

# ***The Unified Associations for Proletarian Sexual Reform and Maternity Protection and Wilhelm Reich's real role in the German "Sexpol"***

by Andreas Peglau<sup>1</sup>

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## **CP mass organisations**

Through the creation of mass organisations, the KPD attempted from 1924 onwards to reach broader sections of the population and at the same time to draw them away from the SPD. With this aim in mind, for example, the Kampfgemeinschaft der Arbeitersänger, the Arbeitermandolinisten or the Verband Proletarischer Freidenker Deutschlands came into being. This was not always accompanied by large membership numbers, which was often concealed by "corporate memberships": other associations joined as members - which made the membership numbers skyrocket on paper. Nevertheless, these organisations as a whole had an impressive following. The Freidenker (Freethinkers) had 170,000 members in 1932, the Rote Frontkämpferbund between 100,000 and 250,000, and the Rote Hilfe Deutschlands had an estimated 530,000 members in 1933.

The Internationale Arbeiterhilfe (IAH, International Workers' Aid) had "in March 1931 602 associations and organisations with 1,225,000 members". However, even the IAH only had a few tens of thousands of individual members, i.e. "natural persons".

These mass organisations saw themselves as "non-party" insofar as they meant they represented the interests of the entire working class. The proportion of communists was in fact often rather small. The IAH, for example, was made up of twelve per cent KPD members, eight per cent SPD members - but 80 per cent non-party members. The leadership of these organisations, however, was basically in the hands of KPD functionaries.

The Arbeitsgemeinschaft sozialpolitischer Organisationen (ARSO, Working Group of Socio-political Organisations), which must have been responsible for more than a million members, was created in 1927/28 as a "coordinating body for socio-political activities in the KPD's sphere of influence" - i.e., especially those of the mass organisations. In 1929, the Interessengemeinschaft für Arbeiterkultur (IFA, Interest Group for Workers' Culture) was formed along the same lines (and as a counter-draft to both the Social Democratic Sozialistischer Kulturbund and the National Socialist Kampfband für deutsche Kultur).

Alongside various other organisations, it also included the Marxist Workers' School MASCH.

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<sup>1</sup> Abridged and translated excerpt from "[Unpolitische Wissenschaft? Wilhelm Reich und die Psychoanalyse im Nationalsozialismus](https://andreas-peglau-psychoanalyse.de/the-unpolitische-wissenschaft-wilhelm-reich-und-die-psychoanalyse-im-nationalsozialismus/)", 2017, pp. 108-126. There you also find all sources used here.

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Please note: My English skills are not very good. Therefore, I first translated the text with [DeepL](https://www.deepl.com/), and then corrected it. I expect that there are still translation errors - and ask those who discover such errors to send a message to [info@andreas-peglau-psychoanalyse.de](mailto:info@andreas-peglau-psychoanalyse.de)

## The first founding of an UA

On the initiative of ARSO, the first *Einheitsverband für proletarische Sexualreform und Mutterschutz* (Unified Association for Proletarian Sexual Reform and Maternity Protection, UA) was founded in Düsseldorf on 2 May 1931.<sup>2</sup> Its aim was to replace the "previous fragmentation of the sexual reform movement" with a "mass movement under unified, revolutionary leadership". Or, as Reich formulated it in his memoirs as his own objective: the diverse German sexual organisations were to be "fused into a unified sexual-political association by joining the Communist Party [...]".

The Düsseldorf UA was therefore only a first step on the way to what was actually intended. Perhaps this is also why it was given a leadership described as "provisional" when it was founded. It is clear by information from the police surveillance that Reich was not a member of this body. In terms of content, however, the founding conference was dominated by him. The May/June 1931 issue of the UA-journal *Die Warte* wrote: the meeting was opened

"by a large-scale paper by comrade Dr. Reich, the well-known Viennese sex counsellor, who pointed out the connection between the sexual distress of our time and the capitalist system and showed the paths to go by the sexual-political movement."

