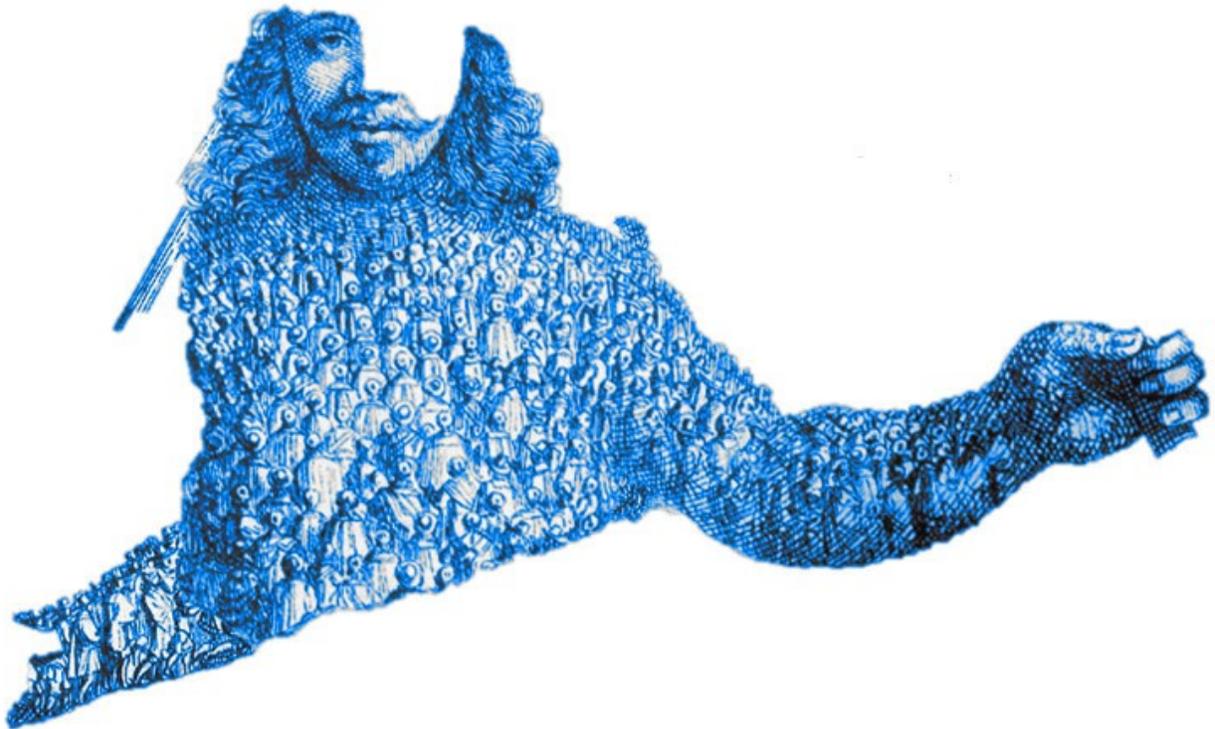


**Paul Federn**

# **THE FATHERLESS SOCIETY**



## **The Psychology of Revolution**

**Edited and Translated by Paul Werner**

Paul Federn

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# **The Fatherless Society.**

## **The Psychology of Revolution**

**Original text and English translation  
with a commentary by Paul Werner**

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## Commentary, Part One:

# THE MARXIST FREUDIANS. AN INTRODUCTION

"It would be a momentous liberation if the present revolution, a repetition of archaic revolts against the Father, were to succeed." Paul Federn, *The Fatherless Society*, 1919.<sup>1</sup>

"It is certainly desirable that the workers become acquainted with the basic ideas of Freud's healing method and psychology in order to put the former at their service as soon as possible." Therese Schlesinger, review of Paul Federn and Heinrich Meng, *Das psychoanalytische Volksbuch*, 1927.<sup>2</sup>

"But perhaps no one else but Victor Adler [founder and leader of the Austrian Social-Democratic Party] had exerted such a strong influence on Hugo Heller's own development as the great personality of Freud." Victor Heller, *Remembrance of Hugo Heller*.<sup>3</sup>



Looking back on those fervid intellectual movements that preceded World War One in Central Europe, the Marxist philosopher and critic Georg Lukács wrote:

“At the time this new realm seemed to us a mental universe of grandiose syntheses, theoretically and historically as well. In this manner we overlooked how little this new approach had truly overcome Positivism.”

„Dieses Neuland erschien uns damals als eine Gedankenwelt groß angelegter Synthesen, und zwar theoretisch ebenso wie historisch. Wir übersahen dabei, wie wenig diese neue Methode den Positivismus wirklich überwunden hatte.“<sup>4</sup>

Far from being overcome today, Positivism has triumphed over Red Vienna and its world-view. Historians and social scientists alike approach Viennese thought and culture of the early part of the twentieth century from a methodological point of view that's inductive, analytical, proceeding first and foremost from abstractions—a methodology as congruent with the topic as a square peg in a round hole.<sup>5</sup> In contrast, *Début-de-siècle* Vienna was the site of continuous, passionate dissections and reconstructions of crosscutting methodologies across all disciplines, a shift of political and intellectual alliances and affiliations, “an orgy of synthesis” as a contemporary described it.<sup>6</sup>

Nevertheless, today it is taken as an article of faith that Psychoanalytic Theory and Marxism are theoretically incompatible.<sup>7</sup> The conclusion owes much to the methodological bias, “a retrospective regathering by which contemporary science deludes itself about its own past.”<sup>8</sup> From hard-set institutional *a-prioris* fully

developed theories (Marxist, Freudian or other) are carelessly projected onto earlier, fragmentary, conflicted and evolving elaborations of the selfsame theories. The usual intent is to avoid disturbing or challenging the methodologies of one's own particular discipline. Thus Henri F. Ellenberger, in his empirically vast but methodologically shallow survey of the history of the unconscious, justifies his approach by arguing that "each system had to be shown in light of its own principles." The problem, as Michel Foucault would see it, is that the principles that constitute the field had to be in place already before the field had been constituted by those same principles.<sup>9</sup> Today the expression "Freudian Marxism" is applied to the various attempts to synthesize Marxist with Freudian theory that are believed — erroneously — to have sprung up first in the 1920s.<sup>10</sup> The designation suggests that Marxism and Freudian psychoanalysis are, and were from the beginning, monolithic theoretical disciplines with little possibility of cross-fertilization. In fact, psychoanalysis and Marxism have common theoretical roots that stretch as far back as the mid-nineteen-hundreds. These roots first branch out and blossom in the last years of that century.



Over two days in November, 1899, two events occurred, one of which was of capital importance for the history of psychoanalysis and for Twentieth-Century culture, the other indicative of the future of psychoanalysis as a politicized undertaking. On November 4 Freud's *Interpretation of Dreams* was published. The previous day, Dr. Emil Postelberg had lectured at the *Sozialwissen-schaftlichen Bildungsverein* ["Association for Education in the Social Sciences"], the platform for theoretical discussions of the Social Democratic Workers' Party of Austria or *SDAP*. Postelberg was one of those "Lawyers for Social Democracy"

[*Anwälten der Sozialdemokratie*] who practiced in support of Party policy and adherents.<sup>11</sup> A few days later the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, the Party newspaper, reported:

“The lecture was followed by a lively discussion, in which Comrades Schlesinger, Heller, Dr. Renner and Dr. Paul Federn in particular participated.”<sup>12</sup>

Renner’s participation is unsurprising. Though he still kept his connections with the Party a secret to protect his paid position as a parliamentary librarian, Karl Renner was already writing under various pseudonyms for the Party press. Nineteen years later he would become the first chancellor of Austria and twenty-six years after that the first president of the Second Austrian Republic. The other three participants, however, beg an explanation. Each of them would be involved with the defense and establishment of psychoanalysis; all three were, in one way or another, followers of Freud who combined their allegiance to Socialism with a commitment to psychoanalysis.

“Comrade Heller” — Hugo Heller — had risen within the Party as a book-worker, editor and organizer. Befriended as a young worker and activist by the Socialist leader Karl Kautsky, he would work as an editor and jobber for various Party enterprises, including a stint at *Die Neue Zeit*, the pre-eminent theoretical organ for Marxism. In 1903 Heller joined Freud’s Wednesday Psychological Society, the forerunner of the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society. In 1905 he opened his own bookstore, art gallery, lecture venue, publishing firm and, eventually, concert bureau in Vienna. After World War One he would become embroiled in Red Vienna’s politics of cultural production, often in competition with the *Sozialistische Kunststelle* [Socialist Art Section] under the direction of David Josef

Bach, another Socialist who had also been a member of the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society. In 1912 Heller took over as Freud's publisher, issuing the journals *Imago* and *Internationale Zeitschrift für ärztliche Psychoanalyse* and publishing, among other titles, *Totem and Taboo*.<sup>13</sup>

Therese Schlesinger, the third participant in Postelberg's lecture, was a militant feminist who had joined SDAP after being marginalized at the International Women's Congress of 1886. A prolific writer and theoretician, she would be one of the first women elected to public office in Austria or anywhere. In World War One she joined the anti-war wing of the Party, the so-called Independents. As the Hapsburg Dynasty collapsed it was the Independents that attempted to provide the intellectual leadership and political direction of the workers' councils (*Arbeiterräte*) that formed in January of 1918 among striking Austrian factory workers and returning soldiers in imitation of the Russian Soviets. These workers would be the subject of Paul Federn's book, *Die Vaterlose Gesellschaft* [*The Fatherless Society*]. Schlesinger's daughter Anna was briefly married to Josef Frey, who after failing to assume the leadership of the worker's councils became Trotsky's surrogate in Austria and a founder of the Austrian Communist Party [*KPÖ*].<sup>14</sup>

As for Paul Federn: today he is remembered as one of Sigmund Freud's closest associates and the author of classic texts on ego psychology and psychosis, Freud's right-hand man and from 1924 on his deputy at the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society. Federn was barely twenty-eight and a medical intern at the time of Postelberg's lecture; this may have been his first venture into Social-Democratic politics. Shortly thereafter he read *Interpretation of Dreams* and, deeply impressed, asked to be introduced to Freud. By 1904 he, too, had joined the

Wednesday Psychological Society.<sup>15</sup> Two years later he ran for district assemblyman on the Social-Democratic ticket. He remained active in Social-Democratic politics until the collapse of the Republic, and active as well within Freud's circle. As a member of the Association of Socialist Physicians (*Verein sozialistischer Ärzte*) and frequent lecturer on sexual hygiene and the social aspects of psychoanalysis, Federn engaged in a bitter rivalry with his younger colleague Wilhelm Reich, based in part on jealousy over father-figure Freud, in part on competition as to who had best "drawn the social consequences" of psychoanalytic theory.<sup>16</sup> This rivalry could only have been exacerbated when Reich, who had joined the Communist Party in 1927, saw Federn's lecture at the World Congress for Sexual Reform written up in *Die Rote Fahne*, the organ of the German Communist Party. The World Congress for Sexual Reform was considered overly "unscientific" (read: *politicized*) by Freud's biographer, Ernest Jones. Conversely, *Die Rote Fahne* complained that the Freudians had not sufficiently addressed Soviet Russia's success in abolishing the neuroses.<sup>17</sup>

