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A Strategy of Containment

Heinrich Drimmel's Political Activism in the Realm of Higher Education Policy in the Early Second Republic

Abstract: For over nine years, Heinrich Drimmel served as minister for education, becoming one of the most influential conservative politicians of the early Second Republic during his tenure. While the minister was responsible for many policy fields, higher education was particularly close to Drimmel's heart. Yet today his reign is mostly interpreted as a period of continued provincialization and missed opportunities. That does not imply that Drimmel was a hapless politician – quite the contrary. This article investigates Drimmel's biography, his political agenda, and his ideological background of political Catholicism, all of which are rooted in the authoritarian regime of the *Ständestaat*. The analysis establishes that Drimmel's aim was to preserve conservative hegemony at Austrian universities, and he had the means to realize it through a strategy of containing modernity of thought. Drimmel's "success" had long-lasting effects on the tertiary sector and scientific research in Austria.

Keywords: Austria, Higher Education, conservative politics, academic culture

1. Introduction¹

In early 1962, philosopher Béla Juhos intervened in a rather boring exchange between peers concerning the structural defaults of the Austrian higher education system. He turned on Heinrich Drimmel, then minister of education and responsible for universities and science policy. In his remarks, Juhos took up a widely regarded speech Drimmel had given several months before in which the minister had proclaimed "a deranged and destroyed science" due to the influence of positivism.² For Juhos, who was teaching at the University of Vienna as the last representative of the Vienna Cir-

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cle in Austria, this statement must have been an insult. He now accused Drimmel of “the destruction of science.”³

At the time, Drimmel had been Minister of Education for more than seven years, was at the height of his political career and still highly regarded by most academics in Austria. Denouncing the powerful minister of so grave a disservice was simply outside the norm, and most of his peers probably perceived Juhos’ rebuttal as futile. Yet a few years later, his assessment was increasingly agreed with. Soon after Drimmel’s political demise in the mid-1960s, he would become the personification of a period in Austria’s higher education spanning from the late 1940s to the mid 1960s characterized, varyingly, as “isolation”, the “self-marginalization of research and development,” or “autochthonous provincialization”.⁴

Those characterizations seem to imply that the entire higher education sector was afflicted by an inherent and quasi-automatic dynamic that, once triggered, led to a downward spiral – an inescapable trap.⁵ There is some truth to this. After World War II, Austria took a very specific route in terms of higher education. Most notably, the country never saw the same kind of reeducation policy as Western Germany did. Instead, the government reinstated a professoriate that was, in spirit, conservative, with quite a few reactionary and fascist pockets. Also, because the allied forces mostly left it to the Austrian government, higher education did not rank high in the list of priorities.

This set the stage for the further decline of Austrian academia over the next two decades, fueled by two quintessential factors. Politically, the Austrian government turned out to be a stable (though increasingly unhappy) marriage of the two large parties, and since the various ministerial departments (and their respective spheres of influence) were neatly divided into political camps, education (including higher education and science) fell firmly to the conservative party. Similarly, within academia, the members of the group of reinstated professors, guaranteed much of the actual decision-making responsibility,⁶ were mostly damaged both in terms of their professional attitude and intellectual honesty, since they had muddled through the authoritarian regimes of the past.

But where does that leave Drimmel? Since Drimmel was a pivotal figure in the higher education policy of the day, it is obvious to hold him responsible (at least partially) for the backwardness and persistent conservatism of Austrian higher education. Yet while few studies covering this period provide some important details and nuances about the relationship between policy and academia and about Drimmel’s involvement,⁷ a systematic assessment has so far been lacking. Certainly, Paul Lazarsfeld was correct in 1958 when he estimated that Drimmel was not the person one could expect to turn around the situation for the universities.⁸ But, contrary to the prominent émigré’s assessment, it was not due to inertia, or lack of force. Drim-

mel actively pursued a political goal, and because he did so, he also developed a strategy of containment, taking advantage of the self-inflicting dynamic of provincialization and thereby accepting – willingly or unwillingly – its results.⁹

This statement immediately requires two caveats. To my best knowledge, Drimmel himself never used the notion of *Eindämmung* or *Einhegung* to explain his policy.¹⁰ Much of this article aims to convince readers that this is still an appropriate notion for grasping Drimmel's strategy towards higher education. It does so by revealing particular aspects of his political biography, that is, the special role of higher education (in chapters 2 and 3), his political ideology and his self-concept of political activism (chapter 4). As such, the story unfolding here can be read as a top-down (yet increasingly lonely) struggle against modernization – a perspective which Drimmel himself would have wholeheartedly agreed with.

Another caveat concerns the underlying assumption that Drimmel actually had the means to achieve his objective. This will be discussed in more detail in chapter 5, where the methodology of containment will be unraveled. For the moment, it will suffice to state that the Austrian higher education system at that time had a low degree of complexity (in terms of number of relevant actors and institutional rules) and hence allowed someone like Drimmel to gain a high degree of influence – particularly if this person was so ingrained in it and so keen on governing it.

As with every strategic undertaking, containment was not a goal in itself. What needed to be contained at Austrian universities, in Drimmel's perspective, was modernity of thought in all its varieties, in order to retain and replenish the pool of conservatively minded professors who would have a crucial and long-term effect on shaping the Second Republic, through their role as intellectuals and through their teaching of future generations of Austrian bureaucrats and leaders. Since many academic disciplines had already come under the influence of modern thinking – positivism, liberalism, socialism, you name it – Drimmel probably perceived his activities as defensive means, but he was willing to employ those means quite aggressively.

The aim of this article is twofold: analyzing the Austrian higher education system of the 1950s through the prism of Heinrich Drimmel can help us to understand more about the historical specificity of that specific social field, while, at the same time, it examines the influence of the minister, as well as his limits.¹¹ The article thus contributes to the (still nascent) literature on the history of science policy and higher education in the early Second Republic, and provides empirical evidence to the assumptions made in previous studies. And it also hopes to provide a comprehensive explanation of the distinctive Austrian development of higher education and science policy, particularly to scholars working comparatively across nation-states.

Ultimately, of course, this article sheds new light on the broader picture of Drimmel the politician. To achieve a fuller picture of his actions, this article builds upon

and brings together different sources. First, it draws on archival documents on Drimmel's role as Minister of Education. Second, it also takes account of publications of the time, not only Drimmel's own interventions (speeches, commentaries) but also debates in the wider academic public. Finally, it draws on secondary literature, a growing number of publications in the field of the history of scientific affairs and science policy in Austria.

2. Heinrich Drimmel's Political Career

Heinrich Drimmel was born on 16 January 1912 in Vienna. After studying law at the university and political engagement, he entered the ministry of education in 1937. He was drafted in 1940 and was a prisoner of war in Italy from 1944 to 1945; in 1946, he returned to Austria and continued his career as a civil servant. In 1954, he was appointed minister of education, a position he retained for almost ten years, serving five governments (Raab I–IV and Gorbach) and four legislative periods (VII–X). Drimmel retired from politics after a hapless period as deputy mayor of Vienna, and a failed election campaign in 1969. Throughout the next two decades, he would publish a series of books on the history of Austria with a distinct conservative, if not reactionary, undertone.¹² He died on 2 November 1991, in Vienna.

Drimmel became an object of interest to historians shortly after his death. His role in the conservative party has been critically re-appraised, and so has his legacy as a minister and as an author.¹³ Interestingly, however, this interest stopped short of his role in shaping Austria's higher education sector. It is true that, back in the 1950s, the minister of education was responsible for many "policy fields" (primary and secondary education, sports, arts, and culture). Yet higher education was of particular concern for Drimmel. Almost his entire career took place in this field, and it played an eminent role in his political agenda. His self-posturing as a specific brand of politician was only possible (and plausible) through the stimulation he received from the intellectual world. Also, his political strategy relied to a large part on the political advice of a network of conservative professors at Austrian universities whom Drimmel, in turn, was happy to nurture and protect.

The authoritarian regime in Austria in the 1930s was a formative period for Drimmel, and higher education was his field of action. Immediately after returning from the suppression of the socialist uprising in 1934, Drimmel gained a prominent political function at the universities, first as *Sachwalter* of Viennese and later all Austrian students.¹⁴ His involvement in the (at times bloody) conflicts between right-wing and conservative student groups, as well as the policy of debarring left-wing scholars and their thought from the universities seemed to have a major influence

on his higher education agenda after the war. Most importantly, Drimmel established his personal network, which included the Catholic students' *Cartellverband* (CV) (again, he rose quickly to prominent positions), and key players among the conservative professoriate like Richard Meister,¹⁵ as well as aspiring and reckless scholars like Leo Gabriel.¹⁶ The bureaucrat Otto Skrbensky, who after the war would head the higher education department at the ministry, took him under his wing.¹⁷

Continuing as a civil servant at the ministry of education after the war, Drimmel made a breathtakingly rapid advance and became a *Ministerialrat* (the second highest rank in the Austrian state employee hierarchy) by July 1953.¹⁸ His close connections to leading figures in the People's Party (ÖVP) advanced between 1948 and 1952, when he worked as assistant to the ministers of education (Felix Hurdes and Ernst Kolb). Via the CV, Drimmel remained in excellent relations with many of those who were politically engaged on the right, particularly in the higher education sector. When Skrbensky passed away unexpectedly in 1952, Drimmel was appointed acting head of the *Sektion Hochschulen*. His accelerating career as a high-ranking state employee was interrupted in 1954 by his appointment as minister of education.

Despite criticism from within his own party, choosing Drimmel was a clever move by Julius Raab, head of the government and chair of the ÖVP. The CV's monthly was jubilant about Drimmel's advancement: "We have all known Cartellbruder Dr. Drimmel for a long time [...]. Dr. Drimmel is one of ours, and he is one of our best."¹⁹ It was probably an act of courtesy and appreciation when, in the early 1960s, Drimmel's subordinates in the ministry initiated their minister's promotion to *Sektionschef*, the highest rank in the civil service (by the time of his political appointment, Drimmel had only made it to the second-highest rank. The promotion would have required some bureaucratic gambling with the rules, but, judging by the documents, the procedure itself must have been a formality.²⁰

When the minister learnt about it, however, Drimmel instructed his former colleagues that "any potentially elaborated appointment document regarding the promotion of Dr. Drimmel to *Sektionschef* must not be put forward to the chancellor."²¹ The episode indicates not only how well Drimmel knew he was regarded by his (former) colleagues, and how gifted he was in understanding bureaucratic regulations. The minister also did not miss the opportunity to picture himself as specimen of the incorruptible official ("*Beamter*") who was devoted to serving his state. Drimmel's objection may also have been because he sensed the potential threat to his political ambitions: if made public during a political campaign, the promotion could have been used to compromise his personal integrity at a time when his stakes were increasing significantly.

