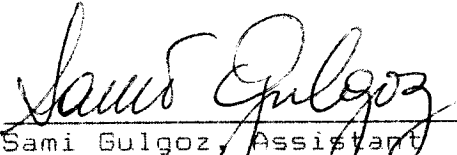
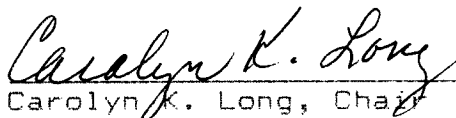


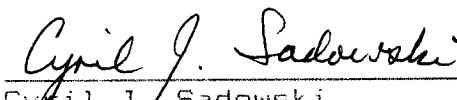
DEVELOPMENTS IN GERMAN PSYCHOLOGY
UNDER THE RULE OF THE SWASTIKA

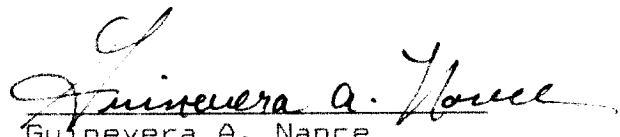
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DEVELOPMENTS IN GERMAN PSYCHOLOGY
UNDER THE RULE OF THE SWASTIKA

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A Thesis
Submitted to
the Graduate Faculty of
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in Partial Fulfillment of the
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December 11, 1990

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Renate M. Rommel

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DEVELOPMENTS IN GERMAN PSYCHOLOGY
UNDER THE RULE OF THE SWASTIKA

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VITA

Renate M. Rommel, daughter of Wilhelm and Maria (Kollmann) Rommel, was born October 21, 1949, in Fulda, Germany. She attended public school until the eighth grade. Beginning with the ninth grade, she attended and graduated from the all-girl Catholic Marienschule in Fulda in 1966. After studying secretarial courses at the Berufsschule in Fulda from 1966 to 1967, she was employed as secretary until her departure from Germany to America in March, 1970. Upon completion of the fall semester at Jefferson County Junior College, she married in January 1971 and left college to accompany her husband on his tours of duty with the United States military. They have two daughters, Yvonne and Bianca. Upon her husband's acceptance of a job located in Montgomery, Alabama, they settled there in 1978. In September of 1986, she entered Auburn University at Montgomery and received the Bachelor of Science degree (Psychology) in August 1989. In September of 1989, she entered the Master of Science Program in psychology at Auburn University at Montgomery.

THESIS ABSTRACT
DEVELOPMENTS IN GERMAN PSYCHOLOGY
UNDER THE RULE OF THE SWASTIKA

Renate M. Rommel

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This paper examines the development of German psychology during the Nazi period. In particular it deals with the question of whether psychology underwent a decline or continued to develop and even to progress. In the past, the Nazi era has been presented exclusively as a period of decline. A thorough investigation has revealed that while this is true in the area of academic psychology, in the area of applied psychology advances were made. Particular emphasis is placed on the impact of Nazi policies on psychologists employed at the universities as civil servants. The dominant schools of thought and their leaders are discussed, in particular Gestalt psychology and Ganzheit psychology as well as the primary foci of study for many psychologists during this era--characterology and typology. Evidence concerning the number of dissertations on these

topics is presented. The military's use of psychological diagnostics is presented as the main factor in psychology's professionalization and institutionalization. Also discussed is the disinclination of postwar German psychology to examine this period of its history. In order to support these positions, information was gathered from German as well as English sources.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This thesis is the product of months of research and writing. I undertook this project because of my deep concern for and interest in the people that were touched by the events of the Nazi period, especially my parents, Wilhelm and Maria Rommel, and my brothers Karl, Hubert, and Dieter, who lived through this terrible time.

A number of people assisted me in my efforts and deserve acknowledgment. First and foremost, I want to thank the two most precious people in my life, my daughters Yvonne and Bianca, without whose supporting love and patience I would not have been able to undertake this project. I dedicate this thesis to them.

My great appreciation also goes to Dr. Bringmann at the University of South Alabama in Mobile, Alabama, who assisted me in my literature search.

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I. INTRODUCTION

For decades, the period of National Socialism (NS) has been described by the Germans as well as by some in the international scientific community as a time of setback and as an interruption in the development of psychology (e.g., Graumann, 1985; Prinz, 1985). Until recently, the topic of psychology during the NS period remained relatively unexplored. In 1979 and 1980, the journal Psychologie und Gesellschaftskritik (Geuter, 1984) began to explore the theme of psychology during the Nazi era. The topic was dealt with for the first time in 1982 at the convention of the German Psychological Association (Deutschen Gesellschaft fuer Psychologie). The 1983 Symposium on Psychology during the Nazi period, organized by the author and professor Carl-Friedrich Graumann (Geuter, 1984), was the first academic forum to discuss this topic.

Questions about the stance of the sciences during NS were raised by German students during the 1960s and answers, in the form of lectures, were offered about many of the sciences. However, psychologists did not discuss the role of their discipline during the Nazi years. Students who sought to locate the answers in the university libraries found that the material, especially many of the public

addresses by the leading representatives of the field, was cut-out, blacked-out, or pasted-over. Biographies and obituaries often simply ignored this period or gave vague information. This "primitive form of censorship" (Graumann, 1985, p. 2) was primarily evident at those universities where representatives of Ganzheit psychology and characterology lectured as professors--the Freie University in Berlin, Bonn, Heidelberg, and Mainz. At the Muenchen library, all convention reports of the German Psychological Association from the Nazi period were removed after the war. However, at most of the other universities uncensored material can be found (Geuter, 1980).

Until the 1980s, the published material presented the period of the Third Reich as an era when the political regime viewed science, in particular psychology, as an enemy and aimed to hinder its progress or to seek its destruction. The most frequently stated view was that German psychology suffered a decline due to the dismissals of many of its leaders, the emigration of others, the abolition of psychoanalysis, and its emphasis on typology and characterology.

The focus of this paper is to assert that while these events are undisputed, German psychology continued to develop and even to progress between 1933 and 1945. As the remaining part of this paper will show, psychology: 1) completed its separation from philosophy, thus becoming an

independent discipline at the universities, 2) developed its first professional degree and the appropriate examination, and 3) became professionalized, through its involvement in the selection process of military officers and the institutionalization of clinical services. It is the contention of this author that these events represented progress for the discipline, despite losses in other areas.

II. GERMAN PSYCHOLOGY DURING THE PRE-NAZI YEARS OF THE LATE WEIMAR REPUBLIC

Prior to the ascension of the National Socialist regime, psychology existed only as a weak force at the universities and was not yet a profession. It was taught, but primarily by philosophers or in conjunction with pedagogy. Psychology was only hesitantly involved in the solving of practical psychological problems.

At the beginning of World War I, efforts were underway to establish independent chairs of psychology at the universities. The involvement of psychologists in the personnel selection process of the military increased the field's practical relevance and boosted psychology's academic institutionalization during the 1920s, resulting most notably in the designation of six new professorships at institutes of technology and universities between 1918 and 1927 (Ash, 1980; Geuter, 1984). In addition, departments of applied psychology were added to universities and several new psychological institutes were established. By 1932, 23 German universities, nine technical academies, and one business academy (Ash, 1990) provided the opportunity to study applied psychology and psychotechnics (testing).