The detailed *Warte* summary of Reich's speech - it took up more than half of the congress coverage on page 6 - shows that he repeated in essential parts his sexual-political theses and demands, which he had already compiled on behalf of the World League for Sexual Reform. According to the *Warte*, his speech was followed by "strong applause from the delegates"). That in the further course Reich's platform, which had already been described in the *Warte* issue from April as the basis of a programme of action, was discussed and accepted is also confirmed by the *Warte's* congress report:

"The Congress welcomes [...] the revolutionary politicisation of the sexual question. [...] The Congress welcomes the platform of action presented as a basis for discussion for the creation of a programme of the united proletarian sexual reform movement."

Other points from the "resolution" adopted at the Düsseldorf meeting are also likely to refer to Reich's demands in this platform: "Against the capitalist suppression of sexual life, against sexual stultification, [...] for sexual housing hygiene, for hygienic-sexual education of the youth" (ibid.).

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<sup>2</sup> At least the name "Einheitsverband für proletarische Sexualreform" was also included and correctly classified in Reich's 1934 glossary to the offprint of *Was ist Klassenbewusstsein?* The complete name of the UA was only rediscovered by Peter Bahnen in 1986 (Bahnen 1986, p. 95f.). In 1988, Kristine von Soden also referred several times to this association, which she named correctly, even referring back to a personal conversation with Luise Dornemann (see below) - without establishing a connection between the association and Wilhelm Reich (see von Soden 1988, pp. 135, 141, 155, 176f.).

# Bericht von der Einigungskonferenz der sexualreformerischen Organisationen des Bezirks Niederrhein

Die Delegiertenkonferenz der Sexualreformerorganisationen im Bezirk Niederrhein ist zu einem historischen Ereignis in der Geschichte der Sexualreformbewegung geworden. Diese Konferenz hat in der Frage der Einheit der Sexualreformbewegung die Initiativen ergriffen. Während die Führer im Reich die „Einheit“ abhängig machen von dem Rückhandel um die Posten — wurde im Bezirk Nie-

Die Konferenz wurde eingeleitet durch ein groß angelegtes Referat des Genossen Dr. Reich, des bekannten Wiener Sexualreferenten, der den Zusammenhang zwischen der sexuellen Not unserer Zeit mit dem kapitalistischen System aufwies und die Wege zeigte, die die sexualpolitische Bewegung zu gehen hat. Genosse Reich behandelte zunächst die verschiedenen Störungen des Sexuallebens der Massen, die durch den Kapitalismus hervorgerufen werden. Da ist z. B. von außerordentlicher Wichtigkeit die Wohnungsfrage. Der Kapitalismus gibt den Massen so wenig Wohnraum, daß in unendlich vielen Fällen die Ehepartner niemals allein wohnen und stets den Geschlechtsverkehr in Gegenwart dritter ausüben müssen. Die Frauen sind die schlimmsten nervösen Störungen. Etwa 40 Prozent der Gesamtbevölkerung ist in diesem Sinne krank zu nennen. Aber dieses Problem ist nicht im kapitalistischen System zu lösen. Es wird nie den Massen ausreichende Löhne und genügend Wohnraum zur Verfügung stellen können, weil das der kapitalistischen Profitwirtschaft widerspricht. Dann kam der Referent auf die Frage des § 218. Warum verbietet die Bourgeoisie die Abtreibung? Früher hat nicht einmal die Kirche eine Sünde darin erblickt. Heute braucht die Bourgeoisie Kanonenfutter für ihre Kriege und sie braucht außerdem eine große industrielle Reservearmee, eine Armee von Arbeitslosen, um die Löhne der Arbeiter niedrig zu halten, um den Profit der Kapitalisten zu sichern.

Weiter sprach dann der Referent zur Frage der Prostitution, der Geschlechtskrankheiten und anderen Fragen, die ebenfalls aufs engste zusammenhängen mit der kapitalistischen Ordnung und stellte dann die Frage, ob unter der kapitalistischen Herrschaft die Sexualreform überhaupt möglich ist. Fast alle diese Fragen eben aufs engste mit der Prostitution zusammenhängend.

