

UDK 323.12(430:497.4)

*Michael Wedekind**

*German Scholarly Elites and the Social-Ethnic
Reorganization of Occupied Slovenia
by the Third Reich*

In 1935, the then 30-year-old geographer Helmut Carstanjen (1905–1990) published a research study called "Language and Nationality in Lower Styria" in which he attempted to verify the number and distribution of German populations in the southern part of the former Austrian crown land of Styria. The study, the author's Ph.D. thesis, was funded by the German Foreign Ministry. Carstanjen concluded that the region, attached to Yugoslavia after the First World War, had "as much as ever a German appearance", mostly due to the fact that the great majority of the population is either German or 'Windisch'. According to Carstanjen, the 'Windisch', although speaking a Slovenian dialect, were culturally and racially strongly influenced by Germans whom they consider their "natural and historic leaders". Carstanjen tried to prove that similar groups with 'transitional' or 'fluid' ethnicity (so-called *Zwischen- or Übergangsvölker*) could even be found on the eastern border of Germany, and concluded that, "taking into consideration the [German] national soil as a whole, [Lower Styria] has in fact to be considered a German borderland."¹ (Figure 1)

Six years after the publication of his book, the author held key positions that impacted on German nationality policy in occupied Lower Styria. Indeed, his previous research might be viewed as a preliminary study for the National Socialist ethnic policy carried out by the German occupation regime after the war in Yugoslavia began in 1941. A closer glance at the staffs of the various German offices indicates that several other scholars holding administrative and consulting functions were directly involved in socially and ethnically 'rebuilding' the semi-annexed Slovenian territories of Lower Styria and neighbouring Upper Carniola. In addition to the German administration and resettlement offices in Maribor and Bled, a network of scholarly institutions with similar purposes operated in Vienna, Graz, Klagenfurt, and Innsbruck.

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¹ Gerhard Werner (i.e. Helmut Carstanjen): *Sprache und Volkstum in der Untersteiermark*, Stuttgart 1935, p. 161.

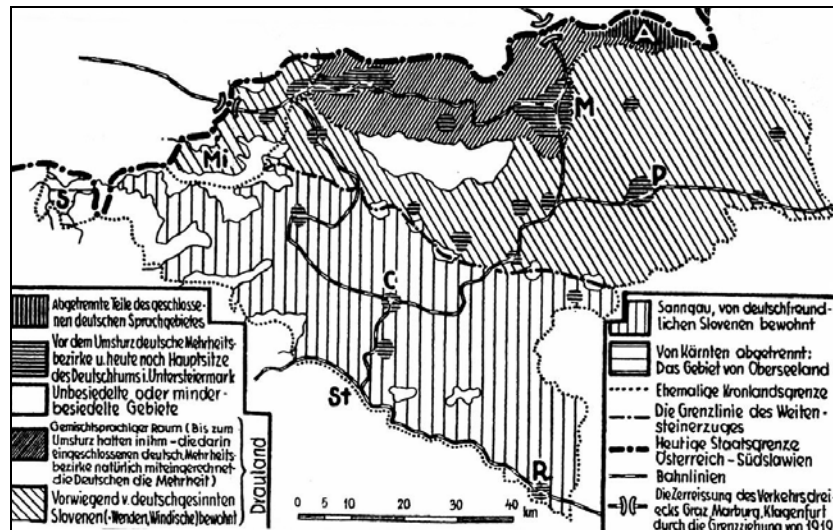


Figure 1: Germans, 'Windisch', and 'pro-German Slovenes' in Lower Styria, according to Helmut Carstanjen. Otto Maull, Helmut Carstanjen: *Die verstümmelten Grenzen*. In: *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik*, 1931, No. 1, pp. 54–63.

What impact did these scholarly elites have on German occupation policy and especially on the social and ethnic 'reconstruction' policies in the occupied territories?² How did they influence the process of political decision-making within the regime? How was the relevant academic knowledge from these 'cognitive pools', mostly drawn from cultural and social sciences, transferred to the administrative bureaucracy of the Third Reich? And to what degree were these elites involved in ethno-political procedures such as German resettlement, denationalization, and ethnic assimilation policies, in strategies of registration, selection, and mass deportation, and even in the physical destruction of what were considered 'undesirable' ethnic groups?

In more general terms, these questions are linked to the relationship between politics, administrative bureaucracies, and social sciences in planning and executing National Socialist population policies in German-occupied Europe. The present article, which will deal with these issues, thus refers to a current debate in German historiography on the role and responsibilities of the social sciences in providing the Nazi regime with techniques and academic knowledge needed to exercise social power, especially in matters of ethnic policy.

² For bibliographical references on German occupation and ethnopolitics in Slovenia and neighbouring Northern Italy, see Michael Wedekind: *Ethnisch-soziale Neuordnungskonzepte im besetzten Europa (1939–1945). Forschungsperspektiven von Fallstudien zum Alpen-Adria-Raum*. In: *Das Konstrukt 'Bevölkerung' vor, im und nach dem 'Dritten Reich'*, Wiesbaden 2005, pp. 371–385.

Beyond revisionist claims and internal resettlement programs in the ethnically mixed or non-German areas of Carinthia, Styria, and the Burgenland,³ genuine Austrian imperialist concepts regarding the Alpine and Adriatic area had emerged in the mid-1920s. Shortly after the 1938 'union' of Austria with Germany, Hugo Hassinger (1877–1952), a prominent scholar of historical, political, and anthropological geography, stated that "here in the Ostmark, due to its geographical position, as well as its nature and history, pursuing matters of spatial and demographic reorganization necessarily implies going beyond the German national space and considering greater Central European areas."⁴ In fact, the claim to the south-eastern Alpine foothills and access to the Adriatic Sea as well as the establishment of German hegemony in Central Europe in order to expand to East-Central and Southeast Europe, was a remake of traditional, pre-1918 models. Indeed, aggressive settlement strategies already played a role in German nationalistic associations in Austria that had begun to establish colonies of German settlers (for example, in Lower Styria) and contemplated such activities in Carniola and in the Littoral in order to establish a German corridor to the Mediterranean. During the interwar period, expansionist projects were propagated by geographers as well as by publicists and nationalistic activists. Kurt Trampler, then assistant at the Southeast Institute in Munich, stated in 1934 that "in the south, the border of [German] culture stretches significantly beyond the ethnic border: incontestably it includes [...] the Slavic foreland of Carinthia and Styria".⁵ (Figures 2–3) This idea was inspired by the thesis of 'German national and cultural soil' (a theory that in pre-war Germany had opposed the etatistic concept of the nation) in order to draw future German borders. As early as 1931, Otto Maull (1887–1957), professor of geography at the University of Graz, one of the leading experts of ethnocentric geopolitics and author of a standard work on political geography, had, together with Helmut Carstanjen, demanded "more thorough scientific research" of the German borderland questions and a "more precise specification of [territorial] claims."⁶ In 1932, Carstanjen also requested a concerted study of the southern settlements and national frontiers, thus "passing from the former position of defence [...] to a position of offence" by "decisively opposing the German idea of 'unredeemed Lower Styria' to the Slovenian nationalist idea of 'unredeemed southern Carinthia'."⁷

