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978-0-521-87906-4 - The Kaiser Wilhelm Society under National Socialism

Susanne Heim, Carola Sachse and Mark Walker

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## I

## The Kaiser Wilhelm Society under National Socialism

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## THE KAISER WILHELM SOCIETY

The Kaiser Wilhelm Society (*Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gesellschaft*, KWS) was one of the most important scientific institutions in the twentieth century and for modern science.<sup>1</sup> In 1911, the German state, private industry, and science came together to establish an institution consisting of scientific institutes outside the university system with world-class facilities and researchers who had been liberated from teaching obligations. The first institutes were funded largely by private donations and were devoted to subjects of interest to German industry. The German or Prussian state also contributed, with the result that the KWS was a hybrid public–private institution.

The Kaiser Wilhelm Institutes (KWIs) quickly established a reputation for excellence in scientific research, boasted many Nobel laureates, and became the envy of other scientists inside and outside Germany. The KWS managed to thrive through the First World War, the postwar inflation, the new German experiment with democracy, and onset of the Great Depression. When Adolf Hitler was appointed German chancellor in 1933, the KWS was the most important institution in German science, and German science arguably led the world.

The relationship between science and society should be seen not only in terms of politics influencing science, or even science influencing politics, but more with the two serving as resources for each other, as Mitchell Ash has

<sup>1</sup> Monika Renneberg and Mark Walker (eds.), *Science, Technology, and National Socialism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 1–17; Jonathan Harwood, “German Science and Technology under National Socialism,” in *Perspectives on Science*, 5, no. 1, (1997): 128–151; Margit Szöllösi-Janze, “National Socialism and the Sciences: Reflections, Conclusions and Historical Perspectives,” in Margit Szöllösi-Janze (ed), *Science in the Third Reich* (Oxford: Berg, 2001), 1–35; for the history of the KWS, see Rudolf Vierhaus and Bernhard vom Brocke (eds.), *Forschung im Spannungsfeld von Politik und Gesellschaft. Geschichte und Struktur der Kaiser-Wilhelm-/Max-Planck-Gesellschaft aus Anlass ihres 75jährigen Bestehens* (Stuttgart: DVA, 1990).

Cambridge University Press

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Excerpt

[More information](#)

argued.<sup>2</sup> National Socialism had a profound effect on German science, just as German scientists had a profound effect on the Third Reich. However, the National Socialist (NS) government was not fundamentally or consistently hostile to science. The so-called Aryan Science movements in physics, mathematics, and chemistry, as well as the related Aryan Technology movement, represented an attempt to create an “ideologically correct science”<sup>3</sup> but played only a minor if sometimes significant role in shaping National Socialist science policy.

The National Socialist regime did repress and restrict some research, but this was dwarfed by the generous support offered for other topics. Scientists who could contribute to racial hygiene, autarky, or rearmament could also find interested and influential patrons within the National Socialist state. The Third Reich purged Jewish and some leftist scientists from the civil service at the beginning of National Socialist rule,<sup>4</sup> but while many good and some great scientists were lost, they were replaced by many others who were also good, and considered racially and politically acceptable by the new regime. Some disciplines and institutions were affected more than others. For example, while Fritz Haber’s KWI for Physical Chemistry had many “non-Aryans” on the staff and was hit very hard, the KWI for Breeding Research had not hired any Jewish scientists and therefore had none to purge.

In a 1990 article included in a collection of essays devoted to the history of the KWS and its post-World War II successor, the Max Planck Society (Max-Planck-Gesellschaft, MPS), Helmuth Albrecht and Armin Hermann noted:

The society attempted to avoid the pressure from National Socialism by first of all referring to its private character, and second adopting a strategy that its General Director Friedrich Glum described as “self-coordination.” ... As already suggested,

<sup>2</sup> Mitchell Ash, “Wissenschaft und Politik als Ressourcen für einander,” in Rüdiger vom Bruch and Brigitte Kaderas (eds.), *Wissenschaften und Wissenschaftspolitik: Bestandsaufnahmen zu Formationen, Brüchen und Kontinuitäten im Deutschland des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2002), 32–51.

<sup>3</sup> Michael Gordin, Walter Grunden, Mark Walker, and Zuoyue Wang, “Ideologically Correct Science,” in Mark Walker (ed.), *Science and Ideology: A Comparative History* (London: Routledge, 2003), 35–65.

