



ERASED

Revocation
of Academic Titles
by Schlesische
Friedrich-Wilhelms-
Universität
zu Breslau
in 1933-1945

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Introduction

Symbolically named “Erased”, this project concerns one of the darkest chapters in German history. After 1933, acting on political and racial grounds, the Nazis dismissed from universities and deprived of academic titles hundreds of people, most of whom were forced to emigrate. Those who stayed in Germany suffered different forms of discrimination and persecution, they were imprisoned and even killed.

Also the city of Wrocław and its university were a scene of these events. Eight decades later, as a result of collaboration between the University of Wrocław and its partner institution, the University of Cologne, a joint declaration was issued, meant as a tribute to the victims of that persecution, even if the revoked academic titles cannot be returned to them, which indeed is legally impossible. Established in 1945, the University of Wrocław is not a legal successor of the German Schlesische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Breslau. However, for many years now it has related to the tradition of the former university, e.g. by organising anniversary celebrations.

The Declaration prepared by the two partner institutions is a reminder – not only for the academic community – of that sinister period. It points to the fact that under the pressure of a totalitarian ideology fundamental values of the academic world were rejected, and it recalls the fates of those who were wronged.

The issue of the Declaration was possible thanks to the collaboration between our universities, successfully developed already for many years. This initiative also testifies to very good Polish-German relations, which have existed between our countries for a quarter of a century.

In this book, the reader will find documentation of the ceremony accompanying the issue of the Declaration, which was held at the University of Wrocław on 22nd January 2015.

Norbert Finzsch, Krzysztof Ruchniewicz

Ladies and Gentlemen,

if I were to describe Lower Silesia (Dolny Śląsk) in one word, this word would be “change”. Lower Silesia is a region of changes: economic, social, but above all historical. Throughout history, our region belonged to Poland, Bohemia, Austria, and Germany. As a result, it became the inheritor of all nations which lived here in the past, and thus combines a great wealth of traditions, architectural, cultural and economic heritage.

With our past and our complicated identity, we, Lower Silesians, have great respect for history. We also understand that in order to build our future, we must also know the complex history of the region which after the war became our homeland. We must know it and come to terms with it, for the chapters of this book of history contain not only glorious events, but also such about which one would rather forget. We are aware, however, that one must not forget or be indifferent to the events of the past and the people who suffered in their course – even if those events were not caused by the actions of our ancestors and thus are not our responsibility.

It was by such approach to Lower Silesian past that the project “Erased” has been governed – a joint initiative of the University of Wrocław in partnership with the University of Cologne, the Marshal’s Office of Lower Silesian Province, and the Municipal Office of Wrocław. Our joint action is aimed at a symbolic rehabilitation of scientists, mainly Jewish, who were deprived of their academic titles by the authorities of Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Breslau from 1933 to 1945, due to their ethnic origin or because they opposed the Nazi dictatorship.

The idea of commemorating scientists removed from Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Breslau did not originate in Wrocław. It was conceived by Kai Kranich, a young scholar from Dresden, who researched the topic of Nazi dictatorship in Breslau. Information about his dissertation, and the proposal to commemorate the Breslau victims of Nazism, was shared with us by our partners from Saxony. Wrocław embraced this proposal, and thus the project “Erased” came into being.

We cannot return the academic titles revoked in the 1930s, as the University of Wrocław is not a legal successor of Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Breslau. Nor are present-day citizens of Lower Silesia the descendants of those from before the Second World War. What we can do, however, is unite in commemorating the victims of that unlawful action perpetrated by the Nazis.

I am convinced that the ceremony in honor of the “Erased” scientists will contribute to our joint reflection on the past, so that in the future no one will



Cezary Przybylski
Marshal of Lower Silesian Province

have the right to judge the other on the grounds of his or her race, ethnicity or religion. I also trust that the memory of the past will help us strengthen future cooperation between our nations, regions and cities, but above all between individual women and men.

Cezary Przybylski
Marshal of Lower Silesian Province

Ladies and Gentlemen,

in 2016 Wrocław is becoming the European Capital of Culture. For us, the award of this title, which we will share with the Spanish San Sebastián, is a great honor, but also a great commitment. Telling our proud history to Europe, we want to show Wrocław's age-old scholarly and cultural heritage, point to its multireligious past, and emphasize the need for constant dialogue, tolerance, and respect for different ideas and beliefs.

Foregrounding the academic character of our city, however, we must also remember that in the 20th century, totalitarian regimes, especially Nazism and Communism, debased the very notions of tolerance and openness, which had been associated with the ideal of universitas for ages. In the time of the Third Reich, at the German university in Breslau, i.e. the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, "inconvenient" members of the teaching staff were removed and deprived of their academic titles, also on national or racial grounds. From 1933 to 1945, more than 250 persons suffered such treatment.

Science is not national, even though it finds expression in language, and languages often, not always, belongs to nations. The most important thing is freedom. Freedom of thought. Freedom and memory.

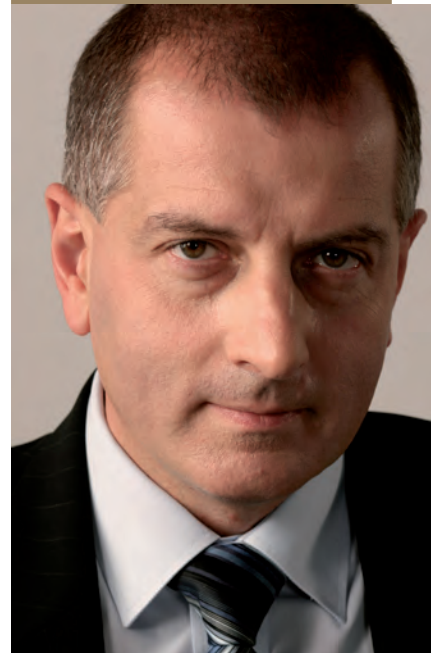
Thus, I regard the project "Erased" – a joint initiative of the University of Wrocław and the University of Cologne, as well as the Marshal's Office of Lower Silesian Province, and the Municipal Office of Wrocław – as a noteworthy effort to bring back from oblivion those who had been wronged. It is a clear if symbolic sign of condemnation of those negative practices at the former German university.

