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*"German Science Committed an Offence".  
German Life Sciences and Czech Post-War  
Reflections, 1945–1948\*\**

Immediately after the end of World War Two, debates began in Europe regarding the involvement and collaboration of German scientists with the Nazi regime. Confronted with reality of the horrific atrocities, the shocking testimony of survivors, and the growing number of concentration camp victims, the issue became a burning one during the postwar years. For a time, medical experiments on human beings conducted under the Nazi regime occupied the centre of attention.<sup>1</sup> A new category of deadly medical experiments and crimes against humanity was put forward. Between 1946 and 1947, some of the main perpetrators of this crime were tried in Nuremberg and yet only a handful of those who had participated were ever convicted.<sup>2</sup>

The use (and misuse) of scientific knowledge under modern totalitarian regimes such as German Nazism and Soviet Stalinism had already been discussed in a broader context at the beginning of the war.<sup>3</sup> These discussions concerned not only the humanities but also the life sciences and particularly the biological disciplines of genetics and anthropology.<sup>4</sup> The tragic reality became clear only in

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<sup>1</sup> Max Weinreich: *Hitler's Professors: The Part of Scholarship in Germany's Crimes Against the Jewish People*. New York 1946; František Bláha: *Medicina na scesť* [Medicine on the Crossroad]. Praha 1946; Alice Platen-Hallermund: *Die Tötung Geisteskranker in Deutschland* [The Killing of Lunatic Insane People in Germany]. Frankfurt/Main 1948; Gustav Blume: *Rasse oder Menschheit : Eine Auseinandersetzung mit der nationalsozialistischen Rassenlehre* [Race or Humanity: A Confrontation With the Nazi Racial Science]. Dresden 1948, Alexander Mitscherlich, Fred Mielke: *Medizin ohne Menschlichkeit: Medizinische und eugenische Irrwege unter Diktatur, Bürokratie und Krieg* [Medicine Without Humanity: Medical and Eugenic Excesses Under Dictatorship, Bureacracy and War], Heidelberg 1949.

<sup>2</sup> Paul J. Weindling: *Nazi Medicine and the Nuremberg Trials: From Medical War Crimes to Informed Consent*, Basingstoke 2004. For complete documentation in English see Klaus Dörner, Angelika Ebbinghaus, Karsten Linne (eds.): *The Nuremberg Medical Trial 1946/47: Material of the Prosecution and Defense: Related Documents*. Munich 1999.

<sup>3</sup> For example Use and Misuse of Science. *Nature* 144/3644, 1939: 40; The Voice of Science. *Nature* 144/3645, 1939: 455 or Waldemar Kaempffert: *Science in the Totalitarian State*. In: *Foreign Policy* 19/2, 1941, pp. 438–439.

<sup>4</sup> Explicitly by John B. S. Haldane: *Heredity and Politics*. London 1938 or Geoffrey M. Mo-

1945: namely, that leading representatives of the mainstream German academic community had actively participated in the conceptualization and implementation of Nazi racial theories and the murderous science that emerged from them.<sup>5</sup>

Current research indicates that immediate postwar investigations and reflections were influenced, and indeed limited, by a number of circumstances. First, there was the enormous and almost inconceivable dimension of the Nazi crimes that complicated the investigation. Today it is obvious, for example, that subsequent investigations were restricted to evidence from concentration camps and links to the SS medical community. Second, the Allies brought a variety of interests and calculations with them when it came to the potential exploitation of the results of Nazi research programmes.<sup>6</sup> For these and other reasons, the complex of what today is called 'Nazi (pseudo)science' was actually not reflected in its totality for a long time to come. Moreover, what analysis took place was extremely fragmented. This was also the case in the many Central European countries in which academic and social elites had been the subjects of Nazi occupational policy for many years. These issues became current in many of these countries, including the former Czechoslovakia, only around the Communist takeovers of the late nineteen-forties.

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rant: *The Races of Central Europe: A Footnote to History*. London 1939.

<sup>5</sup> Benno Müller-Hill: *Murderous Science: Selection of Jews, Gypsies and Others in Germany 1933–1945*. New York, Oxford. 1988; Robert N. Proctor: *Racial Hygiene: Medicine Under the Nazis*. Cambridge/Mas., London 1988; Paul J. Weindling: *Health, race and German politics between national unification and Nazism, 1870–1945*. Cambridge 1989; Michael Burleigh, Michael Wippermann: *The Racial State: Germany 1933–1945*. Cambridge 1991, Peter Weingart, Jürgen Kroll, Kurt Bayertz: *Rasse, Blut und Gene: Geschichte der Eugenik und Rassenhygiene in Deutschland*. Frankfurt/Main. 1992. See also Katrin Weigmann: *In the Name of Science: The Role of Biologists in Nazi Atrocities – Lessons for Today's Scientists*. In: *EMBO Reports* 2/10, 2001, pp. 871–875, Dieter Kuntz (ed.), *Deadly Medicine: Creating the Master Race*. Washington, D.C. 2004.

<sup>6</sup> Tom Bower: *The Paperclip Conspiracy: The Hunt for the Nazi Scientists*. Boston 1987; Tom Bower, Linda Hunt: *Secret Agenda: The United States Government, Nazi Scientists, and Project Paperclip, 1945 to 1990*. New York 1991; Herbert Mehrrens: *Kollaborationsverhältnisse: Natur- und Technikwissenschaften im NS-Staat und ihre Historie* [The Ways of Collaboration: Technical Sciences in the Nazi State and Their History]. In: *Medizin, Naturwissenschaft, Technik und Nationalsozialismus* [Medicine, Natural Science, Technology and National Socialism], Stuttgart 1994, pp. 13–32; Herbert Mehrrens: *"Missbrauch": Die rhetorische Konstruktion der Technik in Deutschland nach 1945* ["Misuse": The Rhetoric Construction of the Technology in Germany After 1945]. In: *Technische Hochschulen und Studentenschaft in der Nachkriegszeit* [Universities of Technology and Students in the Nazi Period] [= Projektberichte zur Geschichte der Carolo-Wilhelmina, Bd. 10], Braunschweig 1995, pp. 33–50; Mitchell G. Ash: *Denazifying Scientists – and Science*. In: *Technology Transfer Out of Germany After 1945*, Amsterdam 1996, pp. 61–80; Carola Sachse: *"Persilscheinkultur": Zum Umgang mit der NS-Vergangenheit in der Kaiser-Wilhelm/Max-Planck-Gesellschaft* [The Culture of "Persilschein": About the Confrontation With the Nazi Past at the Kaiser-Wilhelm/Max-Planck Society]. In: *Akademische Vergangenheitspolitik* [Academic Past Policy] [= Beiträge zur Wissenschaftskultur der Nachkriegszeit], Göttingen 2002, pp. 217–246; Dennis Piszkiwicz: *The Nazi Rocketeers: Dreams of Space and Crimes of War*. Mechanicsburg, PA 2007.

