

Exile, change of profession and return

Dr. Ernst Fraenkel

December 1898 Cologne – 28 March 1975 Berlin

“Finally the *Reichsgericht* itself deprived all Jews living in Germany of their status of persons in the legal sense. In a decision of 27 June 1936 the highest German court sentenced the German Jews to their ‘civil death.’”
(1940)



Ernst Fraenkel and his wife Hanna in exile in the United States (approx. 1939)

At the same time he was already working on his most important book “The Dual State”, a shrewd analysis of National Socialism. From 1944 until 1950 Fraenkel worked for the US Government, temporarily as an adviser in Korea.

In 1951 Fraenkel returned to Berlin. He had always stayed in touch with his former partner Franz L. Neumann who had also published a critical study of National Socialism in the “Behemoth” (Neumann was killed in an accident in 1954). Fraenkel became a professor at the *Deutsche Hochschule für Politik* in Berlin, later also at the *Otto-Suhr-Institut* of the *Freie Universität Berlin*, where he taught until his retirement in 1967. He was one of the most eminent political scientists of the post-war era, yet he had to witness his lectures being disturbed during the student revolt.

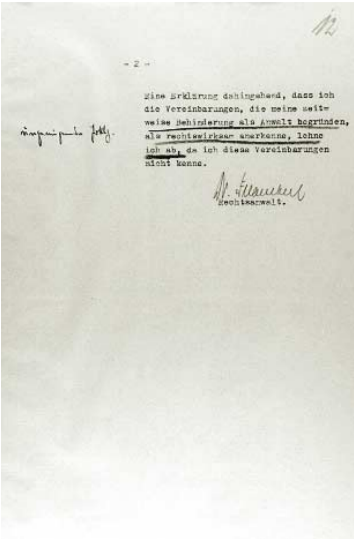
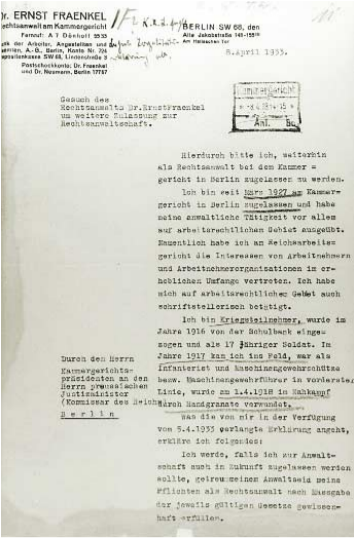
Fraenkel took part in the First World War and was seriously wounded. He studied law and history. During this period became a member Social Democratic Party (SPD). After his studies, his traineeship as a lawyer and after having worked as an assistant to Hugo Sinzheimer, he set up as a lawyer in Berlin in 1927. Until 1931 he was an adviser to the metalworkers’ union. Together with partner Franz L. Neumann, Fraenkel was known as one of the “young lions of the trade union movement”. In early April 1933 Fraenkel applied

for re-admission as a lawyer since he was considered a Jew according to National Socialist standards, although he had turned away from Jewish faith. Besides the racist ostracism, proceedings were initiated against Fraenkel in order to exclude him from the legal profession on the grounds of “Communist activities”. Nothing could be proved against him and due to his status as First World War veteran who had fought at the frontline, he was able to practise as a lawyer until 1938. Defending various political prisoners between 1933 and 1938 was his own personal risk. Fraenkel’s wife was considered ‘Aryan’, which protected Fraenkel to a certain extent.

Following the prohibition to practise law in 1938, Fraenkel and his wife emigrated to the United States via Great Britain. In exile, Fraenkel took his degree in American law.



Only few emigrants returning from exile were given a welcome like Ernst and Hanna Fraenkel in April 1951.



Ernst Fraenkel's letter of application for re-admission as a lawyer. Fraenkel tries to avoid the required statement of loyalty which promptly earns him the remark “insufficient explanation”. The remarks indicate which criteria were used for assessment: date of admission (before 1914?) and *Frontsoldat* (“F”?). Fraenkel is admitted to continue to practise because he is regarded as a First World War veteran having fought at the frontline; 8 April 1933, Federal Archives (BAL), Fraenkel's personal file.

A lawyer hid away

Anita Eisner

25 July 1900 Berlin – 12 April 1950 Berlin

“From March 1943 until the capture of Berlin, that is over 2 years, I had to live illegally, I did not receive food ration cards and most of the time I did not know what to live on nor where I was supposed to spend the night.” (1946)



Landsarchiv Berlin, Personalecke BAK

Anita Eisner had great difficulties financing her legal studies. Her father had died in 1914. Aged 27 she was admitted as a lawyer to the three Berlin Regional Courts. The law regarding admission to the legal profession of 7 April 1933 provided that Jewish lawyers could only continue to practise if they had been in the First World War veterans who had fought at the frontline, or they had been admitted to the profession before 1914 (*Altanwälte*, Senior Lawyers). As far as femal lawyers were concerned, this was tantamount to a general prohibition since they could not have been First

World War veterans and neither could they have been admitted to the profession before 1914, since women were only allowed to earn a legal degree from the 1920s onwards. But still, Eisner applied for re-admission on 10 April 1933. Her application was rejected. She lost her profession because she was Jewish. Subsequently she tried to make a living as an administrator of Jewish emigrants' houses and property. In the framework of these activities she was always in contact with the NS authorities: “I remember, for example, ... that within one single week I was summoned five times to the customs investigation office and the Gestapo, and you never knew if they were going to let you go free or keep you there for no reason at all.”

Eisner hid away in the spring of 1943. Her mother and sister were deported and killed. During this time which Eisner spent living in illegality, she also found a hiding place with friends in Dresden. Whenever she had the opportunity she read philosophical books, looking for moral support.



Landsarchiv Berlin, Personalecke BAK

Passport photograph

Eisner survived. There were only few people who had been able to go into hiding like her. In 1947 Anita Eisner was re-admitted as a lawyer in Berlin by the Allied Forces. The time of persecution had been so exhausting that she died on 12 April 1950. She was only 49 years old.

MG/RS/C/6a
Rev. 15 May 49

Anlage A
Zusatz.

MILITARY GOVERNMENT OF GERMANY
Fragebogen

WARNING: Read the entire Questionnaire carefully before you start to fill it out. The English language will prevent if discrepancies exist between it and the German translation. Answers must be typewritten or printed clearly in block letters. Every false statement, no matter how innocent and conscientious the question is impossible, as indicated by some appropriate word or phrase such as "none", or "not applicable", and respondents should if there is not enough space in the questionnaire, continue to state on separate documents any answers omitted from the questionnaire, and will result in prosecution and punishment.

WARNUNG: Vor Beantwortung ist der gesamte Fragebogen sorgfältig durchzulesen. In Zweifelsfällen ist die englische Fassung maßgebend. Die Antworten müssen mit der Schreibmaschine oder in klaren Blockbuchstaben geschrieben werden. Jede Frage ist genau und gewissenhaft zu beantworten, und keine Frage darf unbeantwortet gelassen werden. Das Wort „ja“ oder „nein“ ist an der jeweils vorgeschriebenen Stelle unbedingt einzusetzen. Falls die Frage durch „ja“ oder „nein“ nicht zu beantworten ist, so ist eine entsprechende Abkürzung, wie z. B. „keine“ oder „nicht befragt“, zu geben. In Ermangelung von ausreichendem Platz in dem Fragebogen können Bogen angeheftet werden. Anmerkungen sowie falsche oder unvollständige Angaben stellen Vergehen gegen die Vorschriften der Militärregierung dar und werden dementsprechend geahndet.

