SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT OF LABOUR AND PRODUCTION IN THE PROTECTORATE OF BOHEMIA AND MORAVIA, 1939–1945

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Abstract

The subject of the present thesis is a political instrumentalization of the scientific institution with the interwar socialist democratic legacy by German occupying power in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia between 1939 and 1945. It is argued that the expertise of the Human Labour Institute in scientific management was instrumentalized by Nazi Germany to secure victory in the war. Further it is posited that instrumentalization of the Institute by Germans was in direct connection to the so-called Production Miracle that supervened in the Reich between 1942 and 1944 after introducing the rationalization methods into the war production. Because of Czechoslovakia's interwar prominence in the Central European technocratic movement there was a strong institutional foothold on which Germans could capitalize. Thus, these two factors: the positive experience of Germans from the Reich and the existence of the institutional scientific structure in the Protectorate were conducive to the political instrumentalization of the Human Labour Institute by Germans.

List of Abbreviations

CCPI   The Czechoslovak Central Psychotechnic Institute

            (*Ústřední psychotechnický ústav československý*)

CFI   The Central Federation of Industry (*Ústřední svaz průmyslu*)

HLI   The Human Labour Institute (*Ústav lidské práce*)

MAP   The Masaryk Academy of Labour (*Masarykova akademie práce*)

NTUEC   The National Trade Union Employee Centre

            (*Národní odborová ústředna zaměstnanecká*)

PI   The Psychotechnic Institute (*Psychotechnický ústav*)

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1 Introduction

What is a recipe for a viable democratic and modern state? Members of the National Assembly advocating establishment of the Masaryk Academy of Labour (hereinafter referred to as MAP), Otakar Vochoč, Theodor Bartošek, Bohdan Bečka, and Josef Černý claimed in 1920 that there is more to it what makes the state modern and democratic than the sole change of the political order to the republican form. These politicians coming from different parts of political spectrum (the centre-left Czechoslovak Socialist Party, the right-wing Czechoslovak National Democracy, and the centre-right Agrarian Party) maintained that the basic ingredients are new conceptions of social and ethical problems and new methods of economy and labour organization.[1] Science was to play a key role in their formulation and design. The proponents of MAP believed that democratization goes hand in hand with modernization of social (and cultural) policies and that is why they sought, next to the reforms in the sphere of culture, to improve working conditions of workers on whose diligence and skills the fate of the new state depended. Simultaneously, modernization could be achieved only if democratization of education and access to knowledge production was secured. Not only these members of the National Assembly, but intellectuals at large realized what tremendous damage the war had done to moral values and economic life, and how it undermined respect to labour. They alleged that class conflict generated by division and increasing specialization of labour, capitalist

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[1] When referring to social problems and ethical problems, the members of National Assembly may have had in mind for example unemployment and capitalist exploitation of labour.

exploitation, along with opportunity hoarding by upper classes fed into societal crisis. Idea of scientific management of labour from which both, entrepreneurs and workers will benefit thus sounded good to their ears.[2]

This social demand gave rise to the new type of scientific institution which is the subject of the present thesis. The work attempts to shed some light on functioning of an institution with a socialist democratic legacy in the conditions of the Protectorate occupied economy. I seek to understand how the Human Labour Institute (hereinafter referred to as HLI) which was in interwar Czechoslovakia an instrument of peace-making, nation-building and overcoming of class difference functioned in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, under direct supervision of the German headed administration. **My argument is that the expertise of the Human Labour Institute in scientific management was instrumentalized by the Nazi Germany** to secure victory in the war. During the period of German occupation, the Institute was subjected to the needs of German Reich aiming at seizure of production from the Protectorate. The instrumentalization of the Institute by Germans was, in my view, in direct connection to the so-called Production Miracle that supervened in the Reich between 1942 and 1944 after introducing the rationalization methods into the war production.[3] However, scientific management in the Protectorate was not a German import. Czechoslovakia as the interwar pioneer in this field built a strong foothold on which Germans could capitalize. But if only one factor was present without another, the

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[2] "Zpráva I. výboru kulturního a II. výboru technického o návrhu člena Národního shromáždění Otakara Vochoče, Dra Theodora Bartoška, Ing. Boh. Bečky, Dra Jos. Černého a soudruhů o Masarykově Akademii Práce [The report of the first cultural committee and second technical committee on the draft of the members of the National Assembly Otakar Vochoč, Dr. Theodor Bartošek, Ing. Bohdan Bečka, Dr. Josef Černý and of comrades on the Masaryk Academy of Labour]." Zasedání Národního shromáždění československého r. 1920 [The Meeting of the Czechoslovak National Assembly from 1920]. Společná česko-slovenská digitální parlamentní knihovna [The Common Czech-Slovak digital parliamentary library]. Accessed at http://www.psp.cz/eknih/1918ns/ps/tisky/T2264_00.htm.

[3] Richard James Overy, *War and Economy in the Third Reich* (Oxford, GB: Clarendon Press, 2014), 357.

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instrumentalization of scientific management in the Protectorate would not most probably have occurred. Thus, it was only the combination of the two factors: the positive experience of Germans from the Reich and the existence of the institutional scientific structure in the Protectorate that were conducive to the political instrumentalization of the Human Labour Institute by Germans.

Germans in the Protectorate were interested in outcomes, rather than factors of production. In order to keep the production going, the Nazi state utilized existing administrative, economic and scientific structures. The Institute was subjected to the German minister Walter Bertsch, however its leadership and personnel were Czech throughout the war. This state of affairs was enabled most probably by strategic concessions to Germans by the Czech management. That some industrialists and businessmen benefited from the cooperation with Germans is obvious, but whether or to what extent introducing of scientific management and planning transformed Czech industry is an important question, however not dealt with in this work. It is not my intention either to find out what the Czech leadership of the Institute actually thought, whether they believed that modernization and rationalization brought about by war would become in the long run (after the war) an investment into Czech nation; whether they thought that by assisting Germans to boost economy in the Protectorate for war goals, they simultaneously contribute to increasing industrial capacity from which the liberated state would benefit later.

This paper rather than exploring impact of scientific management on the Czech economy in the long-run, focuses on the Human Labour Institute as a scientific institution working under occupying power. The work is thus primarily interested in how knowledge

production takes place within the politically and socially specific context of occupation and global war conflict. What factors decide on its research agenda, to what goals is the knowledge instrumentalized and what is the larger structure in which the knowledge production is anchored. What are the relations between the individual actors in this structure, and how the structure changes in response to external factors (development in the war conflict). More concretely, this work aims to demonstrate how the scientists (the Human Labour Institute) assisted German power to transform the civilian economy into the war economy and to increase productivity.

The Institute of Human Labour as a research institution studying labour is not an institution which would arise from nothing and disappear without a trace. It arose by enlargement and transformation of the Psychotechnic Institute (PI) in October 30, 1939 and was transformed into the Czechoslovak Institute of Labour (CIL) de facto in 1945 and legislatively in June 24, 1947.[4] The Psychotechnic Institute was established by the Masaryk's Academy of Labour in 1921. Whereas the Masaryk's Academy of Labour (founded in 1920) was more focused on studying technical aspects of labour, the Psychotechnic Institute was devoted to research into the human factor in labour processes.

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[4] Psychotechnics is a field of study and practical implementation of psychological principles and methods to practical ends, especially in the sphere of management of industrial production. Psychotechnics' ambitions are twofold: an optimal adaptation of a worker to the conditions of industrial work, and simultaneously adaptation of industrial conditions to the psychophysical capacities of the individual. Giese, Fritz. Methoden der Wirtschaftspsychologie [Methods of industrial psychology]. Oxford, England: Urban Und Schwarzenberg Methoden der Wirtschaftspsychologie, 1927. For more on application of Psychotechnics to social malaise see Killen, Andreas. "Weimar Psychotechnics between Americanism and Fascism." *Osiris* 22, no. 1, *The Self as Project: Politics and the Human Sciences* (2007): 48–71.

The Masaryk Academy of Labour as the pioneering institution seeking to study labour for the benefit of workers, employers and the state set the ideological and practical direction for the Psychotechnic Institute and its continuator, the Human Labour Institute. As the explanatory memorandum included in the draft to establish the Masaryk's Academy of Labour testifies, the set-up of such an institution was motivated and justified (following the WWI) by the social need to restore and cultivate the proper relation to labour and thereby prevent societal crisis. The social democratic Masaryk's Academy of Labour identified, in line with various traditions of socialist thinking, as the main factor of this societal crisis, the struggle between the non-labouring class of the wealthy and the overworked poor. From the inception of its existence, the independent Czechoslovak republic conceived the ethical approach to labour, its technical perfection and optimal economic utilization as one of its central tasks.[5]

Not unimportantly, the MAP was viewed by the state and the Czech technocrats as an instrument of nation-building effort to raise the economic and social standard of the Czechoslovak nation. The advocates and "architects" of the institution were inspired by equivalent research institutions in France, Germany, Great Britain, Japan and especially in the USA, the home of Taylorism, Fordism and Keynesian economics. The Soviet Union also had a prominent institution between 1920 and 1938, coordinating all Soviet research efforts on labour rationalization. The Masaryk's Academy of Labour thus represents a Czechoslovak pioneering institution responding to the global trend in boosting economic growth (and thus well-being of the society) through rationalizing and maximizing

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[5] "Zpráva I. výboru kulturního a II. výboru," Společná česko-slovenská digitální parlamentní knihovna .

agricultural and industrial production and by encouraging entrepreneurship and inventiveness.[6]

Existence of the HLI (before war the Psychotechnic Institute, since 1947 the Czechoslovak Institute of Labour thus spans three significant periods in the history of Czechs and Slovaks, as well as in the global history, i.e. the interwar period, WWII and the post-war development culminating in the integration of the renewed Czechoslovak state into the Soviet sphere of influence and the outbreak of the Cold war. War and peace fundamentally informed the meaning of labour and conditions for and management of production and economy in general. The Institute first witnessed and was informed by the political transformation of the Czechoslovak state from a democratic regime into the authoritarian regime of the Second republic and from an independent polity into the occupied and territorially curtailed state administered by the Nazi representatives, conceived as a part of the Greater German Reich. In 1945, the Institute saw through the reunification of Czechs and Slovaks into one polity and was impacted by its transition to the socialist regime. In all the respective periods, labour and production and their management constituted one of the key factors deciding upon the success of the interwar nation-building, wartime German expansionist and post-war socialist projects. Although, it would be most beneficial to make a comparative analysis of these three projects, I decided to concentrate on the period of WWII which is the period when the Human Labour Institute was established and conducted most of its work. The drawback of this decision is that the

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[6] "Zpráva I. výboru kulturního a II. výboru," Společná česko-slovenská digitální parlamentní knihovna.

materials to this period are not so rich as compared to interwar and post-war period. One of the reason is that Germans made effort to destroy records of their activities.

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Nation-building, economic crisis (early 1930s), growing international isolation (since 1933), defence of democracy, nationalities cleavages, and the threat of war: these were prominent factors that necessitated or facilitated increasing intervention of the Czechoslovak state in the management of the social and material aspects of the polity. The Czechoslovak society in the period prior to German occupation was already dominated by authoritarian forces that sought to collaborate with other authoritarian regimes (Germany, Italy or Hungary). Thus there are numerous continuities between the interwar and war period, especially since the establishment of the Second republic. In effort to make better sense of the period and topic under review, I find it necessary to provide quite a rich contextualization by outlining main events and problems in the political history as well as in the history of scientific management in the interwar period. Another contextualization is provided by looking at the factors that brought forth scientific management in early 1942 in the German Reich as the key measure keeping the war economy going. The key context for the thesis is provided in the subchapter on the organization of the Protectorate administrative system and economy, on the German policies in the Protectorate, and the managerial cooperation between the Reich and the Protectorate. These basics comprise the chapter 2. Chapter 3 provides a descriptive account of the Institute's legal and organizational development and definition of its main tasks. Chapter 4 deals with the political instrumentalization of the HLI, describing and analysing its activities.

The institution is, in theory, conceived as a set of rules, a convention that seeks to regulate social behaviour/interaction (e. g. labour, labour relations, and production) and fulfil societal functions (e.g. government, education, business).[7] An institution is formally embodied by an organization, i.e. a relational structure of people and resources (human and material capital) that makes regulation of the social possible. Studying an institution on the example of an organization is possible only against the background of the broader social and political structure. An institution may be designed to bring about change in the society, however at the same time the changes in the political, social, economic, or cultural realm may result in an institutional change, and thus in transformation or disappearance of organizations and emergence of new ones.

Exemplifying study of institutional change in the field of educational system would be *Captive Universities: The Sovietization of East German, Czech, and Polish Higher Education, 1945-1956* by the historian John Connelly. His was a comparative history of the higher education systems in Poland, East Germany, and the Czech lands that sought to study the modes and extent of sovietisation of these systems in the Stalinist period. The diversity found among them was attributed by the author to the specific pre-war and war developments within these countries. Connelly arrived at a finding that the Czech Stalinists did not succeed in the transformation of the student body by making worker and

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[7] Douglass C. North, *Institutions, institutional change and economic performance* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge university press, 1990): 3. William E. Halal, "Institutional Change: Transforming the Structures of Society," *On the Horizon* 13, no. 1 (2005): 7.

peasant students a majority at Czech universities. Institutional change in this case has not been achieved to the intended extent.[8]

The concept of institutional change is a central one and is explicated in the methodological section. I hypothesize that during the transition from the interwar period to the war period, an institutional change occurred in the attitude to labour, labour relations and production. These changes occurred in consequence of the transformation from the market to command economy and from the civilian to war economy. This institutional change, I assume, led to new ideological legitimizations, emergence of new (social politics, wage system) or reemployment of the old methods (coercion, forced labour), formulating new tasks, excluding some social groups (Jews) and including new ones (women).

To be able to identify an institutional change, we need to trace back the historical circumstances that generated demand for regulating labour and production and led to establishing of the institution (and the organization as its embodiment) serving this goal. Then we have to focus on key developments and events that played into reshaping of the initial discursive field which produced an institution and which, reshaped, also brought about the institutional change.

Since the late 19th century and incrementally in the first decades of the 20th century, the socialist intellectuals and politicians occupied themselves with the gap between the progress of technology and knowledge and the backwardness of the social order and structure.[9] Human labour, for thousand years the only labour force, they claimed, began

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[8] Connelly, John. *Captive University: The Sovietization of East German, Czech, and Polish Higher Education, 1945-1956.* Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 2014.

[9] Fischer, Josef Ludvík. "Technokracie? [Technocracy?]" *Magazín Družstevní práce* [Journal of the Cooperative Work] 1 (1933/1934): 2–6.

to be replaced since 19th century by an immensely more efficient/productive force of the machines, however the social and economic order lagged behind this change, had not accommodated to it. This *scientisation of the social* is rooted in my view, in ever-increasing complexities of modern societies, emergence of the concept of expert, and the development of the expert cultures along with professionalization of fields of knowledge and occupations, that have been on the go in Central Europe since the mid-19th century.[10] The concept of the *scientisation of the social* was coined by historian Lutz Raphael to "analyse the intended and unintended consequences that the 'continuing presence of experts from the human sciences, their arguments, and the results of their research had in administrative bodies and in industrial firms, in parties and parliaments." Raphael classified under this concept the social science experts' impact on public discourse formation related to a social issue and on the discursive construction of meaning by various social groups in the context of their everyday lives.[11]

The concept helps theoretically anchor the above described concern articulated primarily by the socialists.[12] This concern, i.e. to apply a new, progressive social theory as a theoretical foundation for policymaking, testifies to the relevance of the scientific discourse

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[10] See for example Kohlrausch, Martin, Katrin Steffen, and Stefan Wiederkehr. "Expert Cultures in Central Eastern Europe. The Internationalization of Knowledge and the Transformation of Nation States since World War I. Introduction." In *Expert Cultures in Central Eastern Europe. The Internationalization of Knowledge and the Transformation of Nation States since World War I*, edited by Martin Kohlrausch, Katrin Steffen, and Stefan Wiederkehr, 9–30. Osnabrück: Fibre, 2010. Freidson, Eliot. *Professional powers: A study of the institutionalization of formal knowledge*. University of Chicago Press, 1988.

[11] Kerstin Brückweh, Dirk Schumann, Richard F. Wetzell, and Benjamin Ziemann, eds., *Engineering society: the role of the human and social sciences in modern societies, 1880-1980* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 2.

[12] The term *socialists* designated, until the mid-1920s split, the proponents of social democracy. The split lead to separation of the extreme left–the Communists, and the center-left–the Czechoslovak Socialist Party. On the political parties in interwar Czechoslovakia see for example Malíř, Jiří, and Pavel Marek, eds. *Politické strany: vývoj politických stran a hnutí v českých zemích a Československu* [Political parties: the development of the political parties and movements in the Czech lands and Czechoslovakia]. Brno: Doplněk, 2005.

for the politics. German sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies expressed the same opinion in his 1905 theoretical text *The Present Problems of Social Structure* wherein he posited that outmoded methods of social management are detrimental to the optimal development of society and inadequate to remedy the contemporary social problems.[13] The contemporaries accounted for the discrepancy between their ability to wield material reality and regulate social reality by pointing to the inconvenience of the dominant social theory. They attributed the technological and knowledge production progress to the sophistication of the natural sciences rooted in advanced theory, and the lagging of the social changes to the backwardness and underdevelopment of social sciences grounded in imperfect theory. However, as regards the desirable new social theory, technocratism was in the interwar period a contested nominee rejected by Communists while advocated by social democrats.

The leading proponents of technocratism were engineers Vladimír List, Stanislav Špaček and Emil Zimmler, active members of the Czech Technocratic Society and the international technocratic movement, personas directly linked to the Masaryk Academy of Labour, and indirectly to the Psychotechnic Institute and the Human Labour Institute (as the MAP's offshoots). These engineers with social democratic orientation lobbied for establishment of the *Word Engineering Federation* and strove in the international and domestic arena to achieve recognition for their engineering expertise by their demonstration of commitment to peace and modernity and of their capacity to make the Czechoslovak state the industrial leader in East-Central Europe. These players were

[13] Tonnies, Ferdinand. "The Present Problems of Social Structure." *American Journal of Sociology* 10, no. 5 (1905): 569–88.

engaged in higher and broader stakes of international and domestic economic development and political stability.[14]

The interwar Communist intellectuals, on the contrary, primarily driven by their anti-capitalist concerns for the benefits of the working class tried to prove the fallacy of the technocratic promises. The socialist critique of the technocratic theory pinpointed its failure to remedy the drawbacks of capitalism and to resolve social issues related to labour and production. In addition, it assumed that the plutocracy of bankers will be replaced by the new elite of experts.[15] The personas around MAP were directly connected to the president Masaryk and the minister of Foreign Affairs, Edvard Beneš, the epitomes of the social democratic politics, based on liberalism, meritocracy and social welfare. They shared with communists a concern over social justice, an effort to combat the social class conflict and facilitate social well-being, but were not anti-capitalist and antisystem. Though, both wanted to overcome the class, they diverged, paradoxically, on the class related concerns (entrepreneurship, productivity for profit of individuals and the state vs the working class concerns). In connection to what has been said on the socialist critique of technocratism, it should be clear that the rejection vs embracement of it by these two political groups reflects the differences in their class-based politics. This example thus illustrates how interpretation of the social impact of a scientific theory can be inflected by various political actors in accordance with their political stakes and more concretely, how

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[14] Elisabeth van Meer, "The transatlantic pursuit of a world engineering federation: For the profession, the nation, and international peace, 1918–1948," *Technology and Culture* 53 (2012): 122–123.

[15] Fischer, "Technokracie?," 2–6. Josef L. Fischer was a leftist and later communist philosopher and sociologist. Daniel Bell argues for regarding the intellectual and expert elite as an emerging social class. Daniel Bell, *The coming of post-industrial society; a venture in social forecasting* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 204. This view remains disputed. On the contra argument see Nico Stehr and Reiner Grundmann, *Experts: The knowledge and power of expertise* (Abingdon, Oxon; New York: Routledge, 2011), 54.

class and ideology proved to be prominent factors playing into the attitudes to scientific management of labour and production.

Contribution to the existing scholarship

Although there is a notion in contemporary international scholarship that until WWII, American scientific management had not affected mass production in Europe on a large scale, it is nevertheless safe to contend that its ideas were popular and attempted to be implement in interwar Czechoslovakia by the state.[16] As was outlined earlier, scientific management was advocated by the technocratic movement which penetrated the interwar Czechoslovak society fairly deep. This fact is documented for example by economic historian Erik Bloemen who explored history of the Czechoslovak technocratic movement and its involvement in the international network. Bloemen in his study pays attention to the series of international conferences held on the Scientific management between 1924 and 1938. The first one took place in Prague and the last in Washington. It maps out history of the International Management Institute and Comité International de l'Organisation Scientifique (CIOS) later renamed as Wold Council of Management, i.e. history of the organizers of the conferences who sought to introduce scientific management in Europe. Bloemen argues that the reason for the decline of the technocratic movement was the Great Depression. The Scientific Management was blamed for unemployment that ensued introduction of automatic assembly lines and other

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[16] Bigazzi, Duccio. "Modelli e pratiche organizzative nell' industrializzazione italiana." *Storia d'Italia 15. L'industria* (1999): 895–994 cited by Valentina Fava, "People's Cars and People's Technologies: Škoda and Fiat Experts Face the American Challenge (1918–1948)," In *Expert Cultures in Central Eastern Europe. The Internationalization of Knowledge and the Transformation of Nation States since World War I*, ed. by Martin Kohlrausch, Katrin Steffen, and Stefan Wiederkehr (Osnabrück: Fibre verlag, 2010), 105. On the democratic interwar vs socialist post-war inflection of scientific management see ibid.

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machinery in the production on mass scale, which made workers' labour redundant. Further, the International Management Institute's effort to save Europe from the economic crisis had been seen as deficient.[17]

Historian of science and technology, Elisabeth van Meer pursued a similar study, however she focused more on the international connections between the Czech and US technocrats. Her article documents lobbying of the Czechoslovak engineers in the early decades of the 20th century for establishment of the Word Engineering Federation, a global union of engineers that would cooperate for the world peace and prosperity of all nations. This vision was channelled via technocratic internationalism, a movement that sought to replace the traditional diplomacy and secure peace by means of the "objective expertise." These engineers sought to gain social prestige for the engineering profession and to secure Czechoslovakia a status of the industrial leader in East-Central Europe. The article evidences that war (WWI) created favourable conditions for application of scientific management in the military and then industry and laid groundwork to the post-war technological cooperation between the USA and Czechoslovakia. It further describes the reason for which the movement by the mid-1930 ceased to be viable. It was particularly due to its failure to stave off the increasing international isolation and defend Czechoslovakia from Hitler's aggressive politics, i.e. its deficiency to replace traditional diplomacy. Thus, it contributes to the argument by Eric Bloemen who focused mainly on

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[17] Bloemen, Erik. "The movement for scientific management in Europe between the wars." In *Scientific Management. Frederick Winslow Taylor's Gift to the World?*, edited by J. C. Spender and Hugo Jakob Kijne, 111–132. Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1996.

the failure of the International Management Institute's to face economic harm induced by the Great Depression.[18]

As concerns the comparison of the capitalist and socialist currents of scientific management in Central Europe, Valentina Fava's article on automobile production in Czechoslovakia and Italy between 1918 and 1948 fills the void. The article by this historian interested primarily in the economic relationships and technological exchange between East and West during the Cold War years explores how Czechoslovak experts dealt with changes in the political and institutional framework that took place from the early existence of the state until the end of war. Fava describes their stakes and imagined roles in the post-war Czechoslovakia. In the interwar period the scientific management of labour and production was perceived as a ticket to modernity which will make Czechoslovakia the leading industrial state in Central and Eastern Europe. However, she argues that the combination of technological progress and nationalism that had proven itself as an effective strategy to develop the country and provide it with modern identity and legitimacy in the interwar context did not fit in the changed realities of impending socialism. Thus, she contends, engineers had to adopt the Soviet version of Fordism and Taylorism or appropriate their ideas only selectively in respect to local industrial, economic and ideological parameters and in relation to social aspects of labour and production. This article is a source for a critical exploration of the attitudes toward *Americanization* in the early post-war Czechoslovakia. Comparing this study with the scholarship on scientific management in the USSR can facilitate better understanding of the nature and extent of

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[18] Meer, Elisabeth van. "The transatlantic pursuit of a world engineering federation: For the profession, the nation, and international peace, 1918-1948." *Technology and Culture* 53 (2012): 120–145.

implementation of the Soviet models in all spheres of the population governance in the satellite states.