<sup>4</sup> See Richard Beyler, “Reine Wissenschaft und personelle ‘Säuberungen.’ Die Kaiser-Wilhelm/ Max-Planck-Gesellschaft 1933 und 1945,” *Ergebnisse. Vorabdrucke aus dem Forschungsprogramm “Geschichte der Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gesellschaft im Nationalsozialismus,”* No. 16 (Berlin: Forschungsprogramm, 2004; further quoted as *Ergebnisse*, no., and year), Richard Beyler, Alexei Kojevnikov, and Jessica Wang, “Purges in Comparative Perspective: Rules for Exclusion and Inclusion in the Scientific Community under Political Pressure,” in Carola Sachse and Mark Walker (eds.), *Politics and Science in Wartime: Comparative International Perspectives on the Kaiser Wilhelm Institutes*, *Osiris* 20 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 23–48, and Richard Beyler, “Maintaining Discipline in the Kaiser Wilhelm Society during the National Socialist Regime,” *Minerva*, 44, no. 3 (2006), 251–266.

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-87906-4 - The Kaiser Wilhelm Society under National Socialism

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Excerpt

[More information](#)*The KWS under National Socialism*

3

the strategy of the KWS leadership remained thoroughly ambivalent in this regard. Costly attempts to circumvent requirements as well as generous interpretations of the laws contrast with other cases whereby the regulations were obeyed precisely and with great care. KWS president Max Planck explained the KWS General Administration's tactics with the simile that one had to act "like a tree in the wind." Here he meant a certain accommodation where this was unavoidable, but on the other hand, as soon as the pressure fell, "standing back upright." In other words, when the immediate external pressure was gone, then the society should return to the principle of scientific freedom, which it had used up until 1933.<sup>5</sup>

Herbert Mehrtens has described such policies as "collaboration,"<sup>6</sup> a term that might imply that science and politics are on different sides or that the collaborating scientist was a "traitor" to science. Arguably "cooperation" is a better term for the multifarious connections between scientists and the National Socialist regime. "Cooperation" also fits well with two compatible concepts, the first proposed by Mehrtens, the "irresponsible purity" of science,<sup>7</sup> and the second by Mark Walker, the "apolitical ideology of science";<sup>8</sup> both argue that scientists engage in political behavior in their professional disciplines and within the greater society, but they define or characterize this as an "apolitical," "pure" search for truth.

Three years after Albrecht's and Hermann's essay, Kristie Macrakis published a book-length history of the KWS under National Socialism that was very generous both to the institution and its representatives. She concluded that

the Society responded to the measures of the National Socialist regime by accommodation and passive opposition. There were few, if any, public protests. ... The survival of basic biological research at the Society, and the fact that scientists who were barred from the university could find a niche there, are only several examples of the differences among the patterns of development at the Society and other institutions in National Socialist Germany. ... [T]he Society survived the nazification process more intact than the universities. ... During the mid-thirties, the Society took a step closer to the industrial power block and elected presidents from industry out of

<sup>5</sup> Helmuth Albrecht and Armin Hermann, "Die Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gesellschaft im Dritten Reich (1933–1945)," in Vierhaus and Brocke, 356–406, here 359, 371–372.

<sup>6</sup> Herbert Mehrtens, "Kollaborationsverhältnisse: Natur- und Technikwissenschaften im NS-Staat und ihre Histoire," in Christoph Meinel and Peter Voswinkel (eds.), *Medizin, Naturwissenschaft, Technik und Nationalsozialismus. Kontinuitäten und Diskontinuitäten*, (Stuttgart: GNT Verlag, 1994), 13–32.

<sup>7</sup> Herbert Mehrtens, "Irresponsible Purity: The Political and Moral Structure of Mathematical Sciences in the National Socialist State," in Monika Renneberg and Mark Walker (eds.), *Science, Technology, and National Socialism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 324–338, 411–413.

<sup>8</sup> Mark Walker, "Legends Surrounding the German Atomic Bomb," in Teresa Meade and Mark Walker (eds.), *Science, Medicine, and Cultural Imperialism* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991), 178–204.