## 1. Occupational Scientific Policy and the Life Sciences

World War Two and the German occupation of Czech lands (1939–1945) ushered in a period of new scientific policy to the region. The leading goals of the policy were to secure German domination in the field of scientific research, negate scientific universalism, suppress local non-German academic institutions, exploit their financial sources and integrate them into the scientific infrastructure of the emerging Nazi empire. Another important element of the policy was the persecution of non-German scientists and their exclusion from established international networks.

The first step of the German authorities was the expulsion and persecution of politically and racially 'undesirable' scholars and scientists.<sup>7</sup> According to ongoing research, it can be assumed that more than 150 academic professionals lost their lives between 1939 and 1945 and hundreds more were persecuted.<sup>8</sup> The second step of the policy, the elimination of research and academic institutions governed by local Czech authorities, was carried out only six months after the beginning of the occupation. It began with the sudden closure of Czech universities on November 17, 1939. This event was widely reported in foreign media: "The repression by German authorities of Czech students and intellectuals for their participation in the October 28 Independence Day demonstrations has been ruthless. Many measures were taken in the following days in the city of Prague but none gave rise to a deeper resentment, nor had more far-reaching effects, than the closing of the university and technical schools."<sup>9</sup> At the outset, it was announced that the closure would remain in force for three years but in fact, the university and technical schools remained closed until the end of the war in May 1945.<sup>10</sup> The closure also marked the beginning of the material and financial exploitation of Czech university property. This process reached its climax in early 1944 with the embezzlement of university bank accounts, foundations,

<sup>7</sup> Ute Deichmann: *Biologists Under Hitler*- Cambridge/Mas., London 1996, pp. 10–59 and for the German University in Prague Alena Míšková: *Německá (Karlova) univerzita od Mnichova k 5. květnu 1945: Vedení univerzity a obměna profesorského sboru* [German (Charles) University From Munich to May 5<sup>th</sup>, 1945: Leadership of the University and Changes in the Professor Staff]. Praha 2002, pp. 37–83. See also *Prager Professoren 1938–1948: Zwischen Wissenschaft und Politik* [Prague Professors, 1938–1948: Between Science and Politics] [= Veröffentlichungen zur Kultur und Geschichte im östlichen Europa, Bd. 17]. Essen 2001.

<sup>8</sup> Preliminary results of the ongoing research programme of the Dpt. for the History of Sciences and Humanities of the Institute for Contemporary History of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic in Prague; estimated research period is from 2007 to 2009.

<sup>9</sup> *Germanization and the University of Prague*. In: *Nature* 144/3655, 1939, p. 892. For comparison with the situation in occupied Polish territories see "*Sonderaktion Krakau*": *Die Verhaftung der Krakauer Wissenschaftler am 6. November 1939* ["Special Action Krakau": The Imprisonment of the Scientists from Crakow on November 6<sup>th</sup>, 1939]. Hamburg 1997.

<sup>10</sup> *Dějiny Univerzity Karlovy (IV. 1918–1990)* [History of Charles University, Vol. IV. 1918–1990], Praha 1998.

and other organizations. Making matters worse, Czech students were barred from attending universities in Germany. This restriction was applied until 1942 when a limited number of young Czechs were allowed to study at a number of specially selected Germany universities (*Altreich*). The selected institutions included technical, medical, and natural sciences, but none for the humanities.

At the same time they suppressed Czech institutions, Nazi occupational authorities took a great interest in supporting local German research institutes and universities. These included the former German University in Prague and both technical universities in Prague and Brno. In autumn of 1939, the 'takeover by the Reich' was carried out. At that point, the German University in Prague became an exclusive part of the German research infrastructure. After the Czech universities were closed, the German Charles University took over the leading position in the academic landscape not only in the Czech Protectorate but also in Sudetenland.<sup>11</sup> Other institutions, such as the German Academy of Sciences in Prague (Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften) established in 1941 as the successor to the Society for the Promotion of Science, Arts and Literature, were heavily supported as well.<sup>12</sup> A close connection was established with the leading research institution in Sudetenland that in 1941 was transformed into the so-called Sudeten German Institute for Regional History and Geography (Sudetendeutsche Anstalt für Landes- und Heimatforschung).<sup>13</sup> During the war years, new and politically-oriented research institutions such as the Reinhard Heydrich

<sup>11</sup> For comparison see Maria Zarifi: *Das deutsch-griechische Forschungsinstitut für Biologie in Piräus, 1942–1944*. In: *Autarkie*, pp. 206–232.

<sup>12</sup> Jana Mandlerová: *K založení Gesellschaft zur Förderung deutscher Wissenschaft, Kunst und Literatur* [Foundation of the Society for the Promotion of Science, Arts and Literature]. In: *Dějiny věd a techniky* 15, 1982, pp. 13–27; Michael Neumüller: *Přehled dějin Společnosti pro podporu německé vědy, umění a literatury v Čechách, resp. Německé akademie věd v Praze od jejího založení do roku 1945* [Overview of the History of the Society for the Promotion of Science, Arts and Literature in Bohemia and German Academy of Sciences in Prague Since Its Foundation Until 1945]. In: *Gesellschaft zur Förderung deutscher Wissenschaft, Kunst und Literatur in Böhmen 1891–1945: Materialien zu ihrer Geschichte und Inventar des Archivbestandes* [Society for the Promotion of Science, Arts and Literature in Bohemia 1891–1945: Historical Materials and Overview of the Archives File] [= *Studia historiae Academiae scientiarum bohemoslovacae*, Seria B/7]. Praha 1994, pp. 19–33; Alena Míšková: *Die Gesellschaft zur Förderung deutscher Wissenschaft, Kunst und Literatur in Böhmen 1891–1945: Unterstützungstätigkeit – Fachorientierung, soziale und regionale Herkunft der Antragsteller, zeitliche Entwicklung* [Society for the Promotion of German Science, Arts and Literature in Bohemia, 1891–1945: Area of Support, Orientation, Social and Regional Origin of the Applicants and Development in Time]. In: *Germanoslavica* II (VII), 1995, pp. 65–72, Alena Míšková: *Postavení lékařů ve Společnosti pro podporu německé vědy, umění a literatury v Čechách 1891–1945* [The Position of Physicians Within the Society for the Promotion of Science, Arts and Literature]. In: *Acta Universitatis Carolinae – Historia Universitatis Carolinae Pragensis* 35/1–2, 1995, pp. 61–73 esp. pp. 69–71.

<sup>13</sup> See František Roubík: *Sbírký bývalého německého vlastivědného ústavu v Liberci* [Collections of the former German Institute of National History and Geography in Liberec]. In: *Časopis Společnosti přátel starožitností*, 1949, pp. 139–144.

Foundation (Reinhard-Heydrich-Stiftung) were created in Prague.<sup>14</sup> After 1943, leading basic research institutions such as the Kaiser-Wilhelm-Institut tried to expand into the Czech Protectorate, an example being the Kaiser-Wilhelm-Institute for the Breeding of Tree Varieties (Kaiser-Wilhelm-Institut für Baumrassenkreuzung).