In the Czech and Slovak historiography, there is no study in institutional history concerning WWII period, however there is one by Jan Gebhart who studied activities of the international Central European Agrarian Institute throughout the 1920s and 1930s.[19] Although not falling into period in review, the study of history of the Czech Academy of Science between 1960 and 1969 by Miroslav Šmidák is a valuable contribution to the field since it combines personal memoirs with analysis of archival documents. I pinpointed this particular study because it reflects the history of the institution from within and simultaneously against the backdrop of large social and political events and changes. Šmidák, a lawyer by profession occupied in that period a post of the head of the Academy's secretariat.[20] A work of a similar methodological value is Jan Randák's study analysing an institutional structure of science in Stalinist Czechoslovakia, especially as concerns academic freedom and political instrumentalization of science.[21] In the international scholarship, there is one study into institutional history by John Connelly which was already mentioned. Connelly focus in it on institutional change from interwar to post-war period in the field of institutions of higher education.

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[19] Gebhart, Jan. "K činnosti středoevropské agrární instituce ve 20. a 30. letech [On the activities of Central European Agrarian Institute during the 1920s and 1930s]." *Sborník k dějinám 19. a 20. století* 11 [Proceeding of the 19th and 20th Centuries History 11] (1989): 97–133.

[20] Šmidák, Miroslav. *Institucionální vývoj Československé akademie věd v letech 1960-1969 očima jednoho z přímých aktérů* [Institutional Development of the Czech Academy of Science between 1960 and 1969 through the lenses of one of the direct actors]. Prague: Masarykův ústav a Archiv AV ČR, 2011.

[21] Randák, Jan. "Věda, instituce a moc v éře československého stalinismu [Science, instituion and power in the era of Czech Stalinism]. In *Dvě století nacionalismu: Pocta prof. Janu Rychlíkovi* [Two centuries of nationalism: Tribute to professor Jan Rychlík], edited by Michal Macháček, 298–313. Prague: Masarykův ústav a Archiv AV ČR, 2014.

My thesis will enrich the small field of Czech institutional history and history of science by studying institutional change and knowledge production in the context of the authoritarian regime and global war conflict.

Concepts and Methodology

In the present work, I combine approaches of history of science, institutional history and labour history. In studying the institutional history of the HLI, I am primarily interested in identifying institutional changes. Institutional change has been used in the scholarship in two different ways: first to refer to "culturally defined set of norms governing behaviour which serves some group purpose, such as marriage" and second to designate "organizations which serve some larger social purpose, such as the church or the courts."[22] It is especially in this latter sense that I employ the term. In this conception, institutions are defined as a subset of organizations. Agricultural economist Melvin Blase defined institutions as

> ... organizations which embody, foster, and protect normative relations and actions patterns, and perform functions and service which are valued in the environment.[23]

In line with this definition, I view the Human Labour Institute as organization that is normative, designed to purport a goal which is commissioned by the occupying power.

As a methodology, I find historical institutionalism most apt for studying a scientific institution, its relations with other elements of the institutional structure of the society, their

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[22] Robert R. Mayer, *Social science and institutional change* (New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers, 1982), 3.

[23] Melvin G. Blase, *Institutions in Agricultural Development* (Ames, Iowa State University Press, 1971): 261 cited in Robert R. Mayer, *Social science and institutional change* (New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers, 1982), 3.

synchronous workings and conflicts, and resulting social, political and economic change. By analysing agents on the level of institutions involved in theorizing and implementing organization of labour and production I detect the relation and impact of the larger events and processes on the workings of the institution and vice versa. According to Charles Tilly, this method is apt for measuring "big structures, large processes, and [making] huge comparisons".[24] Historical institutionalism, viewing institutions as elements of a formal bureaucratic structure but also as an embodiment of an ideology or an informal custom, gives agency to all kinds of social groups. In this framework, actors are both produced by, and are producers of, history. Thus it perfectly suits my effort to clarify the mutual relationship between the Institute and the political forces and events in the society.

Further conceptual tool useful for approaching scientific production under the occupation and context of global war conflict is an actor-network theory associated with the work of Bruno Latoure, Michel Callon, and John Law which posits that science is a social institution, not fundamentally different from other activities with social agenda. The actor-network is a social network of heterogeneous actors (including texts, technologies, lawmakers) with differing political agenda who/which participate in/intervene into knowledge production.[25] This tool allows to conceptualize culture as an actor. Culture in the form of gender, race or political ideology, has been permeating scientific production in terms of its content (i.e. culture influences what becomes an object of scientific research and is source of unsubstantiated and unquestioned assumptions on women and men, sexuality, race, etc. which underlay theories/concepts) as well as in terms of practice (i.e.

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[24] Charles Tilly, *Big Structures, Large Processes, Huge Comparisons* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1984), 2–3.
[25] Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the social: an introduction to actor-network-theory* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

culture reflects in a choice of experimental/research methods, ways of collecting/producing data, in gendered/racial division of labour, access to career opportunities, funding and other sources for research).[26] In my context, I was focused on the determination of the Institute's research by German politics.

In the work with primary sources, I was applying source criticism and discourse analysis. Source criticism enhances understanding the information within the context of its production. Discourse analysis, in general, is the investigation of what language does or what individuals or cultures accomplish through language. This area of study raises questions such as how meaning is constructed, and how power functions in society. By application of this method, I sought to identify normative statements and ideas in the documents produced by various actors on the institutional level, and distinguish them from other types of statements. From academic studies, newspapers and magazines, and in the film and visual material, I attempted to reconstruct contemporary discourses on subjects of my interest and trace their modifications (history of discourses).

I applied the same methods to the study of legal documents (labour law and measures) in order to see what discourses on labour, social security, welfare, etc. dominated at the given time and how they changed.

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[26] Laura Micheletti Puaca, *Searching for Scientific Womanpower: Technocratic Feminism and the Politics of National Security, 1940-1980* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 3. Evelyn Fox Keller, "Feminism and Science," in *Feminism and Science*, ed. Evelyn Fox Keller and Helen E. Longino (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 29. For the permeation of science by gender stereotypes see Martin, Emily. "The Egg and the Sperm: How Science Has Constructed a Romance Based on Stereotypical Male-Female Roles." *Signs* 16, no. 3 (Spring, 1991), 485–501 or Lloyd, Elisabeth A. "Pre-Theoretical Assumptions in Evolutionary Explanations of Female Sexuality." In *Feminism and Science*, edited by Evelyn Fox Keller and Helen E. Longino, 91–101. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Characterization of the sources

The main body of the primary sources comprises of the document collection of the Human Labour Institute. It is administrated by the National Archives in Prague. It contains material of five different types: first the material on the organizational and legal establishment of the Institute, administrative documents related to running the institution, documents evidencing the international academic exchange, results of the research and its practical implementation/application, and finally the personal documents of the employees of the HLI. The collection provides a survey on the development of the research institution studying labour from the psychological, physiological, sociological point of view during the Nazi occupation and the first post-war years. The documents on the post-war history of the Institute prevail over the materials from the war period which is given by losses and deliberate destruction of documents. Other archival sources include newspapers, magazines and journals.

2   The Context of the Development of the Human Labour Institute

2.1   History of Technocratism and Scientific Management in the Czech Lands Since Late 19th Century Until the End of the Interwar Period

With the onset of industrialization around the mid-18th century, natural sciences became increasingly important and since the mid-19th century, we can observe growing scientisation of society and specialization in knowledge and types of manual and

intellectual work.[27] The state has intervened in the ever more spheres of life which necessitated expertise and led to creation of new fields of knowledge and development of technology. Industrialization and urbanization socially elevated technical experts.[28] Their rise is inextricably connected to competition among emerging nation states but also to the prestige that was attributed to their profession by the public, who became increasingly exposed to the products of their activities in their daily life.[29]

The social application of scientific knowledge or expertise by the state and non-state actors occurred for example in the context of military professionalization (prior WWI),[30] in the field of labour (scientific management of labour and production since the late 19th century in the USA and later in Europe) or architecture (idea of planning, functionalism and standardized design applied to social housing in the 1930s Europe and the USA).[31] Until WWI, the national expert cultures blossomed with the simultaneous engagement of the national experts in the transnational technological and scientific cooperation and knowledge diffusion.[32] In the interwar period, in reaction to various forms of nationalism (Fascism) or other radical political ideologies (Communism), science was conceived by technological experts and exceptionally by some politicians and entrepreneurs as a

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[27] Martin Kohlrausch and Helmuth Trischler, *Building Europe on Expertise: innovators, organizers, networkers* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 8, 10.
[28] Martin Kohlrausch, Katrin Steffen, and Stefan Wiederkehr, "Expert Cultures in Central Eastern Europe. The Internationalization of Knowledge and the Transformation of Nation States since World War I. Introduction," in *Expert Cultures in Central Eastern Europe. The Internationalization of Knowledge and the Transformation of Nation States since World War I*, ed. Martin Kohlrausch, Katrin Steffen, and Stefan Wiederkehr (Osnabrück: Fibre, 2010), 9. Kohlrausch and Trischler, *Building Europe on Expertise*, 8.
[29] Kohlrausch and Trischler, *Building Europe on Expertise*, 5, 8, 11.
[30] Sean T. Lawson, *Nonlinear Science and Warfare: Chaos, Complexity and the US Military in the Information* Age (London: Routledge, 2013), 35.
[31] Kohlrausch and Trischler, *Building Europe on* Expertise, 13. Sam Davis, *The architecture of affordable housing* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 109–110.
[32] Kohlrausch and Trischler, *Building Europe on Expertise*, 10–11.

supranational ideology, capable of transcending and solving social and political differences and cleavages.[33] The idea of leading role of experts in the society and application of scientific solutions to social, and political problems was advocated by the technocratic movement, active in North America since 1880s and Europe in the 1920s and 1930s. However, the idea was not entirely new, it can be traced back to Henri de Saint-Simon, a French political and economic theorist and entrepreneur.[34]

The dissolution of the Habsburg empire and the establishment of the nation-states in Central Europe gave added impetus and created new conditions for fostering of national sciences.[35] Nonetheless, Czech scientists and philologists had engaged in effort to develop national science from early 19th century. It was the creation and usage of scientific nomenclature and orientation of the scholarship towards issues related with local environment and national interests which constituted the basis of national science. A drawback of such development was closing the doors to scholarship of small nations into the international arena dominated by word languages as German, French, English or Italian.[36] The relevance of science and technology for the nation-building had been recognized since the mid-19th century and was evident in the increasing Czech-German

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[33] Kohlrausch and Trischler, *Building Europe on Expertise*, 15.

[34] Daniel Bell, *The coming of post-industrial society: a venture in social forecasting* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 133.

[35] On the contemporary reflections of the developments in the philosophy and calls for cultivating national philosophy see Kazimierz Twardowski, "O potrzebach filozofii polskiej [On the Needs of Polish Philosophy]," *Nauka Polska* 1 (1918): 129–163. Gustav G. Shpet, *Ocherk razvitija russkoj filosofii. Chast* 1. [An Outline of the Development of Russian Philosophy. Part 1.] (Petrograd, 1922). Both texts were available to me via English translation by professor Karl Hall produced for the purpose of the 2015 course titled *Reason of the Clerks*.

[36] Jan Surman, "Science and Its Publics: Internationality and National Languages in Central Europe," Academia.edu, 2, 8. Originally published in *The Nationalization of Scientific Knowledge in the Habsburg Empire, 1848–1918*, edited by Mitchell G. Ash and Jan Surman, 30–56. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

economic competition.[37] WWI and the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian empire not only led to establishing of the new fields of knowledge but also to saturation of the established ones. The majority of raw materials supplies and industrial infrastructure of the former Austro-Hungarian empire resided in the Czech lands where industrial capacity was built since 18th century and increased considerably during the nineteenth-century industrialization.[38] The Czech professionals, specialists and experts operating previously within much wider space became in some disciplines redundant and their position further deteriorated due to the mass unemployment during the economic crisis in the 1930s.[39]

On the other hand, the disintegration of the empire and establishing of the democratic republic was conducive to emergence of female professionals. The first woman earning a degree in medicine, Dr. Anna Honzáková, had graduated from the medical faculty of Czech Charles-Ferdinand University as late as in 1902, [40] that is two years after the Austrian-Hungarian central administration issued, also thanks to her personal contribution, an edict that legalized access of women to study of medicine.[41] It was only in independent Czechoslovakia that women were granted much fuller citizenship rights and access to higher education was fully democratized. This is not to say that women contributed to the grievances of the redundant experts. They continued to face obstacles

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[37] Meer, "The transatlantic pursuit of a world engineering federation," 122, 139. Martin Kohlrausch et al., "Expert Cultures in Central Eastern Europe," 95.

[38] Otto Urban, "Czech Liberalism, 1848–1918," in *Liberty and the Search for Identity: Liberal Nationalisms and the Legacy of Empires*, ed. Zoltán Dénes (Budapest; New York: Central European University Press, 2006), 274.

[39] "Sociální vyhlídky mladých zeměměřičských inženýrů [Social prospects of young surveying engineers]." *Zeměměřičský věstník* [Journal of Surveying Engineering], Prague, July 5, 1938. Inventory no. 331. Box 12 . Document collection no. 544, Ústav lidské práce. The National Archives in Prague.

[40] Marie Bahenská, "Paní doktorová, ošetřovatelka, slečna doktorka. Obraz ženy ve zdravotnických profesích na stránkách Ženských listů [Mrs. Doctor, a Nurse, Miss Doctor. Woman in Medical Professions on Pages of the Magazine Women´s Letters]," *Studia Historica Nitriensia* 18, no. 1 (2014): 13.

[41] Bahenská, "Paní doktorová [Mrs. Doctor]," 3.

in their access to academic or managerial positions and exclusion from participation in the political and public life. The statistics from 1930 stated that in whole Czechoslovakia were 645 physicians, 535 pedagogues at secondary schools, 210 pharmacists, 162 engineers, 92 lawyers and 61 engineers of economy.[42] Although, these numbers are not impressive, interwar period was a springboard for the Czech female scientists. Its promising development was hindered in the Second republic which sought to contain women in the private sphere and then completely halted during the Nazi occupation when intellectuals were of little value to Germans who were primarily interested in Czech labour. However, war or crisis in other places of the world were favourable to integration of female scientists into scientific production. In the USA, the need to sustain flux of experts deployed in the war production during WWII opened opportunities to women in numerous scientific fields. Similarly, the Soviet Union's interwar drive for catch-up with the West and later the atomic race created favourable conditions to employment of female experts. Politicians in both countries were aware that inhibitions to use women's labour and knowledge capacity would only advantage the enemy.[43] Thus we see that many factors intervene in the attitude towards female experts.

Secondly, to touch upon the topic of the female professionals and female labour is relevant to the analysis of the Institute's role in regulation of labour market by regulating access to

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[42] Dana Musilová, "Uplatnění absolventek vysokých škol v období první republiky [Occupational Opportunities of Female University Graduates in the Period of the First Republic]," in *Práce z dějin vědy* 3 [Works from History of Science, vol. 3] (Praha: Arenga, 2002), 172. On history of women in Czech science see Štrbáňová, Soňa, Ida H. Stamhuis, Kateřina Mojsejová, and Elly Diepenhorst. *Women scholars and institutions: proceedings of the international conference, Prague, June 8-11, 2003*. Prague: Výzkumné centrum pro dějiny vědy, 2004 or Bahenská, Marie. *Počátky emancipace žen v Čechách: dívčí vzdělávání a ženské spolky v Praze v 19. století* [Beginnings of Women's Emancipation in Bohemia: Girls' Education and Women's Clubs in the 19th Century]. Praha: Libri, 2005.
[43] See chapter 1 in Puaca, Laura Micheletti. *Searching for Scientific Womanpower: Technocratic Feminism and the Politics of National Security, 1940-1980*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2014.

education and directing youth into segments of economy in line with the political needs. The political regimes in the First and Second republic, in the Protectorate and in the Reich could not do away without female labour. However, their relations to reproductive and productive labour performed by various categories of women varied depending on nationalist, race and/or class concerns. The ideological tenets got reflected in their labour and educational policies directly impacting women's access to education and professions based on their political, racial and class status.

The First Czechoslovak republic was formally a unitary nation-state,[44] in practice a multi-national state, based on representative democracy, multi-party system and universal suffrage.[45] Its first president, a sociologist and philosopher, Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk enjoyed popularity among the intellectual strata and general public as he was perceived by them as embodiment of ethos of democracy and civic ethics that he promoted.[46] Multi-party system guaranteed the plurality of political opinions and equilibrium of power, although in terms of nationalities rights, it was only the Slovaks and Czechs who had their own parties and were represented in the National Assembly in the first two formative years of the young republic. Germans gained their political representation only in 1920.[47] Czechoslovak politics in the consolidation period was characterized by an effort to

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[44] The usage of term "unitary" refers to the fact that Czechoslovakia was not a federation of the Czech and Slovak states.

[45] In late 1918, the Czechoslovak state comprised of Czechs, Germans, Slovaks, Hungarians, Ruthenes, Ukrainians, Russians, Jews and Poles. The nationalities are listed in a descending order from the most numerous to the least numerous ethnic group. Roma were not recognized as a national minority. The Czechs constituted 51 % of the total population. Derek Sayer, *The Coasts of Bohemia. A Czech History* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1998), 168.

[46] Jan Křen, *Dvě století střední Evropy* [Two Centuries of Central Europe] (Praha: Argo, 2006), 401.

[47] Ibid., 399.

eliminate German and Hungarian separatism and undermine radical socialist and communist movement.[48]

This latter ambition was a response to the riots inspired by the Bolshevik Revolution (food riots, strikes) that were organized between 1918 and 1920 by the Czechoslovakia's war-stricken population, and to a failed attempt at asserting nationalization of the key segments of economy.[49] Nationalization was not considered exclusively in the socialist circles. National Democrats did not reject it either, although they saw it as an instrument of nation-building. Although contemplated by the government in 1919, in the end only the moderate version of socialization succeeded. It was to be implemented by installing workers into the managerial positions in mining and securing their profit shares.[50]

In the wake of the war and newly achieved independence, nation-building and social and economic reconstruction projects were supportive of social welfare politics. *Pětka*, dominating the political realm for the first decade, can thus be credited also with the creation of the Czechoslovak national welfare system.[51] The predominantly moderate socialist democratic coalition strove in the first years after the war to prevent social unrest of urban population and satisfy the increasingly politically mobilized labour unions by developing an unemployment protection program for industrial workers, and by extending

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[48] Ibid., 401.

[49] Meer,"The transatlantic pursuit of a world engineering federation," 122.

[50] Ladislav Vojáček, "Prvorepublikové kořeny některých opatření z poválečného období (1945 – 1948) [First republic roots of some post-war measures (1945–1948)],"in *Dny práva 2012 – Days of Law 2012* (Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 2013), 746– 747.

[51] Tomasz Inglot, *Welfare states in East Central Europe, 1919–2004* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 63–64. The so-called *Pětka* (which stands for "Five"), comprised the main five political parties formed already during the Habsburg empire, i.e. National Democrats (right-wing), People's Party (Catholic-populist), Agrarians (centre-right), Social Democrats and National Socialists (left-wing). Pětka dominated politics between 1918–1926. Josef Bartoš and Miloš Trapl, *Československo 1918–1938* (Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého, 1994), 23.

the eligibility for welfare in sickness and entitlement to pension from white-collar workers to blue-collar workers as well. The government was aware that industrial workers were crucial to the success of nation and state-building projects as well as to the ambition to break into the international economy and politics. In addition, considering that industrial workers formed over 30 per cent of the population, to organize working class and endow it with political and economic power was in the long run deemed essential to preserving stability of the political system.[52]

Although interwar Czechoslovakia is generally viewed as the most industrialized country in East Central Europe (with almost 60 per cent of the workforce employed outside agriculture),[53] the loss of the vast free-trade zone and protection against the foreign competitors, which ceased to exist with the disintegration of the empire, hindered its economic growth in the 1920s.[54] The export was low and industry became obsolete.[55] Attempts of Czechoslovakia to incorporate itself into international economy were further undermined during the 1930s by the Great Depression and growing isolation of the Central European region caused by establishment of the authoritarian regimes in Italy and Germany and solidification of power of the Soviet Union in the international politics.[56] Further, Czechoslovakia was torn between the foreign-economic orientation to the West and strong economic ties with the neighbouring countries, particularly Germany.[57]

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[52] Inglot, *Welfare states in East Central Europe*, 64. Josef Korbel, *Czechoslovakia in the Twentieth Century: The Meanings of Its History* (New York: Columbia University Press), 57 cited in Inglot, *Welfare states in East Central Europe*, 64.

[53] Ibid., 63.

[54] Bloemen, "The movement for scientific management in Europe between the wars," 114.

[55] Meer, "The transatlantic pursuit of a world engineering federation," 53.

[56] Křen, *Dvě století střední Evropy*, 424.

[57] Joseph Rothschild, *East Central Europe between the Two World Wars* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1974), 78. Křen, *Dvě století střední Evropy*, 406.

Therefore ideas of technocratic internationalism and scientific management seemed to be apt tools to the political-economic problems for its perceived potential to boost and streamline domestic production and facilitate integration of Czechoslovakia into international economy.

Technocratic internationalism proclaimed that states would mutually benefit from building infrastructural network (railways, river canals, electrifications, etc.), and that prosperity will guarantee peace. Technocrats would replace traditional diplomacy by employing practical solutions to arising conflicts.[58] Thus knowledge, not political negotiations should have become the mechanism of political cooperation and interconnected economic prosperity. Despite the fact that it was intellectuals (writers, journalists, politicians, university professors) who were reckoned until then as national experts determined to tackle the problems of public sphere, domestic and international politics, the path slowly opened to engineers whose social status had been lower than that of the intellectuals.[59] Sustaining peace, economic uplift and integration into the international politics, these were goals for which engineers and other technical professionals had a solution. The technically trained

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[58] The pacifist instrumentalization of technocratism was proposed as early as in 1814 by Claude-Henri de Saint-Simon who believed in the potential of economic cooperation to eliminate the endless war conflicts in Europe (through building a structure of waterways). Erik van der Vleuten and Arne Kaijser, "Networking Europe," *History and Technology* 21 (2005), 34. Similarly Herbert Hoover decades later contended that the engineer could prevent and eliminated both internal and international frictions which are basically of economic nature. Hoover, initially a mining engineer, served as head of the U.S. Food Administration during World War I, then became the U.S. Secretary of Commerce in the 1920s, and between 1929 and 1933 was an acting president. See for this contention and Hoover's further notions on the role of the engineers. Charles S. Maier, "Between Taylorism and Technocracy: European Ideologies and the Vision of Industrial Productivity in the 1920s," *Journal of Contemporary History* 5, no. 2 (1970), 34.
[59] Engineers were convinced that they enrich the culture and society at large by the products of their labour, similarly as intellectuals did, and based on that they sought recognition and elevation of their status to that of intellectuals. Jeffrey Herf, *Reactionary modernism: technology, culture, and politics in Weimar and the Third Reich* (Cambridge [Cambridgeshire]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 152. Meer states that contemporary society continued to appreciate higher the graduates from the classically oriented universities as they did in the Empire. See Meer, "The transatlantic pursuit of a world engineering federation," 122.

experts believed that methodology of natural science is applicable to the sphere of social.[60]

Czech technocratism in its earliest form, formed already in the Habsburg empire, was initially limited to application of rationalization measures to labour and production but with time it developed into a political program of social transformation based on social darwinism. Similarly, as Francis Bacon promoted science as a tool to subjugate the natural world, leading figures Jindřich Fleischner and Albín Baušus promoted taming of the human animality by means of science.[61] In the First republic, technocratism gained support of some government-sector representatives, particularly of president Masaryk. With the financial support of the Czech compatriots in the USA and under the auspices of Masaryk, Czech engineers established in 1920 *the Masaryk Academy of Labour* (MAP).[62] People related to the MAP were engineers Emil Zimmler, Vladimír List, Stanislav Špaček, Alfréd Dratva, etc. Technocratism in this rendering was strongly associated with Masaryk's democracy and the pacifist and economic project of technocratic internationalism.[63] Technocrats considered social engineering as primary instrument of societal development. Scientific management thus constituted one of the methods of social engineering. Diplomat Bedřich Štěpánek and engineers Špaček and List lobbied in the USA for establishment of *the Word Engineering Federation* which should have become an international body working for word peace and global economic prosperity.

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[60] Jan Janko, "O dvou kulturách před sto lety [On Two Cultures One Hundred Years Ago]" *Teorie vědy* XXXII, no. 1 (2010): 110.

[61] Ibid., 111. Francis Bacon, *Nové organon* [New Organon] (Praha: Svoboda, 1990), 162.

[62] "Návrh na zřízení Ústavu pro výzkum lidské práce, b. d. 1938 [Proposal to establish the Human Labour Institute, n.d. 1938]" Inventory no. 1. Box 1. Document collection no. 544, Ústav lidské práce [Institute of Human Labour]. The National Archives in Prague.

[63] Jan Janko, "O dvou kulturách před sto lety," 111.