Although psychology made great strides in its pursuit of acceptance and recognition, it was still underrepresented, underfunded, dependent on philosophical or pedagogical seminars for its support, or not represented at all. Many psychologists had to retain a double identity as both professors of philosophy and directors of psychological research laboratories. In January 1933, the prominent representatives of the field had the teaching positions listed in Table 1.

While all belonged to the German Society for Psychology, they considered themselves to be not only psychologists but also pedagogues and philosophers (Geuter, 1984). Although these professors tended not to separate psychological from philosophical issues in either their teaching or their writings, most of the significant psychological research done in Germany during the 1920s was completed under their leadership.

The schools of thought that dominated the academic field during the Weimar Republic of the 1920s were the Gestalt school of psychology (centered in Berlin) that won international recognition and the Ganzheit school of psychology (centered in Leipzig), whose significance remained within the German borders (Prinz, 1985). Both schools of thought had begun to develop toward the end of the 19th century as a reaction against the psychology of Wundt. They opposed the atomistic and mechanistic aspects

TABLE 1

PROMINENT GERMAN PSYCHOLOGISTS AND THEIR
TEACHING POSITIONS IN 1933

Name	Position	City
Koehler	philosophy	Berlin
Rothacker	philosophy	Bonn
Krueger	philosophy	Leipzig
Jaensch	philosophy	Marburg
Wertheimer	philosophy, but focusing on psychology	Frankfurt
Gelb	philosophy, but focusing on psychology	Halle
Ach	philosophy and psychology	Goettingen
Kafka	philosophy and pedagogics	Dresden
Marbe	philosophy, aesthetics, pedagogics	Wuerzburg
Schultze	philosophy, pedagogics, experimental psychology	Koenigsberg
Katz	pedagogics and psychology	Rostock
Stern	psychology	Hamburg
Peters	psychology	Jena
Fischer	pedagogics	Muenchen
Kroh	pedagogics	Tuebingen

of the older experimental psychology and instead proposed that what individuals perceive and what is stored as the primary data of mental life are not sensations but Gestalten or Ganzheiten (structured wholes).

Differing approaches to research as well as important theoretical aspects set the two schools apart. While Gestalt psychologists valued scientific methodology, Ganzheit psychologists relied more on intuition and speculation rather than experimental and empirical methods (Wyatt & Teuber, 1944). Psychologists of the Ganzheit school advocated the belief that the qualities of the German mind and character--which could not be analyzed or studied scientifically (Fitts, 1946)--set this race above other national groups.

Early on, the Ganzheit school, under the leadership of the Wundt-successor Felix Krueger, parted with the proponents of the Gestalt school because it was thought that the Gestalt theorist's holism was limited by their neglect of "the constitutive role of feeling and will in experience" (Ash, 1990, p. 294). According to Scheerer (1985, p. 15-16), other important components of Ganzheit thinking were the following:

1. The Whole is genetically and functionally Primat (primary) over its parts.
2. Aside from experience, living matter in general and the organism in particular are the prototype of holistic events and holistic order.
3. The Primat of the Whole is not only relevant to the experiencing subject and for the living individual but also to social experiences

and configurations, but not for all; Holistically structured social configurations are communities. They are to be distinguished from mere "social aggregates."

4. Since individual and social life and experiences do not follow mechanistic laws, their scientific study necessitates thinking in biological rather than in physicalistic or technical categories. This thinking is usually defined as "organic thinking" and its result is an "organic world view."
5. The German, due to his intellectual and cultural attributes, but also due to certain psychic (or biological) attributes peculiar to him, is particularly enabled to think organically. Thus, organic thinking is "German thinking" whereas the mechanistic thinking so prominent in Western Europe can be defined as "Western thinking."

As these tenets indicate, Ganzheit psychology applied not only to the individual but to society at large. It was preoccupied with wholes at the level of society and culture and leaned toward the irrational. It is easy to understand how these basic ideas were congruent with Nazi ideology concerning a master race. Krueger's theory included as its central element that all psychological development is fostered primarily through the social community and culture. In his writings and lectures, he called for a renewal of society beginning with the most basic social communities, such as the family, youth groups, men's organizations, church, and state. He described the social community as being greater than the sum of its individuals. In order to strengthen this community, Krueger, who was known as a devout German patriot in Leipzig, emphasized the participation of all in folk songs and community dances as

well as the unity by blood and love, such as motherhood, marriage, and family. A genuine bonding of the individual with the community was sought. Any gathering of individuals not committed to this ideal was considered a mere "social aggregate."

Two specific areas of organic Ganzheit (wholeness) psychology begun during the 1920s and carried through the NS period were characterology and typology. The basis for all typological and characterological studies was E. R. Jaensch's Integration psychology which set out to prove that "every aspect of the entire psychophysical personality exhibits homogenous features characteristic of the specific type to which the individual belongs" (Wyatt & Teuber, 1944, p. 233). *Ausdruckskunde*--the interpretation of different forms of expression, such as writing (graphology), speech, body language, and mimicry--was a popular characterological method to get at the dominant character traits. Typology, however, relied on the observable traits of an individual to determine his or her type and thus the basic nature of the individual. *Volks- und Rassenkunde* (the study of folk and race) attempted to establish the characteristics of different nationalities as reflected by individuals while *Erbwissenschaft* (the study of heredity) sought to identify psychological traits passed from one generation to the next within a given race (Ansbacher, 1950).

Thus, at the time of the Nazi's "Machtergreifung" (ascension to power) on January 1, 1933, German psychology had begun to leave its infancy state by separating from its institutional mother--philosophy--and existed primarily as two distinct and rivaling schools of thought (Gestalt and Ganzheit psychology) centered in Berlin and Leipzig.

III. GERMAN PSYCHOLOGY DURING NATIONAL SOCIALISM

With the change of national political leadership, much began to change in the field of psychology. This chapter will explore these changes, particularly those in the areas of academic psychology, research, psychotherapy, and military psychology. Evidence will be presented to show that, although not all of the changes were positive, some contributed to the continuing development of the field and led to its professionalization and institutionalization.

THE CIVIL SERVICE LAW

Soon after gaining power on April 7, 1933, the new government passed the "Law for the Restitution of the State Civil Service" (Geuter, 1984) which led to the dismissal or forced retirement of all non-Aryan and politically unreliable civil servants. With the addition of the Nueremberg Laws in 1935, those whose spouses were not of Aryan background, were also mandated to leave their positions. Of the 15 professors who taught psychology at 23 German universities, one third (5) lost their chairs because of their Jewish origin as shown in Table 2 ((Ash, 1984).