Cambridge University Press

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Excerpt

[More information](#)

expediency.... Ideology per se does not necessarily lead to the decline and destruction of science. During the war years ... there was some complicity with the National Socialist state as the Kaiser Wilhelm Society slowly integrated itself more completely into the societal structure.<sup>9</sup>

The scholars who contributed to the MPS research program on the history of the KWS during National Socialism (see below) collectively came to very different conclusions: (1) the KWS did defend its institutional autonomy, but this is something one might expect from any institution during the Third Reich and was certainly not “passive opposition”; (2) rather than “surviving” National Socialism, in relative terms the KWS was very successful in advancing its own agenda, achieving its own goals, and prospering under Hitler; (3) finally, the KWS was an integral part of the National Socialist system of domination that subjugated people inside and outside Germany and culminated in genocide and war.

#### THE POLITICS OF THE PAST

The history of the KWS under National Socialism is thus significant for several reasons and is an especially important chapter in the history of modern science. However, the MPS did not encourage, let alone facilitate, a thorough and critical history of the KWS from 1933 to 1945. It took nearly half a century for most German public and private institutions to begin dealing seriously with the legacy of National Socialism. The MPS was typical in this regard. For decades it resisted critical investigations of the conduct of the KWS during the Third Reich, in particular, any potential involvement in the crimes of the National Socialist regime.

As late as 1986, when the Free University of Berlin decided to place a memorial plaque on the building used by the KWI for Anthropology during the Third Reich, the MPS refused to share responsibility for this message:

The Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Anthropology, Human Heredity, and Eugenics was in this building from 1927 to 1945. Together with their coworkers, the directors Eugen Fischer (1927–1942) and Otmar von Verschuer (1942–1945) provided a scientific foundation for the inhumane racial and population policies of the National Socialist state. By training SS-physicians and judges for the hereditary courts, and writing reports for investigations of ancestry and forced sterilizations, they made an active contribution to selection and murder.

The twin research of Verschuer's student and personal collaborator Josef Mengele in the Auschwitz concentration camp, which was approved by the Reich Research Council and financed by the German Research Foundation, was planned in this building and supported through investigations of organs from prisoners selected and murdered.

<sup>9</sup> Kristie Macrakis, *Surviving the Swastika: Scientific Research in Nazi Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 202–204.

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-87906-4 - The Kaiser Wilhelm Society under National Socialism

Susanne Heim, Carola Sachse and Mark Walker

Excerpt

[More information](#)*The KWS under National Socialism*

5

These crimes remain unpunished. Von Verschuer was professor of genetics in Münster until 1965.

Scientists are responsible for the content and consequences of their scientific work.<sup>10</sup>

Although the reluctance of the MPS to confront a potentially incriminating and disturbing past is not surprising, in the end it only enhanced and intensified the stain on the institution's reputation.

During the 1980s, the biochemist Benno Müller-Hill researched and published a path-breaking book: *Murderous Science*.<sup>11</sup> Among other insightful and critical analysis of biomedical research under Hitler, Müller-Hill linked the KWI for Anthropology and its director Otmar von Verschuer, as well as the KWI for Biochemistry and its director Adolf Butenandt, to some of the inhuman experiments carried out by Josef Mengele in the concentration camp at Auschwitz.<sup>12</sup> Over the next two decades many historians and scientists scrutinized aspects of the KWS under National Socialism.

As a result, it gradually became very clear that the KWIs for Anthropology and Brain Research, as well as the German Research Institute for Psychiatry (which was also a part of the KWS) had been directly involved with sterilization, the so-called euthanasia campaigns that murdered children and adults who were classified as "life unworthy of life," human experimentation inside and outside of concentration camps, and the inhuman treatment of people in occupied territories.<sup>13</sup> Along with Müller-Hill, the science writer Ernst Klee was particularly vocal and influential in calling attention to what had happened during the Third Reich and to the insufficient response of the MPS to it.<sup>14</sup>

By the very end of the twentieth century, the climate in Germany had changed with regard to dealing with the National Socialist past. Several

<sup>10</sup> For a photograph of the plaque, see Carola Sachse, "Menschenversuche in Auschwitz überleben, erinnern, verantworten." in Carola Sachse (ed.), *Die Verbindung nach Auschwitz. Biowissenschaften und Menschenversuche am Kaiser-Wilhelm-Institute* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2003), 7–34, here 19.

<sup>11</sup> Benno Müller-Hill, *Murderous Science: Elimination by Scientific Selection of Jews, Gypsies, and Others in Germany, 1933–1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).