Federn's presence at Postelberg's lecture and his subsequent and simultaneous interest in psychoanalysis and the Workers' Councils undoubtedly owed much to Therese Schlesinger, eight years his senior, whom he had known since 1890. Like many engaged women—Emma Goldman, Eleanor Kilham and others—Schlesinger developed an interest in Freudian theory early on. Her brother Fritz was Freud's card partner; her sister Emma Eckstein is remembered as a victim of Freud and Fliess's experiments on her schnoz in 1895, less so for her own defiant stand against Freud's own sense of masculine authority. Therese herself may have been the "Frau Doktor" who, when Freud almost fainted at the sight of Emma's bleeding, offered him a glass of brandy.<sup>18</sup> As a psychoanalytic

trainee herself, Emma likely contributed more to Freud's evolving thought than her subsequent reputation as a sacrificial lamb suggests. Therese's daughter Anna, who suffered from depression, would eventually be analyzed by Freud himself. After Anna's suicide in 1920 Therese, Paul, his wife Wilma and their son Ernst would become even closer, with Therese acting as Ernst's political godmother until the fall of the First Republic in 1934.<sup>19</sup> Ernst studied law in Vienna before becoming a psychoanalyst himself. In 1972, by a sweet irony, he returned to Vienna at the invitation of Justice Minister Christian Broda, an old school friend of his who had learned about psychoanalysis in 1931 by listening with Ernst to a radio broadcast by Paul Federn honoring Freud. Broda asked Ernst to assist in reforming the Austrian criminal justice system, in line with Paul's initial psychoanalytic approach to those questions of guilt, responsibility and common purpose that had been raised in Postelberg's lecture seventy-three years earlier.<sup>20</sup>

### III]

The topic of Postelberg's lecture was *Massendelikte* — to a German speaker the term suggests infractions committed either by the Masses or *en masse*. To this day in German-speaking jurisprudence the term is applied to “common offences,” *Alltagskriminalität*, the kind of infraction that requires no particular deliberation to process.<sup>21</sup> Postelberg began by referencing the conservative theologian Alexander von Oettinger whose opus magnum, *Moralstatistik* [“Moral Statistics,” 1868], set itself against the immorality of a purely classificatory approach to social pathology similar to today's empiricist reliance on algorithms in the judicial system, or on statistical diagnoses in Psychiatry or, of course, in judicial profiling.<sup>22</sup> In Postelberg's argument two radically divergent viewpoints,

that of the theologian and that of the socialist, were brought to bear against a common enemy, a rational empiricism that justified itself by isolating, in Kantian fashion, the sphere of verifiable facts from the sphere of values and intentions, while in turn blending the sphere of verifiable facts with the sphere of supposedly value-free metaphysical generalizations.<sup>23</sup>

In 1898 August Strindberg, in the Preface to his play *Miss Julie*, had denounced the “bourgeois concept of the immobility of the soul.” According to the then-prevalent arguments of positivist psychologists and criminologists like Cesare Lombroso, criminals were born, not made. In the same way, according to positivist sociologists like Vilfredo Pareto, social inequality was a natural, not a social phenomenon; values, intentions and personal motivation had no bearing on the matter. Likewise, in the field of social history Hippolyte Taine’s massive and popular *Origines de la France contemporaine* [1875] had set the tone with its fierce denunciations of revolutionary mobs acting without apparent rational motive. As Max Weber would later suggest, all revolutions were devoid by definition of any practical goal or purpose since they were in opposition to the State and the State was the ultimate rational actor.<sup>24</sup> Reason and the Law were one.

These arguments were merely applications of Immanuel Kant’s *Metaphysics of Morals* of 1785, one of the founding texts of the Bourgeois Enlightenment. According to Kant, for moral laws to be universally and fairly applied they must be grounded in Pure Reason, not in individual experience,

“For the universality with which they should apply to all rational beings without distinction, [...] vanishes when its rationale is borrowed from the specific organization of human nature or the accidental circumstances that determine it.”

„Denn die Allgemeinheit, mit der [*die moralische Gesetze*] für alle vernünftige Wesen ohne Unterschied gelten sollen [...] fällt weg, wenn der Grund derselben von der besonderen Einrichtung der menschlichen Natur, oder den zufälligen Umständen hergenommen wird, darin sie gesetzt ist.“<sup>25</sup>

*Contra* Kant, Postelberg argued that crime should not be regarded “as an absolute fact, but as a social phenomenon caused by numerous mental and social factors” [*nicht mehr als absolute That, sondern als durch zahlreiche seelische und gesellschaftliche Faktoren bedingte soziale Erscheinung auf*]. In the same way, at the same time, Sigmund Freud was arguing and would continue to argue that the analysis of pathologies and dreams would lead nowhere without an understanding of their social and psychic roots, metaphysics and morals be damned.

As a jurist, however, Posteldorf’s immediate point of reference (and the inspiration for the title of his lecture) was the French provincial judge Gabriel Tarde, who in the last decade of the nineteenth century had unleashed an avalanche of legalistic, sociological and psychological attacks against the “wave of anti-democratic pessimism” manifest in the rise of mass movements of the Left and Right—what today’s purveyors of panic would call “populism.”<sup>26</sup> Tarde himself claimed to be the first to propose that *Massendelikte*—“criminalité collective” in the original French—were more than the sum of their individual parts:

“Collective criminality has never been perceived as anything but the sum of individual crimes. That point of view is admissible to a certain degree whenever individuals have acted only in a dispersed state despite the bond of the association that unites them; it is clearly false when they behave in common and in mass,

drawn by an impulse in which all participate and in which forces and possibilities emerge that in a state of isolation would remain frozen.”

« On n'a jamais vu dans la criminalité dite collective qu'un simple total de criminalités individuelles. C'est un point de vue admissible dans une certaine mesure quand les individus n'ont agi qu'à l'état dispersé, malgré le lien de l'association qui les unit ; c'est un point de vue manifestement faux quand il agit en commun et en masse, sous l'impulsion d'entraînements auxquels tous participent et où se dégagent des forces, des virtualités qui, à l'état d'isolement, resteraient engourdis. »<sup>27</sup>

Eighteenth-century sensationalist philosophers like Condillac had previously argued that human consciousness was merely reactive to the environment, anticipating the more rigid forms of twentieth-century Behaviorism, Marxist or otherwise. Kant had used Condillac's argument as a strawman in order to put forth his theory of a universal ethics:

“Likewise, morals would be misapplied unless a foreign impulse [*Antrieb*] mediated by the inner nature of an individual attuned to receive it, handed down the Law.”

„Dergleichen die moralische [Gesetze]... dadurch untauglich wird, sondern ein fremder Antrieb gibt ihm, vermittelt einer auf die Empfänglichkeit desselben gestimmten Natur des Subjekts, das Gesetz.“<sup>28</sup>

In the early nineteenth century, the influential French philosopher and educator Victor Cousin and his followers had taken Kant a step further, arguing that certain individuals were more fit than others, by heredity, to develop a self that was autonomous from their environment, thus equating the ideal individual self with

the Transcendental Ego envisioned by Kant. Every individual had a *moi* or ego, but only the male bourgeois had the moral and mental capacities to attain full *moi*-hood by transcending the world of phenomena and entering the realm of Abstract Reason. A bourgeois — *Bürger*, in German, meaning also citizen— was one who, by virtue of heredity and gender, was endowed with the capacity to absorb from his environment the life-lessons that allowed him to attain true detachment. It was this capacity that empowered him to act above his egotistical interests and therefore in the interests of bourgeois society and the liberal State as a whole.<sup>29</sup> Tarde's proletarian crowd was the reverse. A proletarian mob (is there any other kind?) was composed of individual elements, each of whom had a weakened genetic resistance to the civilizing pressures of Society and Environment. In the degenerate proletarian a purely mechanical reaction— call it sympathy, imitation or drive—countered all those higher functions of individual motive and personal will-power of which an evolved citizen was capable. Tarde had picked up the old argument that criminality is a form of group contagion, one of those narratives of infection and prophylaxis that bedeviled Enlightenment thought in the eighteenth century.<sup>30</sup> Only the male bourgeoisie could summon forth the will to nullify the atavistic, primitive “drive” to imitate. Many years later, in *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego* [1921] Freud would take on Postelberg's argument, rejecting the misuse of biological drives for political ends. There was no such thing as a “Herd Instinct.” Nor could one multiply the drives at will, inventing a good, metaphysical drive [*Antrieb*] that directed bourgeois morality in the manner of Kant to overcome a bad hereditary drive in the manner of Tarde and Lombroso — a drive that directed social upheavals and revolutions.

Tarde's major concern, however, was to decide how to mete out appropriate punishment when according to his own definition the members of a mob were incapable of individual responsibility. Robert Musil, in his retrospective satire of Hapsburg morality, *The Man without Qualities*, would derive considerable amusement from this conundrum as it affected the lovable murderer, Moosbrugger:

“In the eyes of the judge his deeds came out of him. In his own eyes they had come upon him like birds of passage.”

„In den Augen des Richters gingen seine Taten von ihm aus, in den seine waren sie auf ihn zugekommen wie Vögel, die herbeifliegen.“<sup>31</sup>

Certain crimes were intentional; others perched on the perpetrator like birds or inscribed themselves on his body like the sentence in Kafka's "Penal Colony."

Tarde's argument was taken up at once by any number of scientific psychologists, sociologists and criminologists with the same axe to grind. Three years later his compatriot and partner in criminology Auguste Le Bon picked up the concept and ran with it:

“In certain given circumstances and in these circumstances only, an agglomeration of men has strong new characteristics that are very different from those of the individuals composing that agglomeration. The conscious personality vanishes, the feelings and ideas of all units are oriented in the same direction. A collective soul is formed, undoubtedly transient, but with very clear characteristics. The community has now become what, for lack of a better expression, I would call an organized crowd, or, if you prefer, a psychological crowd. It forms a single being and is subject to the law of mental unity of crowds.”

« Dans certaines circonstances données et seulement dans ces circonstances, une agglomération d'hommes possède des caractères nouveaux forts différents de ceux des individus composant cette agglomération. La personnalité consciente s'évanouit, les sentiments et les idées de toutes les unités sont orientés dans une même direction. Il se forme une âme collective, transitoire sans doute, mais présentant des caractères très nets. La collectivité est alors devenue ce que, faute d'une expression meilleure, j'appellerai une foule organisée, ou, si l'on préfère, une foule psychologique. Elle forme un seul être et se trouve soumise à la *loi de l'unité mentale des foules*. »<sup>32</sup>

Le Bon's widely popular *Psychologie des foules* [*Psychology of Crowds*] of 1895 was followed a year later, lest the intention be missed, by *Psychologie du socialisme*, then in 1910 by *La Psychologie politique et la défense sociale* ["The Psychology of Politics and Social Defense"] and in 1912 by *La Révolution Française et la Psychologie des Révolutions* [*The French Revolution and the Psychology of Revolution*], which in certain passages paraphrases Taine almost word-for-word. Tarde's theory would be taken to its logical conclusion by Nazi doctors: the more evolved races and individuals were endowed with *Gemüt*, an innate and superior capacity to act as individuals. *Gemütlosigkeit*, absence of *Gemüt*, was a symptom of genetic corruption, of an innate inability to resist moral imperatives from within and social imperatives from without.<sup>33</sup> In 1920 Freud would challenge this theory in his testimony at the war-crimes trial of the future Nobel-Prize winner and Nazi Julius Wagner-Jauregg — testimony, one suspects, that was aimed, not so much at the accused but the lead judge, Alexander Löffler, a noted authority on criminal motivation who had "immersed himself in the study of 'types of guilt' in criminal law..., assessing the moral weight of intentionality—or lack thereof—in the criminal mind."<sup>34</sup> According to

Freud there was nothing unnatural or perverse about refusing to kill another human being: the laws of the State were not the laws of Nature after all.