It is not possible today to return the academic titles which had been withdrawn. Yet, in the name of justice and respect for scholars, and in the name of human rights, we wish to evoke the fundamental values: truth, reason, and dignity. These values are the best of what survived the storms of history which had struck our city over the centuries.

The present-day Wrocław is a meeting place, a space of dialogue between universities and academic circles, where views clash, concepts cross, and ideas fall on fertile ground. I am deeply convinced that this initiative, apart from having a major political significance, which I do not doubt in the slightest, will also enhance Polish-German dialogue between our universities, contributing to the attainment of common goals.

Personally, I believe that this is a yet another bridge which we are building to serve a good cause.

Rafał Dutkiewicz
Mayor of Wrocław



Rafał Dutkiewicz
Mayor of Wrocław



Schlesische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Breslau, Main Building
Source: private archive.

Address of His Magnificence Professor Dr. habil. Marek Bojarski, Rector of the University of Wrocław

The age-old history of European universities has beautiful and glorious chapters, but also some less honorable, and even disgraceful ones. Universities deservedly take pride in their multiple great achievements, underscoring their contribution to European and world science. Working according to the principle of *universitas*, generations after generations of scholars and students seek answers to questions which have exercised human minds. Universities have always constituted communities of a special kind, predestined – not only in their own view – to play the role of guides and explorers, setting new directions for development. Distinctly separate and autonomous as they were, these republics of scholars did not, however, function in isolation from events and affairs of the surrounding contemporary world. They were connected to it in many ways, and were not always able to separate themselves from bad influence permeating from outside the university walls. In the past, apart from constituting free centers of knowledge, universities were also instrumentally used by different political systems.

In the 20th century, the European totalitarian systems of Nazism and Communism declared a war on the freedom of universities, research and teaching. Universities were to be subordinated to the dominant ideology, and exclusively admit – whether as scholars-teachers or students – those whose political views, but also ethnical or class background, were approved. Academic communities were subjected to a cleansing action; unfortunately, some of their members also partook in it. These actions comprised dismissals from work, relegation, limiting the teaching hours of particular staff members, controlling student admissions according to state-imposed instructions (different kinds of *numerus clausus*), and finally – this was the case in Germany – the procedure of revoking academic titles on national, racial or political grounds.

This fight also took place in the symbolic dimension. A bust of the Führer of the Third Reich was placed in the Leopoldina Hall of Breslau University, and the Polish university established after the war for many years had to bear the name of a Communist leader of Poland put in power by the Soviets. Neither had any relations with let alone merits for scholarly or academic life. However, they both embodied – of course each on a different scale – the political spirit of their times, which despised free and critical reflection on the world. Thus, the principles of tolerance and openness, which had accompanied *universitas* for ages, were questioned and subsequently rejected. A most tragic example



Marek Bojarski
Rector of the University of Wrocław
Photo by: Jerzy Katarzyński.

of this policy was the events of 1933-1945 at Breslau's German university: Schlesische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Breslau.

Over the last two decades, our university has intensely engaged with its history. In 2002, we celebrated the 300th anniversary of the founding of Leopoldina Academy, and quite recently also the 200th anniversary of the establishment of a state university in the capital of Lower Silesia. The former was Austrian, the latter – Prussian/German. After 1945, our university in a sense became the depository of those institutions, although the awareness and acceptance of this fact only came with time. In 1945, the German university (Schlesische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Breslau) ceased to exist, and, among rubble and chaos, the Polish university opened. It received the patronage of the University of Cologne, then in West Germany. This year, we will celebrate the 70th anniversary of the establishment of a Polish university in Wrocław. Moreover, our academic identity draws from the tradition of John Casimir University in Lviv, as this was where our community originated from after the war. All this gives us a sense of belonging to many generations of scholars and students. On the other hand, it should also make us more aware of the various turns and twists of history relevant to our past.

Our university can thus be said to have a rich history; its development was possible thanks to people of different nations and religions. Our history features periods of intense growth and success. It is in order to mention that our university or Silesia in general can boast nine Nobel Prize Laureates. This fact is commemorated by a plaque in the main building of the University of Wrocław. We had also many other scholars with outstanding achievements. However, our history also has darker sides. One of them – the cause of the initiative culminating today – was the revocation of academic titles on national or ethnical grounds in the times of the Third Reich, an additional means of stigmatization and repression against people rejected by the Nazi system.

Let me remind here that in the past fifteen years in Germany, revocation of degrees and titles was the subject of many debates. All universities at which this practice had taken place not only condemned it in that special acts were passed by the relevant bodies, but also returned the revoked titles. What can be surprising to us today, however, is that this process was not considered obvious. Several decades had to pass before our neighbors saw the need and found determination to address this "shameful issue" in the spirit of respect for the dignity of those who fell prey to Nazi lawlessness.

Among German universities, the institution in Breslau was at the forefront of undertaking those actions, as well as other reprehensible measures connected with the so-called "Aryanization". This had several causes. The university was

Świdnicka Street, 1937
Source: UWrl. Photo no. 2635.



at the periphery of the Reich. Towards the end of the Weimar Republic, it had experienced serious difficulties – as did the whole region of Silesia at that time. Its community was torn by political conflicts, and various previous resentments and disagreements were exacerbated by the fanaticism of those members of the academic community who supported Nazism. Particularly destructive for daily functioning of the university was the ideological contamination of students. With the seizure of power by the Nazis and the introduction of laws sanctioning the “national-socialist revolution”, there began a complete transformation of the Breslau university in the spirit of the new ideology. Truncated autonomy was quite soon done away with altogether, and the externally imposed rector was to become the local embodiment of the Nazi idea of leadership. The academic community was officially divided into “Aryans”, “non-Aryans” and “half-Aryans”, and major changes were made to the organization and teaching program of the university.

The next step consisted in seriously hampering or altogether preventing the development of academic careers of those rejected by the system. The most glaring example of such actions was the dismissal of scholars who were not accepted because of their ethnicity. Neither their scientific achievements, often extraordinary, nor their citizenship or social activity demonstrated in previous years mattered anymore. Of the many features describing a human being, only one remained: racial origin, in a few cases also nationality. It even happened that if no personal “accusations” could be held against a particular scholar, having a Jewish spouse proved to be an unforgivable offence. During the first year following the seizure of power by the Nazis, more than sixty renowned and acclaimed scholars had to leave their Breslau Alma Mater (dismissals continued until 1935, when the shameful Nuremberg Laws were adopted). The greatest number of staff members were removed from the Faculty of Philology, followed by the Medical Faculty. In the latter case, the dismissal of “inconvenient” scientists led to the closing down of some study paths, and to a deterioration of teaching and research quality. In place of the dismissed scholars, new staff appeared – beneficiaries of quick promotions and designations.

