

## **PSYCHOLOGY IN THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC: A BALANCING ACT BETWEEN SCIENTIFIC AND POLITICAL DEMANDS**

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### **ABSTRACT**

Psychology in the German Democratic Republic is characterized by three particularities: First, in the GDR psychology proclaimed itself to be Marxist in nature. Second, the fields of psychology were locally restricted to the Institutes of Psychology in the form of so-called "Education and Research Centers" (Dumont, 1999, p. 19). Finally, psychology was a very small discipline. Annually, approximately 100 to 150 students were registered to study psychology. Since the unification of the two German states in 1990 these particularities belong to history. The organizational restrictions on psychology were suspended and the number of students at the institutes more than quintupled. Moreover, the Marxist oriented approach disappeared when the GDR ceased to exist as a sovereign state. In the following essay the Marxist approach of GDR psychology will be analyzed. Special attention will be given to the two following questions: Why and under which circumstances was the Marxist approach in psychology developed? What did the Marxist approach in psychology mean to psychologists and to psychology as a science?

### **RESUMEN**

En la desaparecida República Democrática Alemana (RDA) la psicología presentaba una aproximación de orientación Marxista. El establecimiento de una psicología de aproximación Marxista fue facilitado por cambios estructurales y políticos en las universidades con el propósito de incrementar la influencia del Partido de la Unión Socialista de Alemania (SED). Estos cambios estructurales y políticos se iniciaron con la Segunda Reforma de las Universidades en 1951 y duraron hasta la Tercera Conferencia de las Universidades llevada a cabo por el SED y que tuvo lugar en 1958. En esos dos encuentros se postuló la necesidad

de orientar la ciencia hacia el Marxismo. Sin embargo, sólo después de estar suficientemente estable la posición del SED en las universidades, empezaron los representantes del SED a iniciar el desarrollo de una aproximación Marxista en la psicología. El inicio del desarrollo de la aproximación Marxista se basó en dos estrategias: primero, debilitar la posición de los llamados científicos burgueses, y segundo, influenciar a la nueva generación de científicos iniciando lo que se llamó la "Meinungsstreite". Aceptando las demandas formuladas por representantes de la SED, los Psicólogos en la RDA se enfrentaron a un dilema: de un lado, tenían que respetar y seguir los criterios de las comunidades científicas internacionales y, de otro lado, estaban forzados a aceptar y seguir los criterios ideológicos formulados por los oficiales de la SED. Lo que este dilema significó a los psicólogos de la RDA está ilustrado en la Psicología Social Marxista.

#### I.

Immediately after World War II the well-known German institutes of psychology at the Universities of Berlin, Leipzig, and Dresden were reopened. Because of the strict policy of denazification at universities in the former GDR, prefaced by the 1949 First University Reform, the number of available scientists was limited. On account of personnel limitations several psychological institutes lost their autonomy and became departments affiliated to Faculties of Education; the case of the Institute of Psychology at the University of Jena can serve as an example (Dumont, 1999, p. 74). At this time, both the theoretical orientation in scientific work and the training of students were still in the hands of the heads of the institutes. However, this freedom of research and education was called into question when the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED), the single, dominant political party which governed the GDR, began to increase its influence on universities in the first half of the 1950s.

The Second University Reform of 1951 dates the beginning of both structural and political changes at universities designed to increase the influence of the SED. Historically viewed, the reform was introduced by a letter of recommendation entitled "The future tasks of universities" passed by the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany on January 19<sup>th</sup>, 1951. This letter of recommendation included the following two demands: first, to make the study of the Marxism/Leninism compulsory for all university students and, second, to demand conformity to Soviet scientific results in each and every field of study (Baske & Engelbert, 1966, p. 176).

One month later, on February 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1951 the government of the GDR passed an act titled "The new organization of higher education in the GDR" which stipulated that all universities were to be supervised by a central institution named the "State Office of Permanent Secretary for Universities" (Baske & Engelbert, 1966, pp.