## IV]

As a lawyer, Posteldorf's brief was to legitimize his client's position without straying beyond the boundaries of a system of thought erected for the opposite purpose. As a speaker for the political opposition he would be wary of alerting the police officer at the back of the room, who might at any moment disband the meeting as seditious by the simple expedient of putting on his hat. Cautiously, Posteldorf turned to the topic that was of immediate concern: the topic of mass political agitation. Revolution, Kant had suggested, was a natural fact; yet Taine himself, according to Postelberg, had argued that the revolutionary crowd, though it might be composed of criminal elements, was not uniquely composed of criminals; hence mass activities ("Massendelikte") could not be considered a crime *sub specie aeternitatis*:

"According to Taine's *Origin of Modern France*, however, [...] partly insane, partly genuinely criminal elements have often been sanctioned by the violence of historical revolutions, but [...] just as often the people sanctioned by mob activities are completely scrupulous, honorable people requiring psychological enlightenment before all else."

„Nach Taine's „Ursprung des modernen Frankreich" haben sich allerdings [...] an den Gewaltsamkeiten der geschichtlichen Revolutionen vielfach theils irrsinnige, theils wirklich verbrecherische Elemente beteiligt, aber [...] ebenso oft sind die an Massendelikten Beteiligten ganz unbescholtene, ehrenhafte Menschen, und dies bedürfe vor allem der psychologischen Aufklärung.“<sup>35</sup>

According to Postelberg, participation in group action was not in and of itself symptomatic of a single pathological trait that could be applied, inductively, to each and every member of a group that performed a similar activity. Instead, a “mob” was made up of a variety of wills that needed to be addressed on a case-by-case basis. Kant had argued that “Empirical psychology [*empirische Seelenlehre*] must always remain outside the rank of a natural science properly so called,” meaning that psychological explanations must be sought in individual, cultural and historic experience, not in “natural” or universal abstractions beyond the realm of individual experience.<sup>36</sup> A year before Postelberg’s lecture a similar conclusion had been reached by Freud as he shifted his attention from the natural science of Biology to the social techniques of Psychology, from *Naturwissenschaft* to *Geisteswissenschaft*. Pathology, he argued, should be sought first and foremost in the experiences of childhood —experiences that were primarily social and historical.<sup>37</sup>

## V]

In 1899, and aside from their common sources, Freudian analysis and Marxist theory were systems in a process of self-definition, borrowing and modifying from earlier traditions. Following Marx’s death in 1883 and until his own in 1895, Friedrich Engels was competing and collaborating with other Socialist thinkers (Friedrich Lange, Eduard Bernstein, Karl Kautsky, etc.) to control the theoretical direction of the party by establishing a “scientific” foundation for Marxism as an intellectual and scholarly discipline.<sup>38</sup> In the process, Marxist thinkers of the *tour de siècle* revived the writings of the younger Marx, writings that marked a renewed involvement with Kant. This renewed interest would play a determining role in the intellectual life of Red Vienna and its heirs in the Frankfurt School.

As for Freud, his involvement with philosophies of social concern had emerged in the 1870s at the University of Vienna with his involvement in the *Leseverein der deutschen Studenten Wiens* [Reading Society of the German students of Vienna].<sup>39</sup> In an 1875 letter to his friend Eduard Silberstein Freud settled the question of his social involvement: it would remain on the level of theoretical, rather than practical action:

“I would be very interested to know whether those Social-Democrats of yours are also revolutionary in the fields of Philosophy and Religion. It seems easier to know from that position than from any other if the foundations of their character is truly radical.”

„Sehr interessieren würde es mich zu erfahren, ob Deine Sozialdemokraten auch auf philosophischem und religiösem Gebiet revolutionär sind, ich meine, man kann leichter aus diesem Verhältnis erfahren, ob der Grundzug ihres Charakters wirklich der Radikalismus ist, als aus irgendeinem andern.“<sup>40</sup>

The students of the *Leseverein* and the supportive faculty focused on theories of human empathy and solidarity to counter the dominant narratives of Bourgeois Empiricism that affirmed the transcendental supremacy of the monadic self and the metaphysical quality of regulative ideas of morality and human behavior, above and beyond mere social relations and material determinations. The transformative inspiration for Freud’s mature thought, however, was an 1855 lecture by the German physicist Hermann von Helmholtz, whom he would later designate as “one of my idols.”<sup>41</sup> Helmholtz laid the groundwork for the philosophical movement later called Physiological neo-Kantianism.<sup>42</sup>

Helmholtz insisted that idealizing Kantian philosophy must engage with Materialism, much as Marx had engaged with Kant a decade earlier in the *Feuerbach Theses*. Scientists must abandon the catastrophic practice of projecting abstract and eternal principles onto individual subjects, like a judge who proceeds from a position of transcendental authority to induct the motivations of the accused. According to Helmholtz, *Physiology and Psychology* were the models for the new science because they depended, not on a mere catalogue of verifiable symptoms but on deducing general laws of dynamic movement from observable phenomena, followed by verification of these same laws by a method of induction. The movement from deduction to induction and back again would become a methodological foundation of psychoanalysis, just as it was a methodological foundation of Marxist Theory. Helmholtz's approach required a continuous theoretical movement from the concrete to the abstract and back again, along with a continuous questioning of appearances. His suggested *modus operandi* held the seeds of the process that Paul Ricoeur would subsequently argue to be common to Marxist and Freudian Theory alike: a "hermeneutics of suspicion."<sup>43</sup>

Both Freud and Marx would go through a short-lived enthusiasm for the theories of Ludwig Feuerbach, followed by intense disappointment with on Feuerbach's limited range. The detection of hidden causes could not rest on simple, unproblematic inductions by self-proclaimed authorities, be they doctors or judges. Helmholtz himself demanded that the authorities—scientific, legal, psychological or political—confront the question Kant had never satisfactorily resolved, the question central to Freudian and Marxist Cultural Theory alike: the pursuit of the philosophy of the subjectivity of knowledge, Epistemology. As for

Postelberg, he borrowed his argument from Helmholtz's theoretical heir, the philosopher Hermann Cohen, who had taken up the mantle of physiological neo-Kantians to argue that a genuine ethics must be based on Jurisprudence and the definition of a legal person, not the other way around. Cohen's theories of law would find a later exponent in Hans Kelsen, Freud's friend and interlocutor and the author of the Constitution of the Republic of Austria. Kant, claimed Cohen, "is the true and real originator of German socialism."<sup>44</sup>

There is no doubt that Freud was overall in sympathy with Socialism as a political practice.<sup>45</sup> The good news (or bad news, depending on one's own bias) is that Freud was a socialist of the mildest sort, very much in the mold of Postelberg, or rather Eduard Bernstein, whose theories Postelberg faithfully represented. Starting out as a follower and trusted associate of Marx, then Engels, Bernstein had, while in exile in England, fallen under the influence of Fabian Socialism, a movement that would have great influence in Red Vienna. At the time of Postelberg's lecture Bernstein had just published *Die Voraussetzungen des Sozialismus und die Aufgaben der Sozialdemokratie* ["The Premises for Socialism and the Tasks of Social Democracy"], a wide-ranging revision of Marxism that immediately provoked a strong reaction among the more orthodox Marxists of the Socialist International. "Revisionism" (to call it by its name) was premised on the belief that violent and sudden change was neither a rational strategy nor a useful expectation for the masses. Similarly, Posteldorf concluded by reassuring his audience—or at least the police officer

“...with the suggestion that Marxism did not advocate coups and uprisings. Fortunately the public prosecutor could only bring to bear a few provocations and

paragraphs of press law against the mighty, patient evolution of the People's forward movement.”

„... mit dem Hinweis, daß der Marxismus den Putschen und Revolten nicht das Wort rede. In jene langsame und großartige Evolution, in der sich die Völker entwickeln, könne der Staatsanwalt zum Glück nur mit ein paar Aufreizungs und preßgesetzlichen Paragraphen dreinreden.“

Postelberg had laid out a blueprint for social change that would enjoy widespread currency in Red Vienna. Progress would be incremental, not disruptive; the amelioration of society must be evolutionary, not revolutionary. The parallels with Freud are clear — including Freud's visceral distaste for violence and his hopes for social improvement through reason and discussion.

On several points, however, and despite the objections of his more orthodox Marxist friends and colleagues, Bernstein himself might still be considered a Marxist. Starting with Marx himself most Marxists, Bernstein included, had jettisoned the sentimental belief in an organic, hereditary sense of communality that still plays a strong part in Anarchist theory today: the “community of affections” proposed by Saint-Just in the French Revolution.<sup>46</sup> “Scientific” Marxists of the last decade of the nineteenth century denied not only the existence of the archaic, genetic sense of “oneness” denounced by Tarde and praised by anarchists like Peter Kropotkin and Gustav Landauer, but also the forward-looking sense of *Mitleid* [sympathy] advocated by Freud's own former professor, Theodor Meynert.<sup>47</sup> Whether the sense of “oneness” has scientific validity; whether the belief in the return of some type of universal and archaic “Brother Complex” (supposedly endorsed by Soviet-style Communism) has any more validity: those two propositions bookend Freud's *Civilisation and its Discontents* and are

dismissed front-to-back. Neither has much of a connection with Marxist thought—or Freudian. Engels dismisses Feuerbach’s appeal to Love—and to sexual love in particular—with a scorn equal to Freud’s:

“But Love! Ah, yes, Love is everywhere and always the wonder-working god who according to Feuerbach shall help to set aside all the difficulties of practical life — this in a society split into classes with diametrically conflicting interests... and that Love that is to unite all comes to light in wars, in conflicts, trials, domestic disputes, divorce, and every possible exploitation of the one by the other.”

„Aber die Liebe! — Ja, die Liebe ist überall und immer der Zaubergott, der bei Feuerbach über alle Schwierigkeiten des praktischen Lebens hinweghelfen soll — und das in einer Gesellschaft, die in Klassen mit diametral entgegengesetzten Interessen gespalten ist... und die Liebe, die alles einen soll, kommt zu Tag in Kriegen, Streitigkeiten, Prozessen, häuslichem Krakeel, Ehescheidung und möglicher Ausbeutung der einen durch die andern.“<sup>48</sup>

## VI]

Michel Foucault writes:

“It would be hard to grasp the unique position of psychoanalysis at the end of the 19th century without acknowledging the rupture it made with the great system of degeneracy: while psychoanalysis made its own the project of a medical technology specific to sexual instincts, it attempted to free the project from its dependency on heredity, and thus with all forms of racism and eugenics. [...] It was psychoanalysis, until the 1940s, that rigorously opposed the political and institutional effects of a system founded on the triad perversion-heredity-degeneracy.”

« La position singulière de la psychanalyse se comprendrait mal, à la fin du XIXe siècle, si on ne voyait la rupture qu'elle a opérée par rapport au grand système de la dégénérescence : elle a repris le projet d'une technologie médicale propre à l'instinct sexuel ; mais elle a cherché à l'affranchir de ses corrélations avec l'hérédité. Et donc avec tous les racismes et tous les eugénismes. [...] elle, fut, jusqu'aux années 1940, celle qui s'est opposée, rigoureusement, aux effets politiques et institutionnels du système perversion-hérédité-dégénérescence. »<sup>49</sup>

Freud's contributions to Anthropology are generally disparaged nowadays. Nevertheless, his approach to that discipline played an important role in undermining those narratives of heredity and genetic hard-wiring that dominate hegemonic science to this day. In 1903 an anonymous but highly educated contributor to the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, in all likelihood a doctor and possibly Victor Adler, the leader of SDAP, put it thus:

“Scientific research proceeds at a remove from the controversies of day-to-day opinion-making; but its finds tend to be immediately pressed into bolstering or undermining one tendency or party, or another. This is as it should be. [...] In particular I have Social Anthropology and modern racial theories in my sights: they alone are supposed to provide a new Bible for liberalism.”