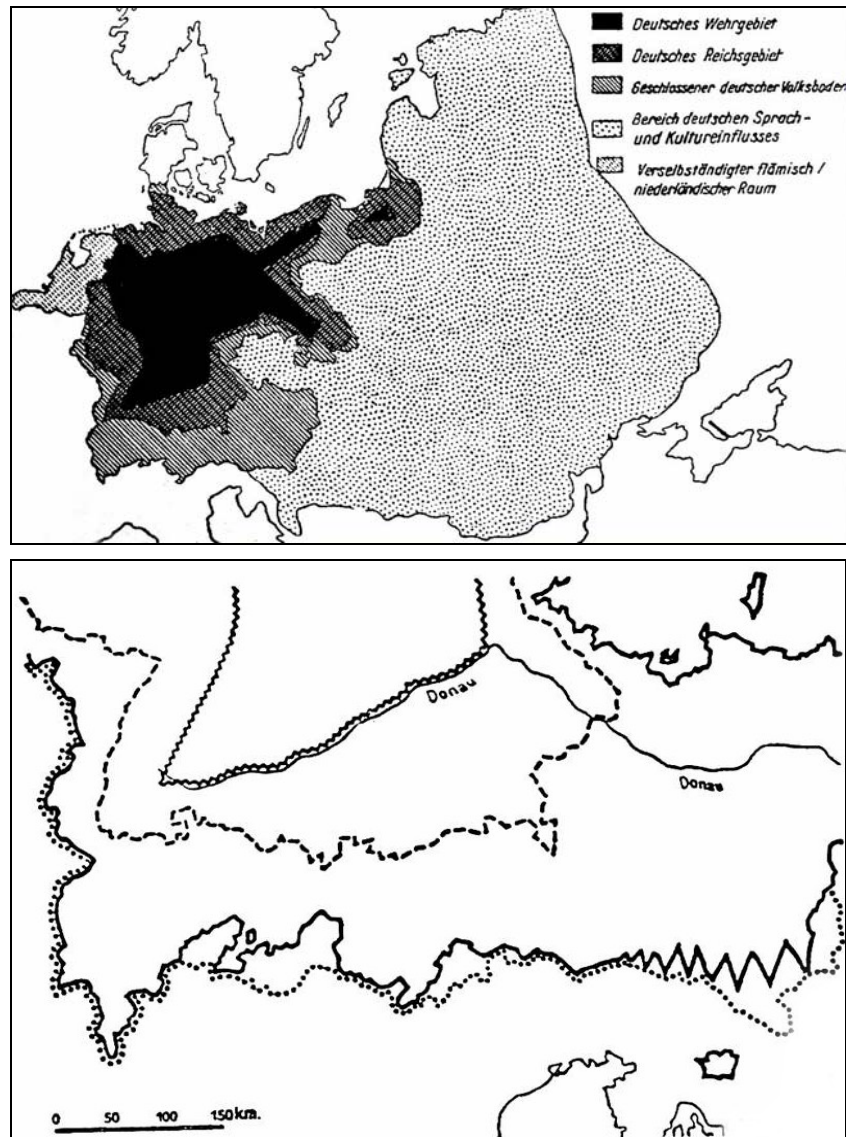
³ See, e.g., Alois Maier-Kaibitsch: *Reichsdeutsche Siedler in Kärnten*. In: *Die Welt. Zeitschrift für das Deutschtum im Ausland*, 1933, No. 10, pp. 690–692; Karl Stuhlpfarrer, Leopold Steuerer: *Die OSSA in Österreich*. In: *Vom Justizpalast zum Heldenplatz. Studien und Dokumentationen 1927 bis 1938*, Vienna 1975, pp. 35–64.

⁴ Hugo Hassinger: *Die Ostmark*. In: *Raumforschung und Raumordnung*, 1938, No. 3, pp. 391–397, especially pp. 396 f.

⁵ Kurt Trampler: *Deutsche Grenzen*. In: *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik*, 1934, No. 1, pp. 15–71, especially p. 25.

⁶ Otto Maull, Helmut Carstanjen: *Die verstümmelten Grenzen*. In: *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik*, 1931, No. 1, pp. 54–63, especially p. 62.

⁷ Helmut Carstanjen: Account on the present situation, scientific problems, and studies con-



Figures 2, 3: Cartographic illustrations of the 'national and cultural soil thesis' ('*Volks- und Kulturbodenthese*') showing the supposed area of German cultural and linguistic influence in Europe (*above*) and in the Alpine area (*below*). Kurt Trampler: *Deutsche Grenzen*. In: *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik*, 1934, No. 1, pp. 15–71.

cerning Germanism in Lower Styria and Carniola. Annex to: Working Group for Research on the German Alps (Arbeitsgemeinschaft für alpendeutsche Forschungen): Report on a conference held in St. Paul i[m] L[avanttal] on May 26 and 27, 1932 (Bundesarchiv, Berlin: R 153/1703).

In the years to come, the Southeast German Research Community, the Alpine Research Community and the Southeast German Institute in Graz (in particular since 1938) took a decisive role in this research. They focused on preliminary studies of ethnic cleansing in Carinthia and territorial revision in northern Yugoslavia. The cognitive interests, themes, and methods of the involved scholars – whether they were oriented to *Volkswissenschaften* or to multidisciplinary demographic and spatial planning and 'socio-technical' population research – overlapped with the Third Reich's designs for a radical transformation of the social structures of (occupied) Europe. Indeed, statistical, socio-demographic, socio-geographic, and cartographic techniques were inherent to their studies on Lower Styria. Manfred Straka (1911–1990), social and demographic historian, had been concerned since the mid-thirties with verifying the numbers and the property of the German population in Lower Styria and analyzing the land register of the city of Maribor.⁸

In the summer of 1940, when German expansionist and annexationist plans regarding Yugoslavia began to take shape, the abovementioned institutions assumed consultative functions in the process of political decision-making. Along with peripheral party offices in Styria and Carinthia, these institutions produced minutes, memoranda, and other documents that laid claim to Slovenia by emphasizing linguistic, historical, cultural, and economic aspects. These documents were submitted to leading representatives of the regime. The Southeast German Institute⁹ in particular was engaged in expansionist planning in Lower Styria. In 1940, Manfred Straka, on behalf of the institute, produced two ethnic maps of Yugoslavia that were attached to the "Military Geographic Description of Yugoslavia" published by the German Army General Staff in June 1940. Later, he and Wilhelm Sattler elaborated a repertory of place names to be used in the future annexation of the territories of Lower Styria, Mežiška Valley, and the Prekmurje region. In June 1940, Hermann Ibler (1905–1986), lecturer at the University of Graz, prepared a study, again on behalf of the Southeast German Institute, on the question of the southern borders of Styria. This study was presented to Adolf Hitler and Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop by the Styrian Gauleiter, Siegfried Uiberreither (1908–1984).