Today it is a well-established fact that in Nazi Germany a strong favouritism was shown in the natural sciences for eugenic, racial, and racial biological disciplines such as hereditary hygiene (*Erbhygiene*), racial hygiene (*Rassenhygiene*), racial science (*Rassenkunde*), and racial biology (*Rassenbiologie*).<sup>15</sup> These disciplines had been continuously developed since the turn of the twentieth century and were used to after 1933 provide a theoretical foundation for the official Nazi doctrines of protection of hereditary health (*Erbgesundheitspflege*) and protection of the race (*Rassenpflege*).<sup>16</sup>

In addition to the several state and political institutions, new institutes were also established between 1939 and 1945 at three faculties of the German Charles University in Prague and these acquired central and exclusive status. One was the Institute for Hereditary and Racial Hygiene (Institut für Erbund Rassenhygiene) at the Faculty of Medicine created in 1939 under Dr. Karl Thums (1904–1976), a former student of Munich Professor Ernst Rüdin (1874–1952).<sup>17</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Andreas Wiedemann: *Die Reinhard-Heydrich-Stiftung in Prag (1942–1945)* [The Reinhard-Heydrich-Foundation in Prague, 1942–1945]. Dresden 2000.

<sup>15</sup> See Benno Müller-Hill: *Genetics After Auschwitz*. In: *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, 1987, pp. 3–20; Kristie Macrakis: *The Survival of Basic Biological Research in National Socialist Germany*. In: *Journal of the History of Biology*, 1993, pp. 519–543; Kristie Macrakis: *The Ideological Origins of Institutes at the Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gesellschaft in National Socialist Germany*. In: *Science, Technology and National Socialism*, Cambridge, New York 1994, pp. 139–159; Ute Deichmann, *Fluchten, Mitmachen, Vergessen: Chemiker und Biochemiker im NS-Staat*. Frankfurt/Main 1995; Ute Deichmann: *Biologists Under Hitler*. Cambridge/Mas., London 1996; Notker Hammerstein: *Die Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft in der Weimarer Republik und im Dritten Reich: Wissenschaftspolitik in Republik und Diktatur 1920–1945*. München 1999; Susanne Heim: *Autarkie und Ostexpansion: Pflanzenzucht und Agrarforschung im Nationalsozialismus*, Göttingen 2000; Susanne Heim: *Research for Autarky: The Contribution of Scientists to Nazi Rule in Germany*. Berlin 2001; Ulrike Kohl: *Die Präsidenten der Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gesellschaft im Nationalsozialismus: Max Planck, Carl Bosch und Albert Vögler zwischen Wissenschaft und Macht*. Stuttgart 2002; *Rassenforschung an Kaiser-Wilhelm-Instituten vor und nach 1933*. Göttingen 2003; Alexander von Schwerin: *Experimentalisierung des Menschen: Der Genetiker Hans Nachtsheim und die vergleichende Erbpathologie 1920–1945*. Göttingen 2004; Uwe Hoßfeld: *Geschichte der biologischen Anthropologie in Deutschland: Von den Anfängen bis in die Nachkriegszeit*. Stuttgart 2005, pp. 267–341.

<sup>16</sup> Christoph Beck: *Sozialdarwinismus, Rassenhygiene, Zwangssterilisation und Vernichtung "lebensunwerten" Lebens: Eine Bibliographie zum Umgang mit behinderten Menschen im "Dritten Reich" – und heute*. Bonn 1995.

<sup>17</sup> Michal Šimůnek: *Ein neues Fach: Die Erb- und Rassenhygiene an der Medizinischen Fakultät der Deutschen Karls-Universität Prag 1939–1945*. In: *Wissenschaft in den böhmischen Ländern 1939–1945*, Praha 2004, pp. 190–316 and Gerhard Baader, Veronika Hoffer, Thomas Mayer (Eds.): *Eugenische Dispositive der Biopolitik in Österreich: Methodische und strukturelle Aspekte der Eugeniken von 1900 bis 1945*. Wien 2007.

The second was the Institute for Racial Biology (Institut für Rassenbiologie) established in 1941 at the Faculty of Natural Sciences.<sup>18</sup> The latter was chaired by one of the most prominent racist practitioners of the Third Reich, SS-Colonel (Standartenführer) Dr. Bruno K. Schultz (1901–1998), professor of physical anthropology and head of the Racial Office (Rassenamt) within the Main Racial and Settlement Office of the SS (Rassen- und Siedlungshauptamt der SS) between 1942–1944.<sup>19</sup> One year later the Institute for Social Anthropology and Folk Biology (Institut für Sozialanthropologie und Volksbiologie) was established at the DKU Faculty of Arts and chaired by sociologist and racial hygiene theorist Dr. Karl V. Müller (1896–1963).<sup>20</sup>

Only after these institutions had hired professional staff, commenced work, and established themselves as the main academic centres of racial hygiene, racial biology and hereditary biology (or social anthropology and folk biology as they called it), did academics and administrative professionals in these newly established and state-promoted disciplines in the occupied territories begin to carry out targeted expert interventions policies that were part of the official Nazi health, population, social, and racial policies.<sup>21</sup> These applications required political control and regulation, in particular in medical and social spheres, and were primarily supported and promoted by representatives of specific professional academic groups, such as German physicians. The analysis of the relations between considerably diversified fields of genetic science (population genetics, medical genetics, hereditary pathology, chromosomal heredity, etc.) and racial-biological constructs based on the traditional descriptive methodology of physical anthropology of the period, was crucial especially to the situation in Germany, the main concepts being race (*Rasse*) and population (*Bevölkerung*). There was a distinction between the race system (*System-Rasse*) on the one hand and the vital race (*Vital-Rasse*) on the other hand, recognized in eugenic discussions in Germany from the very beginning (Alfred Ploetz).<sup>22</sup> This distinction reflects differences in the promotion and understanding of Mendelian classical paradigm of the time. From this point of view, it would be justified to discuss not only the situation in Bohemia and Moravia and the development of German eugenics, but also the development of the so-called German 'special way' or the *Sonderweg* (Weindling)

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<sup>18</sup> Šimůnek, *New Discipline*, p. 212.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 239–251.

<sup>21</sup> Götz Aly, Susanne Heim: *Vordenker der Vernichtung: Auschwitz und die deutschen Pläne für eine neue europäische Ordnung*. Hamburg 1991, Isabel Heinemann: *Rasse, Siedlung, deutsches Blut: Das Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamt der SS und die rassenpolitische Neuordnung Europas*. Göttingen 2003.