TABLE 2

JEWISH PROFESSORS WHO LOST THEIR POSITIONS
AS A RESULT OF THE NEW CIVIL SERVICE LAW

Name	Professor of	City	Date
Adhemar Gelb	philosophy and director of the institute	Halle	7/1933
David Katz	psychology and pedagogics	Rostock	4/1933
Wilhelm Peters	psychology and director of the institute	Jena	4/1933
William Stern	psychology and director of the institute	Hamburg	4/1933
Max Wertheimer*	philosophy and director of the institute	Frankfurt	3/1933

* Max Wertheimer resigned voluntarily in March, 1933 after hearing one of Hitler's speeches at a neighbor's house.

Also among the dismissed were associate professors and assistants, such as Curt Bondy in Goettingen, Jonas Cohn in Freiburg, Richard Hellmuth Goldschmidt in Muenster, Erich von Hornbostel in Berlin, Traugott E. K. Oesterreich in Tuebingen, Erich Stern in Giessen, Walter Blumenfeld in Dresden, and Heinz Werner in Hamburg (Ash, 1985). Other losses included Karl Duncker, Otto von Lauenstein, and Hedwig von Restorff. In Berlin, Kurt Lewin resigned from his position. After the departure of Stern and Werner, their assistant Martha Muchow committed suicide in September 1933. On July 4, 1933, Otto Selz, the only full professor of psychology at a business school, was dismissed at Mannheim and murdered ten years later in the concentration camp in Auschwitz.

Additional professors were lost for political reasons: Hans Henning, professor at the University of Danzig; Gustav Kafka from Dresden asked for and was granted premature retirement in 1934; Heinrich Dueker, a psychologist at Goettingen, was arrested during the 1930s and later interned in a concentration camp where he was rescued by the Soviets in 1945; Kurt Huber, professor at Muenchen and supporter of the underground resistance group "White Rose," was executed in 1944. Wolfgang Koehler, professor of philosophy and director of the Psychological Institute at the Berlin University, was the only psychologist who openly resisted the dismissals. He left his chair in 1935 after a

two-year struggle with the authorities and accepted a position at Swarthmore College in America. After the occupation of Austria in 1938, Karl Buehler, the husband of the half-Jewish Charlotte Buehler, was dismissed and arrested. At that time, he was professor of philosophy and director of the most renowned psychological institute in Austria, the Wien Psychological Institute. Earlier, Sigmund Freud had left for England where he died shortly thereafter. Most of the dismissed emigrated, with the majority leaving for America and some going to Holland and England.

Aryan Psychology

The dismissals affected psychology so adversely that the institutions at Hamburg, Frankfurt, and Rostock did not recover. The chairs at Rostock and Frankfurt were lost altogether while the chair in Hamburg went to the department of art history. Halle and Berlin recuperated only slowly whereas the open positions at the institutes in Danzig, Dresden, and Jena were filled immediately.

Most affected by the dismissals was, of course, the Berlin Gestalt school of psychology. It had long been considered a Jewish bastion and its members were suspected of sympathizing with socialists and communists. After the ruthless housecleaning initiated by the civil servants law, only Margarete Eberhardt, Wolfgang Metzger, Kurt

Gottschaldt, Otto von Lauenstein, Edwin Rausch, and Ferdinand Hoppe remained (Stadler, 1985).

The German Psychological Association lost approximately 15 percent of its 339 members registered in January, 1933. Four of the seven members of the Association's executive committee--David Katz, William Stern, Karl Buehler, and Gustav Kafka--had been eliminated without any attempt at intervention on their behalf (Geuter, 1984). Instead, the remaining leadership sought the immediate replacement of the vacant chairs to ensure the discipline's continued effectiveness. Under the leadership of the Leipzig Ganzheit psychologist Felix Krueger, who had been its chairman since 1932, the Association concentrated on assimilating itself fully to the new political situation. In his opening address at the October 1933 convention of the Association, Krueger prompted all psychologists to join the politicians in their efforts toward a psychological renewal of the German people (Ash, 1987).

The exodus of the majority of Germany's leading psychologists led to an increasing isolation from the international scene for those remaining. In this isolation, holism, characterology and typology flourished. Although these theories had been developed prior to Hitler's reign, they were expanded upon after 1933 in accord with the doctrines of the NS party. The Leipzig school of Ganzheit psychology proved particularly amenable to collusion with

the NS movement. Felix Krueger, director of the Leipzig school, initially seemed quite sympathetic to such coordination and attempted to assimilate his theoretical views to NS ideology. However, he distanced himself from the racist aspects of Nazi doctrine and refused to support the anti-Semitism advocated by the regime. Soon, he fell into disfavor with the authorities as a result of making favorable comments about Jews such as Spinoza. He was issued a temporary prohibition against lecturing but later had to resign as director of the University of Leipzig and was forced into early retirement. In 1938, Krueger was forced to undergo a variety of examinations to prove his Aryan ancestry. Disappointed, he soon left for Switzerland.

In contrast to Krueger, the writings of the Jena University Ganzheit psychologist Friedrich Sander exuded racist philosophy. In 1937, Sander justified the elimination of Jews and others of inferior (sic) genotype as necessary in order to eliminate everything extraneous to the pure German Gestalt (Geuter, 1987a).

E. R. Jaensch, an avowed follower of the NS party, expanded the typological theories he developed during the 1920s to conform to Nazi race ideology. His earlier research focused on the ability to "produce subjective visualizations that are neither real perceptions nor mere imaginations, but which the subject experiences as real" (Geuter, 1987a, p. 172). He theorized that the level of

ability depends on the personality type. Prior to 1933, he distinguished structurally "integrated" types who could experience such visualizations from "synesthetic" types, who, because of their labile psychic functions, lacked the ability to do so. Jaensch outlined various subgroups of these two types and defined the various European peoples accordingly. After 1933, he widened the difference between the groups. The Nordic integrated types were now described as the strongest psychologically and primarily evident in the German people whereas synesthetic types, now called the Gegentypen (counter- or anti-types), were seen as inferior, disintegrating types. Jaensch reasoned that this Gegentype was born out of mixed races. He cited Jews as the primary representatives of this "inferior" type (Geuter, 1985; Wyatt & Teuber, 1944).

Changes in Research

In 1933, Jaensch assumed control over the leading German psychological journal, the Zeitschrift fuer Psychologie (Journal of Psychology). The journal became the platform for his theories and for his Marburg school. Beginning in 1936 until his death in 1940, he also headed the German Psychological Association. He thus wielded much power in the realm of psychology during the Nazi period.

Similar attempts at coordination and cooperation were also evident in the articles chosen for publication in the

professional psychological literature. For instance, in February 1933, Rupp, the editor of the Psychotechnischen Zeitschrift (Psychotechnical Journal)--a journal for psychologists involved in testing--encouraged characterological studies and research regarding the abilities necessary for leadership positions (Geuter, 1984, p. 301). The executive board of the journal Industrielle Psychotechnic (Industrial Psychotechnology) called on all practitioners and scientists active in the area of applied psychology and psychological testing to join together in the effort to support the new government. Klemm and Lersch, the new editors of the Zeitschrift fuer angewandte Psychologie (Journal for Applied Psychology) issued similar calls.

