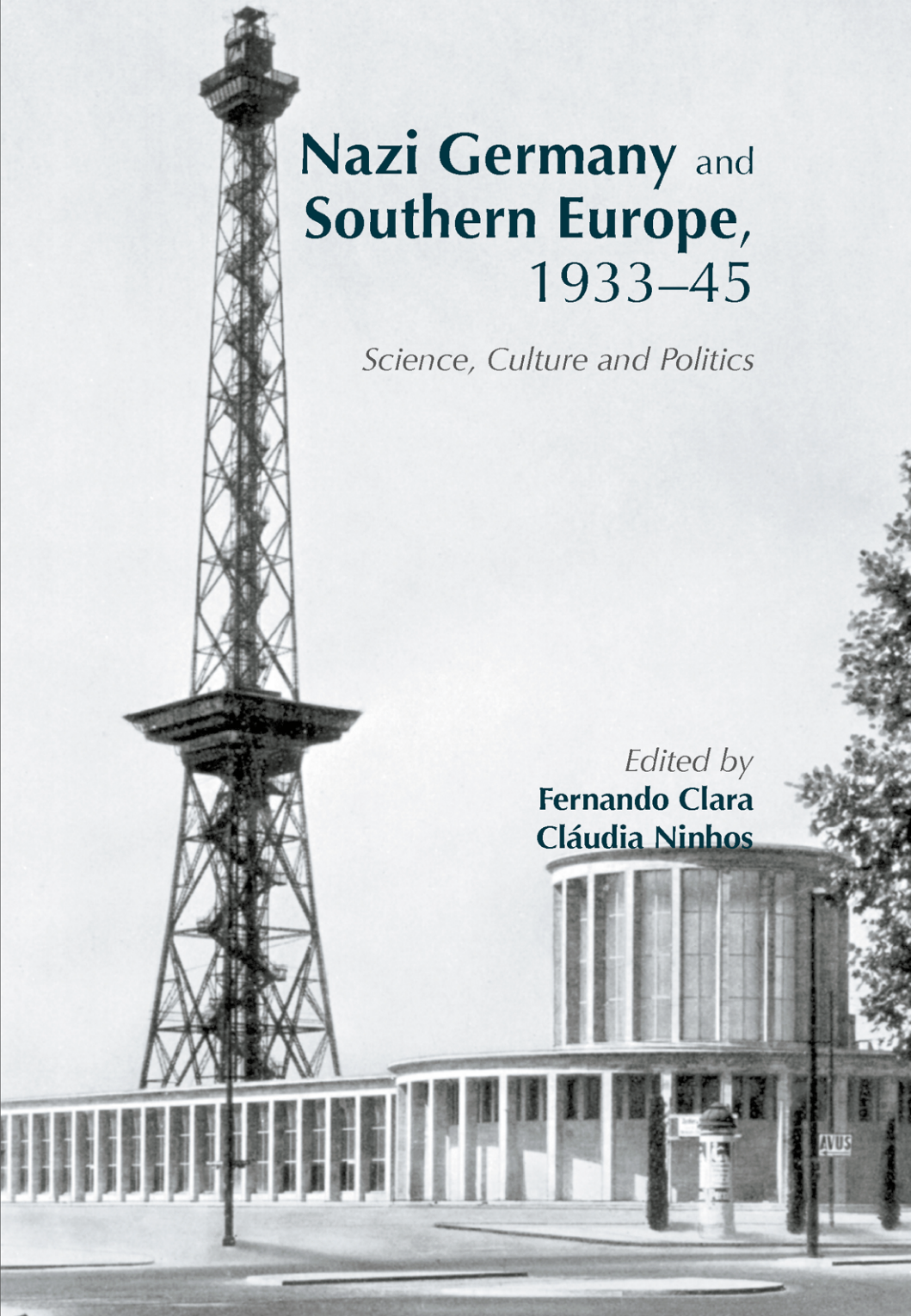
Nazi Germany and Southern Europe, 1933–45

Science, Culture and Politics



Edited by
Fernando Clara
Cláudia Ninhos

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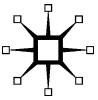

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1

'The "invisible" export of thought': German Science and Southern Europe, 1933–45

Fernando Clara

A report on the commemorations of the 'Quatercentenary of the University of Coimbra', written by the Irish chemist Frederick George Donnan and published in the pages of the British scientific journal *Nature* (Donnan, 1938), offers a helpful and insightful first approach to understand many of the questions that the chapters in this book deal with.

Donnan's report gives a detailed depiction of the celebrations held at Coimbra between 6 and 9 December 1937. It is a sympathetic and diplomatic text focusing mainly on institutional and social events, in which the author does not spare laudatory comments about the Portuguese authorities, most especially about the former 'distinguished Professor of that University' and 'great Prime Minister' of Portugal, 'Dr. Salazar'. Towards the end of the text, however, the style changes somewhat; it becomes less formal and its author more expansive. Donnan seems to feel obliged to give his readers some professional and more personal notes on two visits he made during his stay at Coimbra that were apparently not included in his official programme. The first one, described as a 'remarkable experience', was to the Chemical Laboratory ('a building in the neo-classical style erected in the last quarter of the eighteenth century'), the second to the English Institute at the University of Coimbra. This last 'very interesting visit' was paid to an institute 'due to the energy and initiative of Dr. [Sidney George] West' and 'worthy of the strongest support'. Donnan is 'astonished to find [there] a library containing some English scientific journals and a goodly number of the most modern English books on chemistry and physics', and this leads him to a series of interesting personal reflections about the 'modern

world' that end up in a significant concluding observation (Donnan, 1938: 65):

> In the modern world the 'invisible' export of thought is an element of deep significance and importance. Britons in the past have been too apt to think that foreign nations are bound to assimilate the products of their thought and research by reasons of some sort of inevitable predestination. This curious diffidence – or sublime trust in Providence – is not much good in the rough catch-as-catch-can of the thrusting modern world.

It is important to emphasize that Donnan knows exactly what he is talking about. War in Europe was just around the corner; the British scientific journal in which his report was published had been banned in Germany in November 1937 (Anon., 1938a); and Donnan knew only too well what war meant, both for science and for the state. Besides the two articles published on the subject (Donnan, 1915, 1916), he had been 'in the thick of the scientific and technological battle' (Freeth, 1957: 26) during the Great War as an active member of several British warfare scientific committees.

Furthermore, Donnan is perfectly aware of the deep 'significance and importance' of this 'export of thought' because he is, himself, a product of it. In fact, like several other scientists of his generation, he spent a great part of the last decade of the nineteenth century in Germany, where he studied chemistry under Ostwald and van't Hoff. He obtained his PhD from the University of Leipzig in 1896, and several of his scientific papers were written in German and published in German scientific journals. Like many other scientists and scholars of this period, Donnan is, therefore, a product of German science. His personal and professional connections to German laboratories and universities were interrupted but not broken off by the Great War. In 1933, after the death of Wilhelm Ostwald, he delivered the Ostwald Memorial Lecture at the Royal Society (Donnan, 1933). During the Nazi period, he helped German Jewish scientists fleeing the country (Herman Arthur Jahn, Edward Teller, and Herbert Freundlich, among others), and in 1939, just a few months before the Second World War broke out, he left in the *Notes & Records of the Royal Society* a curiously sympathetic brief report on a visit to the Kaiser Wilhelm Society in Berlin (Clark and Donnan, 1939; further biographical details on Donnan in Oesper, 1941 and Freeth, 1957).

Finally, it should be worth noting that Donnan received honorary degrees from several universities (among them Athens and Coimbra)

and that he was a member of various international scientific societies, as, indeed, would be expected from a firm believer in the internationalization of science who, as early as 1910, had translated a book on *International Language and Science* in which the following epic paragraph can be found (Pfaundler et al., 1910: [VII] from the 'Translator's Preface'):

> Internationalisation of thought is the motto of the twentieth century, the device on the banner of progress. Science, the Super-Nation of the world, must lead the way in this as in all other things.

The chapters in this book tackle the rather complex mixture of social, political, and cultural events, international scientific meetings, and personal networks that Donnan's report on his visit to Coimbra partly unveils. This book is, therefore, about the 'internationalisation of thought' or, to be more specific, about the 'export', circulation, and appropriation of German scientific 'thought' in Southern European countries during the Nazi period.

The last two decades have seen a growing flood of publications concerned with science in National Socialist Germany. In an article that appeared 15 years after his important book *Scientists under Hitler* was published (Beyerchen, 1977), Alan Beyerchen distinguishes two basic streams of publications dealing with the subject (Beyerchen, 1992: 615–616):

> One stream is that of collected essays surveying the role of the university (or a specific university) under National Socialism; in contrast to most such volumes published before the 1970s, careful attention is paid to the relationship of the scientific institutes with the regime. [...] The other stream is that of examinations of specific disciplines and their practitioners or of specialized institutions.

Beyerchen's review of literature still seems generally germane today, in spite of the many other books and essays that have appeared since 1992 and in spite of important commissioned research projects focusing on German science during the Nazi era that have been launched since then. The research programme promoted by the Max-Planck-Gesellschaft in 1999 on the *History of the Kaiser Wilhelm Society in the National Socialist Era* deserves special mention in this context, as do several other projects initiated by German universities (Berlin, Munich, Heidelberg, and Göttingen, among others) that sought to understand their own entangled (hi)stories in the Nazi period. All of these projects

have undoubtedly contributed with a very significant number of works to a much clearer understanding of how the National Socialist regime controlled some of its most important scientific institutions, and its results are generally in line with Beyerchen's perspective (see Becker et al., 1998; Kaufmann, 2000; Bruch et al., 2005; Eckart et al., 2006; Kraus, 2006; Schmuhl, 2008; Heim et al., 2009; Hoffmann et al., 2014).

However, the chapters in this volume would have some difficulties completely fitting into the two streams of publications envisioned by Beyerchen. They certainly examine the role of universities, research laboratories, and other scientific actors and institutions under National Socialism, but they do it in a considerably different setting. First, their main focus is on the circulation and appropriation of knowledge in an international – bilateral, and sometimes also multilateral – environment. Second and furthermore, this environment is not exclusively scientific but also strongly determined by the political and cultural foreign policies of the states involved (in this respect, see for example Hård and Jamison, 1998). In other words: what this double shift of perspective means is that these essays deal with a hybrid international environment and an intricate set of objects that include social, cultural, or scientific events and personal networks along with scientific theories, disciplines, technologies, or methodologies.

Considering, therefore, the variety of this set of materials, and the fact that the internationalization of 'German scientific thought' during the period operates at a complex level where the scientific, the cultural, and the political are often closely intertwined, the term 'science' can only be understood here in the broadest sense of the German *Wissenschaft*, thus including both the *Naturwissenschaften* and the *Geisteswissenschaften*. Odd, or at least unusual, as it may sound in a post-'Two Cultures' world, it should nevertheless be pointed out that this meaning of 'science' corresponds more accurately not only to the general use of the word in Germany, but also to the perception of the concept of *Wissenschaft* that the particular period and the Nazi regime appeared to favour. It is true that the cleavage between the *Naturwissenschaften* and the *Geisteswissenschaften* was already clearly perceivable, including in Germany, by the late nineteenth century, as the controversy between Dilthey and Du Bois-Reymond, which led the former to publish his *Introduction to the Human Sciences*, clearly shows. But the fact is that between 1933 and 1945 the growing relevance and conspicuousness of the political and ideological spheres somehow managed to set aside the differences between the 'Two Cultures'. One only needs to recall the pivotal role played by the humanities in some of

the more relevant scientific research institutions of that epoch, like the above-mentioned Kaiser Wilhelm Society, whose first president, and one of its founders, was the theologian Adolf von Harnack. And, as to the specific role and functions of the *Geisteswissenschaften* in the building of international scientific networks, the concluding observations of a speech given by the physicist Heinrich Konen in November 1929 at the general meeting of the Emergency Association of German Science (*Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft*) leave no doubt about their significance: 'oriental studies, archaeology, research expeditions and philosophy are indispensable to support our decisive future foreign policy and as close to real life as bacteriology or mechanical engineering' (Konen, 1930: 64).[1]

The change of focus that such a perspective entails admittedly calls for a reassessment of the literature on Nazi science somewhat different from the one drawn by Beyerchen in 1992, though not necessarily contradictory to it.

Apart from some scattered and very differently motivated publications that appeared during the first decade immediately after the Second World War and whose authors, in one way or another, were all involved in the conflict – among them Max Weinreich's *Hitler's Professors* (1999, 1st edition 1946), Leslie A. Simon's *German Research in World War II* (1947), and George Schreiber's *Deutsche Wissenschaftspolitik von Bismarck bis zum Atomwissenschaftler Otto Hahn* (1954) – it is above all from the mid-1960s that Germany begins to reconsider the role of science and technology as well as the role of universities during the Nazi period. Most of the essays published in that decade (Abendroth, 1966; Kuhn et al., 1966; Erdmann, 1967) come from lecture series held in 1965 and 1966 at the universities of Tübingen, Berlin, Munich, and Kiel. But by 1969, the publication of Fritz K. Ringer's *The Decline of the German Mandarins* already anticipated much of the work and research lines of the next decade. In fact, the 1970s go far beyond the panorama of occasional memorial lectures, important as they were, by bringing a significant shift to discourse in this area with the first academic dissertations on the subject (for example, Beyerchen, 1977) and a growing number of articles on similar topics published in international scientific journals (Düwell, 1971; Forman, 1971; Schroeder-Gudehus, 1972, among others). Of course, it is important to stress that works like the ones mentioned earlier were largely outnumbered by an already remarkable number of publications dealing with the Nazi regime from a historical–political point of view. The 200-page bibliography on National Socialism compiled by Peter Hüttenberger in 1980 might well be considered an

emblematic milestone of the research interests until then: while most of the works listed there deal with historical–political topics (fascist theories, ideology, history of the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP), and so on), only three meagre pages itemizing 40 publications are devoted to the section 'Sciences/University' (Hüttenberger, 1980: 100–104).

Nevertheless, the shift of historiographical discourse to an international academic arena, announced in the 1970s, was to produce significant results in the following decades. Among these are several congress proceedings, edited volumes, and academic dissertations that basically fall into the two streams identified by Beyerchen in his aforementioned review essay (Macrakis, 1993; Walker, 1993, 1995; Brocke and Laitko, 1994; Hentschel and Hentschel, 1996; Hutton, 1999; Hausmann, 2000, 2001, 2002; Schmuhl, 2000; Heim, 2001; Szöllösi-Janze, 2001; Proctor, 2002; Bruch et al., 2005; Bialas and Rabinbach, 2006; Hoffmann and Walker, 2007; Maas and Hooijmaijers, 2009; Weiss, 2010; Jütte et al., 2011, to name only a few published after Beyerchen's review).

Now, what is interesting about the vast majority of these publications is that they all share one common feature: they are mainly entangled in the inner landscapes and networks of German science and are, thus, primarily concerned with demystifying its internal organization, structures, and functions. That is to say: they tend to operate at local national levels, hence reproducing, to a certain extent, the typical parochiality attributed to the political and cultural systems they seek to analyse. The '"invisible" export of thought' remained, therefore, still 'invisible'.

The European fascist period was certainly a period of exclusions and disruptions, but it was also a time of intense international network building and scientific and cultural exchange: the exhibitions, public lectures, and academic or even touristic exchange that Germany organized between 1933 and 1945 in Southern European countries (from Portugal to Romania and Bulgaria, not forgetting Spain, Italy, or Greece) reflect a hybrid (that is, political, cultural, and scientific) obsession to 'persuade' and to 'seduce', 'to make a friend out of an enemy or to make a friend out of an indifferent' (Schwabe, 1940: 10).

The fact that international hybrid networks like these have attracted only incidental attention from researchers should not be surprising. On the one hand, the analysis of such complex networking systems implies an often intricate cross-disciplinary and cross-national point of view, as information gathered in German institutions needs to be cross-checked with data collected at similar local national institutions and vice versa. On the other hand, research in this particular area is

confronted with many missing links, for it is heavily dependent on German institutions whose archives were either seriously damaged or completely destroyed during the war, as is the case for the archives of the Humboldt Foundation, the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), and the German Student Association for Foreigners (*Deutsche Studienwerk für Ausländer*) (see Impekoven, 2013: 30–35). Finally, it should be acknowledged that the analysis of top-level institutions that were major actors in this area, such as the German Foreign Office (*Auswärtiges Amt*), was in part neglected until recently another commissioned research project threw new and, above all, more detailed light on this organization (Conze et al., 2010; Frei and Fischer, 2011).

Certainly, there are many available primary sources and studies on Nazi foreign policy (see, for example, the section 'International Relations' in Hüttenberger, 1980: 135–157; Jacobsen and Smith, 2007; Kimmich, 2013), yet these deal mainly with specific bilateral case studies and were undertaken within the traditional historical–political framework. With a few exceptions (for example, Abelein, 1968; Twardowski, 1970; and more recently Cuomo, 1995; Trommler, 2013), most of these studies leave the German Foreign Office's international scientific and cultural policies as good as untouched.

Research dealing with such an incomplete, sometimes diffuse, and, without doubt, difficult scenario is, of course, not abundant. Nevertheless, it is possible to identify three main strands of studies addressing the internationalization of German science and thought from such a cross-disciplinary and cross-national comparative perspective during the period.

In the first place, there is a set of publications that deal with German node institutions which were specifically devoted to promote foreign academic and cultural international relations, and therefore cannot avoid noticing the constitutive role played by bilateral or multilateral international hybrid networks in these institutions. Among them is Laitenberger's thesis on the DAAD (Laitenberger, 1976), Liehr et al.'s (2003) volume on the Ibero-American Institute, Michels' book (2005) on the German Academy and the Goethe Institute, Gesche's book (2006) on German scientific institutes, Waibel's thesis (2010) on German schools abroad, and Impekoven's (2013) on the Humboldt Foundation. Essays addressing other important actors of these international academic settings (students, teachers, researchers, institutions) should also be considered within this set of texts: for instance, the case of von Olenhusen's (1966) and Paschalidis' (2009) essays or Bodo's (1998 and 2003) works.

Second, there is a set of works, most of them developed under the specific framework of the historiography of science, that deal with the international situation of German science after 1918 and during the Nazi period. Brigitte Schroeder-Gudehus' thesis of 1966 on *German Science and International Cooperation (1914–1928)* might well be considered a pioneer study as far as this topic goes. Her work was followed by a number (albeit relatively modest) of other studies (Forman, 1973; Crawford et al., 1986, 1993; Crawford, 2002) until more recently Carol Sachse and Mark Walker edited a volume of *Osiris* on 'Politics and Science in Wartime: Comparative International Perspectives on the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute' (Sachse and Walker, 2005), while Sheila Faith Weiss (2005) was also drawing attention to the political role played by German science in the 'international arena'.

Finally, there is a third set of publications that focus more explicitly on the circulation and appropriation of knowledge and ideas in fascist Europe. A subset of these works adopts a comparative political perspective and appears above all interested in the internationalism of fascist thought (for example, Mosse, 1979; Griffin, 1998; De Grand, 2004; Patel, 2004; Bauerkämper, 2007, 2010; Pinto, 2011) or in the circulation of political ideas and values among European regimes that, despite not disguising their ideological affinities, also do not seem willing to give up their nationalistic differences (Baldoli, 2003; Ivani, 2008). And lastly, there is a second subset of publications that assumes a somewhat different, and to a certain extent broader, scope of analysis by concentrating on the scientific and cultural 'export of thought' that takes place in specific bilateral political settings (Hera Martínez, 2002; Koutsoukou, 2008; Janué Miret, 2008; Zarifi, 2008, 2010; Rebok, 2010; Vares, 2011) or in wider regional contexts (Carreras, 2005; Turda and Weindling, 2007).

Like some of the aforementioned works, this book brings into focus the international networks that were established, developed, or maintained between Germany and the Southern European region during the Nazi period. Dealing with a complex network of individuals and institutions that thrive in a hybrid scientific, cultural, and political environment, these chapters aim to go beyond both the surface of diplomatic discourse and the well-studied political and ideological affinities of those fascist regimes. They lay bare the parasitic use that Nazi propaganda made of an internationally recognized and reputable tradition – that of science produced in German academies, universities, and laboratories – by centring their analysis on concrete actors, institutions, events, measures, and actions that fostered the circulation and appropriation of knowledge between National Socialist Germany and the totalitarian

regimes of Southern European countries. Furthermore, they explore the skilful linking of very diversified local interests, which gave rise to international influence networks that survived the fall of Nazi Germany, lasting in some cases (Spain, Greece, and Portugal, for instance) until the mid-1970s.

International relations and the 'soft power' of German science

Unweaving a web of international networks like these is far from being a simple task, all the more so when the global political and cultural context is strongly moulded by ultranationalist ideologies. The paths of confrontation and possible points of disruption between international and national structures are to be found virtually everywhere, from beliefs to thoughts and actions, from everyday life to scientific activities. The 'export of thought' to which Donnan ascribed 'deep importance and significance' is not immune to these clashes, nor do its tracks lie outside these conflict paths. Quite the contrary, in the 'modern world' the 'export of thought' is particularly affected by them.

Scientific matters, the circulation of knowledge, and the internationalization of science were neither a minor nor a lateral issue during the period in question: not only because physics played a decisive role in a war that was decided by laboratory research rather than bravery on the battlefields (cf. Anon., 1939a), but also because scientific and pseudoscientific discourse pervaded the public sphere of the epoch with a panoply of noisy events and discussions that were probably unique in the history of mankind. Einstein's case, which reached the world newspapers before the Nazi seizure of power and stayed there during the Second World War and long thereafter, can be considered emblematic of the global centrality of the role played by science in the first half of the twentieth century. During the period, there were certainly several other events and topics that caught the attention of the media as well as that of scientific and scholarly journals. The forced migration of Jewish scholars and scientists from Germany and the loud discussions around the concept of race were definitely among them. But what seems important to emphasize is that all these pieces of news were clearly pointing in one direction: Germany. At the centre of this new public opinion turmoil was German science, or, to be more accurate, the specific national(istic) views on science that, from 1933 on, emanated from German laboratories, academies, and universities (from physics to biology, not forgetting disciplines that were less popular in the media and yet important, such

as archaeology, geography, economics, agriculture, or even philology and philosophy).

Underlying the discussions that pervaded Western public opinion during the period was a notorious clash between German and non-German science that can be traced back to the events that followed the end of the First World War and to the fragile and desperate situation in which German science found itself by then. The reorganization of international scientific institutions and the consequent segregation of German science in the aftermath of the Great War is a well-studied case that has received significant research attention (Schroeder-Gudehus, 1966, 1973; Kevles, 1971; Cock, 1983; Crawford, 1988; Reinbothe, 2010). Nevertheless, it still seems important to recall here the atmosphere of violent verbal hostility that surrounded German scientists at that time. And, for that matter, the brief note on 'German Naturalists and Nomenclature' published by the British entomologist Lord Walsingham in *Nature* on 5 September 1918 (Walsingham, 1918: 4) is clear enough not to require any further comment:

> I trust that the great majority of naturalists will read with approval the following sentence in Sir Georg Hampson's paper on 'Pyralidae,' published in the Proceedings of the Zoological Society, 1918 (p. 55): – 'No quotations from German authors published since August, 1914, are included. "Hostes humani generis."' [. . .]
>
> Let us trust that for the next twenty years, at least, all Germans will be relegated to the category of persons with whom honest men will decline to have any dealings.

Even though this kind of hostile discourse faded with the years, the arrival of the Nazis to power brought a different and more complex framework for these discussions, which included the relations of science and society (see, for instance, Merton, 1938; Bernal, 1939; Park, 1940), the relations of science and politics (Haldane, 1934; Aydelotte, 1940; Benedict, 1940), (inter)nationalism, neutrality, and independence of science (Jackson, 1934; Leland, 1934; Haldane, 1941; Darrow, 1943), and academic freedom (Anon., 1933a; Veit, 1937; Mason, 1940). These were not entirely new discussions within the epistemological framework of science, but it is important to bear in mind that they were now being fuelled by very specific and very mediatic examples of racism and exclusion, among them the news regarding the situation of the Jewish refugees (see, for example, Anon., 1933b, 1936, 1937) or the

heated debate on the race question (see, for example, the important contributions from eminent scientists like Boas, 1934, 1937; Huxley et al., 1935; Fleure, 1936, 1937; Benedict, 1940). And that meant that the interference of (national) politics in science was no longer a matter restricted to scientific or intellectual circles, but an issue that the Nazis had been able to put on the public agenda.

The whole academic and scientific atmosphere in which these debates took place is well captured in a brief passage from a declaration of the American Association for the Advancement of Science adopted in 1937 and reproduced in several scientific journals thereafter: 'Science is wholly independent of national boundaries and races and creeds and can flourish permanently only where there is peace and intellectual freedom' (Anon., 1939b: 294). The emphasis put on 'races', 'creeds', 'peace', and 'freedom' leaves no doubt about the fact that the statement can only be read against the background of the political situation and events in Germany. However, the statement also mentions – and right at the beginning – that 'Science is wholly independent of national boundaries', and in doing so it unveils a somehow different debate that is going on at a different level: it does not appear to be a public denunciation of the contemporary political–scientific situation in Germany (or, at least, not in a direct, immediate way), or a discussion about 'Aryan' and non-'Aryan' science, but a debate between two colliding views of science and of scientific (inter)nationalism. It was a debate, therefore, about scientific principles and about science and politics that touched on a core question of scientific thought: its universalism.

Now, what is interesting about this (perhaps) more fundamental debate is that the line that was expected or supposed to divide German from non-German scientists becomes less clear. In 1932, the American biologist T.D.A. Cockerell already noted that, even if science should be 'the leading international cult', 'scientific men must recognise the limits of internationalism on the emotional side, and the positive disadvantage of trying to make all people *feel* alike' (Cockerell, 1932: 831, italics in original). And, in 1938, a subtle brief note published by *The Lancet* stressed that 'work conceived and executed purely in the interest of a particular nation may end in conferring benefits upon the whole of humanity' (Anon., 1938b: 1125). At this level of debate, the discussions appear to lose (at least some of) their radicalism, and it therefore comes as no surprise to find that Germany recognizes, in its turn, the dangers of ultranationalism in these areas. In fact, it is worth noting that German science was aware of its fragile position and conscious of the risks of further isolation that it was running in 1933 with the Nazis' seizure of

power. A clear warning came from a report of the Emergency Association of German Science of that same year: 'the threads of German research to foreign countries must not tear off' (Notgemeinschaft, 1933: 83). And the proof that these risks were also taken very seriously by the Nazi regime is the declaration released to the press by the Reich's minister of education, Bernhard Rust, on 7 May 1933 concerning foreign students in German universities (Rust, 1933):

> The abominable propaganda in foreign countries has apparently also disseminated false ideas about the German universities. As many inquiries show there is abroad often the fear that the universities in Germany might be less friendly disposed than before to the study of foreigners. The fear is unfounded. The student youth from abroad who has interest and understanding for German character and German science is welcome to study in Germany. It will find with us sincere hospitality and extensive support.

The most important German scientific institutions and the highest political authorities were thus conscious that their isolation in areas related to the circulation of knowledge could be dangerous, and that the racially based Nazi ideology could actually be fatal in educational and research contexts, which were already highly internationalized by then. In other words: as far as science, research, and education were concerned, the new Nazi Germany was conscious that it could very well be the first victim of Nazi ideology.

This state of affairs was admittedly not new for Germany. The above-quoted passage from Lord Walsingham clearly demonstrates that the spectre of segregation in these areas had already haunted the German *Kulturwelt* since the Great War. And, although the whole situation had different contours by 1933, the truth is that the strategy used by Germany to overcome this renewed isolationist threat was basically similar to the diplomatic strategies successfully tested and used during and after the First World War.

A pamphlet entitled 'The German Professors and the World War', published by the liberal and pacifist Walther Schücking in 1915, has the merit of describing the German strategy vividly and in a few words. Drawing the attention of the reader to Count Bernstorff, former German ambassador in the United States and 'one of the most competent diplomats of the German Reich', the author stresses the fact that Bernstorff took special care in fostering his relations to American universities, and had received for this several honorary degrees. Schücking recalls

an episode involving the same Bernstorff that should, in his view, be considered an example and a future road map for German diplomacy (Schücking, 1915: [1]):

> When he was asked whether the collection of American honorary degrees had become a new sport for him, he replied with resignation that his task would be primarily to gain sympathy for his German home state, the only circles that had a suitable soil for that were the scholars, and therefore he first approached American science in order to work there for Germany.[2]

Moreover, Schücking notes that 'The spiritual isolation of Germany at the outbreak of the present war is sufficient proof that this diplomat [...] has correctly assessed the situation' and concludes: 'This reputation of German science abroad was for us a big German capital, doubly valuable in a time where, after all, our assets were actually so surprisingly low.'

'Scholars', 'universities', and 'science' were thus the 'soft' – and yet very powerful – German diplomatic antidotes to the international isolationist threat during the Great War. From a German point of view, they were simultaneously the most important channels that kept international communication flowing for Germany and invaluable tools 'to make a friend out of an enemy', to use Schwabe's words quoted above.

Fifteen years after Schücking's pamphlet, much had changed in Germany, but not its international, diplomatic, and political networking strategies. A book published anonymously in 1931 and entitled *The Struggle for German Foreign Policy* (*Der Kampf um die deutsche Aussenpolitik*) offers a detailed and deep insight into these continuities, while at the same time foreseeing many of the rhetorical changes that the Nazi regime would bring two years later. With its more than 400 pages and a very exhaustive table of contents that covers all the main topics related to foreign cultural policy (from Australia to China and from the League of Nations to domestic policy), the book might be considered, without doubt, a true guideline for future German diplomacy. It is, however, worth noting that its author seems rather distant from the political and ideological convictions of the Nazi party: he holds the view that fascism should be rejected as a political solution for Germany (Anon., 1931: 135) and that Germany's domestic policy should promote the 'struggle against any type of dictatorship'; he professes pacifism and disarmament in Europe (Anon., 1931: 407); and, while very critical of the world power of the Jews (Anon., 1931: 128: 'Germany is today almost completely under Jewish rule'), he nevertheless agrees that 'a fundamentally

anti-Semitic German policy would only result in the gravest dangers for German interests' (Anon., 1931: 132).

Despite these views (or precisely because of them), the chapter specifically dedicated to foreign cultural policy is of undeniable interest because of the way it exposes the continuities underlying these particular areas and at the same time unveils the future German diplomatic guidelines (Anon., 1931: 105, italics in the original):

> International cultural policy is something that a State does to its own advantage; it is not an *act of charity*. From a foreign-political point of view it is therefore unwise to speak of the merits 'of cultural elevation' of another country, as it happens too often in Germany. [...]
>
> The use of our own culture as a *means of foreign policy* is more necessary for Germany today than in the past because other essential fundamentals of foreign policy efficacy, such as the military or the financial and economic powers have been either partially eliminated or severely undermined.

And, after distinguishing between a cultural foreign policy for foreign countries and states (*Ausländerkulturpolitik*) and a cultural foreign policy for Germans living abroad (*Auslandsdeutsche*), the author proceeds with a remarkable listing of the main German institutions that should be involved in the cultural policy specially designed for foreign countries: German schools abroad, universities, German scientific institutes abroad, international congresses, arts and sports events, and so on (Anon., 1931: 106–108).

A remarkable and truly impressive listing indeed, not only because it is an extended and updated list of the instruments that German diplomacy had put to use since the First World War, but also because these were de facto the main German 'soft tools' that later enabled the strategic circulation of knowledge between Nazi Germany and Southern Europe, as the chapters in this book seek to show.

Approaching Southern Europe: Culture, science, politics

In general terms, the cultural foreign policy methods used by Nazi Germany to approach Southern European countries were, therefore, apparently no different from those adopted by Bernstorff in the United States from 1908 to 1917, or those described with detail in the book on German foreign policy anonymously published in 1931. The main

structures and institutions involved were the same, even if retouched by local colours, and the sequentially ordered strategy used to approach foreign countries followed one basic pattern: cultural contacts and events usually preceded scientific, technical, or economic linking, and if the whole atmosphere was favourable, political discourse would take over – actually, parasitize – the already opened communication channels.

However, even if Bernstorff's methods in the United States can be regarded as typical of a long-term German diplomatic strategy, it must also be added and acknowledged that North America was not (and is not) Southern Europe. The differences lie not so much in the physical–geographical characteristics of each of these two regions of the globe, but in the fact that they may be *seen differently* by different observers with different interests and goals. In other words, if geography is a matter of perspective, political geography or (perhaps better in this case) *Geopolitik* is even more so. Hitler makes this perfectly clear when he distinguishes North America from Central and South America (Hitler, 1941: 392):

> North America, the population of which consists for the greatest part of Germanic elements – which mix only very little with the lower, colored races – displays a humanity and a culture different from those of Central and South America, where chiefly the Romanic immigrants have sometimes mixed with the aborigines on a large scale.

In this brief excerpt from *Mein Kampf*, the comparison between the Americas basically serves as an argument and example against 'any mixing of the blood'; nonetheless, the way the distinction is drawn is interesting enough to deserve further discussion. First, it must be noted that Hitler significantly concentrates on the 'racial' features of the American populations, and not on the geographical characteristics of the different regions. On the other hand, it must also be pointed out that his understanding of the 'American population' has almost no space for indigenous peoples, which are considered 'lower races'. It is not they but the 'Germanic' and 'Romanic' 'elements' that are at the very centre of the distinction drawn. The picture that emerges from this passage is thus much more a picture of Europe than one of America. Hitler transposes to the American setting the North–South 'racial' divide that he imagines in Europe, so that in the end he does not see or depict America at all, but only his European fiction.

Perspective does matter, indeed, and from a German point of view the 'South' and above all 'Southern Europe' are definitely not empty or neutral geographical concepts. On the contrary, they are historically

and culturally laden concepts with values and fantasies attached to them that call forth different interests.

For Germany, 'Southern Europe' is a set of complex, multi-layered, and dynamic visions that include the fertile and mythical 'land where the lemon-trees bloom' (Goethe, 1824: 229); Humboldt's Greeks, a people that is not only 'useful to know historically, but an ideal' (Humboldt, 1908: 609), and also its well-known reverse images, the 'Black Legend' (Greer et al., 2008) as well as other similar 'Southern Horrors' (Bonifas and Monacelli, 2013). Furthermore, from the Nazis' point of view, this already bipolar image of 'Southern Europe' becomes an even more fractured concept. On the one hand, the European North–South divide that had been steadily growing since the Reformation gains new arguments and new strength from the racial views coming from National Socialist Germany. On the other hand, however, Germany's proclaimed 'Drive to the East' (Wippermann, 1981; see also Hitler, 1941: 933–967), which the anonymous author of the book on German foreign policy already anticipated when he wrote that 'Germany's future can only be re-established through Ostpolitik' (Anon., 1931: 34), introduces a new axis to the Nazis' stereotypical and prejudiced geopolitical view of the world – the West–East axis – that brings complexity and ambiguity with it. The 'Germanic North' still remains 'superior' to the 'South', but at the same time the 'West' is also considered 'superior' to the 'East'. The hierarchy of values becomes less rigid and less simple than it was before creating grey zones that might threaten the whole congruence of the Nazi mindset (what, for example, would be the relative position of Northeastern and Southwestern European regions along the 'superior–inferior' axis?).

From the moment the East became a priority for Nazi Germany, much of the 'superior–inferior' radical logic implicit in the classical North–South divide was momentarily bridged and transferred to the West–East axis. As a result, the Southeastern part of 'Southern Europe' emerged as a differentiated geographical entity, which was called upon to play a decisive role in Germany's 'existential questions' (Liulevicius, 2009: 1), being, as it was, at the centre of several other National Socialist policies and plans intended to provide Germany with *Lebensraum* for territorial expansion and the needed resources for exploitation (see, among others, Hirschfeld, 2003; Thum, 2006; Liulevicius, 2009: 171–202).

For National Socialist Germany, there were, therefore, many Souths in this European South. There were different projects, goals, and interests at stake that motivated somewhat differentiated relational strategies. It is true that underlying Germany's global first approach to Southern European countries was an overall feeling of 'cultural anxiety', also

'shared by cultural conservatives across Europe' (Kirk, 2003: 209). All this changed with the beginning of the war: that is, all this changed with the shift of the West–East axis to the foreground of the German political agenda. The National Socialist discourse towards Southeastern European countries became increasingly colonial in its tone and considerably louder, while the 'soft' diplomatic cultural approach towards German-friendly Southwestern European regimes remained relatively constant and stable until 1945.

But there were still more Souths in this South than the European ones alone. And these other non-European Souths, floating on the horizon of German expectations, often contributed decisively to the definition of diplomatic priorities or to the planning of activities within Southern Europe. The two Iberian countries, for instance, were given special attention by National Socialist authorities of all kinds, among other things because they proved to be the ideal platforms to reach out to South America, the continent that was to become the truly ideal South for Nazi Germany. This was not only because there was plenty of land and resources for a *People without Space* (Grimm, 1926), but also due to the general supportive atmosphere that could be found there: many of these South American countries had received an important and influential number of German emigrants who settled in that continent during the nineteenth century, and many of the political regimes of the former Spanish and Portuguese colonies in South America were, like their European metropoles, notoriously German-friendly (and remained so long after the end of the Second World War, as is widely known).

It is against this historical background that this book should be read.

Dealing with a highly hybrid international environment and an intricate set of subjects that include individual, social, cultural, and scientific networks and events, the chapters in this volume follow a path that attempts to mirror much of the course taken by Nazi Germany when approaching Southern Europe. The book starts with the topic of cultural contacts, the German classical diplomatic first approach to foreign countries. From there, it proceeds to an examination of how the hybrid German scientific and academic networks were formed, maintained, and developed in Southern European countries, while also taking into account a particularly sensitive issue of this period and a central ideological piece of the Nazi regime: the circulation and appropriation of eugenics and 'race'-related questions in Southern Europe. Finally, the German colonial discourse comes into focus and, with it, the political and scientific dimensions of National Socialist expansionist policies.

What the book thus proposes is an itinerary through the dynamics, variants, and variations of transnational fascist discourse, and through German cultural, scientific, and political relations with Southern European countries during the fascist period. It is a European itinerary that maybe unexpectedly, and yet logically, could only end in South America.

Notes

1. Unless otherwise noted, this and all subsequent translations are my own. Konen's speech is one among many other documents of the period that punctuate the important mission assigned to the *Geisteswissenschaften* in the building of scientific international networks; see, for example, the last of the three volumes published on the occasion of the 25 years of the Kaiser Wilhelm Society, which is exclusively devoted to the *Geisteswissenschaften* (Planck, 1937). More can be found on this subject in Hausmann (2002, 2008), Reiss (2003), Bialas and Rabinbach (2006), Kirchhoff (2007), and Ash et al. (2010).
2. See also the last chapter of the memoirs of Count Bernstorff, which quotes at length a very friendly article published in *The New York Tribune* just before he returned to Germany, after the rupture of relations and the declaration of war with the United States. The article is significantly entitled 'Diplomacy and Friendship: Twin Arts of Bernstorff' and is quoted in English in the German original edition of the memoirs (Bernstorff, 1920: 393–396).

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2

Beyond Germanness? Music's History as 'Entangled History' in German Musicology from the End of the Nineteenth Century to the Second World War

Mauro Fosco Bertola

In 1938 the German Railway Company hired the graphic artist Lothar Heinemann to create a poster promoting Germany's attractiveness as a tourist destination. Heinemann's work shows a massive eagle, clearly representing Germany, clasping an organ in its talons, plainly referring to the 'most German' of the composers, Johann Sebastian Bach. The text ties both elements together and reads: 'Germany, the Land of Music'.[1] The poster clearly evokes that mélange of supposedly Prussian and Protestant qualities that the Nazis were eager to claim for themselves, but Heinemann's drawing should not be dismissed all too quickly as merely a further example of Nazi propaganda. Quite significantly, there is no swastika to be seen on this poster. In fact, the idea of Germany as the land of music arose, as is well known, long before Hitler; its origins were at the end of the eighteenth century.[2]

The constitutive fascination of the link between Germany and music lies in its counterintuitive nature. Over one and a half centuries, an aesthetic and compositional discourse pursuing an autonomous or, rather, absolute music – a music that 'speaks for itself', to put it bluntly – would become closely associated with a wide range of societal meanings, culminating in a narrowly political function under Nazism. From Adorno's reflections on Wagner and Mann's *Doktor Faustus* to more recent scholarly works, a wide range of different approaches have been brought into play in order to look behind the claim of a substantial Germanness of music, trying to explain the tenacity of its allure and the disquieting

trajectory of its course.[3] But, in trying to look *behind* such a claim, we should also look *beyond* it. Declaring Germany the land of music does not only involve (and somehow define) both nouns and their relationship (the fiction of a naturally given link via the slippery notion of land/nation); this statement also nevertheless involves precisely that which it excludes, that is to say, other countries and their music. How were they conceived? Or, more specifically, how could the assumption of Germany's exclusive possession of *Frau Musica* be credibly advocated in the light of the constant process of give and take within and beyond national and cultural boundaries that characterizes the development of art music in Western societies?

Hardly naïve, the question concerning the conceptualization of musical exchange under Nazism is intriguingly revealing, questioning the uncanny continuum from Bismarck to the Third Reich that characterizes Germany's claim to cultural superiority and the struggle for its political realization. In this chapter I intend to pose this question, focusing on an academic discipline that dawned at the end of the nineteenth century in the German-speaking world, then quickly spread its epistemic culture throughout Europe and North America: musicology. Closely intertwined with Germany, the main focus of this discipline was on taking a historical approach to music: beyond a lively philological–editorial aspect, one of musicology's most important goals was to reconstruct the development of European art music through the centuries.[4] In elaborating such historical overviews, the discipline could not, therefore, avoid confronting the problem of somehow explaining musical exchange *within* the assumption of Germany's musical superiority. By looking at some significant examples reaching from the 1880s to the period of the Second World War, I intend to point out how a shift took place *beyond* the continuity of the claim to German musical superiority, that is to say, a shift concerning how musical exchange was conceived in musicological works. From the *Kaiserreich* to the Third Reich, the proud slogan on Heinemann's poster significantly changed its meaning, becoming under Nazism an assumption disquieting not only for other peoples but also for Germans themselves.

The most German of the sciences: German musicology and its colonial perspective 1885–1933

In the first of his *Untimely Meditations* from 1873, Nietzsche wrote a provocative critique of David Strauss's *The Old Faith and the New*,

published the previous year. In the bulky spiritual testament of Strauss, a theologian and former representative of the so-called Young Hegelians, Nietzsche saw the embodiment of that 'philistine' spirit of Germany he was fighting against with his own philosophy.[5] Nietzsche described the book as a eulogy for Bismarck's newly founded Reich, and at one point sarcastically declared that Strauss's work did not actually do anything more than validate the present by way of the future: the heavenly vision of Germany's destiny depicted by Strauss simply reflected everyday life in Wilhelmine Germany, while portraying its narrow-minded banality as the fulfilment of human history and locating the present in a desirable future.[6] Something quite similar seems to have already happened in musical discourse, even if, of course, the music it referred to was far from banal or narrow-minded. Around the same time as Strauss's work, in his book on Beethoven, Wagner gave the following description of Germany's role in musical history: 'We know that it was the "German spirit" so hated and feared "beyond the mountains" that counteracted the artificially induced corruption of the spirit of the peoples everywhere, including the artistic field and redeemed it [from its previous ruin]' (Wagner, 1914: 84).

Wagner's statement is not only representative of a view about music's history that was widely held at the time but also reveals how Wagner, even locating the fulfilment of music's history in the past (or, rather modestly, by himself via Beethoven), actually takes an argumentative approach similar to that of Strauss: he declares Germany (in its *Großdeutsch* meaning, that is, referring to the entire German-speaking world and thus including Haydn, Mozart, and so on) the embodiment of humanity.[7] His statement is, indeed, constructed along two respective pairs of terms. With the first pair ('German spirit' and 'spirit of the peoples'), Wagner claims that musical Germanness 'released' the musical spirit of the peoples, which had previously been perverted by another, corrupted 'spirit'. In short, Wagner claims that the attribute of Germanness, while still referring to the people living in Germany, is at the same time synonymous with something 'common to all the peoples', that is to say, a universal quality.[8] The second pair of terms ('beyond the mountains' and 'artificially induced corruption') refer respectively to Italy and to its most representative form of musical expression, namely, opera. Wagner is referring here *via negationis* to the so-called autonomy aesthetics. Autonomous music, as embodied in Beethoven's symphonies and, of course, in Wagner's music dramas, is purported to be the diametric opposite of the operatic music based on the old Aristotelian rule of imitating nature and human feelings. Indeed,

'autonomous' means that in this kind of music, not human emotions but the music itself becomes its own master.

Now it is possible to grasp the link between German autonomous music and Wagner's equation of the German and the universal: as far as musical Germanness is concerned, German music embodies the true nature of music itself, that is, the former is universal. It is now also possible to look *beyond* this conceptualization of Germany's musical superiority and to come back to the question posed at the beginning. With regard to the musical exchange, the striking point here is, of course, that, strictly speaking, within this framework *there is no cultural exchange*: from the point of view of a universal musical essence, the history of music is not the history of borrowing between different musical cultures, that is, between different essences of music. From the point of view of universality, the history of music is instead the ongoing process of music 'becoming' itself, which culminates in German musical achievements. As German music embodies the universal essence of true music, it is also superior to all the other national music(s); it is *the* music itself. For the French, the Italians, and so on, there is no other option than to reject their own, objectively bad music and 'redeem' themselves by becoming universal, that is to say, becoming German. Here we see a truly colonial perspective: a perspective which assumes that the colonizer already possesses some universal feature, whereas the colonized still has to learn it from its master.

Fifteen years after Wagner's *Beethoven*, an article penned by a renowned Viennese scholar opened the first issue of a scientific journal dedicated to a new academic discipline: Guido Adler's programmatic work *Extent, Method and Aim of Musicology* from 1885 represents the 'official' founding act of musicology. The constitutive feature of Adler's whole attempt relies on an understanding of history that very well suits the colonial framework discussed above.[9] He describes the new discipline as a sign of the progressive 'scientification' of the arts across the centuries, depicting a future of harmonious cooperation between composers who create 'in the sacred groves of their temples' and musicologists as the 'guardians of the order' (Adler, 1885: 15, 18). The analogy between Adler's understanding of music's future and David Strauss's 'philistine' depiction of Germany's (as well as humanity's) glorious destiny, to be achieved with the help of technology, is revealing but rather unsurprising. Conversely, it is more interesting to point out how Adler, by claiming just *one* possible (or acceptable) future of music, also assumes that there is just *one* music, that is to say, just *one legitimate understanding of what music 'is'* and certainly just one legitimate,

that is, conceivable way for music history to unfold. It is no coincidence that Adler writes about music in universal terms, describing its historical evolution on the basis of a biological metaphor as 'organic growth': the 'cells' overtaken by the main line of development (*die fortschrittliche Bewegung*) have to 'die', because they are no longer viable (*lebensfähig*), lying outside of this very improvement (Adler, 1885: 9).[10] It follows – paraphrasing Ernest Bloch's non-simultaneity thesis of the 1930s, which Adler seems here to somehow anticipate, although without Bloch's Marxist paradigm – that 'not all music exists in the same Now'.[11] According to Adler's understanding of music history, one has to say, for instance, that the chronological simultaneity of Mozart's *Don Giovanni* and Salieri's *Tarare*, both first performed in 1787, is meaningless: Salieri does not embody the main course of music history (as, of course, Adler himself retroactively posed it); *Tarare*, unlike *Don Giovanni*, should be regarded as still relying on the past, that is, it is 'objectively' inferior and, to put it bluntly, it *has to die* (to cease to be staged). Adler's organic metaphor and its social Darwinian connotations then reach their apogee by entering into a new metaphoric field, where the progress of music and musicology is described as a war of conquest, and where the musicologist has to help the composer to occupy and cultivate the conquered land (Adler, 1885: 18). For Adler, there is only *one* Music, just as there is *one* History and ultimately *one* Truth. It is this stance that allows him to end the article by defining musicology as 'the study of truth and the promotion of beauty' (Adler, 1885: 20). Outside of this Truth and this Beauty, there is nothing but historical leftovers.

The point here is not, of course, to debate whether or not Adler was attempting to convey a chauvinistic, German-centred perspective by using the 'back door' of academia. The point is, instead, that Adler's understanding of music and musicology is essentially just Wagner's statement approached from the opposite direction, regardless of Adler's 'true' opinion about German musical superiority. If Wagner declared the particular (the 'German Spirit') to be an embodiment of the universal, Adler constructed a universal (the music itself as the product of progress) that perfectly fits the particular, that is to say, the status quo: at that time, and continuing after 1933, it was mainly in the German-speaking world that a scientific approach to music was cultivated, and it was in the same area that music was conceived and composed along the idea of a progressive liberation from its extra-musical elements, searching for a music wholly relying on 'itself'.[12] Looking at Adler and at Wagner, we see that the same framework is employed, that is, the equation between Germany (in its *Großdeutsch* meaning) and universality,

simply approached from complementary, opposite directions. Precisely by claiming to tackle musical issues objectively, that is, to study music for its own sake on the basis of universal values, and to grasp the historical evolution of music as the unfolding of a singular, everlasting essence, musicology delivered an analytical tool suitable for rationally legitimizing the claim to German musical superiority from a colonial perspective. The counterproof of the colonial nature of the framework backing such claims at the end of the nineteenth century comes precisely from the others, that is, from those being 'colonized': the other countries either accepted the non-simultaneity paradigm and the subordinate role it implies, fully embracing the position of the apprentice and trying, for instance, to establish a local form of symphonic 'absolute' music, as in France after 1871 (Steinbeck, 2002: 307, 317), or, instead, adopted the same paradigm for themselves, as Italy did, equating musical Italianness (before 1800) with the music itself.[13]

Shifting paradigm after 1933: Music's radical particularity

When Hitler seized power, it hardly meant a traumatic break for musicology, either in its methods or, of course, in its German-centred orientation. As Pamela Potter put it, by the time Hitler came to power 'German musicologists had already demonstrated their willingness to use their skills for the needs of the nation, both practical and ideological' (Potter, 1995: 49).[14] But behind this continuity there was, in fact, a slight and yet crucial shift in the aforementioned explanatory paradigm of German musical superiority. At least after 1933, the synonymy between Germanness and universality that had characterized the old, colonial paradigm no longer applied. This synonymy was now jeopardized because one of the two terms was rejected, namely, universality.

One of the first signs of this change came before Nazism, and, not surprisingly, immediately after the defeat of Germany and the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the First World War. In 1919, Egon Wellesz, a former pupil of Adler, proposed in his article 'The Principles of Music-Historical Research' a new orientation of the discipline, which in many points intentionally mirrored the previous attempt of his teacher by overturning it. The constitutive difference lies in Wellesz's rejection of Adler's blending of apodictic statements on the supposedly universal nature of music 'in itself' on the one hand, and historical inquiry on the other. Mainly referring back to Heinrich Rickert's distinction between the natural sciences and humanities using the concept of culture, Wellesz rearticulates musicology as a *Kulturwissenschaft*, that is to

say, as a discipline concerned with the particular, with the specificity of the respective historical, geographical, social, in short, of the 'cultural' situation it researches (Wellesz, 1919: 441–443). Dismissing the chauvinistic implications the term had had during the war, for Wellesz the word 'culture' becomes the signifier for musicology's shift towards particularity, marking at the same time a break with the old colonial paradigm that had backed German musical superiority to date.[15] But at this point, would the next logical step not have been a definitive rejection of these claims to superiority in favour of the plurality of the others? At least with Nazism, what we see is, rather, the opposite. However, within the new paradigm the task became more difficult than before.

Let us consider an example of this by looking at Ernst Bücken's 'global' history of music from 1937, titled *The Music of the Nations*. Bücken defines the history of music as a 'War for the self-assertion of national music beside and against the cosmic [that is, universal] music' (Bücken, 1937: 4). Here we can easily recognize the new paradigm of radical particularity. By rejecting a common musical horizon shared by all nations, which is now defined as inherently negative, Bücken acknowledges the plurality of different musical cultures. But how can German musical supremacy be justified within this new paradigm? Bücken locates it in the ability of German music to maintain its purity, free from exchange with other musical cultures, at least since the instrumental music of the so-called *Mannheimer Schule* in the mid-eighteenth century (Bücken, 1937: 6). German music is, then, better than the others precisely because it is the 'most other' of the others, that is, because it solely embodies the German musical nature. In this tautological proposition lies the core deviation from the previous colonial paradigm: Germanness is now no longer a label referring to something else, something 'more than itself' (humanity or the true nature of music itself). On the contrary, Germanness is now a self-referential quality, a void signifier, which can only be conceived *via negationis*.

It is precisely here that we see the problem Bücken faced in attempting to justify Germany's musical supremacy. German music is now not in itself, in its essence, better than the other national music(s). Its supremacy is now based on a purely performative feature, that is to say, on 'not being the others'. This feature is not, as it were, 'ontologically' withheld from the other nations; they also can, strictly speaking, become 'not the others'. What follows from this recognition is a major insecurity regarding Germany's claim of musical superiority. Only practical success in imposing itself above all the others can guarantee

supremacy. Supremacy is now not a given, but a deed, an action that must be constantly repeated. That is precisely why Bücken awkwardly conceives the history of music as a permanent battlefield: an eternal struggle for independence being waged by each nation against all the others and their influence. Furthermore, as soon as he writes about Verdi or the spreading of Italian opera through Europe in the eighteenth century, he is compelled to abandon, at least partially, Germany's claim to musical supremacy (Bücken, 1937: 6–7, 173, 197–198). He is stuck precisely on the issue (Italian operatic successes) that the previous, colonial paradigm had so nicely overcome in favour of Germany.

Locating Nazism within cultural transfer: Engel's 'entangled history' of music

It is in this context that we have to consider Hans Engel's *Germany and Italy in Their Musical-Historical Relations* from 1944, recognizing the book as a new attempt to provide an ideologically satisfactory response to the problems raised by the paradigm shift. Engel, at that time a professor of musicology in Königsberg, was ambitious enough to understand that a more innovative approach than Bücken's, that is, pushing forward the new paradigm of radical particularity by overtly using race theories, could easily benefit his career.[16] At the same time, he was too well educated and too much a true believer in the supremacy of musical Germanness to blindly follow the Nazis' ideological guidelines, which had no qualms about manipulating facts and historical data.

The intellectual framework within which Engel conceptualizes his research object is, indeed, based on a complex balance between two opposing tendencies: on the one hand, we find explanatory tools based on particularity and welcome to the new regime, such as the race concept; on the other hand, we can also see Engel's attempt to avoid the problems entailed by applying such tools too rigidly.[17] The more he assumes a biological perspective, the more he seems to limit its range of validity by adding other variables to his explanatory model. He does not deny the fundamental claim to particularity that lies at the core of the new paradigm, and yet he seems to overlap differing definitions of just how that particularity is to be conceived – and it is precisely by doing so that he reaches his goal.

In some respects, we can interpret Engel's book as a complete reversal of Bücken's music history by sharing and even sharpening the same perspective. Engel faces exactly the same issue Bücken so struggled with, that is, the relationship between German and Italian music.

At first, he reverses Bücken's distinction between musical Italianness and Germanness as two fundamentally different essences. Engel's argumentation is, indeed, in this first stage genuinely counterintuitive: by quoting various race theorists, he posits a racial kinship between Southern Germany and Northern Italy, the two regions that had given birth to the most and best European composers, as Engel eagerly supports with the help of statistical data (Engel, 1944: 12–13). By denying substantial (that is, ontological) differences between the music(s) of the two countries, he avoids Bücken's problem of having to admit that there were historical periods in which Italianness temporarily dominated Germany. But still, how to explain the differences between Beethoven's symphonies and Rossini's operas?[18]

Engel's way of extricating himself from this dilemma is by drawing a distinction between race and culture. Southern Germany and Northern Italy share a common biological heritage, both belonging to the Nordic race. But from a historical perspective, the two regions, despite moments of close cultural exchange, actually developed their identities within two distinct cultural areas, namely, the Italian and the German nation, as a result of which they 'sound' different (Engel, 1944: 12). In Engel's explanatory model, there are ultimately two levels of truth: the genetic and the cultural. The genetic is a given, whereas the cultural is constructed historically and also by means of exchange. 'Reality', or things as we ordinarily experience them, results from the interplay of these two levels.[19]

The biological unity of German and Italian music, on the one hand, and their cultural differences, on the other, allow Engel both to recognize their distinctive particularity and to legitimize the cultural exchange between the two nations as taking place in an intra-racial context. But Engel's music history is neither a eulogy for the cultural hybridity of music nor a recognition of at least two different music(s) (German and Italian) possessing equal grandeur. It is by interlacing both levels of truth, that is, race and culture, that Engel arrives at his final statement. Quoting empirical observations conducted by racist scientists of the time, Engel adds that in fact, within a biologically homogeneous group of human beings, a progressive loss of Nordic qualities can be observed by moving from North to South. The biological proximity of unlike races, by embodying itself in cultural products that can be easily shared, causes this progressive loss, a phenomenon Engel refers to as 'de-nordification' (*Entnordung*, Engel, 1944: 19–20).[20]

It is here that we finally see the perverse but politically effective logic of Engel's model. By appropriating Augustine's old argument about

evil actually being a lack of good, that is to say, not a substance in itself with its own qualities (and value), Engel can now claim an unchallenged, structurally motivated superiority of Germany over Italy: Germany is located farther north than Italy and is not divided between two races, unlike Italy. At the same time, the historical periods characterized by an Italian predominance in Europe can now be explained not as an embarrassing disenfranchisement of Germany. On the contrary, they represent a temporary rediscovery of their healthy Nordic roots on the part of the Italian composers mostly active in Northern Italy (Engel, 1944: 26). Engel turns defeats into victories, and thus legitimizes the superiority of German culture even on the level of concrete accomplishments.

