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Karl Landauer and the South West German Psychoanalytic Study Group

Whereas some contemporaries of the Frankfurt Psychoanalytical Institute gained an international reputation on behalf of their subsequent work - I name here Erich Fromm and Frieda Fromm-Reichmann, Heinrich Meng and S. H. Foulkes - Karl Landauer and the Frankfurt Psychoanalytical Institute and the South West German Psychoanalytical Study Group have long been left in oblivion. This is particularly true of the life and work of Karl Landauer: his fate is exemplary for the Jewish-German doctor and intellectual of his generation.

Erich Fromm's letter to Frank Hartman in 1974 illustrates the difficulty of reconstructing the past, even when it is a mutual one:

Locarno/Moraito, 11. 4. 1974

Dear Dr. Hartman,

Thank you for your letter of April 4th. Dr. Landauer was my teacher who supervised my analytic work around 1926-28, after I had had a didactic analysis with Dr. Wittenberg in Munich. I knew him mainly from this work and remember him as a very kind, intelligent, sensi-tive person. He had a deep reverence for Freud which I believe led him to be very active in Freud's obtaining the Goethe Prize for the city of Frankfurt. Politically I believe he tended to be an anarchist in the sense of Gustav Landauer. I am sorry that I cannot report any significant details which would contribute to the picture.

As to the date of the founding of the Frankfurt Institute, I am not certain; I believe it must have been around 1927 or '28. Incidentally I do not think it was ever called the Frankfurt Institute; it was called Südwestdeutsches Psychoanalytisches Institut and aside from Landauer and Meng, I am sure Frieda Fromm-Reichmann was also one of the founders.

Sincerely yours, Erich Fromm (2)

Karl Landauer's family originally came from Hürben, a small village in Swabia, which had been a domain of the Hapsburgs for centuries and was annexed by Bavaria in 1805 (Frenkel, undated, p.1). Ancestors had moved to Munich in the retinue of the Court Jews to assist the Kings of Bavaria in the construction in Munich of the Royal Residence and the administrative development of the Bavarian State. He was born on 12th October, 1887 as the youngest of three children and only son. It was during his childhood and adolescence that the rapid development of the city of Munich could be witnessed with the concomitant social upheaval. Work in the fields of literature, music



and the arts on the highest level was no longer the prerogative of the aristocracy but now created from the sphere of the bourgeoisie. Landauer's father Isidor was a banker, an outstanding personality doubly involved in social spheres: he devoted his time on a voluntary basis to the aid of deaf-mute children and was able to revoke vile incriminations and eliminate prejudice despite acute antisemitic campaigns. He was the long-standing President of the Association "Concordia" and responsible for the organisation of winter balls and other pleasant occasions. When Karl was eight years-old his father developed the symptoms of acute appendicitis; no operation, however, was performed, so that he was subsequently chronically ill. He died after a stroke in 1901 before his fiftieth birthday (loc.cit. p.33). Karl is said to have undergone severe crises with the authority at school during this period (Hotz, 1991).

Landauer's mother was a distinguished and cultured woman whose temperament is said to have been the opposite of her husband's (Frenkel, undated, p.34). She loved peace and quiet and books. As a schoolgirl she had been a friend of Hedwig Lachmann, who later became a poet and author and is still known for her translation of Oscar Wilde's "Salome" to the music composed by Richard Strauß. Hedwig Lachmann was married to Gustav Landauer (1870-1919) (not related to Karl Landauer's family); his concept of a liberal, non-marxist socialism was the intrinsic premise for the liberation of every individual from social, economic and cultural pressure; he based it on the anarchist ideas of Proudhon, Bakunin (3) and Kropotkin as well as the literary traditions associated with the names of Goethe, Herder, Jean Paul, Fichte (Hartman, 1986). In the vision of Gustav Landauer a socialist society went hand in hand with the psychological liberation of the individual. The term revolution signified for him a certain quality in human relationships, not a political or economic factor (Delf, 1986). ^{Karl Landauer} He was a frequent guest at the couple's home both in Berlin and in Krumbach by Hürben (Frenkel, undated, p. 37; Lachmann, 1914). Gustav Landauer's influence is apparent in various contexts of Karl Landauer's work, e. g. the title of the mature work "The Community with Oneself" is imbued with the spirit of Gustav Landauer according to the editor. Gustav Landauer considered the community with oneself to be the pre-requisite of community with others (Delf, 1994). Gustav Landauer was prepared to take the post of Volksbeauftragter für Volksaufklärung (Spokesman for information and education of the people) in the Räteregierung (government of Republican representatives) in Munich in 1919, although he was fully aware that he had no chance of surviving in this office. He was brutally murdered in May, 1919.