<sup>12</sup> For Butenandt from the research program also see Robert N. Proctor, "Adolf Butenandt (1903–1995). Nobelpreisträger, Nationalsozialist und MPG-Präsident. Ein erster Blick in den Nachlass," *Ergebnisse*, no. 2 (2000), the chapters by Wolfgang Schieder and Achim Trunk in this book, and Wolfgang Schieder and Achim Trunk (eds.), *Adolf Butenandt und die Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gesellschaft. Wissenschaft, Industrie und Politik im "Dritten Reich"* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2004), Jean-Paul Gaudillière and Bernd Gausemeier, "Molding National Research Systems: The Introduction of Penicillin to Germany and France," in Sachse and Walker, 180–202, and Achim Trunk, "Biochemistry in Wartime: The Life and Lessons of Adolf Butenandt," *Minerva*, 44, no. 3 (2006), 285–306.

<sup>13</sup> For the details, see Carola Sachse and Benoit Massin, "Biowissenschaftliche Forschung in Kaiser-Wilhelm-Instituten und die Verbrechen des NS-Regimes. Informationen über den gegenwärtigen Wissensstand," *Ergebnisse*, no. 3 (2000).

<sup>14</sup> See Carola Sachse, "Menschenversuche," 16–17.

Cambridge University Press

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Excerpt

[More information](#)

German companies and banks stopped trying to stonewall or obstruct historical research and instead hired historians without restrictions or censorship to write the histories of their institutions during the Third Reich.<sup>15</sup> The MPS followed suit, and beginning in the middle of the 1990s, preparations began for a comprehensive reexamination of its history under National Socialism. By then, Butenandt and most of the other KWS scientists had passed away. Perhaps most important, the biologist Hubert Markl became president of the MPS and in 1997 established a presidential commission for research into the history of the KWS under National Socialism; he appointed two respected German historians, Reinhard Rürup and Wolfgang Schieder, for this task. Even so, the research program was controversial within the MPS and was seen by some as “fouling its own nest.”<sup>16</sup> This commission then created a research program that was planned and organized by Doris Kaufmann and subsequently directed in turn by Kaufmann, Carola Sachse, Susanne Heim, and Rüdiger Hachtmann.<sup>17</sup>

Fifteen years after the initial publication of his book, Müller-Hill spoke at the inaugural conference of the MPS research program.

It is late, but not too late. Verschuer was the director of a KWS-institute and belongs to the history of the KWS/MPS. The documents ... clearly show that von Verschuer considered Mengele in Auschwitz to be his collaborator. It is irrelevant, that he [Verschuer] later claimed to have known nothing about the murders. The murders happened and are a part of the history of the KWS/MPS. The MPS should recognize that. Thus I suggest that the MPS does this, and that it invites the last surviving twins [from Mengele's experiments] to a conference. ... I suggest, that [at this conference] the MPS officially apologizes to the victims.<sup>18</sup>

Klee and articles in the respected and influential scientific journals *Nature* and *Science* subsequently echoed Müller-Hill's call for a conference.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>15</sup> For example, see Hans Mommsen, *Das Volkswagenwerk und seine Arbeiter im Dritten Reich* (Düsseldorf: Econ, 1996), and Gerald Feldman, *Allianz and the German Insurance Business, 1933–1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001). From the MPS research program, see Gerald D. Feldman, “Historische Vergangenheitsbearbeitung. Wirtschaft und Wissenschaft im Vergleich,” *Ergebnisse*, no. 13 (2003).

<sup>16</sup> For a description of how and why the presidential commission was founded, see Hubert Markl, “Die ehrlichste Art der Entschuldigung ist die Offenlegung der Schuld,” in Sachse, *Verbindung*, 41–51, here 43–45.

<sup>17</sup> The research program has ended, and this collection of essays is one of the last publications produced by it.

<sup>18</sup> Benno Müller-Hill, “Das Blut von Auschwitz und das Schweigen der Gelehrten,” in Doris Kaufmann (ed.), *Geschichte der Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gesellschaft im Nationalsozialismus. Bestandsaufnahme und Perspektiven der Forschung*. 2 vols. (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2000), vol. 1, 189–227, here 226–227.

<sup>19</sup> See Sachse, “Menschenversuche,” 20–21.

