

II. DEALING WITH NATIONAL SOCIALISM AFTER 1945

Tasks and areas of responsibility of the new Presiding Committee

On 18 May 1945, shortly after the Republic of Austria had been established through the Declaration of Independence of 27 April 1945, thirteen of the ordinary members in Vienna met for an extraordinary General Assembly in the Classical Philology Seminar of the University of Vienna, which was headed by Richard Meister. The meeting did not take place in the Academy building because it was severely damaged. None of those present had been a member of the Nazi Party.¹ The participants had been selected after consultation with the *Staatsamt für Volksaufklärung, für Unterricht und Erziehung und für Kultusangelegenheiten* [State Office for Public Enlightenment, Education, and Cultural Affairs]. The meeting was chaired by full member Ernst Späth, who had been Secretary General of the Academy since 1938.² Heinrich Srbik, who had been President of the Academy from 1938 to 1945, had left Vienna for Tyrol, and Vice-President Egon Schweidler had headed for Salzburg. Dietrich Kralik-Meyerswalden, Secretary of the Section for Humanities and the Social Sciences, was a former member of the Nazi Party and had not therefore been invited to attend the meeting. As all of the actions and orders by the Nazi authorities after 13 March 1938 had been declared null and void, Späth and Meister assumed that the *current Presiding Committee* had *thus been rendered inoperative*.³ The aim of the meeting was therefore to elect interim leaders of the Academy so as to guarantee its restructuring and to convene an extraordinary General Assembly to select a new Presiding Committee. Späth was elected as head and Meister as his deputy. Späth assumed the responsibilities of the Section for Mathematics and the Natural Sciences, and Meister those of the Secretary General and Secretary of the Section for Humanities and the Social Sciences. He was also tasked with restructuring the staff, taking an inventory, and devising a new program. On 23 May 1945, the State Office approved the election of the interim management and their assumption of the responsibilities associated with this function.⁴

¹ The archeologist Camillo Praschniker, the only one of five invited Nazi Party members to attend the meeting, had applied for membership to the Nazi Party but had been refused because of a Jewish grandmother. He initially retained his professorship at the University of Vienna but was removed from his position in 1945. For details on Praschniker, see Pfefferle/Pfefferle (2012), *Glimpflich entnazifiziert*, pp. 128–30, and Wlach (2012), *Praschniker*.

² See Feichtinger/Uhl (2005), *Akademie*, pp. 313–4.

³ AÖAW, Minutes of the General Assembly of 18 May 1945 (A 994), Annex, Späth and Meister to *Staatsamt für Volksaufklärung, für Unterricht und Erziehung und für Kultusangelegenheiten* [State Office for Public Enlightenment, Education, and Cultural Affairs] of 19 May 1945.

⁴ See Feichtinger/Uhl (2005), *Akademie*, pp. 315–6.

AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN IN WIEN
Wien I., Universitätsplatz 2.

Abschrift

Zl.52/1945.

Wien, den 19. Mai 1945.

An das
Staatsamt für Volksaufklärung, für Unterricht und Erziehung
und für Kultusangelegenheiten in Wien.

Der Unterzeichnete berichtet, daß am Freitag, den 18. Mai 1945, eine Gesamtsitzung der "Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien" stattgefunden hat, zu der die derzeit in Wien anwesenden ordentlichen Mitglieder mit Ausschluß ehemaliger Angehöriger der NSDAP eingeladen waren, mit der Aufgabe, die nötigen Maßnahmen für die Weiterführung der Akademie zu treffen.

Da die Bestätigung des gegenwärtigen Präsidiums durch das vormalige Reichsministerium für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung im Sinne der Bestimmung über die Ungültigkeit aller seit dem 13. März 1938 vollzogenen Handlungen der früheren Reichsregierung ihre Geltung verloren hat, so erscheint das gegenwärtige Präsidium damit außer Funktion gesetzt.

Die am 18. Mai 1945 versammelten Mitglieder der Akademie haben daher zur vorläufigen Führung der Geschäfte bis zur Wiederwahl eines Präsidiums einen interimistischen Leiter und einen Stellvertreter für diesen gewählt, und zwar

als ersteren Prof. Dr. Ernst S P Ä T H,
als letzteren Prof. Dr. Richard M E I S T E R.

Der Unterzeichnete bittet den Herrn Staatssekretär:

1. die Gewählten mit der Führung der laufenden Agenden der Akademie und deren Leitung bis zur Wiederwahl eines Präsidiums zu betrauen;
2. an Stelle der gegenwärtigen Satzung das Bundesgesetz vom 14. Oktober 1921, B.G.Bl. Nr. 569, betreffend die Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, sowie die diesem Gesetze zufolge gegebene Satzung und Geschäftsordnung der Akademie wieder in Kraft zu setzen;
3. zu genehmigen, daß die Akademie der Wissenschaften in einem späteren mit dem Staatsamt zu vereinbarenden Zeitpunkte, jedenfalls aber noch im Laufe dieses Jahres, die Wahl des Präsidiums und die Ersatzwahlen wirklicher und korrespondierender Mitglieder auf die erledigten Stellen vornehme.

Als die nächsten Agenden sind anzuführen:

1. Überprüfung des Standes der Mitglieder der Akademie, d.h. Rückberufung der wirklichen und korrespondierenden Mitglieder, die im Zusammenhang mit den politischen Ereignissen des Jahres 1938 ausgetreten sind, und Ausscheidung solcher Mitglieder, die unter besonders belastenden Umständen aus ihrer amtlichen Stellung entfernt wurden oder (wenn pensioniert oder privat) aus gleichen Gründen untragbar sind.
2. Überprüfung des Angestelltenpersonals der Akademie.
3. Sicherung des Eigentums der Akademie (Gebäude, Einrichtung, Institute, Stiftungen, Bibliothek) durch Bestandaufnahme, Wiederinstandsetzung, Rückführung verlagelter Bestände u.s.w.
4. Aufstellung eines Arbeitsplanes für eine möglichst rasche Wiederaufnahme der Forschungstätigkeit und womöglich der Veröffentlichungen der Akademie mit dem Ziele, der Akademie und damit Österreich baldigst einen geachteten Platz in der Wissenschaft der Kulturstätten zu schaffen.
5. Aufstellung eines Budgetentwurfes der Akademie für die Dauer des laufenden Jahres.
6. Vorbereitung und Durchführung der Wahlen des Präsidiums sowie der Ersatzwahlen wirklicher und korrespondierender Mitglieder der Akademie.

SPÄTH e.h.

Fig. 78: Letter of the Academy to the State Office of 19 May 1945

Among the central agendas of the new Presiding Committee was the restructuring of the staff and institutions of the Academy and their reintegration into international networks. The main precondition for accomplishing these tasks was the restoration of institutional autonomy, which was also confirmed by the State Office on 23 May through the re-entry into force of the Academy Law of 1921 and the Statutes of 1922, replacing the Provisional Statutes. After the first General Assembly of 18 May 1945, steps were taken to review the political affiliations of the members and staff, recall ordinary and corresponding members who had been excluded between 1938 and 1941, and dismiss those members whose political liabilities made them unacceptable. There was also a need to safeguard the Academy's assets, return the material that had been moved elsewhere, elaborate a work plan, draft a budget, and prepare for elections.

The new Presiding Committee

The legal situation of the Academy was defined in the minutes of the first General Assembly: *The legal position invalidating all dispositions made after 13 March 1938 also applies to the appointments to the Presiding Committee of the Academy.*⁵ Thus Srbik, Schweidler, Kralik-Meyerswalden, and Späth were all removed from office. The chemist Ernst Späth, who had been rector of the University of Vienna before the "Anschluss", was subsequently re-elected, as mentioned above. He had resigned from this office on 15 March 1938 saying "that the interests of the University of Vienna can be represented only if the office of the rector is held by a man [Fritz Knoll], who is a member of the Party."⁶ The same year Späth was elected Secretary General of the Academy, a position he retained until the end of the war.⁷ Richard Meister, interim deputy head of the Academy, had had to give up his professorship of education in 1938. Instead he was assigned a tenured professorship in classical philology, the subject of one of his two habilitations.⁸ In addition, in 1943 he had been made interim head of the departments of philosophy, psychology, and education, which had been merged to form a large Department of Philosophy. He was not a member of the Nazi Party but belonged to several Nazi associations.⁹ In the authoritarian *Ständestaat* [Corporate State], he had represented academic research on the *Bundeskulturrat* [Federal Cultural Council] and had belonged to several pan-German associations such as the *Deutscher Klub* [German Club].

⁵ AÖAW, Minutes of the General Assembly of 18 May 1945 (A 994). The complete invalidation of dispositions made during the Nazi era, such as the confirmation of newly elected members by the Reich Minister for Science, Education, and Culture, was not ultimately effected.

⁶ Quoted in Lichtenberger-Fenz (1988), *Hochschulen*, p. 269.

⁷ See Feichtinger/Uhl (2005), *Akademie*, p. 314.

⁸ See Römer/Schreiner (2010), *Dis-kontinuitäten*, pp. 320–39.

⁹ See Feichtinger/Uhl (2005), *Akademie*, pp. 321–2.



Fig. 79: Presiding Committee at the Ceremonial Session of 1947

The interim heads of the Academy, Späth and Meister, were elected definitively as President and Vice-President at the extraordinary General Assembly of 30 October 1945. Josef Keil and Adalbert Prey were elected as the other members of the Presiding Committee. The classical historian Keil was Secretary General and Secretary of the Section for Humanities and the Social Sciences from 1945 to 1959, and the astronomer Prey was Secretary of the Section for Mathematics and the Natural Sciences from 1945 to 1949. Along with Späth and Meister, Prey and Keil were part of the network of Academy members who had started their careers during the authoritarian *Ständestaat* and had survived the Nazi era unscathed. Prey had been elected a full member in 1935, Keil an ordinary member in 1939. After the sudden death of Ernst Späth, the meteorologist Heinrich Ficker was elected Academy President in November 1946. This newly elected Presiding Committee had the responsible task of restructuring the post-war Academy.

Restructuring the Academy staff

After the legal basis for the continuation of the Academy had been established, the Presiding Committee now took steps to recall members and staff who had been dismissed in 1938 and to examine the political background of Academy members and staff in accordance with the *Verbotsgesetz* [law banning re-engagement in National

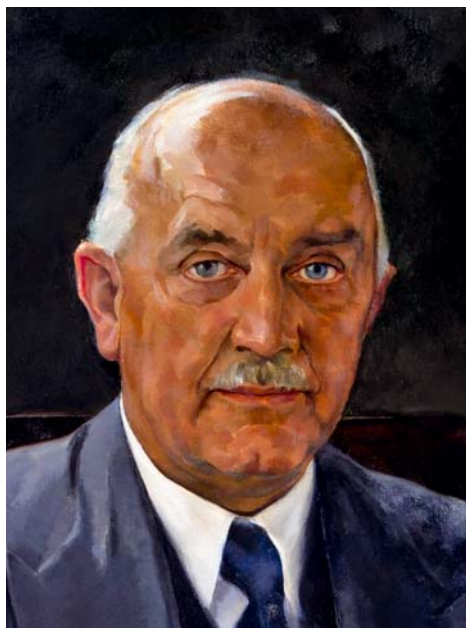


Fig. 80: Ernst Späth



Fig. 81: Richard Meister



Fig. 82: Josef Keil

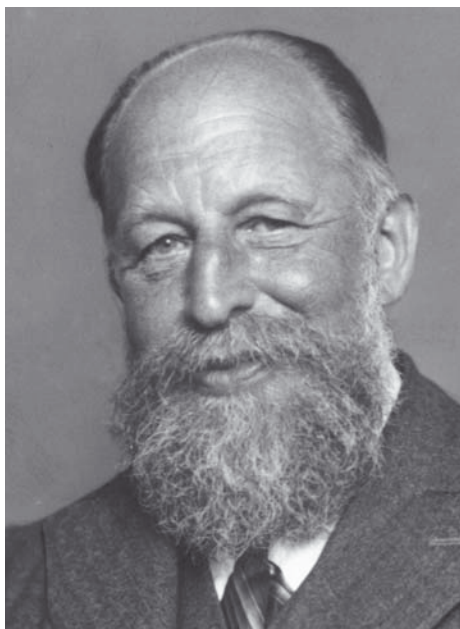


Fig. 83: Adalbert Prey



Fig. 84: Heinrich Ficker

Socialist activities] of 8 May 1945.¹⁰ The following section will deal briefly with the political screening of leading staff members: The two highest-placed administrators in the Academy, the Actuaries Viktor Junk and Wilfried Oberhummer, had been members of the Nazi Party. Junk, an illegal Nazi since 1933, had retired on 1 February 1945, Oberhummer (applicant since 1938, member since 1942) initially remained in office by agreement of the Federal Ministry of Education. The political screening of the Academy staff was carried out on the basis of a ministerial decree of 8 March 1946 (No. 1147/Präs/46) under the responsibility of the Special Commission at First Instance of the University of Vienna. The Academy sent its Secretary, Adalbert Prey, to this Commission. Rafael Kaiser, senior gardener of the Institute for Experimental Biology (BVA) (Nazi Party applicant since 1943), and the equally incriminated staff members Franz Köck and Marie Repototschnig no longer worked for the Academy. Oberhummer (member of the *Betriebs-SA* [Academy's internal SA organization for employees] and of the "*Nationalsozialistische Volkswohlfahrt*" ["National Socialist People's Welfare"]) remained in office thanks, amongst other things, to a mitigating letter by Academy President Ernst Späth.¹¹ Oberhummer became First Actuary and together with Ludmilla Krestan, the Second Actuary who initially had been entrusted

¹⁰ See essay in this volume by Johannes Feichtinger and Dieter J. Hecht, "Denazification at the Academy of Sciences," pp. 163–79.