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After leaving school with his immatriculation qualification (Abitur), Karl Landauer commenced his studies in Medicine, originally with the aim of becoming a paediatrician, later, however, changing over to read Psychiatric medicine; he gives a characteristic, apodictic explanation that sounds modern to our ears: "If you want to be a paediatrician, you might as well be a psychiatrist to the parents!" In fact, he did later devote a lot of time to the treatment of children and adolescents and psychoanalytical development theory. It may well be the case that his own father's voluntary work with deaf-mute children was a model for him. It is unfortunately not possible to ascertain whether he came into contact with these children. Later on he did show significant interest in the role of non-verbal communication. He interrupted his course of studies for one semester in order to study Art in Rome and Naples with his friend, the painter Wadler. When in Berlin he was not only a visitor at the house of Gustav Landauer and his wife, but also of Hermann Dessau, Professor of Roman History and Secretary of the Prussian Academy of Science, whose wife was related to him (Frenkel, undated, p. 33).

It was during his postgraduate psychiatric training at the Kräpelin Clinic that his Senior Physician Max Isserlin pointed out the proximity of his ideas to Freud's theories. He was one of the first Germans to commence psychoanalytic training with Freud in 1912, i.e. he had analytic sessions and visited the Saturday evening lectures in the University Clinic in Vienna,. In the course of analysis he discovered that Freud's wife Martha, who was known as Madame Professor, came from the Bernays family which had a long-standing acquaintance with the Landauers. Landauer continued his training in the fields of neurology and psychiatry under Wagner-Jauregg.

In the autumn of 1913 Landauer was accepted as a member of the Vienna Psychoanalytic Association. The first meeting he attended was overshadowed by the aftermaths of C. G. Jung's separation; since Landauer laid emphasis on psychiatric aspects, orientated on Jung, the initial encounter after this altercation must have been extremely significant. In November 1913 Landauer gave his first "critical paper"; he discussed the Swiss Psychiatrist W. Itten's contribution "Zur Psychologie der dementia praecox" published in the Jahrbuch für Psychoanalyse (1913). In the discussion Freud criticised the approach of the "Zürich school" which dealt only with the content and not with the mechanism of the symptoms. One month later Landauer gave his first lecture on his own findings: "On the Psychology of Schizophrenia"; he again had cause to refer to the work of Bleuler and Jung in his examination of some case studies. Instead of the traditional merely descriptive consideration he attempted to explain the dynamic process of individual symptoms, this approach apparently being the first stepping-stone



towards a therapeutic interpretation. At a later date Landauer writes: "They were translations from the language of the psychotic into that of everyday usage; the work of the doctor was - exclusively - to return the message to the patient when he had been fortunate enough to find an interpretation: results on a descriptive level." (Landauer, 1924b, p.419). It was evident how hopeless such attempts were in a therapeutic sense: "The only feasible chance was to inflict a new wound, either by premature discharge into practical life" (as Bleuler recommended with his patients (5) when they seemed on their way to recovery) "or by analysis; both procedures mostly do not create favourable results." (Nunberg und Federn, 1975, p. 212). The discussion of this lecture constitutes a milestone in the history of psychosis therapy, since it was the initial statement of Paul Federn's concept. He relinquishes the idea of the complex as pathogenic and states: "Significant is the degree of regression that has taken place... There can be therapeutic benefit when disappointment suffered at the hands of the infantile love objects can be replaced through other persons." (Loc. cit., p. 213). Federn's ideas are thus very close to those which Ferenczi later developed. Landauer did not refer to them explicitly, whereas Freud's subsequent remarks in this discussion are the pivot for the technique he later develops for the treatment of borderline and psychosis patients. Initially Freud expressed a warning about equating the complex responsible for the symptoms with the cause of the illness. He saw the removal of the libido from the object as the cause rendering transference therapy impossible, as he explained in a later work "Zur Einführung des Narzißmus" (1914c, p. 137). He did, however, concede that such a retreat might be only partial (Nunberg und Federn, 1975, p. 213). Landauer took this as the starting point of his "passive" technique by which he described the possibility of using the remnants of the libido, not, however, taking a route via transference, but by "inference" (Translator's note: Landauer's term "Eintragung" is his personal coinage to denote the change of direction associated with his "passive " technique. It has been called "carrying in", i. e. an inwards transfer). It is not a direct corollary to Federn's concept of the replacement of disappointment by virtue of a corrective emotional experience: he starts with the remnants of the libidinal object cathexes of the narcissistically disturbed patient making use of the fact that strivings made conscious lose their strength (Landauer, 1924b, p. 416). He advises that only the aggressive conflict potential be interpreted, so that the libidinous forces can be enriched by not being interpreted. He considers it feasible to increase the capacity for love-object relations when the patient is not treated in an importunate way, i.e. when the person is spoken to in the detached third person, and not in the direct first or third person. He permits the patient to destroy the object aggressively, whereby a weak positive object