180-183).<sup>1</sup> The first initiatives of the newly established Secretary were to enforce the structural changes at universities, to require universities to teach Marxism/Leninism, and to require them to teach Russian as the first foreign language. When one compares the demands formulated by the Central Committee of the SED with those of the government of the GDR, the goal of the reorganization of the universities becomes clear. It legitimated the ideological orientation of the regime by teaching it at the universities and extended the orientation towards the Soviet Union to every realm of society. To ensure the realization of the demands listed above, the Central Committee of the SED founded a Department of Sciences in 1952 in which comrades of the SED represented scientific disciplines (from 1955-1989 the Department of Science was run by Johannes Hörnig!). This department was designed to increase the influence of the SED at universities by establishing and organizing SED basic party units at institutes or departments. To support this development, so-called "Party-Workers" were sent to universities.

This primary goal, to increase the influence of the SED at universities in the first half of the fifties, failed however. This failure was due to the fact that there were an insufficient number of scientists who were also party members to establish such basic units.<sup>2</sup> The influence and power of the SED in general were already noticeable, however, for those scientists and students who publicly criticized these changes at universities. There are known cases in which scientists and students were sentenced as criminals on account of their criticism (Böttcher, 1994).

The relation between SED members and the "old intellectuals", which was up to this time still based on mutual acceptance, changed dramatically after the Third Conference of Universities held by the SED in 1958. With this Conference a second phase, designed to increase the influence of the SED at universities, was launched. Before drawing attention to this second phase, our focus will be briefly directed to the general situation of psychology during the 1950s.

In the 1950s, only the institutes of psychology at the universities in Leipzig, Berlin, and Dresden educated students in psychology.

At the same time, four departments of psychology existed at the universities in Halle, Rostock, Berlin, and Jena as part of Institutes or Faculties of Education. These departments taught psychology exclusively to students of education.

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<sup>1</sup> From 1958 onwards it was named State Office of the Permanent Secretary for Universities and Vocational Colleges.

<sup>2</sup> One explanation for the small number clearly is the strictly limited number of approved SED party memberships available to academics (Laitko, 1997, p. 405). At this time, hostility from mostly working-class members of the SED towards the so-called "old intellectuals" continued. "Old intellectuals" referred to those who had begun their scientific careers before the GDR was founded in 1949.

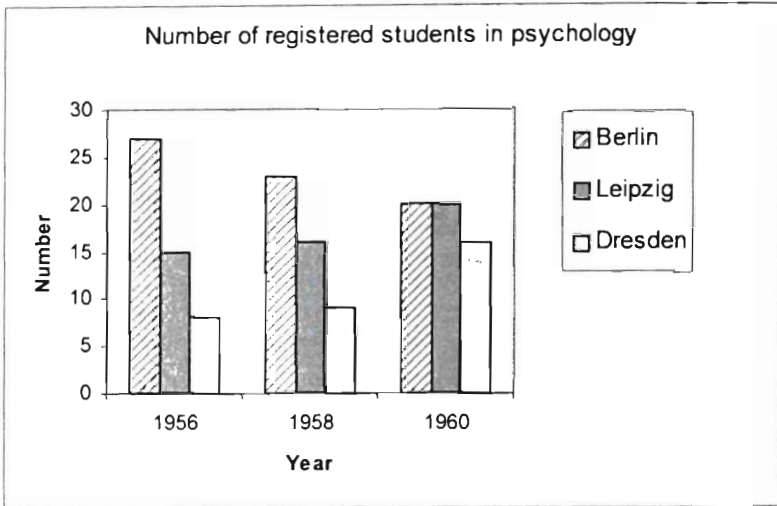


Fig. 1: Number of registered students at the Institutes of Psychology in the GDR.<sup>3</sup>

As it is shown in figure 1, the number of students at the three institutes converged by the end of the fifties. A similar development can be witnessed with regard to the number of scientific positions at these three institutes (see figure 2).

In sum, the number of both students and scientific positions increased in the nineteen-fifties. However, comparing the development of the institutional resources of the three institutes it becomes obvious that the number of students and scientific positions at the institute in Berlin decreased particularly between 1955 and 1960, whereas the personnel resources at the institutes in Leipzig and Dresden increased constantly during these years. There is evidence that the reasons for decreasing the institutional resources at the Berlin Institute were triggered by the changes in the relations between the members of the SED and the "old intellectuals" after the Third Conference of Universities held by the SED.

<sup>3</sup> Stiftung Archiv der Parteien und Massenorganisationen im Bundesarchiv. Bestand: Abteilung Wissenschaften des ZK der SED (SAPMO). Sign.: IVA2/9.04/212. Draft of a conception of the development of psychological fields at universities of the GDR from 1965 to 1980, dated 1965.