¹¹ See AÖAW, PA Wilfried Oberhummer, and AÖAW, Politischer Fragebogen, Mitarbeiter, ad Oberhummer.

by Richard Meister on 3 August 1945 with managing the agendas of both actuaries, was responsible for the agendas of both Sections in the first years after the war.¹²

Institutional restructuring of the Academy

The first activities were designed to safeguard the Academy's material assets, secure funding for its work, and to draft a work plan. The main building of the Academy had been heavily damaged during an air raid in the fall of 1944 and during the fighting in April 1945, and the ceiling fresco in the ceremonial hall was in jeopardy because of humidity. The repair work was started in 1946 with funds from the Federal Ministry of Education and the State and Federal Building Administration of the Republic and completed by the early 1950s. The general assembly was held again in the main building for the first time on 7 December 1945. The inventories that had been moved out of the Academy in wartime had been returned in their entirety by the summer of 1946 and the library was re-established in 1947. A reading room for members of the Academy was set up in the clubroom. The building at Liebiggasse 5, where the Phonogram Archive is still housed today, had also been severely damaged. The large recording room was repaired with the support of the State and Federal Building Administration in 1947/48. The remains of the building of the Institute for Experimental Biology in the Prater, which had been completely destroyed during the fighting in 1945, were sold in April 1947 to the *Prater-Betriebsgesellschaft* [Service Management], with the proceeds going to the Biological Station in Lunz. The buildings in which the Institute for Radium Research and the *Wiener Wörterbuchkanzlei* [Austrian-Bavarian Dictionary Commission] had been housed were intact.

In 1945 the pre-war Academy was also reconstructed symbolically. The Commission for the Publication of Late Latin Texts was renamed Commission for Editing the Corpus of the Latin Church Fathers and the addition in the original "of critically amended texts" was left out. The Prehistoric Commission and South-Eastern Commission, both of which had been renamed between 1938 and 1945, initially retained these names. Starting in December 1945, the reconversion of Academy foundations that had been renamed and/or transformed in 1939 and that had played a central role in the execution of the Academy's projects was addressed. Furthermore, the original fund statutes were restored by deleting racial passages and stipulations of responsibility towards the former German Reich. The Guttenbrunner Foundation was renamed the Gustav Figdor Foundation in 1946; in the Anton Hansgirk Foundation, the words "without discrimination by nation and religion" were added again; the Wagner Jauregg Foundation was given back the name of its founder, the Jewish doctor from Czernowitz Arnold Flinker and was now called again Arnold Flinker and Julius Wagner Jauregg Foundation. In the statutes of the Sederl Foundation, all references to the Nazi era were expunged, and in the statutes of the Matthäus and Rudolf Much

¹² See AÖAW, PA Wilfried Oberhummer, and AÖAW, Minutes of the General Assembly of 25 October 1946 (A 1005).

Prize Foundation the sentence *Prize winners must be ethnic Germans of Aryan descent* and the reference to “*Ahnenerbe*” [Ancestral Heritage] were removed. The statutes of the Grillparzer Prize were redrafted.¹³

The audit of the Academy’s annual accounts in December 1945 for the period from 1 April 1945 showed a surplus of RM 160,440.79. This was equivalent to the average amount earmarked annually for the Academy by the Nazi state.¹⁴ The Academy had received no funding from the Republic of Austria between April and October of that year and a total of ÖS 14,300 (RM:ÖS = 1:1) for November and December. Among the commissions that had received the largest share of state subsidies during the Nazi period were the Thesaurus Linguae Latinae, the Egyptian Commission, and the Phonogram Archive. Alongside these, in the decade after the war, the Biological Station in Lunz and the new Commissions for Spatial Research and Reconstruction and the Austrian Biographical Lexicon received increased funding from the state.

The interim heads of the Academy saw their main task as being the speedy resumption of academic work. The first regular General Assembly on 22 June 1945 adopted a decision to dissolve the Commission for Publication of Writings on the Study of Race and Human Genetics established in 1942, to resume the activities of the other commissions, to establish a meeting timetable for 1945, and to restructure the *Verbandkommission* [Commission for the association of Austrian academic institutions], which will be discussed in greater detail below. The resumption of the full publication program was a declared aim in order to show the uninterrupted continuation of the Academy’s work. The main program point was *to continue to work in the same spirit of strict scholarship as it had always been done*. According to Meister’s speech of 22 June 1945 on the *work program for the near future*, however, *work by authors who, for personal reasons, would evince unnecessary criticism* had to be postponed. Meister therefore emphasized that the content of all publications *would be strictly checked to ensure that no trace of National Socialist ideology had crept in*.¹⁵

¹³ AÖAW, Minutes of the General Assembly of 4 June 1946 (A 1003), Annex, report of the Vice-President on the redrafting of the statutes of the foundations. The decision to rename the Wagner Jauregg Foundation is not mentioned in the *Almanachs*.

¹⁴ Between 1939 and 1943 the state subsidy was at around 15 percent, before being reduced to 5 percent in 1944. After 1945 the share of the Academy assets was to be gradually reduced in favor of state subsidies. See the unpublished audit of the annual statements of the Academy from 1938 to 1955 by the economist Johanna Aigner, MS., carried out within the framework of the research project “Continuity and Transformation. The Austrian Academy of Sciences in the 20th Century,” run by Institute of Culture Studies and Theatre History and subsidized by the city of Vienna (MA 7).

¹⁵ AÖAW, Minutes of the General Assembly of 22 June 1945 (A 995), report by Richard Meister.

Resistance to restructuring

In June 1945 the Academy was confronted with plans for a fundamental restructuring. They provided for its reorganization into a kind of *Wissenschaftskammer* [professional association of academics] whose task it would be to centrally coordinate academic institutions and bodies in Austria.¹⁶ The shock that these restructuring plans caused was immense and was still being echoed in the official speeches of the members of the Presiding Committee in 1946 and 1947. In his opening speech at the 1946 Ceremonial Session, Ernst Späth referred explicitly to the averted restructuring plans.¹⁷ In his speech at the centennial celebration in 1947, Meister also spoke of “the kind of rash project” that, “as always in revolutionary times,” had been suggested for the Academy in 1945, but also of the successful resistance to it.¹⁸ Maintaining the independence of the most important non-university research institution and scholarly society in Austria was justified on two counts: first, on account of its resistance activities during the Nazi era, e.g. the rejection of the founding of a Reich Academy of Sciences with its headquarters in Berlin; and second, on account of the immediate commencement of an extensive program of basic research, which – as Meister informed the full members – *is linked to the problems that have arisen out of Austria’s soil and history or which could be carried out thanks to the existence of major researchers in the various areas of science and the humanities*.¹⁹ By resisting the attacks on the Academy’s independence, Meister took the initiative. On 3 August 1945 he set about the transformation of the *Verbandkommission wissenschaftlicher Körperschaften* [Commission for the association of academic bodies], established in 1892, into the *Verbandkommission österreichischer Wissenschaft* [Commission for the association of Austrian academic institutions], which would act in the future as focal point for the coordination of academic institutions and bodies in Austria. This move – presenting old structures in a new guise – proved to be a successful strategy.

International integration and networking

International networking occurred after 1945 at two levels: the election of corresponding members abroad, and exchange with other academies and participation in conferences. This approach has established itself as a constant feature of Academy policy. After World War I, persons from former enemy countries were rarely elected as Academy members. For the most part the proposals for election were restricted to candidates from the German Reich and neutral states, such as the Scandinavian

¹⁶ Meister (1947), *Geschichte*, p. 191.

¹⁷ Opening speech of the President of the Academy of Sciences, Ernst Späth, in: *Almanach* for 1946, 96 (1948), pp. 35–41.

¹⁸ Ceremonial speech by Vice-President Richard Meister, “The history of the Academy of Sciences in Vienna 1847–1947,” in: *Almanach* for 1946, 96 (1948), pp. 196–216, here p. 214.

¹⁹ AÖAW, Minutes of the General Assembly of 22 June 1945 (A 995), report by Richard Meister.

countries.²⁰ After 1945, the election of corresponding members from abroad became more international.

Resumption of international relations by the Academy after 1945 was done through Allied institutions, to whom the Academy had to present activity reports.²¹ In November 1945, the Soviet Academy of Sciences in Moscow was the first to apply for a resumption of the exchange of papers with the Academy in Vienna and a number of scientific institutions in Austria. The Moscow Academy successfully requested the publications of the Vienna Academy from 1939 to 1945.²² In late 1945, the British Council invited the Academy to exchange papers with British scientific journals.²³ Further contacts followed in 1946, along with the first trips abroad by Academy members; initially these had to be approved by the authorities. In early 1946, the *Schweizer Naturforschende Gesellschaft* [Swiss Association of the Natural Sciences] invited the Academy to its 200th anniversary celebrations. Späth accepted the invitation, but died in Zurich on 30 September 1946 during his visit.²⁴ Contacts were also established in the summer of 1946 with German academies, as, for example, through the invitation by the Saxon Academy to its 100th anniversary celebrations,²⁵ and in the fall of the same year to the meeting of the Academy Cartel in Göttingen.²⁶ Important steps in building up international relations included the exchange of papers with the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C., from 1949, and the inclusion of Austria in the International Council of Scientific Unions on 19 June 1949. The Academy represented Austria on this Council and sent its President Heinrich Ficker as its delegate to the General Assembly in Copenhagen in September 1949.²⁷ In March of that year, discussions resumed concerning participation in the Cartel of German Academies. The Vienna Academy adopted a decision stating that it attached *great importance* to having a delegate in the Thesaurus Linguae Latinae Commission, regardless of whether *the Cartel rightly continues to exist today [...] and even in the event that the Cartel were to be disbanded or temporarily suspended*. The academies in German-speaking countries had formed a Cartel in 1893 with to the aim of editing the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*. Following an inquiry by the Federal Ministry of Education in 1949, the Academy decided to participate again in the Cartel of German Academies, arguing that it was not a creation of the Nazi era.²⁸ The Cartel was not to be revived in its original form, however. Participation by the Academy in the

²⁰ See Graf-Stuhlhofer (1995), *Akademie*, p. 148.

²¹ See AÖAW, Minutes of the General Assembly of 25 October 1946 (A 1005).

²² See AÖAW, Minutes of the General Assembly of 7 December 1945 (A 998).

²³ See AÖAW, Minutes of the General Assembly of 18 January 1946 (A 999).

²⁴ See AÖAW, Minutes of the General Assembly of 17 May 1946 (A 1002), and AÖAW, Minutes of the General Assembly of 25 October 1946 (A 1005).

²⁵ See AÖAW, Minutes of the General Assembly of 5 July 1946 (A 1004).

²⁶ See AÖAW, Minutes of the General Assembly of 25 October 1946 (A 1005).

²⁷ See AÖAW, Minutes of the General Assembly of 1 July 1949 (A 1028).

²⁸ See AÖAW, Minutes of the General Assembly of 11 March 1949 (A 1025).

Thesaurus Linguae Latinae and the publication of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* was assured by a different approach.

In December 1953, President Meister attended the annual meeting of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences as a delegate for the first time.²⁹ After his return, he suggested, unsuccessfully, that gowns be introduced for the Presiding Committee, as was the practice in the Bavarian Academy.³⁰

Through its various activities the Academy thus achieved the level of international cooperation and integration that it had enjoyed before 1938.

Johannes Feichtinger/Dieter J. Hecht

²⁹ See AÖAW, Minutes of the General Assembly of 29 January 1954 (A 1062).

³⁰ See AÖAW, Minutes of the General Assembly of 30 April 1954 (A 1064), and AÖAW, Minutes of the Election Meeting of the Academy as a Whole of 26 May 1957 (A 1089).

Denazification at the Academy of Sciences

The 22 June 1945 could have been an auspicious day for the Academy, but it was not. On that Friday, nineteen full members (including five members or applicants for membership of the Nazi Party, banned since 8 May 1945) met in the Department of Classical Philology of the University of Vienna for the first regular General Assembly since the end of the war. The meeting was chaired by the interim head Ernst Späth; his deputy Richard Meister reported on the Academy's activities. The most sensitive item was the *political screening of the members of the Academy*,¹ which was discussed in the second part of the meeting from which former members of the Nazi Party or those who had applied for membership were excluded. On 16 June the most senior member of the Academy, Viennese historian Alfons Dopsch,² had submitted *proposals for restructuring*.

His most important motion was that *all members who were Party members should automatically be deprived of the honorable position of being a member of the Academy, even if they retain their positions at the university*.³ The motion, which at this time exceeded the *Sühnefolgen* [atonement] required by law, was defeated because of the resistance of the deputy interim leader and Secretary General of the Academy, Richard Meister,⁴ who persuaded the fourteen full members present⁵ of the inadmissibility of the *automatic* collective exclusion of members who had been members of the Nazi Party. Dopsch's motion also called for other more extensive changes: all elections between March 1938 and March 1945 should be reviewed, the interim leadership, including Meister as deputy interim leader, should be replaced following new elections as soon as possible, and the type of membership should be made dependent on

¹ AÖAW, Minutes of the General Assembly of 22 June 1945 (A 995).

² For details of Dopsch, see Buchner (2008), *Dopsch*.

³ AÖAW, Minutes of the General Assembly of 22 June 1945 (A 995), Annex, Dopsch to Späth of 16 June 1945.

⁴ See AÖAW, Minutes of the General Assembly of 22 June 1945 (A 995), report of Richard Meister and his comments on Dopsch's motion.