Just a few months before, Drimmel's political career had taken another important step. In April 1961, Alfons Gorbach had been appointed new chancellor. Drim-

mel remained member of the cabinet, and he retained his role as minister of education – but now he was also the People's Party's most senior member of the coalition government.²² And, with his mentor Julius Raab gone, Drimmel almost instantly rose to Gorbach's right hand and to the party's programmatic heavy weight.²³ He chaired a committee to revise the People's Party program, and would also give the keynote speech at the party congress in Klagenfurt 1963.²⁴

3. An Ambitious Agenda, Stalling

In Drimmel's early years as minister, he was regarded as a junior member of the various cabinets under Julius Raab. Public records during this period show him as a *Fachminister*, diligent, moderate, and restricted to solving problems in the manner expected from a civil servant who had turned to become a politician.²⁵ Significantly, this life as politician took off with resounding success: for the previous thirty-five years it had proven difficult to find parliamentary majorities in the thorny area of education policy.²⁶ Now, in the summer of 1955, just over half a year into his term, the Austrian parliament passed the *Hochschul-Organisationsgesetz* (HOG), consolidating and unifying the structures of the universities and other higher education institutions.²⁷ Also, this was one of the first major legislative acts of a state that had only recently gained its full independence.

While it seemed as if those involved were less interested in the content of the new law than in the political fact that the deal was sealed,²⁸ the HOG could be taken as a positive signal for the young Second Republic, suggesting that the conciliatory attitude of the two governing coalition parties would indeed be a substantial difference to the political bickering of a previous period. In part, Drimmel's initial focus on the HOG must have simply been a pragmatic decision. After all, he had headed the higher education section of the ministry before becoming minister; this was the area that Drimmel was probably best informed about, and where he also knew about potential resistance.

However, it would be wrong to assume that there were no guiding principles. Drimmel's role in a great coalition under a conservative chancellor was to follow two (contradictory) imperatives: to ensure the dominance of the ÖVP in the realm of cultural matters, and to apply strict fiscal policy.²⁹ To achieve this, Drimmel had relied on the expertise of two distinct persons: Ludwig Adamovich and Richard Meister.³⁰ Both had been involved in higher education policies before as well as after the war.³¹ Their expertise provided the legal reasoning for the HOG, and assured the balance of interests between state bureaucracy and university professors. On the one hand, it determined that Drimmel's ministry kept its influence through direct budg-

eting, overall responsibility, and the final right to appoint professors. On the other hand, while the realm of autonomous decision-making remained rather restricted,³² the dominance of the *Professorenkollegien*, the board of professors at each faculty, was firmly ratified. Even modest suggestions for reform, such as public announcement of open professorships were rejected.³³

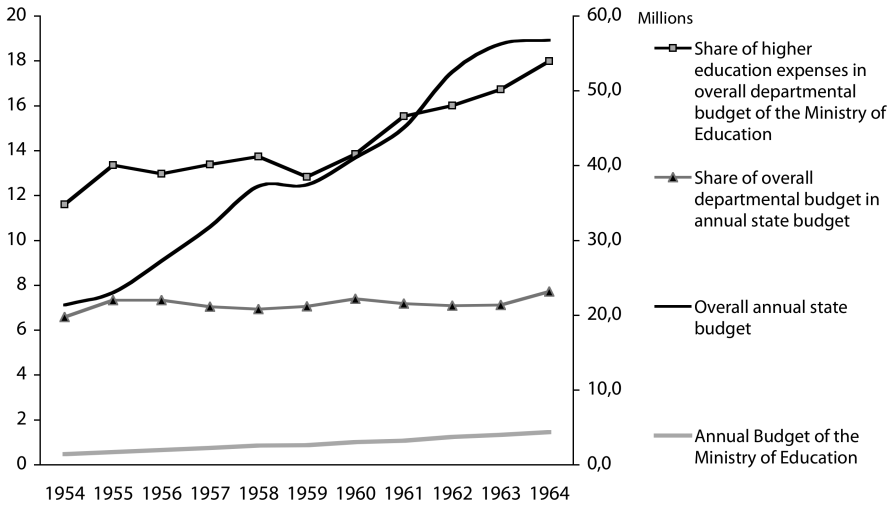
When chancellor Raab asked Drimmel in early 1956 for upcoming legislative initiatives in the realm of cultural policy (*Kulturpolitik*), the most prioritized issue by the then junior minister was about introducing “comprehensive school laws.”³⁴ Still, the higher education sector stood in the center of Drimmel’s concerns during his entire reign as minister, as is indicated by the number of initiatives³⁵ but also the fact that its financial framework was significantly increased over the years. The dedicated budget for higher education issues rose from less than 12 percent in 1954 to almost 18 percent in 1964, while the overall share of Drimmel’s department in the federal budget did not increase (see figure 1). Yet despite his efforts, Drimmel could not catch up with the development at large: student enrollment increased significantly from the mid-1950s onwards (see figure 2), and the labor market became more and more dependent on engineers and scientifically trained experts.³⁶

Drimmel elaborated an ambitious agenda for reforming the universities. The HOG, dealing with the structure of the higher education sector and its governance, covered the least controversial aspect of this agenda;³⁷ politically and ideologically much more contentious were the reorganization of the curricula, and the inception of new employment legislation for university lecturers (*Hochschullehrer*).³⁸ However, repeating the legislative success of the HOG turned out to be difficult. Partly to blame was the decline of the coalition government during the late 1950s, due to emerging mutual distrust of each party.³⁹ Specifically, the Socialist Party may have recognized that the HOG had been counterproductive to its own purpose (getting a foot into the universities), and started to make bolder claims. Drimmel, too, was stiffening his position.

Thus, the next step of Drimmel’s agenda – redesigning the higher education curricula – ran into difficulties. Two main conflicts could not be settled. One was the fact that the balancing of interests was now more complicated with three main interest groups involved: the professoriate asked for more autonomy in the composition of the curricula, while the coalition partner (the Socialist Party) wanted to delegate responsibility to the parliament; Drimmel, however, was not willing to give in to either of them, insisting that the ministry must have the final say.⁴⁰ The other, related, but still separate conflict was about the content of the curricula, where the Socialists asked for “*Weltanschauungsprofessuren*.” Again, Drimmel played deaf.⁴¹

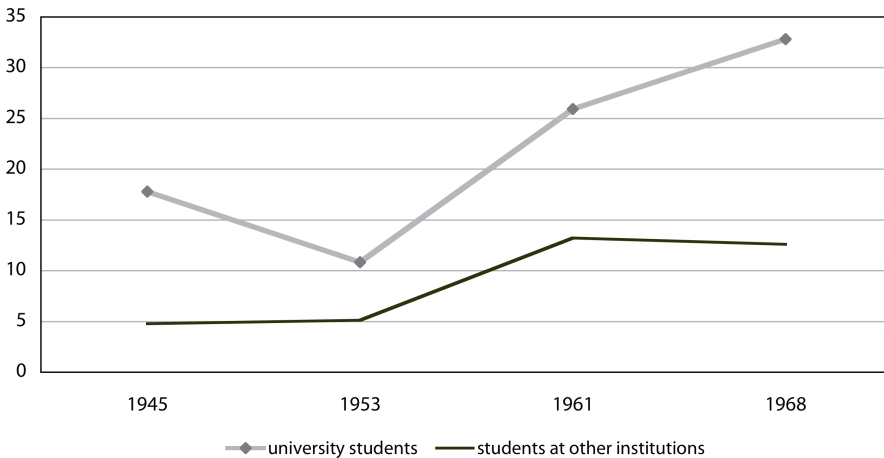
As member of a coalition government, Drimmel had to accept the legislative framework and political reality of the Second Republic. Yet while he remained will-

Figure 1: Development of higher education budget within the ministry of education's overall departmental budget, 1954–1964.



The left y-axis shows (as a percentage) the share of higher education expenses in the ministry's overall departmental budget (line with rectangles), and the share of the departmental budget in the annual state budget (line with triangles). The right y-axis displays (in absolute Austrian Schillings) the annual state budget (dark upper line), and the annual budget of the ministry (line at the bottom). Figure based on annual forecasts in the Bundesfinanzgesetz, chapters 11–13.

Figure 2: Development of student enrolment at Austrian tertiary institutions, in thousands.



Upper line: enrollment of students at universities; lower line: enrollment of students at technical colleges and other institutions of higher education. Figure based on Hochschulbericht 1969, 15 (table 1005).

ing to compromise in other areas,⁴² his attitude was different when it came to higher education issues, even though he continued busily negotiating on different matters, whether it was curricular reform,⁴³ establishing a research-funding agency,⁴⁴ or other institutional innovations.⁴⁵ To understand why Drimmel readily accepted that his legislative agenda was coming to a grinding halt, it is necessary to next examine his political ideology and the role *Wissenschaft* played in it.

4. Fundamental Evils

In the summer of 1961, at the annual *Internationale Hochschulwochen Alpbach* meeting, Heinrich Drimmel delivered the speech that would become the target of Juhos' scorn. Initially organized by a group of open-minded young intellectuals immediately after the end of WWII, Alpbach quickly turned into a renowned meeting place for scientists, intellectuals and artists, clergymen and politicians of national and international standing.⁴⁶ Its international flair, unseen elsewhere in Austria, made it one of the few occasions in the republic's intellectual annual calendar when émigrés and resident Austrians would gather. It was also an important place for Austrian policy makers to mingle with their European and American colleagues. Drimmel's ministry sponsored the gathering, and Drimmel himself was a regular participant.⁴⁷

It was hardly a coincidence that Drimmel chose this occasion to deliver his programmatic speech, nor was the point in time. With his political stakes rising, Drimmel used this setting to reframe his public appearance, as can be seen from the title of the speech: "Nobody lives by bread alone ..."⁴⁸ Drimmel castigated materialism, that is, an increase in wealth, gross national product, and consumption, and complained about politics in the "so-called free, but in reality almost completely state-owned society in the 'free West'."⁴⁹ He lamented the fact that the West was not focused on accomplishing problems in regard to the ongoing scientific revolution philosophically, but that it dealt with them only "in statistical calculations comparing the effectivity of industrial research between East and West, and in aiming to produce more engineers."⁵⁰

While the palpable urgency may have had its reasons in the imminent Cold War context, the underlying narrative followed a common theme set by political theorists such as Leo Strauss and Eric Voegelin. These scholars were highly averse to modernity; "recovering a proper politics was a matter of recovering the right questions, and, ultimately, the right knowledge" was their main aim.⁵¹ Here is not the place to refine to what kind of conservatism Drimmel exactly belonged,⁵² but it is clear that his thinking followed the sober definition of O'Sullivan, according to which con-

servatism's many branches are "unified by a common object of hostility: namely, the progressive view of human kind and society."⁵³