Such international cooperation would have reinforced social significance of engineering expertise at home.[64]

Another current of technocratic thought represented the laboretist movement (*laboretismus*). It was founded by the engineer Václav Verunáč. Further personas affiliated with the movement were the philosopher Tomáš Trnka or the Swiss inventor Theodor Tobler. Laboretism was based on ideas of technocratism and scientific management and initially was also limited only to the organization of labour and production in the enterprises. Verunáč enriched the program by emphasis on work ethics and considerations to the human factor in the production, meaning that it had to be organized in a way not detrimental to the worker. This emphasis on labour social politics and cooperation between classes distinguished laboretism from Fordism or Taylorism oriented more on the benefits of the producer.[65] Sympathies of Verunáč towards fascist Italy, noted by the Czech historian Jakub Rákosník,[66] suggest that Verunáč got inspired there when he strove between 1929–33 to apply laboretism to the management of the national economy and to transform the society on scientific ground. Ethocratic movement (*etokratické hnutí*), associated with the physicist Viktor Felber, similarly strove for humanist but scientifically underpinned transformation of the society.[67]

As *the Masaryk Academy of Labour* was focused on studying only technical aspects of labour, it set up in 1921 *the Psychotechnic Institute* (PI) to study human factor in labour

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[64] Meer, "The transatlantic pursuit of a world engineering federation," 123.

[65] Janko, "O dvou kulturách před sto lety," 112.

[66] Jakub Rákosník*, Odvrácená tvář meziválečné prosperity: nezaměstnanost v Československu v letech 1918–1938* [The Dark Side of Prosperity: Unemployment in Czechoslovakia Between 1918 and 1938] (Praha: Karolinum, 2008), 21.

[67] Janko, "O dvou kulturách před sto lety," 112.

processes. The PI cut adrift from the MAP in 1932 and was renamed as the Central Czechoslovak Psychotechnic Institute. Its main task was selection of civil service employees with the help of the psychotechnic testing for the Ministry of Railways, the Ministry of Public Works, and the Ministry of Interior.[68] The MAP promoted scientific management in the society and was the key agent of the Czech technocratic movement cooperating with engineers from Europe and overseas.[69] Czechoslovakia mediated scientific management ideas from the USA to Central Europe where it became the most active actor. The further transfer took place between Czechoslovakia and Poland which also sought to become the leading industrial state in the region.[70] Because of the pioneer status of Czechoslovakia, the first International conference of scientific management was held in Prague in 1924. The conference, after which other followed, was organized by *the International Management Institute* and *Comité International de l'Organisation Scientifique* (CIOS), later renamed as *the World Council of Management*. The main persona active in organization of the Prague's conference and in establishing of CIOS was Václav Verunáč who became its first General Secretary.[71]

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[68] "Informace o organizaci a práci Ústředního psychotechnického ústavu [Information on the organization and work of the Central Psychotechnic Institute]," p. 1. Inventory no. 12. Box 1. Document collection no. 544, Ústav lidské práce. The National Archives in Prague.

[69] For more on scientific management and technocratism in interwar Czechoslovakia see Maier, Charles S. "Between Taylorism and Technocracy: European Ideologies and the Vision of Industrial Productivity in the 1920s." *Journal of Contemporary History* 5, no. 2 (1970), 27–61. Meer, Elisabeth van. "The transatlantic pursuit of a world engineering federation: For the profession, the nation, and international peace, 1918-1948." *Technology and Culture* 53 (2012): 120–145.

[70] Stefan Rohdewald, "Mimicry in a Multiple Postcolonial Setting. Networks of Technocracy and Scientific Management in Pilsudski's Poland," in *Expert Cultures in Central Eastern Europe. The Internationalization of Knowledge and the Transformation of Nation States since World War I.*, ed. Martin Kohlrausch, Katrin Steffen and Stefan Wiederkehr (Osnabrück: Fibre, 2010), 65, 67–72.

[71] Bloemen, "The movement for scientific management in Europe between the wars," 112.

Since the early 1930s Europe had to deal with the Great Depression and establishment of authoritarian regimes in Germany and Italy. These were reasons for which the technocratic movement ceased to be viable by the mid-1930. As concerns the decline of technocratism in Czechoslovakia, Elisabeth van Meer argues that it was particularly due to its failure to stave off the increasing international isolation and defend Czechoslovakia from Hitler's aggressive politics, i.e. its deficiency to replace traditional diplomacy.[72] Concerning the decline of technocratism in Europe, Eric Bloemen pinpoints the failure of the International Management Institute to face economic harm induced by the Great Depression. In addition, he claims, scientific management introducing automatic assembly lines and other machinery in the production on mass scale was blamed for unemployment as it made workers' labour redundant.[73]

The mid-1930s slowly anticipated the future political development. The threat of war and unemployment caused that some sectors of economy gained more prominence than others and in accordance with it also professions and vocations. This reflected in an effort on the part of the state to manage composition of workforce and access to higher education. In response to the Munich agreement and the subsequent resignation of president Edvard Beneš and Milan Hodža's government, conservative and extreme right-wing politics gained by 1938 prominence also in the Czech society.[74] When the Sudetenland were annexed by Nazi Germany in September 1938, the "crisis of

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[72] Meer, "The transatlantic pursuit of a world engineering federation," 145.

[73] Bloemen, "The movement for scientific management in Europe between the wars," 130.

[74] Melissa Feinberg believes that the birth of the Second republic was not conditioned by the Munich agreement, but was the expression of the growing political consensus in the polity which increasingly prioritized national security not individual freedom or equality, and advocated a curtailment of social justice in order to foster a gendered type of family. Melissa Feinberg, "Women and Politics in the Czech land after Munich," in *Elusive Equality: Gender, Citizenship, and the Limits of Democracy in Czechoslovakia, 1918-1950* (Pittsburgh, PA, USA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2006), 227.

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democracy" dating back from 1933 culminated in the declaration of the Second Czech-Slovak republic, an asymmetric federation in terms of distribution of political representation of Czechs and Slovaks.[75]

In the inclination toward authoritarian politics both, internal and external factors played a role. The external factor represented territorial claims of Nazi Germany, Poland and Hungary, the effort of Hitler to break Czechoslovakia and subsequent growing international isolation of the state which was sacrificed by the politics of appeasement. Consequently, the country struggled with paralysed industrial production, commerce, and transport in consequence of occupation of the Sudetenland, and faced floods of migrants from occupied territories—Czechs from the Sudetenland, German and German Jewish emigrants from the Third Reich and Czech civil servants from Slovakia and Ruthenia.[76] The internal factor was the dissatisfaction of the National Democratic, Agrarian and the Christian Democratic parties with democratic liberal politics represented by the former president Masaryk, the actual president Beneš (from 1935 to 1938) and the group of *the Castle*.[77] Particularly, it was the *Castle*'s foreign policy oriented to France and Britain

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[75] The so-called crisis of democracy is a term used to refer to the international political climate in Europe increasingly dominated by authoritarian politics as well as to the internal disenchantment of some segments of society at the deficiency of democracy to effectively prevent or respond to internal or external political, economic, or social problems. Eva Broklová, "Agrární strana a demokracie [The Agrarian Party and democracy]," in *Agrárníci, Národní demokraté a lidovci v druhém poločase první Československé republiky* [The Agrarians, National Democrats and the Christian Democrats at the Second Halftime of the First Czechoslovak Republic], ed. Eva Broklová, Josef Tomeš and Michal Pehr (Praha: Masarykův ústav a Archiv AV ČR, 2008), 37.

[76] Bořivoj Čelovský, *Mnichovská dohoda* 1938 [The Munich Agreement 1938] (Šenov u Ostravy: Tilia, 1999), 106–107, 115; Věra Olivová, *Zápas o Československo*: *říjen 1937–září 1938* [Battle of Czechoslovakia: October 1937–September 1938] (Praha: H&H, 1992), 9.

[77] *The Castle* designates an informal group of Masaryk's followers. These followers did not affiliate with one particular political party or come from one particular social milieu. Masaryk enjoyed popularity among people across the political spectrum. The group exercised a considerable influence over the press and large civic organizations. Many members of the Castle group belonged to the intellectual stratum who stood politically in the centre. Particularly significant was *the Castle*'s decisive influence on formation of the Czechoslovak foreign policy. The influence derived from the fact that the minister of foreign affairs, and apt diplomat Edvard Beneš, was Masaryk's closest partner. *The Castle* thus represented from its inception until 1933 a pillar of democracy in interwar Czechoslovakia. Křen, *Dvě*

which was a thorn in the eye to the authoritarian factions within the centre-right parties. And the incapacity of democracy to solve the economic crisis. These factions initially wanted to join Hungary, Austria and Italy that united in an economic bloc by signing the so-called *Rome protocols* in 1934. The bloc was formed to hinder the revisionist policies of Hitler. By 1938, Hungary and Italy joined Germany, and Germany annexed Austria. Consequently, the authoritarian forces in Czechoslovakia also sought to collaborate with Hitler, but without success.[78]

The political right led by the Agrarian party dismissed liberal democracy as impotent to solve these problems and to defend the nation. The new regime represented by the politically unexperienced jurist Emil Hácha, as president, and the former leader of the Agrarian party Rudolf Beran as prime minister, embodied an ideological and political break with the previous republic. Its politics was deemed as a distinctively Czech "third way" between democracy and fascism, based on politics of difference rather than equality and it professed collectivism over individualism. The regime inspired by the corporative program of Italian Fascists and referred to in the contemporary press as the "authoritarian democracy" was deemed as the most suitable political order to transform society in a viable nation, capable of defending its sovereignty.[79]

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století střední Evropy, 406. Jan Gebhart and Jan Kuklík, *Druhá republika 1938-1939: Svár demokracie a totality v politickém, společenském a kulturním životě* [The Second Republic 1938–1939: Contention of Democracy and Totalitarianism in the Political, Social and Cultural Life] (Praha a Litomyšl: Paseka, 2004), 36-38; Jan Rataj, *O autoritativní národní stát: ideologické proměny české politiky v druhé republice 1938-1939* [The Authoritarian Nation-State: The Ideological Transformation of Czech Politics During the Second Republic 1938–1939] (Praha: Karolinum, 1997), 14–15.

[78] Křen, *Dvě století střední Evropy*, 436. Broklová, "Agrární strana a demokracie," 37.

[79] Feinberg, "Women and Politics in the Czech land after Munich," 159–165. Also Mark Cornwall agrees that Czechoslovakia was in the 1930s developing into an 'authoritarian democracy'. Mark Cornwall, "'A Leap into Ice-Cold Water': the Manoeuvres of the Henlein Movement in Czechoslovakia, 1933-8," in *Czechoslovakia in a nationalist and*

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Several building blocks were essential toward this aim. Foremost, it was purity and quality of the nation. The former was to be achieved by excluding foreign elements (Jews, Communists, national minorities) from it and the latter by making the gendered family a central unit of the society.[80] Women deemed as inherently responsible for upbringing of children were allotted the role of "mothers of the nation" which led to attempts at their withdrawal from workforce and containment in private sphere. Motherhood had become their unique and sole right and duty. However, their role in making of the nation was instrumental, women were stripped of the citizenship rights, excluded from the access to higher education and sent in droves into schools of domestic education.[81] As concerns the attitude to women's employment, even opposition to Beran's government was in accordance with the idea that married women should be restricted in their right to work, and especially that they should be banned and dismissed from the civil service, unless their income was deemed necessary for the sustenance of their families.[82] Analogically, Jews were excluded from the body politics after adoption of the anti-Jewish legislation in January 1939 and much like women, they were banned from the employment in the civil service and denied access to post-secondary education.[83] These political changes reflected in the composition of workforce and the student body.

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fascist Europe, 1918-1948, edited by Mark Cornwall and Robert John Weston Evans (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2007), 134.

[80] Using the expression "the gendered family," I refer to a normative ideal prescribing gender differences in identities and roles of men and women in the family. Simultaneously, these differences are reinforced by division of labour and gender inequality in the society and reproduced in the families. In such configuration, the man is primarily a breadwinner and the woman a mother and wife reigning over the household. Michael S. Kimmel, *The Gendered Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 127.

[81] Feinberg, "Women and Politics in the Czech land after Munich," 159–165.

[82] Ibid., 167.

[83] Ibid., 165.

2.2 Instrumentalization of Domestic and Occupied Economies by the German State for War Goals

WWII immensely contributed to the development of scientific management of labour and production in Germany and selected occupied territories. Low productivity threatened Hitler's war goals and scientific management was identified as only solution to the demand to keep the military production going. Mass production techniques and rationalization became tasks of primary political importance and helped considerably to increase production in the conditions of limited raw material resources and labour and impaired logistics and damaged infrastructure caused by warfare.[84] In order to be able to analyse the significance of the Human Labour Institute in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, the political significance of scientific management in Germany must be touched upon. I therefore give a brief overview of political instrumentalization of German and occupied economies in the late 1930s and during WWII focusing on the centrality of scientific management to German war economy.

The direct link between the political and economic marginalization of Germany after the WWI and breakout of the WWII is a well-established fact. Hitler assigned economy the instrumental role of mobilizing resources for the military conquest, rather than just bringing about well-being and modernization of the country.[85] He aimed much higher than securing Germany's position in the global economy and gaining its share from colonial wealth. His

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[84] Richard James Overy, *War and Economy in the Third Reich* (Oxford, GB: Clarendon Press, 2014), 343, 375.
[85] Ibid., 1.

political ambition was for word economic domination, turning Germany into military power and extending the living space for the Nordic race.

These ambitious projects necessitated high level of autarky and state intervention in the national economy to generate resources for military expansion and in later stages initiated military conquest in Europe. Rejection of economic liberalism in favour of command economy was thus a logical response of Hitler and likeminded economic nationalists. Liberalism was not only blamed for contemporary economic and political ills but it was also deemed detrimental to the interests of the collective and the state as it would allow for informing economy in accordance with needs of self-interested businessmen and consumers.[86] Similar disenchantment emerged in France, Italy and Britain.[87] Planism was a trend in the 1930s Europe emerging in response to alleged failures of liberalism to prevent economic recession.[88] As the cases of fascist Italy and Nazi Germany show, planism, or extensive state intervention into economy, prevailed in the authoritarian regimes since the capitalist sector would hardly acquiesce to the state without force.

The Nazis in the first half of the 1930s strove for economic recovery and consolidation of their power. From 1936 onwards, the political priority had been economic imperialism and rearmament program.[89] Economic expansion aimed at creation of integrated economic

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[86] Overy, *War and Economy* , 1–2, 9.

[87] Ibid., 16–17.

[88] Planism is linked to the interwar Belgian socialist and later pro-Nazi politician Henry de Man, however the idea is older dating back to the WWI when it was instrumentalized in organization of war economy. The major ideologue of planism was Walther Rathenau (1867–1922), a liberal technocrat, an industrialist, and later, a foreign minister in the Weimar Republic. In his time, planism was an economic policy that promoted transfer of power in economic matters to the state, but did not strive for undermining capitalism. In Henry de Man's rendering, planism asserted management of economy by the state in conditions where state and private ownership coexisted. Dick Pels, "Henrik de Man and the ideology of planism," *International Review of Social History* 32, no. 3 (1987): 221.

[89] Overy, *War and Economy in the Third Reich*, 13.

region supplying the Reich with resources for pursuing its war goals.[90] The structure of economy was subordinated to the rearmament program. On the national level, the state-dominated economy limited free-market, thus industrialists were forced to cooperated with the state. The reconfiguration of the structure of industry in favour of military production resulted in undermining of power of the old industrial elite. The remaining free market entrepreneurial space became highly competitive. Thus despite the fact that the regime's thrust for autarky and apparent anti-capitalism were detrimental to the interests of businessmen, many were willing to align with the political priorities of the regime to gain diminishing opportunities in the domestic and occupied economies.[91] In addition, the resistance to subjugate to the state constituted, in the given circumstances, a political act.[92] However, this does not mean that private firms were stripped of all discretionary powers.[93]

The regime preferred to retain industry in private hands as it provided a better guarantee for increase in production performance. Hitler opposed its nationalization as it would lead, in his view, to excessive bureaucratization.[94] In order to transform the capitalist free market economy into the state-directed economy, the German state established in 1937 a state-holding company *Reichswerke 'Hermann Göring'*. This industrial conglomerate sought to monopolize access to and direct use of key raw material domestic resources for the war production. The Reichswerke's ambit extended from Germany to the occupied

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[90] Overy, *War and Economy in the Third Reich*, 22.
[91] Ibid., 12, 14. On the relation of the state and industrialists see chapters 3, 4, 5 or pp. 11–18 of the introduction.
[92] Ibid., 93.
[93] Christoph Buchheim and Jonas Scherner, "The Role of Private Property in the Nazi Economy: The Case of Industry," *The Journal of Economic History* 66, no. 2 (2006): 390.
[94] Overy, *War and Economy in the Third Reich*, 16.

economies where acquisition of assets was carried out either by forced sales of the privately owned enterprises or by confiscation of Jewish (through *Aryanization* legislation) and the state-owned property.[95] Industry in the occupied Europe remaining in private possession (most commonly owned by Germans) was subordinated to the war economic policy in the same way as enterprises in the Reich.[96]

Another factor transforming business and production was permeation of managerial sector with industrial bureaucrats and of the state economic apparatus with industrial managers and technocrats. Next to the Nazi state officials and private industrialists, there was a third group of actors which intervened in the war production—military experts.[97] These groups did not necessarily pull together. On the contrary, the clashing needs and goals, as well as power struggle over the control of production between the Four Year Plan, the Economics Ministry, the Armaments Ministry, and the armed forces, precluded centralization and coordination which led during 1939–1941 to duplication of effort, wastage and shortage of material and labour.[98]

In addition to this mismanagement, there were two other factors undermining efficient production from below. One of them were industrialists who were compensated for the limits to free entrepreneurship by favourable governmental commissions. The state put constraints on their profit but paid their labour costs. The second were workers who had secured employment but were mistreated and limited in their earnings, social bonuses

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[95] Brandes, *Češi pod německým protektorátem*, 369. Overy, *War and Economy in the Third Reich*, 16, 145–147. On the activities of Reichswerke and expropriation of industrial assets in the conquered territories see chapter 5.
[96] Overy, *War and Economy in the Third Reich*, 322.
[97] Ibid., 17.
[98] Ibid., 2, 29.

and in consumption. For these reasons, the firms did not feel pressured to rationalize labour and material use and workers lacked incentives to increase labour performance and avoid wastage of material.[99] Finally, productivity was impaired also by drain of healthy and skilled workers to the front.[100]

In the first stage of the war, that is from September 1939 to the summer of 1941, the civilian economy was transformed into the military one by boosting armaments industry at the expense of consumption industry.[101] However, in 1941 the domestic civilian industrial capacity was exhausted and Hitler ordered to increase output by rationalizing and streamlining production (especially of weaponry).[102] It was clear by then that industrial experts were much better suited to this task than the military and party cadres.[103] In January 1942, an attempt was made to mitigate the problem of labour shortages by supplies of domestic female labour and after the prohibition of conscription of women with forced labour from occupied territories.[104] This labour policy (in German *Arbeitseinsatz*) was implemented under Fritz Sauckel, the General Plenipotentiary for Labour Deployment. However, the drain of workers from economies whose production was of interest to Germany was counter-productive. Therefore, backed up by Hitler, Albert Speer, the armaments and ammunition minister and the head of a central committee allocating

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[99] Overy, *War and Economy in the Third Reich*, 349.

[100] Ibid., 31. Hein A. M. Klemann and Sergei Kudryashov, *Occupied economies: an economic history of Nazi-occupied Europe, 1939-1945* (London; New York: Berg, 2012), 177. Detlef Brandes, *Češi pod německým protektorátem: okupační politika, kolaborace a odboj 1939–1945* (Praha: Prostor, 1999), 366. Jaromír Tauchen, "Pracovní právo v Protektorátu Čechy a Morava [Labour Law in the Protectorate Bohemia and Moravia]," in *Vývoj soukromého práva na území českých zemí* [Development of private law on the territory of the Czech lands], vol. II, ed. Ladislav Vojáček, Karel Schelle and Jaromír Tauchen et al. (Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 2012), 867.

[101] Overy, *War and Economy in the Third Reich*, 30.

[102] Ibid., 24, 27, 30.

[103] Ibid., 13.

[104] Klemann and Kudryashov, *Occupied economies*, 176, 177, 335. Tauchen, "Pracovní právo v Protektorátu Čechy a Morava," 867.

key resources (*Zentrale Planung*), terminated in September 1943 this policy throughout Western Europe and the Protectorate.[105]

Between the summer of 1941 to the summer of 1944, administration was restructured and powers redistributed in line with centralization and rationalization principles and production increased considerably. The increase in output constituted a "production miracle".[106] It boosted not only German economy but also economies in Western Europe and the Protectorate on whose production Germany relied.[107] As Richard Overy argues, based on the 1945 interviews with Albert Speer and other officials, businessmen and engineers, it was the adoption of the technical rationalization measures that led to increase in war production rather than mobilizing remaining civilian industrial capacities into military production. According to these testimonies, war production was prioritized already since the Rearmament program launched in 1936 and accelerated since the outbreak of the war. Thus by 1941, consumption industry was already curtailed at the expense of military production and no labour for transfer from this segment of industry into armaments industry remained available. Measured by economic indicators, the higher levels of inputs were invested into the military production before 1942. From the beginning of 1942, the main factors of war production were scarce or entirely inaccessible. While the previous failure to boost production could be attributed to inefficient and fragmented management and lack of incentives on the side of industrialists and workers to rationalize labour and material, the production miracle, achieving higher outputs with the same or even lower inputs, resulted from implementing scientific management into labour

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[105] Klemann and Kudryashov, *Occupied economies*, 177.
[106] Overy, *War and Economy in the Third Reich*, 375.
[107] Klemann and Kudryashov, *Occupied economies*, 183.

processes, rationalizing labour, material, and space use, centralizing distribution and allocation of factors of production (labour, material, machinery, space, energy) and creating incentives for industrialists and workers.[108]

From the summer of 1944 until the end of the war the economy began to slow down again due to its decentralization caused by Allied air bombing. The large economic region began to disintegrate. The final stage was characterized by increasing improvisation and transition to siege economy, relying on forced labour and underground factories.[109] Still, by the end of the war, Germany labour and production were considerably modernized, automatized and rationalized which eased the economic recovery of the country in the post-war period.[110]

2.3 Economy under Occupation. The Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia

In 1938, the Reich proceeded to economic expansion in Central Europe as its reserves of material resources were becoming scarce.[111] Czechoslovakia (and during the occupation the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia) was of primary importance to the Reich's effort to gain outputs and since 1942 even factors (labour) of industrial production due to its considerable industrial capacity. In addition, it supplied the Reich with agricultural products.[112] This economic importance of the Protectorate to the Reich guaranteed the non-Jewish population in the Protectorate relatively good material conditions during the

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[108] Overy, *War and Economy in the Third Reich*, 27, 29. On inefficiency of economy see 24, 27, 29, 342, on incentives see 364. On rationalization see Chapter 11.
[109] Ibid., 30–31.
[110] Ibid., 344.
[111] Ibid., 24.
[112] Brandes, *Češi pod německým protektorátem*, 361. Václav Průcha, "The economy and the multinational state: Czechoslovakia," in *Nation, State and the Economy in History*, ed. Alice Teichová and Herbert Matis (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 187.

occupation, as the rations there were higher than in for example Poland or Eastern Europe where Germans were interested in expropriating factors of production rather than the outputs.[113] The rationale behind the higher rations was that workers need to be fed so that the production can function efficiently.[114] A present-day calculation estimates that the Protectorate along with the Western countries contributed by 20 per cent to the total German war needs.[115] Detlef Brandes, as many other authors, claims that the domestic production in the Reich, in Western Europe and in the Protectorate was crucial to the Germany's warfare capacity.[116]

Czechoslovakia was an easy target not only because of the geographical proximity, but also because Germans comprised the third most numerous ethnic minority in this Slavic nation-state. The political mobilization of the Czechoslovak Germans along with the rise of Czech fascists and Slovak separatism facilitated the disintegration of the state.[117] The disintegration was eventually sealed by the politics of appeasement, i.e. politics of concession and compromise asserted by Great Britain and France. By conceding to German expansionism, these powers attempted to prevent the outbreak of war. The Munich agreement between Germany, France and Britain from September 30, 1938,

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[113] Klemann and Kudryashov, *Occupied economies*, 61.

[114] Klemann and Kudryashov, *Occupied economies*, 61, 173, 327. Brandes, *Češi pod německým protektorátem*, 188, 189, 275.

[115] Klemann and Kudryashov, *Occupied economies*, 177.

[116] Brandes, *Češi pod německým protektorátem*, 362. Klemann and Kudryashov, *Occupied economies*, 98–99.