Helmut Carstanjen, a fellow member of the NSDAP, was appointed Director of the Southeast German Institute. He embodies to a striking degree the mental and cognitive vicinity of these scholarly circles to bureaucratic registration techniques, as well as their will to influence politics or even to intervene immediately in the administrative sphere. Carstanjen had worked with the League for

⁸ Raimund von Klebelsberg: Report on the activities of the Alpine Research Community (Alpenländische Forschungsgemeinschaft) in 1935–36, [Innsbruck], undated [1936?] (Bundesarchiv, Berlin: R 153/1508).

⁹ See Christian Promitzer: *Täterwissenschaft: das Südostdeutsche Institut in Graz*. In: *Südostforschung im Schatten des Dritten Reiches: Institutionen – Inhalte – Personen*, Munich 2004, pp. 93–113.

Germans Abroad, and, prior to 1941, had regularly informed the Reich Security Main Office on Slovenian issues.

As head of the Styrian main office of the Ethnic German Liaison Office, a principal instrument of the German population policy, and in his additional functions as national-political consultant not only to the chief of the civil administration in Lower Styria but also to the leadership of the Styrian Popular League and, temporarily, to the Maribor office of the Reich Commissioner for Strengthening Germandom, Carstanjen in 1941 was personally engaged in the Third Reich's efforts to racially restructure Slovenia. (Figure 4) He was directly involved in the deportation of Slovenians and in the Germanization of Lower Styria. In the autumn of 1941, he lost his influence over the Reich Commissioner's office in Maribor, but retained partial authority over commissions established to examine, from a racial as well as a political point of view, all Slovenians and Germans who, mainly induced by intimidation, appealed for membership in the Styrian Popular League, the preliminary National Socialist party organization and the main instrument for the Germanization of the annexed territory.

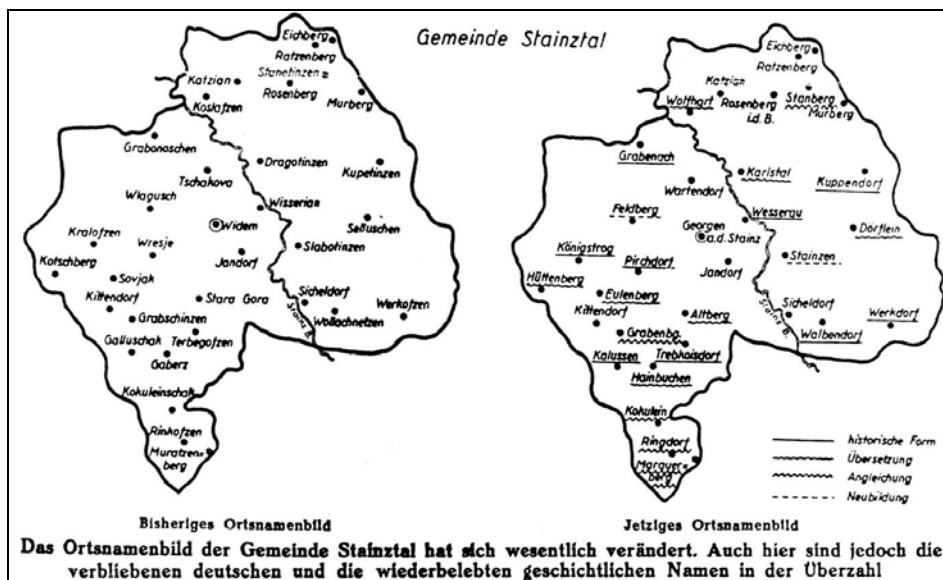


Figure 4: Techniques of Germanizing place names in Lower Styria: former (*left*) and Germanized place names (*right*) in the township of Videm ob Ščavnici / Georgen an der Stainz (*Marburger Zeitung* June, 30, 1943).



- Bis zum Umsturz deutsche Sprachinseln, auch heute in den Hauptsitzen des Deutschtums.
- * Untersteirische Gemeinden südlich des gemischtsprachigen Raumes mit deutschen Minderheiten über 20% (1910)
- |-| Zerreißung des innerösterreichischen Verkehrsdreiecks (Bruck—Marburg—Villach) und der Verbindung Graz—Klagenfurt durch die gegenwärtige Staatsgrenze.
- Grenzen der Kärntner Abstammungszonen
- ▨ Vom geschlossenen deutschen Sprachgebiet abgetrenntes Land in Untersteiermark und im Übermürggebiet.
- Der südlich der heutigen Staatsgrenze gelegene Teil des gemischtsprachigen Raumes in Steiermark, in dem (einschließlich der in ihm gelegenen deutschen Sprachinseln) die Deutschen bis zum Umsturz die Mehrheit innehatten.

Figure 5: Map attached to Carstanjen's study on *Language and Nationality in Lower Styria*, showing German settlement regions and ethnically mixed areas in Lower Styria. Gerhard Werner: *Sprache und Volkstum in der Untersteiermark*, Stuttgart 1935.

In 1943, Carstanjen elaborated a precise settlement strategy, based on previously accumulated socio-demographic and statistical data, for the extension of German linguistic frontiers in Lower Styria. (Figure 5) Following the model of the Südmark Nationalist Association, which had launched a German settlement program around Šentilj in the hills of Slovenske Gorice in 1906, Carstanjen proposed the strengthening of a German linguistic 'bridgehead' in that same area. This would allow for the gradual establishment of a German-speaking strip between Styria and the city of Maribor. The creation of other 'bridgeheads' was planned along the axis of Eibiswald in Styria–Radlje–Muta in the upper Drava Valley, and between the large cities in order to weaken the existing linguistic frontiers. As a symptom of the times, Carstanjen's plan marks the juncture between rational scholarly research and its perversion and exploitation for expansionist spatial planning, denationalization, mass deportation, and resettlement.