transference can simultaneously develop, fostered and protected by being apparently disregarded. This is the process he terms "Eintragung". Wilhelm Reich later (6) emphasised the role of selective interpretation of aggressive drives in character analysis. Today it is an important aspect of treatment technique of borderline disturbances (Kernberg, 1975, p. 97-116). The acceptance of the patient's aggression as part of the relationship is fundamental to Klein's psychoanalytic technique. Landauer's "passive" technique is to coincide with the chronology of his later Frankfurt period.

Before the First World War he published a case study: "Spontanheilung einer Katatonie" (1914) ("The spontaneous recovery of a catatonic"); he was thus the first author to describe an example of the identification process with a lost object. In his "Trauer und Melancholie" (1917e, p. 436) Freud refers to this. He had of course developed this concept with Freud and other members of the Viennese Association. Landauer's conclusions also reveal the influence of Freud's Theory of Narcissism, and at the same time the development of the structural model emphasising the role of the ego and its defence mechanisms. From the very beginnings of treatment Landauer is familiar with work on defence.

Immediately after the declaration of the First World War Landauer volunteered for military service, not, however, out of enthusiasm for the war, but because of a moral obligation as a doctor. After experiencing wartime's inhumanity, particularly the gas warfare, he became a pacifist. He met up with Heinrich Meng, a doctor involved in questions of social medicine and psychohygiene attached to the next battalion; both were moved by deep convictions (Friedmann, 1967). This friendship was later to be of great significance for the founding of the Frankfurt Psychoanalytic Institute. After a severe typhoid infection he was ordered to Heilbronn as doctor in the Military Prison. Sentences in solitary confinement or without daylight appeared to him as "temporary murder" (Landauer, 1927, p.36). He married Lins Kahn in Heilbronn, and his elder daughter Eva was born there in 1917.

At the end of the war Landauer moved with his young family to Frankfurt am Main, because he had to take up there the psychiatric position he had applied for before the war.(7) He had probably chosen Frankfurt on account of family ties: his mother had also moved there in the meantime. He continued his psychiatric training at the University Psychiatric Hospital under Sioli's direction. Even after he went into private practice in 1923 his special interest lay in the field of psychotic illness, although his casework was



exclusively analytic. He was frequently referred to by colleagues, particularly in difficult hospitalised cases. He intended to devote his old age to the study of psychoses.

In the 1920's there developed a "psychoanalytic movement" as Ernest Jones put it: inter- national conferences took place, the International Psychoanalytic Association founded in 1910 with regional societies provided a wider organisational setting for Psychoanalysis after the First World War. There were more local societies particularly after the inauguration of training institutes in Berlin (1920-24), London (1925-26) and subsequently in Frankfurt am Main, Den Haag, Budapest, New York and Chicago etc. Alongside Vienna, the Berlin Institute assumed the dimension of a Mecca of Psychoanalysis with a possibly even greater aura than the place it originated in. While the Berliner Psychoanalytische Gesellschaft was renamed the (German) Deutsche Psychoanalytische Gesellschaft in 1923 on account of the sheer number of the members, there were psychoanalytic study groups founded farther away from Berlin. In a circular dated 2nd. June, 1923 and addressed to the so-called "Secret Committee" unofficially instigated by Freud in order to deal with psychoanalytic matters Abraham and Eitingon quote Karl Landauer's report from Frankfurt: "For over a year (i.e. 1922) I have been seeing Groddeck and Meng and other colleagues from Southern Germany (without Hattingberg) who are interested in Psychoanalysis. My colleague Westphal has been working with me since the autumn after an intensive analysis. With his aid I have recently organised a group of students, to whom I am introducing Psychoanalysis. During the winter semester I am hoping to hold an introductory course." They also report that Clara Happel is returning to Frankfurt. As early as 1924 the demand for a meeting outside of Berlin for all analysts resident in Germany (8) had been so immense that the "first German meeting for Psychoanalysis" was held in Würzburg in 1924, where Landauer held his lecture "Äquivalente der Trauer" (Equivalents of Grief), in which he depicted the connection between grief which had not been experienced and psychosomatic symptoms for the first time in psychoanalytic research (Landauer, 1925a). Just one year later Landauer organised the Ninth "International Psychoanalytic Congress" in Bad Homburg with the aid of his wife. He had proven able to accept this responsibility in the course of one single day after the Congress had to be cancelled in Switzerland after problems within the local association.