<sup>22</sup> Paul J. Weindling: *Health, Race and German Politics between National Unification and Nazism, 1870–1945*. Cambridge, New York 1989; Peter Weingart, Jürgen Kroll, Kurt Bayertz: *Rasse, Blut und Gene: Geschichte der Eugenik und Rassenhygiene in Deutschland*. Frankfurt/Main 1992, Peter Weingart: *Biology as Society, Society as Biology: Metaphors*. Dordrecht – Bost 1995.

that resulted in the murderous science (Müller-Hill) of the totalitarian Nazi political regime and became an unprecedented political instrument.<sup>23</sup> After 1939, the connection with politics became a casual necessity not only as a means to attain the general acceptance of the central constructs of racial hygiene and racial biology, but for the implementation of utopian visions of a 'hereditarily healthy' population in connection with the strategies of Germanization.<sup>24</sup> This mutual cooperation and collaboration between the racially-based (natural) sciences and political ideology (with its highly visible and fundamentally irrational racial myths) created a new leading science (*Leitwissenschaft*) and became the foundation of a new biologicistic view of the world (*Weltbild*). The effort to provide systematic support to this transformation contained both fragmenting and synthesizing tendencies and was crucial to academic networks connected to the German University in Prague. At a certain point, the effort was also closely related to the formulation and gradual technocratic elaboration of wider occupation strategies and this in turn resulted in the preparation and implementation of "measures" that after World War Two were referred to as genocide.<sup>25</sup>

## 2. Reflections and Postwar Legacies

In May 1945 there was no doubt that the German scientific infrastructure in Bohemia and Moravia will be completely abolished. Such trend was closely connected not only with the idea of national scientific autarky in renewed Czechoslovak state but also with the collaboration with the newly raising power in Central Europe, that means Soviet Union. This process ended by the closing of German universities in Prague and Brno in October 1945.<sup>26</sup> The dean of the Charles University of that period, professor of general biology Jan Bělehrádek (1896–1980), was charged by the president of the Republic with the elaboration of a special decree. Its content was discussed among the professors' staff of the Charles University and the Ministry of Education in Prague. The argumentation used in this decree was obviously historical and political. It should secure

<sup>23</sup> Paul J. Weindling: *The Sonderweg of German Eugenics: Nationalism and Scientific Internationalism*. In: *British Journal for the History of Sciences* 1989, pp. 321–333.

<sup>24</sup> Michal 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. 190–211.

<sup>25</sup> Götz Aly: *Endlösung: Völkerverschiebung und der Mord an den europäischen Juden* [Final Solution: Displacement of Populations and Murder of the European Jews], Frankfurt/Main 1995; Henry Friedlander: *The Origins of Nazi Genocide: From Euthanasia to the Final Solution*. Chapel Hill, London 1995; Paul J. Weindling: *Eugenics and Medical War Crimes after 1945*. In: *Annual Report – Tartu University History Museum* 1999, Tartu 1999, pp. 86–99.

<sup>26</sup> Dekret prezidenta Československé republiky č. 122 ze dne 18. října 1945 týkající se zrušení Německé univerzity v Praze [Decree of the President of the Czechoslovak Republic No. 122 from October, 18<sup>th</sup>, 1945 that Concerns the Abolishment of the German University in Prague]. In: *Sbírka zákonů a nařízení Československé republiky, částka 53, 15. 11. 1945, p. 295*. See also A. Míšková, *Německá (Karlova) univerzita*, p. 186.

the total supremacy both to the Czech Charles University and Technical Universities in Prague and Brno as it was expressed already during the revolution in May 1945. All German universities were abolished back to November, 17<sup>th</sup>, 1939 and all academic degrees conferred by these institutions were declared null and void.<sup>27</sup> The first postwar minister of education, who was member of the communist exile in the Soviet Union during the war, professor of musical history Zdeněk Nejedlý (1878–1962), presented this total abolishment of the German universities as logical consequences of the war against Germany, Germans and fascism.<sup>28</sup> In an interesting way, he accused these institutions and their staff not only from systematical preparations for destruction of Czech "*national science and culture*", but also of "*fysical destroying of [Czech] nation*".<sup>29</sup> In his argumentation the use of scientific knowledge was understood as the crucial aspect of "Germanization" programmes. Another important point was, however, the embezzlement of the Czech university property after November 1939.<sup>30</sup>

As far as the role of science concerns it was often reflected in connection with the "methodicalness" and "sophistication" of Nazi terror. This moment was pointed out also by leading Czech biologists and physicians. Some of them spoke even about special branche of "police science" [Polizeiwissenschaft] that had used knowledge of many disciplines including psychology, physiology or dieticy.<sup>31</sup> All in all it was described as "*the products of a diseased mind, but scientific thinking brain*".<sup>32</sup>

About nine professors of medicine of the Charles University in Prague presented their views and reflections on the Nazi science publicly since June 1945; all of them stayed in the Protectorate during the German occupation.<sup>33</sup> They

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Zdeněk Nejedlý: *Kulturní politika třetí republiky* [The Cultural Policy of the Third Republic]. In: *Věda a život*, 1945, 11/7, pp. 277–279.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid, p. 278.

<sup>30</sup> Jan Bělehrádek: *Německá věda se prohřešila* [German Science Committed an Offence]. In: *Věda a život*, 1945, 11/7, pp. 284–290, see p. 285.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid, p. 286. and from own autopsy also František Bláha: *Zločin a trest* [Crime and Punishment]. Praha 1946, p. 15.

<sup>32</sup> Bělehrádek, *Německá věda*, p. 289 and Josef Charvát: *Škody na národním zdraví, zaviněné válkou* [Damages on National Health Caused by War]. In: *Časopis Lékařů Českých*, 1945, 84/19, pp. 641–646.

<sup>33</sup> Vilém Laufberger: *Dějiny fyziologie na Karlově univerzitě* [The History of Physiology at the Charles University]. In: *Časopis Lékařů Českých*, 1945, 84/22, pp. 778–780; Karel Hynek: *Zahajovací přednáška 11. června 1945* [Introductory Lecture on June, 11<sup>th</sup>, 1945]. In: *Časopis Lékařů Českých*, 84/23, pp. 811–814; Karel Klaus: *Za války ve všeobecné nemocnici* [During the War in the General Hospital]. In: *Časopis Lékařů Českých* 84/24 1945, pp. 846–849; Antonín Přechectěl, *Vzpomínky a časové úvahy* [Memories and Contemplations]. *Časopis Lékařů Českých*, 1945, 84/26, pp. 932–937; Kamil Henner: *Úvodní slovo při zahájení přednášek 11. června 1945* [Introductory Word on June, 11<sup>th</sup>, 1945]. In: *Časopis Lékařů Českých*, 1945, 84/27, pp. 968–970; František Hájek: *Proslov* [Speech]. In: *Časopis Lékařů Českých*, 1945, 84/28, pp. 1009–1011; Bohumil Prusík: *Propedeutická klinika za válečných 6 let* [Propaedeutic Clinics During Six War Years]. In: *Časopis Lékařů Českých*, 1945, 84/43, pp. 1569–1571; Hy-



concentrated mostly on their own experiences from the academic sphere. The most frequently used issue was the closing of the institutes in 1939, exploitation of the property, and the role of German scientists in the planning of Germanization measures.<sup>34</sup> Also the Czech biologists presented similar views in 1946.<sup>35</sup> This argumentation was usually extended into the "moral consequences", that were considered very seriously especially in medicine. Following this argumentation there was no doubt, that there will be no more place for German medical science in Bohemia and Moravia in the future. As the former dean of the faculty in 1939, physiologist Vilém Laufberger (1890–1986) stated, it would be unacceptable even to think about employment of German physicians, "who felt not embarrassed to conduct the vivisection on man".<sup>36</sup> Professor of psychiatry Otakar Janota (1898–1969) postulated very close connection between German scientists on one side and Nazi medical killing programme ("euthanasia") on the other. He considered this connection as "simply something unprecedented".<sup>37</sup> But Nazi "euthanasia" was not explicitly mentioned in the first general reviews of the damages on the "national health". These damages were divided into i. moral and psychological area, ii. nutrition problems, and iii. infectious diseases.<sup>38</sup> Special attention was also devoted to the new achievements in the area of military medicine.<sup>39</sup>