Almost immediately after the German occupation, a vast project of ethnic cleansing and resettlement aiming at the complete alteration of the regional population structures according to political and 'racial' criteria was started in Lower Styria and Upper Carniola. This project was determined by aggressive expansionism and anti-Slavism, and based on bureaucratically designed scenarios of population transfers and demographic planning. The deportation of Slovenians had already been decided on during a conference in Graz on April 8 and 9, 1941. During the conference, Wilhelm Stuckart (1902–1953), secretary of the Ministry of Interior and an "ambitious SS officer with a strong geopolitical bent and keen interest in Grossraumverwaltung",¹⁰ met with the future chiefs of the civil administration, Siegfried Uiberreither and Franz Kutschera (1904–1944). It was decided that 14,634 Slovenians and Serbs from Lower Styria would be deported to Serbia and Croatia in two phases, and 2,337 Slovenians would be simultaneously expelled from Upper Carniola and transported mostly to Serbia. Additionally, as already determined in May 1941, 107 people from the former Carinthian Mežiška Valley would be transferred to Germany and another 2,631 would be otherwise 'evacuated'. The largest deportation project, the expulsion of some 36,000 Slovenians from the area along the Sava and Sotla rivers in Lower Styria and their transfer to several camps in Germany where they were employed as forced labourers, took place between October 23, 1941, and July 30, 1942. Although by that time, deportations in the rest of Slovenia had been almost completely stopped due to the intervention of Heinrich Himmler, the Sava-Sotla plan was carried out in order to facilitate the resettlement of Germans from the Kočevje region. According to Himmler, this area would be "the most Germanized [...] of all Styria."¹¹ (Figures 6, 7)

¹⁰ Arnold Toynbee, Veronica Marjorie Toynbee: *Hitler's Europe*, London, New York, Toronto 1954, p. 108.

¹¹ Special order of Heinrich Himmler, April 18, 1941 quoted from: Tone Ferenc: *Le système d'occupation des Nazis en Slovénie*. In: *Les systèmes d'occupation en Yougoslavie 1941–1945. Rapports au 3^e Congrès international sur l'histoire de la Résistance européenne à Karlovy Vary, les 2–4 septembre 1963, Belgrade 1963, pp. 47–133, especially pp. 61 f.*



Figure 6: 'Resettlement Area A' in Lower Styria (so-called 'Sava-Sotla-Strip').

The deportations were preceded by the work of racial examination teams that inspected and classified the population, assigning each person to one of four scaled categories on the basis of presumed racial criteria and an evaluation of political attitudes. These racial examination teams, classifying 433,934 people in Lower Styria and 63,334 people in Upper Carniola between April 23 and September 15, 1941, decided the destiny of hundreds of thousands of Slovenians. The head of the examination commission in both territories was SS-Obersturmbannführer Bruno Kurt Schultz (1901–1997),¹² a physical anthropologist who in the late thirties had composed, on behalf of the Race and Settlement Main Office, a set of racial criteria for SS candidates with the intention of forming a racial elite. He was involved in research on the genetic and sociological conditions of rural populations, the goal being to acquire a picture of hereditary factors. In April 1941, Schultz took over Division II (Racial Examination) of the Resettlement Staff in both Upper Carniola and Lower Styria. While the deportation of Slovenians was under way, the first German settlers arrived in Lower Styria. By the end of October 1943, 10,666 people from the Kočevje region, 156 South Tyroleans, 297 Germans from Bessarabia, and 247 from Dobrogea (Romania, Black Sea Littoral) had been transferred, though by mid-May 1943, only 1,200 Germans, originating from Ljubljana, Kočevje, the Kanal Valley, and South Tyrol, had been moved to Upper Carniola.

Vary, les 2–4 septembre 1963, Belgrade 1963, pp. 47–133, especially pp. 61 f.

¹² On the central importance of Schultz for National Socialist racial science, see Benoît Massin: *Anthropologie und Humangenetik im Nationalsozialismus, oder: Wie schreiben deutsche Wissenschaftler ihre eigene Wissenschaftsgeschichte?* In: *Wissenschaftlicher Rassismus: Analysen einer Kontinuität in den Human- und Naturwissenschaften*, Frankfurt am Main 1999, pp. 12–64.

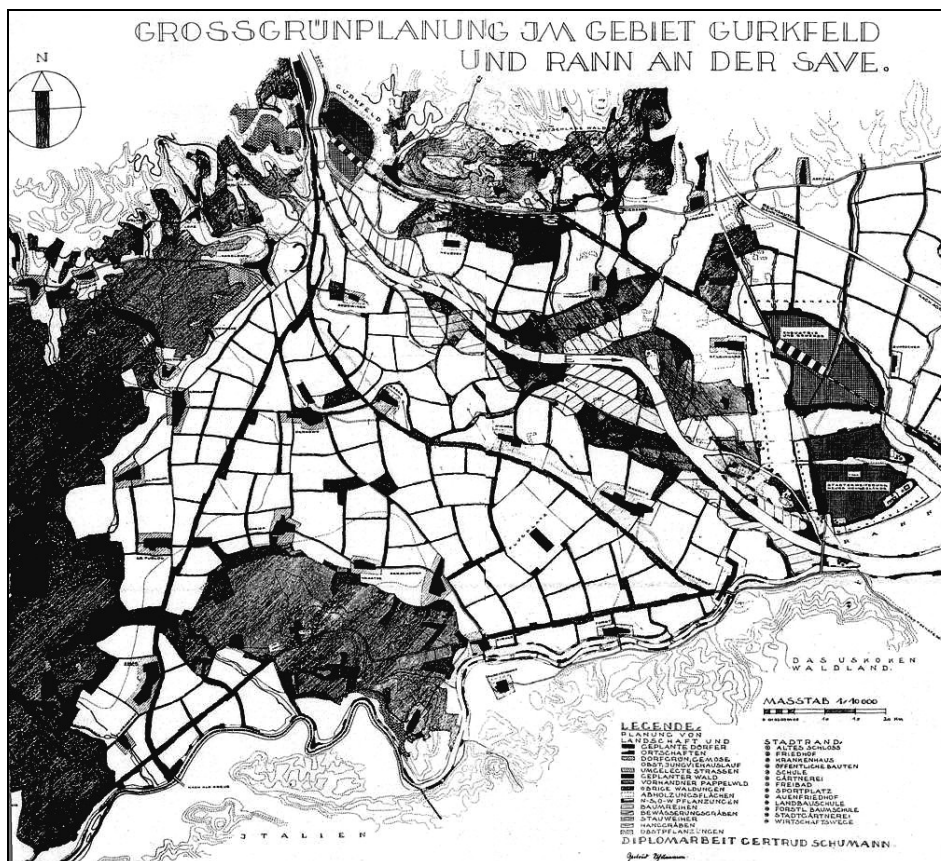


Figure 7: Gertrud Schumann: spatial planning project regarding the region of Krško and Brežice in the 'Resettlement Area A'. Schumann followed the concept of her doctoral adviser at the University of Berlin, Prof. Heinrich-Friedrich Wiepking-Jürgensmann (1891–1973), who was appointed Special Mandatory for Landscape Design Issues and, as such, attached to the planning authority of the Reich Commissioner for Strengthening Germandom. A complete modification and reorganization of the landscape, according to 'Germanic' and military criteria, was suggested. Gertrud Schumann: *Grundlagen der Landschaftsgestaltung in der Untersteiermark*, Ph.D. thesis, Berlin 1944.

