

DEATH OF A MAN OF THE STATE

Continued from page 1

As anarchists, of course our fundamental attitudes spring from ethical considerations. However, these revolve not around a faith in violence/non-violence as religious doctrine, but around the fact that we will speak and write and act in accordance only with the means we consider most appropriate to obtain freedom.

As anarchists we do not share the aims and objectives of the IRA or the Irish National Liberation Army (who have admitted to the murder), and we can see no way in which this death will bring freedom, as we understand it, any closer.

Airey Neave was, it is true, a man whose intentions, once in office, we had every reason to abhor. A close associate of Thatcher, and instrumental in bringing about her victory in the 1974 Tory leadership struggle (- and incidentally, an adviser to Jim Callaghan in his victorious bid for leadership!) he was ideologically close to her. Contrary to the pejorative root of the word 'Tory' which, after all, means 'Irish Catholic bandit', he had traditionally shown little, if any, support or understanding for the Irish Catholic cause.

He was a supporter of the greater use of the Special Air Services in Northern

Ireland, and a champion of the British army and police. He was firmly opposed to the withdrawal of troops from Ireland. He was a staunch advocate of law and order in general and the death penalty for killers of the security forces in particular. He had even called into question the granting of citizenship to Irish immigrants.

But Neave was suffering from serious heart trouble when he died, and it is unlikely that had he lived to take it, he would have survived long in office. Even then, it is doubtful that his attitude to Ireland differed in any substantive points from that of the present Secretary of State Roy Mason, of whom he largely approved. It is quite possible that he felt more sincerely than many of his colleagues and most of the media about the evils of torture since his own much-bruited experience of it at the hands of the Gestapo. It is clear that, for whatever motive or tactic, he had been anxious to hasten publication of the Bennett report which supported evidence of 'ill-treatment' by the Royal Ulster Constabulary and had promised (Gerry Fitt) an investigation into it.

These matters are not important to us. Where we are concerned, what counts is that Airey Neave was a man of State

among other men and women of State and that, had he assumed office over Ireland, whether opposed to RUC 'ill-treatment' or not, he would have become responsible for the death and injury of others for as long as British troops remained on Irish soil. Given this single and overwhelming fact, any useful outcome from Neave's death, as opposed to that of any of the rest, is not easy to detect. The only likely results are a boost for the Tory law and order platform, for the restoration of capital punishment, for Jim Jardine and his friends of the Police Federation, and an intensification of the persecution of Irish people in this country.

For these reasons, the death of Airey Neave delights us not. But it has a certain symmetry of its own. Better than any of his colleagues, as the man who served writs of indictment on Hess, Goering and other war criminals, he knew the Nuremberg principles whereby every soldier is liable for war crimes against peace and humanity - including the planning, preparation or waging of a war of aggression.

Thus it can truly be said that Airey Neave, who prosecuted by the Nuremberg principles, also died by them.

EDITORS

IT seems that President Carter has sufficiently twisted the arms of Messrs. Begin and Sadat, mainly with promises of military goodies, to have made the world safe for Mobil Oil. At least he thinks so and on the wings of victory he'll ride to re-election.

Well meaning people both in Israel and Egypt probably hope that the agreement between the two countries is only the first step towards true self rule for the one million Palestinians living in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Maybe they're right but I think they're deluding themselves. The Palestinians living here know better; they know that Sadat has sold them out, that Carter cares primarily for a stable flow of oil, and that Begin's autonomy is a cover for continuation of Israel's creeping annexation of the occupied territories.

Since the beginning of Carter's visit there have been demonstrations on the West Bank that have been put down violently by the Israeli military administration. Arab students answering the PLO's call for demonstrations during Carter's visit have been setting up blockades of burning tyres in the streets, carrying pro-Palestinian placards, shouting anti-Israeli slogans, and throwing rocks at soldiers and at passing buses and cars.

One centre of the demonstrations has been the town Ramallah and its vicinity which is north of Jerusalem. On the first day of Carter's visit pupils from the boys' high school threw stones at soldiers who received orders to repulse them and did so by beating several students and their teachers with nightsticks.

ISRAEL REPORT

The soldiers later arrested the leaders of the demonstration. The teachers and the area superintendent of schools promptly resigned.

The next day in the town of Bir Zeit, the site of a college near Ramallah, students again demonstrated. This time soldiers fired on the students, wounding four. The soldiers claimed they were fired upon first but a later search failed to turn up any evidence of shooting by the students. The commander of the unit was removed from his post and that's probably, although not necessarily, all that will happen to him.

Today, the 15 March, approximately 300 students demonstrated in the small town of Hilhool near Hebron, which is south of Jerusalem. They began hurling stones at a small detachment of 10 soldiers which was present in the town and several civilians from a nearby settlement who were passing through. Frightened, the soldiers at first fired into the air and then fired at the students, killing two. Rumours say that the civilians fired on the students. As yet nothing has been proved and autopsies have been ordered in an attempt to determine whether the bullets came from the soldiers' rifles or from the others.

Through all this curfews have been declared, widespread searches carried out, arrests made, and schools closed.

Mayors and other Arab notables were forbidden to attend assemblies planned in Bethlehem and Bir Zeit in protest against Carter's visit. Arabs in turn published statements in support of the Palestinian Liberation Organisation as the sole representatives of the Palestinian people.

All these events show how much the occupation of Arab territories is a cancer eating away at Israel. Today, in the midst of the buoyant mood in the country, the government announced that there's nothing in the peace treaty which prevents the establishment of more Israeli settlements on the West Bank and the Supreme Court declared in a decision that expropriation of Arab lands is legal since the settlements established on them obviously contribute to Israel's security. How can an area be autonomous if a foreign power can confiscate its citizens' land and conduct basic training for its army on it?

The main problem in this area is not empty desert. It's people; not agreements between countries, but rather freedom for all the people who live in them. The agreement between Israel and Egypt is obviously not the worst thing that's ever happened here; it would be false to say there aren't any good points about it. We may all be surprised and in two or three years a Palestinian state will be established. The treaty, however, doesn't address in a direct and immediate way the primary problem which so dominates everything in the Middle East and for this it must be criticised.

NOAM CLERMAN

POLITICIANS?

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NEGATIVE ON SCOTLAND?