⁵ Five full members who had taken part in the General Assembly had to leave the room on account of their membership or application for membership of the Nazi Party (Kralik-Meyrswalden, Kruppa, Mewaldt, Saliger, Wild). Other Nazi Party members (Brunner, Egger, Junker, Mache, Mayrhofer, Praschniker, Sedlmayr) had been invited to the General Assembly but were not in attendance. Members who did not live in Vienna or who were not in Vienna at the time of the meeting (Bauer, Nadler) were not invited, nor were those for whom it was assumed that their continuance in the Academy would be in violation of the Constitutional Law on the Prohibition of the Nazi Party (Knoll, Pernkopf, Christian, Schönbauer). Those members whose professorships had been indefinitely suspended by the *Staatsamt für Volksaufklärung, für Unterricht und Erziehung und für Kultusangelegenheiten* [State Office for Public Enlightenment, Education, and Cultural Affairs] (Schaffernak, Menghin, Srbik) were also not invited.

A. 995

AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN IN WIEN

P R O T O K O L L

der

GESAMTSITZUNG

am 22. Juni 1945

Ort: Philologisches Seminar der Universität

Anwesend: Der interimistische Leiter E. Spath
Der Stellvertreter R. Meister

Die wirklichen Mitglieder:

Böhm
Dopsch
Flamm
Graff
Hassinger
Havers
Keil
Kralik
Kruppa
Mewaldt
Prey
Radermacher
Reininger
Saliger
Wilhelm
Wild
Zingerle

Die Akademie hat schwere Zeiten hinter sich und nicht minder sorgen- und verantwortungsvolle Arbeiten vor sich. Aber sie geht aus dem abgelaufenen Zeitraum seit 1938 mit gutem Gewissen hervor. Sie hat dem Druck dieser Jahre nur verschwindend wenige, unbedeutende und ihr auferlegte Konzessionen gemacht. Sie kann nicht etwa bloß dort anknüpfen, wo sie 1938 aufgehört hätte, denn sie hat nie aufgehört, in dem Sinne zu arbeiten, wie es ihre Aufgabe war, im Sinne streng objektiver Forschung. Sie braucht also nur auf dem Wege weiterzuschreiten, den sie alle Zeit seit den Tagen ihrer Gründung gegangen ist.

Fig. 85: Minutes of the first ordinary General Assembly of 22 June 1945

the domicile of the member. The full members, according to Dopsch's proposal, should be domiciled in Vienna (so as to guarantee that the meetings were quorate), and the corresponding members should be domiciled outside Vienna. If his motion had been carried, the Academy would have had to exclude half of its full members, including Heinrich Srbik, and three-fifths of its corresponding members inland, and would have had to admit that it – as a scholarly body – had not behaved during the Nazi era in the way that Richard Meister, the architect of political screenings at the Academy, had been claiming was the case at least since June 1945: *The Academy [...] can look back on the time since 1938 with a clear conscience. It made only very few, insignificant, and coerced concessions to the pressure of these years.*⁶

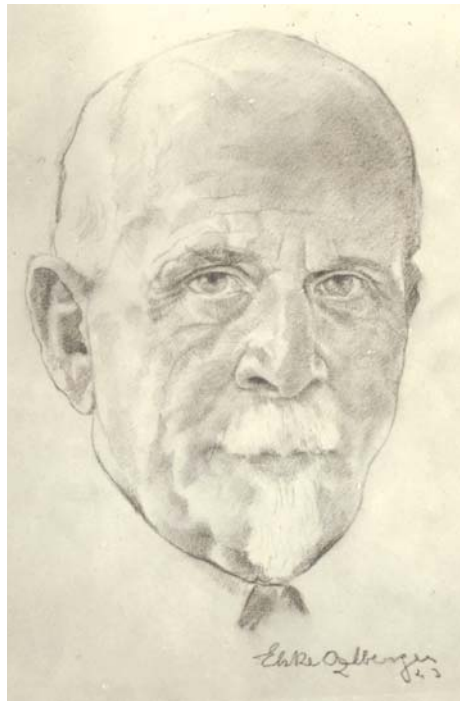


Fig. 86: Alfons Dopsch

Meister used a subtle argument to refute Dopsch's motion for a *general solution*⁷ regarding *cleansing* of the personnel. He had received the *authorization of the State Office* for the immediate election of a new Presiding Committee, but he regarded Dopsch's motion as a *serious defamation of* and *disdain for* the work of the *provisional Committee*. He skillfully played off Dopsch's motions against one another by linking

⁶ AÖAW, Minutes of the General Assembly of 22 June 1945 (A 995); see facsimile on the left side.

⁷ Ibid.

them. He rejected the reserving of full membership to persons domiciled in Vienna as *un-Austrian centralism*⁸ – but without a quorate General Assembly there would be no election of a definitive Presiding Committee, and without a definitive Presiding Committee there could be no definitive exclusion of the Nazi Party members. The General Assembly rejected the motions for restricting full membership to Viennese members and for the immediate new election of the Presiding Committee, whereupon Dopsch withdrew his motion for the automatic exclusion of Nazi Party members. It is unclear why Dopsch submitted this motion. What is clear is that he was one of the most active members of the Academy between 1938 and 1945 and was the chairman or member of twelve commissions. It may therefore be assumed that in retrospect, he believed that the actions of Nazi Party members were irreconcilable with Academy membership, which he described as the *greatest scientific honor*.⁹

The Academy thus continued the approach chosen by Meister in May 1945 of individual denazification, albeit with a slight change in orientation. In May 1945 the provisional Committee had notified the *Staatsamt für Volksaufklärung, für Unterricht und Erziehung und für Kultusangelegenheiten* [State Office for Public Enlightenment, Education, and Cultural Affairs] of the following steps: *recall of full and corresponding members who left the Academy in connection with the political events of 1938 and exclusion of members who have been removed from their positions under particularly incriminating circumstances or (if retired or private) are unacceptable for the same reasons*.¹⁰ The first step was carried out but the second was delayed – and ultimately abandoned. In the years 1938 to 1941 “racially” and politically persecuted members of the Academy had been excluded regardless of their scholastic excellence.¹¹ Many free positions had been filled by Nazi Party members. Between 1945 and 1948 the membership of former Nazi Party members was officially held in abeyance. In 1949, however, practically all former Nazi Party members who had had to give up their positions (at least temporarily) at the universities once again appeared in the membership of the Academy of Sciences. How did this happen?

Denazification and its contexts

The upheaval in 1945 offered various political actors an opportunity to interfere with the autonomous position of the Academy that was based on the Academy Law of 1921

⁸ With few exceptions, the ordinary members of the Academy of Sciences before 1945 were all from Vienna. In the *Almanach* for 1938, 88 (1939), there were 49 Viennese members compared with just 7 non-Viennese.

⁹ AÖAW, Minutes of the General Assembly of 22 June 1945 (A 995), Annex, Dopsch to Späth of 16 June 1945.

¹⁰ AÖAW, Minutes of the General Assembly of 18 May 1945 (A 994), Annex, Späth and Meister to *Staatsamt für Volksaufklärung, für Unterricht und Erziehung und für Kultusangelegenheiten* [State Office for Public Enlightenment, Education, and Cultural Affairs] of 19 May 1945.

¹¹ Matis (1997), *Anpassung*, and the essay in this volume by Herbert Matis, “Exclusion of members,” pp. 53–9.

and the Statutes of 1922–5. Although the State Office had decreed as early as 23 May 1945 that the original Statutes re-enter into force, the political venture aimed at a “complete restructuring” of the Academy as some kind of a *Wissenschaftskammer* [professional association of academics] for Austria had endangered its existence as a scholarly society.¹² Richard Meister managed to repel all efforts to reduce the Academy’s re-found autonomy, and he also acted with relative autonomy in the denazification process.

Meister’s main strategy was to now use the signs of self-assertion that the Academy had shown during the Nazi era as an argument to ward off the demands of the state and politicians. This applied, for example, to the exclusion of Academy members who had been members of the Nazi party. Meister asserted that *how it was perceived abroad* was not *the major consideration*, but rather that *the retention of members in the Academy should be judged above all with account taken of the need for uninterrupted continuation and intensification, especially in the near future, of the Academy’s research work*.¹³ In this context he mentioned Heinrich Srbik, whose exclusion from the Academy should not be automatic because *as President of the Academy he had not acted at any time in the spirit of Nazism, but had emphasized the Austrian tradition and, in a number of cases, had personally and resolutely opposed unacceptable political demands coming even from the Reich Ministry of Science*. Meister cited numerous examples, giving expression to his conviction that *it [the Academy][...] could not simply carry on from where it had left off in 1938 because it had never stopped working according to its tradition of strictly objective research. It needs only continue on the path it had pursued at all times since the days of its establishment*.¹⁴

To continue on this path, in May 1945 the Academy had received confirmation from the State Office that the Statutes approved on 14 February 1922 on the basis of the Academy Law (Bundesgesetzblatt 569/1921) and the By-Laws adopted on 29 May 1922 had re-entered into force. The Statutes of the Academy did not provide for the cancellation or abeyance of membership. This circumstance alone fostered a “benevolent” denazification process. With the exception of four particularly incriminated illegal Nazis,¹⁵ the Nazi Party members were not excluded, but their membership of the Academy merely held in abeyance.¹⁶ The prospect was held out to some members that even if the screening process was unfavorable, the Academy reserved the right to render their membership active again. By 25 August 1946, screening had revealed that around half of the full members – 26 out of 53 – and three-fifths of the corresponding members inland – 38 out of 66 – had been members or applicants for

¹² Meister (1947), *Geschichte*, p. 191.

¹³ AÖAW, Minutes of the General Assembly of 22 June 1945 (A 995), report by Richard Meister.

¹⁴ AÖAW, Minutes of the General Assembly of 22 June 1945 (A 995), p. 5; facsimile on p. 164, Fig. 85.

¹⁵ Viktor Christian, Fritz Knoll, Karl Mayrhofer, and Eduard Pernkopf were deleted from the list of members. More information further down on p. 171.

¹⁶ Between 1948 and 1950, the four excluded full members, Viktor Christian, Fritz Knoll, Karl Mayrhofer, and Eduard Pernkopf, were reinstated as fully fledged members of the Academy.

membership of the Nazi Party.¹⁷ While Otto Brunner, Viktor Christian, Fritz Knoll, Josef Nadler, Oswald Menghin, Eduard Pernkopf, and Heinrich Srbik were not allowed to continue to teach at the university, their Academy membership was reactivated. Christian and Menghin, who did not initially figure in the official list of members, were listed again in 1950 and 1959, respectively, Christian as a full member and Menghin as a corresponding member abroad. Other Nazi Party members among full members, such as the Germanist Dietrich Kralik-Meyerswalden, the mathematician Karl Mayrhofer, the art historian Hans Sedlmayr, and the Anglicist Friedrich Wild, were able to start new university careers.¹⁸

The interim leadership of the Academy tried initially to sidestep the statutory provisions concerning denazification but had been obliged to comply with them after July 1945. This procedure shows, as Herbert Matis aptly puts it, that “sustained and internal critical engagement with the Nazi era” was neither considered nor, as it will be shown, applied at all at the Academy.¹⁹

Denazification procedure at the Academy

The denazification measures were carried out on the basis of the *Verbotsgesetz* [law banning re-engagement in National Socialist activities] of 8 May 1945, the decree of the State Office No. 2805/III/4a/45 of 2 August 1945 on the immediate removal from office of all Party members, the amendment to the *Verbotsgesetz* of 15 August 1945, and the 3rd *Verbotsgesetz* Executive Order of 22 August 1945. Späth, the interim head of the Academy, had already sent a letter on 1 June 1945, i.e. before the promulgation of the *Verbotsgesetz* of 8 May (promulgated on 6 June 1945), to the members of the Academy living in Vienna requesting them to *give an account of their attitude [...] to the former Nazi Party*.²⁰ The letter stated that membership of the Academy, a legal entity under the special protection of the state, was irreconcilable with illegal membership of the Nazi Party or Nazi organizations (SS, SA, NSKK, NSFK) or high office in the Party. The members were asked to fill out a form and were informed that refusal to do so would be construed to mean that they did not wish to

¹⁷ Graf-Stuhlhofer (1995), *Akademie*, and Matis (1997), *Anpassung*, have carried out significant preparatory work for a study of the denazification of Academy members. Of the 64 “incriminated” persons, ten full members and 24 corresponding members were initially excluded. The membership of four full members and one corresponding member was “temporarily suspended” (until their degree of incrimination had been determined). Another twelve full members and thirteen corresponding members were classified as “less incriminated,” Matis (1997), *Anpassung*, pp. 65–6.

¹⁸ Pfefferle/Pfefferle (2012), *Glimpflich entnazifiziert*, and Rathkolb (2005), *Universität Wien*, pp. 38–53.

¹⁹ Matis (1997), *Anpassung*, p. 67.

²⁰ AÖAW, Minutes of the General Assembly of 22 June 1945 (A 995), Annex, Späth to members of the Academy of 1 June 1945.

remain in the Academy.²¹ The interim leadership conveniently ignored the fact that registration obligation and atonement under the *Verbotsgesetz* applied not just to illegals, members of Nazi organizations, and high Nazi Party officials, but also to persons who had been ordinary members of the Nazi Party after 12 March 1938. Meister had *allowed this group of ordinary Party members or applicants to work at the Academy for the time being if there were no concerns on account of conspicuous activity in favor of Nazism.*²²

In a confidential meeting, Späth and Meister reported on 3 August 1945 that they had had to report on 10 July to Undersecretary of State Karl Lugmayer and *Ministerialrat* [Ministerial Councilor] Otto Skrbensky on account of *suspensions* regarding the continuation of the political screening of Academy members.²³ Following the meeting at the State Office²⁴ and the decree of 2 August 1945, the Academy was required to act within the meaning of the *Verbotsgesetz* and, analogous to the universities, to exclude Nazi members *in general* from their ranks. Additionally, the Academy was not allowed to reinstate them until a *rehabilitation process* had been carried out on the basis of the questionnaire, which was also applicable to civil servants. A vote as to whether the *Presiding Committee should continue as before or, like the state, should suspend the membership of former Party members* was thus academic. The Academy unanimously resolved to suspend the membership of all former members of the Nazi Party and to inform them thereof.²⁵ It did not feel obliged, however, to *abide in all cases by the results of the screening by the university.*²⁶ Following the decision that mem-

²¹ According to the *Verbotsgesetz* of 8 May 1945, persons with regular domicile in Austria who had belonged to the Nazi Party between 1 July 1933 and 27 April 1945 were subject to registration with the corresponding registration authorities. Membership or application for membership of the Nazi Party entailed atonement, e. g. dismissal or early retirement. The list of persons was to be publicized. Under the law, "illegals," those who had been members of the Nazi Party or one of its organizations before 13 March 1938, were guilty of high treason. Those who had joined afterwards were to be registered as *Mitläufer* [bystanders] but were also subject to atonement. In Austria some 535,000 persons were registered in 1945/46 as former Nazi Party members. Their names were removed from the list by order of the denazification commissions and by the execution of the National Socialist Law of 1947 and of the so-called Amnesty Law of 1948.