As early as the summer of 1941, the first activities by partisan groups indicated that the German deportations were provoking an increased potential for resistance. This caused a reorientation in German occupation policy in Slovenia that began in August 1941 when Himmler ordered the suspension of deportations until the end of the war. In fact, escalating German violence and repression had been criticized by the Ministry of Interior and by the chief of the Main Staff Office of the Reich Commissioner for Strengthening Germandom, Ulrich

Greifelt (1896-1949), as well as by different Carinthian party officials. As early as May 1941, at the time when Styrian Gauleiter Uiberreither was filing complaints about the "incomprehensible German restraints"¹³ on deportation affairs, historian Karl Starzacher (1913–1945),¹⁴ chief of staff of the Reich Commissioner's office in Upper Carniola, criticized the Germanization program in a memorandum. His reservations concerning the German deportations had to do with efficiency – he believed the mass expulsion of the Slovenians to be technically impossible. While not renouncing the deportation of intellectuals and the physical liquidation of "racially inferior people", SS-Obersturmführer Starzacher pleaded for Germanization through increased German acculturation and education: "Our primary goal is the formation of a middle class which considers itself both part of the Reich and of Carinthia as a smaller regional entity. [...] This goal should be achieved through the same systematic denationalization process that made it possible [in 1918/19] for the Windisch population of Carinthia to fight, in a communion of destiny, beside the Germans in the defensive battle [against Yugoslavia]. [...] This apparently moderate, but in fact much more clear-sighted method, is more likely than any other method to achieve successful Germanization."¹⁵

The foundation of the Institute for Carinthian Regional Studies¹⁶ in October 1942, was at least partially a result of giving up systematic mass deportations in favour of denationalization measures. As the Slovenian historian Tone Ferenc (1927–2003) points out, the German occupation regime in Lower Styria was far more effective in realizing its Germanizing goals than in Upper Carniola. Several factors contributed to this success: first, the German-speaking minority of Lower Styria acted, to some extent, as the regime's base and thus it was easier to gather a larger public consensus, and second more systematic and far-reaching studies were carried out that helped the regime operate in a more effective way. In fact,

¹³ Siegfried Uiberreither to the Ministry of Interior, Maribor, May 12, 1941 (Bundesarchiv, Berlin: R 43 II/1503).

¹⁴ Between December 1939 and February 1943, Starzacher was also in charge of the SS-dependent German expatriation office (Amtliche Deutsche Ein- und Rückwandererstelle) in Tarvisio/Trbiž in the Val Canale/Kanalska dolina and was thus responsible for 'technical and bureaucratic' aspects of the resettlement. In September 1943, Starzacher became German Adviser to the prefect of the Italian province of Udine in the German Occupied Adriatic Littoral. He was shot by Italian partisans in Pordenone on April 27, 1945.

¹⁵ Memorandum by Karl Starzacher, May 22, 1941, quoted from: Tone Ferenc: *Quellen zur nationalsozialistischen Entnationalisierungspolitik in Slowenien 1941–1945 / Viri o nacistični raznarodovalni politiki v Sloveniji 1941–1945*, Maribor 1980, (hereinafter Ferenc, *Quellen*) pp. 115–119.

¹⁶ See Michael Wedekind: *Institut für Kärntner Landesforschung*. In: Handbuch der völkischen Wissenschaften: Personen, Institutionen, Forschungsprogramme, Stiftungen, Munich 2008, pp. 266–275; Martin Fritzl: "...für Volk und Reich und deutsche Kultur". *Die 'Kärntner Wissenschaft' im Dienste des Nationalismus*, Klagenfurt 1992, (hereinafter Fritzl: *Volk und Reich*) p. 119 ff.; Michael Wedekind: *Nationalsozialistische Besatzungs- und Annexionspolitik in Norditalien 1943 bis 1945: Die Operationszonen 'Alpenvorland' und 'Adriatisches Küstenland'*, Munich 2003, pp. 261 ff.

SS-Obersturmbannführer Alois Maier-Kaibitsch (1891–1953), the central figure of National Socialist denationalization and deportation of Slovenians in Carinthia (who in Upper Carniola had been chief of the Reich Commissioner's office in Bled and national-political consultant to the chief of the civil administration since October 1941) complained about "the total deficiency of German scientific studies"¹⁷ on the recently occupied region. In sum, Styria had the institutions of intellectual guidance for German expansion that Carinthia lacked. Additionally, Carinthian borderland scholars had been predominantly engaged in what could be called 'internal colonization' until the end of the thirties. The studies themselves were inspired by the leitmotif of German cultural superiority and focused mainly on the linguistically-mixed and Slovenian-speaking areas of Lower Carinthia. They were targeted toward 'defending' the supposed geographic and cultural 'unity of the province' and toward constructing a 'Carinthian national identity' – a concept intended to subject the local Slovenian minority to German socio-economical and political guidance and supremacy, and, ultimately, to denationalization. In the process of German assimilation, the invention of a distinct linguistic and ethnic identity, the so-called 'Windisch', artificially separating the Slovenians of Carinthia from those south of the Karavanke mountains, was a decisive instrument developed by the Carinthian historian Martin Wutte (1876–1948). In 1932, Wutte stated: "One of the most important problems in all the German borderland regions is the relationship between language and nationality. It is increasingly acknowledged that linguistic group-membership is not necessarily congruent with national group-membership [...]. Not only language but other forms of identity are important: native region, culture, economy, commonly experienced destinies, kinship, and sentimental notions. [...] This is also true for the Slovenian-speaking population of Carinthia. In the linguistically-mixed area, there are thousands who, in addition to German, also speak Windisch and who strongly oppose the Slovenians and demonstrate by their attitude that they do not want to be Slovenians."¹⁸ In 1941, this strategy of denationalization was applied to the Germanization process in occupied Upper Carniola.

The task of the Institute for Carinthian Regional and Cultural Studies, whose foundation had been ventilated since mid-1941, was to guide and support the National Socialist Germanization policy and to ensure the 'mental conquest' of Upper Carniola. In June 1941, Franz Kutschera, a hard-liner in Germany's policy of oppression in Slovenia and a believer that "now as ever, science must stand by the side of the sword", defined a catalogue of essential research topics: archaeological and historical studies on the migration of peoples, Lombard and German

¹⁷ Notice by the SS-Ahnenerbe (Hans Schwalm) on a conference held in Bled on October 6, 1941, dated Bled, October 8, 1941, quoted from Ferenc, *Quellen*, pp. 295–300.