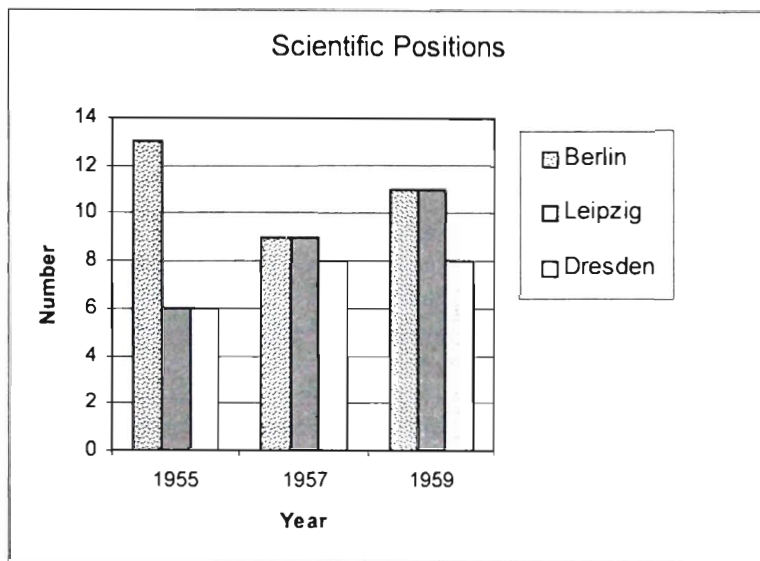


Fig. 2: Scientific positions at the Institutes of Psychology in Berlin<sup>4</sup>, Dresden<sup>5</sup>, and Leipzig<sup>6</sup>.

At the Third Conference of Universities in 1958, the goal to increase the influence of the SED at universities was officially re-announced by an act which stipulated that scientific positions were henceforth to be filled by scientists who were "politically correct". To illustrate this announcement the following demands of the act are quoted:

- The State Office of the Permanent Secretary for Universities must ensure that the number of working class scientists continues to increase at universities.
- In addition, it must guarantee that all institutions in the GDR will inform the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany about persons working in industry while at the time being able to work at a university.
- It has to be ensured that the appointment of scientists to professorships has to take into account the interests of the so-called "Arbeiter-und -Bauernmacht"

<sup>4</sup> Universitätsarchiv der Humboldt Universität Berlin (UAHUB). University Calendars from 1955 to 1959.

<sup>5</sup> Universitätsarchiv der Technischen Universität Dresden (UATUD). University Calendars from 1955 to 1959.

<sup>6</sup> Universitätsarchiv der Universität Leipzig (UAL). University Calendars from 1955 to 1959.

(literally: workers' and peasants' power), which meant, in fact, that the scientists should be members of the SED (Baske & Engelbert, 1966, p. 353).

At this time, the so-called "new intellectuals" were qualified enough to assume academic positions. Many of these "new intellectuals" had started their career at the "workers and peasants faculties" as early as 1949. Since that date these faculties provided an alternative route for mainly working-class students who had not gained the university entrance qualification at school. Most of these academics were members of the SED and therefore the number of comrades at universities increased gradually.

Furthermore, the traditional freedom associated with research and teaching at universities was threatened by the act:

- The State Office of the Permanent Secretary for Universities must plan and control all research activities at universities, and
- it has to supervise all scientific congresses taking place in the GDR and it has to guarantee that only "certain chosen" scientists will represent the GDR at congresses taking place abroad (Baske & Engelbert, 1966, p. 353).

With the act under discussion, the term "bürgerlich" (literally bourgeois) became a "technical term" in the official language. Scientists were categorized as "bourgeois" when they lived in the western world, when they belonged to the "old intellectuals" in the GDR, or when they belonged to the so-called "new intellectuals" and were not seen as "real" comrades by the SED. The term "bourgeois scientists" simply served to identify scientists as persons who were seen as non-supporters of the development of a socialist society (Dumont, 1998).

## II.

How did these changes effect psychology at universities?