In most of the lectures during his later years as minister, Drimmel displayed a remarkable distaste for the political system of representative democracy, the state-run welfare programs, and the emergence of technocrats, in other words – the modern state.⁵⁴ Drimmel summarized the *leitmotif* of his political acting concisely in the following proclamation: "In my opinion, we have to overcome three fundamental evils of our time: the disintegration of the family, the pure school of knowledge [reine Wissensschule], the lack of ideals (Ideallosigkeit)."⁵⁵

To counter those evils, Drimmel's political thinking relied on the teleological promise that the current state of society was not the end of history, but only a "Transition" – that the unholy period of liberalism that had started in the 1750s would soon come to an end, that the widespread neglect of God would be reversed, and the ending of the doomed epoch of modernity was near.⁵⁶

In another of his speeches, Drimmel developed the idea of two types of pluralism to distinguish what he thought was wrong with state and society, and what, in his view, had to be done to achieve societal integration. "Sick pluralism", according to Drimmel, was visible in the numerous pressure groups extending their influence on the state – both the legislative and the executive branches – as well as on the political parties. The "hidden dictatorship of the interest groups"⁵⁷ needed to be countered by what he called "healthy pluralism": autonomous areas of decision-making instead of the parliament, and family values instead of welfare programs.⁵⁸ The statement was at odds with what Drimmel's own policies set out to do: defend the sharp grip of his ministry over the universities, extend the reach of state-funded schools, and to introduce a nation-wide stipend program for students.

Programmatic rhetoric and pragmatic politics didn't match easily, and contemporary political commentators quickly took note of the contradiction between Drimmel's thinking and practice.⁵⁹ But Drimmel wasn't simply torn between grand theory, bureaucratic day-to-day business, and political maneuvering. While he had learnt the mechanics of power in a state bureaucracy, Drimmel cannot be reduced to an artful bureaucrat; nor, while there are many traces of Drimmel's political talent, was he just a skilled and vain politician. And certainly, Drimmel was not a political theorist. More than anything, Drimmel was a political Catholic, and his activities revolved around the question of how to re-conciliate Christianity with society.⁶⁰

Christianity as "social enforcement"⁶¹ was the paramount idea in Drimmel's earlier and later public accounts, just as it was the center point of both his thinking and acting.⁶² Hence, in Drimmel's self-perception, there was never a real change in his career: student leader, bureaucrat, and politician, these were all different outfits for

the same pursuit.⁶³ Conservative societal theory for him was but a grand narrative to be used rhetorically. Similarly, he was determined to use bureaucracy's distinctive mechanics of power. And his willingness for political compromise was a necessary evil. However, unlike many other political Catholics of his time, Drimmel was not so much interested in social policies, but rather in shaping society according to the Catholic vision in the long run.⁶⁴ That is why he ended up in the ministry of education. It is also why higher education was of particular concern, and interest, to him.

Drimmel was certainly not alone in his conviction that the societal ills of modern society were manifold. Yet *Wissenschaft* – in the German understanding – posed a particular challenge. “One of the finest purposes of statecraft,” as he once put it,⁶⁵ it promised truth and to explain the world. But understood wrongly, it had the potential inevitably to destroy not only itself, but also the divine foundations of societal order. For Drimmel, staunchly relying on the Catholic theory of natural law,⁶⁶ positivism posed a particular danger. This was not only an ideological stance. Drimmel was convinced that the best and safest way to secure conservatives' hegemony in the entire realm of educational and cultural affairs was through dominating the higher education sector: after all, this was where teachers were trained, where the future leaders of a country were educated, where the self-image of the nation was drawn.

Consequently, *Wissenschaft* needed to be controlled, and its metaphysical foundations preserved. Occasionally, Drimmel referred to a lecture of the Nobel Laureate Otto Loewi who, according to the minister, had admitted that scientific research was not in a position to ask questions of last resort and who referred to “divine knowledge.”⁶⁷ Containing the evil parts of science in order to bring its precious ones to blossom was an essential part of Drimmel's overall political aim. To make his point, he did not shy away from slandering others. In Alpbach, for example, he accused the legal theoretician Hans Kelsen of defending Bolshevism.⁶⁸

Indeed, Kelsen had repeatedly emphasized that, in order to analytically understand the functioning of a legal system, any value-based assumptions had to be left aside. That did not mean that values had to be disrespected, quite the contrary – Kelsen was one of the most pronounced liberal thinkers of his time.⁶⁹ With his rebuttal of positivism, Drimmel thrust aside Kelsen's epistemological precaution. Claiming that it was in close proximity both to Marxism (as an ideology) and totalitarianism/communism (as a political phenomenon),⁷⁰ he denounced positivism's ostensible scientificity and the liberal idea of a science that has no other purpose than itself.

In his powerful position at the Minoritenplatz, Drimmel observed carefully what was going on in the many domains of his department. Yet he regarded *Wissenschaft* with the utmost priority and also with suspicion, to protect the universities from anything that he personally deemed to be a bad influence. Ironically, his political activism must have made him realize that every month of delay bought him valuable

time to exert power by virtue of his office in the most sensitive and influential matter of university affairs: human affairs.

5. Means of Involvement

Like Heinrich Drimmel, Béla Juhos had lived in Vienna continuously since before WWI. But that might have been the only thing the two had in common. While becoming a distinguished philosopher and a member of the Vienna Circle, Juhos also endured the regime changes taking place in central Europe and the devastating repercussions on the once thriving academic life of the region. Juhos himself made it through those tumultuous years not only because of his economic independence, but also because he was less publicly exposed than other philosophers of his generation; among other things, he had acquired a demonstratively apolitical attitude – that is, until he stumbled upon Drimmel’s Alpbach speech.

The debate in which Juhos intervened had started innocuously with one of the occasional rants that are typical of academic debates: A scholar complained that Austrian universities did not have enough disposable money to prevent scholars who received attractive calls from neighboring countries from leaving.⁷¹ Béla Juhos gave the debate a profoundly different direction. In his first intervention – before he attacked Drimmel – he argued that philosophy of science (“*erkenntnislogische Grundlagenforschung*”) was deliberately kept outside of Austrian universities: “In Austria, whoever is concerned with philosophy of science remains a docent for the rest of his life and receives the title of extraordinary professor at best; otherwise he has no other chance but to leave the country.”⁷²

Juhos’ accusation⁷³ was based on two claims: One was epistemological, saying that logical empiricism was not bound to a certain ideological direction (“*Weltanschauung*”), and that it was apolitical as a matter of fact. The second claim was political: Juhos accused the majority of professors at Austrian faculties of following a clandestine policy of turning down anyone who was a philosopher in the positivist tradition. Seen from a historical perspective, the first claim – that Juhos’ brand of philosophy was non-ideological – remains problematic;⁷⁴ it seems that the self-proclaimed apolitical posture itself carried a subtle political message.⁷⁵

The responses to Juhos’ first article unanimously focused on rejecting his epistemological claim: Erich Heintel questioned whether Juhos’ attempt of narrowing the purview of philosophy (“*Grundlagenforschung*”) on science (“*Naturwissenschaften*”) was plausible.⁷⁶ Walter Böhm rejected the assumption that something like non-ideological (“*wertneutral*”) research could even exist.⁷⁷ However, neither of them com-

mented on Juhos' second claim and its political implication, as Juhos himself did not fail to point out sardonically in his last contribution to this controversy.⁷⁸

5.1 Manipulation

Juhos was picky on this issue because he had developed the strong suspicion that the appointment of professors (and other positions at universities) was not based on the scientific merits of candidates, but rather their ideological proximity to the conservative power base. Specifically, when Heinrich Drimmel made his public comment in Alpbach against positivism, it must have been the revelation of Juhos' darkest presumptions.⁷⁹ Did it not prove the existence of a hidden agenda which denied scholars in the field of philosophy of science any chance of receiving a professorship? Did it not confirm that the conspiracy reached the highest echelons of the higher education system? When Juhos accused Drimmel of destroying science, he was not simply paying back the compliment. Here is Juhos' judgment in full:

“Like his predecessors, Minister Drimmel has been forcing specialists in the philosophy of science to leave the country by keeping them away from university chairs and professorships for many years now. He thereby facilitates exactly what he wrongly accuses positivistic critics of fundamental principles (“Grundlagenkritik”) of: the destruction of science.”⁸⁰

Were nomination and appointment procedures for open academic positions at Austrian universities really manipulated? As a clandestine practice, manipulation spread during the radicalizing environment at universities in the 1920s, as is now well documented.⁸¹ The climate at post-war universities was different, but given Drimmel's ideological convictions and his rooting in the 1930s, it certainly was plausible that continuing this practice was not against his interests. Also, the formal appointment procedure's peculiarities had remained in place, and Drimmel had spent the better part of his adult life dealing with them: according to traditional law, and ratified by Drimmel's HOG, the faculty board (consisting of all full professors) chose three short-listed candidates for an open position.⁸² This shortlist (the *Ternavorschlag*) went to the minister, who picked the most appropriate person after negotiating the terms of employment. Finally, the Federal President formally appointed the new professor. The lower ranks of the university positions involved less procedural steps, but the final decision always involved the faculty board and the ministry.⁸³

Politically savvy members of the respective faculty could forge an internal agreement on whom to pick, and – perhaps even more importantly – whom to reject. In

one way or another, the candidates' names could then be informally slipped to the central authority, in order to find agreement here, too.

But why would the professors accept a practice that, in the long run, would obviously damage the capacities and reputation of their profession? One important aspect here was certainly the convergence of a conservative-minded majority in the professoriate with Drimmel's convictions. The minister could rely on his allies within the profession. More generally, and more importantly too, it seems that the ethics and habits of many professors were deeply corrupted, and not just because they had learnt to adapt to authoritarian regimes over the decades. If they had not actively participated themselves, they had at least witnessed, and accepted, the informal, politically motivated malpractices during the 1920s and 1930s. The primacy of ideological (and political) considerations to intrinsically scientific ones was more easily accepted.⁸⁴

Only few seemed to even have felt that this was not sound, and that this was ethically against the norm of what was actually required to enable good science. Béla Juhos, obviously, was one of them; and he had one good reason to complain. Juhos was one of the victims of this informal manipulation. Ten years before Drimmel gave his speech in Alpbach, in the contest for the position of an associate professor in philosophy at the University Vienna, Juhos had lost out – to Erich Heintel.⁸⁵ Being more senior and with an impressive publication record, it must have been a huge disappointment, if not a personal disaster, for Juhos to see Heintel reach a higher position in the university's hierarchy while remaining a mere docent himself.⁸⁶

In the meantime, other promising candidates in the field had also been denied a position at Austrian universities.⁸⁷ At least in his field of philosophy it seemed plausible to assume that conservative-minded professors, together with a powerful minister who abhorred anything remotely associated with positivism, used their informal networks to block talented and merited scholars and scientists who wouldn't fit into the ideological frame that was expected. As records in Drimmel's *Nachlass* reveal,⁸⁸ he played a crucial role in this: professors who were ideologically and politically close to the minister would regularly turn to him directly, making their personal favorites palatable and discrediting others.