Dear friends

It's good to see something on the 'national question' in Scotland (Colin Mackay, 'Edinburgh Spring', Review, 19 March) because at least it opened up some topics, but to put it mildly the article was extremely negative.

To reject the legacy of the past in such a comprehensive manner is also to reject the future. A classless society may be possible, but one without culturally diverse regions is unthinkable. Colin's cry of 'Long live Anarchy!' is just a grand but vacuous platitude if one does not realise that 'the struggle' must be rooted in a consciousness that is a coming to terms with personal and collective experiences which implicitly occur within a cultural setting.

What we must strive to make obvious is that the positive potential of any culture cannot be fully realised without libertarian and internationalist perspectives. Kropotkin commented that "each nationality brings its own precious building stone for the general development of the commonwealth".

Like Colin my home city is Edinburgh, but I find no difficulty in proclaiming that "IT IS MINE, source of my historical roots" etc., for quite simply I feel that it is. I don't have to be a nationalist to think such a thing. As it happens I am an ex-nationalist.

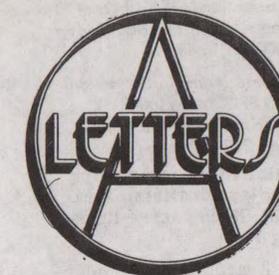
My first spark of political consciousness was the product of our myth-laden Scottish history. Romanticism cannot distort the horrific objective realities of, for instance, the program and cultural repression initiated by the British State after Culloden in 1746.

Colin is correct in eschewing the extravagant presuppositions made by Nationalists regarding the existence of a unitary Scottish nation. As Rucker points out, "It is the State which creates the nation, not the nation the State". Thus the nation could be viewed as the cultural product of the State just as classes are the product of capitalist relations in the economic sphere.

We cannot ignore the existence of nations (or classes) just because we find the process of their creation distasteful. Nor can we be so contemptuously dismissive of those whom we see as having come to terms with the problem inadequately - i.e. the nationalist movement. There is a parallel here in our treatment of all things Marxist and the socialist movement. We must attempt to maximise rather than minimise points of (critical) contact between anarchism and these movements.

Yours sincerely
CRAIG LIDDLE

Edinburgh



THE WAY OUT

Dear comrades

Francis Ellingham is unfair to John Clark. (Vol. 40 no. 5). In spite of the title of his article (which may or may not have been his own) Clark was not seeking to define Anarchism as an entity. He was analysing the concept of Anarchism and seeking to rid it of some of the ambiguities with which it has been shrouded for so long. Even if one doesn't accept his analysis, the attempt is surely praiseworthy.

If Freddie Ayer ever wrote "words have no meaning beyond the meaning that is given them" I'm quite sure he would repudiate that statement now. Indeed, I fancy I remember him saying that he supported the statement of Wittgenstein that the purpose of philosophy was to show the fly the way out of the bottle, that is, to analyse and clarify ordinary language. It seems to me that Francis Ellingham (and some other of your contributors) seek to cork the fly tightly up in its bottle.

F.A.P....

Freedom for Astrid Proll is the title of a new pamphlet, price 25p. brought out by her support group, the Friends of Astrid Proll. 14 A4-size pages long, it gives excellent coverage of Anglo-German relations, the growth of political dissent in Federal Germany in the '60s, a detailed account of the growth of anti-terrorist legislation and the police and military apparatus, prison conditions in Germany - and in Brixton - as well as information about Astrid herself and the campaign to prevent her extradition.

Two quibbles only: what is that curious hybrid the 'FDR' mentioned in the Introduction, and is the real battle against 'imperialism', as it says, or State power pure and simple?

For instance, Ellingham says, I use anarchism to mean a life without control, which surely must be the equivalent of saying, a life in which people behave in such a way as not to control others, and if that isn't a moral ideal, what is. Yet he says he rejects moral ideals. Is he rejecting his own anarchism

Yours fraternally
GE OFFREY BARFOOT

Wells, Somerset

AMSTERDAM - ANTI-CITY CIRCUS

Dear Friends:

On April 28/29/30 we are holding the 2nd Anti-City Circus on the Waterlooplein where the fleamarket used to be in the heart of Amsterdam. The Waterlooplein has been chosen by the local authorities to govern & dominate the region of Amsterdam. To fulfil these ambitions the authorities have already chucked out the street sellers and the inhabitants of the Waterlooplein, nearly everything standing has been torn down and where for nearly one hundred years the flea market prospered and people lived there is now a vast desolate desert.

Last year we inhabitants of the neighbourhoods surrounding the Waterlooplein have taken the initiative to organize an Anti-City Circus as a protest against the town hall plans and also to oppose city-forming steadily advancing and spreading out over the entire eastern part of the city-centre. This year we shall again organise an Anti-City Circus.

During the manifestation we would like to lay the accent on building activities. These will include for example: laying out a park and building a childrens zoo with plans for a skateboard rink and a construction in the air to visualize the immense size of the planned town hall. Also there will be lots of music and other activities.

With this manifestation we aim to strengthen the opposition to the gigantic building by setting amenity and other more human uses of technology and energy against the sterile and energy absorbing building planned by the progress ideologists of today.

To further this aim we would like to get in touch with people who want to use their knowledge of and experience with alternative technology and energy directly against city-forming and the building of this atrocious governing factory they call town hall. So if you want to join us please write to us as soon as possible so that we can get together and talk about the realization of this project. And if you know of any other people or groups concerned with alternative technology please tell them also the contents of this letter. If you write back soon we can arrange some accommodation for you.

For the Anti-City Circus
 Antonia Bosshard | telephone:
 Groenburgwal 15 A | 0.20 225855
 1011 HR Amsterdam | (coffeebar
 The Netherlands | Roodmeerk)
 020 245979
 (evening).

NEWS FROM ANGEL ALLEY

ONE OF THE USEFUL TASKS of a journal which appears regularly, as FREEDOM has for the past 35 years, is to act as a link for groups, activities, publications, and the Contact page at the back of the News section of FREEDOM is evidence to this. However, some of us at Freedom Press have thought it odd that we rarely, if ever, talk about ourselves, about our projects, and only about finances when things are really critical. Well, the situation at Angel Alley is by no means critical, but we are from now on proposing to use this page to talk about ourselves and in so doing hope to get more active support not only to carry on what we are already doing but if possible to expand our propaganda activities. The editorial Collective being modest folk (as well as overworked producing the paper every week in their spare time) have left it to others in the F.P. to compile this page which aims to keep you in touch with our three activities: Bookshop,

Journal, Publications.