²² AÖAW, Allgemeine Personalakten, Box 3, Folder 16, Official memo on the suspension of membership of the Academy of 4 August 1945.

²³ AÖAW, Minutes of the General Assembly of August 3, 1945 (A 996), annex, confidential meeting [of July 10].

²⁴ See AÖAW, Allgemeine Akten, No. 108/1945, Minutes of the meeting at the State Office of the interim directors of the Academy of Sciences with Undersecretary of State Dr Karl Lugmayer and Ministerial Councilor Dr Skrbensky of 11 July 1945; also AÖAW, Allgemeine Akten, No. 109/1945, Meister to Lugmayer on political screening of full members of 11 July 1945 [with the comment *delivered in person*]; see facsimile overleaf.

²⁵ See AÖAW, Minutes of the General Assembly of 3 August 1945 (A 996), Annex, confidential meeting [of 10 July].

²⁶ *Ibid.* Only in the case of retirees did Meister recommend the [definitive] *exclusion of former illegals or Party officials.*

bership of all former Nazi Party members or applicants was to be held in abeyance *until rehabilitation by decision of the State Office Examination Commission or rescission of the obligation to register by the State Office of the Interior*, the full members concerned were not invited to the Election Meeting of 30 October 1945.²⁷ They were informed, however, that this measure would be rescinded immediately “in the event of a favorable outcome” of the screening process.²⁸ Franz Graf-Stuhlhofer notes that in the letters to members Rudolf Egger and Josef Nadler, the Academy reserved the right to “reverse abeyance on membership” even “in the event of an unfavorable outcome.”²⁹ The first definitive denazification measures consisted in the *termination* of the full membership of Viktor Christian, Fritz Knoll, Karl Mayrhofer, and Eduard Pernkopf, as pronounced at the sectional meetings of 17 and 18 October 1945.³⁰ As it proved later, this exclusion was not definitive and the memberships were revived in 1948 and 1950. No further measures were taken in 1945.

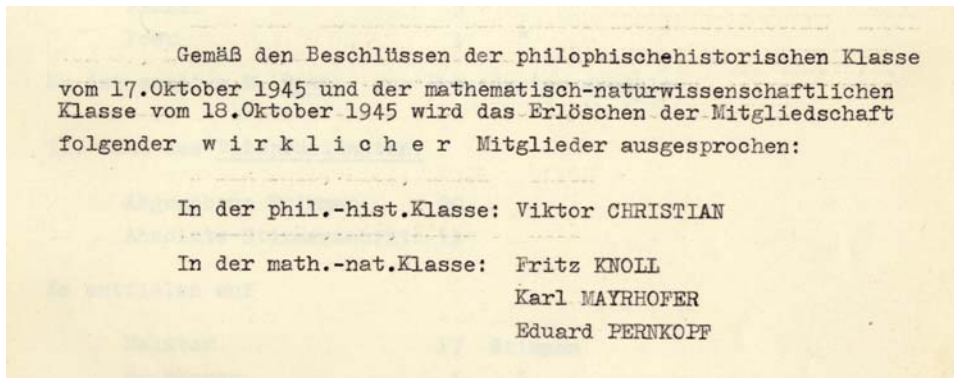


Fig. 88: Minutes of the General Assembly of 30 October 1945 (extract)

Many of those who had been dismissed or removed from the university and had their Academy membership held in abeyance continued to attend Academy meetings and, after the sudden death of Ernst Späth in November 1946, even took part in the election of the new President Heinrich Ficker. They also appeared on unpublished lists as chairmen or members of the individual commissions.³¹ For the years 1945 (after 27 April), 1946, and 1947, the Academy did not publish a list of members in the *Almanach*, despite the fact that, according to the Statutes, it had to contain a list of all members. In those years the problem of political screening of Academy members

²⁷ AÖAW, extraordinary General Assembly of 30 October 1945 (A 997).

²⁸ Graf-Stuhlhofer (1995), *Akademie*, p. 147.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ AÖAW, Minutes of the General Assembly of 30 October 1945 (A 997).

³¹ See AÖAW, Minutes of the General Assembly of 7 December 1945 (A 998), Annex, Commissions (14 November 1945).

was tacitly ignored at the meetings.³² In contrast, Academy members repeatedly considered the political screening of Academy employees.³³ The Presiding Committee supported the reinstatement not only of Chancellery Secretary Wilfried Oberhummer (Nazi Party member since 1942), who had been responsible for the *centralized management of the chancellery and accounts department* since 21 October 1938³⁴ and had risen to become First Actuary, but also of the illegal Nazi Party member Walter Ruth as head of the Phonogram Archive, Franz Ruttner as head of the Biological Station in Lunz, as well as other (including illegal) Nazis. Most were able to resume work in their old positions.

The denazification issue appears in the minutes of the Academy meetings again after the promulgation of the National Socialist Law of 17 February 1947. Two paragraphs in this law refer directly to the Academy. Paragraph 18n states that incriminated Academy members were subject to atonement consisting in not being permitted to belong to the Academy as full members or corresponding members inland. Under paragraph 19j, less incriminated persons could not be full members or corresponding members inland until 30 April 1950. Exceptions were made for less incriminated persons over 70 years of age and of invalid class III, and incriminated persons of invalid class IV.³⁵ The direct impact of the National Socialist Law on Academy members who had not yet been exempted from atonement was that they were not allowed to attend the confidential part of meetings and were not invited to the centennial celebration in 1947.³⁶ Exceptions were made for full members Hermann Junker, Camillo Praschniker, Heinrich Mache, and honorary member Hans Sperl, who were over 70 and had been classified as less incriminated. The indirect impact of the law can be seen in a report by Meister, which he presented to the General Assembly on 10 October 1947, on the latest *status of denazification*. Only nine of 35 full members of the Section for Humanities and the Social Sciences and six of 32 in the Section for Mathematics and the Natural Sciences were still being held in abeyance, and in both Sections two unnamed members had *departed*. Because of the age limit on

³² See *Almanachs* for 1945, 95 (1947); 1946, 96 (1948), and 1947, 97 (1948). Only in the General Assembly of October 25, 1946 did Meister refer to the *denazification in the Academy*, reporting: *by order of the Allies notified by telephone on 24 August 1946, a report on denazification had to be provided by 10 a.m. on 25 August 1946*. AÖAW, Minutes of the General Assembly of 25 October 1946 (A 1005). See also AÖAW, Minutes of the General Assembly of 30 October 1945 (A 997).

³³ See the essay in this volume by Johannes Feichtinger and Dieter J. Hecht, "Tasks and areas of responsibility of the new Presiding Committee," pp. 151–61.

³⁴ AÖAW, Minutes of the General Assembly of 21 October 1938 (A 939).

³⁵ See Federal Constitutional Law of 6 February 1947 on the treatment of National Socialists (National Socialist Law) published on 17 February 1947, Federal Legal Gazette, No. 25/1947.

³⁶ See AÖAW, Minutes of the General Assembly of 21 February 1947 (A 1008), and AÖAW, Minutes of the General Assembly of 25 April 1947 (A 1010). In the Minutes of the General Assembly of 21 March 1947 (A 1009) mathematician Erwin Kruppa, botanist Karl Höfler, and geologist Kurt Leuchs are listed as *guests*.

BUNDESGESETZBLATT

FÜR DIE REPUBLIK ÖSTERREICH

Jahrgang 1947

Ausgegeben am 17. Februar 1947

8. Stück

25. Bundesverfassungsgesetz: Nationalsozialistengesetz.

25. Bundesverfassungsgesetz vom 6. Februar 1947 über die Behandlung der Nationalsozialisten (Nationalsozialistengesetz).

Der Nationalrat hat beschlossen:

I. HAUPTSTÜCK.

3. Verbotsgesetznovelle.

Abschnitt I.

Das Verfassungsgesetz vom 8. Mai 1945, St. G. Bl. Nr. 13, über das Verbot der NSDAP (Verbotsgesetz) in der Fassung des Verfassungsgesetzes vom 15. August 1945, St. G. Bl. Nr. 127 (1. Verbotsgesetznovelle), des Verfassungsgesetzes vom 16. November 1945, B. G. Bl. Nr. 16/19 und des Bundesverfassungsgesetzes vom 1946, B. G. Bl. Nr. 16/19, Abs. (2), haben die nachstehenden Sühnefolgen zu tragen:

1. § 3, Abs. (2), n) Sie können der Akademie der Wissenschaften (der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien) weder als wirkliche noch als korrespondierende Mitglieder angehören.

1. wer versucht, eine nationalsozialistische Organisation aufrechtzuerhalten oder wiederherzustellen oder mit einer solchen Organisation oder einer in ihrem Namen handelnden Person in Verbindung zu treten; als nationalsozialistische Organisationen (§ 1) gelten: die NSDAP, die SS, die SA, das NSKK, das NSFK, der NSKK-Zersetzungsband, alle NSDAP und die in § 17, Abs. (3), haben die nachstehenden Sühnefolgen zu tragen:

2. wer eine Verbindung ist, durch Betätigung nationalsozialistischen und Unabhängigkeit zu untergraben oder den Wiederaufbau zu verhindern; wer sich in einer Verbindung betätigt;

3. wer den Ausbau einer der in der Z. 1 und der Z. 2 bezeichneten Organisationen und Verbindungen durch Anwerbung von Mitgliedern,

Bereitstellung von Geldmitteln oder in ähnlicher Weise fördert, die Mitglieder einer solchen Organisation oder Verbindung mit Kampfmitteln, Verkehrsmitteln oder Einrichtungen zur Nachrichtenübermittlung ausrüstet oder in ähnlicher Weise die Tätigkeit einer solchen Organisation oder Verbindung ermöglicht oder unterstützt;

4. wer für eine solche Organisation oder Verbindung Kampfmittel, Verkehrsmittel oder Einrichtungen zur Nachrichtenübermittlung herstellt, sich verschafft oder bereithält.

§ 3 b. Wer an einer Organisation oder Verbindung der in § 3 a bezeichneten Art teilnimmt oder sie durch Geldzuwendungen oder in anderer Weise unterstützt, wird, wenn die Straffbarkeit ist, wegen Verfall von 10 bis 20 Jahren des gesamten Vermögens bestraft.

in den §§ 3 a und 3 b, wenn ein Verbrechen, ehe die Behörde, alles, was ihm in Verbindung und in einer Zeit, da es noch geheim war und ein Schaden verhütet werden konnte, der Behörde entdeckt.

§ 3 d. Wer öffentlich oder vor mehreren Leuten, in Druckwerken, verbreiteten Schriften oder bildlichen Darstellungen zu einer der nach § 1 oder § 3 verbotenen Handlungen auffordert, sucht, insbesondere die Ziele der NSDAP, die in § 17, Abs. (3), haben die nachstehenden Sühnefolgen zu tragen:

j) Sie können bis zum 30. April 1950 der Akademie der Wissenschaften (der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien) nicht als wirkliche Mitglieder angehören; sie können bis zu diesem Zeitpunkt nicht zu korrespondierenden Mitgliedern ernannt werden.

opernstengesetzes als Mittel der Betätigung im nationalsozialistischen Sinn mit einem anderen verabredet, wird mit dem Tode und mit dem Verfall des gesamten Vermögens bestraft.

8. Politische Überprüfung der Akademiemitglieder.

Der Vizepräsident berichtet über den derzeitigen Stand der Mitglieder der Akademie, die ehemals der NSDAP angehört haben:

	w. M.		Ges.	E.M.		k.M.	
	ph.h.	m.-n.		ph.h.	m.-n.	ph.h.	m.n.
Nicht P.G.	26	22	2	-	1	21	19
Entregistriert	4	3	-	1	-	4	3
Minderbelastet	9	5	-	-	-	7	11
Unbestimmt	-	2	-	-	-	5	7
Vermutlich bel.	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Belastet	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Reichsdeutsche	-	-	2	5	2	24	19
Übrige Ausland.	-	-	-	2	3	17	26
Summe	35	32	4	8	6	78	86

w.M. Entreg.: Bauer, Junker, Mewaldt, Praschniker - Durig, Mache, Skrabal.

Minderb.: Brunner, Egger, Kralik, Nadler, Schönbauer, Srbik, Sedlmayr, Steinwenter, Wild - Federhofer, Knoll, Kruppa, Mayrhofer, Schaffernak.

Unbest.: Pernkopf, Saliger.

Belastet: Christian, Menghin.