This was the case, for example, in the succession of Richard Meister,⁸⁹ or the succession of philosopher Theodor Erismann at Innsbruck University.⁹⁰ The latter case is well documented;⁹¹ its similarity to what happened in the appointment procedure between Heintel and Juhos is striking, albeit perhaps not surprising.⁹² Instead of starting with the top-ranked, and better qualified, candidate, the ministry negotiated directly with the candidate who was close to the conservative mainstream of the time.

5.2 Pretense, Monitoring, Denigration

Manipulating an appointment procedure produced a gap between official reasoning and the purpose of an appointment. The formal reasoning held that the best candidate for a position was identified on the basis of scientific expertise and academic needs. The purpose, however, was to make sure that the position would fall to the person who had the political sympathy and ideological trust of those deciding, and often came from the same network, the *Cartellverband*. It also meant that any other scholar was prevented from obtaining this position if he (or she) was politically not trusted, was not in this informal network, or was ideologically opposed to the mainstream – regardless of the fact that this person was scientifically better suited. Consequently, manipulating meant willingly accepting that the new professor was someone with a lower, or even minor scientific profile.

The well-attuned manipulation of academic positions at the universities was an efficient means of containment. In order to make it effective, however, it had to be accompanied by a range of other practices. One was pretense, which was always made use of for legitimizing a manipulated appointment procedure. In one of his earliest public appearances as minister in 1955, Drimmel declared that for the last ten years, no Austrian minister of education had broken the unwritten rule of appointing a new professor from names suggested on the shortlist.⁹³ The argument was hypocritical. Because the *Ternavorschlag* asked the respective professorial board for at least three nominations and allowed the minister to pick whom he considered “most acceptable to the state,”⁹⁴ it was ephemeral whether prominent names from abroad were on the shortlist, as long as one candidate had been informally agreed upon between Drimmel and his professorial conspirators beforehand.

Another intervention used effectively by Drimmel was to closely observe and monitor the knowledge production at the universities in his fields of interest. René Marcic, journalist and public figure, published his *Habilitation* in legal theory in 1957. Drimmel’s political *Nachlass* holds a review of this publication, obviously drafted directly for the minister by his staff.⁹⁵ The length and carefulness of the report indicate the great attention the ministerial bureaucracy paid to knowledge production at universities. It also explains how Drimmel was eager to keep track of what was going on there. The report on Marcic’s book ended with strong emphasis of its scientific achievements (“*wissenschaftliche Meriten*”). That way, it probably helped smooth the path for Marcic to a professorship at the then newly founded University of Salzburg.⁹⁶ Similarly, Drimmel seems to have monitored closely the sort of potential candidates for future chairs and assessed their scientific output.⁹⁷

Drimmel’s deliberate public denigration of scholars that he deemed dangerous must be seen as another tool in his toolbox. The example of Hans Kelsen is a point in

case:⁹⁸ Calling Kelsen a sympathisant of Bolshevism was not merely a perversion of the famous legal theoretician's personal convictions.⁹⁹ It also ignored Kelsen's efforts to analytically distinguish between the political systems of capitalist democracy and state socialism.¹⁰⁰ Drimmel was willing to abandon intellectual integrity if scholars threatened to influence the Austrian higher education system. Everything was evaluated along the lines of Drimmel's *Weltanschauung*; anyone who did not fit the bill was accused of pursuing a destructive enterprise.

Ultimately, Drimmel's legislative initiatives were based on uncompromisingly retaining the ministerial prerogative to make the final decision in all matters of human resources. That is why, during the negotiations for the HOG early in his term of office, the minister refused to advertize vacant professorships publicly, and why he maintained the final decision for each appointment.¹⁰¹ The HOG prolonged the collective responsibility of the group of professors at each faculty, and it reinforced the close link between the minister and the professoriate. Thus, it preserved the given power relations, providing professors with almost full control over research and teaching. Even more importantly, however, the HOG determined that the appointment process of new members of the professoriate would remain mostly in the dark, as attempts to make this process more transparent were successfully repelled.

Containment in the way Drimmel enacted his higher education policies meant protecting metaphysical thinking from rational (positivist) critique, and preserving the conservative influence at the universities from demands by the coalition partner. At the same time, it allowed him also to nurture what he perceived as the Austrian tradition of *Geistesleben*, protecting his favorite Austrian scholars from outside influence. The curious result of this system of containment was the return, and sometimes even the emergence of scholars with damaged reputations due to their political exposure during the Nazi regime (or other right-wing regimes of the 1930s and 1940s), like the notorious Taras Borodajkewycz.¹⁰² It affected the level of university lecturing¹⁰³ as well as the highest echelon of the academic system, the *Akademie der Wissenschaften*.¹⁰⁴

6. Conclusion

When Drimmel stepped down as minister, the conduct of higher education policy quickly changed and embraced the technocratic approach that was internationally *en vogue* then and that became a trademark of the 1960s.¹⁰⁵ Yet while his personal reputation crumbled, Drimmel's legacy in terms of policies is more positive: the two remaining issues of his tripartite agenda (reforming the curricula and employment legislation for university teachers) continued to shape the discussions about

reforming the higher education sector for another decade or so.¹⁰⁶ Also, Drimmel's policies survived in the structures established in the HOG and similar negotiation results that were only altered from 1975 onwards, not to mention many (formal and informal) procedures and traditions within the academic culture.

But Drimmel's legacy cannot be described in terms of style or policies alone. Much more important was his influence on prolonging the intellectual and scientific misery of Austrian universities. Soon after 1945, attentive observers had recognized the difficult situation the Austrian universities were in, and also the peculiar policies of the bureaucrats in the Ministry of Education.¹⁰⁷ In the same year Drimmel became minister, the young Paul Feyerabend, then a fervent positivist, noted in a report on *Geisteswissenschaften* in Österreich that the tradition of "healthy disciplinary positivism" was countered by the "wish to underpin and bind every single discipline ideologically."¹⁰⁸

For a while, the miserable situation of Austrian post-war society shielded the universities from closer examination of what was going on. Feyerabend, too, put the "material situation of Austrian Wissenschaft" at the beginning of his critical report,¹⁰⁹ as a sort of preliminary excuse. With the *Wirtschaftswunder* in the late 1950s, and a new generation of students and young scholars pushing towards the front stage, this excuse became less and less accepted. Drimmel's speech in Alpbach in 1961 may have been a preemptive strike, but it was Juhos' response that marked the shift in the public discourse.¹¹⁰

Drimmel's active role in the human resources of the higher education sector will need more empirical analysis than provided here. What should have become clear, however, is that, because of his special interest in academia, his close relation to the *Cartellverband*, and his personal network dating back to 1930s, Drimmel understood that human resources had the highest, and longest-living, impact on universities. Drimmel had the means at hand and a clear political *leitmotif* to contain modernity of thought, thereby firmly putting his stamp on higher education in Austria. The practices that Drimmel tolerated and enforced had been established long before Drimmel became minister; yet he legitimated them and ensured that they would be carried on smoothly for many years.

For how long? Ultimately, Drimmel's legacy survived in the very persons that were appointed professors under him and his predecessors. To turn again to the example of philosophy, Erich Heintel and Leo Gabriel would extend their influence for decades to come and well beyond their formal field of expertise. So, a former member of the NSDAP and a shady opportunist remained powerful members of Austrian academia.¹¹¹ It was this sort of long-lasting "impairment of Austrian scientific culture"¹¹² that Heinrich Drimmel's strategy of containment had preserved.

Notes

- 1 The making of this article was almost as long as Heinrich Drimmel's reign as minister of education. Following my dissertation project, I was intrigued by Drimmel as a politician torn between staunch conservative positions and quite flexible politics. An early draft was presented to the participants of the workshop "Positivismus-Macht-Aufklärung" in Vienna in September 2009. A generous grant of the Botstiber Foundation allowed me to conduct research in U.S. archives in 2011, and to work on this article at the Roosevelt Study Center in Middelburg, NL, in January 2012, upon the kind invitation of Giles Scott-Smith. Manfred Rauchensteiner, Walter Lorenschitz, Nicole Placz and Pia Wallnig supported my research at the Austrian State Archive, as did Jane Stoeffler at the Catholic University of America archive, in Washington, D.C., Johann Schönner at the Karl von Vogelsang Institute (KVV), and Maria Steiner at the Bruno Kreisky Archives Foundation (StBKA). Pieter Judson as well as two anonymous reviewers provided critical and constructive comments on a first comprehensive draft, which I had submitted to a different journal in 2013; due to time constraints, I was not able to revise the paper in time for publication. After some latency, Christian Fleck offered me the opportunity to submit a substantially revised draft to the *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaften* (ÖZG), and I am grateful to him for pushing me over the finishing line. Three anonymous reviewers provided valuable comments. This article also benefits from discussions with Christian Fleck, Albert Müller, Rupert Pichler, Tamara Ehs, Klaus Taschwer, Barbara Reiterer, Peter Biegelbauer, Nora Gresch, Mitchell Ash, Gary Cohen, and Hansjörg Klausinger.
- 2 Heinrich Drimmel, *Niemand lebt vom Brot allein ...*, in: *Österreichische Academia* 12/11–12 (1960–61), 6–8. The German original reads, "eine gestörte und zerstörte Wissenschaft". Translation here and in the rest of the article by the author.
- 3 Béla Juhos, *Grundlagenforschung – pro und contra!*, in: *Österreichische Hochschulzeitung* (ÖHZ) 14/1 (1962), 4. On Juhos, see the biographical sketch by Wolfgang L. Reiter, *Wer war Béla Juhos? Eine biographische Annäherung*, in: András Máté et al. (eds.), *Der Wiener Kreis in Ungarn*, Vienna/New York 2011, 65–98.
- 4 The German term "Isolierung" was used by Bernd Schilcher, *Hochschulen*, in: Erika Weinzierl/Kurt Skalnik (eds.), *Österreich. Die Zweite Republik*, vol. 2, Graz 1972, 363. "Selbstmarginalisierung und Fremdperipherisierung von Forschung und Entwicklung" is taken from Karl H. Müller, *Kritische Massen. Vier Etappen in der Entwicklung von Wissenschaft und Gesellschaft in Österreich seit 1918*, in: Johann Dvorák (ed.), *Staat, Universität, Forschung und Hochbürokratie in England und Österreich im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt am Main 2008, 115–174, 152. The seminal article carrying the notion of provincialization is by Christian Fleck, *Autochthone Provinzialisierung. Universität und Wissenschaftspolitik nach dem Ende der nationalsozialistischen Herrschaft in Österreich*, in: *ÖZG* 7/1 (1996), 67–92. The extent to which this assessment is taken for granted today can be found in various historical assessments such as Ernst Hanisch, *Männlichkeiten: eine andere Geschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Vienna 2005, 115; or Oliver Rathkolb, *The Paradoxical Republic. Austria 1945–2005*, New York/Oxford 2010, 19.
- 5 The bulk of research on the decade of reform starting in the mid-1960s has first established and enforced this perspective. Cf. Marina Fischer-Kowalski, *Zur Entwicklung von Universität und Gesellschaft in Österreich*, in: Heinz Fischer (ed.), *Das politische System Österreichs*, Vienna 1974, 571–624; Raoul F. Kneucker, *Das Universitäts-Organisationsgesetz 1975*, in: *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* 9/3 (1980), 261–76; Josef Melchior, *Zur sozialen Pathogenese der österreichischen Hochschulreform: eine gesellschaftstheoretische Rekonstruktion*, Baden-Baden 1993; Henrik Kreutz/Heinz Rögl, *Die umfunktionierte Universitätsreform. Von der Steigerung der Produktivität zur staatlichen Förderung sozialen Aufstiegs politischer Kernschichten*, Vienna 1994.
- 6 Austria had developed a classical version of what Clark calls the "continental mode" of university governance; cf. Burton R. Clark, *The Higher Education System. Academic Organization in Cross-National Perspective*, Berkeley et al. 1983, 134. Among other features of this mode, "the faculties have been the main inclusive units and the university as a whole has been largely a nominal organization".
- 7 Cf. Christian Fleck, *Wie Neues nicht entsteht. Die Gründung des Instituts für Höhere Studien in Wien durch Ex-Österreicher und die Ford-Foundation*, in: *ÖZG* 11/1 (2000), 129–178; Werner

