

ACTA UNIVERSITATIS CAROLINAE 2014

HISTORIA UNIVERSITATIS CAROLINAE PRAGENSIS

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ABBREVIATIONS

ABS	Archiv bezpečnostních složek (Security Services Archive)
ARGB	Archiv für Rassen- und Gesellschaftsbiologie (Archive for Racial and Social Biology)
AUK	Archiv Univerzity Karlovy (Archives of the Charles University)
BArch	Bundesarchiv (Federal Archives)
B.-M.	Böhmen-Mähren (Bohemia-Moravia)
DAF	Deutsche Arbeitsfront
DFG	Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (German Research Foundation)
DGRH	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Rassenhygiene (German Society for Racial Hygiene)
DKU	Deutsche Karls-Universität (German Charles University)
EWZ	Einwandererzentrale (Immigration Control Centre)
H-U	Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin (Humboldt University Berlin)
IRb	Institut für Rassenbiologie (Institute for Racial Biology)
KVK	Kriegsverdienstkreuz (War Merit Cross)
NA	Národní archiv (National Archives)
NSDAP	Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiter Partei (National Socialist German Worker's Party)
NSM	Německé státní ministerstvo pro Čechy a Moravu (German State Ministry for Bohemia and Moravia)
PA	Personalakte (personal file)
RAG	Reichsarbeitsgemeinschaft für Raumordnung (Reich Working Group for Regional Administration)
REM	Reichsministerium für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung (Reich Ministry for Science, Education and National Culture)
RFSS	Reichsführer SS
RHSt	Reinhard-Heydrich-Stiftung (Reinhard Heydrich Foundation)
RKFDV	Reichskommissar für die Festigung deutschen Volkstums (Reich Commissar for the Strengthening of German Nationhood)
RM	Reichsmark
RNU	Rektorát Německé Karlovy univerzity (Rectorate of the German University)
RSHA	Reichssicherheitshauptamt (Reich Main Security Office)
RuS	Rasse- und Siedlung (Race and Settlement)
RuSHA	Rassen- und Siedlungshauptamt (Race and Settlement Main Office)
SächsMfV	Sächsisches Ministerium für Volksbildung (Saxon Ministry of Public Education)
SD	Sicherheitsdienst (Security Service)
SOA	Státní oblastní archiv (State Regional Archives)
SPD	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (Social Democratic Party of Germany)

SS	Schutzstaffel (Defence Corps)
ST	státní tajemník (State Secretary)
TH	Technische Hochschule (Technical University)
UA	Universitätsarchiv (University Archives)
ÚŘP	Úřad říšského protektora (Office of the Reich Protector)
VuR	<i>Volk und Rasse</i> (<i>Volk and Race</i>)

Introduction

ANTHROPOLOGY & MONSTROSITY

MICHAL V. ŠIMŮNEK

But if we fail, then the whole world (...), including all that we have known and cared for, will sink into the abyss of a new dark age made more sinister, and perhaps more protracted, by the lights of perverted science.

Sir Winston Churchill, June 18, 1940

As long as science exists, not only its tangible results but also its theories can be used in practice to a wide variety of purposes. Scientific evidence has also been used to support and defend many controversial claims! But never before were arguments based on research used to justify something as terrible as in recent decades, when in some countries, under the rule of the very worst, life sciences are exploited for political adventures.

Adolf Portmann, 1972

Under the Nazi rule, eugenic and ‘racial’ research was strongly favoured. This led to an increase in the number of institutions established for the purpose of ‘protection of hereditary health care’ (*Erbgesundheitspflege*), ‘protection of the race’ (*Rassenpflege*), and ‘race policy’ (*Rassenpolitik*) or in order to popularise them. German academic institutes at universities and leading research institutions outside the university landscape, such as Kaiser-Wilhelm-Institutes, played a special role in this process. Although many of the research directions had continuously developed since the turn of the twentieth century within a broader context of bio-medical sciences and humanities, after 1933 they emerged in totally different ideological and political environment.

At the ideological level, the irrational and often mythical components of National Socialism such as ‘purity of Aryan blood’ and the like were complemented by argumentation coming from exact sciences.¹ Obviously, this was a sort of arrangement of convenience

¹ See Christopher M. HUTTON, *Race and Third Reich. Linguistics, racial anthropology and genetics in the dialectic of Volk*, Cambridge 2005; Léon POLIAKOV, *Der arische Mythos. Zu den Quellen von Rassismus und Nationalsozialismus*, Hamburg 2000; Michael BURLEIGH – Wolfgang WIPPERMANN, *The Racial State. Germany 1933–1945*, Cambridge 1991; Michael POLLAK, *Rassenwahn und Wissenschaft. Anthropologie, Biologie, Justiz und die nationalsozialistische Bevölkerungspolitik*, Frankfurt/Main 1990; Dieter WERNER, *Einflüsse des naturwissenschaftlichen Materialismus auf das Entstehen der nationalsozialistischen Rassenideologie*, Frankfurt/Main 1987 (Dissertation); Johannes ZISCHKA, *Die NS-Rassenideologie. Machttaktisches Instrument oder handlungsbestimmendes Ideal?*, Frankfurt/Main – Bern – New York 1986; Andreas HILFGRUBER – Eberhard KOLB – Jacht DÜLFFER (eds.), *Strukturelemente des Nationalsozialismus. Rassenideologie. Unterdrückungsmaschinerie. Aussenpolitik*, Köln 1981.

because scientific arguments and methodology played an important role in legitimising the Nazi policies. The scientists, on the other hand, could expect more resources and official support from the regime, which defined itself as primarily biologicistic and based on natural laws (*Naturgesetze*). The most radical racial ideologists and practitioners even promoted these disciplines as a foundation of new ‘national socialist science’.² Older trends aiming at creating a specific, racially and *völkisch* based ‘German science’, such as ‘German biology’ (*Deutsche Biologie*) or ‘German Physics’ (*Deutsche Physik*), also became more pronounced.³ This newly emerging science viewed itself, in contrast to the previous liberal times, as a ‘fighting science’ (*kämpferische Wissenschaft*).⁴ Various scholars and ideologists hailed the new era as the dawn of a dominance of biology, which was seen as an enterprise going far beyond science in the narrow sense of the term: “But biology as a mediator of our insight in the processes of life will gradually develop into a leading science which will with its view of the world certainly shape also politics and economy, state and nation, as well as mankind itself.”⁵ The prominent German anthropologist and racial hygienist Eugen Fischer (1874–1967), speaking about German anthropology in 1943, predicted a similar development: “It is a special and rare luck for such a theoretical research to be carried out at a time when the general view of the world appreciates and accommodates it, when even its practical results are immediately welcome and become the foundation of state policies.”⁶

Efforts to support this transformation contained both fragmenting and synthesizing tendencies but even so, it played a crucial role in backing the academic networks linked in various ways to the Nazi establishment both at a regional (‘Mustergau Thüringen’, Jena; Munich etc.) and a central (Berlin) level, both in Germany after 1933, including Austria after 1938, and in the occupied territories (Bohemia and Moravia, Poland, France etc.) after 1939.⁷

The key concept, though not quite uniformly understood, was that of ‘race’ (*Rasse*) or ‘idea of race’ (*Rassengedanke*).⁸ This category, originally used as a key tool in analysing

² See Rainer BRAMER (ed.), *Naturwissenschaft im NS-Staat*, Marburg 1984; Herbert MEHRTENS – Steffen RICHTER (eds.), *Naturwissenschaft, Technik und NS-Ideologie. Beiträge zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte des Dritten Reichs*, Frankfurt/Main 1980.

³ For this argumentation see Gerhard HENNEMANN, *Rasse und Physik*, *Volk und Rasse* 16/9, 1941, pp. 141–144; Gerhard HENNEMANN, *Rasse und Geisteswissenschaft (Philosophie und Geschichte)*, *Volk und Rasse* 16/10, 1941, pp. 163–166. See also Michal POLLAK, *Rassenwahn und Wissenschaft. Thesen zur Entstehung der unheilvollen Allianz zwischen Anthropologie, Biologie und Recht im Nationalsozialismus*, Frankfurt/Main 1990.

⁴ See Uwe HOSSFELD et al. (eds.), *‘Kämpferische Wissenschaft’. Studien zur Universität Jena im Nationalsozialismus*, Köln – Weimar – Wien 2003.

⁵ Otto GROSSER, *Wandlungen des biologischen Weltbildes im Laufe der letzten hundert Jahre*, Prag 1936, p. 27; in German original: “Biologie aber, als Vermittlerin der Einsicht in die Lebensvorgänge, wird sich immer mehr zu einer führenden Wissenschaft entwickeln und mit ihrem Weltbild bestimmend auch auf Politik und Wirtschaft, auf Staat und Volk und Menschheit von Einfluß werden.” For similar argumentation, see for example Hans WEINERT, *Biologische Grundlagen für Rassenkunde und Rassenhygiene*, Stuttgart 1934, p. 165.

⁶ See Benno MÜLLER-HILL, *Tödliche Wissenschaft. Die Aussonderung von Juden, Zigeunern und Geisteskranken 1933–1945*, Reinbek 1984, p. 64; in German original: “Es ist ein besonderes und seltenes Glück für eine an sich theoretische Forschung, wenn sie in eine Zeit fällt, wo die allgemeine Weltanschauung ihr anerkennend entgegenkommt, ja, wo sogar ihre praktischen Ergebnisse sofort als Unterlagen staatlicher Maßnahmen willkommen sind.”

⁷ For Thuringia in particular, see Uwe HOSSFELD, *Institute, Geld, Intrigen. Rassenwahn in Thüringen 1930 bis 1945*, Erfurt 2014.

⁸ Ulrich KATTMANN, *Warum und mit welcher Wirkung klassifizieren Wissenschaftler Menschen?*, in: Heidrun Kaupen-Haas – Christian Saller (eds.), *Wissenschaftlicher Rassismus. Analysen einer Kontinuität in den Human- und Naturwissenschaften*, Frankfurt – New York 1999, pp. 65–83; Ivan HANNAFORD, *Race. The History*

the physical variation in humans (classification of human physical forms, systematic study of the origin of the human species etc.), was supposed to serve as a foundation of a new ‘leading science’ (*Leitwissenschaft*), which would include far more than just bio-medical disciplines. One contemporary official German author characterised the relevance of the ‘Rasse’ for the new field of ‘biological analysis of history’ (*Biologische Geschichtsbetrachtung*) in 1943 as follows: “Even so, the notion of race, despite various bias and exaggerations, cannot be excluded from the future view of history because natural sciences prove its truth.”⁹ ‘Rasse’ was seen both as a basic theoretical postulate and operative cognitive goal, which was to be used both deductively and inductively.¹⁰ This term was closely linked to two other key notions, namely the hierarchy of races according to their ‘worth’ and racial interbreeding, especially regarding the ‘physical disharmony’.

Anthropology, which in the German environment developed “from the decidedly liberal discipline of the late nineteenth century into the racist and nationalistic race science of the 1920s”, became a prime example of political instrumentalisation and wide misuse of scientific knowledge.¹¹ Having developed in parallel to eugenics and ‘racial/hereditary hygiene’ (*Erb- und Rassenhygiene*), the origins of a ‘race science’ (*Rassenkunde*) can be traced back to the beginning of the twentieth century when it was called ‘anthropobiology’.¹² Already prior to the Nazi seizure of power, it was largely “designed to search for links between the racial, the psychological, and the cultural”.¹³ In 1933 E. Fischer placed its origins in the context of the pioneer period of Mendelian genetics, specifically to studies of interbreeding (‘bastardisation’) in humans.¹⁴ In his view, Mendelian principles were eminently important in providing physical anthropologists with an analytical tool and placing the nascent field of what was also called ‘racial biology’ (*Rassenbiologie*) on much more secure foundations.¹⁵

of an Idea in the West, Washington, D.C. – Baltimore – London 1996; Hans GRIMM, *Die Verwendung der Bezeichnung ‘Rasse’ in der Geschichte der naturwissenschaftlichen Anthropologie*, in: Siegfried Kirschke (ed.), *Grundlinien der Geschichte der biologischen Anthropologie (= Wissenschaftliche Beiträge 1990/3)*, Halle 1990, pp. 28–43. See Jonathan HARWOOD – Michael BANTON, *The Race Concept*, Newtown – London – Vancouver 1975. For the official Nazi interpretation, see Walter GROSS, *Der Rassengedanke in der weltanschaulichen Auseinandersetzung unserer Tage*, Rasse 3, 1936, pp. 66–69; *Rassengedanke und Wissenschaft*, Ziel und Weg 6, 1936, pp. 566–573; *Der deutsche Rassengedanke und die Welt*, Berlin 1939.

- ⁹ Gustav PAUL, *Grundzüge der Rassen- und Raumgeschichte des deutschen Volkes*, München – Berlin 1943, p. 33; in German original: “Doch wird sich der Begriff der Rasse trotz mancher Einseitigkeiten und Übertreibungen aus der künftigen Geschichtsbetrachtung nicht mehr ausschalten lassen, weil er eben von den Naturwissenschaften als eine Wirklichkeit erwiesen ist.”
- ¹⁰ Peter WEINGART – Jürgen KROLL – Kurt BAYERTZ, *Rasse, Blut und Gene. Geschichte der Eugenik und Rassenhygiene in Deutschland*, Frankfurt/Main 1992, p. 359.
- ¹¹ Andrew D. EVANS, *Anthropology at War. World War I and the Science of Race in Germany*, Chicago – London 2010, p. 3. On the position of anthropology within the scientific disciplines, see Volker SCHURIG, *Konkurrierende Begründungen einer Sonderstellung der Anthropologie im System der Biowissenschaften*, in: Michael Kaasch et al. (eds.), *Physische Anthropologie – Biologie des Menschen (= Verhandlungen zur Geschichte und Theorie der Biologie 13)*, Berlin 2007, pp. 29–54.
- ¹² Eugen FISCHER, *Die Rehobother Bastards und das Bastardierungsproblem beim Menschen. Anthropologische und ethnographische Studien am Rehobother Bastardvolk in Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, Jena 1913, p. V. Another example of early use of the ‘Rassenkunde’ is found in Rudolf MARTIN, *Lehrbuch der Anthropologie in systematischer Darstellung mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der anthropologischen Methoden*, Jena 1914.
- ¹³ A. D. EVANS, *Antropology*, p. 199.
- ¹⁴ Bernhard GESSLER, *Eugen Fischer (1874–1967). Leben und Wirken des Freiburger Anatomen, Anthropologen und Rassenhygienikers bis 1927*, Frankfurt/Main 2000, pp. 36–42, 67–79.
- ¹⁵ Eugen FISCHER, *Rassenhygiene*, in: Rudolf Dittler et al. (eds.), *Handwörterbuch der Naturwissenschaften 9*, Jena 1934, pp. 176f.

Unlike the hereditary and racial hygiene, which was seen primarily as part of the medical sciences, racial biology was supposed to investigate also the ‘normal’, non-pathological ‘racial traits’ (*Rassenmerkmale*). Eugen Fischer defined the main areas of racial biological research as follows: i. Heredity and the impact of external environment (*Vererbung und Umweltwirkung*), ii. Selection, breeding, and the origins of races (*Auslese, Zucht, Rassenentstehung*), iii. Racial crossing (*Rassenkreuzung*), iv. (*Geographical*) distribution of races, disappearance of races, and races and populations/nations (*Rassenverbreitung, Untergang von Rassen, Rassen und Völker*).¹⁶

Racial biological and eugenic line of thought was in Germany applied also in the study of society and social phenomena.¹⁷ Anthropologist Otto Ammon (1847–1907) even founded a special field of ‘social anthropology’ (*Sozialanthropologie*),¹⁸ which was based, among other things, on the speculative assumptions of the French anthropologist and racist George Vacher de Lapouge¹⁹ (1854–1936) and various thoughts of Francis Galton (1822–1911), the founder of British eugenics. In the German context, social anthropology was understood as a ‘border area between anthropology and human sociology’ and seen as the ‘youngest branch on the tree of anthropology’.²⁰ As a ‘racial biology of social groups’ (*Rassenbiologie der sozialen Gruppen*) it became part of general anthropology, whose task was supposed to be “the analysis of hereditary biology of some hereditary lines associated with particular social groups within populations”.²¹

Under the National Socialism, and especially after the fatal radicalization of the Nazi politics in the direction of mass annihilation of entire groups of population (in the ‘euthanasia’ programmes, the ‘final solution’ of the ‘Jewish question’ etc.), both of these fields became symptomatic of the use – and misuse – of contemporary knowledge and methodology for utterly immoral and absolutely unacceptable ends on previously unimaginable scale.²²

In the history of German anthropology of the twentieth century, which at least until 1980s presented its role during the Nazi era as apolitical and passive, the situation in Prague is

¹⁶ Idem.

¹⁷ Pitirim SOROKIN, *Soziologische Theorien im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, München 1931, pp. 53–59. See Rolf Peter SIEFERLE, *Die Krise der menschlichen Natur. Zur Geschichte eines Konzepts*, Frankfurt/Main 1989.

¹⁸ R. P. SIEFERLE, *Die Krise*, pp. 162ff.

¹⁹ G. V. de Lapouge actually spoke of ‘anthroposociology’. See R. P. SIEFERLE, *Die Krise*, pp. 146–147.

²⁰ Alfred PLOETZ, *Sozialanthropologie*, in: Gustav Schwalbe – Eugen Fischer (eds.), *Anthropologie*, Leipzig – Berlin 1923, pp. 588–589.

²¹ Eugen FISCHER, *Sozialanthropologie*, in: Rudolf Dittler et al. (eds.), *Handwörterbuch der Naturwissenschaften* 9, Jena 1934, pp. 176f., 182f.; text in German original: “erbbiologische[n] Betrachtung der einzelnen sozialen Gruppen gegliederten Erblinien innerhalb der Völker”.

²² See Gretchen E. SCHAFFT, *From Racism to Genocide. Anthropology in the Third Reich*, Urbana 2004; Gretchen E. SCHAFFT, *Scientific Racism in Service of the Reich. German Anthropologists in the Nazi Era*, in: Alexander L. Hinton (ed.), *Annihilating Difference. The Anthropology of Genocide*, Berkeley – Los Angeles – London 2002, pp. 117–134; Götz ALY – Susanne HEIM, *Architects of Annihilation. Auschwitz and the Logic of Destruction*, London 2002; Andrew ZIMMERMANN, *Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany*, Chicago 2001; Markus SIMON, *Die Rassenanthropologie in der akademischen Humanbiologie zur Zeit der Weimarer Republik und deren Einflussnahme auf die rassistischen Theoretisierungen und Forderungen im Weltbild des Nationalsozialismus*, Münster 1998; Peter WEINGART – Jürgen KRÖLL – Kurt BAYERTZ, *Rasse, Blut und Gene. Geschichte der Eugenik und Rassenhygiene in Deutschland*, Frankfurt/Main 1992; Paul WEINDLING, *Health, race and German politics between national unification and Nazism, 1870–1945*, Cambridge 1989; George STEIN, *Biological Science and the Roots of Nazism*, *American Scientist* 76, 1988, pp. 50–58; Benno MÜLLER-HILL, *Tödliche Wissenschaft. Die Aussonderung von Juden, Zigeunern und Geisteskranken 1933–1945*, Reinbek 1984; George MOSSE, *Towards the Final Solution. A History of European Racism*, Madison 1978.

mentioned only in the most recent works.²³ In the traditional writings on the history of Czech/Czechoslovak anthropology, this topic is simply overlooked.²⁴

The aim of the two thematic contributions in this volume is to situate the position of the fields of the so called 'Sozialanthropologie' and 'Rassenbiologie' in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia in the context of their conceptual background, which was a necessary prerequisite of the Nazi racial policy (*Rassenpolitik*) in this area. Even in the most detailed studies dealing with this topic,²⁵ terms such as 'race experts', 'race expertises', 'race sciences' etc. are often used in a very difusive way.²⁶ Another important task is to describe both their extension and integration in the Reich-wide network of institutions which dealt with racially oriented research. Based on the newly analysed archival sources, the authors also add and summarize relevant biographical information.²⁷ In this respect, the volume is also a contribution to the history of institutionalization of anthropology in German speaking countries of Central Europe outside Germany, in particular in Bohemia and Moravia of the 1940s.²⁸ And since this process was closely connected with the German

²³ Benôit MASSIN, *Anthropologie und Humangenetik im Nationalsozialismus oder: Wie schreiben deutsche Wissenschaftler ihre eigene Wissenschaftsgeschichte?*, in: Heidrun Kaupen-Haas – Christian Saller (eds.), *Wissenschaftlicher Rassismus. Analysen einer Kontinuität in den Human- und Naturwissenschaften*, Frankfurt – New York 1999, pp. 12–65 [14]. See Uwe HOSSFELD, *Geschichte der biologischen Anthropologie in Deutschland. Von den Anfängen bis in die Nachkriegszeit* (= *Wissenschaftskultur um 1900*, 2), Stuttgart 2005; Uwe HOSSFELD – Michal V. ŠIMŮNEK, *Die Kooperation der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena und Deutschen Karls-Universität Prag im Bereich der 'Rassenlehre'* (= *Thüringen gestern & heute* 32), Erfurt 2008, pp. 80–96.

²⁴ Vojtěch FETTER et al. (eds.), *Anthropologie*, Praha 1967, pp. 16–18. See Karel HAJNÍŠ, *Lidská plemena a rasismus* [Human Races and Racism], *Vesmír* 40/11, 1961, pp. 333–340 [339–340]; Jiří MALÝ, *Rasy a rasismus* [Races and Racism], *Vesmír* 24/1, 1945, pp. 1–8.

²⁵ Until recently they have been mentioned mostly by Detlef BRANDES, 'Umvolkung, Umsiedlung, rassische Bestandaufnahme'. *NS-Völkstumspolitik in den böhmischen Ländern* (= *Veröffentlichungen des Collegium Carolinum* 125), München 2012; Chad BRYANT, *Acting Czech, Marking Germans. Nationality Politics in Bohemia and Moravia, 1939–1947*, *GHI Bulletin* 34, 2004, pp. 65–73; Isabell HEINEMANN, *Rasse, Siedlung, deutsches Blut. Das Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamt der SS und die rassenpolitische Neuordnung Europas*, Göttingen 2003; Andreas WIEDEMANN, *Reinhard-Heydrich-Stiftung* (entry), in: Ingo Haar – Matthias Berg (eds.), *Handbuch der völkischen Wissenschaften. Personen – Institutionen – Forschungsprogramme – Stiftungen*, München 2008, pp. 584–588; id., *Die Reinhard-Heydrich-Stiftung. Wissenschaft im Dienst der Germanisierung*, *Acta Universitatis Carolinae – Historia Universitatis Carolinae Pragensis* 61/1–2, 2001, pp. 101–125; id., *Die Reinhard-Heydrich-Stiftung in Prag (1942–1945)* (= *Hannah-Arendt-Institut für Totalitarismusforschung, Berichte und Studien* 28), Dresden 2000; Jaroslava MILOTOVÁ, *Die NS-Pläne zur Lösung der 'tschechischen Frage'*, in: D. Brandes, *Umvolkung*, pp. 25–37; See also Vojtěch MASTNÝ, *Protectorát a osud českého odboje*, Praha 2003 (originally published 1971 in English as *The Czechs Under Nazi Rule*), and Václav KRÁL, *Die Vergangenheit warnt*, Praha 1962.

²⁶ See D. BRANDES, *Umvolkung*, pp. 179–235.

²⁷ For biographical studies of the German anthropologists, see for example Dirk PREUSS, 'Anthropologe und Forschungsreisender'. *Biographie und Anthropologie Egon Freiherr von Eickstedts (1892–1965)*, München 2009; Christine HERTLER, *Franz Weidenreich und die Anthropologie in Frankfurt. Weidenreichs Weg an die Universität*, in: Jörn Kobes – Jan-Otmar Hesse (eds.), *Frankfurter Wissenschaftler zwischen 1933 und 1945*, Göttingen 2008, pp. 111–123; Katja GEISENHAINER, 'Rasse ist Schicksal'. *Otto Reche, ein Leben als Anthropologe und Völkerkundler* (= *Beiträge zur Leipziger Universitäts- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte A/1*), Leipzig 2002; B. GESSLER, *Eugen Fischer; Niels LÖSCH, Rasse als Konstrukt. Leben und Werk Eugen Fischers*, Frankfurt/Main 1997; Peter WEINGART, *Doppelleben. Ludwig Ferdinand Clauss: Zwischen Rassenforschung und Widerstand*, Frankfurt/Main – New York 1995; Renate RISSOM, *Fritz Lenz und die Rassenhygiene*, Husum 1983.

²⁸ Veronika LIPPARDT, *Das 'schwarze Schaf' der Biowissenschaften. Marginalisierungen und Rehabilitierungen der Rassenbiologie im 20. Jahrhundert*, in: Dirk Rupnow et al. (eds.), *Pseudowissenschaft. Konzeptionen von Nichtwissenschaftlichkeit in der Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, Frankfurt/Main 2008, pp. 223–251; Hans-Walter SCHMÜHL, *The Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Anthropology, Human Heredity, and Eugenics, 1927–1945*, Dordrecht 2008; Andrew D. EVANS, *Liberal Paradigm? Race and Ideology in Late Nineteenth Century German Physical Anthropology*, in: *Ab Imperio. Studies of New Imperial History and Nationalism in the Post-Soviet*

Charles University (*Deutsche Karls-Universität*) in Prague in 1939–1945, it is also a contribution to the history of the Charles University and their protagonists.²⁹ The authors also describe the close ties with other institutions of the Nazi apparatus outside the academic landscape, especially the SS.³⁰ It is in this context that they investigate and highlight the institutional racist approach, which represents the systematic, often covert, and most dangerous form of Nazi racism of the 1940s.³¹

MICHAL V. ŠIMŮNEK

Antropologie & monstróznost

RESUMÉ

Nástup nacistů k moci zásadním způsobem ovlivnil i vědy o životě. Politická rasistická ideologie se prolнула s některými obory, které se v německy mluvících zemích vyvíjely již od konce 19. století. Mezi ně patřila i tzv. dědičná a rasová hygiena (*Erb- und Rassenhygiene*) a tzv. rasová biologie (*Rassenbiologie*). I když bylo možné setkat se i v nacistickém Německu hned s několika koncepty „rasy“, klíčové bylo tzv. statické pojetí rasy. Zatímco se oba obory odvolávaly především na zjednodušené pojetí výsledků výzkumů dědičnosti u člověka (klasická

Space 8/1, 2007, pp. 113–138; Michael VETSCH, *Ideologisierte Wissenschaft. Rassentheorien deutscher Anthropologen zwischen 1918 und 1933*, Norderstedt 2003; Hans-Walter SCHMUHL (ed.), *Rassenforschung an Kaiser-Wilhelm-Instituten vor und nach 1933* (= Geschichte der Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gesellschaft im Nationalsozialismus 4), Göttingen 2003; Uwe HOSSFELD, *Geschichte der biologischen Anthropologie in Deutschland: Staatsbiologie, Rassenkunde und Moderne Synthese in Deutschland während der NS-Zeit*, Verhandlungen zur Geschichte und Theorie der Biologie 4, 2002, pp. 249–305; Naaz COKER, *Understanding race and racism*, in: Naaz Coker (ed.), *Racism in medicine. An agenda for change*, London 2001, pp. 1–21; Carola SACHSE – Benoit MASSIN, *Biowissenschaftliche Forschung an Kaiser Wilhelm-Instituten und die Verbrechen des NS-Regimes. Informationen über den gegenwärtigen Wissensstand* (= Ergebnisse 3), 2000; Maria TESCHLER-NICOLA – Margit BERNER, *Die Anthropologische Abteilung des Naturhistorischen Museums in der NS-Zeit: Berichte und Dokumentation von Forschungs- und Sammlungsaktivitäten 1938–1945*, in: Akademischer Senat der Universität Wien (ed.), *Senatsprojekt der Universität Wien*, Vienna 1998, pp. 333–358; Benoit MASSIN, *From Virchow to Fischer. Physical Anthropology and Modern Race Theories in Wilhelmine Germany*, in: George Stocking Jr. (ed.), *Volksgeist as a Method and Ethic. Essays on Boasian Ethnography and the German Anthropological Tradition*, Madison 1996, pp. 79–154; Ute DEICHMANN, *Biologists under Hitler*, Cambridge, MA – London, 1996; Horst RITTER, *Die Rolle der Anthropologie im NS-Staat*, in: Jürgen Peiffer (ed.), *Menschenverachtung und Opportunismus. Zur Medizin im Dritten Reich*, Tübingen 1992, pp. 172–178; Robert PROCTOR, *From Anthropologie to Rassenkunde in the German Anthropological Tradition*, in: George Stocking (ed.), *Bones, Bodies, Behavior. Essays on Biological Anthropology*, Madison 1988, pp. 138–179; Georg LILIENTHAL, *Zum Anteil der Anthropologie an der NS-Rassenpolitik. Kritischer Essay*, *Medizinhistorisches Journal* 19, 1984, pp. 148–160; Horst SEIDLER – Andreas RETT, *Das Reichssippenamt entscheidet. Rassenbiologie im Nationalsozialismus*, Vienna 1982; Karl SALLER, *Die Rassenlehre des Nationalsozialismus in Wissenschaft und Propaganda*, Darmstadt 1961; Gustav BLUME, *Rasse oder Menschheit. Eine Auseinandersetzung mit der nationalsozialistischen Rassenlehre*, Dresden 1948.

²⁹ Alena MIŠKOVÁ, *Rassenforschung und Oststudien an der Deutschen (Karls-) Universität in Prag*, in: Detlef Brandes et al. (eds.), *In erzwungene Trennung. Vertreibungen und Aussiedlungen in und aus der Tschechoslowakei 1938–1947 im Vergleich mit Polen, Ungarn und Jugoslawien* (= Veröffentlichungen zur Kultur und Geschichte im östlichen Europa 8), Essen 1999, pp. 39–53. See also Alena MIŠKOVÁ, *Die Deutsche (Karls-) Universität vom Münchener Abkommen bis zum Ende des Zweiten Weltkrieges*, Prague 2007; Michal V. ŠIMŮNEK, *Ein neues Fach. Die Erb- und Rassenhygiene an der Medizinischen Fakultät der Deutschen Karls-Universität Prag 1939–1945*, in: Antonín Kostlán (ed.), *Wissenschaft in den böhmischen Ländern* (= Studies in the History of Sciences and Humanities 9), Praha 2004, pp. 190–316.

³⁰ B. MASSIN, *Anthropologie*, pp. 38–41.

³¹ On the importance of institutional racism, see James M. JONES, *Prejudice and Racism*, New York 1997.

genetika), první se stala součástí medicíny a druhá přírodních věd; rasová biologie byla součástí dlouhodobějšího trendu transformace fyzické antropologie v rasovou nauku (*Rassenkunde*). Zároveň měly být antropologické poznatky rozšířeny i v sociální oblasti (*Sozialanthropologie*). Politické cíle nacistického režimu tak měly být legitimovány poznatky exaktních věd. Po okupaci Čech a Moravy se oba tyto obory institucionalizovaly i na tehdejší Německé Karlově univerzitě v Praze (NKU). Zejména rasová biologie měla ve spojení s SS sehrát důležitou roli při plánovaných masových selekcích, respektive plánování genocidní politiky v okupovaných zemích.

Articles

DESIGNING THE ‘UMVOLKUNG’ NAZI SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY (SOZIALANTHROPOLOGIE) – KARL VALENTIN MÜLLER AND HIS CONCEPT OF ETHNIC RE-ENGINEERING, 1940–1945

URSULA FERDINAND

ABSTRACT

Karl Valentin Müller (1896–1963), an amateur researcher, published his first papers on the synthesis of ‘social’ and ‘racial’ issues in the tradition of German *Sozialanthropologie* around 1930. A decade later, the former member of the German Social Democratic Party had already become a prominent expert on Nazi population policy and *Umvolkung*. In 1941 he was appointed professor at the newly established Institute of Social Anthropology and Volk Biology (*Institut für Sozialanthropologie und Volksbiologie*) at the Faculty of Philosophy of the German University in Prague. His professional advancement was strongly supported by high SD and SS officials. In Prague he presented his programme of *Umvolkung*, or ethnic re-engineering, which was based on the idea of reorganising the national composition of the population in Central and South Eastern Europe. The programme was grounded in Müller’s own theories of *Umvolkung* with special focus on Bohemia and Moravia. After the Second World War, he became head of the Institute for Research on Intellectual Giftedness (*Institut für Begabtenforschung*) in Hannover. Later, Müller was appointed professor of empirical sociology at the University of Economic and Social Sciences in Nuremberg and became an active representative of *Sozialanthropologie* in the early Federal Republic of Germany. Müller never abandoned his basic assumptions, which were rooted in his convictions regarding heredity and racial biology and supported by an eclectic methodological mix. He had never been a creative or innovative scientist but he exerted significant influence on the field of applied policy in three German political systems – the Weimar Republic, the ‘Third Reich’, and post-war Western Germany.

Key words: World War Two – Sozialanthropologie – Bohemia and Moravia – German Charles University in Prague – Karl V. Müller

“On August 3, 1963, Karl Valentin Müller, full professor of sociology and social anthropology at the University of Erlangen-Nuremberg, died unexpectedly at the age of 67. With him, German social anthropology loses its only full-time and scientifically most active representative.”¹

The journal *Homo* commemorated its contributor and ally Karl Valentin Müller, born in 1896 in Bodenbach/Podmokly (Bohemia),² by these words less than twenty years after the

¹ *Nachrichten*, *Homo* 14, 1963, p. 167.

² Universitätsarchiv (hereinafter UA) Nürnberg-Erlangen, Akte K. V. Müller F 2/1, No. 236: enactment April 1, 1955. See Carsten KLINGEMANN, *Soziologie und Politik. Sozialwissenschaftliches Expertentum im Dritten Reich und in der frühen westdeutschen Nachkriegszeit*, Wiesbaden 2009; Hansjörg GUTBERGER, *Bevölkerung*,

end of the Second World War. After 1945, his main area of expertise, i.e., *Sozialanthropologie*, lacked any non-German counterparts³ but in the German science, it remained alive as a borderline science of sociology and biological anthropology.⁴ Müller, who had been an adherent of social Darwinism since the 1920s, belonged to the generation of German sociologists who were ‘infused by Nazism’ (*braun durchwachsen*) and ‘punished with stupidity’ (*mit Dummheit geschlagen*).⁵ In 1946, Müller became head of the Institute for Research

Ungleichheit, Auslese. Perspektiven sozialwissenschaftlicher Bevölkerungsforschung in Deutschland zwischen 1930 und 1960, Wiesbaden 2006.

- ³ The German anthropologist and sociologist Wilhelm Emil Mühlmann (1904–1988) pointed out that the German *Sozialanthropologie* corresponds rather closely to the English concept of social biology. *Sozialanthropologie* was concerned with the biological fate of the human collective, selection, *Siebung* (‘sifting’, i.e., competitive selection), and bio-typological reorganisation of social bodies. Both social biology and *Sozialanthropologie* use the tools of anthropobiology and sociology. See Wilhelm E. MÜHLMANN, *Die Idee einer zusammenfassenden Anthropologie*, in: Karl G. Specht (ed.), *Soziologische Forschung in unserer Zeit. Ein Sammelwerk*. Leopold von Wiese zum 75. Geburtstag, Köln 1951, p. 86, 91.
- ⁴ To the German physical anthropologist Ilse Schwidetzky (1907–1997), *Sozialanthropologie* as an academic subject within the frame of anthropology was the actual basis of population biology. See Ilse SCHWIDETZKY, *Grundzüge der Völkerbiologie*, Stuttgart 1950, p. 2. The German anthropologist and prominent racial biologist Friedrich Keiter (1906–1967) believed that its subject was the interdependence between social processes in the wider sense and biological characteristics of men who are involved in them. See Friedrich KEITER, *Sozialanthropologie*, in: Werner Ziegenfuß (ed.), *Handbuch der Soziologie*, Stuttgart 1956, p. 247. See also Gerhard STRAASS, *Sozialanthropologie. Prämissen – Fakten – Probleme*, Jena 1976, p. 22.
- ⁵ René König quoted in Sonja SCHNITZLER, *Soziologie im Nationalsozialismus zwischen Wissenschaft und Politik. Elisabeth Pfeil und das ‘Archiv für Bevölkerungswissenschaft und Bevölkerungspolitik’*, Wiesbaden 2012, p. 399. See Heinz MAUS, *Bericht über die Soziologie in Deutschland 1933 bis 1945*, *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie* 11, 1959, pp. 79–80. For current literature on K. V. Müller see i.a. Carsten KLINGEMANN, *Rassenmythos und Sozialwissenschaften in Deutschland. Ein verdrängtes Kapitel sozialwissenschaftlichen Wirkungsgeschichte* (= Beiträge zur sozialwissenschaftlicher Forschungen 85), Wiesbaden 1987; id., *Soziologie im Dritten Reich*, Baden – Baden 1996; id., *Ostforschung und Soziologie während des Nationalsozialismus*, in: Jan M. Pikorski – Jörg Hackmann – Rudolf Jaworski (eds.), *Deutsche Ostforschung und polnische Westforschung im Spannungsfeld von Wissenschaft und Politik. Disziplinen im Vergleich*, Poznań 2002; id., *Soziologie und Politik. Sozialwissenschaftliches Expertentum im Dritten Reich und in der frühen westdeutschen Nachkriegszeit*, Wiesbaden 2009; J. GUTBERGER, *Bevölkerung*; id., *Volk, Raum und Sozialstruktur im ‘Dritten Reich’* (= Beiträge zur Geschichte der Soziologie 8), Münster 1999; Johannes WEYER, *Westdeutsche Soziologie 1945–1960. Deutsche Kontinuitäten und nordamerikanischer Einfluß*, Berlin 1984; Gerda VOIGT, *Faschistische ‘Neuordnungspläne’ im Zeichen der ‘Umvolkung’*. *Der Anteil der deutschen Universität in Prag an der faschistischen ‘Volkstumspolitik’*, Leipzig 1972; *Leipziger Universitätszeitung*, 16. 8. 1962; Michael SCHWARTZ, *‘Proletarier’ und ‘Lumpen’*. *Sozialistische Ursprünge eugenischen Denkens*, Vierteljahreshefte für Zeitgeschichte 42, 1994, pp. 537–570 [564]; id., *Sozialistische Eugenik. Eugenische Sozialtechnologien in Debatten und Politik der deutschen Sozialdemokratie 1990–1933*, Bonn 1995; Karl H. ROTH, *Heydrichs Professor. Historiographie des ‘Volkstums’ und der Massenvernichtungen. Der Fall Hans Joachim Beyer*, in: Peter Schöttler (ed.), *Geschichtsschreibung als Legitimationswissenschaft 1918–1945*, Frankfurt/Main 1997, pp. 262–342; id., *‘Generalplan Ost’ – ‘Gesamtplan Ost’*. *Forschungsstand, Quellenprobleme, neue Ergebnisse*, in: Mechthild Rössler – Sabine Schleiermacher (eds.), *Der ‘Generalplan Ost’*. Hauptlinien der nationalsozialistischen Planungs- und Vernichtungspolitik, Berlin 1993; Alena MIŠKOVÁ, *Die deutsche Universität Prag im Vergleich mit anderen deutschen Universitäten in der Kriegszeit*, in: Hans Leung (ed.), *Universitäten in nationaler Konkurrenz. Zur Geschichte der Prager Universitäten im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (= Veröffentlichungen des Collegium Carolinum 86), München 2003, pp. 167–175; Andreas WIEDEMANN, *Karl Valentin Müller – ein Rassenhygieniker im Dienst der Volkstumspolitik*, in: Stephan Albrecht – Jiří Malíř – Ralph Melville, *Die sudetendeutsche Geschichtsschreibung 1918–1960*. Zur Vorgeschichte und Gründung der Historischen Kommission der Sudetenländer, München 2008, pp. 167–181; id., *Die Reinhard-Heydrich-Stiftung in Prag (1942–1945)* (= Berichte und Studien 28), Dresden 2000; Eduard KUBÚ, *Die Bedeutung des deutschen Blutes im Tschechentum. Der ‘wissenschaftliche’ Beitrag des Soziologen Karl Valentin Müller zu Lösung des Problems der Germanisierung Mitteleuropas*, Bohemia 45/1, 2004, pp. 93–114; Detlef BRANDES, *‘Umvolkung, Umsiedlung, rassische Bestandaufnahme’*. *NS-‘Volkstumspolitik’ in den böhmischen Ländern* (= Veröffentlichungen des Collegium Carolinum 125), München 2012, p. 202; Ursula FERDINAND, *Historische*

on Intellectual Giftedness (*Institut für Begabtenforschung*) in Hannover, which was transformed into the Institute for Empirical Sociology (*Institut für empirische Soziologie*) after 1950. In 1955, Müller became full professor of empirical sociology with particular focus on social practice at the Nuremberg-Erlangen University of Economic and Social Sciences. In 1961, this was integrated as the Faculty of Economic and Social Sciences.

He was a follower of traditions of racial anthropology, racial biology, and eugenics, which – being on the border between biology and sociology⁶ – had formed the basis on which the anthropologist Otto Ammon (1842–1907) had founded *Sozialanthropologie* in the German-speaking lands.⁷ Based on Ammon's works, the French anthropologist and racist George Vacher de Lapouge (1854–1936)⁸, and the British private scholar Francis Galton (1822–1911) then developed *Sozialanthropologie* as the youngest sub-discipline of anthropology.⁹ It strove to describe 'the border region between anthropology and human sociology'. Since it dealt with racial biology of social groups, it touched upon the margins of general anthropology. More specifically, this *Sozialanthropologie* was concerned with racial biology (*Rassenbiologie*) of particular socially structured lineages within populations.¹⁰

K. V. Müller claimed he studied the manifold biological foundations of all social phenomena. He focused especially on the biological foundation of the formation of social structures based on specific talents or aptitudes (*Leistungsanlagen*) within families (*Sippen*). He also researched the accomplishments and characteristics of social groups dependent on similar

Argumentation in den deutschen Debatten zu Geburtenrückgang und differentieller Fruchtbarkeit. Fallbeispiel Karl Valentin Müller (1896–1963), Historical Social Research 31/4, 2006, pp. 208–235 (special issue); id., *Der Geburtenrückgang als Herausforderung an die Bevölkerungswissenschaft in Deutschland*, in: Rainer Mackensen – Jürgen Reulicke – Josef Ehmer (eds.), *Ursprünge, Arten und Folgen des Konstrukts 'Bevölkerung' vor, im und nach dem 'Dritten Reich'*. Zur Geschichte der deutschen Bevölkerungswissenschaft, Wiesbaden 2009, pp. 229–287.

⁶ ROLF SIEFERLE, *Die Krise der menschlichen Natur. Zur Geschichte eines Konzepts*, Frankfurt/Main 1989, shows that selection-based evolutionary biology, degeneration theory, and racial theory belong to the main fields of biological social theory. P. Sorokin distinguishes four main types of biological theories in sociology – 1. Bio-organisational explanations of social phenomena; 2. Racial-anthropological tradition; 3. Darwinian school of the struggle for life; 4. Instinct-based tradition. Within these, the tradition of (sociological) racial anthropology attached particular importance to the factors of race, heredity, and selection in determining human behaviour, social processes, social selection and the historical fate of a social system. See Pitirim SOROKIN, *Soziologische Theorien im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, München 1931, pp. 53, 59.

⁷ See Ursula FERDINAND, *Die Debatte 'Agrar- versus Industriestaat' und die Bevölkerungsfrage. Eine Fallstudie*, in: Rainer Mackensen – Jürgen Reulicke (eds.), *Das Konstrukt 'Bevölkerung' vor, im und nach dem 'Dritten Reich'*, Wiesbaden 2005, pp. 111–149; R. SIEFERLE, *Die Krise*, p. 162. See also P. SOROKIN, *Sociologische Theorien*, and Hilke LICHTSINN, *Otto Ammon und die Sozialanthropologie* (= Marburger Schriften zur Medizingeschichte 21), Frankfurt/Main – Bern – New York – Paris 1987.

⁸ George V. de Lapouge was the founder of 'anthropo-sociology'. His racial theory was based on the basic assumption that different social and historical movements are originated by different races. Their collisions then shaped the course of history. His analyses concerned solely the history of Europe and France in particular. See R. SIEFERLE, *Die Krise*, p. 146, 147.

⁹ Alfred PLOETZ, *Sozialanthropologie*, in: Gustav Schwalbe – Eugen Fischer (eds.), *Anthropologie*, Leipzig – Berlin, 1923, pp. 588–589. Sheila F. Weiss describes the German school of social-anthropology as "a movement which developed parallel to eugenics, but one that, at least until the Nazi period, was not really part of race hygiene". See Sheila F. WEISS, *Race Hygiene & National Efficiency. The Eugenics of Wilhelm Schallmayer*, Berkeley – Los Angeles – London 1987, p. 92. See also Uwe HOSSFELD, *Geschichte der biologischen Anthropologie in Deutschland. Von den Anfängen bis in die Nachkriegszeit* (= Wissenschaftskultur um 1900, 2), Stuttgart 2005, p. 195.

¹⁰ Eugen FISCHER, *Sozialanthropologie*, in: Rudolf Dittler et al. (eds.), *Handwörterbuch der Naturwissenschaften*, IX, Jena 1934, pp. 176–177, 182–183.

factors whose tendencies to increase or prevail were thought dependent on specific environmental factors such as family traditions and the like.¹¹ His racial biology of social groups was meant to be the part of general anthropology which focuses on hereditary biological (*erbbiologisch*) aspect of hereditary lines, which are within a nation segmented into various social hereditary lines subdivided into groups.¹²

K. V. Müller, the only full-time, active representative of the *Sozialanthropologie* after 1945, became an academic representative of this field in the late 1930s without any proper medical or anthropological training.¹³ After earning a doctorate in national economy, history and statistics in Leipzig in 1922,¹⁴ he habilitated in 1937 in Leipzig under the sociologist Hans Freyer (1887–1969).¹⁵ During his work for Freyer, however, Müller focused exclusively on *Sozialanthropologie*, a sub-discipline of sociology. His investigations were always guided by the same question, namely one “of the lawful relations (...) between biological value and social status, the enforcement of genetic values (Erbwerte) in social life”, especially in processes of social mobility. He was highly interested in the labour movement. Only in a handful of cases he focused ‘on entire ethnic groups, e.g., on Germanhood (Deutschtum) in South East Europe’, or ‘on problems of race and eugenics’.¹⁶ Obviously, it was not his professional skills that paved the way for his academic career in late 1930s: “Given ideological convictions and eagerness to adapt statistical and empirical methods to the goals of National Socialism, the rapidity with which Müller was promoted is unsurprising. In 1938 he became private Docent at Freyer’s Institute (Leipzig), shortly thereafter was appointed to junior professorship in Dresden, before being appointed in 1941 to the chair of Sozialanthropologie at the German University of Prague where he headed the Institute for Sozialanthropologie and Volksbiologie.”¹⁷

¹¹ For example by attaching a sort of auxiliary role to anthropology in the sense of racial theory. See Karl V. MÜLLER, *Volksbiologische Beziehungen zwischen Tschechen und Deutschen*, in: Helmut Preidel (ed.), *Die Deutschen in Böhmen und Mähren. Ein historischer Rückblick*, München 1950, p. 292.

¹² Karl V. MÜLLER, *Der Stand der Forschung zur differentiellen Fortpflanzung und Begabungsanalyse*, *Homo* 11, 1960, p. 88. See also id., *Bericht über die Begabtenforschung Niedersachsens*, *Homo* 1–2, 1950, pp. 136–152.

¹³ In 1919, Müller began studying German studies, then changed to political sciences and history. See Universitätsarchiv (hereinafter UA) Leipzig, personal file Müller, K. V. – PA 764, sheet 19. Müller’s statements as to which subjects he studied changed over the course of his life: in the information sheet required for the habilitation, he named history and cameralism. See UA Leipzig, personal file Müller, K. V. – PA 764, sheet 2. Subsequently, in the personal information and survey sheet for the implementation of the law according to Article 131 of 1951, he stated that he studied eight terms of sociology. See UA Nürnberg-Erlangen, file Dr. Karl Valentin Müller – F 2/1, No. 2364, and in the *Bibliography of the Published Papers of Dr. phil. habil. Karl Valentin Müller*, full professor of sociology and social anthropology at the Friedrich-Alexander University Erlangen-Nürnberg (hereinafter Bibliography..., 1961), p. 5: entries *Staatswissenschaft*, history, sociology, and social biology.

¹⁴ K. V. Müller’s doctoral thesis, which remained unpublished, was inspired by the works of the economic and social historian Alfred Doren (1869–1934). UA Leipzig, Phil. Fak. Prom. 1262; *ibid.*, personal file Müller, K. V. – PA 764, sheet 2.

¹⁵ In his request for habilitation, he asked for permission to submit an unpublished dissertation. UA Leipzig, personal file Müller, K. V. – PA 764, sheet 17, letter of K. V. Müller to the Philosophical Faculty of the University of Leipzig, December 8, 1936. A few days later, he wrote: “If the statement of a subject in the request for habilitation seems necessary after all, I would state sociology and social anthropology.” See *ibid.*, sheet 18, letter of K. V. Müller to Münster, December 12, 1936.

¹⁶ UA Leipzig, PA file Müller, K. V. – PA 764, sheet 103, report Hans Freyer, April 4, 1939.

¹⁷ Jerry Z. MULLER, *The Other God that Failed. Hans Freyer and the Deradicalisation of German Conservatism*, Princeton 1987, p. 275.