In the autumn of the same year Gustav von Bergmann and Kurt Goldstein invited to an academic portrayal of psychoanalysis in the Frankfurt University Clinic in a series of seminars where Landauer, Frieda Fromm-Reichmann and Clara Happel presented



patients. In October 1926 Frieda Fromm-Reichmann, and Erich Fromm in Heidelberg, Clara Happel, Karl Landauer and Frank Stein in Frankfurt, Heinrich Meng in Stuttgart and Ewald Röllenbeck in Darmstadt founded the Frankfurt Psychoanalytic Study Group, soon to be renamed the South West German Study Group and later to be developed into the "Frankfurter Psychoanalytische Institut" in 1929 (Rado, 1928a). It is typical of Georg Groddeck that his name was not to be found on the members' list although he was a frequent guest of the Fromms and had influenced them greatly. His aversion to institutionalisation is common knowledge. Both Mr. and Mrs. Fromm were mutually able to shed the relics of their Jewish religious tradition with the help of psychoanalysis. Frieda Fromm-Reichmann came originally from Königsberg and had had to struggle for admission to read medicine as a woman; as assistant to Kurt Goldstein she had then specialised in neurological questions particularly in the field of cerebral damage with special reference to aspects of nursing. It is evident how eminently important the aspect of the relationship to the patient was for her, when one considers how she turned to Psychoanalysis upon hearing of Freud's transference concept. Her psychotherapeutic (9) training took place in the Weißer Hirsch Sanatorium by Dresden under the auspices of I. H. Schultz after the First World War. Her later husband, Erich Fromm, came from an orthodox Jewish tradition and researched its social psychological conditions. Through psychoanalysis he moved away from Jewish traditions and developed the instrument of analytical social psychology in the Institute of Sozialforschung that was to form the basis of his empirical research and that he defined as "comprehension of the drive structure of a group from its socio-economic structure". The family was viewed as the decisive factor, a psychological agency of society.

Clara Happel (1889-1945) left Frankfurt in 1927; the letters exchanged with her son in Volker Friedrich's collection have paid tribute to the hard fate she endured in her emigration. Ewald Röllenbeck (1899-1976) had originally specialised in Literature and Librarianship, and had completed psychoanalytic training with Therese Benedek in the metropole of books, Leipzig. He was the Director of the Darmstadt City Library, known at that time as the People's Library. His general attitude was enlightened and pedagogical, so that he preferred this work to the direction of a scientific library. He gave readings in prisons, thus gaining the trust of the inmates, who sought his advice. As a Social Democrat he lost his position in 1933 and was obliged to go to Berlin, where he belonged to the Psychoanalytical Institute and voted against the suspension of the Jewish members. Very few biographical details are known about Karl Landauer's close colleague Franz Stein. He did not complete his analytic training and died in 1936. Karl Landauer and Heinrich Meng had become acquainted as doctors from battalions in the

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First World War. In their talks Heinrich Meng had found an impulse to commence psychoanalytic training. After his training analysis in Vienna with Paul Federn and Hans Sachs he had a practice in Stuttgart as internist in both psychoanalytic and homeopathic directions. His involvement in the social sphere was decisive for the development of his concept of psychohygiene which was served by Psychoanalysis. He deemed it necessary to popularise medical knowledge as far as possible. Through(10) information he hoped to prevent neurotic disturbances. The same motive led him to do pioneer work in the field of psychoanalytical pedagogy. He later developed his own psychosomatic model, the so-called organ psychosis, that differed from the typical conversion models in the explanation of psychosomatic illnesses: in this model organic illness replaces rupture in the ego. S. H. Foulkes was a later member of the South West German Study Group and the Psychoanalytical Institute; after his emigration to England he developed psychoanalytical group therapy. Previously he had been Kurt Goldstein's assistant whose concept of the nerve system as a network he later developed into a theory of the analytic group with a social context. Fromm's conclusion that Psychoanalysis annuls the dividing line between individual and social psychology can also be viewed as one basic assumption of group analysis.

The members of the South West German Study Group had considered the foundation of an Institute; these plans could not become concrete until Landauer started to co-operate with Max Horkheimer. The philosopher Max Horkheimer belonged to the academic staff of the Institut für Sozialforschung (Institute for Social Research). His interests did not only focus on the socio-economic conditions of bourgeois society, but also on the problems of the "Überbau" (superstructure), which he redefined. He thus hoped to gain insight into the causes of conflicts in society by means of psychology. He later wrote: "The economic appears to be the primary and all-embracing factor, but recognition of pre-determination in detail, the search for bridging processes and thus comprehension of the results depend on the psychological work" (Horkheimer, 1932, p.140). When Horkheimer was asked in old age how he came into contact with psychoanalysis he recalled how he spoke to Landauer: "I should like to gain a deep personal knowledge of psychoanalysis and believe that is only possible when I undergo analysis" (Horkheimer, 1985, p. 453 foll.). Landauer is quoted as replying, "That's all well and good, but I'm sorry it's not possible; if I am to analyse you, then you would need a genuine medical indication;(11) you must have a symptom for me to treat, otherwise there is something decisive missing." Horkheimer went home and thought it over. He did in fact have a symptom, namely that he was not able to give a 45-minute lecture without notes. They were real lectures since he had had to write down detailed