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nek Šíkl: *Hlavův ústav za okupace* [Hlava's Institute During Occupation]. In: *Časopis Lékařů Českých*, 1945, 84/32, pp. 1153–1156; František Ninger: *Český medik a česká otolaryngologie* [Czech Physician and Czech Otolaryngology]. In: *Časopis Lékařů Českých*, 1945, 84/30, pp. 1079–1084; František Hájek: *Soudní lékařství za války* [Forensic Medicine During War]. In: *Časopis Lékařů Českých*, 85/117 1946, pp. 199–205; Kamil Henner: *Lékařská fakulta univerzity Karlovy v prvním roce obnovené svobody* [Medical Faculty of the Charles University in the First Year of Renewed Liberty]. In: *Časopis Lékařů Českých*, 1946, 85/18, pp. 618–620.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> J. Mělka: *Osudy biologických ústavů na Masarykově universitě v Brně za válečných let 1939–1945* [The Fates of Biological Institutes at the Masaryk University in Brno During War Years 1939–1945]. In: *Biologické Listy*, 1946, 27/1–2, pp. 5–7; J. Babička: *Ústavy přírodovědecké fakulty university Karlovy za německé okupace* [The Institutes of the Faculty of Science of the Charles University During German Occupation]. In: *Biologické Listy*, 27/1–2, pp. 7–10. See also *Konec hrůzy* [The End of Horror]. In: *Vesmír*, 1944–1945, 23/8–10, p. 151–152.

<sup>36</sup> V. Laufberger, *Dějiny*, p. 780.

<sup>37</sup> Otakar Janota: *Druhá světová válka a duševní poruchy* [The Second World War and Mental Deficiencies]. In: *Časopis Lékařů Českých*, 1945, 84/31, pp. 1096–1101, see p. 1101.

<sup>38</sup> J. Charvát, Škody, pp. 641–646; Josef Mašek: *O poruchách výživy za války* [About the Defects of Nutrition During War]. In: *Časopis Lékařů Českých*, 1946, 84/21, pp. 713–717, 1946, 84/22, pp. 767–772; O. Janota, *Druhá světová válka*, pp. 1096–1101; Josef Charvát: *The Influence of War on Health Conditions in Czechoslovakia*. In: *Medical Science Abused: German Medical Science as Practised in Concentration Camps and in the so-called Protectorate – Reported by Czechoslovak Doctors*, Praha 1946, pp. 5–13; *ibid*, *Vývoj lékařství v poslední válce* [The Development of Medicine in the Last War]. Praha 1947.

<sup>39</sup> J. Liškutín: *Lékařské zkušenosti z druhé světové války* [Medical Experiences from the Second World War]: Inter-Allied Conference on War Medicine Convened by the Royal Society of Medicine. Praha 1948.

Pointing out the systematical importance of science and expert knowledge, the collective responsibility of the German scientists was postulated as well. For sure, the local experience was of eminent importance: *"Did the university professors, this 'elite' of German nation, sentence all what was happened in the concentration camps and what they accepted by being silent, or what they were also part of? First they will be aggrieved, then they will be silent, then they will tell us lies and after that oppose. As we know from experience, many around the world will believe them."*<sup>40</sup> According to the brutal treatment of Czech intelligentsia, especially university staff and students, almost every postwar comments dealt with the commemoration of colleagues or friends who did not survive the Nazi treatment in concentration camps or prisons. Some of them were even appointed to professorships *in memoriam* shortly after the end of war because of their survived colleagues. Immediately after the end of war, the series of special articles commemorating them were published too. In this way the process of postmortal satisfaction on one side and a very close tie of the Czech scientific community with the collective memory of Czech society on the other was created.

Another important and central topic was the Nazi racism. Especially biologists demonstrated the absurdity of Nazi racial theories (natural inequality, racial hierarchy, inbreeding etc.) on the examples of population genetics.<sup>41</sup> This position can not surprise because of the same position before the war in the late 1930s.<sup>42</sup> The role of racism was seen very central and significant as far as the German science and Nazi crimes concerned. According to these critics the Nazi life sciences could be called "pseudoscience", because it was primarily driven by ideology and political power: *"The Nazi researchers began to deal with a new kind of science. This science should vindicate all their violence and atrocities. Many of German physicians and biologists served to this Nazi pseudoscience."*<sup>43</sup> Politics (and ideology) of German national socialism was seen as the reason for the misuse of life sciences in Germany from 1933 to 1945.<sup>44</sup> As its main components were seen i. the extension of physical (racial) and hereditarily based differences into the mental (psychological) sphere and ii. the thesis about the supremacy of one race over the another.<sup>45</sup> But on the other hand the variability of mankind and hereditary (genetic) predispositions for the physical traits of man were considered as scientifically based, relevant facts.<sup>46</sup> As the ob-

<sup>40</sup> *Konec hrůzy* [The End of Terror]. In: *Vesmír*, 1944–45, 23/8–10, pp. 151–152, see p. 151. See also F. Bláha, *Zločin*, pp. 30–32.

<sup>41</sup> J. Bělehrádek, *Německá věda*, p. 286–288, Jiří Malý: *Rasy a rasismus* [Races and Racism]. In: *Vesmír*, 1945, 24/1, pp. 1–8, see pp. 2 and 6.

<sup>42</sup> *Rovnocennost evropských plemen a cesty k jejich ušlechťování* [The Equality of the European Races and the Ways of Their Betterment]. Praha 1934. See J. Malý, *Rasy*, p. 1.

<sup>43</sup> J. Bělehrádek, *Německá věda*, pp. 290. See also J. Malý, *Rasy*, p. 6.

<sup>44</sup> J. Malý, *Rasy*, pp. 1 and 6–8.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid* and for psychology see Vladimír Tardy: *Německá psychologie za nacismu* [German Psychology During Nacism]. In: *Věda a živo*, 1947, 13/4, pp. 170–176.