A. PERSONAL / A. Persönliche Angaben

1. List position for which you are under immediate service agency or firm. — 2. Name (last, first, middle). — 3. Other names which you have used or by which you have been known. — 4. Date of birth. — 5. Place of birth. — 6. Height. — 7. Weight. — 8. Color of hair. — 9. Eyes. — 10. Blood. — 11. Present address (city, street and house number). — 12. Former addresses (city, street and house number). — 13. Monthly card type and number. — 14. Wehrpass No. — 15. Citizenship. — 16. If a naturalized citizen, give date and place of naturalization. — 17. List any other names by which you are known or by which you are known to your family. — 18. If you are a Jew, give pertinent and reason. — 19. What religious preference did you give in the census of 1933? — 20. List any causes of which you have been convicted. Giving dates, locations and nature of the crime.

1. Für Sie in Frage kommende Stellung: Rechtsanwältin

2. Name: Anita
Zusatznamen: keine

3. Andere von Ihnen benutzte Namen: keine

4. Geburtsdatum: 25.7.1900 Geburtsort: Berlin

5. Größe ca. 165cm, Gewicht ca. 110, Haarfarbe: braun

6. Größe ca. 165cm, Gewicht ca. 110, Haarfarbe: braun

7. Farbe der Augen: braun

8. Narben, Geburtsmale oder Entstellungen: keine

9. Gegenwärtige Anschrift: Berlin W 35, Lützowstr. 69

10. Ständiger Wohnort: Berlin W 35, Lützowstr. 69

11. Ständiger Wohnort: Berlin W 35, Lützowstr. 69

12. Art der Anwesenheit: Personal-Nr. 232/434 Wehrpass-Nr. nein

13. Art der Anwesenheit: Personal-Nr. 232/434 Wehrpass-Nr. nein

14. Statusangehörigkeit: jüdisch

15. Falls naturalisierter Bürger, geben Sie Datum und Einbürgerungsort an: nein

16. Aufzählung aller Thesen oder anderer Ihrer Thesen oder ihrer beiden Großeltern, insofern Sie Adelskette: keine

17. Religion: jüdisch

18. Welche Religionsangehörigkeit haben Sie bei der Volkszählung 1933 angegeben? jüdisch

19. Führen Sie alle Vergehen, Übertretungen oder Verbrechen an, für welche Sie je verurteilt worden sind, mit Angabe des Datums, des Ortes und der Art: keine

20. Welche Religionsangehörigkeit haben Sie bei der Volkszählung 1933 angegeben? jüdisch

21. Führen Sie alle Vergehen, Übertretungen oder Verbrechen an, für welche Sie je verurteilt worden sind, mit Angabe des Datums, des Ortes und der Art: keine