His curriculum vitae prior to the Prague period indicates that he owed his academic career – which elevated him from a dilettante and amateur researcher in the 1920s to a university professor by the late 1930s – to the patronage and networking of leading figures in German racial hygiene and racial anthropology, especially Fritz Lenz (1887–1976), Alfred Ploetz (1860–1940), and Hans F. K. Günther (1891–1968). After 1933, he had the support of high-ranking Nazi officials such as Werner Studentkowsky (1903–1951) and Martin Paul Wolf (b. 1908), an early professional propagandist (*Reichsredner*) of the NSDAP and after 1933 Müller’s superior in the Saxon Ministry of Education, and staff member of the Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, hereinafter SD) of the NSDAP. And last but not least, there was Karl Hermann Frank (1898–1946), State Secretary to the Reichprotector of Bohemia and Moravia (1939–1943), later German State Minister (1943–1945), and Higher SS and Police Leader in Bohemia and Moravia.

The following paper documents and analyses how K. V. Müller managed to become a well-established social anthropologist and an expert on *Umvolkung*, a subject we would translate as ‘ethnic re-engineering’. For this purpose, we shall outline his synthesis of social enquiry and ‘racial theory’, describe his concept of *Umvolkung*, and follow his career of an expert on *Umvolkung* and head of the Institute of Social Anthropology and *Volksbiologie* at the Faculty of Philosophy at the German Charles University.

1. A Synthetic Attempt: The ‘Social Question’ and ‘Racial Theory’ (*Rassenlehre*)

For K. V. Müller, a synthesis of these two subjects required the balancing of social democratic ideas and notions of racial anthropology, but also the stripping of eugenic and (social) anthropological studies from earlier exaggerations. To achieve that goal, he placed racial theories to the centre of his amateur studies. The decisive impulse came from contemporary racial theory: “I have become an ideological, uncompromising and absolute proponent of racial theory. The task presented to me was to search for a synthesis between social enquiry and racial theory.”¹⁸ His main interest was the worker’s elite (*Arbeiterelite*), their ‘racial’ origins, processes of formation and reformation, and the mechanisms of social mobility between and within social classes.

Early social anthropologists focused on processes of upheaval, from the rural and closed hierarchy to industrialised urban class society, as well as on the intra-societal processes of stratification, which were shaped by the growing mobility of its links. Besides biological selection, they were also interested in processes of sifting (*Siebung* – a term coined by Richard Thurnwald) and their interplay in modern industrial societies.¹⁹ They believed that social differentiation and social inequality is the result of perpetual selection and that

¹⁸ UA Leipzig, personal file Müller, K. V. – PA 764, sheet 21. According to his statement, K. V. Müller encountered social enquiry, became acquainted with monistic teachings, and became a sympathiser of socialism during this secondary education. *Ibid.*, sheet 20.

¹⁹ According to Wilhelm E. Mühlmann, the early school of social anthropology earned a reputation for being an unbiased field of research due to its research of relations of social mobility and fluctuation (migration, social rise and fall). See Wilhelm E. MÜHLMANN, *Geschichte der Anthropologie*, Frankfurt/Main 1968, p. 115, and U. HOSSFELD, *Geschichte*, p. 197 (footnote 28).

social classes within a population are based on aptitudes of their members. The rise and fall of a nation was then linked to changes in the hereditary characteristics of the population and its social classes.²⁰ Actions of social institutions were interpreted as a sort of sieve and modern social upheavals were seen as processes of ‘sifting’. Selection was viewed as a socio-biological process, which facilitates the reproduction of particular individuals or groups. The abovementioned process of ‘sifting’, however, was seen as a socio-political process, ‘concerned with an individual’s personal success and with the gain of power and influence’.²¹ This was thought to occasionally lead to counterselection since the personalities who did well in the ‘sifting’ process of social selection tend to reproduce at a lower rate. In other words, they are exposed to biological inhibition.²² Concerning the direct correlation between biological reproduction of an individual and the nation’s developmental requirements, social anthropologists assigned vast importance to adaptability and predisposition to ‘fitness’ in the context of beneficial breeding (*Höherzüchtung*). Demographic development was thus evaluated in two distinct ways, whereby the first was based on social or professional achievement potential or aptitude (*Eignung*), while the other was based on reproductive performance (number of children).²³

Müller’s research and his propagandistic and journalistic work were largely shaped by these views. The then still social democrat and unionist embraced the ‘iron law’ of inequality of mankind, the idea the most competent having a free rein (*die freie Bahn dem Tüchtigsten*), and endorsed the meritocratic idea of a racially defined elite leading the labour force.²⁴ As an ardent adherent of racial theory and racial hygiene, Müller believed that the greatest danger to the aspiring labour movement was coming from the *Lumpenproletariat*. He justified this belief by a claim that mankind’s racial characteristics determine the development of cultures, including the success or failure of social movements. To him, the ‘social question’ was based on racial biology, which implied its deterministic nature,²⁵ and racial hygiene was a ‘social weapon’.²⁶

Müller’s studies were concerned with notions of breeding, which had been – ever since discussions of the ‘tomb as the grave of a race’ (O. Ammon) – debated by Fritz Lenz, Friedrich Burgdörfer (1890–1967) and H. F. K. Günther.²⁷ He also developed some

²⁰ Among others Charles PEARSON, *National Life from Standpoint of Science*, London 1901, pp. 26–27, and Christian GEULEN, *Wahlverwandte. Rassendiskurs und Nationalsozialismus im späten 19. Jahrhundert*, Hamburg 2004, pp. 281–282.

²¹ Richard THURNWALD, *Werden, Wandel und Gestaltung von Staat und Kultur im Lichte der Völkerforschung*, Berlin – Leipzig 1935, p. 261.

²² Ibid. cf. Karl V. MÜLLER, *Lebenserfolg und Lebensauslese*, Die höhere Schule 14, 1935, pp. 240–243 [242].

²³ Helen F. HOHMAN (ed.), *Essay on Population and Other Papers by James Alfred Field together With the Material from His Notes and Lectures*, Chicago 1931, p. 242. See U. FERDINAND, *Historische Argumentationen*, p. 216, and Ch. GEULEN, *Wahlverwandte*, p. 272.

²⁴ Among other things, K. V. Müller used his position to mediate to the workers’ movement in Saxony an understanding of the idea of eugenics. See Archives of the Humboldt University (hereinafter A HU) Berlin – Nachlaß (hereinafter NL) Grotjahn, Vol. 130, sheet 2, letter of K. V. Müller to A. Grotjahn, April 10, 1927.

²⁵ Karl V. MÜLLER, *Arbeiterbewegung und Bevölkerungsfrage. Eine gemeinverständliche Darstellung der wichtigsten Fragen der quantitativen Bevölkerungspolitik im Rahmen gewerkschaftlicher Theorien* (= Gewerkschafts-Archiv-Bücherei 6), Jena 1927, p. 66 and id., *Sozialismus und Eugenik*, Archiv für Soziale Hygiene und Demographie, NF IV. Bd., 1929, pp. 322–324 [324].

²⁶ “Our labour force [can] not escape degeneration and thus alienation from their cultural heritage.” A HU Berlin – NL Grotjahn, Vol. 130, sheet 1, the letter of Müller to Grotjahn, April 10, 1927.

²⁷ See U. FERDINAND, *Die Debatte*; R. SIEFFERLE, *Die Krise*, p. 162.

basic notions proposed by Alfredo Niceforo (1876–1960), an Italian statistician and anthropo-sociologist, by supplementing them with genealogy and the science of heredity.²⁸ With reference to Francis Galton’s thesis on the affinity of similar genotypes in mate selection – the inbreeding of social characters or the socio-biological connubium – Müller made the socio-anthropological claim of the essential role of hereditary factors in processes of social design the basic premise of his research.²⁹ He carried out demographic surveys³⁰ and made anthropological observations by ‘intuitive insight’ (*intuitive Schau*).³¹ Müller believed he had the empirical evidence for claiming the ultimate power of heredity when he thought to have found a proof that most of an individual’s social competence (*soziale Bewährung*) depends on a person’s family and racial predisposition, whereby as a side effect of far-reaching racial mixing of European populations, family-run businesses are of crucial importance.³²

He portrayed the elite of the workforce (*Arbeiterelite*) as a socio-biological elite of natural leaders by applying a methodological mix which included eugenic and racially biological ideas, various methods of intelligence research, socio-biological class analysis, the concept of ‘sifting’ (R. Thurnwald) and Joseph Schumpeter’s (1883–1950) notion of social connubium.³³ The rise of capitalism had caused a temporal social decline of the genetic material of the old, dignified, and ‘racially competent’ (*rassetüchtig*) middleclass, i.e., the farmers and craftsmen families of the Middle Ages.³⁴ Only later on, the elite of the workforce re-established itself from this basis as a separate class. For Müller, the resurgence of this class demonstrated a racially biological law: hereditary disposition is an element of nature that is most conservative and least likely to change. It is a constant historical force. In the process of its social resurgence and in contrast to the unskilled labour force, the workforce elite was characterised by decline in its birth rate, which could potentially lead to a loss of ‘racial competence’ (*Rassentüchtigkeit*). As a eugenicist and social anthropologist, Müller promised to stop further demographical and racial decline by implementing a sustainable race and population policy, a policy of selective breeding which would favour the Nordic social aristocracy and prevent the degradation and contamination of its genetic material.³⁵

Müller’s propagandistic work and his amateur research were soon noticed by the racial hygienist F. Lenz and by H. F. K. Günther, a philologist, publicist, and leading Nazi racial

²⁸ See Alfredo NICEFORO, *Anthropologie der nichtbesitzenden Klassen. Studien und Untersuchungen*, Leipzig – Amsterdam 1910; Karl V. MÜLLER, *Arbeiterbewegung*.

²⁹ K. V. MÜLLER, *Arbeiterbewegung*, p. 73; id., *Sozialismus*.

³⁰ UA Leipzig, personal file Müller, K. V. – PA 764, sheet 26–27. See Karl V. MÜLLER, *Zur Rassen- und Gesellschaftsbiologie des Industriearbeiters*, Archiv für Rassen- und Gesellschaftsbiologie (hereinafter ARGB) 29/2, 1935, pp. 187–234 [201].

³¹ Karl V. MÜLLER, *Zwei bevölkerungspolitische Tagungen der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung*, ARGB 19/2, 1927, pp. 189–193 [191]. According to SIEFERLE, Houston Stewart Chamberlain (1855–1927) recommended that scientists ought to do without physical anthropology and turn to intuitive viewing instead. See R. SIEFERLE, *Die Krise*, p. 188.

³² Karl Valentin MÜLLER – Martin SPRINGER, *Sozialanthropologische Betrachtungen*, ARGB 18/1, 1926, pp. 55–68 [59].

³³ K. V. MÜLLER, *Arbeiterbewegung*, p. 80.

³⁴ Id., *Rassenhygiene und sozialistische Bewegung*, ARGB 24/4, 1930, pp. 348–366 [366].

³⁵ Id., *Lebensraum und Geburtenregelung*, Süddeutsche Monatshefte (Rassenhygiene), März 1928, pp. 415–419; id., *Arbeiterbewegung*, p. 57. Cf. U. FERDINAND, *Der Geburtenrückgang*.

researcher.³⁶ The latter advised Müller in his socio-anthropological studies and adopted some of his notions into his own studies. Lenz, too, supported Müller with his professional advice and integrated some of his ideas into his work.³⁷ He used him as a paradigmatic example of the view ‘that the prime opponent of racial hygiene is the philistine, not the socialist’. Furthermore, he believed that Müller, a labour union official (*Gewerkschaftsbeamter*) and a socialist, could be a worthy successor to the medical practitioner Ludwig Woltmann (1871–1907), who as a former social democrat was the leading representative of early *Sozialanthropologie*.³⁸ In 1926, Lenz appointed Müller as the only social democratic employee to the most prominent German journal for racial hygiene, *Archiv für Rassen- und Gesellschaftsbiologie*. There, Müller took care of most of the journal content regarding social sciences until 1944. These relationships and his contacts with the *völkisch* publisher Julius Friedrich Lehmann (1864–1935) and Alfred Ploetz made Müller a very important publicist.³⁹ These influences, along with belief in a racially and racially biological ‘cognitive primacy’ (*Erkenntnisprimat*) of his studies paved his seamless transition to Nazi sociology and made him a clear exception within the social democracy.⁴⁰ His eugenic and socio-anthropological studies were compatible with the threefold aims of Nazi population policy: Firstly, provisions for a quantitative protection of the population (*Volksstand*); secondly, qualitative racial hygiene as such, i.e., the achievement of above-average reproduction among the ‘hereditary healthy and competent’ (*Erbgesunde und -tüchtige*) accompanied by restricted reproduction of the ‘hereditary unhealthy and inferior’ (*Erbkranke und -minderwertige*); and thirdly, racial policy, that is, the preservation of racial characteristics of the population accompanied by a simultaneous fight against ‘racial superalienation’ (*rassische Überfremdung*).

2. Academic Career under National Socialism and Becoming an Expert on ‘Umvolkung’

After the war, K. V. Müller thought about the fact that he was able to practice science under the Nazi regime and noted: “Often, however, this was only possible under certain conditions which required the use of a secret language which could only be understood by insiders.”⁴¹ Müller was convinced that neither his stellar career under the Nazi regime nor

³⁶ UA Leipzig, personal file Müller, K. V. – PA 764, sheet 26. See i.a. Hans F. K. GÜNTHER, *Kleine Rassenkunde des deutschen Volkes*, München 1933.

³⁷ UA Leipzig, personal file Müller, K. V. – PA 764, sheet 26. See i.a. Fritz LENZ, *Menschliche Auslese und Rassenhygiene (Eugenik)*, München 1931.

³⁸ Fritz LENZ (rec.), *Rassenfrage und Sozialismus*, ARGB 17/4, 1925, pp. 444–446. For L. Woltmann see Jürgen MISCH, *Die politische Philosophie Ludwig Woltmanns. Im Spannungsfeld von Kantianismus, historischem Materialismus und Sozialdarwinismus* (= Abhandlungen zur Philosophie und Pädagogik 94), Bonn 1975; Ehrhard STÖLTING, *Die anthropologische Schule. Gestalt und Zusammenhänge eines wissenschaftlichen Institutionalierungsversuches*, in: Klingemann (ed.), *Rassenmythos*, p. 134.

³⁹ On J. F. Lehmanns Verlag see Sigrid STÖCKEL (ed.), *Die ‘rechte Nation’ und ihr Verleger. Politik und Popularisierung im J. F. Lehmanns Verlag 1890–1979*, Berlin 2002.

⁴⁰ M. SCHWARTZ, ‘Proletarier’, p. 566. See C. KLINGEMANN, *Soziologie*; H. GUTBERGER, *Bevölkerung*.

⁴¹ UA Nürnberg-Erlangen, file K. V. Müller F 2/1 No. 236. Cf. Karl V. MÜLLER, *Empirische Beiträge zur Frage der differentiellen Fruchtbarkeit in Nachkriegsdeutschland*, *Homo* 7, 1956, pp. 87–98.

his willingness to serve Nazi policies were errors or signs of a flaw of character. Like various other Nazi scientists, he saw himself as a ‘far-sighted’ opponent of Nazism.⁴²

In 1933, Müller quit his membership in the German Social Democracy (SPD) but did not join the NSDAP. He explained this by stating “all experts knew that ever since 1923, I had adopted racial theory as a core of the now prevailing views”.⁴³ He stated that he wished to work only in this area and that his ‘fighting years’ (*Kämpferjahre*) were a sufficient proof of his faith and allegiance to the Nazi Germany.⁴⁴

Müller met Martin P. Wolf in his workplace, at the Saxon Ministry of Education⁴⁵ in Dresden in 1933: “I have known Müller since 1933 when I shared an office with him in the Saxon Ministry of Education for several months.”⁴⁶ Müller provided Wolf, employee of the Berlin headquarters of the SD, with information about changes in staff, events behind the scenes of his department, and about the Sudetengerman movement in Czechoslovakia led by Konrad Henlein (1898–1945).⁴⁷ Around this time, he met another important supporter in the person of Werner Studentkowski. The ‘strong man’ of Saxon politics of higher education⁴⁸ was impressed by Müller’s accomplishments in the area of population statistics and *Sozialanthropologie* and arranged for him the possibility of habilitating at University of Leipzig, ‘to provide him with a larger sphere of scientific influence’.⁴⁹

Previously, Müller wrote a book named *Der Aufstieg des Arbeiters durch Rasse und Meisterschaft* (The Rise of Workers through Race and Mastery).⁵⁰ In this work, and in accordance with the ideas of Richard Walther Darré (1895–1953) and his ideas, he designed a racially biological ‘construction policy’ (*Aufbau-Politik*) which would structure the future

⁴² Cited in Hans-Peter KRÖNER, *Von der Rassenhygiene zur Humangenetik. Das Kaiser-Wilhelm-Institut für Anthropologie, menschliche Erblehre und Eugenik nach dem Kriege*, Stuttgart – Jena – Lübeck – Ulm 1998, p. 73.

⁴³ UA Leipzig, Personal file Müller, K. V. – PA 764, sheet. 24. Müller joined the NSDAP on May 1, 1937 (No. 5.877.252); Archiv bezpečnostních složek (hereinafter ABS) Praha, Z 10-P-238, sheet 1. See E. KUBŮ, *Die Bedeutung*, p. 95.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Wilhelm Hartnacke (1878–1952) took over the leadership of the Ministry in March of 1933. Hartnacke had many times proclaimed the ‘education mania’ (*Bildungswahn*) to be the ‘death of a nation’. He dogmatically believed in the heredity of intellectual and mental characteristics. See Matthias MIDDELL, *Weltgeschichtsschreibung im Zeitalter der Verfachlichung und Professionalisierung* (= Geschichtswissenschaft und Geschichtskultur im 20. Jahrhundert 6/1–3), Leipzig 2005, p. 712; Michael GRÜTTNER, *Biographisches Lexikon zur nationalsozialistischen Wissenschaftspolitik* (= Studien zur Wissenschafts- und Universitätsgeschichte 6), Heidelberg 2004, p. 70; Michael PARAK, *Hochschule und Wissenschaft in zwei deutschen Diktaturen. Elitenaustausch an sächsischen Hochschulen 1933–1952* (= Geschichte und Politik in Sachsen 23), Weimar – Wien 2004, pp. 83–84; Reiner POMMERIN, *Geschichte der TU Dresden 1828–2003*, Bd. 1, Köln – Weimar – Wien 2003, pp. 167–168.

⁴⁶ Státní oblastní archiv (hereinafter SOA, State Regional Archive) Praha, Müller K. V., letter of M. P. Wolf to Dr. A. Six, September 12, 1938 (official information on a private path/Dienstliche Informationen auf privatem Weg), sheet 10. See *ibid.* exchange of letters between Wolf and Müller since 1934. E. Kubů is right in suggesting an almost symbiotic relationship between the two men, see E. KUBŮ, *Die Bedeutung*, p. 95.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, letters of K. V. Müller to M. P. Wolf, Official information on a private path, sheets 38–56, 66–69, 71–75. See E. KUBŮ, *Die Bedeutung*, p. 93.

⁴⁸ M. GRÜTTNER, *Biographisches Lexikon*, p. 171; M. PARAK, *Hochschule*; R. POMMERIN, *Geschichte*; Andreas WAGNER, ‘Machtergreifung’ in Sachsen. NSDAP und Staatliche Verwaltung 1930–1935 (= Geschichte und Politik in Sachsen 22), Köln – Weimar – Wien 2004.

⁴⁹ Sächsisches Haupt- und Staatsarchiv (hereinafter SächsHStA) Dresden, Saxon Ministry for Education, No. 15590, sheet 71, letter of W. Studentkowski to W. Groß, November 22, 1938.

⁵⁰ Karl V. MÜLLER, *Der Aufstieg des Arbeiters durch Rasse und Meisterschaft*, München 1935. He devoted this work to the memory of the publisher Julius F. Lehmann, a supporter and promoter of a strong Reich. Müller hoped to draw the attention of state leadership and other responsible institutions to his statements. *Ibid.*, p. 7. See U. FERDINAND, *Historische Argumentationen*; *id.*, *Der Geburtenrückgang*, p. 253.

Volksgemeinschaft in a racially social and racially stratified way. This policy was based on the idea that the Nordic race was a highly self-sufficient which could accommodate all varieties of challenges by its skills and adaptability, in urban and in rural life, in war and in peace.⁵¹ With the explicit intention ‘to deflate peasantry’s monopoly on the restoration of the nation’,⁵² Müller posited that the farming community should receive support from the working elite. This happened analogously to Darré’s model and was supposed to act as an independent ‘object of breeding and preservation’ (*Zucht- und Hegeobjekt*). Müller thereby expanded Nazi agricultural policy⁵³ to a ‘constructive care of race’ (*aufbauende Rassenpflege*) whose aim would be to care for the quality of the population’s hereditary material. This was to be achieved by a proportioned increase of family lines of those who were especially gifted and fit for life.⁵⁴

K. V. Müller claimed that his model of breeding, which was based on a convoluted mixture of social Darwinism, racial hygiene, and racial biology, had captured the relationship between Darwinism and sociology. Based on his claim that among the culturally capable (*kulturfähig*) ‘races and racially mixed populations’ exist vastly different layers and inheritance lines, Müller evaluated social strata by values of heredity and performance he had posited.⁵⁵ Müller then proposed a model of selection (*Auslese*) for the new design of the stratified population in the sense of racial care (*Rassenpflege*), a methodical human breeding based on racial biology. The new selection design included the establishment of a breeding direction (*Züchtungsrichtung*), as well as the breeder’s influence on the population, i.e. choice of selection groups.⁵⁶

The question as to whether the farmer type or the worker type should be bred had been controversial ever since the debate about agricultural vs. industrial country.⁵⁷ With respect to this question, Müller declared both types – ‘full manhood’ (*Vollmenschentum*, i.e. farmers) and ‘partial manhood’ (*Teilmenschentum*, i.e. workers) – to be unresolved border cases of breeding. He made both types subject to a breeder’s assessment based on a (speculative) scale of socio-anthropological requirements of a future society. As a social Darwinist, he believed civilising selection to be a process of society’s mastering of the environment, of ‘wrenching the executioner’s sword from nature’. While this provided room for ‘degeneration’ (*Entartung*), it also, thanks to specialisation, supported the ‘cultural potential’ (*Kulturfähigkeit*) and the spoke for ‘improvement policy’ (*Aufartungspolitik*) in the direction of partial manhood.⁵⁸ This policy required a birth policy that would correspond to breeder’s standards due to the civilisation process’s intrinsic dilemma of its self-destructive potential. Unlike negative eugenic measures, this aspect of synthesising racial care was difficult to implement, since the breeding of a sufficient amount of children among the racially

⁵¹ K. V. MÜLLER, *Der Aufstieg*, p. 152. Here, he explicitly quoted Professor Karl Astel (1898–1945), racial hygienist from Thuringia, Rector of the Friedrich-Schiller University in Jena, and a prominent member of the SS.

⁵² SOA Praha, Müller K. V., letter of K. V. Müller to M. P. Wolf, August 6, 1934 (official information on a private path), sheet 68, I.

⁵³ See Uwe MAI, ‘Rasse und Raum’. *Agrarpolitik, Sozial- und Raumplanung im NS-Staat* (= Sammlung Schön- ingh zur Geschichte und Gegenwart), Paderborn – München – Wien – Zürich 2002.

⁵⁴ K. V. MÜLLER, *Der Aufstieg*, p. 96.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 32, 59; K. V. MÜLLER, *Empirische Beiträge*, p. 87.

⁵⁶ See U. FERDINAND, *Historische Argumentationen*; *id.*, *Der Geburtenrückgang*.

⁵⁷ See *id.*, *Die Debatte*; Matthias WEIPERT, ‘Mehring der Volkskraft’: *Die Debatte über Bevölkerung. Modernisierung und Nation 1890–1933*, Paderborn – München – Wien – Zürich 2006.

⁵⁸ K. V. MÜLLER, *Der Aufstieg*, pp. 99, 102.

desirable families was impossible to enforce.⁵⁹ Müller believed to have found a practicable path in active precautions, in a policy of double adaptation – of the environment to the race and of the race to the environment. A sustainable (racial) ‘improvement policy’ was supposed to provide the workers’ elite with environmental factors that would preserve ‘selection based on competence’ (*Tüchtigkeitsauslese*), remove the social and psychological distress of child poverty, and facilitate early foundation of families. In such a *Volk*-biological environment, the process of organic selection (*Siebung*) would lead to gradual progress of selected worker type from a man in charge of other men (*Werkmeister*) to a man in charge of heredity (*Erbmeister*).⁶⁰

The amateur researcher who had not been attached to any university since 1935 thought of himself as having designed, in his own breeding model, a plan for the advancement of a population’s performance value. His plan also counted on an expansion of habitat within the framework of Nazi ideas of population policy.⁶¹ According to Nazi propagandistic brochures and according to Alfred Ploetz, his definition of the racial body of the German workforce (*Arbeitertum*) and the thus arising prospects of improvement “opened up new avenues with the aim of selecting racially valuable elements and using them as the basis of breeding a racially advanced population”.⁶²

Such high valuation of his work supported Müller’s ambition of acquiring influence in academic science. The meanwhile 40 years old father⁶³ was certain that due to his busy work schedule, he would not be able to submit an independent habilitation. After numerous efforts by Hans A. Münster (1901–1963),⁶⁴ the then Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Leipzig, and thanks to Studentkowski’s⁶⁵ dedication, Müller achieved his external and cumulative habilitation in 1937 with Hans Freyer: “Despite the reservations of some of Freyer’s colleagues – a professor of statistics noted that Müller’s statistical evidence did not warrant the conclusions he had drawn from it and a professor of medicine doubted that Müller fully understood the biological concepts that he had employed – Freyer gave Müller a positive evaluation and based on the significance of his research and recommended his habilitation.”⁶⁶

After the disputation in early June 1937, Müller, who meanwhile became member of the NSDAP, applied for a lectureship in sociology and *Sozialanthropologie*. He received a positive reply but his demonstration lecture on ‘The Significance of German Blood in Southeast

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 95. See Gisela BOCK, *Zwangssterilisation im Nationalsozialismus. Studie zur Rassenpolitik und Frauenpolitik*, Opladen 1986, p. 164.

⁶⁰ K. V. MÜLLER, *Der Aufstieg*, pp. 96, 142–143.

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 99; Karl V. MÜLLER, *Zur Bedeutung der Bildung von Auslesegruppen unter züchterischen Gesichtspunkten des Staates*, *Volk und Rasse* 10/3, 1935, pp. 76–82 [77–78].

⁶² Werner KLAUS (rec.), *Karl Valentin Müller: Der Aufstieg des Arbeiters durch Rasse und Meisterschaft*, *Der Vorposten. Mitteilungsblatt der Gauleitung der NSDAP* 11, 1935, pp. 343–345; Alfred PLOETZ (rec.), *Müller, Dr. Karl Valentin, Der Aufstieg des Arbeiters durch Rasse und Meisterschaft. J. F. Lehmanns Verlag, München 1935*, *ARGB* 30/4, 1936, pp. 515–516.

⁶³ Müller, who had been married to the teacher Hertha K. B. Babylon (b. 1909) since 1932, fathered two daughters.

⁶⁴ The non-habilitated H. A. Münster and later informer of the Security Service (SD) took over the chair for journalism in 1933–1934, after the dismissal of Erich Everth (1878–1934).

⁶⁵ W. Studentkowski even called the Reich Governor (*Reichsstatthalter*) of Saxony to make Müller’s work (including his doctoral thesis) freely accessible after it had been banished to the ‘poison cabinet’ of undesirable books. See UA Leipzig, personal file Müller, K. V. – PA 764, sheet 55–56.

⁶⁶ Ibid., sheets 62–67. See J. MÜLLER, *The Other*, p. 275.

Europe' (*Die Bedeutung des deutschen Blutes in Südosteuropa*) in late January 1938 failed to make the desired impression.⁶⁷ In his second demonstration lecture, Müller disputed the thesis that "German colonisation of the East implied the selection of especially valuable pioneer types and that the Germans, due to their higher genetic value, are able to regularly achieve higher professional positions in their host colonies".⁶⁸ After that, he was appointed lecturer in sociology and population science at the University of Leipzig.⁶⁹

In his academic career, Leipzig was, however, but an intermezzo. In the winter term of 1938–1939, Müller was asked to temporarily fill the chair for sociology at the Technical University (*Technische Hochschule*) Dresden. A year later, he was appointed associate professor for sociology and *Sozialanthropologie* and head of the Department of Sociology (*Abteilung für Soziologie*).⁷⁰ From then on, Müller – unsuccessfully – kept trying to reintroduce his subject as an examination subject at the Technical University and to create a Department for *Volk Studies* (*Abteilung für Volkswissenschaft*).⁷¹ Despite the failure of these particular aims, Müller's studies and research methods became an integral part of German sociology.⁷² In contrast to this, Hans Freyer stated that Müller was in fact only concerned with 'a special part of sociology' and was basically 'just a social anthropologist'.⁷³

Over the following years, Müller gained academic and political reputation as an expert on the subject of *Umvolkung* especially in circles linked to the SD. His colleagues from Dresden supported his aspirations and helped him. Some even shared his ambitions, for example economist Walter Weddingen (1895–1978)⁷⁴ and Emil Lehman (1880–1964), author of the *Sudetendeutsche Volkskunde*⁷⁵ and after his escape from Czechoslovakia honorary professor for ethnology (*Volkskunde*) in Dresden.

After 1937, Müller extended his influence as well as the subject of his study in geographic terms to Central and South East Europe, especially the Sudetenland. He studied the social and biological fabric of the population and the processes leading to of *Umvolkung* using established methods and various then generally accepted claims of social anthropology and

⁶⁷ Besides Hans Freyer, Alfred Helbok and Rudolf Meerwarth, the demonstration lesson was also assessed by Arthur Knick (1883–1944), a practicing physician, by the orientalist Erich Bräunlich (1892–1945), philosopher and sociologist Arnold Gehlen (1904–1976), historian of antiquity Helmut Berve (1896–1979), and historian Herman Heimpel (1901–1988). UA Leipzig, personal files Müller, K. V. – PA 764, sheet 69, record about the scientific debate by E. Bräunlich, 1937.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, sheet 87, Freyer's draft (without date, received on February 2 1938); *ibid.*, sheet 77, E. Bräunlich's letter to the Rector of the University of Leipzig, January 10, 1938.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, sheet 93, letter (copy) of the Ministry of the Reich Ministry of Education etc. to Ministry of Education, Dresden, and to the Dean of the Philosophical Faculty of the University of Leipzig, May 4, 1938; *ibid.*, sheet 18; SächsHStA Dresden – files of Sächs. MfV, No. 15590; resume of K. V. Müller; *ibid.*, sheet 18.

⁷⁰ In the University Archives of the Technical University Dresden, no personal file of Müller exists. According to personnel catalogue and prospectus, Müller had figured as the director of the Department of Sociology since December 1, 1939. Worth mentioning here is that the appointment did not proceed smoothly.

⁷¹ Besides W. Studentkowski, the leader of the Saxon Office for Racial Policy (*Rassenpolitisches Amt*), Wolfgang Knorr (1911–1940) supported the latter project. See SächsHStA Dresden, files Saxon Ministry for Education, no. 15590, sheet 29, record of W. Studentkowski on conversation with K. V. Müller, February 1, 1939.

⁷² Karl H. PFEFFER, *Die Soziologie in Deutschland*, Archiv für Bevölkerungswissenschaft und Bevölkerungspolitik 9/6, 1939, pp. 419–428 [428].

⁷³ UA Leipzig, personal files Müller, K. V. – PA 764, sheet 103, report of H. Freyer, April 4, 1939.

⁷⁴ R. POMMERIN, *Geschichte*, p. 211; A. WIEDEMANN, *Die Reinhard-Heydrich-Stiftung*, p. 63. See also A. MIŠKOVÁ, *Die deutsche Universität Prag*, and E. KUBŮ, *Die Bedeutung*.

⁷⁵ Emil LEHMANN, *Sudetendeutsche Volkskunde*, Leipzig 1926.

racial biology.⁷⁶ To Müller, the issue of a law-like relation between biological value and social status was closely linked to proper appreciation of the power of heredity. He claimed to approach the transformation of nations from a new angle would lead to insights into the laws governing the formation and transformation of a nation.⁷⁷ To an adherent of racial theory, the success of this endeavour – which failed to convince in his first demonstration lecture – was a methodological imperative. It also inspired him to describe measures that would lead to *Umvolkung* within the foreseen (violent) re-organisation of Europe. At the centre of these considerations, there was the ‘mobility among peoples’ (*zwischenvölkische Mobilität*) on the level of racially related peoples. In terms of practical politics, Müller promised not only a future ‘straightening’ according to racial and familial competence but also an organisation of South German space under German leadership.⁷⁸

As before, and with explicit reference to Otto Reche (1879–1966), Müller described the Nordic race as culturally creative elements, which had contributed to the historical success of nations of the western world.⁷⁹ Along the lines of Walter Scheidt’s (1895–1976) cultural biology, he proposed *Sozialanthropologie* based on specific ‘variants of performance’ (*Leistungsvarianten*).⁸⁰ Within this framework, Müller described *Umvolkung* as a dynamic process, which proceeds in a direction contrary to transformation of racial identity (*Umrasung*). This dynamic process, which is ‘generational and happens step by step’, results in a shift of structures within a people through specific changes in property.⁸¹ Migration was described as process akin to osmosis, which balances and events out ‘tension and emptiness’.

With his socio-biological diagnosis – high population density, strong migration movement, and disappearance of stability of stratification – Müller described *Umvolkung* as resulting from historical processes of population change and equalisation which, in turn, occurred in consequence of North-South migration.⁸² His socio-biological or

⁷⁶ See Karl V. MÜLLER, *Gesetzmäßigkeiten bei Wandlungen im sozialanthropologischen Gefüge von rassisch nahestehenden Nachbarvölkern durch Umvolkungsgesetze*, ARGB 31/4, 1937, pp. 326–347; id., *Die Volksschichtung und Volkstumswandel im Sudetenraum. Sozialanthropologische Betrachtungen zur deutsch-tschechischen Nachbarschaft*, *Mitteldeutsche Blätter für Volkskunde* 13/4, 1938, pp. 192–198; id., *Die Bedeutung des deutschen Blutes in Südosteuropa*, *Süddeutsche Forschungen* 3/1, 1938, pp. 582–623.

⁷⁷ K. V. MÜLLER, *Die Bedeutung*, p. 582.

⁷⁸ K. V. MÜLLER, *Gesetzmäßigkeiten*; id., *Die Bedeutung*, p. 597. Cf. C. KLINGEMANN, *Soziologie*; id., *Ostforschung*, pp. 191–192; A. WIEDEMANN, *Die Reinhard-Heydrich-Stiftung*, pp. 65–66.

⁷⁹ K. V. MÜLLER, *Gesetzmäßigkeiten*, p. 326. For Reche’s concept of race see Katja GEISENHAINER, ‘Rasse als Schicksal’. *Otto Reche (1879–1966) – ein Leben als Anthropologe und Völkerkundler* (= Beiträge zur Leipziger Universitäts- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte, Reihe A/1), Leipzig 2002, p. 225; U. HOSSFELD, *Geschichte*, p. 275.

⁸⁰ K. V. MÜLLER, *Gesetzmäßigkeiten*; id., *Die Bedeutung*. It is noted that K. V. Müller explicitly dissociates himself from Ploetz’s *Sozialanthropologie*. See K. V. MÜLLER, *Gesetzmäßigkeiten*, pp. 326–327. See Walter SCHEIDT, *Die Lebensgeschichte eines Volkes. Einführung in die rassenbiologische und kulturbiologische Forschung*, Hamburg 1934; id., *Die Träger der Kultur*, Berlin 1934.

⁸¹ K. V. MÜLLER, *Gesetzmäßigkeiten*, pp. 326–327, 334–335.

⁸² This point of view distinguished Müller from authors who predominantly focused on the East-West migration and who placed ‘over-foreignisation’ (*Überfremdung*) and infiltration of the German people to the centre of their historical demographic considerations about assimilation and dissimilation. See Alexander PINWINKLER, *Assimilation und Dissimilation in der ‘Bevölkerungsgeschichte’*, *Historische Sozialkunde. Geschichte – Fachdidaktik – Politische Bildung 2* (Raumkonstruktionen und Bevölkerungspolitik im Nationalsozialismus), Wien 2005, pp. 26–31; Ingo HAAR, *Bevölkerungspolitische Szenarien und bevölkerungswissenschaftliche Expertise im Nationalsozialismus – Die rassistische Konstruktion des Fremden und das ‘Grenz- und Auslandsdeutschum’*, in: R. Mackensen – J. Reulecke (eds.), *Das Konstrukt*, pp. 340–370.

socio-anthropological view defined ‘relative overpopulation’ as a manifestation of shortage of living space, lack of opportunities and as interference by ‘imperfect biological self-sufficiency’. The latter then led to social tension, disillusionment with life, and declining in birth rates, most of which would be in the competition of nations compensated by the relocation of the affected upper and middle classes into specific domains outside of the living space of their own nation.

Once more, Müller applied the approved distinction between ‘sifting and selection processes’ (*Siebungs- und Ausleseprozesse*). To him, the ‘sifting’ processes of social selection captured the dependence “of the current historical potential of a people on the favourable or unfavourable occupation of crucial positions of performance”. In contrast to that, selection processes determined ‘the longevity of such a potential’ depending ‘on the design of recruitment’.⁸³ With reference to the idea of a limited range of resources (Malthus), Müller identified disturbances in the (biological/structural) autarchy as ‘relative overpopulation’ of the upper and middle classes in the German people. He found these disturbances to be associated with processes of transformation in the capitalistic society and contrasted this with imperfect biological autarchy – shortage of the middle and upper classes – of the neighbouring peoples in the South East. Müller conceptualised the early historical relationships of these racially related nations as a decline in performance⁸⁴ which had been compensated by the export of high-performing German groups. This migration then initiated the process of *Umvolkung*. Only because of that, the affected nations had been able to acquire their own ‘national competence’.⁸⁵

The idea then inspired Müller’s belief that it had been primarily the German people who gave leaders, innovators, and pioneers to other nations, especially those of the Central and Eastern Europe. From a socio-biological point of view, this was an almost law-like balancing of low and high pressure on specific habitats.⁸⁶

This was close to circular socio-anthropological reasoning and suggested the existence of a highly qualified minority in the neighbouring peoples in the South East. This minority was seen as being formed by family lines with special leading abilities. To Müller, this finding obliged historians and demographers to social anthropologically investigate the width and depth of these biological minorities. Furthermore, he claimed that the biological *Volksforschung* should also consider the qualitative aspects of vertical national structures.

Müller did not see *Volk* as a biological invariable. Rather, he saw it as an entity of political will. From the point of view of the *Umvolkung*, belonging to a *Volk* was fate but one that was also to some extent of one’s own choice. In this aspect he differed from, for example,

⁸³ K. V. MÜLLER, *Gesetzmäßigkeiten*, p. 330.

⁸⁴ M. Middell refers to the fact that the notion of ‘distinction between cultural spaces’ was one that characterised national history. Matthias Middel, *Weltgeschichtsschreibung im Zeitalter der Verfachlichung und Professionalisierung* (= Geschichtswissenschaft und Geschichtskultur im 20. Jahrhundert 6/1–3), Leipzig 2005, p. 768. For the construction of the German point of view of a cultural slope at the eastern border, see Norbert ELIAS, *Über den Prozeß der Zivilisation. Soziogenetische und psychogenetische Untersuchungen*, 1, Frankfurt/Main 1981; Michael JEISMANN, *Das Vaterland der Feinde. Studien zum nationalen Feindbegriff und Selbstverständnis in Deutschland und Frankreich 1792–1918*, Stuttgart 1992, p. 1; Dirk VAN LAAK, *Über alles in der Welt. Deutscher Imperialismus im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, München 2005, pp. 59–60.

⁸⁵ K. V. MÜLLER, *Die Bedeutung des deutschen Blutes in Südosteuropa*, pp. 596–567; id., *Deutsche Lebensströme im Aufstieg des Tschechentums*, Deutsche Monatshefte 9 (6/9/8), 1942/43, pp. 310–328 [328].

⁸⁶ K. V. MÜLLER, *Zur sozialanthropologischen Bedeutung*, pp. 47–48; id., *Gesetzmäßigkeiten*, p. 337.

the notions described by the anthropologist Egon von Eickstedt (1892–1965).⁸⁷ Müller understood *Umvolkung* as a dynamic process, in which *Volk* – unlike the anthropologically defined ‘race’ – was a variable entity. From a biological point of view, nations (*Völker*) are functionally structured in cultural communities but those structures are to some degree flexible and can be altered. These communities are grouped around political cores and are distinct but racially close variants of humankind.⁸⁸

‘Race’, not *Volk*, then formed the foundation of ‘blood’ and heredity. ‘Race’ was the result of a breeding process, while *Volk* was from a biological point of view unstable.⁸⁹

This led Müller to emphasise the importance of the not primarily Nordic stock for the German *Volk*, and to translate this opinion into the political agenda. Borrowing from the historian Adolf Helbok (1883–1968), he used the horticultural metaphor of a ‘seedbed of blood’. *Volk* as a ‘seedbed’ cannot be suitable for all plants because of the specific factors of the soil. But *Volk* was suitable for ‘racial improvement’ (*Aufartung*).

3. New Agenda: Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia (1939–1945)

Müller’s scientific ambitions were clearly closely related to the *Zeitgeist*. After the establishment of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia arose in German circles the issue of ‘Germanisation’, i.e. assimilation or dissimilation of the Czech population in this region. It led to various political questions which were for the Nazi authorities and decision makers as the very core of their long-term policy in this region. It is known that in August 1940, both Reichprotector Konstantin Freiherr von Neurath (1873–1956) and State Secretary K. H. Frank supported the assimilation of a major part of the Czech population by racial selection. It was supposed to be one of the main principles of their policy. At the same time, they decided on the extermination of political opponents, the intelligentsia, and of course the Jewish and Roma/Sinti population. The final aim of the German policy was ‘the complete integration into a pan-German Reich’ (Neurath) and a ‘total Germanisation of the space and people’ (Frank) as a way to a real *Umvolkung*, that is both in biological and cultural meaning.⁹⁰

K. V. Müller himself was acquainted with these plans concerning population changes south and east of the German space, whose long term aim was a complete ‘Germanisation’ of the Protectorate. In his memorandum *The Czech-German Question*⁹¹ of 1938, he then formulated the following main claims:

– Bohemia and Moravia ought to be subjugated to Germany;

⁸⁷ K. V. MÜLLER, *Gesetzmäßigkeiten*, p. 344; id., *Zur sozialanthropologischen Bedeutung*, p. 47. See Egon von EICKSTEDT, *Raumplanung und Menschforschung*, *Raumplanung und Raumordnung* 7, 1943, pp. 133–137.

⁸⁸ K. V. MÜLLER, *Gesetzmäßigkeiten*, p. 345.

⁸⁹ id., *Die Bedeutung des deutschen Blutes im Tschechentum*, p. 325; id., *Die Bedeutung des deutschen Blutes in Südosteuropa*, p. 590.

⁹⁰ A. WIEDEMANN, *Die Reinhard-Heydrich-Stiftung*, p. 18. See D. BRANDES, *Umvolkung*, p. 179; René KÜPPER, *Karl Hermann Frank (1898–1946). Politische Biographie eines sudetendeutschen Nationalsozialisten*, München 2010, p. 164.

⁹¹ SOA Praha, K. V. Müller, Memorandum on the Czech-German Question (*Die tschechisch-deutsche Frage*), (official information on a private path), sheets 2–9. See E. KUBÚ, *Die Bedeutung*, p. 96.

– The upper classes of the Czech population are the carriers of ‘German blood’ that became alienated and in the course of history ‘Czechised’.

Led by his unquestioned belief in German leadership, Müller proposed a way of bringing this population back to the German *Kulturland* and promoting the ‘German blood’ within the *Volk* by offering social advancement.⁹²

This fitted well with his ideas about the change of *Volkstum*, the role of leadership, and the Nordic race. It made Müller optimistic about the future of Bohemia and Moravia, which he saw as the cradle of humankind in Central Europe.⁹³ He emphasised the practical relevance of his idea when stating that the changes in the kinds of achievements or skills of a nation are grounded in changes of its biological structure. He claimed that the influence of ‘German blood’ had already reached the upper classes of the Czech population.

Already before the September crisis in 1938, Müller offered himself and his ideas in the political arena. One of the persons who were impressed by them was M. P. Wolf⁹⁴ who sent Müller’s memorandum to his superior in the SD headquarters in Berlin, Dr. Franz-Alfred Six (1909–1975), and pointed out that Müller’s document was “important in providing clarification of some basic questions of our own scientific work” on Czechoslovakia.⁹⁵ Later he characterised Müller as an anti-Marxist, who was until 1933 member of the SPD, and an advocate of racial and imperialistic ideas since 1924. In the field of the so-called social biology, Wolf said that Müller was highly esteemed by the *Rassenpolitisches Amt der NSDAP* (Walter Groß) and by Arthur Gütt (1891–1949) from the Reich Ministry of the Interior (*Reichsinnenministerium*).⁹⁶

Müller’s efforts to play an important role as an expert on issues of *Volkstum* and minorities in the thriving settlement policy resulted in a study about *The Importance of the German Blood for the Czechs* in 1940.⁹⁷ M. P. Wolf sent this text to the Reichprotector and to Horst Böhme (1909–1945), head of the local SD headquarters (*SD-Leitabschnitt*) in Prague. Wolf recommended Müller as a ‘politically reliable Sudeten German’ who speaks and understands Czech and is well suited for a university position in Prague.⁹⁸

In Berlin, too, the Department III (Interior Security Service) of the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) was concerned with Müller’s text. In general, the text – the *Memorandum on the Questions of Umvolkung in the Southeast*⁹⁹ – did not get positive reception in the

⁹² Ibid., sheet 9. See also K. V. MÜLLER, *Die Bedeutung des deutschen Blutes im Tschechien*, p. 329; id., *Zur sozialanthropologischen Bedeutung*, p. 49.

⁹³ Karl V. MÜLLER, *Zur Rassen- und Volksgeschichte des böhmisch-mährischen Raumes*, in: Friedrich Heiss (ed.), *Das Böhmen und Mähren-Buch. Volkskampf und Reichsraum*, Prag – Amsterdam – Berlin – Wien 1943, pp. 127–134 [127].

⁹⁴ P. M. Wolf came to Prague shortly after the German occupation on March 15, 1939. He briefly held the post Deputy Director of the Regional HQ of the SD in Prague. In 1939–1942, he was in charge of sections B1 and E. In the spring of 1942, he took over as head of the Department for Cultural Policy in the Office of the Reich Protector. At the same time, he also worked until 1943 for the SD in Section III C.

⁹⁵ SOA Praha, Müller K. V., letter of M. P. Wolf to Dr. F.-A. Six, May 5, 1938, (official information on a private path), sheet 1.

⁹⁶ Ibid., sheet 10ff., letter of M. P. Wolf to Dr. F.-A. Six, September 12, 1938.

⁹⁷ K. V. MÜLLER, *Die Bedeutung des deutschen Blutes im Tschechien*; See E. KUBŮ, *Die Bedeutung*, pp. 97, 105.

⁹⁸ SOA Praha, letter of M. P. Wolf to H. Böhme, May 14, 1940, official information on a private path, sheet 158. See E. KUBŮ, *Die Bedeutung*, p. 97.

⁹⁹ Ibid.; SOA Praha, Müller K. V., *Denkschrift über Umvolkungsfragen des Südostens* – Statement of the Department III RSHA, (official information on a private path), sheets 155–157.

RSHA because Müller was more or less unknown there.¹⁰⁰ Experts of the Department III criticised the memorandum for several shortcomings: underestimation of the force of nationalism in the 20th century and especially insufficient consideration of racial aspects of the concept of *Umvolkung*. Müller's socio-anthropological considerations and his main research hypothesis about the implementation of the process of *Umvolkung* in the area of Bohemia and Moravia through voluntary selection and support of social mobility did, however, receive positive evaluations.¹⁰¹

With this memorandum, which the current historiographical literature classifies as a work commissioned by K. H. Frank, Müller succeeded in being heard on the issue of *Umvolkung* in the argument between different fractions of interest and institutions, particularly at the SD.

Especially Müller's personal contact with K. H. Frank became important. They met at the latest at a conference on Germanisation strategies in Bohemia in Bad Podiebrad/Poděbrady on September 28–29, 1940. K. H. Frank was impressed with Müller's talk on the *Czech-German Question and the Proportion of German Blood in the Czech Population*. Soon afterwards, he started studying the material Müller collected since it was relevant to the future fate of Bohemia and Moravia and its population.¹⁰² With the help of K. H. Frank, Müller became part of the survey on *Volkstumsarbeit* at the German Charles University in Prague. Together with Professor Walter Weddigen, his colleague from Dresden, Müller was in 1941 invited by Frank to the Protectorate.¹⁰³ With university students, they investigated the socio-anthropological profile of 6,000 Czechs: qualified craftsmen, leading employees, traders and technical experts of four big companies. They reached a conclusion that in this group of Czechs was 'a higher than average number' of persons with 'Nordic racial traits'.¹⁰⁴

Frank also made Müller his policy advisor, which meant he became a colleague of the international lawyer Hermann Raschhofer (1905–1979). Müller became Frank's special advisor in the field of racial issues. K. H. Frank supported Müller's appointment to the German Charles University and advocated on his behalf at the Wehrmacht, where he asked that Müller be called when there arises urgent need for a psychological examination. He claimed that Müller "had carried out important research in German-Czech issues of race and '*Umvolkung*', thus accomplishing a task that was set by the Führer".¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁰ The Department III seemed to be unaware of Müller's academic career: in the statement, he is also described as a 'referent for the vocational school system in the Saxon Ministry of Education', whose main interest was the research of giftedness, and who only later became interested in racial questions. *Ibid.*, sheet 155.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, statement of the Department III RSHA (official information on a private path), sheets 155–157.