<sup>46</sup> J. Malý, *Rasy*, pp. 1–2.

jects (and victims) of this "new science" were mentioned Jews at the first place and Slavs at the second.<sup>47</sup> Another very present motive were the nationalistic tendencies, opportunism and sadism of German scientists.<sup>48</sup> All together was regarded as "unbelievable, until recently unknown and to the next generations only hardly understandable invention of means and whole systems used for mass bestial tortment and murdering of humankind".<sup>49</sup>

Concerning the role of Darwinism, especially social Darwinism, only few remarks occurred. If it happened, then the Nazi scientists were mostly accused of making "improper analogies".<sup>50</sup> The most concrete proofs were presented by the practical physicians who gathered their own experiences with the practical measures of the Nazis against tuberculosis.<sup>51</sup> As one of the practical consequence was directly mentioned the method of segregation [Ausschaltung] of the ill and – in the most extreme form – also "euthanasia".<sup>52</sup>

However, as by many other contemporaries the relation between eugenics and racial theories was usually not further explored. In some cases eugenics was still understood as a kind of applied science, mostly in the area medicine.<sup>53</sup> Only exceptionally the "Nazi eugenics", or "racial eugenics" and "racial hygiene" was mentioned.<sup>54</sup> The British concept of "social biology" or "social genetics" was understood as leading for the future.<sup>55</sup> For example its prominent figure, biologist John B. S. Haldane (1892–1964) hold a lecture called "About Fascism in Biology" on September, 18<sup>th</sup>, 1946 in Prague; he was invited by J. Bělehrádek.<sup>56</sup> In the same year also his book "Marxism and Natural Science" was translated into Czech and published in Prague.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>47</sup> J. Bělehrádek, *Německá věda*, p. 287.

<sup>48</sup> J. Bělehrádek, *Věda*, pp. 18–21 and Jan Konopík: *Zpráva o činnosti zdravotně-sociální komise při Zemském národním výboru* [Report on the Activities of the Health and Social Commission by the Regional National Committee]. In: *Věstník Československých Lékařů*, 1945, 57/17–18, pp. 227–228.

<sup>49</sup> Jan Florián: *Kěž osud nás i lidstvo uchrání! Politicko-lékařská úvaha* [May We and Mankind be Protected by Faith!: Political and Medical Essay]. In: *Věstník Československých Lékařů*, 1945, 57/33–34, pp. 435–436.

<sup>50</sup> J. Bělehrádek, *Německá věda*, p. 287.

<sup>51</sup> Vladimír Pospíšil: *Rasismus a tuberkulóza* [Racism and Tuberculosis]. In: *Věda a život*, 1947, 13/10, pp. 450–457.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 451 and 453–455 and see also Marie Vopršálová: *Pathologie práva* [Pathology of Law]. In: *Věda a život*, 1947, 13/2, pp. 49–52, see p. 451.

<sup>53</sup> Bohumil Sekla: *Dědičnost v přírodě a ve společnosti* [Heredity in Nature and Society]: Praha: Život a práce 1948, pp. 264–282. See also Karel Hrubý: *Tvoříme s přírodou: Praktická genetika* [We Are Creating Together With the Nature: Practical Genetics], Praha 1946 (2<sup>nd</sup> edition).

<sup>54</sup> J. Malý, *Rasy*, p. 7 and V. Pospíšil, *Rasismus*, p. 452.

<sup>55</sup> J. Bělehrádek, *Německá věda*, pp. 248–263 and 282.

<sup>56</sup> *O fašismu v biologii: Přednáška prof. J. B. S. Haldane* [About the Fascism in Biology: The Lecture of Professor J. B. S. Haldane]. In: *Lidová Demokracie*, 18. 9. 1947, p. 2.

<sup>57</sup> J. B. S. Haldane: *Marxistická filosofie a přírodní vědy* [The Marxist Philosophy and the Sciences]. Praha: 1946.

Between 1945 and 1948 the most radical criticism of the Nazi life sciences came from communist or strongly left oriented thinkers and intellectuals. Very special position among them took professor of philosophy at the Moscow university, called also "red professor", Arnošt Kolman (1892–1979). In 1915 he became the prisoner of war in Russia, after 1917 joined the Red Army, became a member of Russian Bolshevik party and worked in the 1920s and 1930s in propaganda division of the Central Committee of the Soviet communist party. Immediately after the end of war he was ordered to Prague. In this period he also systematically dealt with the topic of science and Nazism, however his explanations were strongly ideological and in many ways contradicting. For example, he saw Darwin as the great "revolutionary thinker" (sic!) in communist sense and Darwinism as a necessary part and partial of the "socialist scientific world view" championed by the Soviet Union.<sup>58</sup> But in the same year he was able to describe Darwinism as "*created for the intellectuals, who are craftily calling for the modern natural science*".<sup>59</sup> According to the doctrine of dialectic materialism any usage of biological, especially genetic knowledge was rejected as an expression of "fascist biology or medicine", that was misused "*for killing of children, elderly, and ill people*".<sup>60</sup> Although he was able to make difference between "fascist German biology", shortly after that he generally declared anthropology, psychology, and social hygiene to be "*disciplines through and through forged by the fascists*".<sup>61</sup> In relation to the Nazi racism and antisemitism, central role played to him "*pseudoscientific formal genetics*" that postulated general validity of the Mendel principles lead from the forced sterilizations to the Nazi "euthanasia" programme.<sup>62</sup> He even did not hesitate to call them as "*beastly principles*".<sup>63</sup> Racism together with the state sovereignty and imperialism were the main foundations of "fascist imperialism" that he made responsible for all killing and perversions during the WW2.<sup>64</sup> But he was not able to present any further and sophisticated analysis of the connections between modern life sciences, especially medicine and biology, and Nazi racism. At one time he declared that "*racism has nothing to do with science*", and at the another time he considered that the Nazi ideology was "*rugged mixture including matter-of-fact 'scientific' thinking*".<sup>65</sup> Similar views were presented also by another authors. Some of them were physicians who openly spoke about the crimes

<sup>58</sup> Arnošt Kolman: *Sovětská věda* [The Soviet Science]. In: *Tvorba*, 1946, 22/15, pp. 228–230; *ibid*, *Přednášky a diskuse* [Lectures and Discussions]. Praha 1947, pp. 8–9.

<sup>59</sup> A. Kolman, *Přednášky*, p. 7.