B. SECONDARY AND HIGHER EDUCATION / B. Grundschul- und höhere Bildung

1. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1916-1918 and 1919-1920

2. Location: Berlin

3. Dates of Attendance: 1916 - 1918

4. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

5. Date: 21.3.1919

6. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1919-1920

7. Location: Berlin

8. Dates of Attendance: 1919 - 1920

9. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

10. Date: 21.3.1919

11. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1920-1921

12. Location: Berlin

13. Dates of Attendance: 1920 - 1921

14. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

15. Date: 21.3.1919

16. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1921-1922

17. Location: Berlin

18. Dates of Attendance: 1921 - 1922

19. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

20. Date: 21.3.1919

21. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1922-1923

22. Location: Berlin

23. Dates of Attendance: 1922 - 1923

24. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

25. Date: 21.3.1919

26. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1923-1924

27. Location: Berlin

28. Dates of Attendance: 1923 - 1924

29. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

30. Date: 21.3.1919

31. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1924-1925

32. Location: Berlin

33. Dates of Attendance: 1924 - 1925

34. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

35. Date: 21.3.1919

36. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1925-1926

37. Location: Berlin

38. Dates of Attendance: 1925 - 1926

39. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

40. Date: 21.3.1919

41. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1926-1927

42. Location: Berlin

43. Dates of Attendance: 1926 - 1927

44. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

45. Date: 21.3.1919

46. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1927-1928

47. Location: Berlin

48. Dates of Attendance: 1927 - 1928

49. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

50. Date: 21.3.1919

51. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1928-1929

52. Location: Berlin

53. Dates of Attendance: 1928 - 1929

54. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

55. Date: 21.3.1919

56. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1929-1930

57. Location: Berlin

58. Dates of Attendance: 1929 - 1930

59. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

60. Date: 21.3.1919

61. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1930-1931

62. Location: Berlin

63. Dates of Attendance: 1930 - 1931

64. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

65. Date: 21.3.1919

66. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1931-1932

67. Location: Berlin

68. Dates of Attendance: 1931 - 1932

69. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

70. Date: 21.3.1919

71. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1932-1933

72. Location: Berlin

73. Dates of Attendance: 1932 - 1933

74. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

75. Date: 21.3.1919

76. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1933-1934

77. Location: Berlin

78. Dates of Attendance: 1933 - 1934

79. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

80. Date: 21.3.1919

81. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1934-1935

82. Location: Berlin

83. Dates of Attendance: 1934 - 1935

84. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

85. Date: 21.3.1919

86. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1935-1936

87. Location: Berlin

88. Dates of Attendance: 1935 - 1936

89. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

90. Date: 21.3.1919

91. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1936-1937

92. Location: Berlin

93. Dates of Attendance: 1936 - 1937

94. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

95. Date: 21.3.1919

96. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1937-1938

97. Location: Berlin

98. Dates of Attendance: 1937 - 1938

99. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

100. Date: 21.3.1919

101. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1938-1939

102. Location: Berlin

103. Dates of Attendance: 1938 - 1939

104. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

105. Date: 21.3.1919

106. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1939-1940

107. Location: Berlin

108. Dates of Attendance: 1939 - 1940

109. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

110. Date: 21.3.1919

111. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1940-1941

112. Location: Berlin

113. Dates of Attendance: 1940 - 1941

114. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

115. Date: 21.3.1919

116. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1941-1942

117. Location: Berlin

118. Dates of Attendance: 1941 - 1942

119. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

120. Date: 21.3.1919

121. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1942-1943

122. Location: Berlin

123. Dates of Attendance: 1942 - 1943

124. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

125. Date: 21.3.1919

126. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1943-1944

127. Location: Berlin

128. Dates of Attendance: 1943 - 1944

129. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

130. Date: 21.3.1919

131. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1944-1945

132. Location: Berlin

133. Dates of Attendance: 1944 - 1945

134. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

135. Date: 21.3.1919

136. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1945-1946

137. Location: Berlin

138. Dates of Attendance: 1945 - 1946

139. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

140. Date: 21.3.1919

141. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1946-1947

142. Location: Berlin

143. Dates of Attendance: 1946 - 1947

144. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

145. Date: 21.3.1919

146. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1947-1948

147. Location: Berlin

148. Dates of Attendance: 1947 - 1948

149. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

150. Date: 21.3.1919

151. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1948-1949

152. Location: Berlin

153. Dates of Attendance: 1948 - 1949

154. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

155. Date: 21.3.1919

156. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1949-1950

157. Location: Berlin

158. Dates of Attendance: 1949 - 1950

159. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

160. Date: 21.3.1919

161. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1950-1951

162. Location: Berlin

163. Dates of Attendance: 1950 - 1951

164. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

165. Date: 21.3.1919

166. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1951-1952

167. Location: Berlin

168. Dates of Attendance: 1951 - 1952

169. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

170. Date: 21.3.1919

171. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1952-1953

172. Location: Berlin

173. Dates of Attendance: 1952 - 1953

174. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

175. Date: 21.3.1919

176. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1953-1954

177. Location: Berlin

178. Dates of Attendance: 1953 - 1954

179. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

180. Date: 21.3.1919

181. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1954-1955

182. Location: Berlin

183. Dates of Attendance: 1954 - 1955

184. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

185. Date: 21.3.1919

186. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1955-1956

187. Location: Berlin

188. Dates of Attendance: 1955 - 1956

189. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

190. Date: 21.3.1919

191. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1956-1957

192. Location: Berlin

193. Dates of Attendance: 1956 - 1957

194. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

195. Date: 21.3.1919

196. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1957-1958

197. Location: Berlin

198. Dates of Attendance: 1957 - 1958

199. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

200. Date: 21.3.1919

201. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1958-1959

202. Location: Berlin

203. Dates of Attendance: 1958 - 1959

204. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

205. Date: 21.3.1919

206. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1959-1960

207. Location: Berlin

208. Dates of Attendance: 1959 - 1960

209. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

210. Date: 21.3.1919

211. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1960-1961

212. Location: Berlin

213. Dates of Attendance: 1960 - 1961

214. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

215. Date: 21.3.1919

216. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1961-1962

217. Location: Berlin

218. Dates of Attendance: 1961 - 1962

219. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

220. Date: 21.3.1919

221. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1962-1963

222. Location: Berlin

223. Dates of Attendance: 1962 - 1963

224. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

225. Date: 21.3.1919

226. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1963-1964

227. Location: Berlin

228. Dates of Attendance: 1963 - 1964

229. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

230. Date: 21.3.1919

231. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1964-1965

232. Location: Berlin

233. Dates of Attendance: 1964 - 1965

234. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

235. Date: 21.3.1919

236. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1965-1966

237. Location: Berlin

238. Dates of Attendance: 1965 - 1966

239. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

240. Date: 21.3.1919

241. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1966-1967

242. Location: Berlin

243. Dates of Attendance: 1966 - 1967

244. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

245. Date: 21.3.1919

246. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1967-1968

247. Location: Berlin

248. Dates of Attendance: 1967 - 1968

249. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

250. Date: 21.3.1919

251. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1968-1969

252. Location: Berlin

253. Dates of Attendance: 1968 - 1969

254. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

255. Date: 21.3.1919

256. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1969-1970

257. Location: Berlin

258. Dates of Attendance: 1969 - 1970

259. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

260. Date: 21.3.1919

261. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1970-1971

262. Location: Berlin

263. Dates of Attendance: 1970 - 1971

264. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

265. Date: 21.3.1919

266. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1971-1972

267. Location: Berlin

268. Dates of Attendance: 1971 - 1972

269. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

270. Date: 21.3.1919

271. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1972-1973

272. Location: Berlin

273. Dates of Attendance: 1972 - 1973

274. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

275. Date: 21.3.1919

276. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1973-1974

277. Location: Berlin

278. Dates of Attendance: 1973 - 1974

279. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

280. Date: 21.3.1919

281. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1974-1975

282. Location: Berlin

283. Dates of Attendance: 1974 - 1975

284. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

285. Date: 21.3.1919

286. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1975-1976

287. Location: Berlin

288. Dates of Attendance: 1975 - 1976

289. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

290. Date: 21.3.1919

291. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1976-1977

292. Location: Berlin

293. Dates of Attendance: 1976 - 1977

294. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

295. Date: 21.3.1919

296. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1977-1978

297. Location: Berlin

298. Dates of Attendance: 1977 - 1978

299. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

300. Date: 21.3.1919

301. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1978-1979

302. Location: Berlin

303. Dates of Attendance: 1978 - 1979

304. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

305. Date: 21.3.1919

306. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1979-1980

307. Location: Berlin

308. Dates of Attendance: 1979 - 1980

309. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

310. Date: 21.3.1919

311. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1980-1981

312. Location: Berlin

313. Dates of Attendance: 1980 - 1981

314. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

315. Date: 21.3.1919

316. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1981-1982

317. Location: Berlin

318. Dates of Attendance: 1981 - 1982

319. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

320. Date: 21.3.1919

321. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1982-1983

322. Location: Berlin

323. Dates of Attendance: 1982 - 1983

324. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

325. Date: 21.3.1919

326. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1983-1984

327. Location: Berlin

328. Dates of Attendance: 1983 - 1984

329. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

330. Date: 21.3.1919

331. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1984-1985

332. Location: Berlin

333. Dates of Attendance: 1984 - 1985

334. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

335. Date: 21.3.1919

336. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1985-1986

337. Location: Berlin

338. Dates of Attendance: 1985 - 1986

339. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

340. Date: 21.3.1919

341. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1986-1987

342. Location: Berlin

343. Dates of Attendance: 1986 - 1987

344. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

345. Date: 21.3.1919

346. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1987-1988

347. Location: Berlin

348. Dates of Attendance: 1987 - 1988

349. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

350. Date: 21.3.1919

351. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1988-1989

352. Location: Berlin

353. Dates of Attendance: 1988 - 1989

354. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

355. Date: 21.3.1919

356. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1989-1990

357. Location: Berlin

358. Dates of Attendance: 1989 - 1990

359. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

360. Date: 21.3.1919

361. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1990-1991

362. Location: Berlin

363. Dates of Attendance: 1990 - 1991

364. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

365. Date: 21.3.1919

366. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1991-1992

367. Location: Berlin

368. Dates of Attendance: 1991 - 1992

369. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

370. Date: 21.3.1919

371. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1992-1993

372. Location: Berlin

373. Dates of Attendance: 1992 - 1993

374. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

375. Date: 21.3.1919

376. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1993-1994

377. Location: Berlin

378. Dates of Attendance: 1993 - 1994

379. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

380. Date: 21.3.1919

381. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1994-1995

382. Location: Berlin

383. Dates of Attendance: 1994 - 1995

384. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

385. Date: 21.3.1919

386. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1995-1996

387. Location: Berlin

388. Dates of Attendance: 1995 - 1996

389. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

390. Date: 21.3.1919

391. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1996-1997

392. Location: Berlin

393. Dates of Attendance: 1996 - 1997

394. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

395. Date: 21.3.1919

396. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1997-1998

397. Location: Berlin

398. Dates of Attendance: 1997 - 1998

399. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

400. Date: 21.3.1919

401. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1998-1999

402. Location: Berlin

403. Dates of Attendance: 1998 - 1999

404. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

405. Date: 21.3.1919

406. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 1999-2000

407. Location: Berlin

408. Dates of Attendance: 1999 - 2000

409. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

410. Date: 21.3.1919

411. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 2000-2001

412. Location: Berlin

413. Dates of Attendance: 2000 - 2001

414. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

415. Date: 21.3.1919

416. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 2001-2002

417. Location: Berlin

418. Dates of Attendance: 2001 - 2002

419. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

420. Date: 21.3.1919

421. Name & Type of School (If a special (VHS) school or military academy, so specify) Name and Address of School for 2002-2003

422. Location: Berlin

423. Dates of Attendance: 2002 - 2003

424. Degree or Certificate: Abiturium

4

Faces of the doomed

Photos from the Naatz album



A precious souvenir

The photo album of Willi Naatz

Willi Naatz, Senior Clerk, 16 March 1879 Berlin - 30 December 1955

The *Anwaltsbeamte* (Senior Clerk in lawyer's room) Willi Naatz kept a unique photo album consisting of 78 pictures. The perforated photos show the faces of ostracized Jewish lawyers. It is unclear where and by whom the photographs were put up with drawing pins. It is possible that they were taken from each individual lawyer's personal file before the file was destroyed. Naatz saved the photos because he wanted to keep them as a memento. Written below the names is mostly the year in which the depicted lawyer lost his admission.

Naatz himself worked in the lawyers' room of the Berlin Regional Court in Grunerstraße for over sixty years. The lawyers came to the lawyers' room to get changed, to wait for their appointments, sometimes they passed away the time playing chess or a game of cards; in this room replacements for appointments were organized, a situation which arose quite frequently since there were three Regional Court buildings, which often led to a lawyer having simultaneous appointments in different buildings which he alone could of course not attend.



A page of Willi Naatz's photo album



Willi Naatz at his desk in the lawyers' room of the Berlin Regional Court on 16 March 1955, his 76th birthday

Naatz was born in the Court, where his father was working as a caretaker. Aged 14, he was employed by the Berlin Bar to work in the lawyers' room. He knew all the lawyers admitted to the Regional Court. Whenever Rechtsanwalt Frey would turn up at the Court in the morning after a night of drinking and still in tails, Naatz would take care of giving him an appropriate appearance.