Wohlwill (1987) examined the five German journals--the Archiv fuer die Gesamte Psychologie (Archives for Psychology), the Zeitschrift fuer Psychologie (Journal for Psychology), the Zeitschrift fuer angewandte Psychologie (Journal for Applied Psychology), the Zeitschrift fuer Paedagogische Psychologie (Journal for Pedagogic Psychology), and the Psychologische Forschung (Psychological Research)--that encompassed most of the periodical literature in academic psychology of the Nazi period. This examination was an attempt to establish whether, and to what extent, Nazi policy and ideology affected research productivity in terms of the volume published in the target journals. He found in these journals a considerable

reduction in total publication output as well as a shift from such basic research as child and developmental psychology, as had been published by William Stern, Heinz Werner, and the Buehlers, to such topics as characterology and personality typologies.

A similar study by Metraux (1985) of the journals Industrielle Psychotechnik (Industrial Psychotechnology) and the Zeitschrift fuer angewandte Psychologie (Journal for Applied Psychology) evidenced a similar correlation between the political changes that took place in Germany in January of 1933 and the type of research done thereafter. In both journals, articles related to characterology and typology increased significantly following the ascent of the new regime.

The journal that constituted the primary forum for the publications of Gestalt psychologists, the Psychologische Forschung (Psychological Research), was affected by the changing political circumstances probably more than any other psychological journal. It had been founded in 1921, under the editorship of the leading representatives of Gestalt psychology--Kurt Koffka, Max Wertheimer, Wolfgang Koehler, and Kurt Goldstein. After the forced emigration of the Gestaltists, in particular Wertheimer, Gelb, and Lewin, the journal was able to continue publication under Koehler's editorship. Publication of Gestaltist's writings continued even after Koehler emigrated to America in 1935. The

articles published during that time were authored primarily by German psychologists who had studied under Koehler and his colleagues at the Berlin Psychological Institute. Included among these authors were Otto von Lauenstein and Hedwig von Restorff. Wolfgang Metzger who, prior to 1934, had been among the prominent contributors to the journal, had no further publications in the Psychologische Forschung (Psychological Research). The journal continued to operate until 1938 when publication was suspended due to the decrease in material submitted for publication and the increased political pressure exerted on the publisher. The journal resumed in 1949 as Psychological Research but without its earlier identification with Gestalt psychology (Wohlwill, 1987).

An area of research not previously examined--the topics chosen for doctoral dissertations--was reviewed by this author in order to determine if a similar shift to the Ganzheit psychological studies of characterology and typology was evident. Information concerning the topics chosen for doctoral dissertations was gathered from Geuter's (1987b) Daten zur Geschichte der deutschen Psychologie (Data in regards to the history of German Psychology), volume 2, which lists all psychological dissertations written in the German Reich between 1885 and 1945, as well as those written after 1945 in the three occupation zones of Western Germany. Beginning with the year 1928, five

years before Hitler's rise to power, and ending with the year 1950, five years after his defeat, any dissertation title including the word(s) character, characterology, expression analysis, graphology, typology, integrated type, typological, personality type, type study, constitution type, or their derivatives were selected. All dissertation topics that met the criteria for inclusion in either the characterology or typology category were counted and grouped according to year of publication. Table 3 presents this data.

As the table indicates, the percentage of dissertation titles pertaining to characterology and typology increased markedly, especially after 1935, although the total number of dissertations dealing with psychological topics began to decline after 1933. This trend continued, albeit to a lesser extent, after 1945. The information gained from this review thus supports the conclusions of the previous studies by Wohlwill (1987) and Metraux (1985).

The increase in the number of dissertations dealing with the topics of characterology and typology could easily be a result of Nazi policies and the changes brought about in university personnel after the implementation of the "Law for the Restitution of the State Civil Service." The fact that so many of the major professors, who had been leading contributors to German psychology, were forced or induced to leave could not have failed to affect the work conducted

TABLE 3

CLASSIFICATION OF DISSERTATIONS
(1928-1950)

Year	Total	C	T	C + T	% ----- Total
1928	60	5	3	8	13
1929	87	4	9	13	15
1930	57	1	5	6	11
1931	55	2	4	6	11
1932	82	5	1	6	7
1933	88	6	6	12	14
1934	79	4	7	11	14
1935	79	5	11	16	20
1936	73	5	5	10	14
1937	71	8	11	19	27
1938	53	4	11	15	28
1939	62	12	6	18	29
1940	45	5	8	13	29
1941*	38	4	4	8	21
1942	39	6	7	13	33
1943	46	8	4	12	26
1944	32	6	2	8	25
1945	13	-	-	-	-
1946	12	2	-	2	16
1947	17	3	2	5	2

(table continues)

TABLE 3 (continued)

Year	Total	C	T	C + T	% $\frac{C + T}{\text{Total}}$
1948	28	4	1	5	16
1949	37	6	3	9	24
1950	37	4	2	6	5
1967	50	2	-	2	4

Total = total number of dissertations for each given year;

C = number of characterological topics counted for each given year;

T = number of typological topics counted for each given year;

C + T = combined total number of characterological and typological topics counted for each year;

% C+T/Total = percentage of dissertation titles devoted to characterological and typological subjects for each year;

* = indicates the year the Diplom examination was instituted to meet the civil service code;

following their departure. Also, the remaining professors available to supervise doctoral dissertations may have been more sympathetic to Nazi philosophy. Whether these thematic changes affected the quality of the work being carried out is difficult to assess.

The pronounced drop in the number of dissertations written after 1933 (except for the year 1939) may, as Hartshorne (1937) states, be due to a general decline in the number of students studying after the economic depression between 1929 and 1934. Other possible explanations include the Nazi quota systems against overcrowding, the almost total exclusion of non-Aryans, military service of eligible students, and the development of the Diplom examination in 1941, which made the completion of a dissertation unnecessary.

The Remaining Gestalt Psychologists

Of the six Gestalt psychologists who remained in Germany, only three--Metzger, Gottschaldt, and Rausch--continued in the Gestalt tradition (Stadler, 1985). Margarete Eberhardt began work as a philosopher. Ferdinand Hoppe went to work at a children's clinic and later as an ability tester at a West German employment office. Otto von Lauenstein initially went to England but returned dutifully at the start of the war to enlist in the military. He died at the front in 1943.

Metzger, who had accompanied Wertheimer to the Frankfurt Institute of Psychology, took over the director position of the institute in 1938. In 1942, he became director of the Institute of Psychology and Pedagogy in Muenster where he specialized in the psychology of perception. In some of his writings published during the NS era, it appears that he attempted to fuse Gestalt psychology with Nazi ideology. During the post-war years, he denied such allegations.

Edwin Rausch, a student at the Frankfurt Institute at the time of the Nazi's rise to power, initially assisted Metzger. In 1939, Rausch was drafted by the military and worked there as a psychologist. In 1943, he was transferred to Russia and Poland. Upon his return from prisoner of war camps in 1945, he resumed his work at the university. Unlike Metzger, Rausch did not publish material sympathetic to the NS regime.

