not know that there is a limit on magnification using light. Prejudices cling like lice to a fur, and the greater the ignorance, the greater also the arrogance. Concentrating solely on the dead structures of stained tissues, it is inconceivable to a mechanist that there is also movement and that a fine movement in a particle may not be visible at 2000x magnification, but can become visible at 3000x.

Reich owed the discovery of the biological energy, and with it of the cosmic energy, to this *distinction between structure and movement.* The *inner* motility which he had discovered in his bions also solved the question of "Brownian movement." In the 19th century, Brown had observed that very fine India ink particles move from place to place. He had himself correctly comprehended that these movements were manifestations of life forces. But the mechanistic physicists soon took over the subject, killed Brown's very fruitful thoughts, and in so doing changed the Living again into a dead machine. The motility of very fine particles, so asserted their argument, was due to the "bombardment by the molecules in the fluid." Thus for centuries they killed a gigantic discovery. Their exact calculations of the movements of the Brownian particles did not help matters here in the slightest. Only in the 1940's did Reich understand that this attitude of the mechanistic physicist was due to the general evasion of everything that merely reminds one of orgone energy.

In the bions the *inner* and not the outer, local motility was important. *The "bombardment of the molecules" could not explain phenomena of* INNER *motility, such as vibration, expansion, contraction, convulsions, etc.* Just as mechanistic thinking had kept microscopic observation under 1000x, so its mechanistic theory of matter barricaded the door to the *inner motility* of swollen matter and thus to the cosmic orgone energy and bioenergy.

The development of protozoa from bions and the development of bions from matter and free orgone energy have been described elsewhere in such detail that they need only be briefly dealt with here. It was logical that Reich repeatedly put together many different substances and cooked them. After cooking, one could see nothing microscopically except inwardly motile vesicles that showed a blue glimmer. Reich then let the different substances swell slowly in water at room temperature. The development of bions now occurred much more slowly, in days or weeks according to the hardness of the substance. But the bionous disintegration never was absent no matter what material he took up and allowed to soak. Gradually it became clear that the *inner motility was to be ascribed*

to an energy which was liberated from the matter upon soaking or boiling. Therefore, Reich called the bions "*energy vesicles*" (the term "orgone" did not exist yet). *The inner motility was a work effect, and work without energy is inconceivable.* Reich intentionally avoided determining what *kind* of energy he was dealing with. There was time for that. Only careful observation would yield further explanations.

The swelling of moss and grass blades revealed the development of protozoa from bions, i.e., natural organization in BIOGENESIS. Observation and microphotography left no doubt about this process. However, in order to proceed with certainty, Reich went to the Botanical Institute in Oslo to obtain cultures of amebae. An assistant at the institute was very friendly and said that it would be the simplest thing in the world to make some grass infusions, and to obtain amebae. Reich asked him – at the moment with complete naiveté and without any special reason in mind – how the protozoa came into the infusion. "From the air, of course," the assistant answered surprised, and with an astonished glance. "*And how do they come into the air?*" Reich asked further. "That we do not know," the assistant replied. *He did not say that as yet no one had succeeded in cultivating protozoa from the air.* Thus Reich was faced with the task of setting up numerous air infection experiments, in order to convince himself that there WERE NO PROTOZOAL GERMS IN THE AIR. *During the following years he tried hundreds of times to obtain protozoa from the air, with no result. This fact burdened the "air infection" theorists with the task of proving their contention that protozoa develop from "air germs."*

Today every student of orgone biophysics and biogenesis at the Orgone Institute before he is admitted to advanced biogenetic work must attempt to prove that protozoa, cancer cells, plasmatic flakes, bions, T-bacilli, "cysts," etc., can be obtained through "air infection." Only when he convinces himself through ample air culture experiments that there is no such thing as protozoa in the air will he be able to resist the many influences exerted upon him by his social atmosphere – social, religious, false prejudices of any kind, fear of "authority," etc. – and will he be able to relinquish his anxieties about "impurities" and to study nature as it is and works. Only then will he be able intelligently to discriminate as to where infection from the air is actually valid, and he will in such cases adhere to strict sterilization; but he will no longer misinterpret every single microscopic observation which clearly demonstrates biogenesis, as only "air infection." The evasions made possible by neglecting to prove to oneself the possibilities of actual air infection are incredible in their extent and elaborate intricacy. This evasiveness must by all means be completely

removed first, in student and professor of biology alike, if one intends to get through the mire of "air infection" beliefs.