Es ist aber auch nicht möglich, wie von manchen Sexualreformerorganisationen behauptet wird, durch den Geburtenstreik aus der kapitalistischen Ausbeutung herauszukommen. Die Seele der kapitalistischen Gesellschaftsordnung ist der Profit und dies Gesetz läßt sich durch keinen Geburtenstreik beseitigen. Wir sprechen bereits seit längerer Zeit von einem internationalen Geburtenstreik und sehen, daß die Zahl der Geburten in den meisten kapitalistischen Ländern ständig zurückgeht. Aber merkt man etwas davon, daß die Lage des Proletariats sich bessert? Wir sehen das Gegenteil, nicht nur die Arbeiterschaft, sondern auch der Mittelstand erlebend immer härter, trotz des Ein- und Zweifelherrstums. Wir sehen heute sogar, daß die herrschende Klasse sich nicht einmal scheut, den Geburtenstreik zu brechen und in das intime Privatleben der Massen einzugreifen.

Die Papstencyklika über die Ehe war erst der Anfang. Man hat sie zunächst für ein harmloses Stück Papier ansehen wollen. Heute aber zeigen uns schon die nackten Tatsachen, was dahinter liegt. Auch hier spricht der Papst das aus, was im Interesse der Bourgeoisie liegt. In Deutschland haben wir die Verhaftung der Herzogin Friedrich Wilhelmine und Dr. Klenke, die verstärkte Strafverfolgung der Abtreibung. Aber auch gegen die Geburtenregelung als solche werden schon Maßnahmen ergriffen. So wurden bereits

Besammlungen der Mutterstuhlgewerkschaften verboten, Aufklärungsfilme beschlagnahmt, in Berlin wurden die Automaten mit empfängnisverhütenden Mitteln auf Antrag des Zentrums entfernt. Ziel der Reaktion ist, den Vertrieb von empfängnisverhütenden Mitteln durch Einfluß auf die Gesetzgebung unmöglich zu machen. So steht es in den Forderungen der katholischen Aktion und in Italien ist das im wesentlichen schon geschehen. In allen staatlichen Körperschaften, die mit diesen Fragen zu tun haben. In Deutschland will man es ähnlich haben, alle bürgerlichen Parteien unterstützen das Zentrum in diesem Kampf.

Für die Massen ist, wollen sie nicht in diesem Kampf erliegen, das Gebot der Stunde, sich zusammenzuschließen zu einer einheitlichen Organisation. Wir brauchen deshalb eine sexualpolitische Organisation unter revolutionärer Führung, die entschlossen den Kampf auf diesem Gebiet aufnimmt. (Seinem Referat folgte starker Beifall der Delegierten.)

Anschließend sprach dann der Genosse Flabung noch besonders über die Notwendigkeit des Zusammenstehens. Es gibt, so sagte er, in Deutschland keine sexualpolitische Organisation. Das ist der Tod jedes wirklichen Kampfes gegen die ungeheuren Angriffe der Bourgeoisie, zumal diese Organisationen zum großen Teil noch mehr Aufmerksamkeit auf den Konkurrenzkampf untereinander verwenden, wie auf unser einheitliches Ziel. Wir müssen, wenn wir nicht dem Terror der Bourgeoisie unterliegen wollen, aufs schnellste handeln und schaffen den Einheitsverband, und zwar einen Verband, der aus der richtigen Erkenntnis der Zusammenhänge heraus, sich nicht nur beschränkt auf sexuelle Aufklärung und Mittelvertrieb, sondern der auf allen Gebieten entschlossen den Kampf aufnimmt für eine Regelung der sexuellen Frage, wie sie in der Sowjetunion getroffen ist. Auch brauchen wir einen Verband, der den notleidenden Massen die Verhütungsmittel ohne jede Verzerrung durch Propaganda vermittelt.



Auch in den Ausführungen der verschiedenen Delegierten kam zum Ausdruck, wie notwendig es ist, auf dem schnellsten Wege zur Einheitsorganisation zu kommen.

Die Konferenz beschloß deshalb einstimmig die Annahme einer Resolution, die wir an anderer Stelle veröffentlichen.