E.M. Nicht PG: Erz. Eugen, Renner K., Meller

Entreg.: Sperl

Reichsd.: Hoops, Koschaker, Kraus, Meinecke, Panzer - Carathéodory, Prandtl,

Ausland: Jouguet, Murray - Hedin, Hubble, Niggli

k.M. Entreg.: Hold, Lach, Lesky, Stolz - Grosser, Oberguggenberger, Toldt

Minderbel.: Eichler A., Grohmann, Jutz, Miltner, Pöschl, Rupprich, Schöber - Cornelius, Höffler, Kirsch, Klebelsberg, Leuch, Festa, Patzelt, Richter, Staffe, Stetter, Tertsch

Unbest.: Frauwallner, Günther, Pfalz, Steinacker, Steinhauser, Barrenscheen, Huber, Krames, Ortner, Porsch, Sequenz, Wettstein

Belastet: Kofler

Reichsd.: ph.-h.: Brecht, Brackmann, Dölger, Gamilschegg, Gehlen, Hartmann, Hugelmann (entlastet), Kluckhohn, Koch, Küchler, Lehmann, Littmann, Maull (Mitläufer 4), Mayer Th., Mitteis, Müller, San Nicolò, Schäfer, Spranger, Stengel, Übersberger, Vasmer, Vossler, Litt

m.-n.: Abderhalden, Buddenbrock, Fuess, Hahn, Kopff, Korschelt, Kühn, Küster, Kuhn, Lauer, List, Machatschek, Renner O., Schütte, Sommerfeldt, Strubecker, Süring, Tschermak A., Weber

Sudetendeutsche: Überleitung k.M. Inland: Grohmann, Grosser, Richter.

Da in der folgenden Diskussion die Belassung einzelner Mitglieder Einspruch erhoben wurde, hat die Gesamtsitzung beschlossen, eine Liste aller Betroffenen zusammenzustellen und diese an alle wirklichen Mitglieder zu senden mit der Bitte um schriftliche Stellungnahme bis 1. März. - In der Gesamtsitzung am 5. März soll eine Beschlussfassung über diesen Punkt erfolgen. Die Beantwortung dieser Liste ist für jedes wirkliche Mitglied verbindlich, bei einem etwaigen Einspruch mit Angabe der Gründe.

Einstimmig angenommen.

Fig. 90: Minutes of the General Assembly of 9 January 1948 (extract)

atonement, former Nazi Party members or applicants Wilhelm Bauer, Arnold Durig, and Heinrich Mache appeared again in the lists as fully fledged members of the Academy. The abeyance of membership of classical philologists Johannes Mewaldt and Albin Lesky was rescinded as a result of their removal from the list, and Camillo Praschniker was reinstated because he was not obliged to register.³⁷

On 9 January 1948 Meister was again able to report to the General Assembly that the following full members were still listed as less incriminated: in the Section for Humanities and the Social Sciences Otto Brunner, Rudolf Egger, Dietrich Kralik-Meyerswalden, Josef Nadler, Ernst Schönbauer, Heinrich Srbik, Hans Sedlmayr, Artur Steinwenter, and Friedrich Wild, and in the Section for Mathematics and the Natural Sciences Fritz Knoll, Erwin Kruppa, Karl Mayrhofer, and the engineers Karl Federhofer and Friedrich Schaffernak, who both were classified as invalid class III. The chemist Anton Skrabal was removed from the list as he was 70 years old. Viktor Christian and Oswald Menghin were still incriminated, and Eduard Pernkopf and the engineer and “Anschluss rector” of the Vienna College of Technology Rudolf Saliger undetermined.³⁸ In view of the fact that, according to Meister, *a larger number* of the corresponding members inland had *left under the law of 1945 than would have done so under the [law] of 1947*, the corresponding members had been requested in the fall of 1947 to provide evidence from the registration authority of their status as less incriminated or of the waiving of their registration obligation so that their membership could again be made permanent.³⁹

4. Einspruch wurde erhoben gegen die k.M.			
der phil.hist.Kl.	Grohmann	durch	w.M. Mras,
	Miltner	"	w.M. Mras, Schatz, Sölch,
	Pöschl	"	w.M. Benndorf, Frisch
	Schober	"	w.M. Benndorf
	Steinacker	"	w.M. Schatz, Sölch, Löhr
der math.-nat. Klasse:	Kirsch	"	w.M. Benndorf, Kohlrausch, Frisch
	Stetter	"	w.M. Benndorf, Kohlrausch, Frisch
	Pesta	"	w.M. Loehr
Von diesen bleibt Steinacker als noch unbestimmt außer Betracht.			

Fig. 91: Minutes of the General Assembly of 16 March 1948 (extract)

³⁷ See AÖAW, Minutes of the General Assembly of 10 October 1947 (A 1013), report by Richard Meister on denazification, pp. 6–7.

³⁸ See AÖAW, Minutes of the General Assembly of 9 January 1948 (A 1015), political screening of Academy members; see Mikoletzky (2003), *Hort*.

³⁹ AÖAW, Minutes of the General Assembly of 10 October 1947 (A 1013), report by Richard Meister on denazification.

At the General Assembly of 16 March 1948, the fate of individual corresponding members was decided. Those who had been removed from the list or had reached the age of 70 could – in the words of the Meister giving the report – *at all events* remain members.⁴⁰ This group included international jurist Alexander Hold-Ferneck, classical philologist Albin Lesky, musicologist Robert Lach, historian Otto Stolz, physician Otto Grosser, astronomer Viktor Oberguggenberger, and zoologist Karl Toldt. It was decided that the membership of corresponding members with the status of less incriminated or undetermined whose membership of the Academy had been objected to by other full members should not be revoked but remained held in abeyance until further notice.⁴¹ These included Semitist and Arabist Adolf Grohmann,⁴² ancient historian Franz Miltner, canonist Arnold Pöschl, archeologist Arnold Schober,⁴³ historian Harold Steinacker,⁴⁴ physicists Gerhard Kirsch⁴⁵ und Georg Stetter, and zoologist Otto Pesta. Those less incriminated corresponding members about whom no objections had been made were allowed to retain their Academy membership. These included Anglicist Albert Eichler, Germanists Leo Jutz and Hans Rupprich, geologist Hans Peter Cornelius, botanist Karl Höfler, geologist and paleontologist Raimund Klebelsberg, geologist Kurt Leuchs, histologist Viktor Patzelt, botanist Oswald Richter, zoologist Adolf Staffe, and mineralogist Hermann Tertsch. The decision on a group whose degree of incrimination was still *undetermined* at the time was deferred. This applied to Indologist Erich Frauwallner, economist Adolf Günther, Germanist Anton Pfalz, historian Harold Steinacker, Germanist Walter Steinhäuser, chemist Hermann Barrenscheen, mathematicians Anton Huber and Josef Krames, physicist Gustav Ortner, botanist Otto Porsch, engineer Heinrich Sequenz, and zoologist Otto Wettstein-Westersheimb.

Since Richard Meister had informed the General Assembly of the danger that *public opinion* [...] *might object to less incriminated members being allowed to remain members*, the full members voted to reject two options as to how such persons should be dealt with. One was favored by Secretary General Josef Keil *that less incriminated members should not be expunged at all*, and the other that a *procedure* be established *regarding the continued membership* of less incriminated members. A third option was adopted. Meister reported: the membership of those whose level of incrimination had not yet been determined and against whom an objection existed *at the moment* would remain held in abeyance. *Those corresponding members who were clearly less incriminated*

⁴⁰ AÖAW, Minutes of the General Assembly of March 16, 1948 (A 1017), report by Richard Meister on the decision on membership of corresponding members inland who had been members of the Party.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Wentker (2012), *Grohmann*.

⁴³ Pesditschek (2012), *Miltner*; Steirische Gesellschaft für Kulturpolitik (1985), *Grenzfeste*, p. 92 (on Pöschl), and Mindler (2011), *Schober*, p. 86 (on Schober).

⁴⁴ See Spreitzer (2008), *Steinacker*.

⁴⁵ See Pfefferle/Pfefferle (2012), *Glimpflich entnazifiziert*, pp. 118–9.

and whose continued membership had not been objected to will be informed of their continued membership and, where this has not yet occurred, will receive all publications since 1945 until further notice. Although Meister announced in this context that printing a membership list in the 1947 *Almanach* was *unavoidable*,⁴⁶ this did not occur. The Academy was apparently hesitant because of the threat of public criticism.

The turning point came ultimately with the Amnesty Law of 21 April 1948.⁴⁷ It marked the definitive *conclusion of the political screening of full, honorary, and corresponding members in Austria who had been* [less incriminated] *members of the Party*.⁴⁸ In the confidential part of the General Assembly of 2 July 1948, President Ficker reported that after *the President of the Constitutional Court, full member of the Section for Humanities and the Social Sciences Univ.-Prof. Dr. Ludwig Adamovich, had obtained an expert opinion from both Sections [...], a unanimous decision [was] adopted to invite all full members who had not been able to belong to the Academy because of that provision [...] to resume their membership [...] [and] to refrain from any objections in general to the continued membership of corresponding members*.⁴⁹ All of those invited to rejoin the Academy accepted the invitation, while Viktor Christian, Oswald Menghin, Eduard Pernkopf, and the pharmacognosist Ludwig Kofler remained suspended.⁵⁰ The Federal Ministry of Education was merely *informed* of this measure and no authorization was requested.⁵¹ With a few exceptions, the holding in abeyance of memberships was thereby ended. Christian returned to the Academy as full member in 1950, and Menghin, who was now living in Argentina, became a corresponding member abroad in 1959. Ludwig Kofler, who had been elected as a corresponding member inland in 1941, died before he could be readmitted. Other corresponding members who had been dismissed from their professorships in 1945, such as Heinrich Sequenz, Anton Pfalz, and Anton Huber, were included in the official lists again in 1949. The members list for 1949 also included Rudolf Saliger as a full member, despite the efforts of full members Friedrich Hopfner and Ernst Melan, and corresponding member inland Karl Wolf to prevent this.

⁴⁶ AÖAW, Minutes of the General Assembly of 16 March 1948 (A 1017).

⁴⁷ Federal Constitutional Law on the early conclusion of the atonement provided for in the National Socialist Law for less incriminated persons, published on 5 June 1948, BGBl., No. 88/1948.

⁴⁸ AÖAW, Minutes of the General Assembly of 2 July 1948 (A 1020), Conclusion of political screening of full, honorary, and corresponding members inland.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ The corresponding members Erich Frauwallner and Anton Pfalz of the Section for Humanities and the Social Sciences and Hermann Barrenscheen, Anton Huber, Otto Porsch, and Heinrich Sequenz in the Section for Mathematics and the Natural Sciences did not initially benefit from the Amnesty Law.

⁵¹ AÖAW, Ministerium 1948–1950, Presiding Committee of the Academy to Federal Ministry of Education of 8 July 1948.

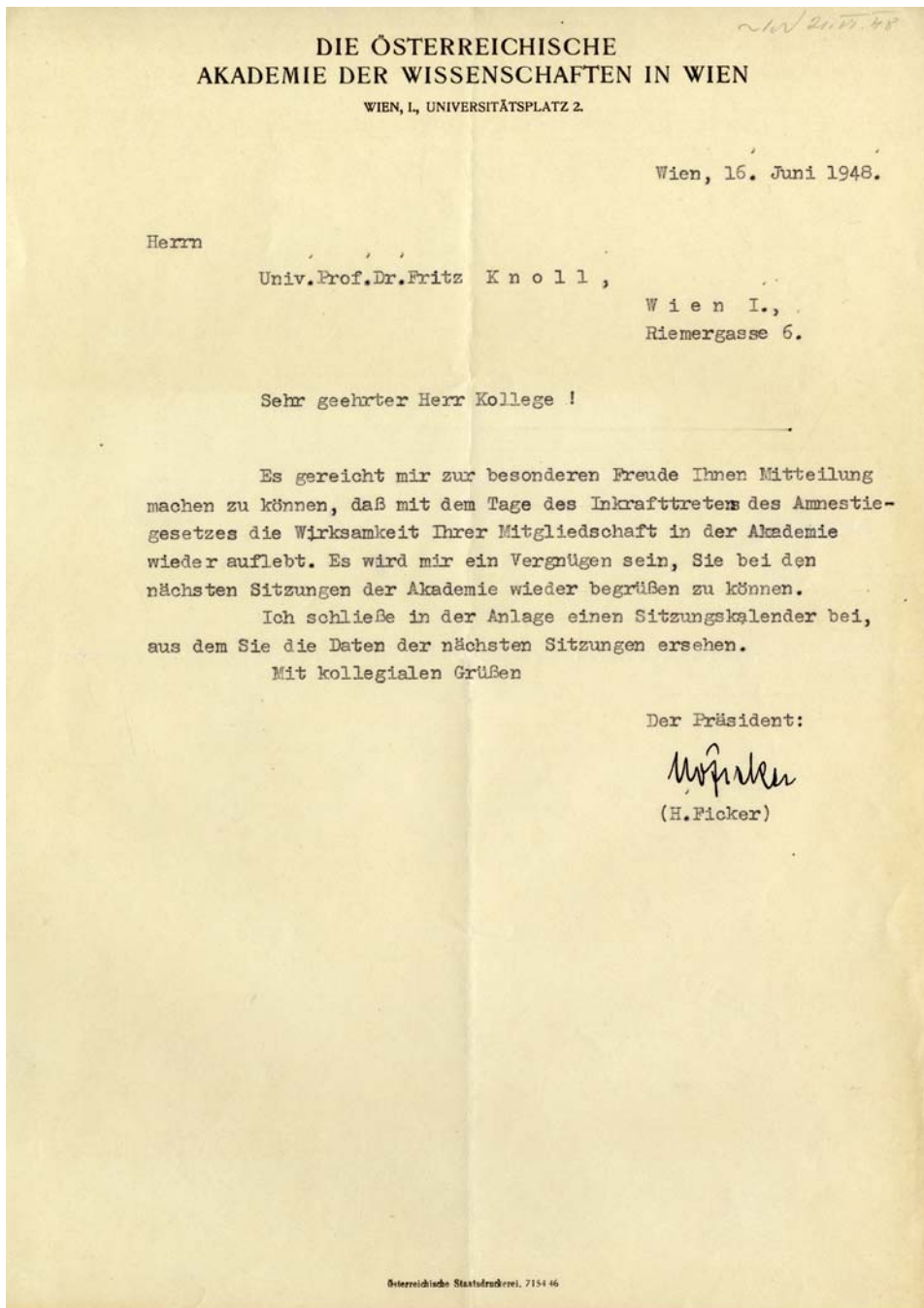


Fig. 92: Letter of the Academy to Knoll of 16 June 1948

In 1948, over a third of the reactivated members of the Academy had been members of the Nazi Party, and they were to have a decisive influence on the future composition of the Academy through their behavior in voting for new members. Richard Meister had taken charge of the denazification question in April 1945 and never relinquished control. In 1951 he was elected President of the Academy and remained in office until 1963. During his Presidency and thereafter, former Nazis were also rehabilitated symbolically. Erwin Kruppa was Vice-President from 1957 to 1960, Fritz Knoll was Secretary General from 1959 to 1964 and Secretary of the Section for Mathematics and the Natural Sciences from 1957 to 1959, and Albin Lesky was Secretary from 1959 to 1963.