<sup>60</sup> Arnošt Kolman: *Věda a společnost* [Science and Society]. In: *Tvorba*, 1946, 22/1, p. 2–3, see p. 2.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid*, p. 2; *ibid*, *Ideologie německého fašismu* [Ideology of German Fascism]. Praha 1946, p. 52.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 87–89.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid*, p. 82.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 54, 36, 39, 65. See also Karel Hoch: *Pangermanismus* [Pangermanism]. Praha 1946.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 42, 65, 81, 86.

committed by the German physicians in the name of their class, race and "racial science".<sup>66</sup>

During the war many thousands of citizens of the interwar Czechoslovakia passed through the gates of the Nazi concentration and annihilating camps. Special category of postwar reflections were the testimonies of persecuted experts who were among them. Undoubtedly the most famous was former physician of the city of Jihlava [Iglau], František Bláha (1896–1979). Being arrested in 1939 and held in several prisons (Prague, Brno, Terezín, Dresden, Plauen, Regensburg, Munich), he became in April 1941 to Dachau. After short time he was allowed to serve as the physician and surgeon. In this position he was forced to carry out more than 12000 "obductions". This was the reason why he could deliver very worth description of the horrible and deadly conditions in Dachau concentration camp after the end of WW2 from the medical point of view.<sup>67</sup> His testimonies were of such an importance that he was brought as a major witness at the IMT in Nuremberg.<sup>68</sup> He synthesised and presented his autopsy in several papers and publications. As a sort of synthesis may be considered his more than 230 pages book called "Medicína na scestí" [Medicine Abused] that was published in Prague in 1946 for the first time.<sup>69</sup> He dealt with the topic from several perspectives including the general description of the conditions in Dachau concentration camp,<sup>70</sup> particular etiology of local typhus epidemic,<sup>71</sup> tuberculosis,<sup>72</sup> the role of German medical staff and "experts",<sup>73</sup> carrying out of inhuman experiments,<sup>74</sup> the horrible treatment of old and invalid people,<sup>75</sup> killing of lunatic prisoners,<sup>76</sup> the official visits of Nazi authorities<sup>77</sup> etc. Becoming "killers –

<sup>66</sup> Aleš Salich: "Vědecké" kořeny fašismu [The "Scientific" Roots of Nazism]. In: *Tvorba*, 1945, 14/8, p. 119.

<sup>67</sup> František Bláha: *Medicina na scestí* [Medicine Abused]. In: *Časopis Lékařů Českých*, 1945, 84/29, pp. 1043–1050; *ibid*, *Zločin a trest* [Crime and Punishment]. Praha 1946, *Jací byli* [How They Were]. Praha 1946. See also Alena Maturová: *Německá lékařská věda je vinna* [The German Medical Science Is Guilty]. In: *Tvorba*, 1946, 15/50, p. 795.

<sup>68</sup> *Německá věda ve službách zločinu: Český lékař z Jihlavy generálním svědkem o koncentračních táborech* [German Science in Service of Crime: The Czech Physician From Jihlava Gaves General About Concentration Camps]. In: *Lidová Demokracie*, 8. 1. 1946, p. 2; *Bláhovo otřesné svědectví v Norimberku: Frick a Rosenberg drže popírají* [Bláha's Horrible Testimony at Nuremberg: Frick and Rosenberg Are Denying Cheekily]. In: *Lidová Demokracie*, 13. 1. 1946, p. 1.

<sup>69</sup> František Bláha: *Medicina na scestí* [Medicine Abused]. Praha 1946, second Czech edition in 1948, and in Slovak version, *Medicína na šikmej ploche* [Medicine on the Slippery Slope]. Bratislava 1964.

<sup>70</sup> F. Bláha, *Medicina*, pp. 11–34.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 97–103.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 118–126.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 34–43.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 60–90.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 43–46.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 116–117.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 46–49.

*experimentators and torturers in the name of their German science*", he explained, was first of all the result of *"betrayal of medical ideals"*.<sup>78</sup> Especially after 1947 he pointed out the approach of the American and British investigators very critically.<sup>79</sup>

Similar testimony was left by professor of surgery and head of the Surgical Clinic at the Faculty of Medicine of the Masaryk University in Brno [Brünn] Josef Podlaha (1893–1975). He was arrested by the Gestapo and sent to the Mauthausen concentration camp.<sup>80</sup> Similarly to Bláha, he presented his witness shortly after the end of war; he was one of the several Mauthausen prisoners who witnessed before the American Criminal Investigation Committee (C.I.C.) in 1945.<sup>81</sup> He focused mostly on the nature and methodology of Nazi mass killing, gave the overview about particular diseases in Mauthausen and their treatments methods, and dealt with the Nazi experiments (hormonal experiments, diet experiments and of prophylactic sera) in Mauthausen as well.<sup>82</sup> For 1944 he mentioned also the action "14f13", obviously in accordance with T4-killing centre in Hartheim bei Alkoven in Lower Austria [Niederösterreich]: *"In 1944 some 2973 patients were taken to the Ybbs Nursing Home for Tubercular Patients. In course of time all of them were listed as dead."*<sup>83</sup> His assessment of the German medical staff was as follows: *"In the light of my experience from the concentration camp of Mauthausen as a prisoner-surgeon I hereby certify, that the German doctors were intentionally and trained to deprive the prisoners of life. This they did, in general, brutally, without medical ethics and deliberately. Some methods were dictated directly from Berlin, such as the intracardial injections of different constitution. The German doctors in most cases lacked conscience and responsibility, worked in a slipshod way and their medical knowledge was comparatively poor. None of them ever raised objection to the commanders' orders for medical reasons, and the orders were blindly carried out, even though they were against medical principles. Their conduct of life was mostly immoral and disagreed with the most primitive principles of professional ethics."*<sup>84</sup>

Also another Moravian academician, Václav Tomášek (1893–1962), who was professor of bacteriology at the same university gave very worth overview

<sup>78</sup> F. Bláha: *Medicina na scestí*. In: *Časopis Lékařů Českých*, 1945, 84/29, p. 1043, *ibid*, *Zločin*, pp. 28–29, 31.

<sup>79</sup> F. Bláha, *Medicina na scestí*, pp. 1043–1049, *ibid*, *Zločin*, p. 13, 31 and *Vědci*, pp. 86–91, see pp. 86–87, 90. See Ulf Schmidt, *Justice at Nuremberg: Leo Alexander and the Nazi Doctors' Trial*. New York 2004.

<sup>80</sup> Josef Podlaha: *Surgery and Medical Care of the Prisoners in the Mauthausen Concentration Camp*. In: *Medical Science Abused: German Medical Science as Practised in Concentration Camps and in the so-called Protectorate – Reported by Czechoslovak Doctors*. Praha 1946, pp. 58–75.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 62.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 64–72.