[117] Věra Olivová, *The Doomed Democracy. Czechoslovakia in a Disrupted Europe 1914–38* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson), 239. Josef Harna, *Krize evropské demokracie a Československo 30. let 20. století* [The Crisis of European Democracy and Czechoslovakia in the 1930s] (Praha: Historický ústav AV ČR, 2006), 144. Pavel Maršálek, *Pod ochranou hákového kříže* [Under the Protection of Swastika] (Praha: Auditorium, 2012), 14. On annexation of the Sudetenland by Germany and disintegration of the Czechoslovak state see part V of Olivová's publication (199–257). On nationalist politics in Czechoslovakia in the second half of the 1930s see chapter 6 *Nacionalismus jako nástroj destrukce demokratického státu* [Nationalism as a Tool of Destruction of the Democratic State] in Harna's book. As concerns history of the Czech-German relations in the first Czechoslovak republic, nationalistic politics by the state, and political mobilization of Czechoslovak Germans see Crowhurst, Patrick. *A History of Czechoslovakia Between the Wars. From Versailles to Hitler's invasion*. London; New York: I. B. Tauris, 2015.

ratified the cession of Sudetenland to Germany and brought about a definitive breakdown of the democratic system in the Czechoslovak polity, making space for profascist forces.[118]

The declaration of the so-called Second republic, or the Czech-Slovak republic, on October 1, 1938, marked the changed territorial configuration and political effort to prevent further territorial curtailment and disintegration of the state by pledging allegiance to the Reich. Hitler further capitalized on appeasement and emergence of profascist forces in Hungary and Slovakia and pressured Slovak premier Jozef Tiso to proclaim Slovakia on March 14, 1939 the independent Slovak state under German protection, making it *de facto* a client state of German Reich.[119] The following day, on March 15, the rest of the former Czechoslovak state was occupied by German forces and on March 16, the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia was proclaimed over the territory.[120] By the time the war broke out in September 1939, the Protectorate administration and industry was already set and reconfigured to meet German war needs.

2.3.1 The Protectorate Administration Between March 1939 and April 1942

Administration in the Protectorate was formed by a dual administrative structure consisting of the Reich and the Protectorate "autonomous" authorities. The autonomous administrative apparatus arose by curtailment of the existing state structure of the

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[118] Olivová, *The Doomed Democracy*, 265. Hugh LeCaine Agnew, *The Czechs and the lands of the Bohemian crown* (Stanford, Calif: Hoover Institution Press, 2004), 206–207. For more on the Munich Agreement and Second republic see pp. 201–8 of Agnew's publication or Křen, *Dvě století střední Evropy*, 430–444.
[119] Křen, *Dvě století střední Evropy*, 435.
[120] Michael Kraus and Allison Stanger, *Irreconcilable differences?: explaining Czechoslovakia's dissolution* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2000), 5.

disintegrated Czechoslovak state.[121] The government consisted of the presidium of the ministerial council, the Ministry of Interior, the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Education and National Enlightenment, the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Industry, Commerce and Trades, the Ministry of Transport, the Ministry of Public Works and the Ministry of Social and Health administration. Important status had following central offices: Central Statistical Office and newly established the Supreme Pricing Office (*Nejvyšší cenový úřad*).[122] The parliament was dissolved as well as the army. The annihilation of Czechoslovakia as a sovereign state discontinued its existence as a foreign-political subject, leading to termination of the foreign service, abolition of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and withdrawal from the international politics. Authority over the foreign affairs was transferred to the Protector.[123]

The representatives of the Protectorate administration were the Protectorate government and president Emil Hácha. The autonomy of both was lessened considerably as all decision-making had to be in line with the political, military and economic needs of the Reich. The person responsible for administration of the Protectorate in accordance with these interests was the Reich Protector and secretary of the state. The president could perform the duties pertaining to his office only to the extent that was approved by Hitler and the Reich Protector. The Protectorate government was subordinated to the Protector.[124] The extent of the Protectorate autonomy was dependent on the Protector and the Reich command and could be entirely suspended. It was planned that it would be

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[121] Maršálek, *Pod ochrannou hákového kříže*, 77, 78.
[122] Ibid., 78.
[123] Ibid., 21, 79.
[124] Ibid., 20, 77.

gradually limited.[125] Along with the Protectorate administration, the system of German authorities was in place. German military units, security police, customs and foreign exchange management, and affairs of the Protectorate Germans were the main areas falling under their competence.[126]

In the first months of the occupation, occupation politics was not yet firmly established. The urgent task was a completion of the German administrative apparatus and taking over of industrial and agricultural productive capacities. The goals started to gain clearer contours after the outbreak of war on September 1, 1939.[127] The Central Reich offices nor the Party were to intervene directly in the administration of the Protectorate affairs.[128] The communication between the Reich Ministry of Economy, Ministry of Finance and other Reich bodies responsible for individual segments of economy was mediated by the Reich Protector. On the other hand, the Reich extension into the Protectorate was enhanced by appointing officers of the Reich central offices into the supervisory board at the Protectorate Ministry of Economy.[129] Apart from transforming the Protectorate's civilian economy into the war economy, the other political task was to eliminate the Czech nation by means of Germanization or resettlement and simultaneously repopulate the freed space with German inhabitants.[130]

During the occupation, four different Nazi high officials were appointed to the office of the Reich Protector. From March 1939 to September 1941 it was Konstantin von Neurath,

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125 Maršálek, *Pod ochranou hákového kříže*, 21, 39.
126 Ibid., 37.
127 Ibid., 39.
128 Ibid., 38.
129 Brandes, *Češi pod německým protektorátem*, 364.
130 Maršálek, *Pod ochranou hákového kříže*, 38. Brandes, *Češi pod německým protektorátem*, 279.

from September 1941 to May 1942 Reinhard Heydrich, from June 1942 to August 1943 Kurt Daluege and from August 1943 to the end of the war Wilhelm Frick.[131] Neurath's mission was to integrate the Protectorate into the Greater German Reich as fast as possible.[132] As Neurath was found unsuccessful in his effort to proceed with Hitler's goals, Hitler appointed in September 1941 the head of the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) Reinhard Heydrich on whose firmness and thoroughness he could rely.[133] Heydrich worked towards realization of three goals: the solution of "the Czech problem," suppression of the political resistance and securing a smooth operation of economy. While the two latter goals were of immediate importance, the Czech problem was to be definitively solved after the war. These differing goals resulted in differential treatment of various segments of the society. While Jews, Roma, intelligentsia, students and members of the political resistance were persecuted and/or destined to extermination, the racially fitting and politically compliant Czechs received opportunities to capitalize on collaboration with Germans. However, the crucial segment of society in the Reich, as in the occupied territories, represented workers on whose labour performance the success of war depended.[134] The majority of workers and peasants did not until 1941 resist German occupation which might have been caused, among other things, by the small economic advantages these groups enjoyed under occupation compared with other segments of society whose labour did not directly contribute to the war efforts (white-collar workers, teachers, and the like).[135] For this reason, the interwar class-based antagonism between

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[131] Roderick Stackelberg, *The Routledge companion to Nazi Germany* (New York; London: Routledge, 2007), 189, 196, 208, 227.

[132] Maršálek, *Pod ochranou hákového kříže*, 66.

[133] Ibid., 47.

[134] Ibid., 48.

[135] Brandes, *Češi pod německým protektorátem*, 184. Tauchen, "Pracovní právo v Protektorátu Čechy a Morava," 862.

the workers and the anti-German intellectuals yet increased and gained a new political dimension.[136] The Nazi-induced divisions within the Protectorate society contributed to undermining of internal political integrity and solidarity.

2.3.2 The Reform of the Protectorate Administration Between 1942 and 1943

The dual system of administration in the Protectorate was from the onset perceived as a temporary solution. In the initial period, that is from March 1939 until the outbreak of war in September that year, the Nazis from the strategic reasons took into account an impact of their actions on the foreign relations. This made them to maintain an appearance of autonomy in the Protectorate.[137] However, the realization that war would not be a matter of a few months compelled the leadership to re-evaluate their political strategy in the Protectorate.[138] The immediate goal of even more intense mobilization of heavy and armaments industries gained priority over the long term goal of making the territory into a new living space for Germans. The new strategy prompted realization of the reform of the administrative apparatus which had been already planned and prepared for some time.[139]

The reform was launched in May 1942 by Reinhard Heydrich and its aim was to reorganize the administrative apparatus in line with the total war mobilization. Already before this date, the autonomous administration was to some extent Germanized, having Germans at significant posts. However, the reform aimed at maximum Germanization of the autonomous apparatus and refashioning it according to the Reich model.[140] The number

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[136] John Connelly, "Students, Workers, and Social Change: The Limits of Czech Stalinism," *Slavic Review* 56, no. 2 (Summer, 1997): 313
[137] Maršálek, *Pod ochranou hákového kříže*, 85.
[138] Ibid., 51, 85.
[139] Ibid, 49-50.
[140] Ibid., 86, 87.

of the Protectorate ministries was reduced by dissolving the Ministry of Public Works and the Ministry of Social and Health Administration. Some new ministries were established and some other were renamed: the Ministry of Industry, Commerce and Trades became the Ministry of Labour and Economy, the Ministry of Agriculture became the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, and the Ministry of Education and Enlightenment became the Ministry of Education. Changes occurred also in their ambits. The Ministry of Economy and Labour was charged with directing war economy and labour deployment. Agenda of the Ministry of Education was extensively diminished.[141] The Protectorate autonomous government ceased to exist. Instead, the new government consisting of people selected by Heydrich and approved by Berlin was appointed in January 1942.[142]. It was to be an extended arm of the Reich Protector.[143] Two important persons in the new government were German Walter Bertsch, the minister of economy and labour, and Czech Emanuel Moravec, the minister of education.[144] The reform was completed in February 1943 by establishing the State Ministry headed by Karl Herman Frank. There was a personnel link between the sections of his ministry and the Protectorate ministries, meaning that same people occupied posts in both, the German and Protectorate institutions.[145]

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[141] Ibid., 87–88.
[142] "Soudní spis Waltera Bertsche [The Court File of Walter Bertsch]," The Call no. 1029/45. The Document Collection, Mimořádný lidový soud [The Special People's Court]. The State Regional Archive, Prague.
[143] Maršálek, *Pod ochranou hákového kříže*, 88.
[144] Ibid., 156.
[145] Ibid., 89.

2.3.3 German Policies in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia

2.3.3.1 Germanization

The superior policy informing majority of individual policies and significantly transforming life in the Protectorate was Germanization. The policy was launched immediately with the onset of the occupation and it encompassed appointing Germans into key institutions related to business, industry and agriculture, appropriation of banks and state and private properties by German private industrialists or by the Reich, closing of the Czech schools and setting up of the German schools, German control over press, marginalization of Czech language and culture, penetration of public life by German element, and unimportantly Germanization of racially fit and ideologically compliant Czechs by means of labour and in case of children and students by access to German education.[146] In Heydrich's view, Germanization was to be primarily merit-based. However, SS as the agent responsible for racial policy, pushed ahead with their racial criteria. Thus Himmler already in January 1941 delivered Frank a questionnaire concerning race and health. The questionnaire with photographs of the child attached to it were to be filled in by the physician at a regular check-up.[147]

2.3.3.2 Industrial Policy

The economic significance of the Protectorate to the Reich resided in its processing capacity, rather than in its mineral resources.[148] Of primary importance was the

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[146] Maršálek, *Pod ochranou hákového kříže*, 43. Brandes, *Češi pod německým protektorátem*, 197.
[147] Brandes, *Češi pod německým protektorátem*, 282.
[148] Ibid., 361.

Protectorate arms industry.[149] As was outlined in the section 2.2.2, the Nazis in the Protectorate acquired industrial assets and banks by forced sales or by confiscation of the private (primarily Jewish) and state property. The private industry owned in the main by Germans was subordinated to the war economic policy in the same way as enterprises in the Reich. [150] Some enterprises were merely entrusted with German industrialists and businessmen who directed them as trustees of the Reich.[151] The key players in the heavy industry like *Škoda works*, *Armory Brno*, *Poldi Kladno* and *Vítkovice steelworks* ended up as subsidiaries of the Reichswerke. This German state-funded company gained in total between 50 and 60 per cent of the local industries.[152] The Reich further exercised control over businesses by forcing them into central unions (of trade, industry, etc.).[153] Free market was further restricted by central management of wages and prices.[154]

The management of economy in the Protectorate was performed by central German and the Protectorate authorities. Central Berlin offices, as for example the Reich Ministry of Economy, the Ministry of Finance and other Reich bodies charged with management of individual segments of economy, could not assign tasks to the producers in the Protectorate directly but via the Reich Protector. Besides the Protectorate minister of economy and the Reich offices, another person intervening in the Protectorate economy was Hermann Göring as Plenipotentiary of the Four Year Plan.[155] Just as in the Reich, in the Protectorate as well the attempts at centralization of production management were

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[149] Brandes, *Češi pod německým protektorátem*, 362.
[150] Overy, *War and Economy in the Third Reich*, 16, 145–147.
[151] Brandes, *Češi pod německým protektorátem*, 359.
[152] Overy, *War and Economy in the Third Reich*, 155. Brandes, *Češi pod německým protektorátem*, 198.
[153] Brandes, *Češi pod německým protektorátem*, 198.
[154] Ibid., 363.
[155] Ibid., 364.

hindered by disputes over competence and struggles over power. This had unfavourable impact on allocation of factors of production like raw materials, machinery, energy, vehicles and labour. [156]

2.3.3.3 Agricultural Policy

Agricultural policy crystallized under Heydrich. He planned to go as far as to expropriate the agricultural land and premises of peasants unsuitable for Germanization.[157] In late summer of 1942, Heydrich initiated establishment of the Federation of Agriculture and Forestry (*Svaz zemědělství a lesnictví*), forcibly organizing all owners of agricultural and forest land. The federation became a key instrument in exploiting all the Protectorate's alimentary reserves.[158] To the same purpose, a system of obligatory and forced deliveries was introduced.[159] Next to the students and children, Heydrich strove to Germanize also young Czech peasants. They were to participate in an educational program for peasants in the Reich and remain there after its completion. The Reich ministry of Agriculture initially doubted this idea, but later showed willingness to make an attempt in this direction.[160]

2.3.3.4 Labour Policy

Both Neurath and Heydrich strove to turn workers into an efficient labour force and to depoliticize them by endowing or withdrawing benefits from them and to Germanize them

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[156] Brandes, *Češi pod německým protektorátem*, 363.
[157] Ibid., 269.
[158] Ibid., 277. Maršálek, *Pod ochrannou hákového kříže*, 98.
[159] Maršálek, *Pod ochrannou hákového kříže*, 50. Obligatory delivery is a designation for an obligation to deliver disposable goods, while forced delivery designates requisition of disposable goods. Slavcho Zagorov et al. *The Agricultural Economy of the Danubian Countries, 1935-45* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1955), 426.
[160] Brandes, *Češi pod německým protektorátem*, 355.

by labour re-education and displacement into the Reich.[161] Czechs unlike Jews and Roma could save themselves by industriousness, compliance and fitting racial profile. Such was the case of workers in the arms industry who received higher rations, enjoyed better working conditions (recreation, social benefits) and were in return mostly compliant and worked diligently. This instigated anger among workers in other segments of heavy industry who were not treated equally and condemnation from intelligentsia who despised them as collaborators.[162]

From the summer of 1939, the Nazis came to implement the labour-law legislation that subjected labour to state regulation, forcing it out from the realm of private law into interface between private and public law.[163] The labour policy in the Protectorate aimed at the creation of the system of directed labour. Regulation of labour had multiple consequences: restriction of autonomy of subjects of the labour-law relations, regulation of the labour market and wages, introducing of the system of forced labour. The following decrees give an overview of the increasing exploitativness of the labour policy, starting with forced deployment of male unemployed workers of certain age for a limited time and specific task in the territory of the Protectorate and ending with forced labour deployment into the Reich applying to all, male and female citizens, capable of work in all areas of war industry for unlimited period.

In line with the Reich model, the general labour obligation was introduced in the Protectorate in the summer of 1939. Unemployment thus became outlawed. In August

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[161] Brandes, *Češi pod německým protektorátem*, 273, 288. Maršálek, *Pod ochrannou hákového kříže*, 48.
[162] Brandes, *Češi pod německým protektorátem*, 274.
[163] Tauchen, "Pracovní právo v Protektorátu Čechy a Morava," 862.

that year, a forced labour conscription, the so-called *work duty* followed. The work duty was declared by the government decree no. 177/1939 on assigning *unemployed* persons to labour *in agriculture*. The introduction of the work duty was initiated by the need to secure labour force for harvesting. The duty lasted for the period of harvesting.

From August 22, 1939 a labour obligation to perform *any* particularly significant tasks applied to *all male* citizens of the Protectorate between 16 and 25 years of age lasting one year. It could be prolonged to two years. By conscription to work duty, the existing employment was terminated. The conscription to work duty was in the competence of labour offices which issued call-up notices. In 1940, the decree was modified, stipulating that any person between the age of 16 to 60 can be deployed for agricultural works if there was a public interest in timely execution of agricultural works. Forced labour applied to the Protectorate citizens, not to German nationals who became citizens of the Reich.[164]

Based on the government decree no. 46/1941 from February 1941 on provisions pertaining to directing of labour, labour offices could assign for one year *anybody* (males and females) between 18 and 50 years of age to perform urgent works of particular political or economic significance. It could be works in the sphere of defence of the country, securing subsistence, production of consumer goods, economic extraction of sources, improving transportation infrastructure, or as concerns handling emergency situations, or consequences of natural disasters. Men were assigned to works of any kind, women to works that were generally performed by women. The decree contained stipulation that persons were to be assigned to works *in accordance with their abilities and*

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[164] Tauchen, "Pracovní právo v Protektorátu Čechy a Morava," 866. Emphasis mine.

knowledge. Preferably, the unemployed or partially employed were to be called before the employed and the unmarried before the married.[165]

Series of German defeats caused a dramatic shortage of labour in the Reich as more and more men were leaving for the Eastern Front.[166] Labour was thus imported from the occupied economies which in the case of the Protectorate had a counterproductive effect—the drain of labour threatened local production.[167] As the legislation allowing forced labour in the Protectorate was already in place, the deployment to the Reich was only a question of modification of the existing decree no. 46 from February 1941. The new decree no. 10/1942 from January 1942 prescribed assigning all *single, widowed, divorced*, or *separated* persons to works in the Reich. As a result, hundreds of thousands Protectorate citizens were transferred to the Reich. As people went into hiding or tried to avoid the service by marriage, pregnancy, or self-harm, the decree tightened up and since May 1942 it applied to all Protectorate citizens, female and male, capable of work. The age delineation was lift out.[168]

As concerns forced labour in the Protectorate, there are two aspects to it. One is pragmatic—forced labour was a measure compensating shortages, second is ideological—compulsory labour service was an instrument of Germanization. As Heydrich perceived re-education of youth and adult Czechs by labour as a tool of Germanization, forced labour in the Reich was in his view a test of Germanizationability.[169] Although

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[165] Tauchen, "Pracovní právo v Protektorátu Čechy a Morava," 867. Brandes, *Češi pod německým protektorátem*, 189, 283. Emphasis mine.

[166] Brandes, *Češi pod německým protektorátem*, 366. Maršálek, *Pod ochranou hákové kříže*, 82.

[167] Overy, *War and Economy in the Third Reich*, 24. Klemann and Kudryashov, *Occupied economies*, 177.

[168] Klemann and Kudryashov, *Occupied* economies, 146. Brandes, *Češi pod německým protektorátem*, 283, 284, 368. Tauchen, "Pracovní právo v Protektorátu Čechy a Morava," 867.

[169] Brandes, *Češi pod německým protektorátem*, 284.

Germanization was a political goal in his competence, he was equally responsible for the economic performance in the Protectorate. This commitment guided his effort to prevent transfers of Czech labour to the Reich ordered by the Reich official Fritz Sauckel, the general commissioner for labour deployment.[170] Despite the Protector was since March 1942 formally subordinated to Sauckel, the high priority attributed to the production in the Protectorate caused that the labour recruitment policy was implemented with limits. Heydrich released labour from the segments of industry less important to the war efforts. However, these newly released workers never worked in industry, thus they had to be retrained.[171] The minister Walter Bertsch of the Protectorate Ministry of Economy and Labour was authorized to temporarily halt or limit production in parts of or in entire plants in industry, business and craft. In order to comply with the requirements of the Reich, the whole age groups were conscripted to labour in the Reich.[172] The Reich was primarily interested in skilled labour, tipping the balance in favour of unskilled labour in the Protectorate. By late 1942, a labour office in Prague reported that it had no qualified labour force to the disposal, i.e. no workers who went through vocational education.[173]

The Allied bombing in the Reich led to relocating armaments works into the Protectorate. This development finally halted the policy of forced labour transfer to the Reich and justified request for returning the Czech workers back to the Protectorate as the relocated Reich enterprises necessitated labour supplies which the Protectorate was not able to provide.[174] In the second half of 1943, the Reich administration acknowledged the need

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[170] Klemann and Kudryashov, *Occupied* economies, 146.
[171] Brandes, *Češi pod německým protektorátem*, 369.
[172] Ibid., 367.
[173] Ibid., 368.
[174] Klemann and Kudryashov, *Occupied* economies, 146. Brandes, *Češi pod německým protektorátem*, 369.

to secure the production within the Protectorate with sufficient labour supply. However, the exception was the labour force assigned to training in the Reich for work in the "Fighter Aircraft" program. The whole age group of 19 year-old workers was conscripted to this training. Exemption applied only to those employed in the armaments production for Air Force. The training lasted from 6 to 10 months. Upon its completion, the workers returned back as the program was realized in the Protectorate.[175] However, the labour shortage and low performance persisted until the end of the war.[176] Inefficiency resulted from an attempt to compensate labour shortages by long working hours. Other factors undermining labour morale and thus performance were deficient nutrition, heavy workload, unsatisfactory working conditions, limits to earnings and consumption. In addition, already mentioned high percentage of unskilled workers, and mismanagement of factors of production also affected outputs levels.[177]

In response to German military defeat in the Eastern Front, the drive for armaments even intensified.[178] In the Reich, a remedy to inefficient production was the adoption of the rationalization measures. However, by what means was the production to be stepped up in the Protectorate is unresearched theme. Although it is beyond the scope of this work to find out whether and eventually to what extent was scientific management applied in the Protectorate economy, it seems plausible to assume that the same strategy as in the Reich was attempted in the Protectorate. The task of the present paper is less ambitious, it strives to bring forward history of an institution which was to build theoretical knowledge,

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[175] Brandes, *Češi pod německým protektorátem*, 370.
[176] Ibid., 369.
[177] Ibid., 372.
[178] Maršálek, *Pod ochranou hákového kříže*, 51, 71.

develop methods and participate in designing administrative measures in the sphere of scientific management of labour and production.

2.3.3.5   Educational Policy

Administration of education was divided between the occupation and autonomous authorities. In August 1939, German universities were transferred under the Reich administration, the other types of steadily increasing German schools remained under the direction of the Protectorate Ministry of Education.[179] The proliferation of the German educational institutions was accompanied by restriction on and regulation of the Czech education. The disintegration of the Czech educational system was crucial to the Reich for multiple reasons. First, value of Czechs resided in their manpower, second education had potential to empower people to resist subjugation, and third, the Protectorate was to be Germanized. In addition, after the total war mobilization education was considerably restricted as both, teachers and students (even the fourteen-year children) were deployed to armaments or heavy industry.[180]

Intelligentsia, teachers, and especially students were the groups most explicitly resisting the Nazi rule. The resistance was harshly suppressed after a series of demonstration organized by students in the autumn of 1939. In November 1939, Czech universities were closed and more than 1,000 students deported to concentration camps.[181] Another closure of numerous schools of post-secondary education (tertiary education at non-degree level) occurred in October 1941 in reaction to students' anti-Nazi stances.

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[179] Maršálek, *Pod ochranou hákového kříže*, 83.
[180] Brandes, *Češi pod německým protektorátem*, 369.
[181] Connelly, "Students, Workers, and Social Change: The Limits of Czech Stalinism," 313. Brandes, *Češi pod německým protektorátem*, 95, 279, 286. Maršálek, *Pod ochranou hákového kříže*, 83.