Kurt Gottschaldt, who studied philosophy under Wertheimer and Koehler, became director of the newly developed department of genetics at the Kaiser-Wilhelm Institute of Anthropology in Berlin. In the context of his work there, he became involved in the longitudinal study of twins and was able to follow several sets of twins until 1970. In 1935, he took over the leadership of the "Polyclinic for nervous and difficult to raise children and adolescents" at the Children's Hospital in Berlin and

still worked there in 1950. In 1938, he also became professor at the University of Berlin. His colleague Rieffert, one of the leading military psychologists of the era, denounced him as a communist but was unable to have him dismissed from the Kaiser-Wilhelm Institute due to Gottschaldt's close relationship with the Nazi's well-respected genetic specialist Eugen Fischer. In 1946, Gottschaldt began to set up the new psychological institute at the Humboldt University in Berlin. In 1961, he left East Germany to begin teaching at the University of Goettingen.

Appointment of University Personnel

Other rather obvious efforts at political adaptation, such as the developments at the universities, reveal that professional expertise was not the only determining factor for university personnel selection. Although positions were filled, many of the post-1933 appointments were made in accordance with political criteria (Carmon, 1978). Prior to 1933, faculty openings were filled by the minister of culture of each state after studying the recommendations provided by the faculty. During the NS era, the ultimate decision belonged to the Reich's minister for science and education who could select from among the recommended personnel according to political criteria (Geuter, 1984). The party's influence at the university level was thus

secured. Beginning in September 1935, Hitler's deputy, Rudolf Hess, gained the formal right of hiring all high-ranking civil servants, including university professors. After Hess's flight to England, Martin Bormann took over this assignment. The many chairs left vacant after the dismissals of 1933 as well as the regime's involvement in the selection process also led psychologists to recommend themselves for open positions under the guise of political loyalty. Although the selection of personnel for the vacant positions at the universities was in many cases based on political affiliation rather than on psychological expertise, psychology's continued development was not entirely hampered by the selection of these people.

As the research conducted by Geuter (1984) indicates, 69 of the 117 psychologists remaining in Germany after the expulsion of the political enemies were card-carrying party members. In most cases party membership began in 1933, especially among the high-ranking civil servants (Ash & Geuter, 1985; Geuter, 1984). Two other years, 1937 and 1940, were also strong years for beginning membership--probably due to the military's efforts of "encouraging" its psychologists and other employees to join the party. Prior to 1936, 80 percent of all promotions were to party members. Thereafter, the percentage decreased to 56 percent. In 1939, 45 percent, or 77 psychologists, of the approximately

170 psychologists surveyed by the military were party members (Graumann, 1985).

As an example of the benefits to be gained from party membership, Graumann (1985) cites the rapid rise of Konrad Lorenz, who became a party member after the occupation of Austria in 1938. His publicly expressed ideas followed party ideology and his career moved upward at a spectacular speed--from assistant professor in the area of zoology in June 1940, to professor of psychology and director of the Institute of Comparative Psychology in Koenigsberg six months later in January 1941.

Developments in Psychotherapy

The developments in the area of psychotherapy, which at the beginning of the Nazi regime was still embedded primarily within the areas of psychoanalysis, psychiatry, and medical psychotherapy, proceeded along much the same lines as other areas of psychology. However, the aims of therapy changed from analytical insight and emotional healing to purely functional standards to assure patients' adherence to social norms (Lockout, 1985). Between the years of 1933 and 1945, German psychotherapy was able to strengthen its position within the realm of German medicine.

Beginning in 1933, the competing psychiatric, psychotherapeutic, and psychological fields used the

opportunity to suppress the psychoanalytic movement in order to ensure their own survival and existence. Leaders in the area of psychiatry accused psychoanalysts of "scientific dilettantism" and "materialistic dismemberment of the soul" (Cocks, 1975, p. x). Even William Stern, the psychologist from Hamburg, had equated psychoanalysis with a "dangerous disease and a scientific error" (Fallend, Handlbauer, Kienreich, Reichmayr, & Steiner, 1985, p. 121) prior to the Nazi era.

Upon gaining power, the NS regime charged that psychoanalysis was "Jewish" and the Aryanization of this field was initiated. The entire executive committee of the German Psychoanalytic Society was asked to resign and Aryan replacements were installed. In 1935, the remaining Jewish members of the Society were encouraged to resign, thus dropping the enrollment from 56 in 1932 to only 18 members in 1936 (Fallend, Handlbauer, Kienreich, Reichmayr, Steiner, 1985, p. 136).

German psychologists also began to distance themselves from psychoanalysis and continued to defame it as a Jewish attempt at "dismemberment of the soul" (Sander, 1933, p. 12). In May 1933, Freud's books were burned. In June 1933, the chairman of the General Medical Society for Psychotherapy, Carl Jung, stated that the Aryan unconscious possesses a higher potential than the Jewish and that Freud does not understand the Germanic soul (Jung, 1934). These

remarks caused an international furor, but Jung's reputation was so well established that he was able to overcome any criticism. Jung had succeeded Kretschmer as chairman of this society after Kretschmer's resignation in protest of the newly passed "Law for the Prevention of Hereditarily Diseased Progeny" (Ash, 1987). This law mandated that patients, especially those who were mentally impaired and in the care of psychiatrists and psychotherapists, should be evaluated by so-called health courts in order to determine whether or not they should be designated as genetically unfit and sterilized or "put-to-sleep" (Lifton, 1986, p. 57). Kretschmer, a psychiatrist, was unsympathetic to this and other attempts by the new regime to impose its ideology on the health sciences.

In order to counter the new regime's charges that all psychology was Jewish, German psychotherapists, under the leadership of Jung, reorganized the Society in September 1933. It became the international counterpart to the newly formed German General Medical Society for Psychotherapy headed by Matthias Heinrich Goering, an Adlerian psychotherapist and cousin to the prime minister of Prussia and Nazi leader Hermann Goering.

By the summer of 1936, the buildings of the Psychoanalytic Institute in Berlin became the home of the German Institute for Psychological Research and Psychotherapy (Deutsche Institute fuer psychologische

Forschung und Psychotherapy), later commonly referred to as the "Goering Institute" because it operated under the guidance of Matthias Heinrich Goering. The institute served as the base for the teaching, practice, and study of psychotherapy (Cocks, 1985). Toward these efforts, the institute had professional contact with the Luftwaffe (Air Force) as well as a number of party and governmental welfare agencies, mental health institutions, the Hitler Youth, the League of German Girls, the Reich's Criminal Police Office, the Schutzstaffel (SS), and individual members of the Nazi hierarchy. Funding was provided from the financial support of its members until the beginning of the war in 1939. At that time, the German Labor Front, a wealthy organization interested in the institute's industrial psychological work, took over the funding role.