The Press Fund has been an integral part of F.P. all these years. At different times it has helped to finance projects, but more often than not it has been a financial lifebelt for the deficit on FREEDOM. It has fluctuated between £1,000 and £1,500 a year whether we appeal or not thanks mainly to a nucleus of comrades and friends who never fail to add something for the Fund when renewing their subscription. But need we remind you that we can no longer do as much with £1,000 as we could even only 10 years ago, and that there are no indications that fixed charges which we cannot avoid will ever go down! So we must aim at £3,000 and to make clear what the money is needed for we have decided to drop the Press Fund, which has lost its original meaning over the years, and replace it by

two funds: the FREEDOM DEFICIT FUND with an annual target of £2,000 and the PREMISES OVERHEADS FUND which aims at raising £1,000 a year.

If we can raise £2,000 a year for FREEDOM there will be a margin for technical improvements on the paper as well as for publicity, such as small paid announcements, specimen copies to potential new readers, the occasional leaflet for free distribution, and so on. The PREMISES OVERHEADS FUND is something new for us, and we shall go into it in more detail next time, but it should serve to remind us all that fixed charges - Rates, heating and lighting, telephone etc. - have become major items in the budgets of propaganda set-ups such as FREEDOM PRESS and have to be faced. The alternative of having no premises to work from, to warehouse and to dispatch cannot be seriously considered.

BOOKSHOP NOTES

--An Annotated Miscellany

BARGAIN BASEMENT

- .Dennis Hardy : Alternative Communities in Nineteenth Century England, £5.95 (36p) A fascinating new study including - unusually in this kind of book - a good chapter on Anarchist Communities.
- .E.T. Bazeley : Homer Lane and the Little Commonwealth £1.50 (29p). Bazeley's pioneering study of Lane's educational work among 'delinquents'.
- *Fred W. Thompson & Patrick Murfin : The IWW: Its first Seventy Years 1905-1975 £2.75 (33p). Two long-time IWW Activists tell the story of the Wobblies as it was - and is!
- .The Release Bust Book : Trouble with the Law, £1.25 (15p). Tells you what to do - and what not to do - when up against the law.
- *Jose Peirats : Anarchists in the Spanish Revolution, £2.50 (54p). Originally published in Spanish in 1964, this is the first English edition of this important analysis of the role of the anarchists in the Spanish Revolution. A work that is both scholarly and sympathetic.

.Ray Hemmings : Fifty Years of Freedom: A Study of the Development of the Ideas of A. S. Neill, 218pp., £0.90 (29p). Originally £2.40.

BOOK OF THE WEEK

*Rudolf Rucker : Nationalism and Culture, 614pp. Cloth £8.50, paper £5.50. Available again after being out of print for a number of years. This classic history and critique of the Nation State is really two books in one; the first an analysis of Political Theory and its history from an anarchist perspective, the second a sociological treatise on race, art, culture and the evolution of modern society. Written on a vast scale, but in a most lucid and learned manner. NEW.

TRADE TERMS ARE AVAILABLE ON THIS TITLE.

Items marked * are published in the USA or Canada. Please add postage to all orders as in brackets.

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8 - 21 March 1979

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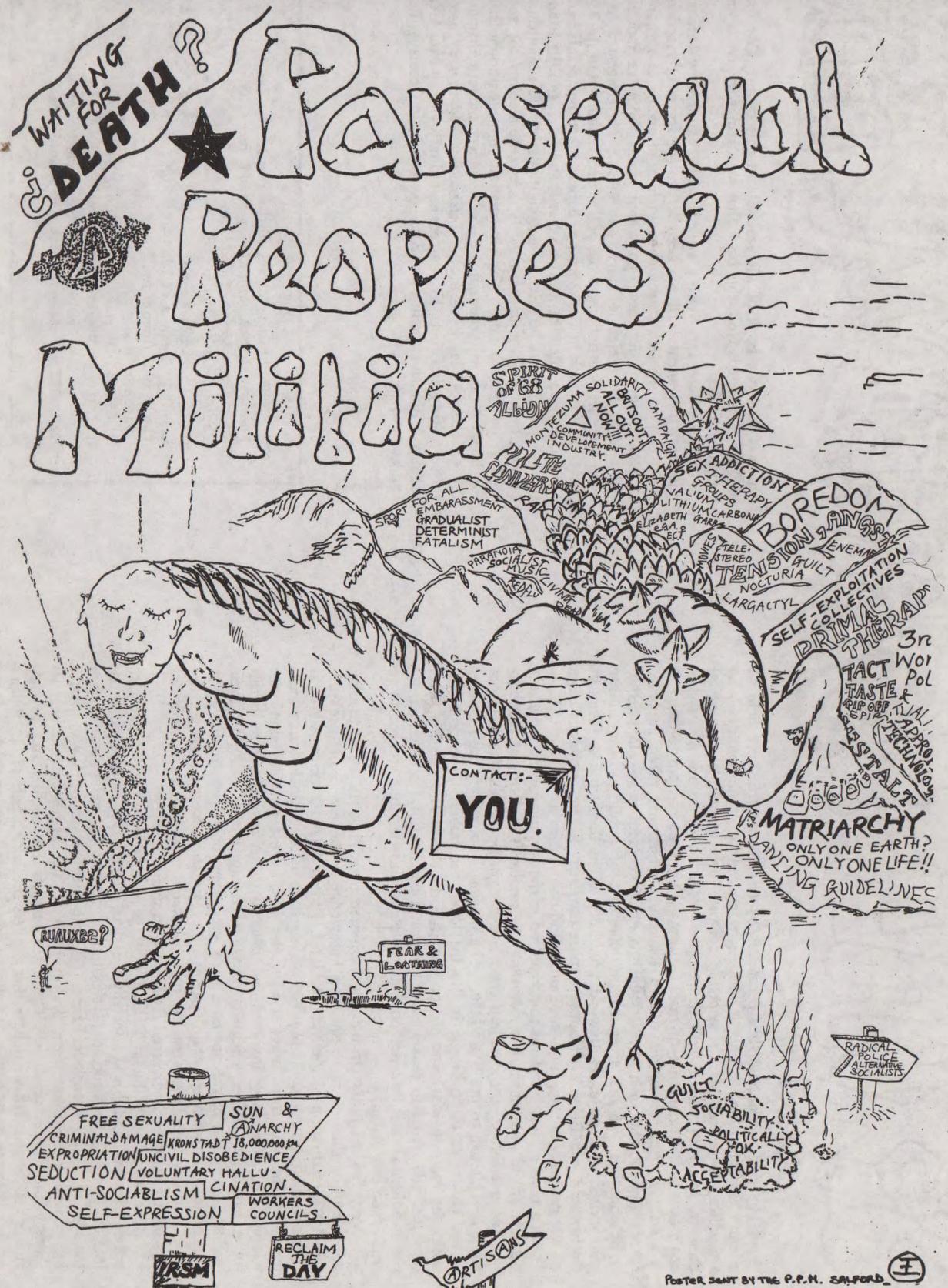
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Freedom