¹⁰² G. VOIGT, *Faschistische*, p. 162; A. WIEDEMANN, *Die Reinhard-Heydrich-Stiftung*, p. 21; *id.*, *Karl Valentin Müller*; C. KLINGEMANN, *Ostforschung*, p. 189.

¹⁰³ Karl V. MÜLLER, *Grundsätzliche Ausführungen über das deutsche und tschechische Volkstum in Böhmen und Mähren*, Raumforschung und Raumordnung V-10/12, 1941, pp. 488–496 [489, footnote 6]. See R. POMMERIN, *Geschichte*, p. 202; D. BRANDES, *Umvolkung*, p. 196 (footnote 86); A. WIEDEMANN, *Karl Valentin Müller*.

¹⁰⁴ E. KUBÚ, *Die Bedeutung*, p. 105.

¹⁰⁵ Cited in A. WIEDEMANN, *Die Reinhard-Heydrich-Stiftung*, p. 64. Müller was subject to obligatory military service in the Wehrmacht and was recruited during the Polish campaign and in France in 1939–40. As an officer, he was active mainly in military psychology. See *Bibliography ... 1961*, 6. Cf; UA Nürnberg-Erlangen, file K. V. Müller – F 2/1 No. 2364 – copy, Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelm-Universität March 6, 1952: August 29, 1939 to April 3, 1940. Landwehr; April 4, 1940 – October 7, 1940. Military service; October 10, 1940 – December 15, 1941. Kriegsverwaltungsrat, May 1, 1942 – July 15, 1942.

Frank's interest in Müller's work and his memorandum was not without self-interest, since he needed to defend his view against other ideas regarding *Umvolkung* in the Protectorate. His basic conviction of the Germanisation potential (*Eindeutschungsfähigkeit*) of the Czechs, which he shared with the SS and with Reinhard Heydrich (1904–1942, chief of the RSHA and in 1941–1942 deputy Reichprotector) made Müller's memorandum rather politically sensitive.

3.1 'Umvolkung'

Müller's 25 pages long memorandum was based on his above-mentioned convictions. In this text, he described a third way of restructuring South Eastern Europe and achieving a sustainable *Umvolkung*. He presented a four step programme:

1. Superimposition of a German leadership throughout the entire German-dominated space;
2. Regaining large parts of the recently de-Germanised strata of capable population for the traditions of their mother nation;
3. Mobilisation of high performers from other nations for work in the German habitat in case these people have proven themselves to be capable workers who present no biological concern;
4. The purification of the German domain from recently naturalised inferior stock via *Rückvolkung* towards the Slavic people of origin.¹⁰⁶

In the long term, Müller aimed at a biologically sound allocation of functions in the German-ruled areas in Central Europe where Germans should remain dominant for ever.

According to Müller's dictum ('Each person in his or her hereditary adequate position.') this was linked to the purification of the 'leading master people' (*führendes Herrenvolk*) and its consolidation as a class of leaders and masters in the shared territory. Entirely in the spirit of Orwell's utopia, it would fall on the master race to sensitively lead the nations of its territory so they remain harmless and satisfied with their subservient position which corresponds to their 'racial character'. Subjugated nations should get accustomed to this order, preserve their cultural and linguistic heritage, and develop into hardworking, docile, and racially inferior populations.¹⁰⁷

With this dual orientation of the programme of *Umvolkung*, Müller was hoping to achieve the establishment of a master race and a 'vassal people' (*Vasallenvolk*).¹⁰⁸ To turn a nation into an ideal 'nation of servants' (*Dienstvolk*), one would have to remove a handful of top performers by offering them opportunities for social advancement and to incorporate these people into the master race. With this kind of *Umvolkung* of the elite, Müller promised to strengthen the elite and prevent ethnically biological dangers, such as lack of high-performing offspring or dilution of ethnic characteristics and the level of performance. Simultaneously, Müller sought to remove inferior elements from the Slavic nations, that is, carry out a *Rückvolkung* of inferior elements. This would then together with the strength of the leading elites determine the potential for Germanisation (*Eindeutschungsfähigkeit*) and ethnic and racial restructuring of territory. Regarding assimilation (re-Germanisation, *Umvolkung*

¹⁰⁶ Karl V. MÜLLER, *Denkschrift zur Umvolkung*, no date [presumably 1940], p. 7.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 8. See A. WIEDEMANN, *Die Reinhard-Heydrich-Stiftung*, p. 65; G. VOIGT, *Faschistische*, p. 376.

¹⁰⁸ C. KLINGEMANN, *Ostforschung*, p. 191.

of the elites) and dissimilation (purification, ethnic cleansing), Müller's programme promised to strengthen German leadership in the long run while simultaneously securing the reservoir of labour force of the Slavic people as a 'vassal people'.¹⁰⁹

3.2 'Assimilation' and 'Dissimilation'

Müller promised to implement the historical process of *Umvolkung* and direct the 'osmosis' of the population through politically directed improvement of the population. Regarding assimilation, he said that any "biological threat from recent times and suitable parts of the vassal people would be, to varying degree, subjected to the German rule".¹¹⁰

Since suitable social groups from within the 'vassal people' were to be resettled in the *Altreich*, Müller identified some suitable professional classes, such as university students, future academics, technical experts, physicians and employees, businessmen, farmers and skilled workers.¹¹¹ This selection was based on his positive correlation of 'hereditary biological competence' (*erbbiologische Fähigkeit*) and their social, professional position. According to the biologically determined concept of *Volk*, assimilation was meant to strengthen the German nation in the long term and support German leadership in this territory by removing all national borders of the racially and socially superior class.¹¹²

'Dissimilation', the second factor of Müller's programme, was defined as voluntary subordination of the masses of unskilled industrial and farm workers. The influx of these workers who were needed by the Reich had to be rigorously controlled due to ethnic and biological reasons. To minimise the risk of the mixing of blood, extramarital relations between Germans and these people would be severely condemned, while prevention would take the form of high alimony to be paid by men.¹¹³

Müller's conception of *Volk*, however, was in opposition to the programme outlined in a law of 'racial security'. The objection that Müller had to counter was that his programme ran a high risk of formation of undesirable relations and there was a possibility of persisting allegiance to the vassal nation and its language. Müller's programme did not completely ban the marriage of Germans and Slavs: it made such an option dependent on the abilities of the candidates. Müller did not see as problematic marriage between German men and ethnically foreign (*fremdvölkisch*) women since it aided the purification of the master race and improved the vassal nation.¹¹⁴

Müller refused coercion but was not opposed to state control. This was the essential part of the *volkspolitischen* framework, which would aim at a successful implementation of hierarchic relations between the master race and its vassals by making sure that a limited role of the vassal people of peasant and petit bourgeois character would be a stable one and the biologically strengthened, ennobled, and purified German master race achieved a biological monopoly on high performance in the pan-German space.¹¹⁵

¹⁰⁹ K. V. MÜLLER, *Denkschrift*, p. 9.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 14. See E. KUBÜ, *Die Bedeutung*, p. 106.

¹¹¹ K. V. MÜLLER, *Denkschrift*, p. 15. See E. KUBÜ, *Die Bedeutung*, p. 108.

¹¹² K. V. MÜLLER, *Denkschrift*, p. 16.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 19. Against this background, he also supported the existence of a non-German school and education system. *Ibid.*, p. 20. See E. KUBÜ, *Die Bedeutung*, pp. 109–110.

¹¹⁵ K. V. MÜLLER, *Denkschrift*, pp. 24–25; E. KUBÜ, *Die Bedeutung*, p. 110.

4. Breakthrough in Local Academia and Politics as a Servant of the SD

With his programme of *Umvolkung*, K. V. Müller in the end secured a professorship for social anthropology and *Volksbiologie* in Prague, where he also carried out research for the Reinhard Heydrich Foundation.

In his memorandum, Müller had demonstrated his ‘knowledge’ of anthropological situation in Bohemia and Moravia and his political loyalty. With the twofold orientation of his *Umvolkung* programme – and not without self-interest – he upheld the basic principle of the potential to Germanisation and thus also the political importance of taking stock of the racial and ethnic composition of the region.¹¹⁶

From October 1940 until December 1941, Müller did his military service in Prague, which gave him the opportunity to advance his academic and political profile. The political circles in Prague appreciated his dedication. In 1940, he was appointed to the chair of social anthropology at the Faculty of Philosophy of the German Charles University in Prague.¹¹⁷ Even before Müller received the official letter of appointment, he informed the dean of his faculty at the Technical University in Dresden “that the German Charles University in Prague was considering his appointment to full professor of Sozialanthropologie”.¹¹⁸ In November 1941, Müller received his appointment and indeed became full professor of social anthropology and *Volksbiologie*.¹¹⁹ Then he left Dresden and moved to Prague on a permanent basis.¹²⁰

At this point, Müller joined the elite circle of researchers of race and ethnicity (*Rassen- und Volksforscher*) at the German Charles University. Later, his *Institut für Sozialanthropologie und Volksbiologie* had a special status within the RHSt; Müller himself was considered a reliable professor who most significantly contributed to the German Charles University’s high ranking in scientific standard and political impact.¹²¹ But before that could happen, the authorities in Prague had to decide whether Müller’s field of expertise, i.e. *Sozialanthropologie*, was indeed an independent subject which would deserve a separate institute.¹²²

¹¹⁶ A. WIEDEMANN, *Die Reinhard-Heydrich-Stiftung*, pp. 22–23. See the paper on the Institute for Racial Biology in this volume.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 66; E. KUBŮ, *Die Bedeutung*, pp. 97–98.

¹¹⁸ SächsHStA Dresden, file 15062, letter of K. V. Müller (copy) to Dean P. Hofmann, November 8, 1941.

¹¹⁹ UA Nürnberg-Erlangen, file K. V. Müller – F 2/1 No. 2364, letter of the Reichserziehungsminister (copy) to K. V. Müller, November 6, 1941.

¹²⁰ His friend M. P. Wolf assisted him with finding a suitable house in Prague. Among other things, Wolf used his connections to the Central Office for Jewish Emigration. See SOA Praha, letter of K. V. Müller to M. P. Wolf, November 29, 1941; *ibid.* letter of M. P. Wolf to K. V. Müller, December 4, 1941 (official information on a private path), sheets 35, 153.

¹²¹ Martin ZÜCKERT, *Josef Hanika (1900–1963) Volkskundler. Zwischen wissenschaftlicher Forschung und ‘Volkstumskampf’*, in: Monika Glettner – Alena Mišková (eds.), *Prager Professoren 1938–1948. Zwischen Wissenschaft und Politik*, Essen 2001, pp. 191–220 [215]; A. WIEDEMANN, *Die Reinhard-Heydrich-Stiftung*, p. 48.

¹²² See Národní archiv (hereinafter NA) Praha, ÚŘP-114, letter of the Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy of the German Charles University to the Reich Minister for Science etc. March 27, 1941; *ibid.* letter of the Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy to the Curator of the German Scientific Universities, May 14, 1942. I want to thank M. V. Šimůnek for providing copies of these documents.

4.1 Activities in the Academic Circles in Prague

In addition to his *volkspolitisch* motivated research, whose results were highly valued by the Reichprotector,¹²³ Müller also fulfilled the duties of a teaching professor. His lectures and tutorials were closely linked to the topics he addressed in his research: the foundations of social anthropology, selection and counter-selection in the German people (practical ethnic biology), the presence and proportion of German blood in the Czech people (which required applied research), sociology of *Umvolkung* with particular emphasis on Bohemian-Moravian relations, *Volk*, class, race, etc.¹²⁴ Soon, his audience included students of the Faculty of Medicine and the Faculty of Law. When lecturing to the medics, Müller joined forces with the racial hygienist Karl (Johannes) Thums (1904–1976) whose special field of interest was racial/hereditary hygiene and population policy. When lecturing to law students, he held in the summer term 1943 one of his ‘staple’ lectures on ‘Selection and counter-selection among the German people’.¹²⁵ According to his own reports, after being appointed in 1943 professor and head of a new institute,¹²⁶ he focused on four main research tasks:

Volkswandel in the southeast, demographic, psychological, and socio-anthropological investigation of the Protectorate police force in Bohemia and Moravia, research of talent and intelligence in Czech schools, a sociological and socio-anthropological survey of Baťa’s factory in Zlín.¹²⁷

On top of that, Müller was the deputy head of the Prague consortium of universities for ‘spatial research’ (*Raumforschung*, which in fact meant geopolitical reorganisation of territories under German control) and carried out socio-anthropological spatial research in the Sudetengerman regions within the wider university network of the Reichsconsortium for spatial research (*Reichsarbeitsgemeinschaft für Raumforschung*, hereinafter RAG).¹²⁸ He discussed his work with Rudolf Hippius (1905–1945), a social and national psychologist (*Sozial- und Völkerpsychologe*). Their aim was to develop a fast procedure for socio-psychological rating of the Czech population. With Hippius and other colleagues, Müller carried out a survey of certain social groups which were seen as candidates for Germanisation.¹²⁹ Müller and Hippius closely collaborated with the Institute for Racial Biology (*Institut für Rassenbiologie*) and the Institute for Hereditary and Racial Hygiene (*Institut*

¹²³ Draft for the Curator of the German University and director of the German Charles University, March 27, 1942 cited by E. KUBŮ, *Die Bedeutung*, p. 98.

¹²⁴ This information concerns the summer term of 1943, the winter term of 1943/44, and the summer term 1944. See *ibid.*, pp. 98–99.

¹²⁵ A. WIEDEMANN, *Die Reinhard-Heydrich-Stiftung*, p. 89; E. KUBŮ, *Die Bedeutung*, p. 98; Michal V. ŠIMŮNEK, *Ein neues Fach. Die Erb- und Rassenhygiene an der Medizinischen Fakultät der Deutschen Karls-Universität Prag 1939–1945*, in: Antonín Kostlán et al. (eds.), *Wissenschaft in den böhmischen Ländern 1939–1945* (= *Studies in the History of Sciences and Humanities* 9), Prag 2004, pp. 190–316 [297–298]. According to a H. J. Beyer’s overview from July 12, 1944, the number of students participating in Müller’s courses fluctuated – population policy was attended by 31, doctrines of sociology by 36, performance and racial hereditary in Volk and society was attended by 29, and so on. See NA Praha, ST-110, 110-4-533, sheets 11–15.

¹²⁶ For more on the background, see A. MIŠKOVÁ, *Die Deutsche Universität Prag*, p. 173.

¹²⁷ *Bibliographie der Schriften von Dr. phil. habil. Karl Valentin Müller o. Professor für Soziologie und Sozialanthropologie an der Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg*, Nürnberg 1961, p. 6.

¹²⁸ J. GUTBERGER, *Bevölkerung*, p. 365, 459; A. WIEDEMANN, *Die Reinhard-Heydrich-Stiftung*, pp. 66–67.

¹²⁹ Karl V. MÜLLER, *Volksbiologie und Heimatforschung*, *Deutsche Volksforschung in Böhmen und Mähren* 3, 1944, pp. 297–300; *id.*, *Die Gegenanslese im tschechischen Volke*, *Deutsche Volksforschung in Böhmen und Mähren* 3, 1944, pp. 297–300. See K. H. ROTH, *Heydrichs Professor*, p. 307.

für Erb- und Rassenhygiene).¹³⁰ It was determined from the beginning that racial hygiene and *Sozialanthropologie* overlapped in the field of qualitative and quantitative population biology.¹³¹ This was emphasised by Karl Thums in his report about population research at his institute, when he wrote: “A whole range of institutes, seminars, and other scientific facilities in Prague are responsible for the handling of demographic questions in the space of Bohemia and Moravia. In this context, one ought to mention especially the following: Institute for Social Anthropology and Volksbiologie (Prof. K. V. Müller) and the Institute for Racial Biology (Prof. B. K. Schultz) in the Faculty of Natural Sciences.”¹³²

In this quote, Thums indirectly referred to Müller’s research about the significance of interethnic marriages for the body of the nation (*Volkskörper*), the strength of the nation (*Volkskraft*), and the nation as such (*Volkstum*). The debate about interethnic marriages focused specifically on issues of mate selection (*Paarungssiebung*) and the research aimed at creating “a picture on those values and characteristics of the Volk created by families resulting from such interethnic marriages”.¹³³

K. V. Müller was officially supposed to work primarily on issues of depopulation and *Umvolkung* in Bohemia and Moravia. He hoped to create an overview on the constitutional, typological, and racial composition of the population, a summary of the ethnic and social descent of the Protectorate police force over three generations, and the degree of urbanisation of civil servants by gathering socio-anthropological data on civil servants in the Czech Protectorate police force.¹³⁴ In his examination of the leading members of the Czech national sport movement *Sokol*, which was based on a list of members provided by the SD, Müller sought to determine the percentage of German names etc.¹³⁵

Outside the German Charles University, Müller closely collaborated with his colleagues from other Prague institutes and offices. He and Thums were active in the *Anstalt für sudenteutsche Heimatforschung*, more specifically in the Commission for the Research on Race and Genealogy (*Kommission für Rassen- und Sippenforschung*) in 1943. In collaboration with Hans Joachim Beyer (1908–1971) and Hermann Raschhofer, Müller repeatedly inspired the other researchers with his work. This was achieved mainly through the connection to the SS-Obersturmbannführer Viktor Nageler who was situated as an official supervisor of the Hlinka Guard at the German legation in Bratislava, Slovakia. At conferences, Müller lectured on the vitalising German presence within the Czech nation. It was a topic he kept returning to for many years, including at the meeting of the RSHA in Slapy/Slap near Prague in October 1942.¹³⁶

¹³⁰ See, i.a., paper 2 of this volume.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 339; A. WIEDEMANN, *Die Reinhard-Heydrich-Stiftung*, p. 89. See NA Praha, ÚRP-114, letter of the Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy of the German Charles-University to the Reich Minister for Science etc., March 27, 1941.

¹³² KARL THUMS, *Bevölkerungsforschung des Universitätsinstituts für Erb- und Rassenhygiene in Prag*, Archiv für Bevölkerungswissenschaft und Bevölkerungspolitik 13/3–4, 1943, pp. 170–173 [171]. See M. V. ŠIMŮNEK, *Ein neues*.

¹³³ K. THUMS, *Bevölkerungsforschung*, pp. 171–172. He also mentioned a ‘wider examination of a sociologically distinct region of Moravia (Zlin)’, which his collaborator Hiebl had largely completed.

¹³⁴ NA Praha, ST-109, 109-8/40, letter of K. V. Müller to K. H. Frank, April 15, 1943. See also K. V. MÜLLER, *Die Gegenauselese*; A. WIEDEMANN, *Karl Valentin Müller*.

¹³⁵ ABS Praha, Z-10-P-238, letter of the SD-Leitabschnitt Prague to K. H. Frank, August 28, 1943. See A. WIEDEMANN, *Karl Valentin Müller*.

¹³⁶ G. VOIGT, *Faschistische*, p. 187.

Müller's research was funded by the RHSt and by the German Research Foundation (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, hereinafter DFG). In 1943, the DFG gave 13,000 Reichsmark to Müller's institute for the development of sufficiently reliable and fast methods of determining the German hereditary share in particular Czech regions and social classes, research of the extent of assimilation of ethnically German families among Czech craftsmen, and for socio-anthropological studies, such as measurement of personnel.¹³⁷ This latter research was based on genealogical questionnaires which included personal details such as name, profession, rank, age, marital status, educational attainment, number of children, etc.¹³⁸ Moreover, Müller also followed 'ethnic degeneration' (*völkische Entartung*)¹³⁹ on the basis of differential fertility and carried out a survey of the Protectorate police as an 'expert for interior security'.¹⁴⁰

This research influenced also Müller's journalistic work and helped him establish a scientific reputation of a man who, basically on his own, opened the whole issue of representation of 'German blood' in the Czech nation.¹⁴¹

4.2 Müller's Journalistic Work

In addition to developing his influence in ethnic biology, Müller, especially in his journalistic work, treated various issues, which had long been of interest to him, such as the 'sifting' (social selection) process and differential fertility.¹⁴² He reminded the experts that "especially to racial hygienists, reproduction customs are seen as an instrument whose real purpose is to function as a selection procedure for the renewal of a nation".¹⁴³ Regarding social selection, Müller performed a socio-anthropological analysis of urban migration and pointed to the dangers to differential fertility associated with changes in selection, which arises in transition from full manhood (rural) to partial manhood (urban).¹⁴⁴

In his collected journalistic works from his Prague years, Müller focused mainly on issues of ethnic biology such as the influence of 'vital' contribution of German blood for the advancement of the Czech people.¹⁴⁵ In his efforts to uncover the core of relations between the Czech and the German people in Bohemia and Moravia, Müller managed to find several

¹³⁷ C. KLINGEMANN, *Soziologie*, p. 14; H. GUTBERGER, *Volk*, p. 461. See Müller's applications to the German Research Foundation, DFG) in 1942 in the Bundesarchiv (hereinafter BArch) Koblenz, R 73/13294, Müller. K. V. – R 73/13294. I wish to thank M. V. Šimůnek for providing me copies of these documents.

¹³⁸ K. V. MÜLLER, *Volksbiologie*, p. 357. See A. WIEDEMANN, *Die Reinhard-Heydrich-Stiftung*, pp. 78–79.

¹³⁹ K. V. MÜLLER, *Die Gegenauslese*.

¹⁴⁰ ABS Praha, Z-755, sheet 2, letter of the SD-Leitabschnitt Prague to Dr. R. Giess, personnel referent of K. H. Frank, September 22, 1943.

¹⁴¹ NA Praha, NSM-110, 110-12/4, sheet 13, letter of the SD-Leitabschnitt Prague to Dr. R. Gies, March 31, 1944.

¹⁴² Karl V. MÜLLER, *Siebungsvorgänge bei der Bildung von Großstadtbevölkerungen*, Archiv für Bevölkerungswissenschaften und Bevölkerungspolitik 12/ 1–2, pp. 1–26; id., *Unehelichkeit und Rassenpflege. Eine Stellungnahme zu dem Aufsatz von S. Tzschucke*, ARGB 36/4, 1942, pp. 345–357.

¹⁴³ Id., *Unehelichkeit*, p. 357.

¹⁴⁴ Id., *Siebungsvorgänge*, pp. 21–22, 24. Müller here explicitly refers to the works of the Czech reform eugenicist and human geneticist Dr. Bohumil Sekla (1901–1987), who in the late 1930s and early 1940s published various issues including differential fertility. They met in 1935 at the International Population Congress held in Berlin and Dresden. During the German occupation, K. V. Müller tried to involve B. Sekla, who was actually active member of the Czech resistance movement, in various activities of his institute. See Bohumil SEKLA, *Růst národa* (Growth of a Nation), Praha 1940.

¹⁴⁵ E.g. Karl V. MÜLLER, *Beobachtungen über die Fruchtbarkeit und Fruchtbarkeitsunterschiede der Gutsbevölkerung in der ehemaligen Provinz Posen*, ARGB 36/1, 1942; id., *Deutsche Lebensströme*.

allies who contributed to his historical and empirical research. Together with Professor Heinz Zatschek (1901–1965), a historian, Müller published a study on *Das biologische Schicksal der Přemysliden* ('The biological fate of the Přemyslids'), where both authors claimed to have verified Müller's hypothesis about the history of this medieval Bohemian dynasty: the relationship between Germans and their south-eastern neighbours had been shaped a cultural gap and heavy borrowing from people of German origin. That is how the south-eastern nations had been able to join the Western cultural development.¹⁴⁶

In his other works on ethnic biology, Müller also tried to solve issues related to the representation of German element in the hereditary structure of the Czech people.¹⁴⁷ With reference to H. F. K. Günther, he pointed to the process of de-Nordification in the transformations of the 19th century.¹⁴⁸ Müller had no doubts retarding the transfer of hereditary potential between peoples in the territory of Bohemia and Moravia through inter-marriage or gradual transition of hereditarily related groups into new territories (*Umvolkungen*). He did, however, reject the idea that Sudeten Germans and Czechs should be seen as racially clearly distinguishable bloodlines (*Blutsbeete*). In a deterministic manner, Müller verified his hypothesis with a methodological mix of genealogy, family studies, graveyard counts regarding language on tombstones, and wealth.¹⁴⁹

Müller eagerly tried to convince biologists and demographers that the question of ethnic origin could be answered directly from a person's sense of belonging to a people. He aimed to achieve this by positing a difference between *Volk* and 'race'. In this endeavour, he found numerous allies in the Prague circles.¹⁵⁰ In his biologically tinted view of the history of a thousand year-long coexistence of the Germans and the Czechs in the region, Müller repeatedly tried to prove that since the very beginning of the contact between these two peoples, anthropological differences were clearly visible in lower classes, while the upper classes consisted of 'classical Old Czechs' (*klassische Alttschechen*), that is, fair-skinned, fair-haired, blue-eyed people of Nordic-Phalial race.¹⁵¹ Based on Adolf Helbok's views, Müller saw this as a consequence of the small Czech nation having been embedded in the larger German nation for nearly 1,500 years. From the very beginning, the Czech nation included not only Slavic elements but also German ones. In all likelihood, the German element was represented in significant numbers and in the past, it was probably racially different from the small, dark Slavs. In his picture of a German *Volks-garten*, Müller described his vision, which has already been outlined in his memorandum on the *Umvolkung*, in more detail: "In every spring of history, seeds used to travel to and from between the small Slavic and the large flowerbed of German blood. This will become even more intense since soon the dividing walls and fences of independent statehood will largely be removed and Bohemia will become a heartland of the German Reich. At the same time, the seeds of the small flowers of the Slavic flowerbed of blood will not be able to essentially change the appearance of the large German *Volks-garten*, and the same holds

¹⁴⁶ Karl V. MÜLLER – Heinz ZATSCHKEK, *Das biologische Schicksal der Přemysliden. Ein Beispiel für die aufstehende Wirkung deutscher Erblinien in fremdvölkischen Blutkreisen*, ARGB 35/2, 1941, pp. 136–152 [151–152].

¹⁴⁷ K. V. MÜLLER, *Deutsche Lebensströme*, p. 311.

¹⁴⁸ Id., *Zur sozialanthropologischen Bedeutung*, p. 32.

¹⁴⁹ Id., *Deutsche Lebensströme*; K. V. MÜLLER – H. ZATSCHKEK, *Das biologische Schicksal*.

¹⁵⁰ K. V. MÜLLER, *Deutsche Lebensströme*, pp. 311–312.

¹⁵¹ Id., *Grundsätzliche Ausführungen*, p. 488. See K. V. MÜLLER – H. ZATSCHKEK, *Das biologische Schicksal*. See E. KUBÚ, *Die Bedeutung*, pp. 100–101.

for other Slavic flowerbeds of blood in the north and in the east. At most, this will happen in some particular lower-performing classes. The settlement of seeds from the historically strict selective breeding of the German *Volksgarten* is eminently sustainable, and over time, it will transform the small flowerbed of Slavic hereditary potential, which will grow to resemble the German *Volksgarten* in its returns or at least grow like the neighbouring flower beds. The picture of described in the original scenario will become untypical and uncharacteristic for the present.”¹⁵²

Müller never tired of trying to prove a ‘heritage of Nordic blood’ among the upper classes of the Czech people and demonstrating the intermingling of the ‘blood’ of both peoples through genealogical research and graveyard counts. He kept trying to emphasise the benefits of inclusion of German ‘blood’ in the Czech social structure. He was convinced he empirically proved that the anthropological picture of the Czechs is converging towards the German blood, that the direction in which the Czech nation is developing is one of assimilation (*Einvolkungsrichtung*).¹⁵³

Especially the *Volk*-oriented academic circles around the RHSt in Prague viewed these claims with avid interest and from these academic circles came in late March 1944 the proposal to award the War Merit Cross (*Kriegsverdienstkreuz*, KVK) to Müller. It was supposed to be a sign of appreciation of Müller’s work, especially his contribution to solving the question of representation of ‘German blood’ in the Czech people by comprehensive socio-anthropological investigations and his devotion to carry out ethnically biological tasks at any time.¹⁵⁴ Müller was honoured after his ethnic-biological assignment in Slovakia when he received War Merit Cross 2nd Class with Swords in late 1944.¹⁵⁵

4.3 Müller’s ‘volkspolitisch’ Mission in Slovakia

Müller’s institute was not affected by the limitations caused by the war in 1944. Nevertheless, the RHSt, which increasingly focused the study of enemy nations and on the mobilisation of population in occupied territories, put his work on ‘employment and race’ on the back burner. In 1944, Müller then travelled with a new *volkspolitische* assignment to Slovakia to study “the significance of *Volk*-bloodedness, as opposed to *Volk*-commitment groups, within a social structure. This was to be achieved in part by a study of centres of talents (points of density), and in part by the so-called graveyard method, as in Bohemia and Moravia. Especially the latter method promises to provide rich results in Slovakia, since there, the three groups *Volk*-born and *Volk*-committed are related to each other.”¹⁵⁶

After his arrival to Slovakia, Müller fell in captivity at the beginning of the Slovak National Uprising in 1944. It happened while he was residing in the selection camp Weinitz/Bojnice, where he intended to carry out anthropological examinations of the Slovak Fascist leadership

¹⁵² K. V. MÜLLER, *Deutsche Lebensströme*, p. 313.

¹⁵³ Id., *Grundsätzliche Ausführungen*, p. 492. See E. KUBÚ, *Die Bedeutung*, p. 102. See K. V. MÜLLER, *Deutsche Lebensströme*; id., *Zur Rassen- und Volksgeschichte*.

¹⁵⁴ NA Praha, NSM-110, 110-12/4, sheets 13–14, letter of the SD-Leitabschnitt Prague to Dr. R. Gies, March 31, 1944.

¹⁵⁵ ABS Praha, Z-P-238, sheet 22, letter of the German secretary of state K. H. Frank to K. V. Müller, December 2, 1944.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., sheet 6, report of K. V. Müller on his impressions during the Slovak uprising in 1944, 1944.

of the Hlinka Guard.¹⁵⁷ After the defeat of the uprising by the German Wehrmacht, Müller returned to Prague in early November 1944. A few weeks later, he already presented a lecture on his ‘experiences among the Slovak partisans’ in a series of lectures and discussions organised by the RHSt.¹⁵⁸ In a written version of his experiences, Müller claimed that at the core of Slovak labour movement is an almost law-like excess pressure (congestion) of socially upwardly mobile forces. He forwarded his report to M. P. Wolf, who in the meantime had advanced to Head of Department IV (Cultural Policy) and to K. H. Frank and the SD-local headquarters in Prague.¹⁵⁹ From the point of view of a socio-biologist, less severe congestions in shorter time would lead to quite dramatic political events due to the limited size of the Slovak habitat. He claimed their sociologically and programmatically conflicting nature was a major flaw, which enabled foreign agents and maladapted elements among the Slovak people to carry out terror. Müller viewed Slovaks as “basically plain, virtuous, pious, not particularly talented in broad segments of the population but quite docile and amiable, childlike, incapable of independent judgement, easy to seduce but easy to lead if approached correctly. The problem is rather that proper leadership is missing”.¹⁶⁰

To Müller, his anthropological investigations and experiences pointed towards the inevitability of providing the Slovaks with leadership from the outside. He believed the Hlinka Guard were reliable leaders with pro-German sympathies, whose union of comrades was held together by Nordic character and attitude, more by human selection than by programmatic rules.¹⁶¹ This was an argument against an ‘independent’ Slovak State and in favour of monitoring that no serious obstacles to their advancement arise. Being a socio-anthropologist and ethnic biologist, Müller believed the Slovaks had had an acute problem with leadership and this issue should not be forgotten even during quiet times, “when the future generation of leadership of the Slovak people will be formed, leaders well suited to lead this virtuous and amiable little people and its development”.¹⁶²

His ‘Slovak adventure’ and his ‘valiant devotion’ to the cause won him the abovementioned War Merit Cross. Müller thanked K. H. Frank for distinction with the following words: “You brought me unexpected joy by appreciating my Slovak adventure and awarding me the War Merit Cross (...). Let me express my sincere gratitude.”¹⁶³ Afterwards,

¹⁵⁷ G. VOIGT, *Faschistische*, p. 196, 260; C. KLINGEMANN, *Soziologie*, pp. 314–315. K. V. Müller published his sociological-anthropological studies during his stay after the war. See Karl V. MÜLLER, *Umvolkung und Sozialschichtung in der Slowakei. Ergebnisbericht über soziologisch-anthropologische Studien im slowakischen Staatsgebiet (1944)*, *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung* 2/3, 1953, pp. 400–424. For Hlinka Guard, see Helmut SCHALLER, *Der Nationalsozialismus und die slawische Welt*, Regensburg 2002, p. 171.

¹⁵⁸ NA Praha, NSM-110, 110-4/529, sheet 6, confidential invitation of the Reinhard Heydrich Foundation from November 17, 1944. H. J. Beyer was the second speaker of this event. He lectured on ‘Experiences with partisans and non-partisans in Southern Europe’.

¹⁵⁹ ABS Praha, Z-10/P-238, sheets 6–16; NA Praha, NSM-110, 110-4/529, sheet 5, letter of M. P. Wolf to K. H. Frank in AO, December 9, 1944. C. Klingemann mentions that Müller wrote a 23 pages long report, which was sent from the SD-unit in Prague to Department III B of the RSHS in 1944. An abridged version followed in December. See Müller’s report on his impressions during the Slovak uprising 1944 and C. KLINGEMANN, *Soziologie*, p. 315.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, sheets 7, 13.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, sheet 13.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, sheet 16.

¹⁶³ SOA Praha, 110-12/9, sheet 7: letter of K. V. Müller to K. H. Frank, December 6, 1944. It shall be mentioned that the historian Josef Pfitzner (1901–1945) was not able to detect any heroism shown during this assignment, and regarded Müller as being a tender little person. See E. KUBŮ, *Die Bedeutung*, pp. 99–100 and also E. VOIGT, *Faschistische*, pp. 198–199; C. KLINGEMANN, *Soziologie*, pp. 314–315.

Müller accepted SS-leader Otto Ohlendorf's (1907–1951) invitation to Berlin to participate in a meeting of the Reich Ministry of Economy on sociological issues and challenges.¹⁶⁴

Before leaving Bohemia, however, he also tried to settle some problems in his private life which had troubled him for a while. After the birth of his son Gerd Rainer (Valentin) in 1942,¹⁶⁵ his wife repeatedly had to undergo electroshock therapy for health and mental issues.¹⁶⁶ This therapy, however, failed to resolve problems in the marriage. Müller claimed the main cause of the marital conflict was his wife's character, her 'excessive self-esteem' and 'distrustful defensive attitude' towards her social environment. Müller filed for divorce in March of 1943 citing his wife's lack of consideration, attacks on his professional honour and on his authority as a father, her public accusations in which she called him 'a criminal, a scoundrel, and such like' and her threats that she would file a complaint with the police and the Secret State Police (*Gestapo*).¹⁶⁷ He arranged for his eldest daughter and little son – his second daughter died in a hospital in Dresden in the end of 1943 – to stay with his mother in Gohrisch in the end of 1943. Divorce proceedings, which had been interrupted during his stay in Slovakia, concluded in the end of 1944. The outcome was in Müller's favour: the court cited his wife's 'schizophrenia' as the main cause of the failure of the marriage.¹⁶⁸

5. Epilogue

Müller left Prague a few months after his divorce. He went through Bavaria to Lower Saxony, where he identified himself in late 1945 with a refugee identity card A (*Flüchtlingsausweis A, No. 68*)¹⁶⁹ and immediately began looking for employment. His application for the chair of sociology in Hamburg, where he wanted to succeed Andreas Walthers, (1879–1960), was not successful.¹⁷⁰ Soon afterwards, however, the Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs of Lower Saxony appointed him lecturer of sociology at a special course for teachers (*Lehrersonderkurs*) in Bad Bederkesa. The Ministry also put Müller in charge of research of sociology of giftedness in Lower Saxony,¹⁷¹ where he created an Institute for the

¹⁶⁴ Carsten SCHREIBER, *Eliten im Verborgenen. Ideologie und regionale Herrschaftspraxis des Sicherheitsdienstes des SS und seines Netzwerkes am Beispiel Sachsens* (= Studien zur Zeitgeschichte 77), München 2008, p. 183.

¹⁶⁵ UA Nürnberg-Erlangen, file K. V. Müller, F 2/1, No. 2364, registration and personal sheet, July 23, 1962.

¹⁶⁶ See SOA Praha, NSDAP Praha, Dr. K. V. Müller, i. a. sheets 20, 25, 37, 39, 43, 87, 141.

¹⁶⁷ SOA Praha, NSDAP Praha, Dr. K. V. Müller, sheets 1–9, claim of K. V. Müller to the German District Court Prague III, March 30, 1943. See E. KUBŮ, *Die Bedeutung*, p. 94 (footnote 5).

¹⁶⁸ NA Praha, NSM-110, 110-12/9, sheet 4, letter of the head of the department of justice to the chief of the ministerial office (in-house), December 13, 1944; *ibid.*, sheet 5; copy note without date; *ibid.*, sheet 6. UA Nürnberg-Erlangen, file K. V. Müller – F 2/1 No. 2364, K. V. Müller's statement on financial burdens, March 31, 1955; *ibid.*, letters of K. V. Müller to the principal of the University Erlangen-Nürnberg, February 27, 1963. Müller took his divorced wife to a clinic, and his two children to his mother and sister.

¹⁶⁹ UA Nürnberg-Erlangen, file K. V. Müller, F 2/1 No. 2364, December 15, 1945 is specified in the registration and personal sheet of September 19, 1950. A. Wiedemann refers to a report of the National Security in Prague, which states that K. V. Müller left Prague on May 5, 1945.

¹⁷⁰ Rainer WASSNER, *Andreas Walther und das Seminar für Soziologie in Hamburg zwischen 1926 und 1945. Ein wissenschaftsbiographischer Umriss*, in: Sven Papcke (ed.), *Ordnung und Theorie. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Soziologie in Deutschland*, Darmstadt 1986, pp. 386–420 [412].

¹⁷¹ UA Nürnberg-Erlangen, file K. V. Müller, F 2/1 No. 2364, letter (copy) of the Ministry of Lower Saxony, September 22, 1950.

Research on Intellectual Giftedness.¹⁷² Müller then went on researching giftedness using his ‘well-tried’ methodological mix and just like before, he tended to conclude that abilities are ‘environmentally stable’ and ‘differentiated by heredity’. He soon began to include various demographic and socio-anthropological issues in his research on sociology of giftedness.¹⁷³ Shortly after, he found another field of work as the head of the (socio-anthropological) Research Group on Space and Society in the Academy for Spatial Research and Country Planning. In 1950, he then proposed planning criteria in spatial research, which were guided by socio-anthropological aspects of qualitative demography.¹⁷⁴

Müller, who passed through the de-Nazification process as ‘acquitted’ (*entlastet*, category V) in 1949,¹⁷⁵ still did not manage to find a suitable academic position,¹⁷⁶ though his research was already funded by the DFG.¹⁷⁷ In 1953, Müller married Lieselotte Erna Knöfel (b. 1915), Karl Thums’s former PhD student from Prague.¹⁷⁸ In 1955, he was appointed full professor on probation and then full professor of empirical sociology with particular focus on social practice at the Nuremberg-Erlangen University of Economic and Social Sciences.¹⁷⁹ Soon, he arranged for the position to be redefined as a professorship of sociology and *Sozialanthropologie*.¹⁸⁰

This relatively fast professional comeback made it possible for Müller to revive old networks and to find a firm position within them. In addition to the above-mentioned, Müller soon became an international expert on refugee research, an active and early creator of educational policy in the nascent Federal Republic of Germany, and an active academic who linked anthropology, sociology, spatial research, and demography.¹⁸¹ He was to

¹⁷² C. KLINGEMANN, *Flüchtlingssoziologen*, pp. 89–90. The Institute was co-financed by the Central Institute for Education and Teaching (Göttingen, Herman Nohl [1979–1960]), and by the Leibniz-Stiftung. Eight years after his foundation, it had 23 employees. See Christoph WEISCHER, *Das Unternehmen ‘Empirische Sozialforschung’. Strukturen, Praktiken und Leitbilder in der Sozialforschung in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, München 2004, p. 61.

¹⁷³ I. a. Karl V. MÜLLER, *Bericht über die Begabtenuntersuchung Niedersachsens*, Homo 1/2, 1950, pp. 136–142; id., *Empirische Beiträge zur Frage der differentiellen Fruchtbarkeit in Nachkriegsdeutschland*, Homo 7, 1956, pp. 87–98; id., *Bericht über die Begabtenforschung Niedersachsens*, Homo 1/2, 1949, pp. 136–142.

¹⁷⁴ Hans LINDE, *Raumforschung und Soziologie*, Raumforschung und Raumordnung 10/4, 1950, pp. 191–195 [193–194].

¹⁷⁵ UA Nürnberg-Erlangen, file K. V. Müller F 2/1 No. 2364, certified copy (chief committee for de-Nazification in special professions, Hannover, February 22, 1950).

¹⁷⁶ He received his lecturing position in 1952, at first for sociology at the School of Philosophy and Theology in Bamberg. See J. GUTBERGER, *Volk*, pp. 529–530; id., *Bevölkerung*, p. 86. There, he met old colleagues: over one third of the teaching staff was so called refugees from the East. See Markus MÖSSLANG, *Elitenintegration im Bildungssektor. Das Beispiel ‘Flüchtlingsprofessoren’ 1945–1961*, in: Dierk Hoffmann – Marta Krauss – Michael Schwartz (eds.), *Vertriebene in Deutschland. Interdisziplinäre Ergebnisse und Forschungsperspektiven*, München 2000, p. 380; Hans-Christian PETERSEN, *Bevölkerungsökonomie – Ostforschung – Politik. Eine biographische Studie zu Peter-Heinz Seraphim (1902–1979)* (= Einzelveröffentlichungen des Deutschen Historischen Instituts Warschau 17), Osnabrück 2007, p. 275.

¹⁷⁷ K. V. Müller was funded to a large degree by the DFG, which aided his academic rehabilitation between 1951 and 1954. See J. WEYER, *Westdeutsche Soziologie*, p. 393.

¹⁷⁸ UA Nürnberg-Erlangen, file K.V. Müller F 2/1 No. 2364, marriage certificate Register Office Berlin-Wilmersdorf, December 30, 1953. Her doctoral thesis concerning ‘Socio-anthropological Analysis of Surveys Taken at the National Vocational Competition 1938’ (*Sozialanthropologische Auswertungen an Erhebungen im Reichsberufswettkampf 1938*) from 1942 is listed in M. V. ŠIMÚNEK, *Ein neues*, p. 224 (footnote 161).

¹⁷⁹ UA Nürnberg-Erlangen, file K. V. Müller F 2/1 No. 2364, decree of April 1st, 1955.

¹⁸⁰ *Nachrichten*, Homo 6, 1955, pp. 143–144 [143].

¹⁸¹ See Bernhard VOM BROCKE, *Bevölkerungswissenschaft – Quo vadis? Möglichkeiten und Probleme einer Geschichte der Bevölkerungswissenschaft in Deutschland*, Opladen 1998.

some degree successful, since demand for such synthesis persisted. The journal *Homo*, for example, lamented the lack of contributions of genetics and eugenic research.¹⁸² Moreover, various voices called for an urgent ‘care for demography’ since recent historic events had led to far-reaching population changes, such as expulsion from the East, population increase in urban centres, and increasing decline of earlier familial, feudal, and ethnic communities.¹⁸³

As before, Müller was concerned with the social processes of selection and competitive selection (‘sifting’, *Siebung*) and with differential fertility. Moreover, he critically focused on objections against his assessment of ‘sifting’ as an essential factor in social events¹⁸⁴ and insisted as before on the existence of a firm link between differential fertility and genetics: “One of the most important questions which have been brought forward by social anthropology is the issue of differential reproduction rates between humans of qualitatively different genetic material. Although after the war, this subject has been for various reasons largely forgotten in Germany, it is now increasingly discussed again.”¹⁸⁵

Müller, like many other post-war sociologists, also became interested in the difficulties experienced by displaced persons and refugees. Opportunistically, he claimed to have established a ‘refugee business in science’.¹⁸⁶ He referred thereby to his empirical sociological investigations, which had supposedly shown that though most of the displaced persons did not speak of their former homes and lived in a relatively favourable economic situation, especially the young generation was expressing a wish to return.¹⁸⁷

Müller, who was incapable of reflecting on the ideological, practical, and political implications of his research during the Nazi period, bore passionate hatred towards the regimes behind the Iron Curtain in the early post-war period. At the same time he regretted this attitude since he believed hatred to be a bad advisor, especially when what is at stake is shared history and fate¹⁸⁸ of two closely aligned nations, namely the Czechs and the Germans. Müller proudly recalled his achievements of his Prague years with these socio-anthropological considerations:

1. His dispute with the ‘un-German’ anthropologist W. Oppl in 1939, where he opposed the fundamental anthropological distinctness of the Sudeten Germans.
2. Psychological screening within socio-anthropological investigation of approximately 3,000 Protectorate policemen from all over Prague, which supported his hypotheses.
3. His statistical research on family names, which afforded him insight into the proportion of German ‘blood’ within the Czech nation and proved that the linguistic border of 1919 or 1945 was not a ‘blood’ border, i.e., an ethnic border.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸² H. GREBE (rec.), *Koch, F.: Medizinische Demographien westdeutscher Stadt- und Landkreise 1957*. 121 S., G. Thieme Verlag, Stuttgart 1957, *Homo* 8, 1957, p. 193.

¹⁸³ Erich KEYSER, *Die gegenwärtigen Aufgaben der Bevölkerungswissenschaft in Deutschland*, *Homo* 3, 1952, p. 179.

¹⁸⁴ Karl V. MÜLLER, *Die sozialbiologische Prognose in der Bewährung*, Sammlung 7, 1952, pp. 1–6.

¹⁸⁵ Id., *Zum sozialanthropologischen Problem der Gegenauslese*, *Homo* 13, 1962, pp. 217–221 [217–218]; id., *Der Stand der Forschung zur differentiellen Fortpflanzung und Begabungsauslese*, *Homo* 11, 1960, pp. 88–92.

¹⁸⁶ See C. KLINGEMANN, *Flüchtlingssoziologen*.

¹⁸⁷ Karl V. MÜLLER, *Soziologische und sozialpsychologische Folgen der Austreibung*, in: Regina Silber (ed.), *Das östliche Deutschland*. Ein Handbuch, Würzburg 1959, pp. 757–790.

¹⁸⁸ Id., *Völkbiologische Beziehungen*.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 294–295.

Only five years after the end of the Nazi terror, K. V. Müller stated that the Czech nation as it is now and the Sudeten (and Viennese) Germans are, from a biological point of view, “a general population which is quite extensively blended, related like a family with many shared features while both retain characteristic physical and mental features. A clear border between these two people does not exist. This situation arose in what once was a colony by gradual establishment of a biological equilibrium.”¹⁹⁰

In 1953, Müller even published a report on his studies in sociology and anthropology which he carried out in Slovakia on behalf of the RHSt. It would thus seem that ultimately, Müller, an ardent advocate of racial theory and racial hygiene, returned to his own brand of science, his *Sozialanthropologie*, even after the war.¹⁹¹

Resume

K. V. Müller was a prominent representative of a specific kind of ‘social anthropology’ (*Sozialanthropologie*), which had evolved in Germany since the mid-19th century as an attempt to apply racial hygiene to social affairs. Müller was a devoted adherent of racial theory and racial hygiene, a man who was by 1930s considered an expert in the subject of *Umvolkung*. He helped to develop and establish *Sozialanthropologie* not only throughout the duration of the Third Reich but even later, in the nascent German Federal Republic. Müller remained convinced of the truth of his basic research design and his hypotheses, which he developed in the 1920s, until his death.

It seems that Müller entertained no doubts whatsoever about the scientific soundness of his claims and his methods. In the 1930s and 1940s, he enriched the essential elements of ‘his’ science with some core Nazi notions and was fully convinced of the result. Though his approach to the biology of heredity met with criticism and his concept of giftedness was seen as a *petitio principii* (begging the question), he used both as a theoretical basis of his 1950s studies of giftedness. His general influence on the development of sociological knowledge was limited but his concept of the ‘connubial index’ became well known worldwide.

His ‘Prague period’ of 1940–1945 represented a basic turning point in his academic career, which is characterised by close collaboration with key political representatives of the occupation regime in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. His work focused on the study of strategies of *Umvolkung* into which he incorporated his particular hypotheses. At the latest by 1940, his hypotheses became part of long-term Nazi planning of a so-called solution to the ‘Czech problem’ (*Lösung des Tschechenproblems*). Especially in this context he was seen as one of the leading representatives of German academic circles, which in close collaboration with other Nazi institutions and decision makers, participated in formulating measures, which would lead to racially determined genocide.

In direct continuation of his work in Prague, his post-war career focused on applied policies, especially in the area of education. Though debunked as an adherent of racial theory in the 1950s, he was, like many other Nazi scientists, able to continue his academic career. In

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., pp. 299–300.

¹⁹¹ K. V. MÜLLER, *Umvolkung und Sozialschichtung*.

the post-war era he became a prominent member of numerous international scientific organizations including the International Institute of Sociology (Rome) and the German Society for Sociology. He was a founding member of the Historical Commission of Sudetenlands (*Historische Kommission der Sudetenländer*) and the German Society for Population Science (*Deutsche Gesellschaft für Bevölkerungswissenschaft*).