Johannes Feichtinger/Dieter J. Hecht

1945 and after. One break and two continuities

On 19 May 1945, in a letter by the interim heads of the Academy, Ernst Späth and Richard Meister, to the *Staatsamt für Volksaufklärung, für Unterricht und Erziehung und für Kultusangelegenheiten* [State Office for Public Enlightenment, Education, and Cultural Affairs], the following was considered as a future agenda item: *Verification of the status of members of the Academy, i.e. recall of full and corresponding members who left in connection with the political events of 1938, and exclusion of members who have been removed from their official positions or (if retired or private) have become unacceptable because of particularly incriminating circumstances.*¹

One break ...

On 22 June 1945, the interim leadership of the Academy announced as a first staff measure that the *suspension of membership* on the basis of racial laws or for political reasons was invalid.² On this day Meister reported the *recall* of members excluded after 1938, which he described as *reparation*³ or an “act of reparation.”⁴ Stefan Meyer, August Loehr, Josef Weninger, Walther Brecht, Karl Bühler, Emil Abel, Viktor Moritz Goldschmidt, Victor Franz Hess, Hermann Franz Mark, Wolfgang Pauli, Ernst Peter Pick, and Erwin Schrödinger were invited to resume their membership.⁵

After the fall and winter of 1945, radium researcher Stefan Meyer, historian and museum director August Loehr, and anthropologist Josef Weninger took part regularly and actively in Academy meetings and activities.⁶ In 1945, Loehr (corresponding member since 1933) and Weninger (corresponding member since 1937) were

¹ AÖAW, Minutes of the General Assembly of 18 May 1945 (A 994), Annex, Späth and Meister to the *Staatsamt für Volksaufklärung, für Unterricht und Erziehung und für Kultusangelegenheiten* [State Office for Public Enlightenment, Education, and Cultural Affairs] of 19 May 1945.

² AÖAW, Minutes of the General Assembly of 22 June 1945 (A 995); see also report by Richard Meister on the restructuring of the Academy personnel after 27 April 1945 in the *Almanach* for 1945, 95 (1947), pp. 89–91, here p. 90.

³ AÖAW, Minutes of the General Assembly of 22 June 1945 (A 995), report by Richard Meister.

⁴ Meister (1947), *Geschichte*, p. 188.

⁵ See AÖAW, Minutes of the General Assembly of 22 June 1945 (A 995), report by Richard Meister. Full members Hans Horst Meyer, Berthold Hatschek, Franz Eduard Suess, and corresponding members Alfred Francis Präbram, Eduard Norden, Richard Willstätter, Ernst Theodor Brücke, Franz Boas, and Alfred Hettner had died in the meantime. At the same time, the election of Hans Mayer as an ordinary member and George Shull as a corresponding member abroad, which had not been confirmed by the Reich Minister, were declared valid. Those ordinary members who had lived outside the borders of Austria between 1938 and 1945 became corresponding members abroad (Fritz Machatschek, Karl Terzaghi, Hermann Weber). See Feichtinger/Uhl (2005), *Akademie*, p. 316.

⁶ Meyer and Loehr had been “racially” persecuted after the “Anschluss”, and Weninger forced into retirement because of his Jewish wife. He also lost his Academy membership.

elected full members. Thanks to Stefan Meyer, the expelled physicist Karl Przibram also returned as full professor to the Department of Physics II of the University of Vienna in 1946. He was elected into the Academy as a corresponding member in the same year and as a full member in 1950. Other Academy members excluded after the “Anschluss” no longer played a significant role in the Academy because they were abroad. Physics Nobel Prize winner Victor Franz Hess was teaching in New York, Erwin Schrödinger in Dublin. Schrödinger was elected a full member on his return in 1956. In 1970, the work of the eminent Viennese researcher Hermann Franz Mark in New York was also recognized through his election as an honorary member of the Austrian Academy of Sciences. The first expelled scientist living abroad to become a corresponding member abroad (in 1947) was the Viennese international jurist Hans Kelsen, now professor at the University of California, Berkeley. The first woman to become a corresponding member abroad (in 1948) was the physicist Lise Meitner, now teaching in Stockholm.⁷ In 1950, the mathematician Paul Funk, persecuted during the Nazi era on “racial” grounds, was elected a full member. After liberation from the Nazi Theresienstadt concentration camp in 1945 he had been appointed professor at the Vienna College of Technology. Other returnees like the Viennese chemist Engelbert Broda, who had worked at the Cavendish Laboratory in Cambridge during World War II, did not become members of the Academy.⁸

... and two continuities

Former supporters of the authoritarian *Ständestaat* [Corporate State] took charge at the Academy and the university in 1945. As conservatives with German national or Greater German sympathies, most of them had been able to safeguard their positions at the university and the Academy after the “Anschluss” with the aid of Nazi supporters.⁹ After 1948, the pre-1938 elite made it possible for former Nazi Party members, after a period of denazification, i.e. the removal from their posts and the abeyance of their Academy membership, to resume their old positions at the university and the Academy of Sciences.

In 1945, Richard Meister was already supporting the *retention of members in the Academy* because of the *need for uninterrupted [...] intensive continuation of research work*. This point of view appeared to him as *more important than how it was perceived abroad*.¹⁰ Meister and the other protagonists clearly assumed that the exclusion of half of the full members would probably have made the Academy ineffective and increased the chances of it being transformed into a kind of *Wissenschaftskammer* [professional association of academics] in Austria. At the General Assembly of 3 August 1945 it

⁷ See AÖAW, Minutes of the General Assembly of 13 May 1947 (A 1011), and AÖAW, Minutes of the General Assembly of 25 May 1948 (A 1019). For details on Hans Kelsen, see Feichtinger (2009), *Vernetzungen*, pp. 327–35, and for Lise Meitner, see Sexl/Hardy (2002), *Meitner*.

⁸ See Oberkofler (2012), *Bemerkungen*, p. 1, and Oberkofler (2005), *Mathematiker*, pp. 200–17.

⁹ See Heiss (2005), *Wendepunkt*, pp. 27–8.

¹⁰ AÖAW, Minutes of the General Assembly of 22 June 1945 (A 995), report by Richard Meister.

was therefore decided that Academy members who had belonged to the Nazi Party should not be excluded but merely have their membership held in abeyance.¹¹ On the basis of sectional decisions of 17 and 18 October 1945, full members Viktor Christian, Fritz Knoll, Karl Mayrhofer, and Eduard Pernkopf, who had been dismissed from the university, were initially excluded.¹² Further measures were taken only after the adoption of the National Socialist Law in 1947, and the continuation of the political screening of members was not discussed at the General Assemblies.¹³ Following the Amnesty Law of 21 April 1948, most Academy memberships held in abeyance were officially reinstated.

Within the Academy, Ernst Späth, Richard Meister, and Josef Keil had already supported the reintegration of former Nazis in 1945. Späth and Meister intervened on behalf of, amongst others, the deposed Academy President Heinrich Srbik and full member Oswald Menghin, who was listed as a war criminal.¹⁴ Other Academy members like the Anglicist Friedrich Wild, who had been dismissed from the university, were able to count on the new Presiding Committee. According to unofficial lists, in November 1945 Wild was already chairman of the Phonogram Archive Commission again.¹⁵ On 14 February 1948 Secretary General Keil wrote on behalf of the Presiding Committee in support of Wild's application to Federal President Karl Renner in which he requested that his atonement be rescinded. Wild's application was approved on 22 May 1948 and his Academy membership was officially reinstated on 24 May 1948.¹⁶ The Presiding Committee also actively supported the reinstatement of Walter Ruth who, "on account of his merits during the prohibition period," had been put in provisional charge of the Phonogram Archive in May 1938.¹⁷ Keil intervened successfully on behalf of the ex-Nazi Ruth after his return from detention as a prisoner of war.¹⁸ Josef Keil and Richard Meister also intervened several times with the State

¹¹ See the essay in this volume by Johannes Feichtinger and Dieter J. Hecht, "Denazification at the Academy of Sciences," pp. 163–79, especially p. 171.

¹² See AÖAW, Minutes of the General Assembly of 30 October 1945 (A 997). The minutes state that the *extinction of the membership* of these full members was *decreed*.

¹³ See the essay in this volume by Johannes Feichtinger and Dieter J. Hecht, "Denazification at the Academy of Sciences," pp. 163–79.

¹⁴ See AÖAW, PA Heinrich Srbik, and AÖAW, PA Oswald Menghin, and UAW, PA Oswald Menghin, PH PA 2617/161. See also UAW, Papers of Richard Meister, Box 324, correspondence of Meister with Oswald Menghin.

¹⁵ See AÖAW, Minutes of the General Assembly of 7 December 1945 (A 998), Annex, Commissions (14 November 1945).

¹⁶ See AÖAW, PA Friedrich Wild.

¹⁷ AÖAW, Phonogrammarchiv, Box 1, Folder 4, No. 92/1939. See essay in this volume by Marlene Wahlmüller, "Consequences for the academic staff. The case of Leo Hajek," pp. 69–76.

¹⁸ AÖAW, Ministry 1948–1950, 1948. Keil was listed in the *Almanachs* for 1946 to 1948 as deputy chairman of the Phonogram Archive Commission. In the *Almanach* for 1948, 98 (1949), p. 91, Wild is named as a member of the Phonogram Archive Commission, but there is no chairman listed, with only Keil as deputy chairman. In the *Almanach* for 1949, 99 (1950), p. 121, Wild is again listed as chairman.

Office to secure the retention of the staff of the Biological Station in Lunz, all of whom had been illegal members of the Nazi Party before 1938. In 1947 Meister warned Minister Felix Hurdes that he would resign as Vice-President if the staff issues in Lunz were not resolved to his satisfaction by the end of the year.¹⁹ All of the staff in Lunz were able to stay and were offered new employment contracts. Against this background, the transfer from the Institute for Experimental Biology in the Prater of the budgeted position of its head and the proceeds from the sale of its destroyed buildings to the Biological Station in Lunz appears particularly questionable.²⁰



Fig. 93: Biological Station in Lunz

The Federal Ministry of Education did not approve at all of the blanket reinstatement of former Nazi Party members. This can be seen in the inquiry of 2 September 1948 sent by Section Head Otto Skrbensky to the Academy.²¹ He asked whether the Academy really wanted to reinstate those members who had just been exempted from

¹⁹ This warning is described in a letter by Ludmilla Krestan to Franz Ruttner of 15 November 1947. AÖAW, Biologische Station in Lunz, Folder "Diverses 1923–1950."

²⁰ See the essays in this volume by Klaus Taschwer, "Expelled, burnt, sold, forgotten, and suppressed, pp. 101–11, and by Johannes Feichtinger and Dieter J. Hecht, "Tasks and areas of responsibility of the new Presiding Committee," pp. 151–61.

²¹ AÖAW, Ministerium 1948–1950, No. 1389/1948, Skrbensky to Ficker of 2 September 1948 (received on 8 October).



Fig. 94: Participants of the Centennial anniversary visiting Lunz, May 1947

atonement. As a key figure in the denazification process at the university, Skrbensky was not averse to former Nazis,²² provided they shared his conservative Christian values. His argument to the Academy was that there was no entitlement to membership and that the reintegration of persons such as Nadler or Srbik would compromise Austria and the Academy, particularly as the Academy was accepting persons who had been removed from the university because of their Nazi past. In his reply, President Ficker countered Skrbensky, emphasizing that the Academy had always acted in accordance with the law and that incriminated members had not lost their membership because the atonement had been for a limited period only. Regarding the removal of the persons concerned from the university, he claimed that there they had an influence on young people, which was not the case with the work at the Academy.²³ This attitude can also be seen in a letter by Meister to Ficker the same day, in which he supports Srbik's request to give a lecture at the Academy with the succinct comment:

²² For the role of Skrbensky, see Pfefferle/Pfefferle (2012), *Glimpflich entnazifiziert*, pp. 25–48.

²³ AÖAW, Ministerium 1948–1950, No. 1389/1948, Ficker to Skrbensky of 9 October 1948.