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SEXUALITY & FREEDOM

by Marie-Louise BERNERI

"The problem of sexuality permeates by its very nature every field of scientific investigation". This is too often ignored by revolutionaries who are willing to discuss Marx's economic doctrines or Kropotkin's sociological theories, but who regard with the greatest suspicion the work of psychoanalysts. Yet the existence of mass neuroses is only too obvious to-day. It is glaringly displayed in the cult of leadership which has taken an acute form in the totalitarian states, but which is equally evident in so-called democratic countries. It has given rise to outbursts of public sadism, in the glamourised versions of Hollywood producers or, in their crudest form, at Buchenwald and Belsen. It appears more obviously in the numerous cases of war neurosis, sadism, impotence and frigidity.

To reduce these problems to a question of family allowances, maternity benefits or old age pensions is ridiculous; to resolve it in terms of insurrection, of overthrow of the ruling class and the power of the State, is not enough. Human nature is a whole. The worker is not merely the producer in the factory or the field; he is also the lover, the father. The problems which he faces in his home are no less important than those at his place of work. By trying to separate biological and psychological problems from the sociological ones, we not only mutilate our theories, but are bound to reach false conclusions.

Very few scientists claim to be interested in science for its own sake. Almost all of them want to put their knowledge at the service of mankind. But the specialisation of their knowledge has made this task extremely difficult, one could almost say impossible. They have reached conclusions which, instead of helping man to reach a happier life, have taken him along the wrong path. The more involved and artificial the system, the more harmful it has been. When scientists merely encouraged men to follow their instincts, the effect might not have been very deep, but it was in the right direction. But when elaborate systems of organisation were suggested, the harm done by them was great, as they orientated man towards an artificial way of life completely divorced from his own nature.

The value of Wilhelm Reich's writings is that he is "a socially conscious scientist", and it is as a socially conscious scientist that he is of particular interest to us. His work on psychotherapy, on biology and physiology are too specialised to be considered here. We are unable to judge how successful his clinical method has been, or the value of his experiments in orgone-therapy and cancer research. These are subjects for doctors and psychoanalysts to discuss, but we believe that the less specialised part of Dr. Reich's writings deserve to be studied by anyone who is dissatisfied with the present system of society and wishes to see a free and happy world. Unfortunately,

there is only one book of his available in this country, *The Function of the Orgasm*,* and it is from this book that we attempt to give a summary of Dr. Reich's theories.

As a whole, Dr. Reich's work has been ignored by Left-wing and revolutionary movements. It has been left to the forces of reaction, both on the right and on the left, to recognise in him an enemy of authoritarian society. A violent newspaper campaign which lasted about ten months was carried out against Dr. Reich in Norway in 1938. He emigrated to America, but even there he was not free from police persecution. On the 12th December, 1941, at 2 o'clock in the morning, he was taken out of his bed by agents of the F.B.I. (equivalent of Scotland Yard) and taken to Ellis Island. Not until the 5th January was he released unconditionally. His publications have been banned by the Communists as well as by the Fascists, by the Socialists as well as by the Liberals. The explanation for this unpopularity is that Dr. Reich has attacked dictatorship under whatever name it disguised itself. In the October, 1944, issue of the *International Journal of Sex Economy* he reasserts his belief that "Even after the military victory over German fascism, the fascist human structure will continue to exist in Germany, Russia, America and everywhere else".

* REICH Wilhelm: Listen, little man!	£0.50
The Invasion of compulsory sexual morality	£0.50
Mass Psychology of Fascism	£1.00
The Murder of Christ	£2.25
Reich speaks of Freud	£0.75
Sex-Pol, Essays of 1929-34	£1.50
The Sexual Revolution	£0.50
Character Analysis	£4.50
OLLENDORF Ilse: Reich (biog. by his wife)	£2.10
RYCROFT Charles: Reich	£0.70
BOADELLA David: Reich, the evolution of his work	£2.95
CHESSER Eustace: Reich and sexual freedom	£1.25

Though Dr. Reich has been described as a Marxist, he declares, as Marx did before him, "I am not a Marxist", and indeed he bitterly attacks the followers of Marx who have distorted the thought and the scientific discoveries of their master. Reich can be called a Marxist in as much as he adheres to the laws of economics formulated by Marx (in that sense, as Malatesta said, "We anarchists are all Marxists"), but his conception of the State is nearer that of Bakunin than that of Marx. In the article quoted above he declares:

"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 society without a state, as in the primitive democratic societies. There are state organisations 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." §

Dr. Reich's understanding of the economic structure of society prevented mouth. What he does not say is that Marx advocated a workers' state as a transitional stage and did not realise that it would give rise to a new privileged class which would use market economy for its own ends. However, in the work-democracy advocated by Dr. Reich the state would not exist ("The 'well-ordered legal state' is an illusion, not a reality"), goods would be produced for needs and not for profit, each individual would be responsible for his own existence and social function.