„Die wissenschaftliche Arbeit wird seitab vom Streite der Tagesmeinungen geleistet; ihre Ergebnisse aber pflegen sofort beschlagnahmt zu werden zur Stütze der einen, zur Unterminierung der anderen Richtung oder Partei. Das ist gut und recht so. [...] Ich habe hier besonders die Sozialanthropologie und die modernen Rassentheorien im Auge, die allein Anschein nach eine neue Bibel für den Liberalismus abgeben sollen.“<sup>50</sup>

In the first decades of the twentieth century progressive thinkers in America and Europe faced the need to divert the social sciences from their racist, nationalist and patriarchal underpinnings. It is no coincidence that the preeminent anthropologist Franz Boas attended Freud's American lectures of 1909; nor that the American Dorothy Burlingham Tiffany, who would later partner with Anna Freud in Vienna, was kept abreast of Freudian findings through relatives and friends with an interest in cultural pluralism.<sup>51</sup> *Völkerpsychologie*, to use the title of a massive and wildly popular series of volumes by Wilhelm Wundt, proposed to present a universal survey of cultures, implicitly acknowledging their common element.<sup>52</sup> But as the young T.S. Eliot pointed out, Wundt's approach established graduations in comparative moral value and development of various cultures, which in turn implied among all people an innate and relative disposition toward a transcendent moral absolute which could only be that of the author.<sup>53</sup> A similar approach was taken by the Anarchist Peter Kropotkin in *Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution* his most popular work, first published as a book in 1902.<sup>54</sup> The difference was, that the ideal toward which all of Humanity must strive was, according to Kropotkin, Universal Brotherhood. Freud and Engels rejected what Kropotkin, Wundt, Kant and Hegel proposed: History might evolve, but it must evolve toward a perfect ideal that happens to be that of the reigning ideology.

*Völkerpsychologie*, the "Psychology of People," though not overtly racist, had strong genetic, and therefore political implications. In the mid-nineteen twenties in Vienna Karl Popper, soon to become the Kant of neo-liberalism, would follow the same path, arguing that working-class children were stunted by "natural dogmatism."<sup>55</sup> Popper's argument was the same as Tarde's: the moral stuntedness of the working class was above all biological. Freud would publish *Totem*

*and Taboo* as an explicit response to Wundt, to Carl Jung, and to the biases of Völkerpsychologie that proposed a teleological narrative of culture that was little more than the “triad perversion-heredity-degeneracy” reversed. From the first pages of *Totem and Taboo* to the last pages of *Civilization and its Discontents*, Freud consistently rejected the false opposition of utopia and dystopia, teleology and chaos:

“The essays that follow... reflect an attempt on my part to apply viewpoints and findings from psychoanalysis to unexplained problems in the Psychology of Peoples.”

“In its psychological nature [Taboo] is still nothing other than Kant’s ‘Categorical Imperative,’ which tends to act compulsively and rejects all conscious motivations.”

„Die nachstehenden [...] Aufsätze... entsprechen einem ersten Versuch von meiner Seite, Gesichtspunkte und Ergebnisse der Psychoanalyse auf unerklärte Probleme der Völkerpsychologie anzuwenden...“

„[Tabu ist] seiner psychologischen Natur nach doch nichts anderes als der „kategorische Imperativ“ Kant’s, der zwangsartig wirken will und jede bewußte Motivierung ablehnt.“<sup>56</sup>

Freud’s intellectual audacity is mind-boggling. In one brief sentence he turns the foundation of bourgeois morality, the Categorical Imperative, on its head. Freud’s youthful promise, to support radical social goals through the study of science and religion, not through political posturing, has borne fruit. Those universal moral imperatives that claim to issue from the State, the Race or the Volk are now to be found in the place of excrement.

Just as the Categorical Imperative played a major role in propping up the bourgeois State, the decision to affirm or repudiate it played a divisive role in the ranks of Socialism. Postelberg concluded his lecture with the argument that

“[...] Social democracy educated and disciplined the masses, and it was therefore to be hoped that if history ever promised a social revolution, it would move in less terrible ways thanks to preventive cultural education, [*Kulturbildung*] which dampened the instincts and passions.”

„[...] Die Sozial-demokratie erziehe und diszipliniere die Massen, und es sei deshalb zu hoffen, daß wenn die Geschichte einmal eine soziale Revolution zu verzeichnen haben sollte, diese, dank der präventiven Kulturbildung, die die Instinkte und Leidenschaften dämpfe, sich in weniger furchtbaren Erscheinungsformen bewegen werde.“

The expression *Kulturbildung* is used here with its full ideological force. As George Lichtheim explains,

“The wholly untranslatable term *Bildung* does not signify ‘education’, but [...] secure possession of the values that make up the Bürgertum’s [liberal Bourgeoisie’s] way of life.”<sup>57</sup>

If criminals are born, not made, their antagonists, the bourgeois, are both made *and* born. Once again, Postelberg was merely passing on Eduard Bernstein’s interpretation of Kant. There could be only one universally valid moral law, which to Bernstein and Postelberg and Wundt was that of the bourgeoisie. And because the interests of the working class were identical with those of the bourgeoisie the category of social class was transient one, bound to disappear as surely as the individual’s internal psychic contradictions. Therefore the task of

the Social-Democratic leadership was not to organize the workers as a class but to raise the workers in mind and morals to the status of fully civilized bourgeois. The only consciousness to which the workers could aspire was the consciousness of the bourgeoisie. For Cousin, Tarde, Bernstein and many that would follow them it was the only consciousness worthy of that name.

## VIII

Of the four respondents to Postelberg's lecture the closest to Cousin, Tarde *et al.* may well have been Renner, who would publish his own reflections on the Philosophy of Law in 1904 ; they were republished in a modified version in 1929, and excoriated by the Marxist philosopher Karl Korsch for their revisionist and reactionary subservience.<sup>58</sup> One could make a fair argument that Freud was more of a socialist than Renner — at least in his theories.

As to Federn: We can only guess at the contents of his response to Postelberg. We can only guess, that is, how close Federn was to the position he would take twenty years later in *Die Vaterlose Gesellschaft*. We can more than guess Therese Schlesinger's. Because of the close connection of Schlesinger, her daughter and her future son-in-law with the workers' councils that are the real-life subjects of Federn's book it is imperative to ask how much of the thought that was to see its fruition in Federn's writing was already in the air when Schlesinger responded to Postelberg.

A year previous, Schlesinger had published a sly article in the *Sozialistische Monatshefte*, the organ for Bernstein's Revisionist tendency.<sup>59</sup> Since the founding principle of Revisionism was the building of bridges with the bourgeoisie the editors may have been seduced into thinking they were building such a

connection with feminism in general. If so, they overlooked the implicit message of Schlesinger's title: "The Bourgeois Women's Movement and the Proletarian Women's Movement" [*Bürgerliche und proletarische Frauenbewegung*]. At this point in time, argued Schlesinger, there were two separate women's movements, each with its own agenda. The first, the heir of the French Revolution, demanded equality, but strictly within the domestic sphere. Bourgeois women merely wanted to be fully formed bourgeois with rights equal to those of their male partners:

"The woman worker, on the other hand. [...] is far from striving for extended mother's rights, for spiritual elevation and for political equality, because she does not see herself so much oppressed by the prerogatives of the opposite sex as by the prerogatives of property."

„Die Arbeiterin dagegen,[...] ihr liegen Bestrebungen um erweiterte Mutterrechte, um geistige Erhebung und um politische Gleichberechtigung fern, denn nicht durch die Vorrechte des anderen Geschlechts sieht sie sich so sehr bedrückt, als durch die Vorrechte des Besitzes.“<sup>60</sup>

So far, Schlesinger hewed to a position that was acceptable to the Revisionists. Lenin would describe this attitude, first in *What is to be Done?* [1902], then again in 1916:

"The old Economism of 1894–1902 reasoned thus: [...] capitalism has triumphed... Consequently, there can be no question of political revolution. The practical conclusion: ... "economic struggle [should] be left to the workers and political struggle to the liberals."<sup>61</sup>

The workers, according to Bernstein, should stick to economic goals and leave the politics to their betters in the Party. This was a step backward from the norms established by the German Socialists in the Erfurt Program of 1891, which proclaimed that the worker's struggle must be political as well as economic.

Swiftly, Schlesinger turned the tables. Instead of elevating themselves to bourgeois consciousness as Bernstein and Postelberg suggested, the workers—and women workers in particular must adopt a worker's consciousness:

“To join up with Social Democracy the woman worker need only awaken to class consciousness; to do the same, however, the bourgeois woman must outgrow her class consciousness and class interests.”

„Die Arbeiterin muss, um sich der Sozialdemokratie anzuschliessen, nur zum Klassenbewusstsein erwachen; die bürgerliche Frau aber muss, um dasselbe zu thun, über ihr Klassenbewusstsein und ihr Klasseninteresse hinauswachsen.“<sup>62</sup>

The template for individual liberation patterned on bourgeois models of universal Enlightenment could not serve as the model for economic and political liberation. Bourgeois women were incapable of understanding the social relations that determined property relations; they were powerless to effectuate change. The division of revolutionary labor advocated by Bernstein and his followers was a dead end.

Surely Hugo Heller's reaction to Postelberg's lecture was no less strong—and undoubtedly less subtle. The *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, in its 1923 obituary, would remember him as a “fearsome debater...restless, nervous, forthright,” while

Freud's biographer, the politically conservative Ernest Jones, would describe him as "a pretty difficult person."<sup>63</sup>

In 1899 however, Heller was an up-and-coming Party member, the chairman of the Book-worker's association in Vienna [*Obman der Buchhandlungsgehilfen*] and an associate at the "Viennese People's Bookstore" [*Wiener Volks-buch-handlung*] the major distributor and printer of Party literature, which he had helped found in 1893. Taking advantage of major technological advances and the expansion of the mass media, the Social-Democratic Party had developed a powerful machinery for cultural and political education, to the point where it considered itself in direct competition with the private sector as a sponsor of popular culture: the Socialism of the Future need not wait for revolution to take control of the means of production.<sup>64</sup> A few months after Postelberg's lecture Heller was convicted of slander along with his boss at the People's Bookstore for distributing postcards of the mayor of Vienna, the populist anti-Semite Karl Lueger, in women's clothing—hardly the spiritual uplift Postelberg had in mind but a fair example of the type of educating Heller favored—and perhaps indicative of his future interest in the perversions.<sup>65</sup>

By the time of Postelberg's lecture the Party leadership—and Victor Adler in particular, the leader and founder of SDAP—was deeply concerned that Bernstein's Revisionism would further divide the Socialist movement. Theoretical wrangling, according to the leaders themselves, "made the [Socialist] International look like a 'farce,' 'ridiculous' and a 'disaster.'"<sup>66</sup> The answer was tactical compromise, theoretical synthesis and democratic pluralism, which the discussions following Postelberg's lecture were meant to demonstrate. In the same spirit, a year earlier the Party leadership had encouraged the brilliant young

activist Rosa Luxemburg to respond to Bernstein. Her article *Sozialreform oder Revolution?* ["Reform or Revolution?"] was her first major theoretical statement; it would become one of her best-known, most influential works.<sup>67</sup> It is impossible to trace the responses to Postelberg's lecture or, for that matter, the parallel evolution of Socialism and psychoanalysis, without reading Luxemburg.

Luxemburg began by pointing out the disjunction in Bernstein's argument between the process of organizing and the ultimate goal. The consciousness that the Proletariat was called upon to achieve could not be an *Abbild*, an already posited regulative structure outside the individual, as Kant had argued. Rather, consciousness was the process of political agitation in and of itself:

"Only in the struggle for Democracy and the practice of its rights can the Proletariat attain a consciousness [*Bewußtsein*] of its class interests and its historic tasks."