An important actor was also the Nazi student organization, which already for a long time had not refrained from interrupting lectures or verbally attacking some professors. Now, with the support of the authorities, it could dominate the whole community of students. These actions were accompanied by a dramatic reduction of the number of places for non-Aryan students (and one had to present the family genealogy not only when applying for a university place but also for a job), and limiting their opportunities of obtaining the doctoral title. Even when a Jew was allowed to defend his or her doctoral dissertation, no matter how great the candidate’s performance, he or she stood no chance of embarking on a university career, or any career in the profession. Doctoral

titles were awarded only in medicine and stomatology, and only if the candidate signed a declaration that he or she would not seek employment in the Reich.

Suffering persecution and discrimination in all of Germany, having their rights continuously reduced, and being robbed of social respect or the possibility of decent work, many Jews decided to emigrate. In Germany, they were deprived of a chance for normal life, but when they left the country, they were pronounced traitors and symbolically punished with a withdrawal of citizenship. In July 1933, a special act was passed to regulate this. Expatriates were accused of breach of "the duty of loyalty to the Reich and the German nation". It should be mentioned that many émigrés were ethnical Germans who rejected the political changes in their country, and were often under threat due to their leftist or liberal views. Meanwhile, the German authorities took one step further. A year later, in August 1934, a circular was issued to supplement the act, stating that émigrés who had obtained the title of Doctor at German universities should be deprived of it. Thus, they received double punishment, losing both citizenship and a token of higher social and professional standing, much respected in Germany.

Holding a doctoral degree was a sign of belonging to the upper class, a kind of equivalent of noblesse for middle-class townspeople. It was also a very important factor in the gradual empowerment of German Jews in the 19th century. Being a Doctor not only enabled the development of a career, but also made the holder of this title respected by the society. In 1939, an act was passed which banned the use of doctoral degrees within German territory. They could be taken away from "unworthy" persons. The importance of this attribute in the eyes of Nazi authorities can be confirmed by the fact that as late as 1942 it was discussed whether or not to leave the doctoral degrees of German Jews, whose annihilation at that time was already practically determined.

Following the introduction of the above-mentioned laws, universities had to adapt their internal regulations, and start the revocation procedure immediately upon receipt of information from the ministry. One may of course wonder whether this made any difference to the expatriates. Many scholars who had left Germany had no trouble finding employment in Western universities. Whether their titles and degrees were honored in Germany was probably not very relevant for their new employers. Such treatment, however, was undoubtedly vicious and hurtful, and additionally stigmatized the affected persons (their names were made known to the public). Finally, these actions were a disgrace to Germany itself. An utterly horrifying fact is that some names featuring on lists of people deported from Breslau to death camps are preceded by the doctoral title. In effect, the authorities admitted that someone was worthy of bearing the title of Doctor, yet at the same time not worthy of staying alive...

It is estimated that between 1933 and 1945, more than 250 persons were deprived of the doctoral title at the University of Breslau. Carried out in default and practically precluding the possibility of an appeal, the revocation procedure was applied mainly to Jews, including a small number of Jewish women. The majority of these persons had been born in Silesia and Greater Poland (Wielkopolska), which reflected the territorial impact of the University of Breslau. At the time when revocation decisions were issued, they were dispersed across almost the whole world. Partial research on their history shows that they had found refuge in the USA, the UK, France, Palestine, Switzerland, and even China or Chile. These data were provided also by Polish scholars. At this point it is worth to mention the pioneering work of our colleague Alfred Konieczny in late 1960s, which was continued in the 1990s. Also commendable have been the efforts of German scholars, among them the young historian Kai Kranich, whose research and engagement brought those events to a sharper focus, and initiated a reflection on possible ways of redressing the wronged.

Our university also decided to address this problem, regarding it as morally and historically important, even though it bears no relation to any actions taken on behalf of our institution or our nation. Although today it is not possible to return the revoked degrees, together with the University of Cologne, patron of the former University of Wrocław and our present partner university, we decided to issue a joint declaration, which reaches back to those complicated times and expressly condemns the fact of the revocation of degrees or titles. Our action is only symbolic in character, yet it strengthens the intense Polish-German dialogue between our universities, and also has – as we believe – a major political and ethical significance. In everyday language, we hear about “bright” and “dark” sides of history, and as humans we have a natural tendency of seeking and contemplating mainly positive moments. Nevertheless, it is worth recalling that the dark sides not only bring out the brightness, but also hold ever-relevant admonitions and forewarnings. This is what the academic community must always bear in mind.



Central station
Source: UWrl, Photo no. 2667.

Address of His Magnificence Professor Dr. Axel Freimuth, Rector of the University of Cologne

With the seizure of power by the national-socialist regime on 30th January 1933, also at the University of Cologne there began a period of persecution of Jews, dissidents, and democrats, who did not want to bow to Nazi ideology. Even before March 1933, there were premonitions of the future course of events; the Nazis began to come to universities in brown uniforms, disturbing meetings or publically attacking and terrorizing “inconvenient” Professors. The University of Cologne was re-opened only in 1919, after the old university, established 1388, had been closed in 1798 by the French government, together with all universities in France. Soon after its reopening by the municipality of Cologne, it grew to be the second largest university in Germany. Only the University of Berlin could boast a greater number of students. The founding principles of the university were social commitment, orientation on practice, and plurality. By the events of the Nazi’s rise to power and the subsequent *Gleichschaltung* (“alignment”, “evening-out”) of the university, not a trace was left of respect for those principles.

On 17th May 1933, a Nazi demonstration, attended by a large part of the teaching staff, took place in front of the main entrance of the university in Claudiusstraße. On this occasion, members of the National Socialist German Students’ League were sworn in, pledging loyalty to the Nazi paramilitary SA. Then – as it had already happened elsewhere in Germany – books were burnt in an “action against un-German spirit”. Point four of the student union’s pamphlet, which was distributed and read out during book burning, stated: “Our most dangerous opponent is the Jew [sic!], and the one who serves him”. In point eleven, the student union called for removing Jewish students and teachers from the university: “We demand that students and teachers be selected to ensure the security of thinking in German spirit”.