Dr. Reich's understanding of the economic structure of society prevented him from falling into the errors of most psychoanalysts, who have seen in the Soviet Union or in planned authoritarianism the hope of a free and happy society. Reich realised the need to introduce "psychological methods into sociological thinking". Marx had concerned himself with the problem of work in relation to man, Freud with the rôle sexuality played in the conscious and unconscious of man. Reich tried to solve the conflict between these two scientific systems, or perhaps it is better to say that he tried to find a point of contact between them. In the article already quoted he explains this in the following way:

"The two basic 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 instinct'. Far from being antithetical, the two scientific systems, their originators being altogether unaware of it, met 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."

This brings us back to the subject of the book we are considering, *The Function of the Orgasm*. For Reich the central phenomenon of sexuality is the orgasm; it "is the focal point of problems arising in the fields of psychology as well as physiology, biology and sociology." The title of the book is obviously chosen in defiance of those who think that sexuality is offensive and the book itself has been written, declares Dr. Reich, not without humour, at an age when he has not yet lost his illusions regarding the readiness of his fellows to accept revolutionary knowledge. Reich had before him the example of Freud who in later years watered down his theories on

sexuality, so as to contradict his own earlier work. Reich has been expelled from the Association of the psychoanalysts and their publications have been barred to him, as he was accused of attaching too much importance to sexuality. He knows therefore how the pressure of hypocritical and moralistic society can bring scientists to change their views so as to make them palatable to the general public.

Reich adheres to the basic psycho-analytical concepts, but he refused to follow the psycho-analytic school when it relegated sexuality to a secondary rôle so as to gain approval even in reactionary quarters. Theodore P. Wolfe, who translated Dr. Reich's book from German into English, points out that:

"Freud's original theory of sex was revolutionary and evoked the most violent reactions. The story of psycho-analysis is essentially the story of never ending attempts to allay these reactions on the part of a shocked world, and, to make psycho-analysis socially acceptable, sexuality had to be robbed of its real significance and to be replaced by something else. Thus, Jung replaced it by a religious philosophy, Adler by a moralistic one, Rank by the 'Trauma of Birth,' etc., etc."



1918 - 1949
ML Berneri

In America, says Dr. Wolfe,

"... we are witnessing the development of various 'sociological' schools of psycho-analysis. Theirs is, because it misleads so easily, a particularly dangerous argument. Whether explicit or buried in a great deal of academic or neologistic language, the argument is this: 'The important agent in the etiology of the neuroses is not sexuality, but social factors'. The appeal of such reasoning, because of the prevailing fear of sexuality and a general, though vague and confused realization of the importance of social factors, is enormous."

Dr. Reich, on the other hand, adheres to Freud's original etiological formula of the neurosis, "the neurosis is the result of a conflict between

instinctual demands and opposing social demands." In order to understand neuroses therefore one must study both sexuality and social forces.

"Dr. Reich," says Wolfe, "was the first to study not only the orgasmic process itself but also the social conditions which influence this process in such a manner as to produce neuroses en masse."

He gathered his material not merely in the drawing room of the psycho-analyst, but also in working class clinics, in mass meetings, by a daily contact with the people. His conclusions were bound to be different from those of psycho-analysts whose patients came from sheltered bourgeois families.

This does not mean that he found that neuroses are petit bourgeois ailments. On the contrary, the working class is as prone to neurosis as the more sheltered classes, and among it the neuroses take a violent and brutal aspect undisguised by intellectual niceties. From this vast clinical experience and from statistics which he obtained, Reich formed the conclusion that the vast majority of the population suffers from neurosis in a more or less attenuated form. All these neuroses are due without exception to a disturbance in the sex life of the man or woman. This became apparent to Reich, particularly in the case of men, only when he had strictly defined what healthy sexual life is. "Psychic health," he discovered, "depends upon orgasmic potency, that is, on the capacity for surrender in the acme of sexual excitation in the natural sexual act."

Before Reich, psycho-analysts had considered men sexually healthy who could have sexual intercourse, and they could therefore claim that neurotics could have a normal sexual life. Reich by analysing in great detail the orgasm reflex found that no neurotic is able to be orgasmically potent. He further established that the widespread existence of neurosis to-day is due to the sexual chaos brought about by a society based on authority. It is not found in human history before the development of the patriarchal social order, and it is still non-existent to-day in free societies, where:

"The vital energies, under natural conditions, regulate themselves spontaneously, without compulsive duty or compulsive morality. The latter are a sure indication of the existence of antisocial tendencies. Antisocial behaviour springs from secondary drives which owe their existence to the suppression of natural sexuality."

"The individual brought up in an atmosphere which negates life and sex acquires a pleasure-anxiety (fear of pleasurable excitation) which is represented physiologically in chronic muscular spasms. This pleasure-anxiety is the soil on which the individual re-creates the life-negating ideologies which are the basis of dictatorship... The average character structure of human beings has changed in the direction of impotence and fear of living, so that authoritarian dictatorships can establish themselves by pointing to existing human attitudes, such as lack of responsibility and infantilism."

How have men succeeded in crushing their instincts for love and life? Are they biologically unable to experience pleasure and enjoy freedom? The causes, say Reich, are not biological, but economic and sociological. It is the compulsive family and compulsive morality which have destroyed the natural self-regulation of the vital forces. Malinowski's study of the sexual life of savages in the South Sea islands has shown that sexual repression is of sociological and not biological nature. It has further destroyed the Freudian concept of the biological nature of the Oedipus conflict, by showing that the child-parent relationship changes with the social structure of society. The Oedipus complex of the European does not exist among the Trobriand Islanders.



Wilhelm Reich (1952)

This is an all important point as, if sexual repression is biologically determined, it cannot be abolished, but if it is determined by social factors, then a change in those social factors will put an end to it. Malinowski observed that:

"Children in the Trobriand islands know no sex repression and no sexual secrecy. Their sex life is allowed to develop naturally, freely and unhampered through every stage of life, with full satisfaction... The society of the Trobrianders knew, in the third decade of our century, no sexual perversions, no functional psychoses, no psycho-neuroses, no sex murder; they have no word for theft; homosexuality and masturbation, to them, mean nothing but an unnatural and imperfect means of sexual gratification, a sign of a disturbed capacity to reach normal satisfaction... The Trobrianders, therefore, are spontaneously clean, orderly, social without compulsion, intelligent and industrious... At the time when Malinowski made his studies of the Trobriand islanders, there was living a few miles away, on the Amphlett Islands, a tribe with patriarchal authoritarian family organization. The people inhabiting these islands were already showing all the traits of the European neurotic, such as distrust, anxiety, neuroses, perversions, suicide, etc."