notes. Landauer had accepted this as a symptom, and the analysis had lasted for about one year. The symptom had vanished after about six weeks. When Horkheimer had associated, "Well, if I don't write everything down the students will consider me stupid." Landauer had replied, "So what, let them think you're stupid." Horkheimer had been so impressed that from that moment he had ceased to make written notes. The end of the analysis is also remarkable. Horkheimer recalls that after one year Landauer said to him, "We must finish your analysis now. It isn't really completed, but we can't continue; you're too happy, everything's going off too well. To continue really successfully, you'd have to go to Berlin so that you're not at home with your wife, that's what makes you so happy. It would be possible to continue in Berlin, and then many aspects would probably materialise that we cannot conceive of today" (loc. cit.). Horkheimer, however, remained in Frankfurt and did not continue the analysis. It is interesting to observe Landauer's view of the necessity of actual neurotic drive damming for the success of analysis whereas it has often been equated with setting free drives. When it is said that the Critical Theory as developed by Max Horkheimer in the 1930's does not constitute ivory-tower philosophy ex cathedra, but is based on individual and everyday suffering (Schmidt-Noerr, 1985, p. 297), still Landauer's demand for a symptom of suffering as pre-requisite of psychoanalysis is visible.¹⁾

It may well be that Horkheimer's fear of being considered stupid stimulated Landauer to take up the question of intelligence and stupidity. It does seem significant that in 1929 Landauer's celebrated essay "Zur psychosexuellen Genese der Dummheit" (On the psychosexual genesis of stupidity) (12) appeared in which he linked social fear of oppression and castration fear with its ideological and neurotic defence. The central concept that reflects on stupidity as the acquired inability to experience was to become the basis of the hypotheses pertaining to the prejudice theory of the Frankfurt School (Psyche-Redaktion, 1970). In this paper he describes the clinical picture of a man imbued with the wish for constant self-assurance, who always feels correct and is never bothered by experience, thought or doubts and is identified with the brainless penis. This patient is the counterimage of a man, who deadens his feelings and the disturbed sensual world and rules over them with obsessive brooding and mechanisation. He had described such a patient in earlier essays ["Gedanken bei Analyse einer 'Folie du doute'" (1925b) and "Automatismen, Zwangsneurose und Paranoia" (1927a)]

1) Landauer regarded Horkheimer's analysis as a didactic analysis; in letters to Max Eitington he reported three other didactic analyses (Letters dated 13. 8. 1928 and 15. 9. 1930).



("Thoughts in connection with the analysis of an insanity of doubt" and "Automatisms obsessive-compulsive neurosis and paranoia"). Later on Landauer was repeatedly to emphasise the necessity of gradual development of independent feeling and thinking.

In the Frankfurt period the circumstances of Landauer's personal life can be described as happy. As enlightened non-orthodox Jews Landauer and his wife welcomed many guests to their home, but always respecting the demands of the stricter religious when serving food. Apart from professional work the growing family was the centre of Landauer's life. Their second daughter Suse was born in 1923, their son Paul in 1926. With his wife he was a regular visitor of the cultural scene, particularly at the theatre and art exhibitions. They visited Freud in Vienna once a year; there were personal and family ties of friendship to him. Landauer's wife was always invited to the meetings of the older analysts at Freud's home - the younger ones met for tea at Anna Freud's. Lins Landauer is said to be the only woman who ever refused to take up Freud's call to become a Psychoanalyst with a definite "No". Karl Landauer and his wife met Paul Federn and his family regularly when they were in Vienna. (13)

Unlike Fromm, who had never made Freud's personal acquaintance, Landauer remained a lifelong follower of Freud. He never experienced him as a patriarch demanding submission, but as positively welcoming contradiction.