„Nur [...] in dem Kampf um die Demokratie, in der Ausübung ihrer Rechte das Proletariat zum Bewußtsein seiner Klasseninteressen und seiner geschichtlichen Aufgaben kommen kann.“<sup>68</sup>

In this respect Freud's theoretical and philosophical approach was closer to the Marxism of a Luxemburg than to the weak-tea version of Kantian Idealism served up by Postelberg or, for that matter, the institutional rigidity of a Renner. Just as the process of psychoanalysis was a consciousness of self as process, so, too, for Luxemburg, political struggle was the means by which each individual member of the working class achieved the consciousness that defined the class as a whole: the personal was political. A quarter of a century later in Vienna Georg Lukács would ring changes on this tune.<sup>69</sup>

The influence of Luxemburg's approach would be felt long after that—and long before. On November 29, 1905, the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* devoted a whole issue to the massive orderly march of the proletariat through Vienna's *Ringstrasse* the previous day. The purpose was to press for Universal Manhood Suffrage, but the catalyst was the recent news that the Tsar had granted a Constitution following the 1905 Revolution.

“These masses of the organized proletariat are not led by a will other than their own, but by a will within them: one that is alive in each, that has been ignited by his personal knowledge, that has nourished itself and become great through the experience of his own personal life. The will of the proletarian is not suffocated and not bowed in the organization, but awakened, strengthened and united. In this way, however, a completely new will emerges. It is believed to be praise when it is called military discipline, but it is far different and far higher. It is not drill, but self-discipline, it is the will of thousands united in the collective will, the result not of coercion, but of an unparalleled gigantic educational work [*Erziehungswerk*].“

„Nicht von einem Willen außer ihnen werden diese Massen des organisierten Proletariats geleitet, sondern von einem Willen in ihnen: der in jedem einzelnen lebendig ist, der sich entzündet hat an seiner persönlichen Erkenntnis, der sich genährt hat und groß geworden ist durch die Erfahrung seines eigenen persönlichen Lebens. Nicht erstickt und nicht gebeugt wird der Wille des Proletarier in der Organisation, sondern auferweckt, gestärkt und vereinigt. So aber entsteht ein völlig Neues. Man glaubt ein Lob auszusprechen, wenn man es militärische Disziplin nennt, aber es ist weit anderes und weit höheres. Es ist nicht Drill, sondern Selbstzucht, es ist der zum Kollektivwillen vereinigte Wille

von Tausenden, das Ergebnis nicht des Zwanges, sondern eines gigantischen Erziehungswerkes ohnegleichen.“<sup>70</sup>

The belief that the working class of Germany and Austria was more disciplined and rational than the undisciplined and over-emotional proletariat of France was an underlying reflection of the divisions within the Socialist International.<sup>71</sup> Ever the compromiser, Victor Adler had carefully managed this “theatrical triumph,” and the article in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* was most likely his own.<sup>72</sup> This was not revolution as it was but as Adler wished it to appear: not a wild, irrational outburst but the assumption of consciousness. The distinction between the disciplined will imputed to the working-class and the blind obedience suggested by Tarde and others would be echoed in Freud’s argument, in *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego*, that the true model of blind obedience is not the revolutionary mob but the reactionary Army and the Church. In a deeper way, it is echoed in the shared belief among psychoanalysts and Marxists that the selfhood to be achieved is not a thing *out there* whose image [*Abbild*] is already present, but a self-in-becoming. It would be stated most clearly in Federn’s *Vaterlose Gesellschaft* of 1919.

It would be simplistic to credit Luxemburg with the idea that revolutionary activity is in and of itself constitutive of revolutionary consciousness — as simplistic as crediting Freud with the discovery of the unconscious. Rather we are faced with one of those shifts in History Foucault calls (after Bachelard)

“Epistemological acts and thresholds [...] : they suspend the indefinite accumulation of knowledge, break its slow maturation and bring it into a new time, cut it off from its empirical origin and initial motivations, purify it of its imaginary complicity; they thus prescribe to historical analysis no longer the search for silent

beginnings, no longer the endless ascent to the first precursors, but the identification of a new type of rationality and its multiple effects. Shifts and transformations of concepts: G. Canguilhem's analyses can serve as models...”

« *Actes et seuils épistémologiques* [...] : ils suspendent le cumul indéfini des connaissances, brisent leur lente maturation et les font entrer dans un temps nouveau, les coupent de leur origine empirique et de leurs motivations initiales, les purifient de leurs complicités imaginaires; ils prescrivent ainsi à l'analyse historique non plus la recherche des commencements silencieux, non plus la remontée sans terme vers les premiers précurseurs, mais le repérage d'un type nouveau de rationalité et de ses effets multiples. *Déplacements et transformations* des concepts : les analyses de G. Canguilhem peuvent servir de modèles...<sup>73</sup> »

Given Luxemburg's ambition to return to first principles when she undertook the writing of *Reform or Revolution?* it would have been surprising had she not turned to Marx's similar statement of first principles, the *Feuerbach Theses*, left in manuscript form in 1845 and first published at the same time Luxemburg herself was writing her own tract.<sup>74</sup> The first page of Luxemburg's article calls attention to the same contradiction Marx had highlighted in the first of his *Theses*: the unbridgeable gap, in Kantian epistemology, between consciousness and practice. Given the importance of Kant in Bernstein's thought, Karl Marx's own critique offered Luxemburg the opportunity to reorder the foundational principles of discourse, exactly as Freud would do a few months later in *The Interpretation of Dreams*.

Georges Canguilhem, Foucault's teacher, had written extensively on the tensions, at the turn of the twentieth century, between vitalist theories of human

agency and theories of social determination—the same tensions that formed a dynamic and conflicting core of thought for Luxemburg and Freud, and Victor Adler and, eventually, V. I. Lenin in his more philosophical mood. In this context, Foucault’s suggestion that, “revolutions are never more than a bringing forth to consciousness” [*Les revolutions n’y sont jamais que des prises de conscience*] takes its full force of meaning:<sup>75</sup> Marx, in his Theses of 1845, had offered a materialist conception that grounded human consciousness, not in the spatial, but the temporal dimension. This insight would come to full fruition in Luxemburg, and Freud, and that other Socialist, Albert Einstein. Those are, indeed, “transformations that register as foundations and a renewal of foundations” [*transformations qui valent comme fondation et renouvellement des fondations*].<sup>76</sup>

## VIII]

Luxemburg helped to crystallize a concept whose popularity rested on the fact that it offered a compromise in theory for intractable conflicts in practice: *Reform or Revolution?* sold 5,000 copies in a few months. In contrast, Freud’s *Interpretation of Dreams* sold a few hundred copies in the following years. Yet the “new type of rationality” that developed in the first decade of the twentieth century would ensure that Freud’s work would fulfill the same function as Luxemburg’s, a compromise formation that papered over fundamental conflicts. Freud’s writings could be used to legitimize concepts as irreconcilable as those of the Socialist Left and the progressive bourgeoisie, so long as one did not look too closely.

The looking was none-too-close in one of the earliest reviews of *Interpretation of Dreams*, by the “unhappy” poet J. J. David, in a Berlin newspaper:<sup>77</sup>

"It feels rather eerie to learn that during a great part of our lives, we are at the mercy of a dark power, which arbitrarily plays with us, which turns the purest into a sinner...

“Surely, it is an uncanny [*unheimliches*] feeling for anyone to have a large part of his life handed over to a dark force gratuitously driving us at play, making of the purest soul a sinner.”

„Es ist sicherlich ein unheimliches Gefühl für Jeden, einen großen Theil seines Lebens einer dunkeln Gewalt überliefert zu sein, der willkürlich mit uns ihr Spiel treibt, die den Reinstein zum Sünder machen.“<sup>78</sup>

Significantly, David followed this with a description of a dream in which the bourgeois sinner is sent to his death by Robespierre, Marat and a howling revolutionary mob. Paging Doctor Freud...

There is much in Freud’s title, and in the epigram to his work, that would have pointed the poet to a similarly politicized reading of the “dark force.” The English title itself, *Interpretation of Dreams*, is a mistranslation of the original, *Traumdeutung*, literally “Meaning of Dreams,” which aligned Freud’s volume with the culture of cheap dream-books [*Traumbüchel*] sold door-to-door by the traveling salesmen Heller represented.<sup>79</sup> In December of 1901 Heller himself was slandered by a right-wing satirical journal as a member of a secret Jewish cabal disseminating such books.<sup>80</sup> Perhaps by then even Lueger’s anti-Semites had got wind of Freud’s subversive writings. Add to this Freud’s epigraph to *Interpretation*, a quote from Ferdinand Lassalle, the founder of the first German

workmen's party and a stalwart defender of the Prussian State as well. *Flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo.* "If I cannot bend the powers above I will move Hell."<sup>81</sup> No literate person in 1899 would have missed the inference of the quote, which reflected Lassalle's own understanding of mass movements and their uses. The King of Prussia, suggested Lassalle, should unleash the "hellish" forces of the lower classes to support his political ambitions in Italy. This was the same point of divergence Schlesinger had raised against Bernsteinian Revisionism: whether political activity should be the province of the elites alone.

Behind this divergence lay another contested Revisionist argument, the assumption that all processes were irrational that did not meet the criteria of the State as the supreme arbiter of Reason. Since Reason was the domain of the bourgeoisie, unreason must default to the lower classes. Looking back long after the collapse of Red Vienna, Otto Bauer, Victor Adler's successor as Party leader, would write:

"[The Party's] only function is to lead the Working Class from instinctive to clearly conscious [...] behavior."

„[Die Partei] hat nur die Funktion, die Arbeiterklasse von instinktivem [...] zu klar bewusstem [...] Handeln [...] zu [...] führen.“<sup>82</sup>

The suggestion that the behavior of the working class was somehow more "instinctive" than that of its bourgeois leadership leaves Bauer closer, once again, to Bernstein than Freud. Bauer had once briefly consulted with Freud. He occasionally borrowed Freudian ideas for theoretical discussions. It has been said

that Bauer was none-too-keen to apply Freudian theory to himself, though ready enough to apply it to political causes.<sup>83</sup>

## IX]

On December 18, 1901 Modernism came to the German-speaking countries—or rather, Modernism as a political choice. That day, Kaiser Wilhelm inaugurated the statuary on the Siegesallee in Berlin with a policy statement that would polarize the German-speaking debate around cultural policy for years to come. Art, proclaimed the Kaiser, was an eternal, law, sufficient unto itself [*ein ewiges, sich gleich bleibendes Gesetz*], another facet of that eternal, Natural Law which, to the bourgeois thinker, Kantian or Hegelian, was identical with the laws of the State:

“If culture is to fulfil its task fully it must penetrate down to the lowest strata of the People. It can only do this when art offers its hand, when it raises it instead of descending into the gutter.”

„Soll die Kultur ihre Aufgabe voll erfüllen, dann muß sie bis in die untersten Schichten des Volkes hindurchgedrungen sein. Das kann sie nur, wenn die Kunst die Hand dazu bietet, wenn sie erhebt, statt daß sie in den Rinnstein niedersteigt.“<sup>84</sup>

Wilhelm effectively excluded all new forms of Art and Culture from State patronage. Not for the first or last time, the Kaiser’s uncompromising attitude summoned up the forces of Hell. In response to the Kaiser’s *Rinnsteinrede* [“gutter-proclamation”], artists as varied in style as the Impressionist Max Liebermann and the Social-realist Käthe Kollwitz were given the designation *Rinnsteinkünstler* (gutter-artist) as a badge of honor. In 1902 the journalist, cultural critic and

ex-hobo Hans Ostwald began to publish a series of *Lieder aus dem Rinnstein* [*Songs from the Gutter*] in order to “illuminate our culture from below” [*unsere Kultur von unten zu beleuchten*].<sup>85</sup> Ostwald’s anthologies ranged from twelfth-century Latin Goliards to German Renaissance folk-poetry, to Frank Wedekind the sordid naturalist playwright and the Expressionist Else Lasker-Schüler. This eclecticism, unified by little more than its opposition to state-sponsored and official culture, gives Austrian and German Modernism their peculiar complexity; in either case the triangle of state-sponsored culture, Socialist-sponsored culture and culture patronized by the private sector enhanced the formation of alliances and cleavages at once political and cultural.<sup>86</sup>

On October 14, 1905, Rosa Luxemburg wrote to her lover Leo Jogiches:

“Heller has already left the *Schwabische Tagwacht* [the regional daily of the German Socialist Party, published in Stuttgart]. He was pushed out by Klara [Clara Zetkin]’s intrigues among others, and since he couldn’t find a position in the Party he went to Vienna and simply founded an *art- and book-store*! ‘Man overboard!’”