Thrown into flames were books which the new authorities did not find agreeable, including works of Jewish, avant-garde or politically engaged authors, such as Bertolt Brecht, Max Brod, Ferdinand Bruckner, Sigmund Freud, George Grosz, Heinrich Heine, Franz Kafka, Georg Kaiser, Gertrud Kolmar, Siegfried Kracauer, Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Marx, Leonard Frank, Arthur Schnitzler, Nelly Sachs, Grete Weiskopf, Carl Sternheim, Bertha von Suttner or Carl Zuckmayer. Heinrich Heine’s words from his 1821 tragedy *Almansor* were to prove prophetic: “That was mere foreplay. Where they have burned books, they will end in burning human beings”. The main actor in that show was the National Socialist German Students’ League, even though the rector’s office did not refuse the action its support.



Axel Freimuth
Rector of the University of Cologne
Photo by: Aleksander Percovic.

The Civil Service Restoration Act of 7th April 1933 laid the foundation for dismissals and persecution of unwelcome university teachers on political or “racial” grounds. They lost their remuneration, the so-called “non-Aryans” were prohibited to do a habilitation, and in 1936 all Jewish professors and docents were deprived of their titles and teaching permits. Since 1938, they were no longer allowed to use libraries or archives. Many students were removed, and many professors were dismissed from work, fled the country, or were sent to concentration camps and murdered.

Already in 1933, the Rector of the University of Cologne, lawyer Godehard Josef Ebers, had to step down under pressure from the Nazis, because when in office, he had tried to prevent several national-socialist actions at the university. Ever since then, he was considered politically suspicious, and eventually he was retired in 1934 at the age of 55, due to “dissolution of his university chair”. Further cleansings ensued, and many Cologne professors were dismissed on racial or political grounds. Between 1933 and 1945 this fate befell 16.3 percent of university professors in Germany. The highest rate of politically motivated dismissals (more than 36 percent) was to be found at the university in Frankfurt, reopened by the municipality in 1914, at which the number of Jewish scholars was greater than the average. Cologne ranked sixth in Germany, with a rate of 20 percent, i.e. was close to average: 51 scholars were dismissed and driven away from our university. A vast majority, ca. 80 percent of these people, lost their positions because they were persecuted as Jews or “non-Aryans”, or because they were married to Jews.

The above-quoted numbers do not fully take into account the medical personnel of university clinics, from which sixteen doctors were dismissed, including the psychiatrist Gustav Aschaffenburg and dermatologist Erna Loewy.

Two professors of the University of Cologne fell victims of the national-socialist policy of extermination: the Latinist Goswin Franken, who in the beginning was a Nazi himself, but then criticized the regime and was killed in 1994 in concentration camp Flossenbürg, and the sociologist and expert on social policy Benedikt Schmittmann. Already in 1933 Schmittmann, who, in line with the university’s profile, greatly contributed to the research area of social policy, was put in “protective custody” and banned from teaching. With the outbreak of the war, he was arrested and taken to Sachsenhausen concentration camp, where he was murdered in the same year.

Jewish lecturer Fritz Lehmann, assistant at the research center for international journalism, emigrated to New York, where in 1940 he took his life.

Out of 51 employees dismissed from the University of Cologne, 36 lost their job because they were Jewish. Exceptionally high was also the number of Catholics who suffered persecution and were dismissed on grounds of a “clerical attitude”.

Edda Tille-Hankamer, lecturer in German philology, relinquished her *veniam legendi* (entitlement to lecture issued to academics without a habilitation) in 1933, thus anticipating the withdrawal of her teaching permit due to her “non-Aryan” origin. It was only in 1945 that she obtained an academic position at the University of Tennessee in Knoxville; before that, for twelve years she had to teach in various elementary and junior high schools in the US.

Pediatrician Helmut Seckel, who was dismissed from the university clinic because his wife was Jewish, anticipated the withdrawal of his teaching permit by emigrating to the US in 1936.

The world-famous Romanist Leo Spitzer, who came from a Jewish-Austrian family, was dismissed pursuant to the so-called “Aryan paragraph”, and left for Istanbul in 1933. Born in 1887 in Vienna, in 1930 he was appointed a professor at the University of Cologne, where he founded the Portuguese-Brazilian Institute. In 1936, he moved to Baltimore to work at the Johns Hopkins University.

Paul Honigsheim, the founding father of German sociology, Max Weber’s disciple, and an influential sociologist of music, in 1933 left for France, because he was deemed an enemy of the system.

Economist Eugen Schmalenbach, who is considered the founder of business management studies, was married to Marianne Sachs, a Jewess. In 1933, he applied for early retirement, anticipating the authorities’ move. He and his family survived the final stage of the war underground, hidden by the family of his former assistant. He was one of very few scholars who returned to the University of Cologne after being persecuted by the Nazi regime; he taught there until 1951.

Hans Kelsen, a Jewish-Austrian lawyer appointed in 1930 as a professor of international law upon the recommendation of Konrad Adenauer, was dismissed already on 7th April 1933. The only faculty colleague who didn’t sign a petition to the government in defense of Kelsen was Carl Schmitt, a conservative expert in state law who at the time briefly taught at the University of Cologne, and wholly supported the Nazis. In 1933, Kelsen emigrated to Geneva, then Prague, and in 1942 he became a professor at the University of California in Berkeley.

What I explain here about the scholars of our university *mutatis mutandis* also applies to students. In October 1933, the students' self-government was abolished. Student organizations had to introduce the principle of the Führer's supremacy. In the fall of 1934, Gauleiter Josef Grohé himself, regional party leader for Cologne-Aachen, took on the task of Gleichschaltung of the university. Jewish students were expelled, and academic degrees revoked.