- Raith, Wien darf nicht Chicago werden. Ein amerikanischer Soziologe über Österreich, die Nazis und das IHS, *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Soziologie* 26/3 (2001), 46–65; Oliver Rathkolb, Die Universität Wien und die 'Hohe Politik' 1945 bis 1955, in: Margarete Grandner et al. (eds.), *Zukunft mit Altlasten. Die Universität Wien 1945 bis 1955*, Vienna, 2005, 38–50; Rupert Pichler et al., *Forschung, Geld und Politik. Die staatliche Forschungsförderung in Österreich 1945–2005*, Innsbruck 2007, 97–143; Thomas König, Die Entstehung eines Gesetzes: Österreichische Hochschulpolitik in den 1950er Jahren, in: *ÖZG* 23/2 (2012), 57–81; Thomas König, Die Frühgeschichte des Fulbright Program in Österreich: transatlantische 'Fühlungsnahme auf dem Gebiet der Erziehung' (transatlantica, vol. 6), Innsbruck 2012; Christian H. Stifter, *Zwischen geistiger Erneuerung und Restauration. US-amerikanische Planungen zur Entnazifizierung und demokratischen Reorientierung und die Nachkriegsrealität österreichischer Wissenschaft 1941–1955*, Vienna 2014.
- 8 Lazarsfeld, on Drimmel: "One can count on his considerable intelligence and his genuine cultural interest; one has to reckon with the many elements which make it unlikely that he will engage in strong and forthright action." Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Report on Austria, unpublished report for the Ford Foundation 1958, Archiv der Geschichte der Soziologie in Österreich (AGSÖ), University of Graz, 6.
 - 9 This phrase plays with the term "containment" as it was used by the U.S. diplomat and architect of America's early Cold War doctrine George Kennan, who, in 1947, had called for a "long-term, patient but firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansive tendencies," cited after John Lewis Gaddis, *Strategies of Containment. A Critical Appraisal of Postwar American National Security Policy*, New York/Oxford 1982, 4. On a detailed discussion of the meaning(s) of the term in the U.S. context, see *ibid.*, 25–53.
 - 10 Only once did Drimmel describe his approach publicly on record as "negative benevolence" ("negatives Wohlwollen"); that was when he was dealing with the emigrant Lazarsfeld, who wanted to establish an institute tasked with importing American empirical social sciences. The quote is from Raith, *Wien darf*, 54.
 - 11 Obviously, "biographical treatments must never be divorced from their temporal or spatial contexts." The quotation is from Robert I. Rotberg, *Biography and Historiography: Mutual Evidentiary and Interdisciplinary Considerations*, in: *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 40/3 (2010), 306. For a good reflection on the interplay between biography and structure, see Volker R. Berghahn, *Structuralism and Biography. Some Concluding Remarks on the Uncertainties of a Historiographical Genre*, in: Volker R. Berghahn/Simone Lässig (eds.), *Biography Between Structure and Agency: Central European Lives in International Historiography*, New York 2008, 234–250 and 244–46.
 - 12 This included a powerful autobiography, Heinrich Drimmel, *Die Häuser meines Lebens. Erinnerungen eines Engagierten*, Vienna 1975.
 - 13 Cf. Anton Staudinger, Heinrich Drimmel, in: Herbert Dachs et al. (eds.), *Die Politiker. Karrieren und Wirken bedeutender Repräsentanten der Zweiten Republik*, Vienna 1995, 118–124; Robert Rill, *Vom Heimwehrmann zum Polyhistor. Heinrich Drimmel – Sein Wirken und sein Werk*, in: Ulrich E. Zellenberg (ed.), *Konservative Profile. Ideen und Praxis in der Politik zwischen Feldmarschall Radetzky, Karl Kraus und Alois Mock*, Graz 2003, 395–422; Christian Mertens, *Wider den herrschenden Zeitgeist*, in: Günther Burkert-Dottolo/Bernhard Moser (eds.), *Stichwortgeber für die Politik*, Vienna 2006, 123–133; Reinhold Knoll, *Zur politischen Philosophie eines Politikers – Gedanken über Heinrich Drimmel*, in: Michael Benedikt et al. (eds.), *Verdrängter Humanismus – verzögerte Aufklärung. Band VI: Auf der Suche nach authentischem Philosophieren. Philosophie in Österreich 1951–2000*, Vienna 2010, 871–77, and the special issue on Drimmel in *Demokratie und Geschichte*, vol. 9–10 (2007).
 - 14 See Gerhard Hartmann, *Der gar nicht unpolitische Heinrich Drimmel, bevor er Politiker wurde*, in: *Demokratie und Geschichte*, vol. 9–10 (2007), 80–83. Drimmel's role is also mentioned in Gerhard Wagner, *Von der Hochschülerschaft Österreichs zur Österreichischen Hochschülerschaft. Kontinuität und Brüche*, MA thesis, University of Vienna 2011, 119–130, and – briefly – in Andrea Griesebner, *Politisches Feld Universität. Versuch einer Annäherung anhand Mitbestimmungsmöglichkeiten der Studierenden zwischen 1918 und 1990*, MA thesis, University of Vienna 1990, 44–48.
 - 15 Meister was the most influential person in all matters concerning educational policies, yet no comprehensive account on him is available, with the notable exception of Johannes Feichtinger, Richard Meister. Ein Dienstbarer Hochschulprofessor in vier politischen Regimen, in: Mitchell Ash/Josef Ehmer (eds.), *Universität – Politik – Gesellschaft (= vol. 2 of 650 Jahre Universität Wien? Aufbruch*

- ins neue Jahrhundert), Vienna 2015, 311–318. Meister's influence on education policies is critically but only briefly reflected in Helmut Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens. Erziehungswesen und Unterricht auf dem Boden Österreichs*, vol. 5: Von 1918 bis zur Gegenwart, Vienna 1988, 53–55; for his pre-war work, see sparse remarks in Martin Knechtel, *Das Pädagogische Seminar der Universität Wien 1938–45*, MA thesis, University of Vienna 2012, 31–34. Meister's influence on academia after 1945 is mentioned in Gerhard Benetka, *Entnazifizierung und verhinderte Rückkehr. Zur personellen Situation der akademischen Psychologie in Österreich nach 1945*, in: *ÖZG 9/2* (1998), 188–217, and Johannes Feichtinger/Heidemarie Uhl, *Die österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften nach 1945. Eine Gelehrtenrepublik im Spannungsfeld von Wissenschaft, Politik und Gesellschaft*, in: *Zukunft mit Altlasten*, 313–337. Apologetically, see Wolfgang Brezinka, *Pädagogik in Österreich. Die Geschichte des Faches an den Universitäten vom 18. bis zum Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 1, Vienna 2000, 425–454.
- 16 Drimmel's pre-war relationship with Gabriel is confirmed in Renate Lotz-Rimbach, *Mord verjährt nicht: Psychogramm eines politischen Mordes*, in: Friedrich Stadler/Fynn Ole Engler (eds.), *Stationen: dem Philosophen und Physiker Moritz Schlick zum 125. Geburtstag*, Vienna/New York 2009, 92.
 - 17 In 1936, Skrbensky was “Kommissär für die Aufrechterhaltung der Disziplin der Studierenden an den Hochschulen” – most likely something like the contact person for Drimmel who was then still in student politics. Cf. *Österreichischer Amtskalender für das Jahr 1936*, 57. Drimmel is first noted as a civil servant at the ministry's *Kultusamt* in 1937, where he was responsible for relations with the Catholic Church. In official records, he is mentioned as one of three civil servants responsible for “Angelegenheiten des katholischen Kultus”, with Skrbensky as his superior. Cf. *Österreichischer Amtskalender für das Jahr 1938*, 58. On Skrbensky, see Margarete Grandner, *Otto Skrbensky*, in: Lucile Dreidemy et al. (eds.), *Bananen, Cola, Zeitgeschichte: Oliver Rathkolb und das lange 20. Jahrhundert*, Vienna 2015, 519–32.
 - 18 For Drimmel's advancement, see the Personal File Heinrich Drimmel, Teilbestand Unterrichtsministerium, AdR.
 - 19 “Wir alle kennen Cartellbruder Dr. Drimmel seit langem [...]. Dr. Drimmel ist einer der unseren, er ist sogar einer unserer Besten.” Cited after: *Ablösung am Minoritenplatz*, in: *Österreichische Academia 7/1* (1955–56), 3.
 - 20 The move became possible with the retirement of *Sektionschef* Adalbert Meznik. An archival note suggests that Drimmel would himself become responsible for the higher education sector in early 1962, cf. Personal File Heinrich Drimmel: Zl. 1930-Präs.A/61 [undated], Teilbestand Unterrichtsministerium, AdR (“neben seiner Funktion als Ressortchef auch die Leitung der ho. Hochschulsektion wieder selbst übernehmen”), but this may just have been a formal argument to get the promotion through. Since the minister himself could not approve the promotion, the procedure foresaw that it would take place during a time when the minister was on leave and officially substituted by the chancellor.
 - 21 *Ibid.*, handwritten note, 3 November 1961: “Der Bundesminister [...] hat dem gefertigten Präsidialvorstand wiederholt [...] den ausdrücklichen dienstlichen Befehl erteilt, daß ein allenfalls vom Präsidium ausgearbeiteter Ernennungsakt betr. die Beförderung des Ministerialrates Dr.jur. Heinrich Drimmel zum Sektionschef dem fallweise mit der Vertretung des Bundesministers für Unterricht betrauten Bundeskanzler nicht zur Genehmigung vorgelegt werden darf.”
 - 22 At that point, only Karl Waldbrunner of the SPÖ had served longer as minister. Bruno Kreisky was also a more senior member of cabinet (being in the government since 1953), but he had been only *Staatssekretär* until 1959.
 - 23 Cf. Christian Mertens, *Heinrich Drimmel und die ÖVP in den 1960er Jahren*, in: *Demokratie und Geschichte*, vol. 9-10 (2007), 229–30.
 - 24 Heinrich Drimmel, *Die Programmatik einer Partei der Mitte*, in: *Bundesparteitag 1963 in Klagenfurt*, Vienna 1964, 49–59. It should be mentioned that, while he tried to resume leadership of the party, Drimmel never managed to become a member of the informal “coalition committee” (*Koalitionsausschuss*), which was the most exclusive decision-making circle in the Austrian government. See Alexander Vodopivec, *Wer regiert in Österreich? Die Ära Gorbach Pittermann*, Vienna 1962, 11–17, and Frederick C. Engelmann, *Government by Diplomacy. The Austrian Coalition 1945–1966*, Vienna 2001, 39–42.