From his exile in Amsterdam Landauer wrote on 10th March, 1936 to Max Horkheimer after reading Erich Fromm's article "Die gesellschaftliche Bedingtheit der psychoanalytischen Therapie" ("Psychoanalytic therapy and its social bases"): "Whereas I read your essay (The problem of Truth) with the greatest enthusiasm and the greatest delight, I was not able to approve of Fromm's text. The principle he makes may be correct, but I have the greatest reservations about his use of almost every quotation and against all the characterisations of personalities. He views Ferenczi and Groddeck totally unlike I do. That Freud does have great limitations is not a matter of dispute. But to me it seems completely wrong to comment as Fromm does on Freud's insistence on abstinence (German: *Versagung*) in the analytic setting. It is this abstinence (*Versagung*) that is the cardinal point that alone made all the research possible. Freud is certainly not the strict father that Fromm sees in him. Not only does he bear with heretics, he even directly provokes heresy, and he is constantly seeking to test how waterproof the apparently proven really is. For my part I have got to know a different person from the one Fromm describes" (Horkheimer, 195, p. 478).



For some time Landauer was active in the Jewish organisation of pioneers (Chaluzim) being trained in Frankfurt, but later he was generally more interested in left-wing Socialism than in Jewish socialism of nationalist orientation (Frenkel, 1968, p. 37). In spite of his left-wing bourgeois and pacifist attitudes Landauer was never politically active, nor was he a member of a socialist medical association like Heinrich Meng

It was probably due to Heinrich Meng's efforts, possibly also at Landauer's instigation, that after vehement discussions in the curatorship Sigmund Freud was awarded the Goethe Prize, one of the few official honours awarded to Freud (14) in his lifetime and probably the highest. The ceremony was in keeping with the reform and modernisation policy of Frankfurt's Lord Mayor Ludwig Landmann, a man who considered cultural development as intrinsic for the economy. Incidentally, Ludwig Landmann suffered as a nonconfessional Jew the similar fate to Karl Landauer. Immediately after the seizure of power he was forced to flee to Holland where he died in hiding in the spring of 1945 of weakness.

Horkheimer made the offer to establish a psychoanalytical institute with guest status within the Institute for Social Research. He invited all the psychoanalysts required for research to his house. Meng moved from Stuttgart to Frankfurt, to take on the joint direction with Landauer. Frieda Fromm-Reichmann came from Heidelberg. Erich Fromm was doubly attached to both institutes by virtue of his sociological and psychoanalytical research. In 1930, the youngest member, S. H. Foulkes (1898-1976), joined them to direct the newly opened out-patient department, which had to be closed two years later on account of the worldwide economic crisis. The concept of the institute was the teaching of knowledge of Psychoanalysis in Freud's sense. Doctors, psychologists, sociologists, teachers and lawyers were to be enabled to acquire insight into the psychoanalytical technique for further use in their specialist areas. There was initially no mention of training psychoanalytical therapists. Inofficially however, teaching analyses were performed. For instance Horkheimer was considered a trainee analyst. There was widespread official interest when the institute was opened in February, 1929. Teaching continued until the winter semester 1932/33. The summer semester planned for 1933 did not take place. Heinrich Meng describes the end in his recollections (1971. P.83):

"Both institutes (for Social Research and Psychoanalysis) were officially closed [in March 1933].... Rooms containing the library were demolished, books burned in public.



Five of the psychoanalysts decided to leave Germany. Landauer, (15) both Fromms and Fuchs did so at once. Being Jewish the risk for them was greater. I still remained. I took up negotiations with Basel. These led to my move in mid-1933."

Landauer had been victim of the first pogrom on Jewish medical practices and lawyers' chambers from 1st April, 1933. His house was searched and his passport confiscated (Hartman, 1986). He fled first to Sweden where he received an invitation from the President of the Dutch Psychoanalytical Association, van Ophuijsen, to commence work as psychoanalyst in Holland. After the institute had closed down, the South West German Psychoanalytical Study Group ceased to exist.

Apart from Landauer, Theodor Reik and August Watermann, an analyst from Hamburg, had come to Amsterdam. Even today Dutch psychoanalysts are moved when they read the documents that show the difficulties and conflicts the emigrants met with (Groen-Prakken, 1993; Stroeken, 1993). The arrival of the immigrants brought a conflict in the Dutch Psychoanalytical Association to a head that had long been smouldering: it involved the President van Ophuijsen, who was orientated on the lines of the international standards of the Berlin Psychoanalytical Institute, and the majority of the other members. The former founded a new society with a few original members and the immigrants, which did not merge with the old society for several years. Landauer was particularly resented for the self-confident manner in which he defended the standards of training of the International Psychoanalytical Association.