President Hácha strove to halt this development by appeals to the minister of education Jan Kapras to prevent occurrence of anti-Reich statements at Czech schools by exemplary expulsions of individual teachers or students.[182]

In spring 1941 access to the secondary schools was severely limited. Frank decided in April that from the school year 1941/1942 only 35 per cent of pupils from elementary schools may be accepted to the Burgher schools.[183] Imposition of the *numerus clausus* and increased eligibility requirements to the secondary schools constituted a purposeful limit to the formation of the new generations of Czech intelligentsia. This political goal was also pursued by preferring vocational education over humanities.[184] However, the Nazi state had interest in Germanization of Czech children. Racially suitable children from the Protectorate were eligible for studying at German schools, though higher education was accessible only to Germanized students who went through the test of Germanizationability, that is labour in the Reich. In 1943, the SS Race and Settlement Main Office stipulated that entrance exams be supplemented with racial examination.[185]

Hácha lobbied Heydrich to reopen universities but with no success. Heydrich suggested that a foundation bearing Hácha's name be founded supporting Czech students to study in the Reich. In exceptional cases, selected Czech students might study at German university in Prague.[186] The foundation was really established. The Hácha Scholarship

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[182] Brandes, *Češi pod německým protektorátem*, 196, 286.
[183] On typology of schools see section 4.2.1 Regulation of Access to Education, page 97 and the tab. no. 2 representing the educational system in the Protectorate on p. 101.
[184] Maršálek, *Pod ochranou hákového kříže*, 83.
[185] Brandes, Češi pod německým protektorátem, 355.
[186] Ibid., 279.

Foundation's fund consisted of the revenue from the assets of dissolved universities. However, only a small number of students studied at German schools in the Reich.

3 The Human Labour Institute

3.1 Legislative and Organizational Development

This section traces a legislative and organizational development of the Institute from 1937 to 1945. It was already stated in section 2.1 that the Czechoslovak political leadership throughout the 1920s until mid-1930s furthered research in scientific management as it was favourably disposed towards technocracy.[187] As research in technical aspects of labour concerns, the conditions in Czechoslovakia were comparable with foreign countries. However, as for research in human labour, there was a huge gap. It was only the Central Psychotechnic Institute which was oriented toward human factor in the production. Still, its research was limited to studying psychotechnic aspects of labour (suitability of persons for certain occupations or labour tasks). Driven by the awareness that its specialization was too narrow and that the study of human labour calls for interdisciplinary approach, the institute voiced in the early 1930s its concern in extending its research into the field of physiology, psychology and sociology of labour and transform itself into a complex research institution. This initiative should be viewed in the broader context of the industrial world which realized that labour power and workforce are equally important factors of economy and which consequently shifted from improvement of machinery to improvement of human labour. Institutions set up with this ambition already

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[187] The term technocracy means in this context the application of the scientific method to social problems and promoting experts into directing international economic and political cooperation.

existed in the USA, Great Britain, France, Japan, the Soviet Union, Germany, Italy or Mexico.[188] However, in Czechoslovakia such and institution could not be built without support and cooperation of the state and industrialists. As economic crisis was in its peak, the support from the state or large enterprises was out of question.[189]

More favourable conditions came in the second half of the1930s. The Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare searched for experts that would scientifically underpin and design policies for management of recruitment services, vocational guidance and retraining of workers.[190] As a result, the Institute found an advocate in the person of the minister of social welfare Jaromír Nečas who in 1937 presented a proposal for its establishment to the National Assembly.[191] Initiators of the proposal were aware that building of such an institution would be a financially and organizationally demanding project which could be achieved only step by step in close collaboration not only with the relevant governmental bodies but foremost in conjunction with lobbying and financial support of the industrialists and businessmen.[192]

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[188] "Návrh na zřízení Ústavu pro výzkum lidské práce, b. d. 1938 [A Proposal to establish the Human Labour Institute, n.d. 1938]," 1–3. Inventory no. 1. Box 1. Document collection no. 544, Ústav lidské práce. The National Archives in Prague.

[189] Ibid., 4.

[190] "Trochu pozdě, ale přece. Pozornost výroby se obrací od stroje k člověku. Před založením Čs. ústavu pro výzkum lidské práce [Better Late Than Never. Attention in the Production Process is Turning From Machine to Man. Prior to Founding of the Czechoslovak Institute of Human Labour]," *České slovo-Praha* [Czech Word-Prague]. June 22, 1938. Inventory no. 331. Box 12. Document collection no. 544, Ústav lidské práce. The National Archives in Prague.

[191] Ibid. Nečas was a construction engineer by training and a member of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party. The broader context of his involvement is unknown to the author of this text, however it seems plausible that his profession of an engineer and social democratic politician were factors that made him open to the technocratic idea of applying science to social problems considering that the main current of technocratic thought in interwar Czechoslovakia had its greatest appeal among the social and national democrats.

[192] "Trochu pozdě, ale přece. Pozornost výroby se obrací od stroje k člověku. Před založením Čs. ústavu pro výzkum lidské práce [Better Late Than Never. Attention in the Production Process is Turning from Machine to Man. Prior to Founding of the Czechoslovak Institute of Human Labour]," p. 7. *České slovo-Praha* [Czech Word-Prague]. June 22, 1938. Inventory no. 331. Box 12. Document collection no. 544, Ústav lidské práce. The National Archives in Prague.

Such support was found and a group of governmental and non-governmental actors formed into the preparatory committee of the HLI and commenced their work in January 1938. The committee consisted of ministerial representatives (the Ministry of Education and National Enlightenment, the Ministry of Social Welfare, the Ministry of Public Health and Physical Education, the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Interior, the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of National Defence, the Ministry of Post Offices and Telegraphs, and the Ministry of Justice), professional associations (*the Central Union of Czechoslovak Industrialists*), trade union organizations (*the Czechoslovak Trade Association*, *the Czechoslovak Workers' Community*, *the Imperial Trade Union Council of Christian trade unions, the Republican Employees Centre*), organizations of public social security (*Central social insurance company*, *General Pension Institute*, *Worker's Accident Insurance Institute*) and scientific institutions (*the Social Institute of Czechoslovak republic, the Central Psychotechnic Institute*).[193] The Central Union of Czechoslovak Industrialists, a nationwide association, succeeded with large banks to dominate Czechoslovak economy already before the establishment of the Czechoslovak state. In October 1918, it was charged by the supreme body of the newly established Czechoslovak state—*the National Czechoslovak Committee*—to organize and regulate economy on the territory of the state.[194] As it had a significant influence on shaping economic politics of the state, its support for the Institute of Human Labour was crucial.

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[193] "Přípravný výbor a kuratorium Ústavu lidské práce – zápisy ze schůzí a pozvánky. 1938–1941 [The Preparatory committee and board of trustees of the Human Labour Institute – minutes of the meetings and invitations. 1938–1941]." Inventory no. 13. Box 1. Document collection no. 544, Ústav lidské práce. The National Archives in Prague.
[194] *Hospodářská politika čs. průmyslu v letech 1918-1928* (Praha: Ústřední svaz čsl. průmyslníků, 1928), VIII.

On its meeting in May 1938, the committee discussed the organizational structure of the new institution. Since it was the directorate of the Central Psychotechnic Institute (CPI) who initiated the idea of complex research institution, it was assumed that the CPI would form a basis of the psychological department of the HLI. The CPI was successful in its pursuits and its research was financially secured, however its Board of Trustees approved termination of its autonomous existence and merging with the HLI. The next point of the program was legal form of the Institute and search for the adequate premises. Considering the interest of the state administration in establishing the Institute, the first idea was to set up the Institute as a state organization funded from the state budget. This variant would necessitate a special law. As the legislative process would take very long, realization of the Institute would be postponed considerably. In addition, the political development in Czechoslovakia was not favourable for this variant. For that reason, it was agreed that the legal form of the HLI would be modelled after the CPI, that is a legal entity of mixed public and private status.[195] The committee then ceased work for some time as the Czechoslovak state was forced to cede the Sudetenland to German Reich in October 30, 1938 and was occupied by German troops and proclaimed the Protectorate of the Reich in March 15, 1939.

The negotiations were resumed in autumn 1939, after the outbreak of WWII, when the ministries and other state and public institutions were already under German control. The chairman of the preparatory committee had become Ing. Karel Maněna, a senior section councillor (*vrchní odborový rada*) at the Ministry of Social and Health Administration. The

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[195] "Zápis o schůzi přípravného výboru pro zřízení Ústavu lidské práce z 25. května, 1938 [Minutes of the meeting of the preparatory committee for establishment of the Human Labour Institute from May 25, 1938]." Inventory no. 13. Box 1. Document collection no. 544, Ústav lidské práce. The National Archives in Prague.

second key person was the minister councillor Ladislav Šíp from the Ministry of Education and National Enlightenment, who was simultaneously the chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Central Psychotechnic Institute. These two ministries had special interest in establishing the Institute from which derived its special position among other ministries. The position was enshrined in the basic regulations of the HLI.[196] These ministries gave the institution one-time donations and stipulated in the regulations the right to set special conditions for the work of the Institute by targeted funding.[197]

On its meeting in October 30, 1939, the preparatory committee approved the foundational regulations of the HLI. This date was understood as the date of establishment of the HLI. The Institute was affiliated to *the Czech Technical Academy*, administratively it was subjected to the Ministry of Social and Health Administration and to the Ministry of Education and National Enlightenment. Its facilities and their operation was funded from the state budget, through its own profit, and private sponsorship from individuals and corporations. Director of the Institute became Dr. Jan Doležal, the former director of the Central Psychotechnic Institute.[198]

Based on the available documents, it is difficult to assess the degree of autonomy of the Protectorate authorities in the period from the establishment of the Protectorate until the

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[196] § 9 of the "Základní řád," p. 5. Invenotry no. 12. Box 1. Document collection no. 544, Ústav lidské práce. The National Archives, Prague.

[197] "Zápis o schůzi kuratoria ze dne 30. října 1939. [Minutes of the meeting of the Board of trustees from October 30, 1939]." Inventory no. 1. Box 1. Document collection no. 544, Ústav lidské práce. The National Archives, Prague.

[198] "Zápis o schůzi kuratoria ze dne 30. října 1939. [Minutes of the meeting of the Board of trustees from October 30, 1939]." Inventory no. 1. Box 1. and "Základní řád," p. 1. Inventory no. 12. Box 1. Document collection no. 544, Ústav lidské práce. The National Archives, Prague.

Heydrich's reform.[199] As was already outlined in the section 2.3.1, the Protectorate (Czech) authorities though formally autonomous, were in practice subordinated to the German Reich Protector, the German occupation authorities as well as to some Reich authorities working in the field of war economy. The materials do not allow to shed more light on the process of accommodation of the Institute's representatives and its government and non-government partners to the new conditions under occupation. However, drawing on the annual report for 1939 it is safe to assume that the Institute's agenda was geared to the war goals from the onset. The report first cautiously states that "political and economic changes occurring in the recent period affected the research and operation of the Human Labour Institute." Further, it explicitly states the it was assigned new tasks in all field of its activity and that the Institute had to be reorganized accordingly.[200]

After the reform, that is from the spring 1942 until the end of the war, the Institute was under direct German supervision. Secondary sources agree that autonomy of any actors in the fields relevant to the Reich or the Protector dramatically decreased with the implementation of the reform. The reform of the dual administration system had for the Institute a few concrete consequences. First, after the dissolution of the Ministry of Social and Health Administration under whose jurisdiction the Institute belonged, the Institute was assigned to the newly established Ministry of Economy and Labour headed by German Dr. Walter Bertsch. It is not stated in the sources when this reaffiliation exactly

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[199] I refer to the reform addressed in the section 2.3.2. It was the reform of the dual administration in the Protectorate aiming at its Germanization, downsizing and streamlining so that it was capable of effective mobilization of all sources for war production.

[200] "Výroční zpráva za rok 1939 [The Annual Report for 1939]," p. 1. Inventory no. 21. Box 2. Document collection no. 544, Ústav lidské práce. The National Archives, Prague.

occurred, however it was probably around March 1942, that is a date when Bertsch was appointed to the post of the Minister of Economy and Labour. His main task was to supervise the system of Labour Offices introduced in September 1939 and assist the effort of the German administrative bodies to introduce forced labour.[201] The ministry charged another German officer, Dr. Karl Busold with its supervision as his agenda at the ministry was placement of youth in industry (labour conscription/forced labour of youth), vocational education and vocational guidance.[202] Second, sometime between March and September 1942, the minister Bertsch appointed the new Board of Trustees, mostly composed of Germans, however, due to tactics of the Czech management, it was never convened.[203] Third, in September 1942, the Protectorate government issued a government decree no. 333 on the HLI that regulated its legal status and defined its functions. It is clear that at the latest from this point when the decree entered in force the Institute's agenda was directly subordinated to the German war goals. However, the question remains how important the institution was to Germans, considering the "Production Miracle" that was achieved with the help of scientific management in the Reich, and to what extent they intervened into conditions and terms of research.

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[201] Jaroslava Milotová, *Heydrichova správní reforma v kontextu správněpolitického vývoje českých zemí v letech nacistické okupace* [The Heydrich's Administrative Reform in the Context of the Administrative-Political Development in the Czech Lands in the Period of Nazi Occupation] (PhD. diss., Charles University in Prague, 1988), 134, 154.

[202] Irena Malá, *Ústav lidské práce Praha, 1939–1947.* Inventář [Inventory to the document collection the Human Labour Institute Prague, 1939–1947] (Praha: Národní archiv, Praha), 6. "Přípisy z května 1944 týkající se zaškolování nově přijímaných úředníků na jednotlivých odděleních MHP sekce A I [New entries from May 1944 concerning training of newly accepted officers to the individual departments of Ministry of Economy and Labour, section AI]." Sign. A I 6017. Box 431. Document collection Ministerstvo hospodářství a práce. The National Archives, Prague.

[203] Malá, *Ústav lidské práce Praha, 1939*–1947, 8.

3.2 Structure and Definition of the Main Tasks

As was already mentioned in the section 2.4, the Institute was conceptualized in the interwar period and its political goals were formulated in the framework of independent Czechoslovakia. Initially, it was expected to directly boost production and thereby reinforce the state and increase well-being of the society.[204] It was envisaged that the scope of research would broaden in accordance with the needs of economy. However, under occupation, the Institute was forced to redesign its research agenda in line with the war economic goals of the Reich.

The Institute' operation was secured by administrative bodies. Research was conducted by expert departments. The Institute's task was to study psychological, physiological and sociological aspects of human labour in order to establish scientific basis for labour, economic and educational policies.[205] It worked on development of methods for effective selection of workers in accordance with the production needs. Of particular concern was recruitment of civil servants for the individual ministries. The institute was to design necessary conditions for "healthy, safe and enjoyable work," and propose solutions to social problems related to labour.[206] In order to achieve this lofty goal, the researchers studied an impact of high working pace on health of the worker, his performance and fatigue, designed an optimal organization of his leisure time and workers' housing and elaborated social security schemes.

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[204] "Trochu pozdě, ale přece. Pozornost výroby se obrací od stroje k člověku. Před založením Čs. ústavu pro výzkum lidské práce [Better Late Than Never. Attention in the Production Process is Turning from Machine to Man. Prior to Founding of the Czechoslovak Institute of Human Labour]." *České slovo-Praha* [Czech Word-Prague]. June 22, 1938.
[205] "Základní řád," p. 1. Inventory no. 12. Box 1. Document collection no. 544, Ústav lidské práce. The National Archives in Prague.
[206] "Ústav pro studium lidské práce [Institute of Human Labour]." *Národní Politika* [National Politics]. January 9, 1938.

A special task of the research department was research into vocations and professions in respect to effective distribution of adolescent workforce. For this purpose, the Institute explored the economic structure and development tendencies of individual professions, so that the youth could be effectively directed into respective segments of economy. Special department dealt with training, retraining and refreshing courses which was of outmost importance to the German occupational administration seeking to transform civilian economy into military economy. Psychologists, physicians and engineers collaborated on these tasks.

3.2.1 Administrative Bodies

The Institute was administered by a Board of Trustees, a committee and a directorate. The Board of Trustees and the committee were directed by a chairman. The chairman represented the Institute in the public, saw that the resolution of the Board of Trustees were executed and was responsible together with the directorate for smooth operation of the Institute as concerns administration. Financial matters, formulating new tasks, approval of activity reports, appointing permanent employees, issuing of basic regulations, conditions of employment and rules of procedure fell within the field of the Board of Trustees' competence. The committee's task was to supervise the directorate of the Institution, decide on major expenses and elaborate proposals for the Board of Trustees. The directorate managed research and operation of expert departments. Director of the Institute and his deputy were allowed to attend the meetings of the Board of Trustees.

Minutes of these meetings were to be sent in copy to the Ministry of Education and National Enlightenment and the Ministry of Social and Health Administration.[207]

The Board of Trustees consisted of representatives of the ministries, Masaryk Academy of Labour, the National Trade Union Centre of Employees (*Národní odborová ústředna zaměstnanecká*), the Employees Unions (*Zaměstnanecké svazy*), the Central Statistical Office (*Ústřední statistický úřad*) and other central offices, the General Pension Institute (*Všeobecný penzijní ústav*), the Central Social Insurance Company (*Ústřední sociální pojišťovna*), the Worker's Accident Insurance Institutes (*Úrazové pojišťovny dělnické*) and of co-opted members from public offices or corporations. A co-opted member could have become also a person given credit for putting effort in development of the Institute and/or who supported it financially. The Board of Trustees elected the chairman of the Institute and his first and second deputy.[208]

All these government and non-government representatives were under Germans control and played variably significant roles in management of economy and social affairs. As concerns the regulation of labour, the key actor was, next to the respective resorts, *the National Trade Union Employee Centre* (NTUEC). The origins of this organization dates back to the Second republic, where the politically fragmented trade union movement in the face of the anti-democratic forces sought to enhance its power by creating one, politically unaffiliated organization with a unified platform. The set-up of the preparatory committee of the NTUCE coincided with the declaration of the Protectorate of Bohemia

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[207] "Základní řád," p. 5–6. Inventory no. 12. Box 1. Document collection no. 544, Ústav lidské práce. The National Archives in Prague.
[208] Ibid., p. 3.

and Moravia in mid-March 1939. The occupation brought a definitive end to the independent trade unions. In May 1939, the two former top sections of the trade union movement—*The Centre of Workers Unions* and *the Centre of Private Employees Unions*—were merged with NTUCE which became the only representative of the union movement in the Protectorate. The National Trade Union Centre was not allowed to strike, nor to conclude collective agreements, it could only attempt negotiation. The NTUCE as a mediator between the Reich and the workers were instrumental to the Nazi labour policy. Its leaders were charged with a task to depoliticize workers and made them interested primarily in their material well-being. In the key industries, especially in the ammunition works, the NTUCE put off the workers from resistance.[209]

The NTUCE managed by the end of 1939 to forcibly organize 300 thousand workers and 120 thousand private employees. During 1940 the membership reached 750 thousand. President Hácha lent himself to encouraging workers to join the organization, appealing to the responsibility of individuals towards a community. The NTUCE's meetings held in the enterprises became a primary channel for the Nazi propaganda. Confidents, factory employees and the NTUCE leaders indoctrinated workers on economic and social-political topics. Other channel, focused on labour-law and social security law, was the trade union press.[210] Having said that, there could be no doubts as concerns the instrumentalization of the Institute for the most urgent political goals.

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[209] Tauchen, "Pracovní právo v Protektorátu Čechy a Morava ," 863, 871. Brandes, *Češi pod německým protektorátem*, 271.

[210] Tauchen, "Pracovní právo v Protektorátu Čechy a Morava ," 871. Brandes, *Češi pod německým protektorátem*, 272.

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As the Human Labour Institute arose by reorganization and enlargement of the Central Psychotechnic Institute, the members of its directorate consisted of people occupying positions in the previous institution. Thus, the former chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Central Psychotechnic Institute, Dr. Ladislav Šíp became the chairman of the Human Labour Institute. He simultaneously held a position of the minister councillor at the Ministry of Education and National Enlightenment. Ing. Karel Maněna, the chairman of the preparatory committee of the Human Labour Institute and the senior section councillor at the Ministry of Social and Health Administration became the deputy chairman. The director of the Psychotechnic Institute, doc. Jan Doležal, retained its position of the director also in the Human Labour Institute. Dr. Emil Zimmler, the first president of the Masaryk Academy of Labour was appointed the honorary chairman.[211]

3.2.2 Expert Departments

The Institute's structural division and agenda were not set in stone, but changed during the occupation in dependence on new political tasks set by the Reich and (re)organization of the state administration in the Protectorate. According to the undated Basic Regulations, the Institute had three departments: *the Department for Research*, *the Department for a Career Choice* and *the Department for Application of Research Finding on Human Labour*.[212] The Annual Report from 1939 states slightly different division: *the*

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[211] "Základní řád," p. 4. Inventory no. 12. Box 1. Document collection no. 544, Ústav lidské práce. The National Archives in Prague. Minutes of the meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Central Psychotechnic Institute and of the Human Labour Institute's Preparatory Committee from May 25, 1938, September 27, 1939 and October 30, 1939. Inventory no. 13. Box 1. Document collection no. 544, Ústav lidské práce. The National Archives in Prague.
[212] "Základní řád," p. 1–4. Inventory no. 12. Box 1. Document collection no. 544, Ústav lidské práce. The National Archives in Prague.

Department of Research, *the Department for Selection and Counselling*, and *the Department for Training*. The scheme of this organizational division with outlined agenda is presented below.

Tab. no. 1. *Organizational Scheme of the HLI as of 1939*[213]

I. Research

    psychology

    physiology

II. Selection and Counselling

    A. Selection of the working youth

        1. secondary schools

            a) prospective first-formers

            b) fourth-formers

            c) school-leavers

        2. professional schools

        3. public schools

        4. youth labour market

    B. Selection of adults

        1. employees in the commercial sector

        2. in the transport

        3. in the state security service

    C. Disciplinary Counselling

III. Training

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[213] "Výroční zpráva za rok 1939 [The Annual Report for 1939]," p. 1–3. Inventory no. 21. Folder 21–22. Box 2. The Document Collection no. 544, Ústav lidské práce. The National Archives, Prague.

Apart from these departments, further working sections included the *Press and Publicity Department*, the *Evaluation and Statistic Department*, the *Administrative Office* and an engineering workshop.[214]

3.2.2.1 Department for Research

The research department undertook research in human nature, dispositions and capabilities. Other task was study of labour in regards to psycho-physiological requirements of individual occupations and labour tasks. For their establishing, researches explored factors as fatigue, rest, willingness to work, working conditions, safety regulations, etc. Researchers elaborated, improved and verified selection methods for vocational guidance practice and designed measures for effective organization of labour, improving working conditions, easing work and increasing labour performance. Research was done in all fields of manual and mental labour. Gained knowledge served to regulation of the access to education and effective placement of workers into segments of industry, services and commerce in line with needs of national (that is German) economy.[215]

3.2.2.2 Department for Selection and Counselling

The task of this department was to strive for economically effective and individually satisfying career choice and course choice in order to ensure the most perfect application of workers' abilities. For fulfilling this goal, the department was to cooperate with education

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[214] "Výroční zpráva za rok 1939," p. 3. Inventory no. 21. Folder 21–22. Box 2. The Document Collection no. 544, Ústav lidské práce. The National Archives, Prague.

[215] "Základní řád," p. 1–2. Inventory no. 12. Box 1. Document collection no. 544, Ústav lidské práce. The National Archives in Prague.

authorities on selecting pupils for further education at secondary and higher technical schools and universities and on their preparation for a career choice.

Other area of research covered development tendencies in and economic prospects of particular occupations underpinned by statistical studies; special attention was devoted to occupations for secondary, vocational and university studies graduates. Lastly, the department carried out selection of employees for positions in private and public sector, and cooperated with the competent authorities in the field of training and retraining of workmen and white-collar workers.[216]

3.2.2.3   Department for Practice and Training

This department was to elaborate methods for training of apprentices in trades and industry and for affecting young workers' attitude to labour in general. Its further task was theoretical and practical training of prospective vocational guidance agents. This task necessitated collaboration with labour offices and with counselling offices established by other actors in the field of vocational guidance.

As was already mentioned in the section 3.2.2, according to the Basic regulations (undated), the Institute at some point had or was designed to have *the Department for Application of Research Finding on Human Labour* instead of *the Department of Training*. The former was to present research findings on psycho-physiology and sociology of labour and capabilities to employees and employers. Questions of fatigue, recreation, accident prevention and work incentives were to be of primary interest to the department. Further,

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[216] "Základní řád," p. 2. Inventory no. 12. Box 1. Document collection no. 544, Ústav lidské práce. The National Archives in Prague.

its task was to collaborate with psychotechnic institutes and similar types of institutions established by private and public enterprises. Lastly, the department was to design measures for organization of labour, developed methods of scientific and fair measuring of labour performance and work towards the improvement of wage systems.[217] It is not clear under which department these tasks were finally assigned.

4 Political Instrumentalization of the Human Labour Institute

The language of the official documents produced by the Protectorate institutions or texts by whatever actors/authors circulating in the public space required to be politically neutral unless they aimed at confronting or openly resisting the occupying power. For that reason, sources keep referring to the Nazi occupation and their exploitative and repressive policies as "political and economic changes." Based on the Annual reports for 1939 and 1940 it is evident, despite the vague phrasing, that the Nazi policies in the Protectorate directly impacted the Institute from its inception.