As early as 1933 the drastic measures had reduced the number of admitted lawyers considerably. The situation had deteriorated in several waves. Naatz rejected the measures which excluded Jewish lawyers from the legal profession and from society and he stayed in contact with them.

A lawyer from Leipzig – restoring the honour of German lawyers

Justizrat Martin Drucker

6 October 1869 Leipzig – 22 February 1947 Leipzig

„What should be taken seriously, however, is the argument that when reconstructing a democratic State, nobody with good intentions should be allowed to stand aside, and that therefore everybody had to join a political party since only the parties will be able to achieve reconstruction. I could not convince myself of the correctness of this line of argument.“ (after 1945)



Three generations of the Drucker family

Martin Drucker's father of the same name (1834-1913) was, just like his non-Jewish grandfather on his mother's side, a respected lawyer and notary in Leipzig. The son went to school at the *Thomasschule* and studied at the faculty of law in his hometown, after having been enrolled briefly at Munich University.

On 17 June 1898 he was sworn in as a lawyer and started practising in his father's law office. From the turn of the century until the building was destroyed during the bombardment of 4 December 1943, the office was situated at *Ritterstraße 1*. Like his father, Martin Drucker turned to international trademark law. However, he was recognized far beyond Leipzig after only a couple of years for his abilities as a defence lawyer, especially since he had achieved the main defendant's acquittal from the accusation of fraudulent bankruptcy in the Leipzig bank trial in 1902. From 1909 Drucker

was a member of the Council of the *Deutsche Anwaltverein* (DAV, German Bar Association). In 1924 he was elected President of the DAV. When in 1932 the seat of the DAV was transferred from Leipzig to Berlin against his conviction, he did not run for this office again. He was subsequently appointed unanimously as honorary president.

Martin Drucker lost his admission to practise as a notary in 1933. On 1 April 1933 he was briefly taken into protective custody. The disciplinary court of the Bar of Saxony excluded him from the legal profession in 1935. However, the disciplinary court had to annul this untenable decision. On the occasion of his 65th birthday, a delegation of renowned German colleagues, headed by Julius Magnus, presented him a publication in his honour.

Despite the continuing attacks and reprisals against Martin Drucker, his non-Jewish partner Kurt Eckstein (1881-1953) did not leave his senior partner. The Jewish partner Erich Cerf (1888-1964), who anticipated the future developments, had emigrated to Palestine in August 1934. Rechtsanwalt Drucker was finally retired as of 1 April 1944 by a unique decree of the Reich Ministry of Justice, which was later to be called 'lex drucker'.

When it became known in March 1945 that a particularly hostile colleague was trying hard to have him deported to a concentration camp, he fled to Jena with his daughter Renate, where he witnessed the liberation by the Americans. Upon his return from Jena, Martin Drucker immediately resumed his activities as a lawyer with his partner Eckstein.

Despite the enormous professional burden and his advanced age, Martin Drucker applied himself with incredible energy and tenacity to the re-organisation of Saxony's legal profession. His efforts to revive the *Deutsche Anwaltverein* and the *Juristische Wochenschrift*, however, were in vain.

RA Hubert Lang



Martin Drucker with the other members of the DAV Council in 1930



With fellow students, Martin Drucker sitting on the chair on the right

From lawyer to farmer to coffee house owner

Max Ferse

24 December 1886 Röhlinghausen – 16 October 1946 Tel Aviv/Israel

“At first we had a farm.
And we learned how to work the land.
That was no fun at all. And it was a
difficult and hard learning process
which did not come at the right time
at all. But somehow we learned how
to do it and somehow we managed.
And we also had a chicken farm. I
don’t know exactly, maybe 500
chickens or so. So we had to learn
how to keep chickens. And that
wasn’t easy either... You don’t just
become a farmer overnight...
The small town we had moved
to was called Naharija... ”
(Daughter Judith Broude, née Ferse,
1995)



Max Ferse, approx. 1920

Law regarding admission to the legal profession of 7 April 1933 (*Gesetz über die Zulassung zur Rechtsanwaltschaft*), Ferse was banned from representing clients on 25 April 1933. However, since Ferse had been admitted to the profession prior to 1914 and had been fighting at the front line, the ban was lifted shortly afterwards. And still, on 8 June 1933 the President of the Regional Court in Bochum sent an inquiry to the *Gauleiter* of the NSDAP in South Westphalia and to the Chairman of the local division of the National Socialist

Max Ferse passed the first law examination in 1909, the final State Examination (*Große Staatsprüfung*) in 1913. In January 1914 he was admitted as a lawyer to the Local and the Regional Court in Bochum, in 1924 he was appointed as a notary. His office was first in *Kortumstraße 71*, later he moved to *Kaiser-Wilhelm-Straße 8*.

In 1916 Ferse was wounded and released from war service. He received the Iron Cross 1st class. His brother Erich was killed during the First World War. With reference to the implementation provisions of the



The Ferse family's living room in Bochum, Kaiser-Wilhelm-Str. 8, late 1936



“And our first dwelling place was on that piece of land we had there, a hut made of corrugated iron. And this was about the most inappropriate material to have in this heat in Palestine.” Judith Broude, September 1995 in Bochum

Grete with a so-called Capitalist's Certificate (*Kapitalisenzertifikat*). Initially they had a farm and bred chickens in Naharija, from 1939 they ran a restaurant in Tel Aviv. Due to a bout of malaria, Ferse was unable to obtain an additional qualification as a lawyer in Palestine and in 1937 he briefly thought about returning to Bochum. In December 1937 he finally applied for deletion from the register of lawyers admitted to the Bochum Local and the Regional Courts.

Max Ferse died of cancer on 16 October 1946, his wife died in 1986. His son Erich still lives in Israel, his daughter is married to Rabbi Dr. Samuel Broude and they live in the United States. Both of Max Ferse's children visited Bochum in 1995.

nalsozialistischer Deutscher Juristen, BNSDJ), asking whether Ferse and others “have acted against the national interest, in particular by donating money to the KPD, or if they fail in any other way to vouch for their support of the national State without reservation and at any time.” The replies were contradictory: The BNSDJ *Gauobmann* said on 4 July 1933 that Ferse was not suspicious of any Communist activities, *Kreisleiter* Riemenschneider – on behalf of *Gauleiter* Wagner – wrote in his letter of 30 June 1933 to the Regional Court's President that it was not desirable that Ferse be re-admitted. He referred to an incident in 1922: at that time Ferse had insisted as a lawyer at a session of the Magistrates' Court (*Schöffengericht*) that the keeper of the minutes of the proceedings had to remove his golden swastika pin. In 1933 Ferse was briefly arrested, retained his admission as a lawyer, but was forbidden to practise as a notary on 25 August 1933.

Max Ferse was a Zionist and tried to emigrate to Palestine soon. After having explored the country in October/November 1936, he emigrated to Palestine with his wife Edith, his two children Erich and Gertrude and with his sister

PARTICULARS RELATIVE TO APPLICANT.		
أوصاف المتقدم أو المتقدمة		
(Personal Particulars)		
Name and date of birth	Röhlinghausen, Germany; 24.12.1886	اسم المتقدم أو المتقدمة وتاريخ ميلاده
Nationality	GERMAN	جنسية المتقدم أو المتقدمة
Trade or occupation	LAWYER	المهنة أو المسمى
Married, single, widowed or divorced	MARRIED	متزوج أو متفرد أو أرمل أو مطلق
Names of wife	Edith, maiden name, JAHNKE	اسم الزوجة
Name of Children	Edith	اسم الابنة
	Gertrude	اسم الابنة
Signature of Applicant	Edith	توقيع المتقدم أو المتقدمة
Signature of Officer	Max Ferse	توقيع الموظف
Date	August 18, 1936	التاريخ

Certificate of naturalization for Palestine of 18 August

Dr. Hubert Schneider

„And therefore: No more Germany (for me)..."