At that time (1937) Reich had respect for mechanistic natural science and its "authorities." They were honest, hard-working men and women who conscientiously went about their investigations. It remained for the following years to free him from this dangerous error: It was not without an irrational basis that he clung to it so long. He knew that in his experiments he had hit upon the problem of *biogenesis.* He knew that this problem was the basic problem not only of all biological sciences, but of natural science in general. It was clear to him that in spite of his basic natural-scientific and natural-philosophic training, he was not sufficiently well prepared for *this* problem. It was too much, much too much for *one* man, even one of his work capacity and experience. He did not know at that time that he feared to be confronted with this problem; he also did not know that the mechanists have no idea of the nature of even the existence of these phenomena. He was to be convinced of the latter point in a dangerous way. In this connection one of the many newly mastered facts should be emphasized and the reader oriented in it:

The phenomenon which we chose, later led to the clarification of the hitherto unknown beginnings of the cancer illness. As the student of orgonomy knows, the cancer tumor can be traced to the general cancerous shrinking biopathy and to a decay of the blood and tissues. Through careful clinical investigations, Reich found that the decay process itself is rooted in a sharp decline of functions of pulsation, i.e., of the energy economy in the organism. *The key to the problem of the cancer disease was thus the problem of decay,* or "scientifically" expressed, the problem of *bodily degeneration and putrefaction of living tissue.* Reich had no inkling at that time, when he first hit upon the bions, that all medicine, bacteriology, biology and biophysics thought the decay process "too banal" and "unscientific" for them to be occupied with it.

Decay is a process that takes place everywhere in nature. As has been shown elsewhere, all life gradually swings up to a varying height and then gradually declines, leading finally to death and to the disintegration of the tissues. In nature, there is no "sterilization" and no "air infection." The mechanistic biologist and bacteriologist do not feel that they are real natural researchers unless they have first sterilized everything neatly and properly. Thus, while these natural scientists excluded all possibilities of "air infection" and decay from their preparations, painstakingly, with certainty, with the strictest precision of the mechanistic age, the greatest discovery of biology slipped through their fingers, namely

that *the cancer process is rooted in the premature decay of blood* and tissues; that, in other words, the cancerous organism suffers a living death. It was the "air germ" theory, rigidly and mechanistically applied, and the dogma "all cells from cells" which had made biogenetic and cancer research *sterile* in the strict sense of the word. We shall soon see what a gigantic role the "banal rot bacteria" play not only in cancer research, but also in the campaign of mechanism against orgonomic functionalism.

At first Reich worked with completely unsterile preparations. *He did not sterilize at all*, but observed tissues in their natural state, uncooked *and* cooked. Today it is clear that he would never have hit upon the cancer problem had he restricted himself exclusively to the observation of sterile preparations, as the law of strict biology demands. He saw rot bacteria develop in his preparations. *Under high magnification one could clearly observe the disintegration of tissues into vesicles and later directly into rod forms.* This has been photographed. If only Reich's opponents would care to look into microscopes, they could see this formation of rot bacteria clearly and unequivocally. The observation could not be doubted. It demolished with a single blow a heap of erroneous ideas in mechanistic biology. To convince himself experimentally of the correctness of his work, Reich sterilized an egg white preparation, kept it sterile, and found that even with the strictest precautionary measures *autodisintegration* of the protein occurred under definite inner conditions and rot bacteria appeared. He coated fresh eggs with lacquer and coal tar; still the eggs degenerated sooner or later. All substances which he sterilized degenerated because of inner and *not* outer reasons. Reich prepared a sterile mixture of substances which has since become the famous *preparation 6c*.[2] The rot bacteria appeared within a few minutes. He heated coal to incandescence in a flame, put it in a solution, and after five minutes he could observe and give a Gram stain to short, mobile organisms, later called T-bacilli. *There was no doubt about the inner origin of the decay.* The energetic functions to which one should ascribe this decay, were still completely unclear.