Already in the time of the Weimar Republic, the German Student Union, which represented all students in Germany, was nationalistically oriented, and local student unions at German universities were becoming increasingly dominated by nationalistic, anti-Semitic and anti-democratic forces. It can be said that already before 1933, a distinctly reactionary, chauvinistic and nationalistic spirit prevailed at German universities, especially among students. Since summer 1931, the German Student Union was headed by Gerhard Krüger, who was the president of the National-Socialist German Students' League. In the same year, in the election to the General Students' Committee (AStA), the League received 44.4 percent votes, thus dominating the German Student Union. In 1932, delegates to students' congress in Königsberg arrived in uniforms of various NSDAP formations, which meant that the student community actually completed its own Gleichschaltung, aligning itself to full conformity.

One may – and indeed should – ask why this disastrous policy caused so little resistance, also among students. The answer has been partly given above: already in late Weimar Republic, the majority of German students joined the camp of anti-democrats, racists, and anti-Semites. To this one should add the exceptionally high number of former soldiers studying at the University of Cologne, who were older than the average student. Many students had taken part in the First World War, and belatedly enrolled for the university. Moreover, Cologne was a “commuter university”, with many students living outside the city, so that there was not enough social cohesion in the student community to allow the development of political opposition

Not only professors fell prey to displacement, persecution and murder. Also junior teaching staff and students were subject to verification and selection according to the principles of anti-Semitism and Führer state policy.

Born in Cologne in 1909, the Jewish sociologist and publicist Alphons Silbermann studied musicology, law, and sociology in Cologne, Freiburg, and Grenoble. In 1933 he received the doctoral degree in law at the University of Cologne, and was planning to proceed with habilitation. His doctoral dissertation was supervised by the already-mentioned Hans Kelsen, renowned expert on international law. Denounced by a colleague, Silbermann fled first to the Netherlands, then to Australia. He was one of the few who returned to Cologne.

In 1970, he took over the Chair of Sociology of Culture; his appointment was proposed by sociologist René König, who had also emigrated in Nazi times.

A separate chapter in the history of Nazi persecution was the revocation of academic degrees, mostly doctorates. Between 1937 and 1943, in Germany 1,685 persons were deprived of the doctoral degree. In 1,151 cases, i.e. in vast majority, this followed from the withdrawal of German citizenship from persons with Jewish origin. This number only reflects the known instances. To account for undiscovered cases, one can safely estimate ca. 2,000 withdrawals of the academic degree. At the University of Cologne, in 34 cases the doctoral degree was revoked as a consequence of the withdrawal of German citizenship, and the total number of degree revocations was 65. Apart from citizenship withdrawal, there were many other pretexts for depriving scholars of their degrees, from the so-called business violations, through breach of § 175a, b or § 176, even to abortion. In consideration of the fact that revocation effected in this way had been unlawful, in 2005 the University of Cologne in a celebratory act restored the revoked doctoral degrees, including those of Ossip Flechtheim and Hans Mayer, doctors of the law. Let me recall my words from the rector's statement given on that occasion:

The University of Cologne hereby ascertains that during the national-socialist tyranny of 1933-1945, through the university organs and on behalf of the university, injustice was committed against university members and their families due to political or racist motivations. At that time, university organs revoked doctoral degrees, expelled students and unleashed persecution which resulted in dismissals, displacements or danger to life and limb. [...] Those acts of political persecution violated human rights. They were arbitrary manifestations of contempt for human beings, and as such were unworthy of a university. These deeds strongly contradicted the humanistic ideals to which the University of Cologne feels committed today. The university has been guilty of taking arbitrary, wrongful measures against the victims, and, filled with shame, it admits responsibility.

Thus, given the general unlawfulness of the Nazi regime, we found the formal legality of individual procedures of revoking the doctoral degree irrelevant for the restitution process. This approach was not uniformly adopted elsewhere in Germany. The universities in Tübingen, Gießen, and Bonn conducted case-by-case assessment, and issued faculty or university level acts cancelling individual revocation decisions only if it was clearly apparent that they had been effected on political or racial grounds.

Collective restoration of titles revoked at the University of Cologne has given our academic community a greater awareness of the history of the university



Cetennial Hall, 1938.
Source: BUWr, Inw. fot. 3654.

between 1933 and 1945. This particular chapter was closed with a single official act. Yet we know that during the Second World War, our university used forced labor. We also know that in the university Women's Clinic 1,200 women, including 300 forced laborers, were subjected to compulsory sterilization under the Act on the Prevention of Genetically Diseased Offspring of 1933. These two chapters await a fundamental investigation by experts.

The history of the "Leopoldina" University in Breslau, which existed from 1702 to 1945, very much resembles that of the University of Cologne. Also here first efforts at establishing an institution date back to the Middle Ages, even if the actual founding took place only in 1702 with a decision of emperor Leopold I. Also the university in Breslau experienced periods of development and stagnation. In 1933, it went through a similarly quick process of Gleichschaltung. Dismissals and persecution of Jewish professors and politically unwelcome persons took place in parallel to the events in Cologne. In 1945 the old German university was closed, and the following year it was founded anew as Uniwersytet Wrocławski. From this perspective, in this case there is no post-1945 continuity such as the one that marks the University of Cologne

- with all negative aspects that this continuity entails. After all, most teachers politically associated with the Nazi regime continued to work at the University of Cologne after the war, whereas Wrocław managed to make a clear break from the past. And yet the Polish university admits also that part of its heritage for which as an institution it bears no responsibility. In 2002, the University of Wrocław celebrated its 300th anniversary, openly relating itself to the tradition of "Leopoldina". Since 1951, when by decision of its senate the University of Cologne extended patronage over Wrocław's academic community, Wrocław and Cologne have been bound by a special relationship. In 2003, also a cooperation agreement was concluded between our universities.

Today, when the University of Wrocław is collectively restoring the revoked doctoral degrees and grieving over the wrongs perpetrated by national socialists and their henchmen, this can only be read as a manifestation of commitment to the history and tradition of Leopoldina - even where this history touches the darkest chapter in Polish-German relations. The blame does not lie with the present-day university, which is not a legal successor of Leopoldina. The blame lies with German politicians, scholars, students, and finally also with the German people, who consciously turned away from democracy and helped the fascist dictatorship rise to power. All the more humbly, as members of the University of Cologne we bow before the representatives of the University of Wrocław, grateful for their hospitality, and thankful to attend this ceremony in the spirit of good relations between the Republic of Poland and the Federal Republic of Germany.