By 1940, five branches of the Goering Institute operated in Duesseldorf, Muenchen, Stuttgart, Wien, and Wuppertal with about 240 members (Geuter, 1984). When the institute expanded to ten divisions, five were concerned with applied psychotherapy (Ash, 1987; Cocks, 1985):

- educational counseling - offering play therapy, family and group counseling, and gymnastics to treat patients 15 years and younger and their parents;
- forensic psychology - providing expert testimony in court as well as consulting and therapy;

- clinical counseling - handling referrals from other agencies;
- diagnostic testing - working for the Labor Front and several industrial firms, such as I. G. Farben;
- outpatient clinics - using mainly short-term treatment for depression, sexual and character disorders, anxiety, and compulsion neurosis.

In an effort to create a new "German healing art of the soul" (Ash, 1987, p. 646), the old established, but "Jewish," psychotherapies were incorporated after undergoing cosmetic make-overs. Since psychoanalytic terminology was banned after 1938, psychoanalysis became "developmental psychology," the "Oedipus complex" became the "Family Complex," psychotherapy became "Seelenheilkunde (healing art of the soul)" and psychology became "Seelenkunde (science of the soul)." The Freudian or Psychoanalytical Society was integrated into the Goering Institute as "Arbeitsgruppe A (Working Group A)" while the Adlerian and Jungian groups were called "Arbeitsgruppe B" and "Arbeitsgruppe C (Working Groups B and C)."

Psychotherapy during the NS period was based on the notion that by definition, mental disorder within the master race could not be genetic or organic and mental distress could thus be corrected with the proper guidance of the innate German will (Cocks, 1985). Therapy itself consisted

of either "Grosse" (major) or "Kleine" (minor) therapy. "Grosse" psychotherapy dealt primarily with the functioning of the unconscious and was akin to the Depth psychology of psychoanalysts whereas the techniques of the "Kleine" psychotherapy were designed to relieve mental suffering at the conscious level. About one half of all the cases treated at the institute involved various modes of short-term therapy (Cocks, 1985), including Beratung (advice), Aussprache (discussion), Belehrung (instruction), Aufklaerung (enlightenment), Ermutigung (encouragement), Beruhigung (reassurance), Abhaertung (hardening), Uebung (exercise), and Verbot (prohibition). Auxiliary treatments included breathing exercises, music, hypnosis, autogenic training (self-hypnosis), and psychocatharsis.

Of the patients treated at the Goering institute, the majority, about 80 percent, were from the middle class while the working and upper classes were each equally represented (Cocks, 1985, p. 180). Although the therapists employed at the institute served the interests of the German Labor Front and Nazi welfare organizations, they also sought to protect potential victims. According to the laws, therapists were obliged to report subversive statements made by patients as well as instances of hereditary mental illness. Despite the formal prohibition of treatment of Jews issued in 1939, a number of Jewish patients were treated at the institute. No data has been found to

indicate that any of these patients were turned in to the authorities. According to the psychoanalyst Viktor Frankl, a number of Jews and non-Jews in danger of sterilization or death, were protected by the Vienna psychiatrist Ploetzl who worked with the Austrian branch of the Goering Institute (Cocks, 1985). One of the most notable of therapists working at the Berlin institute and member of Working Group A, John F. Rittmeister, was arrested in 1942 and murdered in 1943 for his activities in the underground resistance group "Rote Kapelle." Following this, Working Group A was dissolved.

Thus, under the protection of Goering, psychotherapy was able to offer treatment and to strengthen its position during the difficult times between 1933 and 1945. In April 1945, the institute in Berlin was totally destroyed during an air raid. Matthias Goering died of typhus in a Russian prison camp.

The Impact of Military Psychology

Most of the psychotherapists employed at the Goering Institute were not psychologists but psychoanalysts and medical psychologists. The greatest demand for trained psychologists during the Nazi period was in the military where they assisted in the selection process of officers and other specialists. As a result of the massive rearmament and the reinstatement of compulsory military

service, the military became the most important employer for psychologists. Whereas the military employed only 33 psychologists in 1933, 69 in 1935, 143 in 1937, and 170 in 1938, by 1942 this number had risen to over 500 (Geuter, 1987). Thus, the profession of psychologist was almost synonymous with that of military psychologist. Prior to the Third Reich, the number of psychologists employed in academia outnumbered those in professional practice but this changed after 1935. The phenomenal growth in military psychology can be seen as the most important development in psychology under Nazism. It greatly accelerated the professionalization process which, in turn, led to an improvement of the discipline's representation at the universities. Military psychology changed psychology's standing from that of a strictly scientific discipline to a professional training discipline.

The work of a military psychologist entailed evaluating officer candidates according to their abilities, intelligence, and character. Characterological studies, particularly expression analysis, were the primary focus of evaluations conducted in order to get a holistic view of the person. Once the war began, specific studies examining such military performances as aiming, auditory acuity, and protection against noise, as well as factors affecting fatigue gained in importance (Geuter, 1984).

Military psychologists were hired as civil servants with the equivalent of officer rank. According to the civil service code, all those entering the service were required to complete a state examination in their specialities. Until 1941, the only graduation requirement for an aspiring psychologist was to write a doctoral dissertation. But the doctorate in philosophy held by most psychologists did not meet this civil service requirement. Thus in 1940, the German Psychological Association set up a committee to develop a professional degree and the appropriate examination. In 1941, the first professional certificate, the Diplom, was accepted. With the acceptance of this degree, psychology finally separated from philosophy and achieved the rank of an independent discipline. Hence, it was applied psychology that succeeded in establishing psychology as a discipline at the universities.

In 1942, the air force and the army dissolved their psychology departments. Psychology thus lost two of the largest institutions providing job opportunities. Post-war studies have often used this information in an attempt to show that the Nazis were opposed to psychology. However, more recent research provides more realistic reasons. Geuter (1984) suggests that beginning in 1939, the air force's demand for fliers far exceeded supply. This shortage of manpower worsened after the Battle of Britain in the autumn of 1940. Beginning in 1941, the air force

accepted all applicants, making the selection process unnecessary. The army suffered similarly after the defeat near Moscow in the winter of 1941-42. Before these defeats, only Gymnasium graduates were accepted for officer training, but afterwards even a successful corporal could be promoted to officer standing in the air force (Geuter, 1987a).

Despite the loss of the two largest employers of psychologists--the air force and the army--mass unemployment of psychologists did not occur because most were civil servants and thus had to be employed further by other government organizations.

One such organization was the Nationalsozialistische Volkswohlfahrt (National Socialist Welfare Organization, NSV), where psychologists were employed within the child guidance service area after 1940. The NSV was the first public institution to employ full-time psychologists in the area of child guidance. Other opportunities for the practical application of psychological methods existed within the employment and vocational guidance offices. In these areas, psychologists primarily focused on providing ability tests.

The work of the NSV reached beyond the German borders into the occupied areas. Records have been located that indicate that German psychologists working in Poland may have been involved in the resettlement of Polish children to Germany as well as in the Germanization of others viewed as

possessing the characteristics of Germans. Other records imply that attempts were made to hide children from the SS. Whether or not psychologists were directly responsible for crimes against humanity has not been established yet.