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*Translated by Isabel Raabe
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URSULA FERDINAND

Plánování „Umvolkung“ Nacistická sociální antropologie (*Sozialanthropologie*) – Karl Valentin Müller a jeho koncept „přenárodnění“, 1940–1945

RESUMÉ

Karl V. Müller byl prominentním představitelem oboru tzv. sociální antropologie (*Sozialanthropologie*), jež se v Německu vyvíjela od poloviny 19. století a jejímž cílem bylo aplikovat tehdejší rasově hygienické teorie v sociální sféře. Müller byl jejím oddaným příznivcem a od 30. let sám sebe považoval za experta na tzv. problematiku přenárodnění (*Umvolkung*). Pomáhal rozvíjet a etablovat tzv. sociální antropologii nejen v období třetí říše, ale i ve vznikající Spolkové republice Německo. O pravdivosti svého základního badatelského zaměření i hypotéz, které rozvíjel ve 20. letech, zůstal přesvědčený až do své smrti.

Zdá se, že Müller nikdy nepochyboval o vědeckosti svých požadavků a metod. Ve 30. a 40. letech 20. století obohatil zásadní elementy „své“ vědy některými základními nacistickými názory a byl pevně přesvědčen o jejich výsledku. Ačkoli se jeho přístup k problematice dědičnosti a tzv. dědičné biologie setkal s kritikou a jeho koncept nadání byl považován za *petitio principia*, používal obojího coby teoretické báze svých studií o nadání i v 50. letech. Jeho obecný vliv na vývoj sociologického poznání byl omezen, avšak jeho koncept tzv. manželského indexu byl široce znám.

Müllerovo „pražské období“ let 1940–1945 představovalo základní bod zvratu v jeho akademické kariéře, který byl charakterizován úzkou spoluprací s klíčovými politickými představiteli okupačního režimu v protektorátu Čechy a Morava. Jeho aktivity se soustřeďovaly na studium a přípravu strategií *Umvolkung*, do nichž zahrnul své dílčí hypotézy. Přinejmenším od roku 1940 se přitom tyto hypotézy staly součástí dlouhodobého nacistického plánovaného tzv. řešení českého problému (*Lösung des Tschechenproblems*). Především v tomto kontextu ho lze považovat za jednoho z předních představitelů německých akademických kruhů, který se v úzké spolupráci s ostatními nacistickými institucemi podílel na formulování opatření, která vedla k rasově definované genocidě.

K. V. Müller se v přímé návaznosti na své aktivity v Praze soustředil na politiku, a to zejména v oblasti vzdělání, rovněž během své poválečné kariéry. Ačkoli byl v 50. letech demaskován jako přívrženec rasové teorie, byl – ostatně jako mnoho jiných nacistických vědců – schopen pokračovat ve své akademické kariéře.

V poválečném období se tak stal prominentním členem četných mezinárodních vědeckých organizací včetně Mezinárodního ústavu pro sociologii (*International Institute of Sociology*) se sídlem v Římě či Německé společnosti pro sociologii (*Deutsche Gesellschaft für Soziologie*). Byl zakládajícím členem Historické komise Sudet (*Historische Kommission der Sudetenländer*) a Německé společnosti pro nauku o populaci (*Deutsche Gesellschaft für Bevölkerungswissenschaft*).

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THE AVANTGARDE OF THE ‘RASSE’ NAZI ‘RACIAL BIOLOGY’ AT THE GERMAN CHARLES UNIVERSITY IN PRAGUE, 1940–1945*

MICHAL V. ŠIMŮNEK – UWE HOSSFELD

ABSTRACT

During the WWII and the German occupation of Bohemia and Moravia, racial biology (*Rassenbiologie*) became institutionally established at the Faculty of (Natural) Sciences of the German Charles University in Prague in 1940–1945. Collections of the forcibly dissolved Czech Institute of Anthropology were placed at disposal of the new institute. According to local German academicians, its establishment was supposed to contribute to the so far insufficient research in the field of physical anthropology in Bohemia and Moravia. In fact, however, the new institute was from its very inception closely linked to the SS Race and Settlement Main Office/Racial Office (*Rassenamt*), and the various activities which their employees engaged in when implementing Nazi racial and ethnic policies in Bohemia and Moravia. The first – and also the last – head of this institute was SS-Standartenführer, Professor Dr. phil. habil. Bruno K. Schultz (1901–1997), a prominent representative of Nazi racial science and racial hygiene and – as a chief of the *Rassenamt* in 1941–1944 – person responsible for criteria and methods used by RuSHA members in carrying out mass selections. By engaging in such activities, the relevance of the institute goes far beyond purely academic engagement.

Key words: World War Two – history of life sciences – racial biology – academic racism – German Charles University Prague – Bruno K. Schultz

However spurious the German racial doctrine may be, however untenable by any scientific standards, it is a very real thing to the conquered peoples who suffer from it. Populations are segregated, shuffled around, bullied, terrorised, abused, and humbled in the name of the race principle. To be born into an inferior race (...) means an irretrievable sentence (...). Race becomes the fundamental economic determinant. Race competition is frozen by use of force into race subjection. Races unable or unwilling to accept villenage and servitude must be exterminated without mercy. This is exactly what is happening.
Frank Munk, *The Legacy of Nazism*, New York 1943

Effective as of December 1, 1940, a new institute of the Faculty of (Natural) Science was established by creating an independent chapter in the budget of the German Charles University (Deutsche Karls-Universität; hereinafter DKU) for the year 1941. As of the same day, its head became by proxy (*vertretungsweise*) Dr. phil. habil. Bruno Kurt Schultz, professor

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of *Rassenkunde* at the Berlin University, at that time 41 years old.¹ His introduction to the office was then finalised on May 1, 1942 when he was with Himmler's explicit consent officially appointed full professor and head of the institute with annual salary of 9,300 RM.² The full name of his institute was Institute for Racial Biology (*Institut für Rassenbiologie*).

The new institute, which was to conduct investigations in both physical anthropology and 'race research', was from the very beginning seen by the local Nazi authorities in Prague as the most prominent research institution in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia (hereinafter Protectorate).³

Reasons which led to the establishment of the Institute for Racial Biology were both political and historical. Its first task was to create a firm connection between academia and the SS Race and Settlement Main Office (*Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamt*, hereinafter RuSHA), in particular its Race Office (*Rassenamt*).⁴ The first rector of the DKU who was appointed by the Nazi authorities, SS-Oberführer Dr. jur. Wilhelm Saure (1899–1951), professor of the agricultural law and a high-ranking member of the RuSHA, contacted in this matter SS-Gruppenführer Otto Hofmann (1896–1982), head of the RuSHA, sometime between July and November 1941. He highlighted the urgency of the mission of the new institute in a document called 'Issues of Germanisation and Simultaneous Racial Examination of the Czechs' (*Fragen der Eindeutschung und der gegenwärtigen Musterung der Tschechen*).⁵ Although originally, Saure spoke of an institute of 'Rassenkunde', it was later changed to 'Rassenbiologie'. This signified a change even in comparison to the original proposal from May 1939, which was to establish a chair of 'Rassenkunde'.⁶ In his understanding, only racial biology could deliver "reliable racially theoretic grounds for far-reaching political decisions here, in Bohemia and Moravia".⁷ Saure also stated that head of the new university institute should be a full professor as well as a high ranking SS-man, that is, it would be desirable that the post "be filled by a suitable expert and SS-Führer whose person meets all qualifications requisite for a successful collaboration in solving Czech-German problems as far as the aspect of racial science is concerned".⁸ A few weeks earlier, Saure expressed his expectations of the institute as follows: "I am convinced that we are doing the right thing here [in Prague, author's note] and that the relation, which is hereby [by the establishment, author's note] established over and above the boundaries of the University of Prague between the Race Office of the SS and science will prove itself beneficial to both parties concerned."⁹

¹ Archiv Univerzity Karlovy (Archives of the Charles University; hereinafter AUK) Praha, RNU, curator of the German Charles University to the dean of the Faculty of Science, November 22, 1941.

² Bundesarchiv (hereinafter BArch) Berlin, OPG B93 (Schultz, B. K.), B. K. Schultz to the Personal Dpt. of the RuSHA, August 11, 1942; *ibid.*, O. Hofmann's letter to W. Saure, November 24, 1941.

³ *Ibid.*, R 31, K. Thums to B. Gudden, January 15, 1944.

⁴ Alena MIŠKOVÁ, *Die Deutsche (Karls-) Universität vom Münchener Abkommen bis zum Ende des Zweiten Weltkrieges*, Praha 2007, pp. 123–131; *id.*, *The German University during the Second World War*, in: František Kafka – Josef Petráň (eds.), *A History of Charles University*, II, Prague 2001, pp. 257–262.

⁵ BArch Berlin, OPG B93 (Schultz, B. K.), 'A file note' signed by H. Himmler, November 4, 1941.

⁶ AUK Praha, FF UK, Nová registratura – F, b. 72, report on the meeting of the Faculty Committee, May 11, 1939.

⁷ BArch Berlin, OPG B93 (Schultz, B. K.), W. Saure's letter to O. Hofmann, October 17, 1941.

⁸ *Ibid.*, note on the discussion between O. Hofmann and W. Saure, December 3, 1941.

⁹ *Ibid.*, W. Saure's letter to O. Hofmann, November 29, 1941. See Isabel HEINEMANN, *Rasse, Siedlung, deutsches Blut. Das Rassen- und Siedlungshauptamt der SS und die rassenpolitische Neuordnung Europas* (= *Moderne Zeit. Neue Forschungen zur Gesellschafts- und Kulturgeschichte des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts*, 2), Göttingen 2013, p. 131.

Already on November 23, 1941, Saure agreed with the head of the RuSHA regarding the future status of the proposed institute, which was to be designed as a research centre for racial biology. As the university's *rector magnificus*, Saure stated his readiness to provide the new institute with all necessary equipment – which actually came from the previously closed Czech Charles University – and substantial financial resources. He was also willing to make the teaching programme flexible enough to enable the RuSHA staff meet their duties in the field.¹⁰ While in 1939, we find among the candidates for head of the new institute Dr. Wolfgang Abel (1905–1997)¹¹ and member of the SS and assistant to professor Eugen Fischer (1874–1964), Dr. Eberhard Geyer (1899–1943).¹² A year later Otto Reche (1879–1966), one of Germany's leading racial theorists, recommended to the post Dr. phil. habil. Michael Hesch (1893–1979),¹³ his close student and collaborator and B. K. Schultz's colleague.¹⁴ Wilhelm Saure, however, explicitly demanded that the position be filled by Bruno K. Schultz.¹⁵ Schultz was then offered the post shortly after being appointed Chief of the *Rassenamt* and at a time when another rector, SS-Standartenführer Professor Dr. agrar. wiss. Peter Carstens (1903–1945), offered him a position at the Reich University in Posen.¹⁶ Reasons for Schultz's call to Prague were summarised as follows: "The professorship, important especially in the near future, will be filled by a suitable expert and SS-Führer whose person meets all qualifications requisite for a successful collaboration in solving Czech-German problem as far as the aspect of racial science is concerned."¹⁷

Another reason was of a historical and 'practical' nature. It was linked to the fact that though a research institute for anthropology was formed at the Czech Charles University many decades ago,¹⁸ physical anthropology has never really been established at the German part of the Prague University as an independent scientific field. And that despite the fact that at least since the 1920s various attempts had been made to integrate German

¹⁰ See part 2 of this paper.

¹¹ See Michael GRÜTTNER, *Biographisches Lexikon zur nationalsozialistischen Wissenschaftspolitik*, Heidelberg 2004, p. 13.

¹² See *Österreichisches biographisches Lexikon, 1815–1950*, Bd. 1, Lfg 5, Wien 1957, pp. 433–434.

¹³ See Hans-Christian HARTEN et al., *Rassenhygiene als Erziehungs-ideologie des Dritten Reichs. Bio-bibliographisches Handbuch* (= *Bildung und Wissenschaft* 10), Berlin 2006, pp. 275, 281. See also Bruno K. SCHULTZ – Michael HESCH, *Rassenkundlichen Bestimmungen-Tafeln für Augen-, Haar- und Hautfarben und für die Iriszeichnung*, München 1935; id., *Eignungsprüferlehrgang des Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamtes SS*, Berlin 1940; id., *Prof. Dr. Otto Reche 65 Jahre*, Der Neue Tag, May 27, 1944, p. 3.

¹⁴ AUK Praha, FF UK, Nová registratura – F, b. 72, additional suggestion concerning the head of the new institute for 'Rassenkunde', March 14, 1940. See Alena MIŠKOVÁ, *Rassenforschung und Oststudien an der Deutschen (Karls-) Universität in Prag*, in: Detlef Brandes et al. (eds.), *Erzwungene Trennung. Vertreibungen und Aussiedlungen in und aus der Tschechoslowakei 1938–1947 im Vergleich mit Polen, Ungarn und Jugoslawien* (= *Veröffentlichungen der Deutsch-Tschechischen und Deutsch-Slowakischen Historikerkommission 8 & Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Kultur und Geschichte der Deutschen im östlichen Europa* 15), Essen 1999, pp. 37–51 [44].

¹⁵ Otto RECHE, *Buchbesprechung – Schultz, B. K.: Taschenbuch der rassenkundlichen Messtechnik*, Volk und Rasse (hereinafter VuR) 13/5, 1938, p. 30. See H.-Ch. HARTEN et al., *Rassenhygiene*, pp. 276–279; I. HEINEMANN, *Rasse*, pp. 234–235; Uwe HOSSFELD, *Geschichte der biologischen Anthropologie in Deutschland. Von den Anfängen bis in die Nachkriegszeit* (= *Wissenschaftskultur um 1900*, 2), Stuttgart 2005, pp. 316–319.

¹⁶ H.-Ch. HARTEN et al., *Rassenhygiene*, p. 277.

¹⁷ BAArch Berlin, SSO/111B (Schultz, B. K.), W. Saure's letter to O. Hofmann, October 17, 1941.

¹⁸ See Josef ČAČEK, *Vývoj české antropologie*, Praha 1947 (dissertation); Jindřich MATEJKA, *Fysiscká antropologie obyvatelstva v Československu* [Physical Anthropology in Czechoslovakia], in: *Československá vlastivěda*, Praha 1937, pp. 115–133.

‘racial research’ of Bohemia and Moravia into German-wide efforts, for example within the framework of the German Society for the Blood Group Research (*Deutsche Gesellschaft für Blutgruppenforschung*), which was co-founded by Otto Reche in 1926.¹⁹ Inspiration coming from the German ‘*neuere Rassenkunde*’ – represented mainly by the work of Hans F. K. Günther (1891–1968) who followed, among other things, a theory of *Homo sudeticus/ Typus I* coined by O. Reche (or the so called pre-slavic race coined by Jan Czekanowski) as an independent research subject – was clearly not seen as very relevant.²⁰

This attitude can be detected, for example, in a contemporary local review which claims: “Modern European racial theory is still a young science. Its findings are thus not as yet solid scientific goods which would already now permit the drawing of final conclusions.”²¹ In the 1920s, Professor Bernhard Brandt (1881–1937), geographer and one of the main representatives of Sudeten German eugenics, expressed a similar view: “All in all, it seems that the factual basis of our views regarding the distribution of races in Europe is still very small and consequently, conclusions drawn from it correspondingly are very vague.”²² On the other hand, the lack of systematic attention as yet paid to these issues was the reason why Erich Gierach (1881–1943), ethnographer and professor of the German University in Prague, in 1928 proposed that the German Society for Sciences and Arts for the Czechoslovak Republic (*Deutsche Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften und Künste für die Tschechoslowakische Republik*) should launch a new research project based mainly on the work of Walter Scheidt (1895–1976), graduate of anthropology in Munich and later Head of Department for Racial and Cultural Biology at the University of Hamburg.²³ Within the Society, the research was carried out by its Committee for Anthropology, in particular Bernhard Brandt and Otto Grosser (1873–1951), embryologist, anatomist, and professor of the German University in Prague.²⁴ The team investigated 22 villages in northern Moravia and measured 2,200 persons but results were published only on 3 villages and 340 persons.²⁵ After 1939, however, this extent of anthropological research in Sudeten German areas was generally seen as insufficient.

¹⁹ Archives of the Academy of Sciences (Archiv Akademie věd, hereinafter AAV) Praha, Pfitzner J. (unsorted), O. Reche’s letter to J. Pfitzner, October 22, 1926. See Otto RECHE, *Blutgruppenforschung und Anthropologie, Volk und Rasse* (hereinafter VuR) 3/1, 1928, p. 1.

²⁰ Bernhard BRANDT, *Neue Ziele der Rassenkunde unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Forschung in den Sudetenländern*, s. d. (1930s), p. 1 (offprint kept by the Library of the Archives of the Capital City of Prague). Otto RECHE, *Zur Anthropologie der jüngeren Steinzeit in Schlesien und Böhmen*, Archiv für Anthropologie 35 (N. F. 7), 1909, pp. 220–237. See also Hans F. K. GÜNTHER, *Rassenkunde des deutschen Volkes*, München 1939, p. 169; Ilse SCHWIDETZKY, *Anthropologie der Altslawen* (= Beiheft zu Bd. VII der Zeitschrift für Rassenkunde und die gesamte Forschung am Menschen), Stuttgart 1938.

²¹ Book review (Kern), *Sudeta* 3/1–2, 1927, pp. 73–74 [74]. See also Josef SKUTIL, *Bibliographie der tschechoslowakischen Vor- und Frühgeschichte 1914–1924*, *Sudeta* 7/1–4, 1931, pp. 89–136.

²² B. BRANDT, *Neue Ziele*, p. 1, 6. See Walter KRUSE, *Die Deutschen und ihre Nachbarvölker. Neue Grundlegung der Anthropologie, Rassen-, Völker-, Stammeskunde und Konstitutionslehre nebst Ausführungen zur deutschen Rassenhygiene*, Leipzig 1929.

²³ B. BRANDT, *Neue Ziele*, p. 8. For Scheidt’s similarly designed research, see his work *Rassenkundliche Erhebungen in Nordwestdeutschland*, VuR 2/1, 1927, pp. 46–47 and jointly published work with Willy KLENCK, *Niedersächsische Bauern*, Jena 1929. From earlier studies, only one was usually mentioned, namely Gustav KRAITSCHKE, *Die anthropologische Beschaffenheit der Landskroner Gymnasialjugend*, Jahresbericht des k. k. Staats-Ober-Gymnasiums in Landskron, Landskron 1901.

²⁴ Adolf KNÖBL, *Anthropologische Untersuchungen in den Sudetenländern (I. Untersuchungen in drei nordmährischen Dörfern (Benke, Liebesdorf, Strupschein)*, Prag 1931 (with editor’s introduction).

²⁵ *Ibid.* See B. BRANDT, *Neue Ziele*, p. 8.

At the same time, integration of anthropological/racial biological premises into the curriculum of the high schools had already been accomplished in Germany and it was unthinkable that Bohemia and Moravia after 1939 should be an exception.²⁶

1. Bruno Kurt Schultz: Double Career in the Name of the ‘Rasse’

What was the life and career of the historically first and last professor of racial biology at the DKU in Prague like?²⁷ He was born on August 3, 1901 in Sitzenberg by Tulln in Lower Austria in the family of police vice-president Dr. jur. Bruno Schultz and his wife Sophie, née Bauer. In 1928 he married Ilse, née Irrlböck (b. 1904), with whom he had six children.²⁸ He was strongly influenced by his uncle, Wolfgang Schultz (1881–1936), a *völkisch* oriented philosopher and after 1933 prominent professor at the University of Munich, among his contemporaries known as ‘Mondschultz’.²⁹ Schultz’s ancestors originally came to Vienna from Silesia after the Seven Years’ War and since that time had been marrying into families of Viennese officials.³⁰ After graduating from an eight-year *Gymnasium* with focus on humanities in Vienna (1911–1919), Schultz studied anthropology at the University of Vienna with short internships at universities in Upsalla and Leipzig.³¹ In 1924, he graduated at the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Vienna after defending a doctoral thesis ‘Contribution to the Notions of an Intermediate State after Death among the Teutons’ (*Beiträge zu den Jenseitsvorstellungen der Germanen*). A year later, he started working as a voluntary assistant at the Liaison Office for Research on National and Cultural Territory (*Mittelstelle für Volks- und Kulturbodenforschung*) in Leipzig under Otto Reche’s supervision. In 1926, he served as a voluntary assistant in the Museum of Natural History (*Naturhistorisches Museum*) in Vienna while employed as a scientific worker at the Institute of Anthropology of the University of Vienna.³² In the following year, he left to Germany where he was appointed assistant curator of anthropological collections of the Bavarian National Museum (*Bayerisches Nationalmuseum*) in Munich.³³ His academic career started in 1931 when he became an assistant at the Institute of Anthropology of the University of Munich under Theodor Mollison (1874–1952).³⁴ Among other things, he was interested in the methodology of anthropometry where he largely followed a Munich

²⁶ Anne BÄUMER, *Nazi Biology and Schools*, Frankfurt/Main 1995, pp. 37–42.

²⁷ See Karl SALLER, *Die Rassenlehre des Nationalsozialismus in Wissenschaft und Propaganda*, Darmstadt 1961, pp. 131–132.

²⁸ Národní archiv (National Archives; hereinafter NA) Praha, ÚŘP-114, 114-209-8, personal questionnaire – B. K. Schultz, 1936.

²⁹ Wolfgang Schultz †, Manus 28/4, 1936, pp. 545–557. See Ernst KLEE, *Das Personenlexikon zum Dritten Reich. Wer war was vor und nach 1945*, Frankfurt/Main, 2007, p. 498.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ NA Praha, ÚŘP-114, 114-209-8, personal questionnaire – B. K. Schultz, 1936.

³² Ibid. See Isabel HEINEMANN, *Ambivalente Sozialingenieure? Die Rasseexperten der SS*, in: Gerhard Hirschfeld – Tobias Jersak (eds.), *Karrieren im Nationalsozialismus. Funktionsebenen zwischen Mitwirkung und Distanz*, Frankfurt/Main – New York 2004, pp. 73–99 [79].

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Wolfgang GIESELER, *Lebensbild Theodor Mollison*, Archiv für Rassen- und Gesellschaftsbiologie (hereinafter ARGB) 33/2, 1939, pp. 187–189; 65. *Geburstag Professor Mollisons*, VuR 14/2, 1939, p. 47; Theodor MOLLISON, *Eine Schausammlung für Anthropologie in München*, Anthropologischer Anzeiger 15/1, 1938, pp. 78–82; id., *Technik und Methoden der physischen Anthropologie*, in: Gustav Schwalbe – Eugen Fischer

school of Rudolf Martin (1864–1926), Mollinson’s predecessor.³⁵ In Schultz’s own words, he specialised in anthropology, theory of human heredity, and racial hygiene.³⁶ On February 24, 1934, with Himmler’s consent, he habilitated at the University of Munich based on his work ‘*Fossils of Hominids Sinanthropus and Pithecanthropus and Their Importance for the Development of Humans*’ (*Die fossilen Hominiden Sinanthropus und Pithecanthropus in ihrer Bedeutung für die Stammesgeschichte des Menschen*).³⁷ Two years later, he was also habilitated at the Berlin University. In early March 1938, his academic career progressed further when he was appointed extraordinary professor of theory of human races and science of heredity (*menschliche Rassenkunde und Erblehre*) at the Berlin University and at the same time was offered the post of head of the Institute of Biology of the Reich Academy for Physical Exercise (*Reichsakademie für Leibesübungen*) in Berlin.³⁸ His academic interest at that time included not only racial hygienic propaganda but also, and mainly, the methodology of anthropometry. Contemporary reviews of his work tend to be highly complimentary: “A paperback extremely practical thanks to its format, clarity, and many illustrations (great pictures!), certain to find many friends among younger professionals and everyone who wants to help with racial theoretical surveys! Such a book was much needed”, stated for example Otto Reche in 1938.³⁹

Schultz was also one of the most tireless and prominent promoters of the Nordic racial worldview. In 1929–1943, he was the third (and last) editor-in-chief of *Volk und Rasse*, a journal which since 1926 tried to promote racial theories using attractive graphic presentation. Until October 1937, Schultz was also a co-editor of *Anthropologischer Anzeiger*, a traditional German anthropological review.⁴⁰ Moreover, he served since the end of 1920s as managing director of the German Society for Racial Hygiene (*Deutsche Gesellschaft für Rassenhygiene*; hereinafter DGRH).⁴¹

In politics, he was active in various ‘protective’ associations since early youth. During his university studies, he also joined the German Academic Guild, was member of the national bloc of German students (*Kammer- und Vorstandsmitglied des völkischen Blocks der Deutschen Studentenschaft*) at the University of Vienna and since 1918 he was also

(eds.), *Anthropologie (= Die Kultur der Gegenwart III)*, Leipzig – Berlin 1923, pp. 12–36. See E. KLEE, *Das Personenlexikon*, p. 415.

³⁵ See Rudolf MARTIN, *Lehrbuch der Anthropologie*, Jena 1928.

³⁶ NA Praha, ÚRP-114, 114-209-8, personal questionnaire – B. K. Schultz, 1936; Universitätsarchiv der Humboldt-Universität (hereinafter UA H-U) Berlin, 288, curriculum vitae B. K. Schultz, February 18, 1934.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, note on the habilitation colloquium, March 21, 1934; BArch Berlin, OPG B93 (Schultz, B. K.), Schultz’s letter to G. Pancke, February 20, 1934. See Bruno K. SCHULTZ, *Die frühesten, heute bekanntesten Menschenformen, Pithecanthropus und Sinanthropus*, VuR 13/7, 1938, pp. 236–242. See I. HEINEMANN, *Amibivalente*, p. 79.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, decree on Schultz’s extraordinary professorship, March 29, 1938; UA H-U Berlin, 288, curriculum vitae B. K. Schultz’s, February 18, 1934. See Ernst WIEGAND, *Ernennung zu Professoren – SS-Sturmabführer Dr. B. K. Schultz*, VuR 13/5, 1938, p. 163; Gerhard HEBERER, *Gesellschaft für physische Anthropologie – 1937*, ARGB 34/4, 1938, p. 85. See Lothar SCHOTT, *Zur Geschichte der Völkerkunde an der Berliner Universität*, *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Humboldt Universität Berlin* 9, 1959/60, pp. 67–79; Hajo BERNETT, *Nationalsozialistische Leibeserziehung. Eine Dokumentation ihrer Theorie und Organisation (= Theorie der Leibeserziehung 1)*, Schomdorf bei Stuttgart 1966.

³⁹ Otto RECHE, *Bruno Kurt Schultz, Taschenbuch der Rassenkundlichen Meßtechnik, Munich 1937*, 102 p. 79 *Abb. Preis geb. Mk 6 (Buchbesprechung)*, VuR 13/1, 1938, p. 30.

⁴⁰ See Walter SCHEIDT, *Volk und Rasse. Einführung in den Arbeitsplan der Zeitschrift*, VuR 1/1, 1926, pp. 1–6; *An die Leser von Volk und Rasse*, VuR 8/3, 1933, pp. 113–114.

⁴¹ E. WIEGAND, *Ernennung*, p. 163. See U. HOSSFELD, *Geschichte*, pp. 316–323.

a member of local branch of the *Thule Student Society* in Vienna.⁴² Moreover, he was member of the organisation *Nordischer Ring*⁴³ and since 1931 attended educational lectures of various branches of the NSDAP.⁴⁴ In 1932, he held the lectures on the subject of racial policy and racial hygiene at the very first training course for SA leaders. His lectures included subjects such as ‘Racial Science of Europe’, ‘Situation in Population Policy of the German Nation’, ‘The Nordic Idea’, ‘Requirements of Racial Hygiene and Their Inclusion in the Programme of the National Socialist Party’, ‘Biological Family Studies’ (*Biologische Familienkunde*), and ‘Introduction to Family Studies from the Perspective of Biology of Heredity and the Use of an Extended Hereditary Family Tree’ (*Anleitung zur erbbiologischen Familienforschung und Anlegung einer erbbiologischen Sippschaftstafel*) etc.⁴⁵ A year later, he joined the SS (membership No. 71,679) and NSDAP (membership No. 935,761).⁴⁶ His advancement in the SS continued as follows: on August 7, 1933 promoted to SS-Sturmführer, on January 30, 1938 to SS-Sturmbannführer, on November 9, 1940 made SS-Obersturmbannführer, and on December 1, 1942 promoted to SS-Standartenführer. At the age of thirty, he belonged to the founding generation of RuSHA’s predecessor, the *Rassenamt*, which later became one of its departments.⁴⁷ Already in 1931, he helped formulate the order pertaining to the regulation of marriage for members of the SS (*SS-Heiratsbefehl*).⁴⁸ In January 1932, he was appointed the first (honorary) head of the Department of Racial Science (*Abteilung Rassenkunde*) in the RuSHA.⁴⁹ In April 1934, he was appointed a full-time head of department (*Abteilungsleiter*) in the RuSHA and, still in the same year, he was also appointed head of department in the staff office of Walther R. Darré (1895–1953).⁵⁰ Since 1934, he was active in the working group Farmer’s Community (*Die bäuerliche Lebensgemeinschaft*), which he later presided.⁵¹ He was also appointed a member of the Reich Committee for the Protection of German Blood (*Reichsausschuß zum Schutze Deutschen Blutes*) in 1935.⁵²

Since 1930s his career was thus closely connected with the *Rassenamt*. It was one of the originally seven institutions which were in post-1933 Nazi Germany seen as playing a key role in both the conceptual planning and ‘practical’ implementation of ‘racial care’ (*Rassenpflege*) and racial policy (*Rassenpolitik*).⁵³ Being one of the very first institutions of

⁴² I. HEINEMANN, *Ambivalente*, p. 79.

⁴³ BArch Berlin, OPG B93 (Schultz, B. K.), biography, March 2, 1937.

⁴⁴ NA Praha, ÚRP-114, 114-209-8, personal questionnaire – Bruno K. Schultz, 1936.

⁴⁵ BArch Berlin, OPG B93 (Schultz, B. K.), curriculum vitae, November 30, 1934; *ibid.*, B. K. Schultz’s letter to H. Himmler, July 14, 1934.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ I. HEINEMANN, *Rasse*, pp. 73–75.

⁴⁸ BArch Berlin, OPG B93 (Schultz, B. K.), recommendation of the Chief of the RuSHA (Hofmann) for Schultz’s promotion, January 16, 1941. See I. HEINEMANN, *Rasse*, p. 56; Michael WILDT, *Die Generation des Unbedingten. Das Führerkorps des RSHA*, Hamburg 2002, pp. 190–203.

⁴⁹ BArch Berlin, OPG B93 (Schultz, B. K.), curriculum vitae, July 24, 1935. See HEINEMANN, *Rasse*, p. 56; *id.*, *Ambivalente*, p. 79. See E. WIEGAND, *Ernennung*, p. 163 and I. HEINEMANN, *Ambivalente*, p. 79.

⁵⁰ BArch Berlin, OPG B93 (Schultz, B. K.), curriculum vitae of B. K. Schultz, July 24, 1935 and March 2, 1937. See E. WIEGAND, *Ernennung*, p. 163; I. HEINEMANN, *Ambivalente*, p. 79.

⁵¹ See Ulrich KIMPEL, *Zur Person Rechenbachs*, in: Horst Kahr et al., *Modelle für ein deutsches Europa. Ökonomie und Herrschaft im Großwirtschaftsraum*, Berlin 1992, pp. 203–204.

⁵² BArch Berlin, OPG B93 (Schultz, B. K.), curriculum vitae, March 2, 1937.

⁵³ In 1935, these institutions were the Reich Ministry of Interior (*Reichsministerium des Innern*), Reich Committee for Public Health Service (*Reichsausschuß für Volksgesundheitsdienst*), Reich Health Office (*Reichsgesundheitsamt*), Office of the Reich Farming Leader (*Stabsamt des Reichsbauernführers*), the RuSHA, NSDAP

this kind, it in a way anticipated activities of the other six. Richard W. Darré (1895–1953) was not exaggerating when he called it ‘experimental garden’ of the SS (*SS-Versuchsgarten*).⁵⁴ The office was established in Munich on January 30, 1931, exactly two years before the Nazi takeover. In the following year, it was as of January 1, 1932 merged with other SS offices, its name changed to RuSHA and the office moved to Berlin.⁵⁵ Its first head was Dr. Horst Rechenbach (1895–1968), anthropologist, animal breeder, and Otto Reche’s student.⁵⁶ During the initial period of its existence, the office focused on the selection of SS candidates and their wives by charting family trees of their close relatives.⁵⁷ The procedures and criteria applied in selection, including later used categories (*Rassebewertungsgruppen*) RuS⁵⁸ I up to RuS IV were defined exclusively by RuSHA ‘experts’:⁵⁹ “The desired outcome is a hereditarily valuable group of community of Germans of truly Nordic descent. Consent to marriage is given or refused solely and exclusively on the basis of racial and hereditary criteria.”⁶⁰ Soon after Nazi takeover, in early 1933, Himmler extended RuSHA’s competence and authorised it in matters of placement (settlement) of SS members

Office of Racial Policy (*Rassenpolitisches Amt der NSDAP*), and the Thuringian State Office for Race Issues (*Thüringisches Landesamt für Rassewesen*). BArch Berlin, NS 19/1838, list of relevant institutions in the area of ‘racial care’, app. 1935. See also *Rassenpolitik*, Berlin 1943 (published by the SS-Hauptamt); Werner FELDSCHER, *Rassen- und Erbpflege im deutschen Recht* (= Rechtspflege und Verwaltung 3), Berlin 1943; Reinhold GROSSMANN, *Rasserein, erbggesund, kinderreich. Eine Einführung in die Rassenpolitik*, Dresden 1941; Walter GROSS, *Rassenpolitik im Kriege. Eine Gemeinschaftsarbeit aus Forschung und Praxis*, Hannover 1941; *Deutschland treibt Rassenpolitik*, München 1938; Arthur GÜTT, *Bevölkerungs- und Rassenpolitik*, Berlin – Wien 1938; Rudolf FRERCKS, *Deutsche Rassenpolitik* (= Recklams Universal-Bibliothek Nr. 7351), Leipzig 1937; *Deutsche Rassenpolitik*, Berlin 1936; Karl ASEL (ed.), *Rassekurs in Egendorf. Ein rassenhgienische Lehrgang des Thüringischen Landesamtes für Rassewesen*, München 1935; Walter GROSS, *Nationalsozialistische Rassenpolitik. Eine Rede an die deutschen Frauen*, Berlin 1934; Paul MAGDEBURG, *Rassenkunde und Rassenpolitik*, Leipzig 1933; Karl WEINLAENDER, *Rassenkunde, Rassenpädagogik und Rassenpolitik. Der naturgesetzliche Weg zu Deutschlands Aufstieg*, Weissenburg i. B. 1933; Bruno K. Schultz, *Erbkunde, Rassenkunde, Rassenpflege. Ein Leitfadens zum Selbststudium und für den Unterricht*, München 1933; Wilhelm FRICK, *Die Bevölkerungs- und Rassenpolitik. Ansprache auf der ersten Sitzung des Sachverständigenbeirats für Bevölkerungs- und Rassenpolitik am 28. Juni 1933*, Langensalza 1933.

⁵⁴ See Horst GIES, *Zur Entstehung des Rasse- und Siedlungsamtes der SS*, in: Paul Kluge zum 60. Geburtstag dargebracht von Frankfurter Schülern und Mitarbeitern – Festschrift, Frankfurt/Main, 1968, pp. 127–139 [136].

⁵⁵ I. HEINEMANN, *Rasse*, pp. 12, 56; Michael WEINGART – Jürgen KROLL – Kurt BAYERTZ, *Rasse, Blut und Gene. Geschichte der Eugenik und Rassenhygiene in Deutschland*, Frankfurt/Main 2006, pp. 459–532; Paul WEINDLING, *Health, race, and German politics between national unification and Nazism, 1870–1945*, Oxford 1989, pp. 469–480, 534–541; H. GIES, *Zur Entstehung*, p. 133, 135.

⁵⁶ H. GIES, *Zur Entstehung*, p. 134.

⁵⁷ BArch Koblenz, AllProz 1/XXXXIII C5, Geschichte und Aufgaben des Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamtes SS, 1947; Bruno K. SCHULTZ, *10 Jahre Verlobungs- und Heiratsbefehl in der Schutzstaffel*, VuR 17/3–4, 1942, pp. 3–4. See I. HEINEMANN, *Rasse*, pp. 50–62; I. HEINEMANN, *Ambivalente*, p. 73; Gabriele CZARNOWSKI, *Das kontrollierte Paar. Ehe- und Sexualpolitik im Nationalsozialismus*, Weinheim 1991; Gudrun SCHWARZ, *Die Frau an seiner Seite. Ehefrauen in der „SS-Sippengemeinschaft“*, Hamburg 1997; Robert L. KOEHL, *Toward a SS Typology: Social Engineers*, *The American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 18 (2), 1959, pp. 113–126.

⁵⁸ It means Race and Settlement (*Rasse und Siedlung*).

⁵⁹ BArch Berlin, NS 2/174, outline for the selection of members of the SS, March 30, 1937. See Bernd WEGNER, *The ‘Aristocracy of National Socialism’. The Role of the SS in National Socialist Germany*, in: Hannsjoachim W. Koch, *Aspects of the Third Reich*, London 1985, pp. 431–450; John M. STEINER, *Über das Glaubensbekenntnis der SS*, in: Joachim Hütter – Reinhard Meyers – Dietrich Papenfuss (eds.), *Tradition und Neubeginn. Internationale Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte im 20. Jahrhundert*, Bonn – Bad Godesberg 1975, pp. 317–333.

⁶⁰ *Der Auslesegrundsatz in der Schutzstaffel*, *Die Deutsche Polizei* 10/2, 1942, p. 20; Karl DERKMANN, *Ehtauglichkeitsnachweis als rassenhgienische Maßnahme*, ARGB 34/5, 1940, pp. 413–414. See I. HEINEMANN, *Ambivalente*, p. 82.

in farmsteads at the German borders.⁶¹ Within the SS structure, RuSHA was also responsible for the training and education of members of the SS in matters of worldview.⁶² Since March 1938, the RuSHA and its so called RuS Leaders (*RuS-Führer*) were also in charge of preparing a racial map of the territory of the Reich.⁶³

Even though during this period, the RuSHA had undergone several more reorganisations – including Richard W. Darré's departure (head of the RuSHA since 1931) from the post of head of this bureau in 1938, after a disagreement with Himmler – it is fair to claim that by the outbreak of the war, this was an internally consolidated and clearly structured institution.⁶⁴ This is largely to be ascribed to SS-Gruppenführer Günther Pancke (1899–1973), in 1938–1940 head of the RuSHA, who took over after Darré.⁶⁵

As of August 1, 1938, the RuSHA, including the *Rassenamt*, lost authority over all 'scientific and research tasks', which were placed under the auspices of the Study Society for Primordial Intellectual History, German Ancestral Heritage (*Studiengesellschaft für Geistesurgeschichte. Deutsches Ahnenerbe*).⁶⁶ Nonetheless, the RuSHA maintained close working relation especially with the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute of Anthropology, Human Heredity and Eugenics, headed by Eugen Fischer, which, among other things, organised for RuSHA members annual courses on select subjects of biology and medicine.⁶⁷ Their training material included also the *Schulungsbriefe*, monthly appeared internal papers, which highlighted the importance of selection: "Every examiner has a task of the utmost importance for the national policy (*Volkspolitik*). His work decides the composition of the future generations, the German nation, and the population of Europe."⁶⁸

Members and experts of the RuSHA represented Nazi anti-Semitism in its purest, most aggressive, but also most biologising form. They not only designed the conceptual base of racial policy but also most ruthlessly applied the Nazi policy of mass population selection.⁶⁹ According to most recent estimates, the 'hard core' of racial selectors numbered

⁶¹ I. HEINEMANN, *Rasse*, pp. 16–17. On the relationship between Darré and Himmler in the context of the RuSHA, see Uwe MAI, *Rasse und Raum. Agrarpolitik, Sozial- und Raumplanung im NS-Staat*, Paderborn – München – Wien – Zürich 2002, pp. 113–118.

⁶² I. HEINEMANN, *Ambivalente*, p. 74.

⁶³ BArch Berlin, NS2/54, Ebrecht's letter to H. Himmler, March 10, 1938.

⁶⁴ I. HEINEMANN, *Rasse*, p. 87, 124–125. See Gustavo CORNIS, *Richard Walther Darré – Der 'Blut-und-Boden'-Ideologe*, in: Ronald Smelser – Rainer Zitelmann, *The Nazi Elite*, Basingstoke – London 1993, pp. 15–27.

⁶⁵ For most of the 1920s (in 1920–1926), Pancke worked as an animal breeder at cattle farms in Argentina. He was a fanatical Nazi who later became a Higher SS and Police Leader (*Höhere SS- und Polizeiführer*) in occupied Denmark.

⁶⁶ BArch Berlin, NS 2/54, proposal of the circular of the RFSS, 1938. See Michael H. KATER, *Das 'Ahnenerbe' der SS 1935–1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*, Stuttgart 2001, pp. 11–53, 58–83, 338–352.

⁶⁷ Niels C. LÖSCH, *Rasse als Konstrukt. Leben und Werk Eugen Fischers*, Frankfurt/Main 1997, pp. 319–321; Beno MÜLLER-HILL, *Tödliche Wissenschaft. Die Aussonderung von Juden, Zigeunern und Geisteskranken 1933–1945*, Berlin (Ost) 1989, p. 40.

⁶⁸ BArch Berlin, NS2/294, Schulungsbrief – Erblehre (Vorbemerkung), no date.

⁶⁹ See Isabel HEINEMANN, *Defining '(Un)wanted Population Addition': Anthropology, Racist Ideology, and Mass Murder in the Occupied East*, in: Anton Weiss-Wendt – Rory Yeomans (eds.), *Racial Science in Hitler's New Europe 1938–1945*, Lincoln 2013, pp. 35–59; id., *Umvolkungspläne, Rassenauslese, Zwangsumsiedlungen. Die Rasseexperten der SS und die bevölkerungspolitische Neuordnung Europas*, in: Ralph Melville – Jiří Pešek – Claus Scharf (eds.), *Zwangsmigrationen im mittleren und östlichen Europa. Völkerrecht – Konzeptionen – Praxis (1938–1950)* (= Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz, Beiheft 69), Mainz 2007, pp. 203–218; Isabel HEINEMANN – Patrick WAGNER, *Einleitung*, in: Isabel Heinemann – Patrick Wagner (eds.), *Wissenschaft – Planung – Vertreibung. Neuordnungskonzepte und Umsiedlungspolitik im*

about 500 RuSHA members, some 54% of whom belonged to the founding generation of this institution. They were mostly very young and 88 RuSHA members who held the rank SS-Führer were university educated, and that not only in humanities but also in biology or anthropology.⁷⁰

The outbreak of the war and the end of the German military campaign in Poland fundamentally changed not only the extension of RuSHA's agenda but mainly the authority of members of the *Rassenamt*. For the very first time, their activities reached beyond the structure of the SS. Under the aegis of Himmler as a Reich Commissary for the Strengthening of Germandom (*Reichskommissar für Festigung des deutschen Volkstums*; hereinafter RKFDV), RuSHA experts were first employed in inspection committees (*Musterung*) of Immigration Offices (*Einwandererzentralen*) in order to assess ethnic Germans who were to return to Germany from the Baltic states (*Rückwanderer*). Then they were assessing the offspring of mixed marriages in Central and South-eastern Europe who were candidates for 're-Germanisation' (*Wiedereindeutschung*), children of executed resistance fighters, partisans, or other persons, in whose cases it was to be determined whether they represent desirable or undesirable offspring (*erwünschter/unerwünschter Nachwuchs*), and last but not least also in cases of prisoners of war (especially Polish and Soviet ones) and slave labourers.⁷¹ Naturally, they actively participated in anti-Jewish racial policy in Germany and occupied Europe.

Under these circumstances B. K. Schultz was asked in October 1941 to lead the *Rassenamt* as its deputy chief.⁷² As of February 1, 1942, he was formally appointed its full chief.

2. Institutionalized Racism in Academia: *Institute for Racial Biology*

In October 1941, after being released of his teaching duties at the Frederick William University in Berlin, Bruno K. Schultz took first 'inspection' trip to Prague.⁷³ According to him, "The inspection of prospective premises of the institute was thoroughly satisfactory. Prof. Denk [Viktor Denk, Dean of the Faculty of Science of the DKU, author's note] promised that the entire second floor of the building at Alberthof 6 would be at disposal of the institute for racial biology and Prof. Matiegka's [Jindřich Matiegka, the first Czech full professor of anthropology, author's note] racially biological collection would be secured for

20. Jahrhundert (= Beiträge zur Geschichte der DFG 1), Stuttgart 2006, pp. 7–23; Isabel HEINEMANN, *Another Type of Perpetrator: SS Racial Experts and Forced Population Movements in the Occupied Regions*, *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 15/3, 2001, pp. 387–411; id., *Towards an 'Ethnic Reconstruction' of Occupied Europe. SS Plans and Racial Policies*, *Annali dell Istituto Storico in Trento* 27, 2001, pp. 493–517; Wolfram PYTHA, 'Menschenökonomie'. *Das Ineingreifen von ländlicher Sozialraumgestaltung und rassenbiologischer Bevölkerungspolitik im NS-Staat*, *Historische Zeitschrift* 273, 2001, pp. 31–94. On the ideological background of the SS and Himmler, see Christopher R. BROWNING, *Der Weg zur 'Endlösung': Entscheidungen und Täter*, Bonn 1998; Richard BREITMAN, *The Architect of Genocide. Heinrich Himmler and the Final Solution*, Hannover 1992; Bradley F. SMITH, *Heinrich Himmler: A Nazi in the Making, 1900–1926*, Stanford – Calif 1971; Josef ACKERMANN, *Heinrich Himmler als Ideologe*, Göttingen – Zürich – Frankfurt/Main 1970; Heinrich FRAENKEL – Roger MANVELL, *Heinrich Himmler*, London 1965.

⁷⁰ I. HEINEMANN, *Ambivalente*, pp. 75–77, 87, note 13.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

⁷² BAArch Berlin, OPG B93 (Schultz, B. K.), O. Hofmann's memorandum, October 2, 1941.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, Personel Department of the RuSHA to the Gestapo office in Berlin, October 9, 1941.

the institute.⁷⁴ Another aspect of the deal also became clearer during this visit. Bruno K. Schultz was supposed to deliver lectures in Prague only every two weeks during the winter term, become full professor of the DKU but his salary would be disbursed by the RuSHA, and be provided by a loyal assistant as his representative.⁷⁵ Rector Saure also accepted Schultz's demand that the Institute for Racial Biology should be attended by the members of the *Rassenamt* and these will enjoy the same status as ordinary students.⁷⁶

It seems probable that Schultz partly settled in Prague by May 1, 1942 since as of this date, he was appointed at the DKU in Prague and received full professorship in racial biology.⁷⁷ Based on a previous agreement, he commuted to Prague approximately every two weeks and worked there basically as a 'flying professor' (*fliegender Professor*).⁷⁸ Reasons behind this were obvious: his work revolved mainly around the *Rassenamt* and its activities.⁷⁹

The Institute for Racial Biology was placed in the main historical building in Albertov (*Alberthof*) No. 6 in Prague, where the entire first floor was assigned to its needs as of September 1942.⁸⁰ According to recollections of one contemporary student of medicine, Schultz was seen as highly influential at his environment: "In the, so to say, SS's own Institute for Racial Biology, Prof. Dr. Schultz (...) was the absolute ruler and from the assistants to the laboratory workers, it was filled exclusively by Nordic types, the ladies being blond."⁸¹ According to personal files of the students of the Faculty of Science of the DKU left in Prague, the Institute for Racial Biology really served as a learning place for the *Rassenamt*.⁸² Training of new selectors became soon after the establishment of the Institute for Racial Biology one of its top priorities, since in 1942 the situation was critical especially in the Generalgouvernement. And it was Schultz, who was deciding about their placement and deployment.⁸³ It seems likely that – for example – Heinrich Gottong, Schultz's student, 'Jewish advisor' at the Office of Population Care (*Abteilung für Bevölkerungspflege*), later a race expert in the Institute for German Work in the East (*Institut für deutsche Ostarbeit*), had also graduated from these courses,⁸⁴ though due to the lack of sources it is hard to make any definitive claim to that effect.

Even though the Institute for Racial Biology was to a large extent an academic branch of the RuSHA, one can also distinguish some of its own priorities. Firstly, the Institute aimed at refining anthropometric methods so that they could be quickly and 'operatively' used to determine the identity of a given 'racial type'. In this connection, it is known that keen interest was shown in the research of heredity of the iris colour (*Vererbung der Farbe*

⁷⁴ Ibid., report of B. K. Schultz on his meeting with W. Saure in Prague for H. Himmler, November 4, 1941.

⁷⁵ Ibid., O. Hofmann on his planned talk with W. Saure on November 23, 1941, November 3, 1941.

⁷⁶ Ibid., report of B. K. Schultz on his meeting with W. Saure in Prague for H. Himmler, November 4, 1941. See in detail Pt. 4 of this paper.

⁷⁷ Ibid., B. K. Schultz to the Personal Department, August 11, 1942.

⁷⁸ UA H-U Berlin, PA-288, REM to B. K. Schultz, July 8, 1942. 288. See *Notizen*, ARGB 36/2, 1942, p. 162.

⁷⁹ *Notizen*, ARGB 36/2, 1942, p. 162.

⁸⁰ AUK Praha, R NU, b. 128, curator's letter of the Dean of the Faculty of Science concerning the institute's rooms, August 15, 1942.

⁸¹ Ibid., Dr. med. Fritz H. Weichold (amended by Dr. med. Bettine Weichold), *Zeitgeschichten*, Mühlheim an der Ruhr 2008, manuscript, p. 56.