There is evidence that by 1957 representatives of the Department of Sciences of the Central Committee of the SED and members of the Scientific Council of Psychology at the State Office of the Permanent Secretary for Universities had already developed several plans to increase the influence of the SED in psychology. The psychologist Maeder, at this time representative of the Central Committee of the SED's Department of Sciences and responsible for psychology, described the situation of psychology in 1958 as follows:

*The situation of psychology in the GDR is characterized by the fact that the Institutes of Psychology are run by bourgeois professors who are representatives of a bourgeois psychology. Hence, the students and the new academic generation - including our comrades - are influenced by bourgeois psychology. In addition, these bourgeois directors control both examinations and scientific work<sup>7</sup>.*

To weaken the position of the so-called bourgeois psychologists, party units

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<sup>7</sup> SAPMO. Sign.. N2/ 9.04/217, document signed by Maeder in 1958, p.55, translated by K.D.

of the SED were to be established at the institutes and departments of psychology. This strategy was carried out successfully, for instance, at the Institute of Psychology at the University of Leipzig, which was run at this time by Werner Fischel (1900-1977), and at the Institute of Psychology at the University of Dresden, which was run at this time by Werner Straub (1902-1983). In Leipzig as well as in Dresden, the directors of these institutes did not prevent these developments. Contrary to this trend, efforts to form a basic party unit at the Institute of Psychology in Berlin failed. Kurt Gottschaldt (1902-1991) vehemently barred members of the SED from establishing a SED basic party unit at his institute. His protest was based on his conviction that science and politics should be separate; he did not reject the policy of the SED in general (Schmidt, 1997). Gottschaldt's protest had several consequences. In a so-called "strict confidential notice" signed by the SED basic party unit of the Berlin University one of these is expressed (the notice is dated March 15th, 1960):

*In the future it is planned that the Department of Psychology [affiliated to the Faculty of Education, K.D.] has to develop a teaching program, which ensures that students of psychology can be educated within the Department. Prof. Gottschaldt can keep his Institute but he will lose several positions, so that in the end he will only have a small research institute.<sup>8</sup>*

Due to the redistribution of resources between the Institute of Psychology affiliated to the Faculty of Natural Sciences and Mathematics and the Department of Psychology affiliated to the Faculty of Education, the representatives of the SED expected to weaken the position of Gottschaldt who was, as the quote makes clear, categorized as a bourgeois scientist.

On May 5<sup>th</sup>, 1960, an informal meeting took place attended by representatives of the Central Committee of the SED (Department of Science), representatives of the Scientific Council of Psychology at the State Office of the Permanent Secretary for Universities, representatives of the SED party unit of the Humboldt University, and representatives of the Department of Psychology of the Faculty of Education at the Humboldt University. At this meeting, the participants agreed, among other things, that, in the future, Gottschaldt's Institute would have to share its financial budget and its technical resources with the Department of Psychology within the Faculty of Education.<sup>9</sup>

Gottschaldt must have been informed about these plans because two months later at the meeting of the Faculty of Natural Sciences and Mathematics, which took place on June 7<sup>th</sup>, 1960, he reported on the demands made by representatives of the Faculty of Education: First, the Institute of Psychology should stop teaching education students. These students should be exclusively taught by the Department of Psychology within the Faculty of Education. The second demand was that the Institute of Psychology should also stop teaching general psychology students. Finally, half of the library and technical resources of the Institute of Psychology should be handed over to the Department of Psychology affiliated

<sup>8</sup> Schmidt, 1992, p. 260, translated by K.D.

<sup>9</sup> SAMPO. Sig. N2/9.04/216, document signed by Junge on May 14th, 1960, p.9.

to the Faculty of Education. Gottschaldt supported the first demand whereas he disagreed with the last demands. At the same meeting, Gottschaldt asked the members of the Faculty of Natural Sciences and Mathematics to establish a commission, which would negotiate with members of the Faculty of Education. This request was accepted and a commission was founded<sup>10</sup>. From the documents it can be assumed that the members of the Faculty of Natural Sciences and Mathematics were not aware of plans to redistribute the resources of psychology at the Humboldt University of Berlin. There is no evidence that the commission enlisted by the Faculty of Natural Sciences and Mathematics had ever negotiated with members of the Faculty of Education. Negotiations were possibly not seen as necessary because the concept of redistributing the resources was not carried out as planned. Gottschaldt's Institute went on to educate psychology students and it shared neither its financial budget nor the library or technical resources with the Department of Psychology affiliated to the Faculty of Education.