> The scope of research reoriented in line with changes in the structure of industrial entrepreneurship and *sudden* transfers of the population as well as with changed prospects in all occupations. The Institute faced new duties in almost all its fields which necessitated complete reorganization of the Institute's research so that it could accomplish the tasks consequent on the new conditions.[218]

The industrial restructuring ensued the shift from civilian to war economy and brought about "sudden transfers" of labour between segments of industry or from services and

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[217] "Základní řád," p. 2. Inventory no. 12. Box 1. Document collection no. 544, Ústav lidské práce. The National Archives in Prague.

[218] "Výroční zpráva za rok 1939," p. 1. Inventory no. 21. Folder 21–22. Box 2. The Document Collection no. 544, Ústav lidské práce. The National Archives, Prague. Emphasis mine.

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[217] "Základní řád," p. 2. Inventory no. 12. Box 1. Document collection no. 544, Ústav lidské práce. The National Archives in Prague.

[218] "Výroční zpráva za rok 1939," p. 1. Inventory no. 21. Folder 21–22. Box 2. The Document Collection no. 544, Ústav lidské práce. The National Archives, Prague. Emphasis mine.

non-productive sector (educational system) to industry in accordance with planned distribution of labour. We can also think of the influx of the Reich Germans that were coming to occupy leading positions in administration, industry and key institutions and of deportation of Jews that belonged among the significant constituents of intellectual and entrepreneurial strata as of another instances of transfer of population relevant to the Institute's research. As was discussed in the section 2.3.3.1, the Germanization policy determined access to education and career opportunities of the Protectorate citizens, and in consequence of diminishing the Czech educational system and Germanization of economy (expropriation of Jewish and Czech/Slovak/other nationalities' businesses and Germanization of managerial staff), some segments of the Protectorate population were forced to take up new jobs. Other known and relevant displacement of population from the Protectorate to the Reich came about under the (forced) labour deployment policy but that occurred later (from January 1942 on).

4.1 Image of the Psychotechnic Institute and the Human Labour Institute in the Contemporary Press

Media were subjected to the strict censorship already in the Second republic (lasting from October 1938 to March 1939). Of special concern was informing on Germany towards which the government assumed a compliant attitude—some politicians out of conviction or utilitarianism, some from strategic reasons and with hope that Hitler's expansionism would be destroyed in an imminent war once and for all.[219] As regards the press in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, German administration assumed control over it

[219] Křen, *Dvě století střední Evropy*, 443.

without impediment.[220] President Emil Hácha with minister of foreign affairs František Chvalkovský, upon signing the declaration on the establishment of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia on March 15, 1939 in Berlin, "entrust[ed] the fate of the Czech nation and country into the hands of the leader of the German Reich" and "agreed to exercise restraint in the public speeches, press, theatre, and radio broadcasting."[221]

The impact of the shifting power and ideology on relation to labour and its management can be traced in rhetoric and content of press articles reporting on the activities of the Psychotechnic Institute since 1937 until 1938 and of the Institute of Human Labour from 1938 onwards. I intentionally included years 1937–1938 as a basis for comparing eventual continuities and discontinuities. The press reports on the Psychotechnic institute from 1937 inform on psychotechnic testing of elementary school pupils and secondary grammar school students. These tests assessing their skills, talents, and cognitive capacities were applied in order to determine whether a pupil/student is suited for further study, and thus for intellectual work, or rather for a vocational school, and thus for trade or craft, eventually for what type of study, trade or craft. The reports contain a small note of displeasure expressed by its representatives concerning the fact that the expert recommendations were not oftentimes respected and that parents preferred to decide upon the future (careers) of their children according to their own criteria. Further they disapprove that too many mediocre students are studying at the secondary schools or they study for wrong reasons, be it will of the parents or lack of awareness of their talent

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[220] Končelík, "Řízení a kontrola českého tisku v Protektorátu Čechy a Morava," 299.
[221] Vladimír Soják, *Mnichov v dokumentech, I* [Munich in the primary sources, vol. I](Praha: SPNL, 1958), 283–285.

for a vocational education.[222] Articles advocate the value of vocational skills and manual labour. Their agenda is clear. The Reich does not need intellectuals but manual workers. In addition, the number of job positions for educated stratum considerably decreased with the curtailment of the educational system, Germanization of administration and industry and shift to the war economy.

Already in 1937, articles reflect on the political development in Germany and German international politics in a cautiously "neutral" way. I make such assumption based on the manner how an article informed on the fact that Germans built up an institution analogical to the HLI in Dortmund. The article informs that the institution was funded by German industrialists who continued to finance it along with the state until the present day (of publication of the article). Further it informs that a similar institution is being built by German Labour Front. It designates Hitler's coup simply as "overturn" and avoids stating that German Labour Front was a Nazi organization and what consequence this fact had for autonomous trade unions and workers most probably because it was known and not desirable to pinpoint.[223] The reporting on Germany in a dispassionate manner was probably also a part of the political strategy to cooperate with Hitler and the Sudeten Germans.[224]

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[222] "Psychotechnické vyšetrování kvartánů [Psychotechnic testing of grammar school students]." *Lidové noviny-Brno* [People's Newspapers], February 14, 1937. Doc. Dr. Doležal in the interview for *Nový večerník* [The New Evening newspapers] almost two years after claims that sixty percent of the students at the secondary schools do not belong there. Secondary school should become a selective school. "Vědecký boj proti protekci. Mladí vpřed – ale ti vybraní, nejlepší [The Scientific struggle Against the Nepotism. The Youth Forward–but the Selected One, the Best One]." *Nový Večerník*, Prague December 12, 1938.

[223] It was basically an instrument of the NSDAP not only to secure compliance of the workers with the regime but to ensure their active support by industrious labour for war effort. Timothy W. Mason, "Labour in the Third Reich, 1933–1939," *Past and Present*, no. 33 (1966): 113–114.

[224] Křen, *Dvě století střední Evropy*, 436. Broklová, "Agrární strana a demokracie," 37.

In the parliamentary elections in 1935, the Sudeten German Party became the most powerful German party in Czechoslovakia and since then, Konrad Henlein pressured the Czechoslovak government to achieve minority rights for the Czech Germans who mostly saw establishment of the Czechoslovak state in 1918 as illegitimate and felt as second class citizens in it. His real stake, however, was the territorial autonomy of the Sudetenland. In February 1937, the Czechoslovak government adopted a new nationalities policy that was compliant with Henlein's requirements. Mark Cornwall claims that by 1937 the Czechs sought to terminate the international intervention into the causa with the Henleins pertaining their minority rights claims towards Czechoslovakia, so as not to thwart their negotiations with the moderate Sudeten activist parties.[225]

The reports on the activity of the Preparatory Committee (working on the establishment of the Human Labour Institute) published between January 9, 1938 and September 1, 1938, that is before the establishment of the Second Czechoslovak republic in October 1, 1938, do not reveal any apparent anti-democratic rhetoric, nor do they reflect the dramatic political development in the republic and in Europe. They are moderately nationalist and socialist, thematising the questions of rationalization of labour and its benefit for the nation, work ethic, fair remuneration, appropriate use of leisure time, recreation, housing and other socio-political aspects of labour. All these interests are brought forward as a "*modern* effort to improve the life of a man."[226] The press proclaims that there is a social demand

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[225] Mark Cornwall, "'A Leap into Ice-Cold Water': the Manoeuvres of the Henlein Movement in Czechoslovakia, 1933-8," in *Czechoslovakia in a nationalist and fascist Europe, 1918-1948*, edited by Mark Cornwall and Robert John Weston Evans (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2007), 123–142.

[226] "Trochu pozdě, ale přece. Pozornost výroby se obrací od stroje k člověku. Před založením Čs. ústavu pro výzkum lidské práce [Better Late Than Never. Attention in the Production Process is Turning from Machine to Man. Prior to Founding of the Czechoslovak Institute of Human Labour]." České slovo-Praha [Czech Word-Prague]. June 22, 1938. Emphasis is mine.

for scientific study of human labour, stating that private psychotechnic institutes arise in the enterprises and that calls come also from the public.[227]

Frequent topic in 1938 is a problem of engineers' unemployment, followed by articulating the need to plan distribution of youth into fields of study and vocational training to prevent lack of experts and or their excess. One of the professions suffering from saturation was survey engineering. An article from July 1938 reports that attempts to employ geodesists in the building branches, in the state offices, or in the private engineering business failed as they were already saturated. In a period of uncertainty, commissions for large technical projects did not appear as fast as was predicted. It was expected that diminishing job opportunities would negatively impact interest in the study of this discipline. Unemployment afflicted especially the younger surveying engineers but was high among the young technical experts in general.

The state determined age limits for eligibility in civil service and did not recruited young candidates. It consequently imposed a two-year ban on further recruitment in all probability in regards to the escalating political turmoil (the *Sudetenland Crisis*) culminating in the October annexation of the Sudetenland. In all likelihood, the same factors, that is economic and social problems induced by influx of refugees and curtailments of the productive capacity resulting from territorial losses, put constraints to private entrepreneurship mentioned in the report. Unemployment grew also due to repatriation of the Czech citizens and demobilized officers-engineers from Slovakia and Ruthenia. Unemployed surveying engineers were instructed to notify the social

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[227] "Ústav lidské práce. Přípravné práce jsou v plném proudu. [Institute of Human Labour. Preparatory work is underway]." *Národní politika* [National Politics] Prague, June 2, 1938.

department of the Associations of Engineers. Careful statistics of unemployment aided planners that forecasted prospects in individual occupations which was essential to the regulation of the labour market and access to education. The report concludes that it is more probable that the engineer will find an employment via the *engineering* recruitment agency affiliated to the Association."[228]

Selectivity in access to higher education is another repeating theme. The argument goes that higher education is not suitable for everybody, but should be reserved for the talented individuals. By selection, moral and material damage could be prevented.[229] For this reason, according to the source, the Vocational Counselling was increasingly sought-after service. In 1937, the Vocational Counselling Offices examined four thousand adolescents, mainly fifteen-year olds. Boys outnumbered girls. Majority of clients were children from the working class or low-level white-collar workers' families as an investment into study was a huge burden for them. They could hardly afford a private tutor or other study related expenses. While families that did not face financial problems largely underestimated the significance of the centres, the source opines. Apparently, the class status is to be blamed here. As for the appeal of an individual field of study or a vocation to the pupils, merchandising was found to be the least attractive vocation by boys. They preferred mostly technical and engineering programs, besides them also graphic education.[230]

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[228] "Sociální vyhlídky mladých zeměměřičských inženýrů [Social Prospects of Young Surveying Engineers]." *Zeměměřičský věstník* [Journal of Surveying Engineering], Prague, July 7, 1938.
[229] It is meant moral damage caused by the failure in study which can irreversibly affect life of the adolescent, material damage represents the wasted investment of parents and the state in the unsuccessful child.
[230] "Na podzim zahájení. Praha dostane Ústav lidské práce [Opening in autumn. Prague will have the Human Labour Institute]," *Večerní československé slovo-Zlín* [The Evening Czechoslovak Word-Zlín], September 1, 1938.

Beginning with October 1, 1938, i.e. the establishment of the Second Republic and annexation of the Sudetenland, the press articles related to the HLI reflect the impact of externally motivated changes on labour and production (the loss of most of the light industry, for example, or rise in unemployment due to the influx of refugees). Their rhetoric is markedly nationalist. Political and ideological break with the pre-Munich government is palpable. Their authors identify (and reject) democratization of access to higher education as the primary factor leading to waste of labour and unemployment. Criticized is also the perseverance of the link between vocational education and the low status and the continuous practice of middle-class parents to reproduce their class status through directing children into higher education regardless of their own wishes, talents and capabilities.

An article from December 1938 asserts that the new economic situation requires *planned* distribution and utilization of *all* national workforce.

> The labour cannot be wasted, be it out of convenience or out of ignorance. Workforce is the basic source of nation-building.[231]

A plan was to set up further Vocational Counselling Offices (structurally subordinated to the psychotechnic department of the Institute) and make psychotechnic testing a compulsory part of the entrance examination to educational institutions. For this purpose, the press appealed to teachers for cooperation as they could reach parents and promote and mediate the services of the Vocational Counselling to them.[232]

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[231] "Psychotechnické vyšetřování žactva měšťanských škol [The Psychotechnic Testing of the Pupils of the Burgher Schools]." *Časopis Československé obce učitelské* [Journal of the Czechoslovak Commune of Teachers.] Prague, December 1, 1938.
[232] "Rodičům dětí z měšťanských škol [To the Parents of the Children Attending the Burgher Schools]." *Královédvorské noviny*, December 3, 1938.

The significance of psychotechnics for the *new* state-building should have been obvious to everybody according to the author of the article from December 12, 1938.[233] Psychotechnic testing as a tool of regulation of access to education directly shaped composition of workforce and industry. For that reason, it was important that the youth complied with the political goals and needs irrespective of whether or not they identified with the collectivist labour ideology.[234] In the public discourse, the young people were given the politically significant role of carrying on their shoulders the burden of this task, that is the task of contributing by their labour to the best of their abilities to state-building. "The youth should be given support," the director of the Psychotechnic Institute doc. Doležal declares, "but only the selected one". The director presented psychotechnics as a well-proven tool of scientific struggle against nepotism which, according to him, came very handy at the time of reorganising of the public life and administration of the affairs of the nation. The charges of nepotism concern the politics of the pre-Munich period.

Doležal claims that the public accepted psychotechnic testing positively. It was allegedly evidenced not only by the increasing number of the examined children, but also by interest of the general public in the film informing on methods and purpose of psychotechnics. The Institute's director justified the regulation of access to education by the current economic conditions.

> In the idyllic period of economic prosperity or tranquillity, selection of the gifted individuals is not of interest to the society. It is the economic privation what forces us to search among the all, but *we* have to *sort them out*. Nepotism constituted a major obstacle to the sorting. [...]

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233 Emphasis is mine. The attribute "new" signals the political and ideological break of the Second republic with the First Republic. "Vědecký boj proti protekci. Mladí vpřed – ale ti vybraní, nejlepší. [Scientific Struggle Against the Nepotism. The Youth Forward–but the Selected One, the Best One]." *Nový Večerník*, Prague December 12, 1938.

234 Here I have in mind the promoted idea that the Czech and Slovak right-wing nationalists shared with the German National Socialism that labour ceased to be a property of an individual but was of interest to the whole community that supervised to that labour of each member contributed to the well-being of all.

Today, when nepotism diminishes, the employers truly interested in gaining qualified employees, seek help in the Institute.[235]

Further, he advocates that the secondary school becomes a selective school. Psychotechnic testing should be a part and parcel of the entrance exam and the pupils be subjected to observation during the whole last form in the Burgher school.[236] As for the tendencies in career choices of pupils, craft leads. Doležal illustrates the drawbacks of democracy/autonomy in vocation/career choice on an example of merchandising which was according to him dominated by *formally* educated staff, however without aptitude for sale.[237] This comment thus substantiates the idea that not fulfilment of the formal requirements should decide on the (academic) career or vocation choice, but the applicant's real skills, talents, dispositions. The imposition of scientific authority over the children's life trajectory was in my view, underpinned and justified by assumption that children are not conscious or rational enough as concerns assessing their strengths and weaknesses. Similarly, they may be quite unaware of, confused about or unstable in their desires or tendencies, and for all these reasons they may not be capable to make an adequate decision on their career path.

A slightly more explicit reference to the impact of the changed political setting on the activity of the Psychotechnic Institute appears in the article from January 28, 1939. It reports on a successful operation of the Vocational Counselling Office in Moravská

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[235] "Vědecký boj proti protekci. Mladí vpřed – ale ti vybraní, nejlepší. [Scientific struggle against the nepotism. The youth forward–but the selected one, the best one]." *Nový Večerník*, Prague December 12, 1938. Inventory no. 331. Box 12. Document collection no. 544, Ústav lidské práce. The National Archives in Prague.

[236] Types of educational institutions are discussed on p. 97.

[237] "Vědecký boj proti protekci. Mladí vpřed – ale ti vybraní, nejlepší. [The Scientific struggle against the nepotism. The youth forward–but the selected one, the best one]." *Nový Večerník* [*The New* Evening Paper], Prague December 12, 1938. With the rise of the Second republic, everything is build anew.

Ostrava which exceled among other offices in 1938 at the national level having examined the highest number of children and adolescents. The centre is said to serve all classes and nationalities. Among the tested children, there were many of German, Jewish or Polish nationality. Most children were directed into vocations in respect to local economic structure, boys into the metal industrial and girls into domestic ones.

> After the September and October *events*[238] when the centre ceased to operate for two weeks, it was even more necessary to align directing into vocations with the actual needs of the *changed conditions.* The alignment was soon apparent, particularly as concerns Jewish children.[239]

The strikingly circumspect formulation is in line with the politics of restraint, mentioned above in the paper. The alignment concerns the anti-Jewish legislation initiated in January 1939 (the same period as the publishing of the article), excluding the Jews from higher education and employment in civil service.[240]

The next articles related to the Psychotechnic Institute, the Vocation Counselling Offices and the preparation of the Institute of Human Labour appear on April 21, 1939. It was a little more than month after the German occupation and the establishment of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. Between April 21 and April 30, the national and regional newspapers published eighteen articles on this subject. Again, none of them

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[238] The *events* stands for the Munich Agreement and subsequent annexation of the Sudetenland by Germany, and of eastern part of Silesia by Poland. In November, the annexation of the north part of Slovakia by Poland (November 5, 1938) and part of Ruthenia and eastern and south Slovakia by Hungary (November 5, 1938) followed. These territorial curtailments are not mentioned in the article.

[239] Emphasis is mine to note the neutral language. "Činnost poradny pro volbu povolání za rok 1938 [Activity of the Vocational Counselling Office centre in 1938], *Ostravský kraj* [Ostrava region], January 28, 1939.

[240] Rataj, *O autoritativní národní stát*, 112–19. Melissa Feinberg uses Václav Černý, a literary scholar, philosopher, writer and translator, to problematize the anti-Jewish legislation. Černý, according to Feinberg, in his memoirs contends that "...the government was forced by the tabloid press to attack the Jews, and that it refused to confiscate Jewish property, adopt Aryan laws, or do anything more than make a pretence of harshness. The Czech government rather hoped, he said, that all the Jews would convert to Christianity and the problem of what to do with them would go away." See Václav Černý, *Křik koruny české*, 68–69 cited in Feinberg, "Women and Politics in the Czech land after Munich," note no. 19 on page 225.

refers to the 15th March directly, instead they use phrases as "the contemporary grave time for our nation" and the like. For the understandable reasons explained above, analyses of the causes of economic and societal problems (linking them to German expansionism) or whatever anti-German comments do not appear in the public domain. While linking contemporary hardships with the politics of the pre-Munich period appears frequently.

The main emphasis is put on framing the tasks of the Psychotechnic Institute and the Institute of Human Labour as the national interests of primary importance. Psychotechnics is presented as one of the most forward agent of modern science that profoundly impacts lives of both, the nation and individuals.[241] The school inspector Antonín Juppa expressed an opinion that

> Upbringing and education of the Czech children is nowadays in the focus of national interests. The Czech child is today a sovereign and sacred shield of the nation which needs further and further generations of genuine and capable individuals in all spheres of human activities at its disposal. It is not an easy task to obtain remedy for impaired balance. Excess of labour power causes social problems, lack of qualified individuals undermines the nation.[242]

Work is proclaimed to be an activity keeping the nation alive (at the "grave time") and workforce its primary estate. The "apparent" necessity to plan composition and distribution of labour power legitimized the efforts to regulate access to (higher) education on a meritocratic basis. Ministry of Education and Enlightenment thus decided that psychotechnic testing would be a compulsory part of the entrance exam. The exact dating

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[241] "Pro lepší výběr studentů [For the better selection of students]." *Nedělní české slovo* [The Sunday Czech Word], Prague, April 23, 1939.
[242] Ibid.

is not stated but based on the analysis of the press reports it must have taken place between February and April 1939.[243]

There is one interesting instance of making a link between the contemporary Human Labour Institute and its predecessor, the Psychotechnic Institute in terms of continuity of the Institutions' research and its political application. It is a significant declaration, in my view, considering the propaganda against the interwar democratic liberal Czechoslovakia, typical for the Second republic. The article from April 22, 1939 makes clear that there is a link between the contemporary activity and the past projects of the PI. [244]

> Study of the scientific and practical problems of the psychology and physiology of labour, and especially the developing a method and a standardized practice of the recruitment to various vocations and professions is not a novel agenda. To work for the purpose of achieving the most perfect application of skills of all working classes of the nation was the goal of the Psychotechnic Institute from its inception.

A better sense of this remark can be made when read against the background of Ing. Alfred Dratva's speech to the members of the Czech Technical Academy in January 1940 on the motives behind the transformation of the Psychotechnic Institute into the Human Labour Institute.[245] Dratva was a Deputy Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Psychotechnic Institute and later a member of the Board of Trustees of the Human Labour Institute, representing there the Masaryk Academy of Labour. Apart from the already

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[243] "Musíme být národem silných jedinců. Boj o lepší školu začal [We Have to be a Nation of Strong Individuals. The Battle for a Better School Commenced]," *Pražský list* [The Prague Gazette], April 21, 1939.

[244] "Psychotechnický výzkum se prohlubuje [The research into psychotechnics expands]," *Lidové noviny* [The People's Newspapers], April 22, 1939.

[245] Alfréd Dratva, "O přeměně Ústředního ústavu psychotechnického' na 'Ústav lidské práce [On the Transformation of the Central Psychotechnic Institute into the Human Labour Institute]," *Sborník české akademie technické* [The yearbook of the Czech Academy of Science] XIV (1940): 288.

mentioned broadening of the research agenda, Dratva linked the transformation of the PI into the HLI with the adaptation to the *new economic setting.*[246]

This setting was to emerge as a result of the ongoing struggle of the two antagonistic forces in global economy, that is market and controlled economy. Only controlled economy was capable of achieving the socially desired goals, he maintained. Market economy failed at the test of WWI and had to be replaced by planned economy, in some segments entirely, in others partially. In the post-war development, liberal economy seemed to be revived for a short time, however had been declining. In order to renew the previous profit, it was necessary to use material sources, time, mechanic labour, but foremost mental and physical capabilities of the workers economically. This need launched the era of rationalization, he explains.[247]

Dratva's talk is a political performance. He talks as if the Czech nation laboured for itself and as if the Institute by boosting economy worked for the Czech nation, though economy was directed and exploited for the Reich. He makes a "detour in history" of scientific management pointing to its instrumentalization in the interwar period for profit. He makes it clear that the capitalist version of scientific management was detrimental to the society— while it served employers, it undermined workers. In this way, he ideologically justified and elevated (German) command economy in the Protectorate which was not oriented to profit, but to output, trying to suggest that it is a recipe how to make both happy, employers

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[246] On motives for the transformation of the Psychotechnic Institute into the Human Labour Institute see section 3.1 Legislative and Organizational Development.

[247] Alfréd Dratva, "O přeměně Ústředního ústavu psychotechnického' na 'Ústav lidské práce [On the Transformation of the Central Psychotechnic Institute into the Human Labour Institute]," *Sborník české akademie technické* [The yearbook of the Czech Academy of Science] XIV, no. (1940): 288–292.

and employees. As workers were the one of the essential factors of production, the labour policy and propaganda sought to gain their allegiance.

The Czech nation did not benefit from rationalization of economy as it was directed to German war goals and not to the Protectorate society (war industry at the expense of consumer industry and services). Thus the speech more than anything else reveals the art of balancing between the effort to maintain the appearance of the Protectorate institutions' autonomy (and by the same token of the autonomy of the Czech nation) and necessary compliance with the German policies and politics. This art was kind of necessary for every Protectorate administration official and employee of any public institution. Having said that, the philippic against the interwar Czechoslovakia's liberal economy (and by extension against the liberal democracy) is in most likelihood anything but a lip-service to the Germans. It seems plausible to assume that notwithstanding what the representatives of the Institute proclaimed in public, they knew how things were —that they do not serve the Czech nation by boosting economy production, but to the Germans. As most of the industry was in German hands, it cannot be claimed that Czechs had much use of scientific management. True, some Czechs benefited from the war economy in the sense that they compensated for unavailability of the consumer goods by creating a black market or they benefited from the war circumstances in other ways, but this is another chapter.