Missing the Third Space, or why Engel still matters

Throughout his entire career, the French historian Michel Espagne has pointed out the ambiguity on which the study of transcultural phenomena rests. On the one hand, there is a structural need for frames of comparison such as nation, region, even culture, and so on; on the other hand, historians should challenge these frames' claim to essentiality, unmasking them as a result of cross-cultural exchange: behind their apparent substantial autonomy lies not the *quid* of the eternal essence but the radical hybridity of a social construct (Espagne, 2005). Espagne's ultimate goal is to deconstruct master narratives with their universalistic claims and their tendency to convey a hegemonic perspective that legitimizes colonial conditions, that is, master–slave relationships.

In his 'entangled' history of music, Engel apparently recognizes cultural particularity and the creative power of musical exchange in creating cultural identities. But what is missing here is precisely what Espagne aims at with his concept of *transfert culturel* and what the postcolonial theorist Homi Bhabha has dubbed the Third Space (Bhabha, 2004: 54), that is, the hegemony-free space of true cultural hybridity. What is striking about Engel (and that is, of course, why he, beyond the documentary interest of his work, 'still matters') is the astute ambiguity of his historical overview: it stresses cultural particularity and exchange, and at the same time uses the concept of 'denordification' to elaborate a *grand récit*, a universalistic frame into which the very particularity and exchange are fitted. It is precisely here, in this vaguely Hegelian but far more acrobatic sublation, that the cultural logic of the new European order that Nazism strove for seems to reside.

Notes

1. A reproduction of the poster can be found in Huynh (2006: 8). The original is in the *Kunstbibliothek, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin*.
2. It is interesting, although not surprising, to point out how the link between Germanness and music was not originally elaborated by the composers, arising instead from the fields of literature and musical criticism; see Applegate and Potter (2002).
3. For a historical approach to this claim, see also, beside the aforementioned title, Applegate (1998), in which the author polemically deconstructs the thesis of an original connection between absolute music and nationalism, arguing that the absolute aesthetic originates from a socially conditioned shift of the 'music profession itself'. For an aesthetic approach that analyses the synonymy between musical depth and Germanness from a broad historical perspective, see Watkins (2011).
4. Besides the entries in the usual musicological encyclopaedias, like *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* and *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, there is as yet no general overview of the first three or four decades of the discipline in Germany. For a first approach, see Gerhard (2000).
5. The case was particularly striking because Strauss was also the author of the well-known *The Life of Jesus, Critically Examined* from 1836, a work that positively impressed the young Nietzsche. More than three decades later, Nietzsche saw in the former theologian's latest book a U-turn and abrupt dismissal of his former critical approach.
6. Nietzsche ironically points this out by exclaiming, 'This is our man: for his Heaven is our Heaven!' (Nietzsche, 1997: 18).
7. Quite significantly, the last chapter of Strauss' book was dedicated: 'To our great musicians' (Strauss, 1881: 341–365).
8. For more on Wagner's peculiar blending of humanity and Germanness in the context of his political thought, see Cohen (2008).
9. Adler's conceptualization of historical development is quite typical for his time (Burke, 1999: 35–36).
10. Adler's reasoning rests upon a *circulus vitiosus* that has hitherto gone unnoticed.
11. Bloch's phrase was 'Not all people exist in the same Now.' See Bloch (1977: 22). The text was originally written in 1932 and is part of Bloch's *Erbschaft dieser Zeit* from 1935. For Adler's position on this topic, see Adler (1885: 9).
12. The extreme example of this is obviously Arnold Schönberg's dodecaphony (see Schönberg, 1976) and in particular the final statement, in which the composer de facto conceptualizes the history of music, including the operatic genres, as a search for musical cogency.
13. I developed this argument in my PhD, focusing in particular on Italian musicology and its conceptualization of the so-called 'early music'; see Bertola (2014).
14. Potter had dedicated most of her scientific work to the study of German musicology during the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s; see in particular Potter (1998) as well as her latest theoretical reflections on this topic in Potter (2007a).

15. An impressive example of the chauvinistic opposition between *Kultur* and *Zivilisation* at the beginning of the First World War was delivered by Thomas Mann; see Mann (1993).
16. For more on Engel, see the ambiguous obituary by Friedrich Blume (1970), his former colleague and former advocate of a racially oriented musicology. For more on the use of race theories in German musicology at that time, see Potter (2007b).
17. Engel reflects at length on his racial–historical approach as well as on the difficulties of using racial theories within musicology in the first chapter, titled 'Historische und rassische Grundlage'.
18. In 1944, this question, of course, involved clear political implications. Indeed, Engel opens his book by directly referring to the alliance between fascist Italy and Nazi Germany and stressing the political topicality of his historical inquiry (Engel, 1944: 7). The question that arises is, in the light of this biological kinship between the two countries, who should actually rule over a new, fascist Europe: Hitler or Mussolini?
19. Engel explicitly drew this distinction from the race theorist Friedrich Keiter and his work *Rasse und Kultur. Eine Kulturbilanz der Menschenrassen*, Stuttgart 1938–1940, 3 volumes. Unlike Hans Günther, Nazism's well-known *Rassenpapst*, Keiter approached the race discourse from a cultural–anthropological perspective. For more on Keiter and his academic career during and after Nazism, see Felbor et al. (2002).
20. Just as he does for the distinction between race and culture, here Engel explicitly refers back to Friedrich Keiter's aforementioned work.

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3

Tourism as Networking for a Pan-fascist Mobilization before the Second World War

Mário Matos

In 1930 the German writer Ernst Jünger published an essay about modern war and the need for a 'total mobilization'[1] in the age of completely industrialized societies. It represents a remarkable prefiguration of the totalitarian concept and measures that the National Socialist government started to implement only three years later. Jünger asserts that:

> there is no longer any movement whatsoever – be it that of the homeworker at her sewing machine – without at least indirect use for the battlefield. [...] fitting one's sword-arm no longer suffices; for this is a mobilization that requires extension to the deepest marrow, life's finest nerve. Its realization is the task of total mobilization: an act which, as if through a single grasp of the control panel, conveys the extensively branched and densely veined power supply of modern life towards the great current of martial energy. [...] these forces are more closely related to the powers at work in the war than it might seem. Total Mobilization shifts its sphere of operations, but not its meaning, when it begins to set in motion, instead of the armies of war, the masses in a civil war.
>
> (Jünger, 1993: 127 and 124)

This technomorphic imagery and discourse anticipate what the Nazis themselves later called *Gleichschaltung*, a term that was borrowed from the technological domain, namely from electronics, and meant the 'synchronization' of all public and private spheres of society. In fact, the National Socialists' concept of a 'total mobilization' was intended, as announced by Jünger, to go far beyond the strictly military field, with a

view to preparing all Germans in their everyday lives for a supposedly legitimate conquer of *Lebensraum* ('living space') by the Aryan 'master race'. Based upon Friedrich Ratzel's abstruse geopolitical theory from before the First World War, this collective demand for 'land and territory (colonies) for the sustenance of [their] people, and settlement of [their] surplus population'[2] had already been publicly propagated long before the Nazi rose to power, not only in the foundational programme of the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP) but also in Adolf Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, as well as – in a fictional mode – in Hans Grimm's very popular novel *Volk ohne Raum* (*People without Space*) from 1926.

As I have shown elsewhere,[3] one important piece of that multifaceted strategy to prepare the German population for the planned war of expansion was tourism. Besides having significantly contributed to a social pacification and general mobilization inside Germany, international tourism under the supervision of the National Socialist leisure organization *Kraft durch Freude* (Strength through Joy) also had notorious implications in the foreign policy of the Third Reich, and subsequently interfered in its diplomacy towards several European countries.

During the period from 1933 to 1945, the intercultural 'contact zones' between Nazi Germany and most Southern European countries were more diversified and dense than it might seem at first glance.[4] As can be seen throughout this volume, the multiplicity and variety of the issues involved in that international exchange can be considered an intense, pan-fascist network woven on the basis of very concrete measures and actions that clearly transcended traditional diplomacy. National Socialist foreign affairs concerning the Southern European states not only included political and economic agreements, but were mainly focused on an apparently non-political domain: the field of scientific, academic, and cultural exchange.

If we consider that one of the first steps taken by the Nazi regime in matters of foreign policy was to leave the League of Nations as early as 1933, a decision that obviously caused widespread distrust among its European neighbours, the attempt to camouflage its imperialistic aspirations with a well-intentioned intercultural dialogue should come as no surprise. In fact, through a clever remake and reuse of the positive national cliché of Germany as a 'country of poets and thinkers' (a collective hetero-image which, at the end of nineteenth century, was complemented by the generalized idea of its technological excellence but had suffered considerable damage by the imperialism of Wilhelm the Second's *Weltpolitik* leading to the First World War), the Nazi regime tried, if not to regain the sympathy of the international

community, at least to calm the agitated Western public opinion caused by its rise to power. Besides the effort to tranquillize the traditionally democratic countries, from the very beginning, Nazi Germany's foreign policy also tried to achieve an active cooperation with the Southern European countries that had ideologically compatible regimes, such as Italy, Greece, Spain, and Portugal, to mention only a few.

My thesis is that this kind of 'soft diplomacy' applied by the Third Reich in its relations with the fascist or semi-fascist regimes in Southern Europe has to be seen as a parallel or complementary strategy to the aim of military conquest of 'living space' in Middle and Eastern Europe. This twofold tactic, which, on the one hand, clearly aimed at a strong influence over other authoritarian states and, on the other, was notoriously linked to the wish for explicit colonization by military occupation, reflected the Nazis' unquestionable determination to impose a powerful German hegemony all over Europe, both culturally and politically.

The international travel packages of Strength through Joy, especially those with destinations in Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Greece, constitute one significant element of the Nazi 'velvet glove' foreign policy (see Ninhos, 2012). They represent various aims, on different but closely interwoven levels, that were undoubtedly conceived to attain the major goal of a generally 'Germanized Europe'.

Kraft durch Freude (KdF) was a national leisure-time organization officially created in November 1933 under the coordination of the gigantic pseudo-union of the Nazi state, *Deutsche Arbeitsfront* (DAF). This German Labour Front was founded in May 1933, immediately after the violent dismantling of all former labour organizations. According to the National Socialists' ideal of a classless *Volksgemeinschaft*, which can be best translated as 'racial community', the alleged labour union should, paradoxically, represent all German employees and employers, which together formed the so-called *Arbeitsgemeinschaft* ('labour community'). Due to this demagogic, extensive conception of the social figure of 'the worker', the German Labour Front, supervised by Robert Ley, became one of the largest institutions and most powerful instruments of the Nazi regime.[5]

Its sub-organization Strength through Joy was inspired by the fascist *Dopolavoro*, which means 'After Work', but quickly acquired a much greater dimension than its Italian counterpart. In contrast to the original organization, the German variant of a national institution conceived to control the masses' activities beyond their labour time and their participation in private associations did not adopt a corporative conception, but, rather, an integrative structure that would reflect the

aforementioned ideal of a classless 'racial community'. Another difference introduced by the Nazi regime consisted in the fact that all German workers were obliged to enrol in the 'German Labour Front'. Consequently, KdF gained control – at least theoretically – over the total German working population during their leisure time,[6] while *Dopolavoro* covered a quite small percentage of all Italian workers.

According to Robert Ley's public speech during the foundational ceremony of KdF in November 1933, the idea of creating a leisure organization supervised by the Nazi state could be traced back to the following 'wish of the "Führer"', which shows an obvious connection to the demands in Jünger's essay on 'total mobilization':

> I wish that the worker be granted a sufficient holiday and that everything is done in order to let this holiday as well as all other leisure time to be truly recreational. I wish this because I want a determined people with strong nerves, for truly great politics can only be achieved with a people that keeps its nerves.[7]

In the first years of its existence, KdF was subdivided into ten different sections, which were later reduced to six. Among others, there were specific offices for sports, popular culture, and instruction and education, as well as the 'Beauty of Labour' office. But the most popular was undoubtedly the office for tourism, the so-called *Amt für Reisen, Wandern und Urlaub* (Office for Travel, Hiking, and Vacations).

The tour packages provided by the mass organization KdF included travels both inside and outside Germany, at much lower prices than those of private travel agencies.

The domestic offers were quite varied, ranging from two or three-day stays to two or three-week vacations in the mountain and forest regions like the Alps, the Black Forest, the Harz, or the Eifel, as well as on the coast of the North Sea and the Baltic Sea.

With respect to the promotion of holidays inside Germany, it is quite easy to understand why KdF was able to dump the prices. In fact, most of the tourist infrastructures, for instance holiday dorms, already existed. After having confiscated all the financial and material goods of the former unions and worker associations that had thrived and consolidated their cultural offers during the Republic of Weimar, the Nazi government did not have to build the whole structure from scratch. Instead, they basically only had to execute some renovation work and replace the former socialist or social democratic symbols with the new KdF's 'Wheel

of Sun'. In addition to these facilities, with the establishment and promotion of a new level of domestic mass tourism, many private, small and large entrepreneurs in the more rural, traditionally less industrialized and less touristified regions were encouraged to invest in that new, very promising branch of low-cost tourism. In short, the national holiday packages not only seemed to be a good strategy to achieve precious social peace by attracting the sympathy of the working classes, who were now granted access to the former 'bourgeois privilege' of tourism by the National Socialist state, but they were also aimed at economic development of the poorer regions in Germany.[8]

If we bear in mind that 'between 1934 and 1939 approximately 43 millions of Germans availed themselves of *Strength through Joy* trips' (Baranowski, 2004: 48) inside Germany, from 1938 onwards also including the region of Carinthia in Austria, we get quite a clear picture of the wide-ranging influence of this mass organization, in terms of both economic impact and ideological mass indoctrination. The latter was an important area of action for the Nazi regime, which intended to create the illusion of a 'superior racial community' paradigmatically reflected in the purportedly classless *KdF-Urlaubsgemeinschaft* (community of vacationers).

To better understand the importance that the Nazis ascribed to the promotion of these domestic packages offered by KdF, as well as its enormous propagandistic impact, it is also worth mentioning the plans for the construction of a gigantic tourist complex with a capacity for 20,000 vacationers on the isle of Rügen in the Baltic Sea. The construction of this seaside resort in Prora started in 1936, and it became one of the largest construction sites in Nazi Germany, although it was never totally finished due to high war costs. The irony behind the history of this megalomaniac project lies in the fact that, after the collapse of the Nazi regime, these tourist infrastructures were used as military barracks by the socialist regime of the German Democratic Republic.[9] More recently, in the summer of 2011, these National Socialist 'ruins of paradise' gained a new destiny. A significant part was transformed into one of the world's biggest international youth hostels, with about 100 rooms and 400 beds.[10]

The other branch of KdF's holiday trips, which is more interesting for the general theme of the present volume, consisted of international travel.

In fact, the Nazi regime quickly understood that domestic tours were not sufficient to satisfy the collective desire for travel abroad, a cultural habit that in the 1920s became more and more popular among the

middle classes and, to a certain degree, also began to be accessible to the lower classes, due especially to the international network of some socialist labour associations, which organized what could be called a 'tourism of delegation'.[11] Even so, that kind of 'proletarian tourism' cannot be compared to the vast and massive dimension of the international tours provided by KdF. According to the Nazi regime's propaganda on the intended dissolution of the former social barriers, aiming to transform Germany into a harmonious 'racial community', which obviously excluded all (German) Jews from any offers provided by KdF, simple wage earners should also have the chance to enjoy the privilege of travelling abroad, experiencing and exploring 'foreign soils' and 'exotic cultures'.

Italy, the mythical 'land where the lemon-trees bloom', with its long tourist tradition and the classical German Italophilia, provided an excellent stage for KdF to pursue its goals. Indeed, Germany's collective, long-lasting cultural passion for Italy, combined with its geographic and, especially, its ideological proximity to the Italian fascist regime, offered the perfect context for an intense exchange. Although it is impossible to provide exact numbers, because a considerable part of the KdF archives disappeared during the war, the estimated statistics of the mutual exchange between Italians enrolled in the *Dopolavoro* agency who travelled to Germany and KdF tourists who made excursions to Italy by train and bus between 1937 and 1939 suggest numbers in the range of 30,000–60,000 participants in each direction (Fromann, 1992: 170–172).

For obvious reasons, there was close cooperation between these two paradigmatic fascist leisure organizations, but KdF's network also included other countries with totalitarian or semi-totalitarian regimes in Southern Europe, such as Franco's Spain, Metaxas' Greece, and Salazar's Portugal.

Unlike the land tours to Italy mentioned before, these countries were not reached by train or bus, but by a much more spectacular means of travel: ship cruises. In fact, the idea of a so-called 'worker tourism' in the form of luxurious sea cruises consisting of three or four steam ships, boasted of by the Nazis as 'the fleet of peace', was to have an amazing impact on public opinion, both in Germany and abroad.

According to their itineraries, KdF cruises can be divided into three types: Baltic Sea, Atlantic Ocean, and Mediterranean Sea.

The trips to the magnificent landscapes of Norway's fjords started as early as 1934. However, because Norway had a social democratic government at that time, those cruises did not include excursions to land. This pioneer experience, which brought amazingly positive feedback on

both national and international levels, encouraged KdF to widen the geographic routes on offer.

Only one year later, in March 1935, KdF surprised Germany and the world with a new 'sensational' offer, beginning with the so-called *Atlantikfahrten* (Atlantic cruises). These trips lasted approximately two weeks, including one or two days of excursions to Lisbon and its surroundings as well as a two-day stay on the 'exotic' Portuguese isles of Madeira and the Azores, although the latter were visited only once, in April 1935. Between 1935 and 1939, that is, until the breakout of the war and the end of the KdF cruises, eight of these 'Madeira travels' were organized, taking place twice a year, in spring and in autumn. A total of about 20,000 KdF tourists joined these cruises and were able to experience the 'exotic beauty' and the 'kindness' of Salazar's Portugal and its people, a country that, according to the fascist propaganda, was on the same 'healthy path' of national regeneration as the 'new Germany'. As the German ambassador in Portugal, Baron von Hoyningen-Huene, put it in a public speech in 1937 during an official reception of a delegation of the German 'KdF comrades', these 'Atlantic cruises' were regarded as the materialization of a direct encounter between two 'glorious peoples' that were 'connected by the same fight against disorder and destruction, defending the precious values of the Occident' against communism.[12]

This more or less explicit allusion to the Civil War that was going on in Portugal's immediate neighbour country shows the high political significance inherent in that apparently harmless tourist exchange. In fact, on the backstage of those public mass performances orchestrated around the 'magnificent intercultural encounters' provided by KdF, there was a complex machinery operating on several levels. It involved not only plenty of logistic issues, such as the mobilization of the 'German colony' living in Portugal, the so-called *Auslandsdeutsche*, who were used as volunteer tour guides in Lisbon and Madeira, but also promotional tasks, for example, preparing the KdF brochures for the city tours, which had previously been commissioned to academic experts in Portuguese art history, such as Dr Gertrud Richert from the *Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut* in Berlin. The preparation of the official receptions at the German Legation, including the selection of the prominent Portuguese personalities to invite, and the careful elaboration of the announcements for the Portuguese press[13] were important propagandistic measures the Nazis obviously never neglected.

Besides this logistic aspect, the organization of the KdF cruise receptions also involved an exchange on the highest diplomatic level. The

master chief of the 'German Labour Front', Robert Ley, participated himself in the first cruise to Lisbon, where he was welcomed by some of the highest representative figures of the Portuguese *Estado Novo*, such as the president of the Republic, Óscar Carmona, and the minister of the Portuguese Propaganda, António Ferro.

Another dimension of this diplomatic machinery that might be worth mentioning concerns the creation of the Portuguese leisure organization *Fundação Nacional para a Alegria no Trabalho* (FNAT) ('National Foundation for Joy at Work') in May 1935, only two months after that first 'Atlantic cruise' set sail. But it was not only the name of that agency that bore obvious similarities to 'Strength through Joy'. Although the Portuguese version never reached the dimension of its German model, or even of the Italian prototype *Dopolavoro*, this smaller copy of KdF subsisted for two years beyond the end of the *Estado Novo*, until 1976, to be exact. That was the year when it finally adopted the new democratic frame under the name of INATEL: a long-lasting (hi)story that was recently revealed in a book by José Carlos Valente (2010).

In addition to the intensive promotion of this 'intercultural exchange' in the German and Portuguese press, those cruises were also featured in a specific KdF travel literature[14] and even in propagandistic films for the *Wochenschau*, which were shown to the masses in the German cinemas. Produced to serve the multifaceted strategy mentioned above, in both the *intra-* and *inter*cultural domains, these textual, photographic, and audiovisual records transmitted quite a positive image of the 'new' Portugal and the Portuguese, although diverse allusions to the alleged superiority of the German nation can be found between the lines.

In fact, a more authentic medium of documentation, which reproduces the 'real impressions' of the Nazi spies who also participated in the international KdF tourism, consists in a very peculiar kind of travel accounts: the reports of the so-called *Vertrauensmänner für Auslandsreisen* (men of confidence for travels abroad). These secret reports, which I had the opportunity to study in the archives of the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs, mostly point out the economic, social, but also the racial inferiority of Portugal in comparison with Germany, as these few exemplary quotations, taken from hundreds and hundreds of pages, paradigmatically demonstrate:

> The working class districts [of Lisbon] were notoriously poor and dirty. Furthermore, the average population portrayed a racially bad image.[15]

> Generally, by the end of the trip, the majority of vacationers were left with no doubt that a comparison between both countries in terms of culture and politics as well as cleanliness and attitude of workers would decidedly tilt in favour of Germany.[16]

> The vacationers [...] could see not only the wonderful natural beauties, but also the living conditions [of the Portuguese], partly still very poor [...]. The latter aspect, in particular, was considered especially important because here, in a foreign country, German workers could better gauge the socio-political achievements accomplished in Germany. On the penultimate day of the trip, the captain gave a closing speech to the vacationers in which he came to the conclusion that despite the tremendous natural beauty and the many new sensations [of Portugal] there was nothing that could be considered superior to Germany.[17]

During the last two years before the war, the international cruises provided by KdF saw a notable increase, especially due to the construction of two new enormous ships, the *Wilhelm Gustloff* and the *Robert Ley*. Both conceived with no distinction of cabin classes, these 'luxury liners for workers' naturally had a strong, worldwide impact. These magnificent ships seemed to be the perfect materialization of the Nazis' ideological epitome of a 'classless German community' provided with the highest living standards, including the mass consumption of the former privilege of international tourism. The impressive fleet of KdF, with its thousands of 'Vikings of KdF' on board – an expression used by the Swiss Nazi writer Jakob Schaffner (1936: 68) in his travel account *Volk zu Schiff* – began to appear more frequently in the whole Mediterranean region.

Besides the 'Atlantic cruises', which by themselves already fostered the German collective imagery of a vast maritime empire, the mighty ships of KdF widened their routes and targeted new 'exotic' destinations, such as the Spanish Canary Islands, with a short stay in Tenerife; the Dalmatian coast; Greece, with land excursions around Athens; and even the North African Coast, with landings at Tripoli, the capital of the Italian colony of Libya. There were also plans to use the Portuguese colonies of Cape Verde and Angola for the same purposes, but that did not happen because the German ambassador in Lisbon warned Robert Ley that the Portuguese still had not forgotten the Berlin Conference of 1884–85 and that the 'colonial question' could become, quoting a letter from von Hoyningen-Huene, 'the only dark cloud in the shiny horizon of the present friendship' between Germany and Portugal.[18]

Similarly to the ship voyages with land excursions in Portugal, these Mediterranean cruises were also largely supported by cumbersome logistic, diplomatic, and propagandistic work before, during, and after the journeys.

As regards the collective imagery and desire for a German maritime empire nourished by these exotic cruises, it may be sufficient to quote – as a quintessential example – a public statement made by Robert Ley on the cruiser *Wilhelm Gustloff* on its way to Italy. In July 1938, in the context of an open campaign of expansion and annexation that the Nazi regime was already carrying out under the motto of *Heim ins Reich* ('Back home to the empire'), the master chief of KdF refers to the goals of his leisure-time mass organization using the following words, which were published in the official KdF magazine *Arbeitertum*:

> Everything that we are doing, this ship, 'Strength through Joy', everything, everything, everything serves the sole purpose to make our people strong, so that we can solve this burning issue of not having enough land. [...] We are not taking you around the world just for fun, I did not start a travel association, 'Strength through Joy', nor an amusement club or anything of the sort, I reject that – we are not simply giving you the chance to know Italy or see Portugal, that is ridiculous and I do not care about that at all – no, we are doing this to strengthen your nerves, to give you power, so that when the Führer solves this final issue he may see before him 80 million men marching in full force.[19]

Instead of summing up, I would like to finish by pointing out a very concrete example that reflects in an obvious way the multiplicity of aims hidden behind those international sea travels under the supervision of the Nazi organization KdF.

History has shown us that the idea of conceiving luxury liners without different cabin classes would serve numerous goals that clearly transcended the domains of leisure and tourism.

At the end of the Civil War in Spain, in which the *Condor Legion* of the German air force gave considerable support to Franco's troops, for instance by bombing the Basque town of Guernica, later immortalized in a famous painting by Pablo Picasso, the 'classless ship' *Wilhelm Gustloff* – apparently built for peaceful tourist purposes – was used to bring home the German soldiers.

After the breakout of the Second World War, which meant the definitive end of the international travel packages of KdF, the same liner served

as a 'floating hospital' for thousands of German sailors wounded in combat.

Later, in January 1945, with the advance of the Soviet Red Army into the Eastern regions of the *Reich*, the *Wilhelm Gustloff* was transformed into a rescue ship for the German population in that region. During one of those rescue voyages in the Baltic Sea, the former luxury liner, originally conceived to inspire 'strength', 'joy', 'courage', and 'will to live'[20] in its passengers, took them to their deaths when the ship was sunk by Russian torpedoes with more than 5,000 passengers on board.[21]

Archives

BAK: German Federal Archives, Koblenz (Bundesarchiv, Koblenz)
PAAA: Political Archive of the Foreign Office (Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes, Berlin)

Notes

1. 'Die totale Mobilmachung' was first published in the volume of essays *Krieg und Krieger* (*War and Warrior*), edited by Jünger himself.
2. This is the third demand among the 25 points of the foundational programme of the NSDAP from 1920: 'Wir fordern Land und Boden (Kolonien) zur Ernährung unseres Volkes und Ansiedlung unseres Bevölkerungsüberschusses'.
3. See Matos (1996, 1997, 2005, 2011).
4. As specifically concerns the relations between the Third Reich and the Portuguese *Estado Novo*, see, for example, Matos and Grossegesse (2011), Ninhos (2012), Pimentel and Ninhos (2013), and Schwarz (2006).
5. According to Baranowski (2004: 49), in 1939, the year when international tourism by KdF came to an end because of the war, DAF had more than 7,000 paid employees and over 130,000 part-time volunteers.
6. For a brief comparison between *Dopolavoro* and KdF, see Pluviano (2012).
7. Quoted in Spode (1991: 79): 'Ich will, daß dem Arbeiter ein ausreichender Urlaub gewährt wird und daß alles geschieht, um ihm diesen Urlaub sowie seine übrige Freizeit zu einer wahren Erholung werden zu lassen. Ich wünsche das, weil ich ein nervenstarkes Volk will; denn nur allein mit einem Volk, das seine Nerven behält, kann man wahrhaft große Politik machen'.
8. On the financial aspects, see Fromann (1992: 115–129).
9. The volume by Rostock and Zadinček (1994) offers an interesting overview of this curious history.
10. See the newspaper article from 3 July 2011. Available at http://www.tagesspiegel.de/kultur/riesen-hostel-prora-eroeffnet-/4352370.html, date accessed 29 April 2014.
11. For a good overview of the development of German tourism during the Weimar Republic, with a specific focus on the 'proletarian travels', see Keitz (1997) and Fromann (1992: 39–104).

12. This speech was reproduced twice in the Portuguese newspaper *O Século* (30 and 31 October 1937), which was clearly aligned with the *Estado Novo* regime and had the largest circulation at the time.
13. The stays in Lisbon and Funchal (Madeira) always appeared on the front pages of the Portuguese newspapers, featuring photographic compositions.
14. Biallas (1936), Busch (1940), Schaffner (1936), and Hinrichs (1944). This peculiar genre of travel literature, as well as the press releases in the Portuguese newspaper concerning the 'Atlantic cruises', was analysed by Matos (1997).
15. BAK, R58/950, Akten Überwachung von Reisen in das Ausland, p. 335: 'Auffällig war [in Lissabon] [...] die in den Arbeitervierteln zu Tage tretende Armut und der ungeheure Schmutz. Ebenso bietet auch die Durchschnittsbevölkerung ein rassisch schlechtes Bild'. All English translations of these archive materials by Mário Matos.
16. BAK, R58/950, Akten Überwachung von Reisen in das Ausland, p. 5: 'Allgemein war sich der Großteil der Urlauber am Ende der Fahrt darüber klar, daß ein Vergleich in kultureller und politischer Hinsicht, wie auch in Bezug auf Sauberkeit und Lebenshaltung des Arbeiters zwischen beiden Ländern eindeutig zugunsten Deutschlands ausfallen müsse'.
17. BAK, R58/950, Akten Überwachung von Reisen in das Ausland, p. 155: 'Die Urlauber [...] sahen nicht nur die wunderbaren Naturschönheiten, sondern erhielten auch ein Bild von den zum Teil noch sehr schlechten sozialen Lebensverhältnissen [...]. Gerade das letztere wird für besonders wertvoll erachtet, da die Arbeiter hier in einem fremden Land ermessen konnten, was Deutschland in sozialpolitischer Hinsicht bereits erreicht hat. Am vorletzten Tag der Fahrt hielt der Kapitän in einem Schlußapell [sic] eine Rede an die Urlauber, in der er zum Schluß kam, daß trotz der gewaltigen Naturschönheiten und trotz der vielen neuen Eindrücke [Portugals] nichts über Deutschland geht'.
18. PAAA, Akten der Deutschen Gesandschaft in Portugal, 20/125 NS-Gemeinschaft 'Kraft durch Freude, 1935–1938'.
19. Quoted in Fromann (1992: 113): 'Alles das, was wir tun, dieses Schiff, "Kraft durch Freude", alles, alles, alles dient nur allein dem einen, unser Volk stark zu machen, damit wir diese brennende Frage, daß wir zu wenig Land haben, lösen können. [...] Wir fahren Sie nicht in die Welt hinaus zum Spaße, ich habe hier nicht einen Reiseverein gegründet, "Kraft durch Freude", Amüsierklub oder ähnliches, das lehne ich ab – oder nur um Italien kennenzulernen oder Portugal zu sehen, das ist lächerlich und mir auch furchtbar gleichgültig – nein, damit Sie Nerven bekommen, damit Sie Kraft haben, wenn der Führer einmal diese letzte Frage lösen wird, dann 80 Millionen in höchster Kraft hintreten vor ihn.'
20. Quoted from one of hundreds of different flyers and posters for the promotion of KdF, which reproduces the following statement of Robert Ley: 'This is the most beautiful task of *Strength through Joy*: to give to the German worker courage and will to live' (Das ist die schönste Aufgabe von Kraft durch Freude: dem schaffenden deutschen Menschen Mut und Lebenwillen zu geben).
21. On the 'winding history' of the *Wilhelm Gustloff*, see Schön (1987), and also the novel by Grass (2002).

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4

Student and Scholar Mobility between Nazi Germany and Southern/Southeastern Europe

Johannes Dafinger

Thousands of students and scholars were travelling for professional reasons between Germany and Southern/Southeastern Europe[1] during the Nazi period. This chapter will examine how and why semi-private German institutions, with the support of the Nazi government, were eagerly promoting this academic mobility, and why students and scholars from Germany as well as from Southern and Southeastern Europe participated in the academic exchange. By doing so, it will show that student and scholar mobility across countries was not at odds with National Socialist ideology, but, on the contrary, lay at the heart of the National Socialist conception of foreign relations with Southern and Southeastern Europe. German officials wanted to integrate Southern and Southeastern Europe into a German-led 'New European Order' based on *völkisch* principles. Academic and cultural relations were regarded as crucial for the success of this agenda, and the existing relations stabilized those parts of the 'New European Order' which were already in place.

After having given a brief overview of the existing literature on academic relations between Nazi Germany and foreign countries, I will elaborate on these questions and theses. First, I will quantify – as far as it is possible with the data which is available at this time – how many scholars and students were involved in the academic exchange between Germany and Southern/Southeastern Europe, and describe and analyse the instruments which German institutions had developed in order to promote academic mobility. Second, I will show that scholars and students participated for a variety of (political and unpolitical) reasons in the exchange. I will discuss the political objectives of both the scholars

and students and the promoters of academic mobility who worked in the German state apparatus and in German exchange institutions.

Comparatively little has been written on Germany's academic relations with foreign countries during the Nazi period, and even less with explicit focus on student and scholar mobility. Among the existing literature, however, excellent pieces of research are to be found. Particularly worthy of mention is Frank-Rutger Hausmann's monograph (2002) on the German cultural institutes (this translation in Hausmann's English language summary (2005) of his monograph), or, literally, German academic institutes (*Deutsche Wissenschaftliche Institute*, DWI). By subject, the scope of this book is limited to the war years, but it has nevertheless substantially broadened and deepened our knowledge about the politics of the German government with regard to academic relations and about the role which individual German scholars played in and for these relations. The single most important contribution to the historiography on such relations with Southeastern Europe is a journal article by Maria Zarifi (2007).

Holger Impekoven has recently published the most comprehensive political history of the studies of foreigners in Germany. His voluminous monograph (2013) focuses on the role which the scholarship foundation Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung played in supporting foreign students who wanted to study in Germany. Building upon earlier works by Volkhard Laitenberger (1976), Nicole Kramer (2004, 2006), Daniela Siebe (2000, 2009), and Béla Bodó (2003), Impekoven develops a consistent interpretation of the political agenda of the Humboldt Foundation and the German government for long-term relations with Southern and Southeastern Europe, which partly differs from my interpretation in this chapter. He has also proposed a balanced interpretation of what he has called the 'attractiveness' of German academic institutions to foreign students and scholars (Impekoven, 2006). So my thoughts are in many ways linked to Impekoven's work.

Student and scholar mobility in numbers and the promotion of academic mobility through German institutions

Student mobility

In 1931, 7,330 foreigners were studying in Germany.[2] A group of almost exactly the same size was formed by German students studying at universities outside Germany (only 1,700 to 1,800 at universities where German was not the language of instruction, however; Hochschulverwaltungen, 1933a: *49 and *55). The size of both groups

decreased significantly in the following years, but the group of German students abroad shrank much more radically. Only between 200 and 400 German students were officially granted leave for a semester abroad between spring 1934 and summer/autumn 1935 by the German Student Association (*Deutsche Studentenschaft*). Some Germans were studying outside the country without official permission, but since very strict currency export regulations had been introduced in 1934, the total number of German students abroad is estimated to have been not much higher than the number of students officially on leave (Kramer, 2006: 154f.).

One of the few ways to be granted access to universities in other countries was through the student exchange programme of the German Academic Exchange Service (*Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst*, DAAD). As reciprocity was the basis of all DAAD activities, it could not send any students to countries where there was no interest in cooperation (Laitenberger, 1976: 174–176, also for the following). Only a few countries in Southern and Southeastern Europe (or their respective student exchange programmes) had reached an exchange agreement with the DAAD. Italy and Hungary started exchanging students with Germany in 1930/31. Exchange with Spain was stopped shortly after having been established in 1931/32: the last cohort of yearly three exchange students went to this country in 1933/34. New exchange programmes were instituted during the Nazi period with Portugal and Greece. With other countries in Southern and Southeastern Europe, no exchange programme was in place. Thus, from a total of 114 exchange students in 1934/35, just 30 went to universities in Southern or Southeastern Europe, and 38 from a total of 184 in 1937/38, most of them to Italy. But the majority – over 100 students – were still sent to universities in the United States and Great Britain.

For the war years, sources sporadically inform us about German students abroad. For example, at least two students from Germany were in Portugal in 1939/40, three in 1940/41,[3] and even in 1943/44, at least one exchange student from Germany was studying in Lisbon (Hausmann, 2002: 344, n. 34 and 348, n. 42). The DAAD still offered a number of exchange places in 1943/44. Besides Portugal, prospective exchange students could choose from a list of countries including only Southern/Southeastern European countries (Spain, Italy, Bulgaria, Romania, Croatia, Hungary, Slovakia) and Northern European countries (Denmark, Finland, Sweden). Application was possible 'mainly' for female students and for male students who were war invalids.[4]

Throughout the Nazi period, the DAAD was the only major German institution which promoted the mobility of German students. The

picture looks completely different in the corresponding case of foreign students at German institutions. As already indicated, the size of this group also decreased significantly over the first half of the 1930s. In the semester during which Hitler became chancellor of Germany, 6,587 non-Germans were still studying at German universities.[5] But by the start of the winter semester of 1933, nearly 2,000 of these had decided to leave Germany without being replaced by other students from foreign countries (Lorenz, 1943: 106f.). Half of them were of the Jewish religion (Reichsminister, 1935: *24).[6]

The major difference in the case of German students abroad was the fact that the decline came to a halt in late 1933. Between autumn 1933 and the start of the Second World War, the number of foreign students at German universities, including those from Southern and Southeastern Europe, stayed more or less the same (Lorenz, 1943: 106f., compare Kramer, 2006: 153).

After the German attack on Poland, no more than about 1,750 foreign students remained in Germany within its pre-1938 borders (Lorenz, 1943: 106f.; compare Boberach, 1984: 501 (= Bericht zur innenpolitischen Lage No. 21, 27.11.1939)). But we can observe an enormous increase in the total number of foreign students in Germany in the following years. The available sources indicate that between 1942 and 1944 many – and at times even more – foreigners were studying inside the new German borders (that is, including former Austria, the former Czechoslovakian universities in Tetschen, Brünn, and Prague, and the universities in Danzig) each year than had been studying in – back then, of course, smaller – Germany in 1931.[7]

Students from Italy, Spain, and Portugal played a minor role in that development. Most of the 'additional' students came from Southeastern Europe, and about half of them studied at universities in former Austria and Czechoslovakia. In the second trimester of 1940, almost exactly every second foreign student in Germany was a citizen of a country in Southern or Southeastern Europe (Lorenz, 1943: 376f.). A closer look discloses that by far the most came from Bulgaria: 3,800 in the summer semester of 1943, 2,596 in the following academic year (Siebert, 1971: 249; Bojadžieva, 1991: 227; for a German version based on the same sources, see Bojadjieva, 1990: 169; compare Bohn, 1995: 136, n. 104). In Munich, of 700 foreign students, 400 came from Bulgaria in the winter semester 1943/44 (Feil, 1944: 8).

So, while the number of German students abroad decreased quickly after 1933, the number of foreign students in Germany was stable from the mid-1930s and increased during the Second World War. One

reason for this lies in the fact that the German government did not hinder foreign students from coming to Germany (while it handicapped German students who wanted to study abroad with currency regulations), but, on the contrary, established or supported scholarship programmes and institutions which promoted the studies of foreigners within Germany. The single most important of these programmes and institutions was the already mentioned Alexander von Humboldt Foundation. In 1933/34, the foundation awarded around 80 scholarships, around 250 in 1938/39 (in both years about 30 per cent to students from Southern and Southeastern Europe), and around 1,000 stipends were given to foreign students in Germany by this foundation in the years between 1941 and 1944/45 (Laitenberger, 1976: 283–285; Impekoven, 2013: 439).

In addition, a large number of smaller scholarship programmes were available for prospective students (compare Impekoven, 2013: 284ff.). I want to mention two organizations which supported students from Southern or Southeastern Europe in particular, or at least put special focus on the region. The first, the Middle European Economic Diet (*Mitteleuropäischer Wirtschaftstag*, MWT) was a union of large German enterprises, German banks, and trade associations which lobbied for intensifying trade relations with Southeastern Europe. It awarded 100–175 *Deutschland-Stipendien* (stipends for studies in Germany) to students from Southeastern Europe between 1936 and 1942, which were financed by large German enterprises and bank companies.[8] The second, the Union of Bilateral Associations and Institutions (*Vereinigung zwischenstaatlicher Verbände und Einrichtungen*), was in charge of the stipends programme of the German bilateral friendship societies (*Stipendien der zwischenstaatlichen Verbände*). Between 1939 and 1942, about 30–50 stipends per year were given mainly to those foreigners who 'had already actively collaborated in the friendship societies of their homeland and who seem to be especially suited to work in the local German-foreign societies and associations besides their studies as well'.[9] Of the 58 stipends paid out in 1939/40, 24 were received by students from Southern or Southeastern Europe – 17 alone by students from Bulgaria, one each by students from Italy, Spain, Hungary, Greece, and Romania, respectively, and two by students from Yugoslavia.[10]

Scholar mobility

We do not have similar detailed records for the moves of established scholars between Germany and Southern/Southeastern Europe. The statistics of the *Auslandsamt der Dozentenschaft der deutschen Universitäten*

und Hochschulen in Berlin are the only records I know of for the prewar period. The task of this institution – in cooperation with other agencies, such as the German bilateral friendship societies (*zwischenstaatliche Gesellschaften*) – was a mix of supervision and care for foreign scholars in Germany, and it received more than 2,500 foreign scholars (not students, as the report stressed) between 1934 and 1939 in Berlin alone. Among them were 768 scholars from Southeastern Europe (the groups from Hungary, Greece, Bulgaria, and Romania – in that order – being the largest behind the group from Japan; the group from Yugoslavia ranked 11th) and 196 from Italy (the eighth largest group), Spain, and Portugal. In the spring of 1939, the branches of the *Auslandsamt* in the different university cities were altogether in contact with 1,000 foreign scholars who were in Germany at this time.[11] Of these 1,000 scholars, only about one third remained in Germany after the German attack on Poland. In the following months, their number rose steadily to 775 in January 1940, with scholars from Greece, Romania, Bulgaria, Italy, Yugoslavia, and Hungary now forming the largest groups behind the group of scholars from China (Boberach, 1984: 677–686, here 680f. (= Meldungen aus dem Reich No. 44, 24.01.1940)). In late 1941, there were more foreign scholars in Germany than before the war. More than half of those who were in Germany during the academic year of 1941/42 (1,226 at the end of that year) were citizens of Southeastern European countries, nearly one quarter from Bulgaria alone. Six per cent came from Italy.[12] Between spring 1941 and spring 1942, over 400 of them were giving lectures in Germany during their visit (Scurla, 1942: 227; compare Hausmann, 2002: 40).[13] For 1942/43, a German-language newspaper reported 700 such lectures (Hausmann, 2002: 40).

The German bilateral friendship societies were sometimes involved in the organization of the trips. The German-Bulgarian Society (*Deutsch-Bulgarische Gesellschaft*, DBG), for example, invited Bulgarian scholars to Germany to give talks at the society's branches in different German cities, or at the headquarters in Berlin from the late 1930s on. For scholars who gave lectures at German universities or elsewhere, the DBG organized receptions where they could meet German colleagues.[14] The society also helped find sponsors for a trip. To give just one example, the DBG arranged for the German Foreign Office to support the research trip of the Bulgarian specialist in German studies, Konstantin Galaboff (Găläbov), to German libraries in summer 1938 with a stipend of 750 Reichsmark (the currency of the German Reich).[15] The German bilateral friendship societies were also involved in the selection of scholars. For example, in late 1938 or early 1939, the German Ministry of Science

asked the DBG for a list of Bulgarian scholars who were 'suitable' to be invited to lecture at German universities.[16]

If German scholars travelled to Southern or Southeastern Europe, then it was normally to give lectures or public speeches. According to one report, as many as 700 (1940/41) to 900 (1942/43) German scholars gave such lectures or speeches in foreign countries in one year (Scurla, 1942: 227; Hausmann, 2002: 40). How many of them – if the numbers are not too high anyway – did so in Southern or Southeastern Europe is not known. In Bulgaria, from four to seven university professors from Germany gave talks every year before the war,[17] while the number was at least 10 in 1940 (Bojadžieva, 1985: 183). In addition, German academic staff were working at DWI, which were founded in many European capitals in 1940–45. The heads of the DWI, German professors, were often appointed as guest professors at the universities in the cities in which the respective DWI was located, and were lecturing there (Hausmann, 2002).

After the establishment of the DWI, they were able to organize receptions for German scholars in a similar way to the German bilateral friendship societies for scholars from their respective partner countries in Germany. Foreign scholars were, of course, invited to these receptions as well. For example, Konstantin Galaboff, who has been mentioned above, was present when Herbert Cysarz, professor of German studies in Munich, met with colleagues in the DWI in Sofia after giving two lectures in Sofia.[18]

Motives of scholars, students, and organizers of the exchange

The Hungarian anatomist István Krompecher, who became a scientist of high renown after the Second World War, was a guest professor at the University of Heidelberg in the summer semester 1937 and the winter semester 1937/38. When he returned home, the director of the Anatomic Institute in Heidelberg, Kurt Goerttler, wrote to the dean of his faculty:

> Personally I have found in him an assistant for my academic work with whom it was a real pleasure to work – inventive, equipped with the most thorough knowledge and incorruptible in the critique! This picture is completely consistent with the judgment of the German anatomists [...] who see in him, at least in scientific respect, the most successful and promising Hungarian colleague.[19]

As this example shows, German scholars were interested in academic exchange with scholars from other countries for scientific, professional

reasons. It is without doubt, too, that many scholars from other countries, especially junior scientists and advanced students, had academic interests when they applied in high numbers for German scholarships (the MWT alone received about 1,500 applications for its stipends after its first call, ten times more than it could accept).[20] Probably the majority were interested in the transfer of knowledge and know-how to their home countries. This is also indicated by the fact that the percentage (after the start of the Second World War, even the absolute number) of foreign students at technical universities was always higher than at other universities (Impekoven, 2006: 177f.).

Part of the reason why the academic exchange with Southern Europe was far less intense than with Southeastern Europe, at least as long as the student generation was involved, lies in scientific circumstances as well. Since the still young university systems in Southeastern Europe were less developed than in Germany, students were searching for better study conditions in Germany. The situation was different for students from Southern Europe in this regard (Karady, 2002: 49f.; compare, for example, Impekoven, 2006: 178 and Zarifi, 2010: 260 for the case of Greece). They might also have had more possibility of studying in third countries than their colleagues from Southeastern Europe.

In addition, political motives have to be considered. There was a general consent among scientists that fostering academic relations with Nazi Germany had a political component, whether this was regarded as a stimulus or a hindrance. Explicitly with respect to Italian and Spanish scholars, Hausmann (2002: 41) argues that many had declined invitations to Germany because they had been in fear of compromising themselves as collaborators with Nazi Germany. After the German occupation of Greece, similar reservations among Greek scholars can be observed (see, for example, Zarifi, 2010: 260). I have also mentioned above that about 1,000 Jewish and about 1,000 non-Jewish foreign students left Germany after Hitler had been appointed chancellor. It can be assumed that not a few of them returned home for political reasons. On the other hand, National Socialist ideology as such, or its impact on culture and science, attracted a number of students and scholars to Germany. Impekoven (2013: 239–252, esp. 244–247; compare also Impekoven, 2006, esp. 171–175) assumes that this holds true especially for students and scholars in Southeastern Europe. He convincingly argues, however, that political motives should not be overemphasized. The same can be said for the motives of German scholars involved in the exchange. For most of them, professional or personal motives to travel to Southern or Southeastern Europe were as important as political ones. But they also knew that lectures which they gave abroad were regarded

as a political tool by the German Foreign Office and other German state and non-state agencies. The already mentioned professor of German studies Herbert Cysarz explicitly stated that he saw his lectures abroad as 'a piece of combat duty' ('*als ein Stück Frontdienst*').[21]

For what was Cysarz fighting? In his own words, he was fighting for 'the new Europe under the leadership of Germany' ('*das neue Europa unter Deutschlands Führung*'). How ought we to interpret Cysarz's remarks?

Many historians claim that the political motive behind fostering academic and cultural relations with Southern and Southeastern Europe was primarily 'imperialism'.[22] This connects with the prevailing interpretation of the 'Europe' topos in the National Socialist discourse on foreign relations, which became visible in the citation of Cysarz: as being pure propaganda directed towards the German allies with the intent to obscure the 'real' goals of the regime. This interpretation can be found in most of the older literature.[23] I take the stand of the more recent trend in historiography, which claims that the '"New Europe" propagated by the National Socialists was [...] not only a National Socialist propaganda weapon' (Schröder, 2012: 2) aiming at binding the European 'peoples' together in what was perceived as a defensive war against common dangers European (occidental) culture(s) allegedly faced: Bolshevization and Americanization.[24] Instead, the concepts of the 'New Europe' related to 'an abundance of competing political beliefs and goals and not least [to] a – mainly by the National Socialists – actually implemented European policy' (Schröder, 2012: 2). This does not mean that talking about the envisaged 'New Europe' was *not* propaganda; it certainly was. But, by talking about the 'New Europe', the National Socialists propagated exactly the racist ideology which in reality stood behind the European politics of Nazi Germany (compare Prehn, 2010: 190f.). I want to tease out the objectives of that politics in the following section.

Germany's European politics in the Nazi period is not sufficiently characterized by calling it imperialistic. Certainly, the National Socialists were striving for German hegemony in Europe. Academic contacts were regarded by the Nazis as a means to convince 'the European peoples' of Germany's cultural superiority, which in turn established a reason for the German domination of Europe in the realms of culture and academics, and would also bind the elites of other countries politically and economically to Germany (compare Hausmann, 2002: 58). The *völkisch* conservative protagonists around the MWT, for example, performed a more 'traditional' cultural diplomacy (*auswärtige Kulturpolitik*), and awarded scholarships through the stipends programme of the

MWT mainly to those students from Southeastern Europe whom they expected to foster economic relations with Germany in the future.[25] Historiography has called this approach the 'multiplier system', which is a classic approach in cultural diplomacy (Gliech, 2003: 25ff.; compare Impekoven, 2013: 41).

But the ultimate goal of radical Nazi European thinkers was not domination as such, but the 'reordering' of the continent, which went far beyond imperialism. This 'reordering' was to take place along racial, *völkisch* lines. This objective is most obvious if one looks at the political approach towards territories in Northwestern Europe and Eastern Europe which the Nazis wanted to include in the 'Greater Germanic Reich' (*Großgermanisches Reich*). As Margot Blank (1991: 47–80) and Holger Impekoven (2013: 331–386, esp. 345–350) have shown, German stipends were awarded to students from these regions in order to strengthen the cohesion of the 'Germanic race'. In the case of students from Eastern Europe, that required '(re-)Germanizing' them (*Eindeutschung*, *Rückdeutschung*), studying in Germany was intended to work as a catalyst in this endeavour.

The German cultural diplomacy directed towards Southern and Southeastern Europe was also intended to play its part in the 'reordering' of the continent. The purpose, however, was, of course, not 'Germanization' of Southern or Southeastern Europeans. On the contrary, the encounter was intended to provoke not 'going over to the other, but distancing oneself from the other' (Epting, 1934: 35; compare Kramer, 2006: 149). This argumentation was based on *völkisch* ideology too: 'culture' itself was seen as an expression of characteristics embodied in race. 'Our idea of culture is that of the pure, *völkisch* culture rooted in the race', as the president of the DAAD and the DBG put it.[26] Every student and scholar thus became – in the eyes of the National Socialists – a representative of his or her 'people' (compare Kramer, 2006: 148ff., esp. 149). If they travelled abroad or made contact with colleagues from other countries, they would learn about 'the' culture of another 'people', but the two cultures would never mix – on the contrary, the scholars and students would be more aware afterwards of what was apparently 'their' culture. Paradoxically, cultural and academic exchange would lead to a kind of cultural apartheid within Europe, with 'German culture' dominant.

Impekoven (2013: 263, compare also 254f.) claims that Germany's cultural diplomacy towards Northwestern and Eastern Europe was 'National Socialist', whereas Germany's cultural diplomacy towards Southern and Southeastern Europe was cultural diplomacy 'within' or 'of' National

Socialism. While he is right to mark the distinction between the different objectives of Nazi Germany's promotion of academic mobility – 'Germanization' and implementation of a 'cultural apartheid' in Europe, not forgetting the exclusion of Jews and most Eastern Europeans from any academic exchange – these differences followed the same *völkisch* logic of inclusion and segregation. All parts of the cultural diplomacy driven by this logic can thus be regarded as 'National Socialist'.

Certainly, as I have shown, not all participants in the academic exchange took part for the same purpose or with the same political motives. As long as students and scholars took part in this exchange, however, they served to stabilize the political reality of a German-led 'New European Order' based on *völkisch* principles.

Archives

BAB: German Federal Archives, Berlin (Bundesarchiv, Berlin)
PAAA: Political Archive of the Foreign Office (Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes, Berlin)
UAM: Archives of the University of Munich (Universitätsarchiv München)

Notes

1. In the following, 'Southern Europe' refers to Portugal, Spain, and Italy, 'Southeastern Europe' to Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Greece, Yugoslavia (Croatia and Serbia from 1941 on), and Slovakia (until 1939 Czechoslovakia; as Slovakia should be regarded as Southeastern Europe rather than Eastern Europe in the context of student and scholar mobility, I decided to include Czechoslovakia in this group as well to allow comparisons over time). All translations from German sources are mine. I thank Sophia Dafinger and Jorgen Doyle for their proofreading and helpful comments on the manuscript.
2. Numbers here and in the following allude to students who were enrolled for lectures or courses. They do not count foreign students on leave (for example, during an exam) or those who just audited a class.
3. PAAA, Deutsche Gesandtschaft Lissabon 237, Bericht ([Johannes] Roth) über die Tätigkeit der Zweigstelle Lissabon des Deutschen Akademischen Austauschdienstes im Jahre 1940, 18.01.1941.
4. UAM, Sen. 30/11, vol. 1, Mitteilungsblatt der Deutschen Akademischen Auslandsstelle München e.V. (Georg Ertl), 06.01.1943.
5. About half of them were native German speakers (similar ratio for Southern/Southeastern Europe). Hochschulverwaltungen, 1933b: 172.
6. Most of the remaining 364 Jews in the summer semester 1934 (at this time probably still determined by their own declarations) came from Poland (100) and from the United States (59), but among the students from

Southern/Southeastern Europe were people of Jewish origin, too: 42 from Romania, 35 from Hungary, 13 from Czechoslovakia, 12 from Bulgaria, four from Yugoslavia, and one each from Greece and from Italy. Reichsminister (1935: *24 and *26).

7. 8,000 ausländische Studenten, in: Münchener Neueste Nachrichten, 04.10.1943 (copy in: UAM, Sen. 965); BAB, R 26 III/112, fol. 34, Vermerk [author unclear] (copy), Hochschulbesuch im SS 1943, undated (not later than 15.11.1944); fol. 44–46, Note (Brandt), Die quantitativen Möglichkeiten einer Steigerung des Studiums der Mathematik und Physik an den wissenschaftlichen Hochschulen Großdeutschlands während des Krieges, 18.03.1944. These numbers include about 1,000 *Volksdeutsche* ('Germans by blood').
8. 1. Geschäftsbericht der Deutschland-Stiftung des Mitteleuropäischen Wirtschaftstages für das Studienjahr 1936/37 (April 1936–Oktober 1937), Berlin [1938] (partly in: BAB, R 2/11618, unfol.); BAB, R 8119F/P6143, fol. 232ff., Zwischenbericht des Mitteleuropäischen Wirtschaftstages über laufende Arbeiten und Aufgaben, Februar 1941, here fol. 246 (p. 13); Mitgliederversammlung des Mitteleuropäischen Wirtschaftstages in Berlin am 10. November 1941, Berlin 1941, p. 13f. (in: BAB, R 8119F/P6137, fol. 103ff.); BAB, R 64-IV/135, fol. 14–36, Geschäftsbericht des Deutschen Studienwerks für Ausländer e.V. für das Jahr 1941/42 (01.04.1941–31.03.1942), 08.05.1942, here fol. 15v. (p. 4). Compare Freytag (2012: 223–226), Wien (2007: 242–247), Seckendorf (1980: 229–233), among others.
9. BAB, R 64-IV/135, fol. 14–36, Geschäftsbericht des Deutschen Studienwerks für Ausländer e.V. für das Jahr 1941/42 (01.04.1941–31.03.1942), 08.05.1942, here fol. 15v. (p. 4). Compare Koutsoukou (2008: 64 and 202), also for the following.
10. PAAA, R 61280, fol. 173–180, DAAD (Dr. [Kurt] Goepel) to the Vereinigung zwischenstaatlicher Verbände und Einrichtungen, 28.03.1940, vorläufiger Jahresbericht über die Verwaltung der Stipendien der zwischenstaatlichen Verbände und Einrichtungen im Rechnungsjahr 1939 (01.4.1939–31.03.1940).
11. PAAA, Lissabon 227, Tätigkeitsbericht (H[ans] Baatz, head of the *Auslandsamt der Dozentenschaft der deutschen Universitäten und Hochschulen*) des Auslandsamtes der Dozentenschaft der deutschen Universitäten und Hochschulen, 1 Oktober 1938–31 March 1939, undated.
12. BAB, R 63/174, fol. 2ff., Jahresarbeitsbericht [H. Baatz] des Auslandsamtes der Dozentenschaft der deutschen Universitäten und Institute, 1 October 1941–30 September 1942, undated, here fol. 6. Compare also: Zarifi (2007: 231).
13. Including the students, there were 5,000 foreigners at German academic institutions in the third war year (Scurla, 1942: 227).
14. Many examples can be found in the yearbook of the DBG: Bulgaria. Jahrbuch 1940/41, 1942, 1943/44 der Deutsch-Bulgarischen Gesellschaft e.V. Berlin.
15. PAAA, R 65672, Deutsch-Bulgarischen Gesellschaft to the Auswärtiges Amt (cultural division), 30.03.1938; PAAA, R 65672, [Kurt] Haucke (Generalsekretär der Deutsch-Bulgarischen Gesellschaft) to the Auswärtiges Amt, 24.09.1938.