Reich now committed a dangerous "tactical" mistake. He yielded to the pressure of his assistant, Dr. Odd Havrevold, and sent a preparation to the Bacteriological Institute in Oslo solely for identification of the micro-organisms. We must ask the reader to understand why he regarded this step as a bad mistake. Reich knew basic bacteriology but was not a specialized bacteriologist. Giving a biological stain to micro-organisms

[2]Communicated to the French Academy of Science, 1937.

a few minutes after making a bion preparation, naturally excluded the so-called "air infection." The development of a preparation from "air infection" requires at least 24 hours before micro-organisms appear. That Reich knew. But he could not decide the question by himself as to whether the micro-organisms he obtained were identical with *known* forms or whether they represented *new* forms. Had he at that time possessed a well-equipped laboratory and – especially – sufficient funds, he would have hired a trained bacteriologist to carry out the necessary research. But he did not have the money. And he wished to wait and avoid contact with "official" science. The events once more proved him correct:

Tjotta of the Bacteriological Institute, instead of restricting himself according to Reich's request to a simple identification of the organisms in the preparation, misused this request in the interest of the air germ theory. Unasked and unauthorized, he issued a public statement to the effect that he "had controlled Reich's experiments" and had found "nothing but simple bacilli." His statement had nothing whatsoever to do with our request to identify the organisms.

Several other unpleasant experiences of a similar nature, which it is now necessary to describe briefly, were the following:

When Reich succeeded in obtaining bions from preparation 6c at the end of 1936, he requested friends in Copenhagen to go to the Biological Institute of Dr. Albert Fischer and seek to have placed at Reich's disposal the Institute's microphotographic apparatus so that he could study with rapid motion pictures the development of bions from matter that had been allowed to swell. At first, Fischer was friendly. Reich travelled to Copenhagen and demonstrated experiment 6c. Shortly before he started the experiment, Fischer made a scornful remark which represented in miniature the basic attitude of mechanistic biology. He asked Reich if he wished to brew a paste. Reich was about to leave the room after this remark, but he yielded to Fischer's pacifying apology and continued the experiment. The substances were mixed and then the preparation was cooked. There were difficulties with the microscope. Fischer's microscope had a magnification of only 1500x. With such a magnification the forms could be seen but not their inner movements. This required at least 2000x. Fischer became upset and raised the above-mentioned argument of the limits of magnification. Reich answered that it was a question of seeing *more movement* and *not* more structure. This lack of distinction between the *functional (movement)* and the *mechanistic-static (structure)* lingered on for years in all discussions of high-power microscopy. One of Fischer's assistants proposed a Giemsa stain, which

was made immediately and showed forms that reacted *positively*. The impression of this demonstration was unequivocally strong. However, the prejudice of the air germ theory was too strong as is revealed by the following:

Reich returned to Oslo and requested Dr. Leunbach, a Danish physician and friend of early orgonomy, to keep in touch with Fischer. Shortly thereafter, Reich received a letter from Leunbach containing the news that Fischer had reacted very strangely. He had accused Reich of "lack of critique" and "fantasies." Reich had desired absurdly large magnification. He had said that he had observed spindle formations and divisions. All movements had been movements of the fluid. It was a question of the old "fairy tales" from the time of Pasteur. Reich was accused of mixing psychology and biology in an illegitimate fashion.

In a letter to Leunbach on January 9th, Reich refuted all of Fischer's statements in order to avoid false rumors. However, Reich held fast in an inexcusably naive way to his confidence in the objectivity of mechanistic natural-scientific research. He would have done better to have been brusque and rejecting. Fischer had simply tried to argue away clear facts. The Giemsa stain was denied, the development of cocci and rods a few minutes after the preparation was made went unmentioned, and he had retreated into spoofing the whole thing.

Reich also encountered the terror of the mechanistic natural scientist toward the Living in a demonstration of the coal bion experiment for the Norwegian cancer pathologist, Leif Kreyberg. This demonstration was the direct cause of Kreyberg's turning from cooperation to hateful enmity. One day, as often before, Kreyberg brought Reich cancer tissue. Reich asked him whether he wished to see cancer cells at an unusually high magnification. Kreyberg desired to, since he did not himself possess such magnification. Reich placed cancer cells under a magnification of 4000x. Kreyberg looked through the microscope and did not recognize the club-shaped forms which moved across the field with a slow, jerky motion as cancer cells. Kreyberg was visibly shaken; Reich did not make any remark with regard to Kreyberg's ignorance of living cancer cells.