However, was the goal to weaken Gottschaldt's position achieved in the end? Although the Scientific Council of Psychology at the State Office of the Permanent Secretary for Universities prohibited an increase in the number of students (see figure 1) as well as the positions for scientists (see figure 2), the main plan to weaken Gottschaldt's position at the Institute of Psychology failed. A letter dated July 18<sup>th</sup>, 1961 and signed by almost all colleagues of Gottschaldt supports this interpretation. The letter was addressed to the Scientific Council of Psychology at the State Office of the Permanent Secretary for Universities, the Central Committee of the SED, the rector of the Humboldt University, the Faculty of Natural Sciences and Mathematics at the Humboldt University, and the basic party unit of the Humboldt University. In this letter Gottschaldt's colleagues emphasized their belief in the quality of his scientific work and they expressed their lack of understanding that both the number of students and the number of positions were reduced by the Scientific Council of Psychology at the State Office of the Permanent Secretary for Universities.<sup>11</sup>

Focusing on Gottschaldt's position as a psychologist in the GDR, the strategy to weaken his position succeeded. First, Gottschaldt took no longer part in congresses or meetings of the national scientific community in the GDR. Second, it can be assumed that the strategies employed to weaken his position made it easier for him to decide in favor of taking the offered chair at the university of Göttingen in 1961. After informing the Humboldt University of his decision, he lost his position as head of the Institute of Psychology<sup>12</sup>. While it is known that Gottschaldt left the GDR in spring 1962, there is no information about how he left the country (Ash, 1995).

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<sup>10</sup> UAHUB, Protocols of the Faculty of Natural Sciences and Mathematics from 1955 to 1960, Sign.. 2, Protocol dated June 8<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>11</sup> UAHUB, Sign.. 37, p.5, signed by Liedemit, Müller, Strauss, Bischoff, Fahlisch, Gutjahr, Helm, Kölling, Mehl, Pudritzki and Schneider, dated July 18<sup>th</sup>, 1961.

<sup>12</sup> UAHUB, Sig.. 37, Letter addressed to Gottschaldt, signed by Schröder, dated October 10<sup>th</sup>, 1961.



In February 1962, the Department of Sciences at the Central Committee of the SED recommended the appointment of Friedhart Klix (who was, at this time, in Jena) to the University of Berlin<sup>13</sup>. Immediately after Klix became director of the institute, the Scientific Council of Psychology at the State Office of the Permanent Secretary for Universities gave permission to increase the number of students, the number of scientific positions, and the financial budget of the institute. Only one year later, in 1963, the number of students at the institute was higher than it had ever been (Dumont, 1999, p. 86).

### III.

Apart from employing strategies to "supplant bourgeois psychologists from the Institutes of Psychology" (Entbuergerlichung) as exemplified in the case of Kurt Gottschaldt, representatives of the official policy also started to have an influence on the new generation of scientists. Already before the Third Conference of Universities, held by the SED in 1958, representatives of the Department of Sciences at the Central Committee of the SED began to initiate what was officially termed "Meinungsstreite" (literally: debates over differing opinions) which in reality were "mandatory scientific discussions" not comparable to common scientific discussions or controversies (Dumont, 1996). These discussions were addressed to the "new generation of scientists" on one hand, and to the comrades among scientists on the other hand. It is therefore not surprising that the very first "mandatory scientific discussion" in the history of psychology of the GDR (held at the Institute of Psychology in Leipzig) is exemplified by an article published by a young scientist. In the history of East German psychology several of such "mandatory scientific discussions" took place. By comparing the known "discussions" the following three characteristics can be observed and qualified: First, every "discussion" was initiated by representatives of political institutions which exhibited power over the respective party units of the institutes of psychology. Second, in every "mandatory scientific discussions" the orientation on Marxism had been the subject of the discussions. Third, in most cases the "mandatory scientific discussion" took place in the run-up to important political events. The peculiarity of the first "mandatory scientific discussion" in the history of psychology of the GDR must be seen in light of the fact that it dates the initiation for the development of a Marxist-oriented approach in psychology. To receive an impression of the course of the first "mandatory scientific discussion" we now review their argumentation:

On August 28<sup>th</sup>, 1957, the Department of Science at the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party sent an official statement criticizing the article "The professional situation of male trainees in industry" by Kulka (1957). This article was the PhD Thesis of the author and was published in extracts in the Journal of the University of Leipzig. The main points of the statement are summarized

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<sup>13</sup> SAPMO, Sign.. IV2/9.04/217, document signed by Mäder on February 6<sup>th</sup>, 1962.

in the five paragraphs below:

First, as a member of the SED everyone is a Marxist. As a Marxist, the scientist is dealing with science. The SED must fight against the double identity of being both Marxist and an impartial scientist.