„Heller ist schon aus der »Schwäbischen Tagwacht« ausgetreten (ihn haben unter anderem Klaras Intrigen hinausgebissen), und da er in der Partei keine Stelle fand, so fuhr er nach Wien und gründete einfach *eine Kunst- und Buchhandlung*! »Ein Mann über Bord!«<sup>87</sup>

Zetkin was strenuously opposed to Party compromises with the new artistic and literary trends. Those were the artists Heller would support in his new Vienna bookstore, starting with his wife, the artist Hermine Ostersetzer. Though Heller never again participated directly in Party affairs he maintained his friendship with Kautsky and Adler.<sup>88</sup> In 1910 he became the Vienna distributor for

Herwarth Walden's journal *Der Sturm*, the model for the attempted alliance of Expressionism and left-wing politics. While listing its editorial office in Berlin the journal also claimed Vienna as its place of publication and included Karl Kraus and Adolf Loos among its contributors—the editor had previously managed the Berlin office for Kraus's journal *Die Fackel*. In 1910 Heller hosted the first exhibition of Arnold Schoenberg's paintings after they had been turned down by an established gallery for lacking finish. This ostensible lack gave the highly sophisticated musician entry into Kandinsky's *Blue Rider* Group in Munich, another clique with an interest in the rough-hewn, the unfinished, the Völkisch, the spontaneous. In 1909 Heller first lectured before the Psychoanalytic Society on the History of the Devil—yet another return to the Völkisch and a tribute to the coalition-building eclecticism of Expressionism and Rinnsteinkultur. Willy-nilly—mostly nilly—Freudian psychoanalysis was drawn into an alliance of convenience with bohemian and literary milieux.<sup>89</sup> This alliance was quite distinct from the interest in Freudian theory displayed by Schlesinger and by various early members of the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society who were also active as Socialists: Federn, Alfred Adler, David Josef Bach, Josef Friedjung, Margarete Hilferding, etc. Heller once informed Freud that he dared not display copies of *Imago* in his bookstore "for fear of offending customers."<sup>90</sup> Considering that offending customers of a certain kind was the purported calling of Expressionists and assorted Rinnsteinkünstler, one can only admire Heller's evaluation of Freud's ratio of revolutionary offensiveness.

Perhaps Freud's offensiveness was of a different nature, however. On December 2, 1909 he complained to Jung:

“In this year's Christmas catalogue [from Heller], my writings, especially those on ‘Applied Psychology’ [*Seelenkunde*], are discussed in detail and presented favorably, but in such a pompously meaningless way that my little Sophie said: ‘It's good you know what you're doing, otherwise you wouldn't understand.’”

„Im diesjährigen Weihnachtskatalog, sind meine Schriften, speziell die zur »angewandte Seelenkunde« ausführlich besprochen und wohlwollend empfohlen, allerdings in so schwülstig-unkenntlicher Weise, daß meine kleine Sophie äußern konnte: es ist gut, das Du weißt, was Du willst, denn daraus könntest Du nicht erfahren.“<sup>91</sup>

How far the culturati were from Freud's theories — and how confused their pronouncements — can be gleaned from the programmatic statement in the first issue of *Der Sturm*. The author, Rudolf Kurtz, would become a fixture of Expressionist cinema. Like J. J. David ten years earlier, Kurtz summoned forth the “dark forces” of instinct. Like David — or for that matter any number of revolutionaries, *poètes maudits* or reactionary bourgeois of an earlier decade—Kurtz defined the hellish forces he imagined to be rising up against the gods of Empiricism:

“The sign of our era is well-tempered Liberalism... Intellectualism can only be muted by the loud roar of the instincts, the dark powers...”

„Das Signal unserer Zeit ist der wohltemperierte Liberalismus.... Der Intellektualismus kann nur gedämpft werden von der lärmvollen Betonung der Instinkte, der dunklen Kräfte...“<sup>92</sup>

As members of the *Leseverein* in the 1870s Freud, Victor Adler and others had linked the struggle against Empiricism with the struggle against the corrupt

values of liberalism in politics. In the 1890s Tarde, Le Bon and others had yoked the rise of irrationalism to rebellion against the State. Kurtz brought the two together to argue that the “revolutionary” struggle was a struggle in favor and by means of the release of the sensual and instinctive. The message of Expressionism was, that the unconscious itself was innately revolutionary—in a good sense. The political was personal. Freud’s own, unwitting contribution to this pile-up of syllogisms and associations was the proposition that sensuality—or rather, sexuality—was itself liberatory, a concept Foucault found ridiculous:

“May I be forgiven by those for whom bourgeoisie means the exclusion of the body and the repression of sexuality, those for whom the class struggle implies a struggle to remove this repression.”

« Que me pardonnent ceux pour qui bourgeoisie signifie éulsion du corps et refoulement de la sexualité, ceux pour qui lutte de classe implique combat pour lever ce refoulement. ».<sup>93</sup>

Like those German peasants who thought Nazism had something to do with sexual abstinence, a whole generation was to grow up for whom revolution had something to do with personal freedom, sexual or otherwise. Foucault rightly calls this assumption

“A considerable tactical shift: reinterpreting the whole system of sexuality in terms of generalized repression; linking this repression to generalized mechanisms of domination and exploitation; linking to each other the processes that make it possible to free oneself from each other. Thus, between the two world wars and around [Wilhelm] Reich, the historical-political critique of sexual repression was formed.”

« Un déplacement tactique considérable : réinterpréter tout le dispositif de sexualité en termes de répression généralisée ; rattacher cette répression à des mécanismes généraux de domination et d'exploitation; lier les uns aux autres les processus qui permettent de s'affranchir des uns et des autres. Ainsi s'est formée entre les deux guerres mondiales et autour de Reich la critique historico-politique de la répression sexuelle. »<sup>94</sup>

Foucault assumes, incorrectly, that this assumption emerged in the inter-war years with Wilhelm Reich. In fact, it emerges earlier, along with the development of Freudian and Socialist theories at the turn of the century, and yet it is distinct from both. Its most influential proponent is the spiritual anarchist Gustav Landauer, who from the eighteen-nineties on attempted to offer an alternative Socialism in sympathy with Bernstein at the margins of the Party. In 1904, however, after his exclusion from the Party, Landauer gave a new twist to Luxemburg and Marx's argument that revolution is process. Landauer's "revolution," had little to do with the social and political dynamics described by Luxemburg or with the psychological processes of psychoanalysis. Rather, it was the process of "Spirit" discovering itself in action. According to Landauer this process must precede all others:

"The social revolution [...] is a peaceful structuring, an organizing of the new Spirit and nothing else."

"Just as Walking precedes the legs; just as the act of walking builds and forms the legs, so, too, it is not the Spirit that will send us along the Way, but the Way that allows the Spirit to rise within us."

"For we have seen that the revolution never achieves its goal; that it is rather an end in itself for the sake of the renewal of forces, for the sake of the Spirit."

„Die soziale Revolution [ist] ein friedlicher Aufbau, ein Organisieren aus neuem Geist und nichts weiter.“

„Und wie eine Art Gehen schon da ist, ehe die Beine werden, und wie dieses Gehen die Beine erst baut und bildet, so wird es nicht der Geist sein, der uns auf den Weg schickt, sondern unser Weg ist es, der ihn in uns zum Erstehen bringt.“

„Denn wir haben gesehen, daß die Revolution ihr Ziel niemals erreicht; daß sie vielmehr um der Auffrischung der Kräfte, um des Geistes willen, Selbstzweck ist.“<sup>95</sup>

Landauer's "Spirit-that-Discovers-Itself" had little in common with the unconscious as Freud understood it. Rather it was identical to the "World-Spirit" that Freud would unceremoniously dismiss in the first pages of *Civilisation and its Discontents*. Yet Landauer's prioritizing of the inner revolution even to the exclusion of the outer has become a touchstone of so-called "Freudian Marxism," despite the fact that the theory is neither Marxist nor Freudian but libertarian Anarchist. Wilhelm Reich's library held several volumes of Landauer, including "*Die Revolution*," from which the quotes above are taken.<sup>96</sup> The conflict of Left-wing Libertarianism and Organizational Marxism of the 1960s can be traced back to the first decades of the twentieth century.

That which unites, if not the "Freudian Marxists" themselves, at least those who use the term as a designation, is the belief that moral, cultural and psychological self-improvement can substitute for political change. Here is a pre-eminent authority on psychoanalysis describing—erroneously, I would argue—the mind of Josef Friedjung, a member of the Vienna Psychoanalytic who sat as a Socialist on Vienna's Community Council (*Gemeinderat*) from 1924 to 1934:

“He believed the revolutionary Idea must pass through the subject in his own private life before it could realize itself socially.”

« Il pensait que l'idée de révolution devait traverser le sujet lui-même dans sa vie privée avant de se réaliser socialement. »<sup>97</sup>

This is the sense in which “Freudian Marxism” is generally meant today: not so much the use of Freudian theory to effectuate social liberation (as per Federn) as the use of “Marxist” theorizing to justify personal liberation. For Freud as for Federn social liberation and individual freedom are interdependent. For the “Freudian Marxist,” or at least for those who fantasize her existence, social liberation is merely the result of the accumulation of the process of individual liberation.

The conflict between those who claimed the primacy of the spiritual-aesthetic and those who put the social-political first would come to a head in the winter of 1918-1919, in those tumultuous days that saw the rise and fall of the worker’s councils in Germany and Austria and elsewhere. On November 20, 1918 the radical expressionist Georg Tappert wrote to Franz Pfemfert, the editor of the radical art journal *Die Aktion*:

“They don’t want anything to do with you or us... They also don’t want to understand... What we are doing is foreign to them... The proletarian youth of 1900 would have been a much more suitable subject... Today’s young proletarian doesn’t do this anymore. Class consciousness, political enlightenment hinders him in this...”

„...die Leute wollen von Ihnen, von uns nichts wissen... Was wir treiben ist ihnen fremd. Sie haben auch nicht den Wunsch es zu verstehen... Die proletarische

Jugend von 1900 wäre ein viel geeigneteres Objekt... Der heutige, junge Proletarier tut dies nicht mehr. Das Klassenbewußtsein, die politische Aufklärung hindert ihn daran...“<sup>98</sup>

Political self-awareness was not merely distinct from personal Enlightenment, it was inimical to it. The proper term for this theory is not “Freudian Marxism” but “Freudian Libertarianism.”

In his critique of Feuerbach, Engels had rejected the Kantian ideal of a single, normative and unalienated consciousness: “Every class, even every profession, has its own morality.”<sup>99</sup> The insistence on a universal morality on the part of the “revolutionary” intelligentsia would have devastating consequences during the short-lived Bavarian Republic. On January 21, 1919 the first issue of *Der Weg* appeared in Munich, a journal influenced by the ideas of Landauer and launched by a group with the resounding name of *Aktionsausschuss revolutionärer Künstler* [“Action Committee of the Revolutionary Artists”]. In its short life *Der Weg* was focused on debating the proposition that political consciousness was the enemy of personal Enlightenment. Endless Expressionist etchings were published, of dead revolutionaries rising to the stars above the fray. The only lessons to be learned from revolutionary activity were despair and self-destruction. A few months later the Bavarian People’s Republic was savagely put down and Landauer himself beaten to death by reactionary soldiers.<sup>100</sup> This at the same time that Paul Federn, in Vienna, was writing his own justification for revolutionary activity, *Die Vaterlose Gesellschaft*. The difference between Landauer’s theory and Federn’s is the difference between Freudian Libertarianism and Marxist Freudianism: psychoanalysis, in Federn’s reading, is not a substitute for revolution: it’s the real thing.