After this attack on liberal democracy, Dratva turns to legitimizing the Psychotechnic Institute which worked under the liberal democratic government (in actuality in close collaboration with the significant representatives of the liberal democratic government). Dratva admits that the Institute proved itself to be an important instrument of economic

organization of the society. He then continues with the socialist critique of scientific management. In the Western democracies, application of scientific management under liberal order was not motivated by efforts to achieve social betterment of workers but to increase profit. He admits that workers resisted such efforts and held negative view of the Psychotechnic Institute, but he makes implicitly clear that the Institute should not be blamed but the liberal order.[248] It was the rationalized liberal economy which brought world to the disastrous economic crisis in the late 1920s and early 1930s. He claims that *nothing* (=expertise of the Institute) is good or bad *per se*, but its value derives from (purpose/a way of) use. Thus, he persuades the audience, the Czech Technical Academy should be given credit for the great achievement of creating this necessary tool of the new organization of economy (the Human Labour Institute) and should not be held responsible for the previous improper use (of the expertise in scientific management).

In liberal order, the entrepreneur could generate profit for himself drawing on the resources of the state without major responsibilities to it in return. Such abuse is not possible in the system of controlled economy in which each citizen is considered to be an executive organ of the state and is allowed to profit personally only if he/she does not harm fellow citizens and the interests of all. Dratva further warns the proponents of liberal economy that their hopes for its return are misguided and that its effort to prove itself failed once again in the unfulfilled goals of the New Deal. He points out that planned economy established itself in the authoritarian states of Europe long before the contemporary war and that it gains prominence in other European countries. Planned economy is the only tool to correct errors and injustice of liberal economy. Based on the fact that the HLI will

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[248] Dratva, "O přeměně Ústředního ústavu psychotechnického' na 'Ústav lidské práce," 289.

take over the cadre of *reliable* and qualified officials of the former PI, there is no doubt that the new institute will enhance efforts to build a new economic and social order of the Czech nation.[249]

Despite on the surface Dratva's speech appears as nothing else than propaganda legitimizing directed economy, it cannot be ruled out that its purpose was simultaneously to convey a message to the Czech nation that the real allegiance is, despite the necessary engagement with Germans, with them. The effort of Dratva to "whitewash" the former personnel of the PI could be interpreted as a tactical strategy to preserve the Czech democratic make-up of the Institute, although being externally compliant with the German politics and ideology.

As Jaromír Tauchen confirms, the contemporary press sought to create the same distinction between the First republic and the Protectorate, criticizing the long-term unemployment and the capitalist exploitation of the workers. The Protectorate press advocated a new conception of labour as a right and duty at the same time. Each was obliged to work wholeheartedly and contribute to the best of his/her abilities to the well-being of the whole. The labour was not any more possession of an individual but belonged to the wealth of the nation. This was one of the fundamental tenets of NSDAP. The real goal was obvious, to encourage workers' productivity for the good of the German expansionist war.[250]

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[249] Emphasis is mine.
[250] Tauchen, "Pracovní právo v Protektorátu Čechy a Morava (1939 - 1945) [Labour law in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia]," 863.

Returning to the initial article from April 22, 1939 which made a link between the contemporary activity and the past projects of the PI, the claim that "to work for the purpose of achieving the most perfect application of skills of all working classes of the nation was the goal of the Psychotechnic Institute from its inceptio" received, hopefully after the Dratva's speech, a richer context. [251] Based on what have been said above, I approach the claim as an apt manoeuvring in the "political waters." The political background of the Psychotechnic Institute was, as in the case of the Masaryk Academy of Labour, centre-left, thus social politics, ambition to attenuate or entirely eradicate class struggle and the considerations for workers were part of the political program of the dominant current of the interwar technocratic movement. However, it is only half of the truth. Entrepreneurs as well as the state were to benefit from its application. Thus compared with the capitalist Fordism or Taylorism where rationalization served primarily factory/business owner, and with the German instrumentalization of scientific management for the specific goals of the state, in interwar Czechoslovakia scientific management was conducive to formation of a tripartite structure of actors–the industrialists, workers and the state-linked among each other by contracts from which each party could benefit. A fourth type of an actor were experts having a coordinating, managerial role. Such a configuration of economy is called tripartism.[252]

Reports in 1939 mostly rephrase older ideas, adapted to the new setting. Thus once again we hear that to have the child at the secondary school will not be any more a mark of a

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[251] "Psychotechnický výzkum se prohlubuje [The research into psychotechnics expands]." *Lidové noviny* [The People's Newspapers], April 22, 1939.
[252] Tripartism as a form of economic corporatism was a trendy economic policy in the 1930s. Howard J. Wiarda, *Corporatism and Comparative Politics: The Other Great "Ism". Comparative Politics Series* (Armonk, New York: M. E. Sharpe, 1996), 22.

high social status and by the same token to have him at the vocational school will not be a mark of a low social status.[253] The tendencies to approach education as a reproduction of the class status or as a means of social mobility was, according to Institute's representatives, the drawback of the ill-conceived democratization of the education, threatening the *interests of the nation*. Rather than taking it for face value as ideas with which their authors identified, I think they reflect goals of the German labour and educational policies. Exhortations to giving priority to collective interests over the individual ones and to contributing by own labour to the well-being of all were basic tenets of the National Socialist propaganda aiming at indoctrinating workers and motivating them to higher performance. Whatever was in the *interests of the nation*, the nation living under occupation could not have much hope for its fulfilment.

It cannot be excluded that the Institute's representatives genuinely adhered to the idea that the access to education should be granted selectively to the gifted ones regardless of social background, and that they strove, as in the interwar period, to put all classes on equal footing by providing the lower one a means of social mobility. However, it is important to keep in mind that the Institute primarily served German Reich and that its possibilities for political action in favour of the Czech nation equalled most probably to zero. In addition, even if politically engaged Czechs might have hoped that the shared experience of occupation will contribute to breaking the boundaries between classes, the German war politics either deepened existing cleavages (Roma vs. non- Roma

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[253] "Pro lepší výběr studentů. Vpád psychotechniků na střední školy [For the better selection of students. The invasion of the psychotechnics to the secondary schools]." *Nedělní české slovo* [The Sunday Czech Word], Prague, April 23, 1939.

population, Jewish vs. non-Jewish population, workers vs. intellectuals) or created new ones (Czechs collaboration vs Czech resistance).[254]

The gap between the working class and the students or intellectuals in general was widening during the war. The alienation between the workers and intellectuals grew as the Nazis assumed different attitudes to various categories of people based on the subjects' instrumental value (or lack of thereof), ideological premises of German politics and/or the level of (non)compliance of the subjects. In case of intellectuals, their value as labourers was low and in addition, many of them took anti-German stance. Thus, the Nazis mistreated and persecuted them. Aware of their indispensability to the Reich, the workers hoped for some time that they would benefit from the German social politics. Thus the Nazis strove to gain their loyalty. For achieving the latter goal, Reinhard Heydrich, the Reich Protector since September 1941, applied the politics of the carrot and the stick to the workers either terrorizing them or rewarding them with preferential treatment. On the other hand, Heydrich sent intellectuals, including students, to concentration camps and sentenced many others to death as enemies of the Reich.[255] The differential treatment was more complex: while workers, especially hard labouring were advantaged in terms of social benefits and higher rations, students and intellectuals when deployed to labour in the industry, were often times getting lighter work. Intellectuals despised workers as collaborators, while workers looked down on intellectuals as emasculated and labour shirking men. Having said that, despite the proclamations in the press, the efforts to

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[254] Some of these dichotomies may have overlapped with others, e.g. some workers with collaborators and some intellectuals with resistance.

[255] Jan Kuklík, *Czech law in historical contexts* (Prague: Karolinum Press, 2015), 119. John Connelly, "Students, Workers, and Social Change: The Limits of Czech Stalinism," *Slavic Review* 56, No. 2 (1997): 313.

regulate education and labour market did not represent an attempt to diminish the cleavage between these social groups for the higher aim of unification of the Czech nation, but were directly linked with the Nazi war policies in the Protectorate.

The article continues by claiming that the trend toward prioritizing the intellectual professions over the blue-collar and low-level white collar jobs, can be reverted only by promoting social significance of the physical labour and by cultivating reverence to it. It strives to justify the constraints on the access to education by claiming that the higher education is a serious responsibility, not a prerogative. Further it is said that before anybody takes such a responsibility, the society, represented by administrative bodies and *science*, will make sure that he or she will be able to meet the requirements.[256]

4.2   Activities of the Institute During Occupation

The introducing of labour offices in September 1939 led to change in the structure of the occupational counselling which shifted under their competence. Yet, the Institute continued to operate its counselling offices. However, its main political task became retraining of workers for the needs of war economy.[257] Its research in the field of higher education ceased in response to the closure of universities in September 1939. In May 1942, labour agenda was transferred from the former Ministry of Social and Health

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[256] "Pro lepší výběr studentů. Vpád psychotechniků na střední školy [For the better selection of students. The invasion of the psychotechnics to the secondary schools]." *Nedělní české slovo* [The Sunday Czech Word], Prague, April 23, 1939. Emphasis mine.

[257] Tauchen, "Pracovní právo v Protektorátu Čechy a Morava," 868.

administration to the Ministry of Economy and Labour led by the German minister Walter Bertsch

4.2.1 Regulation of Access to Education

As was already outlined in the section 2.3.3.5 on educational policy and section 2.3.3.2 on industrial policy, the Nazis' primary interests in the Protectorate were its industrial capacity and Czech labour. Their attitude to the Protectorate's population was strictly utilitarian. The restriction of the Czech educational system and regulation of access to education was primarily connected with Germanization and economic policy.[258] While the deserving Germanized Czech youth became selectively eligible to higher education at German schools in the Protectorate (Prague German Charles University and technical universities in Prague and Brno) and in the Reich, the value of the undeserving youth resided in their manpower. However, the curtailment of the educational system occurred also as a punitive measure ensuing public student protests and a series of manifestations of anti-German stances among students and teachers. Seeing the schools as "a hotbed of resistance", the authorities limited the number of the Czech primary and secondary schools, severely restricted access to secondary education and entirely precluded access to Czech universities also from the preventive reason. The closure of the educational institutions created redundancy of the teaching personnel which was deployed into war industry.[259]

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[258] Tara Zahra, "Reclaiming Children for the Nation: Germanization, National Ascription, and Democracy in the Bohemian Lands, 1990–1945," *Central European History* 37, no. 04 (2004): 533, 534. See also section 2.3.3 on German policies in the Protectorate.

[259] Brandes, *Češi pod německým protektorátem*, 286, 287.

On the other hand, the Nazi were aware of the potential of schools to indoctrinate and Germanize the Czech youth. Thus, the teachers that remained were forced to comply with Germanization and undergo re-education programs. Those who did not comply faced persecution as enemies of the Reich (labour deployment, deportation to the concentration camps).[260] Also vocational schools were of importance to war economy as they supplied industry with skilled labour. This made the authorities, at least until the declaration of total war in 1944, to leave the remaining elementary, vocational and secondary schools in place.

As concerns the types of schools, elementary education was received within a two-stage curriculum. Either both stages could be completed at the *National/Public school* (in Czech *národní/obecná* škola, in German *Volksschule*), or the lower level at *the National school* and the higher level at the *Burgher school* (in Czech *měšťanská/občanská škola*, in German *Stadtschule/Bürgerschule*). This Austrian system was a legacy from the Austro-Hungarian empire. The first stage lasted five years, the second stage at the National School was completed after three years and at the Burgher School after four years. Numbering of the forms at the Burgher school started from no. 1, for that reason the pupils of the last form were called the fourth-formers. These pupils were of interest to the Institute as potential clients of the vocational counselling and psychotechnic testing.

Upon the completion of the first stage (the *National school*), pupils had multiple options. Those who did not want to continue at the secondary level or learn a trade completed the higher level of the elementary education at the *National School* and after searched for a

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[260] Brandes, *Češi pod německým protektorátem*, 534.

job. Those who considered higher education preferred to finish their elementary education at the Burgher school which was more demanding and one year longer than the higher stage of the National school. Alternatively, pupils in their fifth form at the National School could apply to the eight-year grammar school or to the seven-year *Real school*. The term *Real school* (in Czech *reálná škola/reálka*, in German *Realschule*) initially designated an elementary type of school preparing pupils for vocations in agriculture and industry, eventually for further study at technical schools. In the 1860s, the institution was transformed into a seven-year secondary school, focused on natural sciences and world languages.[261] The school-leavers from the Burgher school could continue their studies at the technical secondary school or at the *Teacher's Institute* qualifying prospective teachers of the National and Burgher schools. These were the only types of schools providing secondary education in the Protectorate. Vocational schools represented another type and level of education.[262]

The Grammar schools were initially designed as a springboard for academic career or positions in civil service.[263] They came in three types: the *Classic Grammar School* (in Czech *klasické gymnázium*, in German *Klassische Gymnasium*), the *Real Grammar School* (in Czech *reálné gymnázium*, in German *Realgymnasium)* and the *Reformed Real Grammar School* (in Czech *reformní reálné* gymnázium). As the *Classical Grammar School* was based on adherence to the classical Greek and Roman culture, Greek and

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[261] The attribute "real" indicated orientation towards natural sciences. Růžena Váňová, "Školský systém v Českých zemích – Vývoj a současný stav [The Educational System in the Czech lands — the Development and the Current State]," in *Pedagogika pro učitele* [Pedagogy for Teachers], ed. Alena Vališová and Hana Kasíková (Praha: Grada, 2011), 76.
[262] Ibid., 73–75.
[263] Ibid., 71.

Latin were taught next to the general education. At the *Real Grammar school* Latin and Greek were replaced with French and mathematics and natural sciences were reinforced by higher time allocation. The *Reformed Real Grammar School* was a continuing higher stage of secondary education to which pupils could apply upon completion of the fourth form of the lower degree of the *Real Grammar school*. Its substantiation resided in the opportunity for pupils to postpone the final decision on their professional career as this type of the grammar school combined both currents, the humanities and the natural sciences.[264]

In 1941, the Ministry of Education banned further admissions at the *Reformed Real Grammar Schools* and the *Real Schools*. It was counted with their abolition upon graduation of the last cohort. The *Classic Grammar Schools* did not admit any female students. The *Real Grammar Schools* could accept girls in a ratio of 1 to 3 boys. If there was a *Girl's Grammar School* in the locality, no girl should have been accepted to the co-educational grammar schools.[265]

As concerns the exclusion of other categories of children (Roma, Jewish) from the educational system, there is no material available testifying to the fact that the Institute would have been involved in any way, except one newspaper article which in a very vague way admits that Jewish pupils were (due to the anti-Jewish racial legislation) excluded from the higher education and were directed to manual professions:

> [The Czech Vocational] Counselling served all classes and nationalities. Among the children coming from the neighbouring districts, there were many Polish, German and

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[264] Váňová, "Školský systém v Českých zemích," 77.
[265] Jan Špringl, "Školství v Protektorátu [Educational System in the Protectorate]." Školákem v Protektorátu [Being a pupil in the Protectorate], accessed June 14, 2016, http://skolakemvprotektoratu.pamatnik-terezin.cz/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=85&Itemid=91#typy.

> Jewish children. [...] After the September and October events [...] it was needed even more effort to accommodate vocation choice to the changed conditions. Reorientation was soon apparent particularly with Jewish children.[266]

It remains unclear what exactly "reorientation" in the case of Jewish children meant, whether they had to find an employment upon completing the elementary education, or whether they were allowed to continue at least at vocational schools. What instructions the researcher had as concerns Jewish children. It is however evidenced by secondary sources that Jewish children were excluded from secondary education.[267] Though in many aspects sharing similar fate with Jewish population, children of various subethnic Roma and Sinti groups in the Protectorate were (before deportations) placed into special educational institutions. Exclusion of Roma from the mainstream school system resulted from their being socially pathologized and ascribed inherent mental deficiencies.[268]

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[266] "Činnost poradny pro volbu povolání za rok 1938 [The Activity of the Councelling Office in 1938]," *Ostravský kraj.* [Ostrava District], Brno., January 28, 1939. The September event refers to the Munich Agreement. In October, the territory of Czechoslovakia was reduced by annexation of the Sudetenland by Germany and of the Eastern part of Czech Těšínsko and part of North Slovakia by Poland.

[267] Higher education was abolished completely.

[268] "Péče o úchylné děti a cikány v Plzni [Care of the Deviant Children and Gypsies in Pilsen]," *Národní práce* [The National Labour], February 20, 1943. "Cikánské děti se učí [The Gypsy Children Study]," *Večerní České Slovo* [The Evening Czech Word], November 26, 1942.The term Sinti is ethnonym used by some groups that had been living in the German speaking lands, and who spoke German. Sinti families lived also on the territory of the Protectorate.

Tab. no. 2. *The Scheme of the Educational System in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia*[269]

Names of schools	National School	Burgher School	Real School	Classical Grammar School	Real Grammar School	Reformed Real Grammar School	Teacher's Institute	Technical School	Vocational School
Types of schools	Lower and Higher elementary	Higher elementary	Secondary	Secondary	Secondary	Secondary	Secondary	Secondary	Secondary
Years of Study									
13				Eighth Form		Eighth Form	Fourth Form	Fourth Form	
12				Seventh Form	Higher stage	Seventh Form	Third Form	Third Form	Third Form
11			Higher stage	Sixth Form		Sixth Form	Second Form	Second Form	Second Form
10				Fifth Form		Fifth Form	First Form	First Form	First Form
9		Fourth Form		Fourth Form					
8	Eighth Form	Third Form	Lower stage	Third Form	Lower stage				
7	Seventh Form	Second Form		Second Form					
6	Sixth Form	First Form		First Form					
5	Fifth Form								
4	Fourth Form								
3	Third Form								
2	Second Form								
1	First Form								

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[269] The scheme was elaborated by the author of the present thesis based on the information provided in the chapter by Váňová. See Váňová, Růžena. "Školský systém v Českých zemích – Vývoj a současný stav [The Educational System in the Czech lands — the Development and the Current State]." In Pedagogika pro učitele [Pedagogy for Teachers], edited by Alena Vališová and Hana Kasíková, 69–90. Praha: Grada, 2011.

The Psychotechnic Institute conducted psychotechnic testing on pupils and potential employees since 1921. The tests assessed diverse aspects of clients' cognitive capabilities and mental qualities as such, as well as their physical make-up and manual dexterity. The application of the tests was either for counselling or for selection. Counselling was a service assisting pupils and students on making a career choice. The psychotechnic testing was used in this context to identify fields of study or vocations that would best fit to their dispositions. Psychotechnics applied to the selection served to establishing an extent to which a person fits the requirements for admission to a certain study or a profession, eventually for performing some specialized tasks within a profession. In interwar Czechoslovakia, the PI selected employees particularly for civil service (ministries, state enterprises) and industrial sector.

In 1939, the Institute made a great deal of work in the sphere of selection and counselling. The Institute conducted psychotechnic testing with total 12 111 persons, pupils and job candidates. The testing took place either in the Institute's test rooms, or in the National, secondary and technical schools and in the test rooms of the enterprises for which the Institute works. Examination was either individual or collective and was pursued either for selection or for vocational guidance.[270]

For the first time, psychotechnic testing was applied to the pupils of the Prague elementary schools. In this stage, the outcome of the testing had a recommendatory rather than

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[270] "Výroční zpráva za rok 1939 [The Annual Report for 1939]," p. 3. Inventory no. 21. Box 2. Document collection no. 544, Ústav lidské práce. The National Archives, Prague.

enforcing character. This news is presented as a step in the effort to transform the secondary school into *a selective school*.[271] However, this small step was a part of bigger steps aiming at regulation of access to education by the Nazis. The Institute thus played in this effort a significant role. However, the intention to restrict access to education precedes the establishment of the Protectorate (March 1939). Already in December 1938, the director of the Psychotechnic Institute, Dr. Doležal publicly promoted an idea to make psychotechnic testing an obligatory part of the admission process to secondary schools. Strict selection, he explained, was required for the purpose of *planned* labour distribution which the *new* (after-Munich) economic conditions allegedly required.[272] However, the unfavourable economic conditions were not the only factors inducing the transformation to command economy. After years of economic and political crisis, felt already since mid-1930s, the right-wing forces responded by effort to transform the whole society. As a result, Czechoslovakia underwent transformation from a democratic polity into an authoritarian regime modelled after the German and Italian templates.

Also pupils applying for the *First State Technical School* (*První státní průmyslová škola*) in Prague were obligatory subjected to psychotechnic testing in spring 1939.[273] In the same year, a new set of tests intended for the prospective first-formers (applying from the fifth form of the National School for the Burgher school), fourth-formers at the eight-year grammar schools and for the school-leavers were tested on approximately 400 pupils. As

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[271] "Výroční zpráva za rok 1939," p. 1. Inventory no. 21. Folder 21–22. Box 2. The Document Collection no. 544, Ústav lidské práce. The National Archives, Prague. Emphasis mine.

[272] "Psychotechnické vyšetřování žactva měšťanských škol [The Psychotechnic Testing of Pupils of the Burgher Schools]." *Časopis Československé obce učitelské* [Journal of the Czechoslovak Commune of Teachers.] Prague, December 1, 1938. "Rodičům dětí z měšťanských škol [To the Parents of the Children Attending the Burgher Schools]." *Královédvorské noviny*, December 3, 1938.

[273] "Výroční zpráva za rok 1939," p. 2. Inventory no. 21. Folder 21–22. Box 2. The Document Collection no. 544, Ústav lidské práce. The National Archives, Prague.

these tests were still in the process of development, the testing served to verification of their effectivity, eventually to identifying their flaws.[274] In spring 1939, the Ministry of Education and Enlightenment decided on making psychotechnic testing a compulsory part of the entrance exam to all types of secondary education in Prague.

Testing of the prospective first-formers

The decree of the Ministry of Education and National Enlightenment from March 28, 1939 (after the declaration of the Protectorate) introduced compulsory psychotechnic testing for the pupils applying to the secondary schools in the district of Greater Prague. The Institute was the exclusive actor to conduct psychotechnic testing and authorize validity of its outcomes (issue certificates). The testing of the all prospective first-formers at the secondary school was a large-scale task, however the Institute felt well prepared having researching in depth theoretical aspects since the 1920s. An intelligence test, newly developed for this age group, was used (entitled *Pražský test výběrový* "The Prague Selection Test"). The test was compiled in respect to assessing two basic functions of intelligence, i.e. verbal (logic) intelligence and mathematical-technical thinking. It contained also four tests measuring speed of mental response. This test batch was a result of the long-term theoretical work and was experimentally verified on pupils of the fifth forms of some Prague National schools and subjected to a thorough statistical analysis. It was considered by the Institute to be one of the best test batch in the international scholarship.[275]

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[274] "Výroční zpráva za rok 1939," p. 3–4. Inventory no. 21. Folder 21–22. Box 2. The Document Collection no. 544, Ústav lidské práce. The National Archives, Prague.
[275] "Výroční zpráva za rok 1939," p. 4.

In total, 3 154 prospective first-formers applied for testing by the Prague Selection Test. Approximately 170 children were examined with additional methods in cases when the results of the tests demonstrated discrepancies or contradictions. 14.5 per cent was found excellently qualified for study, 20.2 per cent as well qualified, 49.9 per cent qualified, 9.7 per cent less qualified and 5.7 unqualified. Parents received a certificate on cognitive competence of their child in regards his/her eligibility for study at the secondary school. Since the testing for this age group was newly introduced, it necessitated publicity. On April 21, 1939, Dr. Ladislav Šíp, the chairman of the Board of Trustee of the Psychotechnic Institute informed journalists from all Prague dailies on agenda of the Institute and testing of the prospective first-formers. Information was channelled also by broadcast. The main goal was to avert unqualified pupils from study at secondary schools. The testing had to be verified by long-term observation of students during the course of their study. Based on the decree of the Ministry of Education and National Enlightenment from May 22, 1939, headquarters of secondary school in Greater Prague were obliged to report to the Institute to what extent the results of psychotechnic testing were in agreement with the pupil's study results during the first school-term. The Institute by comparing results of 768 pupils found out that selection based on psychotechnic testing is reliable (in the context, the term "higher" does not apply to tertiary level, but to secondary level of education). Despite the Institute considered psychotechnic testing to be a very good tool for selection children for secondary education, the Institute continued to recommend that psychotechnic testing was a guiding tool foremost for parents. Its results were to be considered but not decisive as concerns the decision on acceptance to the study.[276] This source contradicts another

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[276] "Výroční zpráva za rok 1939," p. 5. Inventory no. 21. Folder 21–22. Box 2. The Document Collection no. 544, Ústav lidské práce. The National Archives, Prague.

one which voiced the Institute's director, Dr. Doležal's claim from December 1938, to make psychotechnic compulsory and decisive.[277] No matter what was the real attitude of the Institute, by 1940 compulsory psychotechnic testing was adopted in most of the schools, secondary and technical, as well as in the vocational training, businesses, civil service (railways, post-offices, electrical works) and industry. It was required for the purpose of retraining and admission into apprenticeship as well.[278]

Testing of the fourth-formers

Testing of the fourth-formers was already introduced some years ago and its designers were convinced that they had achieved during the course of time a high level of perfection and reliability. After testing, the testers held individual meetings with parents, giving them recommendation on the career choice in respect to the results of the testing. They, as well as the Principal of the school, received the result of the testing in the form of a certificate. Parents were allegedly more inclined that year than in the previous years to search for their children an appropriate field of education that would best suit their capabilities and to refrain from forcing their unqualified children to an academic career. In 1939, 1807 fourth-formers tested from 91 secondary schools in Bohemia and Moravia underwent testing. Apart from the tests, also questionnaires were used to gather more material for determining the pupil's career path. Not surprisingly, there were two versions of the questionnaire (for girls and for boys) "so that interests of both sexes were appropriately

[277] "Rodičům dětí z měšťanských škol [To the Parents of the Children Attending the Burgher Schools]." *Královédvorské noviny*, December 3, 1938.