IV. GERMAN PSYCHOLOGY DURING THE POST-WAR YEARS

After the war the overwhelming majority of former party members were able to return to their positions at the universities after completing a de-Nazification program. Thus, some continuity was ensured within academic psychology. Only three psychologists were fired--Gerhard Pfahler in Tuebingen, Georg Anschuetz in Hamburg, and Gert Heinz Fischer in Marburg (Mattes, 1985). Three psychologists, who had been persecuted by the Nazis, accepted the positions offered to them--Traugott Konstantin Oesterreich to Tuebingen, Curt Bondy to Hamburg, and Heinrich Dueker to Marburg.

Initially, German psychology of the post-war era began to develop primarily as an academic science again by continuing Ganzheit psychology, the school of thought so prominent during the Nazi years. The only remaining Gestalt psychologists were Metzger in Muenster, von Allesch in Goettingen, and Rausch in Frankfurt.

In 1947, psychologists in the English and American zones formed the Association of German Professional Psychologists (Berufsverband deutscher Psychologen, BDP). In 1949 the BDP became a nationwide organization. Psychologists in post-war Germany set for themselves as the

new guiding theme the "care of the individual and the appreciation of the person" (Mattes, 1985, p. 206).

The Diplom examination established in 1941 remained in use with only slight modifications. The two independent subfields of Ganzheit psychology, characterology and expression analysis, that had been developed prior to the Nazi period and had flourished during it, were also continued after the war's end. They were part of the Diplom examination until the late 1960s.

With the destruction of all governmental and NS institutions, the professionalization of German psychology begun during the Nazi years, came to an abrupt break in its development. Until the 1950s, when the American occupational authorities introduced the American mental-health-concept as a model to follow for similar institutions in the Federal Republic of Germany, only a few psychologists were able to find employment outside of the universities. Consequently, the number of private practices increased. During the 1950s, the number of psychologists employed outside of academia increased tremendously. While in 1950 only about 50 psychologist were employed with child guidance agencies, by 1960 their numbers rose to 230. Similar increases occurred also in the area of industrial psychology, from about 25 in 1951 to 225 in 1960. At the beginning of the 1960s, approximately 250 psychologists were employed in West Germany. Of these about 3/4 were

males. With the establishment of the Bundeswehr (West German military forces) in 1957, psychologists were also able to resume their historical alignment with the military.

At the universities, the number of students majoring in psychology increased from 739 in 1950 to 2589 in 1962 (Metraux, 1985). Beginning in the mid-1950s, the isolation of German psychology from the international community begun during the NS era ended with the return of experimental methods--now refined in terms of theory of measurement, design techniques, and statistics (Graumann, 1976). American-style aptitude, intelligence, and personality testing, backed by multivariate statistics, replaced the earlier emphasis on intuition. Greater acceptance of non-German research is also apparent. Whereas only 10 percent of the sources cited in German psychological journals during 1932-33 were non-German-speaking, the percentage increased to 75 percent in 1981. A further sign of the internationalization of post-war West German psychology was the acceptance of the Rogerian therapy practiced by German psychologists since the 1950s.

Psychotherapy

As in the rest of West German society and among psychologists in particular, psychotherapists preferred to repress the past and to focus instead on economic survival. Only isolated attempts were made by psychotherapists to

distance themselves from those within their profession who had opted for close association with Nazi ideology and policies. During the period of 1933 to 1945, psychotherapy made major strides toward professional and institutional status within the German medical profession and a wider acceptance by German society as a whole. After the war this allegiance with the medical field, in particular psychiatry, was challenged by many. Psychiatry's involvement in the sterilization and euthanasia program of the NS regime was criticized as a rejection of the Hippocratic oath and as a failure to fulfill the aims of this particular helping profession.

The struggle for independence from the medical field continued. In 1967, the West German government included medical psychotherapy in the national health insurance program. In 1971, treatment from non-medical psychotherapists and psychoanalysts began to be covered. Private insurance companies adopted this policy in 1971.

Soon after the war ended, several psychotherapists formerly employed at the Goering Institute, began to reconstruct and resurrect some of the outpatient clinics previously operated by the Institute. In September 1949, the German Society for Psychotherapy and Depth Psychology (Deutsche Gesellschaft fuer Psychotherapie and Tiefenpsychologie, DGPT) was established as the parent organization for the various psychotherapeutic schools of

thought. During the 1950s, several psychoanalytic associations joined the DGPT (Cocks, 1985).

The treatment methods applied by post-war West German psychotherapists include those of the Freudians and Jungians. Beginning in the late 1950s, American-style therapy methods, such as Rogerian Talk Therapy and Clinical Psychology gained in popularity. With the introduction of these methods, German psychologists no longer limited themselves to the application of diagnostic tests. An increasing number of students began to major in Clinical Psychology. Therapy became the new professional field for German psychologists. Today it is the most sought after area of specialization.

In the East German Socialist Republic, psychotherapy was not able to break out of the medical profession and thus was only practiced in combination with medical specialization in other areas. Training consisted of so-called "self-experience community" (Cocks, 1985, p. 244) (Selbsterfahrungskommunitaet) sessions of approximately 120 hours of small-group meetings and about 50 hours of large-group sessions. While individual therapy was discouraged, emphasis was placed on group therapy. The effect of the environment on the individual became the primary focus of study. As in the Soviet Union, psychoanalysis was considered a "bourgeois creation" (Cocks,

1985, p. 244) and as such unsuitable for a socialist society.

Obviously, the evolution of psychotherapy in Germany from the end of World War II continued, but because of the new political lines drawn, it developed along two separate paths. Whereas most West German psychotherapists are specialists in the fields of psychology and psychoanalysis, East German therapists were, at least until the recent reunification, physicians who also practiced therapy. The approach to therapy also differed. Whereas West German psychotherapists choose to treat individuals and are not averse to psychoanalytic methods, East German therapists preferred group meetings and rejected the methods of psychoanalysis.

V. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this paper was to examine the developments in German psychology during the NS period. In the introductory chapter (Chapter I), the most frequently expressed view of the early post-war period was presented-- that German psychology suffered a decline during NS due to its oppression by the political regime in power at that time. In order to counter this one-sided view, the objectives of the paper were introduced: that psychology 1) completed its separation from philosophy, thus becoming an independent discipline at the universities, 2) developed its first professional degree and the appropriate examination, and 3) became professionalized, through its involvement in the selection process of military officers and the institutionalization of clinical services.

In an effort to provide support for the objectives posed, and to provide a greater understanding for the changes that occurred in the field of psychology during the NS time, it was necessary to examine the status of psychology during the pre-Nazi years of the late Weimar Republic. Chapter II addressed this topic and presented psychology as a field not yet independent of its allegiance with its institutional mother, philosophy. The major

schools of thought during that time, Gestalt and Ganzheit psychology were described. Emphasis, however, was placed on detailing the theory of the Leipzig School of Ganzheit psychology because 1) it occupied a larger role in the development of psychology during the NS period than Gestalt psychology, and because 2) unlike Gestalt psychology, specifics of the basic principles of this theory remain unknown to many psychologists outside of Germany. A basic understanding of these principles is necessary to recognize Ganzheit psychology's relevance during the NS period.