<sup>83</sup> J. Podlaha, *Surgery*, pp. 68–69.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 74–75.

of the conditions in several Nazi concentration camps, especially about the existence of the Hygienic Institute of the SS in Auschwitz.<sup>85</sup> He was arrested by the German secret police in 1941 and became first the prisoner in Mauthausen and after that (end of 1943) in Auschwitz. He served as a bacteriologist both in the local so called hospital. When the Hygienic Institute [Hygiene Institut] of the SS was formed, he was assigned to it as an expert in the field of bacteriology.<sup>86</sup> In January 1945 he was "evacuated" back to Mauthausen where he was liberated by the U.S. Army in May 1945. As a member of its staff he described equipment, structure, as well as the diagnosis and illnesses and activities of the SS-physicians.<sup>87</sup> He commented their erudition and motivation like this: "*Young German doctors, headed by a 27-years old, were in charge of this institute... The German doctors were in constant fear of sabotage and therefore put rough SS-men in charge of each department. These men, lacking any scientific education, were unable to control the scientific work but could make life very unpleasant by the use of their fists, bullying and all sorts of cunning tricks.*"<sup>88</sup>

As far as the the Czech daily press concerns the use (and misuse) of science in Nazi Germany as a topic was not extensive between 1945 and 1948. It was mostly medicine that was usually mentioned in connection with the inhuman experiments and their investigation.<sup>89</sup> Especially the German physicians became in the center of attention during the medical process in Nuremberg in 1946 and 1947.<sup>90</sup> But even in this case the Nazi "euthanasia" was not mentioned separately. For example, Karl Brandt (1904–1948) should be charged, according to the news, because of "*medical experiments that caused death of several hundreds thousand people*".<sup>91</sup> The most sophisticated information gave one member of Czechoslovak delegation at the IMT, even though his data were very inaccurate.<sup>92</sup> According to him Nazi "euthanasia" programme was part of a "*huge plan for annihilation of races and nations*".<sup>93</sup>

<sup>85</sup> Václav Tomášek: *Bakteriologie v Mauthausenu a v Osvětimi* [Bacteriology in Mauthausen and Auschwitz]. In: *Věda a život*, 1945, 11/8, pp. 402–413; *ibid*, *Oswieczim*. In: *Medical Science Abused: German Medical Science as Practised in Concentration Camps and in the so-called Protectorate – Reported by Czechoslovak Doctors*, Praha 1946, pp. 76–90.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 407–412.

<sup>87</sup> V. Tomášek, *Bakteriologie*, pp. 76–81.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid*, p. 83.

<sup>89</sup> *Nacisté zneužívali i vědu* [Even the Science Was Abused by the Nazis]. In: *Beseda naší rodiny*, 1945, 1/8, p. 2 (10. 8. 1945); *Dantovo "Peklo" ožívá: Sterilizace a trhy s lidským masem: Francouzská komunistka svědčí v Norimberku* [Dante's Hell Is Coming to Life: Sterilizations and Market With Human Meat: The French Communist Witnesses in Nuremberg]. In: *Lidová Demokracie*, 29. 1. 1946, pp. 1–2.

<sup>90</sup> See footnote 70.

<sup>91</sup> *7 německý lékařů odsouzeno k trestu smrti* [7 German Physicians Sentenced to Death]. In: *Lidová Demokracie*, 21. 8. 1947, p. 2.

<sup>92</sup> Bohdan Donner: *Názory nacistického lékaře* [Opinions of the Nazi Physician]. In: *Věstník Lékařů Českých*, 1947, 59/14/ p. 280 (11. 11. 1947).

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid*, p. 281.

## Povzetek

### *"Nemška znanost je storila prekršek": Nacistična zloraba znanosti (antropologije in genetike) in razlogi za ukinitev nemških znanstvenih ustanov na češkem ozemlju, 1945–1946*

Še do nedavnega se je večina zgodovinskih študij osredotočala predvsem na nacistično uničevanje znanosti, izgon judovskih znanstvenikov z univerz in drugih znanstvenih ustanov ter spodkopavanje intelektualnih in demokratičnih ali liberalnih vrednot. Potreben pa je tudi pogled z druge perspektive. Podrobnejši pogled na zgodovino znanosti v času nacizma namreč pokaže, da so nekatere discipline, kot sta na primer fizika in matematika, zaradi politične situacije res trpele, so pa druge discipline v tem času cvetele, na primer antropologija, človeška genetika in razne izpeljane oblike rasnih znanosti.

V času okupacije čeških ozemelj med letoma 1939 in 1945 je postala Praga s svojo znanstveno infrastrukturo nov pomemben center na zemljevidu znanosti "nove" Evrope pod nacistično vladavino. Ključno vlogo je imela predvsem Nemška Karlova univerza (Deutsche Karls-Universität), ki se je po letu 1939 začela prikazovati kot "najstarejša nemška univerza".

Tako v skladu s "praktičnimi" genocidnimi ukrepi nacističnega režima kot z novo vrsto dolgoročnega strateškega načrtovanja na področju rasne, populacijske in narodnostne politike [Rassen-, Bevölkerungs- und Volkstumspolitik] je bilo v okviru univerze DKU v letih med 1939 in 1942 ustanovljenih več novih inštitutov, na katerih naj bi se združevali izsledki bioloških raziskav.

Leta 1939 (1940) je bil na Medicinski fakulteti DKU ustanovljen *Inštitut za dednostno in rasno higieno* [Institut für Erb- und Rassenhygiene], katerega glavni namen je bilo izvajanje "dednostne in rasne nege" [Erb- und Rassenpflege]. Temeljil je na a) *Zakonu o preprečevanju potomcev z dednimi boleznimi* iz leta 1933 in na b) protijudovskih *Nüremberških zakonih* iz leta 1935. Za direktorja inštituta je bil imenovan Dr. Karl Thums (1904–1976), bližnji sodelavec profesorja Dr. Ernsta Rüdina (1874–1952), takrat vodilnega nemškega psihiatra, iznajditelja programa "evtanazija" in guruja nemške šole rasne higiene.

Leta 1942 je bil na Filozofski fakulteti ustanovljen *Inštitut za socialno antropologijo in narodnostno biologijo* (Institut für Sozialanthropologie und Volksbiologie). Za direktorja je bil postavljen sociolog Dr. Karl Valentin Müller (1896–1963), ki si je v uporabno sociologijo prizadeval vključiti rasne in dednostne komponente, hkrati pa je delal tudi kot strokovni svetovalec na Uradu *Reichsprotectorja* [Amt des Reichsprotectors] v Pragi.

Leta 1942 je bil na Fakulteti za znanost ustanovljen še tretji in hkrati najmanjši *Inštitut za rasno biologijo* pod vodstvom vodje *Rasnega urada* v okviru *Glavnega urada za rase in naseljevanje SS* (Rassen- und Siedlungshauptamt der SS), profesorja fizične antropologije, Dr. Bruna Kurta Schultza (1901–1998).



Glavna naloga inštituta je bila izpopolnitev meril za rasno selekcije z antropološkega vidika.

Po letu 1942 so vodje teh inštitutov tesno sodelovali pri več projektih v okviru fundacije Reinhard-Heydrich-Stiftung in šole varnostne policije (Reichsschule der Sicherheitspolizei und SD) ter tako postali neke vrste "think-tank" skupina nacističnih obveščevalcev in akademikov.

V tem prispevku želim glede na institucionalni razvoj in osebne zveze i) osvetliti vlogo, ki so jo ti znanstveniki igrali ali poskusili igrati pri sprejemanju, upravljanju in izvajanju nacističnih rasnih programov in programov rasne higiene, ii) obravnavati reakcijo čeških znanstvenikov in oblasti takoj po koncu vojne v letih 1945 in 1946. Osredotočil pa se ne bom na uradne povojne preiskave, temveč na različne načine splošnega utemeljevanja tega grozljivega novega zagona zlorabe biomedicinske znanosti s strani nacistov v obdobju med letoma 1939 in 1945.