¹⁸ Martin Wutte: Account of the state of scientific studies on the Carinthian question. Annex to: Working Group for Research on the German Alps (Arbeitsgemeinschaft für alpendeutsche Forschungen): Report on a conference held in St. Paul i[m] L[avanttal], on May 26 and 27, 1932 (Bundesarchiv, Berlin: R 153/1703).

settlements, racial composition of the population, "German achievements and creations in all sectors of public and cultural life",¹⁹ and German linguistic influences on Slovenian dialects. Maier-Kaibitsch, however, called for more 'practical' support for the German goal of "creating and awakening a specific Upper Carnolian identity": "Up until now, scientific evidence is lacking for such a national-political orientation regarding the Slovenians in Upper Carnolia. [...] To accomplish this, the employment of an entire team of scholars will be needed."²⁰

Although annexed to the University of Graz, the Institute for Carinthian Regional and Cultural Studies depended mostly on the directions of the Carinthian Gauleiter. This, together with its collaboration with the SS-Ahnenerbe, introduced a strong political influence to the scientific activities of the institute, which became an instrument of the political leadership. As was officially recorded in September 1942, the task of the institute was "to establish an irrefutable ideology for the German claim to Upper Carniola as a land of ancient Germanic settlement."²¹

Eberhard Kranzmayer (1897–1975), who, after having been a lecturer at the University of Munich, held the chair for Dialectology and Borderland Studies at the University of Graz since October 1, 1942, was appointed director of the institute. Kranzmayer was an expert in German linguistic history, geolinguistics, minority languages, and dialects, in settlement history of the Eastern Alps as well as folklore, borderland, and place name studies. Wounded in the First World War, he had participated in borderland struggles in Carinthia in 1919 and in Upper Silesia in 1921. Kranzmayer considered his scholarly studies a continuation of these ethnic conflicts by other means. His mostly philological contributions regarding the southern German-speaking borderlands, and especially his works on cultural and linguistic influences on the Slovenians, made him believe in "the enormous cultural superiority of the German nation compared to the whole East."²² With "unsurpassable clarity," Kranzmayer could finally present "the long-established Slovenians as an adaptive component of the German cultural community."²³

Pervaded by the concept of German cultural expansionism, the other Carniola-related studies of the institute dealt with historical aspects of settlement geography, with racial and folkloristic issues and various characteristics of the regional civilization. Karl Dinklage (1907–1987) from the University of Graz, head of the pre- and early history section of the institute, contributed

¹⁹ Franz Kutschera to Minister Bernhard Rust, Klagenfurt, June 17, 1941, quoted from Ferenc, *Quellen*, pp. 181–183.

²⁰ Notice by H. Schwalm, October 8, 1941 (same as note 17).

²¹ *Kärntner Zeitung*, September 30, 1942, quoted from Fritzl: *Volk und Reich*, p. 134.

²² Eberhard Kranzmayer: *Der bairische Sprachraum*. In: *Jahrbuch der deutschen Sprache*, 1944, No. 2, pp. 169–180, especially p. 179.

²³ Eberhard Kranzmayer: *Die deutschen Lehnwörter in der slowenischen Volkssprache*, Ljubljana 1944, p. 38.

studies on early medieval settlements in Carinthia, Lower Styria, and Upper Carniola²⁴; the geographer Günter Glauert (1905–1982) published on the historic settlement geography of Upper Carniola;²⁵ Georg Graber (1882–1957) treated racial and folkloristic questions,²⁶ and Viktor Paschinger (1882–1963) studied the geographical aspects of the annexed territory.²⁷ The general thrust of these studies was to demonstrate "that Upper Carniola is a province of ancient German civilization in the fullest sense of the word and had been mainly a German settlement territory, though, due to ongoing Slovenization, German bonds have been deliberately cut or even reversed."²⁸ (Figures 8, 9, 10)

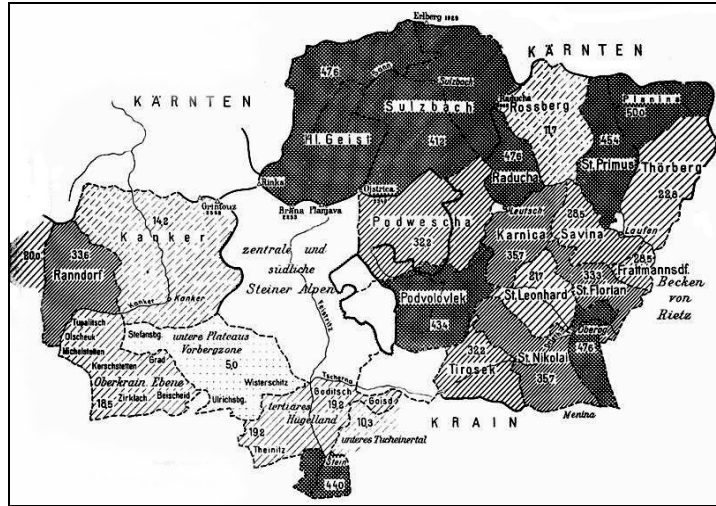


Figure 8

- ²⁴ Karl Dinklage: *Frühdeutsche Volkskulturen im Spiegel der Bodenfunde von Untersteiermark und Krain*. In: *Mitteilungen der anthropologischen Gesellschaft Wien*, 1941, pp. 235–259; id.: *Oberkrains Deutschtum im Spiegel der karolingischen Bodenfunde*. In: *Carinthia*, 1941, pp. 360–391; id.: *Frühdeutsche Volkskultur in Kärnten und seinen Marken*, Ljubljana 1943.
- ²⁵ Günter Glauert: *Die Entwicklung der Kulturlandschaft in den Steiner Alpen und Ostkarawanken*, Graz 1936; id.: *Zur Besiedlung der Steiner Alpen und Ostkarawanken (das Gebiet Freibach, Kanker, Sann und Miess)*. In: *Deutsches Archiv für Landes- und Volksforschung*, 1937, No. 1, pp. 457–486; id.: *Landschaftsbild und Siedlungsgang in einem Abschnitt der südöstlichen Kalkalpen (Ostkarawanken und Steiner Alpen) und seinen Randgebieten*. In: *Südost-Forschungen*, 1938, No. 3, pp. 457–524; id.: *Ein Kärntner Grenzmarkt in den Karawanken im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*. In: *Südost-Forschungen*, 1939, No. 4, pp. 643–683; id.: *Grundherrenschaftsbesitz und Rodung im karantanisch-alkrainischen Grenzgebiet*. In: *Südost-Forschungen*, 1940, No. 5, pp. 864–943; id.: *Kulturlandschaftliche Veränderungen im Gebirgslande zwischen Drau und Save bis zum Beginn der deutschen Südostsiedlung*. In: *Südost-Forschungen*, 1942, No. 7, pp. 9–52; id.: *Siedlungsgeographie von Oberkrain*, Munich 1943.
- ²⁶ Georg Graber: *Volkskundliches*. In: *Oberkrain*, Kranj 1942, pp. 67–95.
- ²⁷ Viktor Paschinger: *Land und Wirtschaft*. In: *Oberkrain*, Kranj 1942, pp. 7–35.
- ²⁸ Karl Starzacher: *Oberkrain: deutscher Kulturboden*. In: *Deutsche Volkskunde. Vierteljahresschrift der Arbeitsgemeinschaft für deutsche Volkskunde*, 1943, No. 5, pp. 69–71, especially p. 69.