The conclusion from these observations is that, "The determining factor of the mental health of a population is the condition of its natural love life."

A further important fact arises out of Malinowski's studies. Among the Trobriand islanders there is one group of children who are not allowed sexual freedom because they are predestined for an economically advantageous marriage. These children are brought up in sexual abstinence and they show neuroses and a submissiveness which do not exist among the other children. From this Reich concludes,

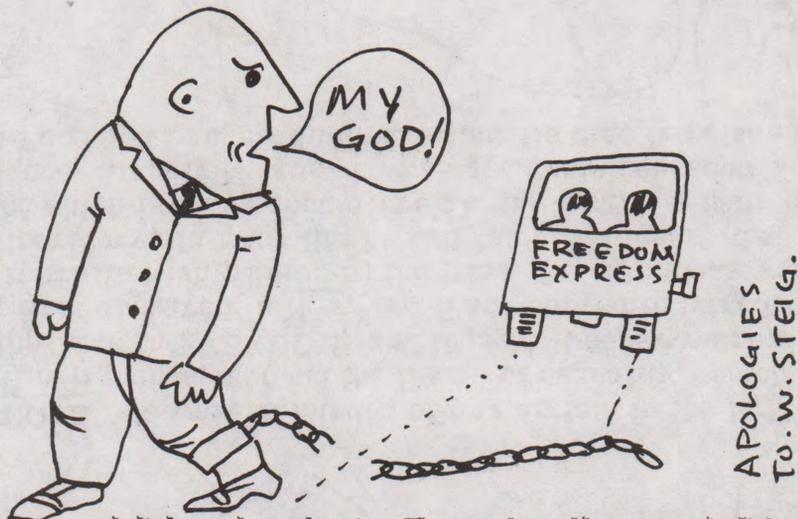
"Sexual suppression is an essential instrument in the production of economic enslavement. Thus, sexual suppression in the infant and the adolescent is not, as psycho-analysis—in agreement with traditional and erroneous concepts of education—contends, the prerequisite of cultural development, sociality, diligence and cleanliness; it is the exact opposite."

This is corroborated by the observations carried on by Reich on his own patients. When neurotic patients were restored to a healthy sex-life, their whole character altered, their submissiveness disappeared, they revolted against an absurd moral code, against the teachings of the Church, against the monotony and uselessness of their work. They refused to submit to a marriage without love which gave them no sexual satisfaction, they refused to carry on with work where they did not have to use their initiative and creative powers. They felt the need to assert their natural rights and to do so they felt that a different kind of society was needed.

"To the individual with a genital structure, sexuality is a pleasurable experience and nothing but that; work is joyous vital activity and achievement. To the morally structured individual, work is burdensome duty or only a means of making a living... the therapeutic task consisted in changing the neurotic character into a genital character, and in replacing moral regulation by self regulation."

Dr. Reich shows in case reports how this was done. He had observed that "the essence of a neurosis is the inability of the patient to obtain gratification" (in the sense of orgasmic potency defined before). Freud had declared before him in his earlier works "the energy of anxiety is the energy of repressed sexuality", but the psycho-analysts thought that the disturbance of genitality was one symptom among others, while Reich established that it was the symptom of neurosis.

"The energy source of the neurosis lies in the differential between accumulation



and discharge of sexual energy. The neurotic psychic apparatus is distinguished from the healthy one by the constant presence of undischarged sexual energy.

"Freud's therapeutic formula is correct but incomplete. The first prerequisite of cure is, indeed, to make the repressed sexuality conscious. However, though this alone may effect the cure, it need not of necessity do so. It does so only if at the same time the source of energy, the sexual stasis (damming up of sexual energy), is eliminated; in other words, only if the awareness of instinctual demands goes hand in hand with the capacity for full orgasmic gratification. In that case the pathological psychic growths are deprived of energy at the source."

In his description of the formation of actual neurosis (which he calls stasis neurosis) and psycho-neurosis, Reich begins by stating that sexual excitation is definitely a somatic process and that neurotic conflicts are of a psychic nature. A slight psychic conflict will produce a slight somatic stasis or damming up of sexual energy which in its turn will reinforce the conflict, which will reinforce the stasis. The original conflict is always in existence in the sexual child-parent conflict, and if this is nourished by the actual stasis it gives rise to neurosis and psycho-neurosis. But the actual stasis can be eliminated by positive sexual gratification, so that the original psychic conflict lacks energy to transform itself into a neurosis. The cycle between the psychic conflict and the somatic stasis must be interrupted, even if it is only by gratification through masturbation. For the patient to obtain sexual gratification, it is necessary to destroy his character-armour against his sexuality. Dr Reich has elaborated a technique of character-analytic vegetotherapy. Its fundamental principle is the restoring of bio-psychic motility by means of dissolving rigidities (armourings) of the character and musculature. The term 'rigidity' must be taken literally; it is by a contraction of his muscles, particularly around his sexual organs, by holding back his breath, that the neurotic builds himself an armour against sexual pleasurable excitation.

Considering the tremendous number of neuroses in existence to-day, it will be obvious that Dr. Reich does not believe that his vegetotherapy can be applied to all of them, but he has attached a particular importance to the development of the *prophylaxis of the neuroses*. His experience in sex hygiene clinics, the statistics gathered in mass meetings and youth groups, convinced him that the situation called for "extensive social measures for the prevention of the neuroses". His practical suggestions are very interesting, but it is impossible to discuss them here. Suffice to say that Dr. Reich wants to see the complete liberation of the child and adolescent sexuality from the oppression of the authoritarian family, of the church, of the school. He wants to see the adult freed from compulsive marriage and compulsive morality. He wants a return to instinctual life, to reason, which he qualifies by saying, "That which is alive is in itself reasonable."