Es wurde einstimmig eine Delegation gewählt, die den Auftrag erhielt, ein Statut auszuarbeiten und die organisatorische Bereinigung durchzuführen.

Damit ist für den Bezirk Niederrhein der Einheitsverband für proletarische Sexualreform und Mutterstuhlgewerkschaft geschaffen. Es wird an den Kantonsräten, aber auch an den Mitgliedern liegen, den ausgegründeten Einheitsverband zu einer schlagkräftigen Massenorganisation zu machen, die den Kampf mit der Bourgeoisie aufzunehmen in der Lage ist und damit wirksam die Interessen der gesamten werktätigen Bevölkerung auf diesem Kampfgebiet vertritt.

# Die Düsseldorf Konferenz für die Einheit Der Beschluß der Tagung

In anderer Stelle dieser Zeitung haben wir uns bereits mit dem Verlauf der Einigungskonferenz am 2. Mai beschäftigt. Im Folgenden veröffentlichen wir den Wortlaut der einstimmig angenommenen Resolution.

Die am 2. Mai in Düsseldorf tagende Delegiertenversammlung der Sexualreformerverbände des Bezirks Niederrhein begrüßt die Einigung dieser Verbände zu einem Einheitsverband. Die bisherige Zersplitterung der Sexualreformbewegung erschwerte die Massenmobilisierung. Die Befreiung der sexuellen Not des werktätigen Volkes erfordert eine Massenbewegung unter einheitlicher, revolutionärer Führung mit einer klaren Zielsetzung. Da die Sexualnot keine zufällige Erscheinung ist, sondern bedingt wird durch die kapitalistische Wirtschaftsordnung, ist der Kampf gegen diese Not gleichzeitig der Kampf gegen das System. Da das Finanzkapital im engsten Bunde mit der Kulturreaktion die sexuelle Unterdrückung der Massen im Interesse der wirtschaftlichen Ausbeutung und intellektuellen Verdumpfung aufrecht erhält, muß die Sexualreformbewegung einen revolutionären Charakter bekommen, muß in erster Linie der Kampf aufgenommen werden gegen das kapitalistische System. Nur durch die soziale Revolution kann der wirtschaftliche und soziale Boden geschaffen werden, auf dem eine durchgreifende Sexualreform durchzuführen wäre.

Das leuchtende Beispiel der Sowjetunion hat bewiesen, daß nur eine Arbeiter- und Bauernregierung auch mit der

Ordnung des Geschlechtslebens verhältnismäßig leicht fertig wird, weil sie an einer sexuellen Unterdrückung kein Interesse hat.

Der Kongreß begrüßt daher die revolutionäre Politisierung der sexuellen Frage, die den ersten Schritt bedeutet für eine künftige sexualpolitische Ordnung des Geschlechtslebens der werktätigen Massen.

In der heutigen Periode der wirtschaftlichen und politischen Krise, der ständig sich verschärfenden Klassengegenstände, der Vorbereitung eines neuen imperialistischen Krieges, ist schärfster einheitlicher Kampf notwendig.

Der Kongreß begrüßt daher die vorgelegte Aktionsplattform als eine Diskussionsgrundlage für die Schaffung eines Programms der einheitlichen proletarischen Sexualreformbewegung. Der Kongreß verpflichtet alle Organisationsstellen zur Mobilisierung der Massen

- gegen die kapitalistische Unterdrückung des Sexuallebens,
- gegen die sexuelle Verdumpfung,
- gegen die kapitalistische Gesellschaftsordnung,
- für die restlose Abschaffung der §§ 218 und 184,
- für sexuelle Wohnungsregiere,
- für Mutterstuhlgewerkschaften, bezahlten Schwangerschaftsurlaub,
- für hygienisch-sexuelle Erziehung der Jugend,
- für Unterbrechung der Schwangerschaft in Krankenanstalten,
- für gerechtere Verteilung der Verhütungsmittel durch die Krankenkassen.

Figure 1 Die Warte May/June 1931, p. 6 complete, p. 7 excerpt.