Kreyberg wished to see Reich's coal bions. Reich glowed a coal dust preparation to incandescence, placed it in a solution, took up a small sample several minutes later, and placed it under the microscope at a magnification of 3000x. The bions were strongly motile, contractile, and showed a blue glimmer; these characteristic are today well known to many who have seen coal bions. Kreyberg looked through the microscope and was visibly frightened. "I would like to see your bouillon," he

said. Thus, he believed that it was a question of an infected solution. Reich was very astonished, for Kreyberg had himself seen the clear solution, and, moreover, a coal bion cannot be mistaken for any dust or vesicles resulting from air infection. Still Reich gave in to his request and placed a drop from the solution under the microscope, using the same magnification. Naturally nothing could be seen. Kreyberg asked for a culture of coal bions to study at home. Reich hesitated since he felt that Kreyberg would not know at all how to go about it; however, Reich gave him a sample from a preparation inoculated on agar. In Kreyberg's later campaign against Reich, he asserted that the bion culture had contained "only staphylococci." "*Only* staphylococci"! In such fashion did Kreyberg reject the novelty of motile cancer cells at a magnification of 4000x and the incident with the coal bions: and he did not understand that a word, "staphylococci," does not say anything about the origin of the form.

Reich did not say anything about this. He had also not mentioned that the "staphylococci" represented a "pure culture." Cultures of air infection are usually mixed cultures. Furthermore, Kreyberg had not realized that in the process of killing, drying and staining bions, all distinctions disappear and only round, blue forms, similar in fact to staphylococci, remain. Kreyberg demonstrated his ignorance, which he then ascribed to Reich in the typical fashion of projection, for he believed that he had *understood* a form when he gave it a *name*. Kreyberg shared this basic error with all of mechanistic natural research. He kept silent publicly about the fact that one can microscopically observe the development of vesicles from matter, although Reich had published a report on this phenomenon. In brief, this man, a hereditary-minded pathologist, revealed himself to be an insolent neurotic who concealed *his own* ignorance and inclination for intrigue by accusing *Reich* of ignorance. He was mortally afraid that Reich could actually be right. He even resorted to gross lies, apart from omission of truth, in the later phases of his campaign. He had tried to "examine" Reich, but Reich never permitted this man to examine him. By accusing Reich of ignorance, Kreyberg covered up the shock he had suffered when he had not been able to recognize cancer cells at 4000x magnification. In such hands rests at present the fate of thousands suffering from cancer.

The problem is more complicated in the case of rot bacteria (fusiformis, subtilis, etc.). It is possible to obtain such bacteria from the air. However, it is not easy to obtain them from the air. And even if so, the logical next question is: "HOW DO BACTERIA GET INTO THE AIR?" Here again irrational behavior instead of a concrete answer sets in. No one

has even tried to answer this inescapable question. The answer of orgonomy is: There are dust particles in the air which get there from all kinds of organic decayed matter. *We obtain rot bacteria from the air through hydration and decay of the dust bions just as we do in any of the many decaying bion preparations.* The air germ theorist simply refuses to meet this argument, and, in some cases, resorts to slander instead. However, this question will from now on bother the mind of every serious biologist. It simply can no longer be circumvented. All this has nothing whatsoever to do with "spontaneous generation"; and it is also untrue that the origin of life from nonliving nature has ever been proved wrong. Neither Pasteur nor anyone else has ever claimed such a thing. What Pasteur did in his quarrel with Bastian was the following: He behaved like a man who claims that a certain alive, moving horse, is NOT ALIVE, in contradiction to any kind of carefui scrutiny of appearance. When the owner of the horse insists that it *is* alive, the contestant takes an axe, bashes in the horse's head and then says triumphantly: "Here, it is obvious to anyone that the horse is dead." This is the function of sterilization of alive matter in biogenetic research. Fortunately, orgonomic biology has broken the spell. BIONS ARISE FROM PERFECTLY STERILIZED MATERIAL THROUGH SWELLING AS IN EXPERIMENT XX AFTER FREEZING OF THE YELLOW BION WATER. It takes months or years until protozoa appear in sterile preparations, but they are there. The spontaneous decay of living tissue into bions and further into rot bacteria can be observed microscopically and reproduced experimentally; this process goes on constantly in nature, living as well as nonliving, in cancer and many other diseases. The helplessness of the wrong type of bacteriological theory in the face of such diseases as cancer and polio, will sooner or later force the defeat of the adherents of the air infection theory. Unseen air germs cannot possibly prevail against clearly visible bionous processes. One wonders how many human lives will be lost before an end is put to this incredible mismanagement of scientific matters.