⁸² Ibid., NU Nat., b. 25, students' records of Dr. W. H. Basko and M. Polaschek, no date.

⁸³ BAArch Berlin, R69/966, chief of the Immigration Office – note on the problem of the selectors, May 5, 1942.

⁸⁴ Götz ALY – Susanne HEIM, *Vordenker der Vernichtung*, Frankfurt/Main 1993, p. 123.

der Iris). This was, of course, a long-time favourite topic of not only the German physical anthropologists.⁸⁵ Another area of Institute's staff interest, one we can document only indirectly, was the aim to use knowledge about the heredity of blood groups for purposes of 'racial identification', that is – in the contemporary Nazi jargon – to use it for establishing a 'racial diagnosis' (*Rassendiagnose*).⁸⁶

In relation to the territorial expansion of the Nazi state and the attendant strategic planning of population and racial policies, Schultz in his inaugural address of May 28, 1942 outlined the 'research' priorities of the Institute as follows: "1. (...) racial distribution in our own German territory. 2. (...) clear designation and hereditary demarcation of the races. 3. (...) racial distribution in the new border regions (*Grenzgebieten*). 4. (...) historical racial development in the new territories. 5. (...) confirmation of results of the racial psychological research."⁸⁷ This five point programme thus contains among other things the very core of what was understood as current racial biological tasks in Prague.

At the same time, it should be noted that in addition to the Institute for Racial Biology, 'racial' research of Bohemia and Moravia was also carried out by other institutes, mainly Viennese one. What in fact happened in Bohemia and Moravia was a renewal of the range of influence they had prior to 1918.⁸⁸ At the moment, however, the degree of mutual collaboration or coordination with respect to the Prague Institute for Racial Biology is yet unknown.

Despite the teaching and lecturing activities at the Institute for Racial Biology, which had an increasing tendency especially after 1943, B. K. Schultz, often jointly with Karl Thums (1904–1976), also presented so-called 'Circle Lectures' (*Ringvorlesungen*).⁸⁹ These lectures were obligatory for every newly registered student at the DKU and they were

⁸⁵ See for example Anna C. FISCHER, *Epicanthusbildungen am Auge*, ARGB 36/5, 1942, pp. 327–344, and also Bruno K. SCHULTZ, *Rassenkundliche Bestimmungs-Tafeln für Augen-, Haar und Hautfarben und für die Iriszeichnung*, München 1935.

⁸⁶ Otmar von VERSCHUER, *Die Leitfaden der Rassenhygiene*, Leipzig 1941, pp. 90–94.

⁸⁷ Bruno K. SCHULTZ, *Rassenbiologische Fragen im deutschen Raum*, VuR 17/9, 1942, pp. 153–157.

⁸⁸ Anna SITTENBERGER – Josef WASTL, *Rassenkundliche Untersuchungen an Deutschen und Tschechen im südlichen Böhmerwald (Quellengebiet der Moldau). Mit einem siedlungsgeschichtlichen Überblick von Karl Beer*, *Annalen des Naturhistorischen Museums in Wien* 52, 1941, pp. 397–457. See also Karl TUPPA, *Das Anthropologische Institut der Universität Wien*, *Zeitschrift für Rassenkunde* 12, 1942, pp. 105–106; Richard von HOFF, *Rassenfragen im deutschen Osten*, *Rasse* 7/1, 1940, pp. 1–5; Eberhard GEYER, *Der Stand der rassenkundlichen Untersuchungen in der Ostmark*, in: Michael Hesch – Günther Spannaus (eds.), *Kultur und Rasse. Otto Reche zum 60. Geburtstag*, München – Berlin 1939, pp. 80–87. For the situation prior to 1939 see for example Gustav FOCHLER-HAUCHE, *Deutscher Volksboden und Deutsches Volkstum in der Tschechoslowakei. Eine geographisch-geopolitische Zusammenschau*, Heidelberg – Berlin 1937, pp. 228–243; Walther KRUSE, *Die Deutschen und ihre Nachbarvölker. Neue Grundlegung der Anthropologie, Rassen-, Völker-, Stammeskunde und Konstitutionslehre nebst Ausführungen zur deutschen Rassenhygiene*, Leipzig 1929, pp. 540–541. On the history of anthropology in Österreich see Brigitte FUCHS, 'Rasse', 'Volk', *Geschlecht. Anthropologische Diskurse in Österreich 1850–1960*, Frankfurt/Main – New York 2003; Herbert KRITSCHER – Johann SZILVÁSSY – Gertrud HAUSER, *Zur Geschichte der physischen Anthropologie in Österreich*, *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* 125/126, 1995/96, pp. 43–82; Martina MAAS, *Die Anthropologie an der Universität Wien bis 1938*, Wien 1991 (Ph.D. thesis). On the history of the Sudetengerman Institute of Territorial and Ethnographic Research *Sudetendeutsche Anstalt für Landes- und Volksforschung* see the entry of Tobias WEGER, *Sudetendeutsche Anstalt für Landes- und Volksforschung Reichenberg*, in: Ingo Haar – Matthias Berg (eds.), *Handwörterbuch der völkischen Wissenschaften. Personen – Institutionen – Forschungsprogramme – Stiftungen*, München 2008, pp. 683–688.

⁸⁹ See Michal V. ŠIMŮNEK, *Ein österreichischer Eugeniker zwischen Wien, München und Prag: Karl Thums (1904–1976)*, in: Gerhard Baader – Veronika Hofer – Thomas Mayer (eds.), *Eugenik in Österreich. Biopolitische Strukturen von 1900 bis 1945*, Wien 2007, pp. 393–417.

supposed to provide them with all requisite knowledge of all the ‘specifics’ of Bohemia and Moravia. Another teaching activity of the Head of the Institute for Racial Biology was also of great importance. Schultz was seen as one of the main contributors to the study programme called ‘Race and Nation’ (*Rasse und Volk*) at the Reich School of Security Police (*Reichsschule der Sicherheitspolizei*) in Prague. Being a sort of Heydrich’s own creature, this institution was opened in April 1942. Its main aim was the indoctrination of the leading cadre of the Security Police (*Sicherheitspolizei*) and SS.⁹⁰

Shortly after his official appointment, Schultz chose in September 1942 to participate in the plans and preparations for the so-called ‘Action K’ (*Unternehmen K*). This operation was within the competence of the *Ahnenerbe* of the SS and was headed by the leader of the 1938 Tibetan expedition, Ernst Schäfer (1910–1992). In connection with Wehrmacht’s progress in the Caucasus, plans were made to carry out, among other things, a ‘racial research of the Caucasian tribes’.⁹¹ The expedition team apparently also paid special attention to the local ‘mountain Jews’ (*Bergjuden*) in Dagestan and Azerbaijan.⁹² Alongside B. K. Schultz, various anthropologists of the RuSHA – in particular those employed by the *Ahnenerbe* like Bruno Beger (1911–2009) or Wolfgang Abel – should participate.⁹³

As far as the Institute’s staff is concerned, at the beginning there was only one assistant position. In March 1942, it was given to Dr. rer. nat. Christel Steffens (b. 1913 in Jechtingen bei Freiburg/Breisgau), Schultz’s close collaborator, Eugen Fischer’s former student, and Austrian compatriot (from Oberhausen) who stayed in Prague until the very end of the war.⁹⁴ She first studied physical anthropology and then archaeology at the University of Berlin, where she also wrote her Ph.D. thesis *On the Power of Fingers in Twins* (*Über Zehenleisten bei Zwillingen*).⁹⁵ Schultz probably met her already in 1938 when she received the second assistantship at his Institute of Biology at the Reich Academy of Physical Exercise in Berlin which he was then heading.⁹⁶ In late 1940 and early 1941 (November 1940 – February 1941), she actively participated in the work of the Immigration Office.⁹⁷ Later, together with Schultz, she helped prepare ‘re-settlement activities’ in Lorraine while – despite earlier assumptions – working at the Immigration Office in Metz until May 1941. During this time, she also worked as an agent of the local Gestapo office.⁹⁸ In May 1941, Steffens followed her superior to the Slovenian city of Bled/Veldes.⁹⁹

Besides Steffens a certain Inge Lemka was later employed as another assistant.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁰ Archiv bezpečnostních složek (Security Services Archive; hereinafter ABS) Praha, 52-92-5, education scheme for the Sipo and SD, November 3, 1942. See Jürgen MATTHÄUS et al., *Ausbildungsziel Judenmord? ‘Weltanschauliche Erziehung’ von SS, Polizei und Waffen-SS im Rahmen der Endlösung*, Frankfurt/Main 2003.

⁹¹ KATER, op. cit. (2001), p. 341.

⁹² Ibid., pp. 251–253. See Kiril FEFERMAN, *Nazi Germany and the Mountain Jews: Was There a Policy?*, Holocaust Genocide Studies 21, 2007, pp. 96–114.

⁹³ KATER, op. cit., pp. 251–255.

⁹⁴ BArch Berlin, R31/317 (Steffens Ch.), REM to Ch. Steffens, March 26, 1942; ABS Praha, 109-73, report on the investigation of the Ministry of the Interior – Dept. for the Prosecution of War Criminals, July 19, 1946.

⁹⁵ Ibid., Ch. Steffens to the Reich Academy of Physical Exercise, May 31, 1941.

⁹⁶ Ibid. curriculum vitae of Ch. Steffens, April 11, 1938.

⁹⁷ Ibid. O. Hofmann to the curator of the University in Berlin, June 16, 1941. See *Ernennungen*, Der Biologe 12/6–7, 1943, p. 147.

⁹⁸ BArch Berlin, R31/317 (Steffens Ch.), O. Hofmann to the curator of the University in Berlin, December 6, 1940. See I. HEINEMANN, *Rasse*, pp. 305–357.

⁹⁹ BArch Berlin, R31/317 (Steffens Ch.), Ch. Steffens to the Reich Academy of Physical Exercise, May 31, 1941.

¹⁰⁰ ABS Praha, 109-73, Institute for Racial Biology – information, December 11, 1945 (secret).

On April 1, 1943, the personnel of the Institute for Racial Biology was reinforced by the arrival of another researcher, Dr. phil. habil. Aemilian (Ämilian) Kloiber (1910–1992), associate professor of racial science (*Rassenkunde*).¹⁰¹ Kloiber was born in Hürm in Lower Austria, joined the SA and NSDAP, and later also the Viennese branch of the DGRH.¹⁰² In 1931–1938, he studied at the Faculty of Philosophy and Medicine of the University of Vienna anthropology, genetics, racial biology, racial psychology, philosophy, and medical subjects necessary to receive basic medical qualification.¹⁰³ Prior to his arrival to Prague, Kloiber worked in 1937–1938 as a reporter in the field of racial science with the teaching office of NSDAP in Vienna.¹⁰⁴ In 1939, he published his contribution to the ‘new racial scientific construction of the Reich regions’, which he later also used as his habilitation thesis under the name *Races of the Upper-Danube. Older and Newer Research, 1883–1938 (Die Rassen in Oberdonau. Ältere und neuere Untersuchungen 1883–1938)*.¹⁰⁵ In April 1939, he was hired for the *Ahnenerbe* of the SS on a special research task called *Distribution of the Phalian and Nordic Race in Northern Arabia, Eastern Jordan, Palestine, and Syria (Die Verbreitung der Fälischen und der Nordischen Rasse in Nordarabien, Ostjordanland, Palästina und Syrien)*.¹⁰⁶ The project was supposed to study the ‘spread of the Phalian and the Nordic race’ in the abovementioned regions. In particular, researchers wanted to establish whether the blond and blue-eyed people in those regions belong to Nordic or the Phalian race.¹⁰⁷ With this project, Kloiber was supposed to contribute to the efforts of a planned Teaching and Research Institute for the Near East (*Lehr- und Forschungsstätte für den vorderen Orient*), headed by SS-Obersturmführer Dr. phil. habil. Viktor Christian (b. 1885), professor of comparative Semitic linguistics.¹⁰⁸ During his Prague career, Kloiber habilitated based on his pre-war research on ‘Races of the Upper Danube’ (*Die Rassen in Oberdonau*).¹⁰⁹

3. Conceptual Aberrations – Aberrated Concepts

In 1944, Friedrich Keiter (1906–1967), a student and later colleague of Walter Scheidt, stated in one of the last German textbooks of racial biology the following: “Abroad, they claim National Socialism is ‘racist’. To our ears, that is an ugly word, which, however, instinctively managed to sense the true core, indeed the very core of our great movement of renewal.”¹¹⁰ The starting point of racism of such prominent institutions of the Nazi

¹⁰¹ H.-Ch. HARTEN et al., *Rassenhygiene*, p. 414. See *Ernennungen*, *Der Biologe* 12 (6–7), 1943, p. 147.

¹⁰² NA Praha, ÚRP-114, 114-209-8, personal questionnaire of A. Kloiber, 1944. See Ämilian KLOIBER, *Die Rassen in Oberdonau. Ältere und neuere Untersuchungen 1883–1938*, *Jahrbuch des Vereines für Landeskunde und Heimatpflege im Gau Oberdonau* 88, 1939, pp. 315–374.

¹⁰³ NA Praha, ÚRP-114, 114-209-8, personal questionnaire of A. Kloiber, 1944.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ A. KLOIBER, *Die Rassen*, pp. 315–368.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*; BArch Berlin, DS/G0124 (Kloiber A., born 1910), *Ahnenerbe e. V.* to A. Kloiber, April 29, 1939.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, *Ahnenerbe e. V.* to F. Althelm, 12. 4. 1939.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, *Ahnenerbe e. V.* to V. Christian, 12. 4. 1939; BArch Berlin, DS/G0124 (Kloiber, A.), biographical entry, without date.

¹⁰⁹ H.-Ch. HARTEN et al., *Rassenhygiene*, p. 414.

¹¹⁰ Friedrich KEITER, *Kurzes Lehrbuch der Rassenbiologie und Rassenhygiene*, Stuttgart 1944, p. 1; text in German original: “Der Nationalsozialismus wird im Ausland ‘Rassismus’ genannt. Das ist ein für unsere Ohren recht

state as was, for example, the *Rassenamt* was a firm belief in the crucial role of race not only in the historical development and biological evolution accompanied by a conviction about the existence of an immutable hierarchy along the lines proposed by Arthur Gobineau (1816–1882), which determines the classification and value (*Wert*) of races.¹¹¹ It was already indicated that even in Nazi Germany there was diversity within the racialist and racist discourse and one finds various concepts of race.¹¹² Similarly, there were persisting ambiguities in the use of the dichotomy *Rasse* and *Volk*, which in some *völkisch*-oriented racial theorists became the subject of elaborate analyses.¹¹³

Nonetheless, in studying the close connection between racial biology and ‘practical’ racial policy – as it was in Prague represented by the Institute for Racial Biology – it is best to focus on the so-called ‘static’ concept of race, based on and characterised by a claim about races’ natural inequality.¹¹⁴ This was summarised in training material for selectors of the RuS as follows: “The basic prerequisite of racial theory is a realisation of natural differences within humankind in its races. Of course it does not matter what a person’s face looks like but people are divided in distinct groups which differ not only in their external, physical form but also in their inner being, in their character and their abilities.”¹¹⁵ This conception enabled the construction of an entire superstructure which the *Rassenamt* selectors used in mass selections on the basis of which decisions about human lives were mercilessly taken.¹¹⁶ What was of crucial importance was that the conviction of a constant, immutable nature of individual races also incorporated an oversimplified version of genetics. Because of this step, these obscurantist activities, much like the Nazi hereditary and racial hygiene, could be presented within a broader organic and biologicistic framework:¹¹⁷

hässliches Wort, das aber instinktiver den wirklichen Kern, ja ‘den Kern des Kernes’ an unserer großen Erneuerungsbewegung herausgeföhlt hat.” Previous German publications dedicated exclusively to the racial biology were i.a. Walter SCHEIDT, *Kulturkunde*, Bd. II – Rassenbiologie und Kulturpolitik, Leipzig 1937; Curt F. ROTHENBERGER, *Rassenbiologie und Rechtspflege* (= Arbeiten Hamburger Juristen im Rassenbiologischen Institut der Hamburgischen Universität, Halbjahr 1934/1935), Hamburg 1936; Jakob GRAF, *Familienkunde und Rassenbiologie für Schüler*, München 1935.

¹¹¹ *Rassenpolitik*, Berlin 1943, pp. 10, 15–17.

¹¹² See K. L. LECHLER, *Die drei Wege zum Rassebegriff*, Neues Volk 6/5, 1939, pp. 12–15; Alfred BAEUMLER, *Rasse als Grundbegriff der Erziehungswissenschaft*, Internationale Zeitschrift für Erziehung 8, 1939, pp. 252–255; Jürgen BRAKE, *Der Ursprung der Rassenlehre im europäischen Denken der Neuzeit*, Internationale Erziehung 8, 1939, pp. 256–274; F. REQUARD, *Kausalität und Rasse*, Zeitschrift für die gesamte Naturwissenschaft 4/3, 1937, pp. 83–95; Otto RECHE, *Der Begriff der ‘Rasse’*, VuR 8/7, 1933, pp. 217–218; Eugen FISCHER, *Begriff, Abgrenzung und Geschichte der Anthropologie*, in: Gustav Schwalbe – Eugen Fischer (eds.), *Anthropologie* (= Die Kultur der Gegenwart III), Leipzig – Berlin 1923, pp. 1–11. See Helga SATZINGER, *Rasse, Gene und Geschlecht. Zur Konstituierung zentraler biologischer Begriffe bei Richard Goldschmidt und Fritz Lenz, 1916–1936* (= Forschungsprogramm „Geschichte der Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gesellschaft im Nationalsozialismus“, Ergebnisse 15), Berlin 2004.

¹¹³ K. SALLER, *Die Rassenlehre*, p. 33.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 37–38.

¹¹⁵ BArch Berlin, NS2/256, teaching staff of the RuSHA called ‘The National Socialist Idea of the Race’ (Der nationalsozialistische Rassegedanke), s. d.; text in German original: “Die Grundvoraussetzung der Rassenlehre ist die Erkenntnis von der natürlichen Verschiedenheit des Menschengeschlechtes in seinen Rassen. Es ist keineswegs alles gleich, was Menschenantlitz trägt, sondern die Menschen sind in verschiedene Gruppen eingeteilt, die sich nicht nur in ihren äußeren und körperlichen Formen sondern auch in ihrem inneren Wesen, in ihrem Charakter und in ihren Fähigkeiten unterscheiden.”

¹¹⁶ Isabel HEINEMANN, ‘Wiedereindeutschungsfähig’ oder ‘unerwünschter Bevölkerungszuwachs’. *Die Bedeutung der ‘Rassenanalyse’ in der nationalsozialistischen Umsiedlungspolitik*, in: Paula Diehl (ed.), *Körper im Nationalsozialismus. Bilder und Praxen*, München 2006, pp. 267–280.

¹¹⁷ A. D. EVANS, *Anthropology*, p. 200.

“The very core, the innermost source of the law of every organic self-fulfilment and thereby also recovery are abilities, aptitudes. If there existed no essentially defining hereditary abilities, living creatures and people would have no inner form in accordance with which national socialist movement towards renewal is attempting to live (...). In this sense, biology leads to knowledge and hygiene to the corresponding act.”¹¹⁸ A ‘race’ could thus newly be also defined as a “group of persons who are distinct from others by sharing the same hereditary physical and mental characteristics, who represent a link in the chain of phylogenetic development”.¹¹⁹ And in genetic categories, the ‘need’ for targeted selective interference was then justified as follows: “Each foreign hereditary structure that is admixed into a nation must lead to disharmony (...) removal of such hereditary structures is then the main task of a state.”¹²⁰ Mental and psychological traits were then seen from the perspective of heredity since differences in this area had been for a long time foreseen based on a racial, primarily morphological and anatomical classification: “A race is represented in a group of people who have their own combination of physical traits and psychological qualities which distinguish them from any other similarly formed group and make them seek their likes.”¹²¹ One can thus say that in this case, genetics was used for fossilisation of not only older theories, which arose mainly on the basis of descriptive anthropological methods in late 19th and early 20th century, but also of pure and simple racial prejudice. “The modern view of race, founded upon the known facts and theories of heredity, leaves the old views of fixed and absolute biological differences among the races of man and the hierarchy of superior and inferior races founded upon this old view without scientific justification.”¹²² Or, as the British anthropologist Ashley Montagu (1905–1999) summarised at the time his objections against the official German racial doctrine: “1. That it is artificial, 2. That it does not agree with the facts, 3. That it leads to confusion and the perpetuation of error, and finally, that for all these reasons it is meaningless, or rather more accurately such meaning as it possesses is false.”¹²³

It was stated above, when the new institute was being created in Prague, its name rather significantly shifted from the originally suggested *Rassenkunde* (1939–1940) to *Rassenbiologie* (1941–1945). Yet if we were to take, for example, Fischer’s 1920s classification

¹¹⁸ F. KEITER, *Sozialanthropologie*, pp. 1–2; text in German original: “Kern dieses Kernes, innerster Quell der Gesetze jeder organischen Selbsterfüllung und damit Gesundung sind die Anlagekräfte. Gäbe es keine wesenbestimmende Erbveranlagung, dann wären die Lebewesen und der Mensch ohne jene innere Form, der nachzuleben das Bestreben der nationalsozialistischen Gesundungsbewegung ist (...). Dabei bedeutet Biologie die Erkenntnis und Hygiene die der Erkenntnis entsprechende Tat.”

¹¹⁹ Otto AICHEL, *Der Deutsche Mensch. Studie aufgrund des neuen europäischen und außereuropäischen Materials*, Jena 1933, p. 5; text in German original: “eine Gruppe von Menschen, die sich von anderen, durch den Besitz gleicher körperlicher und geistiger Erbmerkmale unterscheidet und ein Glied in der Kette phylogenetischen Geschehen bilden”. See K. SALLER, *Die Rassenlehre*, p. 37.

¹²⁰ O. AICHEL, *Der Deutsche Mensch*, p. 163; text in German original: “Jedes fremde Erbgefüge, das einem Volk beigemischt wird, muß zu Disharmonien führen (...). Fernhaltung solchen Erbgefüges ist eine Hauptaufgabe des Staates.”

¹²¹ F. K. GÜNTHER, *Rassenkunde*, p. 14; text in German Original: “Eine Rasse stellt sich dar in einer Menschengruppe, die sich durch die ihr eigene Vereinigung körperlicher Merkmale und seelischer Eigenschaften von jeder anderen (in solcher Weise zusammengefassten) Menschengruppe unterscheidet und immer wieder nur ihresgleichen zeugt.”

¹²² Leslie C. DUNN, *A Short History of Genetics*, p. 7. See also Frank B. LIVINGSTONE, *On the Non-existence of Human Races*, *Current Anthropology* 3, 1962, pp. 279–282.

¹²³ Ashley MONTAGU, *The Concept of Race in the Light of Genetics*, *Journal of Heredity* 32, 1941, pp. 243–247. See also id., *The Concept of Race*, New York – London 1964.

as our starting point, then racial biology – much like racial theory (*Rassenlehre*) – should be a sub-field of special anthropology (*Spezialanthropologie*), which was supposed to deal mainly with “what we actually know about these races, that is, what generally valid findings we gained from the study of individual races”.¹²⁴ While taking into account findings from genetics, the racial biology was supposed to focus mainly on three problematic areas: 1) the origin of races (*Rassenentstehung*), 2) the mixing of races (*Rassenkreuzung*), and 3) the demise of races (*Rassenverschwinden*).¹²⁵ Later on, racial statistics (*Rassenstatistik*) and mainly racial policy (*Rassenpolitik*) were also claimed to be its parts. Schultz himself included racial biology in the realm of anthropological investigations of living objects (*Forschung am Lebenden*; as distinct from research of skeletons), whereby for him, too, inequality of people was a clear starting point: “Human races are absolutely not equal, be it mentally or physically. It was an error of the liberal era to think that all people are equal and differences between them stem only from different environments.”¹²⁶ The main ‘processes’ which racial biology was supposed to investigate was mainly the ‘mixing of races’ (*Rassenmischung*),¹²⁷ ‘loss of racial order’ (*rassische Entordnung*),¹²⁸ fertility (*Fruchtbarkeit*), and ‘selection relations’ (*Ausleseverhältnisse*).¹²⁹ The literature which Schultz drew upon reflects the contemporary German production in racial hygiene and anthropology, such as the works of Eugen Fischer, Erwin Baur, Fritz Lenz, H. F. K. Günther, Richard W. Darré, and Hermann W. Siemens etc.¹³⁰ The degree of indoctrination is then indicated, among other things, by subjects of lectures delivered at the special courses for the selectors (*Eignungsprüferlehrgänge*) of the RuSHA on April 6–16, 1940 at the Reichschool of the DAF (*Reichsschule der DAF*) in Müggelheim, where Schultz spoke for example about the ‘racial composition of the German people in the course of history’ (*Rassische Zusammensetzung des deutschen Volkes im Verlauf der Geschichte*), on ‘admixture of foreign blooded racial elements in the German people, areas where they are most represented, and their origin’ (*Fremdblütige Rasseneinschläge im deutschen Volke, die Gebiete ihres stärksten Auftretens und ihre Herkunft*), ‘Catholic population and racial policy’ (*Katholische Bevölkerungs- und Rassenpolitik*), ‘the spiritual image and character in related and unrelated races’ (*Das seelische und charakterliche Bild der artverwandten und artfremden Rassen*), ‘principles of selection for the SS and manner of testing suitability for the SS’ (*Auslesegrundsätze der SS und Art und Weise der SS-Eignungsuntersuchungen*), ‘special racial traits as diagnostic tools for certain features in racially mixed persons’ (*Besondere Rassenmerkmale als Erkennungszeichen für bestimmte Einschläge bei Rassenmischlingen*), and on ‘the theory of origin and modern research of heredity’ (*Abstammungslehre und moderne*

¹²⁴ G. SCHWALBE – E. FISCHER, *Anthropologie*, pp. 126; text in German original: “was wir eigentlich von diesen Rassen wissen, d.h. aus der Untersuchung der Einzelrassen an Allgemein gültigen haben gewinnen können”. See also Eugen FISCHER, *Rassen und Rassenbildung*, in: Rudolf Dittler et al. (eds.), *Handwörterbuch der Naturwissenschaften* 8, Jena 1933, pp. 198–214, esp. pp. 199–214.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 126, 137–141.

¹²⁶ Bruno K. SCHULTZ, *Erbkunde, Rassenkunde, Rassenpflege. Ein Leitfaden zum Selbststudium und für den Unterricht*, München 1933, p. 84; text in German original: “Die Menschenrassen sind durchaus nicht gleich, weder geistig noch körperlich. Es war der Irrtum des liberalistischen Zeitalters, das da glaubte, alle Menschen wären gleich und nur durch die verschiedene Umwelt andersartig.”

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 84–87.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 87–88.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 88–95.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 99 (Pt. Recommended Literature).

Erbforschung).¹³¹ This and other lectures he then accompanied by visual demonstrations using a special set of pictorial boards.¹³²

Last but not least Bruno K. Schultz was especially proud of the precision he achieved when using traditional anthropological measurement methods, methods whose mastery he demanded also from others. It is no accident that he and Michael Hesch were the main authors of the great majority of sample sets of eyes, hair, pigmentation, etc. which were used by *Rassenamt* employees during selections. In this case, ideological fanaticism was accompanied by fanaticism of precise methodology.

4. Designing Racial Selection: The Case of Bohemia and Moravia

The cornerstone of Nazi racial policy was selection: “National socialist endorsement of race inherently also implies an endorsement of selection.”¹³³ Selection in turn required the elaboration of techniques of ‘racial assessment’ (*rassisches Gutachten*) that would enable the classification of people as being either ‘racially desirable’ (*rassisch erwünscht*) or ‘racially undesirable’ (*rassisch unerwünscht*).¹³⁴ In case of Bohemia and Moravia, Karl Hermann Frank’s memorandum of August 28, 1940 and Heydrich’s commentary of September 11, 1940 became the basis on which SS-Oberscharführer Dr. Walter König-Beyer (b. 1903), RuSHA employee and a Sudetengerman historian, defined in October 1940 on behalf of the RuSHA a selection scheme in his ‘Memorandum on Racially Political Relations in the Czech-Moravian Space and Their Reorganisation’ (*Denkschrift über die rassenspolitischen Verhältnisse des Böhmisches-Mährischen Raumes und dessen Neugestaltung*).¹³⁵ Of crucial importance was not so much the relative representation of population groups but rather the definition of four main population groups which were to be selected out, removed

¹³¹ *Eignungsprüferlehrgang des Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamtes SS*, Berlin 1940 (offprint).

¹³² These were divided into the following sections: I. ‘European Races’ (*Europäische Rassen*), II. ‘Outside-European Races’ (*Aussereuropäische Rassen*), III. ‘Four Main Races of Europe’ (*Die vier Haupttrassen Europas*), IV. ‘Heredity of the Hair Form of the Man’ (*Vererbung der Haarform beim Menschen*), V. ‘Heredity of the Eye-Colour of the Man’ (*Vererbung der Augenfarbe beim Menschen*), VI. ‘Heredity of the Two Predispositions Pairs’ (*Vererbung zweier Anlagenpaare*), VII. ‘Origin of Sex and Heredity of the Predisposition’ (*Zustandekommen des Geschlechts und Vererbung einer Anlage*), and VIII. ‘Racial Distribution in Europe’ (*Die Rassenverteilung in Europa*).

¹³³ BArch Berlin, NS2/256, internal education material of the RuSHA, ‘The National Socialist Idea of Race’ (*Der nationalsozialistische Rassegedanke*), no date; text in German original: “Das nationalsozialistische Bekenntnis zur Rasse schließt zugleich das Bekenntnis zur Auslese in sich.” See I. HEINEMANN, ‘Wiedereindeutschungsfähig’, pp. 270–271.

¹³⁴ Maria TESCHLER-NICOLA, *Aspekte der Erbbiologie und die Entwicklung des rassenkundlichen Gutachtens in Österreich bis 1938*, in: Heinz Eberhard Gabriel – Wolfgang Neugebauer (eds.), *Vorreiter der Vernichtung? Eugenik, Rassenhygiene und Euthanasie in der österreichischen Diskussion vor 1938 – Zur Geschichte der NS-Euthanasie in Wien*, Teil III, Wien – Köln – Weimar 2005; id., *The Diagnostic Eye – On the History of Genetic and Racial Assessment in Pre-1938 Austria*, Coll. Anthropol. 28/2, 2004, pp. 7–29; Hans-Peter KRÖNER, *Von der Vaterschaftsbestimmung zum Rassegutachten. Der erbbiologische Ähnlichkeitsvergleich als ‘österreichisch-deutsches Projekt’ 1926–1945*, *Berichte zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte* 22, 1999, pp. 257–264; Georg LILIENTHAL, *Arier oder Jude? Die Geschichte des erb- und rassenkundlichen Abstammungsgutachtens*, in: Peter Propping – Heinz Schott (eds.), *Wissenschaft auf Irrwegen. Biologismus-Rassenhygiene-Eugenik*, Bonn 1992, pp. 66–84.

¹³⁵ NA Praha, ÚRP-dod II, b. 56, Walter König-Beyer’s memorandum, October 23, 1940. See D. BRANDES, ‘Umwolung’, pp. 194–195; I. HEINEMANN, *Rasse*, pp. 152–155. See also Chad BRYANT, *Prague in Black. Nazi Rule and Czech Nationalism*, Cambridge, Ma. 2007, pp. 119–128.

from this territory.¹³⁶ It should be noted that König-Beyer's proposal applied not only to the Protectorate but also the Reich District of Sudetenland and took into account racial, medical, social, and political aspects.

In the Protectorate, we can identify several areas or agendas nowadays usually included into Nazi Germanisation attempts or Nazi ethnic policy (*Volkstumspolitik*) where the (pseudo)expertise of RuSHA or *Rassenamt* personnel or Institute for Racial Biology played a clearly identifiable role. They were involved both in 'practical' actions and in the formulation of long-term strategies which included numerous other institutions, such as the Office of the Reichsprotector and later the German State Ministry for Bohemia and Moravia.¹³⁷ Unlike other SS offices, the RuSHA – and in particular its *Rassenamt* – started its activities in the Protectorate relatively late, in the first months of 1941, but that did not prevent it from fast gaining importance afterwards.¹³⁸ Its position in the Protectorate, meanwhile, was rather different, one could even say radically unlike the role it played in Germany proper. In 1944, its then chief SS-Obergruppenführer Richard Hildebrandt (1897–1952) compared its position in Germany and the Protectorate as follows: "In Germany, where the SS Race and Settlement Main Office is sometimes not involved in the procedures to such an extent and its assessment, is not taken as seriously as in the Protectorate Bohemia and Moravia, where it is used as basis of general policies. Experiences gained in collaboration between the SS Race and Settlement Main Office and offices dealing with state citizenship had proven themselves useful in practical solution of further issues of state citizenship and ethnicity in the German Reich."¹³⁹ During his meeting with K. H. Frank on May 22, 1941, which took place during Otto Hofmann's official visit to the Protectorate, the then chief of the RuSHA could inform the State Secretary that by that time, he had at his disposal regional offices (*Zweigstellen*) in České Budějovice/Budweis, Jihlava/Iglau, and Brno/Brünn, which were already fully manned. It was also planned that on July 1, 1941 the RuSHA would open its Prague headquarters (so-called Branch Office Bohemia-Moravia, *Außenstelle Böhmen-Mähren*) in a new residence in Prague-Bubeneč. Its regional offices, meanwhile, had been in operation since February 1941¹⁴⁰ and further local offices were supposed to gradually open in Plzeň/Pilsen, Kolín/Kolin, Pardubice/Pardubitz, Hradec Králové/Königrätz, Jičín/Gitschin, and Zlín/Zlin. The aim was clearly to establish in the Protectorate in a short period of time a structure analogical, for example, to the local SD organisation, which by January 1, 1945 included 10 so-called 'Race and Settlement Leaders' (*RuS-Leiter*) and 19

¹³⁶ NA Praha, ÚŘP-dod II, b. 56, Walter König-Beyer's memorandum, October 23, 1940 (Pt. E, III. 1–4 and IV. 1–4). See D. BRANDES, 'Umvolkung', pp. 194–196; I. HEINEMANN, *Rasse*, p. 155.

¹³⁷ For example, the Dpt. of Medical and Health Administration (16) of the Office of the Reichsprotector.

¹³⁸ BArch Berlin, RS/D389 (Künzel Erwin), suggestion of the Chief of the *Rassenamt* for Künzel's advancement, October 10, 1941; *ibid.*, NS2/66 (Bd. 3), structure of the SS in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, June 1939; *ibid.*, NS2/153, report on the activities of the RuSHA in the area of state citizenship in Bohemia and Moravia, January 25, 1944.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, NS2/153, report on RuSHA activities regarding state citizenship in Bohemia and Moravia, January 25, 1944; text in German original: "Dort teilweise nicht im gleichen Umfang das RuS-Hauptamt-SS an den Verfahren beteiligt ist und seine Gutachten nicht in gleicher Weise wie im Protektorat Böhmen und Mähren ausgewertet und zur Grundlage allgemeiner Richtlinien gemacht worden sind. Die bei der Zusammenarbeit des RuS-Hauptamt-SS mit den Staatsangehörigkeitsbehörden gewonnenen Erfahrungen sind geeignet, bei der praktischen Lösung weiterer Staatsangehörigkeits- und Volkstumsprobleme im Großdeutschen Reich verwertet zu werden."

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, RS/D389 (Künzel Erwin), suggestion of the *Rassenamt* chief Künzel's advancement, October 10, 1941. See D. BRANDES, 'Umvolkung', p. 196 and I. HEINEMANN, *Rasse*, p. 156.

‘Race and Settlement Sub-Leaders’.¹⁴¹ It is estimated that by the end of the war, about 5 per cent of the Czech and Moravian population had passed through the offices of these men.¹⁴²

To mention just the most important actions of these bureaus, one of the first tasks *Rassenamt* employees in the Protectorate were supposed to tackle was the establishment of a comprehensive racial register of children born in 1928–1932. This project was related to Frank’s memorandum from August 1940 and closely linked to the opening and start of operations of the Prague branch office.¹⁴³ The creation of this register was based on a special order (*Sonderauftrag*), issued and through the SS enforced directly by Heinrich Himmler. In order to maintain secrecy, this project was disguised as a medical examination of schoolchildren and relied on participation of some Czech physicians.¹⁴⁴ The organisation of this undertaking was entrusted to SS-Obersturmbannführer Erwin Künzel (b. 1908), who assumed his new function in the Protectorate on February 15, 1941 and was later, when Himmler became Reich Commissioner for the Strengthening of Germandom, appointed his authorised representative (*Beauftragte*) for the whole territory of the Protectorate.¹⁴⁵ It remains unknown why this particular group (age cohort) was selected for examination. In any case, the whole project was plagued by administrative problems related to the centralisation of completed health cards, and the like. It was also marked by disputes about authority with representatives of the German health authorities, which significantly interfered even with the evaluation of anthropological data.¹⁴⁶ Even so, the ‘school action’ was a pilot project which could then be followed by others, such as examination of police officers in the Protectorate, an undertaking in which especially K. H. Frank took much interest.¹⁴⁷ In the end, this latter investigation took place much later than the top representatives of occupation administration had planned. Eventually, it became one of the chief ‘research’ priorities of Reinhard Heydrich Foundation (*Reinhard-Heydrich-Stiftung*; RHSt), especially after Karl V. Müller extended the project so as to include “the constitutional, typological, and racial composition, as well as ethnic and social origins of policemen over 3 generations but also the degree of urbanisation of the police force”.¹⁴⁸ It was mostly a ‘desk job’ since this research – which was carried out by Müller’s university institute at the request of Reinhard

¹⁴¹ Ibid., NS2/127, record of a conversation between O. Hofmann and K. H. Frank in Prague on May 22, 1941, May 24, 1941; *ibid.*, note of the RuSHA/Siedlungsamt, January 23, 1945. See I. HEINEMANN, *Rasse*, pp. 155–157.

¹⁴² D. BRANDES, ‘*Umvolkung*’, p. 209. See also I. HEINEMANN, *Rasse*, p. 164.

¹⁴³ Vojtěch MASTNÝ, *Protektorát a osud českého odboje*, Praha 2003, p. 128 (first published in English as *The Czech Under Nazi Rule. The Failure of National Resistance 1939–1942*, New York – London 1971). See I. HEINEMANN, *Rasse*, p. 153–154.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.* See D. BRANDES, ‘*Umvolkung*’, pp. 195–196; I. HEINEMANN, *Rasse*, p. 153.

¹⁴⁵ BArch Berlin, NS2/127, Otto Hofmann’s request to Heinrich Himmler concerning the appointment of Erwin Künzel as Himmler’s commissary for the Protectorate, April 21, 1941; *ibid.*, BArch Berlin, RS/D389 (Künzel E.), Otto Hofmann’s letter to K. H. Frank, January 25, 1941, confidential/secret. See D. BRANDES, ‘*Umvolkung*’, pp. 351–353, where Heydrich is incorrectly listed as the first emissary.

¹⁴⁶ NA Praha, ÚŘP-ST, b. 53, Erwin Künzel to K. H. Frank, August 18, 1941; *ibid.*, Erwin Künzel to K. H. Frank November 3, 1941.

¹⁴⁷ BArch Berlin, NS2/127, record of a conversation between O. Hofmann and K. H. Frank in Prague on May 22, 1941, May 24, 1941. See A. WIEDEMANN, *Nadace Reinharda Heydricha v Praze. 1942–1945*, Praha 2004; this disproves Wiedeman’s assumption that Frank took no interest in the creation of this register. See also V. MASTNÝ, *Protektorát*, p. 128.

¹⁴⁸ NA Praha, ST-AMV 109, 109-8/40, K. V. Müller’s letter to K. H. Frank concerning the measurements of the police officers, April 15, 1943; in German original: “Konstitutionelle, typologische, sowie rassenmäßige Zusammensetzung, die völkische und soziale Abstammung der Polizeibeamten durch 3 Generationen hindurch sowie das Ausmaß der Verstärkerung dieses Beamtenkörpers”. See D. BRANDES, ‘*Umvolkung*’, pp. 205–207;

Heydrich Foundation – took mainly the form of a questionnaire survey.¹⁴⁹ They included a special basic form with questions regarding personal data (name, surname, education, police rank, family status, number of children, etc.) and some questions regarding secondary morphological traits which were seen as ‘racial’, that is mainly things such as hair colour, eye colouration, height, pigmentation, the shape of nose and cheekbones, overall shape of the face, blood group, etc.¹⁵⁰ The ‘research’ was concluded in 1944 and far-reaching conclusions had been derived from it.¹⁵¹

Both for Nazi politicians and racial theorists, one of the most difficult challenges to tackle in a long-term was the ethnic mix existing in the Protectorate: “The Protectorate Bohemia and Moravia represents an ethnically mixed area. It features a strong nationally German group and also a majority of Czech population exhibits significant traits of admixture of German blood, partly a heritage of centuries past which can, however, be proven only in the present generation.”¹⁵² The main ‘problem’ from the perspective of the occupation authorities was to define appropriate criteria for granting German state citizenship, which was at the time something that could have life-altering consequences for the individuals involved.¹⁵³ Early in the existence of the Protectorate (1939–1940), this agenda was delegated mainly to the authority of offices of higher German administration (*Oberlandräte*; hereinafter OLR). In more complex and ambivalent cases, however, the whole process became very complicated and tended to stall, as evidenced by this quote: “The duration and even more the unclear cases which were piling up in comparison with the clear-cut cases were naturally influenced by lack of criteria, and this affected not only the personal interests of the applicants and even more importantly the ethnic interests of the German people.”¹⁵⁴ In these cases, meanwhile, racial criteria were at this time often not seen as decisive because – in contrast to, for example, the Nuremberg racial laws – the relevant authorities did not have a general method for racially selecting the ‘Arian’ population of the Protectorate.¹⁵⁵ After the establishment of the Prague Branch Office, all this was supposed

A. WIEDEMANN, *Die Reinhard-Heydrich-Stiftung*, p. 113; id., *Nadace*, p. 77. See also U. Ferdinand’s contribution in this volume.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid. For the questionnaire, see Karl V. MÜLLER, *Volksbiologie und Heimatforschung*, Deutsche Volksforschung in Böhmen und Mähren 3, 1944, pp. 297–300. See U. Ferdinand’s paper in this volume.

¹⁵¹ See Karl V. MÜLLER, *Biologická budoucnost Čechů*, Přítomnost 18/4, 1944, pp. 3–5; id., *Die Gegenanalyse im tschechischen Volke*, Deutsche Volksforschung in Böhmen und Mähren 3, 1944, pp. 298–300.

¹⁵² BArch Berlin, NS2/153, report about RuSHA activities regarding state citizenship in Bohemia and Moravia, January 25, 1944; text in German original: “Das Protektorat Böhmen und Mähren stellt ein gemischt-völkisches Gebiet dar. Es weist eine starke deutsche Volksgruppe auf. Auch ein Großteil der tschechischen Bevölkerung zeigt Merkmale erheblichen deutschen Bluteseinschlages, der teils aus vergangengen Jahrhunderten stammt, teils aber auch bis in die jetzige Generation urkundlich nachgewiesen werden kann.”

¹⁵³ Ibid. See Chad BRYANT, *Acting Czech, Marking Germans: Nationality Politics in Bohemia, and Moravia, 1939–1947*, GHI Bulletin 34, 2004, pp. 65–73; id., *Občanství, národnost a každodenní život: Příspěvek k dějinám česko-německých smíšených manželství v letech 1939–1946*, Kuděj 4/2, 2002, pp. 43–51. See also V. MASTNÝ, *Protektorát*, pp. 133–135 and D. BRANDES, ‘*Umvolkung*’, pp. 211–212; I. HEINEMANN, *Rasse*, pp. 169–176.

¹⁵⁴ BArch Berlin, NS2/153, report on RuSHA activities regarding state citizenship in Bohemia and Moravia, January 25, 1944; text in German original: “Auf die Dauer und je mehr sich die Zweifelsfälle gegenüber den eindeutig gelagerten Fällen häuften, musste jedoch der Mangel eines Kriteriums erkennbar werden, das weniger auf die persönlichen Interessen der Antragsteller als auf das volkstumpolitische Interesse des deutschen Volkes abgestellt ist.” D. See BRANDES, ‘*Umvolkung*’, pp. 179–182.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

to change. As of December 16, 1940 its activities were incorporated into the agenda of the authorised representative of the Reich Commissioner for the Strengthening of Germanism, which was once again Erwin Künzel who was by May 1941 authorised to process agenda related to ‘racial screening of marriage partner of other ethnicity’.¹⁵⁶ Until the end of the war, members of the RuSHA were then supposed to have a last word in cases involving a ‘return to German ethnicity’ (*Wiedereindeutschungsverfahren*): “Factually, findings of the RuSHA-SS determined that basically only people who could be re-Germanised constitute a desirable addition to the nation, whereas persons who cannot be re-Germanised are in this sense undesirable.”¹⁵⁷ At the same time, the office continued a close collaboration with the SD, which in the Protectorate, unlike in other occupied territories, proved to be a success in the long run.¹⁵⁸ The SD was able to supply not only data about particular persons but even information on the issue as such.¹⁵⁹ The importance of Künzel’s office is demonstrated in the fact that in 1942, RuSHA representatives in the Protectorate managed to enforce a retrospective re-examination of mixed marriage permits which had been granted in 1939–1942.¹⁶⁰ Exact numbers are known especially for the period between autumn of 1944 and March 1945, when the Prague office came to include a ‘health service’ (*Ärztlicher Dienst*). At this time, the office processed several dozen, at most about one hundred cases a month, whereby the caseload was clearly decreasing. The last surviving record, which reports about the situation in February 1945, lists 27 applications for mixed marriage permits and no applications for German citizenship.¹⁶¹ In this context, a comparison with, e.g., August 1944 is rather interesting: during that period, the office received 145 such applications, whereby only in 8 cases the request was rejected.¹⁶²

At the same time, Himmler’s new order concerning racial policy, in particular the registration of illegitimate children born from unions of German soldiers and so-called *Fremdstämmigen* women, was supposed to be implemented in the Protectorate in early March 1943.¹⁶³ At first, the process seemed quite straightforward: it was proposed that local authorities (both Protectorate and German ones) should inform the Prague Branch Office of the RuSHA of all such cases. The office would then prepare racial or racially biological

¹⁵⁶ BArch Berlin, NS2/127, record of a conversation between O. Hofmann and K. H. Frank in Prague on May 22, 1941, May 24, 1941; text in German original: “rassische Überprüfung fremdvölkischer Ehepartner”.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., BArch Berlin, NS2/153, report on RuSHA activities regarding state citizenship in Bohemia and Moravia, January 25, 1944; text in German original: “Sachlich wurde die Bedeutung der Feststellungen des RuS-Hauptamtes-SS dahin festgelegt, daß grundsätzlich nur wiedereindeutschungsfähige Personen einen erwünschten Bevölkerungszuwachs, nichtwiedereindeutschungsfähige Personen dagegen einen unerwünschten Bevölkerungszuwachs darstellen.”

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ BArch Berlin, R58/149, report on an increase in the number of mixed German-Czech marriages in the Reich District of Sudetenland, March 1940; *ibid.*, R58/152, report about the quantitative representation of Germans (deutsche Volkszugehörigen) in the Protectorate and their geographical distribution, July 1940; *ibid.*, R58/158, R58/149, report on an increase in the number of mixed marriages in the Protectorate, March 1941.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, BArch Berlin, NS2/153, report on RuSHA activities regarding state citizenship in Bohemia and Moravia, January 25, 1944.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, NS2/149, report of the Health Service of the Branch Office Bohemia-Moravia for February 1945, March 14, 1945.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, report of the Health Service of the Branch Office Bohemia-Moravia for September 1944, October 9, 1944.

¹⁶³ See Michal V. ŠIMŮNEK, *Race, Heredity and Nationality: Bohemia and Moravia, 1939–1945*, in: Kjersti Ericsson – Eva Simonsen, *Children of World War II: The Hidden Enemy Legacy*, Oxford – New York 2005, pp. 190–210.

assessments.¹⁶⁴ At this point, the Prague Branch Office of the RuSHA, in collaboration with the relevant Department (group) for Affairs of Law and Justice of the Reichsprotector's Office (I 3), tried to come up with various ways in which the registration could be carried out. It turned out that birth registry keepers could not be assigned the task because they did not have sufficient information. Majority of the fact-finding agenda was then entrusted to the courts, both Protectorate and German ones.¹⁶⁵ At the same time, the relevant group of children was expanded. In its new form, the registration was supposed "to include all children who are due to their parentage carriers of valuable hereditary material".¹⁶⁶ In the course of May 1943, requirements presented by workers of the Reichsprotector's Office became even more extensive: by that point, they called for a retroactive registration of all such cases since August 1, 1939.¹⁶⁷ After some further discussions, Johannes Preuß, head of the Prague Branch Office, suggested that all (*sic!*) illegitimate children born in the territory of the Protectorate since March 16, 1939 should be registered and both social and healthcare authorities should participate in the project. In July 1944, it was decided in Berlin that for the moment being, these children would be just registered and even if found suitable for Germanisation from a racially biological and racial point of view, they would not be separated from their parent (mother) and sent to state-run fostering institutions (*Lebensborn, NSV-Heime*).¹⁶⁸ To assess their suitability, *Rassenamt* employees were to use the same procedure as in cases involving 're-Germanisation' (*Wiedereindeutschung*) or 'mixed marriages' (*Mischehe*).¹⁶⁹ The actual impact of this decision by the end of the war, however, remains as yet largely unknown.