Dr. Siegfried Guggenheim

12 October 1873 Worms – 31 January 1961 Flushing, New York/USA

„And this is the kind of people one is supposed to mix with again? Surely, not all of them, indeed many of them are not like that. But they are the „quiet ones in the country“ which have never been heard, not 2000 years ago and neither at the time of the Nazis, and therefore: No more Germany (for me). This is not an easy decision.“
(Siegfried Guggenheim to Dr. Karl Kanka, 1947)



Siegfried Guggenheim, drawing by W. Fischer, n.d.

Stadtbuch Offenbach

Siegfried Guggenheim set up as a lawyer in Offenbach in 1900. He obtained the admission to appear before the Local Court, the commercial division of the Offenbach Regional Court, and in 1910 he was also admitted to the Darmstadt Regional Court. In 1919 he was appointed as notary. Guggenheim contributed to the city's public life in many different ways. He was particularly interested in fine arts and history. He was a member of Offenbach's Historical Society and the Fine Arts Society and a patron of the local arts and crafts academy. He held leading positions in the Association for the Statistics of the Jews, the Association for Jewish History and Literature as well as in the Central Organization of German Jews which acted throughout the entire Reich. From 1933 until 1938 he was the chairman of the Jewish Community in Offenbach.

After the handover of power to the National Socialists, Dr. Siegfried Guggenheim did not have to give up his profession immediately. However, as early as in the summer of 1933, his license to practise as a notary was withdrawn. In September 1933 he had to dissolve the professional partnership with his colleagues Dr. Lachmann and Dr. Kanka. He lost his admission as a lawyer in November 1938 with the general prohibition to practise which was imposed on lawyers of Jewish origin.

Following the night of the pogrom on 9 November 1938, Guggenheim, just like many other Jews, was deported to Buchenwald concentration camp. He was released after a couple of weeks,

probably on the condition that he would leave Germany. Together with his wife Eugenie (1878 – 1984) he emigrated to Flushing, New York State, in December 1938. In 1941 the German Reich deprived both of them of their German citizenship.

In exile, Guggenheim lived in rather narrow circumstances. He gradually had to part from the few possessions he had managed to save. After 1945 he fought for several years and with increasing bitterness for a pension for his activities as a notary and for compensation for his expropriated property. Despite his persecution, Guggenheim maintained his ties with Offenbach, where he was made an honorary citizen in 1948. "My thoughts are always in Offenbach" he wrote in his last New Year's greetings to the city in 1960. However, he refused to return to Germany or visit Offenbach in view of the deprivation of rights and the humiliating treatment he had experienced. Only in death did Siegfried Guggenheim return to Germany. Following his last wish, his ashes were buried in his wife's family's grave in Offenbach.

Hans Bergemann MA



Siegfried Guggenheim as a soldier with the Landsturm in the First World War, 1916.

Stadtbuch Offenbach



Siegfried Guggenheim in his apartment in Flushing (New York/USA), sitting under a tapestry bearing his family's coat of arms and motto, n.d.

Stadtbuch Offenbach

Odyssey across the seas

Bruno Cohn (later Bruce Carter)

5 October 1904 Angerburg (East Prussia) – 12 March 1988 Los Angeles

„Due to the measures
taken by the Hitler
Government, I have
thus lost my profession
twice...”

Bruno Cohn passed his *Abitur* in March 1923 in Königsberg, studied law and set up as a lawyer in Luckenwalde in early 1931. Only two years later the National Socialists brought his career as a lawyer to a halt: In June 1933 he was banned from practising as a lawyer because he was Jewish. Bruno Cohn found a new job in a hat factory in Luckenwalde, where he worked until this Jewish enterprise was liquidated on Government order in late 1938.

In October 1934 Bruno Cohn got married. With his wife Edith he had three children. A daughter was born in 1935, a son follo-

wed in 1938, and a second son was born in 1943, just as they were fleeing the country.



Wedding picture, 1934

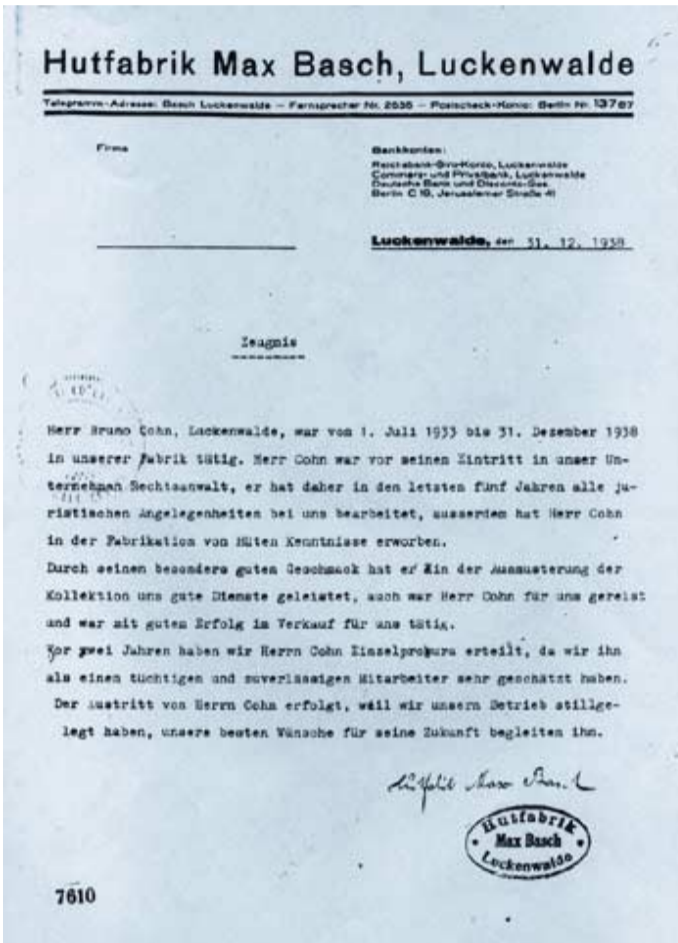
Shortly after Pogrom Night, Bruno Cohn was arrested on 10 November 1938 in East Prussia. He was released after seven weeks on the condition that he would leave Germany within a month. In late January 1939 Bruno Cohn left for Holland. His family remained in Luckenwalde. Bruno Cohn did not obtain a work permit in Holland, he was only tolerated there and his family was not allowed to join him. Cohn applied for a visa to the United States. Due to the long waiting lists he bought a visa for Chile in November 1939. His wife and his one-year-old son were finally able to leave Germany half a year later; the four-year-old daughter had already been taken to England in March 1939.

At the end of May 1940 the refugees reached Chile on the freighter *Ulysses*. The authorities refused the permission to land and declared the visas invalid. The refugees were facing the risk of having to return to Holland. Due to the War, however, the ship was sent to the island of Curaçao in Dutch West Indies and they were held in an internment camp as German citizens until the end of 1942.

Only after they had been released from the camp the family could return to a fairly normal life. Bruno Cohn managed to find a job. His income remained very modest, but it was just enough to make ends meet. After more than

eight years of separation, the family was finally reunited in late 1947: The daughter, now 14 years old, who had been sent to England in 1939, was allowed to move to Curaçao. However, living conditions remained oppressive and they all suffered under the tropical climate. In the spring of 1953 the family finally obtained the permission to enter the United States and settled down in Los Angeles. Bruno Cohn acquired US citizenship and changed his name to Bruce Carter. Finding an occupation that would have corresponded to his qualifications turned out to be impossible. At first he worked in a shoe shop and later in a factory.

In March 1988 Bruce Carter died in Los Angeles. He was buried on the local Jewish cemetery.



Reference provided by hat manufacturer Max Basch



Luckenwalde synagogue

The end of persecution

Conclusion



Dr. Eugen Friedländer, a lawyer from Berlin, – here in a drawing by Spiro – emigrated to the United States with his family at the end of March 1933; he never set foot on German soil again.