Reich only followed the development of the phenomena and tried in a naive way to obtain help from the "specialists." The reader should be reminded that Reich, at that time, was groping in the dark, so to speak, since nothing whatsoever was known about a concrete "life energy" or "bio-energy," either within the organism or outside in the atmosphere.

The so-called "air infection" of the unsterile bion preparation 6 turned out to be the key to the cancer problem. Let us now summarize briefly the arguments which render the theoretical position of Reich's opponents invalid; they were elaborated in THE DISCOVERY OF THE ORGONE,

Vol. II, THE CANCER BIOPATHY.

1. The cancer process is a long-drawn-out process of decay within the organism due to bio-energetic shrinking of the life system. In the process of this degeneration and decomposition of alive protein, rot bacteria develop which slowly further degenerate into the so-called T-bacilli which can be seen and cultivated in every single case of cancer tissue and blood cells. The cancer cell is a protozoon, formed in animal tissues just as protozoa are organized from decaying plant tissue.

2. *No cancer cells or protozoa of any kind can or will ever be found "in the air."* No amount of labor at obtaining protozoa from the air has succeeded in Reich's laboratory, and there is *no proof in the classical biological literature to the effect that protozoa were actually found in the air.* This claim is a pure invention on the part of prejudiced scientists; it has the function of maintaining a defunct view of the living as being sharply distinct in origin as well as function from the nonliving. Orgonomy has proved by *microscopic observation* and by *sterile* experiments that primitive life develops through many phases from bions or energy vesicles. *No proof to the contrary has even been adduced. No airborn protozoa or cancer cells have ever been demonstrated. The burden of counter-proof now rests squarely on the shoulders of the air germ theorists. They are bound to prove that cancer cells and protozoa exist in the air, if they wish to maintain their position.* If they cannot, then purely logically, cancer cells arise somehow *within the organism.* It is exactly at this point where malignant irrationalism enters the scene in debates about orgonomic observations. Such gentlemen simply refuse to look into microscopes and cannot, therefore, be taken seriously.

Reich's opponents should be reminded that we are no longer living in the *beginning* of the age of bacteriology; we are living in its *decline.* The theory of infection from the air has exhausted its usefulness and has long overdrawn its account of accomplishment. It has at present reached an impasse which obstructs the understanding and healing of such diseases as cancer, high blood pressure, polio, rheumatic fever, etc. We are now facing an entirely new set of problems grouped around the natural function of *endogenous* infection and decay, of bio-energetic, emotional, i.e., *FUNCTIONAL,* and no longer originally parasitic afflictions. We are, accordingly, entering a new age in medicine and biology. The guiding line of these new developments will, of necessity be the functions, still requiring much detailed elaboration, of the concrete, measurable, manageable, visible LIFE ENERGY — ORGONE ENERGY.

The discovery in 1940 of an energy in the atmosphere with specific qualities of the living (pulsation, orgonomic potential, constant higher heat potential, etc.) not only confirmed the microscopic phenomena in bions, but, naturally, put an end to all petty babbling about unseen and unproven "air germs" as the source of primitive life such as cancer cells, amebae, trichomonas, colpidiae, etc. It put out of function an empty slogan which had obfuscated clear-cut facts for decades and had made impossible any advance toward an understanding of biogenesis. By 1945, when Experiment XX had already revealed the formation of plasmatic matter from sterile, autoclaved and frozen bion water, it became clear that ALL life, no matter where and how, emerges of logical as well as factual necessity wherever orgone energy has a chance to absorb water, to concentrate into bions, and to continue to be active within flexible organic membranes. There is no doubt: Life *does* come "from the air and from the soil," not as unseen air germs, but as COSMIC LIFE ENERGY.

I do not know what I may appear to the world; but to myself I seem tc have been only like a boy playing on the seashore, and diverting myself in now and then finding a smoother pebble or a prettier shell than ordinary whilst the great ocean of truth lay all undiscovered before me.

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