Axel Freimuth

Siegfried Fischer

Siegfried Fischer (1891–1966) was born on 4th June 1891 in Breslau in a middle-class family, to merchant Henry Hirschel Fischer and Rosalia nee Banas. Siegfried's birth certificate mentions the Jewish origin of both his parents¹.

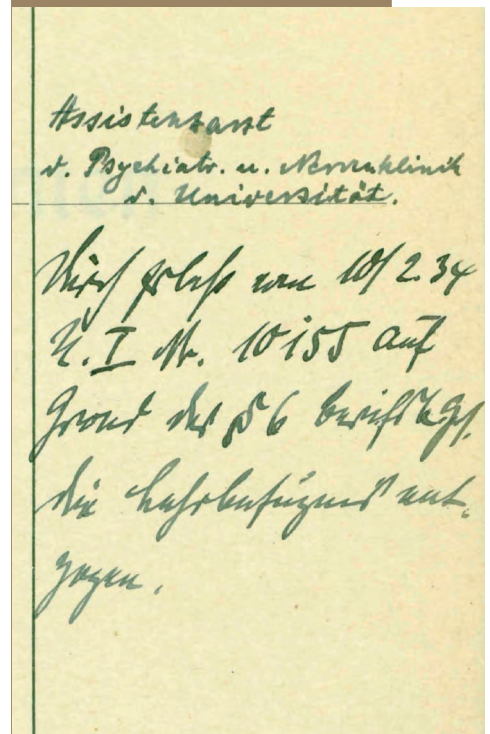
Fischer studied medicine at the University of Breslau. In 1917 he defended his doctoral dissertation *Über Tetaniepsychosen*, in which he discussed tetany and anxiety states symptomatic of this illness. He continued his academic career at the University of Breslau, and also practiced at the University Psychiatric Hospital, which was established in 1876. He worked with accomplished psychiatrists such as Karl Bonhoeffer (1868–1948) and Alois Alzheimer (1864–1915). Fischer broadened his knowledge, practicing his profession in Frankfurt am Main and Munich. He also complemented his education with courses in Dreseden and Munich.

In 1915 Fischer received the Iron Cross 2nd Class for service on the battlefield, and three years later the Iron Cross 1st Class. After the war, he returned to work at the University Psychiatric Hospital, where he was an assistant, and then a docent. In 1924 he completed his habilitation, and in 1929 he was made associate professor. Fischer maintained professional contacts with American psychiatrists, which probably helped him organize his scientific visits and later also his emigration.

As a Jew, in 1934 Fisher was removed from his position and deprived of the right to teach at the University of Breslau. The dismissal was effected on the basis of the Civil Service Restoration of 1933. This document was used to dismiss from civil service employees of non-Aryan origin or those who were politically dangerous for national socialism. Pursuant to §6, a simplified procedure was applicable to Fischer, which consisted in sending the employee to early retirement without specifying a reason. Fischer was retired at the age of 43. He managed to leave for Panama in 1935. The fate of his parents is unknown.

In 1935–1937 Fischer was involved in organizing the structures of a psychiatric hospital in Panama, which had been established in 1933 under the

¹ Wrocław State Archive: Birth Register Wrocław III 1891 vol. 04, birth certificate of 8 Jun 1891.



Note of dismissal of Siegfried Fischer based on the 1933 Act

Source: University of Wrocław Archive Personalakte s220: Professoren und Privatdozenten.

name Retiro Matías Hernández. He also participated in establishing the Faculty of Social Sciences and the Faculty of Earth Sciences at the University of Panama. He is listed among German and Austrian scientists who suffered Nazi persecution, and found refuge and work in Panama. The majority eventually emigrated to the United States.

This was also the case with Fischer, who in 1937 left from Panama for the US. Since 1939, he taught at the University of California. In 1940-1941 he was employed at a psychiatric clinic in San Francisco. He was also associated with New York University and the Bellevue Hospital, and after that he became the medical director of the State Hospital in Blackfoot, Idaho². He was a member of the American Board of Psychiatry and Neurology. He died at the age of 74 in New Mexico. He did not have a family.

Note of dismissal of Siegfried Fischer based on the 1933 Act

Source: University of Wrocław Archive Personalakte s220: Professoren und Privatdozenten.

Nr.	Vor- und Zuname des Universitätslehrers	Tag, Monat, Jahr und Ort der Geburt	Bemerkung	Ort und Datum der Erlangung a) der Doktor- würde b) der Habilita- tion	Ernennung zum außerordentlichen Professor an Universitäten des Deutschen Reiches.		Fach	Einoige frühere Stellungen und sonstige Dienstverhältnisse	Fam- ilien- verhält- nisse	Orden und Ehrenzeichen Preussische (nicht Datum und Veranstaltung der Zerleihung)	Sonstige Aus- zeich- nungen	Bemerkungen (Reinigung vom Universitäts-Jubiläum pp. Nebenämter oder sonstige amtliche Stellungen usw.)	
					a) Universität	b) Datum der Bekräftigung							
	Siegfried Fischer	4. VI. 91 Broszowitz		a) 4. IV. 17 Aachen b) 25. II. 24 Aachen	a) Universität b) Datum der Bekräftigung	a) Habilitation b) Datum der Bekräftigung	Neurologie u. Psychiatrie		keine	Hon. Konsul II. Kl. 1918 Hon. Konsul I. Kl. 1921	Reg. des. Kons. I. Kl. 1918 Hon. Konsul I. Kl. 1921		Preisbelegend d. Psychiatrie u. Neurologie d. Universität. Hilfsgel. aus d. 2.34 K. I. H. 1015 auf Grund des § 6. berichtigt die Lehrbefugnis auf gegen.

² After "Siegfried Fischer", Wikipedia entry.

Arthur Guttman¹

Arthur Guttman (1881 – 1948) was born on 14th April 1881 in Breslau, in the family of a Jewish factory owner, Luis Guttman. He grew up in his hometown. In October 1901, he graduated from high school and enrolled at the University of Breslau. He studied natural sciences, focusing on chemistry. In 1908 he defended his doctoral dissertation on bismuth oxide bonds (entitled *Über Wismutoxydulverbindungen*), receiving a PhD degree. Within less than a year he started a job in a chemical-technological test plant in Hamburg-Blankenese, where he was the assistant of doctor Hermann Passow. At that time, Passow was one of the greatest experts on mineral binders produced from blast furnace slags. Working at his side, Arthur Guttman began his research on cements. Two years later he accepted the offer to take supervision of a new research lab of the German Association of Eisenportland Cement Works (Verein Deutscher Eisenportland-Zementwerke, VDEPZ) in Düsseldorf. There, together with his team, he conducted experiments with Portland cement to adapt its parameters to German construction norms.