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-87906-4 - The Kaiser Wilhelm Society under National Socialism

Susanne Heim, Carola Sachse and Mark Walker

Excerpt

[More information](#)*The KWS under National Socialism*

7

The research program held exactly such a conference in the summer of 2001. Markl took this opportunity to tell surviving victims of the twin experiments, scholars, and the public that

since the Max Planck Society understands itself as the “descendent” of the Kaiser Wilhelm Society, it also has the obligation to accept responsibility for its guilt. The Kaiser Wilhelm Society tolerated or even supported research among its ranks that cannot be justified on any ethical or moral grounds. At least in a few areas, it thereby placed itself in the service of a criminal regime and as a result itself became morally culpable. ... Therefore I would like to apologize for the suffering of the victims of these crimes – the dead as well as the survivors – done in the name of science. ... In any case, when I apologize here personally and for the Max Planck Society representing the Kaiser Wilhelm Society, I mean the honestly felt expression of the deepest regret, compassion, and shame over the fact that scientists perpetrated, supported, and did not hinder such crimes.<sup>20</sup>

At the same conference, Wolfgang Schieder noted, “The surviving victims of these human experiments had and have to suffer the consequences for the rest of their lives. They have suffered extreme experiences that exceed the ability of historians, who usually depend on the evidence from written documents, to comprehend.”<sup>21</sup>

## THE RESEARCH PROGRAM

The research program has focused on four main areas: (1) the politics of the KWS General Administration and how the MPS dealt with the legacy of the KWS; (2) military research for both rearmament and the war economy; (3) agricultural and breeding research in the context of autarky policies; and, of course, (4) research oriented toward racial hygiene, racial policy, and heredity.

The story of science at the KWS during the Third Reich is neither the history of “good science” in the service of bad goals nor the tale of a bad regime ruining good science. The National Socialist regime and its policies did increasingly isolate German scientists from some of their international colleagues and, as noted above, expelled many talented researchers.<sup>22</sup> This certainly did not help German science, but neither was it a crippling blow. The KWS acted as a mediator between the professional interests of its

<sup>20</sup> Markl, 50–51.

<sup>21</sup> Wolfgang Schieder, “Die extreme Erfahrungen der Opfer übertreffen das Vorstellungsvermögen der Historiker,” in Sachse, *Verbindung*, 37–38, here 38.

<sup>22</sup> For a comparative perspective on this, see Ronald Doel, Dieter Hoffmann, and Nikolai Kremontsov, “National States and International Science: A Comparative History of International Science Congresses in Hitler’s Germany, Stalin’s Russia, and Cold War United States,” in Sachse and Walker, 49–76.



Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-87906-4 - The Kaiser Wilhelm Society under National Socialism

Susanne Heim, Carola Sachse and Mark Walker

Excerpt

[More information](#)

scientific staff and the National Socialist regime's need for scientific expertise to support its goals and policies. Up until the last weeks of the war, the KWS was an effective and dependable partner of the National Socialist regime. Indeed, only because of the effective mobilization or self-mobilization of leading German scientists was the National Socialist regime able to fight for six years against the most powerful economies in the world.

As Reinhard Rürup argued at the conference on bio-sciences and human experimentation in Kaiser Wilhelm Institutes: "National Socialism did not instrumentalize research, as often claimed after 1945, rather not a few researchers attempted to instrumentalize the political system for their own goals."<sup>23</sup> A comparative analysis of the KWIs in an international context reveals that what was unique about the interaction of science and politics during the Third Reich was the freedoms the National Socialist regime allowed its scientists, engineers, and physicians, not how it constrained them.<sup>24</sup> The Third Reich set few boundaries for leading scientists who were able to make their professional interests compatible with the political and military goals of the National Socialist regime; if there were limits, these were usually due to shortages of materials or money, not ethical, legal, or political restraints. As the chapters in this book make clear, KWS scientists knew how to take advantage of the specific and sometimes unique conditions the National Socialist regime offered them to advance their own research agendas and strive for the highest international scientific standards while simultaneously catering to one or more National Socialist policies or goals.

Whereas scientific research was carried out in the individual KWIs, the General Administration of the KWS was responsible for administering general personnel policy, tracking finance, and dealing with the various organs of the German state.<sup>25</sup> During the Third Reich, this included (1) reacting to the racial and ideological purge of the civil service and eventually all institutions in Germany;<sup>26</sup> (2) participating in the mandatory rituals of first

<sup>23</sup> Reinhard Rürup, "Schlussbemerkungen," in Sachse, *Verbindung*, 319–324, here 323; also see Reinhard Rürup, *Schicksale und Karrieren. Gedenkbuch für die von den Nationalsozialisten aus der Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gesellschaft vertriebenen Forscherinnen und Forscher* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2008).