It is a token of the capacity for conflict of all involved that mutual work was resumed after several years. Landauer is considered the pre-eminent teacher of the Dutch Association in the thirties since he introduced the modern technique orientated on the ego and defence into Holland (Spanjaard und Mekking, 1976, p. 638). Landauer devoted most of his time to training analyses, which he performed free of charge for the refugees, and to supervision; (16) teaching had been the justification for granting a work permit to the stateless expatriates from Germany (letter to Max Horkheimer dated 21. 4. 1937). He now lived a very secluded life and published a lengthy report on "Ich-Organisation in der Pubertät" (1935) (Ego Organization in Puberty). Ego development had long occupied Landauer; of special interest for him was the developmental phase in puberty, when the pressure of maturing leads to disruption of the Ego structure, to its fragmentation where nevertheless the ego is recurred to instead of exterior reality. This text was in fact published as counter-position to Bernfeld's famous text about the simple masculine puberty (Bernfeld, 1935).



In 1936 Landauer was invited to hold a lecture on the development of the affects on the occasion of Freud's eightieth birthday in Vienna. He gave a supplementary lecture at the International Psychoanalytical Congress In Marienbad. Even today analysts hesitate to approach the difficult terrain of the theory of affects (Green, 1977, Henseler, 1986). Freud himself had not resumed work on this subject, inspite of the fact that psychoanalysis had originally been conceived as affect theory prior to drive theory. Landauer described the phylogenetic origin of the affects in the ego with energy from the id and clarified Freud's complicated remark that "Affects take a course in the pattern of a hysterical fit" (Freud, 1962d, p. 120, 163). In every affect there are opposite tendencies so that the ego-psychological foundation of ambivalent object relations is conceived. He superimposed the increase of self-awareness onto the congenital stimulus/ response schemes that function in the affects. Modern psychoanalytical development psychologists view Landauer's work as the historical basis for today's scientific observation of infants (Emden, 1988, p. 284). Clinically speaking Landauer was always particularly interested in the restriction the affects undergo through education as the principal cause of later psychological disturbances. His precept for therapy was thus: "In the psychological treatment of many disturbances it is important that the sick person learns to feel again the following: real anger, real grief; only then will real joy, real love come to stay" (Landauer, 1939, p. 186). Just as (17) thought potential can be inhibited he describes the limitation of the affects as the result of societal, political, historical, family and neurotic factors.

At the celebration in honour of Freud's eightieth birthday in Amsterdam at the end of December, 1936 Landauer held a lecture on Freud's interpretation of dreams (Landauer, 1937) This is a token of his wide official recognition. He emphasises in this lecture the current significance of dreams within the framework of the transference relationship, and goes into very personal observations with his own examples and onto the contemporary political situation as it is reflected in dreams. In his letter dated 1st January, 1937 to Horkheimer he writes: "it was fun to point out that even the figments of the dream that are apparently detached from reality are still a reaction to the exterior world, something that Freud's false disciples (he refers here to C. G. Jung) deign to ignore."

The final paper Landauer composed in 1939 was the first one to appear in English: "Some remarks on the formation of the anal-erotic character". It is here that he makes an explicit mention of the part played by social factors alongside the drive dynamics. He



writes: "To be sure, the centre of interest has now shifted from the sexual zone and aim involved to the factor of social demands and the reactions to these." (Landauer, 1939, p. 425). Landauer laid special emphasis on the significance of the parents and nurses, and the relevance of their social background for dealing with drive requirements. Even to Fenichel's ears these observations went too far (Fenichel, 1941).

The correspondence with Max Horkheimer which commenced in 1934 and ended in 1941 - the final page in the file concerned the refund of the fare money deposited with the Jewish American Charity Committee - is a moving document of the experiences of these years, the deepening friendship on both sides, their intellectual exchange, Landauer's despondency, his inner struggle on emigration into the U.S.A. and the increasingly dramatic, but ultimately futile attempts Horkheimer made for his rescue.(18)

At this stage emigration or flight from Holland for Landauer had almost illusionary character: in the correspondence evidence can be found to explain Landauer's hesitation. Various points seem to me to have been decisive: there were family ties, since Landauer's mother who was later murdered in Auschwitz had come to Holland and had to be cared for. On the other hand he found ample professional recognition in the new environment and had already grown roots so to speak. He had long been sceptical about the political situation in the U.S.A., even fearing a development similar to that in Germany, a fear which Horkheimer could not dispel. He also felt handicapped by the possibility of language difficulties, whereas in Holland he was able to analyse in German. When Karl Menninger offered him a post in Topeka after many negotiations he reacted with excessive suspicion. After the German invasion of Holland in May, 1940 all possibilities of ultimate flight seemed unrealistic.