After four years, the research team started to have success. In 1916 Portland cement was approved for use in reinforced concrete constructions. In the following years Arthur Guttman registered at least twelve patents related to the production and application of slag binders. By 1938, he published more than seventy works, including scientific papers, specialist brochures and descriptive accounts². In February 1930 the Technical University of North Rhine–Westphalia in Aachen applied to the Prussian Ministry of Science, Culture and Public Education, requesting that Arthur Guttman be awarded the title of Honorary Professor. In the application letter, he was described as „the greatest expert and researcher in the area of slag processing and cement production“. The request was granted.

In 1993, after the seizure of power in Germany by National Socialists, and the introduction of the Civil Service Restoration Act, all employees of the Aachen Technical University were made to complete questionnaires which included a question on the racial affinity of the respondent's grandparents. Guttman



Arthur Guttman

Source: *Fünfzig Jahre Deutscher Ausschuss für Stahlbeton 1907–1957*, Berlin 1957.

¹ Bio note based on Andreas Ehrenberg's paper "Arthur Guttman: Forschung für den Eisenportlandzement", *Beton Information*, vol. 1/2009, pp. 15–24.

² A list of his published works is available at: <http://d-nb.info/gnd/142919039> [Retrieved on 10/30/2014].

had tried to avoid this requirement. He wrote a letter to the rector, arguing that as an honorary professor, not specifically appointed to teach, he was not part of civil service as it was understood in the ministerial regulation, and hence he should not have to complete the questionnaire. However, his efforts proved futile. The university authorities compelled him to hand in the form. Guttman had not fully completed it. He left the question about Aryan origin blank, and as a result, later the same year, he was deprived of the right to teach. Around that time, eleven other professors of the Aachen Technical University shared a similar fate.

In December 1936 Guttman was also removed from his position of research lab director at VDEPZ. At the same time, he lost the right to his company apartment in the lab premises. The Guttman family had their private apartment in Düsseldorf, and they moved there in January 1937. Two weeks before the outbreak of the Second World War, the whole family escaped to the UK. On 6th June 1941, the Reich Security Head Office deprived Arthur Guttman of citizenship. Consequently, in February 1942, the deans' board of the University of Breslau resolved to take away his doctoral title.

The Guttman family stayed in the UK until the end of the war. Arthur Guttman died at the age of 67 due to a heart failure. Two years later, his wife and daughter returned to Düsseldorf.

Paul Tillich¹

Paul Tillich (1886–1965) was born on 20th August 1886 in Starzeddel (present-day Polish Starosiedle), a village by Guben (Gubin). He was the son of a Lutheran pastor Johannes Tillich and his wife Mathilde. Paul's mother died young. His father's strictness and deep faith influenced the formation of the young man's intellectual and ethical standing. In 1901, Paul Tillich commenced education in Berlin's Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium, where he passed his matriculation exam. In 1904-1908 he studied philosophy and theology at universities in Berlin, Tübingen, Halle, and Breslau. The major influence on his spiritual development was the religious thought of Friedrich Wilhelm Schelling. It also became the topic of Tillich's dissertation, which, defended in 1910, earned him the title of Doctor of Philosophy of the Friedrich-Wilhelm University of Breslau.

In 1909 Tillich passed his first examinations in theology, becoming eligible to perform pastoral care functions in the Evangelical Church. In the same year, he took up temporary service as pastor of the Evangelical community of the Berlin suburb of Lichtenberg. When the First World War broke out, he volunteered for pastoral work on the Western Front. The war did not prevent Tillich from doing a habilitation at the University of Halle. Having completed it, he began his academic career: first at the University of Berlin (theology), then in Marburg (systematic theology), Dresden (religion studies), and Frankfurt am Main (philosophy and sociology).

Paul Tillich was engaged in politics and social issues. He was a religious socialist, and after 1933 he openly criticized Nazi policies, e.g. in his book *Die sozialistische Entscheidung* (*The Socialist Decision*), first published in 1933. Because of his unwavering beliefs, in 1933 he was removed from the position of professor at the University of Frankfurt. In the same year, he emigrated to the United States, where he worked as a professor of theology at the Union Theological Seminary in New York and at Columbia University. In 1940 he received US citizenship, and as a result the Nazi authorities deprived him of German citizenship, which in turn caused the revocation of his doctoral degree.

After the end of the Second World War, Tillich stayed in the US. In 1955-1962, he was a professor at Harvard, and subsequently at the University

¹ Bio note based on information from the website of the theological faculty of the Trier University: <http://www.uni-trier.de/index.php?id=51249> [Retrieved 11/23/2014].



Paul Tillich's gravestone

Source: Wikipedia entry: Paul Tillich, Michael Gaebler – own work.

of Chicago. Paul Tillich is considered one of the most influential protestant thinkers of the 20th century². He died on 22nd October 1965 in Chicago, at the age of 79.

² A list of his major published works is available in the database of German National Library at <https://portal.dnb.de/opac.htm?method=simpleSearch&query=118622692>.

Abraham Albert Kahlberg¹

Albert Kahlberg (1883–1966) was born in Uslar, a small town in Lower Saxony, as the tenth of eleven children of a Jewish merchant. His parents died quite young, and he was raised by his elder sister Rachel, who was married to rabbi Avram Twarogi. Kahlberg moved to Breslau, almost 400 miles away, to study in a rabbinical school like his brother-in-law.

In Breslau it was possible not only to obtain education sought after by prospective rabbis, but also to win a doctoral degree. At that time, academic title opened the door to the world of German intelligentsia. Choosing this path, Kahlberg showed that he wanted to become part of the Jewish community and Jewish religious life, and at the same time that he regarded integration with Germans as self-evident.