This freedom of love, of work, of science can be obtained, he thinks, in a "work democracy, that is a democracy on the basis of a natural organisation of the work process." How this work democracy is to be attained and what shape it is going to take, are still left rather vague, but that it will be a free society there can be no doubt. "Natural moral behaviour presupposes freedom of the natural sexual process". And again:

"The social power exercised by the people . . . will not become manifest and effective until the working and producing masses of the people become psychically independent and capable of taking full responsibility for their social existence and capable of rationally determining their lives themselves."

Had Dr. Reich witnessed the formation of industrial and agricultural collectives in Spain during the revolution it is probable that his "work democracy" would have taken a more concrete shape. He also seems to consider the development of industry as a factor in the sexual emancipation of men. This as well is probably due to his lack of knowledge of agricultural countries such as Spain and Italy where neuroses seem to be far less numerous than in industrialised countries.

The only practical examples he gives of "genuine democratic endeavour" are the "labour management committees" in the U.S.A., where workers participate in the management of production and distribution. The example is unfortunate; it is true that the workers share the responsibility in the management, but they are not their own masters. The capitalist is always there and can dictate to them.

Dr. Reich does not look at the world through pink glasses. He sees all its corruption and misery, all its absurdity and ugliness, but he does not despair. He has confidence in that which is alive because he knows that man is only anti-social, submissive, cruel or masochistic because he lacked the freedom to develop his natural instincts.

The importance of Dr. Reich's theories is enormous. To the sophisticated, to the lover of psycho-analytic subtleties, his clarity, his common sense, his direct approach may appear too simple. To those who do not seek intellectual exercise, but means of saving mankind from the destruction it seems to be approaching, this book will be an individual source of help and encouragement. To anarchists the fundamental belief in human nature, in complete freedom from the authority of the family, the Church and the State will be familiar, but the scientific arguments put forward to back this belief will form an indispensable addition to their theoretical knowledge.

DEFINITIONS.

Orgasm reflex. The unitary involuntary contraction and expansion of the total organism in the acme of the sexual act. This reflex, because of its involuntary character and the prevailing pleasure anxiety, is suppressed in most humans to-day.

Orgastic impotence. The absence of orgastic potency. It is the most important characteristic of the average human of to-day, and—by damming up biological energy in the organism—provides the source of energy for all kinds of psychic and somatic symptoms.

Orgastic potency. Essentially, the capacity for complete surrender to the involuntary contractions of the organism and complete discharge of sexual excitation in the acme of the sexual act. It is always lacking in neurotic individuals. It presupposes the presence or establishment of the genital character, i.e. the absence of a pathological character armour and muscular armour. The concept is essentially unknown and usually not distinguished from erectile potency and ejaculative potency, both of which are nothing but prerequisites of orgastic potency.

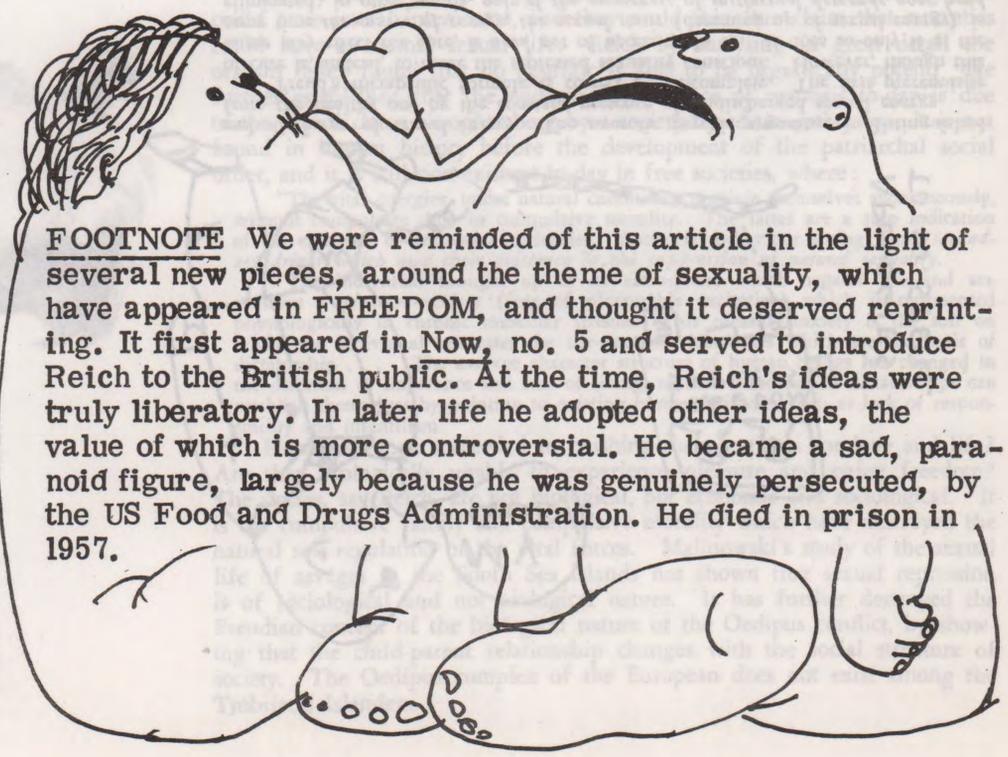
Stasis. The damming-up of sexual energy in the organism, thus the source of energy for the neuroses.

Stasis anxiety. The anxiety caused by the stasis of sexual energy in the centre of the organism when its peripheral orgastic discharge is inhibited. Same as Freud's 'actual anxiety'.

Stasis Neuroses. Originally the same as Freud's 'actual neuroses', the concept now includes all somatic disturbances which are the immediate result of the stasis of sexual energy.

Vegetotherapy. The sex-economic therapeutic technique. So called because the therapeutic goal is that of liberating the bound-up vegetative energies and thus restoring to the patient his vegetative motility.

(From *The Function of the Orgasm*.)



FOOTNOTE We were reminded of this article in the light of several new pieces, around the theme of sexuality, which have appeared in *FREEDOM*, and thought it deserved reprinting. It first appeared in *Now*, no. 5 and served to introduce Reich to the British public. At the time, Reich's ideas were truly liberatory. In later life he adopted other ideas, the value of which is more controversial. He became a sad, paranoid figure, largely because he was genuinely persecuted, by the US Food and Drugs Administration. He died in prison in 1957.