[278] "Všichni studenti a učňové budou psychotechnicky vyšetřováni [All Students and Apprentices Will Undergo Psychotechnic Testing]," *Národní politika* [The National Politics], November 23, 1940. Inventory no. 331. Box 12. The Document Collection no. 544, Ústav lidské práce. The National Archives, Prague. Technical schools were considered as a distinct type of education, not a secondary school. Electric works secured production of electricity and public transport.

covered."[279] This statement suggests that instead of trying to find out what the actual interests were in every individual case, the researchers designed already gendered questionnaires based on assumption of gender difference. The questionnaire serving as a norm could only find out with which girlish/boyish interests girls/boys identify. Surely not reflective of the cultural determination of their scientific methods, the researchers in all likelihood considered it a good thing to have gendered questionnaires instead of one universal because in their mind it was probably perceived as a more "individual" approach.

Counselling

School-leavers Counselling

The Annual Report from 1939 informs that the Institute was prompted to even more intensely address the question of career choice of the school-leavers by the *extremely difficult* situation of the Czech intelligence. This reference is made to the period before April 1, 1939 which suggests that closing of schools and persecution of students started much earlier than in autumn 1939 as has been traditionally stated in the scholarship. Most probably the limits to education were imposed from the beginning of the Protectorate, i. e. from March 139. In November that year, a major student anti-German demonstration took place that instigated rage and subsequent closing of universities. The School-leavers Counselling Office set up in April 1939 was to provide advice to this category of students whose options much lessened after March 15. A campaign in the press and broadcasting

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[279] "Výroční zpráva za rok 1939," p. 6. Inventory no. 21. Folder 21–22. Box 2. The Document Collection no. 544, Ústav lidské práce. The National Archives, Prague.

informing on career choice took place in May 1939. The Institute collaborated on it with the minister of education Jan Kapras and rectors of Czech Prague Universities.[280]

"The extraordinary conditions" (most probably an euphemism for occupation) forced the Institute's management to consider new approaches to career choice and integration of school-leavers to labour market. The Institute elaborated detailed proposals for further training and partial retraining of school-leavers that could not or did not want to continue their studies at universities. The proposals were put forward to the Office for Unemployed Intelligentsia working under the National Fellowship and were included in the plan for integration of school-leavers in the labour market elaborated by the Department for private lessons (*kondiční odbor*) of the *National Fellowship Commettee*.[281]

The *Student Counselling* until then functioning under the *Secondary School Social Welfare* (*Středoškolská sociální péče*) became affiliated with the Institute in 1939.[282] The

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[280] "Výroční zpráva za rok 1939," p. 8.

[281] "Výroční zpráva za rok 1939," p. 9. Various student or professional associations had in the Habsburg empire as well as in interwar Czechoslovakia the so-called Private-lessons Departments that helped poor students or unemployed professionals to earn some money by giving privite lessons to pupils at their homes. Pavel Večera, "Geneze jednoho kolaboranta. Novinář František Josef Prokop a jeho role při medializaci soudního procesu s generálem Aloisem Eliášem [The Genesis of a collaborant. Journalist František Josef Prokop and his role in medialization of the trial with general Alois Eliáš]," *Soudobé dějiny* [Contemporary History] XVII, no. 1–2 (2010): 87. The National Fellowship was a sham political party established in the Protectorate which was to perform a perfunctory function of the parliament. The party associated all adult men of Czech ethnicity. Women were denied a membership. It was an instrumentally established political organization from which the Protectorate government and president were to draw support. The National Fellowship was to be an instrument securing loyalty to and collaboration with Germans, however some forces within the organization were able to make it simultaneously a base for various forms of defense of Czech autonomy. Some constituents collaborated directly with resistance groups.

[282] The Secondary School Social Welfare were voluntary associations concerned with aiding secondary school and technical school students from lower class. The Secondary School Social Welfare for Bohemia was an umbrella organization established in 1927, associating more than 100 local organizations. The Ministry of Education and National Enlightenment instigated its set-up and supported the activity of this provincial centre. The associations provided merit-based scholarships to the poor students and sought to secure accommodation for the students studying in localities other than their hometown due to the general lack of school hostels. The associations granted stipends for placement in the school hostel but application for it had to be submitted to the Ministry of Education. The *Secondary School Social Welfare for Bohemia* built a school hostel in Prague for female students. This umbrella

agenda of the *Student Counselling* was divided into a counselling for the fourth-formers and counselling for the school-leavers.[283] The counselling for the latter was fixed as *Academic counselling*. The Institute attributed to the Academic counselling special importance but the report does not elaborate on the reason. The Academic Counselling was to advise students on choice of further study. However, there was no higher education available to the Czech students than the three already mentioned German universities in the Protectorate and universities in the Reich. There was a chance for the carefully selected Czech students to study in these institutions and even with the Hácha Scholarship Foundation, but the number of actually studying students at German universities was insignificant. Later, the Academic counselling was abolished as there was no higher education available.[284]

In response to the lack of counselling offices in rural areas, the Institute compensated for their unavailability in 1939 by introducing ambulant psychotechnic testing of the third- and fourth-formers of the rural Burgher schools.[285] In respect to the heightened interest in vocational education, the Institute organized a training for its vocational counsellors to inform them on the latest economic changes and prospects in individual trades. Councillors were thus better equipped to provide counselling based on their theoretical

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association was a mediator between the Ministry and the local associations of Secondary School Social Welfare. "Domov středoškolských studentek [The Home of the Secondary School female students]," *Národní politika* [The National Politics] 54, June 13, 1936, p. 1. "Středoškolská péče pro Čechy [The Secondary School Welfare for Bohemia]," *Národní listy* [The National Newspaper) 73, December 21, 1933, p. 3.

[283] School-leavers are in this context students in their last form of the secondary school.

[284] The Fourth-formers were the pupils attending the fourth form of the *Burgher school*, that is the last form, after which they applied to a secondary school. "Výroční zpráva za rok 1939," p. 1. Inventory no. 21. Folder 21–22. Box 2. The Document Collection no. 544, Ústav lidské práce. The National Archives, Prague. See the tab. no. 2 representing the scheme of the educational system in the Protectorate on p. 101.

[285] "Výroční zpráva za rok 1939," p. 2. Inventory no. 21. Folder 21–22. Box 2. The Document Collection no. 544, Ústav lidské práce. The National Archives, Prague.

knowledge for assessment of the pupils' capabilities as well on their knowledge of actual economic development.[286]

4.2.1.2 Disciplinary Counselling

At instigation of pedagogues and youth care experts, the Psychotechnic/Human Labour Institute established in 1939 a *Disciplinary Counselling* (*vychovatelská poradna*).[287] There is no fitting English equivalent of the adjective *výchovný*, which is vague *per se*. It gets translated as "educative," "formative," "pedagogic". The adjective is derived from a noun *výchova*, a general term denoting all efforts that are aimed at socialization, cultivation, formation of a child without specification in which sphere, under which authority or by what means. Specification results from using an attribute: "school," "musical," "civic," "social," "family education," etc. The agenda of the Counselling is not specified in the document. From the context it can be possibly concluded that its purpose was to provide counselling to youth that had problems with discipline or experienced learning difficulties. However, due to vagueness of the original title (of the service) and unavailability of further data enabling to specify its agenda, I decided to translate it as "disciplinary counselling".

The Disciplinary Counselling was headed by the physician – pedologist (*pedolog*).[288] A brief detour in history of this discipline will provide better understanding of the Counselling

[286] "Výroční zpráva za rok 1939," p. 5. Inventory no. 21. Folder 21–22. Box 2. The Document Collection no. 544, Ústav lidské práce. The National Archives, Prague.

[287] The Human Labour Institute was formally established in October 1939 and was built by reorganization of the Central Psychotechnic Institute, thus from January until September 1939, activities were conducted under the legal entity called the Psychotechnic Institute and from October to December under the legal entity called Human Labour Institute.

[288] The *pedologist* is a scientist in the field of *pedology*, i.e. a social medical profession on which I elaborate below. There were two different scientific disciplines of the same name. The other pedology is a branch of Soil science, studying soils in their natural environment.

agenda. Pedology was established as a social medical science, along with pedopathology and psychopathology of the child in the Czech lands in the first decade of the twentieth century. The establishment of the *Prague Pedologic Institute of the capital Prague* (Pedologický ústav hl. města Prahy) ensued in 1910. In 1918, the institution was renamed as the *Institute for Research on the Child and Juveniles*. Pedology pursued a complex study of the living environment of the child. In the context of education, pedology dealt with educational needs of the child, while pedopathology addressed social and medical pathologies contributing to underachievement or causing learning difficulties.[289] These disciplines constitute the predecessors of the current special pedagogy. Their history is connected with the social hygiene movement and the scientific field of hygiene that identified links between health/a disease or a pathological condition and an environment. Hygiene was established as a scientific field around the mid-19th century and under the influence of the German physician and natural scientist Rudolf Wirchow, it came to take into consideration factors of social environment. Further, understanding of the link between a disease and social conditions was deepened by another German physician Alfred Grotjahn who laid the foundation of the new discipline named *social pathology*, more commonly referred to as *social hygiene.*[290]

Medicalization of the societies combined with emergence of welfare systems in the industrialized countries resulted in creation of the systems of public health that took over the agenda pursued by the hygiene movement. The social hygiene projects became a

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[289] Tibor Vojtko, "Dětská farma Eduarda Štorcha a reforma meziválečného školství [The Children's farm of Eduard Štorch and the reform of the interwar education]." *Speciální pedagogika* [Special Pedagogy] 16, no. 4 (2006): 270.

[290] Tibor Vojtko, "'Nové město, nová generace, naděje pro společnost,'aneb úsilí o vybudování osady Růžičkov v Praze-Troji (1925–1930) ['New City, New Generation, a Hope for the Society.' The Efforts to Build the Růžičkov Settlement in Praha-Troja (1925–1930)]," *Lidé města* [Urban People] 13, no. 3 (2011): 444.

part of the public health policies.[291] From then on, the commitment to improve working and social conditions of the working class or to solve social and health problems of the lower class was maintained by the state, rather than by voluntary associations. The public health policies addressed problems of tuberculosis, epidemics, mortality of the new-borns, alcoholism, sexually transmitted diseases, and the like. Social hygiene projects were closely related to eugenics and eubiotics, the former referring to an idea (and movement striving for its realization) to manage a quality of the population and the latter to the science and projects on art of living.[292]

The social engineering tendencies were inherent to technocratism as such, but some currents strove for more than managing economy or international relations. Theirs was an attempt to build the whole society anew on the scientific grounds and to set even life trajectories and values for its members. This social darwinist current was advanced in the later 19th century and early 20th century by technocrats Jindřich Fleischner and Albín Baušus. In a similarly holistic manner, Václav Verunáč, the persona of the laboretist movement, strove to apply scientific management to the whole society.[293] Eugenics permeated also the *Masaryk Academy of Labour* where the *Eugenic Committee* was established in 1920.[294]

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[291] Daniela Tinková, "Biomoc a medikalizace společnosti jako rysy 'modernity' [Bipower and medicalization of the society as features of modernity]," *Antropowebzin* no. 3–4 (2014): 107–118. Deborah Brunton, "Dealing with Disease in Populations: Public Health, 1830–1880"in *Medicine Transformed. Health, Disease and Society in Europe, 1800-1930*, ed. Deborah Brunton (Manchester: Open University, 2004), 180–209 and Paul Weindling, "From Germ Theory to Social Medicine: Public Health, 1880–1930" ibid., 239–65.

[292] Vojtko, "Dětská farma Eduarda Štorcha a reforma meziválečného školství," 271. Vojtko, "Nové město, nová generace, naděje pro společnost,"446–449.

[293] I already discussed this topic in the section 2.1.

[294] Michal Šimůnek, "Eugenics, Social Genetics and Racial Hygiene: Plans for the Scientific Regulation of Human Heredity in the Czech Lands, 1900–1925," in *Blood and homeland: Eugenics and racial nationalism in Central and Southeast Europe, 1900-1940*, ed. Marius Turda and Paul J. Weindling (Budapest; New York: Central European

For this reason, it is not surprising to find out that scientific management methods were applied also to the sphere of "social pathologies in the educational environment". Clients of the *Disciplinary Counselling* service were children that were "difficult to educate or discipline," that suffered from alleged psychical disorders or character defects or children "predisposed to social pathology".[295] Children afflicted by grave psychological or sensory handicaps were not targeted. The expression *predisposed to social pathology* does not occur in the source document. The source uses a phrase *zatížené děti* — "burdened children". The word *zatížený* invokes a state of being afflicted by environment or experience, that is being socially abnormal due to the effect of the external factors. In addition, it has been in usage in the collocation *dědičně zatížený* – "hereditarily burdened" which can invoke both, an idea of soft and hard inheritance.[296] Based on the links I made between scientific management, social engineering, pedology, pedopsychopathy, eugenics and eubiothics, I have reason to assume that the vague category of burdened children applied to pupils supposedly manifesting socially pathological behaviour. In addition, in my view, conditions of all categories of children ("difficult to educate or discipline," suffering from psychical disorders or character defects, or "burdened children")

University Press), 157. Jan Sv. Procházka, "Masarykova akademie práce ve svém prvním tříletí [The Masaryk Academy of Labour three years from its inception]." *Národní listy* [The National Newspaper], vol. 64, June 8, 1924, p. 9. Vladislav Růžička,. "Proč potřebuje a žádá česká eugenika samostatné zastoupení v Masarykově akademii práce [Why the Czech Eugenics needs and call for an autonomous representation in the Masaryk Academy of Labour?]," *Národ* 3, no. 19 (1919): 319–320.

[295] "Výroční zpráva za rok 1939," p. 2. Inventory no. 21. Folder 21–22. Box 2. The Document Collection no. 544, Ústav lidské práce. The National Archives, Prague. Quotation marks indicate my own interpretation.

[296] Soft inheritance was a concept used in eugenics theories. It assumed that people can pass on characteristics that they gained during lifetime to their children. Characteristics could have a nature of predispositions to diseases or to certain behaviour like criminal activities, prostitution or substance abuse. Compared to that, hard inheritance did not admit any formative influence of the environment or experience. Clare Hanson, *Eugenics, Literature, and Culture in Post-war Britain* (New York; London: Routledge, 2013), 70. James Moore, "The fortunes of eugenics" in *Medicine Transformed: Health, Disease and Society in Europe 1800-1930*, ed. Deborah Brunton (Manchester University Press, 2004), 272.

were seen as a form of social pathology. Unfortunately, the sources leave the question of race and ethnicity out. There are no mentions of Roma children, only a cautious remark on exclusion of Jewish children from some type of education.

The Disciplinary Counselling was to serve to the authorities as well as to the public in all cases of disciplinary problems that were conditioned either by psychical make-up (lack of capabilities, development aberrations, one-sidedness of the interests, impairments of memory, concentration, imagination, and the like, or character idiosyncrasies), by physical constitution (sensory defects, nervous disorders) or by factors of environment (influence of family, of school, the living environment as such). It required collaboration of a pedagogue, psychologist, physician and a social worker to analyse all the potential factors that played into the disciplinary problem. Examination was taking place only with a child and the professional. The Institute was prompted to the Disciplinary Counselling establishment by achievements of such counselling offices abroad. No segment of the care about upbringing, education and guidance of the youth was to be neglected. The disciplinary counselling office was opened in August 1939 and by the end of the year it examined 45 cases. 25 of them were sent to the counselling office by the *Provincial Centre for Youth Care* (PCYC) and by the rural *District Youth Cares* (DYC). The collaboration lasted until mid-October when the PCYC opted to switch to the Pedagogical Institute instead as the HLI could not provide the testing free of charge for financial reasons. The majority of the clients sent to the counselling office were "impaired and disturbed" (20), then there were cases of children with "defective" intelligence (12), nervous disorders (9), sensory and physical defects (7) and disciplinary problems (7). Sources do no reveal any

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information what was being done with these clients, what kind of help or advice was given to them.[297]

District Youth Care and the Provincial Centre for Youth Care

As Labour Office was a close collaborator of the Institute in the sphere of retraining, forced deployment, selection and counselling, District Youth Care and the Provincial Centre for Youth Care were its main partners in the field of prevention of social pathology among the Youth. The roots of these institutions date back to the Habsburg monarchy. Initially, they were regional voluntary associations of smaller and larger ambit that acted on behalf of authorities in the field of child and youth care. With the establishment of Czechoslovakia, these district commission for youth care and provincial commissions for youth care were charged with tasks by ministries, still they retained their private-law status. Gradually, the commissions transformed into executive authorities and were renamed as the District Youth Care and the Provincial Centre for Youth Care in the 1920s. These institutions took care of women (pregnant, mothers, especially single mothers), children (born out of wedlock, orphans, children from divorced families, abandoned children or children in danger) and youth (delinquents, unemployed youth, psychically or mentally disturbed youth). They run a counselling office for career choice and shelter for unemployed youth. Although the development of this segment of social work ceased with the establishment of the Second republic in 1938, the District Youth Care and the Provincial Centres for Youth Care carried on work, though to a limit extent.[298]

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[297] "Výroční zpráva za rok 1939," p. 13.
[298] Šárka Špeciánová, Sociálně-právní ochrana dětí [Social-law Protection of Children] (Praha: Vzdělávací institut ochrany dětí, 2007), 6–7.

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4.2.2 Developing of the Vocational Education

4.2.2.1 Retraining of Workers in Accordance with Needs of War Industry

The Institute initiated and managed the pilot retraining program for school-leavers that took place in the Sigmund company based in Lutín.[299] This company was established in 1868 by Ludvík Sigmund. In 1922 it got the tradename Sigma. The company broke into the foreign market during the 1930s. The Sigma company started with production of water pumps and water pipes, later expanded in the field of well drilling, and water-network construction and production of trickling installations (zavlažovací zařízení). The Sigmund brothers as the entrepreuner Baťa implemented rationalization into production. In 1935, the Sigmunds set up a chemical concern called Chema developing protection against chemical weapons and producing anti-air defence devices. They supplied Czechoslovak army with gas masks and other protection equipment. In 1937, they established Sigmund Pumps LTD in Engalnd. Ing. Jan Sigmund the director of the Sigma company managed to transfer important documentation, experts and some machinery to England in the beginning of the occupation for which was executed by the Nazis in 1942. The enterprise in Lutín (near city Olomouc, i.e. Moravia) was confiscated by the Reich and reorganized for war production.[300] More than 100 school-leavers applied to the program, though it could place only 17 applicants. The goal of the program was to retrain the secondary school students, who had been until then receiving general education and had been preparing themselves for study at university, into highly qualified tradesmen, particularly

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[299] "Výroční zpráva za rok 1939," p. 9.
[300] Jan A. Novák, "Bratři Sigmundové: Nebezpečný život s čerpadly [The Sigmund Brothers: A Dangerous Life with Pumps]," *Hospodářské noviny* [The Economic Newspaper], February 29, 2008, 28.

into tool-makers. The management either felt the need or was commissioned to intensify effort and provide further retraining program.

4.2.2.2   *Regulation of Labour Market*

4.2.2.2.1   Civil Service

In the period before 1939, the Psychotechnic Institute carried out psychotechnic testing of prospective employees for the civil service particularly in these segments: railways, police, gendarmerie, financial guard.[301] The occupation and resulting Germanization of the administration and economy considerably influenced recruitment into civil service. While in 1937, 8 525 out of 12 542 applicants (68 %) were selected for Civil Service, in 1938 it was 4 103 persons out of 8351 (49 %). In terms of number of applicants, the year 1938 brought about a decrease by 34 per cent. In terms of recruited employees, it was a decrease only by 19 per cent.

The decrease in applicants could be attributed to the eligibility restrictions excluding certain categories of people (women, Jews) that were introduced in the Second republic.[302] However, one source indicates that in 1938 the state halted recruitment into the civil service of young technicians and declared ban on recruitment for another two years (until the end of 1940). It is not clear whether it applied only to this category of

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[301] Financial guard was a customs authority in the First Czechoslovak republic exercising supervisory and auxiliary customs service at the customs frontier and inland. Petra Jánošíková, "The Tax System in the Czech Republic and its Transformation in the 20th and 21th Century," in *System of Financial Law. System of Tax Law. Conference Proceedings*, ed. Michal Radvan (Brno: Masaryk University, 2015), 98.

[302] See section 2.1, pp. 17–18. Anti-Jewish legislation came into force in January 1939, but it is plausible to assume that Jewish citizens refrained from applying and/or that they faced exclusion already during the period before the legislation entered into force. Křen, *Dvě století střední Evropy*, 443.

employees or to all.[303] The ban was related to the unfavourable economic and political conditions at home (the Sudetenland Crisis) and in Europe (German expansionism and the threat of imminent war).[304] Although the year 1937 brought Czechoslovakia an economic recovery and a decrease in unemployment by one third compared with the levels in early 1937, from October 1938, that is after the annexation of the Sudetenland, economic conditions deteriorated again.[305] These conditions resulted in reorganising of the public life and administration.[306]

The 19 per cent decrease in accepted employees compared with 34 per cent decrease in the number of applicants implies lowering qualification requirements. The lowering was most probably arranged with the competent authority but practically, as it would require adjustments in assessments criteria, it must have been carried out by the Institute. In 1939, with exceptions, recruitment to the civil service was halted. The exceptional cases concerned "the category of persons that were *exempt* from psychotechnic testing." It is safe to assume that this category of persons comprised of Germans.[307]

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[303] More precise dating is not available. But considering the date of publication of this report, the ban must have come into force during the first half of the year. "Sociální vyhlídky mladých zeměměřičských inženýrů [Social Prospects of Young Surveying Engineers]." *Zeměměřičský věstník* [Journal of Surveying Engineering], Prague, July 7, 1938.

[304] The Sudetenland crisis designates the German Sudetenland Party's escalating political and territorial claims against Czechoslovakia culminating in the annexation of the territory in October 1938. Křen, *Dvě století střední Evropy*, 438–439. Igor Lukeš, *Czechoslovakia between Stalin and Hitler* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 114.

[305] On the consequences of the Sudetenland annexation see section 2. 1.

[306] "Vědecký boj proti protekci. Mladí vpřed – ale ti vybraní, nejlepší. [Scientific struggle against the nepotism. The youth forward–but the selected one, the best one]." *Nový Večerník*, Prague December 12, 1938. Inventory no. 331. Box 12. Document collection no. 544, Ústav lidské práce. The National Archives in Prague.

[307] "Výroční zpráva za rok 1939," p. 1. Inventory no. 21. Folder 21–22. Box 2. The Document Collection no. 544, Ústav lidské práce. The National Archives, Prague.

5 Conclusion

It will not be an overstatement to conclude that the Human Labour Institute was a significant ally of Germans in the field of labour and production management. Although, this work has not dealt with the application of the HLI research into industrial or agricultural production, it nonetheless outlined its role in the regulation of access to education and job opportunities, in the effort to increase labour performance and retrain workers in line with the needs of war industry. All these grave tasks would have been fulfilled without this scientific capacity only with great difficulties. As in Germany, science was utilized not only for executing tasks but also for their legitimization. Based on the links I have made between scientific management and various other forms of social engineering (eugenics, eubiotics, social hygiene), it is clear why National Socialism resonated with it. The technocratic ambition to manage not only production but all society found a space to operate and exclude everything that resisted order, standardization, collectivism, planning and productionism. The social darwinist efforts to sort fit from unfit/deserving from undeserving led to expansion of the Institute's agenda into the field of social pathology. Activity focused on prevention and elimination of social pathology with children was conducted in the Disciplinary Counselling Offices.

Institute was integrated in the thick network of other actors all subordinated to the German supervision. Its activity was constrained or directly commissioned by state administration. Gradually, the Institute became an exclusive authority in the field of counselling and selection, as this agenda was taken out from other actors' competence and assigned to the Institute. Scientific management found application in the Protectorate and not in other

occupied countries because of interwar Czechoslovakia's leading position in that field and

Germany's experience of the production miracle between 1942 and 1944.

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