## [First part of two.]

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<sup>1</sup> „Es wäre eine ungeheure Befreiung, wenn die jetzige Revolution, die eine Wiederholung uralter Revolten gegen den Vater ist, Erfolg hätte.“ Paul Federn, *Zur Psychologie der Revolution: Die vaterlose Gesellschaft. Nach Vorträgen in der Wiener Psychoanalytischen Vereinigung und im Monistenbund*. Erweiterter Abdruck aus „Der Österreichische Volkswirt“ (Leipzig, Wien: Anzengruber Verlag, 1919), p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> „Es ist sicherlich wünschenswert [...] daß die Arbeiterschaft sich mit den Grundgedanken der Heilmethode und der Psychologie Freuds bekannt mache.“ Therese Schlesinger, „Ein Volksbuch über die Freudsche Lehre“, *Der Kampf* 1927 (XX), p. 194.

<sup>3</sup> „Auf das Werden Hugo Hellers selbst aber hatte außer Victor Adler vielleicht kein anderer einen so starken Einfluß ausgeübt, wie die große Persönlichkeit Freuds“. Victor Heller, „Erinnerungen an Hugo Heller, den Gründer der Bukum A. G.“ in: *Fünfundzwanzig Jahre Bukum. Literarischer Festalmanach auf das Jahr 1930* (Wien: Bukum, 1929), p. 14; quoted in Sabine Fuchs, *Hugo Heller (1870 – 1923) Buchhändler und Verleger in Wien*. Diplomarbeit, Fakultät der Universität Wien (2004), p.67.

<sup>4</sup> Georg Lukács, „Vorwort“ [1962], *Die Theorie des Romans. Ein geschichtsphilosophischer Versuch über die Formen der großen Epik* (Darmstadt : Luchterhand, 1984), p. 7.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Immanuel Kant, *Kritik der Reinen Vernunft* [1781/1787], Introduction, IV.

<sup>6</sup> „Orgien der Synthese“. "Afterwissenschaft," *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (Thursday, January 15, 1903), p. 2.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Martin Jay, *The Dialectical Imagination. A History of the Frankfurt School and the Institute of Social Research, 1923-1950* (Boston and Toronto: Little, Brown and Company, 1973), p. 86.

<sup>8</sup> « Un regroupement rétrospectif par lequel les science contemporaines se font illusion sur leur propre passé. » Michel Foucault. *L'Archéologie du savoir* (Paris: Gallimard, 1969), p. 45.

<sup>9</sup> Henri F. Ellenberger, „Introduction,“ *The Discovery of the Unconscious. The History and Evolution of Dynamic Psychiatry* (New York: Basic Books, 1970), p. vi.

<sup>10</sup> „Freudo-Marxisme“ in Elisabeth Roudinesco et Michel Plon, *Dictionnaire de la Psychanalyse*. Nouvelle édition augmentée (Paris: Fayard, 1997), pp. 379-80.

<sup>11</sup> Ilse Reiter, *Gustav Harpner (1864-1924): vom Anarchistenverteidiger zum Anwalt der Republik* (Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2008), p. 59.

<sup>12</sup> Emil Postelberg, „Massendelikte,“ *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (Tuesday November 7, 1899), p. 8.

<sup>13</sup> Sabine Fuchs, *Hugo Heller (1870 – 1923) Buchhändler und Verleger in Wien*. Diplomarbeit, Fakultät der Universität Wien, 2004. Elke Mühlleitner, *Biographisches Lexicon der Psychanalyse. Die Mitglieder der Psychologischen Vereinigung 1902-1938* (Tübingen Diskord, 1992), pp. 141-42; Michael Worbs, *Nervenkunst. Literatur und Psychoanalyse im Wien der Jahrhundertwende* (Frankfurt-am-Main: Athenäum, 1983), pp. 142-148; „Hugo Heller Gestorben, *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (November 30, 1923), p. 6.

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<sup>14</sup> Gabriella Hauch, “‘Against the Mock Battle of Words’ — Therese Schlesinger, neé Eckstein (1863-1940), a Radical Seeker” in *Austrian Lives*, ed. Günter Bischof, Fritz Plasser, Eva Maltchnig (New Orleans: University of New Orleans Press, 2012), pp. 71-91.

<sup>15</sup> Edoardo Weiss, “Paul Federn. The Theory of the Psychosis” in *Psychoanalytic Pioneers*, ed. Franz Alexander, Samuel Eisenstein and Martin Grotjahn (New York: Basic Books, 1966), p. 145.

<sup>16</sup> Wilhelm Reich, *Reich speaks of Freud*, ed. Mary Higgins and Chester M. Raphael (New York: Farrar Straus and Giroux), p. 43.

<sup>17</sup> „Sexualmoral und Proletariat. Bericht vom Weltkongreß für Sexualreform,“ *Die Rote Fahne* (Freitag, 27 November 1931), p. 7; Elizabeth Ann Danto, *Freud’s Free Clinics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), p. 227.

<sup>18</sup> Sigmund Freud, *The Complete Letters of Sigmund Freud to Wilhelm Fliess 1887-1904*. Translated and edited by Jeffrey Moussaieff Mason (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985), p. 117.

<sup>19</sup> Interview with Ernst Federn, 10 July 1982, *Sammlung erzählte Geschichte, Dokumentationsarchiv des Österreichischen Widerstandes*, Vienna; quoted in Gabriella Hauch. “‘Against the Mock Battle of Words’—Therese Schlesinger, neé Eckstein (1863-1940), a Radical Seeker. Günter Bischof, Fritz Plasser, Eva Maltchnig, ed (New Orleans: University of New Orleans Press, 2012) p. 8.

<sup>20</sup> Ernst Federn. Interview [USC Shoah Foundation Interview 40799], March 22, 1998. Transkript Freie Universität Berlin, 2012. <http://transcripts.vha.fu-berlin.de/interviews/776>. Accessed April, 2019.

<sup>21</sup> Rebekka Habermas. *Thieves in Court: the making of the German legal system in the nineteenth century* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016), note 21, p. 72; *Diebe vor Gericht: Die Entstehung der modernen Rechtsordnung im 19. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag 2008), note 21, p. 270; cf. to entry „Bagatellsache“, *Meyers Großes Konversationslexikon. Ein Nachschlagewerk des allgemeinen Wissens*. Sechste, gänzlich neubearbeitete und vermehrte Auflage (Leipzig und Wien 1905-1909), Bd. 2, pp. 262-264; my thanks to Dr. Christian Huber for his advice.

<sup>22</sup> Alexander von Oettingen. *Die Moralstatistik. Inductiver Nachweis der Gesetzmäßigkeit sittlicher Lebensbewegung im Organismus der Menschheit, vol. I: Die Moralstatistik und die christliche Sittenlehre. Versuch einer Socioethik auf empirischer Grundlage*, Vol. I. Erlangen: Deichert. 1868; Cathy O’Neil, *Weapons of Math Destruction: How Big Data Increases Inequality and Threatens Democracy*. New York: Crown, 2016.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. William J. McGrath. *Dionysian Art and Populist Politics in Austria*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974.

<sup>24</sup> Zygmunt Bauman, *Liquid Modernity* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000), p. 61.

<sup>25</sup> Immanuel Kant, „Einteilung aller möglichen Prinzipien der Sittlichkeit aus dem angenommenen Grundbegriffe der Heteronomie“, *Grundlegung zur Metaphysik der Sitten*; “Classification of all Principles of Morality which can be founded on the Conception of Heteronomy,“ *Fundamental Principles of the Metaphysic of Ethics* [1785], 76.

<sup>26</sup> Henri F. Ellenberger, *The Discovery of the Unconscious. The History and Evolution of Dynamic Psychiatry*. New York: Basic Books, 1970, p. 528; see also Gabriel Tarde, “Les foules et sectes criminelles,” *Revue des deux mondes* (November 15 1893), pp. 349-387;

<sup>27</sup> Gabriel Tarde, « Les Crimes des foules. Extrait du Troisième Congrès International d'Anthropologie criminelle », *Actes du Troisième Congrès International d'Anthropologie criminelle — Biologie et Sociologie*, Bruxelles, août 1892 (Bruxelles : F. Hayez, 1893), p. 68.

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<sup>28</sup> Immanuel Kant, „Einteilung aller möglichen Prinzipien der Sittlichkeit aus dem angenommenen Grundbegriffe der Heteronomie“, 79.

<sup>29</sup> Jan Ellen Goldstein. *The Post-revolutionary Self. Politics and Psyche in France, 1750-1850*. Cambridge, MA. Harvard University Press, 2005.

<sup>30</sup> Jason Frank. “Sympathy and Separation: Benjamin Rush and the Contagious Public.” *Modern Intellectual History* Vol 6, no. 1 (2009): 27-57.

<sup>31</sup> Robert Musil, *Gesammelte Werke* (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1978), Vol. I, p. 75.

<sup>32</sup> Auguste Le Bon, *Psychologie des foules* (Paris: Alcan, 1895), p. 12.

<sup>33</sup> Sources given in Edith Sheffer, *Asperger's Children. The Origins of Autism in Nazi Vienna* (New York: Norton, 2018), p. 19.

<sup>34</sup> Elizabeth Ann Danto, “Trauma and the State with Sigmund Freud as Witness,” *International Journal of Law and Psychiatry* 48 (2016): 50.

<sup>35</sup> Postelberg, *op. cit.*

<sup>36</sup> „Noch weiter aber [...] muß empirische Seelenlehre jederzeit von dem Range einer eigentlich so zu nennenden Naturwissenschaft entfernt bleiben.“ Immanuel Kant, *Metaphysische Anfangsgründe der Naturwissenschaft* [Metaphysical Foundations of Natural Sciences, 1786], 4:471.

<sup>37</sup> „Die Sexualität in der Aetiologie der Neurosen“ [“Sexuality in the Etiology of Neuroses”], *Wiener Klinische Rundschau* no. 4 (January 23, 1898): 55-57.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Friedrich Engels. *Ludwig Feuerbach und der Ausgang der Klassischen Deutschen Philosophie* [Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy] (Stuttgart: J. H. W. Dietz, 1888.

<sup>39</sup> William J. McGrath, *Dionysian Art and Populist Politics in Austria* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), 39 sqq.

<sup>40</sup> Sigmund Freud, *Jugendbriefe an Eduard Silberstein 1871-1881*, ed. Walter B. Boehlich (Frankfurt: Fischer Verlag, 1989), p. 111.

<sup>41</sup> Hermann Helmholtz. *Über das Sehen des Menschen. Ein populär wissenschaftlicher Vortrag gehalten zu Königsberg in Preussen. Zum Besten von Kant's Denkmal Am 27. Februar, 1855*. Leipzig: Voß, 1855; Ernest Jones, *The Life and Work of Sigmund Freud*. Volume I. *The Formative Years and the Great Discoveries* (New York: Basic Books, 1981 [1953]), p. 41; most of Jones' discussion is based on material furnished by Siegfried Bernfeld, one of the outstanding Marxian-Freudians; cf. Siegfried Bernfeld, “Freud's earliest theories and the school of Helmholtz.” *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, XIII, 1944, pp. 341-362.

<sup>42</sup> "Neo-Kantianism." *Cambridge Dictionary of Philosophy*, ed. Robert Audi (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. 603.

<sup>43</sup> Paul Ricoeur. *Freud and Philosophy: An Essay on Interpretation*. Savage, D. (trans.) New Haven: Yale University Press, p. 33.