<sup>24</sup> Sachse and Walker; also see Mitchell Ash, "Scientific Changes in Germany 1933, 1945, 1990: Towards a Comparison," *Minerva*, 37 (1999), 329–354.

<sup>25</sup> For the General Administration see Albrecht and Hermann, and Macrakis. From the research program, see Alexandra Przyrembel, "Friedrich Glum und Ernst Telschow. Die Generalsekretäre der Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gesellschaft: Handlungsfelder und Handlungsoptionen der 'Verwaltenden' von Wissen während des Nationalsozialismus," *Ergebnisse*, no. 20 (2004) and Rüdiger Hachtmann's chapter in this book, as well as Rüdiger Hachtmann, *Wissenschaftsmanagement im Dritten Reich. Die Geschichte der Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gesellschaft 1930/33 bis 1945/48* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2008).

<sup>26</sup> For the history of scientific societies under National Socialism, see Dieter Hoffmann and Mark Walker (eds.), *Physiker zwischen Autonomie und Anpassung – Die DPG im Dritte*



Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-87906-4 - The Kaiser Wilhelm Society under National Socialism

Susanne Heim, Carola Sachse and Mark Walker

Excerpt

[More information](#)*The KWS under National Socialism*

9

the “national renewal,” then National Socialism; (3) cultivating good relationships with influential leading National Socialists, often by incorporating them into the organization; and (4) forming part of the network to mobilize science for the policies of the National Socialist state, culminating in war and genocide. Many historians have argued that this “Faustian pact”<sup>27</sup> with the Third Reich had profound consequences for the scientists and science at the KWIs.

Racial science under Hitler was conceived from the very beginning as “applied research” and provided the connection between science, the political regime, and society.<sup>28</sup> Racial hygiene, which included both “positive” and

*Reich* (Weinheim: VCH, 2006), including the chapters by Ute Deichmann on chemistry and Volker Remmert on mathematics.

<sup>27</sup> For example, see Rüdiger Hachtmann’s chapter in this book.

<sup>28</sup> The literature on racial hygiene and biomedical research under National Socialism is immense. As a start, see Gerhard Baader and Ulrich Schultz (eds.), *Medizin und Nationalsozialismus: Tabuisierte Vergangenheit – ungebrochene Tradition?* (Berlin [West]: Verlagsgesellschaft Gesundheit, 1980), Karl-Heinz Roth, “Schöner neuer Mensch. Der Paradigmenwechsel der klassischen Genetik und seine Auswirkungen auf die Bevölkerungsbiologie des ‘Dritten Reiches,’” in Heidrun Kaupen-Haas (ed.), *Der Griff nach der Bevölkerung. Aktualität und Kontinuität nazistischer Bevölkerungspolitik* (Nördlingen: Greno, 1986), 11–63, Gisela Bock, *Zwangssterilisation im Nationalsozialismus. Studien zur Rassenpolitik und Frauenpolitik* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1986), Müller-Hill, *Murderous*; Robert Proctor, *Racial Hygiene: Medicine under the Nazis* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), Paul Weindling, *Health, Race, and German Politics between National Unification and Nazism, 1870–1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), Jonathan Harwood, *Styles of Scientific Thought: The German Genetics Community 1900–1933* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), Stefan Kühl, *The Nazi Connection: Eugenics, American Racism, and German National Socialism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), Ute Deichmann, *Biologists under Hitler* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), Stefan Kühl, *Die Internationale der Rassisten. Aufstieg und Niedergang der internationalen Bewegung für Eugenik und Rassenhygiene im 20. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 1997), Robert Proctor, *The Nazi War on Cancer* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), and Sheila F. Weiss, “German Eugenics, 1890–1933,” in Dieter Kuntz and Susan Bachrach (eds.), *Deadly Medicine: Creating the Master Race* (Washington, DC: U.S. Holocaust Museum, 2004), 15–39 and 206–207. For a comprehensive review of the literature, see Sachse and Massin. The research program has also produced many publications on this topic: Hans-Walter Schmuhl (ed.), *Rassenforschung an Kaiser-Wilhelm-Instituten vor und nach 1933* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2003), and Sheila F. Weiss, “Humangenetik und Politik als wechselseitige Ressourcen Das Kaiser-Wilhelm-Institut für Anthropologie, menschliche Erblehre und Eugenik im ‘Dritten Reich,’” in *Ergebnisse*, no. 17 (2004), Ute Deichmann, “Proteinforschung an Kaiser-Wilhelm-Instituten von 1930 bis 1950 im internationalen Vergleich,” in *Ergebnisse*, no. 21 (2004), Sheila F. Weiss, “‘The Sword of Our Science’ as a Foreign Policy Weapon. The Political Function of German Geneticists in the International Arena during the Third Reich,” in *Ergebnisse*, no. 22 (2005), Susanne zur Nieden, “Erbbiologische Forschungen zur Homosexualität an der Deutschen Forschungsanstalt für Psychiatrie während der Jahre des Nationalsozialismus. Zur Geschichte von Theo Lang,” *Ergebnisse*, no. 25 (2005), Mark Adams, Garland Allen, and Sheila F. Weiss, “Human Heredity and Politics: A Comparative International Study of the Eugenics Record Office at Cold Springs Harbor (United States),