In the ARSO journal *Proletarische Sozialpolitik* of June 1931, under the headline "Sexual Associations, to the Front!", the UA founding was praised and it was made clear that it was valued above all as a nucleus for the next, greater goal, the all-German unification - under communist leadership - of all proletarian sexual associations: "The Reichsverband will come into being [...], it must become a powerful weapon of the proletariat in the struggle against cultural and social reaction."

### Acceptance for Wilhelm Reich

Already in the *Warte* of May/June 1931, invitations had been issued for another "Unity Congress for the Lower Rhine District" to be held in Barmen on 14 June 1931. Apparently, Reich's concept was again to serve as the basis for the content: On 9 June 1931, the IFA distributed a "draft for our work in the sexual organisations" written by Reich, in which he had tailored his platform to the needs of a "German Reich Association for Proletarian Sexual Politics" - i.e. the targeted all-German unification. For the "draft" Reich had both shortened and supplemented the World League platform, made it more concrete and in some formulations also tightened it up. For example, it now also said: "Sexual repression [...] supports the family and marriage order, which requires the atrophy of sexuality for its existence", it makes "the children and youths in bondage to the parents and in this way later the adults in bondage to state authority and capital, by creating authoritarian fear in the oppressed". Here also a far more detailed list of demands was given:

"Abolition of all coercive regulations concerning marriage and separation, [...] abolition of every legal and further distinction between legitimate and illegitimate, abolition of all regulations concerning adultery, concubinage, etc..., [...] elimination of prostitution by fighting against its causes: unemployment, double sexual standard and chastity ideology; [...] eradication of venereal diseases by mass education, mass prophylaxis and mainly sexual-economic regulation of the relationship of the sexes, [...] prevention of neuroses and sexual disorders by appropriate sexual-care education; [...] training of doctors, educators and welfare workers in all questions of sexual being, from contraception to sexual psychology, [...] abolition of all regulations and penalties concerning sexual intercourse between blood relatives, [...] protection of children and young people against seduction and rape by adults, [...] complete politicisation of the sexual question, [...] deletion [...] of the homosexual paragraph, [...] abolition of all laws criminalising sexual instruction. "

That the responsible people in the KPD and the UAs were behind Reich and his platform at this time is also proven by the following. In order to popularise the idea of the planned German-wide union and the already existing Düsseldorf UA, in June 1931 the KP-affiliated Verlag für Arbeiterkultur produced the brochure *Liebe verboten* (Love Forbidden) in an initial print run of 100,000 (!), which was sold out after only four weeks, and distributed it at a price of 10 pfennigs.





Left: Figure 2, Title page of "Liebe verboten" (edited copy, colour in original not known).

This booklet contained longer passages that were either written by Reich or at least highly influenced by him: In the section "What is the will of nature?" quite sexual-economic arguments are made on the sex drive, in "The Soviet Union has solved the sexual problem" typical Reich evaluations appear. In addition, there was an abridged version of essential demands from Reich's World League platform such as: "abolition of all bourgeois-capitalist regulations on marriage" and of all "punishments for sexual aberrations", "social education" of children, "[r]estless sexual education of youth" and "thorough training" of all doctors in sexology and sex psychology.

The extent to which Reich was already accepted was further indicated by the fact that the last pages of the pamphlet advertised his book *Geschlechtsreife*,

*Enthaltbarkeit, Ehemoral*, "zu beziehen durch (available from): Verlag für Arbeiterkultur". This means that this publishing house had already taken over sales and advertising tasks for this publication by Reich.

Later editions of *Liebe verboten* were also advertised and publicised. For example, the December 1931 edition of *Warte* contained the request: "Ensure mass distribution of the pamphlet 'Liebe verboten'"; in further editions it was also mentioned as recommended literature. On 23 December 1931, the IFA Reichsfractions wrote to all German district fractions and KPD district leaderships pointing out the importance of the brochure. Of *Liebe verboten* even a lightimage strip was finally produced, which - it was still stated in the *Warte* in December 1932 - "every proletarian, sexual-political organisation must show".