Members of the Prague office of the RuSHA/*Rassenamt* were since 1941 also supposed to execute a project involving the selection of a limited number of Czech university students who would be permitted to study certain selected sciences at designated German universities and institutes of higher education.¹⁷⁰ Racial selection was an essential precondition of this programme until the end of the war.¹⁷¹

After the establishment of the Prague office and the Institute for Racial Biology, Prague assumed a very important position within the RuSHA as a whole. In 1942, it was decided that all future training courses for assessors in matters of race and settlement/selectors (*Lehrgänge für RuS-Eignungsprüfer*) would take place here. Earlier courses had been organised in RuSHA's special training facility in Berlin-Grunewald and their participants included some very prominent names of German racial hygiene such as Fritz

¹⁶⁴ NA Praha, ÚŘP-114, b. 366, Johannes Preuß to the Office of the Reichsprotector, March 3, 1943.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, official communication of department I/2 ÚŘP to department III/d ÚŘP, March 26, 1943.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, official communication of department III/d ÚŘP to department I/2 ÚŘP, May 19, 1943, confidential; text in German original: "alle diejenigen Kinder zu erfassen, die vom Erzeuger her Träger wertvollen Erbgutes sind".

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, official communication of ÚŘP to so called Land Presidents in Bohemia and Moravia regarding illegitimate children, May 28, 1943, confidential.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, file record Preuß about a Reich Ministry of Interior meeting regarding the guardianship of illegitimate offspring of Protectorate officers, July 10, 1944.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, directive of the Reich Ministry of Interior regarding the official guardianship of illegitimate offspring of women, Protectorate citizens, BII 938/44/82 50 III., September 27, 1944, mimeograph.

¹⁷⁰ Michal V. ŠIMŮNEK, 'Tschechische Studentenaktion' – *Das medizinische Universitätsstudium der Protektoratsangehörigen in Deutschland, 1941–1945*, in: Ursula Ferdinand – Hans-Peter Kröner – Ioanna Mamali (eds.), *Medizinische Fakultäten in der deutschen Hochschullandschaft 1925–1950* (= Studien zur Wissenschafts- und Universitätsgeschichte 16), Heidelberg 2013, pp. 283–292.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 287–288. See also D. BRANDES, 'Umvolkung', pp. 219–220.

Lenz.¹⁷² These courses were mainly an internal RuSHA affair and announcements about their dates usually did not spread beyond RuSHA structure since they were printed only in the so-called Notes of the Race and Settlement Main Office (*Leithefte des Rasse- und Siedlungs-Hauptamtes*).¹⁷³ In Prague, they were organised, just like Reinhard Heydrich Stiftung's courses, in the facilities of the House of German Economy in Bohemia and Moravia (*Haus der Deutschen Wirtschaft in Böhmen und Mähren*), which was then located in the rooms of the former Social Club in Sylva-Taroucca Palace (also known as Savarin) in the very centre of Prague at Na Příkopě 10 (Am Graben 10).¹⁷⁴ The aim of these courses was mainly to elaborate further details of racial criteria (*Rassenformeln*).¹⁷⁵

The growing importance of RuSHA activities in the Protectorate in 1941–1942 is also witnessed by the fact that on October 31 – November 1, 1942, a special work meeting of section chiefs, department workers, and assessors/selectors of the Prague Branch Office of the RuSHA took place in Slapy/Slap by Prague.¹⁷⁶ The meeting was supposed to deal with various organisational and professional issues regarding the individual local offices. Some prominent guests were also invited, including K. H. Frank who, however, in the end excused himself due to busy work schedule but asked to be informed about the results of the meeting.¹⁷⁷ Most importantly, though, discussions of key conceptual issues regarding further Germanisation and racial policies in the Protectorate included representatives of all four institutions which were involved in this area in the long term.¹⁷⁸ The *Rassenamt* was represented by Bruno K. Schultz, who – certainly in close relation to the situation in the Protectorate – spoke about ‘Current and future tasks of the RuSHA’ (*Gegenwärtige und zukünftige Aufgaben des RuSHA*). Another presentation was given by Johannes Preuß and two members of the X-ray Battalion of the SS (*SS-Röntgensturmbann*) reported about its deployment in the Protectorate and evaluation of information gained in the course of so-called ‘X-ray action’ (*Roentgen-Aktion*).¹⁷⁹

The *Roentgen-Aktion* was planned in direct response to Heydrich's demand made in 1940 that a ‘general survey’ (*generelle Bestandaufnahme*) be made in relation to the use of forced labour in Germany¹⁸⁰ but it also included a preventive tuberculosis examina-

¹⁷² BArch Berlin, NS2/88, programme of RuSHA education course in Reich School Müggelheim on April 6–16, 1941. See I. HEINEMANN, *Rasse*, pp. 62–73, 251, here esp. note 196.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁴ For example in April of the same year, a five day course was organised for so-called ‘heritage carers’ (*Sippenpfleger*). Its structure is highly characteristic of this exclusive kind of meetings. It included lectures with titles such as ‘Settlement Issues and Policy of the Eastern Space’ (*Siedlungsfragen und Ostraumpolitik*), ‘Baptised Jews and Their Offspring’ (*Judentaufen und ihre Nachfahren*), ‘The Establishment and Tasks of a German Archive’ (*Aufbau und Aufgaben des deutschen Archivs*), ‘Work in a Care Centre From a Genealogical Perspective’ (*Die Arbeit auf der Pflegestelle in sippenkundlicher Hinsicht*), ‘Hereditary Biology’ (*Erbbiologie*), ‘Worldview and Religion’ (*Weltanschauung und Religion*), ‘Tasks of the Care Centres’ (*Die Aufgaben der Pflegestelle*), ‘Overall Conclusions of Engagement and Marriage Applications’ (*Der Gesamtabschluss der VH-Gesuche*), and ‘Processing Admission Application’ (*Bearbeitung der Aufnahmege Suche*). See BArch Berlin, NS2/127, programme of the lectures, April 1943.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, *Rassenamt* chief's directive regarding the interpretation of regulations for selection within the SS and selection (*Auslesearbeit*) for the fortification of Germandom, May 29, 1943.

¹⁷⁶ NA Praha, ST-AMV 109, 109-12-74, Johannes Preuß's letter on the meeting, October 23, 1942; *ibid.*, agenda of the same meeting, October 29, 1942.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, report on the meeting, November 6, 1942.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, agenda of the same meeting, October 29, 1942.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁰ D. BRANDES, ‘*Umwolkung*’, pp. 189–194.

tion of schoolchildren and youth. The operation was to start immediately after Reinhard Heydrich's arrival to Prague. It was implemented in close collaboration between the RuSHA and the Department (group) of Healthcare of the Reichsprotector's Office approximately between October 1941 and January 1942.¹⁸¹ The actual procedure and definition of competence and jurisdiction were agreed at a meeting between Otto Hofmann and Reich Health Leader SS-Obergruppenführer Leonardo Conti (1900–1945), which took place on St. Stephen's day in Berlin. The Prague Branch Office of the RuSHA was represented by Bruno K. Schultz and SS-Hauptsturmführer Erich Wetterm (b. 1910).¹⁸² Its conclusions in fact endorsed Himmler's starting point that in evaluating the data gained during this action, the RuSHA/*Rassenamt* should focus 'solely and exclusively on the race'.¹⁸³ In practical terms, the *Roentgen-Aktion* was a systematic, large-scale X-ray examination (*Reihenuntersuchungen*) of the Protectorate population, which was presented to the public as a preventive measure in the struggle against tuberculosis (*Tuberkulosebekämpfung*).¹⁸⁴ Though there was nothing preventing its dual purpose, its primary intention was evident from the fact that the whole undertaking was organised under the auspices of the SS, carried out by a special X-ray Battalion of the SS (*SS-Röntgensturmbann*), and assessment was entrusted to members of the RuSHA/*Rassenamt*, since, as it was said: "The examination can be carried out only by politically trained men of the SS who have been educated for this purpose."¹⁸⁵ To make the operation efficient, the individual mobile X-ray units placed on trucks or in buses were organised into an 'X-ray examination convoy' (*Röntgenuntersuchungszug*), which was later supposed to be replaced by a network of German health offices.¹⁸⁶ In the Protectorate, this special action started in late January and early February 1942.¹⁸⁷ Such a rapid implementation was enabled by fact that by this time, the X-ray Battalion of the SS was already a consolidated unit. It used methods proposed by Dr. med. habil. Hans (Georg) Holfelder (1891–1944), professor of radiology at the University in Frankfurt/Main, who had already in the 1930s worked on improving the operation potential of mobile X-ray

¹⁸¹ NA Praha, ÚRP-ST, b. 54, F. Fischer to K. H. Frank, December 3, 1941. See also Heydrich's speech on October 17, 1941 published by Miroslav KÁRNÝ – Jaroslava MILOTOVÁ (eds.), *Protektorátní politika Reinherda Heydricha*, Praha 1991, pp. 138–148 [145–146]. See also Oldřich SLÁDEK, *Od 'ochrany' ke konečnému řešení. Nacistický teror v českých zemích v letech 1939–1945*, Praha 1983, pp. 40–53. See D. BRANDES, 'Umvolkung', pp. 197–198; I. HEINEMANN, *Rasse*, pp. 157–167; Ch. BRYANT, *Acting*, pp. 159–166.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, B. K. Schultz's note on the meeting between Leonardo Conti and Otto Hofmann in Berlin on December 25, 1941, January 13, 1942.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*; text in German original: "einzig und allein mit der Rasse".

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, ÚRP-114, b. 277, weekly report of sub-department I 6 for the period of December 19–26, 1941, December 30, 1941, the original document; *ibid.*, summary of important and fundamental issues from department I (in particular sub-department I 6) for the period of January 29 – February 4, 1942, February 6, 1942; *ibid.*, summary of important and fundamental issues from department I (in particular sub-department I 6) for the period of February 5 – February 11, 1942, February 13, 1942. Isabel Heinemann dates the first contemplation of using X-ray examinations to early 1941 and ascribes the idea to Otto Hofmann, see I. HEINEMANN, *Rasse*, p. 156.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, ÚRP-ST, b. 54, F. Fischer to K. H. Frank, December 3, 1941; text in German original: "Die Untersuchung kann nur von politisch geschulten Männern der Schutzstaffel durchgeführt werden, die für diesen Zweck ausgebildet sind."

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, b. 277, summary of important and fundamental issues from department I of the ÚRP (in particular sub-department I 6) for the period of February 5 – February 11, February 11, 1942, the original document; NA Praha, ÚRP-114, b. 277, summary of important and fundamental issues from department I of the ÚRP (in particular sub-department I 6) for the period of March 9 – March 14, 1942, March 17, 1942.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, summary of important and fundamental issues from department I of the ÚRP (in particular sub-department I 6) for the period of February 5 – February 11, February 13, 1942.

machines even outside civilian or military hospitals. His goal was to carry out an X-ray examination of the entire German population and create a massive X-ray registry.¹⁸⁸ In late 1930s, a special new unit was integrated into the Medical Office of the SS (*SS-Sanitatsamt*) and since February 1, 1941, it was officially called the ‘X-ray Battalion of the SS Leadership Office’ (*Rontgen-Sturmabteilung beim SS-Fuhrungsamt*).¹⁸⁹ By June 1939, the unit included two sections (called ‘Sturm 1’ and ‘Sturm 2’), headquarters with an evaluation department (*Auswertungsabteilung*) and a special training facility.¹⁹⁰ X-ray images were taken using material of the *Leitz* Company from Wetzlar and the AGFA. With respect to tuberculosis, the examination results were classified in ten groups (*Klassen*) with various subgroups (*Unterklassen*) and the evaluation proper was carried out either in a Frankfurt institute belonging to the X-ray Battalion of the SS or, if examinations happened in the regions, in collaboration with regional centres of tuberculosis treatment or institutes of other universities.¹⁹¹ Already in 1940, the X-ray Battalion was also used to examine foreign workers coming to work in Germany and by 1944 the capacity of the battalion was enormous.¹⁹² In the summer of 1941, X-ray screening of the Norwegian population was also being planned.¹⁹³ By this time, the number of people involved in the X-Ray Battalion’s work expanded enormously. By 1944, it included almost 900 (!) persons whereby about 800 of them were members of the SS.¹⁹⁴ Though the battalion did not suffer from lack of personnel as much as from outdated technical equipment, its image-making potential also grew fast. While in August 1939, the personnel of approximately 130 men was capable of taking about 300,000 images, by November 1939 it was already approximately 1,000,000 and the number kept on growing.¹⁹⁵

In July 1942, two trucks fitted with all the relevant medical equipment were purchased in the Protectorate and assigned to the X-ray Battalion of the SS.¹⁹⁶ By March 1943, while carrying out medical examinations of Protectorate population, these trucks drove almost 900 km.¹⁹⁷ In mid-March 1943, their mission in the Protectorate was completed, whereby between August 1942 and February 1943 a total of 259,824 X-ray images had been taken.¹⁹⁸ In order to carry out an evaluation of thus gathered anthropometric and medical data, it was planned that a special research institute for the research of tuberculosis (*Tuberku-*

¹⁸⁸ Gabriele MOSER, *Tuberkulosebekampfung zwischen ‘Volksrontgenkataster’ und SS-Rontgensturmbann*, Fortschritte auf dem Gebiet der Rontgenstrahlen 2014, 186, pp. 327–331; Sven KOHLER, *Einsatz und Leistungen der Rontgendiagnostik in Wehrmacht und SS unter besonderer Berucksichtigung des von Prof. Holfelder geleiteten Rontgensturmbannes*, Leipzig 2000, pp. 67, 83–84, 86–87 (dissertation). See also Hans HOLFELDER, *Atlas des Rontgenreihenbildes des Brustraumes aufgrund der Auswertung von uber 900 000 Rontgenreihenschirmbildern*, Leipzig 1939.

¹⁸⁹ S. KOHLER, *Einsatz*, p. 89.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 89.

¹⁹³ BArch Berlin, DS/G113 (Beger B.), B. Beger’s letter to Heinrich Himmler concerning an anthropological screening of the Norwegian population by the SS-Roentgesturmbann, June 30, 1941.

¹⁹⁴ S. KOHLER, *Einsatz*, p. 80.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁶ NA Praha, URP-114, b. 448, file record of group I 6 (section I 6b) from a meeting about the financing of X-ray examinations of the Czech population of the Protectorate, October 28, 1942.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, memorandum of the central and personnel administration of the URP, department I 2 URP in the matter of providing lorries for an SS strike commando, April 28, 1943.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, ‘Rontgensturmbann beim SS-Fuhrungsamt’, March 17, 1943.

lofeforschungsanstalt) would be established in Prague, which would be closely linked to the Prague Branche Office of the RuSHA.¹⁹⁹ The central German institution called Reich Commission for the Struggle Against Tuberculosis (*Reichstuberkuloseausschuß*) was also supposed to play a role in evaluating the data gained during the X-ray action²⁰⁰ and an important position in the undertaking was assigned to the Institute of Radiology of the DKU in Prague, which was at that time headed by Professor MUDr. Alois Beutel (1900–1968), Holfelder's student and member of the SS since 1939.²⁰¹

Even though one X-ray car was active in the Protectorate until the beginning of 1944, the agenda of a general X-ray population screening was passing on to the newly created German health offices.²⁰² At the same time, stationary radiological ambulances were established in large and ethnically mixed cities such as Prague/Prag (spring 1942),²⁰³ Pilsen/Pilsen (spring 1943),²⁰⁴ Hradec Králové/Königgrätz (autumn 1942),²⁰⁵ Jihlava/Iglau, Brno/Brünn, Olomouc/Olmütz (spring 1941),²⁰⁶ and Moravská Ostrava/Mährisch Ostrau (spring 1941).²⁰⁷ During their establishment, it was envisioned that they would also be used in relation to 'care for hereditary health' and 'racial care', where X-ray examinations would continue to play a key role.²⁰⁸ As of January 1, 1943, financing of the entire operation passed under the section for healthcare affairs at the Protectorate Ministry of Interior, which was since spring 1942 administratively independent of the Department (group) of Healthcare of Reichsprotector's Office. In this way, the programme could access some readily available financial resources from the Protectorate budget, so that for example just in 1943, the X-ray screening operation used 3,600,000 out of the utterly incredible budget of 20,500,000 Protectorate Kronen earmarked for 'special healthcare – extraordinary expenses'.²⁰⁹ In February of the same year, a programme of a 'regular X-ray examination of Czech teachers' (*regelmäßige Röntgenuntersuchungen der Lehrerschaft*) also got under

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, b. 277, summary of important and fundamental issues from department I (in particular sub-department I 6) for February 1942, February 19, 1942; *ibid.*, report for May 1942, May 31, 1942; *ibid.*, b. 450, weekly report for Obergruppenführer Heydrich, section c), May 31, 1942. See also Václav KRÁL (ed.), *Chťeli nás vyhubit. Dokumenty o nacistické vyhlazovací a germanizační politice v českých zemích v letech 2. světové války*, Praha 1961, p. 158 (document No. 24).

²⁰⁰ The details of his involvement are, however, difficult to verify because a great majority of written materials was destroyed during the bombing of Berlin in the second half of November 1943.

²⁰¹ BAArch Berlin, RS/A447 (Beutel A.), curriculum vitae, 1938; *ibid.*, RuS questionnaire, 1939.

²⁰² NA Praha, ÚRP-114, b. 450, weekly report for Obergruppenführer Heydrich, section a), February 9, 1941; *ibid.*, b. 448, report of the general secretary of the central administration to the general department on the issue of trucks for X-ray examinations, March 13, 1944.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, b. 448, file German Health Office in Prague – creation of an X-ray ambulance in November 1940 – June 1944, 1940–1944.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, file German Health Office in Plzeň – creation of an X-ray ambulance in September 1941 – March 1944, 1940–1944.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, file German Health Office in Hradec Králové – creation of an X-ray ambulance in February 1942 – October 1944, 1940–1944.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, file German Health Office in Olomouc – creation of an X-ray ambulance in December 1940 – October 1944, 1940–1944.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, file containing documentation on the establishment of a German Health Office in Moravská Ostrava in February 1941 – July 1944, 1944, 1941–1944 and *ibid.*, an order by I 6 b – 26/12, December 6, 1940; *ibid.*, permission to transport iron and steel materials – control number, January 21, 1941.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, b. 450, administration report for February 1942, February 24, 1942, confidential; *ibid.*, weekly report for Obergruppenführer Heydrich, section a), March 16, 1942.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, b. 448, memorandum to a V section on the issue of X-ray examinations, April 2, 1943; *ibid.*, note of department I 2, April 17, 1943.

way.²¹⁰ A further quantitative expansion of the operation was clearly also planned since more and more registry cards were being printed. It is rather telling that in 1943, about 920,000 (!) of these cards were sent directly to the RuSHA/*Rassenamt* office in Prague in Mařákova Street No. 5.²¹¹

Alongside such systematic and long-term projects, one also should mention *Rassenamt*'s participation in a 'special action' (*Sonderaktion*), in the course of which the village of Lidice near Kladno was on June 10, 1942 encircled and razed to the ground as part of revenge for the assassination of Reinhard Heydrich.²¹² All of the 173 men then present were shot on the spot, while women and children were gathered and later transported to a building of secondary school in Kladno.²¹³ The settlement itself was then in the course of following weeks systematically destroyed and eventually literally erased from the map.²¹⁴ No less systematic was also a selection of 88 children of Lidice, which was carried out on June 10–12, 1942. These children were from one day to the next brutally deprived of their parents, their closest relatives, and uprooted from their natural environment.²¹⁵

The selection was supervised by the head of the Prague Branch Office of the RuSHA. The destruction of Lidice and annihilation of its inhabitants – as well as a similar action of June 24, 1942, in the course of which the east Bohemian village of Ležáky met with a similar fate – was even for these men a 'special' event since until that time, most of them had worked mainly in the quiet of their offices.²¹⁶ The selection of children of Lidice and Ležáky, whose result meant life or death for the children concerned, was thus an event where – in the Czech case for the first and last time – procedures which had been systematically planned on a much larger scale had been consequently implemented in their full terrifying extent.

²¹⁰ *Prováděcí nařízení č. 3 ze dne 15. března 1943 pro pravidelná roentgenová vyšetřování učitelstva (výnos ministerstva vnitra ze dne 25. února 1943, G. Z. Va-4220-23/2-43)*, *Věstník ministerstva spravedlnosti* 25, 1943, pp. 44–47.

²¹¹ NA Praha, ÚRP-114, b. 448, memorandum of department I 2c to head of the Association for a Planned Assessment of Tuberculosis (Verein für planmäßige Tuberkulose-Erfassung), May 14, 1943; *ibid.*, memorandum of the German Printing House (Deutsche Druckerei) of the Branch Office Bohemia-Moravia in Mařákova Street 5, February 5, 1943.

²¹² See Eduard STEHLÍK, *Lidice: Příběh české vsi*, Praha 2004; John F. N. BRADLEY, *Lidice: Sacrificial Village*, New York 1972. See Isabel HEINEMANN, 'Bis zum letzten Tropfen guten Blutes': *The Kidnaping of 'Racially Valuable' Children as Another Aspect of Nazi Racial Policy in the Occupied East*, in: Dirk Moses (ed.), *Genocide and Settler Society. Frontier Violence and Stolen Indigenous Children in Australian History*, Oxford – New York 2004, pp. 244–266 and Vojtěch KYNČL, *Bez výčitek. Genocida Čechů po atentátu na Reinharda Heydricha*, Praha 2002.

²¹³ E. STEHLÍK, *Lidice*, pp. 76–77.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 92–97.

²¹⁵ On the fate of children of Lidice, see most recently collected testimonies by Jolana MACKOVÁ – Ivan ULRYCH, *Fates of the Children of Lidice: Memories, Testimonies, Documents*, Nymburk 2004. See also G. LILIENTHAL, *Arier*, pp. 186–187. ABS Praha, 325-23-5 (Krumey II.), Johannes Preuß's testimony regarding the preliminary investigation of Krumey et al. in the case of assisting murder, June 24, 1963. Cf. also Jana HAVLÍKOVÁ – Martin HOŘÁK, *Pronásledování nezletilých českých dětí a odpůrců nacismu v letech 1939–1945*, in: Coll., 'Nepřicházeli práce k Tobě...' – 'Kommt die Arbeit nicht zu Dir...': Různé podoby nucené práce ve studiih a dokumentech – Verschiedene Formen der Zwangsarbeit in Studien und Dokumenten, Praha 2003, p. 115.

²¹⁶ ABS Praha, 325-23-5 (Krumey II.), Johannes Preuß's testimony regarding the preliminary investigation of Krumey et al. in the case of assisting murder, June 24, 1963, copy, and *ibid.* Josef Pichler's testimony regarding the preliminary investigation of Krumey et al. in the case of assisting murder, October 9, 1963, copy.

In the case of Lidice and Ležáky, the selection in practice meant that based on a racial hierarchy, children were divided in two groups, namely a group fit for Germanisation (*eindeutschungsfähig*) and a group unfit for Germanisation (*nichteindeutschungsfähig*). Then the children were registered in the relevant transport lists. Eight of Lidice children which were found unfit for Germanisation were described as ‘most severely afflicted from a hereditary point of view’.²¹⁷ One of the survivors described it as follows: “They just immediately called our mothers with us, looked at us, asked our mothers about diseases in the family, our illnesses, etc. And it took three days while we were there [in the building of *Realgymnasium* in Kladno, author’s note].”²¹⁸ In charge of this operation was the then chief SS-Sturmbannführer Johannes (Edward) Preuß (b. 1905), at whose disposal was one additional ‘race and settlement assessor’ (*RuS-Eignungsprüfer*) from Kladno or Plzeň sub-branch office. This person was most likely SS-Obersturmführer (Johann) Erich Wettern (b. 1910).²¹⁹ Preuß’s post-war arguments to the effect that Frank did not tell him anything about the future fate of children he determined to be ‘unfit for Germanisation’ and that had he known it, he would have helped them, are extremely unconvincing: “In my view, it is quite obvious that Frank did not tell me anything about the possibly intended killing of these children (...). In such a situation, one would not tell a person who is in charge of examining the children that whose found incapable of re-Germanisation would be killed even if that’s what’s intended. That would place the expert in a conflict of interest because he would be inclined to apply possibly even too strict criteria to make sure that children of criminals are not integrated into the German nation.”²²⁰ In this case, selection involved two kinds of responsibility, namely a political and ‘expert and procedural’ one. In other words, the relevant political representatives relied in their final decisions on expert testimonies produced by RuSHA ‘experts’, who in turn acted with a clear political mission. The then valid internal RuSHA regulations show that if a decision was taken on the top level of the Nazi state that RuSHA would participate in an operation – as was the case in Lidice and Ležáky – this order was communicated from the Reichsführer of the SS (Heinrich Himmler) to the head of the RuSHA-SS (Otto Hofmann), who then informed the head of the *Rassenamt* (Schultz). Schultz was then according to RuSHA’s internal regulation of November 18,

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*; text in German original: “erblich stärkestens belastet”.

²¹⁸ Document source – testimonies of so-called ‘Lidice children’ for a new exhibition in the Lidice memorial recorded by K2 Studio (owner: Pavel Štingl) in 2005, here Václav Zelenka’s testimony, p. 80 of the transcript.

²¹⁹ A MV Praha, 325-23-5 (Krumey II.), Johannes Preuß’s testimony regarding the preliminary investigation of Krumey et al. in the case of assisting murder, June 24, 1963, copy, and *ibid.*, also Josef Pichler’s testimony regarding the preliminary investigation of Krumey et al. in the case of assisting murder, October 9, 1963, copy. Further cf. also especially a transport list undersigned by Preuß whose photocopy is kept in the NA Praha, MV-ref. L, book No. 14, transport list of children ‘unfit for Germanisation’ who are to be transported to the ‘Umwandererzentrale’ in Litzmannstadt, July 6, 1942; ABS Praha, 325-23-5 (Krumey II.), Johannes Preuß’s testimony regarding the preliminary investigation of Krumey et al. in the case of assisting murder, June 24, 1963, copy; ABS Praha, 11683, Memorandum of the Czechoslovak government for the International Military Tribunal on mass crimes committed by the German armies and institutions in the territory of the Czechoslovak State during the occupation, 1945, copy.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*; text in German original: “Es liegt meines Erachtens auf der Hand, daß Frank mir vor einer etwa beabsichtigten Tötung der Kinder nichts gesagt hat (...). In einer solchen Situation erklärt man doch nicht demjenigen, der die Kinder untersuchen soll, die nicht Wiedereindeutschungsfähigen würden getötet, selbst wenn man dies vorhat. Dadurch würde man den Gutachter in einen Konflikt bringen, weil er dazu neigen würde, möglichst viele Kinder von Verbrechern und möglicher Weise haben wir einen ziemlich strengen Maßstab angelegt, um zu verhindern, daß Kinder von Verbrechern dem Deutschen Volke eingegliedert würden.”

1941 responsible for the enlisting (*Einberufung*) and dismissal (*Abberufung*) of particular race examiners as well as for their activity and its ‘results’, whereby his conclusions had to have the consent of the head of the RuSHA.²²¹

After its transfer to Prague, one of *Rassenamt*’s tasks was to provide an *ex post* ‘scientific’ justification of the use of Nazi racial policy.²²² And it was here in Prague that in late 1944 a new area of racial ‘research’ started being explored under its auspices. It was related to a project internally known as ‘Race and Crime’ (*Rasse und Verbrechen*).²²³ In late 1944 and early 1945, this became part of *Rassenamt*’s much larger project, whose importance was described as follows: “This investigation opens a completely new area of investigation, one that the *Rassenamt* of the SS is most interested in and offers it far-reaching support.”²²⁴ The main idea of the new project consisted in “using a series of tests to clarify relations between physical/racial appearance and the mental makeup of people”.²²⁵ The ‘research subjects’ of this study were prisoners from Gestapo’s holding prison in Prague-Pankrác, which was established by the Gestapo already shortly after March 15, 1939.²²⁶ Since 1943, the prison included a Investigation Prison (*Untersuchungshaftanstalt*) and in early April 1943, a guillotine was installed, which was by the end of the war used for the execution of approximately 1,018 prisoners.²²⁷ In late March 1945, several prisoners from little fortress prison in Theresienstadt were also brought to here: they were executed here on April 10, 1945.²²⁸ The new project was strictly confidential and headed by *Rassenamt* employee SS-Obersturmführer Dr. rer. nat. Burchard Kühne (b. 1906), who had previously dealt with similar issues as an officer in the Wehrmacht.²²⁹ He was said to be utterly perverse. Not only were the subjects of his ‘examination’ mostly people who ended up in prison because of perversions of Nazi judicial machinery but it was also formally requested that the *Rassenamt* assessors carrying out the research be granted a permission to be present at executions of selected prisoners in order to study their behaviour *in articulo mortis*. In particular, it was requested that the examiners may “[be] present during executions so as to be able to investigate the different behaviours of various racial types at that point”.²³⁰ Permission to carry out the ‘research’ was granted in late 1944 by the relevant department of the German

²²¹ BAArch Berlin, NS2/88, memorandum of O. Hofmann defining the jurisdiction of Chief of the ‘Rassenamt’ RuSHA in relation to provincial offices and in relation to individual race examiners, November 18, 1941.

²²² See the part 5 of this paper.

²²³ NA Praha, ÚRP-114, b. 339, Walter Dongus’s query concerning the measurements of Pankrác prison, December 18, 1944.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*; text in German original: “Mit dieser Untersuchung wird ganz neues Forschungsgebiet betreten, an dem das Rassenamt der SS größtes Interesse hat und daher um weitgehendste Unterstützung bittet.”

²²⁵ *Ibid.*; text in German original: “durch eine Untersuchungsreihe über die Beziehungen zwischen dem körperlich-rassischen Erscheinungsbild und dem seelischen Verhalten eines Menschen Klarheit zu gewinnen”.

²²⁶ ABS Praha, 533-2-4, ‘*Pověsná informativní zpráva o zvěrstvech spáchaných Němci za doby okupace ve věznicích Krajského soudu trestního v Praze*’ (General Information Concerning Atrocities Committed by Germans During the Occupation in the Prison of the Regional Court in Prague), June 4, 1945.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, see Václav Jiřík, *Pankrácká sekýrárna 1943–1945*, Praha 1991 (MA thesis); Karel RAMEŠ (pseudonym), *Žalují: Pankrácká kalvarie*, I–II, Praha 1946.

²²⁸ ABS Praha, 533-2-4, registry files of Josef K. and Adolf B., April 1945.

²²⁹ NA Praha, ÚRP-114, b. 339, Application of the Chief of the ‘Rassenamt’ RuSHA-SS (Walter Dongus) to German State Ministry for Bohemia and Moravia for a permission to carry out ‘investigation’ in the holding prison in Prague-Pankrác, December 18, 1944.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*; text in German original: “bei den Vollstreckungen zugegen zu sein, um auch das unterschiedliche Verhalten der einzelnen Rassentypen hierbei untersuchen zu können”.

State Ministry for Bohemia and Moravia with some conditions and reservations.²³¹ One of them was that presence of the ‘examiners’ at executions was ‘as a matter of principle’ not granted.²³² The implementation of the ‘research’ was utterly bizarre and questionable and it fully reflected the notions of SS racial theorists outlined above. Even here, in the prison, a racial diagnosis (*rassische Diagnose*) based on anthropometric measurements was carried out. It included the taking of several series of pictures of the ‘subject’ in question.²³³ Then there followed a comparison with data listed in investigation and prison files, whereby main emphasis was on the ‘facts of the case’ (*Tatbestand*) and motivation of the ‘offence’.²³⁴ A separate registry then listed a person’s serial number, given name and surname, file number, age, and occupation.²³⁵ Surviving records show that Kühne led the investigation of 153 persons, whereby the ‘chosen subjects’ could hardly refuse to participate.²³⁶ It is unknown what criteria, if any, were used for the selection of subjects. The actual ‘research subjects’ included persons of both Czech and Jewish origin, of varied occupations, different social status, both men and women.²³⁷ Surviving materials also show that especially humiliating treatment was reserved for prisoners who were listed as mentally deficient or handicapped in some other way. After early January 1945, some of the ‘research subjects’ were then gradually executed.²³⁸

5. Further Networking: *Rassenamt* in Bohemia and Moravia

The very first large-scale involvement of the *Rassenamt* in Bohemia and Moravia dates back to the autumn 1940. At that time the so-called racial registration of school children in the Protectorate, especially those born in 1928–1932, was started on the direct order of H. Himmler.²³⁹

As already mentioned, only several months after the establishment of new RuSHA Branch Office (*Außenstelle*) in Łódź/Litzmannstadt in 1940, O. Hofmann conferred with K. H. Frank on possibility of further extension of activities of the RuSHA in the Protectorate.²⁴⁰ According to the results of these talks, the first chief of the Łódź Branch Office, SS-Obersturmbannführer Erwin Künzel (b. 1908) was ordered to Prague in January/February 1941.²⁴¹ His main goal was the establishment of the second Branch Office of the RuSHA in Prague, that become known as ‘Bohemia and Moravia’.²⁴² In few months it

²³¹ NA Praha, ÚŘP-114, b. 339, Reply of the German State Ministry for Bohemia and Moravia to Walter Dongus regarding the issue of ‘investigations’ in the holding prison in Prague-Pankrác, December 21, 1944.

²³² *Ibid.*; text in German original: “aus grundsätzlichen Erwägungen”.

²³³ *Ibid.*, series of photographic images (positives and negatives), 1945.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, Application of chief of the ‘Rassenamt’ RA RuSHA-SS (Walter Dongus) to the German State Ministry for Bohemia and Moravia for a permission to carry out ‘investigation’; in the holding prison in Prague-Pankrác, December 18, 1944.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, ‘Seznam vytříděných osob na Pankráci’ (A list of persons selected out in Pankrác), 1945.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*

²³⁷ *Ibid.*

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, here, see entries marked by a cross.

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, NS2/127, O. Hofmann to H. Himmler, April 21, 1941.

²⁴⁰ I. HEINEMANN, *Rasse*, p. 155

²⁴¹ BArch Berlin, NS2/127, O. Hofmann to H. Himmler, April 21, 1941. See also I. HEINEMANN, ‘Wiedereindeutschungsfähig’, pp. 272–277.

²⁴² I. HEINEMANN, *Rasse*, pp. 156–157.

became a real shadow structure to the German civil administration in the Protectorate. The Branch Office worked continuously until the very end of the war and was adapted to the changing structure of the occupational administration even at the lowest level (so-called *Reichsauftragsverwaltung*). For example in July 1942 there existed its 11 Local Offices only in the Protectorate, or 15 including the territory of the Reich District of Sudetenland (*Reichsgau Sudetenland*).²⁴³

As stated above, under the leadership of E. Künzel and later of SS-Sturmführer Johannes Preuß (born 1905), the Branch Office was involved into all important activities in the area, which was euphemistically called as racial and ethnic policy. Its members took part in selections of the family members within the so-called re-Germanization procedures. After R. Heydrich's take over as deputy Reich Protector in September 1941 they played also important role in the prospective planning.²⁴⁴ They helped to develop or combine new methods of large-scale racial screening etc.

In 1941–1942 Prague became also an important place for the further education of the members, especially examiners, of the RuSHA. Responsible for this area was chief of the Department Education of the RuSHA, SS-Hauptsturmführer, associate professor Dr. jur. Heinrich Rübel (b. 1910).²⁴⁵ Even in March 1945 (!) the Chief of the *Rassenamt* demanded from Prague more AGFA colour films that were important for the education courses.²⁴⁶ Besides the academic active members of the *Rassenamt*, also another were involved for example associate professor of anthropology from Dresden, former student of O. Reche and blood-group expert, M. Hesch.²⁴⁷ The courses included several topics like physical anthropology, genetics, 'racial history' and 'racial psychology' etc.

In the 'practical' area the experiences of the local Branch Office were of great importance for the RuSHA headquarters. They brought already before August 1943 important diversification of the selective procedures, especially in the medical area. In the autumn 1941 first attempt was made by E. Künzel to create a special Medical Department (*Abteilung Gesundheitswesen*) of the Branch Office. Until the beginning of 1943 there were several plans discussed between B. K. Schultz, the member of the Branch Office Dr. med. Erich Hussmann (b. 1906), and the leading physician of the SS, SS-Sturmbannführer, Professor Dr. med. Helmut Poppendick (1902–1994).²⁴⁸ Especially the last one, former student of F. Lenz and E. Fischer, was strongly interested in the new co-operation.²⁴⁹ In the first half of 1943 the project seems to be succeeded and the Medical Service (*Ärztlicher Dienst*) of the Branch Office was officially established. Main goals were:²⁵⁰ 1. 'retroactive acquisition of 'German blood' from the Czechry' (*Rückgewinnung deutschen Blutes aus dem*

²⁴³ Ibid., pp. 156–157.

²⁴⁴ Ibid., pp. 157–60, 162–165.

²⁴⁵ I. HEINEMANN, *Rasse*, p. 200. See H.-Ch. HARTEN et al., *Rassenhygiene*, p. 456.

²⁴⁶ BArch Berlin, NS2/127, Wehlau to R. Hildebrandt, March 14, 1945.

²⁴⁷ H.-Ch. HARTEN et al., *Rassenhygiene*, pp. 275–276. See Katja GEISENHAINER, 'Rasse ist Schicksal': Otto Reche (1879–1966) – ein Leben als Anthropologe und Völkerkundler (= Beiträge zur Leipziger Universitäts- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte A/1), Leipzig 2002, pp. 361–371, 477–478.

²⁴⁸ BArch Berlin, NS2/127, H. Poppendick to E. Hussmann, December 22, 1942. BArch Berlin, NS2/149, H. Poppendick to B. K. Schultz, May 13, 1943.

²⁴⁹ Ibid.

²⁵⁰ BArch Berlin, NS2/149, RuS-Main Office (Hauptamt) – Leading Physician to H. Himmler, November 28, 1942.

Tschechentum),²⁵¹ 2. ‘blood selection from the Czechry’ (*Blutauslese aus dem Tschechentum*),²⁵² 3. ‘new introduction of the ‘German blood’’ (*Neueinführung deutschen Blutes*).²⁵³

This agenda was set-up, however, parallelly to the transfer of the *Rassenamt* from Berlin to Prague and just one year after the official set up of the university Institute for Racial Biology.²⁵⁴ First proposals to this transfer started appearing in early summer of 1943, and it is likely that motives other than bombardment of Berlin also played their role. After considering a number of localities, in the end Prague seemed most practical and convenient. In taking this decision, the ‘Heydrich legacy’ and strong position of the SS within the Protectorate was certainly also important. With the transfer of the *Rassenamt*, the last Chief of the RuSHA, SS-Obergruppenführer Richard Hildebrandt (1897–1952) confirmed that especially this part of the RuSHA must be present in the territory, where the ‘practical racial measures’ are continuously carried out.²⁵⁵ In general there was still the double basic function of the *Rassenamt*: First it was the selection and ‘hereditary health care’ within the SS and second it was the realization of the racial biologically conditioned *Rassenpolitik* and Germanization measures in the occupied territories. The transfer of the *Rassenamt* and its establishment in the new environment were to be carried out both by Bruno K. Schultz and his successor, SS-Obersturmbannführer Walter Dongus (born 1900).²⁵⁶

The headquarter of the *Rassenamt* was housed in Prague in the office space of the then Lažnovský’s (now Rašín’s) embankment No. 60.²⁵⁷ In correspondence, this address is given as the main seat, although its Chief used, mainly for the internal correspondence within the Waffen-SS, also the address of the German State Ministry in Prague.²⁵⁸ According to the phone list, there were about fifty members of the *Rassenamt* present in Prague (without bureau staff) between August 1943 and August 1944.²⁵⁹ About twenty of them were listed as the so called SS-employees, that means non SS-members. One can even assume that the whole RuSHA employed in Prague over two hundred people, both members and non-members of the SS.²⁶⁰ There was also a special part of the *Rassenamt*, its ‘Archives’, actually since 1932 a continuously updated central library containing several thousand volumes including many copies of select biological, anthropological, genetical, racial hygienical

²⁵¹ It means controll of ethnical mixed marriages of Germans with the Czechs, determination of citizenship in cases of ethnically mixed origin of the applicants, Jewish ‘Mischlinge’.

²⁵² It means selection in case of getting labour permission for Czechs in Germany, selection of the university students for studying in Germany and racial reviewing of Czech school children.

²⁵³ It means organizing of German resettlement within the Protectorate, hereditary biological review of the Jewish ‘Mischlinge’, mixed Czech-German marriages or special social (or asocial) cases.

²⁵⁴ BArch Berlin, R69/966, circular letter of R. Hildebrandt, September 1, 1943; ABS Praha, 325-17-1, report on the activities of the RuSHA in the Protectorate, 1974.

²⁵⁵ BArch Berlin, RS/C363 (Hildebrandt R., b. 1897), R. Hildebrandt to R. Querner, June 24, 1943.

²⁵⁶ ABS Praha, 325-2-5, interrogation of W. Dongus, August 8, 1961. See I. HEINEMANN, *Rasse*, pp. 613–614.

²⁵⁷ NA Praha, NSM, b. 68, RuSHA administration to K. H. Frank, September 4, 9, 1944.

²⁵⁸ Ibid.

²⁵⁹ ABS Praha, 107-14-13, phone lists of the Racial Office, 1944. The list includes following names: SS-Ostuf. W. Dongus, SS-Hstf. Dr. H. Grohmann, SS-Hstf. Kühne, SS-Ostuf. Weiner, SS-Ostuf. Haucke, SS-Ustuf. Braun, SS-Ustuf. Wiese, SS-Oscha. Vogelsang, SS-Uscha. Frieling, SS-Uscha. Hetzinger, SS-Uscha. Schreiner, SS-Uscha. Geibel, SS-Uscha. Henniger, SS-Uscha. Wittmann, Uscha. Bauer, SS-Rottf. Michalik, SS-Rottf. Rumpf, Rottf. Brehmer, SS-Rottf. Weiss, SS-Stm. Peters, SS-Mann Ronto, SS-Mann Gohl, SS-Stm. Pindur, SS-Stm. Weber, SS-Oscha. Stark and as an employees Dr. Wehlau, Dr. Brunner, Stoffregen, Nels, Gladkiek, Ott, Scheiblich, Biehle, Wiese, Ofenius, Gehlmann, Dr. C. Fischer, Staude, van Gulp, Redlich Siegfert, Sass, Rieger, Remer and Schulze.

²⁶⁰ ABS Praha, 325-17-1, study on the RuSHA-SS in the Protectorate, 1974.

and medical journals.²⁶¹ That the ‘Archives’ was also quantitatively rather significant is further attested by the fact that in the fall of 1944 the officials asked for the allocation of more space.²⁶²

Besides the selection procedures of the examiners also the learning activities of the members of the *Rassenamt* went on. For example from January, 16 to 21, 1944 B. K. Schultz, J. Preuß, and G. Harders took part in a special course for the educators of the NPEA-Colleges.²⁶³ This took place in Prague and Kyffhäuser/Rothenburg. B. K. Schultz talked about ‘The Tasks of the *Rassenamt* of the RuSHA-SS’ (*Aufgaben des Rassenamtes im Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamt-SS*), J. Preuß about ‘Special Tasks of the RuS-Leaders in the Racial and Settlement Matters in the Space of Moravia and Moravia and Their Practical Realisation’ (*Besondere Aufgaben des SS-Führers im RuS-Wesen im Böhmisches/Mährischen Raum und deren praktische Durchführung*) and G. Harders enlightened the ‘Racial Questions and Nationality (Ethnic) Policy’ (*Rassenfragen und Volkstumspolitik*) including one day of practical measurements in the Branch Office. Even in the second half of March 1945 R. Hildebrandt ordered special so-called learning evenings. Every member of the *Rassenamt* was obliged to take the part in these events. On March 23, 1945 for example W. Dongus spoke about the ‘Forces that Form the Man’ (*Kräfte, die den Menschen formen*).²⁶⁴

As of September 11, 1944, a prominent, pioneer member of the RuSHA and keen German racial hygienicist of the youngest generation, SS-Hauptsturmführer and associate professor Dr. med. Lothar Stengel- von Rutkowski (1908–1992) was assigned to Prague.²⁶⁵ Four days later, he took over as a chief of the Medical service.²⁶⁶ He was a protégé of the Rector (1939–1945) of the Friedrich-Schiller-University in Jena (Thuringia) Professor and SS-Standartenführer Dr. med. Karl Astel (1898–1945), and at that time already a lecturer in racial hygiene, in particular of philosophy of racial hygiene, and so-called ‘cultural biology’ at the same university.²⁶⁷ His duties resulted from his appointment.²⁶⁸ As was already mentioned, this involved mainly the so-called re-Germanization procedures (*Wiedereindeutschungsverfahren*).²⁶⁹ He was doing a similar kind of work in his function of the official physician of the NSDAP with the Office of Reich Protector. Here, too, his work consisted in racial and health assessment of Czech-German and ‘Arian-Jewish’ mixed marriages.²⁷⁰

Besides his ‘practical’ activities, however, L. Stengel- von Rutkowski, clearly aimed for a more effective organisation of the *Rassenamt* and broader dissemination of racial

²⁶¹ Some pieces are placed in NA Praha, collection ÚŘP-dod II, b. 56–58.

²⁶² NA Praha, NSM, b. 68, RuSHA administration to K. H. Frank, September 4, 1944.

²⁶³ BArch Berlin, NS2/193, note on the education of the NPEA-educators in the RuS-Hauptamt, December 3, 1943.

²⁶⁴ ABS Praha, 107-14-9, order of the Chief of the RuSHA, 1945.

²⁶⁵ Uwe HOSSFELD – Michal V. ŠIMŮNEK, *Die Kooperation der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena und Deutschen Karls-Universität Prag im Bereich der ‘Rassenlehre’*, Thüringen gestern & heute 32, Erfurt 2008, pp. 80–96.

²⁶⁶ BArch Berlin, SSO/157B (Stengel- von Rutkowski L., born 1908), remark, September 8, 1944; ABS Praha, 107-16-8, L. Stengel- von Rutkowski to R. Slomann, September 9, 1944. See I. HEINEMANN, *Rasse*, p. 638.

²⁶⁷ Uwe HOSSFELD, *Rassenphilosophie und Kulturbioogie im eugenischen Diskurs. Der Jenaer Rassenphilosoph Lothar Stengel von Rutkowski*, in: Klaus-Michael Kodalle (ed.), *Homo perfectus? Behinderung und menschliche Existenz (= Kritisches Jahrbuch für Philosophie 5)*, Würzburg 2004, pp. 77–92.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁹ NA Praha, ÚŘP-dod II, b. 57, report of L. Stengel- von Rutkowski to H. Poppendick, December 1944; BArch Berlin, NS2/149, expert review of the physicians in the RuSHA, 1945.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

hygiene and racial biology and further strengthening of its position. This can be understood also as an opposition to the plans for fargoing reduction of the RuSHA.²⁷¹ Soon after his arrival to Prague, he therefore defined the two following priorities: 1. ‘defence of the idea of race’, and especially 2. ‘creating of an unified approach towards the issues of race’.²⁷² These two elements were, in his view, essential in combating the decline in influence of anthropology and racial hygiene in the planning of central Nazi offices.²⁷³ He thought this was a case of “based on the practice and everyday experience with racial policy, it seems to be an urgently needed action which needs to be addressed without delay”.²⁷⁴ On the practical side of things, he thought it would be a useful to register all German (and Austrian) anthropologists, geneticists, and racial hygienicists who served with the Waffen SS, and that it would be a good idea to establish for them a special, so-called Scientific Information Service (*Wissenschaftliche Pressestelle, Wissenschaftliche Verbindungsstelle*) or simply Scientific Department (*Wissenschaftliche Abteilung*).²⁷⁵ Reasons behind such a step seemed obvious: “Since the creation of the relevant materials belongs to the most essential tasks of the Rassenamt, the establishment of a requisite office for scientific publications must be commenced as soon as possible so that another institution (Office for Racial Policy, Reich Security Main Office) does not do it first, which would lead to further fragmentation.”²⁷⁶ The establishment of such a service was supposed to be closely connected with the creation of a so-called Office for the Elaboration of Race-Relevant Traits and Differences Between European Nations and Tribes (*Stelle zur Herausarbeitung der rassisch wesentlichen Merkmale und Unterschiede der europäischen Völker und Stämme*), eventually also the establishment of an ‘Archives of the History of the Idea of Race’ (*Archiv zur Geschichte der Rassenidee*). This one should become an “institution that would collect the spiritual heritage of men who importantly contributed to the development of the idea of race, which would keep their estates, writings, books, etc.”²⁷⁷ Such a ‘scientific’ department of the *Rassenamt* would be independent of other institutions, except, of course, for the RuSHA. From the viewpoint of official hierarchy, it would be analogical to the situation of Astel’s Thuringian Office of Racial Affairs, and in the scientific hierarchy, it would occupy a place similar to that of the Kaiser-Wilhelm Institutes.²⁷⁸ The essential precondition of the functioning of such a department would be, however, a close link to Prague academic environment, in particular the ordinate of the DKU, which Stengel- von Rutkowski considered to be the “the only possible platform of

²⁷¹ BArch Koblenz, AllProz 1/XXXXIII C5, Geschichte und Aufgaben des Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamtes SS, 1947.

²⁷² NA Praha, ÚRP-114, b. 340 (secret), ‘Impulses and Suggestions’ from L. Stengel- von Rutkowski for W. Don-gus, 1944.

²⁷³ Ibid.

²⁷⁴ Ibid.; text in German original: “aus der Praxis und täglichen rassenpolitischen Erfahrung als dringend notwendig erkannte Einwirkung handelt, deren Inangriffnahme keinen Aufschub duldet”.

²⁷⁵ Ibid.