Second, it is expected that the "comrade scientist" shows partiality in his/her scientific work, e.g. to publicly demonstrate his/her belief in the "leadership of the proletariat".

Third, it is expected that the "comrade scientist" will investigate differences in the behavior of persons who are living in socialist versus capitalist countries. If such differences do not exist, the scientist must find out why these differences had not yet been established. The "new behavior" of a socialist person is expected to be the main task of psychological investigation.

Fourth, it is expected that the "comrade scientist" will use terms which differ from "bourgeois" psychological notions as well as from the political language of West Germany.

Fifth, it is expected that the "comrade scientist" will made adequate use of "Marxist literature" in his/her scientific work and avoid the dominance of "bourgeois literature"<sup>14</sup>.

With respect to the literature used by the young scientist Heinz Kulka, the Department of Science at the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party stated:

*Considering the literature used by the author one could come to the conclusion that Marxism/Leninism does not exist at all. However, for more than 100 years, both the rightness and the fecundity of Marxism/Leninism ideas have been proven on a daily basis. Based on these ideas today over 900 million people have changed the world by establishing socialism. In contrast, one has to realize by reading the article that a large amount of bourgeois literature is quoted, and, as the article indicates, this literature is obviously known by the author. By reading the article accurately one receives the impression that comrade Kulka not only knows this literature very well but also that the comrade Kulka is influenced by it.<sup>15</sup>*

As becomes clear by the cited document, the argumentation used to discuss the article "The professional situation of male trainees in the industry" by Kulka (1957) was not based on a scientific analysis. Instead, it compared the work with ideological demands postulated or simply by counting the number of works of bourgeois literature quoted.

How did the psychologists of the institute at the University of Leipzig answer this criticism? On October 16<sup>th</sup>, 1957 a meeting took place which was attended by representatives (scientists and students) of the SED party unit of the institute as well as representatives of the SED basic party unit of the university. According

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<sup>15</sup> SAPMO, Sign.. IV2/9.04/, document signed by Maeder on August 21<sup>st</sup>, 1957, p. 163, translated by K.D.

<sup>16</sup> SAPMO, Sign.. IV2/9.04/216, protocol dated October 16<sup>th</sup>, 1957, pp. 167-174.

to the protocol of this meeting the following aspects were discussed: First, the participants unanimously agree that the Department of Science of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party may legitimately express such criticism. Second, the participants stated the lack of a socialist conception in psychology. Third, the participants argued that psychologists still have difficulties in establishing a Marxist psychology. Finally, the participants demanded that the SED party unit of the Institute intensify its influence on scientific work<sup>16</sup>

Two weeks later, on October 30<sup>th</sup>, 1957, a resolution was passed by the SED party unit of the institute in which several of the demands passed by the Department of Science at the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party were re-formulated as perspective tasks of the institute: first, teaching, research, and education had to be exclusively based on Marxism/Leninism. Second, bourgeois conceptions of psychology had to be analyzed and criticized permanently. And third, the "new behavior" of the socialist person had to be investigated<sup>17</sup>

Consequently, by accepting these demands scientists of the institute of psychology at the University of Leipzig acknowledged evaluative categories of scientific work different from those established and accepted by the international scientific community. East German psychologists found themselves in a dilemma. To legitimize scientific work they had to follow and to accept both scientific standards formulated by the international scientific community and ideological standards formulated by the Socialist Unity Party.