Reich's positive reception is also illustrated by the fact that the IFA Reichsleitung (all-German governance) invited people to discuss his "draft" on 17 June 1931 in their central rooms in

Münzstraße in Berlin-Mitte. Even after that, Reich's draft was not off the table: IFA and ARSO leadership met on 17.7.1931 to discuss this "sexual-political platform".



Figure 3 Friedrich-Karl-, today Colbestraße No. 23 in Berlin-Friedrichshain, which used to belong to Berlin-Lichtenberg: the only remaining one of those houses that housed one of the sexual counselling centres run by Reich (photo A. Peglau).

and "Mitte, Friedrichstraße 121, 3 stairs on the right, Wednesdays from 5-7 o'clock".

The psychoanalyst Edith Jacobssohn was also involved in the counselling work. The doctor and sexual reformer Hans Lehfeldt reported in 1932: "The counselling centres of the Einheitsverband

Reich was also directly involved in IFA work: an IFA report not written before September 1931 named him as one of two editors of the required "speaker material" on "Marriage, Family". In the Freidenkermaterial "Kampagnenplan und Richtlinien für die Arbeit in den sexualpolitischen Organisationen" (Campaign plan and guidelines for work in sexual-political organisations), written not before July 1931, reference is made to literature essential for these goals. Reich is represented with his writing *Sexualerregung und Sexualbefriedigung* as well as *Geschlechtsreife, Enthaltensamkeit, Ehemoral*. Once again, *Liebe verboten* is also listed. These writings were all available from the Verlag für Arbeiterkultur.

### Sexual counselling

Reich also founded and ran several Berlin "workers' sex clinics", which would probably be called counselling centres today. They were repeatedly reported on in the *Warte*. For the first time, the November 1931 issue stated:

"The Unity Committee for Proletarian Sexual Reform opened three sex counselling centres, run by trained doctors, in Berlin in October [...]. North: Tuesday, 6-8 p.m., Müllerstrasse 143a, 1 staircase. East: Tuesday, 6-7.30 p.m., Kadiner Strasse 17. (Local 'Welt am Abend'.) Centre: 6-8 p.m., Kronprinzenufer 23, ground floor left."

In March 1932, two other addresses were given - in addition to Müllerstraße: "Lichtenberg, Friedrich-Karl-Straße 23, Fridays, 7-9 o'clock"

(UA) in Berlin, which were founded by Dr Reich, have made the psychoanalytical treatment of sexual conflicts their special task". Here, as in Vienna, other, especially "left-wing" psychoanalysts may have participated. A report from the IAH counselling centre in Wedding in 1931 shows how different Reich's approach was from the usual sexual counselling carried out by the CP mass organisations. There it is described that the women come back from counselling "with a joyful, happy expression on their faces", among other things "because now they no longer need to refuse their husband their 'marital duty' and thus drive them into the arms of other women". Kristine von Soden (1988, p. 118) comments: "The institution of marriage as the only place of sexual realisation is unwaveringly adhered to, and the sexual availability of women is taken for granted."

### **The „Reichsleitung" and the further UAs**

From the beginning of the UA's work, Reich had a considerable influence on the direction of its work and his concepts had an impact beyond the boundaries of the association. But what was the role of the "Reichsleitung" (all-German leadership), which Reich repeatedly mentions in connection with the UA and to which he also belonged?

According to Reich, this body consisted of six people, all of them communists. There was first himself as "sexual-political leader" and two other doctors (Leo Friedländer and Henriette "Reni" Begun). In addition, according to Reich, there were the IFA chairmen Rudolf Schneider and Fritz Bischoff as "organisational and political" leaders, who were also called „Reichsleiter“ (all-German leaders) several times in the *Warte*. Even the umbrella organisation ARSO was represented at a high level: by its head, the former member of the Central Committee of the KPD and long-time Reichstag member Johannes Schröter. The conspicuous concentration of higher functionaries also proves the importance the CP attached to this body and its area of responsibility.