16. PAAA, R 65672, Reichsministerium für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung (Dahnke) to the Auswärtiges Amt, 13.01.1939.
17. PAAA, R 61420, Kulturbericht des Gesandten Kirchholtes betreffend Bulgarien, undated [ca. 1939], p. 58f.
18. UAM, E-II-1088 (also in O-XIV-554), Cysarz to the Reichsminister für Wissenschaft Erziehung und Volksbildung, 08.02.[19]41. Galaboff also went on an excursion to the outskirts of Sofia with Cysarz.
19. PAAA, Budapest 110, Zeugnis des Direktors des anatomischen Instituts der Universität Heidelberg [Kurt Goerttler], 11.02.1938 (copy), attached to a letter: Der Direktor des anatomischen Instituts der Universität Heidelberg [Kurt Goerttler] an den Dekan der Medizinischen Fakultät der Universität Heidelberg, 16.07.1938.
20. BAB, R 8119F/P6141, fol. 387–398: Niederschrift [no author] der Mitgliederversammlung der Deutschen Gruppe des Mitteleuropäischen Wirtschaftstages am 7. Dez. 1936 in Berlin, 10.12.[19]36, here fol. 397 (p. 11).
21. UAM, E-II-1088, Cysarz to the Reichsminister für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung, 14.08.[19]40.
22. This is not only true for studies written in the German Democratic Republic, such as, for example, Siebert (1971) and Seckendorf (1980). As an example of newer studies, I want to mention just one which has 'imperialism' already in its title: Janué i Miret (2008).
23. I do not have the room here to discuss the vast literature. Impekoven (2013: 419f.), who approves the 'pure propaganda' interpretation, refers to the most important studies.
24. This was, of course, *one* objective of talking about the 'New Europe', though. For the mentioned evocation of dangers to European culture(s), see, for example, the speeches of Werner Lorenz and Gottlob Berger on the occasion of the foundation of the German-Croatian Society (*Deutsch-Kroatische Gesellschaft*) on 11 July 1944 in PAAA, R 61407. Lorenz and Berger, both SS members with the high rank of *Obergruppenführer*, held positions within the network of the German bilateral friendship societies: Lorenz was the head of the umbrella organization of all such societies, the already mentioned *Vereinigung zwischenstaatlicher Verbände und Einrichtungen*, while Berger was appointed president of the German-Croatian Society after its founding. There is an abundance of similar quotations.
25. 1. Geschäftsbericht der Deutschland-Stiftung des Mitteleuropäischen Wirtschaftstages für das Studienjahr 1936/37 (April 1936–Oktober 1937), Berlin [1938] (partly in: BAB, R 2/11618, unfol.), here p. 3. Compare also Asendorf (1978).
26. BAB, NS 43/496 and PAAA, R 64227, print of a speech of Ewald von Massow on the topic 'Die Tätigkeit des Deutschen Akademischen Austauschdienstes im Rahmen eines umfassenden kulturpolitischen Zieles' held before the Versammlung der Freunde der Deutschen Akademie on 14 November 1935.

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5
International Contacts in the First Years of the Spanish CSIC, 1940–45

Pablo Pérez López

Introduction

The encouragement of scientific research in Spain by state organizations became centralized and systematized in 1907 with the creation of the Council for the Development of Studies and Scientific Research (JAE, *Junta para Ampliación de Estudios e Investigaciones Científicas*), an institution supplemented, and partly substituted since 1931, by the National Foundation of Scientific Research (Formentín Ibáñez and Rodríguez Fraile, 2002; Sánchez Ron et al., 2007). The Civil War deeply divided the scientific community, as it did the rest of the country, and caused a notable deterioration in academic and investigative life. On the rebel side, Franco's first minister of education, Pedro Sáinz Rodriguez, created during the war, in 1938, a new organization to replace the JAE, the Spanish Institute (*Instituto de España*), which integrated the Royal Academies.[1] Once the fighting was over, José Ibañez Martín substituted Sáinz Rodríguez in August 1939. It was he and his team who gave us a new, even more ambitious, project driven by scientific activity in Spain: the High Council of Scientific Research (CSIC, *Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas*), created in November 1939. Alongside the minister, the principal inspiration of the new institution was José María Albareda Herrera, chemist and pharmacist.

The precedents: The JAE and the Council for Cultural Relations

Spain's foreign affairs concerning cultural and scientific matters were in the hands of a department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

called *Junta de Relaciones Culturales* (JRC, Cultural Relations Committee). This department worked in accordance with the JAE to grant so-called 'pensions', funds to pay Spanish researchers who moved abroad.

In terms of administrative structure, the operating scheme did not change after the war; the task remained in the hands of the JRC and of the JAE's successor, the CSIC (Delgado Gómez-Escalonilla, 1994). What did change a great deal were the circumstances in which those moves were carried out, affected by the war in Spain and by the Second World War.

Cultural relations with Germany have been described by de la Hera Martínez (2002), who has highlighted the changes produced in this area due to Hitler's rise to power. The second Spanish Republic, whose legal design had been inspired by that of Weimar, could only watch in surprise the process that in practice destroyed his model. Nevertheless, the Germans, then world leaders in many scientific fields, made sure they maintained relations under the most advantageous terms possible. The breakout of the Civil War, and the recourse of military rebels to the support of Hitler's Germany, changed things dramatically again. They were facing a unique opportunity to make German Nazi influence predominant in Spain. The most significant fact here was the signing of the Spanish-German cultural agreement in 1939. We will return to this point later.

Other interesting precedents are purely of a personal nature. José María Albarareda, doctor of pharmacy and chemistry, who had been an assistant professor of this subject in the University of Zaragoza, gained a senior teaching post in natural science in 1928. Almost immediately, he applied for a grant from the JAE to move to Germany. This was awarded to him, so he left for Bonn in July 1929. His intention was to dedicate his time to soil research, a subject that combined his scientific concerns with social and political interests: he wanted to play a part in improving the Spanish countryside. In Bonn, he worked at the *Institute für Chemie* of the *Landwirtschaftliche Hochschule* of Bonn until November 1929. He then moved to Zurich to continue his work in the *Agrikulturchemisches Laboratorium* of the *Eidg. Technische Hochschule* of Zurich. Finally, in May 1930, he moved again to Germany, specifically to Königsberg, from where he had to return two months later due to his health. We can see his impressions of the knowledge of the German scientific world in the letters that he wrote to his family at that time, for example in 1928 (Castillo Genzor and Tomeo Lacrue, 1971: 34–35):

> There are moments when, thinking about our education, I feel revolutionary; it's sad to think that a large part of it is fiction.
>
> Nobody has the obligation to investigate, to elaborate science [in the Spanish University]. The book by [Santiago Ramón y] Cajal [*Advice for a Young Investigator*] is magnificent. I would set it as an obligatory text for all professors, setting all of them the holiday task of 'intellectual exercises' reflecting upon it.

Albareda returned to Spain and again received finance to work in soil chemistry laboratories in the United Kingdom on a scholarship from the Ramsay Foundation, while also receiving a grant from the JAE. From August 1932 until July 1934, he remained in the Rothamsted Experimental Station (Harpenden), and in three other laboratories of the United Kingdom. When, in the summer of 1934, he ended his stay, he travelled around other central European soil research centres: Berlin, Leipzig, Dresden, Prague, and Budapest. He returned with important knowledge in terms of the physical–biological study of soil and with a desire to reproduce what he had seen outside Spain. He also brought back with him a sound, first-hand awareness of the European reality.

Back in Spain, in 1935 he moved to Madrid, where he worked in the laboratories of the Rockefeller Center, among the most advanced laboratories of Europe at that time, financed by the foundation of the same name. In 1936 he applied again to go abroad to carry out soil research, this time choosing the United States. Just as he prepared to leave, a war broke out that changed his career. Effectively, Albareda left Madrid in October 1937 (at the beginning of the war his father and a brother had been murdered by leftists in the town where they lived) only to pass to the side controlled by Franco at the very end of 1937. There he took a teaching post again, as well as being employed in the Ministry of Education. He met José Ibáñez Martín, also a teacher, but of history, who had been made a member of the Spanish parliament in the Second Republic and had been named minister of education in August 1939 (Albareda Herrera, 1951; Gutiérrez Ríos, 1970; Castillo Genzor and Tomeo Lacrue, 1971; de Felipe, 2002; Pérez López, 2012).

Reflections on the CSIC project

The discussion over which body should promote scientific research in Spain has left some interesting traces in documents exchanged between

José Ibañez Martín and José María Albareda. Many of them are undated, but circumstances suggest that they should be placed between August 1939 and October of the same year, which is when the decree for the creation of the CSIC was being finalized. In one of these documents, we find a clear summary of the main ideas that inspired the project and an interesting reference to the relationship with Germany. It was pointed out that the CSIC should carry out its work in conjunction with the university, but not with the university alone. Following the work already done by the JAE, and overcoming the shambles of the *Instituto de España*, it was necessary to aspire to a new model that increased Spanish prestige as well as bringing together and promoting intellectuals of worth.[2] Albareda also took on board a subject close to his heart, the necessity to pay attention to areas that had been neglected by the JAE: technology especially, but also philosophy, law, and others. The new organization would have to address Science in its entirety, since the truth sought through science was one and the same. The Tree of Science, by the Spanish logician Ramón Llull, which was to be proposed as the logo of the CSIC, entirely summed up this idea.[3]

Significantly, Albareda quoted an adverse example, of obvious interest because of the date when the document was written:

> I find unreasonable the idea of Professor Gieseke of Berlin. He asserts that science can be national-socialist, and therefore works to satisfy every popular need, in opposition of a liberal science which usually deals with unproductive digressions. However I also think that the opposite vision of a science at odds with Technology and with Economy is equally absurd.[4]

This clear opposition to Nazi discourse constitutes a relevant affirmation in terms of what interests us here. It shows that there was no ideological aping of Germany in the Spanish project. The superiority of the Germans was recognized, but their position in fundamental matters was questioned.

Finally, Albareda pointed out that the new organization should take into account those who did not live in Madrid (excluded until now from high culture), and aim to integrate people from the Hispanic world in order to 'hacer imperio' (build empire), an aim that echoes the rhetoric of pro-Franco tendencies, but that in reality continued what had been ordinary politics during the Republican years: to give priority to Hispanic America in terms of Spain's external priorities concerning cultural relations.

This idea is elaborated in another document from 1942, about a project creating a section of foreign affairs of the CSIC:

> The objective of this section is to establish, preserve and develop scientific and cultural links with other countries [...] The General Secretary of the Council will have direct responsibility.
>
> Those countries that this section will be dealing with will be divided into three groups, based on the importance of the relationship held with them.
>
> Group A – Hispanic America countries – Philippine Islands, Portugal, Brazil, Tangier, protectorate of Morocco and colonies.
>
> Group B – France, England, Germany, Italy, Switzerland, Holland, Belgium, Austria, USA and North Africa.
>
> Group C – All other countries.[5]

It is interesting to note the priority order that is applied to foreign affairs, a ranking partly explained by historical continuity and partly by a new ideology characteristic of Franco's side. This can be summarized by saying that Spain's aspiration to recuperate its greatness was experiencing an eagerness for 'empire building' and a desire to show capability for external influence, especially cultural and even spiritual, given that it was maintained that the Spanish Empire, unlike others, was altruistic and civilizing, and did not seek to exploit the nations that it included.

Germany and Catholics

However, before going on, it is worth stopping to consider another contemporary matter related to the debate over the creation of the CSIC and the report that we have cited, of great importance for cultural relations with Germany. That is the Spanish-German cultural agreement, signed in January 1939. The initiative for the signing came from the minister of education, Pedro Sáinz Rodríguez, though Gonzalo Redondo (1993) has provided sufficient information to suggest that it was a personal initiative of Franco. Redondo's hypothesis is that Franco decided to use this agreement to put pressure on the Vatican to obtain the signing of a concordat that gave back to Spanish governors privileges, in the matter of church government, that they had had before the Second Republic. This was something about which the Vatican appeared reluctant (Redondo, 1993: 572–575).

As Franco expected, the Catholic Church strongly opposed the signing of the Spanish-German agreement, considering it seriously harmful for Spanish Catholicism. The cardinal primate, Isidro Gomá, wrote to the minister of education on the same day that the agreement was signed, 24 January 1939, warning him of the dangers of such measures: 'I know the current trends in German thinking and fear that it could get into the Spanish soul' (Redondo, 1993: 575).

Gomá wrote, after discussions with the nuncio Gaetano Cicognani, that he was with him in his opposition to this measure. The Vatican joined the protests on 29 January. This is stated in the interview held by the secretary of state Eugenio Pacelli – the future Pope Pius XII – with the Spanish ambassador before the Holy See, José de Yanguas.

> The Cardinal emphasized his reading telling me, with a rather disturbed expression, that the Pope was very impressed and he read me the agreement text, published by a German newspaper that he had in his hand, pointing out the paragraphs in a style of teacher-pupil exchange. 'Whereby – added the Cardinal – Spanish students will go to Germany to become saturated in Nazi, pagan and anti-Christian education'. And the Nazis will bring their schools to Spain. Likewise for books, which will be circulated freely, so Rosenberg's books will enter Spain and what is worse, the aggravating fact that the Agreement states that German books introduced into our country cannot be contradicted or criticized.
>
> (Redondo, 1993: 577)

The protest from the Vatican did not detain the process, and Gomá appealed to Franco personally in his letter of 9 February, asking him to stop the endorsement of an agreement that he considered to be seriously dangerous.

> It will be the 'naturally Christian' soul of our nation that will find itself facing a powerful and brilliant state organization that has placed all its ideals outside of, if not against Christianity. The Swastika is today the enemy sign of the cross of Christ: the Pope himself said it recently.
>
> (Redondo, 1993: 583)

Franco replied to the Spanish cardinal primate on 15 March, saying that there was nothing to fear in the agreement, and maintaining his position. The same response was given to the Vatican.

The religious authorities continued to put pressure on the regime to avoid the endorsement of the agreement, but did not manage to make any difference until months later. The change came at a significant time. On 1 September 1939, the new minister of foreign affairs, Juan Beigbeder, communicated it to the German ambassador in Madrid. The Spanish government decided to postpone the signing of the Spanish-German cultural agreement. This was really an annulment, as it was never ratified. The reasons why Franco abandoned the ploy, which he had used until then to put pressure on the Vatican, seem to lie in the German agreement with the Soviet Union, published some days before, and in the consequent German attack on Poland, a Catholic country that became divided between the two totalitarian powers (Redondo, 1999: 158–159).

We should bear in mind this political framework to understand the measures regarding scientific promotion and international contacts that we will mention later. It is also worth remembering that the two main promoters of the CSIC, José Ibáñez Martín and José María Albareda, were devout Catholics, the latter one of the early members of Opus Dei (Pérez López, 2012).

Two further points can help to seal this reference to religious and ecclesiastic matters. One is a mention of German culture prior to the Nazis in a letter from a philologist to Albareda: 'When, in 1908–1910, I studied in Germany, it was an accepted dogma that Catholic *prejudices* prevented advance in research.'[6] To overcome this idea and to show that religion not only did not prevent, but actually boosted, research was one of the aims that the promoters proposed with the creation of the CSIC.

The second point is a reply from the Apostolic Nunciature in Spain to the secretary of the CSIC, in 1941, about a German professor, the pedagogue Siegfried Behn, with a positive report.[7] We have not found many exchanges of this type, but it would be logical to assume that there were more: there existed a filter where relations with German scientists were concerned, and therefore, at times, the collaboration of the Catholic hierarchy was called for.

Contacts with Germany

Within that context and with those precedents and intentions, in the middle of the largest military conflict in our history, the contacts that we are concerned with developed. The first thing to bear in mind is that the war limited their number and frequency, an obvious reality that we should not forget. Second, the political climate facilitated a

situation whereby the countries with which contact had been easier were those that had supported Franco during the struggle: that is to say, Germany, Italy, and Portugal. Indeed, the documentation of the Council for Cultural Relations confirms this, as Lorenzo Delgado has pointed out, supported by the activity report of the JRC between 1939 and 1944:

> During the years of the World War, Germany was, by far, the nation that funneled the largest volume of funding, giving marked preference to the areas of Medicine, the various fields of surgery and to a lesser extent to Law, Germanic Philology, Music and some branches of Engineering.
>
> (Delgado Gómez-Escalonilla, 2007: 269)

Nonetheless, revision of the Minutes of the Board of Governors (*Consejo Ejecutivo*) and the Annual Reports (*Memorias*) of the CSIC allows us to understand better and with more clarity what we knew of this matter up until now. The first source is of a more formal nature than the second. The *Consejo Ejecutivo* was CSIC's board of directors. They met various times a year, and the results of their decisions were recorded in the minutes and were kept in the archives of the CSIC presidency. From the information stored there, we are able to extract information about foreign affairs, specifically funding granted for travel abroad in order to carry out research or in order to receive foreign visitors in Spain.[8] The information lacks detail, but is interesting, as it usually contains the name of the recipient of the funding, the duration and location of their stay abroad, and, sometimes, with whom they would be working. There is also other information about matters related to foreign affairs that we will refer to later. A quantitative summary of the information about funding for foreign travel that we have found in the minutes is shown in Table 5.1.

What most attracts our attention is that the information about scholarships abroad does not support the idea of a privileged relationship with Germany: it is not the main destination for scholars to undertake research visits abroad, or the prime country of origin of professors whose visit has been funded directly by the CSIC. Apart from the possible inaccuracy in one or both sources, and pending comparison with the information cited by Delgado,[9] it is interesting to pause and consider the published data and complement it with what we find in the reports of the CSIC.

As we can see in Table 5.2, funding for foreign travel was on the increase until 1943. In 1944, there was a significant decline in numbers,

Table 5.1 Scholarships, 1941–45

	Switzerland	Portugal	Germany	United States	Italy	United Kingdom	Other*	Total
1940							2	2
1941	1		2				1	4
1942	13		7		4			24
1943	33	11	9	1	11		2	67
1944	7	19		1				27
1945	2	19		14		7	1	43
Scholarships 1941–45	56	49	18	16	15	7	4	167

*Belgium, Peru, Sweden, Hungary, Denmark, and 'Latin American republics'.
Source: Compiled by the author based on the Minutes of the CSIC Board of Governors and his Annual Reports.

Table 5.2 Funds for visiting professors, 1941–45

	France	Germany	Switzerland	Italy	Portugal	United States	United Kingdom	Sweden	Total
1941	2	1	1			2			6
1942	2	2	2	2					8
1943	2	3	2	1	1				9
1944	2	3	2	1	1	1		1	11
1945	3		1	2	3	2	3		14
Visiting 1941–45	11	9	8	6	5	5	3	1	48

Source: Compiled by the author based on the Minutes of the CSIC Board of Governors and his Annual Reports.

and in 1945, although there was an increase, figures did not reach the levels seen in 1943. The most frequently visited country was Switzerland (34 per cent of funding), followed by Portugal (30 per cent), and Germany (11 per cent). The timescale is also important. Switzerland was the most visited country until 1943, and from then on it was Portugal. Germany only occupied first position in 1941, when the number of grants awarded was small.

In short, priority seems to be given to neutral countries, as opposed to allied countries or those favoured for political reasons. Furthermore, the fact that Switzerland was a country where Albareda had numerous personal contacts could be an influential factor.

The second feature that stands out is the rapid growth in funding for travel to the United States and the United Kingdom as soon as military conditions allowed it.

In terms of the professors and researchers who visited Spain funded by the CSIC, our attention is drawn to their scarcity and, once again, to the fact that the greatest number of visitors did not come from Germany, which was ranked after France, with a similar number of visitors to Switzerland.

The remaining information from the minutes, annual reports, and Albareda's archives offers us data that complements our original information. The most relevant is the trip to Germany in 1941 carried out by a representative of the CSIC in order to get to know the German research institutions and residency system for researchers. The task was assigned to José María Otero Navascués, a navy military engineer and specialist in optics, who had completed research stays in Zurich, Jena, and Berlin between 1928 and 1932 and had not participated in the Civil War, during which he had been a refugee in the Norwegian Embassy in Madrid.[10] We learn more details of the report of his trip to Germany from the *Memoria* of 1940–41 of the CSIC, where we find (271–274) a summary of its content. The visit to Germany, approved in November 1940, had the following missions:

1. acquisition of books and scientific material for the Institutes 'Alonso Barba' (chemistry) and 'Alonso de Santa Cruz' (physics)
2. study of the organization 'Harnack House', which Kaiser Dahlem keeps as a residence and as a meeting place for researchers
3. arrangements for the eventual arrival of German professors and researchers in Spain.
4. study of the organization of the Imperial Laboratory of Technical Physics
5. organization of the Polytechnic of Berlin Charlottenburg[11]

The chapter on results mentions success in the acquisition of books (to the value of 2,015 Reichsmarks) while showing the impossibility of acquiring scientific material, as the traders insisted on payment in foreign currency. The report on Harnack House enabled the reorganization of the residency of the professors of the CSIC. The third objective was achieved through contact with the president of the Kaiser Wilhelm Society and Professor Mentzal, director general of the Department of Science, of the Ministry of Education of the Reich, head of German researchers in state centres:

> The writing up of an official request is agreed upon through the Spanish and German Ministries of Foreign Affairs in order to count on researchers to create schools, mainly in Atomic Physics, Organic Chemistry, Astronomy (theory) and Physiology.[12]

Finally, the report reflects the information obtained about the running of the Imperial Laboratory of Physics and Technology and the Polytechnic of Berlin.

Otero's trip was not the only one at that time. The Annual Report gives an account of trips by a mathematician to Vienna and Leipzig and those of a biologist to Frankfurt, Berlin, and Vienna. In short, Germany can well be considered a benchmark for the organization of Spanish science at that moment. Only two other missions abroad are mentioned: a trip to Portugal by an engineer, who produced a report on the possibilities of improving exchanges and collaboration with like-minded organizations in that country, and one by a mathematician, who moved to Rome.

In the chapter on visits to Spain by foreign professors, only one is mentioned in the Annual Report of the first two years: by Franz Weidert, member of the Kaiser Wilhelm Society and director of the Optical Institute of Berlin. He was a close colleague of Otero Navascués and had worked with him at the beginning of the 1930s. Their personal relationship proved to be crucial in these exchanges.

We find more references to international relations in the Annual Report on the bibliographic board and scientific exchange. First, the assistance of the German Institute of Culture is cited:

> [In that department, we found] the strongest support for developing direct relations between German and Spanish researchers, as well as assistance for the exchange of professors. Likewise, we overcame the obstacles that hinder the acquisition of foreign publications through the *Deutsch Ausländischer Buchtausch*.[13]

What we know about real exchanges at that time is useful to measure the rhetorical exaggeration that takes hold of the writers of the Annual Report. It is also mentioned as an achievement that:

> With respect to German works, we can take advantage of the fact that we should not pay with Marks, but only through a reciprocal service whereby Spanish works can be exchanged on request by the Deutsch Ausländischer Buchtausch from us. Because of the recent visit to Spain by Dr Jurgens, head of this German exchange office, the links upon which our exchange is maintained have been consolidated.[14]

As well as collaboration with Germany, this material also mentions collaboration with Vichy France, with Italy, and with the Congress Library of the United States, through a personal contact.

The Annual Reports of the following years, 1942–45, account for visits from German specialists in economics, Latin, archaeology, and art, whose role was to deliver certain conferences and also to attend the exhibition Books of Germany, which generated donations of bibliographic funds. There were visiting lecturers of other origins – French, Italian, Portuguese, and Swiss – for example, H. Pallman, director of some works of Albareda in Switzerland.[15] Personal relations, again.

Conclusions

Germany had been a model of organization and scientific results for a long time, and without a doubt this continued into the 1930s and 1940s. The new alliance, established during the Civil War, with Franco's Spain seemed to suggest that there would be an increase in Germanic cultural and scientific influence in Spain. However, this is not what happened. The main reason was Catholic opposition, preventing German influence from becoming dominant. The Nazi ideology was perceived as anti-Christian. The Catholic hierarchy fought to prevent the endorsement of the Spanish–German agreement, and finally they got their way. Furthermore, the main figures in the creation of the CSIC also appeared to be far removed from Nazi ideas; they were more interested in constructing a science that was compatible with Catholicism and that favoured contacts with the Iberian world, with Latin America, and with ancient or modern colonies.

This limiting of German influence because of cultural preferences or political strategy added to the hindrance that factual circumstances posed for international relations in general: the war and economic

difficulties limited exchange programmes, which were kept at an often symbolic level.

We should take into account the fact that the rhetoric of public declarations was often far from the reality, in this case as in many others. The desire to affirm that the new political regime was constructing a new and grand Spain did not allow difficulties and failures to be voiced in public, and did not hesitate to glorify any achievement. We should not, therefore, put any faith in public pronouncements as a source of information about what Spanish–German relations were like at that time.

In spite of doubts over its accuracy, data relating to those receiving scholarships and sent abroad by the CSIC shows that it would be wrong to talk about exchanges with Germany being prevalent in this area. During the first years of the war, Switzerland was the leading destination, and from 1943 it was Portugal; there was then a strong tendency towards gaining ground in the Anglo-Saxon world, the United States and the United Kingdom, as of 1944. The same is true of visiting professors; we saw large numbers of Germans, but they were not the largest group, nor did they outnumber others. What we really saw was a pattern of infrequent visits, with perhaps more French professors, though similar in numbers to the Germans and Swiss.

It seems clear that, rather than an institutional framework or an ideological orientation, what mattered in that type of exchange programme was the personal knowledge of the researchers: something that has always been a determining factor with respect to scientific relations. Those who had trained in Germany called on their teachers to visit Spain, and those who had more ties with Switzerland, like Albareda, turned to their Swiss contacts. Perhaps the only exception was Portugal, with which relations were strengthened without precedents.

In any case, there does seem to be an area in which German influence was predominant: bibliographical exchange. The little data that we have, however, suggests that this prevalence was not overwhelming, and we should clarify that lack of knowledge of that language, in comparison with others, doubtless limited the effects of this situation. On a similar note, we have seen how difficulties in acquiring scientific material also affected relations with Germany: a logical consequence of the war and of the economic hardship in Spain.

In short, it seems that the influence of German science in Spain during the Second World War was limited. The CSIC's institutional contacts, and the personal contacts of researchers, did not show any special inclination to extend and strengthen that contact, and the international and internal circumstances really only made it weaker. The victory of

the Allies would finally lead us to a change in the pattern of history, whereby the German model was substituted by that of North America, something that can be observed in international contacts during the final years of the war.

(Translated by Joanne Marsden)

Archives

Archives of the CSIC presidency (Madrid)

AGUN: Archive of the University of Navarra (Archivo General Universidad de Navarra, Pamplona)

Notes

1. Decree n. 436, creating the Instituto de España, *Boletín Oficial del Estado* n. 438, 02.01.1938: 5074–5075.
2. His denunciation of what was happening after the war was strong: 'Si hiciese falta fundamentar más la necesidad de este organismo, bastaría desarollo detallada y documentalmente estos puntos actualísimos: Antagonismo corrosivo entre las Universidades y el Instituto de España. Los centros e institutos de investigación antes de 1936 y en nuestros días. Lo acaecido actualmente en el Rockefeller, Museo de Ciencias Naturales, Seminario Matemático, etc., ha rebasado a veces los límites de la política antinacional para oscilar entre lo grotesco y el área de las leyes penales' (Undated report on how to replace the *Junta de Ampliación de Estudios* and the *Instituto de España*, 1939, Biblioteca de la Residencia de Estudiantes, Madrid, Caja 172Albareda, Albareda/6/1).
3. Albareda wrote: 'Eficacia académica. No se trata de levantar un artefacto más, sino de continuar y de superar, con signo positivo, el desarrollo científico. Superar no se escribe con fácil ligereza de exaltación anti-institucionista, sino pensando en todas las disciplinas que urge levantar. Tantos años de presunción investigadora del institucionismo han dejado disciplinas enteras, fundamentales, en deplorable abandono que urge salvar' (Undated report on how to replace the *Junta de Ampliación de Estudios* and the *Instituto de España*, 1939, Biblioteca de la Residencia de Estudiantes, Madrid, Caja 172Albareda, Albareda/6/1).
4. Undated report on how to replace the *Junta de Ampliación de Estudios* and the *Instituto de España*, 1939, Biblioteca de la Residencia de Estudiantes, Madrid, Caja 172Albareda, Albareda/6/1.
5. Undated report, circa 1942, AGUN/JMAH/059/044.
6. Letter from Antonio Griera to José María Albareda, 20 June 1942, AGUN/JMAH/003/0113. Emphasis in the original.
7. Report from the Apostolic Nunciature in Madrid to CSIC, undated, circa 1941, AGUN/JMAH/003/0029.
8. Archives of the CSIC presidency. Actas del Consejo Ejecutivo. Our information comes from the Actas (minutes) of 1940 (eight), 1941 (eleven), 1942

(eight), 1943 (nine), 1944 (nine), and 1945 (seven). All are kept in the archives of CSIC's presidency in Madrid.

9. Delgado Gómez-Escalonilla (2007) does not provide any quantitative data, but only his previously cited assertion, based on the publication 'Memoria de la JRC, 1939–1944', kept in the archives of the Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores. These archives are currently closed because they are moving.
10. Andrés Martín (2005: 35–37). Also Otero's cv in AGUN/JMAH/062/073.
11. *Memoria. 1940–1941*: 271.
12. *Memoria. 1940–1941*: 273.
13. *Memoria. 1940–1941*: 285.
14. *Memoria. 1940–1941*: 286 and 288.
15. Letter from José María Albareda to Antonio Aranda, 14 April 1941, AGUN/JMAH/002/0094.

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6

The Role of Culture in German–Spanish Relations during National Socialism

Marició Janué i Miret

The economic, military, and diplomatic bonds between Nazi Germany and Spain have received much attention (García Pérez, 1994; Leitz, 1996, 1999; Viñas, 2001; Bernecker, 2002, among others), but we still lack an overall approach to the cultural relations between the two countries (Hera, 2002: 223–431, stops in 1939; see the first pages of Sanz, 2010). This is an important historiographical issue: when the National Socialists came to power in 1933, culture had already been an essential part of German foreign policy for a long time.

This chapter will analyse the role culture played in the relations between Germany and Spain in the Nazi period by considering the following four aspects. The first will be the importance Nazi Germany gave to foreign cultural policy in its relations with Spain. Second, we will consider the variations in the intensity of the cultural relations between the two countries; the transformations of objectives and methods; and personal and institutional continuities and changes. Third, and given the important role that German economic interests had already played in previous periods, we will analyse whether this was also the case during National Socialism. Finally, there is a fourth aspect: the changes in internal as well as in international politics which conditioned the mutual cultural relations and the attitudes of each state towards the other.

The final objective of the chapter is to have a clearer idea regarding the reasons why the two countries wished to intensify their cultural relations and the affinities between Nazi Germany and the Francoist regime.

Imperialist aims and cultural policies abroad

After the foundation of the German *Kaiserreich*, Spain became an important objective in Germany's struggle to conquer markets and resources overseas and on the European periphery. Spain sold food and raw materials to Germany while buying manufactured products, in particular machinery and iron goods. Until the First World War, German industries, above all the electro-engineering and chemical industries, penetrated the Spanish market with the help of the big banks.

In this period, cultural foreign policy became a fundamental instrument of political propaganda and power expansion for the leading European powers, and, thus, also for Germany (Düwell and Link, 1981; Bruch, 1982; Delgado, 1992: 8–18). The growth of German economic power in Spain had an effect on the cultural relations between the two countries: this was the time when the first German schools in Spain were founded, the first in Barcelona in 1894 and the second in Madrid two years later (Chamrad et al., 1994; Engel et al., 1998). In addition, Hispanic studies flourished in Germany (Briesemeister, 2010). As a result, Spanish intellectuals' interest in German culture and science increased (Janué, 2012a). However, before the First World War, German–Spanish cultural relations were still not very highly institutionalized. This was due to the fact that political relations between the two countries were limited. One important reason for this was the insignificant political weight of Spain in the international arena at that time.

This situation changed after the First World War, which disrupted Germany's international economic and scientific relations (Düwell, 1976; Meyenn, 1988). The Versailles Treaty had not only imposed payments; the allied powers also organized an international boycott of German science, which lasted a decade. As part of an effort to overcome these difficulties, Germany opted to intensify its foreign cultural relations with those countries that had remained neutral during the war. Thus, it was in this period that Germany institutionalized its foreign cultural policies. They were now handled by a special department of the German Foreign Office (Düwell, 1981). And in 1925, the *Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst* (DAAD, German Academic Exchange Service) was created (Laitenberger, 1981).

In this context, Spain, which had remained neutral during the war, was one of the countries to receive preferential attention regarding German foreign cultural policies (Pöppinghaus, 1999; Hera, 2002; López Sánchez, 2003; Presas, 2010; Rebok, 2010, 2011). In addition, Spain acquired an important role for Germany as a bridge to Latin America.

From then on, the institutionalization of cultural relations became Germany's main strategy in order to exert influence upon Spain. A sign of this process of institutionalization can be seen in the dramatic expansion of German schools in the country, though their great success must also be related to the deficiencies of the Spanish school system. In the same way, the *Deutsche Wissenschaftliche Vermittlungsstelle* (DWV, Centre for German Studies and Exchange) was founded in Barcelona in 1923. The centre received funding from the German state. Two years later, the *Arbeitsstelle für Deutsch-Spanische Wissenschaftsbeziehungen* (ADSW, German–Spanish Centre for Intellectual Exchange) was founded in Madrid, and was also funded by the German Foreign Office. These new representatives of German science established links with the Spanish *Junta para Ampliación de Estudios* (JAE, Board for Advanced Studies). This was the most important Spanish institution for scientific support and represented the will of the most progressive sectors of Spanish science to Europeanize themselves. Nearly a quarter of all researchers who were awarded grants by the JAE between 1910 and 1934 went to Germany (Janué, 2010; 2014). During these years, Germany was second only to France in receiving Spanish academics, and at a notable distance from the third, Belgium. Germany played a very significant role in the Barcelona World Fair in 1929, which offered the Germans a unique opportunity to show Europe and the world the recovery of their country's industrial and scientific potential (Janué, 2007). Two years later, the DAAD opened an office in Madrid.

The institutionalization of cultural relations between the two countries affected not only the expansion of German culture in Spain, but also the diffusion of Spanish culture in Germany (Briesemeister, 2000; Juretschke, 2001). The first Ibero-American institutes and German–Spanish societies had already been founded during the war. The Ibero-American Institute in Hamburg was created in 1917. In 1918, the German–Spanish societies were united in the *Verband Deutschland-Spanien* (Germany–Spain Association). In Madrid, the *Görresgesellschaft* (Görres Society), a German scientific institute of Catholic orientation dedicated to conducting research into Spanish culture, was founded in 1924. This institute edited the *Spanische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft*, one of the most prestigious journals on Hispanic culture. In 1930, the *Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut* (IAI, Ibero-American Institute of Berlin), which was devoted to increasing cultural relations between Germany and the former Spanish colonies, was created (Liehr et al., 2003). In the same year, the *Deutsch-Spanische Gesellschaft* (DSG, German–Spanish Society) was founded, also in Berlin (for the history of

the DSG, see Janué, 2008a, 2008b). This society aimed to deepen cultural relations between the two countries through lectures, exhibitions, debates, and other activities. From its foundation until its dissolution by the Allied forces at the end of the Second World War, the DSG was not only the most important centre for German Hispanic studies, but also one of the principal actors in bilateral cultural relations and, as such, also a meeting point for Spanish Germanophiles. From the beginning, the concept of 'culture' the members embraced was not only based on criteria of a scientific and artistic nature. Its members also ensured that it did not contradict their conservative and nationalist values. Therefore, following the proclamation of the Republic in Spain in 1931, the Society reacted with a deliberate lack of enthusiasm, paying the price for this with a considerable reduction in its activities. The elites of the Society considered the revolutionary character of the Republic detrimental to their political and economic interests.

The 'synchronization' of cultural policies

The National Socialists' rise to power caused a shift in the existing cultural relations between Spain and Germany for two reasons: first, the National Socialists' antipathy towards the Spanish Republic; second, the distancing of the progressive sectors of the republican regime from Nazi Germany (Hausmann, 2001: 216; Bernecker, 2002: 158–159; Hera, 2002: 223–278). In consequence, the number of grants awarded by the JAE for studies in Germany began to decrease in 1934, while in previous years it had been increasing (Janué, 2010). Following the end of the Spanish Civil War in 1939, the JAE was dissolved by the Francoist regime. A significant number of those who had received grants from the institution were purged. Many had to go into exile. From then on, it was the *Consejo Superior de Investigationes Científicas* (CSIC, Spanish National Research Council) that was in charge of Spain's scientific relations with other countries, in collaboration with the diplomatic corps (Delgado, 1992: 175; Sanz, 2010).

With the Nazis in power, German foreign cultural policy was increasingly subject to their political and economic imperialism. As a result, scientific and cultural work became more and more a propaganda tool aimed at expanding their power. In the German School in Madrid, rapprochement with the new regime was soon under way, in spite of the ambivalent attitude of the director of the institution (Engel et al., 1998: 88–95; Hera, 2002: 306–312). The DAAD, like the other scientific and cultural institutions, was used by the Third Reich to serve its foreign

policy interests. In the 1933–34 period, the powers of the DAAD were extended in order to reinforce its position in this context. From then on, the DWV and the ADSW were subordinated to the DAAD, and had to adapt their activities to the new political directives (Hera, 2002: 271–292; Rebok, 2010: 121, 2011: 174).

In Germany, too, the DSG gradually subordinated its activities to the imperialist objectives of National Socialism. On the one hand, the influence of the state agencies and the organizations of the National Socialist Party on the society's board of directors grew; on the other hand, its financial capacity also increased, as it now received state funding. This allowed it to expand its activities. In this period, the society became increasingly important, as it acted as mediator between the Spaniards who arrived in Berlin and the agencies of the National Socialist state and party. In February 1936, Wilhelm Faupel, a retired general with an authoritarian character (Gliech, 2003), became president of the society. He had already been the president of the IAI since 1934. His main objective was to be recognized as an indispensable authority and a key figure, not only by the German state and the Nazi Party, but also by the economic, cultural, and political elites in Spain and Germany.

The Spanish Civil War as a driving force for the politicization of cultural relations

The outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in July 1936 increased the importance of German–Spanish relations in the eyes of the National Socialist authorities. The fight against communism was an important part of the mission that the Nazi regime wished to carry out in Europe, and, according to the official German version, this was the fundamental reason for the Spanish War. Nazi cultural diplomacy and propaganda associated Republicanism with Bolshevism (Bernecker, 2002: 161–165; Hera, 2002: 343–357). In October 1936, the Germans created the Condor Legion, a voluntary military unit, to fight on Franco's side. German military personnel and technicians collaborated with the insurgent army (Arias, 2003).

At that moment, the main objective of Nazi foreign cultural policy was to achieve as much influence as possible in building the future 'National' Spain. Some sectors of the *Falange*, the Spanish fascist party, flirted with National Socialism for a time, while other sectors of the *Movimiento Nacional* (National Movement), which supported Franco, were worried. Therefore, in order to achieve their objective, the Nazis had to overcome not only their Italian rival, but also the

growing distrust of some of the political groups which supported the insurgents.

Aiming to exercise greater influence, the Nazi government promoted cultural relations with intellectuals and professionals who supported Franco, preferring those who had already had contact with German culture. A significant number of these people had received JAE grants for scientific visits to Germany. Now, based on the new theories they had learned there, they became ideologues of Falangist *nacionalsindicalismo* (National-Syndicalism). Even during the Civil War, the Universities of Salamanca, Seville, and Valladolid, which were controlled by the insurgents, maintained relations with German universities, and there were many visits from academics with affinities with the regimes of both countries (Bernal, 2010: 215–217). The DAAD and the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation helped with these exchanges and awarded grants (Delgado, 1992: 199; Hera, 2002: 280). In Spain, the Germans funded readerships for German language studies (Rodríguez, 2008). The University of Salamanca was the preferred partner for most of these relations and initiatives during the Spanish War. Readerships in Spanish language and literature were also financed in German universities. On the other hand, in 1938, the Nazi regime prohibited the Görres Society, which was considered hostile to the government of the Third Reich (Rebok, 2010: 128–131, 2011: 176). Its property was seized, and, three years later, the society was dissolved. It would not re-emerge until after the Second World War. From the spring of 1938 onwards, it was the *Junta de Relaciones Culturales* (Cultural Relations Commission), now re-established by Franco, that collaborated in the exchange of academics and students (Delgado, 1992: 84–96, 1994: 268).

In Germany, Faupel, the president of the DSG, used the opportunity offered by the Spanish Civil War to establish the society (and himself) as the principal contact for any Spaniards who arrived in Berlin, if they were considered supportive of the cause of National Socialism and the Spanish Francoist leaders. Until the recognition of Franco's government by National Socialist Germany at the end of 1936, the society followed the guidelines of the National Socialist party in giving support to the representatives of the *Falange* in Germany (Janué, 2011). Afterwards, the society concentrated its attention on the *Falange* in Spain. The appointment of Faupel as the first German ambassador to Franco's government in November 1936 and, above all, the strengthening of Franco's power, as well as the reorganization of the *Falange* (from then onwards called the *Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional Sindicalista*, *FET y de las JONS*) under his command in 1937 all played a

role. As Faupel refused to agree to subordinate his relations (and those of the society) with the *FET y de las JONS* to the guidelines of the authorities of the new Francoist regime, he was later dismissed as ambassador.

Subsequently, Faupel returned to the presidency of the society. At this point, the board of directors of the institution underwent a number of changes. One of the most significant was the incorporation of the directors of the *Compañía Hispano-Marroquí de Transportes Limitada* (HISMA, Hispano-Moroccan Transports Company Ltd.) and *Rohstoff- und Wareneinkaufsgesellschaft m.b.H.* (ROWAK, Society for Purchase of Goods and Raw Materials Ltd.) societies onto the board of directors. During the Civil War, these societies laid the foundations for the compensatory system (exchange of goods) which was the basis for economic relations between Germany and Spain (Viñas, 1974: 347–474, 1984, 2001: 308–521; Whealey, 1989: 72–94; Leitz, 1996, 1999: 131–134; Bernecker, 2002: 166–169). The HISMA and the ROWAK would exercise a kind of commercial monopoly at the service of German interests. In addition, representatives of the Foreign Organization of the National Socialist party and of the Reich's Ministry for Propaganda joined the Society's board of directors. From the beginning of 1938, and particularly after the end of the Spanish Civil War in April 1939, Faupel tended to focus the attentions of the society on prominent Falangists with positions in Franco's government or those who had his approval.

Beginning in 1937, joint activities between the *Hitlerjugend* (HJ, Hitler Youth) and the *Organizaciones Juveniles* (OOJJ, Youth Organizations; from 1940 onwards known as the *Frente de Juventudes*, FJ, Youth Front) of the *FET y de las JONS* were established (Alted, 1984: 234–235, 382; Cañabate, 2003–04). An example of these is the summer camp in Bad Freienwalde in 1938. This caused tensions with the Spanish Catholic Church. There were also intensive relations between the *Bund Deutscher Mädel* (BDM, League of German Girls) and the Falangist *Sección Femenina* (SF, Women's Section) (Morant, 2007a, 2007b, 2011). Until 1943, up to 16 visits of prominent leaders of the SF and groups of Falangist women to Germany took place. In return, there were seven visits by representatives of the BDM to Spain. For both sides, these encounters had a clear political character. The programme included study trips and cultural tours to places of notable symbolic character. The SF took the BDM as a point of reference. The SF and other youth movements followed German models, and the Francoist *Auxilio Social* (Social Aid) copied features from the *Winterhilfe* (Winter Help). These influences were related not only to structures and services, but also to ideological content.

Among the activities designed to reinforce mutual cultural relations during the Spanish Civil War was one that clearly stood out: the organization, between 1938 and 1941, of German book fairs in a number of Spanish cities (Bernal, 2007, 2010). The German community in Spain and the *FET y de las JONS* collaborated in these activities. At the same time, these fairs caused tensions between the *FET y de las JONS* and other, more Catholic, sectors of the new Spanish regime at a moment when its ideological foundations were being laid. The Nazi publications which arrived in Spain during this period helped to translate the ideological influences into practical aspects of the Francoist 'New Order'. Examples of these are the concepts of leadership and of the totalitarian party, as well as aspects of the organization of education, syndicalism, and corporativism. The ideological foundations of Francoist vertical syndicalism were influenced, especially in the early years of the Francoist regime, by the labour relations model in Hitler's Germany embodied in the *Deutsche Arbeitsfront* (DAF, German Labour Front). This was the subject of many of the books the Germans sent to Spain.

Another cultural aspect of Nazi support for Francoist Spain during the Spanish Civil War was the cinema (Delgado, 1992: 202; Estivill, 1997; Meseguer, 2004; Muñoz, 2004). On the German side, the driving force was the Propaganda Ministry. During the Civil War, this ministry arranged two agreements. The first allowed *Hispano-Film-Produktion* (HFP) to film in Berlin in coproduction with the *Universum Film AG* (UFA). The second allowed the TOBIS company to edit and distribute the newscast *Noticiario Español* (1938–40). These agreements favoured the financial interests as well as the propaganda priorities of the Reich. On the one hand, they were designed to strengthen the position of the German movie industry in the international market to the detriment of Hollywood by replacing American products with others controlled by Berlin. At the same time, they were also aimed at local consumption in Germany. The films that came from other countries and featured exotic topics alien to the social and cultural reality of Germany were a guaranteed success with the audience, if they were of sufficient quality. On the other hand, it was important to make clear to German public opinion which side was right in the Spanish Civil War, in spite of the illegality of Franco's insurgence. Goebbels, who wrote *The truth about Spain* (Goebbels, 1937), may have considered collaboration with the Spaniards as a way to bring the Civil War nearer to the German public, from a suitable ideological point of view and disguised as movie fiction.

On their side, the Spaniards regarded the German film industry as a way to produce propaganda films for the 'Spanish cause' and fictional

movies for the 'National' zone. Among the 'documentaries' made, the most important was *Helden in Spanien* (Heroes in Spain), produced by HFP and the *FET y de las JONS* in 1938. This documentary adopted a mainly Nazi point of view and consequently supported the *FET y de las JONS* within Franco's Spain.

Regarding the coproduction of films, the project suffered from the very start from conflicts between the economic interest of the board of directors of the UFA, which was afraid that the product would be a box office flop, and the leaders of the Ministry of Propaganda. In return for the help offered by the UFA, the Nazi Ministry of Propaganda sold a large number of German films to Francoist Spain. An example of the effectiveness of this form of German 'cultural policy' is the presentation of films with National Socialist content, for example, *Hitlerjunge Quex* (1937), the best-known film about the HJ, which was shown in Valladolid at the beginning of 1937. After the end of the Civil War, in April 1940, a new agreement on cinema was signed in Berlin. This agreement authorized the import of a large number of German fiction films and documentaries into Spain (Estivill, 1997).

A great leap forward in the cultural relations between the two countries was the Agreement on Spiritual and Cultural Collaboration between Spain and Germany in January 1939 (Delgado, 1994: 270; Hausmann, 2001: 219; Hera, 2002: 404–431; Sesma, 2011: 251). This agreement was preceded by similar ones with Hungary (1936), Greece (1938), and Italy and Japan (1938). During the Second World War, it was followed by others with Bulgaria (1940), Romania (1941), and Slovakia (1942). The agreement consisted of a wide range of measures in the educational and institutional fields and supported the diffusion of books and translations. However, it would never be ratified, due to the firm opposition of the Vatican and the hierarchy of the Spanish Catholic Church (Marquina, 1979). This shows the difficulties the Francoist dictatorship encountered when attempting to maintain a balance between the different sectors which had contributed to its victory (Sesma, 2004: 158). At the level of international politics, Spanish collaboration with the Nazi regime culminated in the signature of the Anti-Comintern Pact in March 1939, shortly before the end of the Civil War.

Collaboration between fascists: The intensification of cultural relations during the Second World War

After the end of the Spanish Civil War, the Nazi regime was in a favourable position to consolidate its influence on Spain's politics as well

as on its culture and science. The German contribution to Franco's victory had resulted in an important Spanish debt, which could be used by Germany in every bilateral negotiation. In addition, the Germans could count on the support of the Germanophile Falangist academic elites. These exercised particular influence in the disciplines of law, social sciences, philosophy, and engineering, all of which had ideological significance. Nazi influence was also facilitated in a context of intellectual isolation, autarchy, and pronounced fascist orientation, which was dominant during the early years of Francoism (Delgado, 1994: 269; Sanz, 2010; Sesma, 2011: 252). During this period, the Francoist dictatorship looked towards Germany and Italy for cultural guidance and links to international science and technology.

'National' Spain maintained the German schools. After the end of the Civil War, the Department of Culture of the German Foreign Office organized their rapid reopening (Johs, 1956; Chamrad et al., 1994: 89–116; Engel et al., 1998: 88–107; Waibel, 2010: 291–415). During the following years, the Third Reich invested a great deal of money in the construction of new school buildings.

After the outbreak of the Second World War, Spain was incorporated into the Nazi plan to redefine the European economic space. The German war industry became dependent on Spanish supplies. This triggered increased German interest in incorporating Spain into the Axis. In addition, Spain was still important for Germany as a bridge to Latin America, where the Germans wanted to spread Axis propaganda in order to counteract the dominant position of the United States (Hausmann, 2001: 215; Sesma, 2011: 245). This objective coincided with Francoist intentions to relaunch Spain's image in Latin America through the doctrine of the spiritual unity of the *hispanidad*, the community of the Hispanic peoples. It was precisely around the idea of the *hispanidad* that the Spaniards articulated their pretensions of becoming a cultural 'empire' (Delgado, 1992: 121–131, 1994: 268; Bertelt, 2003; Saz, 2003: 267–308; Sesma, 2011: 245), although in its cultural relations with Germany, Spain played a more receptive role.

For the Spanish authorities, anticommunism was an ideological priority. They therefore rejected the German–Soviet pact which was in force between the summers of 1939 and 1941. In spite of this disagreement, political as well as cultural relations continued to prosper. From June 1940, Spain officially maintained a policy of 'non-belligerence', which meant that it would not intervene militarily even though it supported the Axis forces. In September 1940, the then Spanish minister of the interior, Serrano Suñer, went to Berlin. One month later, Heinrich

Himmler made a tour of Spain. These visits showed Spanish gratitude to its ally and highlighted Spain's desire to participate in the project of the Nazi 'New Order' (Sesma, 2011: 257 ff.). It was in October 1940, moreover, that Franco and Hitler met in Hendaye. Spain was invited to join the Tripartite Pact.

However, in May 1941, a reorganization of Franco's government took place. The more fascist sectors of the *FET y de las JONS* lost power in favour of the more Catholic sectors and those sectors of the army which did not want to bring Spain into the war. But precisely in this context, *the FET y de las JONS*, aware that only a victory of the Axis forces could change the situation within Spain to its advantage, decided to intensify its relations with Berlin (Delgado, 1992: 161 ff; Bernecker, 2002: 177; Saz, 2003: 342–343; Janué, 2011).

In September 1939, the Falangist *Instituto de Estudios Políticos* (IEP, Institute of Political Studies) was founded (Delgado, 1992: 168–171; Sesma, 2004, 2011). The IEP was created with a threefold objective (Sesma, 2011: 253): first, to increase Falangist participation in the juridical articulation of the regime; second, to correct Falangist doctrinal shortcomings; and third, to provide persons of confidence and intellectual value for the state's administration. The members of the IEP quickly contacted Nazi circles for cultural exchanges. Personal relationships helped in this. The diplomats of the Axis saw the creation of the IEP as the opening of an important door for ideological penetration. They regarded the members of the IEP as an intellectual elite representing Falangist ideas and, as such, favourable to Spain's intervention in the war. The IEP was to become the most highly regarded representative of the Francoist regime. Shortly after its foundation, the DSG had received its top representatives in Berlin. They continued to visit the DSG on a regular basis, and some of their speeches subsequently appeared in the journal *Ensayos y Estudios*, which was published by the IAI.

The IEP, in addition to its official journal, the *Revista de Estudios Políticos* (REP)/*Journal of Political Studies*, imported fascist and National Socialist ideology and ideas on legislation (Sesma, 2004, 2009, 2011). The first issue of the REP included an essay written by the pro-Nazi Catholic jurist Carl Schmitt (Sesma, 2009: 143–182). In 1943, he was invited by the IEP to give a lecture at the Law Faculty of the University of Madrid (Rodríguez, 2008: 114–115; Sesma, 2011: 264–265). Schmitt's theory on power would later be used to give some theoretical basis to the Franco dictatorship (López García, 1996; Sánchez-Blanco, 2000: 105–109). German economists were also invited to

visit the IEP. The Institute used all the Nazi juridical publications it received to put together the *Boletín de Legislación Extranjera* (*Bulletin of Foreign Legislation*). It also concluded agreements with the *Deutsches Auslandswissenschaftliches Institut* (German Institute of Foreign Studies), which was part of the Ministry of Propaganda, and with the *Institut für Weltwirtschaft* (Institute of World Economy) at the University of Kiel (Sesma, 2011: 269).

In Spain, at the beginning of 1941, Serrano Suñer organized the *Asociación Hispano-Germana* (AHG, Hispano-German Association; see Janué, 2008a, 2008b). This association received support from the Nazi ministries of Propaganda and Foreign Affairs. The figure at the top of the association was General Moscardó, a hero of the Civil War. Outwardly engaged in boosting cultural relations, in reality the AHG functioned as a channel of communication between the German diplomatic corps and the authorities of the Francoist regime. Many AHG members were also members of the IEP who supported the Axis cause. In 1942, authors who usually published in the REP also edited the *Boletín de la Asociación Hispano-Germana* (*Bulletin of the Hispano-German Association*). At a time of intensive conflict with 'National-Catholicism' sectors, the *Boletín* was an attempt to impose the Falangist vision, which favoured the continental 'New Order'.

In the spring of 1941, the Nazi government founded the *Deutsches Wissenschaftliches Institut* (DWI, German Institute of Culture; see Hausmann, 2001). The scholar of Romance philology, Theodor Heinermann, from the University of Münster, became its president. Together with its subsidiary in Barcelona, which was created at the end of 1942, the DWI would become the main centre of diffusion of Nazi culture in Spain. The DWI provided scientific cooperation, academic exchange, the teaching of German, and the building of a library, as well as awarding grants, giving bibliographical advice, organizing conferences, and looking after a network of readerships. The Institute took over *Investigación y Progreso* (*Research and Progress*), a journal which had been published by the German–Spanish Centre of Intellectual Exchange. In addition, from 1942 onwards, the Institute published the *Boletín Bibliográfico* (*Bulletin of Bibliography*), which had ceased publication during the Civil War. One of the directors of the *Boletín* was the Catholic historian of Spanish culture Hans Juretschke. He was a member of the AHG and had worked at the University of Madrid, from 1939 to 1941 as a reader and from 1941 as professor of German language and literature. His doctoral thesis on France's image in modern Spain was published in Spanish in 1940 under the title *España ante Francia.*

The following year he was appointed auxiliary scientific collaborator of the Embassy of the Third Reich in Madrid (Vega Cernuda, 2003; Jorba, 2007).

During the Second World War, the University of Madrid maintained a considerable cultural and scientific exchange with Germany, often thanks to German economic support (Rodríguez, 2008). At the same time, between 1939 and 1940, there were up to nine readerships in Spanish in German universities. The DWI collaborated closely with the Spanish CSIC, as well as with the DAAD and the IAI and German academics in Hispanic studies. During the Second World War, Germany was the country that received most of the grants the CSIC awarded. CSIC centres employed a large number of German professors. Shortly after the end of the Civil War, the DAAD, following instructions from the German Embassy, had placed exchange grants for students at the disposal of the Spanish Ministry of Education (Rodríguez, 2008: 116). In November 1943, the *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut* (German Archaeological Institute) was located in the DWI in Madrid (Maier and Schattner, 2010). Both institutes were closed at the end of the war and would not be reopened until the 1950s.

With Germany's invasion of the USSR in the summer of 1941, the ideology of the Anti-Comintern Pact was revived and could again be located at the centre of affinities between the two countries (Delgado, 1992: 166; Bowen, 2000: 40; Bernecker, 2002: 177; Saz, 2003: 369; Janué, 2008a, 2008b, 2011). Spain agreed to increase its involvement in the war by sending the 'Blue Division' to Germany's Eastern Front (Moreno, 2005). Its commander was General Muñoz Grandes, a prominent member of the AHG. In addition, Spain signed the Hispano-German Agreement for the Employment of Spanish Workers. Following this agreement, 10,000 Spanish 'voluntary' workers went to Germany (Rodríguez, 2002). The DSG played a prominent role in guiding these workers (Janué, 2012b; 2014b). It helped to organize their free time by teaching them German, organizing music and theatre performances, excursions, and Spanish film shows, and offering them books and other publications with a suitable ideology, for example *Enlace* (*Link*), published in Berlin from the summer of 1942, first by the *Delegación Especial para la Asistencia y Tutela de Obreros Españoles en Alemania* (Special Delegation to Assist and Advise Spanish Workers in Germany), and later, by the IAI (Núñez, 2005). In this period, the DSG established relations with the AHG. Yet another activity the society undertook was to establish delegations in different German cities in order to promote Hispanic studies. The years 1941–42 were also characterized by intensive contacts

between the SF and the BDM (Morant, 2007a, 2007b). In the autumn of 1942, the FJ as well as the SF participated in the establishment of the *Europäische Jugendverband* (European Youth Corporation; see Morant, 2012). Among the 14 participating countries, only Spain was neither a member of the Axis nor an occupied country.