²⁷⁶ Ibid.; text in German original: “Da gerade die Erstellung entsprechenden Materials zu den ureigensten Aufgaben des Rassenamtes gehört, muss sofort mit dem Aufbau einer entsprechenden wiss.-publizistischen Stelle begonnen werden, damit uns nicht eine andere Stelle (Rassenpolitisches Amt, Reichssicherheitshauptamt) zuvor kommt und damit eine erneute Zersplitterung einsetzt.”

²⁷⁷ Ibid.; text in German original: “Sammelpunkt des geistigen Erbes der für die Entwicklung der Rassenidee bedeutenden Männer mit ihren Nachlässen, Schriften, Büchern usw.”

²⁷⁸ Ibid.

a ‘scientific liaison office’, i.e., a place where the best scientists from all German universities could be gathered in order to train our men [RuSHA experts, author’s note] without any difficulties”.²⁷⁹

The ‘Prague plan’ was in all likelihood related to the overall organisational transformation of the RuSHA, which was intended to take place in Prague at the end of the war. The plan was that the RuSHA would consist – in addition to the headquarters of RuSHA chief and administrative office – of four main Official Groups (*Amtsgruppen*).²⁸⁰ The first group was referred to as ‘A’ and called Family and Tribe (*Familie und Sippe*). The second group received code ‘B’ and was called Care and Nursing (*Fürsorge und Versorgung*).²⁸¹ The third group was coded as ‘S’ and called Settlement (*Siedlung*).²⁸² The *Rassenamt* should proper consist of departments designated by Roman numerals and called I. Planning (*Planung*), II. Teaching on Race (*Rassenlehre*) and III. Applied Racial Science (*Ange wandte Rassenkunde*).²⁸³ Department I further included sections such as Racial Research (*Rassenforschung*), Science of Heredity or Genetics (*Vererbungslehre*) and Centre of Scientific Relations (*Wissenschaftliche Verbindungsstelle*). Department II included sections such as School of Leaders in Matters of Race and Settlements (*RuS-Führerschule*), Further Education of Examiners (*Fortbildung der Eignungsprüfer*), and Collection of Journals and Materials (*Zeitschrift- und Stoffsammlung*). And finally, Department III consisted of three sections, namely Selection of the SS (*SS-Auslese*), Re-Germanisation (*Wiedereindeutschung*), and Selection for Settlement in the East (*Auslese für Ostsiedlung*).²⁸⁴ According to the version that is kept by the National Archives Prague we may consider the Office of Racial Research and Teaching was much more elaborated and consisted of two Main Departments and the first one called ‘Research’ included research on heredity and races, especially research of heredity and evolution, anatomy and physiology, racial science (*Rassenkunde*) and racial history (*Rassengeschichte*) and cultural biology (*Kulturbiologie*).²⁸⁵

One can roughly divide the main tasks of new ‘scientific’ department which L. Stengel-von Rutkowski planned for Prague, in three areas. The first one was would be scientific research proper, the second documentation and archiving of materials concerning race and race-hygienical issues, and the third was to consist in the ‘teaching’ of RuSHA personnel, that is, in informing particular officials on matters of race and settlement.²⁸⁶ The proposed ‘scientific research’ was supposed to focus mainly on issues of so-called ‘cultural biology’, wherein L. Stengel- von Rutkowski included ‘biological teaching on Volk, inheritance of spiritual right granted by heredity, genetic philosophy, scientific defence, racial hygiene and hereditary pathology’, where he included ‘research in mutations in

²⁷⁹ Ibid.; text in the German original: “einzig mögliche Plattform für die ‘wissenschaftliche Verbindungsstelle’, d.h. um zum Zwecke der Schulung unserer Männer (RuSHA experts, authors’ note) ohne Schwierigkeiten die besten Wissenschaftler aller deutschen Universitäten heranzuziehen zu können”.

²⁸⁰ NA Praha, ÚRP-dod II, b. 57, plan of the RuSHA-SS, 1944.

²⁸¹ Ibid.

²⁸² Ibid.

²⁸³ Ibid.

²⁸⁴ Ibid.

²⁸⁵ NA Praha, ÚRP-dod II, b. 57, structure of the Office of Racial Research and Teaching, 1944.

²⁸⁶ BArch Berlin, SSO/157B (Stengel- von Rutkowski L., b. 1908), L. Stengel- von Rutkowski to F. Schwalm, May 20, 1944; NA Praha, ÚRP-114, b. 340, ‘Impulses and Suggestions’ from L. Stengel- von Rutkowski for W. Dongus, 1944 (secret).

humans, hereditary diseases, different reproduction’, and finally also a teaching on race (*Rassenlehre*), that is, science of race, including ‘teaching on racial mixture, anthropology of the German kinships, variety of the traits, identification of the parental relationships’.²⁸⁷ The ‘Archive’ (*Archiv*) and ‘Translation Office’ (*Übersetzungsstelle*) were supposed to provide management and translations of texts pertaining to issues of race. A ‘Learning Institute’ (*Lehranstalt*) would have provided in courses lasting up to two years further instruction to RuSHA specialists in affairs of race and settlement and to officials of state administration.²⁸⁸ Concerning existing institutes of the DKU, L. Stengel- von Rutkowski intended to take over Institute for Hereditary and Racial Hygiene or perhaps to establish a new institute called Institute of Cultural Biology and Genetic Philosophy (*Institut für Kulturbioogie und genetische Philosophie*).²⁸⁹ Making these plans, L. Stengel- von Rutkowski clearly used his earlier ideas of May 1944, when he tried to receive a similar professorship at the Reich University of Posen, and managed to gain the support of G. Heberer, K. Thums, B. K. Schultz, H. Nachtsheim, and others.²⁹⁰ It is reasonable to assume that a few months later, his motivation in Prague was much the same, that is: “To create in Posen [Poznań, author’s note] preconditions for scientific training of genealogy carers, examiners of suitability, and leaders in race and settlement.”²⁹¹ Alongside the ‘practical’ aspect, he also unabashedly spoke of his ‘life mission’: “I see it as my life’s mission to communicate to scholars in humanities an understanding of racial and biological foundations of all cultures and to seriously focus on these issues.”²⁹² In connection with Ernst Rüdín’s 70th birthday (on April 19, 1944), L. Stengel- von Rutkowski assumed that K. Thums, the present director of the Institute for Hereditary and Racial Hygiene, could be appointed director of Rüdín’s Munich institute, and he could get his position as well as the chair of hereditary and racial hygiene at the Faculty of Medicine of the DKU.²⁹³ L. Stengel- von Rutkowski’s clearly played a complex game, and his success depended on support from highest places, on people such as W. Wüst, M. de Crinis, and K. H. Frank, the German State Minister for Bohemia and Moravia.²⁹⁴ For various reasons, Stengel- von Rutkowski’s plan, which would actually mean another strengthening of the SS in the academic landscape, was in the end not carried out.

²⁸⁷ NA Praha, ÚŘP-114, b. 340, ‘Impulses and Suggestions’ from L. Stengel- von Rutkowski for W. Dongus, 1944 (secret); text in German original: ‘biologische Volkslehre, Vererbung des Geistigen, erbgepachtes Recht, genetische Philosophie, wissenschaftliche Abwehr, racial hygiene and hereditary pathology’; ‘Mutationsforschung am Menschen, Erbkrankheiten, unterschiedliche Fortpflanzung’, and ‘Rassenmischungskunde, Anthropologie der deutschen Stämme, Variationsbreite der Merkmale, Vaterschaftsbestimmung’.

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁰ BArch Berlin, SSO/157B (Stengel- von Rutkowski L., b. 1908), L. Stengel- von Rutkowski to F. Schwalm, May 20, 1944.

²⁹¹ *Ibid.*; text in German original: “Für eine wissenschaftliche Ausbildung der Sippenpfleger, Eignungsprüfer und RuS-Führer in Posen die ersten Voraussetzungen zu schaffen.”

²⁹² *Ibid.*; text in German original: “Ich sehe es als meine Lebensaufgabe an, den Geisteswissenschaftler dazu zu bringen, die rassischen und biologischen Grundlagen aller Kultur zu verstehen und sich mit ihnen ernsthaft zu beschäftigen.”

²⁹³ NA Praha, ÚŘP-114, b. 340, ‘Impulses and Suggestions’ from L. Stengel- von Rutkowski for W. Dongus, 1944 (secret).

²⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

6. Bruno K. Schultz's Departure from the *Rassenamt* and the End of Institute for Racial Biology

The physical liquidation of the Jewish population in Europe, euphemistically termed 'the final solution of the Jewish question', was decided upon at a meeting of high-ranking Nazi representatives and bureaucrats in the villa Am Großen Wannsee on January 20, 1942.²⁹⁵ Otto Hofmann, Schultz's superior officer as a head of the RuSHA, attended the conference and was thus involved in Holocaust preparation from the very beginning.

One of the issues which remained open even after January 1942 was, however, the fate of so-called 'Jewish crossbreeds' (*Judenmischlinge*).²⁹⁶ From the Nazi point of view, this subject was a problematic area of the anti-Jewish racial policy ever since 1935. Already on March 6, 1942, it was discussed on the level of RSHA department heads. At this point, for example Dr. Wilhelm Stuckart (1902–1953) of the Reich Ministry of Interior (RMdI) suggested that *Judenmischlinge* of the 1st degree ought to be sterilised. Another important meeting took place on October 27, 1942: it concluded that no further steps to address this issue should be taken until the end of the war.²⁹⁷

Nonetheless, it followed from the logic of the Nazi genocide that by early next year, the pressure on addressing the 'final solution of the question of Jewish crossbreeds' [*Endlösung der Judenmischlingsfrage*, author's note] once again grew.²⁹⁸ This time, the controversy focused on so-called *Mischlinge* of the 2nd degree who had so far been generally considered German. And it was this issue where Bruno K. Schultz as head of the *Rassenamt* became involved.

On March 17, 1943, in his report 'On racially biological evaluation of' Jewish crossbreeds of the 2nd degree' (*Zur rassenbiologischen Beurteilung der 'jüdischen Mischlinge II. Grades*), Schultz suggested that "Jewish *Mischlinge* of the 2nd degree should not be automatically counted as being of the German blood. Instead, they should undergo an examination by the RuSHA with the aim to treat every *Mischling* of the 2nd degree in whom Jewish racial characteristics are clearly apparent in the same way as *Mischlinge* of the 1st degree".²⁹⁹ This arrangement would have secured Schultz a further expansion of his authority and promote the influence of the entire *Rassenamt*, since as Richard Korherr (1903–1989), Himmler's 'court' statistician, noted "In any case, this would provide the RuSHA with yet another new, long-term task".³⁰⁰ It would also be an example of implementation of racial biology based mainly on classical genetics. This entire bizarre debate, which

²⁹⁵ See Norbert KAMPE – Peter KLEIN (eds.), *Die Wannsee-Konferenz am 20. Januar 1942. Dokumente, Forschungsstand, Kontroversen*, Köln – Weimar – Wien 2013.

²⁹⁶ See Beate MEYER, 'Jüdische Mischlinge'. *Rassenpolitik und Verfolgungserfahrung 1933–1945*, Hamburg 1999; Jeremy NOAKES, *The Development of Nazi Policy Towards the German-Jewish 'Mischlinge' 1933–1945*, Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook 34, 1989, pp. 291–354.

²⁹⁷ M. WILDT, *Die Generation*, pp. 638–642.

²⁹⁸ See Bruno K. SCHULTZ, *Der jüdische Blutstrom. Schon eine Million Menschen in Deutschland erfasst?*, Ziel und Weg 1938 (special issue).

²⁹⁹ BAArch Berlin, NS19/1047, O. Hofmann to H. Himmler, March 17, 1943; text in German original: "die jüdischen Mischlinge II. Grades nicht ausnahmslos den Deutschblütigen zuzuschlagen, sondern dieselben einer rassischen Sichtung durch das Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamt-SS zu unterziehen mit dem Ziel, jene Mischlinge II. Grades, bei denen jüdische Rassenmerkmale deutlich hervortreten, in der Behandlungsweise den Mischlingen I. Grades gleichzustellen".

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, note of R. Korherr, March 30, 1943.

went on in the highest echelons of Nazi Germany for almost two years (!) in the shadow of mass killings, total war, and impending defeat, should become the swan song of not only racial biology but also of B. K. Schultz's double career.

His position, meanwhile, was in May 1943 espoused even by H. Himmler, who regarding the future approach to this issue stated: "Here – and that is just between us – we should adopt an approach similar to the one used in breeding plants or animals. The offspring of such mixed families should be racially examined by independent institutions for at least several generations and in case of racial inferiority sterilised and thus removed from further inheritance."³⁰¹ Nonetheless, a problem arose at the moment when Bruno K. Schultz produced in November 1943 another 'expert opinion' in which he supported his arguments by chromosome genetics. This document was called 'Report on the issue of retroactively effective alien (Jewish) racial admixture' (*Gutachten zur Frage weit zurückreichenden fremden (jüdischen) Rasseneinschlages*) and the core of the message, demonstrated on a particular example, was the following: "The concrete issue pertains to one person in whose ancestry, 9 generations ago, is a Jewish relative. This ancestry line includes 256 persons who together possessed 256×48 carriers of heredity (chromosomes). But of these 12,288 carriers of heredity only 48 could have been transmitted to the offspring in the ninth generation."³⁰² Schultz not only based his rather absurd line of reasoning on an unproven supposition of the existence of 48 human chromosomes,³⁰³ but also quite seriously assumed that the Jewish population may have chromosomes with distinct gene structure (!): "The number of specifically Jewish genes is, in any case, substantially smaller and they may be localised in particular chromosomes."³⁰⁴

Despite the fact that Schultz's report was further reviewed by his close colleagues and friends from Jena, Gerhard Heberer (1901–1973),³⁰⁵ who was among other things R. Heydrich's schoolmate, and Karl Astel, and its racial hygienic aspect was elaborated by Fritz Lenz (1887–1976),³⁰⁶ Himmler's reply was unequivocally negative: "From a scientific point of view, this is altogether untenable. After all, one could use the same reasoning he applies when telling me that in the third generation the effect of some chromosomes originating with Jews can no longer be counted to claim that the chromosomes of all other ancestors disappear in the same way. In that case, I must ask: Where does a person get his inheritance at all if after three generations of chromosomes their effect is no longer

³⁰¹ Ibid., H. Himmler to M. Bormann, May 22, 1943; text in German original: "Wir müssen hier – das aber nur unter uns gesprochen – ein ähnliches Verfahren durchführen, wie man es bei einer Hochzucht bei Pflanzen oder Tieren anwendet. Mindestens einige Generationen hindurch (...) müssen von unabhängigen Institutionen die Abkömmlinge von derartigen Mischlingsfamilien rassisch überprüft und im Falle der rassischen Minderwertigkeit sterilisiert und damit aus dem weiteren Erbgang ausgeschaltet werden."

³⁰² BArch Berlin, NS/19, 1047, 'Report on the issue of retroactively effective alien (Jewish) racial admixture', November 12, 1943; text in German original: "Die praktische Fragestellung betrifft eine Person, in deren 9. Vorfahrenreihe sich ein jüdischer Ahne befindet. Die 9. Vorfahrenreihe umfasst 256 Personen, die insgesamt 256×48 Erbanlagenträger (Chromosomen) beseßen haben. Von diesen 12.288 Erbanlagenträgern konnten aber bloß 48 auf den Nachfahren der 9. Generation übertragen werden."

³⁰³ Ibid.

³⁰⁴ Ibid.; text in German original: "Die Zahl der den Juden speziell auszeichnenden Erbanlagen ist jedenfalls wesentlich kleiner und wird vermutlich in einzelnen Chromosomen lokalisiert sein."

³⁰⁵ Gerhard Heberer, *Die genetischen Grundlagen der Artbildung*, VuR 15/9, 1940, pp. 136–137. See Uwe Hossfeld, *Gerhard Heberer (1901–1973). Sein Beitrag zur Biologie im 20. Jahrhundert* (= Jahrbuch für Geschichte und Theorie der Biologie, Supplementum 1/1997), Berlin 1997.

³⁰⁶ BArch Berlin, NS19/1047, K. Astel to H. Himmler (excerpts), February 12, 1944.

there? It seems clear to me that Professor Dr. Schultz is not suited to carry on a head of the Rassenamt.”³⁰⁷

Within not less than four months Bruno K. Schultz was, officially as on April 1, 1944, removed from the top post at the *Rassenamt* and replaced by W. Dongus.³⁰⁸ After the end of the winter term of 1943/1944, he was then supposed to join the Waffen SS some time between April 1 and April 15, 1944.³⁰⁹ Nonetheless, given his university post, the still ongoing ‘setting up’ of the institute, its lack of qualified staff, and a large number of expert reports in paternity cases he was supposed to deliver in Prague, the curator of the DKU in Prague submitted an official application for an *Uk-Stellung*.³¹⁰ In the end, it turned out that in the second half of 1944, Schultz would be expected to teach in the fourth run of officer courses at a prominent *SS-Junkerschule* in Bad Tölz, Bavaria.

When on May 5, 1945 the Nazi regime in Bohemia and Moravia started to collapse, the Institute was *de facto* resolved. It remains unclear, however, whether its staff was at that time still in Prague. According to some sources, Bruno K. Schultz was supposed to be with his SS unit at the *SS-Truppenübungsplatz* Beneschau/Benešov in Central Bohemia. It would fit with the fact that already since September 24, 1943 he and his family had been settled in a small holiday resort of Zlenice/Zlenitz nearby.³¹¹ On May 6, 1945, he and his entire family managed to escape, loaded on one truck, to Munich, Bavaria.³¹²

Concerning the inventory of the Institute for Racial Biology, a large amount of documents was in all likelihood destroyed. Some, however, were taken to the renewed Institute of Anthropology of the Faculty of Science of the Charles University in Prague. Here they were deposited in numerous places without any attempt at classification. And despite the fact that after 1945, the university and its institutes had undergone various transformations and the Institute of Anthropology was joined with the reopened Hrdlička’s Museum of Man (*Hrdličkovo museum člověka*; hereinafter HMČ) and much reduced, the documents remained in their places with no significant change for over six decades.³¹³

³⁰⁷ Ibid., H. Himmler to R. Hildebrandt, December 17, 1943; text in German original: “Es ist wissenschaftlich in meinen Augen überhaupt nicht haltbar. Denn mit derselben Berechtigung, mit der er erzählt, dass in der dritten Generation von dem Vorhandensein auch nur eines vom Juden stammenden Chromosom nicht mehr gerechnet werden kann, könnte man behaupten, dass die Chromosome aller anderen Vorfahren ebenfalls verschwinden. Dann muss ich die Frage stellen: woher bekommt der mensch überhaupt das Erbgut, wenn nach der dritten Generation von den Chromosomen seiner Verfahren nichts mehr vorhanden ist? Für mich steht eines fest: Herr Prof. Dr. Schultz ist als Chef des Rassenmates nicht geeignet.”

³⁰⁸ Zentralstelle der Landesjustizverwaltungen (hereinafter ZSLJV) Ludwigsburg, IV 414 AR 122/65, interim report of the ZSLJV Ludwigsburg, March 23, 1965.

³⁰⁹ BArch Berlin, OPG B93 (Schultz, B. K.), H. Turner to the curator of the DKU, March 2, 1944.

³¹⁰ Ibid., letter of the curator of the German Charles University to the RuSHA, February 12, 1944.

³¹¹ Státní okresní archiv (State District Archives; hereinafter SOkA) Benešov, community Lštění (Elsthien) – index, 1904–1988.

³¹² ABS Praha, Z-41560/45, report on the Institute of Racial Biology, December 11, 1945 (confidential).

³¹³ The following overview outlines just a provisory classification and description of the recently known sources of the former Institute for Racial Biology, or Bruno K. Schultz’s possession. Since the documents have not been catalogued, they exist as individual entries without a registration or entry number. In some cases, they are even found under their original registry numbers which were assigned to them by the staff of the Institute. Broadly speaking, the sources can be divided in three groups, namely (1) written documentation, (2) photographic and visual documentation, and (3) books and journals. Of the surviving written documentation, most important is a collection of offprints and separates dated app. 1920–1944, which in many cases include a personal dedication. There are several hundred of them contained in 43 original folders. They are mostly related to Schultz’s editorial activity in *Volk und Rasse* and are marked as his personal possession. In some cases, relevant personal correspondence is also attached. A collection of photographs and diapositives contains both positive

7. Epilogue

The scope, extent and complexity of the Institute for Racial Biology's activities remained unknown in the post-war period. The only attempt to investigate them was made in late 1945 but it concerned solely the person of Bruno K. Schultz. At that time, he was declared by the Czechoslovak authorities a War Criminal.³¹⁴ The military intelligence service of the former Czechoslovak Army in the Soviet Union (the 'Defence Intelligence' or 'Obranné zpravodajství') started searching for him in the U.S. occupation zone in Germany using an unspecified female confidant.³¹⁵ According to her information, in early 1946 Schultz was said to be staying under false identity in Munich with Dr. Wehlau, former roentgenologist and photographer of the *Rassenamt*.³¹⁶ His former assistant Christel Steffens was also said to have kept in touch with him.³¹⁷ That, however, was the last information the Czechoslovak authorities had received. It is most surprising that his role in the selection of the children of Lidice, which followed from his function of Chief of the *Rassenamt*, was not later highlighted during the RuSHA Case in Nuremberg in 1947–1948.³¹⁸

After the end of the WWII, the general attitude towards the racial biology and its Nazi proponents was characterized by a simplicist renunciation of racial ideology and a strange use of the criterion of *Unwissenschaftlichkeit*.³¹⁹ A rather oversimplified distinction was made between the 'bad' (non-scientific) and 'good' (scientific) parts of the racial biology. In this context, it is hardly surprising that a person as prominent as Bruno K. Schultz was charged only with being a *Mitläufer* (!) in post-war Germany. Already six years after his escape from Prague, Schultz was in 1951 appointed professor 'for further use' (*zur Wiederverwendung*) at the Institute for Human Genetics under Otmar Freiherr von Verschuer (1896–1969) at the University of Münster.³²⁰ In 1960 and 1966 he was twice interrogated

and negative images. Some of the app. 1,000 photographs were used for teaching purposes; others are related to the core activity of the Institute and the *Rassenamt* as well and pertain to issues such as to racial exclusion. One thus finds here, e.g., a large series of both black and white and colour photographs of Roma/Sinthi persons from the Moravian capital Brno (Brünn) and a smaller collection of pictures of the Jewish population from the same area. The smaller diapositives contain various images related to physiognomy but also palaeoanthropology and some personal photographs. The by far largest collection, some 5,000 photographs, is clearly Bruno K. Schultz's personal photo archive, which alongside professional documentation contains also some private and political material, such as images from Nazi party rallies (*Parteitage*) of the 1930s etc. These pictures include both positives and negatives. The several hundred books which are now included in the departmental library of the Institute of Anthropology of the Faculty of Science of the Charles University were also B. K. Schultz's private possession. Due to various rounds of sorting and removal of books in the post-war period, it is hard to estimate to what extent is this collection complete. Of importance are also two surviving inventory registers of the Institute, which offer a possibility of reconstructing its activities in 1941–1945. The authors are grateful to the current curator of the HMC Mgr. Marco Stella Ph.D. for this detailed information.

³¹⁴ ABS Praha, 316-136-4, circular Z-IV-3060/338, June 11, 1946.

³¹⁵ *Ibid.*, regional headquarters of the Czech Secret State Police Prague to the Ministry of the Interior, July 6, 1947; *ibid.*, report of a German police informer, February 15, 1946.

³¹⁶ *Ibid.*, report of a Munich police informer to the Defence Intelligence, February 15, 1946.

³¹⁷ *Ibid.*, report on current stay of Ch. Steffens in Germany, July 19, 1946.

³¹⁸ *Únosci lidických dětí před soud* (The Kidnapers of the Children of Lidice Before Trial), Severočeská Mladá fronta, July 4, 1947, p. 1.

³¹⁹ Veronika LIPPHARDT, *Das 'schwarze Schaf' der Biowissenschaften. Marginalisierungen und Rehabilitierungen der Rassenbiologie im 20. Jahrhundert*, in: Dirk Rupnow et al., *Pseudowissenschaft. Konzeptionen von Nichtwissenschaftlichkeit in der Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, Frankfurt/Main 2008, pp. 223–251 [242].

³²⁰ See I. HEINEMANN, *Ambivalente*, pp. 85, 94–95. See Hans-Peter KRÖNER, *Das Kaiser-Wilhelm-Institut für Anthropologie, menschliche Erblehre und Eugenik und die Humangenetik der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, in:

by the West German authorities in connection with his role in the racial evaluation of the Polish and Soviet POWs.³²¹ Bruno K. Schultz died at the age of 96 on December 9, 1997 in Altenberge, Nordrhein-Westfalen.

Other employees of the Institute, such as Aemilian Kloiber, also continued in the academic careers.³²² And some members of the Prague network around the *Rassenamt* such as Lothar Stengel-von Rutkowski even openly continued in promoting the concept of race science including racial biology itself in the 1950s and 1960s: “When racial thinking, biological philosophising, population political actions, and anthropological arrogance of an entire generation of scientists, teachers, researchers, and politicians, of entire generation of the German nation is subject of rebuke and called a mistake, it should be clear to anyone who strives for objectivity and altogether a deeper insight that with such rebuke history in fact indicts itself.”³²³

Resume

During the German occupation of Bohemia and Moravia and World War II in 1939–1945 new institutions in the region were established. They were supposed to accomplish the official Nazi doctrine called ‘protection of the race’ (*Rassenpflege*) and ‘racial policy’ (*Rassenpolitik*), as it was developed in Germany since 1933. At the academic level of the Faculty of (Natural) Science of the German Charles University (*Deutsche Karls-Universität*) it was the case of so called racial biology (*Rassenbiologie*). In context of German speaking anthropology it developed as a sub-discipline continuously from the turn of the 19th and 20th century and was based on the connection of traditional descriptive methodology of physical anthropology of that time with the simplified and static understanding of classical genetics. In this particular case the mutual cooperation/collaboration between racially based (natural) science and political ideology should lead in the Nazi view to tendency to be fundamentally transferred into a new leading science (*Leitwissenschaft*).

From the very beginning the new Prague university institute was planned as a parallel training and educational center of the Main Race and Settlement Office of the SS (RuSHA).

Doris Kaufmann (ed.), *Geschichte der Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gesellschaft in Nationalsozialismus. Bestandaufnahme und Perspektiven der Forschung*, Göttingen 2000, pp. 653–666. For the situation at the Faculty of Medicine and especially connection between Prague and Münster, see Petr SVOBODNÝ, *Dieselben Leute – neue Karrieren: Die Schicksale von Hochschullehrern der deutschen medizinischen Fakultät in Prag nach 1945*, in: Michal Svatoš et al. (eds.), *Magister noster. Studies dedicated to Prof. Jan Havránek, CSc., in memoriam*, Praha 2005, pp. 261–275; Alena MIŠKOVÁ, *Das Schicksal der Professoren der Prager Deutschen Universität in der Nachkriegszeit*, in: Antonín Kostlán et al. (eds.), *Wissenschaft im Exil. Die Tschechoslowakei als Kreuzweg 1918–1989* (= Studies in the History of Sciences and Humanities 17), Praha 2004, pp. 136–154.

³²¹ ZSLJV Ludwigsburg, ZSt. AR 122/65, August 19, 1966; *ibid.*, ZSt. AR/420/62, August 30, 1960.

³²² See for example Aemilian KLOIBER, *Die Gräber von Lauriacum*, Linz 1957, or *Die Menschen von Linz-Zizlau. Baiserische Gräberfelder des 7. Jhs. auf dem Gelände d. VÖEST*, Linz 1973.

³²³ Lothar STENDEL-VON RUTKOWSKI, *Der Rassengedanke in Wissenschaft und Politik unserer Epoche* (manuscript in private possession), app. 1949; text in German original: “Wenn rassisches Denken, biologisches Philosophieren, bevölkerungspolitisches Handeln und anthropologische Eigenüberheblichkeit einer ganzen Generation von Wissenschaftlern, Lehrern, Forschern und Politikern, ja einer ganzen Generation des ganzen deutschen Volkes zum Vorwurf gemacht und als Makel angeheftet wurde, so sollte doch dem darüber stehenden, sich um die Objektivität bemühenden und überhaupt zu tieferen Einsicht fähigen Menschen klar sein, dass er mit seinem Vorwurf weitgehend die Geschichte selbst anklagt.”

After it had commenced its work, hired professional staff with the professional anthropologist and prominent member of the RuSHA, Bruno K. Schultz (1901–1997) on the top and got the necessary equipment, it created the institutional basis of targeted expert interventions carried out by academics and professionals of these newly established and state-promoted disciplines at the level of occupation administration, or in the area of official Nazi population and racial policies, especially in connection with the politically coined long-term goal of so called Germanization and/or suddenly proposed so called special actions (*Sonderaktionen*). In this respect the activities of the institute outline the pursuit of further quasiprofessional perfection of the mass selection criteria to be implemented by the RuS selectors after 1940. The effort to provide systematic support to such transformation of racial biology into the matrix of the mass selections is characterised by both fragmentation and synthesis tendencies, whereas the DKU played a crucial role as a leading local scientific centre. This aspect can be also important for being an indispensable prerequisite for understanding and interpreting the complicated process of ideologically motivated use/misuse of (natural) science in Bohemia and Moravia in the first half of 20th century in their full extent.

Finally the personal and professional relationships show not only their own inner order, but also clear continuities with other professional and political institutions in Germany (or Austria) itself.

Translated by: PhDr. Anna Pilátová

MICHAL V. ŠIMŮNEK – UWE HOSSFELD

Avantgarda „rasy“ Nacistická „rasová biologie“ na Německé Karlově univerzitě v Praze, 1940–1945

RESUMÉ

Během německé okupace Čech a Moravy a za druhé světové války v letech 1939–1945 došlo k etablování nových institucí, jejichž hlavním účelem bylo zavést oficiální nacistickou doktrínu „péče o rasu“ (*Rassenpflege*) a „rasové politiky“ (*Rassenpolitik*) v podobě, v níž se v samotném Německu vyvíjela od roku 1933. Na akademické úrovni Přírodovědecké fakulty Německé Karlovy univerzity (*Deutsche Karls-Universität*) se to týkalo především nového oboru tzv. rasové biologie (*Rassenbiologie*). Ta se v kontextu německé antropologie kontinuálně vyvíjela jako její subdisciplína od přelomu 19. a 20. století a byla založena na propojení tradiční deskriptivní metodologie fyzické antropologie se zjednodušeným a statickým pojetím klasické genetiky. Vzájemně prolnutí rasově definované (přírodní) vědy s rasistickou politickou ideologií mělo v nacistickém pojetí vést k fundamentální změně a vytvoření nové, tzv. vůdčí vědy (*Leitwissenschaft*).

Pražský univerzitní Ústav pro rasovou biologii byl od samého počátku zamýšlen jako školící a výukové středisko Hlavního rasového a osidlovacího úřadu SS (RuSHA). Poté, co byla určena jeho náplň a co byl personálně obsazen v čele s profesionálním antropologem a prominentním členem RuSHA Bruno K. Schultzem (1901–1997) a získal nezbytné vybavení, došlo k vytvoření institucionální báze pro cílené expertní intervence na úrovni okupační správy, respektive v oblasti oficiální nacistické populační a rasové politiky, a to především ve spojitosti s politicky určeným dlouhodobým cílem germanizace nebo ad hoc tzv. zvláštními akcemi (*Sonderaktionen*). V tomto ohledu představují aktivity pražského ústavu pokračování další quasiprofesionální perfekcionalizace kritérií masových selekcí, které byly po roce 1940 používány selektátory RuSHA. Snaha zajistit systematickou podporu transformaci rasové biologie v matici masových selekcí přítom byla charakterizována

jak fragmentalizujícími tak syntetizujícími tendencemi, v nichž byla DKU klíčová coby lokální vědecké centrum. Tento aspekt může být rovněž důležitý, pokud je chápán jako nezbytný předpoklad pro porozumění a interpretaci komplikovaného procesu ideologicky motivovaného využití/zneužití přírodních věd v Čechách a na Moravě v první polovině 20. století v jeho plné šíři.

Konečně osobní a profesionální vazby zrcadlí nejen svou vnitřní logiku, nýbrž také jasné kontinuity s ostatními profesionálními a politickými institucemi v Německu (a Rakousku) samotném.

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*Anthropologen-Kongreß 1929 in Tübingen. Hintere Reihe v.l.n.r.:
Freudenberg, von Verschuer, Gieseler, Löffler, Schultz, Ceyer, Klinck;
mittlere Reihe: Oertel, Bluntschli, Hesch, Stadtmüller, Foit, Pratje, Fischer, Mollison,
Roth-Luthra, Weninger, Münter, Heinckel; vorne: Frau Rosea, Czekanowski,
Frau Gieseler, Frau Martin, Aichel, Fürst, Jakobshagen*

Obr. 2 Photograph of the Participants of the Meeting of German Anthropological Society in Tübingen, 1929 (HMČ Praha). B. K. Schultz – 3rd person from right (1st line above), Th. Mollison – 5th person from right, middle line, E. Fischer – 6th person from right (middle line), M. Hesch – 3rd from left (middle line)



Obr. 3 Erwin Künzel, 1940s (BArch Berlin)



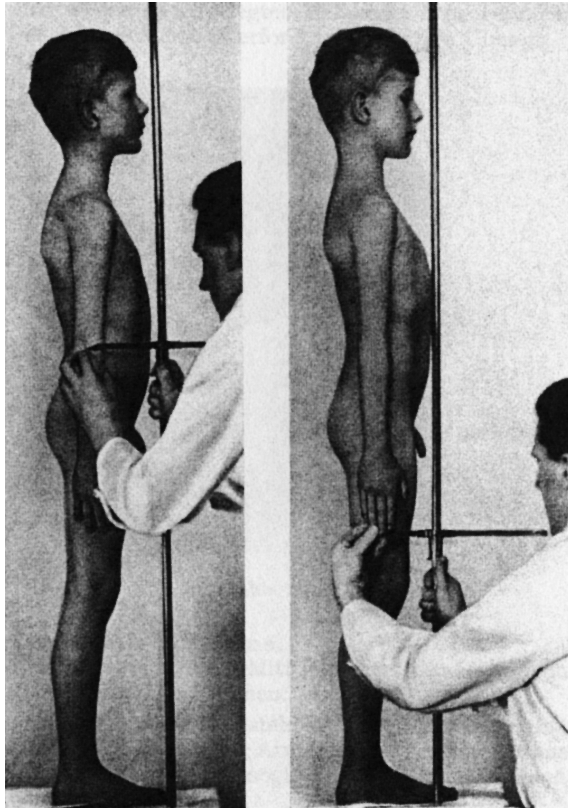
Obr. 4 Lothar Strengel- von Rutkowski (BArch Berlin), late 1930s (Courtesy by BArch Berlin)



Obr. 5 Bruno K. Schultz, 1930s (Courtesy by HMČ Praha)



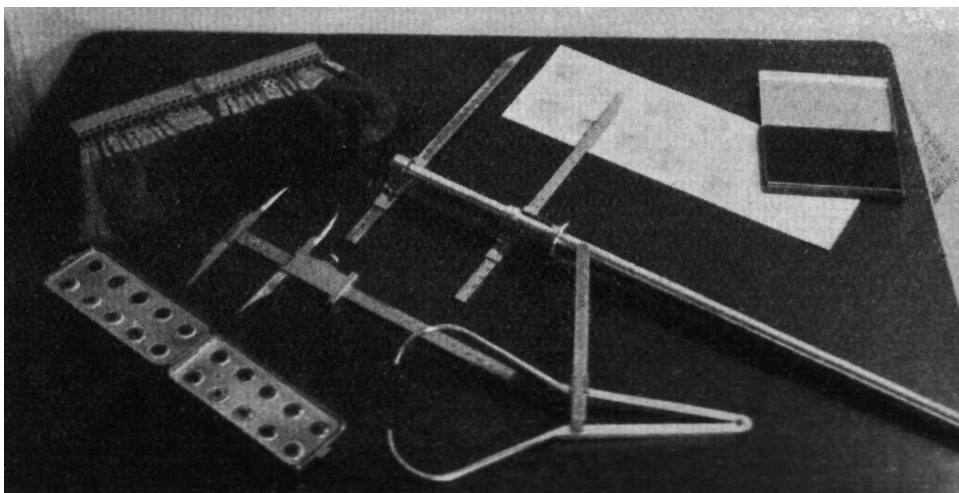
Obr. 6 Bruno K. Schultz, 1940s (Courtesy by HMČ Praha)



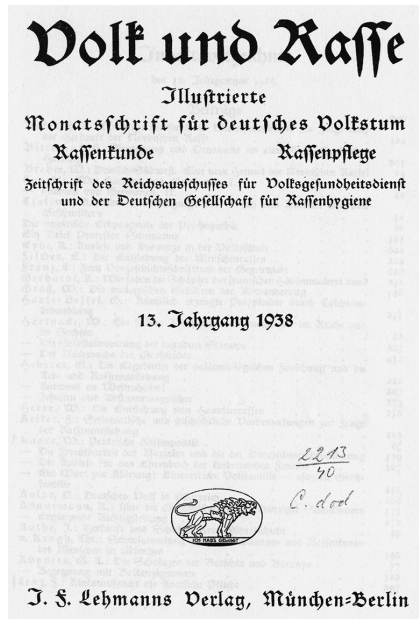
Obr. 7 Bruno K. Schultz by anthropometric measurement of his son, 1930s (Courtesy by HMČ Praha)



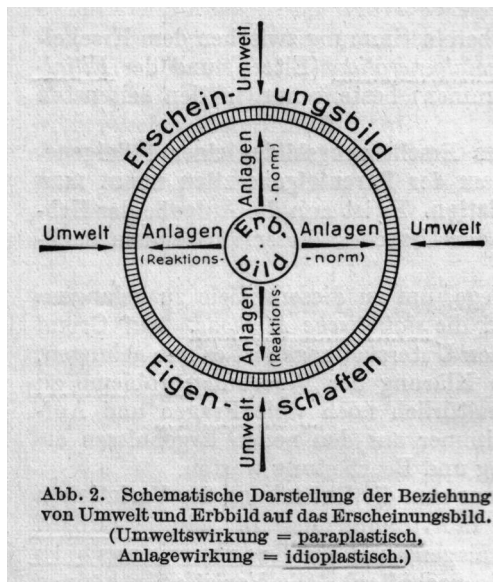
Obr. 8 Cover of K. V. Müller's book *Der Aufstieg des Arbeiters durch Rasse und Meisterschaft*, 1935 (KDV ÚSD AV ČR)



Obr. 9 Contemporary set of anthropometric instruments, 1930s (Courtesy by HMČ Praha)



Obr. 10 Cover page of the prominent Nazi journal *Volk und Rasse*, 1930s (Courtesy by HMČ Praha)



Obr. 11 Distinction between ‘external environment’ and ‘hereditary composition’ in relation to the phenotype according to Stengel von Rutkowski, 1940s (Courtesy by KDV ÚSD AV ČR)

Reviews

Michal V. Šimůnek – Antonín Kostlán (eds.), *Disappeared Science: Jewish Scholars from Bohemia and Moravia – Victims of Nazism, 1939–1945*
Červený Kostelec – Praha 2013, 323 p.

The reviewed publication is the result of a long-term research project of a team of several scholars from the Centre for the History of Sciences and Humanities of the Institute for Contemporary History of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic and their external collaborators, which was brought together by two main editors, Michal Šimůnek and Antonín Kostlán. Their aim was to map the importance of a clearly defined group of scientists and thereby also to assess the irreplaceable loss which the Czech Lands suffered in consequence of this group's physical elimination by one of the totalitarian regimes of the twentieth century. As such, this undertaking can only be evaluated in the context of other large-scale projects which the Centre for the History of Sciences and Humanities (and its predecessor the Research Centre for the History of Science) has been engaged in. In addition to conferences and their published outputs describing science in the Czech Lands during the German occupation and several later periods of post-war history of this territory, this publication can best be compared with a similarly designed encyclopaedia *Sto českých vědců v exilu* [One Hundred Czech Scientists in Exile].¹

Like the abovementioned publication, the *Disappeared Science*, too, largely takes the form of an encyclopaedia containing detailed personal and professional biographies of notable scientists from a clearly defined territory (the Czech Lands). This work, however, focuses on a period of 1939–1945, time which turned out to have a fatal effect on not only their scientific careers but also on their existence as such. All of these scholars and scientists met with a tragic end in consequence of clearly defined ideological, political, and 'legal' causes, namely the so-called 'final solution of the Jewish question'. The abovementioned encyclopaedia *Sto českých vědců v exilu* contains an extensive and in many ways pioneering introductory study, which could well be published as a separate monograph. The introductory parts of the *Disappeared Science* are in comparison much shorter. It does not, however, in any way detract from their importance or erudition since both the introductory study and the following individual biographies refer to extensive secondary literature which exists in both domestic and international historiography. We find here numerous references to key works of Czech researchers, well-known and respected abroad. In this connection, it is worth noting that the reviewed publication follows in the footsteps of several projects implemented in collaboration between Czech and foreign – mainly German but also British – historians. That is also one of the reasons the *Disappeared Science* appears in English (in Anna Pilátová's excellent translation). It is a feature well worth noting because thanks to it, this book may well become a useful guide for scholars and interested public beyond the Czech borders. It also makes it a sort

¹ Soňa ŠTRBÁŇOVÁ – Antonín KOSTLÁN (eds.), *Sto českých vědců v exilu*, Praha 2011.

of a calling card of the institution which supported its creation and of the areas of research it represents (history of science, contemporary history).

Introductory chapters describe the methods used in assembling the list of scientists who were victims of racial persecution and the Czech and foreign archive sources used in the process. In the second part of the introduction, the editors specify the criteria which were used for including someone in the encyclopaedia of ‘disappeared’ scientists. Basically, two kinds of criteria were used. Firstly, the editors applied certain standards related to a person’s professional activity in the Czech Lands (long-term work and relation to scientific institutions in this territory, and a certain minimal level of excellence of scholarship and achievement). All of these principles are carefully argued and defended. The same applies to the second kind of criteria, which relate to persecution based on racial origin, death in its consequence in 1939–1945, and a violent or unnatural cause of death.

Application of all these criteria resulted in a group of 46 scientists of Jewish origin who were connected with scientific activities in the Czech Lands over a long period of time and whose primary language was either Czech or German. One can also concur with the editors’ claim (p. XXVII) that an analysis of their origins, careers, and circumstances of their premature death results not only in a particular number and extent of biographies but using prosopographic methods, we can also draw certain more general conclusions regarding persecution of scientists as such, in this case persecution based on racial grounds. In this particular case, the resulting number was sufficiently limited to enable a full elaboration of individual biographies and mapping of lives of particular scientists. This publication can thus become a valuable source of primary information about individual persons and their contribution to various parts of science. On the other hand, it also offers a broader perspective on the phenomenon of persecution and describes the losses which the scientific community in general and various areas of science in particular in the Czech Lands had thereby suffered.

The individual biographies are the work of several authors, experts in history of particular parts of science: the team included, among others, historians of natural and technical sciences, medicine, humanities, and social sciences. The biographies differ in their length and level of detail, which is due not only to differences in accessibility of sources and existing accounts of their lives, but also a consequence of dissimilarity in the length and prominence of scientific careers of the persons described. In their structure and quality of presentation, however, the biographies are fully comparable. A model structure of entries is described in the last part of the introduction: they all include information about a person’s origins, family, professional and institutional career, and his or her contribution to science. Second part of the biography recounts the circumstances leading to the relevant scientist’s tragic end and in some cases also a brief note on the fate of family members or commemoration of the ‘disappeared scientist’ after his or her death. Entries are supplemented by information about sources, secondary literature, and scientific bibliography of the scientist in question. All entries feature the scientists’ personal photographs and other photographic material. Auxiliary apparatus includes – in addition to the abovementioned parts of biographies – a list of archive collections and primary literature, a place and name index, list of illustrations, appendix with a brief list of victims from the ranks of university assistants and junior lecturers, and a summary in three languages.

Answers to some questions which may quite naturally follow from a collection of biographies, such as to what extent the representation of particular areas of science among the ‘disappeared’ scientists could be generalised to representation of Jewish scientists in various professions or particular sciences, were admittedly not within the scope of this publication. Yet even at first glance, the high representation of physicians – altogether 17, which is more than one third of the biographies, and among them a high proportion of psychiatrists – is rather noticeable. On the other hand, the material gathered in the publication can now be used for further research and by other researchers, at whose disposal the editors generously place it. And moreover, it would appear from a discussion after a presentation of the publication in their institute that the editors now plan another, approximately three times as larger encyclopaedia of ‘disappeared’ scientists from the Czech Lands which should include persons persecuted for other than racial reasons.

Already now, the material presented in the reviewed encyclopaedia could be used for comparative studies leading in a number of directions. Ostracism, persecution, and eventual elimination of Jewish scientists and scholars in Central European environment could be presented, for example, in a broader timeframe spanning from mid-19th until mid-20th century (as our Austrian colleagues had already begun to do²), while comparisons with results of the abovementioned project about exiled scientists from the Czech Lands in 1950s to 1980s would take us in the opposite direction of the timeline. Possibly also, when studying the persecution of representatives of various areas of science and intellectual professions, one could also compare the ‘Czech’ material with, for example, data about ‘outstanding physicians’.³

And finally, I would also like to highlight the commemorative nature of this publication. It is in itself a unique memorial to people whose names, lives, and in our particular case also contribution to science had long been neglected. The editors, moreover, emphasise that their work should function as an incentive for a further study of reasons why the members of ‘disappeared’ scientific elites were in various period after 1945 selectively forgotten. And in the relation to (the absence of) commemoration of victims of racial persecution, we could thus conclude by words taken from a recent book on victims of Nazi euthanasia: “*Forgetting destruction is part of destruction itself.*”⁴

Petr Svobodný

² Oliver RATHKOLB (ed.), *Der lange Schatten des Antisemitismus. Kritische Auseinandersetzungen mit der Geschichte der Universität Wien im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, Wien 2013; here especially Mitchell G. ASH, *Jüdische Wissenschaftlerinnen und Wissenschaftler an der Universität Wien von der Monarchie bis nach 1945. Stand der Forschung und offenen Fragen*, in: O. Rathkolb (ed.), *Der lange Schatten des Antisemitismus*, pp. 93–122.

³ Isidor FISCHER – Peter VOSWINCKEL, *Biographisches Lexikon der hervorragenden Ärzte der letzten fünfzig Jahre (Nachträge und Ergänzungen)*, Hildesheim – Zürich – New York 2002.

⁴ Petr FUCHS – Maïke ROTZOLL – Ulrich MÜLLER – Paul RICHTER – Geritit HOHENDORF (eds.), *‘Das Vergessen der Vernichtung ist Teil der Vernichtung selbst’: Lebensgeschichten von Opfern der nationalsozialistischen ‘Euthanasie’*, Göttingen 2007.

Walter Rüegg (ed.), *Geschichte der Universität in Europa, IV, Vom Zweiten Weltkrieg bis zum Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts*

München 2010, 559 p., ISBN 978-3-406-36955-1 (*A History of the University in Europe. Universities since 1945*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 2011, XXIV + 635 p., ISBN 978-0-521-36108-8)¹

In the late twentieth and early twenty first century, universities had changed from traditional, largely socially exclusive communities of intellectual and research elites, realms of young scientists and politicians, into socially open, internationally connected, politically relevant, and economically both demanding and productive environments which exert large influence on various aspects of public and economic life. (According to the Czech Statistical Office, even in the relatively small Czech Republic some 400,000 young people currently study at universities and other institutes of higher education.) The post-war development of European universities is not a widely researched subject. Nonetheless, this period witnessed a dramatic quantitative expansion of both the academic network and individual institutions, while universities had undergone a fundamental structural and social transformation. In the post-war era, the focal points of academic life in Europe and other parts of the world had shifted and fundamentally changed. The extensive, in German over 2,000 pages long synthetic history of European universities from the Middle Ages until the end of the twentieth century culminates with a fourth volume which covers the post-war era. The *History of the University in Europe* can also serve as a basis for more general considerations and warn us about what should be avoided in future research. The fourth volume of this work traces the development of universities between the end of the Second World War and the beginning of the Bologna Process.

The subject of this review is the first, German edition of the book which appeared in 2010. The English edition which was published a year later is not, however, identical with the German one as to its contents. The two versions were probably created in parallel, whereby the German is shorter than the English one by almost one quarter. But readers are not made aware of this fact in neither the German, nor the English edition. Moreover, the German translation of chapters originally written in French or English is rather loose. During the translating process, Walter Rüegg, editor of the German edition, corrected some factual mistakes found in the texts of the English edition² and further emphasised some particular claims.³ The review presented here did not, however, aim at systematically following these differences or their influence on the overall impact of the individual chapters. In this

¹ In the following, quotations from the *History* are mostly taken from the English edition (see reference in the main text). Where the phrasing does not fully correspond to the German original, quotations were translated from the German edition (*ibid.*) by this article's translator.

² For example, on page 80 of the German edition RÜEGG and SADLAK state that in 1949, the number of university students increased – in comparison with 1938 – by one half to two thirds. In the English edition, on page 75, the increase is said with reference to the same source to amount to 25–30 per cent. Or Guy Neave in the English edition on page 35 dates the change in the German Basic Law, Article 75, enabling federal support of institutes of higher education, to 1970. In the English edition, the date is corrected to 1969.

³ On page 21 of the English edition, RÜEGG demonstrates the inflationary growth of European system of universities with a claim that their number grew from the post-war 200 to 800 in 1995, while on page 37 of the German edition, he claims with reference to the same source that while after the war, there were 200 universities in Europe, by 2006 their number exceeded 1,000.

respect, the author limited himself to checking the English texts of passages quoted in the review and looking up page references for both editions.