#### IV

What this dilemma meant to the scientists who experienced it manifest itself in the psychological field of Marxist Social Psychology.<sup>18</sup> In 1962 Hans Hiebsch (1922-1990) and Manfred Vorweg (1933-1989) started to institutionalize Marxist Social Psychology in the form of a "Research and Education Center" at the Institute of Psychology at the University of Jena. Even before the institutionalization of Marxist Social Psychology, both scientists had published articles in which Marxist-oriented Social Psychology had been discussed. Analysis of all existing publications discussing this approach yields the identification of three phases in the history of Marxist Social Psychology: The first phase lasted from 1958 to 1962; the second continued from 1963 to the second half of the 1970s; and the third phase started in 1977 lasting until the GDR ceased to exist as a sovereign state (Dumont, 1999, p. 169). These three phases differentiate in the way in which they represent the origin and the subject of Marxist Social Psychology.

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<sup>14</sup> SAPMO, Sign.: IV/9.04/216, document signed by Maeder on August 21<sup>st</sup>, 1957, pp. 154-164.

<sup>17</sup> SAPMO, Sign.: IV2/9.04/216, protocol dated October 30<sup>th</sup>, 1957, p. 203.

<sup>18</sup> The concentration of a certain field of psychology results from the fact that, since the 1960s, fields of psychology in the GDR were restricted to Institutes of Psychology.

During the first phase, the "dialectic relation between individual and group" stated in Marx's "Kapital", was quoted as the origin of the Marxist approach within Social Psychology. "Group dynamics" was designated as an important subject of the Marxist Social Psychology (Hiebsch, 1958, p. 6-7; Vorweg, 1958, p. 8).

Regarding the Marxist Social Psychology object of inquiry, the authors, still in Leipzig at this time, concentrated on research in tune with international trends in Social Psychology. While Hiebsch (& Dannhauer, 1958) replicated the study about "social influence on perception" by Sing Sodhi (1953), Vorweg (1958) orientated himself toward the famous "experimental study of inter-group relations" by Sherif (1951). Furthermore, these two empirical studies had already been planned and carried out by the authors before the discussion about the orientation on Marxism arose (Dumont, 1999, p. 46-54).

In the first publications about Marxist Social Psychology, the origin and the subject of Social Psychology seem to be unrelated to each other. It is neither argued by the authors that the origin influences the subject with respect to the methods used or with respect to the research designs established, nor are any arguments given to prove or legitimize the origin of the approach. In sum, during the first phase in the history of a Marxist Social Psychology Hiebsch's and Vorweg's orientation toward Marxism was an avowal of Marxism because it was expected from officials rather than an awareness based on a scientific process (Dumont, 1999, p. 182-190).

During the second phase, both Hiebsch and Vorweg declared Marx's term "Co-operation" as the origin of a Marxist Social Psychology (Hiebsch & Vorweg, 1963, 1964, 1966). The authors defined "Co-operation" as "a increase in achievement through co-ordination of space and time" (Hiebsch & Vowerg, 1963, 589). Thus, "co-ordination" was explicated as being based on communication and leadership. The subject was seen in the "behavior and experience of human beings in co-operational interaction" (Hiebsch & Vorweg, 1963, p. 592-593). Comparing the approach of the first phase with the approach of the second, a diametrical development of the representations in respect of origin and subject can be observed. On one hand, the origin of the approach became more specific (from "dialectic relation" to "cooperation") and on the other hand, the authors expanded the subject of Marxist Social Psychology. However, using Marx's term "Co-operation" was not new in psychology. Other authors had used it previously such as Hofstaetter (1956, 1957), who is seen as the main supporter of Social Psychology in West Germany (Lueck, 1991). Hofstaetter referred to Marx when he formulated his hypothesis about the increase in achievement within groups he tested empirically (Hofstaetter, 1957, pp. 27).

The increasing emphasis on the subject during the second phase can also be interpreted as consideration of international trends within Social Psychology, where "group dynamics" was already seen as just one of many subjects (Farr, 1991).

Publications discussing the Marxist Social Psychology abruptly ceased in 1967. Subsequently, Hiebsch and Vorweg simply repeated arguments they had previously published. What had happened? In 1966 Hiebsch and Vorweg published the first book about Marxist Social Psychology. This book was the