However, the evolution of the war brought about a gradual cooling of cultural relations between Nazi Germany and Francoist Spain. From the autumn of 1942, Spain quickly abandoned its position of 'non-belligerence' in favour of one of 'neutrality'. During the aforementioned visit of Carl Schmitt to the University of Madrid in June 1943, the absence of Francoist authorities in the auditorium was noteworthy; they had previously attended much less important occasions (Sesma, 2011: 264). The last visit of a delegation of the SF to Germany took place at the end of July (Morant, 2012: 8). In the same year, the Spanish Ministry of Education decided to cancel the grants for students who wanted to visit Germany – and Italy. From the end of 1943, the distancing of the Spanish authorities from the Axis powers intensified, and cultural relations were cancelled in consequence (Sanz, 2011: 365–367).

On the other hand, in March 1944 the University of Madrid went ahead with the award of a doctorate honoris causa to a renowned professor of the University of Munich, Karl Vossler, a specialist in Spanish culture. In his essay *Die Bedeutung der spanischen Kultur für Europa* (*The meaning of the Spanish culture for Europe*, 1929), Vossler had defended the role of Spain as moral teacher of Europe (Briesemeister, 2000: 274–279, 2010: 81). But in 1937 he had been forced to retire due to his opposition to anti-Semitism and fascism. This notwithstanding, during the war he was sent abroad as a representative of German science. Hitler gave him permission to accept the Spanish award (Hutton, 1999: 67–69). In August 1944, he was appointed president of the DWI in Madrid, but he never took office (Hausmann, 2001: 211–215). In the same year, the philologist and historian Ramón Menéndez Pidal, professor at the University of Madrid, was appointed doctor honoris causa by the University of Bonn. After his exile during the Spanish Civil War, he had returned to Francoist Spain in 1939 and was welcomed by the Falangist intellectuals, with whom he often collaborated (Saz, 2003; Sesma, 2009: 297).

After the end of the Second World War, Spain tried to improve its relations with the West in order to weaken the international campaign against the Francoist regime (Bernecker, 2002: 179–181; Sanz, 2008, 2010). Great Britain, and above all the United States, would receive most

of the visits by students who had received Spanish grants. However, in the long run, the distancing between Germany and Spain would only be partial and temporary.

Conclusions

Following the end of the First World War, the former difficult circumstances made Spain, thanks to its neutrality, a top priority for German foreign cultural policies. The National Socialists recognized the importance of these policies in their relations with Spain, although their concept of culture was characterized by a radical ideological bias and was loaded with political as well as economic imperialist aims. During the Nazi dictatorship, it was not easy to differentiate between culture and propaganda. In this period, German economic interests in Spain played an important role in promoting cultural relations between the two countries, as, in fact, they had done before. The coming to power of the National Socialists initially caused friction in the existing cultural relations between Germany and Spain, due, on the one hand, to the antipathy of the National Socialists to the Spanish Republic and, on the other, to the distancing of sectors of the Republican regime from Nazi Germany. As a consequence, some cultural ties were broken. The German institutions that until then had supported cultural and scientific exchange were, if not closed, brought into line. However, some continuing personal links in the cultural relations between the two countries made it possible for contacts to be intensified again after the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War.

The Spanish Civil War increased the importance of German–Spanish cultural relations in the eyes of the National Socialist authorities, who tried to exert as much influence as possible on the building of 'Nationalist' Spain. In an effort to exert greater influence, the Nazi government promoted cultural relations with Spanish intellectuals and professionals who supported Franco, if in the past they had already had contact with German culture. The National Socialist administration of cultural foreign policies reproduced the standard procedure of its political system, which was based on the proliferation of state-owned or semi-state-owned institutions, working in the same fields and without a clear normative delimitation of their powers (Sesma, 2011: 250). As a result, there was constant competition between these institutions. At the same time, this permitted their respective leaders to establish small power platforms while constantly looking for ways to expand them. These elements of inefficiency and administrative irrationality, nevertheless,

were combined with a more modern methodology and technique. In consequence, notable results in the field of ideological hegemony were achieved. The Nazis had to confront not only the Italian rival, but also rivalries between the different sectors among Franco's supporters. The targets of Nazi cultural policies were mainly the most radicalized sectors of the *Falange*, the Spanish fascist party, which nevertheless competed with the other sectors of Franco's supporters, especially the National-Catholics. During the Civil War and the early stages of the dictatorship, the intellectuals of the *Falange* acquired a significant role at the heart of the Francoist elites.

With the outbreak of the Second World War, cultural relations between the two countries intensified even more. In the context of the war, Spain became more important for Germany as a provider of raw materials for the war industry and as a bridge to Latin America. Germany's interests in stressing Spanish links with Latin America coincided with Francoist imperialist interests. However, in its cultural relations with Germany, Spain played a receptive role. The comparative socio-economic backwardness of Spain conditioned Nazi cultural hegemony.

After May 1941, sectors of the *Falange* that were favourable to the Axis cause increasingly lost power, but precisely in this context, the *Falange*, aware that only an Axis victory could improve its situation, decided to intensify its relations with Berlin. However, in reality, the tensions inside the Francoist regime between the different political sectors which sought hegemony were not the decisive factor in explaining the variations in the intensity of the cultural relations between the two countries. The decisive element was the evolution of the Second World War (Delgado, 1992: 167; Bernecker, 2002: 179; Sesma, 2011: 279). Only when there was some evidence that Germany could lose the war did the Francoist regime start to reduce mutual cultural relations. Until that moment, the Falangists and even Franco himself had considered Spain to be a member of the 'New Order' (Saz, 2003: 341–346). During the period covered by this chapter, the particular national interests of the two dictatorships often made practical arrangements in the fields of politics and the economy difficult. In spite of this, the ideological coincidences between the two regimes and the level of fascistization of Franco's dictatorship in its early stages should not be underestimated. However, in the end, neither of the two protagonists achieved its objectives: the radical sectors of the *Falange* were unable to convince Spain to opt for belligerency, and the Nazi regime failed to add a new ally to its war effort.

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7

The Longing for a 'Conservative Revolution': German Influences over the Greek Inter-war Politicization of Technology and Science

Vassilios A. Bogiatzis

Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the intellectual appropriation of technology and science by leading politicians, intellectuals, and engineers during the inter-war period in Greece. It argues that these figures were strongly influenced by certain 'German' developments and that they explicitly adopted key ideas of the so-called 'Conservative Revolution', particularly, but not only, the *Kultur* vs. *Zivilisation* motive. This chapter also argues that their appropriation of technology and science was strongly connected to the themes of national reconstruction and a new cultural orientation for the nation. The theoretical and methodological 'tools' through which I approach this period consist of: first, the historical sociology of Peter Wagner (1994, 1998, 2008), who conceives inter-war period as the heyday of the 'first crisis of modernity', as he defines the 'passage' from 'restricted' to 'organized' modernity; second, science and technology studies and the notion of *coproduction* of the societal with the scientific and the technological, and especially the notion of 'intellectual appropriation of technology', as it is developed by Mikael Hård and Andrew Jamison (1998, 2005); and, finally, some strands of modernist/fascist studies and of sociology of intellectuals, in particular those of Roger Griffin (2007) and Dick Pels (1998, 2000), who consider fascism as palingenetic modernism and stress the *futural* (Osborne, 1995: 160–196) orientation of 'Conservative Revolution'.

Setting the historical context: Looking at Greece through the prism of Weimar Germany

If, following Peter Wagner's suggestion, we consider the inter-war period with its two crucial turning points – the First World War and the Depression – as the heyday of the protracted *first crisis of modernity* during the transition from 'restricted' liberal modernity to 'organized' modernity, we may conclude that the Greek case, despite some deviances, fits well into this conceptual frame. Specifically, the historical context of the Greek inter-war period is defined by two features: first, the (terror of the) ideological void after the bankruptcy of the core ideal of the new Greek state, the *Great Idea* (*Megali Idea*), namely, the restoration of the Byzantine Empire in the East under the Greek hegemony, because of the military defeat in Asia Minor; and second, the tragic and palpable consequence of this defeat: the arrival of almost 1,500,000 refugees after their expulsion from Turkey. Moreover, the Greek inter-war period was one of economic development and of the formulation of a modernistic vision based on technological development that was promoted by engineers and industrialists (Vergopoulos, 1993; Psiroukis, 1994; Antoniou, 2006), a fact that resulted in a general optimistic feeling despite the profound difficulties at the end of the 1920s (Mazower, 1991); it was also a period of political and social disturbance (Mavrogordatos, 1983; Dafnis, 1997; Hering, 2004). The deterioration of social conditions following the Depression in spite of the fast economic recovery (Mazower, 1991) led to the sharpening of social conflicts and to an acute ideological crisis (Tziovas, 1989; Kyrtsis, 1996; Marketos, 2006; Papadimitriou, 2006). The intense quest for authoritarian political solutions from the major part of the political and ideological spectrum finally led to the collapse of parliamentarism in the mid-1930s (Mavrogordatos, 1983; Alivizatos, 1995; Dafnis, 1997; Hering, 2004). Thus, the discussions about technology and science took place during the period that Peter Wagner calls the first crisis of modernity, when the subject of debate was the project itself, rather than the products, of technological change. Not only did economic liberalism come under attack; so did the ideas of democracy and science. The growing power of the working class opened the way for far-reaching collective initiatives and ideas, and political instability opened up the possibility for radical authoritarian solutions (Hård and Jamison, 1998: 7), particularly in a context of formidable ideological anxiety.

In this perspective, Greek inter-war society can be described as 'a stressed society', as Roger Griffin (2007) characterizes Weimar Germany and other Europeanized societies of the period; a society which faced

a 'profound disquietude', in Karl Mannheim's (1960) terms. Here, it is the proper place to note two key points. On the one hand, various third-way ideologies emerged during the inter-war period and sought to move between and beyond the classic dichotomies of Right versus Left and Capital versus Labour. As Bastow et al. (2002) demonstrate, all these trends had some common concerns, including: (i) a core emphasis on ethics, morality, anti-materialism, and spiritual regeneration; (ii) a strict focus on the idea of community and on culture, solidarity, ethical responsibility, and the rejection of individualism; (iii) a certain priority to political solutions based on the renewed nation; and (iv) the very conception of intellectuals as a cultural vanguard with the mission to fulfil a 'youth politics' in order for the crisis to be superseded. Among these third-way ideologies, one should certainly include: the ethical socialism of intellectuals of Hendrik de Man (Pels, 2000: 110–130, 2002); the Italian fascism, which purposed the creation of a close and autarchic community of national socialism, rejecting both international capitalism and socialism (Gregor, 2005); the various corporatist solutions which were formulated in France, ranging from the neo-socialist views of Marcel Déat and Charles Albert and the conservative ones of Valois Mihail Manoilesco to Emmanuel Mounier's Catholicist corporatism and, finally, to the fascist totalitarianism of *Action Française* (Hawkins, 2002); the ethical socialism of Robert Tawney in Britain, who followed the tradition of Hobhouse, Hobson, Cole, and Wallas in his attempt to propose a kind of 'mixed and ethical economy' (Clift and Tomlinson, 2002); the liberal and explicitly antifascist socialism of Pierro Gobetti, Carlo Roselli, and Guido Calogero in Italy, which disconnected political from economic liberalism and attributed fascism to the 'false' formation of the Italian nation-state (Martin, 2002); and, of course, the thinkers of the so-called Conservative Revolution in Germany, who exerted, as will be clear from the following, a major influence on the Greek inter-war developments.

On the other hand are the main themes of Conservative Revolution, a common denominator of thinkers such as Hans Freyer, Werner Sombart, Oswald Spengler, Moeller Van de Bruck, Martin Heidegger, Carl Schmitt, and so on. All of them hailed and honoured national *Kultur* against international *Zivilisation*. They were mobilized by the modernist longing for the transcendence of contemporary crisis and for a New Beginning, an *Aufbruch* (Griffin, 2007). They claimed a 'third way' between and beyond the destructive powers of capital and labour, willing to organize economy and technology on the basis of a technocratically powerful *Nation* and underlining the primacy of the political over the economy

(Pels, 1998, 2000: 81–109). Moreover, they emphasized the spiritual character of technology and science (Herf, 1984; Hård, 1998). And, they were irrevocably future orientated; their politics was not only that of cultural despair: according to Enzo Traverso (cited in Griffin, 2007: 332), the creation of 'a *Volksgemeinschaft* of the future' was their main purpose. Their concerns were articulated around four axes, as Hans Sluga (1995) defined them: those of *Crisis*, *Leadership*, *Nation*, and *Order*.

Intellectuals and engineers: Appropriating technology and science and looking for authoritative speech

The Greek inter-war 'public sphere' could be described, in the terms of Geoff Eley's reworking of Habermas's theory, as 'the structured setting where cultural and ideological contest or negotiation among a variety of publics takes place' (Sweeney, 2009: 13). This definition stresses the plurality of the public sphere formed by the various social groups which articulated their identities and staked their political claims. An extension of this definition, such as by Dennis Sweeney (2009: 15–16), underlines the fact that the central discursive strategy of the people or groups involved in the public sphere is their claim to speak in the name of a unified 'public'; moreover, it points out the complex and generative interconnections between the public sphere and the state. Based on these observations, we could argue that the intellectuals, politicians, and social groups mentioned below secured their privileged access in the public sphere due to their close connection with the Greek state, while at the same time attempting to (trans)form state policy in various fields through their presence in the public sphere. In order to achieve their goals, they followed certain discursive strategies invoking the 'public' which they claim to represent, namely, a unified *nation*. In this sense, it is worth examining their 'speech acts', accepting their constitutive role for such notions as 'technology', 'science', 'state', 'social question', and 'nation' (Sweeney, 2009: 9–13).

In the turbulent context of the Greek inter-war period, many intellectuals made creative use of the conservative revolutionary motives. Panayiotis Kanellopoulos was a leading figure among them. Kanellopoulos studied in Heidelberg from 1920 to 1923 and held crucial state offices during the 1920s and 1930s. Also, in 1933, he was inaugurated as the first-ever professor of sociology at the University of Athens. Kanellopoulos (1929, 1933b) argued that (any) science is influenced and led by irrational elements: positive sciences (such as physics, chemistry and engineering) by fantasy, mysticism, art, and religion, and

social sciences – especially sociology, which was conceived as the master-science – by political volition. He rejected 'value-free' sociology and its claims to objectivity, and he declared that the restriction of knowledge within Reason undermines the unity of the Self. Moreover, he accepted the volitional basis of knowledge (Kanellopoulos, 1934a). At this point, he was in absolute accordance with Hans Freyer's declaration that 'only they who want something socially, see something sociologically' (Pels, 2000: 99). This coincidence had two consequences. One was epistemological: Kanellopoulos declared that the appropriate conception of social *totality/wholeness* requires the poet's Wisdom, not the philosopher's Reason. The other was political: the *decision* of the sociologist to enter politics due to the ethical responsibility which stemmed from his scientific field.

Kanellopoulos (1932) appropriated technology through the distinction between *Kultur* and *Zivilisation,* and at this point he was explicitly drawing on Alfred Weber. He argued that the emphasis on technology and science as core characteristics of modernity was unable to provide a meaningful existence (in contrast to what happened in Classical Antiquity and the Renaissance). Rejecting liberalism and communism, he underlined that technological progress does not determine social development. According to him, a 'creative' adjustment in their requirements was possible. Moreover, Kanellopoulos identified many indications for the possibility of such an orientation: the state's intervention in social affairs, the primacy of the political in class struggle, the ability of the state to organize economy, and the fact that even in engineers' circles, premodern features – meritocracy, charisma – prevailed. His interpretation of the Depression further reinforced his convictions. In his attack against liberal economy, Kanellopoulos (1931b) denied its allegedly 'anarchic' character; although liberal economy was free from state intervention, this did not lead directly to the conclusion that it was not subjected to any 'norm'. In contrast, norms inherent in itself made liberal economy self-restricted and in this sense 'organized'; and, moreover, it was the '*overleaping*' of these norms that had thrown liberal economy into crisis. In this view, Depression did not stem from the anarchy of capitalism, but from the bankruptcy of its concrete 'organized' character. From this perspective, whoever is orientated to the supersession of the current crisis should not be committed to the liberal will for self-restriction. On the contrary, a will based on what Dick Pels calls 'the primacy of political' would be able to intervene in the economic sphere and regulate it on the basis of its political principles. The modern insurance of work systems, active state intervention in the regulation

of capital–labour relationship, and the concern for the improvement of workers' living conditions constituted, according to Kanellopoulos (1932), indications of this emerging and welcome antiliberal will.

Thus, a powerful and organic state which would exert social policy, led by a charismatic – political and spiritual at the same time – leadership, based on an *organic* notion of *nation* (a *Kulturnation* against parliamentarism), was, according to Kanellopoulos (1933a), the proper solution to the inter-war *crisis*. Kanellopoulos identified as one of the major causes of the current political crisis the fact that political leaders were not spiritual leaders too. At this point, one could argue that Kanellopoulos proceeded beyond Heidegger's prospect to 'educate the leaders'; instead of, indirectly, claiming such a role for himself, he sought a *leadership* able to provide political as well as intellectual *order*. This leadership was expected to provide the Greek society with a new organized settlement, while at the same time resolving the acute ideological crisis on the basis of a renewed *nation*. In this perspective, Kanellopoulos (1931a, 1934b) declared that 'the historical mission of fascisms should not be neglected'.

Engineers, for their part, were enabled by state institutions and the establishment of the Technical Chamber of Greece (1923), which functioned as the technical consultant of the state. It was an institutional channel through which they expressed their technocratic ideals. During the 1920s, engineers and industrialists of the 'Zurichians' circle', the graduates of the Polytechnic School of Zurich, were the outspoken disseminators of Taylorist and Fordist ideas in a context defined by social paternalism and 'national' appropriation of technology. From the early 1930s, the same people integrated themselves into the new framework of directed economy, protectionism, and state control. They connected this ideological orientation with the concern for Greece's sustainability, and they organized a large-scale forum with the telling title *Research Concerning the Major Technical and Economic Issues*, which lasted for five months (Technical Chamber of Greece, 1931). The discussions took place in a context defined by antiliberal sentiments, the autarchy ideal, and a kind of economic nationalism against democracy (Antoniou, 2006).

Another young intellectual who exerted major influence over the Greek inter-war developments was Constantine Tsatsos. Tsatsos studied in Heidelberg from 1925 to 1929 under the supervision of Heinrich Rickert (Tsatsos, 1933b). He held the chair of Philosophy of Law from 1933 to 1946 at Athens University, and he also held crucial state offices after the Second World War in Greece. Tsatsos adopted a double

'strategy' towards science (given his antithesis to the allegedly 'scientifically grounded' historical materialism, his main ideological opponent). On the one hand, he argued that modern science (quantum physics, relativity) reinforces idealism against materialism, and he distinguished science from the philosophy of science. On the other hand, he disconnected it from ethical questions and characterized it as '*just* a methodological attempt', and nothing else (or more). Based on neo-Kantian principles, Tsatsos (1934a, 1934b) argued that science is founded on and led by the *ideas* of the autonomous intellect. Intellect shapes the world and communicates directly with ethical values. This argumentation led to the following conclusions. On the one hand, Tsatsos concluded that historical materialism was not science. Its goals were not scientifically concluded, but were ethical postulata based on eternal values. Thus, they were not reducible to social question.

On the other hand, Tsatsos (1933a) concluded that the political solution to inter-war crisis should be based on such values – and, of course, to their representatives, who constituted the true political and spiritual leadership. Idealism, as the authentic representative of ethical ideals, was the true – and revolutionary – enemy of capitalism, because it was able to treat the social question ethically. At this point, one could easily recall not only the emphasis on the might of the state, as expressed by the Weimar conservative revolutionary intellectuals, including Rickert himself in his searching for *order* (Sluga, 1995: 9–10, 83, 99–100), but also the works of *Mussolini's intellectuals*, as Gregor (2005) characterizes them, who concentrated on the idea of *etico stato*. Moreover, there is no paradox in the fact that this unhistorical normativism had autarchic and totalitarian dimensions. It is well known that neo-Kantianism had its 'neo-conservative' wing, and that many neo-Kantian idealists were political conservatives. Furthermore, in the turbulent and high-anxiety conditions of Weimar Germany, a conservative reworking of neo-Kantian assumptions took place (Sluga, 1995).

Indeed, Tsatsos found the liberal idea of state organization insufficient. And he expressed this central idea in his opening lecture as a professor of Philosophy of Law, tellingly entitled 'The Mission of Philosophy of Law within Modern Civilization' (Tsatsos, 1933c). Based with self-confidence on a theory which, according to him, rendered the capture of the wholeness feasible, Tsatsos decided to move beyond academic freedom and narrow professionalism and to stand by polity in its fight against their – communist – enemies. But, what kind of polity did Tsatsos have in mind? Given that in the liberal conception, according to him, the order of law was considered as a simple complement of

ethical order, and the emphasis on social freedom and self-restriction of the state were absolute, he maintained that these perceptions should be replaced by '*creative*' elements. This argument was based on the concept that state and law were not only '*means*' but '*ultimate purposes, Ideas*'. Thus, the state that Tsatsos dreamed of would not only be a regulator of external human behaviour; it would also be an educational institution charged with the mission to moralize the citizens under its rule. It would compensate their human nothingness by transferring to them the spiritual and cultural heritage of the (Greek) past. Enrolling its citizens in a timeless and glorious past, it would secure their immortality offering them, in terms used by Roger Griffin, a 'sky shelter', 'a new sacred canopy' (Griffin, 2007).

Material prosperity and violence were conceived as means and not as purposes of this ethical state. Its main purpose would be the '*cultural creature*'. History, according to Tsatsos, indicated the necessity of the state and its priority over the single individual. Thus, since state constituted an '*absolute Idea*', the historical mission of idealism, Tsatsos declared, was to reinforce it in its struggle against communism and historical materialism. This ethical and creative state was expected to imbue the 'neutral' technology with ethical values. Claiming that idealist philosophy was first formulated in its Platonic version, rooted in the Greek *soil* – in contrast to materialism and communism – he concluded that the inclusive ideological scheme which could legitimate political *order* was the notion of the '*Hellenic Idea*', namely, an essentialist definition of *nation* (Tsatsos, 1933c), a thesis quite similar to the idealist positions of Julius Binder and Karl Larenz (La Torre, 1993), to whom Tsatsos explicitly referred. Taking a position against narrow professionalism and academic freedom, Tsatsos declared himself an advocate of such a state in its struggle against communism. And, it was this state that would control the anarchic economic powers, instruct scientific activity, and direct technology under the light of *Value*.

The politician and his satellites

One of the clearest formulations of these conservative revolutionary and pro-fascist motives can be identified in Ioannis Metaxas' public discourse. Metaxas was an ex-military engineer who studied in Germany during 1899–1903 and was exiled during the final years of the First World War due to his pro-German inclinations. Also, he was the dictator and leading figure of the semi-fascist regime from 1936 to 1941, until his death. His stance towards liberal modernity was determined

by the perspective of 'Historicist Conservatism' (Mannheim, 1960): he contrasted the leader's instinct and the powers of will, faith, resoluteness, morality, and charisma to rationality, disorder, immorality, and unwholesome individualism (Metaxas, 2005 II: passim). During the 1920s and 1930s, the conservative elements of his thinking were empowered by the fascist ones (Metaxas, 2005 III: 515): the primacy of action, the national *rebirth* and *palingenesis*, the underlining of vital significance of *myth*, the cult of the leader's personality. The natural consequence of this way of thinking was the clear rejection of parliamentary rule (Metaxas, 2005 IV: 592–593). The *4th of August regime*, the name of his dictatorship, was, according to him, an organic state with *soulful* forms of representation: a state which contained the Left through repressive means and attempted to create massive fascist-like organizations and a *New Greek Civilization*. It was, according to his self-characterization, an 'antiparliamentarian, anticommunist and antiplutocratic State' (Metaxas, 2005 IV: 552–554).

Metaxas was a fervent admirer of modern technology and science as early as the 1920s. During the dictatorship, the so-called 'public works' which had stopped after the crisis restarted, while major technical projects were assigned to Greek companies and engineers, thanks to the attempts and interventions of Technical Chamber. But, according to Metaxas, some presuppositions were required for the fulfilment of the progressive mission of technology and science (*Kultur*). The first was their integration into the structures of an autarchic state and to its ideals – fatherland, loyalty to the king, family and state – a fact that would facilitate their development, liberating them from the parliamentary obstacles (Metaxas, 1969 I: 216–217). The second was their reduction in *Faith* against their rational foundation and the underlining of their spiritual character (Metaxas, 1969 I: passim). And, the third was the clear rejection of scientific neutrality, academic freedom, and narrow professionalism: Metaxas (1969 I: 144, 186–187, 238–239, 351–352) required scientists and engineers to adopt the nationalist standpoint of the regime and to commit themselves to the regenerative cultural mission of the whole nation. This ideological framework facilitated Metaxas' appropriation of modern technologies, such as radio and cinema, for the propaganda needs of the regime (Petrakis, 2005).

Also, it was exactly the same framework that formed the basis for the alliance of the pro-autocracy engineers with the regime: already in the early 1930s (1931–35), engineers declared that democratic rule was incompatible with the 'machine age'. In the official journal of Technical Chamber, *The Technical Chronicles*, we find articles that praised

Fritz Todt's highways, Albert Speer's stadiums, Julius Dorpmüller's trains, and Mussolini's foundries. Technocratic totalitarianism was expressed as techno-nationalism: the German-educated Greek engineers were ready to replace the Nibelungen's swords with the Parthenon's ancient glory and subject technology to 'Big Essences'. During the dictatorship, engineers stressed the need for belonging to a *coherent national community*, while Metaxas underlined their fruitful association with the regime (Antoniou, 2006). Two striking examples are particularly telling: Frixos Theodorides (1938), a distinguished professor at the National Technical University of Athens, argued that the 'machine' (military airplane, in this case) could be the 'steel-made' foundation of the *Third Hellenic Civilization*, while Dimitrios Karanopoulos (1938), supervisor of the Athens radio station, stressed the importance of radio for 'the consolidation of the *new political dogmas*' and the fulfilment of their cultural mission.

Consequently, it is clear enough that Metaxas' cultural vision was a mixture of technocracy and archaism, traditionalism and the modernization impulse, and a will for national regeneration on the basis of renewed communitarian values (Metaxas, 1935); it was a mixture that has a lot of commonalities with other regimes of the period, especially the fascist regimes, as described by Roger Griffin (2007: 255–256). While Metaxas accepted the modernist dynamic of technology, at the same time he exhorted artists to turn to the 'national soul', to be inspired by it, and to make national art (Metaxas, 2005 IV: 841–842). Moreover, a renewed concept of the nation was projected in the form of the *Third Hellenic Civilization*. Based on the belief of the linear continuity from ancient Greece to Byzantium and Christian Orthodoxy, and from there to the modern Greek nation-state, Metaxas formulated a synthesis which included the following elements: ancient Sparta and Macedonia (Athens was excluded) provided the ideal of military discipline, Byzantium that of belief, and the *4th of August regime* crowned this evolution with the idea of unity. The culmination of this evolution was subsumed in the cultural mission of the Greek people: the imperative to create its indigenous civilization, avoiding the degenerate and decadent influences of the ageing West (Metaxas, 1969: passim). Modernists, such as the distinguished cubist painter Chatzikyriakos-Gkikas (1938), were in absolute accordance with such exhortations, considering that in this manner the problem of how to make national art was definitely resolved, while traditionalists, such as Stilpon Kyriakides (1940), read in Metaxas' words the way in which national and traditional values would contain European influences and cosmopolitan spirit.

Moreover, various intellectuals who revolved around the regime's ideological dogmas were outspoken supporters of the predilections of the fascist wing of the regime. They expressed their views in a semi-official intellectual journal with the telling title *The New State*, which supported the *4th of August regime*. Evangelos Kyriakis (1938), for example, pointed out Spengler's influences on Metaxas' thought. Dimitrios Vezanis (1937) argued that the totalitarian state, based on its superior principles, has the 'ethical' responsibility to transform Greek society and to diffuse to young people a hatred for democracy. Aristos Campanis (1938) defined the ideological enemies of the regime – Marxism, liberalism, aesthetism, Freudism [sic], feminism – and praised the 'organic' historical moving forces. Achilles Kyrou (1937), for his part, believed that the *4th of August regime* responded to the requirements of an (antiliberal) era and the expectations connected with the *new spirit*, the *new regimes*, and *the new ideals* – Mother Earth, racial traditions, rejection of cosmopolitanism – of the period.

Furthermore, the above-mentioned journal frequently published articles that presented the achievements of fascist regimes from an 'inner' perspective. Gonzague de Reynold (1937a, 1937b), a Swiss pro-fascist right-wing intellectual, wrote about Salazar's 'accomplishments', a beloved theme of Manfred Zapp (he edited in 1937 a book entitled *Portugal als autoritärer Staat*), who contrasted 'New' and 'Old' Portugal (Zapp, 1938a, 1938b); also of Eduard Beau (1938), who wrote about the cultural and political regeneration of Portugal; and of Friedrich Sieburg (1938), a well-known public intellectual with strong connections with conservative revolutionary circles in Germany, and writer of the book *New Portugal* (*Neues Portugal*) in 1937, who wrote about 'Salazar's legend'. Also, articles concerning Nazi Germany and fascist Italy were published, in which the 'achievements' of these regimes were generously praised by either foreign or native intellectuals.

Conclusions

The technology and science question became an organic component of the ideological debates of inter-war Greece, inextricably connected with ideas about modernity and progress. Technology emerged as a crucial cultural variant related to moral and national existential issues. Politicians, engineers, scientists, and intellectuals were actively involved in these debates, aiming to connect technological development with the necessity for a response to the acute social, political, and cultural crisis. The emphasis in the *redefined* national cultural inheritance, as a *New*

Weltanschauung, a new 'sacred canopy' as Roger Griffin puts it, strongly connected with the desired central role for the state, a *State-Gardener* in Bauman's terminology, led to aversion against and undermining of parliamentarism. In a context defined by conservative revolutionary ideals, the adopted – and German-inspired – renewed nationalist standpoint determined the conceptions about the mission of technology and science and of the Greek people, and the themes of scientific neutrality and academic freedom.

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8
Portugal at the 'Third Front'

Cláudia Ninhos

This chapter aims to analyse the relationship between Portugal and Germany during the National Socialist regime with regard to science and scientific exchanges, focusing on the interaction of Portuguese institutions (in particular the National Board of Education/Institute for High Culture) with Nazi institutions. To understand these institutional relations, one must bear in mind that Portugal remained neutral during the Second World War. On 1 September 1939, António de Oliveira Salazar, the dictator who had been in power since the beginning of the 1930s, wrote a note to the Portuguese press stating that the country would be neutral. Later, he also declared that Portugal would not take advantage of the war to gain economic benefits, and always mentioned Portuguese loyalty to the 'British Alliance' in his speeches during this period.

However, this discourse was rhetorical and should be reconsidered by historians. Portugal, with its long Atlantic coastline and lying between Europe and America, was an important 'actor' in the war even though the country was not involved in the military conflict. Neutrality was possible only because both Germany and Great Britain, and later the United States, were in favour of this, but this position kept changing as the war progressed. From an economic point of view, it is also important to stress that Portugal was an important supplier of wolfram and other products to Germany up until 1944, and, in fact, the two countries had developed a close relationship since 1933.

In 1937, Sidney George West (1909–87),[1] head of the Department of Portuguese at King's College London (1936–41), gave a lecture at the Royal Institute of International Affairs, later published in their journal (West, 1938), during which he summarized the strategy adopted by German propaganda in Portugal. According to West, there was a strong economic, cultural, and political proximity between the two countries.

By 1936, Germany's debt to Portugal had been finally resolved, and both countries had already signed mutual trade agreements as well as contracts for Portugal's acquisition of machinery and armaments. The 'cultural interpenetration' was, however, in his opinion less 'spectacular' but more 'effective' than the economic relations between both countries. In Portugal, Germany tried to propagate the idea that peace in Europe could only be maintained through a common front against communism. Germany established centres of Portuguese culture in Hamburg, Cologne, and Berlin, which, like the Ibero-American Institutes, were very active (West, 1938: 217). West noted that 'Germany has never made the unforgivable sin of confusing Portugal with Spain.' In 1937, the Portuguese language was put on the same level as French as an optional Romance language in German high schools. Germany also organized study missions and official visits for professors, lecturers, journalists, and scientists, and subsidized visits of students and workers 'on a large scale' (West, 1938: 217).

Conversely, West highlighted the under-representation of Portugal in the British press, which, according to him, had led to the growth of German influence in Portugal. For instance, Germany had always been present at the international congresses that took place in Portugal. German was reintroduced as a school subject in Portuguese schools and was taught at universities on the same level as English. According to West, there were active centres of German culture in Lisbon and in Coimbra, and German teachers visited Portuguese secondary schools frequently. There was also a German–Portuguese Club, which was responsible for the cultural and social relations between the two countries.

West's account presents the many 'fronts' of German diplomacy, emphasizing the cultural front, which Herbert Scurla named 'the third front', that is to say, the 'spiritual front'. Although there are multiple aspects in the relationship between Portugal and Germany during this period that could be analysed, we will focus on their cultural relations. For this purpose, we analyse the interactions between the German authorities and the Portuguese National Board of Education (*Junta de Educação National*, JEN) and the Institute for High Culture (*Instituto para a Alta Cultura*, IAC). More specifically, we looked at the annual reports produced by these institutions and carried out research in the historical archive of the Camões Institute, IAC's successor. Analysis of these primary sources allowed us to reconstruct the institutional connections established with Germany and the way they changed over the years. It was also important to know how many Portuguese students studied

in Germany with the support of JEN and IAC, and what their areas of expertise were. Which German institutions did they attend? Who were their masters? What did they assimilate, and what lessons did they bring back to Portugal?

The National Board of Education: An actor in German–Portuguese relations

The National Board of Education was founded in January 1929 (Decree-Law 16 381 of 9 January 1929), when Gustavo Cordeiro Ramos – a well-known 'Germanophile' and full professor of German Literature at the University of Lisbon – was the Portuguese minister of public instruction. According to the decree, this new institution should provide economic support for Portuguese research activities carried out in Portugal, in the colonies and abroad, by organizing and subsidizing study missions and providing grants. The National Board of Education should also gather information about foreign universities and about living conditions in those countries. They believed that the performance of Portuguese universities could be improved by having both students and professors study abroad. In their opinion, professors should be sent 'to foreign centres of the highest culture' in order to improve Portuguese scientific research. Thus, the nationalist goal of improving scientific output could, in their view, be developed by having the nation take part in 'the worldwide movement of intellectual cooperation' that required intensive contact with researchers from other countries (Decree-Law 16 381 of 9 January 1929). JEN should, therefore, promote cultural exchanges and the expansion of the Portuguese language, and send Portuguese academics to take part in scientific meetings and conferences not only in Portugal but also abroad.

The foundation of JEN was the last step on a long journey dating back to the beginning of the previous century, when scientific policy became a priority. It was an ambitious project that faced one structural problem: lack of money. Even so, from 1929 to 1945, Portuguese fellows were sent to other countries, such as Germany. In fact, Germany became one of the most important 'foreign centres of the highest culture' as of 1929.

In 1932, JEN informed the German–Portuguese Society in a letter that they would like to send some students to Germany and receive, in return, Germans at Portuguese universities. This information was immediately forwarded to the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD). In this document, the Portuguese authorities asked whether Portuguese

students could be supported in Germany with grants or through the Humboldt Foundation. In return, they promised support for German students.[2] As mentioned above, Germany was one of the most important destinations for Portuguese scholars, and in 1929–30 12 fellows were sent there, with 12 more going to France and four to England.

Regarding this data, we must ask what attracted Portuguese students to German universities and research centres. In fact, most of them came from two areas of study: philology and medicine. If the decision to study German philology in Germany seems to make perfect sense, the preference for 'German' medicine is not so easily understood. However, the German authorities knew that Portugal was interested 'especially in any news about the development of German techniques and Medicine',[3] and this was a consistent trend during this period. In fact, many Portuguese physicians were given the opportunity to study in Germany, as illustrated by the following three examples.

Alberto Pereira de Carvalho received an eight-month fellowship to specialize in bacteriology at the Robert Koch Institute. In Germany, he had the opportunity to attend lectures given by Friedrich Neufeld and Hans Loewenthal.

Silvério Ferreira Gomes da Costa, an assistant lecturer in pharmacology at the Faculty of Medicine in Lisbon and at the Portuguese Institute for the Study of Cancer, received a five-month fellowship to study physical–chemical methods applied to biology. In Berlin, he attended courses taught by Peter Rona and Trendelenburg.

Arnaldo Abranches de Almeida Dias, head of the Neurological Clinic Laboratory in Lisbon, was an intern with Oskar Vogt, with Hans Gerhard Creuzfeldt, and with Alfons Maria Jakob. Furthermore, he attended Max Nonne's neurological clinic, and in Munich he visited the neuropsychiatric clinic directed by Oswald Bumke and also Walther Spielmeyer's neurohistological institute.

These examples confirm one of our main theses: that 'German science', in this case medicine, enjoyed great prestige in Portugal. Science that had been developed in Germany as a result of the technical improvements in German laboratories and in areas such as pathological anatomy was recognized all over Europe, and, more importantly, 11 German physicians were awarded the Nobel Prize in Medicine between 1901 and 1945.

These Portuguese doctors all had the opportunity to study in well-known institutions with prestigious scientists. According to Fausto Landeiro, fellow and assistant lecturer at the Faculty of Medicine, 'the contact with German teaching methods was very useful'. He also

highlighted in the report he sent to JEN 'German science's' interest in research fields (JEN, 1930: 52). On the other hand, it is important to bear in mind that the interest in Germany as a destination to study science preceded the foundation of JEN, as proved by the many presidents of the Medical Science Society who had studied there. Before 1929, although some researchers were funded by German institutions such as the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation, others had to pay for themselves.

German institutions served as training centres for Portuguese physicians, in particular for those from the new Institute for the Study of Cancer. According to Rui Costa, Germany became 'a paradigm for scientific modernization in Portugal' (Costa, 2010: 137). Besides those already mentioned above, we can add two other fellows: Maria Teresa Dias and Manuel Dâmaso Prates. Dias worked with Rhoda Erdmann and with Kaete Jaffé, and Prates was supervised by Friedrich Wohlwill at the Institute of Pathological Anatomy.

In addition to the Institute for the Study of Cancer, other institutions, such as the Faculty of Medicine in Lisbon, also sent their staff to Germany. In fact, the German authorities in Portugal even tried to set up a German language course in the faculty.[4] However, an intense conflict between the supporters of two different schools – the French school and the German school – became apparent. The first group was headed by Carlos Bello de Morais and the second by Francisco Pulido Valente, who sent three of his disciples to Germany in 1922. Morais Cardoso studied dermatology, while Fernando Fonseca and José Cascão Ansiães specialized in internal medicine. According to Jaime Celestino da Costa, 'Pulido brought the scientific Germany to us!' (Fernandes, 2010) and also recruited Friedrich Wohlwill to work with him in Portugal (Wohlwill, 1995).

German–Portuguese relations after 1933: Continuity or rupture?

In 1933, Hitler was appointed chancellor of Germany, and when the National Socialists seized power, a totalitarian regime was established. The Nazis sought to control all areas of power as well as all the production and dissemination of knowledge. First, this control took the form of a purge of Jewish scientists and professors from universities and research centres. Then it involved their replacement with Nazi scientists, and German institutions were *gleichgeschaltet* or 'forced' to pass on the National Socialist ideology.

The rise of the Nazi regime led to many changes in the structure and organization of German science. According to Pamela Richards, a 'German scientific diaspora' ensued and there was a 'perversion of science in Germany' (Richards, 1990: 406). As a result of persecution, thousands of Jewish scientists left the country and went on to occupy top positions in universities abroad (mainly in the United States, but also in South America, Egypt, Iraq, and Syria, among others). This 'diaspora' (Strauss, 1991), together with numerous resignations and dismissals, undoubtedly affected the reputation of the work carried out in German scientific institutions.

Given all the changes that occurred in the internal policies of German universities, we must ask whether this had an impact on the relationship between the Portuguese National Board of Education and German institutions.

In fact, the year 1933 was a milestone. During this year, Maria Teresa Furtado Dias, a fellow who attended a course lectured by Tibor Peterfi at the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute of Biology in Berlin, had to return to Portugal due to 'the German situation' (JEN, 1935: 66). On the contrary, Manuel Dâmaso Prates decided to stay on in Germany. He was working at the Institute of Pathological Anatomy and at the Institute of Bacteriology in Hamburg, supervised by Friedrich Wohlwill and Jakobsthal. His work carried on until the end of 1933, but since Wohlwill and Erwin Jakobsthal were both removed from their posts, Prates had to be moved to another centre, the Institute of Tropical Medicine.

The new National Socialist regime had inevitably affected the activities of Portuguese fellows, because some of their supervisors had been persecuted and removed. However, this did not necessitate their immediate return to Portugal, nor did it lead to the Portuguese government's distrust of Nazi ideology. Instead, the relationship between JEN and Germany was enhanced and institutionalized. In order to analyse the importance of these academic institutions for German–Portuguese relations during the National Socialist era, we need to understand Germany's cultural and scientific policy after 1933.

As we have seen above, Hitler's seizure of power affected the scientific reputation of German research centres. However, the National Socialist regime carried out an intensive cultural and scientific agenda abroad, promoting the dissemination of science and technology. They sponsored the sale of books and periodicals abroad, subsidizing publishers to compensate them for lower prices. The journals *Deutsche Kultur im Leben der Völker* and *Deutsche Unterricht im Ausland* were also launched. The government tried to restore German prestige through its institutions.

They encouraged the promotion of German academics abroad through the organization of conferences and by sending scholars to give lectures, even if they were selected to suit the political and ideological goals of the regime.

In 1940, the *Deutsches Wissenschaftliches Institut* was founded, with the aim of spreading the ideals of National Socialism among academics and scientists. In collaboration with the *Deutsche Akademie*, they organized receptions, exhibitions, and conferences. In 1941, the *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Dokumentation* was created with the support of the Ministries of Propaganda, Education, and Economics, the High Command of the Army, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Neutral countries, such as Portugal, became important centres where foreign scientific journals were collected to be sent later to Germany (Richards, 1990: 422). Institutions such as the *Deutsche Akademie*, the *Goethe Institut* and *DAAD*, as well as German-speaking language assistants, all played an important role.

During the Third Reich, culture acquired a central place in the discourse and practice of German political leaders. In 1937, during the Nuremberg rally, Hitler referred to the cultural policy of the Reich for the first time. He announced that the country should not be 'a state without culture' and that national rearmament was only morally justified if 'swords and shields' had 'a cultural mission', referring to Germany as a 'barrier and guardian of high culture' (quoted in Zarifi, 2007: 207–208). By asserting itself as an exponent of high culture, Germany sought to disseminate its influence abroad, thus continuing a policy initiated during the Weimar Republic and using institutions created before 1933. To analyse this strategy, we need to understand the concept of *Kulturpropaganda*. The Romanist Wilhelm Giese defined the concept of *Kulturpropaganda* in 1940 as follows: 'the promotion of a State in foreign countries so that its national creations are recognized and imitated' (Giese, 1939: 163).

Through this statement, we realize that Germany had two goals in promoting its culture abroad: recognition of its superiority and imitation of its ideas. This cultural and political struggle aimed to conquer the sympathy of other nations, making them recognize the Reich's cultural achievements and spreading knowledge, ideas, and values. In 1941, the Reich's Ministry of Propaganda produced a propaganda poster in which Goebbels was quoted as saying (Reichspropagandaleitung, 1941):

> Our soldiers defend everything we own. Even what we call the German spirit: the German art and German science, the freedom of research and the dignity of the nation.

The concept of *Kulturpropaganda* is seen as central when we analyse the agreement signed with DAAD in 1934–35.[5] Until then, all these cultural issues were regulated by an agreement with the Portuguese-Brazilian Institute of Cologne University. After 1935, JEN started to provide some grants to German students who wanted to further their knowledge of Portuguese philology, literature, and other subjects. In the same way, some Portuguese students were sent to Germany and received a grant of 150 Marks (instead of the 100 Marks paid to students from other countries).

German fellows also worked in Portuguese high schools, or lyceums, teaching German, and in Portuguese universities, such as in the German Economic and Financial Documentation Office at the Technical University of Lisbon. During the first year, five Germans came to Portugal under this academic exchange agreement, while five Portuguese were sent to Germany. Overall, 13 Portuguese fellows were in France, 13 in Germany and ten in the United Kingdom. Among the scholars who were in Germany, four were from the field of medicine, three from humanities, three from natural sciences, two from engineering, and one from law. In addition, JEN subsidized Portuguese lecturers in Hamburg, Bonn, Berlin, Cologne, and Halle, and also the trips made by Fritz Lejeune,[6] Ivo Dane,[7] and Fritz Krüger[8] to Portugal (JEN, 1938: 156–157).

In connection with this academic exchange, it is important to highlight the role of the German Ibero-American Medical Academy, founded in 1935. According to German authorities, the Academy had been founded in response to the growing interest demonstrated by Ibero-American physicians, and its brochures stated that important medical circles were interested in German medical advances. These close relations between Germany and Portuguese- and Spanish-speaking countries led many doctors to visit Germany to keep up to date with 'the latest progresses of German science' and to 'improve' their know-how. In spite of their interest, many of them could not speak German, which is why Germany sought to make their lives easier.

The German Ibero-American Medical Academy was located in Berlin and was chaired by the governor of Berlin, the head of the Surgical Clinic (Charité), and the president of the Ibero-American Institute, General Faupel.[9] In January 1936, the Academy sent a letter to JEN notifying them of the Academy's foundation and at the same time inviting, in recognition of his merit and quality, Augusto Celestino da Costa – a physician and at that time JEN/IAC's president – to be a member of its scientific senate. Furthermore, the Academy also ensured that this collaboration would bring important advantages to both countries.[10] Some years later, in 1939, Johannes Roth, president of the German–Portuguese

Society, stated to the Portuguese newspaper *A Voz* that the Academy had already provided 'a valuable contribution to dozens of Portuguese physicians who wanted to specialize in Germany'. In fact, Roth had notified IAC some months before that the German Research Foundation (*Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft*, DFG) would like to plan an exchange of doctors with Portugal.[11]

Throughout the 1930s and 1940s, the Academy arranged many courses and conferences and edited a journal, the *German Ibero-American Medicine Journal* (Sá and Silva, 2010). With regard to the Olympic Games, it organized a set of lectures on a wide range of medical matters, in particular on the hereditary nature of psychiatric and neurological diseases.[12]

In 1935, the Portuguese newspaper *O Século* reported on the activities of the Academy in an article entitled 'Scientific relations between Germany and Portuguese- and Spanish-speaking countries.' This article informed readers that the Tropical Institute in Hamburg was helping Iberian and South American governments to fight tropical epidemics. Consequently, all its employees, doctors, and nurses had to be able to speak Portuguese and Spanish.[13] The interest shown in such matters led the Institute of Portuguese and Brazilian Studies at the University of Cologne to propose that two German physicians should be sent to Bolama Hospital in the Portuguese Guinea. For Fausto Nunes Landeiro, a fellow who attended the course in Hamburg on the infectious disease malaria, it was amazing that a country with no colonies, like Germany, could pay such attention to these issues, thereby 'honouring German science' (JEN, 1930: 52).

German–Portuguese relations under the aegis of the Institute for High Culture

The year 1936 was another milestone. During this year, JEN was replaced by IAC. Headed by Gustavo Cordeiro Ramos, this new institution aimed to promote 'an increase in the nation's spiritual patrimony' and disseminate the Portuguese language. In addition to this, it was to promote and coordinate scientific research through research centres, and it was also tasked with coordinating and delivering the fellowships. Given that IAC had become the official Portuguese delegate in the cultural field, it was supposed to further intellectual exchange and Portuguese participation in scientific congresses, gather information about the 'most interesting cultural centres abroad', and subsidize study missions (Decree Order 26 611 of 19 May 1936).

In 1936, 50 Portuguese scholars received fellowships as a result of a policy that aimed to promote scientific research in Portugal in order to reduce the difference between Portugal and the leading scientific countries, such as Germany. Nineteen fellows were sent to Germany, eleven to France, and seven to the United Kingdom. Of the first group, seven came from medicine, four from the humanities, four from the natural sciences, two from engineering, one from architecture, and one from law school. Three others were sent to Germany with artistic fellowships. By contrast, most German fellows attended the Institute of Economic and Financial Sciences (ISCEF). In addition, though, Germany sent some gliding instructors to Portugal to initiate members of the Portuguese Youth Movement (*Mocidade Portuguesa*, MP) in this sport. IAC also maintained academic exchanges with the German Academic Exchange Service and the British Council, the latter sending an English academic, Richard James Hammond, as a result of the agreement established between both institutions. Among other things, Hammond was given the task of organizing the Economic and Financial Documentation Office. In 1937, IAC also supported academic exchanges with both the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation and the Rockefeller Foundation. In 1938, we can also find a reference to the exchange of a scholar with the *Service de Oeuvres Françaises à l'Étranger* (SOFE) (IAC, 1941: 71). During these years, bilateral agreements regarding academic exchanges signed with foreign institutions increased.

According to the Portuguese authorities, the Humboldt Foundation's fellowships were proof of the interest of German institutions in Portugal and in the 'cultural proximity between both countries', as they often stated to the German Legation in Lisbon.[14] In fact, many Portuguese scholars had received fellowships from this institution even before 1929, but the German authorities were concerned about the spread of their own influence over these foreign elites. As a result of this policy, associations of full professors from many German universities created a special service to welcome their colleagues from other countries so as to make their contact with 'German cultural life' easier. In other words, foreign professors could be put in touch with German universities, laboratories, and other research centres through their colleagues, and, what is more, their colleagues could offer invitations to participate in congresses or conferences. In addition, outside the academic world, they provided support to enable the visitors to have contact with 'German social life' (museums, operas, cinemas, and concerts), as Johannes Roth clarified in February 1938. In the same document, Roth asked the president of IAC to draw the attention of Portuguese professors to the facilities

offered and IAC immediately sent this information to all Portuguese universities.[15]

In April 1939, Francisco de Paula Leite Pinto, general secretary of IAC, told Ewald von Massow, president of the DAAD, that official cooperation with the German Academic Exchange Service had been 'extremely friendly' during the last few years.[16] At that time a fragile peace still reigned in Europe, but war was already on the horizon. During the 1930s and 1940s, IAC also funded some study trips to Germany and participation in international congresses. This exchange included students from Portuguese high schools (lyceums). In 1938, for example, the *Colégio Infante Santo* started a student exchange with Germany, supported by the DAAD.[17] Besides scholarships, an exchange of books and journals was set up, supported by the German Book Exchange Service (*Deutsch Ausländischer Buchtausch*, DAB), an institution created to promote the dissemination of German literature.[18] Books received in Portugal through this service were later sent to Portuguese universities and institutes. DAB also organized a yearly list of German scientific literature and published a selection of books on mathematics, physics, chemistry, and art entitled 'German Technical Literature. A Selection.'[19]

According to Leite Pinto, this exchange was 'important for German cultural expansion'.[20] At the end of 1937, or at the beginning of 1938, Portugal received some books, which were immediately sent to academic institutions. Apparently, only one book remained in Leite Pinto's office, as he stated in a letter to DAB. This was Hitler's *Mein Kampf*: 'I will keep Hitler's *Mein Kampf* here in my office at the Ministry of Education.'[21] Regarding this attitude, we must ask whether the book stayed there because of his personal interest in it or to prevent it from being sent to Portuguese universities.

The proposal of a cultural agreement

In 1937, the German Foreign Office proposed to IAC the signing of an intellectual and cultural agreement to formalize the relationship between Portugal and Germany.[22] In order to formalize many of its initiatives and cultural undertakings, Germany had already signed a cultural agreement with Hungary. Germany signed a bilateral agreement with Hungary in 1936, with Greece, Italy, and Japan in 1938, with Spain in 1939, with Bulgaria in 1940, and, finally, with Romania in 1941.

The preamble to the document sent to the Portuguese government referred to 'cultural and spiritual forces' as a crucial element in the fight

against the threats that hung over culture and science: communism and democracy. The Reich, therefore, considered it extremely important to strengthen 'scientific and cultural relations' between Germany and Portugal as a way to promote an alliance to fight these threats. The agreement was intended to increase the 'exchange of ideas' in science and culture between both countries, and all the measures proposed were a continuation of the cultural policies that Germany had already begun in Portugal.

The National Socialist regime also sought to ensure that cultural and scientific institutions in Portugal, such as German schools, the Evangelical Church, and the German Culture Institute, would continue. Some of these institutions had been founded before 1933, but they had meanwhile been nazified and were used to pursue the new regime's policy.

With regard to the academic world, the Portuguese government would keep the German Studies course at the universities of Lisbon and Coimbra, as well as the German Institute at the University of Coimbra and the Economic and Financial Documentation Office in the German Institute of Economic and Financial Sciences in Lisbon. Furthermore, a history of German culture course should be created and taught by a 'German scientist' in order to make 'German spiritual life' known. For its part, Germany would undertake to maintain the courses, institutes, and other institutions that promoted the study of Portuguese language and history, such as the Ibero-American Institute in Berlin (the Luso-Brazilian Chamber), the Ibero-American Institute of Hamburg, and the Luso-Brazilian Institute in Cologne. The agreement also introduced measures to ensure the teaching of Portuguese and German by placing readers in universities (Berlin, Hamburg, and Cologne, and, if necessary, other universities). In order to continue the 'exchange of ideas' between German science and Portuguese science, it proposed inviting intellectuals, scholars, and scientists to lecture at universities and the creation of short courses.

The defence and expansion of academic exchange was also provided for through the DAAD and the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation scholarship programmes. Cultural and scientific tourism would enable contacts to be made between the elites of both countries. Many Portuguese academics had actually been invited by the Nazi authorities to travel to Germany, where, according to the Portuguese journalist Luis Lupi, the Germans treated them 'like true princes, speaking to them in Portuguese and providing them with fun and exciting honours' (Lupi, 1971: 229).

One of the most polemic measures proposed by Germany stated that the German language should be introduced as a compulsory subject in the Portuguese secondary school curriculum. Furthermore, Germany would keep its schools in Lisbon, Oporto, and Funchal.

Behind these proposals was the desire to make the German language hegemonic in Europe. According to Maria Zarifi, the most important concern underlying these agreements was the inclusion of German as the main language in school curricula (Zarifi, 2007: 218), because the Führer himself had predicted that within a century German would be 'the language of Europe' and that all 'the countries east, north and west will learn German to communicate with' Germany (Hitler, 2000: 110). The dissemination of scientific and literary works would also be promoted through translations and through the exchange of books and magazines, and the number of German books available in Portuguese libraries and Portuguese books in German libraries would be increased.

All these proposals were presented as spiritual and cultural initiatives, emphasizing academic exchange and seeking more intensive relations between universities and institutes. This cooperation was also extended to other fields (music, theatre, film, and radio). Although many of the measures proposed were already being carried out, the agreement was considered excessive and unnecessary. Portugal had no doubts as to its imperialist nature, and therefore delayed signing it.

Academic relations in wartime

In 1939, a new war started in Europe when Germany attacked Poland. In this same year, 12 Portuguese fellows were sent to Germany, 12 to France, eight to the United Kingdom, and seven to Italy. By this time, six lectureships had already been established in Germany. The Second World War broke out on 1 September 1939, and a few days later IAC wrote a letter to all the Portuguese students in Germany telling them that they should return immediately to Portugal. However, many of them remained there. In 1940, IAC granted a few more fellowships: three to Germany, one to the United Kingdom, three to Spain, and, curiously, eight to Italy.

José Aires de Azevedo, a Portuguese fellow in Germany, stated that, in spite of the war, a foreigner could live there under the same conditions as a German citizen (Azevedo, 1941: 30–31). And when Maria Augusta Barbosa returned to the Reich at the beginning of 1941, she was able to immediately return to work. The university was working as normal, and living conditions were 'as good as we can expect and hope

in a special period such as this one'. 'Food was sufficient' and rationing 'was done so that everyone can have what they need to work effectively'.[23] Among the Portuguese fellows in Germany in 1940, two were physicians and one was the secretary of the Portuguese National Institute of Physical Education (*Instituto Nacional de Educação Física*, INEF), José Manuel de Magalhães Coutinho Guedes (IAC, 1949: 10). Coutinho Guedes had received a six-month fellowship to study the organization of German physical education. In Germany, he worked with the Hitler Youth (*Hitlerjugend*) and, with the support of *Hitlerjugend* leaders and managers, he studied the official organization of this movement. He also studied German physical education with the help of the National Socialist League of the Reich for Physical Exercise (*Nationalsozialistischer Reichsbund für Leibesübungen*) and Carl Diehm, secretary of the German Olympic Committee. António Quintino da Costa, of the Portuguese Youth Movement (*Mocidade Portuguesa*, MP), had already visited Italy and Germany during a study mission funded by IAC. In 1939, João Emílio Raposo de Magalhães, full professor at the Faculty of Medicine in Coimbra, had also visited both countries in order to prepare for the foundation of the Portuguese INEF.

Germany became an example to follow, and some recently established Portuguese institutions, such as MP and INEF, were based on German models. In fact, this trend started in the mid-1930s, during a period of great radicalization after the beginning of the Spanish Civil War.

This political, economic, and cultural rapprochement between Portugal and Germany continued during the Second World War. In 1941, seven fellows were sent to Germany, five to Italy, four to Switzerland, three to the United Kingdom, two to France, and one to Spain. Despite the war, academic exchanges with German institutions such as the DAAD and the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation continued. What is more, the DAAD intended to increase the value of each fellowship from 150 to 200 Reichsmarks.[24] The German authorities wanted more Portuguese students to live in Germany, thereby helping to spread a better understanding of the Third Reich's ideology abroad.