The outline of the project was proposed by the presidium of the European Conference of Rectors in 1983 and the first volume appeared ten years later.⁴ Subsequent volumes were published in long intervals: the Middle Ages in 1993 (though the English edition was published in Cambridge already in 1992), Early Modern Era in 1996, and the nineteenth century until first half of the twentieth century in 2004.⁵ The fourth and final volume covers much shorter period than the other volumes, just over fifty years, but this was a time which witnessed a most dramatic expansion in the number of universities and especially the number of students.

As the work on the *History* progressed, the basic concept of the project was evolving. The first two volumes are standard reference books whose style of presentation makes them accessible to broad public. They document the development of a university as a unique academic model, describing its transformations from the twelfth until the eighteenth century and its spread to both parts of the American continent. From the third volume (1800–1945)⁶ onwards, the nature of the work in some respects changes. Save for some ‘minor defects’,⁷ it maintains a high professional standard, provided, among others, by the participation of leading European and American experts, such as Fritz Ringer and Konrad H. Jarausch. To some degree, however, the tone of the volume shifts towards the position of historical argumentation in the discussions about education and politics which went on in the 1980s and 1990s. This is the case especially in the debate about whether and to what extent the Humboldtian academic model, based on a close link between teaching and research with students as active participants of the education process (cf. p. 150), can be maintained when academic education becomes available to vast numbers of students. The authors, who mapped among other things the transfer of the European academic model to other continents and its subsequent adaptation to local conditions, tend to emphasise the importance of the example given by German universities, that is, the significance of

⁴ Andris BARBLAN, *Epilog. Von der Universität in Europa zu den Universitäten Europas*, pp. 485–506, here p. 485.

⁵ Information about volumes I–III was provided by Kateřina SCHWABIKOVÁ, AUC-HUCP 44, 2004, pp. 248–250.

⁶ Walter RÜEGG (ed.), *Geschichte der Universität in Europa*, III. Vom 19. Jahrhundert zum Zweiten Weltkrieg (1800–1945), München 2004.

⁷ A Czech reader of the third volume feels somewhat confused when, for example, the Belgian authors Lieve Greves and Lous Vos on p. 268 claim that at the end of the nineteenth century, Prague was the main centre of pan-Slavism, state that Tomáš Masaryk was a professor of law, or on p. 269 explain the widespread unrest in Prague after the revocation of Badeni’s language reform in November 1897 as ‘bloody clashes between Czech- and German-speaking students’ provoked by the fact that ‘[i]n January 1897, at a convention of the German national students of Austria, a declaration was drawn up in which the preservation of the German character of the universities and similar institutions in Austria was demanded’. Notker Hammerstein on p. 532 describes the liquidation of Czech universities in 1939 as follows: “In March 1939, a conference about the status of the ‘Protectorate’ took place in Berlin. Representatives of the Reich Ministry of Science decided at this meeting that all Czech institutions of higher education should be considered ‘Reich institutions’, that is, they should be subordinated to the Reich. At the beginning of the winter term of the same year, arbitrary arrests of allegedly rebellious Czech students took place in Prague and in Brno. In this way, the Nazis launched their strategy of elimination of intelligentsia of this country. All Czech universities and academies – a total of ten institutions – were closed and study was permitted only to Germans at the German University in Prague.” Not a word about the execution of student representatives or the deportation of 1,200 students to concentration camps, and that despite the fact that the author refers here to: Karl LITSCH, *Die Aktion vom 17. November 1939*, in: Buchhard Brentjes – Günter Albrecht (eds.), *Wissenschaft unter dem NS-Regime*, Berlin 1992, pp. 64–81.

a system based on a close link between teaching and research. This model was of crucial importance world-wide but especially in the USA, where the German example was adapted and led to the creation of a system of postgraduate studies.⁸

The fourth volume further develops the approach which was to some degree adopted already in the previous volume. The issue of adaptation of traditional models of education to new conditions is used here as a starting point for an up-to-date, selectively reductive view of the most recent chapter in the history of European universities. Already when reading the general introductory chapters, we cannot help but realise that the authors' attention is focused more or less exclusively on university reforms of the 1960s and 1970s. We find here no references to the wide-spread movement which championed the creation of a joint European academic space, preservation of the autonomy of universities, and their liberation from governmental and commercial pressures leading towards a utilitarian economisation, which European universities have been engaged in since the 1980s. There is no mention of key European university summits, declarations, or reforms, no references to important milestones such as the 'Magna Charta Universitatum' (signed in Bologna on September 18, 1988), the 'Joint declaration on harmonization of the architecture of the European higher education system' (signed in Paris on May 25, 1998), or the 'Joint Declaration of the European Ministers of Education' (signed in Bologna on June 19, 1999), which defined the status of European universities.⁹

After Rüegg's introduction, the book is divided in four parts. The first focuses on 'themes and patterns', that is, general issues and concepts, while the second deals with 'structures': 'relations with authority' i.e., states as founders and sponsors of most universities, creators of academic and education policy and legislation, but also university management and teaching staff. The subject of the third part are students, in particular young people's access to academic education but also various models of study, (in)equality in access to education, changes in the social composition of the student body, the structure of study programmes, student movements and organisations, and, finally, the transition of students into practical life. The fourth part deals with academic science, whereby the subject is limited to social, mathematical, natural, medical, and technical sciences. The book concludes with Barblan's epilogue, followed by a somewhat incomplete 'List of Universities Founded in Europe in 1945–1995' (for the Czech Republic, for example, the university in Olomouc founded in 1946 is missing). Throughout the book, a university is defined as any institute of higher education which holds a state accreditation for awarding doctorates (p. 16).¹⁰ The final part of the book includes an index of persons and a mixed

⁸ Cf. chapter: Edward SHILS – John ROBERTS, *Die Übernahme europäischer Universitätsmodelle, Geschichte der Universität, III*, pp. 145–196, who with reference to K. H. JARAUSCH, *American Students in Germany, 1815–1914: The Structure of German and U.S. Matriculants at Göttingen University*, in: H. Geitz – J. Heideking – J. Herbst (eds.), *German Influences on Education in the United States to 1917*, Cambridge 1995, pp. 195ff., claim that 'around 1900, some eight to ten thousand Americans studied at German universities'.

⁹ Thomas WALTER, *Der Bologna-Prozess. Ein Wendepunkt europäischer Hochschulpolitik?*, Wiesbaden 2006, pp. 59–156, here on the abovementioned declarations and their contractual basis: pp. 98ff. and 123–141.

¹⁰ In the parts dealing with the United States and its schools – which are repeatedly claimed to have served as an 'example' to Europe – the term 'university' is applied to also to colleges without the right to confer doctorates. In the United States, only about 10 per cent institutions of 'tertiary' education have that right. Cf. Eva BOSBACH, *Von Bologna nach Boston? Perspektiven und Reformansätze in der Doktorandenausbildung anhand eines Vergleichs zwischen Deutschland und den USA*, Leipzig 2009.

index of places and subjects. Bibliographies in the form of abbreviated lists of selected works are located after each chapter.

In the Foreword, Walter Rüegg explains that a “*modern university history focusing on Europe could not simply be organised according to countries, types of university, leading universities, and intellectual movements. Instead, it should seek to summarise the social conditions and tasks, the structures and functions, the protagonists and activities of the university.*”¹¹ This task was undertaken by a team of eighteen experts, in which the five academically educated historians were a minority. The rest of the team consisted of sociologists, linguists, and managers, and a rather dominant British group of five natural scientists and one physician. A group of experts on the history of European universities thus included nine Brits, one American, and one Canadian, while continental Europe was represented by two Belgians, three Germans, and two Swiss scholars. Historians of universities of Romance-speaking Europe were not represented at all.

The editor of this volume was confronted with the need to take into account also the eastern part of Europe only after 1989 (the presentation was then supplemented by a systematic comparison between ‘the Soviet and the Western academic model’, see p. 15). He addressed the issue by inviting Jan Sadlak, a Polish-Canadian economist and manager, to join the team.¹² It is quite remarkable that while events of 1989/1990 are mentioned in the *History of the University in Europe IV*, they play hardly any role at all. The authors probably saw them as such an exclusively East European affair that they did not feel it was necessary to pay them much attention. And yet, it was in the late 1980s and early 1990s that post-communist Europe was addressing a more general question, namely, under what conditions are universities and their academic communities after the end of a dictatorship or an authoritarian regime able to re-establish academic democracy, renew their participation in international science and education networks, get rid of discredited persons, and radically increase their scientific and teaching performance. The Charles University in Prague started addressing these issues already in late 1989 and given the difficult conditions achieved as much as possible.¹³ East German universities, on the other hand, remained extremely passive. They presented themselves as victims of a political coup which thrust them into (unwanted) freedom.¹⁴ In general, this represented two basic alternatives within the post-Soviet academia in Europe.

The abovementioned conceptual layout resulted in a book which a priori assumes a superiority of North American academic education over European academia in the post-war era. In the introductory chapter, Rüegg even speaks of Western Europe ‘lagging behind in comparison with the two world powers’ after 1950s. Undeniably, West European academia was hard hit by the loss of about one third of European academic intelligentsia in 1933–1945.¹⁵

¹¹ English edition p. XVIII, German edition p. 13. Nonetheless, Rüegg repeatedly fails to conform to this principle and focuses primarily on Germany. Cf., e.g., pp. 79–120, subchapter *Alliierte Universitätspolitik in Deutschland*, German edition pp. 81–88, English edition pp. 76–84.

¹² In the book, however, we also encounter a claim that the attempt to transform academic education in the Central and Eastern Europe represents ‘one of the cornerstones of the volume’ (p. 198).

¹³ Karel MALÝ, *Die Veränderungen der rechtlichen Stellung der Hochschulen in der ČSR nach 1990 – der Weg zu ihrer Autonomie*, in: Jiří Pešek – Tomáš Nigrin (eds.), *Inseln der bürgerlichen Autonomie? Traditionelle Selbstverwaltungsmilieus in den Umbrüchen 1944/45 und 1989/90*, Frankfurt a. M. 2009, pp. 163–182.

¹⁴ Jiří PEŠEK, *Die deutschen Universitäten 1944/45 und 1989/90: der schwierige und steinige Weg zur akademischen Autonomie*, in: J. Pešek – T. Nigrin, *Inseln*, pp. 21–54.

¹⁵ In some countries, the situation was even worse: In 1950, a poll of the conservative journal *Christ und Welt* had shown that in 1933–1950, only 14.2 per cent of German professors remained at their departments without

According to some studies, European science has not been able to fully compensate for this enormous ‘bloodletting’ until the end of the twentieth century. But Rüegg does not mention these facts when describing the post-war situation at universities.¹⁶ Neither the third nor the fourth volume contains a chapter that would explain the magnitude of the loss which European universities suffered by the expulsion or killing of Jewish academic intelligentsia and the emigration of opponents of European dictatorships.¹⁷ Similarly, we find no references to the fact that after the war, universities of the formerly Nazi or Fascist states did not (with a few exceptions) encourage the return of previously expelled Jewish, leftist, or liberal emigrants and hampered the attempts of the Allied powers to mediate such returns.¹⁸

Only little attention is paid to post-war de-Nazification and de-Fascisation of universities. Guy Neave writes that in liberated Europe, there were three possible strategies of dealing with universities. The first was a simple renewal of universities by national governments which had returned from exile. The second and third resulted from Allied discussions about a moral reorientation of European universities. A minimalist approach was based on the removal of persons who had collaborated with the Nazi regime. It was assumed that after this first step, universities would emerge from their ‘inner exile’ in which even during the Nazi rule one could ‘seek after Truth and (...) exercise independence of judgement and reason’ (German edition p. 49, English edition p. 33). A maximalist approach included not only the removal of Nazi collaborators but also reform and modernisation of teaching (p. 48). Neave, however, largely neglects the extensive existing literature on the Nazification of German and Austrian universities,¹⁹ Allied attempts at their de-Nazification,²⁰ the reasons for and extent of the failure of this effort, and the conditions of post-war renewal of universities.²¹ Rüegg and Sadlak do not fare much better when they seem to indicate that instead of trying to implement de-Nazification, the Allied ‘university officers’ protected students and professors against any miscarriage of justice at the hands of Allied occupation armies (p. 84).²²

interruption to their work. Cf. Konrad H. JARAUSCH, *Deutsche Studenten 1800–1970*, Frankfurt a. M. 1984, p. 214.

- ¹⁶ That is done only in passing by Thomas FINKENSTAEDT in the introduction to the chapter *Die Univeristätslehrer*, p. 153.
- ¹⁷ Michael GRÜTTNER – Sven KINAS, *Die Vertreibung von Wissenschaftlern aus den deutschen Universitäten 1933–1945*, Vierteljahreshefte für Zeitgeschichte 55, 2007, pp. 123–186, estimate average personnel losses at German universities at 20 per cent of the early 1933 levels.
- ¹⁸ Petr CHROUST, *Der verordnete Neubeginn. Grundzüge der Entnazifizierungspolitik an den deutschen Hochschulen*, in: Gerhard Aumüller – Hans Lauer – Helmut Remschmidt (eds.), *Kontinuität und Neuanfang in der Hochschulmedizin nach 1945*, Marburg 1997, pp. 102–112, and Bern WEISBROD, *The Moratorium of the Mandarins and the Self-Denazification of German Academe: A View from Göttingen*, *Contemporary European History* 12, 2003, pp. 47–69.
- ¹⁹ A groundbreaking work in this area is Gernot HEISS – Siegfried MATTL – Sebastian MEISSL – Edith SAUER – Karl STUHLPFARRER (eds.), *Willfähige Wissenschaft. Die Universität Wien 1938–1945*, Wien 1989.
- ²⁰ As an example, cf. Lucie FILIPOVÁ, *Die Universitäten in der französischen Besatzungszone in Deutschland 1945–1948*, in: J. Pešek – T. Nigrin, *Inseln*, pp. 55–74.
- ²¹ Cf. Reinhold KNOLL, *Die Entnazifizierung an der Universität Wien*, in: Sebastian Meissl – Klaus-Dieter Mulley – Oliver Rathkolb (eds.), *Verdrängte Schuld, verfehlt Sühne. Entnazifizierung in Österreich 1945–1955*, Wien 1986, pp. 270–280; and especially Margarete GRANDNER – Gernot HEISS – Oliver RATHKOLB (eds.), *Zukunft mit Altlasten. Die Universität Wien 1945 bis 1955*, Innsbruck – Wien – München – Bozen 2005. See also Peter GOLLER – Gerhard OBERKÖFLER, *Universität Innsbruck. Entnazifizierung und Rehabilitation von Nazikadern 1945–1950*, Innsbruck 2003.
- ²² Manfred HEINEMANN (ed.), *Hochschuloffiziere und Wiederaufbau des Hochschulwesens im Westdeutschland*, Part 1–3, Hildesheim 1990–1991, and Manfred HEINEMANN (ed.), *Hochschuloffiziere der Sowjetischen Militäradministration in Deutschland (SMAD) und Wiederaufbau des Hochschulwesens in der Sowjetischen*

After the war, European universities had to be restored after Nazi looting, recover from the devastating effects of war operations, and focus on reinforcing their decimated teaching staff. It is thus not surprising that they were indeed much weaker than the leading American universities, which in 1930s to 1950s profited from a massive influx of emigrating European intelligentsia. For a very long time, post-war Europe could not compete with the investment into education and research which the US, strengthened by the war, provided to its institutions. Rüegg, however, does not focus these aspects of the situation. He claims that the advantage of the American universities is due to two main factors: firstly, there was the structural benefit of a close link between universities and the American industry (including the army), and secondly, the United States are said to have gained the edge on Europe due to adopting in academia a managerial style akin to running a commercial enterprise.

What the authors fail to mention is the fact that in Europe, a policy of promoting natural and technical sciences, of strengthening organisational links between universities and technical schools or even their mergers, and a general shift of focus away from humanities and towards natural sciences and technical disciplines with potential practical applicability (or those social sciences which Rüegg views as ‘promising’) was carried out already in late 1930s and early 1940s by the Nazis. A concrete example of this is the concept of reorganisation of German higher education in Prague, which was based on uniting universities and technical schools. This particular proposal was elaborated by Konrad Bernhauer, Ernst Otto, and Kurt Brass who were inspired by a model which had been applied in Berlin, Bonn, Göttingen, Heidelberg, and other places. The Allied occupation administration did not, however, view the plan as plausible and the universities and polytechnics reverted to their original status.²³

Regarding the other post-war ‘world power’, one should not mistake the achievements of a hermetically closed technical and armament research and development for a proof of a development of universities. The Soviet sputnik and Gagarin’s journey into the outer space did not represent a triumph of academic science. They were the achievements of military and technological ‘academic ghettos’ which existed separately from society and higher education. Moreover, even basic historical description of the situation of Soviet post-war universities is yet to be written. Authors of the third and the fourth volume of the *History of the University in Europe* speak about this subject practically without references to sources or literature.²⁴ It does, however, seem to be the case that after 1945, science and research were removed from Soviet universities and assigned to various institutes of the Academy of Sciences.²⁵ A fossilised research system, which hardly at all communicated

Besatzungszone 1945–1949, Berlin 1997. An excellent analysis of these issues is found in Ingrid KRÜGER-BULCKE, *Universität in Zwielficht. Der Zustand der Universität Marburg und ihre Erneuerungsbemühungen unter amerikanischen Einfluß 1945/46*, in: G. Aumüller – H. Lauer – H. Renschmidt (eds.), *Kontinuität und Neuanfang in der Hochschulmedizin nach 1945*, Marburg 1997, pp. 13–36.

²³ Cf. Alena MIŠKOVÁ, *Die Deutsche (Karls-) Universität vom Münchener Abkommen bis zum Ende des Zweiten Weltkrieges. Universitätsleitung und Wandel des Professorenkollegiums*, Prag 2007, p. 88, and Aaron F. KLEINBERGER, *Gab es eine nationalsozialistische Hochschulpolitik?*, in: Manfred Heinemann, *Erziehung und Schulung im Dritten Reich*, II, Hochschule, Erwachsenenbildung, Stuttgart 1980, pp. 26f.

²⁴ As an example, cf. Bohdan ZILYNSKYJ, *Die Erneuerung der Tätigkeit der Universitäten in der Ukraine im Jahr 1944*, in: J. Pešek – T. Nigrin (eds.), *Inseln*, pp. 149–162.

²⁵ Yet this is exactly what Notker HAMMERSTEIN explicitly praises! See his text *Universitäten und Kriege im 20. Jahrhundert*, in: *Geschichte der Universität in Europa*, III, pp. 515–545, here pp. 540ff.

across the borders of particular disciplines, was then one of the causes underlying Soviet stagnation in science and development which was apparent since the end of 1960s.

The history of universities in post-war Europe follows mainly the British, German, and French universities and institutes of higher education. Regarding the rest of the continent, the readers are left in the dark. This is explicitly acknowledged on p. 154 where Thomas Finkenstaedt admits that he did not have information pertaining to transformations of higher education in post-communist countries. In the book, the situation in Britain, France, and Germany is contrasted with the state of affairs in the United States. The authors include numerous but disparate examples from other parts of the continent, but the minimal attention paid to, for example, the situation of universities in Spain, Italy, or Switzerland is rather conspicuous.

In general, it can be stated that the following factors played a crucial role in shaping the character of the individual contributions and the book as a whole: Manuscripts of chapters were handed in already in 1995. They were based on Anglo-Saxon, that is, mainly British and American literature published by the early 1990s. For some rather unclear reasons, the manuscript then lay dormant for ten years. In 2005, when it was resuscitated, some authors believed it necessary to supplement their contributions with new texts on the development in the 1990s or at least to add references to various newer works.²⁶ Even so, this more recent literature could not be incorporated into the text of the chapters. As a result, neither the considerable amount of new source materials on the immediately post-war history of universities which was published in the last twenty years nor the recent discussions on relevant issues could be taken into account. This made the fourth volume of the *History* hopelessly outdated already at the time of its publication. The claim that this prestigious work – previous volumes were translated, among others, to Portuguese, Spanish, and Chinese, while the Russian version was in print in 2010 – was antiquated by the time it was published finds further support in, e.g., the fact that reforms discussed in early 1990s and implemented by 2000 are in this book, published in 2010, still referred to as being just plans and intentions (p. 167).²⁷

What is also missing is a chapter describing the state of research, methods, recent research trends, and the view of contemporary literature on some key and highly relevant issues. It is rather symptomatic that the emancipation of women in education receives very little attention. Thomas Finkelstaedt, a professor of English Studies in Saarbrücken and author of the

²⁶ Key texts for the post-communist part of the continent are John CONNELLY, *Captive University. The Sovietisation of East German, Czech and Polish Higher Education 1945–1956*, Chapel Hill 2000, and John CONNELLY – Michael GRÜTTNER (eds.), *Zwischen Autonomie und Anpassung. Universitäten in den Diktaturen des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Paderborn 2003. We also find here references to the English edition of the history of the Charles University: Jan HAVRÁNEK – Zdeněk POUŠTA (eds.), *History of Charles University*, II, 1802–1990, Prague 2001.

²⁷ However, incompetence in particular contexts is demonstrated also in other ways. Guy Neave, for example, claims that “In 1969, the lands of the German Federal Republic handed over their authority in the field of higher education [to the federal state, added by JP] in order to facilitate the creation of a ‘general framework of jurisdiction’, which immediately led to the establishment of a federal ministry for education and science” (English edition p. 35, German edition p. 50). In fact, it ought to be noted that sovereignty in matters of education including higher education actually still remains within the jurisdiction of the particular federal lands. It has not been transferred to the abovementioned ministry which can only offer financial support to the federated lands for particular projects. The general act on higher education, which was actually revoked already prior to the publication of this book, regulated the conditions of use of goal-directed federal grants and its implementation was managed by the German Chancellery.

chapter on academic staff, covers the subject of female academics in the second half of the twentieth century in just a page and a half, with no references to literature which deals with this topic (pp. 170ff.).²⁸ In fact, Finkelstaedt just lists disparate data about the representation of women at various universities in various functions during further unspecified periods. It is also noteworthy that the book pays no systematic attention to the issue of female students. In the selected bibliography of the four chapters of the third part of the book which deal with the student body, we do not find a single publication on the subject of female students and the education of women. Yet while it must be admitted that there still does not exist any representative, synthetic work on female students and female academics in post-war European universities that would present a clear overview of the situation in the whole of Europe,²⁹ there is a veritable profusion of monographs and books which follow this issue at various universities and in various sciences. Most of these works, however, were written by women³⁰ and the team of authors paid them no attention.

In the misleadingly dated remarks on the history of universities in the post-Soviet part of Europe, the information deficit of the authors is possibly even more noticeable than in the texts pertaining to Western Europe.³¹ In the better case, the authors draw on some early 1990s conference proceedings or encyclopaedias.³² In the worse case, they resort to repeating Cold War ideological clichés³³ or omit the subject of East European universities altogether³⁴ and extrapolate the often misleading information about the Soviet Union as a standard for the entire Soviet bloc.³⁵ It is stated, for example, that under the Soviet influence, the habilitation was abolished and replaced by ‘candidacy’, whereby habilitations were re-established only after 1990 (German edition pp. 161, 167, English edition pp. 171, 177). The book also very much reflects the ‘pre-Bologna’ time of its origins when quoting

²⁸ Finkelstaedt in this context resorts to the claim that ‘there exists as good as no research on the history of women at modern universities’ (German edition p. 170). ‘More research on the history of women in the modern university is needed in this context.’ (English edition p. 182.)

²⁹ Nonetheless, for recent literature covering, e.g., Germany and Austria, see Ruth Heidi STEIN – Angelika WETTERER (eds.), *Studierende und studierte Frauen: Ein ost-west-deutscher Vergleich*, Kassel 1994; Ilse BREHMER – Gertrud SIMON (eds.), *Geschichte der Frauenbildung in Österreich*, Graz 1997; Sebastian KAISER, *Trends und Motive von Frauen im Studium an deutschen Universitäten und Entwicklungen im europäischen Raum*, München 2008.

³⁰ An excellent example of this sort of research is found in the work of the Göttingen historical sociologist Ilse COSTAS, *Der Zugang von Frauen zu akademischen Karrieren. Ein internationaler Überblick*, in: Hiltrud HÄNTZSCHEL – Hadumod BUSSMANN (eds.), *‘Bedrohlich gescheit’. Ein Jahrhundert Frauen und Wissenschaft in Bayern*, München 1997, pp. 15–34; and Ilse COSTAS, *Zulassung der Frauen zum Studium – im internationalen Vergleich*, in: Ilse Nagelschmidt (ed.), *100 Jahre Frauenstudium an der Alma Mater Lipsiensis*, Leipzig 2007 (= Leipzig Studien zur Frauen- und Geschlechterforschung 5), pp. 195–231.

³¹ On German edition p. 107, English edition p. 109 we thus read – after a description of 1968 student riots in France – that “In 1969, a wave of protests reached other countries of Western Europe and spilled over even to Yugoslavia, Poland, and Czechoslovakia.” It should be noted, however, that in 1969 (in the aftermath of Soviet occupation in 1968) people in Czechoslovakia protested against something altogether different.

³² Key source of information for this subject was the Oxford encyclopaedia B. R. CLARK – G. R. NEAVE (eds.), *The Encyclopaedia of Higher Education*, Vol. 1. National Systems of Higher Education, Oxford 1992.

³³ For example, T. FINKENSTAEDT, *Die Universitätslehrer*, German edition p. 153, English edition p. 162, without any further explanation claims that ‘[i]n Eastern Europe, the years following 1945 led to a rupture in the academic traditions’.

³⁴ Rather typically Ulrich TEICHTLER, *Der Berufsweg der Studierenden*, pp. 283–328.

³⁵ “Development in the countries of the former Eastern bloc is hard to describe. Not only are reliable statistics missing but official statements also frequently diverge from the realities of academic life in a way that is hard to grasp and understand to a foreign observer.” T. FINKENSTAEDT, *Die Universitätslehrer*, German edition p. 167, English edition p. 178.

as example of an ‘in retrospect incredible’ Sovietisation measure which illustrates the draconically disciplinarian nature of the 1950s the following: “In Poland (...), students had to attend all lectures, laboratory exercises and seminars, and to pass regular compulsory examinations.” (German edition p. 91, English edition p. 88.)

The most important problem is that especially regarding the post-Soviet part of Europe, the authors were content to use thirdhand information. They did not try to research the sources and literature of the countries they wrote about, which after 1989 would have been a perfectly feasible task. The resulting fundamental inaccuracy is most noticeable in tabular overviews and consequently also in their textual interpretation. On p. 55, Guy Neave presents a table with numbers of ‘university’ (meaning, however, just tertiary) students in 23 European countries and the Soviet Union in 1950–1990. For Czechoslovakia, we find the figure of 38,800 students for 1950 but for other decades, information is missing even though it has been available in national statistical yearbooks. These sources would have informed the author that the number of students in institutes of higher education in Czechoslovakia culminated in 1981/1982, when 198,362 students were registered. Then there followed a 15 per cent decline caused by demographic development. Neave, however, lists student numbers only for 1990, when he claims that some 112,900 persons attended universities and institutions of higher education in the then still undivided Czechoslovakia. But that figure represents the situation only in the Czech Republic. The total ‘federal’ number of students, including Slovak institutes of higher education, was for 1990 a total of 173,547, i.e., 50 per cent higher.³⁶ Furthermore, Neave uses his statistics for further interpretation and claims that Czechoslovakia – which according to his overview was supposed to have the absolutely as well as relatively lowest number of students in higher education in the entire Eastern bloc with the exception of Albania – in the 1980s experienced a steep decline in education levels. He ascribes this development to a deep economic and political crisis.

In a table on p. 191–192 which deals with the same subject, Albert Henry Halsey claims that 118,000 students attended institutes of higher education in Czechoslovakia in 1990. His figure is based on the abovementioned UNESCO statistics. This is even more interesting when we note that in the same table, Halsey lists 439,000 students in the German Democratic Republic, that is, in a country comparable to Czechoslovakia both in population size and the number of universities. The figure for the GDR is extremely hard to understand, especially since according to the statistical office of the former GDR, the number of East German students (including part-time students) throughout the 1980s oscillated around 130,000.³⁷

³⁶ *Statistická ročenka ČSFR 1990* [Statistical Yearbook of the Czechoslovak Federative Republic 1990], Praha 1990, pp. 610ff.

³⁷ Cf. *Statistisches Jahrbuch der Deutschen demokratischen Republik 90*, year 35, Berlin 1990, p. 342, which lists detailed information for 1970–1989. The extinction of the German Democratic Republic by unification with the German Federal Republic also led to a termination of its independent statistics so that East German data for 1990 are not available. In 1989, a total of 131,188 persons studied at institutes of higher education in the GDR. In 1991, there were 1,775,661 students in all of Germany, which is 63,053 more than before the reunification of Germany. On the other hand, it should be taken into account that a significant number of East German students and young people who were not allowed to study in the GDR probably left East Germany in the immediate aftermath of the fall of the Berlin Wall. In 1990, the year-on-year increase in the number of university students in West Germany was 2,060,000 persons, while before and after the number annually grew ‘only’ by app. 40–60,000 students. Cf. Statistisches Bundesamt, Bildung – Forschung – Kultur, Hochschulen, Tabelle: Studierende insgesamt Deutschland Anzahl. Lange Reihe nach Nationalität und

In the immediate aftermath of the fall of the Berlin wall, GDR even experienced a sharp decline in student numbers because many young people left to Western Germany.³⁸ The figure for the number of students in 1990, about three times higher than the official statistics of the GDR, is thus no more than a grossly inflated estimate of unknown origins. Similarly distorted are also the numbers listed by Ulrich Teichler when he writes about the quotas of students who in 1991 registered for the first term (p. 286). It would thus be most ill advised to place any trust whatsoever in the thus compiled statistics of the authors.

What also becomes problematic in the fourth volume of the *History* is the interpretation of the core notion of a 'university', which Rüegg's team's inclusive approach replaced by a rather confusing system of 'tertiary education'. According to their definition, this system includes not only universities, technical institutes and economic universities, and up to the 1960s also medical academies, but also advanced training courses, retraining courses, and 'universities of the third age'.³⁹ It is questionable whether just because the national statistics tend to lump all these categories together one should jeopardise or even abandon the very subject of the four volume synthesis, that is, the history of universities whereby university is taken to mean an institution whose form, focus, range of subjects studied, scientific achievements, and to a large degree also student composition in most countries represents the highest form of academic education.

One of the 'strong claims' of the book is Rüegg's assertion: "It would hardly be an overstatement if we were to claim that the fivefold increase in the number of European universities from 200 to over 1,000 (in 2006) is rather a sign of provincialisation than dissemination of public transmission."⁴⁰ By 'provincialisation', the author means a qualitative degradation of universities at a time of inflationary growth of their numbers. It is not quite clear, however, whether the author indeed means actual universities or – and that is more likely – all institutions of tertiary education. It is also debatable whether Rüegg refers to Europe in the sense of the now 500 million strong EU or in the sense of the continent, which includes also a large part of post-Soviet Russia, that is, population of app. 750 million people. If we were to assume 750,000 people per one real university, it would correspond to, for example, the current density of university network in Germany. One might argue that small regional universities often do not achieve top academic quality even in cases when they focus only on some particular sciences. On the other hand, for example in Germany, the universities established immediately after the war (Freie Universität Berlin) or in the 1970s (universities in, e.g., Bielefeld, Bochum, or Konstanz) at least for one generation generated fundamental innovations. One thus also needs to take into account the intentions of the founder of a giv-

Geschlecht ab 1975, <https://www.destatis.de/DE/ZahlenFakten/Indikatoren/LangeReihen/Bildung/Irbil01.html> (accessed July 30, 2013).

³⁸ Important source of information on this issue is Ralph JESSEN (ed.), *Wissenschaft und Universitäten im geteilten Deutschland der 1960er Jahre* (= Jahrbuch für Universitätsgeschichte 8), Stuttgart 2005. A useful summary is found in the review of Ilko-Sascha KOWALCZUK, *Lehre und Forschung im SED-Staat. Universitäten und Hochschulen in der DDR*, Deutschland Archiv Online 2012, 3, cf. <http://www.bpb.de/geschichte/zeitgeschichte/deutschlandarchiv/126682/lehre-und-forschung-im-sed-staat> (accessed July 17, 2013).

³⁹ Ulrich Teichler says: "Many sources referred to in the text that follows do not distinguish clearly between universities and other institutions in discussion of or statistics relating of 'higher education', 'third level' or 'tertiary education' and 'lifelong learning'." German edition p. 284, English edition p. 321.

⁴⁰ German edition p. 37, English edition p. 21 has a different text: "The multiplication of European universities from 200 to over 800 in 1995 reflected less an increase of their public influence than an inflationary decline to provinciality."

en university and conditions which may assist a newly created university in achieving its goals in science, research, and ‘social modernisation’.

The transition from a focus on the role, development, and transformations of universities to a description of ‘tertiary education’ is tantamount to abandoning the analytical approach of presentation of the four volume opus in the direction of a political pamphlet written by a group of university ‘managers’ whose power culminated in the 1960s or 1970s. To put it differently: the authors emphasise and with ‘managerial self-stylisation’ include in their presentation only those trends in higher education which proved economically successful and thus ‘legitimate’.

In the context of priorities and tasks of post-war academic education, we thus come across important events in the history of universities which the team of authors does not mention at all. For example, the Magna Charta Universitatum, which a joint commission of the Association of European Universities and a Conference of Rectors of European Universities started drafting in 1986. Its aim was to define the essential preconditions of the existence and work of European universities.⁴¹ The text adopted in Bologna on September 18, 1988 by a conference of 380 rectors of European universities defines universities as ‘centres of a culture of knowledge and research’, whose goal is to educate future generations and equip them with a large corpus of knowledge at their disposal. The first fundamental principle of the Charter states that universities are by their nature ‘autonomous institutions’, that is, institutions morally and intellectually independent both of political authority and of ‘economic power’, that is, two of the major forces which shaped the twentieth century. The second and third fundamental principle of the Charter defines the status of teaching and research. The Charter demands that the two pillars of academia’s influence be ‘inseparable’ because mediation of knowledge depends on their close link. The fourth fundamental principle refers to the European humanist tradition and demands support for academic mobility, that is, the opportunity for students and teachers to move between universities. These principles, defined jointly by European universities, were ten years later incorporated into the Paris Declaration and subsequently into the Bologna Accord. The fact that these crucial turning points in the creation of European area of higher education and its standards are not included in the *History of the University* is a serious shortcoming of this work.

We ought to realise that when the third and the fourth volume of the *History* were being written, i.e., in the late 1980s and early 1990s, European universities were not in a good shape. It was a period of fundamental discussions about the state West European academic education and its future. The 1960s and 1970s had been full of optimism which stemmed from a pragmatic calculation: many states had hoped that various pressing issues, including problems not directly linked to education, could be solved by large investment in higher education. Especially urgent was the need to stabilise, in a long term, the social situation which had been shaken by the student and generational revolt of the late 1960s. This went hand in hand with the finally openly admitted long-standing deficit in education, which hampered the modernisation of economy as well as society as a whole. It was linked to attempts to finally remove the discrimination of women and to provide academic education to the socially less privileged strata of society. In the 1980s, on the other hand, many universities as well as national societies ‘sobered up’ and became disillusioned. The model of

⁴¹ Cf. T. WALTER, *Der Bologna-Prozess*, pp. 98–100.

modernisation of education based on extensive investment exhausted its potential and in some places, the universities ended up in worse situation than before. The money ran out and there was a shortage of young, able, willing, and competent teaching and research staff. The development and benevolent ‘socialisation’ of secondary education, meanwhile, was responsible for sending to universities all over Europe growing masses of students.

Universities and other institutions of higher education were thus fast turning into de-personalised ‘production facilities’ whose meaning, intellectual contribution, teaching and research methods, standards, goals, and perspectives were questioned in various discussions. For a large numbers of graduates and especially the growing proportion of students who did not complete their studies, academic education failed to provide the ‘socially ennobling’ or at least ‘socially securing’ function which used to be taken for granted. At the same time, politicians and universities were by the early 1990s well aware that in an age of personal computerisation and the arrival of internet, a transition into a ‘knowledge society’ is a reality and there is no way back. University and, more broadly, higher education became a political issue and in the fast-integrating Europe also one of the dominant (quantitative!) indicators of prestige of participating countries. Instead of achievements of brilliant elites, key role was assigned to statistics describing youth with ‘tertiary education’ and the ratio of ‘higher education graduates’ in the population.

This period saw a decrease in the amount of expert feedback regarding the situation of academic education and the processes influencing it (or rather, there was less political interest in the results of such feedback). At the same, there was an increase in voices which criticised the allegedly the excessive size and pointlessness of especially the ‘non-pragmatic’ studies, that is, areas which did not belong to natural sciences, medicine, or technical disciplines – in short, the humanities. This criticism did not take into account the fact that the humanities, being less demanding both financially and in terms of technical equipment, had been expected to absorb a disproportionately high percentage of the growing student masses. No one wanted to hear Roman Herzog’s words: “No one is helped if [our universities] become temporary repositories just to improve our employment statistics.”⁴²

In the introduction to the book, Walter Rüegg cautions that the fourth volume will differ from the others. He claims that while before 1945, humanities and theology played an important role at universities, “during the period covered by the present volume, natural sciences set the tone and direction, and the social sciences followed suit. Our coverage includes history as a social science and omits religion and humanities. The latter as academic disciplines have undergone substantial changes since 1945 and their place in contemporary universities driven by science, engineering and business is constantly being redefined.”⁴³

But let us quote from the third volume of the *History*: “Universities were vessels which floated on a stream of desire to acquire knowledge which they transmitted and created. The belief that the dignity of a nation requires not only sovereignty but a university shows how important knowledge was thought to be, both intrinsically and instrumentally. (...) It was and is about knowledge based on a methodical study, on rigorously defined evidence and

⁴² Rede von Bundespräsident Roman Herzog auf dem Deutschen Bildungskongress in Bonn am 13. April 1999, http://www.bundespraesident.de/SharedDocs/Reden/DE/Roman-Herzog/Reden/1999/04/19990413_Red.html.

⁴³ English edition p. XXII, German edition p. 16.

carefully critical research of the best sources, knowledge which both studies theories and is studied by them.”⁴⁴ If this characterisation was, according to the authors, valid until the Second World War, how do they explain that and why it allegedly disappeared or became irrelevant after the war’s end? That is what Notker Hammerstein attempts at the end of this part of the third volume of the *History*. He claims that in the twentieth century, the old academic culture was destroyed by nationalism and the two world wars. What he does not do, however, is to provide analytical reasons underlying this assessment. He bases his considerations about why during the war the focus of academic education permanently shifted towards the ‘practically applicable’ natural and technical sciences (pp. 535–542) simply on a claim that in the Nazi Germany, academic research of potential use to the army was poorly organised and – with the possible exception of chemistry and aeronautics – failed to deliver real results, or rather that a ‘normal German scientist was indifferent to politics’.⁴⁵ It should be noted, however, that such claims were refuted already in 1974 by K. H. Ludwig’s work which studied the role of engineers in the Third Reich and the integration of natural and technical sciences into the arms industry.⁴⁶ In 2009, Wolfgang Schieder then defended a claim that science was not separate from Nazism. Rather, it was its ‘constitutive part’.⁴⁷

Rüegg’s unsubstantiated but crucial conceptual claim about post-war discontinuity eliminated from the book’s presentation not only linguistics, literary sciences, and sciences investigating culture, arts, aesthetics, and pedagogy, but also, and quite crucially, philosophy as a permanent conceptual foundation of academic education. What remained is a truncated rump of whatever can be converted into cash, largely without spirit or character. Rüegg does not take into account the fact that throughout the entire post-war period, the sciences he ‘eliminated’ have been maintaining at universities an extensive institutional base, that is, large numbers of educated and scientifically productive teaching staff and even just in Europe millions of students. We find evidence to support this claim even in the book itself. Ulrich Teichler, when describing the distribution of students in various sciences in two rather chaotic paragraphs, states that in Denmark in the 1980s some 63 per cent of university students studied humanities and social sciences. In other Western countries, students of humanities and social sciences accounted for 30–40 per cent of academic students compared to 17–40 per cent of students in technical disciplines, represented mainly in non-academic education (p. 290). In the ‘countries of planned economy of Central and Eastern Europe’, students of technical sciences constituted 30–40 percent of total number of students in higher education in 1955 but by 1985, their representation fell to just

⁴⁴ E. SHILS – J. ROBERTS, *Die Übernahme europäischer Universitätsmodelle*, p. 195.

⁴⁵ Hammerstein refers to E. W. B. GILL, *German Academic Scientists and the War; Paper Control Commission for Germany*, August 28, 1945.

⁴⁶ Karl Heinz LUDWIG, *Technik und Ingenieure im Dritten Reich*, Düsseldorf 1974.

⁴⁷ Wolfgang SCHIEDER, *Der militärisch-industriell-wissenschaftliche Komplex im ‘Dritten Reich’. Das Beispiel der Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gesellschaft*, in: Noran Dinçal – Christoph Dipper – Detlev Mares (eds.), *Selbstmobilisierung der Wissenschaft. Technische Hochschulen im ‘Dritten Reich’*, Darmstadt 2009, pp. 47–62, here pp. 50, 52. Ralf Pulla supports this claim by listing the fundamental contribution of universities to the development of V-2 rockets. Cf. Ralf PULLA, *Vorhaben Peenemünde. Die TH Darmstadt im raketentechnischen Netzwerk des Dritten Reiches*, *ibid.*, pp. 103–124. The contribution of Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gesellschaft to the development of Nazi weapon arsenal was even described by N. HAMMERSTEIN, *Die Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft in der Weimarer Republik und im Dritten Reich. Wissenschaftspolitik in Republik und Diktatur 1920–1945*, München 1999.

16–40 per cent (*ibid.*). Let us just add that for example in Germany, professors of humanities in a long term account for one quarter of all university professors and while the proportion of students who major in humanities varies across European countries, it oscillates between 8 to 20 per cent of registered students (in Germany in 2012/2013, there were 457,000 students majoring in humanities).⁴⁸

We thus need to ask whether the elimination of one to two thirds of the total extent of academic activity from an account of post-war history of universities can be professionally justified at all. What reason is there to define as historically irrelevant for example the German studies, which was just in Germany the major field of study for 85,000 students and a minor field of study for another allegedly up to 500,000 students (including many students from outside humanities)?⁴⁹ What this means is that almost one third of German students in higher education registered for German studies at least ‘on the side’! And the position of French studies at French universities, Spanish studies at Spanish universities, etc., is at least comparable.

Rüegg, who in the 1960s served as Rector of the wildly – but with proper theoretical underpinnings – rebelling Frankfurt University, evidently forgot that the fundamental task of universities is to provide a comprehensive training for the intelligentsia, including secondary school teachers, who just in Germany form a professional group of about 2 million persons. Similarly, one could mention academic training in a number of other important areas of humanities which are not only indispensable for the daily functioning of the European society but also rely on scientific research and development. It has been repeatedly noted that polls which map the representation of various qualifications in top executive boards of large financial and multinational industrial or commercial companies find a high percentage of humanities graduates, sometimes even people with PhDs in humanities.⁵⁰ Rather typical is also the high representation of humanities graduates and especially lecturers in the German political elite and high numbers of humanities graduates among British politicians.

The relevance and importance of theology at universities in the second half of the twentieth century is also an issue that should be evaluated carefully. To use again an example from our neighbours: In Germany, there are nowadays some 30 faculties of theology of both Catholic and Protestant denominations. And given the current expansion of European and global inter-religious and religious-intercultural dialogue, that is, if we see the international situation as characterised by growing reconessionalisation of the world in a broad sense of the term, it seems likely that in a long term, the ‘practical’ role of these institutions will become even more pronounced.⁵¹ Moreover, various areas of humanities could hardly

⁴⁸ Ulrich HERBERT, *Geisteswissenschaftliche Forschung an den Universitäten – ein Gespräch*, lecture at the ‘final’ FRIAS School of History symposium of the same name at the Freiburg University, June 28, 2013, p. 5 of the manuscript distributed to participants.

⁴⁹ Cf. data on 1995: *Zahlen zur wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Ausgabe 1998*, Köln 1998, Tab. 123.

⁵⁰ As an example, let us note that Lisa Monaco, the chief counterterrorism advisor to President Barack Obama, American federal prosecutor who currently serves as the Assistant to the President for Homeland Security and Counterterrorism to the President of the USA and is a statutory member of the United States Homeland Security Council, is a pre-graduate student of literature and American history at the Harvard University and a graduate of law at the Chicago University.

⁵¹ Cf. Tomáš HALÍK, *Postavení a úkoly humanitních věd – neopakujme cizí chyby* [*The Position and Tasks of Humanities – Let Us Not Repeat Other People’s Mistakes*], in: Tomáš Halík et al., *K čemu dnes humanitní vědy?*, Praha 2008, pp. 9–13.

progress without a collegial dialogue with theology. Post-war Czechoslovakia, for example, has experienced the socially traumatic consequences of expulsion of theology from universities. (Though one should note that the situation of various churches in the Communist block was not as drastic as the British sociologist A. H. Halsey seems to believe when writing: “In the Soviet Union and the Eastern bloc the separation of church from state was in effect constituted after the Second World War by the abolition of the former.”⁵²) It is thus rather astonishing how alike, in this respect, are Rüegg’s eliminative academic pragmatism and pre-1989 Bolshevism.

The final part of the book, dedicated to ‘science’, was not – with the exception of the Notker Hammerstein’s and Dirk Heirbaut’s introductory chapter on social sciences, history, and law – written by historians. It is the work of experts on mathematics, biology, geology, medicine, and technical sciences. The result is a mixture of commentaries about the progress and changes in this or that part of science, frequently with no ambition to delve more deeply into the development and transformations of the way it is taught at universities and little attention to academic research in the field in question. Some subchapters are a mixture of interesting personal impressions and memories capturing the transformation in a given area of science during the author’s academic career, while others are drowning in partial assertions with no claim to general validity⁵³ and no support in references to other works.

The ‘purge’ in the catalogue of academic disciplines which the team of authors honoured with their attention is not based on a defensible theoretical justification. It rests solely on a utilitarian criterion of economic usefulness. The narrowly pragmatic, managerial approach to universities has been promoted since the 1980s as a formula for modernisation of underfinanced European universities which had been suffering from an influx of masses of students ill-prepared to meet academic demands and experiencing a crisis regarding their meaning and goals. This conception was based on a bureaucratic conviction that once higher education becomes accessible to broad masses, the notion of an ‘elitist’, autonomous, ‘intellectual’ academic community is rendered obsolete. It led to a belief that this outdated model of academia ought to be replaced by a ‘company structure’ that would come from the outside and could be inspected, manipulated, and given its tasks by external protagonists.⁵⁴ The fourth volume of the *History* could thus be seen as a sort of ‘manifesto’ of this bureaucratic/modernising trend. The book is in a way a sworn testimony of intellectual surrender of the academically educated managerial elites. It speaks of their conscious desertion of the tradition of European intellectual culture, tradition of social responsibility for education and spiritual self-regulation of European society. References to pronounced and since 1980s increasing feelings of a crisis in academia, to purposeless overload, bureaucratisation, but

⁵² Albert Henry HALSEY, *Der Zugang zur Universität*, English edition p. 214, German edition p. 197.

⁵³ A good example of this is a chapter on medicine written by John Ellis (1916–1998), former director of the London Hospital. He includes information such as: “Countries which during the war trained anaesthesiologists for the army had after the war significantly more specialists in this field than before the beginning of the war.” (P. 429.)

⁵⁴ On the other hand, let us note the following assertion which Professor Roman Herzog, President of the German Federal Republic made in 1997: “The elite must legitimate themselves through achievement and decisiveness and be role models worthy of emulation. I also expect them to speak in plain language!” See Roman HERZOG, *Aufbruch ins 21. Jahrhundert*, April 26, 1997, (http://www.bundespraesident.de/SharedDocs/Reden/DE/Roman-Herzog/Reden/1997/04/19970426_Reede.html).

also despair over the impossibility of defining, the strategic goals of ‘supradisciplinary’ academic education⁵⁵ in a dialogue with the founders and financial supporters of universities are scattered about in a number of chapters but they are neither treated as a whole nor reflected as a serious problem.

What Rüegg’s team basically failed to do is a thorough investigation of the development and problems of European universities in the post-war era. One could thus well concur with the – so far perhaps the only published – review of the fourth volume, where Anne Rohstock claims that it may well be still too early to publish a synthesis or overview of the history of universities in Europe in the second half of the twentieth century.⁵⁶

Jiří Pešek

Translated by PhDr. Anna Pilátová

⁵⁵ For a representative overview of discussion about the crisis of universities for the period when *The History of Universities*, IV was written, see Jutta WILHELMI, *Krisenherd Hochschule. Deutsche Universitäten zwischen Wahn und Wirklichkeit*, Weinheim 1993; or Michael DAXNER, *Ist die Uni noch zu retten? Zehn Vorschläge und eine Vision*, Reinbek bei Hamburg 1996.

⁵⁶ Anne ROHSTOCK, *Sehepunkte*, 12 (2012), Nr. 1 (January, 15, 2012), <http://www.sehepunkte.de/2012/01/18886.html>, (accessed July 10, 2013). We ought to emphasise that Rohstock – most politely but with analytical thoroughness – utterly trashed the book. This places her in the company of Jürgen Kaube, who described the strong and weak points of this book with wit and considerable degree of sarcasm on the pages of the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (on October 2, 2010). See <http://www.faz.net/aktuell/feuilleton/2.1769/buecher/walter-ruegg-geschichte-der-universitaet-in-europa-band-4-die-zermuerbung-des-lehrkoerpers-durch-besinnungsloses-reformieren-11043577.html> (accessed July 10, 2013).

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