*If there are people in the Academy who object to a lecture by Srbik, then so be it. It is time once and for all to put an end to these things.*²⁴

This attitude by the Academy Presiding Committee towards its Nazi past was also criticized in the press. On 15 July 1951 an article in *Der Neue Vorwärts. Wochenblatt für fortschrittliche Sozialisten in Österreich* attacked Richard Meister upon his election as President of the Academy: "The members of the 'Academy of Sciences,' as the entity designated to represent Austria's scientific elite, are in their majority still the old protected children of the Fascist era. There is Nadler, Knoll, Christian, Pernkopf, and the rest, who deported themselves like fanatical Nazis while their Jewish colleagues were being gassed. That they were not flushed out in 1945 and after is the dubious work of a man whom we have already presented in *Der Neue Vorwärts* as Austria's black-brown behind-the-scenes eminence: Richard Meister, who, for over twenty years, has been intriguing at universities and wherever else the opportunity arose against everything that smells of democracy and has been endeavoring to retain everything that will ensure his own survival even in a crisis."²⁵

Restorative renewal

With the comprehensive reactivation of memberships held in abeyance in 1945, the Academy was not in line with the radical democratic renewal demanded, inter alia, by the occupying forces, but it did act on the basis of the laws of the Second Republic. Actors from the time of the authoritarian *Ständestaat* returned to office at the Academy and the universities. With their assistance, many Nazi Party members were able to come back after a short period of having their membership held in abeyance or dismissal. One difference was that university professors retired on reaching a certain age, while Academy members were elected for life and were frequently active until their death. It is therefore to be assumed that, from the late 1940s onwards, the way generations succeed one another meant that the Academy of Sciences was mainly composed of former members of the authoritarian *Ständestaat* and the Nazi Party. Election practice after 1945 did not mark a fundamental break because following the amnesty for less incriminated cases in 1948, corresponding members who had been classified as (less) incriminated were elected full members from the early 1950s onwards. Former Nazi Party members who had not been Academy members before 1945 were also elected in both Sections. It is significant that in 1955, the year of the Austrian State Contract, the proportion of newly elected former Nazi Party members or applicants was particularly large. In that year the Section for Humanities and the Social Sciences elected Indologist Erich Frauwallner and philosopher Friedrich Kainz as full members, and the Section for Mathematics and the Natural Sciences accepted

²⁴ AÖAW, PA Heinrich Ficker, Meister to Ficker of 9 October 1948.

²⁵ AÖAW, PA Richard Meister, Folder 2.

paleontologist Othmar Kühn.²⁶ Apparently, the election of former Nazis as new members of the Academy was conditional on their rehabilitation at the university, however:²⁷ Kainz and Kühn were already full professors at the University of Vienna when they were elected; Kainz was appointed an extraordinary professor in 1949 and a full professor in 1950, Kühn in 1951. Erich Frauwallner, an illegal Nazi Party member, was appointed an extraordinary professor at the University of Vienna in March 1955, immediately before his election as a full member. He became full professor at the University of Vienna in 1960.²⁸

Other (less) incriminated corresponding members also became full members in the 1950s: classical philologist Albin Lesky in 1950, botanist Karl Höfler in 1951, and astronomer Viktor Oberguggenberger in 1954. Franz Ruttner, head of the Biological Station in Lunz, was elected into the Academy in 1952 as a corresponding member. In the 1950s the ancient historian and heavily exposed Nazi Fritz Schachermeyr, who succeeded Josef Keil as full professor at the University of Vienna in 1952 after having been banned from university teaching for several years, became a member of the Austrian Academy of Sciences (corresponding member in 1954 and full member in 1957).²⁹ Between 1945 and 1955, the Section for Humanities and the Social Sciences elected 26 full members, of whom four, or 15.4 percent of all new members, were former Nazi Party members or applicants. During this period the Section for Mathematics and the Natural Sciences elected 25 new full members, of whom 5, or 20 percent, were former Nazi Party members or applicants.

In the 1960s and 1970s further (less) incriminated corresponding members became full members: among others, Semitist and Arabist Adolf Grohmann, mathematician Josef Krames, ethnologist Richard Wolfram, Germanists Otto Höfler, Eberhard Kranzmayer and Hans Rupprich, and physicists Gustav Ortner and Georg Stetter. The illegal Nazi Gustav Ortner had been nominated director of the Institute for Radium Research in 1938 and dismissed from the university in 1945. In the mid-1950s he returned to Vienna after having taught in Cairo for several years. He was allowed to teach again in 1955. The Federal Ministry of Education entrusted him

²⁶ Details of Nazi Party membership are based on research in the ÖStA-AdR, the Vienna City Archives, and the files in the BDC. See also AÖAW, Minutes of the General Assembly of 17 May 1955 (A 1073).

²⁷ Those whose membership had been held in abeyance or persons whose membership had been cancelled in 1945 were also reinstated as Academy members even without prior rehabilitation at the university. This was the case with full members Viktor Christian, Fritz Knoll, Karl Mayrhofer, and Eduard Pernkopf. The mathematician Mayrhofer, an illegal Nazi Party member, appeared again in the list of members in the *Almanach* for 1948, 98 (1949), p. 17. The 46-year-old had been dismissed from the university in May 1945 and was not allowed to teach again until 1954. In 1957 he returned to the University of Vienna as a full professor. Pfefferle/Pfefferle (2012), *Glimpflich entnazifiziert*, p. 93.

²⁸ Stuchlik (2009), *Ansatz*; Pfefferle/Pfefferle (2012), *Glimpflich entnazifiziert*, p. 84, and Pollock (2002), *Ex Oriente Nox*, pp. 359–62.

²⁹ For details on Schachermeyr, see Pesditschek (2009), *Barbar, Kreter, Arier*.

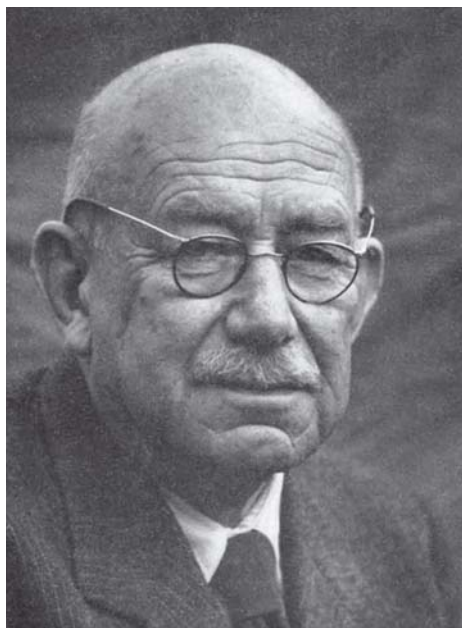


Fig. 95: Friedrich Ruttner

initially with planning the Austrian university reactor. In 1960 he was appointed full professor of technical nuclear physics at the Vienna College of Technology and later became director of the Atomic Institute of the Austrian Universities.³⁰ Like Ortner, Stetter, who had been a member of the Nazi Party before 1938, was elected a full member of the Academy. With his deputy Ortner he had directed the Four-Year Plan Institute for Neutron Research from 1943 and, after being authorized to teach again, he was appointed full professor at the University of Vienna in 1953. In 1964, at the age of 88, Harold Steinacker, the “Anschluss rector” of the University of Innsbruck, was made an honorary member of the Academy, in part at the instigation of Rudolf Egger.³¹ Objections had been lodged in 1947 against the membership of all three.³²

After the 1950s, denazified Nazi Party members were once again able to occupy important positions at the Academy and the university. During the Academy presidency of Richard Meister (1951–63) they were also elected to the Presiding Committee.³³ Thus the classical philologist Albin Lesky, for example, managed to build a notable career at the Academy in the 1960s: from 1959 to 1963 he was Secretary of the Section for Humanities and the Social Sciences, from 1963 to 1969 Vice-

³⁰ See Pfefferle/Pfefferle (2012), *Glimpflich entnazifiziert*, pp. 127–8.

³¹ See Feichtinger/Uhl (2005), *Akademie*, pp. 335–6.

³² See the essay in this volume by Johannes Feichtinger und Dieter J. Hecht, “Denazification at the Academy of Sciences,” pp. 161–79.

³³ Ibid.

President, and from 1969 to 1970 President. Lesky, who was also rector of the University of Vienna from 1963 to 1964, was able to make the credible assertion that he had only joined the Nazi Party out of concern for his professional prospects.³⁴

The rehabilitation of former Nazi Party members and their reintegration in the academic community were no exceptions. On the contrary, they were typical of the Austrian attitude to Nazism at the time.³⁵ Christian Fleck coined the phrase “autochthonous provincialization” to describe the development of the academic community in the decades after the war.³⁶

As in other Austrian scientific institutions the effects of the staffing policy during the *Ständestaat* dictatorship and Nazi era were felt long after 1945. Continuity is reflected in the attitude to scholarship and practice and, not least, in the composition of the Academy membership and, as a consequence, research policies.

Johannes Feichtinger/Dieter J. Hecht

³⁴ See Goller/Oberkofler (2003), *Universität*, p. 27. In 1994, a street in the 22nd district was named for him and his wife Erna Lesky, who had also been a member of the Nazi Party, and in 1998 a gateway on the University of Vienna campus. See Feichtinger/Uhl (2005), *Akademie*, p. 335.

³⁵ See Uhl (2011), *Opfer*, pp. 27–46.

³⁶ See Fleck (2012), *Provinzialisierung*; Fleck (1996), *Provinzialisierung*, and Reiter (2006), *Naturwissenschaften*.

Centennial anniversary of the Academy of Sciences 1947

Austrian identity – new positioning in the international scientific community – suppression of the Nazi era

A chance anniversary offered the Academy of Sciences the opportunity, two years after the end of the Nazi era, to present itself to the public in a positive way as a traditional stronghold of “pure,” ostensibly apolitical scholarship that had not been contaminated by Nazism and as therefore able to take up its place in the international academic community again.

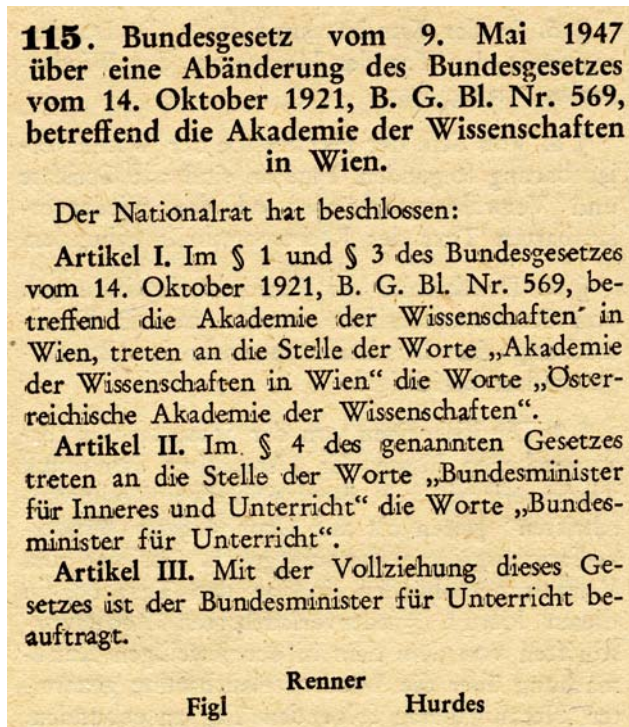


Fig. 96: Federal Law 1947

A desire to position itself historically on a line of Austrian continuity formed the new framework in which the Academy again sought to legitimize its academic and institutional activities after 1945. The intersectional *Verbandskommission österreichischer Wissenschaft* [Commission for the association of Austrian academic institutions] had already been established in August 1945. As President Späth stressed at the

Ceremonial Session of 5 June 1946, this Commission placed the Academy “in the services of the present day.”¹ Of particular symbolic value was the change of name to the Austrian Academy of Sciences, proposed at the General Assembly of 22 February 1946 by full member Leopold Wenger and promulgated in the Federal Law of 9 May 1947 “regarding the Academy of Sciences in Vienna.”² The intersectional Commission for the Elaboration of an Austrian Biographical Encyclopedia was established in October 1946. Its aim was to complement the *Neue Österreichische Biographie* started in 1917 with a new biographical encyclopedia.³

The Academy also put itself in the service of strengthening Austrian identity at the national celebrations to mark “950 years of Austria.” The first documented mention of the name *Ostarrîchi* provided the occasion for a large-scale state offensive aimed at redefining and publicly communicating a still uncertain Austrian identity. The new Austria styled itself as a major cultural player: two years after the end of the war, its achievements in art, science and scholarship were to re-establish its reputation internationally, above all with respect to the occupying powers. The Academy opened “a series of events celebrating Austrian scholarship” with an extraordinary Ceremonial Session on 21 October 1946. In his opening address, Vice-President Meister saw it as the Academy’s role to pay fitting tribute to the “traditional foundations” and “historic significance” of the anniversary. He said that the document from the year 996 indicated that “Austria was already known and generally recognized as a special area, demonstrated by the existence of a specific popular name.”⁴ Thereupon Raoul Aslan, director of the *Burgtheater*, recited Anton Wildgans’s speech about Austria. The ceremonial address on “the document of 996 and the conditions for the establishment of an independent state in the area of Austria” was given by the historian Alphons Lhotsky,⁵ who referred to the “natural and historical factors that have always contributed to Austria’s character and special status.” He said that looking back over “around two thousand years” of Austrian history, it could be concluded that the

¹ *Almanach* for 1946, 96 (1948), p. 37. At the constituting session of the *Verbandskommission österreichischer Wissenschaft* on 22 August 1945, plans for the publication of a yearbook of Austrian science were discussed. Five volumes of the yearbook appeared between 1948 and 1965. The publication of a series entitled *Austria. Darstellungen aus Natur, Geschichte und Kultur Österreichs* was also planned.

² BGBl., No. 115/1947. The proposal was adopted by the General Assembly of 4 June 1946. The name change proposed here however was “Austrian Academy of Sciences in Vienna.” AÖAW, Minutes of the General Assembly of 22 February 1946 (A 1000). See also AÖAW, Minutes of the General Assembly of 4 June 1946 (A 1003).