In a letter dating from the summer of 1941, Celestino da Costa, president of IAC, informed the Portuguese lecturer in Berlin that Germany would like to invite between 20 and 40 'intellectuals' from Portuguese universities to visit Germany in the spring of 1942, where they could establish contact with prominent German scientists and academics. This visit should help lead to a closer cultural relationship between professors from both countries, and would foreshadow the visit of German academics to Portugal in the spring of 1943. In October 1941, the

head of the *Auslandsamt der Deutschen Dozentenschaft* would travel from Germany to present the official invitation.[25]

From 1941 on, IAC did not produce an annual report. For that reason, we are unable to have an overview of its work or follow the activities of Portuguese fellows and lecturers in Germany. However, we know that some Portuguese fellows remained in Germany until almost the end of the war (Mello, 1983).

The situation in Germany at that time was very difficult, as Maria Augusta Barbosa reported to the IAC's secretary, António Medeiros Gouveia, in October 1943. In her opinion, it was impossible for her to achieve her goals during the time she had proposed because of the war and its difficulties. Food shortages led to a lack of energy and affected the memory, she said. She also complained about the lack of time, because they had to spend hours queuing to purchase staple products. Apart from all this, her research work was also affected by the departure of employees who left to take part in the war.[26]

Despite all these problems, Germany wanted to retain and even expand exchanges with other countries. At the end of 1943, Harri Meier, president of the Institute of German Culture, informed the IAC that the German Student Association for Foreigners (*Deutsche Studienwerk für Ausländer*) – responsible for the administration of all German scholarships granted to foreign students and researchers – would like to award more scholarships to Portuguese students. Meier highlighted that, besides the Alexander von Humboldt fellowships, there were scholarships worth 500 Reichsmarks for professors and scientists who would like to visit Germany for a short period of time. Those who wanted to attend a German language course or visit a laboratory or an Institute could also apply for a 200 Reichsmarks scholarship. There were also services in German cities to support foreign students and put them in touch with scientific and academic circles. Besides, all universities, Meier reminded in the same document, had laboratories and institutes that could be used by Portuguese students for free.[27] In July 1944, Hellmut Haubold – an SS officer and member of the *Reichsgesundheitsamt* – wrote to Aires de Azevedo, asking for his help to establish a fruitful and long-lasting exchange between the Portuguese and German medical communities. He also mentioned the visit of two Germans to Portugal with the same purpose.[28]

During the last years of the war, when the Reich's defeat was almost inevitable, German institutions maintained a high level of activity in Portugal. According to Fritz Teppich, a German political refugee, the German Legation promoted 'a flood of cultural activities'.

In his memoirs, Teppich mentions the lectures given by German professors, such as Carl-Friedrich von Weizsäcker, Carl Schmitt, Karl Vossler, Hermann Lautensach, Willy Andreas, Hans-Georg Gadamer, Walther Stepp, Ernst Georg Nauck, Hans Runge, Hellmut Haubold, and W. Rudorf. The Legation also inaugurated the Institute of German Culture in Lisbon and an exhibition of German art in Oporto (Teppich, 1999: 52–53).

Concluding remarks: Fellows, lecturers, and propagandists

During the *Estado Novo*, only a 'morally suitable' Portuguese scholar could apply for a scholarship abroad (JEN, 1935: 26). In addition to this, JEN and IAC demanded information from the political police about each applicant to ensure that he or she was a supporter of the regime.[29] When JEN, and later IAC, funded an internship abroad, they had three main goals: (1) the development of pedagogical methodology, (2) the scientific and literary training of scientists to teach at universities, and (3) the assimilation of skills and technical expertise that could be used for the economic benefit of the country and its colonies (JEN, 1935: 27). Therefore, and taking into account the economic investment involved, the Portuguese authorities stressed that all former fellows would be incorporated in Portuguese university institutes, centres, and departments on their return so they could further develop their careers.

Each fellow should focus on the interests of his national community, because a fellowship was not for 'enjoyment'. Instead, it was a 'mission' undertaken in another country, where they should learn how to become more useful to their own country, and not just let the experience be of benefit to themselves. Consequently, when they returned to Portugal, they should put the knowledge they had learned abroad to good use. When they finished their internship or received a degree or certificate, it was 'not a distinction in itself' but, instead, it was more 'like a guide that would enable them to serve the Nation better' (JEN, 1935: 29).

In fact, the role that JEN and IAC tried to encourage was assimilated by the fellows. Aires de Azevedo believed that he was 'on a study mission' in Germany, but, as he said in a letter to IAC, this mission would not be accomplished if each student were only concerned about scientific learning. They should not ignore their work methods, their organization, their ideas on medicine, and, in general, German culture, the 'German Soul', and their 'mental attitude' (Azevedo, 1941: 30–31). In a report sent to JEN, Henrique Barahona Fernandes stated that a fellow abroad was in a 'different spiritual environment' and should assimilate

important teachings. This experience would mould them 'spiritually' according to 'the influence of the schools they attended'. Even cultural and social activities played an important role in shaping them. According to Barahona, a student of psychiatry who studied abroad would assimilate knowledge, doctrines, and techniques by attending courses and clinics and by using the libraries. The work also involved sharing 'creative flows' and having contact with problems and potential solutions. They should keep up to date with technological developments and even play an active part in this progress through their own contributions. When the students returned home, they should be able to replicate not only institutions and organizations but also methods and systems they had observed and experienced abroad.

In fact, these Portuguese and German fellows were important links bonding the Third Reich to the Portuguese *Estado Novo*. They assimilated the 'German' lessons, with more or less criticism, and then diffused them in Portugal.

Hans Flasche, a German fellow who attended the University of Coimbra in 1936 and who later became a full professor at the University of Hamburg, gave a lecture in Bonn in 1938, focusing on 'The ideological basis of National Education in the *Estado Novo*', in which he compared 'Portugal with modern Germany so that the audience could better understand the good relation between the two countries'.[30] When Leite Pinto was informed of this lecture, he wrote a letter to Flasche in which he said that 'it was a pleasure to know that a former fellow continued the cultural rapprochement between both countries in Germany'.[31] Flasche replied to Leite Pinto, promising him that he would continue this task in Germany.[32]

Some Portuguese fellows who had been in Germany also performed the same task in Portugal. In June 1938, IAC informed the German–Portuguese Society that the former Portuguese lecturer in Cologne, José Gonçalves Belo, had given three lectures in a high school in Lamego, a small city in northern Portugal. Through his talks, he had tried to 'make known to teachers, students and their families' what German life under National Socialism was like.[33]

Through these examples, we can understand the work that these scholars had, consciously or otherwise, undertaken. Besides being fellows, they had other tasks to perform, such as teaching their own language and literature, or working as lecturers. They were used to export German culture and National Socialist ideology to Portugal and Portuguese culture to Germany. Thus, they prove that JEN and IAC were important partners for Nazi Germany. In effect, they acted as

cultural, scientific, and academic go-betweens between both countries until almost the end of the war. They maintained intensive contact with Nazi institutions and scientists, thereby helping to transform Portugal into a fertile ground for German propaganda.

In fact, intellectuals and scientists in peripheral countries, such as Portugal or Spain, believed that Germany was at the forefront of culture and technology: Germany sold weapons, Portuguese military missions were sent to Germany, and Portuguese students attended German universities. This was a global relationship, a true network of knowledge, organized by the German Foreign Ministry and supported by German institutions in Portugal. Even before war broke out, and continuing after 1939, Portugal developed a 'neutral collaboration' with Germany, both official (for example, the sale of tungsten) and individual, motivated by ideology but also by economic and strategic interests.

Economically, the country depended on England, which made constant threats and enforced an economic blockade during the war. The British also exerted strong political pressure through their embassy in Lisbon in order to keep Portugal away from Germany. However, Britain was not as successful as it wanted to be, as Germany became one of Portugal's major trading partners. This resulted in a strengthening of relations between the two countries in the area of military industry. Germany had expressed great interest in the Portuguese rearmament programme even in the 1930s, and took over the position left vacant by England, which was very reluctant to supply the Portuguese army, in retaliation for the regime's behaviour during the Spanish Civil War. Germany financed Portugal's army, received Portuguese military missions, and offered technical training.

To sum up, Germany strengthened both its political and its economic diplomacy, but culture was a field where the Germans could move even more freely. In the beginning, they did not face strong competition from Britain. Instead, the British were forced to follow the German cultural strategy by organizing conferences and promoting the teaching of English. A strategy that was focused on culture went unnoticed as, despite its aggressiveness and being embedded with a political message, it was easier to conceal. German propaganda acted upon the most influential people in the *Estado Novo*'s ruling elite, and this strong cultural influence soon became political and ideological influence. Furthermore, culture was used as a policy instrument that facilitated economic penetration. In effect, Portugal was a member of a network, and German culture and science were the main instruments of propaganda used to influence the Portuguese cultural and political elites. This propaganda

campaign aimed at scientific collaboration and at the development of relations with the foreign elite. Through this strategy, based on an alleged superiority, German culture was directly publicized without English or French mediation, since Germany had already achieved a high status among Portuguese intellectuals and scientists.

Archives

AHIC: Historical Archive of the Camões Institute (Arquivo Histórico do Instituto Camões, Portugal)
PAAA: Political Archive of the Foreign Office (Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes, Berlin)

Notes

1. He had also been an English lecturer at the University of Coimbra in 1934. In 1941, he returned to Portugal to become director of the British Institute in Lisbon.
2. AHIC, 1268/17, Permuta de Estudantes com a Alemanha, document 1.
3. PAAA, R 71629.
4. AHIC, 1268/21, Troca de médicos entre Portugal e a Alemanha, document 2 and PAAA, Lissabon, Kartoon 227.
5. AHIC, 1537/1, Deutscher Akademischer austausdienst [sic], Berlim, document 61.
6. Director (1934–38) of the Portuguese-Brazilian Institute at the University of Cologne.
7. Secretary of the Portuguese-Brazilian Institute at the University of Cologne.
8. Professor of Romance Philology at the University of Hamburg.
9. AHIC, 0392/12, Academia médica Germano Ibero-americana, document 1.
10. AHIC, 1207/18, Instituto Ibero-Americano de Berlim, document 4.
11. AHIC, 1268/21, Troca de médicos entre Portugal e a Alemanha, document 1.
12. AHIC, 0392/12, Academia médica Germano Ibero-americana, document 1.
13. AHIC, 1260/6, Instituto Ibero-Americano de Berlim, document 3.
14. AHIC, 1262/16, Flávio Ferreira Pinto Resende, document 23.
15. AHIC, 1378/5, Grémio Luso-Alemão. Centro Luso-Alemão de Intercâmbio Cultural, document 1.
16. AHIC, 1537/1, Deutscher Akademischer austausdienst [sic], Berlim, document 5.
17. AHIC, 1537/1, Deutscher Akademischer austausdienst [sic], Berlim, document 4.
18. AHIC, 1355/1, Troca de livros germano-estrangeiros, Deutsch Ausländischer Buchtausch.
19. AHIC, 1355/1, Troca de livros germano-estrangeiros, Deutsch Ausländischer Buchtausch, document 29.
20. AHIC, 1355/1, Troca de livros germano-estrangeiros, Deutsch Ausländischer Buchtausch, document 33.

21. AHIC, 1355/1, Troca de livros germano-estrangeiros, Deutsch Ausländischer Buchtausch, document 34.
22. AHIC, 1473/3, Acordo Cultural com a Alemanha.
23. AHIC, 3208/10, Maria Augusta Alves Barbosa, document 33.
24. AHIC, 1537/2, Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst de Berlim, Vol. 2, document 50.
25. AHIC, 1475/13, Intercâmbio de Intelectuais com a Alemanha, document 1.
26. AHIC, 3209/4, Maria Augusta Alves Barbosa, document 85.
27. AHIC, 1353/19, Instituto de Cultura Alemão em Portugal. Centro Luso-Alemão de Intercâmbio Cultural.
28. AHIC, 3117/2, José Ayres de Azevedo Novais Basto, document 94/2.
29. See, for example, AHIC, 3209/2, Maria Augusta Alves Barbosa, document 14.
30. AHIC, 1615/2, leitorado português em Bona, document 20.
31. AHIC, 1615/2, leitorado português em Bona, document 21.
32. AHIC, 1615/2, leitorado português em Bona, document 29.
33. AHIC, 1378/5, Grémio Luso-Alemão. Centro Luso-Alemão de Intercâmbio Cultural, document 18.

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9

The Library of the *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Rom* and Postwar Perceptions of German Scholarship

Frederick Whitling

This contribution discusses German archaeological excavations in Italy in 1942, the fate of the library of the *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Rom* during and immediately after the Second World War, and postwar perceptions of German scholarship. The heuristic value of the concept of 'academic diplomacy' is discussed in conjunction with the role and influence of individual actors in the process of the return to Italy of four German scholarly libraries in Rome and Florence in the same period.

The foreign schools in Rome (schools, academies, and institutes) date back to (at least) the *Istituto di corrispondenza archeologica* (or *Instituto di corrispondenza archeologica*, ICA), a small-scale private international organization established in 1829, which in turn harked back to the (German) *Hyperborei* association in Rome (dating to 1823) and previous antiquarian associations such as the (British) *Society of Dilettanti* emanating from the eighteenth-century context of the Grand Tour, connected with the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. The main earlier local precursor to the nineteenth-century foreign schools in Rome was the *Académie de France à Rome*, established as a French centre for the arts in Rome by Louis XIV in 1666.

The *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Rom* (DAIR) was established in 1871–74 (contemporarily with the establishment of the German Archaeological Institute in Athens (DAIA) in 1872–74), as a result of the gradually increasing financial – and cultural – Prussian influence over the originally international venture of the ICA. This led to the transformation of the ICA into the Prussian Archaeological

Institute in 1871 – and the German Imperial Archaeological Institute in 1873 – before it was finally transformed into a section (albeit the oldest) and in a sense, therefore, most illustrious section of the overarching German Archaeological Institute (DAI, based in Berlin) as the DAIR in 1874. The *École française de Rome* was established in 1873–75, partly as a reaction to the Prussian 'takeover' of the ICA. France had pioneered the establishment of such a national research institution with the establishment of the corresponding *école* in Athens (1846).[1]

The status of the originally international ICA was changed from that of a private scholarly foundation to a (Prussian) state organization attached to the Foreign Office. Archaeological research by the DAI was for the most part carried out by the foreign branches in Rome and in Athens, as well as by the *Römisch-Germanische Kommission* (RGK, established in 1902) in Frankfurt am Main. During and after the First World War, the DAIR was under the control of the Italian government (1915–21), and was returned to German control by the Ministry of Education through minister Benedetto Croce, with the conditional clause that its library was not to be removed from Italy. In 1938, a concordat was signed between Germany and Italy in which, in return for the cancellation of the previous formal restrictions, the German government repeated the statement that the DAIR library would not be removed from Italy. The DAIR library was widely considered the most exhaustive research library resource in the world of ancient scholarship, and its presence in Rome was thus of fundamental importance to classical scholars (foreign as well as domestic) in the city.

In 1929, the DAI established two further sections (research institutes). The acquisition of the departments in Istanbul and Cairo was of importance for the future development of the entire DAI. Whereas the institute's foreign activities had previously focused almost entirely on the study of classical Greek and Roman culture, it was decided to use the addition of the branches in Cairo and Istanbul to expand the field of research. Gerhart Rodenwaldt, the president of the DAI, actively sought to follow an international trend in archaeology by expanding the institute's areas of interest to include all ancient cultures. This view was in direct opposition to one of the most influential tendencies within German archaeology at that time, the so-called 'Third Humanism', which upheld the supremacy of Greece and Rome. The 'decline of philhellenism' in German archaeology during the 1920s and 1930s was in this way an effect of an already strong trend towards a modern concept of the discipline ('World Archaeology'). In February 1934, then DAI president Theodor Wiegand (who died in 1936 and was

succeeded by Martin Schede) signed a decree stating that, as with all institutions during the Third Reich, the DAI was obliged to introduce the *Führerprinzip*, which meant that the *Zentraldirektion* (as well as the *Römisch-Germanische Kommission*) assumed a purely advisory function. The internal structure (and the statutes) of the DAI did not change noticeably after 1933. The regime adopted a relatively indifferent attitude, making it possible for the *Zentraldirektion* to continue in much the same way as before. In May 1934, Hitler decreed that instead of its connection with the Foreign Office, the DAI was to be integrated into the newly created Ministry of Science and Education. It is possible, probable even, that in placing the institute under the control of the ministerial department responsible for internal matters, it was hoped to direct the institute away from its preoccupation with Greco-Roman and other 'foreign' cultures towards the study of the German archaeological heritage (cf. Junker, 1998).

Contrary to archaeological policies in operation in, for example, Greece or Turkey, Italy gave no excavation permits to foreign schools, not even to the DAIR, despite the close Italian–German relations. This did not stop the DAIR from excavating during the Second World War (at Galeata, see below). The DAIR employed a hierarchical system of 'first' and 'second' directors. In March 1937, it was decreed that the 'documentation of all facets of Germanic life in Italy' was to be undertaken. As the Italian perception of the Goths remained that of a 'horde of barbarians', according to Armin von Gerkan, first director from 1938, the documentation of past 'Germanic life' in Italy was to focus on the Lombards.[2] The responsibility for the implementation of this task was given to second director Siegfried Fuchs. The work progressed quickly, with a first publication as early as the spring of 1938 (a volume on gold-leaf crosses).[3] Too much emphasis on Germanic culture could, however, have been detrimental to the reputation of the DAIR. Assistance came, somewhat unexpectedly, from the SS-*Ahnenerbe* ('Ancestral Heritage'). In December 1938, an agreement of mutual research support was drawn up: the *Ahnenerbe* would assist the DAIR in procuring excavation permits in Italy; Fuchs agreed to publish articles on a regular basis in the *Ahnenerbe* journal, as well as to write a book on the history of Germanic presence in Italy. The DAI–*Ahnenerbe* collaboration strengthened the notion of the study of 'Germanic culture' in Italy; at the same time, it blocked influential Nazi ideologist Alfred Rosenberg's plan to establish his own possible institutes in Italy and Greece.[4]

In the autumn of 1942, Siegfried Fuchs, together with Friedrich Krischen, carried out a one-month excavation of a late antique villa

at Galeata, near of Forlì. Fuchs' and Krischen's interests lay in exploring and projecting narratives of Germanic origins via the Lombards and the Ostrogoths on the transition from the late antique to the early medieval period in Italy, and interpreted the Galeata villa as a palace or hunting lodge erected by Theoderic the Great (493–526) in the early sixth century AD. The (on the whole minor) excavation of the so-called hunting lodge of Theoderic at Galeata was, for diplomatic reasons, conducted in conjunction with the local Italian *soprintendenza*. The finds were presented by Krischen in the Winckelmann lecture held in Berlin at the beginning of December.[5] The political circumstances soon made any further similar projects first untenable, then impossible. In the years 1998–99, the archaeology department of the University of Bologna undertook excavations which led to the discovery of Roman structures datable to between the first century BC and the second century AD. Further excavations, undertaken in 2002–06, ascertained the presence of an extensive and articulated bath complex. The discovery of the baths, which form part of the so-called 'Palace of Theodoric', is further confirmation that this late antique residence appears to have belonged, at least, to an important dignitary at the court of Ravenna. Its architectural features display analogies with bath buildings of the middle to late Roman period.[6]

The Galeata excavation can be considered in relation to the controversy surrounding prehistory in Germany in the 1930s. The RGK was the most prominent advocate of the notion that German prehistory was just one facet of early European civilization and that its true importance can only be established by looking beyond regional and national boundaries. Members of the so-called *Amt Rosenberg*, named after Alfred Rosenberg, demanded that the RGK be disbanded, or at the very least reduced in size, and that a new *Reichsinstitut für deutsche Vorgeschichte* be created. In 1936, Rosenberg and his followers finally managed to persuade Hitler to agree to their plans, but their institute was never established, due in part to interventions by Theodor Wiegand, partly to Hitler's personal admiration for ancient Greece and Rome, and partly to the *Ahnenerbe* and the establishment of the *Ausgrabungswesen* (excavation section) of the SS in 1935 (cf. Junker, 1998).

Siegfried Fuchs was appointed second director of the DAIR in 1937. Prior to his appointment, he had been research assistant – as well as leader of the Roman branch of the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP). He was not the preferred candidate; for political reasons, he had been listed third in order of preference. The intervention of various diplomatic channels (the German ambassador, the minister

for propaganda) resulted in the appointment of Fuchs rather than either of the other two more qualified candidates. This had far-reaching consequences: although Fuchs was only the second director, he was given the responsibility of devising the academic programme of the institute, so that Armin von Gerkan, the first director, was in effect restricted to being head of administration. The real issue of contention was not between party and non-party members, but between scholars and the considerable number of amateur pseudo-archaeologists who wished to misuse archaeology in their efforts to interpret the past in analogy with current racist theories. The DAI was, on the whole, able to defend itself rather well against attempts by the latter group to undermine its authority. The fact that NSDAP members held important posts in the organisation did not automatically result in a change in academic policy. The claim made by then DAI president Carl Weickert in 1948 that the German institutes in Italy (referring to the Florentine *Kunsthistorisches Institut* and the DAIR) had never entertained 'Nazi ideas' in their scholarly endeavours was, however, an exaggeration.[7]

The evacuation of the German libraries

During the German occupation of Rome (September 1943 to June 1944), plans were made to evacuate the DAIR from Italy, thereby violating the 1938 concordat; these plans were put into practice in January and February 1944. They were challenged by the German embassy to the Holy See (through ambassador Baron Ernst von Weiszäcker), and what remained of the DAIR in Rome after the evacuation was left in the care of the German Vatican embassy. As a powerful German authority in Rome, the DAIR (notably director Armin von Gerkan and librarian Jan Crous) advocated that the library should remain open as long as possible: in other words, as long as German forces controlled Rome. The authorities in Berlin (the *Auswärtiges Amt*) initially argued against this policy, as it would unquestionably have led to a surrender of German citizens and property. When plans had to be made to secure the assets of the DAIR in the event of being forced to leave Rome, contacts were established with 'neutral and Vatican locations'. The 'neutral location' was the Swedish Institute in Rome (SIR). 'Every forward-looking activity was construed as sabotage', wrote DAIR scholar Friedrich Wilhelm Deichmann, looking back in November 1945 (Deichmann, 1986). The NSDAP party contingent of the DAIR (Siegfried Fuchs, together with secretary Mannz and 'intendent' Edgar Kübber) argued in accordance with the *Endsieg*-discourse (1943–44) – the library had to be evacuated

immediately. According to Erik Sjöqvist, director of the SIR, they (Fuchs and his group) were supported by Werner Hoppenstedt (vice director of the *Bibliotheca Hertziana*), and 'had spoken threateningly of the necessity of saving the libraries from the "ungrateful Italians"' (cf. Whitling, 2010: 258–278).

The immediate evacuation of the DAIR library was outspokenly advocated in a letter from Siegfried Fuchs (second director of the DAIR) to Dr Hermann-Walther Frey at the German Ministry of Education (*Erziehungsministerium*) dated 28 November 1943. Fuchs argued that the library (together with those of the *Deutsches Historisches Institut*, the *Bibliotheca Hertziana* and the *Kunsthistorisches Institut*) needed to leave Rome and Florence for the presumed safety of northern Italy and eventually Germany; he acknowledged that transport would be dangerous, but the libraries were to be considered 'cultural heritage of the German people' (*Kulturgut des Deutschen Volkes*); thus, the risk of losing parts of them in transit had to be taken.[8] The matter was allegedly settled by a *Führerbefehl* (a direct order by Hitler invalidating all other orders) that reached Rome on 9 December 1943, demanding the closure of all German research institutes in Italy and the transfer of their contents to German territory. Fabricating a *Führerbefehl* would have transferred the blame from the DAIR itself to the top level of decision-making in Berlin. The description of the *Führerbefehl* in a promemoria by Swedish Institute director Erik Sjöqvist rhymes well with the form these often took – not written orders, more in the form of 'spontaneous' verbal instructions. The order reached Rome through *Hertziana* director Leo Bruhns, who was given the thankless and disagreeable task of carrying out the transfer of the four German libraries. Sjöqvist related that

> at an informal conversation in my house soon after his arrival Prof. Bruhns deplored the necessity of his mission, but tried to make me believe that the real reason for the evacuation was that the Allies had the intention of bombarding Rome and that at least the German property had to be saved. On my questioning how such an hypothesis could be reconciled with the bringing to Rome of all the material from Montecassino, he remained slightly embarrassed.[9]

The alternative of depositing the libraries in the care of the Vatican was discussed at the time. It is possible that Bruhns may have had little alternative but to answer to his superior Werner Hoppenstedt within the framework of the *Kaiser Wilhelm Gesellschaft* organization. Hoppenstedt was appointed vice director of the *Bibliotheca Hertziana* in order to

establish a *Kulturwissenschaftliche Abteilung* of the *Hertziana* (supported by the German Foreign Office and dedicated to propaganda efforts) in 1933–34 (cf. Whitling, 2010: 268–270; 2011: 651).

The German libraries in Rome had left the city (via rail) by 20 February 1944 (although the exact date of their departure has been debated). Erik Sjöqvist was appalled; he referred to the closing of the institutes and the transport of the libraries as

> an insane, pointless, desperate and defeatist enterprise [...]. The worst part is that [...] it is improbable that [the libraries] will ever return. Germany's bombed out university libraries will require the books that are available after the war [...]. It is nothing less than a catastrophe for Roman and classical research.[10]

Once the transfer of the libraries was unavoidable, Armin von Gerkan wanted to ensure that the DAIR library catalogue was spared the risk of extinction. Von Gerkan wished to deposit the catalogue in the relative safety of the 'protected neutral oasis' (after Stephen L. Dyson) of the SIR. Sjöqvist was approached by both Leo Bruhns of the *Bibliotheca Hertziana* and von Gerkan regarding the potential safeguarding of material at the SIR. The catalogue (together with other material) was deposited there on 15 October 1943. Von Gerkan was hoping that Sjöqvist might at some point be able to send this material to the DAI in Berlin via Sweden. DAIR librarian Jan Crous was personally overseeing the packing of the archaeological library (the process was arranged with great haste), and it is noteworthy that the library catalogues – essential to its organization – were able to escape scrutiny. Crous was drafted into the German army in December 1944 and was killed shortly thereafter. The library remained accessible to the Roman scholarly community even while it was in the process of being packed. First director Armin von Gerkan found refuge at the University of Greifswald, where Niederhof Castle was offered as a temporary location for the DAIR. This solution was soon interrupted by the exigencies of refugees, and the DAIR material in Germany was sent on to Lübeck.

What was at stake for Erik Sjöqvist? He was probably taking a personal risk rather than compromising or endangering the Swedish institute itself. Sjöqvist was doing von Gerkan a personal favour, although he also wished to do all he could to keep the DAIR library in Rome. It is unlikely that Sjöqvist imagined that his actions would lead to any increase in personal prestige after the end of the hostilities. Sjöqvist was in many ways still a librarian at heart, and most probably felt genuine sadness that

the prestigious German libraries were leaving Italy. Keeping the library catalogue in Rome would make the administration of permanent organization of the library in Germany more complicated (cf. Whitling, 2010: 271–278; 2011: 652).

Postwar Perceptions of German scholarship

The DAIR was to remain closed between 1944 and 1953 as a result of the war, the collapse of the short-lived German occupation of Rome in 1943, and the drawn-out negotiations regarding the future of the German scholarly institutions and libraries in Italy after the war. The DAIR finally reopened in 1953, following eight years of discussions and 'diplomatic efforts', partly by AIAC – the International Association for Classical Archaeology – and the *Unione* of institutes in Rome, which was established for the purpose of advocating the return of four German libraries (one of these being that of the DAIR) to Italy after the war (see Esch, 2007; Whitling, 2010, chapter 6). The four libraries were considered to be of great importance, not only because they were the most extensive research libraries available in Rome at the time, but also because they were symbolically important. German scholarship was widely admired. When the libraries left Rome and Florence in early 1944, ex-DAIR director Ludwig Curtius was in despair and spoke of *die ruhmreiche Vergangenheit*. Bernard Berenson, the American art historian (and owner of the *Villa I Tatti* outside Florence, later donated to Harvard University), was outspokenly in favour of returning the German libraries 'to German scholarship' after the war; as its contributions were 'at least as great as made by any one of us'. Erik Sjöqvist was similarly of the opinion that the experience of the German staff of the libraries still present in Rome should be utilized in the maintenance of the libraries. Leo Bruhns however repeatedly but unsuccessfully attempted to be reinstated as director of the *Bibliotheca Hertziana* after the war (1946–49). Bruhns had been actively working towards a restoration of the 'honour of German science' in 1945. In the era of the Morgenthau plan – the planned partition of Germany into two (northern and southern) independent states, with an additional international zone (1944–47, replaced by the Marshall plan in US policy) – Albert Grenier, director of the *École française de Rome*, had told Erik Sjöqvist that Germany could not be allowed to be a part of the discussion regarding the future of the libraries for at least a decade. Grenier considered the restitution of the libraries to Germany as a humiliating political defeat. Sjöqvist's testimony regarding the removal of the four German libraries from Rome

illustrates that the Nazi contingent of the DAIR was more concerned about what the 'ungrateful Italians', rather than the Allies, would do to the German property after the war. Domestic Italian opinion was also divided regarding the issue of the potential restitution of the libraries to German administration (see Esch, 2007; Whitling, 2010: 388–389; 2011: 652–653).

The *Unione degli Istituti di Archeologia, Storia e Storia dell'Arte in Roma* (referred to here as the *Unione*) was established in Rome in February 1946. Apart from the desire to increase the integration of the foreign schools in Rome with their Italian counterparts, the main reason for its establishment was to negotiate and lobby for the return of the four so-called German libraries to Italy after the Second World War. The negotiation of the return of the libraries was the work of the *Unione* preparatory committee, presided over by Erik Sjöqvist. The return of the libraries was discussed at least as early as the late spring of 1945. For the second time in one year, Sjöqvist became the chairman of a committee whose task was to sketch statutes for a large-scale international institution in Rome (the *Unione* – Sjöqvist had also been instrumental in the establishment of AIAC in early 1945). He achieved this together with, above all, John Bryan Ward-Perkins and Charles Rufus Morey. The *Unione* was finally formally established on 6 February 1946, at a public notary office. The first setup of its executive body consisted of Morey as the first official chairman; Ward-Perkins as treasurer; and Sjöqvist as secretary-general. The attention of the *Unione* was from the outset focused on the issue of the return to Rome of the four German libraries. Sjöqvist's preparatory investigations stirred up a discussion that was, in effect, to continue for seven years, until the four libraries were officially returned to their respective institutions in 1953. The DAIR library had returned to its original location in Via Sardegna on 7 July 1947. In November 1947, Sjöqvist reported that 'we have now got the German School [the DAIR] going under international administration' (Whitling, 2010: 436). For the domestic and foreign schools that together constituted the *Unione*, the level of national representation of the respective academy directors had to step down in favour of 'institutional' representation in an attempted, and not wholly successful, supranational collaboration in dealing with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) as well as with Allied and Italian authorities (cf. Whitling, 2008, 2010; 2011: 654–662; see also Esch, 2007).

This contribution has discussed national prestige, international collaboration, and perceptions of scholarly political neutrality. It has aimed

to illustrate how the practice of 'academic diplomacy' in wartime and postwar Roman scholarly contexts combined elements of the *internationale* of scholarship with national traditions, in a specific situation in which the means to an end almost meant the end of the once proud German scholarly presence in Rome.

Archives

BAB: German Federal Archives, Berlin (Bundesarchiv, Berlin)
RA: The National Archives, Stockholm (Riksarkivet, Stockholm)

Notes

1. See, for example, Whitling (2010: 64–86, 2011: 649–650). For the history of the DAI and the DAIR, see, for example, Michaelis (1879), Bittel et al. (1979), Junker (1997, 1998: 282–283); for the period 1829–1929 see for example Whitling (2010: 164–171) and http://www.dainst.org/en/forschung/netzwerke/forschungscluster/cluster-5/publikationsreihe, date (accessed 15 September 2015).
2. Armin von Gerkan to Martin Schede, 16 April 1937. Quoted, together with the 1937 decree (Ministry of Education, 'Erfassung aller Lebenszeugnisse des Germanentums'), in Junker (1998: 289–290). See also Junker (1997: 76–80) and Maischberger (2002: 213).
3. Fuchs (1938). Cf. Junker (1998: 290) and Fröhlich (2008: 193–195).
4. Junker (1998: 290) and Fröhlich (2008: 196–197). Cf. Bollmus (2006), Kater (1974), and Losemann (1977).
5. Junker (1998: 290). Cf. Krischen (1943) and Lévêque (1947). For wartime DAIR excavations (at Galeata and at adjacent Meldola), cf. Schefold (1949: 209–210).
6. For the DAIR Galeata excavations, see Fröhlich (2008), Johnson (1988), Bolzani (1994), Junker (1998: 290), and Schulz (2004: 14–15). Cf. Whitling (2010: 166–167; 220). See also Fanning (1981) and Scavi di Galeata (2010). For Fuchs as well as the Galeata excavations, see Fröhlich (1998, Fuchs' Galeata publications in the bibliography) and Maischberger (2002: 212–215). For Nazi archaeology, see, for example, Junker (1998: 284–292) as well as Arnold (1990, 1992, 2006), Marchand (1996), and Maischberger (2002). See also Galaty and Watkinson (2004) as well as the 2013 exhibition 'Graben für Germanien. Archäologie unterm Hakenkreuz', Focke-Museum, Bremen, 10 March to 8 September 2013 (Catalogue, Theiss Verlag, 2013).
7. Carl Weickert to Ludwig Heydenreich, 6 December 1948. The *Kunsthistorisches Institut* archives, Florence (Whitling, 2010: 167). See also Whitling (2010: 28; 265–267) as well as Klinkhammer (1992) and Fröhlich (2007).
8. Siegfried Fuchs to H.W. Frey (BAB, R/4901/14064). Following the evacuation of the DAIR, *Reichsminister* Frey offered Fuchs a position (in 'Germanic pre- and early history') at the University of Erlangen. See Whitling (2010: 265–267; 2011: 651). Cf. Fröhlich (2007).

9. Pro Memoria recording the events preceding the transportation of the German scientific libraries from Rome to Germany – Confidential'. Erik Sjöqvist, undated (between June 1944 and May 1945, possibly 25 October 1944). RA, Svenska Institutets i Rom arkiv, III:A:5; see Whitling (2010: 269; 583; 2011: 651).
10. Erik Sjöqvist to Einar Gjerstad, 11 January 1944. RA, Svenska Institutets i Rom arkiv, III:A:3; see Whitling (2010: 273; 2011: 652).

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10

Tracing Eugenics: German Influences on a Greek Background, c. 1930–45

George Kokkinos and Markos Karasarinis

Introduction

From the last quarter of the nineteenth century to the end of the Second World War, eugenics, in its two complementary yet at times antagonistic versions (positive eugenics vs. negative eugenics), was propagated as a quintessentially scientific field that aspired to both prevent and cure certain types of social pathogenesis: to confirm and validate, in other words, what should be defined as normal/healthy and what as deviating/unhealthy. In this line of argument, the socio-political order referred back to the natural order as a prerequisite for rendering the power relations existent in Western mass democratic societies to a form of ontology. Eugenics is understood here in Michel Foucault's terms, as a pseudo-scientific *discourse* that during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, an era characterized by dynamic nationalism, imperialistic rivalries, revolutionary mass movements, and renewed clashes between the European Great Powers, emerged as a contender in the intellectual constellation of theories that pitted themselves against democratic egalitarianism, constructing not merely the reality it studied but also the scientific identity of a whole field of knowledge.

This chapter proposes to trace some Greek ideas on eugenics between c. 1930 and 1945, linking them to their German influences, stemming from three main paths: (a) the origins of Greek academic institutions in King Otto's Bavarian bureaucracy and the Prussian university model, (b) an important flow of Greek graduate students towards German universities, especially in science and medicine, in the late nineteenth and

early twentieth centuries, and (c) the state of Nazi Germany as a term for comparison on matters concerning biology, heredity, and race.

German influence in Greece, 1832–1939

Emerging in 1832, after a decade of revolutionary war against the Ottoman Empire, the Greek state acquired a German prince, Otho Wittelsbach, as a ruler. His 30-year reign heavily influenced the institutional infrastructure of the new kingdom by the German model put in place by a trusted Bavarian bureaucracy. This fact applied especially to the educational system, with Athens Othonian University being a prime example. Founded in 1837, it was organized along German principles provided by classical scholar and educationist Friedrich von Thiers (1784–1860) and philologist and historian of philosophy Christian August Brandis (1790–1867).[1] German influence in Greek academia became even stronger due to the initial core staff being formed by German professors or Greeks who had studied in German institutions. Until 1870, more than half of all Greek members of the academic staff had graduated from either German or Austrian universities. German influence was also felt in the fields of technological modernization, mechanical engineering, architecture, technical education, science, medicine, and public health due to the paramount standing of German science in these areas at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth. In this way, 'the values of a nineteenth-century German bourgeois culture' took root among the ruling elites and the upper and middle-class layers of Greek society.[2]

A second turning point for German cultural influence in Greece was the establishment of a Medieval and Modern Greek Philology Seminar by renowned Byzantine scholar Karl Krumbacher (1856–1909) at the University of Munich in 1898. Manolis Triantafyllidis, Emmanouil Kriaras, Linos Politis, and other important Greek scholars studied there, a sign of growing Greek Germanophilia in the 1890s and 1900s (Mitsou, 2010: 135) that 'remained undisturbed until World War I' (Mitsou, 2010: 136). Graduate studies in German institutions, and its consequent habituation in German intellectual life, functioned as a channel for transferring diverse currents of thought to Greece, from Nietzsche, Marx, and Freud to political irrationalism and ethnopsychology (Mitsou, 2010: 136). Germanophilia, however, receded after the First World War as Greece allied itself with the Entente in 1917. Future Greek governments sought more than a modicum of good relations with Hitler's Germany, especially in matters of trade; welcomed Herman Göring to Athens in

1934 and Joseph Goebbels in 1936; copied aspects of the Nazi ideological model for dictator and ideological fellow traveller of the Third Reich Ioannis Metaxas' 'New State' ideals; introduced German know-how and cooperated with German authorities to suppress communism; and even adopted the Olympic Flame ritual for the Berlin Olympics in 1936. But as Greece gravitated towards Britain and France on the road to the Second World War, more common ground with Germany was to be found in science than in politics.[3]

Fear of degeneration: Eugenics and its advocates

Eugenics as the wave of the future was a prospect that excited a large number of biologists, anthropologists, and representatives of the medical profession in Greece. Preoccupied with matters of health and hygiene, both individual and collective, these scientists aspired to cure afflicted persons and engage in social engineering intended to yield better crops of national or racial populations. Such considerations entered the public sphere when the Greek state, faced with integrating 1.5 million refugees in the wake of the Asia Minor War and population exchange with Turkey, took steps towards overhauling its system of public health and public hygiene by establishing a new Ministry of Public Health and Social Welfare in 1922 (see Liakos, 1993; Theodorou and Karakatsani, 2010). Eugenics proposals came from a wide range of political persuasions: conservatives, liberals, and socialists saw in it, as Paul Weindling (1989: 7) said, the chance to 'use science and medicine to obtain real improvements in social condition'. This last credo explains why almost all of them belonged to the mainstream of Greek intellectual life: eugenics permeated the thought of prominent neurologists such as Simonidis Vlavianos, university professors such as Thrasyvoulos Vlisidis (1886–1964), and distinguished anthropologists as Ioannis Koumaris (1879–1970).

Two major channels exist for tracing German influences on Greek intellectuals writing on eugenics. The first is academic connections: scientists who studied in Germany and its cultural periphery followed the work of German pioneers or became members of relevant networks. Stavros Zurukzoglou (1896–1966), doctor of medicine, based in Switzerland, first at the University of Bern, then in Basel (Weindling, 2011: 35), was active in an international setting while remaining affiliated with intellectual networks in Greece: in 1925, he was one of the first to lecture in the newly established Greek Anthropological Society, proposing 'the isolation of degenerates, insane and any other degenerate

personalities' and their exclusion from childbearing on eugenic grounds (Zurukzoglou, 1925: 32–33). A second direct line for debate, comparison, and consideration is the racial state the Nazi regime would turn Germany into after January 1933. Thrasyvoulos Vlisidis, doctor of Natural Sciences of the University of Athens, doctor of Philosophy of the University of Vienna, doctor of the Supreme Agricultural School of Vienna, was just one of many intellectuals scanning pages of German journals and periodicals and transferring their arguments to the Greek press.

Among those influenced by German modes of thought, an early advocate of eugenic projects was Neoklis Kazazis (1849–1936). A well-known jurist both in Greece and abroad, personal friend of politicians Georges Clemenceau and Francesco Crispi, with graduate studies in Heidelberg and Leipzig, professor of Law in the Athens Law School, Kazazis started out as a prospective doctor before dropping out of medical school for love of jurisprudence. His thought was heavily influenced by Ernest Haeckel (1834–1919), whose ideas he tried to transplant into the Greek intellectual environment. For Kazazis was a staunch nationalist, social Darwinist, antiparliamentarian, and accomplished political irrationalist who regarded race as a major building block in a global hierarchy of peoples (Kokkinos, 1996). In the aftermath of defeat in the Greco-Turkish war of 1897, he formulated a plan for a swift Greek national rebuilding, resting on the radiance of Greek civilization, the advantages of Greek economy, and its strategic position (Kokkinos, 1996: 78). Kazazis judged that a racial regeneration of the population was required in order to infuse it selectively with cognate ethnic groups characterized by 'racial affinity, historical proximity, historical dynamism and high assimilation of the hegemonic Greek culture' (Kokkinos, 1996: 278) as well as 'racial vigor'. His ideal champions in this racial eugenic project were the Albanians, who were to form a political federation with Greece and engage in a project of racial syncretism.

A full-blown acceptance of eugenics as part and parcel of biology's canon would come with a younger generation. Thrasyvoulos Vlisidis (1886–1964), professor of Forestry in the University of Thessaloniki, was an ardent proponent of experimental biology who consistently followed German authorities.[4] For Vlisidis, science in general and biology in particular expressed impartial truths and offered professional expertise. Should the state direct its social, medicinal, and welfare policies taking into consideration the findings of biology, then society, humanity, and race would improve. In a 1929 newspaper article on countering degeneration, he stressed heredity and praised racial hygiene

(or 'production hygiene' or 'a hygiene of hereditary origins that forms the core of social hygiene'; Vlisidis, 1929b: 5) and advocated a number of measures: (a) the propagation of biology that Munich professor Fritz Lenz (1887–1976) and Max Von Gruber (1853–1927) deemed essential for the future in schools and the professions[5] and (b) legislation against alcoholism, legislation preventing contagious diseases by instituting marriage consulting offices and prenuptial health certification, and legislation for 'technical sterilization of the unfit to produce offspring'. The lists of the unfit included 'consumptives, alcoholics, insane or syphilitics [who] shall not be able to unleash their offspring to the detriment of society' (Vlisidis, 1928: 56).

The common coin of degeneration enjoyed wide circulation. Nikolaos Drakoulidis (1900–85), a doctor who studied in Athens, Vienna, and Paris, specializing in venereal diseases and psychoanalysis, and introduced sexology in Greece (Trubeta, 2011: 283), was an ardent proponent of prenuptial health certificates, hoping to 'check the disintegration of the race and the degeneration of mankind'. He proposed vigorous eugenic propaganda, the establishment of a Greek Eugenics Society, prohibition of marriage to consumptives, syphilitics ('hereditary syphilitics form the majority of hygienically disabled, degenerates and criminals'), the mentally ill, alcoholics ('their children, if they live, are prone to epilepsy, idiocy, insanity, criminality'), drug addicts, epileptics, and lepers, and the introduction of a prenuptial health certificate. As a result, one could readily expect 'a reduction in hereditary and social diseases, decrease in child mortality, criminality and immorality, consolidation of the family and the eugenic improvement of the race' (Drakoulidis, 1932: 1–2). Towards the same goals, Drakoulidis waged a personal war against prostitution. According to his calculations, prostitution was the sole propagator of venereal diseases, from which a whopping 75 per cent of the Greek population suffered (syphilis alone being responsible for 12 per cent). Drakoulidis called for the usual mix of propaganda, bans, and legal and welfare measures (moral education for the young, abolition of whorehouses, stricter penalties for pimps, foundation of 'popular infirmaries'), with the added proposal of creating 'a three-member committee for the safeguarding of morals on each and every street of the capital and Piraeus, comprised by local honourable heads of families [...] to spot nests of questionable morals [...] and report them to the relevant police department' (Drakoulidis, 1926–1934: 564–565, 1929: 50, 51, 67, 73, 74–76).

Degeneration also haunted Stavros Zurukzoglou. In a survey of the present state and scope of eugenics given at the Greek Anthropological

Society in 1925, he defined eugenics' focal interest as 'fighting against degeneration and preserving the agents of civilization' (Zurukzoglou, 1925: 26). For Zurukzoglou, all cutting-edge eugenics was an internal debate between German theorists, 'selectionists' and 'protectionists': Max von Gruber (1853–1927), Ignaz Kaup (1870–1944), Fritz Lenz, Friedrich Wilhelm Schallmayer (1857–1919), and Oscar Hertwig (1849–1922). He agreed with them in 'isolating the degenerate insane and all other degenerate personalities and changing the Civil Code in order to allow abortions for eugenic reasons. [...] Prospective couples should consult with specialized doctors [...] to avoid childbearing' (Zurukzoglou, 1925: 32–33). What eugenicists aspired to was 'a radical social reformation of society'; all social strata should be protected, without preference to a 'blonde race' of supposed special creativity, aiming towards 'perpetual production and evolution of all superior intelligence from the lower social levels to the upper' (Zurukzoglou, 1925: 36). Demetris Glinos (1882–1943), educationist, pioneer of Greek language reform, and student of University of Jena's famous professors Wilhelm Rein and Rudolf Eucken, personified the penetration of eugenic discourse in the ranks of the Left, used in this case to promote solidarity against a common enemy. Writing in September 1942 an emblematic pamphlet called 'EAM: What it is, what it wants', Glinos introduced to the public the National Liberation Front (EAM), the future main Greek resistance organization against the Axis powers' occupying armies. In this small leaflet, he mentioned 'degeneration' at least three times in direct correlation to the venereal diseases the 'foreign conqueror' was bringing, the moral degradation of Greek collaborationists, and the prostitution of Greek women: 'our cities and villages are full of venereal diseases. Twelve year old girls are full of syphilis. And along all the other wounds of degeneration there is now this: the degeneration from syphilis!' (Glinos, 1944: 31).

However, for an unequivocally strong advocacy of eugenics laden with clear racial overtones and consistently set out for almost half a century, we should turn to Ioannis Koumaris. Koumaris was a professor of Anthropology in the University of Athens from 1925 to 1951, director of the Anthropological Museum from 1915 to 1950, and founder of the Greek Anthropological Society in 1924 (Koumaris, 1951: 13). After obtaining his PhD in medicine from the University of Athens in 1901 and training for three years in Berlin (1906–1908), he proceeded to practise surgery before becoming an authority in physical anthropology and craniometry. Koumaris considered himself a disciple of leading German anthropologists like Eugen Fischer (1874–1967), Fritz Lenz, and Otmar

von Verschuer (1886–1969), consistently referred to current German bibliography in his publications, travelled to Germany for lengthy stays as he did in 1937, and usually published his scientific work in German journals.[6] His worldview revolved around the concept of race as a basic building block of society and a desirable organizational principle for nations and societies. Favouring an interventionist state engaged in social engineering, Koumaris envisioned eugenics as the result of successive scientific advances with practical applications for the improvement of the human race. Science should be viewed as a non-political factor whose mission was to enlighten society (Koumaris, 1937: 7). This would be an initial step towards the application of essential eugenic measures: the introduction of a prenuptial health certificate, accompanied by prohibition of marriage in the case of disease or mental sickness, and a ban on racially mixed marriages constituted his minimum programme for improving the Greek race.

According to Koumaris, 'the primary duty of each nation is its "racial" arrangement, its "familial" concentration' (Koumaris, 1944a: 44). Race differs from a people or a nation in terms 'of physical resemblance between the individuals of the group. These should bear relatively similar "physical" and "mental" characteristics steadily inherited by their descendants' (Koumaris, 1944a: 45). The importance of 'racialism', or 'the effort of keeping the race pure or to purify it to a feasible extent', is high, notwithstanding the fact that 'only some wild, isolated tribes can be considered pure today' (Koumaris, 1944a: 45–46). Nevertheless, not only there is a Greek race in an unbroken continuity from the prehistoric years, but also, in a rather contradictory manner to Koumaris' own definition, it is characterized by diversity. Moreover, it is 'a product of Pelasgians, Prohellenes and Hellenes. The so-called "descents" [of the Dorians] were local movements', for example from Macedonia to the south. Some intermingling did occur, but the result was almost negligible, a feat that Koumaris called 'flowing stability'.[7] The race should be protected from 'danger of contamination' (Koumaris, 1944a: 47). Contamination came from two main sources: diseased members of one's own race and all members of all other races. To combat contamination, Koumaris was active in the debates for compiling a new Civil Code in the 1930s and the adoption of a prenuptial health certificate in the 1930s and 1940s. As far as disease was concerned, he was confident that the state should decree certain health defects as ruling out marriage: the mentally insane, consumptive, syphilitics, and alcoholics were the main targets, although Koumaris also raised the question of cancer patients and schizophrenics (Koumaris, 1931: 4). Positive and

negative measures, rewards and punishments should be applied: 'tax relief or even tax exemptions, forfeit of marriage expenses'; additional relief on evidence of each healthy born child on the one hand, 'dissolution of wedding, forfeit of dowry, lifelong alimony' on the other (Koumaris, 1931: 4).

Koumaris was a vehement opponent of mixed marriages and racial intermingling: purity of blood should be a constant aspiration, although its significance is rather hazy, since Koumaris himself rejected absolute racial purity and decried any distinction of superior and inferior races 'on the basis of supremacy and leadership' (Koumaris, 1944a: 51). He had no doubt that 'mixed marriages shall one day be prohibited [...] on purely racial reasons, no matter what cover this is enacted under. Because race is the essential factor of a people's preservation' (Koumaris, 1940: 5). To summarize, then, it was not

> a charitable act to unleash against the happiness of future generations the inmates of psychiatric clinics as 'clinically' sane but biologically impaired to freely sow their impaired offspring. [...] It is more charitable to 'sterilize' at least this bad sower. [...] It is not freedom for a Greek to have the right to enter into marriage with an individual of another race under the naïve justification that 'new blood is welcome' (something that surely would not be said in case of black or yellow blood).
>
> (Koumaris, 1944a: 48)

According to the above, Koumaris could not refrain from advocating sterilization, although he preferred leaving its voluntary or compulsory nature unclear. However, by placing the safeguarding of the nation's biological and racial identity in the hands of the state, he seemed to move indirectly towards negative eugenics. Criminology and penal biology having accepted

> castration or sterilization of those pathologically abnormal in genital matters as especially dangerous to society, social anthropology also started applying sterilization of men and women as a general 'eugenic' measure aiming not only towards the gains from isolating such subjects but aspiring to a real improvement of mankind.
>
> (Koumaris, 1937: 7)

As far as it concerned those who, for any number of reasons, could not be subjected to such a 'radical' process, Koumaris recommended 'the best auxiliary measure':

> isolation for life (or pretty much so) in industrial installations in the country, not as punishment [...] but to ensure the welfare of such handicapped wretched creatures to whom the only deprivation imposed should be the transmission of their own misery to their offspring.[8]
>
> Camps were the ideal of the age.[9]

Last but not least in this sequence, Nikolaos Louros (1898–1986), a towering figure in Greek gynaecology and an accomplished conservative thinker, is the most apt to close this chapter, as his positions form a bridge between prewar and postwar ideas on eugenics. Having studied in Athens, Vienna, Munich, Berlin, and Bern (where he received his doctorate), Louros was appointed docent in the state clinic of Dresden, where he remained between 1925 and 1928. In 1935, he became professor of Obstetrics and Gynaecology in the University of Athens. His strong connections to German culture notwithstanding, Louros declined to accept ministerial honours in the Nazi-appointed governments during the occupation of Greece by the Axis powers, spending, as a result, the summer of 1944 between jail and the concentration camp at Chaidari. From 1947 to 1964, he was the personal physician of the Greek royal family; in 1974, he served as minister of education in the government formed after the fall of the Colonels' Dictatorship; in 1976, he became president of the Academy of Athens.

Louros's thought is built on the foundations of a paternalist, social, pragmatist, and sceptical conservatism that accepts reality as a field of existential struggle between conflicting powers. An elitist in practice, he draws on such disparate sources as Gaetano Mosca, Vilfredo Pareto, Francis Bacon, Arthur Schopenhauer, Charles Maurras, André Malraux, and Jean-Paul Sartre. In this context, he formed early on a moderate social Darwinism, coupled with a biological reductionism evident in his description of female differentiation: Louros believed that the sexes' social roles should coincide with their biological identity (Louros, 1984: 34, 36, 45). He considered himself a follower of positive eugenics in the mould of Galton, and advocated this from an idealistic perspective in the hope of creating healthy and cultured persons for a new postwar era while at the same time expressing a kind of conservative distrust of the ideals of democratic egalitarianism. To him, abortion was unthinkable and sterilization a measure of absolute last resort, never a way of protecting society from itself (Louros, 1947: 80–81). Louros's major concern in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War was Greece's demographic recovery and ways of safeguarding maternity: in

1946 he pushed for the creation of surgeries, university gynaecology and obstetrics clinics, and public maternity homes throughout the country; the systematic training of midwives, nurses, and gynaecology students; the drastic reduction of the infant mortality rate; and the establishment of maternity subsidies (Louros, 1947: 73–74). At a time of an 'anti-national revolution' (meaning the Greek Civil War), when 'barbaric, envious peoples' had extracted territory from the body of the nation, public health was viewed in terms of national capital in danger of insolvency (Louros, 1947: 81–83).[10] No wonder that in 1953 Louros became the founder and president for the next 20 years of a 'Greek Society of Eugenics' (later 'Greek Society of Eugenics and Human Genetics') that would last until 1990.

The Nazi factor: Comparisons to Hitler's Germany

Taking into consideration that an important part of the Greek medical establishment was a product of the German educational process, it does not come as a surprise that developments in Nazi Germany were under continuous scrutiny. The Nazi revolution was, indeed, a matter of general interest; however, Greek physicians, biologists, and scientists were in an advantageous position to understand and comment in the daily press on the applied legislation's practical consequences. Simonidis Vlavianos, a neurologist, psychiatrist, president of the Athens Medical Association (1932–33), and editor of the *Medical Journal*, parsed costs and benefits of the 'New Hitler Law on the Sterilization of the Hereditary Sicknesses' in the 31 December 1933 issue, seeking a compromise between ethics, eugenics, and the medical profession's integrity. In his view,

> the fact that eugenics should be taken up by every civilized state, that the governments should in the future at the very least ensure eugenics, is obvious even to the blind. To allow people with advanced tuberculosis, manifest syphilis, conspicuous alcoholism, mindless, idiots and insane of all kinds to get married is a crime of the highest degree.
>
> (Vlavianos, 1933a)

Its instigators should be punished, 'given the fact that the products of such criminal weddings are a heavy burden to the public not only in appearance but also as material expense'. However, Vlavianos considered compulsory sterilization as 'degradation of Medicine'. Condemning

Hitlerism as 'abuse of science' and the practice of compulsory sterilization as a thoroughly illiberal measure, he concluded by proclaiming himself a 'zealous partisan of voluntary sterilization, prescribed and even dictated, as far as it can be dictated, by doctors only and always by doctors' (Vlavianos, 1933a: 4). Therefore, Vlavianos utterly rejected the Nazi sterilization laws on grounds of both principles and science, only to leave a small window open for the certified right of medical authority to determine non-voluntary solutions: what was at stake here, besides morality, was professional autonomy.[11]

Six months later, Thrasyvoulos Vlisidis pointed towards Berlin to showcase an example of policies based on experimental biology. Vlisidis commended Hitler's government on its educational policy, aimed 'at sanitizing and raising a pure German race' (Vlisidis, 1934: 1). Following the tenets of such an education, Vlisidis reported, the public would be acquainted with those biological phenomena and laws permitting the success of Hitler's main measures in rendering the German race pure: forbidding the mixing of races and 'hampering through eugenic measures those unfit in body and intellect from producing offspring' (Vlisidis, 1934: 3). Although he admitted this use was somewhat beneath biology's lofty ideals, nonetheless, as a proponent of sexual education, he enthusiastically applauded it, 'even on the face of its one-sided application to sole improvement of the German race' (Vlisidis, 1934: 1, 3). Still, he observed that nature's fundamental law is cross-fertilization, not purity of breed, and concluded that 'as humans, scientists and Greeks we are entitled to ask an application of biology's teachings [...] towards the improvement of all men and humanity itself' (Vlisidis, 1934: 3). In other words, eugenics for all.