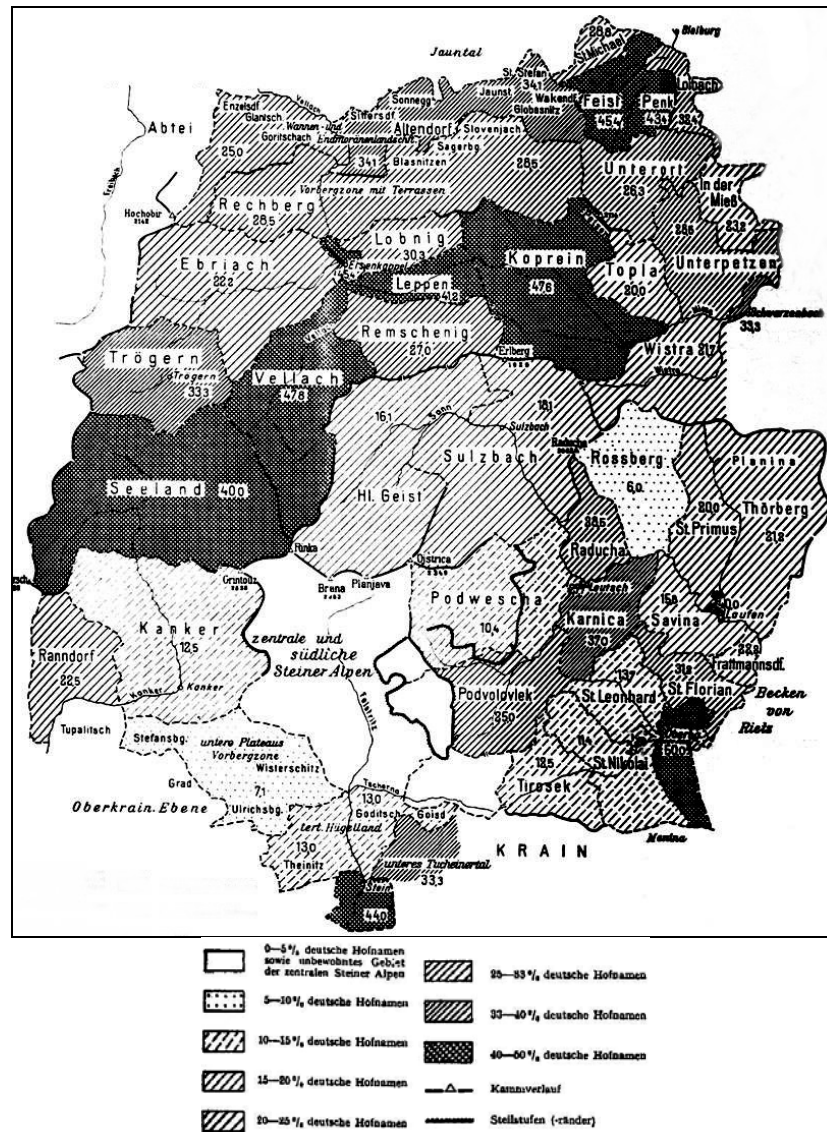


Figure 9: Frequency of German farm and family names in the Steiner Alps (Kamniške Alpe) and their southern foreland, as well as in the Eastern Karawanke mountains, in 1426–1458 (p. 290) and in 1535–1573 (p. 291 this is page 291), considered to be a proof of German presence and later Slovenization of German populations. (Günter Glauert: *Zur Besiedlung der Steiner Alpen und Ostkarawanken: Das Gebiet Freibach, Kanker, Sann und Miess*. In: *Deutsches Archiv für Landes- und Volksforschung*, 1937, No. 1, pp. 457–486).

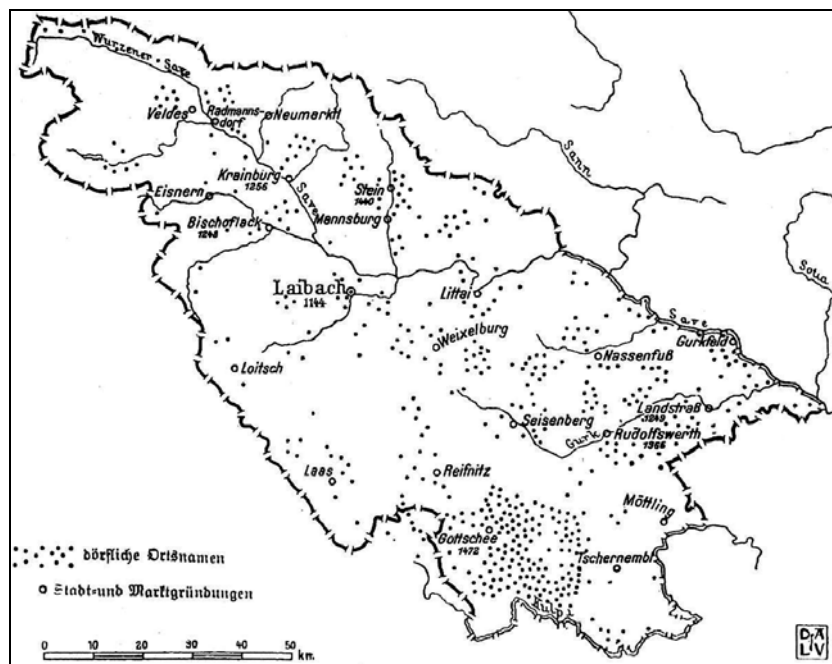


Figure 10: Upper Carniola: German place names and the foundation of German cities and market-towns, as illustrated by Herbert Otterstädt. Herbert Otterstädt: *Vom deutschen Blutsanteil in Krain*. In: *Deutsches Archiv für Landes und Volksforschung*, 1941, No. 5, pp. 39–57.