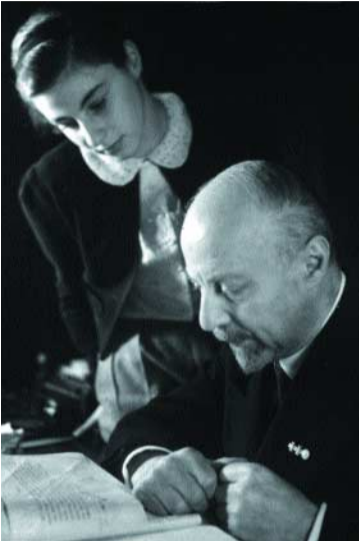
Between 1933 and 1945 the legal profession lost its freedom. An entire profession was deprived of its independence and subject to the decision-making power of the National Socialist State. The antisemitic exclusion of Jewish lawyers benefited the non-Jewish colleagues. After the first prohibition for Jewish lawyers to practise law in 1933, which still provided for some exceptions, the general prohibition of 1938 had the effect that there were no Jewish lawyers anymore in Germany. Only those who were considered ‘*Mischlinge*’ (Hybrids) and those who were admitted to practise as ‘*Konsulenten*’ (Legal Consultants) were allowed to work in the legal domain. According to Nazi terminology, the legal profession was ‘*entjudet*’ (free of Jews). The ostracism and eviction of a large part of German lawyers did not only leave its mark on the situation prevailing in the administration of justice during the National Socialist regime, but also on the reshaping of the legal system from 1945 onwards. But the effects were even more comprehensively. Lost were the people as carriers of contents, values and ideals.

Persecution left its mark on the lives of several generations: families and circles of friends were ripped apart, the people – if they survived – were severely traumatised. What had happened to the individual? In Berlin, for example, almost one in four Jews whose fate is known to us, was killed. Some escaped murder by deciding to commit suicide. But even those who died of a so-called ‘natural death’ often died because of the immediate effects of humiliation and persecution. In some cases, like Justizrat Dr. Bruno Marwitz and Ernst Liedtke, for example, friends and family stated explicitly that they died of ‘a broken heart’ over the situation in Germany.

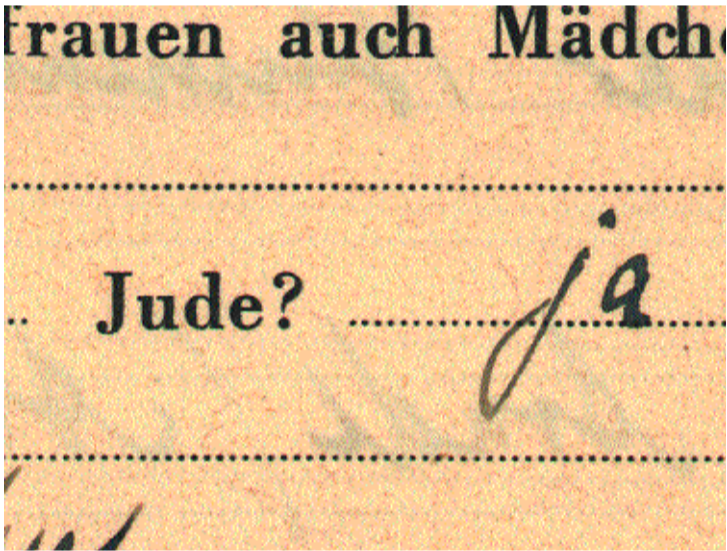
A few lawyers survived the camps or managed to ‘disappear’. Almost all of them stayed in Germany and tried to start a new life after 1945. Some of those who had been able to emigrate returned. But the majority stayed in the countries that had offered them protection in the times of persecution. A phrase used by Siegfried Neumann applied to all of them: ‘This was not emigration, this was expulsion’. The fate of the individual lawyers presented here demonstrates how much intellectual power, linguistic brilliance and human diversity was lost through forced isolation, fragmentation, expulsion and murder.



Justizrat Ludwig Chodziesner (28 August 1861 Obersitzko – 13 February 1943 Theresienstadt/Terezin) surrounded by the members of his family. Far left, his daughter Gertrud Kolmar, the famous lyric poet who was murdered in Auschwitz; front right, his daughter-in-law Dorothea née Galliner, also a lawyer (29 October 1904 – 6 November 1943). She emigrated to South America whereas her husband, who had left for England before her, was deported to Australia because he was considered a ‘hostile foreigner’. Dorothea died in Chile, her son was given to foster parents and he reached his father in Australia only after the war had ended. In the meantime, Ludwig Chodziesner had died in Theresienstadt (Terezin). A distant relative, Hilde Benjamin, who



Rechtsanwalt Dr. Julius Fliess – with his daughter Dorothee in Berlin, 1942 – wearing a needle of honour on his lapel. Fliess was allowed to continue to practise as a lawyer after 1933 because he had been fighting at the front line in the First World War. His admission as a notary was revoked in 1935. Following the general prohibition of 1938, Fliess was admitted as a ‘*Konsulent*’ (Legal Consultant) and had to adopt the obligatory Jewish first name ‘Israel’. In 1942 Fliess fled to Switzerland with his family in the framework of the ‘Operation U-7’, initiated by Wilhelm Canaris. They thus escaped deportation by a hair’s breadth. He returned to Berlin in 1947 and was re-admitted as a lawyer the following year, later also as a notary. He died in Berlin in 1955.



Extract from Georg Hamburger's declaration of property

Dr. Alfred Meier

13 November 1902 Sieglar – 16 February 1980 Baden-Baden

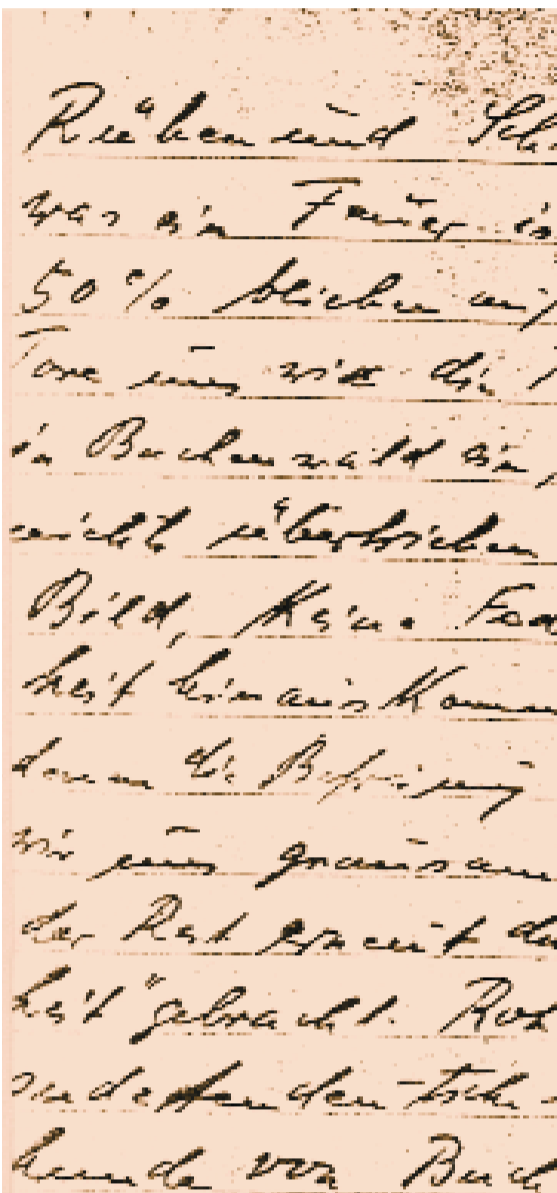


Alfred Meier

Private collection

Alfred Meier established his office as a lawyer in Bonn in 1931. Following the prohibition to practice in 1933 he returned to his birthplace Sieglar. Alfred Meier survived deportation to concentration as well as extermination camps. After the end of the NS-regime he set up an office in Bonn again and practised as a lawyer from May 1950 until the beginning of 1970. He moved to Baden-Baden where he also practised as a lawyer and died in 1980. Alfred Meier describes his ordeal from 1938 onwards

in a letter to his nephew and his wife, written on 9 October 1945. The following passage is taken from this extraordinary and deeply moving document:



Detail of Alfred Meier's letter written after the war.