Georgios Kampasis, on the other hand, a surgeon and 'special secretary of the Medical Society', was interested in 1938 mainly in demanding measures against 'the rapid degeneration and decline of our race' (Kampasis, 1938: 5). Alongside syphilitics and alcoholics Kampasis placed 'those of criminal tendencies and those convicted for the most heinous offenses [who] are not prevented from creating offspring that will bear the stigmata of disease or the parent's criminal proclivities' (Kampasis, 1938: 5). Incidentally, the model to follow was Germany, where the measures taken were

> not only concerned with protecting the race from morbid offspring [...] but mainly from the intermingling with other races, a fact that drew criticism as a screen for the persecution of Jews, despite the claims of the authorities that only by obstructing mingling with

> foreign races and the preservation of the people's homogeneity can the state be rendered viable and prosperous.
>
> (Kampasis, 1938: 5)

Kampasis refrained from clearly demanding similar measures (although pointing out that legislation and implementation could be easily secured under Metaxas' dictatorship), confining himself to requiring a compulsory prenuptial health certificate.

Conclusion

Between 1930 and 1945, eugenics in Greece remained a diffuse movement, informing the ideas of a great range of the political spectrum from nationalist right to internationalist left, without securing its own dedicated societies or publications as in Western Europe, thus missing the chance of effective lobbying to pursue appropriate state policies in a vigorous way. While almost all the intellectuals discussed here (with the exception of Vlavianos and Kazazis) belonged to the Greek Anthropological Society, this did not become an exclusive vehicle for eugenics, and a Greek Eugenics Society was only founded in 1954. German influence remained widespread among these public intellectuals, either as a result of their academic connections or as concomitant with their preoccupation with political developments in Nazi Germany. While a significant number of doctors, biologists, and hygienists were quite ready to accept the necessity of eugenics as a principle and propose a minimum of positive eugenic measures, such as prenuptial health certificates or prohibition of marriage to curb hereditary diseases, insanity, and alcoholism, only a minimal number seemed ready to cross the threshold of negative eugenics to suggest or imply coercive measures such as forced sterilization. Defending the 'race' from degeneration remained, on the whole, a matter of words rather than deeds.

Notes

1. For the influence of the Prussian university model in the founding of the University of Athens, see Kimourtzis (2003). A more tempered approach than the generally received wisdom that the Greek university was a complete imitation of the Prussian original, it concludes that there was a significant interaction between international academic models. In this view, the Greek university remained open to multiple European influences, German ones being the strongest for social, political, and economic reasons reinforced by historical conjuncture. For the evolution of the relations between

Greek and German academic life (with emphasis on the last decades of the nineteenth century and the interwar years), see Kimourtzis (2006: xxx–xxxi, 2008: 65–71).

2. For more, see Raptis (2010: 99–101). For Greek–German cultural exchanges, see Cambas and Mitsou (2010).
3. Papanastasiou (2010: 207). On Nazi Olympic Games and their correlation with Olympia excavations as well as ancient Olympics, see Chapoutot (2012: 226–233, 234–237, 238–241).
4. His *The Development of the Organic World and the Origins of Man* [*H exelixis tou organikou kosmou kai i katagogi tou anthropou*], written in 1927, is based on an exclusively German bibliography, while his *Anthropology* [*Anthropologia*], printed in 1929, mentions a single French source against 12 German.
5. Vlisidis (1928: 56). Quoting Lenz, Vlisidis posited that 'economists, magistrates and civil servants should be aware that a nation's substance is not expressed in trade balances, its firm foundation is healthy hereditary origins'.
6. A full account of publications in Koumaris (1951). Koumaris wrote twice (in 1940 and 1944) to 11 German anthropologists to ask for moral support after the Italian invasion and to express his regret over the German occupation of Greece (Koumaris, 1944b: 55–61). Fischer, Lenz, and Verschuer responded much later.
7. Koumaris (1944a: 47). In the 1950s, Koumaris sided with the hologenesis hypothesis that posits a simultaneous emergence of mankind in different continents without a common cradle of humanity. This permitted him to formulate a theory of an autochthonous Greek race and the total 'absence of any flippantly trumpeted "descents", ancient or later, Slavic or other' (Koumaris, 1959: 131).
8. Koumaris (1937: 7). It should be noted here that from 1905 onwards, Greek lepers were isolated at a similar 'installation', a leper colony on the small island of Spinaloga, off the northern shore of Crete.
9. It has to be stressed, however, that a German education did not automatically render one an extreme eugenicist. Dimosthenis Eleftheriadis (1885–1964), for example, who had studied medicine in Germany before becoming a bacteriologist, hygienist, and professor of Social Biology at the Panteion Institute in Athens, was a social liberal who approached eugenics from the viewpoint of medical prevention, protection, and improvement of public health. In favour of abortion in cases where 'the product is unwanted or predictably defective', he considered the possibility of prohibiting marriage or childbearing for those suffering from serious congenital or infectious diseases, and implicitly rejected compulsory sterilization of the 'intellectually defect' (Eleftheriadis, 1929: 189, 184, 6, respectively). After the Second World War, he spoke against birth control for eugenic means and rejected outright the prenuptial health certificate: 'hereditary diseases were not so pervasive that they could result in degeneration of a whole society' (Trubeta, 2011: 290). However, this last observation should be weighed against the fact that from 1948 he subscribed to a kind of biological anticommunism: communism was 'a bestial effort to degrade everybody to the level of intellectual and spiritual capacity of the hereditarily inferior elements' (Eleftheriadis, 1948: 130–131, 1959: 88–89). At the same time, he went so far as to accept prenuptial health certificates and sterilization as 'theoretically correct' even

though their application remained 'a chimerical utopia' (Eleftheriadis, 1948: 171). Pervasive anticommunism during the Greek Civil War (1946–49) created an environment in which shifts to conservative positions could be swift and direct.

10. It should be noted here, though, that Louros, in a long list of writings spanning 40 years, fails to comment on the practice of negative eugenics and its ties to the Holocaust.
11. Vlavianos was not averse to other measures of racial protection. On 16 July 1933, he called for drug addicts to be branded as insane and confined in hospitals. A special branch of police should be set up to fight drug proliferation and keep under surveillance recreation spots and secret drug distribution centres, while anti-drug propaganda was drummed up in schools, universities, churches, factories, and the army to combat the scourge, all on the rationale that 'our race is already considerably degenerate and tired' (Vlavianos, 1933b: 1). Following the 1929 *Idionymon* ('special illegal act') Law, drug addicts were sent into exile along with communists on islands such as Anafi and Folegandros.

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11
The Mild Eugenics Temptation in Portugal

Irene Flunser Pimentel

Eugenics, the idea of 'race improvement' through social engineering measures and state intervention, was, in the late nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century, a subject of debate within the medical, scientific, and political communities of Europe and North America, until the Nazi Holocaust gave the topic an extremely negative reputation. Eugenicists based themselves on the evolutionary theory of natural selection, the analogy between the animal and human world, and metaphors concerning selection and competition, to try to limit quantitatively and qualitatively what they considered to be a 'decaying' population and society, allegedly caused by biological factors that would give rise to hereditarily morbid nations. This idea, based on social Darwinism, found its way into the ideas for creating a 'new man' and the nationalistic views of 'regeneration' in the nations of European dictatorships, particularly in Germany, in the period between the wars of the twentieth century.

The eugenic debate also reached Portugal at the end of the nineteenth century. In the opening lecture of the Medical Surgery School in Oporto, the lecturer José Gregório Lopes da Câmara Sinval warned: 'before you marry, be aware of what you do' (*antes que cases, olha o que fazes*). In a conference, later published in the *Porto Medical Gazette* (*Gazeta Médica do Porto*), he proposed that the state intervene in marriage, prohibiting it between young people under 18 years of age. In his opinion, the age difference between spouses should not be great, and in practice this should be the 'first physical requirement to be met'. Further to this, it was questioned whether 'someone has the right to bring to life a being only to have it poisoned from the onset', appealing to families to protect themselves (quoted in Monteiro, 1933: 60).

During the First World War, some feminists who helped in the republican war effort advocated 'race improvement'. Such was the case of Ana Osório de Castro, founder of the Crusade of Portuguese Women. She considered in particular that 'the Portuguese woman, instinctually devoted as she is to her country and the defence of race', should undertake the task of taking in war orphans, helping with childcare and charity work (Osório, 1915). When the Great War ended, European governments with liberal regimes tried to respond to democratization and the mass entry of women into the workforce, as well as to the demographic issue, by creating family and social policies, applying laws to women's work, maternal and child protection, and support for large families. As we will see, in countries where fascist and authoritarian regimes took hold, this response came about afterwards in a specific way.

In 1919, Júlio Dantas, doctor, writer, and diplomat, proposed, among other measures, isolation of persons dangerous 'to the race', prohibition of marriage between those of unsound mind and body, a billet de santé and a premarital medical examination (Dantas, 1919). To those who considered this to be against individual freedoms, he replied that there were no 'religious or moral reasons greater than the goal of protecting and safeguarding humanity's future'. Worse than stealing the possibility of building a home from 'degenerates' was, according to him, 'obtaining that happiness at the cost of the suffering of small beings' that were brought into this 'world only to suffer among the harshest of punishments brought on by the selfish and criminal kiss of their parents' (Dantas, 1919: 145). He also suggested the outlawing of marriage between 'people of infirm body and mind', in other words, 'any infirm person who may pass down to their descendents serious and permanent diseases' (Dantas, 1919: 144).

The eugenic debate was only heightened, however – and always within the restricted world of scientific and academic conferences and medical journals – after the coup of 1926, which resulted in military dictatorship, and afterwards, at the beginning of Salazar's New State. In 1927, Mendes Correia, at the National Congress of Medicine, held in Oporto, considered it necessary to take into account the physical health of the Portuguese. He warned against the increased physical and mental abnormalities, the 'degenerative defects' and 'pernicious agents of decay of race', which were visible in military inspections, a situation that showed the importance of relying on the 'automatic agents of natural purification'. A 'natural process of elimination' was the high infant mortality rate, and Mendes Correia even criticized the fact that many individuals survived due to medical care and hygiene. While

not advocating the excessive measures claimed by some eugenicists, he defended the prenuptial certificate and the need to implement the principles of positive eugenics to combat degenerative causes, proposing

> to establish the pedigree of families, segregation of offenders, sterilization and neo-Malthusianism in the case of serious diseases, profound ante-nuptial examination of health conditions, dissemination of eugenic notions (including sex education and anti-venereal prophylaxis), protection of pregnant women, medical checks at immigration, and finally, to fight against alcoholism, prostitution, immorality, and so on.
>
> (Correia, 1928: 1–8)

In 1929, José Saraiva Andrade listed the dangers threatening the white race, highlighting US imperialism and the Mongolian or yellow peril (Saraiva, 1929). In the same year, Adelaide Cabete, a feminist doctor, presented at the second Abolitionist National Congress a thesis on 'eugenics', arguing that 'perverts', the mentally ill, and cancer sufferers should not have children. She rejected, however, sterilization and other 'unacceptable, oppressive laws', from marriage prohibition to castration. She advocated instead the teaching of basic hygienic, moral, and prophylactic notions, and knowledge of eugenics as well as physically and morally educating young people (Cabete, 1929: 3, 10–12).

In 1931, Mendes Correia again stressed the fact that 'governing also involves selection' (Correia, 1931: 204). That year, he had been at the Institute for Brain Research in Berlin, under the direction of Oskar Vogt, where he came across a 'remarkable and important scientific initiative' which he describes with awe:

> For now I limit myself to pointing out how outstanding the collection of brain sections and how vast the field of research at the Institute is: a special clinic with hundreds of beds, the possibility to choose subjects from among the 25,000 patients interned in the hospices and asylums of Berlin as well as abundant histological material and bio-chemical, genetic and psycho-technical research.
>
> (Correia, 1946: 83)

In that same year, 1931, Riba Leça brought to public attention, in the Catholic magazine *Brotéria*, the existence of two eugenic procedures: the premarital medical examination and sterilization. In his opinion, these were both expensive and radical procedures that were

being systematically referred to in recent publications and advocated by hygienists (Leça, 1931). Greater reprobation was deserved for sterilization, whether voluntary or forced. To advocate this and other measures in Portugal would be a 'crime of a moral and patriotic nature'.

In the same year, psychiatrist Barahona Fernandes visited, as a research fellow, the Institute for Psychiatric Research in Munich, and proposed upon his return, during the first Week of Portuguese Hygiene in 1931, the establishment of an archive containing the genealogical history of patients. Five years later, he and Prof. Sobral Cid created the Genealogical Archives in the Psychiatric Clinic of the Faculty of Medicine of Lisbon, integrating material collected at Miguel Bombarda Hospital with 'data on the heritability of the three great endogenous psychoses (schizophrenia, manic depression and epilepsy) and psychopathy' (Fernandes, 1940c: 16).

Salazar's New State and the creation of a Portuguese Society for the Study of Eugenics

On 15 June 1932, about a fortnight before António de Oliveira Salazar was appointed head of the Portuguese government, giving rise to a new regime (*Estado Novo* or New State), a preparatory meeting for the establishment of the Portuguese Society for the Study of Eugenics (*Sociedade Portuguesa de Estudos Eugénicos*, SPEE) was held in Coimbra, on the initiative of Eusébio Tamagnini (de Matos Encarnação), director of the Portuguese Institute of Anthropology. It should be noted, however, that before the creation of SPEE, eugenic studies were already being undertaken by both the Institute of Anthropology of Coimbra University and the Portuguese Society of Anthropology and Ethnology, headed by Tamagnini, and this was publicly stated. On 24 October, Tamagnini promoted the visit of Renato Kehl, chairman of the Brazilian Eugenics Society, to the University of Porto, where he gave a lecture on 'eugenic policy', afterwards published in the *Proceedings of the Portuguese Society of Anthropology and Ethnology* (Kehl, 1933).

The magazine *Contemporary Medicine* wrote about his lecture on eugenic politics, reporting that the eugenicist had made a brief reference to eugenic methods, stating that these aimed to avoid the resurgence of the frail, infirm, and degenerate, not to persecute them, in order to avoid their suffering and the burden on society (*A Medicina Contemporânea*, 6 November 1932: 344). To the Brazilian eugenicist, this policy was not in contradiction with humane feelings and was not a way of curtailing individual freedoms. He blamed science for trying to reduce the misery resulting from competition for life by preventing the free play

of natural laws, and criticized society, with its philanthropy, financial aid, and education, for a biased competition favouring the 'physical and moral perverts' at the expense of the 'good' and 'healthy society'. He defended the 'advantages of marrying within the same class, race, within the same profession as the father or the family's predominant vocation' and condemned miscegenation (Kehl, 1933).

In support of Renato Kehl, in 1933, Almerindo Lessa published his 'Eugenic Exhortations', dividing eugenic measures into four groups: constructive, restrictive, destructive, and creative. In short, Almerindo Lessa advocated the last of these, which, in his opinion, would fight crime, poverty, unemployment, disease, infant mortality, neonatal mortality, sexual perversion, bad temper, laziness, and failure. Neither the Church nor the state would have the right, he said, to censure couples who avoided, in this instance, the birth of children (Lessa, 1933: 10–11, 13, 16, 23).

Enter Catholic doctors

Revealing that there was no consensus in the eugenics debate in Portugal, Jaime Salazar de Sousa published an article in 1933 criticizing the 'theory of pure race', in which he stated that the coupling of superior individuals would, in fact, provoke 'mediocrity'. Between 1931 and 1934, the Catholic doctor Riba Leça wrote in *Brotéria* several articles about the Church's position on the matter. He criticized premarital medical examinations and sterilization, considering that those and other measures were a 'crime against the Fatherland's morals'. Eugenics as scientific theory and practice, promoting the improvement of the species, should be supported, he said, by honest and lawful means, but should be countered when using positivist materialism, enlightened 'disgusting immorality', and 'injustice'. He gave the example of the United States, where 'notions of Christian charity and compassion' were 'obsolete concepts' and had been replaced by the 'blindness of quantitative multiplication' and 'qualitative selection'.

Riba Leça particularly criticized 'Malthusian aberrations' like divorce, abortion, restriction of birth rate, legal regulation of marriage, and sterilization, considering that the state was not fit to 'draw absolute and definitive limits on the conditions of the right to marriage'. When motherhood was contraindicated, the solution was the 'partial or absolute containment': 'the forced segregation of the irresponsible and voluntary chastity of those responsible'. Other measures advocated were the spreading of Christian morals, hygiene, voluntary celibacy, preparing future spouses, sanctification of married life, better economic

conditions, urban prophylaxis, support for large families, and fighting venereal diseases, prostitution, and alcoholism (Leça, 1931).

In 1934, Riba Leça published again some articles condemning totalitarianism and the state sterilization law recently enacted in Germany. However, he revealed himself as an anti-Semitic, for he stated that the law was 'the most disgusting and inadvertent taint of usury, left in the Reich by persecuted Judaism'. Riba Leça reiterated that it was not proven that inferior 'races' were less able to secure the future of the species, and condemned voluntary or forced sterilization, as it was – he said – 'an attack against the inalienable rights of nature' (Leça, 1934a,b).

In contradictory times, European dictatorships defended the quantitative and qualitative increase of the population, for reasons of nationalist ideology and for military reasons, while faced with economic crisis, increased unemployment, and hunger. The Portuguese New State also discussed these issues. Portugal, according to Luiz Pina, citing the journal *Nature*, was, in 1934, the European country with the highest birth rate – 30/1,000 – but where every ten minutes an infant under the age of one died (AOS/CO/IN-9A). Infant mortality in Portugal, being incredibly high – greater than that in the rest of Europe – summarized, as a paradigmatic symptom, the abject poverty in which most Portuguese lived: in 1941, for example, more than 150 per thousand Portuguese infants died before reaching the first year of age. The scandalously high infant mortality numbers also show that maternal and infant care was virtually non-existent, due to an ideology that assigned it to the private domain of the home.

At the First Congress of the National Union (UN) – the only party during the Portuguese dictatorship (New State) – in 1934, theses defending private welfare were presented, basing themselves on economic and ideological reasons, and on the grounds of the 'natural tendency' of the Portuguese to be religious, kind, and generous and to have a spirit of sacrifice. With support for motherhood and family, the New State sought, first, to increase marriage through the Church and maintain high birth rates, and, second, to decrease infant mortality and the numbers of illegitimate children, which in the 1940s reached 12 and 17 per cent, respectively. In 1934, a law to increase 'large families' was also discussed, and a family allowance for families with more than three 'legitimate' children was proposed, a measure that would not see the light of day. In turn, the following year, a law on Family Defence was promulgated.

Also in 1934, the First National Congress of Colonial Anthropology was held, organized by Mendes Correia, attended by a delegation from the German Colonial League and the Museum of Ethnography in

Cologne. In the meeting, Eusébio Tamagnini advised against miscegenation, despite the concept having supporters. Alberto Germano da Silva Correia, a physician and anthropologist, spoke against colonial settlement by convicts, proposing instead settlement by proletarian couples supported by social welfare, and also advocated a 'liberal' colonial policy calling for the collaboration of *mestizos*. José de Oliveira Paiva Boléo also found that the 'mixed bloods' benefited mankind, and the 'surge of blood as a result of a cross between two different ethnic types was responsible for the cycles of culture and civilization' (*Trabalhos*, 1934: 5, 17–18).

Portuguese Society for the Study of Eugenics

In December 1934, the statutes of the Portuguese Society for the Study of Eugenics were approved by an ordinance signed by the minister of public instruction, Eusébio Tamagnini himself. Article 2 stated that the Society proposed to contribute to the 'preservation and advancement of the human species and, in particular, to improve physically, intellectually and morally the Portuguese population'. On 9 December 1937, the inauguration of the Portuguese Society for the Study of Eugenics in Coimbra was attended by representatives from several countries, among them Eugen Fischer, director of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Anthropology, Human Heredity and Eugenics in Berlin, created in 1927.

At the inaugural address, Eusébio Tamagnini painted a dark picture of Portugal, where the 'inferior individuals multiplied, damaging the general level of the majority', defending eugenic measures in order to allow superior individuals to reproduce and hinder the reproduction of the inferior and disabled. However, in a probable allusion to the opposition of the Catholic Church, he acknowledged that, contrary to what happened in Germany, eugenics was difficult to apply in Portugal. Interestingly, Tamagnini, who would be a Germanophile during the Second World War, only spoke of Nazi measures to enhance the birth rate among 'superior' Germans and did not mention 'negative' measures, including sterilization, targeted at the 'lower' individuals of the German population (Anon., 1937: 5).

Who were, after all, the members of the Society for the Study of Eugenics?

Most of them belonged to the University of Coimbra, and were doctors. Among the elements that formed the Portuguese Society for the Study of

Eugenics were the doctor Rocha Brito, the psychiatrist Elisio de Moura, president of the Psychiatric Clinic at Coimbra University, and Henrique Vilhena, medical anatomist. The director of the Oporto division was António Augusto Mendes Correia, professor at the Faculty of Science of Porto University, organizer of the Anthropology Congresses in Coimbra and Oporto (1930) and the Colonial Anthropology Congress in Oporto (1934), and a politician of the Salazar regime. Eusébio Tamagnini, professor of Anthropology and Natural Sciences at Coimbra University, was one of the exceptions. Politically, he was from the radical Right and belonged to the 28 May League and, in 1933, to the Board of Directors of the National-Sydicalist Movement (*Movimento Nacional-Sindicalista*, MNS), a fascist movement.

After the pro-Salazar MNS split, of which he was part, he supported the commitment to the government and was appointed minister of public instruction between 1934 and 1936. Another National-Syndicalist and former monarchist was the doctor Brigadier João de Almeida, also a participant in the founding meeting of the society in 1937, a year before he exiled himself. A conspirator with the monarchist Paiva Couceiro, he also belonged to the 28 May League and was against the entry of republicans into the UN. One of those conservative republicans, a former friend of Salazar, was the surgeon and university professor Bissaia Barreto, another participant in the Society's inauguration.

Another member of the Society was the psychiatrist Henrique Barahona Fernandes, a scholar in Germany at the Kaiser Wilhelm Society of Munich between 1934 and 1937, and one of the voices that advocated eugenics in Portugal. However, he criticized forced sterilization in Germany, and, referring to Portugal, found that there 'was no reason to insist on such extermination measures, shocking to our values'. On 8 May 1938, he gave a lecture in which he considered that 'well understood eugenics' was not 'the simple expression of selfishness of the fittest, to the detriment of the frail'. He defended, however, the idea that prophylaxis and public welfare should be complemented with eugenics oriented towards race hygiene, because the current progress of civilization brought 'risks of counter-selection'. Viewing with concern the reduction of birth rates and increasing numbers of sick and disabled, he criticized the sterilization of people with hereditary diseases. He advocated, instead, 'constructive' eugenic measures: 'the adoption of eugenic premarital advice' and the promotion of the birth rate among healthy couples and the prevention of reproduction among those with hereditary diseases (Fernandes, 1938a,b).

As well as Barahona Fernandes, Almerindo Lessa, as we have seen, also advocated eugenics. He published a favourable critical review of the book *Why I Am a Eugenicist*, by Renato Kehl, edited in 1937 (Lessa, 1938: 390), in which he defended eugenic abortion (Lessa, 1940). This book by Renato Kehl was, in turn, strongly condemned in the same year in the book *Criminal Abortion*, based on a lecture given eight years before by the Catholic doctor Costa Sacadura (Costa, 1937). This professor from the Faculty of Medicine of Lisbon, and director of clinical obstetrics and childcare at Alfredo da Costa Maternity, advocated tougher laws against abortion, also proposing to criminalize midwives within the Penal Code.

The Catholic medical press

In their turn, Catholics condemned the 'state as master of life and individual' and the 'invigoration of race' adopted by racist ideology, legalizing 'abortion, carrying out infanticide and mutilation with supreme audacity and tyranny upon men to whom nature had been less fortuitous' (Mendes, 1939). The vigilance of the Church acted as a safety valve against the 'negative' excesses of eugenics, and the ideological proximity between the New State and the Church made it unthinkable to defend neo-Malthusianism, sterilization, and eugenic abortions, both those imposed by the state and those chosen voluntarily by the individual.

Acção Médica, a publication of the Medical Association of Portuguese Catholic doctors, published some articles on the subject of eugenics, condemning sterilization, euthanasia, and castration. In 1936, it published a text against the 'evils of euthanasia'. Years later, in 1942, condemning 'the murderous practice of euthanasia', the magazine recalled the speech of the bishop of Münster, considering the doctrine 'that aims to legitimize the murder of innocents and gives legal sanction to suppressing life' as 'horrible'.

Interestingly, this text caused an outcry from some readers and led José de Paiva Boléo to defend the magazine, saying it had only stated the truth: 'a problem of a medical nature, in relation with Christian morality'. Addressing the attitude of the Portuguese Catholics in the war, he said they should defend 'absolute neutrality' in harmony with the policy of Salazar's government, but also criticized the war's belligerent protagonists for suffering from ideological errors that did not conform to Catholic thought, namely racism, communism, demo-liberalism, plutocracy, or 'super-capitalism' (Boléo, 1942: 296–297, 299).

In 1937, an article was published in this Catholic magazine by Michel Riquet against the 'barbaric anachronism' of castration (Riquet, 1938: 34). Two years later, the priest Herculano Mendes condemned 'eugenics' and racist ideology for 'legalizing abortions and practicing infanticide'. On the contrary, the priest said, the solution was to be found in moral regeneration through positive eugenic measures, naming particularly 'honest restraint', the main 'weapon against unnatural neo-Malthusianism' (Mendes, 1939). In April 1939, another article from the Catholic Serras da Silva, from the Faculty of Medicine of Coimbra, advocated the renunciation of marriage by people suffering from hereditary diseases. In his opinion, 'hereditary' elements were correctable through education, but not through physical education, which lapses 'into brutality, violence and confusion' (Silva, 1939: 277).

In the same year, 1939, Victor Fontes, from the Faculty of Medicine of Lisbon, pointed to the need to combat venereal disease, alcoholism, unemployment, and increasing criminality, but rejected the elimination of lives. He advocated that welfare should be provided to 'abnormal' people and also the adoption of 'social prophylaxis and mental hygiene', without falling into 'the exaggerations of radical eugenic measures' (Fontes, 1939: 18, 28, 34). In 1940, the Catholic magazine published a translation of an article from *The Catholic Guardian*, analysing the German law on sterilization from the Catholic viewpoint.

Another Catholic participant in this debate was physician and surgeon João Porto, president of the General Assembly of the Association of Catholic Doctors, who advocated, as Barahona Fernandes did, 'the genealogical study of families' and the creation of a central bureau of heredity and genetics (Porto, 1940). In 1941, however, he condemned 'negative selection' and eugenics that deprived marriage of its true dignity and purpose and destroyed the family. He was referring to communism, for he spoke against a 'certain totalitarian state' that wanted the 'destruction of the classes'. In 1942, João Porto spoke against both the passive view of the state and the totalitarian socialist state welfare, because, in his opinion, 'social order, social justice and charity' were 'successive steps in the perfect and whole social action' of the Church (Porto, 1940).

In the same year, after the beginning of the war, Barahona Fernandes intensified his reservations about the German 'totalitarian and racist conception of life', its science 'in the service of politics', and the laws that subjected individuals to the state in Germany (Fernandes, 1940a,b). Another eugenicist, Carlos da Silva Ramos, said that eugenics was unfairly attacked and, despite its being a difficult task, he believed that

one should not put aside the possibility of a 'selection'. In his opinion, mankind was tired of all 'abnormal people because they were disturbing elements'. Among other measures, he proposed to criminalize the transmission of venereal diseases, to enforce the prenuptial certificate, to fight prostitution through regulation, to propagandize neo-Malthusian practices, and to enact laws to protect pregnant women. In opposition to the Church, Carlos Ramos set himself emphatically against measures of abstinence (Ramos, 1940).

Years later, in 1944, the Catholic medical magazine, *Acção Médica*, condemned the infiltration of 'racist' ideas into Portuguese medicine and recalled the German Catholic bishops' pastoral against the murder of innocent people, whether mentally or physically ill. The Catholic magazine was in particular criticizing an article by Diogo Furtado, published in May in another medical journal – *Jornal Médico* – in which the author alluded to the 'unusually high proportion' of young men excluded from the army, and defended the adoption of eugenic measures, despite recognizing that such measures were in some parts 'weapons of racist doctrines' (Furtado, 1944: 281–282).

In that magazine, *Jornal Médico*, Aires de Azevedo, a Germanophile eugenicist doctor who released studies on twins undertaken in Germany, wrote and published 12 articles entitled 'For a Eugenic Conscience' in the second half of 1943. He praised the generalization of medical and racial hygiene in Germany and considered that maintaining a hostile attitude towards the German measures was based on political and religious prejudices, resulting from ignorance of the scientific content of biology and inheritance. He advocated measures of 'positive' eugenics through social welfare programmes in Portugal (Azevedo, 1944: 93).

In May 1944, during in a period of extreme poverty, hunger, and unemployment, the Portuguese New State finally created the New Winter Relief and promulgated the 'Status of Social Welfare', whereby the role of the state remained 'supplementary' to that of private welfare giving. In one propaganda leaflet of the regime towards the end of the Second World War (*The Social Welfare in Portugal*), Portuguese people were described as an enemy of 'the monstrous Nietzsche theory that has horror of pity and contempt for the weak, whose defence hinders natural selection' (A Assistência Social em Portugal, n.d.). Although it praised Beveridge for proclaiming 'the scandal of poverty' in Great Britain in 1942 and creating the English welfare state, the propaganda leaflet considered that public social welfare should only supplement private welfare and its concept was 'the duty of all', but not 'the right of the poor'. When defining who should be supported, or not, by public

welfare, the state distinguished the 'bad' poor from the 'good' poor, reserving for the former arrest and mandatory internment, and, for the latter only, occasional, but not universal, support.

Conclusions

In the international context, where population policy was considered a national(ist) matter, an increased birth rate in Portugal was designated as an aim for the 'preservation and development of the breed'. But, unlike Italian fascism, which demanded an increase in the population for expansionary reasons, the Portuguese *Estado Novo* wanted to maintain the already high birth rate primarily for defensive and ideological reasons, in similarity with the doctrine of the Catholic Church. On the other hand, the attitude of the Portuguese regime radically distinguished itself from a German National Socialist policy based on a biological-racist concept. With the exception of the colonies, where there was a racially motivated policy, racist exclusions were not introduced in the Portuguese metropolis, although several exclusions for reasons of class, fortune, gender, ideology, and morality existed. Measures of eugenic sterilization, euthanasia, and abortion were unthinkable in Portugal, for both the Catholic Church and the New State.

In Portugal, there were no sterilization methods, Malthusian measures, or marriage bans, but there were segregation measures in nursing homes and hospices, and 'positive' eugenic measures – public welfare and child allowance. Although support for large families has been a topic under discussion since 1934, the child allowance (*Abono de Família*) was only instituted eight years later, in 1942; this law was based on the concept of 'family wage', the corporate utopia of the Constitution of 1933, and the social doctrine of the Catholic Church.

The fight for 'quality' of the Portuguese population was mainly conducted in Portugal with the intention of reducing alcoholism and diseases – physical and psychological – as well as the infant mortality rate, the highest in Europe, which in itself represented a symptom of all the exclusions that were practised in the Salazar regime. The Portuguese dictatorship, however, resembled Italian fascism and German National Socialism in that the first measures to protect the mother corresponded exclusively to the interests of their states. Also, certain benefits – for example, child allowance – were assigned exclusively to the father, the mother receiving only awards and honorary medals. In Portugal, the purpose of creating a 'new' man and a 'new' woman was common to all antiliberal regimes in the 1930s, which used the notion of 'national

revival' and 'regeneration' through the creation of a 'new mind' and a 'new regime' against what was termed decay caused by liberalism.

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12

A 'Fascist' Colonialism? German National Socialist and Italian Fascist Colonial Cooperation, 1936–43

Eric S. Roubinek

Author of the talking points for political lecturers of the Third Reich, Johann Engel gave special notice that:

> Fascists are not National Socialists. The NSDAP has nothing at all to do with the Fascist Party in Italy. So little from the fascist system in Italy can be transferred to Germany as National Socialism to Italy. We have only one thing in common with fascism, namely a dictator [...][1]

The diplomatic differences that divided Hitler's Germany from Mussolini's Italy during the 'Austrian crisis' of 1934 would eventually fade away as the two regimes became diplomatic as well as political and military allies. But the overwhelming notion that Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy were fundamentally two different regimes controlling two different nation-states was not only a contemporary argument, but, rather, an idea that has continued into the historiography of each regime and more prominently into that of generic fascism. To be sure, the literature on generic fascism (Nolte, 1963; Payne, 1995; Mosse, 1999; Mann, 2004; Paxton, 2004; among others) has demonstrated that Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy shared many similarities beyond a dictatorship. Perhaps more important than a shared cult around a strong leader, aesthetic similarities, or notions of a 'fascist minimum', historian Roger Griffin (1991) has argued that Nazism and Italian Fascism had in common 'a genus of political ideology whose mythic core in its various permutations is a palingenetic form of populist ultra-nationalism'. Nazi

Germany and Fascist Italy were not just similar; they also cooperated, creating a political alliance in 1936 and a military alliance in 1939. Yet, these alliances and this cooperation were still between two individual states. The bounded nature of these states was strengthened further as historians shifted their gaze from the discourse of these regimes, to their actions. It is here, historians have argued, that we see what differentiated these two regimes: namely, the rabid anti-Semitism of Nazi Germany and the fact that Italian Fascist imperialism took place overseas, whereas the Nazis focused on Eastern Europe. To be clear, Nazi Germany was responsible for the Holocaust, whereas Fascist Italy was not.

But the conception of these two regimes as bounded geographically, ideologically, and in practice has allowed historical misconceptions and denied the similarities between, and even the vision of race and space shared by, these two fascist regimes. We can see this especially well in the recent scholarly turn to the overseas colonial empires of both Germany and Italy. While some scholars (Zantop, 1997; Steinmetz, 2007) have noted the importance of these states' colonial fantasies, recognizing a colonialism without colonies, others (Zimmerer, 2003, 2011; Hull, 2005; Madley, 2005; and others) have sought to find empirical evidence of Hannah Arendt's (1951) theory that the violence of Europe's imperialism was transported back to the European continent, resulting in the genocidal violence of the Second World War in Eastern Europe. Although this is compelling, here I am not interested in following lines of continuity from Windhoek or Abyssinia to Auschwitz (Bernhard, 2010, 2011; Zimmerer, 2011). Military culture and a few personal biographies seem to be slender reeds upon which to hang the origins of the Holocaust. Moreover, these teleological analyses continue to create arguments of national peculiarities: Germans in Africa brought ideas back to Germany, Italians in Africa brought ideas back to Italy.

Nonetheless, the importance of Africa to the national histories of Germany and Italy, especially during the era of fascism, should still interest us. As a geographic space and an abstract place, Africa provided a meeting point for these two fascist regimes. It is a place about which and in which Nazi German and Fascist Italian ideas and practices of race and space converged. It is here that we can move beyond the international and identify a transnational flow of information between Germany and Italy and between Africa and the European continent, the real point of Arendt's analysis (Gerwarth and Malinowski, 2009). Recognizing the importance of Africa to both of these fascist regimes, and the transnational flows of information created around it, challenges our understanding of generic fascism. Racial anti-Semitism was less rabid

in Fascist Italy, and Nazi Germany would eventually focus its colonial ambitions on the European continent rather than overseas. Nevertheless, an investigation of the cooperation between these two fascist regimes in terms of colonial practice and policy challenges the supposed incompatibility of these ideologies of race and space demarcated along the rigid borders of the nation-state.

To highlight this fascist, cross-border, transnational cooperation, my analysis focuses on the person of Fritz Kummetz, a major in the *Schutzpolizei* under the Third Reich. A former German colonial officer, Kummetz had been in the administration and agricultural service of Germany's African colonies until being called back to Europe to fight in the First World War. Following service on the Eastern and Western fronts, Kummetz came to Berlin, where he quickly rose through the ranks as a police officer. Never forgetting Germany's colonies, he became an early supporter of colonial revisionism in 1920, just one year after the Versailles Treaty had stripped Germany of its overseas territories. Throughout the 1920s, he delivered talks on colonial themes to the Berlin *Schutzpolizei*, a lecture programme that was eventually syndicated across the entire Third Reich (*Der Deutsche Polizeibeamte*, 1935; *Ministerialblatt für preussische innere Verwaltung*, 1935). Indeed it was the opportunity to continue his colonial revisionist politics that first drew Kummetz to join the Nazi Party in 1933 after Hitler rose to power. Yet in many ways Kummetz was an unspectacular historical figure. He did not attain a leadership role, either within the Nazi Party or within the state. By 1935, however, Kummetz did occupy a unique role in National Socialist colonial planning as the liaison officer between the *Reichskolonialbund* (RKB), the *Kolonialpolitisches Amt* (KPA), and the Ministry of the Interior; between the RKB, the KPA, and the Foreign Office; and between the Foreign Office, *Schutzstaffel* (SS), *Sicherheitsdienst* (SD), *Ordnungspolizei*, and the *Wehrmacht*. Caught between these overlapping webs of Nazi bureaucracy, Kummetz's role in the middle management of Nazi colonial politics not only points to the tensions of colonial visions within the institutions of the Third Reich, but also offers us a lens through which to examine the ways in which the racial and spatial ideology of Nazism was influenced by external factors as it was translated into policy.

Colonial propaganda increased in breadth and depth during the Third Reich. But drumming up nationalist support to 'break the shackles of Versailles' and return Germany to a colonial power was one thing. Translating this propaganda into a concrete plan that incorporated the Nazis' worldview proved significantly more difficult, especially since German

officials had not set foot on the African continent for over 15 years. Yet, this was the exact task facing Kummetz when the KPA ordered him to create a Colonial Police Administration Law in 1935. Working from a Nazi ideology that claimed the racial singularity and superiority of Germans did not fit well with a burgeoning Nazi colonial police policy that was from the beginning predicated on this officer's past experiences abroad. The hope of SS-*Brigadeführer* Humann-Hainhofen[2] that 'in the colonies of the Third Reich, population management (*Menschenführung*) and the administration will be determined by principles for which there are no examples, not even in our former colonial experience' came true; not, as he had hoped, because of the implementation of a *new* Nazi colonialism, but, rather, because in lieu of recent German colonial experience overseas, the Nazi regime would increasingly rely on the experiences of Germany's past and the present experiences of other European states, primarily Fascist Italy.

In a letter to the Foreign Office from 1934,[3] the Prussian prime minister acknowledged that the police of various German cities had adopted the traditions of Germany's lost colonies. Noting that this was a fruitful method to keep these traditions alive and strengthen public support for colonialism, he also lamented the lack of knowledge about the current form of policing under the mandate system and kindly requested reports on these conditions from the German consulates abroad.

The Foreign Office did its best to comply, contacting the consulates in Nairobi, Windhoek, Lagos, Accra, and Paris. Although some reports flowed back to Berlin, it turned out that information on contemporary colonial politics and practices was much more difficult to obtain than it had expected. Specific details on the organization and activities of the colonial police were considered secret and were not available through government publications. In the case of Cameroon, the consulate even went so far as to warn the Foreign Office not to contact private persons or businesses, as it might strain the relations between colonial Germans and the mandate government.[4] This tension had existed since Germany had lost its colonies, and had been exacerbated by the National Socialists' rise to power and their increasingly frequent claims to regain their colonies. If official channels through which information might have been obtained about the role of police in Germany's former colonies under mandate powers were closed and private connections undesirable, all that remained to study was the organization of police in the mandate territories.

Lamenting a lack of knowledge about the colonial administrations under the mandate powers since 1919, in 1935 the Foreign Office and

KPA charged Kummetz to study the colonial police administrations of Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, and Italy. At first working within the publications of the inter-war years maintained within the collections of the RKB, Kummetz was soon receiving new information from the colonial offices of these states through diplomatic channels as well as through personal connections he had made in the colonies. These efforts were made somewhat less difficult by the military alliance between Germany and Spain during the Spanish Civil War, and significantly so during the Second World War, once France and Belgium were under German occupation and the KPA had established administrative offices in the colonial institutions of Paris and Brussels.[5]

But even before the outbreak of war, the codification of a political and military alliance between Germany and Italy established a close relationship of sharing colonial information. Indeed, one might argue that it was colonialism – namely, Germany's support for Italy's imperial claims to Ethiopia – that initiated the Rome–Berlin Axis (Petersen, 1973). Italy's expansionism and settler policies resonated with Nazism's own claim for *Lebensraum*. Perhaps more importantly, Hitler's regime recognized the motivational and integrative power that colonial rhetoric and actions had on the nation (Kallis, 2000; Bernhard, 2010). To be sure, the KPA and RKB modelled their organizational mission after this Italian invention. Kummetz, too, had already looked to the colonial experiences of Fascist Italy in his own plans since 1935.

Beyond diplomatic support, Nazis responded to Italy's war at the horn of Africa with awe, and found it instructive. For example, former German general Rudolf Xylander (1937) praised the Fascist campaign as the first modern *Vernichtungskrieg* and held it as a model for future wars. A German foreign service officer in Addis Ababa hoped that the current exchange of ideas between Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy would not stop at economics and politics, noting that whenever Germany should return to Africa it would find itself at home between the Union of South Africa and Italian East Africa as part of a future, racially pure African continent.[6]

Praise for Fascist Italy's *new* colonial practices and policies (Mattioli, 2005) was not, however, unanimous across, or even within, Nazi institutions. For every Fritz Tiebel,[7] who announced to a representative of the Italian Colonial Office that Nazi colonial policy 'must employ completely different methods than in the prewar years', implying looking to the policies in Italian East Africa, there was a *Geheimrat* Methner. In a letter to Kummetz,[8] the latter demonstrated his scepticism about following the policies of the Italian Fascists too closely:

> The main differences I see between the Italian colonies and ours lie not in the climate, nor even in the population, rather and above all else, in the fact that we are planning the reacquisition of our colonies and not the conquering or occupation of foreign lands, rather the return of German authority.

Methner may have overestimated the positive reception with which Germans would be greeted should the Third Reich regain its former overseas colonial empire, but he was not alone in his aversion to conflict. Rudolf Asmis, division head within the KPA, also saw a future National Socialist empire in Africa as one that would be based on a peaceful return – administered through treaties and not war.[9]

As the liaison between the KPA, RKB, Foreign Office, SS, SD, *Wehrmacht*, and *Ordnungspolizei*, Kummetz's work in the planning of a new colonial police reflected the tensions between these offices and the limitations of working only within the written records of Italian and other European colonial powers. If, as the German Dr J. Petersen argued (1937), 'Colonial space is as necessary for the *Volk* as a playground is to a school', then Germany would need its own access to colonial land in Africa, not just access to colonial discourse. Even the sceptic Methner agreed,[10] noting that Germany must gain colonial experience in practice, for the 'green table' was the death of all colonial politics. In May 1939, Germany finally began a process of collecting its own experience when Fritz Kummetz travelled to Italy in order to evaluate the Fascists' colonial police school in Tivoli near Rome. This particular visit initiated not only the education of German colonial police in Italy, and later in the Italian colonies, but also the integration of Italian colonial practices into German colonial policies.

Until this visit in 1939, Kummetz's plans for a future colonial police closely followed the *Kaiserreich*'s organization of the *Schutztruppe*. Even as a member of the SS, Kummetz did not fully accept the Nazi doctrine of racial hierarchies and racial separation, at least not where it affected what he saw as efficient colonial policy. He agreed with the sentiments of SS-*Brigadeführer* Humann-Hainhofen,[11] who envisioned a 'new' Nazi colonial education for the police, SS, SD, and *Ordnungspolizei* that was based not on propaganda, but only on the transfer of practical colonial knowledge. It is therefore unsurprising that Kummetz[12] even critiqued the heavily propagandized colonial political education established by his colleague in the KPA, Paul Schnoeckel, for being too heavy-handed and overladen with useless information. He disagreed, however, with the broader notion that Germany's future colonial activities could only

be based upon the racial 'knowledge' of National Socialism.[13] To be sure, in his multiple drafts for the organization of the colonial police, he described the indigenous African populations in racist terms. Yet, his racist language was much more consistent with nineteenth-century forms of racism and national chauvinism than the biological racism of the Third Reich. The indigenous population may have been 'culturally backwards', as Kummetz[14] saw it, but it was not inherently so. For example, in a critique of the KPA's memorandum on the schooling of indigenous peoples in Africa, Kummetz argued that beyond manual labour, the Third Reich would have to do more to educate black Africans for administrative service, whether as secretaries, typists, bookkeepers, or middle management. As the previous German colonial administration had proven, educating the indigenous population for integration into German rule was necessary to maintain peace between 'whites' and 'blacks' living in Africa.[15]

For Kummetz, racial ideology was subordinate to, not paramount over, colonial management. His implicit critique of National Socialist racial policy went even further in his development of a Colonial Police Law that was more closely based on Germany's colonial past and that of its European neighbours than on Nazi ideology. To be sure, Kummetz suggested that the law of the *Mutterland* served at least as a role model for the colonial police, if not a direct translation of it. But it was not the Third Reich and its laws that he viewed as the motherland, but, rather, the Prussian legal system – based on the *Polizeiverwaltungsgesetz* of 1931 – which Kummetz envisioned the colonial police as maintaining, that is, at least until the creation of a National Socialist *Reichspolizeiverwaltungsgesetz*.[16] Indeed, in the absence of the said Nazi law, the planned police deployment in the future colonies of the Third Reich appeared quite similar to those employed during the *Kaiserreich*, with a few exceptions (see Zollmann, 2010). Rather than anticipate the racial bent of the Nazi regime (see Lower, 2002) in his policy drafting, Kummetz continued to place significant value on the integration of black Africans into the colonial police force, a decision based both upon the 'loyal Askari' of German East Africa and reports from the mandate powers that they were necessary for the maintenance of effective police authority. Kummetz maintained their necessity based on utility, despite the fact that Hitler himself had explicitly expressed his wish that blacks would not be a part of German police and military cadres.[17]

By 1940, however, there was a distinct shift in Kummetz's organizational policies for a future colonial police. His changes reflected a greater emphasis on biological racism in colonial planning. This increased

reference to race did not, however, stem from National Socialist ideology, as one might expect. It was, rather, the Italian metropole and its overseas possessions that had the strongest effect on post-1939 colonial planning in Germany. The turning point for Kummetz began in May 1939, when he, along with Karl Pfeffer-Wildenbruch, head of the colonial police, visited the Italian colonial police school in Tivoli outside of Rome and met with the Italian chief of colonial police, General Riccardo Maraffa. In the three-day meeting, the representatives of both fascist regimes discussed the organization of the Italian colonial police, their education, and how the two regimes might cooperate more closely on colonial goals. The result of these discussions was an incorporation of Fascist Italy's experience in its colonies into the administrative organization of the Third Reich. As Kummetz noted in a report to the KPA's director General Ritter von Epp, 'Although largely made in the subtropical colonies, a large part of the Italians' experiences can certainly be transferred to our tropical colonies and their relationship to the metropole.'[18]

A biological understanding of race was one such feature that Kummetz's plans for a German colonial police adopted from the Italian Fascists' experience in their colonies. To an extent, both regimes had already practised biological racism domestically. The pro- and antinatal policies directed primarily at women in Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy demonstrate that the two fascist regimes understood the nation in biological terms (see Bock, 1984; Koonz, 1987; de Grazia, 1992; Dickinson, 2004, 2008). But unlike these policies, which were only similar, fascists now collaborated in the construction of a colonial racial policy based on actual overseas experience. Following the model of the Italians, German colonial police would have to prove their *Tropentauglichkeit*, or physical fitness for service in the tropics. In the Italian case, for example, eligible applicants to the colonial police had to be between the ages of 18 and 26,[19] a policy soon adopted by the Germans.[20] Other similarities included minimum height, proper vaccinations, and evidence of physical fitness. The ability of the 'white races' to work in Africa had been discussed in the colonial circles of Germany for many years (see Kimmich, 1943; Sierck, 1937), but now these discussions were being re-evaluated with the assistance of Italian overseas experience.

Beyond practical justifications, the biological metrics of fitness for colonial deployment also had ideological reasons; both regimes sought to send their best men forth into the colonies. In the Italian case, men interested in joining the colonial police not only needed to be members of the National Fascist Party, but also needed to prove that

they belonged to the 'Italian race'.[21] While interested German applicants were not necessarily required to be members of the NSDAP, the Civil Service Law of 1933 insisted that they be members of the Aryan race. Married men were preferred in their application for service in the Italian colonial police. In the German case, marriage was a prerequisite for service in the future colonial police. Fascist Italy adopted its stance on marriage after the war in Ethiopia, fearing the degenerative effects racial mixing could have on the national body (de Grazia, 2000). Although antimiscegenation legislation had existed in Germany's former colonies, it is clear from Kummetz's discussion with Maraffa that it was *Italy's* antimiscegenation laws in East Africa and the difficulty of enforcing them that heavily influenced Kummetz's own recommendation that all German colonial officers should be married.[22] Kummetz's interest in Italy's precedent is all the more significant when we consider that most of the German men who applied for colonial service were members of the SS, and, as such, were already under strict orders for a 'racially pure' marriage. Yet it was not the racial politics of the SS that he found convincing, but, rather, Italy's own practical experiences in Africa.

Indeed, the conflict over racial propaganda and racial ideology of the Third Reich on an international stage, and between the two regimes, belies the close cooperation and knowledge transfer that took place on the ground. For example, the attempt in 1939 to merge the broader racial ideologies of the two regimes by changing the Italian guidelines for colonial service from requiring Italian blood to being a member of the Aryan race did little to overcome the radical differences in racial propaganda.[23] Even as recent scholarship has pointed to the ways in which Mussolini's regime had its own brand of racial anti-Semitism before the adoption of the *leggi razziali* in 1938, Italian anti-Semitism never compared to the radical ideas of racial hygiene and racial superiority of Nazism (Michaelis, 1978; Robertson, 1988; Burleigh and Wippermann, 1991; de Grazia, 2000; Adler, 2008; Beyond the Racial State, 2009). In terms of propaganda, there was little collaboration in terms of racial politics; as late as 1936, *Der Deutsche Polizeibeamte* was still critiquing what it saw as a weak racial consciousness in Fascist Italy. Writing in response to Italy's recent ban on sexual relations between races in Italian East Africa, the professional journal wrote (Olfenick, 1937):

> In its assessment of the racial question Italy is going another way than National Socialist Germany. While our answer to the racial question is based on the necessities of the life-laws (*Lebensgesetze*) and

> facts, the Italian racial conscience is based on political-historical facts. On political grounds, Italy wishes not to have racial mixing in East Africa, because as the Italians understand it, half-breeds (*Mischlinge*) of two different races do not even produce the racial values of the lower race, degenerate much more quickly and above all – and this is the crucial political factor – these half-breeds reproduce even faster than the *Neger*, which could quickly become a danger to the Italian kingdom.

For *Der Deutsche Polizeibeamte*, the Italians needed to make race a fundamental part of their policies, regardless of political context. A cause for further concern was that by 1939 the racial laws in East Africa had not yet been fully enforced.

As a policy-maker and police officer on the ground, Kummetz's own take on the situation was somewhat more reserved. Neither the lax racial discourse of Fascist Italy, nor the recognition that the racial laws in Italian East Africa had not yet been fully enforced – he noted that every now and then authorities turned their head to obvious transgressions – seemed to phase Kummetz.[24] Race was not his primary concern in the planning for a future colonial police administration. As we have seen, Kummetz was more interested in regaining and creating an efficient German colonial empire, and here the Italians had further methods to offer.

After returning from Rome, another of the changes that Kummetz proposed to his earlier visions of a future police force in the German colonies was to give the police more independent authority. In the colonies of the *Kaiserreich*, the police worked closely with the colonial governor. Under Kummetz's new provisions,[25] the police would be the governor's equal, acting not as his representative, but as that of the regime in Germany. Realizing that the colonial police officer often found himself alone in the country, it was important for him not only to be trained to act independently, but to have the authority to do so.[26] This reorganization called for a stationary police force as well as roving bands of independent police troops acting entirely on their own: a strategy taken directly from Fascist Italy's experience in the Ethiopian War. It was part of a plan to reduce the independent control that individual governors once maintained, and at the same time to centralize police organization at the Reich level.

Despite the borrowing of tactics, Kummetz pointed out that this reorganization had already been considered in the former German colonies. In particular, he noted that the redistribution of responsibilities for the

governors and local leaders, on the one hand, and for the police, on the other, had already been planned for German Southwest Africa, but was never realized because of the outbreak of the First World War.[27] More ardent National Socialists cared little about the justification, as Kummetz's reorganization of the colonial police suited the broader consolidation of power that the Nazi government increasingly attempted to construct. Indeed, the police forces of Germany first became unified under the leadership of Heinrich Himmler during the Nazi regime in 1936. Kummetz never denied, however, that his plans were influenced by the cooperation between National Socialist Germany and Fascist Italy in the realm of colonial politics. This Italian influence is most directly seen in the unification of a colonial police force and the militarization thereof, the validity and utility of which, Kummetz and head of the KPA von Epp noted,[28] had been proven by the experiences of the Italians in Italian East Africa.

The meeting among Kummetz, Pfeffer-Wildenbruch, and the Italian colonial administrators in 1939 had proven successful in offering Germany a proxy colonial experience, from which it learned and which it then used to form its own outlines for a future colonial empire. Although this meeting marked a radical extension of Nazi Germany's interest in Fascist Italy's colonial practice, it by no means ended the transnational cooperation. By 1940, German officers were being trained directly by the Italians at their colonial police school in Tivoli near Rome, offering further colonial experience to a colonial Nazi Germany that was still without colonies. Initially established as a temporary solution to colonial education until Germany developed its own colonial police school, the direct exchange of fascist personnel lasted over a year and included four cohorts of Nazi *Schutzpolizei*, *Ordnungspolizei*, and SS officers.

To celebrate the early successes of this collaboration and the holiday season, head of the *Ordnungspolizei* Kurt Daluege ordered two of his officers to bring German gifts to the school. In his directions,[29] he stated explicitly that the 100 litres of Munich beer should be sent directly to the embassy to avoid unnecessary customs taxes. This serves as a reminder that although colonial ideas and experiences flowed freely between these two fascist states, national peculiarities such as beer did not.

One year following the training of German colonial police in Italy, the first German colonial police school opened at Oranienburg. At its opening, Daluege[30] made a speech in which he firmly placed colonial revisionism and the colonial police at the centre of Nazism:

> The German policeman is the carrier of state authority, not just any civil servant that goes through the motions of enforcing foreign, incomprehensible laws with a billy-club, rather a man from the *Volk*, who admonishingly, nurturingly, instructively exercises his office as representative of the *Volksgemeinschaft*.

That this Nazi colonialism and its enforcers were products of a process of a transnational exchange of ideology and practice is obviously absent.

Even the hypernationalist Nazi regime was susceptible to a range of foreign influences that extended far beyond Germany's own borders. As empires, National Socialist Germany and Fascist Italy were not only constituted by a national, colony/metropole dichotomy. The fluid borders of empire also applied to intra-European borders. Recognizing this cross-border construction of a 'fascist' colonialism, we see that, rather than differentiating the only two fascist movements to come to power in Europe, notions of biological racism and expansion overseas became enmeshed to form an ideological bridge across the Alps.

Archives

BAB: German Federal Archives, Berlin (Bundesarchiv, Berlin)
BAK: German Federal Archives, Koblenz (Bundesarchiv, Koblenz)
BA-MA: German Federal Archives-Military Archives, Freiburg (Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv, Freiburg)
PAAA: Political Archive of the Foreign Office, (Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes, Berlin)

Notes

1. BAK, N1101/55, Redner Material Nr. 1 der Reichspropaganda-Leitung der NSDAP, undated.
2. BAB NS 19/4161, Brief an H Himmler, 1 July 1938.
3. BAB, R1001/7171, An Auswärtiges Amt, 20 September 1934.
4. BAB, R 1001/7171, Deutsches Konsulat an Auswärtiges Amt, 5 November 1935.
5. BAB, R 2/4965, Das Kolonialpolitisches Amt der NSDAP Tätigkeitsbericht, 1 July 1941.
6. BAB, R 1001/9714, Betr. Heranbildung kolonialen Nachwuchses, 22 November 1938.
7. PAAA, Geheim 119/182, Bock über seine Dienstreise nach München, 13 January 1942; see Bernhard (2010).
8. BAB, R 1001/9714, Geheimrat Methner an Kummetz, 14 July 1939.
9. PAAA, Nachlass Asmis III/12, Grundlagen und Ziele der künftigen deutschen Kolonialverwaltung, undated.

10. BAB, R 1001/9714, Brief an Kummetz, 14 July 1939.
11. BAB, NS 19/4161, Brief an H Himmler, 1 July 1938.
12. BAB, R 1001/9714, Brief an Ministerialdirektor Dr. Ruppel, 8 July 1939.
13. BAB, NS 19/4161, Brief an H Himmler, 1 July 1938.
14. BAB, R 1001/9759, Grundlegende Vorarbeiten über Das Koloniale Polizeirecht, 1 October 1938.
15. BAB, NS 52/17, Bemkerkungen zu der Denkschrift über 'Das Eingeborenen-Schulwesen in den künftigen Kolonien', 2 July 1942.
16. BAB, R 1001/9759, Grundlegende Vorarbeiten über Das Koloniale Polizeirecht, 1 October 1938.
17. See BAB, R 1501/127190, Lammers an Epp, 9 March 1939; and see BA-MA RW 19/1566, Weisse oder farbige Truppen in den tropischen Kolonien, undated.
18. BAB, R 1001/9714, Betr. Bericht über das Ergebnis der Dienstreise zum italienischen Kolonialministerium, 15 June 1939.
19. BAB, R 1001/9714, Übersetzung aus 'Regolamento Generale . . . ', undated.
20. BAB, R 19/463, K Daluege an Reichsführer-SS und Chef der Deutschen Polizei im Reichsministerium des Innern, 31 October 1940.
21. BAB, R 1001/9714, Übersetzung aus 'Regolamento Generale . . . ', undated.
22. BAB, R 1001/9714, Fragebogen über die Polizei in den Italienischen Kolonien, 1939.
23. BAB, R 1001/9714, *Il Magistrato dell'Ordine*, 7 Juli 1939, Übersetzung, undated.
24. BAB, R 1001/9714, Notizen über das Ergebnis der Besprechungen in Rom, 7 June 1939.
25. BAB, R 1001/9759, Richtlinien für den Entwurf der Kolonialen Polizeiordnung (Gesetz über die Polizei in den deutschen Kolonien), 30 April 1940.
26. BAB, R 1001/9759, Kummetz an Daluege, 22 April 1940.
27. BAB, R 1001/9759, Richtlinien für den Entwurf der Kolonialen Polizeiordnung (Gesetz über die Polizei in den deutschen Kolonien), 30 April 1940; see Zollmann (2010).
28. BAB, R 1001/9759, Richtlinien für den Entwurf der Kolonialen Polizeiordnung (Gesetz über die Polizei in den deutschen Kolonien), 30 April 1940.
29. PAAA, Inland II A/B, Luther an das Deutsche Botschaft Rom, December 1940.
30. BAB, R 19/382, Entwurf für den Vortrag vor den Auslandspresse am 3. Februar 1941.