- 25 Heinrich Drimmel, Zur Eröffnung des 3. Symposiums über Organisation und Administration der angewandten Forschung in Wien am 8. Oktober 1956, manuscript, box 1303/2, KVVI Archive. Note that the speech was delivered by chancellor Raab, who thanked Drimmel for the manuscript but informed him about his intention “diese umfangreiche Rede etwas zu kürzen.” Letter Raab to Drimmel, 26 September 1956, *ibid.* Similarly, Heinrich Drimmel, Von der Ersten zur Zweiten Republik, in: *Forvm*, no. 69 (1959), 47–49.
- 26 On the history of education policies in Austria since the end of World War I, see Engelbrecht, österreichisches Bildungswesen.
- 27 See Sascha Ferz, Universitätsreform. Das Organisationsrecht der österreichischen Universitäten von den thesesianischen Reformen bis zum UOG 1993, Frankfurt am Main 2000, 329. On the genesis of the HOG, see König, Entstehung, 59–69.
- 28 See the collection of newspaper clippings in GZ 70959/1/55, box 2110, Teilbestand Unterrichtsministerium, AdR.
- 29 Both imperatives are reflected in his speech of 1956, see Drimmel, Eröffnung.
- 30 Cf. König, Entstehung, 61.
- 31 In the 1930s, Ludwig Adamovich was a member of the Constitutional Court and drafted the court’s decision on the “Gleispachsche Studentenordnung”; cf. Brigitte Lichtenberger-Fenz, „... deutscher Abstammung und Muttersprache.“ Österreichische Hochschulpolitik in der Ersten Republik, Vienna/Salzburg 1990, 114–29. After the war, Adamovich became the first rector of the University of Vienna, which gained him much influence; cf. Gernot Heiss, Wendepunkt und Wiederaufbau: Die Arbeit des Senats der Universität Wien in den Jahren nach der Befreiung, Zukunft mit Altlasten, 21–26. For a brief account on Adamovich, see Thomas König/Tamara Ehs, Ludwig Adamovich. Jurist, Minister, Rektor und Verfassungsrichter, in: Mitchell Ash/Josef Ehmer (eds.), Universität – Politik – Gesellschaft, Vienna 2015, 305–310.
- 32 The law defined two realms of acting (*Wirkungsbereiche*), one in the autonomy of the professoriate and one belonging to the state; see Bundesgesetzblatt (BGBl.) 154/1955, § 2.
- 33 For more details, see König, Entstehung, 62–66. The steep hierarchy of the academic system of that time is thoroughly analysed in Adolf Kozlik, Wie wird wer Akademiker? Zum österreichischen Schul- und Hochschulwesen, Vienna 1965, 149–174.
- 34 “Umfassende Schulgesetze”, cf. letter Drimmel to Raab, 22 May 1956, box 1.303/1, KVVI Archive.
- 35 Engelbrecht, österreichisches Bildungswesen, 454–57, comprehensively lists details of the expansion of the higher education sector under Drimmel.
- 36 Drimmel was well aware of this trend, as can be seen from his speech, Drimmel, Eröffnung, 6–8.
- 37 Engelbrecht, österreichisches Bildungswesen, 458, notes accordingly that, with the HOG, Drimmel intended to build confidence between the coalition parties.
- 38 In correspondence with Karl Waldbrunner, Drimmel mentioned that he had drafted this tripartite concept in 1952, which would mean that he began planning immediately after he became responsible for higher education; cf. letter Drimmel to Waldbrunner, 27 April, 1963, box 1.732, KVVI Archive.
- 39 Vodopivec, Wer regiert?, 12.
- 40 Cf. Minutes “Treffen des Akademischen Rates,” 8 March 1957, GZ 43.006-1/1957, and Minutes “Treffen des Akademischen Rates,” 15 September 1961, GZ 92.019-1/61, both: box 101, Teilbestand Unterrichtsministerium, AdR; also letter Drimmel to Waldbrunner, 27 April 1963, box 1.732, KVVI Archive.
- 41 The term was used by Bruno Pittermann, then leader of the SPÖ, who deplored the lack of “sozialdemokratischen Nachwuchs an Hochschullehrkräften” and complained about the “Cliqueswirtschaft” and the “Umwandlung der Hochschulen in einseitige Parteischulen”; cf. Pittermann, Zu aktuellen Fragen, in: *Forvm*, no. 45 (1957), 307. In his answer, Drimmel turned around Pittermann’s argument, claiming to protect the “geistigen Autonomiebereich der Hochschule” from any attempt to establish “Weltanschauungs-Lehrkanzeln”; cf. Drimmel, [no title], in: *Forvm*, no. 54 (1958), 207.
- 42 Cf. Engelbrecht, österreichisches Bildungswesen, 474–478.
- 43 It is a telling story of how protracted the negotiations had become when, in late 1961, Drimmel undertook what turned out to be his final attempt at curricular reform: he first had to seek approval from his own party regarding the nomination of an additional member for the “negotiation committee” (*Verhandlungskomitee*) from the professoriate (he suggested Leo Gabriel, a professor of philoso-

phy at the University of Vienna who had become Drimmel's favorite to replace the retiring Richard Meister). Then, his party secretariat asked the Socialist Party for its approval. On 10 April, the general secretary of the ÖVP, Hermann Withalm, informed Drimmel that Gabriel and Adolf Harwalik, a member of the *Nationalrat* and speaker on cultural policy for the conservative club, could start working. The next day, however, chancellor Raab stepped down. More than one year, and one election campaign later, the deputy president of the *Nationalrat*, socialist Karl Waldbrunner, reminded Drimmel to carry on. Cf. letters Harwalik to Drimmel, 5 January 1962; Withalm to Harwalik, 16 January 1962; Withalm to Otto Probst [central secretary of the SPÖ], 26 January 1962; Probst to Withalm, 5 April 1962; Withalm to Gabriel, 10 April 1962, Waldbrunner to Drimmel, 25 April 1963, all: box 1.732, KVVV Archive.

- 44 Pichler et al., *Forschung, Geld und Politik*, 97–119.
- 45 Fleck, Neues.
- 46 Otto Molden, *Der andere Zauberberg: Das Phänomen Alpbach*, Vienna 1981; Erhard Busek, *Alpbach – der andere Zauberberg? Der Beitrag des Europäischen Forums zur Philosophie in Österreich*, in: Michael Benedikt et al. (eds.), *Verdrängter Humanismus – verzögerte Aufklärung*, vol. VI: *Auf der Suche nach authentischem Philosophieren. Philosophie in Österreich 1951–2000*, Vienna 2010, 827–851; Maria Wirth, *Ein Fenster zur Welt. Das Europäische Forum Alpbach 1945–2015*, Innsbruck 2015, 59–107.
- 47 On sponsoring, see the letter Otto Molden to Drimmel, 23 July 1955, ministerial correspondence Heinrich Drimmel E/1734:1 1955 A-Ao, AVA. On Drimmel attending, see the annual lists of attendees in Alexander Auer (ed.), *Das Forum Alpbach 1945–1994. Die Darstellung einer europäischen Zusammenarbeit*, Vienna 1994.
- 48 Drimmel, *Brot*. The title referred to Matthew 4/4, but, given Drimmel's attempt to connect positivism with Bolshevism, he may also have hinted at a popular Soviet novel published during the Khrushchev Thaw in 1956, with some untypically critical comments on daily life in the USSR; cf. Vladimir Dudintsev, *Not by Bread Alone*; German translation: *Der Mensch lebt nicht vom Brot allein*, Gütersloh 1958. That Drimmel knew the novel is documented, cf. Heinrich Drimmel, *Der konservative Mensch und die Revolution*, Vienna/Munich 1970, 85.
- 49 Drimmel, *Brot*, 7: “die sogenannte freie, in Wirklichkeit aber nahezu verstaatlichte Gesellschaft des ‘freien Westens.’”
- 50 *Ibid.*: “mit statistischen Berechnungen, die auf dem Vergleich der Effektivität der industriellen Forschung in Ost und West oder auf die Produktion von Ingenieuren abzielen.”
- 51 Jan-Werner Müller, *Fear and Freedom: On ‘Cold War Liberalism’*, in: *European Journal of Political Theory* 7/1 (2008), 51. On Voegelin in particular, see Hans-Martin Schönherr-Mann, *Politisches Denken aus christlichem Glauben. Eric Voegelins Antwort auf das Zeitalter der Ideologien*, in: *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* 30/1 (2001), 79–93. For a general account of liberal and conservative principles in European political thought, see Noël O’Sullivan, *Conservatism*, in: Terence Ball/Richard Bellamy (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Twentieth-Century Political Thought*, Cambridge 2003, 151–164, and Michael Freeden, *European Liberalisms: An Essay in Comparative Political Thought*, in: *European Journal of Political Theory* 7/1 (2008), 9–30.
- 52 Knoll, *politische Philosophie Drimmels*.
- 53 O’Sullivan, *Conservatism*, 151.
- 54 In addition to the Alpbach speech, this is true for the pieces in his collection of speeches, Heinrich Drimmel, *10 Reden wider den Geist*, Vienna/Munich 1965, as well as for other significant lectures in this period; cf. Drimmel, *Programmatik einer Partei der Mitte*; Drimmel, *Politik und Schule*, in: *Wissenschaft und Weltbild* 14/4 (1961), 241–246; Drimmel, *Die Intellektuellen und der Apparat. Über Politik als Kunst und Handwerk*, *Forum*, no. 100 (1962), 136–38; Drimmel, *Ost-West-Begegnung*, in: *Österreichische Begegnung: Vierteljahresschrift für Kultur und Zeitgeschichte* 4/3 (1963), 7–14; Drimmel, *Staatsbürger im Wohlfahrtsstaat*, in: Erika Weinzierl (ed.), *Der Österreicher und sein Staat*, Vienna 1965, 143; as well as Drimmel, *Der Staat und die Hochschulen*, in: Drimmel (ed.), *Die Hochschule zwischen gestern und morgen*, Vienna 1966, 49–68.
- 55 “Es gilt meines Erachtens drei Grundübel unserer Zeit zu überwinden: die Auflösung der Familie, die reine Wissenschule, die Ideallosigkeit.” Drimmel, *Politik und Schule*, 245.