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-87906-4 - The Kaiser Wilhelm Society under National Socialism

Susanne Heim, Carola Sachse and Mark Walker

Excerpt

[More information](#)

IO

*Heim, Sachse, and Walker*

“negative” eugenics, encouraged a broad spectrum of biomedical research ranging from attempts to find a scientific test for race to a plethora of research questions that in some way were relevant for the health of the “People’s Community” (*Volksgemeinschaft*). A very large portion of the life sciences in Germany was intimately connected to National Socialist racial hygiene policies and goals. Scientists actively participated in the sterilization and so-called euthanasia programs, leading directly to genocide. The state in turn generously provided resources and research opportunities, especially because restrictions on human experimentation were lifted for certain populations.<sup>29</sup>

National Socialist science policy was not unique because it compelled scientists to carry out criminal experiments or research – for scientists were not forced to do so. Instead, the Third Reich distinguished itself from democratic states in particular because it loosened, suspended, or eliminated ethical rules and controls on an unprecedented scale and thereby either allowed or encouraged scientists, engineers, and physicians to take advantage of unprecedented, often unethical, and sometimes murderous research opportunities.<sup>30</sup>

The professional network that reached from the KWIs to the National Socialist concentration camps and “euthanasia” institutions created new opportunities for gaining access to involuntary subjects who could not resist the experiments. German biomedical researchers considered it legitimate to use someone who had been excluded from the “People’s Community” or declared “the enemy” as an experimental subject in order to benefit

the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Anthropology, Human Heredity, and Eugenics (Germany), and the Maxim Gorky Medical Genetics Institute (USSR),” in Sachse and Walker, 232–262, Hans-Jakob Ritter and Volker Roelcke, “Psychiatric Genetics in Munich and Basel between 1925 and 1945: Program – Practices – Cooperative Arrangements,” in Sachse and Walker, 263–288, Bernd Gausemeier, *Natürliche Ordnungen und politische Allianzen. Biologische und biochemische Forschung an Kaiser-Wilhelm-Instituten 1933–1945* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2005), Hans-Walther Schmuhl, *The Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Anthropology, Human Heredity and Eugenics, 1927–1945: Crossing Boundaries* (Heidelberg: Springer, 2008).

<sup>29</sup> For the human experimentation, see Alexander Mitscherlich and Fred Mielke, *The Death Doctors* (London: Elek, 1962) as well as Robert J. Lifton, *The Nazi Doctors: Medical Killing and the Psychology of Genocide* (New York: Basic, 1986), and Christoph Kopke (ed.), *Medizin und Verbrechen: Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag von Walter Wuttke* (Ulm: Klemm und Oelschläger, 2001). The research program has produced many publications on this topic: Sachse and Massin, Sachse, *Verbindung*, Jürgen Peiffer, “Wissenschaftliches Erkenntnisstreben als Tötungsmotiv? Zur Kennzeichnung von Opfern auf deren Krankenakten und zur Organisation und Unterscheidung von Kinder- ‘Euthanasie’ und T4-Aktion,” *Ergebnisse*, no. 23 (2005), Gerhard Baader, Susan Lederer, Morris Low, Florian Schmaltz, and Alexander von Schwerin, “Pathways to Human Experimentation, 1933–1945: Germany, Japan, and the United States,” in Sachse and Walker, 205–231, Alexander von Schwerin, *Experimentalisierung des Menschen. Der Genetiker Hans Nachtsheim und die vergleichende Erbpathologie 1920–1945* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2004).

<sup>30</sup> Rürup, “Schlussbemerkungen,” 323.