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13

Breaking Points of the 'Axis': Austrian Scholars, Politics, and Nazi Expansion to the South

Michael Wedekind

In the course of the territorial dismantling of Yugoslavia by the Axis powers in April 1941 and, subsequently, after the German occupation of Italy,[1] in September 1943, the Third Reich realized a lesser-known expansionist strategy that focused on the annexation of provinces south of its 1938 (former Austrian) border. In both cases, the underlying political design had been launched and successfully advocated by leading circles of Austrian National Socialists. Even though no definite conceptions of the future status of the occupied territories had previously been worked out, the expansionist model was integrated into the general dispositions concerning German domination of Yugoslavia and, two years later, of Italy. Herewith a political strategy was adopted that can be regarded as a pointed imperialist derivation from expansive pre-1918 Austrian borderland designs and later revisionist aspirations – a strategy that, as far as Italy was concerned, had been inhibited, until 1943, by the National Socialist leadership and its political and military alliance with fascist Italy.

The present chapter focuses on the role played by German and, above all, Austrian scholarly elites in planning, legitimizing, and executing Nazi ethnopolitical interventions, expansion, and occupation in the Upper Adriatic and Alpine borderland regions of Italy between 1939 and 1945. By investigating the relationship between policy-makers, scholars brought in as policy advisors, and administrative technocrats, as well as by shedding light on the interests and intentions of each of the protagonists involved, the research addresses the crucial issue of developing and providing expert knowledge for political use. In the present

case, this interdependency is analysed in the clashing context of official German–Italian political alliance, on the one hand, and mainly anti-Italian scholarship, anti-Italian research strategies, and anti-Italian policy concepts, on the other. This chapter will highlight research strategies as well as cognitive and political interests of the German-Austrian scholarly elite engaged in South Tyrol studies and in delineating the general setup of German spatial planning and imperialism in the Upper Adriatic region and Southeast Europe since 1943. By examining concepts, strategies, and measures of population policy implemented for socio-ethnic and spatial reorganization, this study addresses the question of how academic knowledge was transferred from the 'cognitive pools', mostly interested in cultural and social science, to the administrative bureaucracy of the Third Reich; of how scholarly circles of historians, demographers, sociologists, geographers, geo-politicians, linguists, and so on gained interpretative authority; and of their share in German *Volkstums*- and occupation policy. 'Population science' and 'population policy' will here be understood from a specific viewpoint that concentrates on the role both spheres played, respectively, in constructing or implementing ethnic differentiation in a context of territorial expansionism.

In Austria, the Italian annexation of South Tyrol in 1918 was felt to be the most vital territorial loss of all. In the decades to follow, vast parts of the Tyrolean scientific elite focused their interests and efforts on evidencing the historical unity of the German-speaking Tyrolean regions north and south of the Brennero Pass. Continuity with the prewar era, in terms of political thought and cognitive interests, was what predominantly characterized the studies contributed by Tyrolean historians. An anti-Italian attitude and a 'Pan-German interpretation' of regional history can be regarded as recurrent topoi of Tyrolean historiography since the last decades before 1914. Since the First World War, the highest endeavour had been 'contesting the Italian annexation of German South Tyrol with the weapons of science' (Wopfner, 1918: 4). Tyrol's past was recomposed from a prevalent 'Pan-German' viewpoint. The country passed as Germany's 'south-march', as 'a German stronghold' whose people were considered a 'part of the very same huge [German] ethnic and national community' and whose historical function was presumed to be its 'centuries-long borderland task' of defending the 'German mother-country' (Stolz, 1925: 208–209).[2] The demonstration of the 'German character' of South Tyrol and of its ethnic, historical, cultural, and geographical unity with North Tyrol – an aspect that gained increasing importance as the fascist regime enforced the Italianization

of the province – was a scientific design that did not originate only from a mere revisionist point of view, but was meant to show that Sub-Brenner German Tyrol had to be considered an integral component of the 'German and Germanic cultural and living space' in general.

Although this 'intellectual defensive battle' witnessed the participation of several disciplines, the Innsbruck historians Hermann Wopfner and Otto Stolz can be considered its most prominent protagonists. Referring to medieval Bavarian colonization and settlement in South Tyrol, and stressing the ostensibly superior moral concept of 'German peasant labour' as a distinctive national character, Wopfner claimed a 'German right to South Tyrol owed to German labour' (Wopfner, 1921)[3] – a guidance thesis of Tyrolean historiography in the inter-war period. Wopfner thus studied the settlement and economic history, and the toponymical and folkloristic aspects, of Sub-Brenner Tyrol. The foundation, in 1924, of the *Institut für geschichtliche Siedlungs- und Heimatkunde der Alpenländer* (Institute of Historical Settlement and Regional Studies on the Alpine Countries) reflected Wopfner's concerns.

Even to Otto Stolz (1931: 56), the 'question of the historical age of German settlements in South Tyrol' was of decisive importance. Ascribed to this range of ideas is, for example, his ponderous four-volume study on the *Ausbreitung des Deutschtums in Südtirol im Lichte der Urkunden* (*The Spread of the Germandom in South Tyrol in the Light of Records*), which he considered an 'arsenal for the historiographic defense of South Tyrolean Germandom' (Stolz, 1934: V). However, Stolz also focused on other topics, such as the historical unity of the country and its self-conception, on its national consciousness during the course of history, and on the right to national self-determination and its incompatibility with the Italian annexation of 1918.

In the years to come, an important influence on the Tyrolean scientific activities was exercised by the network that the University of Innsbruck had established in the 1920s with nationally determined learned circles in Germany, thus trying to prepare the 'intellectual Anschluss' of the country. What mainly materialized were financial grants by German institutions (especially for publications concerning South Tyrol), the appointment of German scholars to Innsbruck professorial chairs, and the institutionalizing and linking of revisionist-oriented research. Particularly important in this context were the appointments of the sociologist Adolf Günther and the geographer Friedrich Metz, the former a representative of social spatial research and the latter of geography and history combined into historical-genetic

research on the cultural development of German borderland regions (*historisch-genetische Kulturlandschaftsforschung*).

Mostly due to Metz's initiative,[4] the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft für alpendeutsche Forschungen* (Working Group for Research on the German Alps; later the *Alpenländische Forschungsgemeinschaft*, AFG)[5] was established in Innsbruck in April 1931. It was part of a chain of six similar, concealed, and informal institutions in Germany and Austria, the so-called *Volksdeutsche Forschungsgemeinschaften* (Ethnic German Research Societies, VFG).[6] While the German Ministry of Interior was responsible for the political alignment, the funding was left to the Foreign Ministry. The AFG activities were targeted towards the 'collecting and sighting of all scientific data on the Germans in the Alps' (von Klebelsberg, 1953: 336) from Styria to Switzerland, the coordination and financing of studies on the borderland areas, the gathering of information on the scientific research and political intentions of neighbouring countries, the preparation of the border revision, and the 'scientific basis for the Reich's policy towards [German] ethnic minorities abroad'.[7] Thanks to its founding members, the AFG succeeded in establishing a large network of connections with learned institutions and nationalist agitation societies alike. Despite its changing staff of collaborators and its altering organizational subordination, and regardless of its periodical marginalization, imposed by the authorities of the Third Reich in respect of the official German–Italian alliance,[8] the AFG became, and remained until 1945, an important institution and brain trust with leading competence, especially in South Tyrolean affairs, and with notable influence on opinion-forming among the political decision-makers.

While National Socialist party influence on the VFGs had generally grown since about 1936, the AFG and its supporting ministries had witnessed increasing interference by the Tyrolean party leadership since 1940. Through the *Dienststelle für Grenzland- und Volkstumspflege* (Office for Borderland and Nationality Affairs), which later became the *Institut für Landes- und Volksforschung* (Institute for Regional and Ethnic Studies) of the *Reichsgau* of Tyrol-Vorarlberg, headed by Wolfgang Steinacker,[9] *Gauleiter* Franz Hofer tried to occupy AFG domains, at least as far as Tyrol, South Tyrol, and Switzerland were concerned. In 1941, the AFG finally had to renounce these issues, henceforth directed by the *Dienststelle für Grenzland- und Volkstumspflege*, which, in an act of partial usurpation, was integrated into the structure of the AFG. This change in personnel was finally sealed by installing Steinacker as managing director and by appointing the University of Innsbruck professor of history Franz Huter[10] as chairman of the AFG in 1942. Steinacker in

particular, a 'borderland activist' and originally a lawyer at the Innsbruck tribunal in charge of persecuting opponents of the regime, introduced a markedly aggressive anti-Italian note with strong connotations of racial ideology. In 1940, considering also the informal Italian claims to Southern Switzerland, he demanded 'much more thorough German studies on alpine area questions, looking strictly, however, after the interests of German vital space'.[11] In Innsbruck, Steinacker was soon considered 'indispensable and irreplaceable', and even the Berlin ministries regarded his reports on neighbouring border areas as 'indispensable information material [...] on nationality policy issues in the alpine regions'.[12] When, in 1943, after the armistice with the Western Allies, Italy was widely occupied by German troops and Northern Italy witnessed the introduction of Nazi civil administration (Operational Zones of the Prealps and of the Adriatic Littoral), Huter and Steinacker took over central functions in cultural affairs in the semi-annexed Zone of the Prealps.[13] A primary task became personal revenge against the protagonists of Italian nationalist borderland studies and especially against Ettore Tolomei, the promoter and *maître à penser* of the Italianization of South Tyrol.

Fascist denationalization policy in the Italian-annexed province had notably increased the percentage of Italians, which in 1939 reached 24.7 per cent (1910: 3.0 per cent). The German- and Ladinian-speaking populations, in the meantime, had been exposed to harsh measures of cultural inhibition and socio-economic marginalization. After the *Anschluss* of Austria in March 1938, Hitler had solemnly disclaimed Sub-Brenner Tyrol on 7 May 1939, two weeks before signing the German–Italian Steel Pact. Bilateral negotiations were immediately begun on the future destiny of the German South Tyroleans, and were concluded on 21 October 1939. The 'repatriation' of Germans from South Tyrol and the Kanal Valley (province of Udine) was agreed upon. Even the Ladinians[14] from South Tyrol and the province of Belluno were included in the 'repatriation' programme, which was finally extended to the German linguistic exclaves in the province of Trento (Fersina Valley and Luserna).[15] According to the German–Italian agreement, the above-mentioned group of people were required to decide individually, within a few weeks (between the end of October and 31 December 1939), whether to emigrate to Germany or keep Italian citizenship. In South Tyrol approximately 84 per cent, in the Kanal Valley around 86 per cent, and among the Ladinians roughly 40 per cent of those entitled to vote decided in favour of assuming German citizenship, hence opting for their 'repatriation' to Germany. In the months to follow,

however, 73,000 Germans from South Tyrol (that is, 31 per cent of the German ethnic group) were transferred to the Reich, alongside about 4,500 Germans (and Slovenians) from the Kanal Valley, around 2,500 Ladinians, and the majority of the roughly 1,000 Germans who, in the linguistic exclaves of the Fersina Valley and Luserna, had opted for 'repatriation'.

When the population transfer started, Heinrich Himmler ordered the constitution of a special scientific working group in order to analyse all testimonies of 'German' culture in the two regions. The so-called *Kulturkommission*, set up on 15 January 1940, was headed by SS-*Obersturmbannführer* Wolfram Sievers, general director of the *Ahnenerbe* of the SS.[16] The 'commission' was composed of 15 repeatedly altered teams,[17] comprising, in 1941, 30 German and 26 South Tyrolean full-time collaborators. Their task was to register and analyse the entire stock of local 'German' material and spiritual culture and to secure and convey to the Reich all moveable non-public cultural assets of the 'repatriating' Germans. While the latter activities of the 'commission', sometimes hardly distinguishable from simple theft of cultural possessions,[18] were soon largely paralysed by Italian–German disputes on the 'national' belonging of the objects, the other teams were engaged in extensive folkloristic field research and in the copying of records and parish books, mainly for future racial studies.

The widespread activities of the South Tyrolean 'commission' were often far removed from real scientific research. This was not only due to the ideological premises of the SS and of the collaborating scholars themselves, but also to the real intentions of the *Ahnenerbe*, which expected its South Tyrolean registration works to expand to a central and long-term function in National Socialist settlement planning in Eastern Europe and in the re-education of the new settlers. The *Ahnenerbe* was thus primarily interested in the practical application and political-ideological exploitation of the folkloristic materials collected, rather than in future scientific publications.

Alongside the ideologically calculated issues of the *Kulturkommission* there was, however, among most of the collaborating scholars, a lurking incongruity with the official South Tyrol policy of the regime, considered to be in contrast to the ethnocentric theory of German national and cultural space.[19] Disparities had emerged among the 'national elites' of Tyrol and even among Tyrolean National Socialist party members ever since the regime had renounced its claim on Sub-Brenner Tyrol in favour of an alliance with Italy – a renouncement that had been only temporarily tolerated thanks to the *Anschluss* of Austria in 1938 and

the resulting notably augmented prestige of Hitler, as well as to admiration of German military successes. Obedience and sacrificial devotion to the glorified *Führer* finally encouraged bowing to the 'unbelievable' Tyrolean resettlement of the German-speaking population, despite the enormous delusion and indignation it produced. Even the Tyrolean *Gauleiter* Franz Hofer, in April 1939, had incredulously addressed himself to Himmler, stressing that 'once again the question should be put to the Führer whether he is really determined to decree for ever and ever the giving up of the doubtlessly centuries-old German space in South Tyrol'.[20] In the end, temporary consolation was found in the vision of a 'unique opportunity to furnish North Tyrol with an additional blood stream of 2,750 racially singled out, good South Tyrolean families', thus 'safeguarding the frontier-wall in North Tyrol with the best German blood'.[21] But as the 'resettlement' operation gradually came to a halt, and as the first reverses in Axis warfare were revealed and the prestige of the Fascist regime in Italy faded, even the consensus with the official party line on the 'South Tyrol question' vanished in leading Tyrolean circles – an attitude, however, that did not imply any oppositional stance towards the *Führer* or National Socialist ideology. The scholars of the *Kulturkommission*, grotesquely engaged in the 'cultural clearance' of a region that for years they had reclaimed for German 'living space', increasingly contested the Italian thesis of the Romance character of South Tyrol and became preoccupied with settling the score with their direct Italian opponents. Only two days after the overthrow of Benito Mussolini, on 27 July 1943, Sievers referred to the *Reichssicherheitshauptamt* (RSHA) in Berlin, reporting that in the past the *Kulturkommission* had

> of course observed all those Italian efforts meant to prove that South Tyrol had ever since been an Italian region and that therefore its cession [in 1919] was based on legal principles. Unbiased and objective research on all cultural fields, however, had alone been sufficient to produce data able to confute these Italian claims, even though this had not originally been our task. [...] It will be [...] the task of this study group to gain additional scientific materials as a basis [to invalidate] all probable future Italian claims, which go even in part beyond the Brenner border-line.[22]

Sievers thus emphasized the *Ahnenerbe*'s general and continuing competence in South Tyrolean affairs and delineated its future role, since its former task, after the downfall of fascism, had actually become obsolete.

After talks with Hofer and Himmler, Sievers finally managed to maintain a small special *Ahnenerbe* branch in South Tyrol (*Dienststelle Seis des Amtes Ahnenerbe*), preserving for his organization an important political-cultural and scientific function in what became the Operational Zone of the Prealps.

Yet, as of September 1943, the *Ahnenerbe* had to face the rivalry of other power circles within the Third Reich. Reclaiming direct influence on cultural affairs in the occupied territories, *Gauleiter* Hofer, in his capacity as supreme commissioner of the Prealps, instituted a particular subdivision within his head office in Bolzano, into which, in the course of 1944, he also managed to incorporate the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Landes- und Volksforschung Südtirol* (Working Group for South Tyrolean Regional and Ethnic Studies), founded on 28 April 1944 to support and assure the 'mental seizure' of South Tyrol. Its objectives had been defined during several meetings between Hofer, Sievers, German civil administration and *Ahnenerbe* officials, and the highest SS and SD representatives in the Prealps. By appointing two collaborators of Hofer's Bolzano subdivision for cultural and educational affairs, Franz Huter and Wolfgang Steinacker, head and deputy head, respectively, of the working group, a personal union had been attained right from the start with the German civil administration office as well as with the RSHA-guided *Alpenländische Forschungsgemeinschaft* in Innsbruck. Since summer 1944, Sievers' organization had lost even more of its earlier influence in South Tyrol, mainly because of competition from the ambitious RSHA, which since the takeover and internal reorganization of the Ministry of Interior by *Reichsführer*-SS Himmler on 25 August 1943 had gained primacy over the *Volksdeutsche Forschungsgemeinschaften*. Via these research societies, which, according to SS-*Standartenführer* Hans Ehlich, head of RSHA department III B (Nationality), 'on the sector of scientific research ought to be more and more enabled to prepare – so to speak – the building blocks of a future European Reich',[23] the RSHA tried to invade the scientific domain of the *Ahnenerbe*. In Tyrol, Hofer managed to turn the SS internal contention to his own benefit, gaining a complete hold on the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Landes- und Volksforschung Südtirol* as well as decisive influence on the few ongoing works of the *Ahnenerbe* scholars in South Tyrol.

Goals and strategies of National Socialist cultural policy and scientific activity in the Prealps had already been delineated in the weeks prior to the German occupation of Italy. Three central aspects emerged: first, the scientific validation of German claims for the 'Nordic-Germanic national soil' of Sub-Brenner Tyrol, and the concomitant rejection of

the legitimacy of Italian rule; second, the 'regermanizing' of South Tyrol and the 'strengthening' of its German nationality; third, the flanking of National Socialist denationalization policy in the almost entirely Italian-speaking Trentino district and towards the Ladinians, whose 'affiliation [...] to the German cultural community' (Huter et al., 1943: 25) had already been highlighted by the *Kulturkommission*, but also, for example, by the linguist Eberhard Kranzmayer (1937), the geographer Friedrich Metz (1932: 218), and, from a racial viewpoint, especially by the social medicine and social hygiene expert Ignaz Kaup (1942: 43).

In the autumn of 1943, the *Ahnenerbe* was certainly well placed, under these auspices, to dispose of the vast amount of South Tyrolean field research data that had been collected in previous years. The interpretative direction of this data, in the opinion of the *Kulturkommission*, had simply to be inverted: these materials,

> more than any other, allow us to prove unequivocally the German character of this region and its being-part of the Nordic-Germanic cultural community for 4,000 years, so that German claims for this disputed borderland can be provided with a definitively assured basis.[24]

In fact, a main issue of the *Ahnenerbe* in occupied South Tyrol was related to the fieldwork on settlement history and ancient rural architecture initiated in 1940 under the guidance of SS-*Obersturmführer* Martin Rudolph, lecturer at the Technical University of Brunswick and director of the *Ahnenerbe* Research Station for Germanic Architecture. The study of traditional farmsteads, of their origins and earliest forms, held a special interest for research on settlement history as well as for investigating the origins of the Germans in Sub-Brenner Tyrol. Actually, the asserted identification of Neolithic, 'Nordic-Germanic', and even Lombard architectural style elements, supposed to show particular affinity to primordial Scandinavian forms, was adduced in proof of 'Nordic acquisition of the country 4,000 years ago', of 'cultural efforts of immigrated Nordic people' (Rudolph, 1944: 23, 30), and of their influence on Northern Italy. But, what is more, these 'findings', fitting perfectly with the 'Germanomania' and the expectations of the SS, proved to have a practical dimension in National Socialist settlement policy by 'elaborating house-types which can be utilized for the resettlement'[25] of South Tyroleans. Since autumn 1942, the SS subdivisions in charge of German resettlement in Eastern Europe had also manifested great interest. As for South Tyrol, Sievers had already proposed to Hofer on

7 October 1943 an ambitious project that, directed by the *Ahnenerbe*, should 're-establish in its entirety the [region's] former unity between culture and landscape and simultaneously restore the vigour of the settlement work through powerful manifestations of revived rural customs'. By 'forming a complete "cultural landscape" [...] we could create something very unique in the Reich, we could preserve and further a germ cell of genuine popular culture, from which again and again new genuine German life will originate'.[26] In fact, Rudolph's Settlement and Architecture subdivision of the *Ahnenerbe* in South Tyrol was intended to guide 'a cultural work aimed at definitively regaining the Southern alpine region' and at 'the future shaping of the South March'.[27] These activities, which for the time being appear to have been limited to the planning of new settlement areas in South Tyrol and to the development of new types of farmsteads, were part of a strategy of massive ideological penetration into the traditional, clerically determined sphere of alpine peasants as well as diffusion of a National Socialist surrogate religion. This project, which had already been initiated in Northern Tyrol, was essentially based on reinterpretation and exploitation of folklore elements, on designing new or reconstructing existing rural settlement complexes with annexed special buildings for pseudo-religious National Socialist festivities (according to the 'Neo-Germanic' National Socialist settlement style developed for Eastern Europe), and on social and economic assistance to the 'racially and morally precious'[28] alpine peasants. These were to be turned into 'warrior-peasants', considered to be the 'most secure wall against the invasion of foreign races' (Hainzl, 1939: 173). Although the circumstances of war prevented this concept from going beyond the initial planning stage, the *Kulturkommission* had already used folkloric elements for propaganda purposes in Sub-Brenner Tyrol – elements that, since 1943, had become part of the occupation regime's strategy for 'regermanizing' South Tyrol.

Already prior to September 1943, the *Ahnenerbe* had devoted special attention to the partially extinct German linguistic exclaves in the provinces of Trento (Fersina Valley, Luserna, and Folgaria plateau), Verona (Giazza/Ljetzan, Thirteen Communities/Dreizehn Gemeinden/Tredici Comuni), and Vicenza (Seven Communities/Sieben Gemeinden/Sette Comuni). *Ahnenerbe* scholars such as Richard Wolfram, Martin Rudolph, Alfred Quellmalz, and Bruno Schweizer, as well as Wolfgang Steinacker and the landscape architect and Reich Advocate for the Landscape, Alwin Seifert, in investigating the origins of these linguistic islands, defended an ideologically bound ethnogenesis theory asserting Lombard or Cimbrian origins rather than later immigration from

Southern Germany between the High Middle Ages and the sixteenth century, as evidenced by linguistic aspects. Since scholars like University of Vienna professor Richard Wolfram, one of the leading figures of 'germanocentric' SS folklore studies, considered Germanic 'continuity as permanence of "national substance"' (Bockhorn, 1987: 230), the asserted Lombard origins of the linguistic enclaves in Northern Italy, in the ultimate analysis, were to prove ancient and primogenitary entitlements for German dominion in this area. The Trentino was thus looked upon as an Italianized part of the 'German cultural and living sphere' (Ravanelli, 1945). It is noteworthy that the *Ahnenerbe*, as well as the Prehistory branch of the Rosenberg Office, made additional efforts to extend Lombard studies – especially the archaeological ones – to all of Northern Italy. While these projects were greatly hindered by the circumstances of war, the work of confiscation and removal of cultural possessions from Trentino museums and archives, including Lombard and Rhaetian objects as well as documents and testimonies relating to the Italian national movement of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, was prosecuted until the very last weeks before German surrender. Along with some South Tyrolean scholars, these activities, part of the National Socialist denationalization strategy in the Trentino, saw the involvement of Wolfgang Steinacker, Franz Huter, and the *Ahnenerbe* collaborator and professor of prehistory at the University of Vienna, Kurt Willvonseder.

German occupation of and expansion to Trieste and the Adriatic Sea, which began with the institution of Nazi civil administration in the Adriatic Littoral[29] after the Italian armistice in 1943, was part of a greater design of German political and economic imperialism in Southeastern Europe and of strengthening German hegemony on the continent. Within this concept, Carinthia seemed to be guaranteed a long-desired decisive role. Thus, in 1943, even the activity field of the Carinthian *Volkstumswissenschaften*, grouped around the *Institut für Kärntner Landesforschung*, founded in 1941 in order to Germanize neighbouring occupied Slovenia, was enlarged.

Eberhard Kranzmayer, who, after having been a lecturer at the University of Munich, had held the professorial chair for Dialectology and Borderland Studies at the University of Graz since 1 October 1942, was appointed director of the Institute. Kranzmayer was an expert in German linguistic history (especially in Bavarian dialectology), geolinguistics, minority languages, and dialects (with special regard to German, Bavarian dialects in Northern Italy, Slovenian, and Ladinian),

as well as in settlement history in the Eastern Alps and in folklore, borderland, and place name studies. Wounded in the First World War, he had participated in the borderland struggles in Carinthia in 1919 and Upper Silesia in 1921. Inspired 'from the bottom of his heart by a profound love of the German people and their earth, which they gained thanks to hard pioneer and colonization work and which they are tenaciously determined to defend, despite all unjustified claims',[30] Kranzmayer considered his scholarly studies a continuation of these ethnic conflicts by other means. His mostly philological contributions on the Southern German-speaking borderlands,[31] and especially his works on cultural and linguistic influences on the Slovenians, made him believe in 'an enormous cultural superiority of the German nation compared to the whole East' (Kranzmayer, 1944a: 179).

There is evidence that the Institute, in close touch with the political leadership of Carinthia, was concerned with delineating the general setup of the German occupation system in the Adriatic Littoral and had especially been working on issues of spatial planning. The Carinthian *Gauleiter* Friedrich Rainer considered the future institution of Reich protectorates in Friuli, Gorizia County, Istria, and Carniola. German rule in the Adriatic Littoral was to be legitimized by a conglomerate of geopolitical and economic, historical, ethnic, and political reasons, while new specific identities were to be designed for the different regions and nationality groups. Apparently, the *Institut für Kärntner Landesforschung* was engaged in this task right from the outset, thus sustaining National Socialist policy in the Adriatic Littoral as it already had in Carinthia and German-occupied Upper Carniola. The ethnic complexity of the region was to minimize the legitimacy of Italian supremacy, additionally called into question by affirming the complete failure of fascist minority policy. Trying to flank this thesis, the geographer Günter Glauert (1943: 18), in a booklet on Istria published by the Institute in 1943, offered a historical fundament that excelled in eclecticism:

> In this borderland of races and peoples, of languages and cultures, it is extremely difficult to trace a frontier line which is fair in terms of nationality and in the meantime satisfactory from a military as well as political and economic point of view. Therefore it was good fortune that, for nearly a millennium, German state systems assumed the function of a stabilizing power and that German lords and nobles encouraged the economic and administrative development of the country.

Alluding to the medieval German Empire and the Habsburg monarchy, Glauert, as well as the historian Martin Wutte, paid special attention to the historical development of Trieste. Wutte pointed out that 'Trieste owes its rise exclusively to the union with Austria. If it had remained under Venetian rule, it would have continued to be a small city as the Istrian towns did. [...] Venice had no interest in the rise of Trieste.'[32] On this issue, the Carinthian historians constructed a continuity of economic antagonism that had divided Italy and Trieste up to the present, opposing it to the advantages of National Socialist *Großraumwirtschaft* and of the 'New European Order', which would restore access to the traditional hinterland of Trieste, lost in 1918, and again bring the city new economic prosperity.

The German concept for nationality policy in Friuli (province of Udine), the western part of the Adriatic Littoral, was based on the idea of denationalization. In a telegram to Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop, the Carinthian *Gauleiter*, obviously following the visions of Carinthian scholars, had already emphasized that 'ethnically even Friuli is not Italian soil'.[33] The individuality of the Friulian language and its vicinity to the Ladinian and Romansh idioms rather than to Italian were two factors vindicating the segregation and future separation of the region from Italian national territory. Hence, it was not to be wondered at that, of all the colleagues of the *Institut für Kärntner Landesforschung*, it was Kranzmayer, a specialist in minority languages, whom the political leadership of Carinthia entrusted with composing a booklet on Friuli. Besides stressing the particularities of the Friulian language and thus confuting the contrary position of Italian linguists, Kranzmayer highlighted 'the profound German influence on the life of the Friulians' (Kranzmayer, 1943: 3) by not only citing a series of German loan words and medieval place names, but also referring to the 'march' function of Friuli in the Carolingian and the early German Empire, as well as to German feudal lords in the region and to its temporary annexation to the Duchy of Carinthia since the late tenth century. Enriched by the thesis of German acculturation, an even more pregnant conclusion was drawn from similar eclectic considerations in an internal paper: 'the Friulians [...] belong to the German cultural field, as their land has been an ancient land of the German Empire and ever since part of the German vital space'.[34] The authorship of this document may possibly be ascribed to the historian Karl Starzacher, who by that time was regional chief of the National Socialist civil administration in Udine and had strong influence on German propaganda. In 1939, the Italian linguist Carlo Battisti had already realized the impact of such a politico-cultural stratagem, which could be employed by Germany to

'declare the Eastern Alps to be part of its vital space in order to push forward to the Adriatic Sea'.[35] German newspapers portrayed Friuli as a region of centuries-old Germanic and German settlement, underlining German influence on Friulian customs and popular culture. The National Socialist propaganda published in the Italian language, however, which treated Friulian folklore in various articles and tried to revivify it, designed and presented a concept of a new national identity based on ethnic distinction and particularism, as well as on regional autonomy, by recalling the 350 years of national unity and self-rule under the medieval Patriarchate of Aquileia. Besides the offices of the German civil administration, nationality and racial policy-related tasks in Friuli were assigned to the Race and Settlement department of the *Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer* (Higher SS and Police Leader) in the Adriatic Littoral as well as to other offices of the SS, which in April 1944 started a census on the Friulian-speaking population. However, the intense Friulian resistance movement, which in the summer of 1944 managed to liberate large parts of the province from National Socialist occupation, made all German concepts of nationality policy obsolete.

When, in 1946, the Italian–Austrian border on the Brennero Pass was once again internationally approved, the Tyrolean historian Franz Huter (1947: 11) felt legitimated to voice a general exculpation of *völkisch* discipline and its contribution to flanking German revisionist policy: 'This time hardly any guilt can be charged to the living generation of Tyrolean historians' if South Tyrol once more remains under Italian dominion. Repeating the well-known revisionist claims of *völkisch* Tyrolean scholars, Huter, like many of his colleagues still guided by an attitude of German cultural superiority, showed no inclination either to define a new, mediatorial function for South Tyrol in its position between the German- and Italian-speaking cultural areas or to recognize any responsibility of German scholars for the part they played in National Socialist occupation policy. In the decades to come, former *völkisch* research strategies and patterns of interpretation were not completely abandoned, and, moreover, not a few representatives of the so-called *Volkstumswissenschaften*, who had been involved in Nazi expansionism and population policy, received public honours from the post-war Republic of Austria.

Archives

BAB: German Federal Archives, Berlin (Bundesarchiv, Berlin)
BHA: Bavarian Central Archives (Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Munich)

PAAA: Political Archive of the Foreign Office (Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes, Berlin)
TLA: Tyrolean Provincial Archives (Tiroler Landesarchiv, Innsbruck)

Notes

1. On German military occupation in Italy, see Klinkhammer (1993); on German civil administration in Northern Italy, see Stuhlpfarrer (1969) and Wedekind (2003).
2. For a more detailed analysis of Tyrolean historiography during the inter-war period, see Dachs (1974) and Cole (1996).
3. See also Wopfner (1926); for a critical study, see Johler (1995).
4. Metz had previously been secretary of the *Stiftung für deutsche Volks- und Kulturbodenforschung*, which was founded in Leipzig in 1922 with the aim of secretly and synergetically coordinating, on a common 'national basis', all scientific studies on Germandom abroad and in the borderland areas in order to 'provide German [revisionist] policy with weapons'; BAB, R 57/586: Report on the meeting with Privy Councillor Prof. Dr. [Wilhelm] Volz, Leipzig, 9 January 1927.
5. See Fahlbusch (1999a) and Wedekind (1996).
6. See Fahlbusch (1999b).
7. PAAA, Inland II g 216: Paper by Dr. [Emil] Meynen, chief of the head office of the *Volksdeutsche Forschungsgemeinschaften*, attached to the Foreign Office note, Berlin, 31 December 1941.
8. The Foreign Ministry, on 14 May 1938, prohibited any future discussion or publication on South Tyrol: see Ribbentrop circular (PAAA, Pol. Abt. IV, Italien 24, Bd. 1, Bl. D 665.928–D 665.930): 'For us the "South Tyrol Question" no longer exists.' Similar instructions were given by Himmler and Heß.
9. On Steinacker, see Wedekind (2008b, 2009b).
10. On Huter, see Wedekind (2012b).
11. TLA, Amt der Tiroler Landesregierung/Sachgebiet Südtirol – Europaregion Tirol, 5/II 6.c 19: *Grenz- und Volkstumsinstitut der Gauselbstverwaltung Tirol-Vorarlberg* (Wolfgang Steinacker): Third report on borderland politics, Innsbruck, 21 August 1940.
12. BAB, Reichsministerium des Innern, file Steinacker, Wolfgang: Letter of the Reich Ministry of Interior/Department VI: Promotion of Steinacker to superior privy councillor, Berlin, 22 April 1943.
13. Constituted by the Italian provinces of Bolzano/Bozen (i.e., South Tyrol), Trento, and Belluno.
14. See Wedekind (2012a).
15. See Wedekind (2009a).
16. On the activities of the *Kulturkommission* in the years 1940–1943, see Oesterle (1991) and Wedekind (2008a).
17. In early 1940, the teams of the *Kulturkommission* were headed by Richard Wolfram (folklore and research on German nationality), Ernst-Otto Thiele (tools and utensils), Gertrud Pesendorfer (national costumes), Friedrich

Wilhelm Mai (popular tales and folk poems), Karl Theodor Hoeniger (symbols and heraldic research), Martin Rudolph (research on traditional houses and architecture), Bruno Schweizer (dialect and onomastic research), Franz Huter (archives), Treber (parish registers), Georg Innerebner (history and geography), Alfred Quellmalz (folk music), Josef Ringler (art, museums, folk art), Erika Hanfstaengl (historical and art monuments), Karl Felix Wolff (ethnohistory and racial origins), and Helmut Bousset (photography and film).

18. See Wedekind (2012c).
19. See, for example, Bobek (1937).
20. BAB, NS 19/2070: *Gauleiter* Hofer to Himmler, Innsbruck, 14 April 1939.
21. BAB, NS 2/164: *SS-Oberführer* Curt von Gottberg, supervisory board chairman of the *Deutsche Ansiedlungsgesellschaft* (German Settlement Company), to Himmler, Prague, 12 July 1939.
22. BAB, NS 19/189: Sievers to von Ramin (RSHA), Berlin, 27 July 1943.
23. BAB, Ahnenerbe, file Schwalm, Hans – 1: Schwalm to Sievers, concerning a conference with *SS-Standartenführer* Ehlich, Rosenau Castle (Lower Austria), 4 July 1944.
24. BAB, Ahnenerbe, file Rudolph, Martin – Einsatz in Nord- und Südtirol, Gottschee: Martin Rudolph: Report on the registration of rural settlements and architecture in South Tyrol, undated [summer 1944].
25. BAB, Ahnenerbe, file Rudolph, Martin – Einsatz in Nord- und Südtirol, Gottschee: Sievers to the vice-chancellor of the Technical University of Brunswick (Prof. Herzig), 14 December 1940.
26. BAB, NS 19/189: Sievers to von Ramin (RSHA), Berlin, 27 July 1943.
27. BAB, Ahnenerbe, file Rudolph, Martin – Ahnenerbe-Einsatz: Rudolph to Sievers, Siusi, 28 January 1944.
28. BAB, NS 19/1747: Note from *SS-Gruppenführer* Ulrich Greifelt for Himmler, 1 September 1942.
29. Comprising the Italian provinces of Udine, Gorizia, Lubiana/Ljubljana/Laibach, Trieste, Pola/Pula, Fiume/Rijeka, and the former Italian Civil Intendancy for the Annexed Territories of the Fiumano and the Cupa region.
30. BHA, Personal file/Personalakt MK 43.907 ('Prof. Dr. Eberhard Kranzmayer'): Prof. Robert Spindler (University of Munich) to the Dean, Prof. Walther Wüst, about Eberhard Kranzmayer, Munich, 30 January 1937.
31. See Kranzmayer (1937, 1944a, 1944b) and Hornung (1957).
32. BAB, R 173/131: Martin Wutte: Remarks on the article 'Trieste, Istria, Fiume' for the *Handwörterbuch des Grenz- und Auslanddeutschtums*, Klagenfurt, 28 September 1944.
33. PAAA, Büro des Staatssekretärs, Italien, vol. 16, f. 72.063-9: Rainer to Ribbentrop, Klagenfurt, 9 September 1943.
34. Library of the Archiepiscopal Seminary of Udine/'Osoppo' Archive of the Resistance movement in Friuli, file B_1, folder 14: Typewritten manuscript *Kulturelle und geschichtliche Zugehörigkeit Friauls zum Deutschen Reich* (Friuli – culturally and historically a part of the German Empire).
35. Carlo Battisti to Ettore Tolomei, 29 December 1939, quoted in Fontana (1989: 190).

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14

Planning a 'Modern Colonization on European Soil'? German Scientific Travels and Expeditions to Greece during National Socialism

Maria Zarifi

Colonizing the European soil may sound awkward at best, given that the term is associated with the European settlement overseas that reached its climax during the long nineteenth century. It sounds even more awkward when the target becomes Europe itself and the settler is a country that belongs to the same geographical territory. This country was Nazi Germany. So, what triggered the Nazis to turn to their neighbourhood instead of going overseas in order to exercise colonial policy? Why did they want to adopt such a policy in the first place, and how did they plan it?

After the end of the First World War and the signing of the Versailles Treaty, Germany was deprived of its colonies, possessed since 1871, and all its acquisitions abroad. On a scientific level, the country lost all the institutions that had been created or supported by the Germans since 1900, losing at the same time its long-lasting influence on the local scientific communities. This loss had never been accepted by the Germans, who had been trying ever since to find ways to restore their national image abroad, their economic and political hegemony, and finally, their pride. When Hitler came to power, he wanted not only to revive the imperial glory of Germany but also to dominate Europe, if not the world. For this purpose, the Nazis turned to Southeastern Europe, wanting to explore its economic possibilities for German interests. The Balkan Peninsula was regarded by the Nazis as an appropriate region of exercising the 'big space policy' (*Großraumpolitik*) and applying Europe's

New Order. Therefore, a number of scientists were employed to work intensively on the economic and political problems of the region.

Within this framework, two well-known German geographers, Dr Joachim Heinrich Schultze from Jena and Prof. Hugo Hassinger from Vienna, visited Greece in 1933 and 1942, respectively. Discussing their research agenda and the goals of their visits, as well as the hidden dimensions of the German travel policy towards the Balkans and Greece, I will bring to the fore the colonizing appetite of Nazi Germany for this region. Colonialism, as well as imperialism, has many faces, the most 'invisible' of which is science, and National Socialism used this as an indirect instrument to exert influence and control. Moreover, it was believed that science could give Nazi Germany a prestigious image, particularly if research was done in an area exclusively under their control, because it would give them an advantage over their European rivals, particularly France, and could bring new and original results.

Greece was considered an underdeveloped country at that time in terms of science and research. Therefore, it was very likely to become dependent on Germany's science and technology, and hence, its economy. The truth is that Greece had always had a European orientation in science, trying to follow up the scientific achievements of Germany, France, and England and to adopt Western models of scientific thinking. The constant contacts and exchange of scientists made the country more advanced than Germany thought it was, at least at the level of education and training of individual scientists. So, what did the Nazis expect to gain from scientific travel in a country that had already been deeply influenced by German science ever since its establishment as a modern state in 1832?

Greece, and the Balkans in general, interested Germany, since the region was part of the Ottoman Empire. The German Reich regarded this territory as a potential German colony, or, in the words of the German historian Malte Fuhrmann (2006), as 'the dream of the German Orient'. Agricultural research and exploitation of the Balkans would be very important for Germany's future domination. This research would not be completed without geological and geographical research, which would provide Germany with all the necessary information for its economic interests in the region. Therefore, in the autumn of 1933, a geographer and lecturer (*Privatdozent*) at the University of Jena, Joachim Heinrich Schultze, visited Greece for a second time in the same year for research studies. His first travel was sponsored by the Carl-Zeiss-Stiftung in Jena and the Moritz Seidel-Stiftung of the Faculty of Mathematics and Natural Sciences of the Regional Thuringian University, and took

place in spring of 1933.[1] For his second journey, he asked the Emergency Association of German Science (*Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft*) for financial support. This institution was founded in 1920 to support German science and research due to the country's isolation from the international community. Scientific expeditions in the region focused on geography or geology had been sponsored by the *Notgemeinschaft* since 1924,[2] and it seems that one reason for that support was Germany's effort to establish an advanced or dominant position in the field of geography with respect to its European rivals. The aim of these and later expeditions was to collect information for geological and paleontological research in Southeastern Europe, that is, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Greece, and Turkey,[3] as well as for historical surveys on the movement and exchange of populations and the settlement that took place in the eastern part of the Mediterranean basin.[4] German scientists were particularly interested in the northern and northeastern regions of Greece, which were still *terra incognita* in geomorphological, colonial, and economic terms, particularly after the First World War and the Asia Minor War in 1919–22, which had been catastrophic for Greece.[5] The northern provinces of Greece, Macedonia and Western Thrace, were dramatically transformed by the massive entrance of about two million Greek refugees from Eastern Thrace and Asia Minor. The new population, having nothing left as a result of the war, became involved in tobacco farming. Soon the region became notable for its cultivation of 'the best and most expensive tobacco on earth', as Schultze wrote to the *Notgemeinschaft*.[6] He was mostly interested in understanding the problems caused by the huge population exchange in terms of economic geography. During his 40 days of travel, he meticulously studied all geomorphological aspects of the region, but above all anthropogeography in relation to agriculture and, most interestingly, to colonization. Schultze was advised to visit and investigate the region by the prominent geographer and very well connoisseur of the Mediterranean, Alfred Phillipson, who was professor at the University of Bonn and high counsellor (*Geheimrat*) of the German state.[7] Eastern Macedonia and Western Thrace were regions about which scientists knew very little, particularly after the massive population exchange between Greece and Turkey in 1923. Because of this population movement, the region was called by the Germans 'New Greece', offering an almost virgin soil for geographical and anthropological research, and Schultze was the first geographer engaged in studying the region in detail. He did not only want to contribute to the limited bibliography on the field, which had many gaps in statistical and topographical data and

in economic geography, particularly with regard to tobacco fields; he also corrected some errors in previous studies, particularly the Austrian topographic map of Central Europe at 1:200,000 scale, which was the basic map the Jena geographer had used in order to plan his travel route and recognize the names of the region.[8]

The settlement of about two million people coming from the East to Northeastern Greece, and its repercussions on the Greek economy and culture, was characterized by Schultze as 'the biggest anthropogeographical experiment' (Schultze, 1934a: 457, 1935: 172). Almost ten years after the population exchange, he wanted to study whether that experiment had succeeded, and to what extent. Therefore, he scrutinized the geography of the region, the soil and its agrarian potentials in relation to the refugees' settlements, and its viability in terms of sufficiency of land, the products that could be cultivated, their transportation, and, of course, the workforce (Kontogiorgi, 2006; Panagiotopoulos, 2013: 67–111). He employed the model of the so-called Thünen rings (see Figure 14.1), and he tried to understand the outcome of the 'experiment' by studying the settlements in each province of Northeastern Greece. This model was launched by a German landowner in Mecklenburg and prominent nineteenth-century economist, Johann Heinrich von Thünen, in 1826 with his work *The Isolated State*. He developed the first serious discussion on land economics, connecting it with the theory of leasing. The von Thünen model of agricultural land, which had been created before industrialization, was based on the following simplifying assumptions or principles (Thünen, 1910: 386 ff.):

- The city is located centrally.
- It is isolated from the rest of the world, is self-sufficient and has no external influences.
- The factors of the nature are everywhere the same (same soil consistent, same climate, the land is completely flat and has no rivers or mountains).
- The isolated State is surrounded by wilderness.
- The state lies on mild climate zone.
- The market is a city in the centre of the state.
- Agricultural economy is organized and exercised according to a central European pattern; all agricultural products have the same size.
- The farmers transport their own goods directly to the markets of central cities with oxcarts.
- All farmers have the same educational level.
- Farmers act to maximize profits.

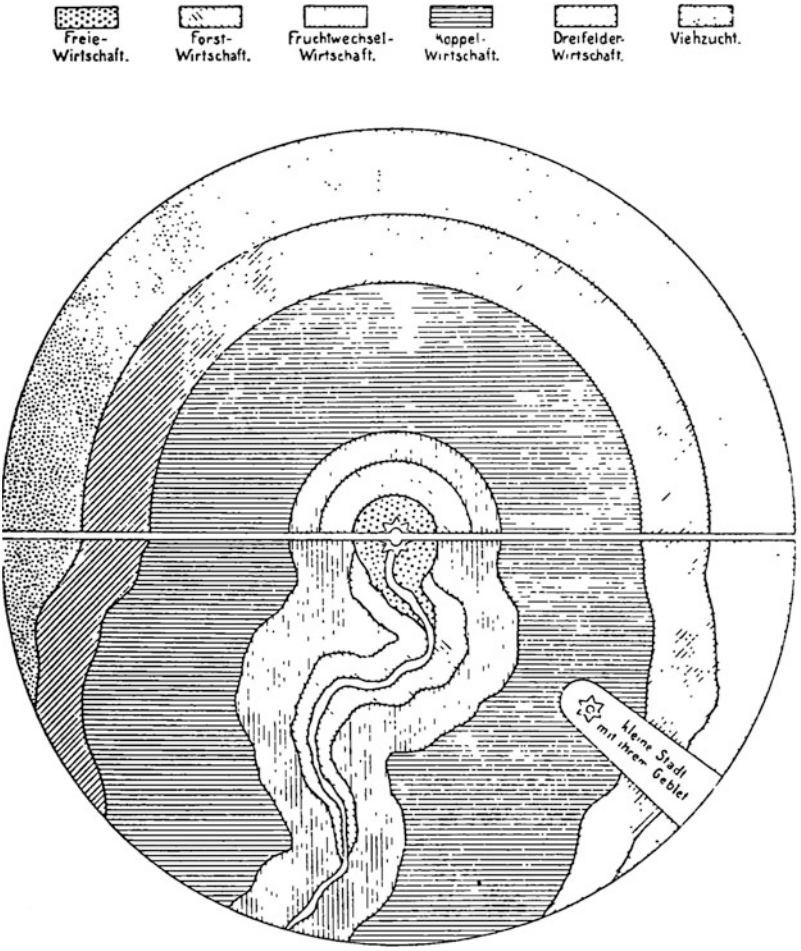

Figure 14.1 von Thünen's ring model (Thünen, 1910: 387)

In von Thünen's *Isolated State*, these principles are valid in a city around which a pattern of rings is developing.

There are six rings of agricultural activity surrounding the city. In the closest to the city ring, the so-called 'free economy' (*Freie Wirtschaft*), dairying and intensive farming of vegetables and flowers take place, because the sensitive agricultural products coming from these activities must get to the market quickly. In the second ring, the 'forest economy' (*Forstwirtschaft*), timber and firewood are produced for fuel and building materials, because their transport to the city is much cheaper. In the

next zone, the 'fruit change economy' (*Fruchtwechselwirtschaft*), farmers cultivate cereals for basic food such as bread, as well as for cattle feed. The fourth zone is the 'fence economy' ring (*Koppelwirtschaft*), in which ley farming occurs, that is, the alternate growing of crops and grass. In the fifth zone, the 'tertiary economy' (*Dreifelderwirtschaft*), pieces of ground are left uncultivated after being ploughed and harrowed, in order to restore their fertility. Cattle breeding and ranching are located in the next ring of 'ranching economy' (*Viehzucht als Weidewirtschaft*) surrounding the central city, because animals are self-transporting and can walk to the central city for sale or for butchering. In the most distant ring that surrounded the city was wild nature, which could not be cultivated or exploited due to its distance from the city, which would make the production of the crop and transportation unprofitable (Thünen, 1910: 386–395).

Even though the von Thünen model was created in a time before industrialization, and it refers to an isolated state, as the title of his work clearly signifies; even though it does not take into consideration differences in cities, such as happen in the real world, and to a certain extent it appertains to a thought experiment (Thünen, 1910: 264–318, 329–333), it seems that it was considered an important model in geography and influenced Schultze greatly.[9] What intrigued Schultze was to see whether this model would work in the case of a certain territory being exploited in several different ways. More precisely, he was interested to see what happens to the von Thünen rings if the same physical area is valorized differently, as was done in Northeastern Greece, first by the Turks and then by the Greeks. When the Ottomans ruled that area, the land was basically pasturage, which meant that it was closer to the sixth-ring economy. In 1923, the massive number of refugees who settled in that same area changed its usage mainly into tobacco fields.[10] According to the ring model, the economy of the Asia Minor area, from where the majority of the settlers came, was classified in the fifth ring. The problem now was that the refugees upset the order of the von Thünen rings in Northern Greece, crossing the sixth ring by cultivating tobacco, which was defined as part of the fifth-ring economy. At the same time, due to the limited ground in Eastern Macedonia and Thrace, tobacco farmers shared the same land with shepherds, who continued to graze their cattle there. This ring confusion simply meant that the von Thünen system was no longer valid in the colonizing experiment (Schultze, 1934a: 459). The failure of the experiment in Greece was not only due to the problem with the von Thünen ring model, which was regarded as very important for the development of a prosperous economy. The settlement of

a huge number of refugees in the Greek provinces of Macedonia and Thrace caused two additional problems: malaria, which decimated the population and hence the workforce (see Savvas and Kardamatis 1928; Gardikas 2011), and a new synthesis of blood and soil. The latter was for Schultze the core, the very essence of colonization (Schultze, 1935: 205). This was not a very positive thing, because the purity of the indigenous race, as the German geographer implied, was being diluted by minorities, and this was very dangerous, given that race was the core of the ideology of the Nazis, who had just come to power when Schultze went on his travels. In addition, minorities were considered a constant threat to the peaceful functioning of the state, and the Balkan Wars were a good reminder of that danger. These wars could not blunt the differences between the minorities already existing in the region (Schultze, 1935: 207), and by 1914 each Balkan state was playing host to ethnic minorities, who were very much present in all of them. It was inevitable that these ethnic and religious groups should become a bone of contention between the neighbouring new states, which were eager to expand their borders, engaging them in the First World War (Mazower, 2001: 102).

As well as geographical and demographical research, Schultze conducted research into malaria geography. The morphology of the region, with swamps and wide basins encircled by hills and mountains, provided the ideal environment for the reproduction of the *Anopheles* mosquito, which causes malaria. The political and social upheaval due to the war led to large numbers of people moving into new areas where disease spread more easily. This resulted in not only a heavy death toll of both the local population and refugees from Asia Minor, Eastern Thrace, Caucasus, and Southern Russia, but also a severe impact on agriculture (Schultze, 1934b: 1). He noticed that the problem was more severe in settlements in valleys and close to the seaside. In the mountains, the situation was considerably better. Schultze also described the efforts of the Greek state, in particular the School of Hygiene in Athens – established with the support of the Rockefeller Foundation's International Health Division in 1929 – to tackle the problem, with no great success, however, due to the lack of a well-structured health system and shortage of money.[11] It seems that almost ten years after the Asia Minor War the situation remained the same, as Schultze's observations echoed the 1926 report of an expert in tropical diseases in the Balkans, doctor Peter Muehlens, who reported that the health system in Greece was primitive.[12] Greece was in a desperate economic situation, and the impact of the disease was immense, causing many lost days of work.

Schultze also described practices that should be adopted in order to ease the problem, such as draining works, building houses with materials resistant to moisture, and basic hygiene rules. The malaria epidemic decimated not only the settlers of 1922–23, but also European troops during the First World War. The provinces of Eastern Macedonia and Western Thrace were the worst contaminated areas, because not only one but three different types of malaria existed there: malaria tropica, malaria quartana, and malaria tertiana, making the disease synonymous with guillotine, as the German geographer vividly described it (Schultze, 1934b: 2, 4). This was an important reason for the Germans to undertake scientific expeditions in the area, not only for medical but also for cultural-political reasons – especially after the seeming failure of the Rockefeller Foundation – demonstrating German medicine by trying to tackle the disease, as well as for military reasons.

Therefore, the *Notgemeinschaft* funded projects exclusively on malaria research as well as on mosquitoes and other insects of importance for tropical medicine, located largely in the Balkan region. The Institute for Ship and Tropical Diseases in Hamburg was at the helm of most of these projects, organizing scientific expeditions, and the director of the clinical section of the Tropical Institute since 1923, Peter Muehlens, became the central figure for tropical research in the Balkans. Muehlens' first scientific expedition to the peninsula was made in 1915. On one of his numerous trips between 1915 and the early 1940s, he visited the Greek province of Macedonia to conduct research on malaria, which was endemic in that area, not only decimating the local population but also weakening the Allies' army. This disease continued to plague Southeastern Europe for decades. Muehlens visited the refugee barracks of those who were forced to move during and after the war between Greece and Turkey, as well as camps in Bulgaria. According to the German doctor, the situation was unremittingly appalling. In Greece, he visited Thessaloniki, where he tried 'Plasmochin', a new drug against malaria, on new cases, as he did in Yugoslavia and Bulgaria.[13] Thessaloniki, the biggest harbour in Northern Greece, had, by that time, become a refugee city. The sudden increase of the population in Thessaloniki, which was unprepared to receive huge numbers of refugees, was one of the reasons why several epidemics broke out in refugee camps. Unsurprisingly, perhaps, malaria and typhus were now threatening the whole population. Malaria research continued to be a major issue for Germany in the years to come, particularly during the Second World War, being regarded as the number one threat to the *Wehrmacht* in territories such as Greece.

Therefore, Schultze's argument that the study of the refugee colonization project in Greece was of great importance for the Germans, because it offered valuable experience that could be used later, proved to be quite correct.[14] His travels and studies in Greece were a preparation for Germany's plans to colonize, if not the Balkans, the East and, more precisely, Russia. It should be noted, though, that there is no evidence that Schultze was aligned with the Nazi ideology or that he was a Nazi himself. The argument that his research results would be very useful for Germany's plans to colonize Europe may have facilitated the approval of sponsorship by the *Notgemeinschaft*. His reports and correspondence, however, do not reflect a Nazi rhetoric.

The political plans of the Nazis for the Balkan region entailed a project of 'permanent demographic engineering' for Southeastern Europe (Mazower, 2001: 111). Encouraging the small states to remain neutral in the conflicts of the big European nations, in order to avoid another splintering of the region, the German National Socialists believed that their domination of that edge of Europe, with indisputable geostrategic importance, would be accelerated. In addition, the restricted space of Central Europe, with its own numerous minorities, made their enduring geopolitical existence impossible, let alone the existence of the so-called great nations, like France, which were growing rapidly (Haushofer, 1933: 80). Germany was in danger of becoming 'a nation without space'. Eventually, Hitler launched the *Generalplan Ost* in 1940, which was part of the National Socialist 'East policy' (*Ostpolitik*), namely, the colonization and Germanization of parts of Eastern Europe, and Schultze's research findings must have been turned to advantage (see Liulevicius, 2009: 171 ff.).