In the first year after the occupation of Holland the National Socialists did not make many conspicuous changes to the exterior administration. However "the Commissioner of the German Reich lost no time in setting the process of the annihilation (of the Jews) in the Netherlands in motion" (Hilberg, 1990, p. 599). In 1941 it was decreed that they were not allowed to remain in "mixed associations". The Association for Psychoanalysis in the Netherlands was thus disbanded. This consequence shows the solidarity of the non-Jewish with the Jewish members. Earlier conflicts gave way to a strong feeling of unity. Work was continued in the private sphere, as training was kept up unofficially. Jewish analysts were not permitted to treat non-Jewish patients. The evening curfew for Jews made treatment difficult. In 1942 Jewish analysts were compelled to cease



practice (Brinkgreve, 1984). The question whether to go into hiding or not was intensely discussed in the Landauer family. They decided to remain as inconspicuous as possible: to be captured in hiding was synonymous with transport to the East and certain death. (19) Since the buildings of the Jewish Council, the Jewish organisation, and the Gestapo headquarters were all in the vicinity of Landauer's home, people were hidden there almost every night, who had secretly managed to escape from the claws of the Nazis. This explains why all members of the family were familiar with the members of the Jewish Council and also prepared for their arrest. A systematic search was made from district to district. Landauer and his wife were arrested in one such razzia, his three children shortly afterwards. The two younger ones did, however, manage to go into hiding. Suse's rescue was by virtue of a "crazy" act: her head held high, she just walked beyond the cordon and was not held back. Paul fled to France, became a member of the Resistance and after a state of acute exhaustion was able to reach Spain.

Like all other Jews Landauer was taken with his wife and elder daughter to the Westerbork concentration camp. Fear of deportation to Poland was the predominant worry. A certain number of Jews regularly joined the transport. Nobody was safe when a certain quota had to be reached. If it had not been for this lethal danger, the primitive existence would have appeared tolerable in comparison with other concentration camps. Within the camp there existed a considerable independent Jewish administration. Families were not to be split up. Work was compulsory. Landauer aided one of his former trainee analysts in the medical station.

In February 1944 he was sent with his wife and daughter to the concentration camp in Bergen-Belsen. This was supposed to have the function of an "exchange camp", which meant that the inmates could be used as hostages against Germans or to somehow exert pressure in the war, a measure becoming increasingly seldom. It soon developed into a typical concentration camp, which was of no use for the economy of the war and was therefore totally neglected. When it was declared a "recovery camp", the route was reset for a new type of annihilation camp. From March, 1944 onwards came thousands of sick prisoners, e.g. from the underground factories producing the V-weapons, later from other camps, so that the character of the camp had completely altered by January 1945 (20). There was a chaos of illnesses, epidemics, mass death and the end of even the most primitive conditions of civilisation, that has been called "the Inferno of Bergen-Belsen" (Kolb, 1984). Karl Landauer and his trainee analyst Jaques Tas attempted to set up a counselling service for parents,



children and adolescents; under these extreme conditions there were psychological disturbances in abundance, with which the parents were unable to cope. They even both tried to continue the training analysis sitting on chairs next to each other. In a wider sense it is possible to view this continued work as resistance. Landauer starved to death on 27th January, 1945. Towards his end he suffered from severe "dehydrating" undernourishment. Even the extra food his daughter was able to organize for him from her employment in the tobacco and vegetable garden and in the kitchen could not save his life. His wife and daughter were with him when he died. It was a peaceful end in his sleep in the early morning. It was the dawn of a sunny winter day that Karl Landauer had always loved. He was spared the horrifying further developments in the camp. His wife and daughter were liberated after a long odyssey through Germany. It took a long time for them to recover from hunger and illness. After countless further deprivations they were gradually able to make a new home in New York with Paul and Suse.

Karl Landauer left a considerable series of essays, of which only a few of the important ones have found mention in this paper. Readers are always moved by the expressive and vivid way he writes. To read the writings which have recently appeared in a selection (Landauer, 1991) is to approach a person who was never prepared to cut off psychoanalysis from its social context in his thoughts. Karl Landauer always considered the efforts he made in the founding of the Psychoanalytical Institute in Frankfurt as his major work.

Note:

The main sources for the biographical details are from conversations with Eva Landauer in Pontresina (1985) and New York (1989) and Paul Landauer in Frankfurt (1987-90), which I held together with my wife Sabine Rothe. The brief biographical outline in Bergman and Hartman (1976, p. 57 foll.) based on sources by Lins and Eva Landauer, information from Erich Fromm and S. H. Foulkes gave the framework for the biographical research on Karl Landauer. The results were published in the "Materialien aus dem Sigmund-Freud-Institut Nr.4" in Frankfurt; the title is: "Zur Erinnerung an Karl Landauer, geboren am 12. 10. 1887 in München, gestorben am 27. 01. 1945 in Bergen-Belsen".

Translator's Note:

Numbers in brackets refer to the page numbers of the German original.

Übersetzung: Carolyn Roether