However, the statutes of the Düsseldorf UA do not provide for such a supra-regional leadership body. Nor is it to be equated with a newly elected association board that would have replaced the provisional management: the association was managed from Düsseldorf throughout its existence. Nine months after the founding of the association, on 15 February 1932, the well-informed police noted: "The association is led by Mrs. Luise Dornemann, Düsseldorf, Immermannstraße 24. She, the treasurer Alfred Manisch, Düsseldorf, Nordstraße 73, and the secretary Otto Illinger, Düsseldorf, Immermannstraße 24, form the executive committee". At the same time, this covered all the essential management positions named in the statute - without naming a member of the "Reichsleitung".<sup>3</sup>

But what was this "Reichsleitung" then?

First of all, it is important to note that it did not remain with the Düsseldorf PA. Possibly because the all-German sexual reform organisation was a long time coming, other associations were founded in other regions with identical titles. For example, a separate "Unified Association for Proletarian Sexual Reform and Maternity Protection" was founded for the Ruhr region with headquarters in Essen, Friedrich-Ebert-Straße 69. Its statutes were not completely identical with those of the Düsseldorf UA. The most serious difference in content was that no reference was

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<sup>3</sup> Even during the confiscation of the Düsseldorf PA's property by the Nazi state on 26 May 1933, the minutes of the meeting listed "Richard Beck, Düsseldorf, Bahnstraße 70" as the head of the association, with the addition "currently in the Börgermoor concentration camp". More on Richard Beck in von Soden 1988, p. 155; Spring 1995.



made to Reich's "action programme". Other UAs with their own leaderships were founded, at least in Saxony and in the Halle-Merseburg, Middle Rhine and Berlin regions. However, these different UAs obviously saw themselves as a cooperating unit whose regional associations were also reported on in the *Warte*. I will therefore refer to this unit also as the total UA in the following.

The very existence of these formally independent associations, and even more so the aspired even larger merger, required a coordinating body. And such a body did exist. It appears again and again in various documents as well as in the *Warte*, as the "Preparatory Unity Committee for the unity of all sexual-political organisations". And that, so I mean, is exactly what the "Reichsleitung" was.

This is also evidenced by a statement (*Warte* No. 6 1932, p. 14) which defends "comrades Bischoff and Schneider" against slander. It is signed "Preparatory Unity Committee, Reich Leadership". And in *Warte* No. 7/1932, p. 13, there is even talk of Fritz Bischoff as "Reichsleiter of the Preparatory Unity Committee".

Moreover, "Reichsleitung" was a common term, for example, the "IFA Reichsleitung" was also mentioned. The medical leadership or committee members named by Wilhelm Reich, including himself, seem to have been the professional team of experts who were to advise and support the political leaders. Perhaps, in addition, the entire group stood ready to take over the leadership of the overarching unified organisation that was yet to be created.

However, the committee members were already appearing in public and participating in the work of the total UA. The *Warte* also records appearances by Reich at meetings. Thus in December 1931 one could read under the heading "Sexualnot und ihr Ausweg" (Sexual distress and its way out):

"Dr. Reich, Berlin, spoke on this topic at four events in the Lower Rhine district. The speaker knew how to deal clearly and simply with all the questions which weigh on the majority of people and which are never voiced as a result of today's sex education, and to loosen the inhibitions of his listeners."

Reich reports that he travelled several times to the original UA founding region around Düsseldorf; he and other comrades-in-arms also travelled to "Oranienburg, Jüterbog, Dresden, Frankfurt, Steglitz, Stettin, etc." on behalf of the total UA. From the November 1931 issue at the latest, the „Reichsleitung“ also acted as editor of the *Warte*, in which Reich continued to publish articles.

The *Warte* also mentioned the committee's contact address several times: "(Room 162) Berlin C2, Burgstraße 28 V". In the 19th century, the Berlin Stock Exchange and the headquarters of the Deutsche Bank were located in this house, opposite Berlin's Museum Island on the river Spree. From 1941 to 1943, the "Judenreferat" of the Berlin State Police Headquarters of the Gestapo and a so-called "protective prison" were housed there.

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**Andreas Peglau: Unpolitische Wissenschaft? Wilhelm Reich und die Psychoanalyse im Nationalsozialismus.**

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