Almost ten years after Schultze, in April 1942, Hugo Hassinger, professor of Geography in Vienna University and director of the Geographical Society based at the same city, made a four-week expedition to Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia, Hungary, Croatia, and Slovakia. The main purpose of the expedition, as Hassinger reported to the Reich's Ministry of Education, was to make contact with geographers and research institutes, as well as with representatives of the key geographical organizations of Southeastern Europe for the purpose of collaborating with their German colleagues.[15] These contacts were very important for the geographical meeting which was planned to take place in 1943 on German soil, aiming at a future collaboration among the European geographers – or, rather, between the Balkans and Germany – as a response to Western propaganda.[16] Exchanging journals and printed material, as well as encouraging scientists and other individuals from the Balkan countries

to contribute to specific journals, such as the *Mitteilungen* and the *Abhandlungen* – both organs of the German Geographic Society – were among the means chosen to meet the above objectives. In the same vein, perhaps the most important undertaking within the sphere of cultural propaganda, but also of practical use for the Germans, was a collective work dedicated to issues on the 'living space of European peoples' (*Lebensraumfragen europäischer Völker*), being studied by non-Germans.[17] Hassinger described two further aims of his visit to Southeastern Europe. The first was the expansion of the space research project directed by Vienna University, including the Balkans, with particular interest in Romania, and the other was the naming of candidates for the *Prinz-Eugen Preis* and the Vienna cultural prize for Southeastern Europe, which had not been set yet.[18]

In Greece, Hassinger visited the director of the German Scientific Institute (*Deutsche Wissenschaftliche Institute*, DWI) branch in Athens, Rudolf Fahrner, the German cultural attaché Erich Boehringer, the director of the German Archaeological Institute and the leader of the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP) in Greece, Walter Wrede, as well as the gynaecologist Kostantinos Logothetopoulos, who was also the minister of education and public health at the time,[19] Hassinger carried out interviews with scientists at the geographical, meteorological, and geological institutes of Athens University, and with some intellectuals of the Academy of Science in Athens. More specifically, he met the folklorist and director of the Folklore Archive of the Academy of Athens, Dr Georgios Megas, the geographer Gasparis Mistardis, who was a bank official but also lectured at the Agricultural School, the university professor of geology and geography Ioannis Trikallinos, the geologist Maximos Mitsopoulos, the geophysicist and astronomer Nikolaos Kritikos at Technical University, and the meteorologist Elias G. Mariolopoulos. All of them, with the exception of Mariolopoulos, had been educated in Germany to some degree. Hassinger was also informed about prominent scientists of related disciplines, such as Xenophon Zolotas, a professor of political economy, and the political scientist Angelos Angelopoulos, as well as the relevant individuals in the Ministries of Economy and Civil Aviation, who were responsible for the geological and meteorological institutes, respectively.[20] Despite the existence of eminent figures in all of the departments relevant to geography, Hassinger reported that the science of geography did not hold a prominent position in Greece. The institutes were primitively equipped, the libraries were poor, and although the Greek Geographic Society was directed by the very well-known professor of geodesy Vasilios Lambadarios and the

academic Antonios Keramopoulos, it did not publish its own journal.[21] The German scientist also noticed that the situation in occupied Greece, primarily due to the lack of food that affected large parts of the Greek population and the attitude of the occupying forces, resulted in the Greeks becoming more reserved and less friendly towards the Germans. Nevertheless, as underlined by Hassinger, they were never impolite, and they continued to show respect for German culture and science, especially the educated people.[22]

Overall, Hassinger believed that the way for the scheduled meeting of European geographers in autumn 1943 in Germany had been paved more or less well in all the Southeastern countries. Bulgaria, Croatia, and Slovakia agreed to participate fully, as did Romania, while Hungary was only expected to respond in the summer of 1943. As for Greece, the situation was still unclear, according to Hassinger. G. Mistardis was regarded as the only person likely to foster the German–Greek geographical cooperation, even though he was not yet a professor and did not have the weight of the older and more established Greek scientists, such as Trikallinos, with whom he had poor relations. He was perceived, however, to be open-minded and quite ambitious, virtues that seemed to be appreciated by Hassinger, who recommended the inclusion of his contribution in the collective work *Lebensraumforschungen europäischer Voelker*.[23] The 1943 geographers' meeting would focus on the development of the cultural landscape of European states and their colonies from the aspect of food supply and raw materials.[24] It was expected that the participants would consist mostly of German geographers and those from some of the Balkan states which were friendly towards the Reich. The section dealing with the issue of *Lebensraum* and the governing of its peoples was classified as *kriegswichtig*. In other words, the economic exploitation of the sources of these countries, the study of the natural elements of the ground, and the climatic conditions that could allow the growing of important agricultural products were among the key interests of the Southeastern countries and, moreover, of Germany. Another geographical issue which the Germans expected to discuss at the meeting was the relationship between the raw material centres for industry and the consuming urban centres. This issue was of great importance for the applied economy and the achievement of its goal of self-sufficiency.[25]

It seems that the travels of these two prominent geographers to Greece, separated by ten years, did not have an identical purpose. However, they were complementary to each other and in accordance with the National Socialist agenda with regard to *Lebensraum*, *Autarky*, and,

in general, expansion to the East. Economic as well as cultural-political interests were the core of the two expeditions, with the ultimate purpose of controlling the region. The dream of the German Orient, which the Germans had envisioned in the long nineteenth century and the last days of the Ottoman Empire, was revived during the Nazi era, and science was employed to justify and systematize its realization. However, that dream was never to come into being, despite the sophisticated planning. The development of the war put an end once more to the German colonial dreams on European soil.

Archives

BAB: German Federal Archives, Berlin (Bundesarchiv, Berlin)
BAK: Federal German Archive, Koblenz (Bundesarchiv, Koblenz)
PAAA: Political Archives of the Foreign Office (Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes, Berlin)

Notes

1. See: Letter of Dr. Joachim Heinrich Schultze to the Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft, Berlin, on 01.06.1933 (BAK, R 73/16860).
2. File *Panzer Wolfgang* Prof. Dr. U. Heidelberg. Geographisches Institut. Stu-dien-rei-se nach Kreta 1924–1942 (BAK, R 73/13529).
3. File *Leuchs Kurt* Prof. Dr. U. Wien. Geologisches Institut. [Geologische Untersuchungen in Suedosteuropa und Vorderasien 1941] (BAK, R 73/12697).
4. File *Panzer Wolfgang* Prof. Dr. U. Heidelberg. Geographisches Institut. Studienreise nach Kreta 1924–1942 (BAK, R 73/13529).
5. Letter of Dr. Joachim Heinrich Schultze to the Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft, Berlin, on 01.06.1933 (BAK, R 73/16860); Report of Dr. Joachim Heinrich Schultze to the Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft, Berlin, on 02.09.1933, p. 2 (BAK, R 73/16860).
6. Report of Dr. Joachim Heinrich Schultze to the Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft, Berlin, on 02.09.1933, p. 3 (BAK, R 73/16860).
7. Letter of Dr. Joachim Heinrich Schultze to the Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft, Berlin, on 01.06.1933, p.1 (BAK, R 73/16860); Report of Dr. Joachim Heinrich Schultze to the Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft, Berlin, on 02.09.1933, p. 2 (BAK, R 73/16860).
8. Report of Dr. Joachim Heinrich Schultze to the Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft, Berlin, on 02.09.1933, p. 3, 5, 12, 17 (BAK, R 73/16860).
9. von Thünen was one of the founders of agriculture and agricultural economy as a scientific discipline in Germany. He used statistics and economic theory to describe the old problem of the state–land relationship (Rösener, 1997: 4, 96).

10. This was not true, as the tobacco fields had already existed and been cultivated by the Muslim populations living there before the population exchange (Kontogiorgi, 2003; Panagiotopoulos, 2013).
11. This was partly true, as the Rockefeller Foundation demonstrated for the next three years 'fruitful, although limited, results', which gradually vanished after 1935 (Giannuli, 1998: 61–62; Vassiliou, 2005; Levett, 2008: 117).
12. Muehlens' report 'Kurzer Bericht ueber medizinische und kulturelle Eindruecke aus Jugoslawien, Griechenland, Bulgarien und der Tuerkei' in 1926 (PAAA, R 64680).
13. Report of the German Consul on Saloniki to the German Foreign Ministry in Berlin, on 07.08.1926 (PAAA, R 64680); also: Muehlens' report 'Kurzer Bericht ueber medizinische und kulturelle Eindruecke aus Jugoslawien, Griechenland, Bulgarien und der Tuerkei' in 1926 (PAAA, R 64680).
14. Report of Dr. Joachim Heinrich Schultze to the Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft, Berlin, on 02.09.1933, p. 3 (BAK, R 73/16860).
15. Travel report: 'Bericht Prof. Dr. Hugo Hassingers die in der Zeit vom 10–27. April 1942 nach Griechenland, Bulgarien, Serbien, Ungarn, Kroatien und vom 7–9. Mai 1942 nach der Slowakei ausgefuehrten Studienreise' (BAB, R 4901/2819).
16. Travel report: 'Bericht Prof. Dr. Hugo Hassingers die in der Zeit vom 10–27. April 1942 nach Griechenland, Bulgarien, Serbien, Ungarn, Kroatien und vom 7–9. Mai 1942 nach der Slowakei ausgefuehrten Studienreise' (BAB, R 4901/2819), Part I. Reisezwecke.
17. Travel report: 'Bericht Prof. Dr. Hugo Hassingers die in der Zeit vom 10–27. April 1942 nach Griechenland, Bulgarien, Serbien, Ungarn, Kroatien und vom 7–9. Mai 1942 nach der Slowakei ausgefuehrten Studienreise' (BAB, R 4901/2819), Part I. Reisezwecke.
18. Travel report: 'Bericht Prof. Dr. Hugo Hassingers die in der Zeit vom 10–27. April 1942 nach Griechenland, Bulgarien, Serbien, Ungarn, Kroatien und vom 7–9. Mai 1942 nach der Slowakei ausgefuehrten Studienreise' (BAB, R 4901/2819), Part I. Reisezwecke.
19. During the German occupation, three collaborative governments were formed in Greece, and Logothetopoulos became prime minister in the second of these, a few months after Hassinger's visit, from November 1942 until 6 April 1943.
20. Travel report: 'Bericht Prof. Dr. Hugo Hassingers die in der Zeit vom 10–27. April 1942 nach Griechenland, Bulgarien, Serbien, Ungarn, Kroatien und vom 7–9. Mai 1942 nach der Slowakei ausgefuehrten Studienreise,' Part III Reiseergebnisse, A. Griechenland (BAB, R 4901/2819).
21. Travel report: 'Bericht Prof. Dr. Hugo Hassingers die in der Zeit vom 10–27. April 1942 nach Griechenland, Bulgarien, Serbien, Ungarn, Kroatien und vom 7–9. Mai 1942 nach der Slowakei ausgefuehrten Studienreise,' Part III Reiseergebnisse, A. Griechenland (BAB, R 4901/2819).
22. Travel report: 'Bericht Prof. Dr. Hugo Hassingers die in der Zeit vom 10–27. April 1942 nach Griechenland, Bulgarien, Serbien, Ungarn, Kroatien und vom 7–9. Mai 1942 nach der Slowakei ausgefuehrten Studienreise,' Part III Reiseergebnisse, A. Griechenland (BAB, R 4901/2819).
23. Travel report: 'Bericht Prof. Dr. Hugo Hassingers die in der Zeit vom 10–27. April 1942 nach Griechenland, Bulgarien, Serbien, Ungarn, Kroatien und

vom 7–9. Mai 1942 nach der Slowakei ausgefuehrten Studienreise,' Part III Reiseergebnisse, A. Griechenland (BAB, R 4901/2819); his essay entitled 'Meliorierung und laendliche Innenkolonisation in Griechenland seit der Umsiedlung der kleinasiatischen Griechen.'

24. Letter of Prof. Hugo Hassinger, Geographisches Institut Univ. Wien to the Reichsminister f. Wissenschaft Erziehung u. Volksbildung on 02.02.1943 (BAB, R 4901/2819).
25. Letter of Prof. Hugo Hassinger, Geographisches Institut Univ. Wien to the Reichsminister f. Wissenschaft Erziehung u. Volksbildung on 02.02.1943 (BAB, R 4901/2819).

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15

Citizens of the Third Reich in the Tropics: German Scientific Expeditions to Brazil under the Vargas Regime, 1933–40

Magali Romero Sá and André Felipe Cândido da Silva

Introduction

Scientific relations between Brazil and Germany became closer in the early nineteenth century, when many German naturalists, engineers, doctors, and others spent time in Brazil and had a strong influence on the country's cultural, scientific, and institutional life. Brazil's fauna, flora, geology, and native peoples were the main objects of interest of these Germanic scientists, producing many works that are still essential references for the study of Brazilian biological and social diversity.[1] German expeditions to Brazil took place in the context of burgeoning trade and a steady influx of migrants, who formed the backbone of Brazil's large German-Brazilian population, primarily in the south of the country. The German expeditions depended on the coordination of official entities, especially the countries' respective diplomatic corps. Since 1920, a cultural division had been working inside the recently reorganized German Foreign Office, with the objective of formulating a foreign cultural policy. The section was responsible for supervising international scientific interchange, transnational scientific cooperation, international scientific meetings and publications, and the visit of German scholars abroad as well as foreign scholars to Germany (Düwell, 1976). Until 1937, its structure remained nearly the same, as well as the majority of the German Foreign Ministry. A novelty in 1933 was that the cultural division started to share and fight for responsibilities with the Foreign Organization of the Nazi Party (*Auslandsorganisation*, AO) and the Ministry of Propaganda, headed by Goebbels (Michalka, 2002).

Natural history and ethnography remained the main fields of interest of German scientists in Brazil in the 1930s. Unlike the early naturalists in the nineteenth century, these scientists found a more institutionalized science and a more robust state, with a relatively solid network of state institutions dedicated to studying natural and cultural resources, as well as local problems, such as endemic and epidemic diseases, and questions concerning agricultural and industrial development.[2]

In the 1930s, Getúlio Vargas (1930–45) took office as Brazil's president after a coup that overthrew the new elected government. His administration was marked by a strong nationalist and authoritarian centralization, and conservative modernization initiatives for the country's society and economy.[3] By 1933, when the National Socialist Party was elected in Germany, economic activity between the two countries was intense. This coordination was cemented by a trade agreement signed in 1934, a mutual cooperation policy for the persecution of communists, and military cooperation. Certain figureheads of the Vargas administration – high-ranking military and civil figures like Lourival Fontes, head of the Department for Press and Propaganda – were known to be Nazi sympathizers or to have pro-German tendencies. Indeed, even the Brazilian president had certain ideological leanings towards Germany's new totalitarian system. As a result of the good relationship, the diplomatic representations in both countries were elevated to the category of embassy in 1936.[4]

Regarding the scientific relations with Brazil, it is clear the commitment of the Nazi Foreign Organization (AO) to submit the academic interchange to the party's ideological and political guidelines. Local cells of the Nazi Party assumed the role, alongside with diplomatic representatives, to mediate the contact of German scientists with intellectuals, politicians and the local society. They sought to ensure, therefore, that the visitor did not devote himself to the anti-German propaganda, and that he would represent adequately the excellence of German science and disseminate the ideals of the 'new Germany.' Besides being an 'authentic' Aryan, the German scholar abroad should be in line with the parameters of *Gleichschaltung*, the process of ideological coordination that between tensions and accommodations framed the academic and scientific system in accordance with the assumptions of the new regime.

On the Brazilian side, scientific relations with Germany were supported by intellectuals who identified themselves with German culture, usually because they had studied in Germany and knew the language – surely the main obstacle to the dissemination of German culture among Brazilian elites, commonly fluent in French and increasingly familiar

with English. While some of the Brazilian researchers promoted scientific exchanges with Germany by informal channels, others were attached to institutions that were focused on funding projects and coordinating relations with the Germanic world. The Brazilian-Teuto Institute of High Culture (*Instituto Teuto-Brasileiro de Alta Cultura*) was created in Rio de Janeiro in the 1930s to promote German science and culture. It was similar to an institution established by the French in 1922. The Brazilian-Teuto Institute was linked to the University of Rio de Janeiro and to the German diplomatic representation in the city. The Pro-Art Society (*Sociedade Pro Arte de Artes, Ciências e Letras)* was another institution with the same purpose. Founded by Theodor Heuberger, a German art dealer who had settled in Brazil,[5] this entity was then funded by the Nazi Party and was not only a cultural centre for the promotion of the arts, sciences, and letters, but also fostered cultural interchange between Brazil and Germany, providing practical support for German scientists who came to Brazil, and holding talks and encounters with authorities.

In the context of the different diplomatic and economic liaisons with Germany skilfully handled by the Vargas regime, foreign scientific expeditions to investigate Brazil's natural and human resources continued to take place. If Brazil's unbroken landmass had previously been an aid for foreign travellers around the country, who had been free to carry out virtually whatever research and collection activities they wished, as of 1933 they had to comply with the rulings of a new entity called the Brazilian Inspection Board for Artistic and Scientific Expeditions (*Conselho de Fiscalização das Expedições Artísticas e Científicas no Brasil*, CFEACB).[6] CFEACB was responsible for inspecting private domestic and foreign expeditions of an artistic or scientific nature and was made up of representatives from official Brazilian institutions. The aim was to protect the nation's artistic, scientific, and cultural heritage in a context of intense nationalism which permeated practically every dominion of power. As a corollary of this 'sacralization of the idea of national unity', a growing 'mistrust of all things foreign' started to flourish (Faria, 1988, cited in Grupioni, 1988: 23). CFEACB supervised licence applications, which had to state the travellers' objectives and purposes, team members, materials used, places of entry and exit, duration, itinerary, and expected results (Grupioni, 1998: 45). Its regulations prevented the unauthorized export of any natural, historical, or artistic assets that did not have a counterpart in Brazilian institutions. They also established that the objects collected should be shared equally between the Brazilian government and the expedition team; that they should submit copies

of film footage and photographs taken; and that these should be subject to analysis and potential censorship by the press and propaganda entities. Decisions about the distribution of material seized from unauthorized expeditions to Brazilian museums were also taken with the active participation of CFEACB.

The CFEACB documents indicate that, alongside the United States, Germany was the country to which most authorized exports of material were despatched (Grupioni, 1998: 49).

When the National Socialist Party came to power in 1933, Germany's traditional and more recent scientific institutions had to adapt their agendas to the new ideological alignment policy (*Gleichschaltung*) introduced by the government and its demands and interests. Generally speaking, scientists continued to pursue their own interests, seeking to gain resources, prestige, and credit by making alliances with strategic partners in the Nazi apparatus (Szöllösi-Janze, 2001). This was the case for most of the natural scientists who visited Brazil between 1933 and 1940 with scientific expeditions. Most of them, whether or not they were ideologically driven, took advantage of the patronage of state and/or private agents in order to make their journeys, in which they aligned their personal and research interests with the government's objectives and goals. However, the intense nationalistic fervour instilled during Vargas's government imposed additional challenges, demanding negotiations to overcome the bureaucratic and ideological barriers.

In this chapter the activities of three German voyagers in Brazil are studied: the German-Brazilian soil scientist Paul Vageler (1882–1963), who developed a series of different activities in the country between 1933 and 1939 (during this time Vageler worked at the Agronomic Institute of Campinas, a traditional agricultural research institution in the state of São Paulo); the zoologist and geographer Otto Schulz-Kampfhenkel, who between 1935 and 1938 explored the Amazon region bathed by the Jari River, on the border of French Guiana; and the zoologist, ethnographer, and anthropologist Hans Krieg, who visited the states of Paraná, Mato Grosso, and São Paulo between 1937 and 1938. Through Vageler's, Schulz-Kampfhenkel's, and Krieg's expeditions, we intend to shed light on the place of science in a still understudied field: the cultural dimension of the relations between these two countries from 1933 – with the Nazi seizure of power – until 1942, when Brazil entered the Second World War on the Allied side. The chapter presents a network of actors and institutions that gave support to German travellers in Brazil; the interests of the different actors who contributed to the expeditions, and the extent to which these travels contributed to

mutual knowledge; and how these expeditions helped to illuminate the context of science in the Third Reich, a theme of considerable discussion among German and international historiographies.[7]

German expeditions during the Third Reich and relations with the Brazilian government and scientific institutions

As of 1933, when CFEACB was created, expeditions started to be regulated under new terms. These included a requirement that part of the material collected be donated to institutions in the country, sparking the interest of these institutions to the point that they would make representations directly to the board to have the expeditions approved, and would even offer financial aid. Also, personal relations between the scientists and the institutions were instrumental in the development of certain fields of science in the country. One example is the visit by Paul Vageler to Brazil in the early 1930s. Having graduated in agronomy from the University of Königsberg in 1904, Vageler had worked for the Imperial Colonial Office (*Reichskolonialamt*) in German East Africa. He was particularly interested in the tropics and the study of the chemical composition of soil. A Nazi sympathizer, Vageler arrived in Brazil in March 1933 accompanied by two engineers, Kurt Passow and Peter Thurner, with financial support from the German government. When the ship *General Artigas* docked in Rio, the Germans were enthusiastically welcomed by Colonel Henrique Guilherme Gaelzer Neto, head of the Brazilian Office of Propaganda and Commercial Expansion in Germany and a great support of German immigration to Brazil.[8] Vageler's first mission in the country was to inspect the lands of a private company, the *Companhia Viação São Paulo – Mato Grosso*, whose major shareholder was a German industrialist, Heinrich Sloman. The mission had the purpose of checking the viability of occupation and colonization of the company's land by German settlers. A commission was formed to accompany the three Germans in this inspection work. They were joined by the German general consul Dr Speiser, Colonel Gaelzer Neto, the ex-German minister Hubert Knipping, and a German immigrant, Erwin Huebbe.[9] After this mission, Vageler received an invitation from the Brazilian government to occupy the post of pedologist at the Chemistry Institute and to give classes in agrogeology at the National School of Agronomy in Rio de Janeiro.[10] In 1935, Theodureto de Camargo (1880–1950), director of the Campinas Institute of Agronomy in the state of São Paulo, invited Vageler to create and direct the soil section at the Institute of Campinas (Espindola, 2007). Camargo had studied in

Germany under Emil Ramann (1851–1926), a soil scientist and director of the Agronomy Research Station of Bavaria,[11] and had run the Campinas Institute since 1924. Under his leadership, the Institute was being restructured, focusing more on basic research and the creation of new research laboratories (see Dantes, 1979–80). Vageler's stay in Brazil was of direct interest to the German government. So pressing were the issues of agriculture that the German Research Association (*Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft*, henceforth DFG) had a division devoted to agricultural and biological sciences, which was run by Konrad Meyer, a professor of agronomy and agrarian policy at the University of Berlin, who also held a high rank in the SS and was head of the Research Service, a group formed of agricultural scientists (Deichmann, 1996: 92).[12]

In 1934, while Vageler was in Rio de Janeiro, the Brazilian government received a proposal from Hugo Eckener, director of *Luftschiffbau Zeppelin GmbH*, an airship manufacturer, for a study trip around Brazil using one of its airships. Eckener's request was reinforced by one from Paul Vageler,[13] who was also set to take part in the expedition, and asked for the following licences: (1) a licence to export radio-telegraphic news and exclusives, reports, and photo-reports from the airship to the international press. To undertake to carry a Brazilian journalist on board to convey information to the national press; (2) a licence for Major Luiz Thomaz Reis[14] to shoot a sound movie with aesthetic and artistic objectives for universal exhibition. Copies of the film would be sent to Brazil and Portugal; (3) a licence for Luiz Thomaz Reis to leave for Germany and return with the material needed for the flight.

The licence application sent by the two Germans was analysed by the army commander's staff, since it involved matters of national security, and by the director of CFEACB. The army saw the expedition as a 'matter of significant propaganda for the country, while also giving us an outstanding opportunity to study the regions covered'.[15] The army chief of staff, Francisco Ramos de Andrade Neves, gave the green light, as did the chairman of CFEACB, Paulo Campos Porto, whose only demands were that the photographs should be taken by a specialist from the army's geographical service (which had been suggested in the application submitted by Vageler), that the aerial films should be subject to censorship, and that one unabridged copy should be forwarded to CFEACB.[16] The Brazilian government undertook to exempt the scientific research material from import duties, and made a number of demands of its own: that the journey be accompanied by a representative of the army commander's staff and a director from the air force; that copies of the information gathered and photographs taken be sent to the Ministry

of War and subject to its censorship, as should the showing in other countries of the film footage shot during the journey; that the travel itinerary be submitted in advance to the Ministry of War; and that the Ministry of War representatives be given unrestricted access to radio and telegraph communication on board the airship. Despite all the positive signs and active negotiations, the expedition was ultimately dropped. Vageler stayed in Brazil until war broke out in Europe, when he returned to Germany.

During the period Vageler stayed in Brazil, he gave important support to other German scientific initiatives guided by the purposes of a foreign cultural policy. Thanks to his support and to the Agronomic Institute of Campinas, Konrad Voppel – the curator (*Kustos*) of the German Institute of Geography (*Deutsches Institut für Landeskunde*) from Leipzig – was invited to come to Brazil in 1938. Voppel was sent to the Campinas Institute and explored the hinterlands of the states of São Paulo and Mato Grosso. Apparently, Voppel's visit was related to the prospect of suitable areas for agricultural colonization. According to the Consulate of São Paulo, Voppel's voyage was a great success, although he had been considered a German spy and arrested in Mato Grosso. However, due to the intervention of Vageler and the German vice-consul in Campo Grande, he was soon released, returning to Germany.[17]

One year after Vageler and Eckener submitted their licence applications to the Brazilian government, a German expedition did receive authorization to explore the north of the country. Otto Schulz-Kampfhenkel's expedition to the Jari River and the Amazon (1935–38) also involved filming and photography, often using a seaplane. The aim was to explore the region of the Jari River, which flows from the Brazilian border with the Guyanas in the Tumacumaru mountains to the northern stretch of the Amazon River. The local fauna was investigated in its respective habitats, and anthropological and geographical research was also conducted.

On 13 June 1935, Otto Schulz-Kampfhenkel, Gerd Kahle, and Gerhard Krause set off from Hamburg aboard the steamship *Niemburg* for the city of Belém in the Northern Brazilian state of Pará. With them, they took a considerable amount of baggage, which included filming and photography equipment, weapons, ammunition, food supplies, and a seaplane to be used to make short flights in areas of difficult access. The expedition was funded by a combination of state and private agents: the German Foreign Office, the Ministry of Propaganda and Public Enlightenment, the Ministry of Science and Education, and a private collector and industrialist, Julius Riemer.[18] The Schulz-Kampfhenkel family also

provided funds, as did the Ullstein publishing house, which Schulz-Kampfhenkel had promised to supply with reports about the journey in the tropics for publication in the press (Stoecker, 2011: 38). The German Ministry of Aviation, under Hermann Göring, supplied the seaplane for the aerial reconnaissance and cartographic records of the expedition area, which, according to Schulz-Kampfhenkel (1938: 11), was one of the last completely unexplored places on Earth. The German National Association of the Photographic Industry sponsored the journey, donating photography and film equipment. The Foreign Organization of the Nazi Party gave its official blessing to the venture, which would be made possible thanks to the mediation of leaders from the German colony in Brazil and Brazilian government representatives.[19] Likewise, the Ibero-American Institute in Berlin, the lynchpin of cultural relations between Nazi Germany and Latin America, provided assistance.[20]

Otto Schulz-Kampfhenkel was just 25 when he came to Brazil. A keen zoologist, he had attended the degree course in natural sciences (major in zoology and minors in geography and palaeontology) at the University of Freiburg from 1929 to 1932.[21] He received scientific training and instruction in how to prepare animals for scientific collections at the Berlin University's Museum of Zoology under the guidance of the head of the mammal department, Hermann Poehle (Ohl, 2011: 132). In 1931, he travelled to Liberia with the aim of capturing some exotic animals for a company called Scholze & Pötzsche and the Berlin zoo.[22] In 1934, he started writing a dissertation on zoology at the Berlin Museum of Zoology, but never completed it.[23] When he learned of the interest in using a seaplane in the research and exploration of little-known tropical areas, he enrolled at a flight academy, earning his credentials as a pilot in 1934. In April 1933, Schulz-Kampfhenkel had applied to join the Nazi Party, and in November of the same year he joined the *Schutzstaffel*, better known as the SS (Stoecker, 2011: 36).

The application sent by the German Embassy to the Brazilian Ministry of Agriculture states that the expedition's objectives were:

> to test the possibility of using a recreational aircraft for scientific studies in equatorial river basins; zoological studies through the collection and observation of animals; geographical and ethnographic studies and the production of cultural films.[24]

In the projects he sent to the German authorities with his application for assistance, Schulz-Kampfhenkel stated that he expected the expedition to last six months. The Brazilian Embassy in Berlin, headed by

Moniz de Aragão, promised to help expedite the permits needed for the expedition, which would make scientific investigations, collect material, and prepare cartographic records. However, obtaining the permits proved anything but straightforward. When he reached Belém, Northern Brazil, in July 1935, Schulz-Kampfhenkel discovered that he would have to go to Rio de Janeiro, the Brazilian capital, to negotiate the authorization for the expedition with the government authorities, in a process that dragged on until October 1935. The CFEACB required that one Brazilian researcher should be included in the expedition team. Meanwhile, the use of a seaplane would have to be authorized by the army commander's staff and supervised by a Brazilian official.[25] Schulz-Kampfhenkel complained that he would not have enough money to pay for the Brazilian researcher required by the board. Also, as the plane had just two seats, it was unfeasible for an army officer to accompany the flights. The application also requested the duty-free admission of ammunition, weapons, film and photography equipment, and other provisions for the activities in the jungle.[26]

The German diplomats in Rio de Janeiro became actively involved in the matter and made representations to the relevant Brazilian bodies.[27] The fact that the expedition had set off from Germany without first having secured the necessary permits had, the German ambassador believed, raised the hackles of the Brazilian authorities, whose 'self-esteem' was already 'wounded' by their having to deal with foreign expeditions that approached Brazil as if it were unexplored territory, much like African colonies.[28] Writing to the German Minister for Science and Education, Schulz-Kampfhenkel suggested that the Brazilian authorities' 'passive resistance' had to do with their hostility towards foreign expeditions and the 'underground influence' of French circles.[29]

During the weeks Schulz-Kampfhenkel stayed in Rio, a veritable 'paper war' was waged, along with pilgrimages to different ministries, conference rooms, and departments (Schulz-Kampfhenkel, 1938: 26–27). Brazilian Foreign Office documents attest to the paper trail that led him through the Ministries of War, Foreign Affairs, Finance, and Agriculture, the army commander's staff, and the Brazilian president's office.[30] The secretary-general of the Brazilian Chamber of Commerce facilitated negotiations with the military representatives and with the vice director of the National Museum and a member of CFEACB, Heloísa Alberto Torres. The CFEACB ultimately decided to scrap the requirement to have a Brazilian participant in the expedition, provided a German scientific institution officially sponsored the journey.[31] The *Kaiser Wilhelm Institut für Biologie* in Berlin was willing to take on this function.[32] In Brazil, the

National Museum agreed to sponsor the expedition at the request of the Brazilian Foreign Office.[33] Schulz-Kampfhenkel also made contact with some Nazi Party leaders in Brazil, who helped mediate his contact with three German-Brazilian newspapers, which agreed to pay for reports on the expedition's progress. This extra income proved fundamental for the final stages of the journey.

One day before the expedition was set to begin, the seaplane was damaged in a trial flight at the mouths of the Pará, Jari, and Xingu Rivers, and was sent back to Germany.[34] Alongside Kahle and Krause, the expedition included 21 locals who were familiar with the region to guide them and a German-Brazilian whom Schulz-Kampfhenkel had met in Rio de Janeiro, Joseph Greiner. On one of his trips between the camp set up near an Aparaí settlement in the middle of the jungle and the town of Santo Antônio de Cachoeira, where they stocked up on provisions and material to continue their work, Greiner caught malaria and died. To this day, a wooden cross topped with a swastika marks the place where he was buried, its presence giving rise to all sorts of stories about the Germans' journey to the region.[35] While exploring one of the tributaries of the Jari, Schulz-Kampfhenkel capsized with provisions, guns, ammunition, and equipment, which meant that a new delivery of materials had to be sent for.[36] The delay in the receipt of the necessary permits from the Brazilian government considerably lengthened the duration of the expedition and raised its costs. During 1936, Schulz-Kampfhenkel tried unsuccessfully to obtain another 5,000 Marks from the Reich authorities to supplement the 22,000 Marks which, he said, had been used up on the journey.[37] For the German ambassador, the threat of having the expedition cut short because of a lack of funds 'would make a very bad impression in Brazil'.[38] The expedition travelled up the Jari until the Tumucumaque Mountains, making contact with Oyana and Wayapi tribes on the way. In March 1937, they took a steamship back to Germany, reaching Hamburg in May 1937. The expedition had taken far longer than originally planned: six months on paper had stretched to over a year and a half in reality.

In the almost 15 months he spent in the Amazon, Schulz-Kampfhenkel collected around 1,500 zoological specimens (skin, skulls, skeletons, animals preserved in ethanol, and two shipments of live animals for the Berlin zoo),[39] 1,200 ethnographic objects from the Aparaí, Wayapi (Oyampi), and Oayana (Oyana) tribes,[40] 2,700 metres of 16 mm film footage, cartographic records of the Jari and its tributaries, and 2,500 photographs (Schulz-Kampfhenkel, 1938: 207). A quarter of the material collected went to *Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi*, a natural

history museum in Belém, in compliance with the rules laid down by CFEAC.[41]

Back in Germany, Schulz-Kampfhenkel threw himself into publicizing his expedition. He organized an exhibition which was put on in Leipzig and Stuttgart, and in 1938 he published *Rätsel der Urwaldhölle* (*Riddle of Hell's Jungle*). Germany's best-known film production company, *Universum Film Aktien Gesellschaft* (UFA), produced a film with the same name, directed by Schulz-Kampfhenkel himself. It debuted in a cinema in a fashionable quarter of Berlin on 11 May 1938 in the presence of government representatives and diplomats, including the Brazilian ambassador, Moniz de Aragão. The film was a great commercial and box office success.[42] However, it was not to the liking of the Brazilian consul in Danzig, who complained to the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs that despite the benefits scientific expeditions brought to natural history, 'their exhibition is damaging to the good name of Brazil', as they reinforced stereotypes.[43]

For the Germans, the scientific results of the expedition came in the form of large collections of natural history and anthropology artefacts – even if they were not studied at the time – and film footage. For Brazil, despite all the support granted by the government and official institutions, the only real benefit was a fairly modest addition to the collections at *Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi*.[44]

In 1936, a Bavarian scientist, Hans Krieg, defended the role of scientists as ambassadors of their countries of origin in international scientific relations in a letter to the DFG, justifying the support that would be given by the Nazi Party's foreign representation: 'it is necessary that the people who go abroad are uncompromising and honest supporters of the Third Reich without appearing from the outset as propagandists'. For him, 'scientists were best suited for this task' and 'positive work has more effect in the long run than all journalistic noise' (Deichmann, 1996: 156).

Unlike Schulz-Kampfhenkel, who was more enterprising and had no formal institutional ties, Krieg was already a respected scientist: he held the post of director at one of Germany's most important natural history institutions, the Zoological Museum in Munich, and was a professor at the Faculty of Zoology.

This was his fourth expedition to South America, and he was keen to carry on the zoogeographical and ethnographic studies he had pursued on previous expeditions to the South American Chaco between 1922 and 1932.[45] Krieg studied natural sciences in Munich and Tübingen. Between 1911 and 1912, he spent three months at the Russian

Laboratory of Zoology in Villefranche to study the marine fauna. Krieg participated in the First World War as a medical doctor and, in 1919, defended his habilitation in human anatomy. In 1925, he was appointed as an extraordinary professor in this field. He was invited to carry out his first expedition to South America by Argentine friends of German descent, the Wildermuth brothers. The second expedition took place between 1925 and 1927, along with Erwin Lindner and Michael Kiefer, when he explored the region of Gran Chaco. He returned once more between 1931 and 1932, with Kiefer and Eugen Schuhmacher.

In October 1937, Krieg set sail from Hamburg for Brazil together with Eugen Schuhmacher, a taxidermist from the Museum of Zoology. In November 1937 they were joined by three assistants from the museum: Otto Schindler, a fish specialist and assistant of the ichthyology collection, Friedrich Kühlhorn, responsible for mammals, and Heinrich Fischer, an entomologist. Krieg's expedition was being sponsored by the DFG; Ludwig Siebert, the Bavarian premier; the minister for Public Enlightenment in Munich; and the National Socialist Party's Foreign Organization.

The journey to Brazil had already been announced in the newspapers and was being awaited by Brazilian scientists. Krieg docked in Rio on the *General Artigas* on 20 October 1937. The reception committee at the quayside was headed by Theodor Heuberger of the Pro-Art Society, who had prepared a busy schedule for Krieg while he remained in Rio, including talks at the National Museum and Germanic Society, and visits to the Botanic Gardens, the National Museum, and the Academy of Letters, where he was received by the institutions' directors.[46] In his talks, Krieg discussed his research and the plans for the expedition, which were widely communicated in the press.[47]

Krieg's expedition, planned to last a year, would start in Patagonia, Argentina, moving north to Paraguay, the Bolivian border, and then the Brazilian states of Mato Grosso do Sul and São Paulo. A few days before he had reached Brazil, the chairman of CFEACB, Campos Porto, had written to the chief of police, Filinto Müller, that he had not received any application for a licence for the mission, adding that it could not undertake any scientific activities in the country unless permission was requested through the mediation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as required by law.[48] Heuberger immediately intervened and asked what information would be needed to make the necessary legal preparations. When he reached Brazil, Krieg was also told what had to be done to make the collection of specimens in the country legal. Via the German Embassy, a licence application was made for a 'study trip' rather than

a scientific expedition. The application thus sidestepped many of the CFEACB's formal requirements, such as the details of the expedition's objectives, itinerary, team, duration, expected results, and so on.

Responding to this application, the CFEACB issued a licence, but with the proviso that no scientific material could be collected unless all the provisions of the legislation were fulfilled. Krieg agreed to these terms.

In November 1937, Krieg started his expedition by dividing his group into two: one group (himself and Schuhmacher) would travel through Argentina, Paraguay, and the Bolivian border, and the other (Schindler, Fischer, and Kühlhorn) would work in Brazil. After six months travelling through the Argentine and Paraguayan Chaco and Bolivia, Krieg and Schuhmacher met up with the Brazilian group in Mato Grosso. From there, they all travelled on to São Paulo, where they took the Sorocabana railway to Presidente Epitácio, on the Paraná River (Huber, 1998: 101). In clear violation of Brazilian laws, the Germans had amassed a considerable amount of zoological material. When they attempted to embark for Germany in August 1938 from Santos port, their baggage was seized by the customs inspector, who had received instructions from the chairman of CFEACB to inspect their baggage, since they had no authorization to collect specimens. The orders were that any scientific material should be held in the country.[49]

This hard-line approach was prompted mainly by the off-handedness with which Krieg had attempted to get round the country's laws, ignoring the instructions he had received and placing himself above the authority of Brazilian institutions. The bad feeling this caused in Brazilian scientific circles was such that the CFEACB's members unanimously agreed not to review their position regarding the confiscated material, even in the face of several requests to do so.[50]

According to the rules of the Brazilian entity, the seized material should be distributed among Brazilian institutions. One of its members, a zoologist, Bertha Lutz, took over the case. A committee of specialists was set up to analyse the material, divide the zoological and ethnographic material collected, and distribute it among the Brazilian institutions. Only in 1940, after a lengthy process, was the material gathered by the Krieg expedition added to the collections of the National Museum, with a small portion going to the Paulista Museum and the Geological Museum (Sombrio, 2007: 85).

Despite all the restrictions by the Brazilian government, zoological collections comprising small mammals such as rodents, birds, reptiles, fish, and insects escaped Brazilian control and were sent to Germany by the expeditionaries. Part of these collections were destroyed during the

war, but the remains were later studied by specialists, such as the fishes collected by Schindler, who became, after the war, the first curator of the ichthyological section of the Zoological Museum in Munich. As reported by Neumann (2011: 234), '[Schindler] while waiting in the field camp for the return of Krieg and Schumacher collected mainly characids in the Paraná River and at different locations in the Rio Ivinheima, a tributary to the upper Paraná River.' This material, later classified by Schindler, included, as reported by Neumann (2011), 'the complete type series of *Scoloplax empousa* and a new species of gymnotiform Knifefish *Sternarchus paranaenses*'. Another important reference related to the zoological collection shipped to the Munich Museum concerned the Owl's spiny rat, *Carterodon sulcidens*, collected for the first time in the state of Mato Grosso do Sul (Bezerra et al., 2011).

Like Krieg, Theodor Kromer, associated with the Geography Seminar of the University of Leipzig and the Museum of Anthropology in the same city, had the same difficulty with the Brazilian authorities. In February 1939, the German Embassy in Berlin was consulted about the objectives of Kromer's trip to Northern Brazil. He was being confronted by the Brazilian authorities for not having official permission to undertake scientific expeditions in the country. The Embassy offered to work with the Brazilian authorities to obtain authorization, but asked first for clarification on the relevance of the work that Kromer was developing in Brazil. Three months later, the Reich Ministry of Science and Education explained that the former director of the Institute of Geography had granted authorization for Kromer's trip to Brazil, while the director of the Museum of Anthropology, Fritz Krause, had only issued a letter of recommendation, but was not responsible for any specific exploration task. Nevertheless, Krause, who had travelled through Central Brazil in 1908, stressed that Kromer's expedition could be of interest to German science, without explicitly stating the nature of this interest. Notwithstanding the efforts of the German Embassy, the objective of Kromer's voyage was not considered sufficiently clear and satisfactory to be authorized by the Brazilian authorities.[51]

The outbreak of the Second World War in 1939 did not curb the flow of German expeditions to Brazil, which continued to receive authorization from CFEACB and even financial support from Brazilian institutions. Recipients of such help included Adolf Schneider (second president of the *Deutsche Ornithologen Gesellschaft*) and Helmut Sick (assistant in the Ornithology Department of the Zoological Museum, Berlin). The ornithologists arrived in Brazil in 1939 to explore the ornithological fauna of the state of Espírito Santo with the support of the

German government and the Oswaldo Cruz Institute, a Brazilian scientific institution. Schneider subsequently worked in the collection at the National Museum in Rio de Janeiro, helping to organize the specimens from 1940 to 1942, when was forced to leave his activities after Brazil declared war on Germany. Schneider returned to his country in 1944, while Sick remained in Brazil for the rest of his life, and became one of the foremost, internationally recognized Brazilian ornithologists.[52] The material collected by the two ornithologists during 1939–42 was forbidden by the CFEACB to be sent to Germany, with the recommendation that it should be incorporated into the collections of the National Museum (Pacheco and Bauer, 1995).

Conclusion

Driven by ideological beliefs and personal and scientific ambitions, some German scientists aligned with National Socialism undertook expeditions to Brazil at a moment of good relations between the Vargas administration in Brazil and the Third Reich in Germany. The German expeditions were presented and interpreted as proof of the good standing in the relationships between the two nations, even as they came up against resistance and obstacles caused by the prevailing nationalism and administrative centralization in Brazil. This triggered upsets, tensions, and impasses, which the scientists sought to resolve by negotiating with the authorities and leveraging the support of official entities in Germany and Brazil.

Over the course of their careers, Paul Vageler, Hans Krieg, and Schulz-Kampfhenkel resorted to specific strategies to gain support and recognition during the term of the Nazi regime. Their work contributed to the understanding of how scientists of different institutions and disciplinary affiliations struggled to legitimize their research agendas in accordance with the Third Reich's interests. Krieg and Schulz-Kampfhenkel came from different professional backgrounds and belonged to different generations of researchers. The latter – much younger – was representative of a generation that enthusiastically joined the ranks of the Nazi Party. In addition, he built his scientific identity at the interface between science and amateurishness, representing himself as the archetypal explorer of remote regions on Earth. The alleged pioneering of Schulz-Kampfhenkel's journey to the Amazon is questionable, since he had previously contacted other scientists, such as the eminent German ethnographer Curt Niemuendajú, who had visited the same region of the Jari River that he was planning to explore. Mainly thanks to his

organizational skills and persuasive attitude, rather than an alleged reputation or academic recognition, he managed to take a large collection of apparatus to the farthest corners of the Amazon region, including a seaplane and filming, sound, and high-end photography equipment. He was very successful in gaining support from various official and unofficial bodies, but underestimated the difficulties he was going to face when trying to take forward his planned adventure. The extensive use of Western technology turned out not to be enough to make a success of Schulz-Kampfhenkel's journey. The seaplane capsized in the rapids, and team members succumbed to disease. Such obstacles made room for local actors to take centre stage. The members of the expedition were able to survive in the woods only thanks to the Indians' hunting and fishing skills. Despite all these setbacks, Schulz-Kampfhenkel was able to cement adventure narratives about 'Edenic and Dantesque tropics' in the public imagination through the production of dense media materials. In the end, Schulz-Kampfhenkel was seen as representative of the 'German capacity' for achievement, thus acting as an effective propaganda tool.

Unlike the young Schulz-Kampfhenkel, Hans Krieg was a prominent researcher in zoology and ethnography. As the director of the Munich Museum of Zoology, he had accumulated symbolic capital, which legitimated him as a renowned specialist in the scientific field. He supported the National Socialist ideology and was convinced of the importance of German academics for cultural propaganda abroad. Certainly, this conviction was one of the reasons that took him to South America. The region was not *terra incognita* for him. He had previously been there three times to visit the so-called Gran Chaco region. Despite the damage to the Museum of Munich during the Second World War, part of its collections survived the destruction, as they had been accommodated in a safe place. These collections included specimens collected by Krieg and his companions during their trips to South America. Krieg's close ties to the Nazi Party did not prevent him from being appointed as general manager of the Scientific Collections of Bavaria in 1945.

It is important to underscore the impact of these expeditions on the careers of the researchers who conducted them. The experience acquired in the exploration of new places, the professional contacts made, and the possibility of developing research programmes brought their careers to an inflection point. Paul Vageler returned to Brazil in 1948 and worked there until his death in 1963. Hans Krieg dedicated himself to disseminating the findings of his expedition to South America, among other activities. In 1948, he published *Zwischen Norden und Atlantik:*

Reisen einen Biologen in Südamerika (Between North and the Atlantic: travels of a Biologist in South America), on his four journeys to South America. He published a series of works about animals and South American indigenous peoples. A vast collection of ethnographic pieces, collected mainly on the Gran Chaco route, was incorporated by the Linden-Museum in Stuttgart and by museums in Munich, including the Municipal Museum of Anthropology. The contact with the Indian populations of the regions that he visited in South America contributed to Krieg's reputation as a prominent ethnographer and brought great contributions to this field of knowledge.[53]

As mentioned in this chapter, Helmut Sick, a member of Adolf Schneider's expedition, developed an important career as an ornithologist at the National Museum of Rio de Janeiro.

After being celebrated as the 'Jari explorer' due to the publication of his travel book and the release of his documentary film, Otto Schulz-Kampfhenkel organized a research team, linked to the SS, to geographically map the regions of interest to the German military forces. In 1953, he published a second edition of *Die Rätsel der Urwaldholle*. It was more compact and did not mention Nazi organizations.

One aspect that plays a prominent role in the narrative presented here is the attempt to control foreign expeditions in Brazil through CFEACB. The German explorers who visited the country, imbued with an 'imperial' mentality, saw the places visited as virgin soil that they were going to explore and produce new knowledge from regions that they considered as the rear of 'civilization'. They largely ignored or disdained bureaucratic demands made by the Brazilian state. Schulz-Kampfhenkel adopted the negotiating position. He was aided by the pro-Nazi segments in the Brazilian public service and by the intense coverage of this subject by the local press, even though it was not always positive. Hans Krieg, instead, tried to circumvent the restrictions imposed by CFEACB, but was forced to leave a significant part of his collections in Brazilian institutions. An important factor that should be considered regarding the relations between German researchers and their Brazilian counterparts and authorities is mistrust about the intentions of Nazi Germany in Brazil. The Brazilian press often explored the idea of a German threat, already present in the Brazilian public imaginary and spurred during the First World War. According to them, Germany was interested in occupying portions of Brazilian territory, with the support of the great number of German descendants living in the country. Our research did not corroborate such speculations. The German expeditions testified to how Brazilian people and nature remained attractive to German scientists, and how the scientists and adventurers acted to shape the

public imagination in order to gain support to undertake their trips to the country and legitimize their professional careers. They also show the persistence of a stereotypical vision of the South American country as an uncharted land, full of possibilities, with lush natural resources counterbalanced by what they saw as unsatisfactory political and economic development.

In the end, this wave of scientists who arrived in Brazil in search of prestige and professional recognition, working for their country's interests, contributed significantly to the expansion of knowledge and the scientific collections held by Brazilian institutions. Alongside the papers deposited in German as well as Brazilian archives, these collections are testimonies to great enterprises related to individual and institutional projects, which had to correspond to, or at least accommodate, the ideological and scientific guidelines of the Nazi regime.

Archives

AHI: Historical Archive of Itamaraty (Arquivo Histórico do Itamaraty, Rio de Janeiro)
BAB: German Federal Archives, Berlin (Bundesarchiv, Berlin)
MAST: Archives of the Astronomy Museum (Arquivos do Museu de Astronomia e Ciências Afins, Rio de Janeiro)
PAAA: Political Archive of the Foreign Office (Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes, Berlin)

Notes

1. Bibliography about the German visitors in Brazil in the nineteenth century is extensive. For an overview on this subject, see Sallas (2010, 2013) and Lisboa (1997, 2013).
2. On the institutionalization of sciences in Brazil since the late eighteenth century, see Figueirôa (1998), Dantes (2001), and Dantes et al. (2011). An overview of the scientific institutions working in Brazil during the 1930s can be found in Schwartzmann (2001).
3. An overview of the Vargas period can be found in Bethell (2008).
4. On German–Brazilian relations in this period, see Hilton (1977), Seitenfus (1983), Kothe (1995), and Gertz (1994).
5. Pro Arte was founded in 1931, and when the National Socialist Party came to power it acquired strong Nazi leanings, with the party becoming one of its funders. This is stated in the entity's publication, *Intercâmbio*, created in 1935. See Lacombe (2008: 151).
6. The Brazilian Inspection Board for Artistic and Scientific Expeditions (CFEACB) was established by decree no. 22 698 of 11.05.1933, by which it was subordinated to the Ministry of Agriculture.

7. On the complex interaction of German scientific institutions with the Third Reich and its ideological guidelines, cultural coordination, and targeting agendas, see Flachowsky (2008), Heim et al. (2009), and Szöllösi-Janze (2001). In physics, see Hoffmann and Walker (2007). For biology, see Deichmann (1996).
8. Vageler's arrival was reported in the newspaper *A Batalha*, ano IV, n. 939, 23.03.1933.
9. On Vageler's commission, see Bispo (2013). Extracts of Vageler's diary written during this trip were published by him in 1957. See Vageler and Renz (1957). On the studies developed on the Companhia Viação São Paulo-Mato Grosso, see Bonfim (2009) and Corrêa (2012).
10. See *Diário Oficial da União*, seção 1, 4 de julho de 1934, p. 97.
11. Ramman was considered the most important soil scientist at the time; see Boulaine (1944: 28); see also Espindola (2007: 351).
12. When he returned to Germany, Paul Vageler ran the Institute of Soil Science and Colonial Agricultural Engineering at the University of Hamburg from 1940 to 1945. In 1943, he and Franz Heske set up the Forest and Soil Science Department at the German Institute in occupied Paris. His book, *Afrikanisches Mosaik*, was published in 1941 under the auspices of the National Socialist Party. On Paul Vageler, see 'Paul Vageler 80 Jahre alt', *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Landwirtschafts-Gesellschaft*, Jg. 77, 1962: 1459 and 'Prof. Dr. Paul Vageler zum Gedenken', *Deutsche Nachrichten* (São Paulo), 14 Dezember 1963: 3.
13. It would appear that Paul Vageler was advised by people who knew the CFEAC rules to prepare the licence application for the expedition. The application mentions existing decrees and states clearly that a Brazilian representative would be involved – Major Luiz Thomaz Reis – in compliance with a rule imposed by the board. MAST, CFET 2.022, Ofícios 868-869-870.
14. Major Luiz Thomaz Reis took part in the Rondon Commission as a filmmaker.
15. MAST, Oficio no. 866 do Inspetor de Fronteiras Cândido M. Sa Rondon para o Ministro da Guerra.
16. MAST, CFET 2.022, Oficio no. 872, 12.07.1934.
17. PAAA, 65576, Deutsches Generalkonsulat an das Auswärtige Amt 06.12.1938.
18. BAB, 4901/2541, Lebenslauf Otto Schulz-Kampfhenkel. Kurzgefasste Denkschrift über Beweggründe, Ziele und Form einer geplanten zoologischen Forschungsreisen in die Waldgebiete des nordöstlichen Amazonasbeckens.
19. BAB, 4901/2541, Otto Schulz-Kampfhenkel an den Gauleiter der Auslands-Organisation der NSDAP 25.09.1936; Gutachten der Leitung der Auslands-Organisation der NSDAP 29.07.1937.
20. On the Ibero-American Institute in Berlin and on German/Iberian American cultural diplomacy during the Third Reich, see Liehr et al. (2003).
21. BAB, 4901/2541, Lebenslauf Otto Schulz-Kampfhenkel.
22. According to Michael Ohl (2011: 134), Scholze & Pötzsche, one of the best-known traders in exotic animals in Berlin, had already bought most of the animals Schulz-Kampfhenkel had brought back with him from a journey to Italy and Tunisia in 1930.
23. The dissertation, entitled 'Gloger's rule in mammals', was supervised by Bernhard Rensch, director of the scientific department of the Museum of

Zoology at the University of Berlin. It would be important in the formulation of evolutionary synthesis. For more on this, see Ohl (2011: 142–143). BAB, 4901/2541, Lebenslauf Otto Schulz-Kampfhenkel.

24. AHI, Ministério das Relações Exteriores ao Ministério da Agricultura, 24.05.1935.
25. The Brazilian army chief of staff also demanded that German travellers not violate the protected airspace of Belém and Óbidos, that they deliver copies of their film footage, and that they not enter within 100 km of the border with Guiana (AHI, Correspondência Recebida – Conselho de Fiscalização de Expedições Artísticas e Científicas do Brasil ao Ministério das Relações Exteriores, 21.08.1935).
26. AHI, Ministério das Relações Exteriores ao Ministério da Agricultura, 20.08.1935; Ministério da Fazenda ao Ministério das Relações Exteriores, 25.06.1935.
27. BAB, R4901/2541, Deutsche Gesandtschaft an das Auswärtige Amt 27.11.1935.
28. BAB, R4901/2541, Deutsche Gesandtschaft an das Auswärtige Amt 27.11.1935.
29. BAB, NS 73/14608, Otto Schulz-Kampfhenkel an das Reichsministerium für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung 05.12.1935.
30. AHI, Legação Alemã – Correspondência Recebida.
31. AHI, Legação Alemã – Correspondência Recebida. CFEACB ao Ministro da Alemanha 12.10.1935. Along with the absence of sponsorship from a German scientific institution, CFEAC highlighted the fact that the 'expedition leader had no scientific credentials, failings that prevent the CFEAC from considering it of national interest' (BAB, 4901/2541, Telegramm der deutschen Gesandtschaft Rio de Janeiro an Auswärtiges Amt vom 17.10).
32. BAB, 4901/2541, Schnellbrief an das Auswärtiges Amt 22.10.1935.
33. AHI, Pasta 117 – Documento 224 Legação Alemã ao Museu Nacional, 15.10.1935; Documento 442 Legação Alemã ao Museu Nacional, 23.10.1935
34. BAB, 4901/2541, Auswärtiges Amt an das Reichsluffahrtministerium 04.11.1935.
35. See, for instance, Rebeca Kritsch (1999) and Marcos Guterman (2011). A critical appraisal of this perspective, with which we agree, is contained in the introduction to the work by Flachowsky and Stoecker (2011).
36. AHI, 432(81)(42) Expedição Científica Schulz-Kampfhenkel – Embaixada Alemã ao Ministério das Relações Exteriores, 15.09.1936.
37. BAB, R4901/2541, Otto Schulz-Kampfhenkel an das Reichsministerium für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung 05.12.1935; Otto Schulz-Kampfhenkel an Professor Bachér 10.12.1935; Reichsministerium für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung an die Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft 06.02.1936.
38. BAB, R4901/2541, Deutsche Botschaft Rio de Janeiro an das Auswärtige Amt 29.06.1936.
39. In the inventory of the zoology collection donated and subsequently sold to the Berlin Zoology Museum, Hermann Pohle identifies around 700 specimens, which he values at 9,500 Marks (BAB, R4901/2541, Hermann Pohle 13.12.1938).

40. The director of the American department of the Museum of Anthropology in Brazil mentions 1,200 ethnographic objects (BAB, R4901/2541, Gutachten Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde 22.07.1937). According to Oyela-Cayedo et al. (2011), Schulz-Kampfhenkel left 140 objects at the Goeldi Museum and took 913 to Germany.
41. AHI, 432(81)(42), Expedição Científica Schulz-Kampfhenkel – Legação da Alemanha ao Ministério das Relações Exteriores, 06.07.1936. BAB, R4901/2541, 4. Bericht Schulz-Kampfhenkel 20.11.1936, p. 16.
42. An analysis of the film can be found in Davis (2011).
43. AHI, 432(81)(42), Expedição Científica Schulz-Kampfhenkel. Consulado de Danzig ao Ministério das Relações Exteriores, 24.05.1938.
44. The book on the expedition to the Jari and the Amazon was re-edited in 1953 to a quarter of its original size. The references to the Nazi regime and the ideological and political beliefs of the Third Reich were removed, as were the swastikas that had adorned the seaplane and flag in photos from the original publication. The only thing that still bears this symbol is the wooden cross marking Greiner's final resting place, bearing witness to a chapter in Brazilian–German scientific relations that involved not so much colonization plans and strategic programmes as disagreements, stalemates, paradoxes, mishaps, and propaganda efforts, and the research and self-promotion of a character as contradictory as he was complex.
45. The South American Chaco covers 1,066,000 km^2, comprising vast areas of Argentina, Bolivia, and Paraguay and a small portion of Brazil. For Krieg's expeditions, see Huber (1998: 75–103).
46. *Correio da Manhã* newspaper, Rio de Janeiro, 21.10.1937. MAST, CFE.T.2.100, Expedição Krieg.
47. *Jornal do Brasil* newspaper, Rio de Janeiro, 27.10.1937. MAST, CFE.T.2.100, Expedição Krieg.
48. Document of the Conselho de Fiscalização das Expedições Artísticas e Científicas no Brasil, 6.10.1937, from president Campos Porto to the chief policeman Filinto Muller. MAST, CFE.T.2.100, Expedição Krieg.
49. To try to escape the gaze of CFEACB, Krieg applied to the Hunting and Fishing Service to have his material cleared, which irritated the board and led to some embarrassment between the two government bodies.
50. MAST, CFE.T.2.100, Expedição Krieg, Ofício do CFEACB ao Diretor do Serviço de Caça e Pesca, 11.01.1939.
51. PAAA, 65576, Der Reichsminister für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung am 22.05.1939.
52. Sick acquired Brazilian citizenship in 1952.
53. On Hans Krieg's trajectory, see Zeller (1982).

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