<sup>44</sup> "Neo-Kantianism," *ibid.*

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- <sup>45</sup> Marie Briehl, *Interview* by Lucille Ritvo (1984-85), electronic transcript and sound tape. Oral History Collection of the Boston Psychoanalytic Society and Institute Archive, Boston, MA; Elizabeth Danto, *Freud's Free Clinics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), pp. 2, 9.
- <sup>46</sup> James H. Billington, *Fire in the Minds of Men. The Origins of the Revolutionary Faith* (New York: Basic Books, 1980), p. 67
- <sup>47</sup> William J. McGrath, *Dionysian Art and Populist Politics in Austria* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), p. 43 sqq.
- <sup>48</sup> Friedrich Engels. *Ludwig Feuerbach und der Ausgang der Klassischen Deutschen Philosophie. [Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy]*, Marx-Engels Werke, Vol. 21 (Berlin: Dietz, 1962), p. 289. First published in *Die Neue Zeit* in 1886.
- <sup>49</sup> Michel Foucault. *Histoire de la Sexualité. I. La volonté de savoir* (Paris: Gallimard, 1976), p. 157.
- <sup>50</sup> "Afterwissenschaft," *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (Thursday, January 15, 1903), p. 1.
- <sup>51</sup> Paul Werner, "Young Dorothy Burlingham," *Freud / Tiffany. Anna Freud, Dorothy Tiffany Burlingham and "The Best Possible School,"* ed. Elizabeth Ann Danto and Alexandra Steiner-Strauss (London: Routledge, 2018), p. 161.
- <sup>52</sup> Wilhelm Wundt. *Völkerpsychologie. Eine Untersuchung der Entwicklungsgesetze von Sprache, Mythos und Sitte* [Cultural Psychology. An investigation into developmental laws of language, myth, and conduct], Leipzig: Engelmann, 1900 to 1920.
- <sup>53</sup> T. S. Eliot, Review of Wundt, *Elements of Folk Psychology. International Journal of Ethics* 27 (1917), pp. 252-54; cited in Egbert Klautke, *The Mind of the Nation: Völkerpsychologie in Germany, 1851-1955* (New York: Bergbahn Books, 2013), p. 80.
- <sup>54</sup> Peter Kropotkin. *Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution*. London: William Heinemann, 1902.
- <sup>55</sup> Malachi Haim Hacoheh, *Karl Popper. The Formative Years 1902-1945. Politics and Philosophy in Interwar Vienna* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 143 sqq.
- <sup>56</sup> Sigmund Freud, *Totem und Tabu. Einige Übereinstimmungen im Seelenleben der Wilden und der Neurotiker* (Leipzig und Wien: Hugo Heller, 1913), Preface, n. p.
- <sup>57</sup> George Lichtheim, *Lukács* (London: Wm. Collins & Sons, 1970), p. 85.
- <sup>58</sup> See comments by J.-M. Vincent and Karl Korsch in Evgeny B. Pašukanis, *La Théorie générale du droit et le Marxisme*, Présentation de Jean-Marie Vincent ; "En guise d'introduction" par Karl Korsch (Paris : Études et documentation internationales, 1970), pp. 7, 9, 13 sqq.
- <sup>59</sup> Therese Schlesinger-Eckstein. "Bürgerliche und proletarische Frauenbewegung," *Sozialistische Monatshefte* 2-4 (1898), pp. 459-466.
- <sup>60</sup> Therese Schlesinger-Eckstein, "Bürgerliche und proletarische Frauenbewegung," *Sozialistische Monatshefte* 2-4 (1898), p. 463.
- <sup>61</sup> V. I. Lenin, "The Nascent Trend of Imperialist Economism [Written in August-September 1916], *Bolshevik* no. 15, 1929, in Lenin, *Collected Works Volume 23* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1964), pp. 13-21. Source: Marxist Internet Archive, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1916/sep/00.htm>. Accessed April, 2019.

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- <sup>62</sup> Therese Schlesinger-Eckstein, "Bürgerliche und proletarische Frauenbewegung," p. 465.
- <sup>63</sup> » ...gefürchteter Debatter... rastlöse, nervöse, fränkliche. « „Hugo Heller gestorben“ , *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (November 30, 1923), p. 6; Ernest Jones, *The Life and Work of Sigmund Freud*. Volume I. *The Formative Years and the Great Discoveries* (New York: Basic Books, 1981 [1953]), p. 196.
- <sup>64</sup> Giancarlo Buonfino, *La politica culturale operaia: Da Marx e Lasalle alla rivoluzione di Novembre, 1859-191*. (Milan : Feltrinelli, 1975), pp. 113 sqq.
- <sup>65</sup> „Gerichtshalle. Sozialdemokratische Kampfweise,“ *Das Vaterland* (30 April 1900), p. 3; „In Namen Seiner Majestät des Kaisers!“ *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (October 25, 1900), p. 10.
- <sup>66</sup> Kevin J. Callahan, *Demonstration Culture: European Socialism and the Second International, 1889-1914* (Leicester: Troubador Publishing, 2010), p. 11.
- <sup>67</sup> Annelies Laschitzka, *Im Lebensrausch, trotz alledem. Rosa Luxemburg. Eine Biographie* (Berlin: Aufbau, 1996), pp. 120-135.
- <sup>68</sup> „Sozialreform oder Revolution?“; first published *Leipziger Volkszeitung* nr. 219–225 (September 1898), pp. 21–28 and nr. 76–80 (April 1899), pp. 4–8; . Rosa Luxemburg, *Gesammelte Werke*, ed. Annelies Laschitzka Vol. 1/1 (Berlin: 1970), p. 428.
- <sup>69</sup> Georg Lukács. *Geschichte und Klassenbewußtsein: Studien über marxistische Dialektik*. [History and Class Consciousness: Studies in Marxist Dialectics]
- <sup>70</sup> „Der Demonstrationstag,“ *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (29 November 1905), p. 1.
- <sup>71</sup> Calahan, *Demonstration Culture*, p. 29.
- <sup>72</sup> John W. Boyer, *Culture and Political Crisis in Vienna. Christian Socialism in Power 1897-1918* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), p. 75.
- <sup>73</sup> Michel Foucault, *L'Archéologie du savoir* (Paris: Gallimard, 1969), "Introduction," p. 11.
- <sup>74</sup> „Karl Marx über Feuerbach vom Jahre 1845“ in Friedrich Engels, *Ludwig Feuerbach und der Ausgang der Klassischen Deutschen Philosophie*. Stuttgart: J. H. W. Dietz, 1888; reprinted in Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, *Werke*, Vol. 3 (Berlin: Dietz, 1978), pp. 533-35.
- <sup>75</sup> Michel Foucault, *L'Archéologie du savoir* (Paris: Gallimard, 1969), p. 22.
- <sup>76</sup> Foucault, *Archéologie*, p. 12.
- <sup>77</sup> Sigmund Freud, *The Complete Letters of Sigmund Freud to Wilhelm Fliess 1887-1904*, translated and edited by Jeffrey Moussaieff Mason (Cambridge, MA. Harvard University Press, 1985), p. 366.
- <sup>78</sup> Jacob Julius David, „Die Traumdeutung“, *Die Nation* no. 17, 27 January 1900, p. 238; reprinted in Gerd Kimmerle ed., *Freuds Traumdeutung. Frühe Rezensionen 1899 – 1903* (Tübingen : Diskord, 1986), p. 20.
- <sup>79</sup> "Morgenröthe." *Novitäten-Anzeiger für den Colportage-Buchhandel* (X Jahrgang, 1 Dezember 1898, n. 209), pp.1-3.
- <sup>80</sup> "Erschöpfende Auskunft." *Kikeriki* (December 5, 1901), p. 2.

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- <sup>81</sup> See Carl E. Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna. Politics and Culture* (New York: Knopf, 1980), pp. 200-201, for a curiously misdirected discussion.
- <sup>82</sup> Otto Bauer, *Die illegale Partei. Aus dem uneröffentlichten Nachlass* (Paris: La Lutte Socialiste, 1939), p. 24.
- <sup>83</sup> Mark E. Blum and William Smaldone, "Otto Bauer. Introduction," *Austro-Marxism: The Ideology of Unity Austro-Marxist Theory and Strategy*, Volume I (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2016), pp. 44-45.
- <sup>84</sup> "Die Wahre Kunst," December 18, 1901, *Reden des Kaisers. Ansprachen, Predigten und Trinksprüche Wilhelms II.*, 2nd edition, ed. Ernst Johann (München: Deutschen Taschenbuch, 1977), pp. 102-103.
- <sup>85</sup> Quoted in Walter Killy, ed, *Literatur Lexikon. Autoren und Werke deutscher Sprache* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2010), Vol. 9, p. 14.
- <sup>86</sup> Cf. Robert Jensen, "A Matter of Professionalism. Marketing Identity in *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna*" in Steven Beller, ed., *Rethinking Vienna 1900* (New York: Bergham Books, 2001), pp. 195-2001.
- <sup>87</sup> Rosa Luxemburg, *Gesammelte Briefe*, Vol. 2, *1903 bis 1908*. Second ed. (Berlin: Dietz, 1984), p. 200.
- <sup>88</sup> Yvon Bourdet, Felix Kreissler, Georges Haupt, Herbert Steiner ed., *Dictionnaire biographique du mouvement ouvrier international*. I. *L'Autriche* (Paris: Éditions Ouvrières, 1971), p. 132.
- <sup>89</sup> Michael Worbs, *Nervenkunst. Literatur und Psychoanalyse im Wien der Jahrhundertwende* (Frankfurt-am-Main: Athenäum, 1983), pp. 142-43.
- <sup>90</sup> Ernest Jones, *The Life and Work of Sigmund Freud*. Volume I. *The Formative Years and the Great Discoveries* (New York: Basic Books, 1981 [1953]), p. 92.
- <sup>91</sup> Sigmund Freud und C. G. Jung, *Briefwechsel* (Frankfurt-am-Main: Fischer, 1984), p. 299.
- <sup>92</sup> Rudolf Kurtz, „Programmatisches“, *Der Sturm. Wochenschrift für Kultur und die Künste*, Erster Jahrgang no. 1 (March 3, 1910), pp. 2.
- <sup>93</sup> Michel Foucault, *Histoire de la Sexualité*. I. *La volonté de savoir* (Paris: Gallimard, 1976), p. 166.
- <sup>94</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 173.
- <sup>95</sup> Gustav Landauer, *Die Revolution* (Frankfurt: Rütten und Loening, 1907), pp. 115, 116, 118; see also editorial comments in Gustav Landauer, *Revolution and other Writings. A Political Reader*, edited and translated by Gabriel Kuhn. Preface by Richard J.F. Day (Oakland: PM Press, 2011), pp. 13, 25 sqq.
- <sup>96</sup> Including *Der werdende Mensch. Aufsätze über Leben und Schrifftum* and *Die Revolution*. Personal observation, Wilhelm Reich Infant Trust, Rangeley, Maine, 2006.
- <sup>97</sup> Elisabeth Roudinesco et Michel Plon, *Dictionnaire de la Psychanalyse*. Nouvelle édition augmentée (Paris: Fayard, 1997), p. 381.
- <sup>98</sup> Georg Tappert to Franz Pfemfert, 20 November 1918, in Gerhard Wietek, *Georg Tappert* (Munich, 1980), 48-49; reprinted in Joan Weinstein, *The End of Expressionism: Art and the November Revolution in Germany, 1918-19* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), pp. 29, 252-53; translation slightly modified.

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<sup>99</sup> Friedrich Engels, *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy*, Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, Werke, Vol. 21 (Berlin: Dietz, 1978), p. 289.

<sup>100</sup> Joan Weinstein, *The End of Expressionism*, pp. 168 sqq.