³ Meister (1947), *Geschichte*, pp. 201, 289. As chairman of the Commission, the proposer, historian Leo Santifaller, was appointed. The first initiative came from the owner of the Amalthea publishing house, however, who had approached Vice-President Meister in early 1946 with the suggestion that the *Neue Österreichische Biographie* be reactivated. Santifaller (1957), Foreword, p. VIII.

⁴ *Almanach* for 1946, 96 (1948), pp. 192–3.

⁵ *Almanach* for 1946, 96 (1948), pp. 192–3; see also Lhotsky (1947), *Ostarrîchi*.

Das Referat über den gegenwärtigen Stand der Angelegenheit erscheint durch die vorstehenden Ausführungen erstattet. Ich erlaube mir weiterhin dazu folgendes zu berichten:

Die Bearbeitung eines "Biographischen Lexikons" aller bedeutender Oesterreicher für den Zeitraum von 1815 bis zur Gegenwart, welches nach dem Vorbilde des deutschen und englischen Werkes kurze, streng wissenschaftlich-systematisch gearbeitete und mit allen erforderlichen Quellen- und Literaturangaben versehene

Biographien enthalten sollte, entspricht einem dringenden Bedürfnis der Wissenschaft und des praktischen Lebens des In- und des Auslandes. Dieses bedeutsame österreichische Wissenschaftsunternehmen ist daher der tatkräftigen Förderung der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in jeder Hinsicht würdig. Ohne die Hilfe einer grösseren wissenschaftlichen Körperschaft erscheint die Fertigstellung des Werkes überhaupt kaum durchführbar. Ich stelle daher zur Erwägung, ob die hohe Akademie das "Biographische Lexikon" als Unternehmen der Historischen Kommission erklären oder für die Betreuung desselben eine eigene Kommission einsetzen solle; eventuell würde es auch genügen, wenn die Hohe Akademie das "Biographische Lexikon" finanziell unterstützen und in ihren Schutz nehmen würde.

Wien, 23. Okt. 1946

Yves Santifaller

Fig. 97: Proposal by Santifaller of 23 October 1946 for establishing the Austrian Biographical Encyclopedia (extracts)

country had repeatedly "managed successfully to resist being absorbed completely in a larger overriding structure." There were "inevitable conditions", "constant, far-reaching historical forces" that had enabled Austria "always to find itself again."⁶

⁶ *Almanach* for 1946, 96 (1948), p. 195.

Lhotsky's remarks thus reflected the ideas that the Vice-President had expressed at the General Assembly of 29 March 1946 regarding the Academy's participation in the Austria celebrations. Namely, that in view of its importance for the establishment of *the independent state of Austria in the Danube region*, the 996 document should be *interpreted within the context of the geopolitical and historical situation*.⁷

The emphasis on Austria and the reclaimed importance of the Academy as an academic institution of international caliber were also the focuses of the centennial celebrations from 11 to 16 May 1947 in Vienna. The events were aimed at academic and political audiences and the public in Austria, but particularly at the international scientific community, as Richard Meister's report indicates: "The links with the international scientific community were broken by the war," and the celebration now offered the opportunity "to demonstrate to the public in Austria and elsewhere [...] that it had retained its old working energy and determination to celebrate further accomplishments in the future. In this regard, it is making every effort to re-establish links with academies and scholarly bodies throughout the world."⁸ This aim was manifestly achieved. Representatives of prestigious academies and scientific institutions from nine countries – Belgium, Czechoslovakia, France, Hungary, Poland, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, and the Vatican⁹ – followed the invitation to *sister academies*,¹⁰ which was also translated into the languages of the occupying powers.

The guests were informed that the celebration could *only be modest in view of Austria's current situation*, but that *the Academy of Sciences would endeavor to receive its guests with the greatest hospitality and to make their visit to Vienna worthwhile and pleasant*.¹¹ In the event, the program was anything but modest. The foreign participants in particular were shown not only the Academy but also the best of Austrian countryside, culture, and cuisine. The opening of the elaborate accompanying program was a welcome evening for full and corresponding members and representatives of foreign academies and scholarly bodies on 11 May in the *Johannessaal* of the Academy, together with the exhibition on the Academy's history in the Meeting Room.¹² After the Ceremonial Session of the Section for Humanities and the Social Sciences on 12 May, there was a guided tour of the *Kunsthistorisches* [Art History] Museum and, in the evening, an invitation by the federal government to a *Burgtheater* production of Hugo von Hofmannsthal's *Jedermann* in the Ronacher Theater.¹³ On 13 May the Ceremonial Session of the Section for Mathematics and the Natural Sciences was held, followed by guided tours of the Museum of Natural History and the Institute for Radium Research. The evening of the Ceremonial Session on 14 May was also the

⁷ AÖAW, Minutes of the General Assembly of 29 March 1946 (A 1001).

⁸ *Almanach* for 1947, 97 (1948), pp. 65–6.

⁹ *Almanach* for 1947, 97 (1948), pp. 65–6.

¹⁰ AÖAW, Feierliche Sitzungen, Box 2, Folder "1947," Invitation.

¹¹ AÖAW, Feierliche Sitzungen, Box 2, Folder "1947," Invitation.

¹² *Almanach* for 1947, 97 (1948), p. 67.

¹³ See *Almanach* for 1947, 97 (1948), p. 116.

highpoint of the celebrations. The participants and “a number of guests from scientific circles” were received by the Federal President and the government in the *Hofburg* [former imperial residence], and the State Opera performed Mozart’s *Marriage of Figaro* in the *Redoutensaal*. The “magnificent performance was received with great enthusiasm by the guests,” reported the Vice-President.¹⁴ 15 May was devoted to a visit to the Biological Station in Lunz, followed by a reception at Melk Abbey. On 16 May the participants visited the *Prunksaal* [ceremonial hall] of the National Library and saw an exhibition of precious manuscripts and early prints compiled specially for the Academy celebration. At the ensuing lunch on the Kahlenberg by invitation of the city of Vienna, Mayor Theodor Körner welcomed the guests and was followed by the delegate of the British Academy, Sir Charles Webster, who thanked the mayor and the Academy on behalf of the visitors, “expressing the great satisfaction at the organization of the celebration and at the demonstration of the genuine willingness of the Austrian academic world to rebuild.”¹⁵



Fig. 98: Auditorium at the centennial celebration in 1947
(from l. to r.: Renner, Junitzer, Figl, and Schärff)

The “actual ceremonial act to mark the centennial” was the Ceremonial Session at which Academy President Heinrich Ficker, Federal President Karl Renner, Federal Chancellor Leopold Figl, and Minister of Education Felix Hurdes all spoke. The positions they represented give an indication of the political context and outlook for the academic field two years after the end of the Nazi era and at the start of the Cold War. President Ficker invoked to this “High Ceremonial Assembly,” – full and corresponding members, representatives of foreign academies, the Federal President and Federal Chancellor, Cardinal Theodor Innitzer, members of the federal government, the

¹⁴ *Almanach* for 1947, 97 (1948), p. 215.

¹⁵ *Almanach* for 1947, 97 (1948), p. 220.

mayor of Vienna and other heads of state and society, and representatives of the high commissioners of the Allied powers – the “glorious” hundred-year past of the institution, which had withstood the year of revolution in 1848 and the “most destructive storm [...] that has ever raged over the earth.” “We stand here in the ruins left by the storm, and it is enough that we can say: We are still alive and working again!” It was precisely the Academy’s tradition that now lent it the task of generating respect for the “little republic” in the world, because “even if we are and will remain a small and politically powerless state, we aspire to be a major power [spacing in the original] in culture, art, and science.” In view of the inadequate financial resources, as Ficker pointed out, this called above all for the provision of appropriate funds from the public sector.

However, Ficker continued, it was not the lack of funds that was “the worst thing for science and research.” “The most stifling [...] for science” were the “parties and ideologies that claimed totality and once in power ruthlessly pursued this aim.” “We experienced this ‘*Gleichschaltung*’ [alignment/ consolidation] in the years before the end of the war,” Ficker explained, and not only “historians, philosophers, and jurists had their work controlled and obstructed during the Nazi era. No one was spared!” The natural sciences were affected too, as Ficker illustrated with reference to “world ice theory,” as it was called, that was intended as a component of the National Socialist world view. Freedom in research and teaching were “the basis for what we understand by scholarship.” Ficker closed with the appeal: “Free research and free teaching in a free Austria!”¹⁶

Federal President Karl Renner, who had just been elected as an honorary member of the Academy, expressed his thanks for “the highest recognition that the Academy can give,” and described it as a “solemn message” that Austria’s academic elite professed its “unreserved commitment to a free and democratic people’s state.”¹⁷ Nazism and the “terrible catastrophe of the Second World War that surpassed all past conceptions” had “intellectually and morally deprived” the “cognitive world” of an entire generation. Renner’s appeal turned to the future: “Get ready, gentlemen, for the future and come to terms with the past.”¹⁸ What counts now are “internationalism, democracy, and socialism as the basic orientation of intellectual work. This gives the Academy, which has lost so much ground, new and larger scope on the threshold of

¹⁶ *Almanach* for 1947, 97 (1948), pp. 152–61. The Academy President was even clearer the day before in his welcome speech at the Ceremonial Session of the Section for Mathematics and the Natural Sciences when he said: “At a time in which the struggle for a new social order is well under way, in which the entire economy is dominated by the contrast between private and planned economies, at such a time there is an even greater danger than before that the idea of steering and appropriating science will take on greater significance.” (Ibid., p. 117). The academies, he continued, had “always been a symbol of the unity of all sciences,” unity and freedom of science “had always been the true cornerstones of academic activity and should also remain so for our Academy.” (Ibid., p. 119)

¹⁷ *Almanach* for 1947, 97 (1948), pp. 162–3.

¹⁸ *Almanach* for 1947, 97 (1948), pp. 172–5.



Fig. 99: Federal President Renner as guest speaker
at the centennial celebration in 1947

its second century of existence: it has twice lost the empire in which it worked but is in the process of acquiring a world, the whole world, as its field of activity.”¹⁹

Renner’s claim that “the book of the past was closed”²⁰ was in line, two years after the end of Nazi rule, with the way Austrian society was dealing with former Nazis. Thus, the fact that Academy members had also belonged to the Party that had been responsible for the “stifling” “*Gleichschaltung*” of the sciences (Heinrich Ficker) was, naturally, not mentioned. An intimation in this regard can be found in the activity report of Secretary General Josef Keil for the period from 5 June 1946 to May 1947, although the remark is designed more to conceal the fact that the political screening of Academy members is still ongoing: Keil stated that “precise information about the

¹⁹ *Almanach* for 1947, 97 (1948), p. 177.

²⁰ *Almanach* for 1947, 97 (1948), p. 177.



Fig. 100: Commemorative medal, recto and verso

current status of members of the Academy cannot be given at the moment because of some as yet unclear points.”²¹

In view of the various efforts by the Academy to accommodate those members subject to the 1945 *Verbotsgesetz* [law banning the re-engagement in National Socialist activities], the choice of the inscription for the centennial medal is significant: *MULTI PERTRANSIERUNT ET PERTRANSIBUNT | AUCTA EST ET AUGEBITUR SCIENTIA* (Many went there and will go there, knowledge was and will be increased). This motto may be interpreted as a symbolic amnesty. The idea was that regardless of their individual political involvement, all members had contributed to the progress of knowledge. The cogency of this interpretation is illustrated by the closing words of Richard Meister’s ceremonial speech on the history of the Academy of Sciences in Vienna from 1847 to 1947: “Thus the Academy stands before you today and can say of itself that through all of the checkered times it has never been unfaithful to the law of strictest objectivity applicable to all research. Every person in this house without exception has served this law and all members of the Academy and the Academy as a whole will continue to serve this law in future. All human activity is subject to change over time but one area of culture after another rises from it with works that [...] may be described as lasting.”²²

The striving for acceptance and recognition in the international scientific community was a determining factor in the post-war Academy of Sciences. The election of Lise Meitner as the first female member of the Section for Mathematics and the Natural Sciences in 1948 can also be seen in this light. However, among the elected members, scholars who held high-ranking positions in the Nazi era crop up again and

²¹ *Almanach* for 1947, 97 (1948), p. 71.

²² *Almanach* for 1947, 97 (1948), pp. 202, 216.

again.²³ The accommodation of former National Socialists that prevailed in society and in (party) politics was also reflected in the Academy of Sciences. Further analysis is required to establish whether the Academy was in the mainstream of Austrian political culture or went even further.²⁴

The Academy took the first step towards thematizing its own role on the occasion of the 150th anniversary celebrations in 1997. The *Festschrift* published on this occasion included an essay by Herbert Matis entitled *Akademie der Wissenschaften 1938 bis 1945*.²⁵ This marked the start by the Academy of Sciences, albeit later than the Austrian universities, which had embarked on this research in the 1980s, to come to terms with the history of a period in which the attempt had been made “to place science in the service of a criminal regime contemptuous of human life.”²⁶ In an in-depth analysis entitled *Zwischen Anpassung und Widerstand. Die Akademie der Wissenschaften in den Jahren 1938–1945* [Between Accommodation and Resistance. The Academy of Sciences in the Years 1938–1945], Matis sums up the situation after 1945 thus: “Because the problem of ‘denazification’ was dealt with at a purely legal level, there was no sustained and internal confrontation with Nazism.”²⁷

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²³ See the essay in this volume by Johannes Feichtinger and Dieter J. Hecht, “1945 and after. One break and two continuities,” pp. 181–9.

²⁴ One example is the election of the historian Harold Steinacker, President of the University of Innsbruck 1938–1942, as an honorary member of the Section for Humanities and the Social Sciences in 1964. See also the obituary of Franz Huter in the *Almanach* for 1965, 155 (1966), pp. 306–35.

²⁵ Matis (1997), *Akademie*, pp. 21–34.

²⁶ Matis (1997), *Anpassung*, p. 7.

²⁷ Matis (1997), *Anpassung*, p. 67.