"... In the meantime you will probably have heard that I have returned from the anteroom of hell. Even today I cannot understand how I can be part of the 2% who miraculously escaped a thousand deaths; I may well say that in this respect I hold a rather sad record. I shall now very briefly relate my experiences.

In November 1938 I got more intimately acquainted with the new order in Dachau before fleeing to Belgium, followed by detention and internment on 10 May, the day of the German invasion, deportation to the Spanish border, where I am put up in the infamous [...] concentration camp of St. Cyprien. Suffering from typhoid fever after three months and thus with my health being in a very critical condition, I was taken to a hospital in Perpignan – not much more than a better-class barn, by the way – where I stayed for over 6 months. During this time my wife – we had got married in Brussels – also came down to France. I somehow struggled into freedom and with my wife I lived until 1942 in Marseille and in Central France...

Having been called to service in the French Labour Service in mid-1942 [...], I fell victim again to the irresistible attraction of the German concentration camps in August 1942. Via Drancy (near Paris) I was deported to Upper Silesia and worked there in a so-called work camp for 18 months. When we were children we read Uncle Tom's Cabin with tears in our eyes. Oh, what a paradise compared to our existence as 'slave workers': Extremely hard work (12 hours), food which surely even pigs would have refused and the most atrocious maltreatment were - roughly - our "life" during those 18 months. Percentage of loss during this time: 60%, caused by a more or less natural death, maltreatment, selection for the gas chamber...

Then transfer to a concentration camp (Auschwitz), all the well-known harassment, plus incredibly heavy R.A.F. bombardment. We worked in a gigantic factory producing synthetic petrol, which was visited several times almost every month by some 500 bombers, dropping an average of 2000 bombs on the factory's premises measuring 5 square kilometres. But

here, again, luck was on my side at least for some time, as I was promoted to the position of payroll clerk after some months of physical work. Later I also became an translator for Italian. [...] This lasted until the Russians approached in January 1945, which prompted our evacuation. This evacuation on foot proceeded in accordance with Himmler's motto: No prisoner must fall into the hands of the enemy alive. This march, which took us to Buchenwald through ice and snow in our thin prisoners' clothes, put everything I had hitherto experienced in the shade. [...] It took a terrible toll of lives, about 50% died before we reached Buchenwald, the gates of which seemed to us like the gates of Paradise (sic). Then life in Buchenwald started and its descriptions in the press, radio and cinema are in no way exaggerated; on the contrary, I believe that no image, no written account in the whole world can be more than a pathetic reflection of reality. After a vast number of people had died in B.[uchenwald], the rest were brought – again on foot – to 'safety' to Dachau. Treated with the utmost brutality, accompanied and guarded by SS from the Sudetenland and Ukraine who were assisted in their sad task by the notorious bloodhounds of Buchenw.[ald], a daily average of 5 % of the prisoners were so exhausted that they had to stay behind and were liquidated with a shot through the base of the skull. [...] On 23 April I felt that my strength was rapidly ebbing away [...] To save me from being shot, I put my last ounce of strength into an attempt to escape, I succeeded and was safe at last. ...

“Personal, political and social freedom as pillars of the rule of law”

Dr. Philipp Löwenfeld

23 September 1887 Munich - 3 November 1963 New York

“It is my innermost conviction that the pathetic and spineless manoeuvring of the German judiciary is one of the principal causes of the collapse of Germany’s democratic constitutional system.” (extract from Löwenfeld’s memoirs, 1943)



Philipp Löwenfeld (right) with partner Max Hirschberg

Philipp Löwenfeld, son of the highly respected Munich University professor and lawyer Theodor Löwenfeld (1848-1919) and a democratic Socialist like his father, became an active SPD member in his student days. He remained a faithful party member even during the November Revolution of 1918-1919. An active opponent of the *Räterepublik* in Munich, Löwenfeld was at the same time one of the critics who rejected the harsh approach prevailing in political as well as legal circles regarding the assessment of this period, an approach which in his opinion made the establishment of a democratic system more difficult. Admitted to the legal profession in 1918, Löwenfeld soon became a partner of the like-minded Max Hirschberg. Together with Hirschberg and his friend Wilhelm Hoegner he was one of the handful of staunch fighters against the rising NS-movement. Due to his commitment, the father of three little girls in 1933 almost caused his own downfall. Under dramatic

circumstances he managed to flee to Zurich in March 1933, where, despite the difficult situation, he unabashedly resumed the struggle against Hitler as a journalist. In September 1933 his admission as a lawyer was finally withdrawn. In 1938 Löwenfeld emigrated to New York with his family, where, like many of his companions in misfortune, he had to work in a field which had nothing to do with his original profession. He never worked as a lawyer again. Even when in 1945 he received a call from Wilhelm Hoegner, who by that time was Bavarian Minister-President, he did not return to Germany.

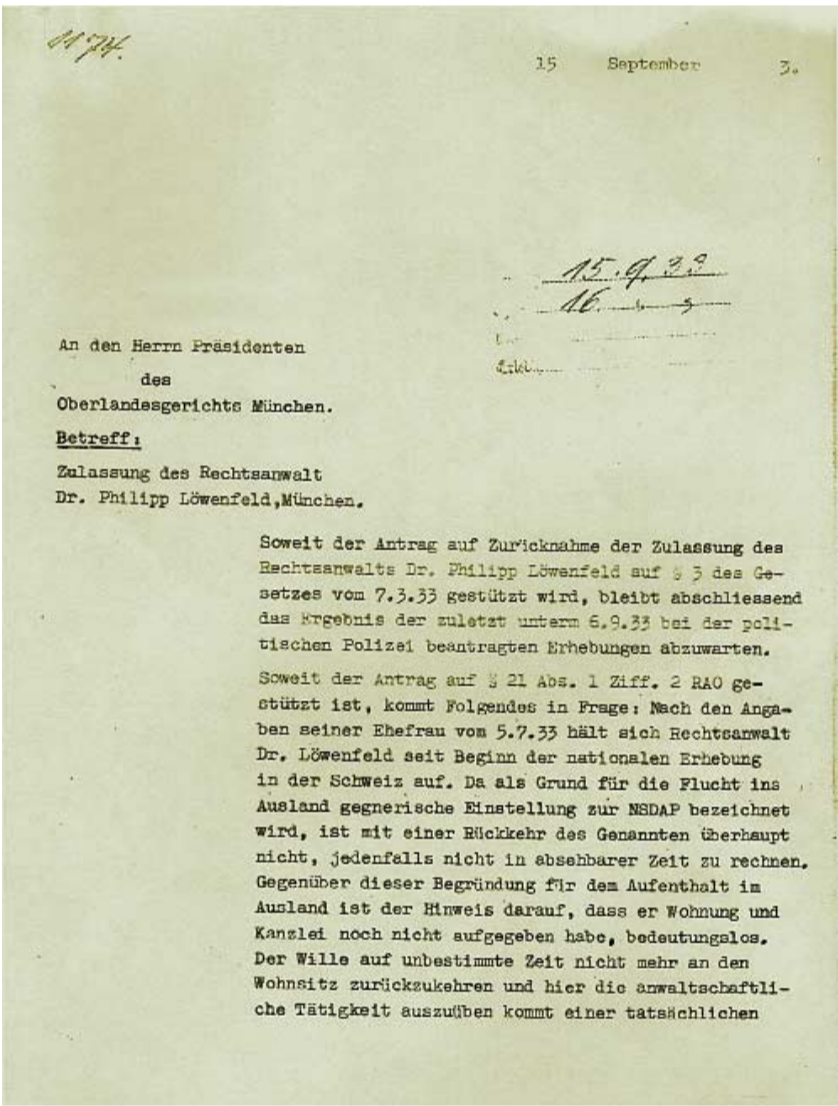


The late Philipp Löwenfeld



Front page of the first issue of the series of publications of the Association of Social Democratic Lawyers, Berlin 1933: „Criminal law as a political weapon“.