- 56 Drimmel, Brot, 8. The teleology is also explicitly expressed in the following passage: “Habe ich Angst und trüben Pessimismus? Nein. Ich bin der Überzeugung, daß das Zeitalter, das jetzt zu Ende geht, kein christliches Zeitalter gewesen ist. Es war das Zeitalter, das einen Höhepunkt der Entgottung gefordert hat; die Christen haben bei dieser Armeleutlich nichts zu suchen. Das Christentum marschiert nicht in der Nachhut des zu Ende gehenden Zeitalters; sein richtiger Platz wäre in der Avantgarde der Zukunft.” Cf. Drimmel, Staatsbürger im Wohlfahrtsstaat, 143.
- 57 Drimmel, Das politische Handeln in der pluralistischen Gesellschaft, in: Drimmel, 10 Reden [originally speech given at the 17. Internationale Studienwoche der Katholischen Hochschuljugend 1963], 85.
- 58 Ibid, 92.
- 59 Cf. Norbert Leser, Begegnung und Auftrag. Beiträge zur Orientierung im zeitgenössischen Sozialismus, Vienna 1963, 218–36.
- 60 On Drimmel’s policy regarding religions cf. Maximilian Liebmann, Freie Kirchen im freien Staat. Heinrich Drimmel und die Stellung der Kirchen in Österreich, in: Demokratie und Geschichte 9–10 (2005/06), 202–04.
- 61 “*Gesellschaftliche Ordnungskraft*”, cf. Heinrich Drimmel, Schlußwort für die Zweite Wiener Soziale Woche, in: Nicht Konzentration, sondern Streuung des Eigentums (Schriftenreihe des Instituts für Sozialpolitik und Sozialreform, vol. 5), Vienna 1956, 63.
- 62 This is most clearly formulated in Drimmel, Die Intellektuellen, 138: “1. Ich glaube an Gott. 2. Das Christentum hat nicht versagt. Wir können auch nicht darauf verzichten. Die Ordnung des gesellschaftlichen Lebens in der Gegenwart ist im Sinn der christlichen Gebote möglich. 3. Es gibt kein Paradies auf Erden, aber vergessen wir darüber nicht die Pflicht, auf Erden an einer Ordnung des Friedens und der sozialen Gerechtigkeit mizuwirken. Um solcherart denken und handeln zu können – und damit denken und handeln wir bereits im tiefsten Sinn *politisch* – müssen wir von unseren Ideen überzeugt sein. Erst dann können wir andere überzeugen.”
- 63 See Drimmel’s remarks in an exchange with Bruno Kreisky in 1972. Kreisky had congratulated his former colleague on his 60th birthday; Drimmel replied: “Ich habe solche Wünsche nötig, denn mein politisches Frührentnerum ist eines der grössten Wagnisse meines Lebens. Ich habe keine Vorhaben, die ich erst jetzt in Angriff nehmen kann; was ich wollte, habe ich zeitlebens nach Kräften getan, für blosse Hobbies ist das Leben zu schade.” Cf. letter Drimmel to Kreisky, 18 January 1972, folder “Promi D Dachs-Dwyer” [unsorted], StBKA.
- 64 Cf. Drimmel, Politik und Schule, 244.
- 65 “Die Wissenschaftspflege als eine der schönsten Aufgaben der Staatskunst [...]” Drimmel, Eröffnung, 5.
- 66 This is clear from his terminology, but also from the spiritual-intellectual influence of Catholic thinkers like Johannes Messner, one of the few prominent emigrants returning to a professorship in Austria in the 1950s. Messner’s influence on Drimmel is documented in the latter’s *Nachlass*: “Lieber Freund, schon seit viel mehr als zehn Jahren weiß ich, daß Sie mir freundschaftlich gesinnt sind, wie auch ich mich Ihnen innerlich nahe fühle.” Letter Messner to Drimmel, 13 June 1971, folder “Kirche Politik Partei”, box “Der Schriftsteller II und letzte Varia”, *Nachlass Heinrich Drimmel* [unsorted], AVA. A biographical sketch of Johannes Messner can be found in Gernot Blümel, Der Personenbegriff in der Christlichen Soziallehre und -philosophie unter der besonderen Berücksichtigung von Vogelsang, Lugmayer und Messner, MA thesis, University of Vienna 2009, 84–85, although he does not mention the hagiography by Messner, which was simply titled: *Dollfuß*, and was published in Vienna in 1935.
- 67 “Otto Loewi, der vor einiger Zeit verstorbene Nobelpreisträger aus Österreich, hat auf dem Biochemikerkongreß in Wien 1958 die Frage nach dem Sinn des Lebens noch schärfer und konkreter gestellt. [...] Loewi sagte damals vor mehreren tausenden Wissenschaftlern aus aller Welt etwa folgendes: Die ganze Kenntnis der einzelnen Lebensvorgänge kann die letzte Frage des Biologen, die, was Leben ist, nicht beantworten. Die Organisation der Zelle ist die ‘große, spröde Unbekannte’. Nicht ganz unberechtigt ist der Zweifel, ob wir sie und damit das Leben jemals werden begreifen können. Von diesem Punkt aus visierte Otto Loewi, dessen wissenschaftlicher Lebensweg in der Ära der voraussetzungslosen Wissenschaft begonnen hat, die Grenze an, an der sich die Existenz des Menschen entscheidet: die Gotteserkenntnis.” Heinrich Drimmel, Wider die bürgerliche Feigheit, in:

- Drimmel, 10 Reden [originally in: Die Presse, 29 August 1964], 118. Similarly Drimmel, Staat und Hochschulautonomie, 67.
- 68 Drimmel, Brot, 6.
- 69 Horst Dreier, Kelsens Demokratietheorie: Grundlegung, Strukturelemente, Probleme, in: Hans Kelsen Institut (ed.), Hans Kelsens Wege sozialphilosophischer Forschung, Berlin 1997, 79–108.
- 70 Drimmel, Brot, 6–7.
- 71 See Klaus Oswatitsch, Ein Alarmzeichen, in: ÖHZ 13/8 (1961), 3; and several reactions in ÖHZ 13/9 (1961), 4.
- 72 Béla Juhos, Nichtmaterielle Gründe der Abwanderung heimischer Wissenschaftler, in: ÖHZ 13/10 (1961), 2: “Wer [...] in Österreich sich der erkenntnislogischen Grundlagenforschung widmet, bleibt entweder zeitlebens Dozent und bekommt höchstens [...] den Titel eines ‘außerordentlichen Universitätsprofessors’ verliehen, oder er sieht sich genötigt abzuwandern.”
- 73 Ibid: “Die beharrliche Weigerung der österreichischen zuständigen Stellen, Vertreter der philosophischen Grundlagenforschung auf Lehrkanzeln zuzulassen, hat nichtmaterielle Gründe, auch wenn das Gegenteil zuweilen als Entschuldigung behauptet wird.”
- 74 That many members during the early phase of the Vienna Circle leant to the political left is well documented, see Thomas Uebel, Vernunftkritik und Wissenschaft: Otto Neurath und der erste Wiener Kreis, Vienna/New York 2000, 348–55; Hans-Georg Dahms, Positivismusstreit. Die Auseinandersetzungen der Frankfurter Schule mit dem logischen Positivismus, dem amerikanischen Pragmatismus und dem kritischen Rationalismus, Frankfurt am Main 1994, 37–39; Friedrich Stadler, The Vienna Circle. Studies in the Origins, Development, and Influence of Logical Empiricism, Vienna/New York 2001, 498–507.
- 75 For a similarly apolitical account see Victor Kraft, Der Wiener Kreis, Vienna 1950. Stadler, Vienna Circle, 12, argues that Kraft’s apolitical self-description of the Vienna Circle “is motivated by an ethos of scientific objectivity.” Ironically, this made the position of logical empiricism more ineffective in philosophical debates, as is emphasized by Oliver Vollbrecht, Victor Kraft: Rationale Normenbegründung und Logischer Empirismus, Munich 2003, 10–11. Note that the same trend towards apolitical scholasticism took place in the United States; see George A. Reisch, How the Cold War Transformed Philosophy of Science. To the Icy Slopes of Logic, Cambridge 2005, 191–95.
- 76 Erich Heintel, letter to the editor, in: ÖHZ 13/12 (1961), 3.
- 77 Walter Böhm, letter to the editor, in: ÖHZ 13/15 (1961), 4–5. Böhm calls what he rejects “weltanschaulich neutrale Forschung”. In earlier publications, he had posed that “philosophy is necessarily [...] metaphysical”, see Walter Böhm, Wissenschaft und Metaphysik, in: Wissenschaft und Weltbild 8/2 (1955), 113; and that “radical positivism” was delusional to assume that science could get along without metaphysics. See Walter Böhm, Wissenschaft und Philosophie, in: Wissenschaft und Weltbild 10/3 (1957), 214.
- 78 Juhos, Grundlagenforschung, 4.
- 79 It’s important to highlight the timeline of events: the debate in ÖHZ had taken place over the first half of 1961, with Juhos’ initial article, and Heintel’s reply, in May of that year. Drimmel’s Alpbach speech was held and published during the summer of 1961. Böhm’s reply to Juhos was printed in October; Juhos’ second and last article on the issue was published in January 1962, accompanied by a final statement by Heintel, saying simply that he agreed to disagree with Juhos.
- 80 Juhos, Grundlagenforschung, 4: “Wenn demnach der Herr Bundesminister für Unterricht gleich seinen Vorgängern die Vertreter der erkenntnisanalytischen Grundlagenforschung zur Abwanderung nötigt, indem er sie nunmehr seit vielen Jahren von den Lehrkanzeln auf den Universitäten fernhält, dann fördert er gerade das, was er zu Unrecht der positivistischen Grundlagenkritik vorwirft: die Zerstörung der Wissenschaft.”
- 81 For evidence that this was a systematic policy implemented by members of the professoriate, see Klaus Taschwer, Hochburg des Antisemitismus. Der Niedergang der Universität Wien im 20. Jahrhundert, Vienna 2015.
- 82 Cf. BGBl. 154/1955, § 10 (3).
- 83 Cf. Albert Müller, Grenzziehungen in der Geschichtswissenschaft: Habilitationsverfahren 1900–1950 (am Beispiel der Universität Wien), in: Christian Fleck (ed.), Soziologische und historische Analysen der Sozialwissenschaften, Opladen 2000, 287–307.