Though deportations of Slovenians had been stopped in 1941, National Socialist rule in Upper Carniola was nevertheless characterized by a climate of increasingly brutal repression. The struggle against the partisan movement, which had been perverted to an arbitrary terrorization of the civil population, continued to be part of the German settlement policy: namely, the deportation of insurgents and their relatives, the shooting of hostages, and the devastation of entire villages. Deportations and Germanization measures persisted despite internal criticism. They continued even after Franz Kutschera was replaced by Friedrich Rainer (1903–1947) on November 18, 1941. Yet in September 1943, only days after the installation of Friedrich Rainer as Supreme Commissioner in the Adriatic Littoral, a semi-annexed territory in northeast Italy, Martin Wutte (the main promulgator of Carinthian historiography and 'inventor' of the 'Windischen theory' who had spearheaded the anti-Slovenian denationalization policy of the regime in Carinthia and in Upper Carniola) directed a written appeal to Rainer recommending a more moderate nationality policy in his sphere of responsibility and especially in the province of Ljubljana. After the excesses of 1941 and 1942, Wutte, though still convinced of German cultural superiority,

asked that Slovenians be conceded autonomy in the cultural and, to some extent, administrative sector in order to demonstrate that "henceforth the Slovenian nationality will be recognized and that security will be given to support and preserve it within the German Empire."²⁹ Like the political leadership, Wutte intended, following the German occupation of Italy, to unite the territories of former Carniola as a German protectorate. Although no doubt a courageous act, his intervention was primarily meant to assure the realization of National Socialist spatial and demographic planning goals and to make German occupation policy more dynamic and effective.

In autumn 1944, Ulrich Greifelt, the chief of the Main Staff Office of the Reich Commissioner for Strengthening Germanism, recommended a complete stop to deportations, proposed autonomy for Upper Carniola and the province of Ljubljana and the establishment of an independent Slovenia under German control. His recommendation was influenced by the Reich's general military situation, the increasing power of the resistance movement, and doubts regarding the success of the German denationalization policy "in such an [ethnically] complex settlement area as the Slovenian". For Greifelt, abandoning the 'Windischen theory' and other pseudo-scientific constructs on German acculturation of the Slovenians, the collaborative aspect prevailed over Germanizing the region "as the preponderance of German resettlement will not be in the South, but in the East."³⁰ Rainer, though he made insignificant concessions to the Slovenians regarding autonomy in the cultural and administrative field, showed no inclination to alter his political line in Upper Carniola. Driven by the spirit of ethnic intolerance, Rainer considered deportations to present "the last possibility of laying our hands on Slovenian soil".³¹

Povzetek

Nemški družboslovci in kulturologi ter družbeno etnična preobrazba jugovzhodne Srednje Evrope s strani "Tretjega rajha"

Prispevek prikazuje ekspanzionistične politične projekte o prostorskem planiranju in etnično družbene reorganizacijske strategije nacistične Nemčije na zasedenih in preselitvenih ozemljih na prostoru Alpe-Jadran med letoma 1939 in 1945. Pri tem nas predvsem zanima, kako so sociologi, demografi, "raso-

²⁹ Quoted from Wilhelm Neumann: *Martin Wutte und sein Urteil über die nationalsozialistische Slowenenpolitik in Kärnten und Krain aufgrund seiner Denkschrift vom 19. September 1943*. In: Carinthia I, 1986, No. 176, pp. 9–40, especially p. 14.

³⁰ Wilhelm Greifelt to Heinrich Himmler, Enclosure I: "Nationality Policy towards the Slovenians", Schweiklberg, October 20, 1944 (Bundesarchiv, Berlin: NS 19/2661).

³¹ Ibid.

slovci", geografi, geopolitiki, zgodovinarji, etnografi in lingvisti razvili in za praktično uporabo pripravili teorijo o gospodovanju nad zasedenimi ljudstvi in ozemlji. S tem so v Sloveniji in severovzhodni Italiji šele omogočili izvajanje populacijsko političnih ukrepov (strategije raznarodovanja in etnične asimilacije, prakse popisovanja, selekcije in uničevanja, prisilne preselitve in deportacije).

Na splošno do sedaj v zgodovinskih raziskavah nismo bili pozorni na področje raziskovanja vidikov teoretsko populacijskega političnega zakulisja nacističnih reorganizacijskih konceptov. To velja prav tako za vprašanje o genezi in dejanski realizaciji, o gonilnih silah in možnostih uveljavitve takšnih predlogov v notranjih strukturah nacističnega režima ter končno o njihovem konkretnem vplivu na *decision* in *policy making*. Z ozirom na raziskovanje populacijsko političnih intervencij nam manjkajo tudi analize institucionalnega prepletanja, soodvisnosti in pristojnosti pri odločanju kot tudi povsem splošne analize osebnih popisov, s katerimi so na zasedenih ozemljih izpeljevali reorganizacijske ukrepe.

S pomočjo posameznih primerov v kontekstu nemške naselitvene politike oriše prispevek nazorski in znanstveni način mišljenja miljeja "nacionalno pristinih" družboslovcev in kulturologov kot tudi njihove metode, raziskovalne strategije in programe. Pri tem se prispevek obrača predvsem na pretežno avstrijsko raziskovanje alpskih dežel in jugovzhodne Evrope, katero se je odvijalo na Dunaju v okviru *Südostdeutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* in *Südosteuropa-Gesellschaft*, v Gradcu predvsem na *Südostdeutsche Institut*, v Celovcu na *Institut für Kärntner Landesforschung* in v Innsbrucku v okviru *Alpenländische Forschungsgemeinschaft*. Te miselne skupnosti privržencev "etnopolitike", z njihovim očitnim zanimanjem za uravnavanje rezultatov socioloških in demografskih raziskovanj v praktične namene, niso ponudili le naselitvenih ekspertiz in rezultatov socialno geografskih in socialno tehničnih raziskav prebivalstva ter raziskav rasno-zdravstvenega stanja prebivalstva, marveč so dali na razpolago tudi koncepte o obvladovanju ozemelj in strategije za etnično družbeno preobrazbo zasedenih ozemelj. Hkrati so razvili tudi postopke za etnično razkosanje in raznarodovanje, naredili so osnutke specifičnih prostorskih in identitetskih konstruktov za vključitev, asimilacijo in politično vodenje t. i. Nemcem prijaznih ljudstev. Ti znanstveni krogi so bili naposled dejavni tudi pri "praktični" realizaciji družbeno etničnih reorganizacijskih intervencij, pri čemer so bili institucionalno in funkcionalno tesno povezani z nosilci nacistične populacijske politike. Za to je značilna vloga Helmuta Carstanjena, saj ga je ena izmed njegovih nalog v Gradcu in Mariboru pripeljala na vmesno-posredniški položaj med politično posvetovalnim omrežjem znanstvenih ekspertov in etnopolitičnimi funkcionalnimi elitami nacističnega režima. Poleg njega je končno potrebno izpostaviti še tisto skupino "rasoslovcev", ki so zaradi priprave biologističnih kriterijev selekcije odgovorni za prisilne preselitve in uničevalne prakse.