reason for the first initiated "Meinungsstreit" (1966/67), which took place in Jena (Eckardt, 1995). Philosophers, pedagogues, and politicians discussed the book and came to the conclusion that both Hiebsch and Vorweg represent a non-Marxist approach. The arguments used by the initiators of this "mandatory scientific discussion" were similar to those at the "Meinungsstreit" in Leipzig ten years earlier (e.g. "incorrect" theoretical/philosophical origin, a dominance of bourgeois literature, a lack of criticism with respect to bourgeois models, an absence of references to the policy of the SED). Five years later Hiebsch and Vorweg found themselves in the same dilemma again. This time a PhD Thesis by a student supervised by Hiebsch and Vorweg was the cause for the "Meinungsstreit" which took place in 1971/72 (Dumont, 1996, 1999). In contrast to the first "Meinungsstreit", the second had several important consequences: first, the student had to re-write his thesis. Second, the Faculty did not accept the evaluation of the scientists Hiebsch, Vorweg, and Kossakowski. The result of the evaluation was changed from magna cum laude, as recommended by Hiebsch, Vorweg, and Kossakowski, to cum laude. Finally, the student and the supervisors were accused of representing a Social Psychology which is not based on Marxism (Dumont, 1999, p. 202-219).

These interventions did not lead to changes in Marxist Social Psychology as expected by the initiators. In fact, these interventions mark the third phase in the development of the Marxist Social Psychology. After 1979, Marxist Social Psychology was generally defined as a field of psychology based on dialectic-materialism (Hiebsch & Vorweg, 1979, p. 17). "Co-operation" as the origin of the approach was still maintained, but secondarily. These arguments protected social psychologists from further interventions as the aforementioned "Meinungsstreite". From this date on questioning Marxist Social Psychology meant questioning psychology in the GDR in general.

In the third phase, the subject of the Marxist Social Psychology was seen in the "legalities of psychic regulation of social interactions" (Hiebsch & Vorweg, 1979, p. 19). The reformulation of the subject was again influenced by the international trend of Social Psychology (Dumont, 1999).

As description of GDR Marxist social psychological developments has shown, scientists were constantly faced with a dilemma: for those working in a scientific field it was necessary to meet the requirements and standards formulated by the international scientific communities. As a scientist at an East German university it was moreover necessary to meet the requirements and standards formulated by the SED. To fulfill these requirements psychologists found themselves in a balancing act between scientific seriousness and "political correctness", as defined by the SED. With respect to Social Psychology, the first was not possible without the second.

Focusing on the consequences of this balancing act, one consequence for Social Psychology is featured: due to relation between science and politics in the GDR both social psychologists and Social Psychology were effectively separated from international developments within the subject. Comparison of social psychological problems treated and methods used by GDR-scientists with the international trend within Social Psychology constitutes a temporal retardation

of nearly fifteen years (Dumont, 1999, p. 145-152). This retardation was also caused by the limits places on available resources e.g. technique, literature, investigations etc.) as well as by the limitation of scientific exchange (see Dumont & Louw, in review). For instance, taking part at international congresses required the official permission of the Central Committee of the SED's Department for Sciences, of the State Office of the Permanent Secretary for Universities and Vocational Colleges, and of the respective universities. Such permission was rarely granted.

The scientific gap, caused by the complex of factors discussed above, was recognized by social psychologists themselves. In 1980 Hiebsch commented on the development of Social Psychology during the 1970s:

*... we can carry on as a "paper and pencil psychology" for the next ten years always hoping to find the necessary facilities to conduct experimental work somewhere. But this situation will lead to the consequence that we won't be able to take part in any international discussions in the future at all<sup>9</sup>.*

#### FINAL REMARK

In sum, after the SED stabilized its position and influence at universities, the development of a Marxist-oriented approach in psychology was initiated by representatives of the SED. The decision, whether the representations of a Marxist psychology suggested by scientists had been accepted or not, was in the hands of the SED.

GDR psychologists therefore needed to respect the international standards in scientific work as well as those instituted by the government. As a consequence, scientists found themselves in a dilemma: on the one hand they had to accept and follow standards formulated by international scientific communities and, on the other hand, they were forced to accept and follow ideological standards formulated by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. For convention, or for practical reasons, scientist tried to comply with both sets of requirements, which, from an epistemological point of view, were incompatible. The consequences were numerous and complex. The separation from international developments, as shown in the case of Social Psychology, must be seen as a grave consequence. However, these consequences are not simply transferable to every field of psychology. Even if every field of psychology had been faced the same dilemma, strategies used by various scientists to handle the balancing act between science and politics differed. Unfortunately, these chapters in history of GDR psychology are still unwritten.

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