- 84 This is pointed out also by Kozlik, *Akademiker*, 167–173; and Christian Fleck, *Wandel und Stabilität der 'teutonischen' Universitäten vor, während und nach den Nazis*, in: Mitchell G. Ash (ed.), *Hochschulen und Wissenschaften im Nationalsozialismus und danach. Stand der Forschung und Projekte in Österreich*, Vienna 2003, CD-Rom.
- 85 Not surprisingly, Christianity was at the center of Heintel's philosophy, cf. Erich Heintel, *Österreichische Philosophie 1945–1985*, in: Kurt R. Fischer/Franz M. Wimmer (eds.), *Der geistige Anschluß: Philosophie und Politik an der Universität Wien 1930–1950*, Vienna 1993, 262. Juhos, obviously, was doing exactly the opposite; cf. Béla Juhos, *Gibt es in Österreich eine wissenschaftliche Philosophie?*, in: *Österreich – geistige Provinz?*, Vienna 1965, 232–44.
- 86 The authorized faculty board nominated Juhos prior to Heintel, but the Ministry of Education preferred Heintel, who was younger, more junior, and had almost no publication record at the time. The ministry's official reasoning was Heintel's allegedly "brilliant talent for teaching" – as stated in Heintel's personal file in the archive of the ministry, 20 January 1952, quoted in Franz Weiss, *Der frühe Heintel. Leben Werk und Lehre von 1912 bis 1949. Mit einem kurzen Überblick über sein späteres Schaffen*, dissertation, University of Vienna 2010, 287, footnote 1087. See also Reiter, *Wer war Béla Juhos*, 77–80.
- 87 Michael Schorner, *Comeback auf Umwegen. Die Rückkehr der Wissenschaftstheorie in Österreich*, in: Friedrich Stadler (ed.), *Vertreibung, Transformation und Rückkehr der Wissenschaftstheorie. Am Beispiel von Rudolf Carnap und Wolfgang Stegmüller*, Vienna/Berlin 2010, 189–252; Daniel Kuby, Paul Feyerabend in Wien 1946–1955. *Das Österreichische College und der Kraft-Kreis*, in: Benedikt et al. (eds.), *Suche*, 1041–56; Heinrich Kleiner, Ernst Topitsch und sein schwieriger Weg zur ideologiekritischen Weltanschauungsanalyse, in: Karl Acham (ed.), *Rechts-, Sozial- und Wirtschaftswissenschaften aus Graz. Zwischen empirischer Analyse und normativer Handlungsanleitung: wissenschaftsgeschichtliche Befunde aus drei Jahrhunderten*, Vienna 2011, 151–189.
- 88 It should be noted that during the research for this article, only a sample of the Drimmel *Nachlass* could be examined, but it nevertheless indicated active involvement on part of the minister.
- 89 Cf. the correspondence between Drimmel, Meister, and Walter Lehl, ministerial correspondence Heinrich Drimmel E/1734:22 1955 M-Me, AVA.
- 90 Cf. the correspondence between Drimmel, Robert Muth, and Theodor Erismann, ministerial correspondence Heinrich Drimmel E/1734:23 1955 Me-N, AVA.
- 91 Gerhard Benetka, *Der 'Fall' Stegmüller*, in: Friedrich Stadler (ed.), *Elemente moderner Wissenschaftstheorie. Zur Interaktion von Philosophie, Geschichte und Theorie der Wissenschaften*, Vienna 2000, 123–177; also Schorner, *Comeback auf Umwegen*.
- 92 Reiter, *Wer war Béla Juhos*, 77–80. Due to the fact that the *Nachlass* only starts in 1954 with Drimmel being appointed minister, the appointment of Heintel did not leave any traces there. However, since he was already head of the higher education unit at the ministry, it is to be expected that Drimmel was already involved in this case.
- 93 "Seit hundert Jahren wird in Österreich ein Lehrkanzelsvorstand auf die Weise berufen, daß das Professorenkollegium einen Ternavorschlag erstattet und das Ministerium aus diesem Ternavorschlag einen Kandidaten auswählt, den dann das Staatsoberhaupt bestellt. Darf ich Ihnen sagen, daß das Unterrichtsministerium in den letzten sechzig Jahren in nicht mehr als sechs Fällen einen Kandidaten zum Hochschulprofessor gemacht hat, der nicht in dem Ternavorschlag enthalten war! In allen übrigen Fällen vollzog sich die Ernennung nach den Wünschen des Professorenkollegiums. Seit dem Jahr 1945 hat sich ein solcher Ausnahmefall überhaupt noch nicht ereignet." Cf. Heinrich Drimmel, *Das Verhältnis von Hochschule und Staat nach dem neuen österreichischen Hochschulgesetz*, in: Otto Molden (ed.), *Erkenntnis und Aktion. Vorträge und Gespräche des Europäischen Forums Alpbach 1955*, Vienna 1955, 39.
- 94 Cf. internal comment on HOG, 5 December 1954, GZ 88003/1/54, 4, box 2110, Teilbestand Unterrichtsministerium, AdR: "[...] die dem Staate genehmste Person herauszusuchen."
- 95 Cf. report on habilitation Rene Marcic, 3 February 1960, ministerial correspondence Heinrich Drimmel E/1734:162 1957 Ma-Mh, AVA.
- 96 Cf. Friedrich Koja, *René Marcic als Wissenschaftler und Mensch*, in: Michael Fischer (ed.), *Dimensionen des Rechts. Gedächtnisschrift für René Marcic*, Berlin 1974, 109–118.
- 97 Cf. Knoll, Heinrich Drimmel, 871, footnote 2.

- 98 Cf. Drimmel, Brot, 6.
- 99 Cf. Dreier, Kelsens Demokratietheorie, 79.
- 100 Cf. Hans Kelsen, *The Political Theory of Bolshevism. A Critical Analysis*, Berkeley/Los Angeles 1949.
- 101 Cf. König, Entstehung, 62.
- 102 Cf. Gerard Eric Kasemir, *Die Borodajkewycz-Affäre 1965. Spätes Ende für "wissenschaftlich" vorge-tragenen Rassismus*, MA thesis, University of Vienna 1994; Rafael Kropiunigg, *Eine österreichische Affäre. Der Fall Borodajkewycz*, Vienna 2015.
- 103 Cf. Thomas König, Irrfahrer und Dulder, Titanen und Halbgötter. Eine empirische Analyse eines Samples von HochschullehrerInnen von 1949 bis 1964, in: *zeitgeschichte* 38/2 (2011), 118.
- 104 See the remarkable compilation of fields by Gerhard Oberkofler, *Bemerkungen zur Wahlpolitik der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften nach 1945*, in: *Mitteilungen der Alfred Klahr Gesellschaft* 19/3 (2012), 1–10.
- 105 Ernst Hanisch, *Der lange Schatten des Staates: österreichische Gesellschaftsgeschichte im 20. Jahr-hundert*, Vienna 1994, 461–2.
- 106 See the timetable in Kreutz/Rögl, *Universitätsreform*, 36–52.
- 107 Cf. Martin F. Herz, *Understanding Austria. The Political Reports and Analyses of Martin F. Herz, Political Officer of the U.S. legation in Vienna 1945–1948*, ed. Reinhold Wagnleitner, Salzburg 1984, 572–73; Adolf Kozlik, *Akademiker*, 179; Christian Fleck, *Österreichs Wissenschaften in den Augen amerikanischer Besucher*, in: *Wiener Zeitschrift zur Geschichte der Neuzeit* 5/1 (2005), 119–134; *Stifter, Erneuerung und Restauration*.
- 108 Cf. Paul Feyerabend, *Die Geisteswissenschaften in Österreich*, unpublished report 1954 [reprin-ted in: Benedikt et al. (eds.), *Suche*, 19–174], 33: "Ein gesunder fachwissenschaftlicher Positivismus macht sich seit je in den verschiedenen Disziplinen bemerkbar [...]. Auch Gegenströmungen gegen diese Haltung hat es schon seit je gegeben, so vor allem den Wunsch, die einzelnen Disziplinen welt-anschaulich zu fundieren und zu binden."
- 109 *Ibid.*, 22–33. On the early Feyerabend, cf. Kuby, Paul Feyerabend, 1041–56.
- 110 Cf. Thomas König, "Konserven des Geistes": Semantischer Wandel in den hochschulpolitischen Debatten der frühen 1960er Jahre in Österreich, in: Ingrid Böhler et al. (eds.), *7. Österreichischer Zeitgeschichtetag 2008*, Innsbruck, 2010, 64–71.
- 111 On Erich Heintel's party membership of the NSDAP, cf. George Leaman, *Die Universitätsphilosophen der 'Ostmark'*, in: *Neues Forum*, no. 41 (1994), 28. Circumstantial evidence indicates that Leo Gabriel was involved in the assassination of Moritz Schlick in 1936, cf. Renate Lotz-Rimbach, *Zur Biographie Leo Gabriels. Revision und Ergänzung der Selbstdarstellung*, in: *zeitgeschichte* 31/6 (2004), 372–391; also, Lotz-Rimbach, *Mord verjährt nicht*.
- 112 Juhos, *wissenschaftliche Philosophie*, 244.