Freedom's Sexuality

(1) SEXISM AND SEXUALITY

Proponents of 'sexual liberation' commonly accuse people of 'sexism' (often with good reason). Usually they mean by this that a discriminatory judgement has been made where the sole or main criterion has been gender, and where the use of this criterion is not (or should not be) applicable. This concept of sexism is generally only applied to two kinds of situation. The first is the oppression of women, in the context of the social norms in our society of male chauvinism and patriarchal authority. The second is the suppression of homosexuality and Lesbianism, both of which represent radical non-conformity to the afore-mentioned social norms. I already detest male chauvinism, the concept of patriarchal authority, and the suppression of male and female homosexuality: my reasons are those very adequately espoused by many more articulate people than myself, so I will largely ignore those areas here.

Any non-bisexual person, of either sex, seems to me to be inevitably sexist when it comes to sexual relationships. If I come to like a person, I may be interested in knowing him or her better. One way of knowing someone better is sexually. At some stage during the relationship, I would decide whether or not to extend it along a sexual direction. If I was a heterosexual, or a male homosexual, or a Lesbian, one of the criteria I would use in my decision would be the gender of the other person. Now if the decision was to be non-sexist, the gender of the person should surely be irrelevant, and the reasons for the decision should concern such things as my liking for the person, the person's liking for me, and our mutual feelings about a sexual relationship. To invoke hetero- or homosexual-ity as one of the criteria is to invoke sexual discrimination, and is sexist. Therefore, heterosexuality, homosexuality and Lesbianism are implicitly sexist. This leaves bisexuality as the only potentially non-sexist sexual policy. (I am not suggesting that a bisexual person is non-sexist by definition, merely that it may be the only way to be non-sexist.)

In most areas of social life we can strive to eliminate sexist behaviour in ourselves and others, but if we cannot act in a non-sexist manner in the most basic aspect of sexuality (i.e. in actual sexual relationships), then how can we expect to make any progress in other areas? It is important to me that I behave in an anti-sexist way as I can; but I am heterosexual. Some people I know seem to avoid the problem by swearing off sex completely. Fair enough, but if this is the answer we could advocate it for the whole of humanity, which, if adopted, would lead to the extinction of our species in one generation (- cynics might say this would be a good thing).

I have not been able to find any discussion of this aspect of sexuality anywhere. Feminists concentrate on the historical roles of chafel, childbearer and houseminder, which are clearly of vital importance in terms of the development of our patriarchal society, and must be considered if any attempt to understand and change this is to be made. But if one is non-sexist within the criteria the feminist recognises, one can still be sexist by virtue of non-bisexuality in the manner outlined above.

(II) PROPRIETARIANISM AND SEXUALITY

I don't want to be sexist (and try hard not to be). I do want to be heterosexual (and am) . . . How can this be?

Every individual I know who is involved in a relatively stable ongoing relationship with another person (i.e. 'going out together', living with each other etc) is to some extent proprietarian about the partner. In most cases this is alarming philosophy marked. Although the person may express admirable philosophies such as anarcho-syndicalism, feminism, pacifism etc, when it comes down to it he or she will sink into the normal Christian-type monogamy-ownership crap with depressing

regularity whenever anything or anyone threatens the stability of the relationship. To give an exaggerated example: I might be talking to a male friend at a party about the problems of sexual liberation, and he could well be vehemently agreeing with me about all major aspects. Then he spies his 'girl-friend' leaving the party on the arm of an unknown male. Next time I see the 'girl-friend' who is also a good friend of mine, she (slightly contemptuously) tells me how he acted next time she saw him. Petulant, aggressive, hurtful etc, etc, ad nauseum. At the next party my male friend does the equivalent of what she did the previous time. Subsequently, he laughingly relates her behaviour. No difference! Since the only people I seem to get to know these days are 'libertarian-minded', this worries me intensely. It seems relatively easy to repudiate proprietarianism where material objects are concerned, but equally easy to do the opposite where people are concerned. I would have thought proprietarian attitudes towards people to be far nastier and more dangerous than towards money, objects, etc., although of course the latter can and do often lead to the former.

Some people behaving in this proprietarian way are not consciously possessive or jealous. Some, on the other hand, seek to justify a monogamous outlook within anarchism. They say that once they had decided to live with one particular person "I'll tell us do part" they wouldn't want to have any intense relationship with anyone else; they wouldn't feel the need to; they wouldn't always be satisfied with their chosen mate. Maybe they wouldn't want to hurt the mate. This is horrible! How can they know this to be true? They might brainwash each other into believing it, then wonder why it all went wrong later.

Okay, live with somebody you like a lot, and who you might conceivably end up spending the rest of your life with. But why draw up an unofficial contract which you attempt to stick to forever? That just effectively denies all kinds of potential in the future, and the danger of blinding yourself to your partner's personality becomes very great. I find myself unable to emphasise enough how damaging I think this superficially innocuous outlook can be. Anarchism is largely concerned with people developing their potential. The development should be under the people's own control, but what's the point of precluding large areas of potential development by erecting such negative, proprietarian standards for oneself?

I am at present living with a woman I like and respect greatly. We get on well together most of the time and are honest to each other (I think). If she meets and gets to know someone whom she wants to go out with, or sleep with or whatever, what right have I to complain or to declare any hold over her? If she decides she wants to live with someone else how can I stop her? Why should I stop her? I won't place any obligations on her; if we meet with each other there will be no deceit, we'll know each other's feelings about the situation. We don't own each other's minds or bodies, or sexual organs. As long as we can continually gain feedback from each other about each other's feelings there must be no sense of ownership towards each other. That would be retroactive; a barrier - in fact conformity, because our society's morals encourage ownership feelings, especially those of male towards female (though the female, in practice, also feels she owns the male (though by your Man! etc) in the 'sanctity of marriage'.

The proprietarianism within relationships seems rarely noticed, even by those who would probably reject it, intellectually at least. It is another case of saying one thing and doing another. I feel that anarchists are the least hypocritical of people, and I would like to see them stop being hypocrites in this respect too. Although the contradiction between anarchism and this proprietarianism seems ludicrously obvious, it is my experience that it is usually missed in practice by people who preferably should not miss things like this. I therefore feel it a good idea to bring it to everyone's attention.