Dr. Reinhard Weber



Application of the Bar for the withdrawal of Löwenfeld's admission

„.... that it is a dark road
we shall have to travel.“

Dr. Elisabeth Kohn

11 February 1902 Munich – 25 November 1941 Kowno (Lithuania)

„Today I received your very kind telegram, telling me that 2 visas for Cuba are ready and waiting for us. Thank you a thousand times. Unfortunately, it seems that all efforts to help us are doomed to come too late. On Saturday afternoon I received the order to be ready for departure with my mother and my sister as of Tuesday. I am packing today...who knows what will become of us?“
(1941, shortly before deportation)



Elisabeth Kohn

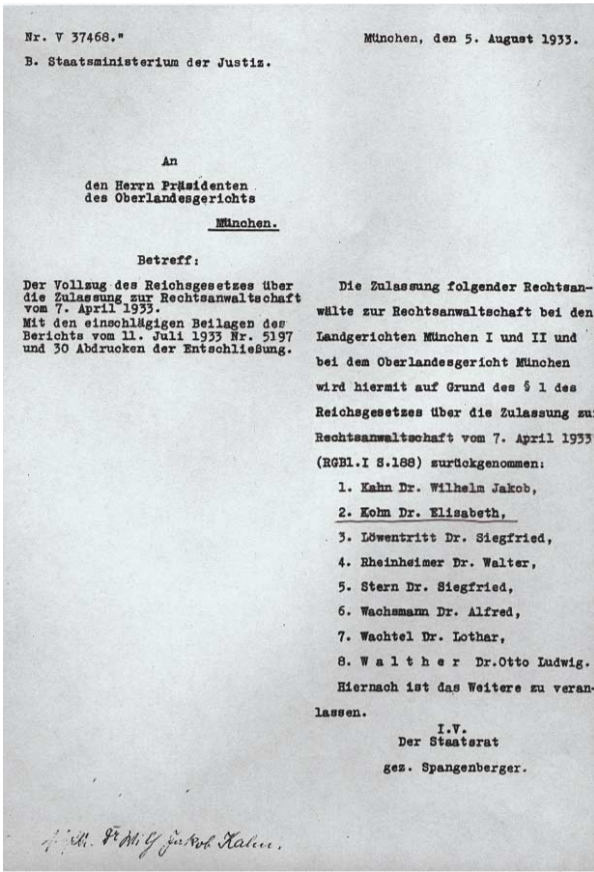
joined the well-known firm of Max Hirschberg and Philipp Löwenfeld, who were dedicated mainly to litigation in the political arena. With her left-wing republican commitment to the cause of the SPD, the Human Rights League, the umbrella organization of German labour unions (ADGB) and against rising National Socialism, Kohn found a broad field of activity in

this firm. The withdrawal of her admission to practise as a lawyer on 5 August 1933 hit her very hard, all the more since her father died later in 1933 and since, apart from her mother, her sister, who was an artist, also had to be taken care of. She found a temporary job with the welfare

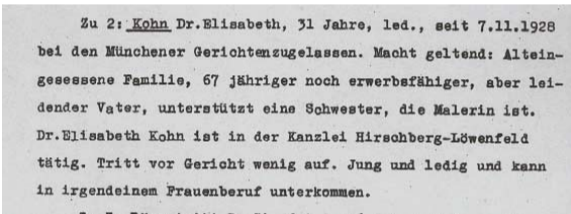
department of the Jewish Community and from 1940 she did menial work for ‘Konsulent’ (Legal Consultant) Dr. Julius Baer. For the sake of her relatives she postponed emigration until it was finally too late. Together with her mother and sister she was part of the first wave of deportees who left Munich on 20 November 1941. Five days later they were killed during the massacres in Kowno, Lithuania, which claimed almost 3000 victims on 25 November alone.



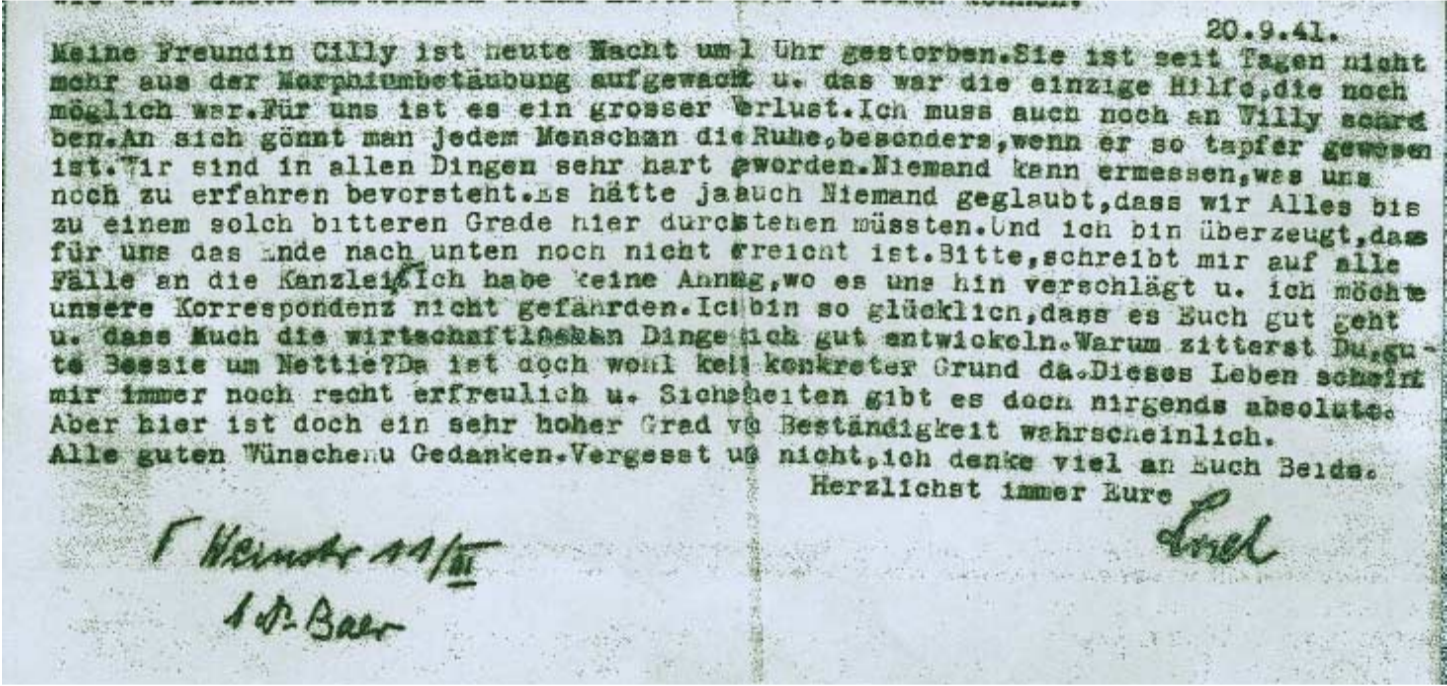
Even before 1933 Jewish lawyers in Munich were subject to attack. In this case the caption underneath the picture reads: “Zum Kapitel: Verjudung des Anwaltsstandes” (Concerning: Judaization of the legal profession) (Illustrierter Beobachter Nr. 36 of 3.9.1932, p. 844).



“Withdrawal of the admission to the Bar”, August 1933



Dr. Reinhard Weber



Excerpt from a letter to Bessie and Max Hirschberg in New York, written two months before deportation.