With the ascension of the Nazis to power, much began to change in the field of German psychology. In Chapter III, evidence of these changes was presented. Beginning with the law that quickly left the field of Gestalt psychology desolate after the elimination of its leaders, and the representatives of Ganzheit psychology dominating the field, the ensuing developments are described. The realization that so few fought the dismemberment of their ranks is a sad commentary.

Specific cases of obvious attempts to coordinate psychological theories with Nazi ideology were described. Such attempts include the changes in research trends as evidenced in journal publications. Particular emphasis was placed on assessing changes in the topics chosen for dissertations. As the results of this review show, after the Nazis gained power in January 1933, dissertation topics

began a definite shift in the direction of Ganzheit psychological studies of characterology and typology. These results were consistent with similar trends in the articles chosen for publication in professional psychological journals.

That totalitarianism and war might have had beneficial effects on the continuing development of psychology and psychotherapy may be difficult to accept. As the establishment of the Goering Institute and the acceptance of psychology by the military show, this is what happened between 1933 and 1945. Under the protection of the Goering name, German psychotherapy was able to bring together differing therapy modes and to make therapy available to a wider group of clients. Through the military's use of psychological methods, the demand for professionally trained psychologists increased tremendously. The military did not seek psychologists trained in philosophy but professionals trained in the application of psychological diagnostic tools. This professionalization had two important consequences. It led to the establishment of the field's first professional examination and to psychology's separation from philosophy. The process of separation had begun during the Weimar Republic but was not completed until the war year of 1941.

The post-war developments in German psychology (described in Chapter IV) indicate that not all aspects of

Ganzheit psychology were destroyed at the end of the war. Characterology and typology, two methods that sought to typecast people, often in accordance with racist standards, were carried into the new era for about two decades. (Some of the professional opportunities gained during the Nazi period, particularly with the military and the National Socialist Welfare Organization, were temporarily lost). The Diplom examination proved to be an asset and has survived to this day. The separation of Germany into two separate states also separated their respective fields of psychology - each following the trends prevalent in the country of its occupation forces.

Conclusion

In the course of this research, it was necessary to put aside personal opinions concerning the lack of professional ethics exhibited by so many and lack of concern for the aims of this helping profession by even more. It was difficult, at times, to preserve objectivity when faced with such information.

As was mentioned at the outset of this paper, evaluations of the Nazi years almost always came to the conclusion that psychology declined during this period. The reasons most often cited include the loss of the theoretical research potential caused by the dismissals and emigration of the leading representatives of psychology

as well as the suppression of psychoanalysis. As has been established, the quantity of published material decreased. Academic research probably suffered most due to the loss of the leading representatives of the Gestalt school of psychology. Of course, it is impossible to assess whether or not Gestalt psychologists would have continued the type of research they were involved in if the political climate had not changed.

While these events are fact, the history of psychology during these years was not one of suffering and decline exclusively. The Nazi party had no prescribed plans for psychologists to follow and the representatives of the discipline were allowed to work relatively independently. Life under the swastika produced for psychology some opportunities as well as oppression. The NS period allowed the continuing development of psychology toward its legitimation as a scientific discipline and useful profession. The preparations for war necessitated the application of psychological methods and the alliance of psychology with the military and other government organizations allowed psychology to assert its practical relevance. The only constant factor of Nazi policies was the persecution of Jewish and politically unreliable scholars (Ash, 1987).

To facilitate an understanding of the progression of German psychology from the pre-Nazi years of the late Weimar Republic, through the Nazi Years, into the post-war years, these topics were considered in separate chapters. The areas that show the greatest continuation and development throughout these periods are Ganzheit psychology, psychotherapy, and military psychology.

The Leipzig school of Ganzheit psychology existed during the Weimar era as a rival of the Berlin school of Gestalt psychology. After the elimination of the leading representatives of the Gestalt school, the position of the Leipzig school was strengthened and it became the dominant school of thought after 1933. One might argue that this accomplishment was possible only because of the demise of its rival school in Berlin. While this is likely, it cannot be stated with certainty. To do so would amount to conjecture. Ganzheit psychology had a strong following in Germany during the late Weimar Republic. In my opinion, its principles helped to boost the deflated ego of this nation defeated by World War I and the devastating effects of the Versailles Treaty on the German economy. I am convinced that the two predominant philosophies developed during the pre-Nazi years--Ganzheit psychology and National Socialism--are indicative of the Zeitgeist of the post-World War I era. It is easily apparent that the irrationality of Ganzheit psychology complemented the Nazi ideology of a

master race. The fact that this psychological theory was still accepted after 1945 and remained part of the Diplom examination until the late 1960s is disturbing but not surprising. After all, the Ganzheit psychologists of the Nazi years were the instructors of the post-war years. Only when American-style methods were introduced to German psychology did this continuation cease.

Psychotherapy, too, existed during the Weimar period, although primarily within the areas of psychoanalysis, psychiatry, and medical psychotherapy. The Nazi period contributed toward the continuing development and improved standing of this field, also. Under the auspices of Goering, Germany's first government-funded therapeutic centers were established. Therapists employed at these centers utilized a variety of therapeutic methods and made them available to the average citizen. Following the end of the war, similar centers were reestablished. The eventual separation of psychotherapy from the medical field is, in my opinion, due to the continuation of the work of these centers. Psychotherapists were finally able to show the effectiveness of their work. The fact that, during the 1970s, the government began to provide health insurance coverage for psychotherapy, shows that further inroads were made in this field and that psychotherapists were respected for their work.

The area of psychology most affected by the Nazi years was military psychology. At the time of Hitler's rise to power only 33 psychologists were employed with the military. Due to the military's need for psychologists in the assessment process of officer candidates, the profession of applied psychology was initiated. By 1942, the number of psychologists employed with the military had risen to over 500. Military psychologists were hired as civil servants and as such were required to be examined in their area of specialty. Until 1941, no such examination existed for psychologists. Beginning with 1941, all psychologists, who sought work with the military or other civil service positions, first had to pass the Diplom examination. With this examination, psychologists received official recognition as professionals. The Diplom examination continues to be used today.

A further direct outgrowth of the employment of psychologists in the military, was the separation of psychology from philosophy. With this, psychology completed the process of separation from philosophy begun during the Weimar Republic and became an independent discipline.

While it could be argued that professionalization of a science outside of academia does not constitute progress, I am convinced that the application of research findings to practical problems ultimately results in the improved quality of life for many individuals.

After the air force and army dissolved their psychology departments in 1942, psychologists did not find employment again within the military services until the establishment of the Bundeswehr, the armed forces of the Federal Republic of West Germany in 1957.

It is the conclusion of this author that the history of German psychology has been closely tied to that country's social and political history. The political events of the NS era did not prevent the continuing development of this science. As in other countries, psychology benefited from the application of its methods by the war machine. The lack of self-reflection by German psychologists (touched on in the beginning of this paper) during the first three decades of the post-war years parallels that of most Germans.

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