On 30th March 1906, Albert Kahlberg received the doctoral degree from the Philosophical Faculty of the University of Breslau. In his dissertation entitled *The ethics of Bahya ibn Paquda* Kahlberg discussed the Greek, Arab, and Jewish sources of Bahya's philosophical thought. He confirmed that the Jewish thinker "undoubtedly was the first to have succeeded in working the vast ethical content of the Bible and rabbinic scriptures into an enclosed whole"².

Five years after the award of the doctorate, Kahlberg was called on to serve as a rabbi in Halle (Saale). In his community, he would teach about the thread linking the three greatest religions of the world. One of his former students, the theologian and Holocaust scholar Emil L. Fackenheim, recalls: "At bar-mitzvah lessons, our rabbi in Halle a/S., Germany, Albert Kahlberg, taught that Christianity and Islam are 'daughter-religions' of Judaism. I wondered then, ever since, why the "daughters" are so often indifferent to the 'mother', even callous, even hate her."³

¹ Based on the memories of Albert Kahlberg's son, Josef H. Kahlberg. I would like to thank Detlev Herbst from Uslar for making this material available to me. Apart from Josef Kahlberg's letters to Detlev Herbst, an important source of information was his published book of memories: Josef H. Kahlberg, *Deutsche Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens. Die Geschichte einer Familie die Glück hatte*, Halle (Saale) 2002.

² Albert Kahlberg *Die Ethik Des Bachja Ibn Pakuda*, Halle an der Saale 1906, p 29.

³ Emil L. Fackenheim, *Faith in God and Man After Auschwitz: Theological Implications*. <http://www.holocaust-trc.org/faith-in-god-and-man-after-auschwitz-theological-implications/>, retrieved 12/22/2014.



Albert Kahlberg, 1935

Source: Copyright Detlev Herbst.



Albert and Lotte Kahlberg, 1916
Source: Copyright Detlev Herbst.

For Kahlberg, there was nothing contradictory in being a patriot, a German, and a Jew. As his son Josef put it, “We saw our task as the cultivation of German values and German culture among German Jews”⁴. Kahlberg’s lead article in the *Halle an der Saale Synagogue Weekly*, which he founded, contained a declaration of his Germanness, and at the same showed the falsity of national socialism: “Wake up, Germany! – resounds the call, impressive indeed, of national-socialist choruses. There is not a single German of Jewish faith who would not join in this wish with all his heart. But of course we must understand it differently; the national socialists, with their unscrupulous hate campaign, are dulling the society and hindering the actual awakening. Sadly, they are doing this with great success”⁵.

During the Cristal Night of 9th to 10th November 1938, the rabbi witnessed how the synagogue of his community was set on fire. He himself was arrested and taken to the Buchenwald concentration camp. He was not kept there long, thanks to the help of his former colleague from the University of Breslau, rabbi Dr Hermann Löb (Loeb) from Göteborg. He assisted the Kahlberg family in obtaining a permit to leave for Sweden. Albert Kahlberg was released on condition that he leaves Germany within a week. He did, and the Nazis appropriated the possessions that he left behind, including his library⁶.

National socialists treated the departure of the Kahlberg family as a justified reason to deprive them of citizenship. This “penal expatriation” was based on insinuations devised by the German administration that Jewish refugees spread abroad a “propaganda of atrocity”, and hence are not worthy of German citizenship⁷. “A perfectly sophisticated system of bending the law was aimed at depriving the despised refugees of any human bases of existence, and thus destroying them”⁸. The deprivation of citizenship entailed the loss of the doctoral title. With the publication of his name in the Journal of Laws, Albert Kahlberg lost the right to use his academic title as of 15th March 1940.

⁴ Josef H. Kahlberg, *Deutsche Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens. Die Geschichte einer Familie die Glück hatte*, Halle (Saale) 2002, p. 12.

⁵ Albert Kahlberg, “Deutschland erwache!” [in:] *Wochenblatt für den Synagogenbezirk Halle a.d. S. 4* (175) 1930.

⁶ Werner Schroeder, “Beschlagnahme und Verbleib jüdischer Bibliotheken in Deutschland vor und nach dem Novemberpogrom 1938” [in:] *Jüdischer Buchbesitz als Raubgut. Zweites Hannoversches Symposium*, ed. Regine Dehnel. Frankfurt am Main 2006, p. 35.

⁷ Hans Georg Lehmann, „Acht und Ächtung politischer Gegner im Dritten Reich. Die Ausbürgerung deutscher Emigranten 1933-45” [in:] *Die Ausbürgerung deutscher Staatsangehöriger 1933-45 nach den im Reichsanzeiger veröffentlichten Listen*, ed. Michael Hepp Munich 1985, p. 14.

⁸ *Ibidem* p. 17.

In Sweden, the Kahlbergs joined the Jewish community of Göteborg. They lived a modest life. As refugees without a work permit, they only received Swedish citizenship in 1948. In 1962 Kahlberg and his wife moved to a Jewish home for the elderly in Hamburg. Albert Kahlberg died at the age of 83 in Hamburg, during a visit in one of the city's synagogues.

Today the last rabbi of Halle is commemorated by a pavement plaque in his hometown of Uslar⁹. It was only in 2011 that Alber Kahlberg's the religious community finally got its new rabbi¹⁰.



Josef, Lotte and Albert Kahlberg,
1963

Source: Copyright Detlev Herbst.

⁹ Uslar Sollingschule, "Dr. Albert Kahlberg". Uslar, 2008. http://www.sollingschule-uslar.de/themen/news/stolpersteine/kahlberg_albert.html. Retrieved 09/14/2014.

¹⁰ Silvia Zöller, "Jüdische Gemeinde. Ein Rabbi für Halle" [in:] *Mitteldeutsche Zeitung*, 17 Jan 2011. <http://www.mz-web.de/halle-saalekreis/juedische-gemeinde-ein-rabbi-nur-fuer-halle,20640778,17598988.html>. Retrieved 09/14/2014.

2425

Gesehen.

Universität Breslau

52

Breslau, d. 14. 9. 1938.

15 SEP. 1938

T. 2303

Der Reichsminister für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung
Der Kurator der Universität in Breslau
Technische Hochschule den Linden 69
Nr. 24 65

Anl. 7 September 1938

Philosophische Fakultät

Fernsprecher: 11 0030
Postsch. -konto Berlin 14402
Reichsbank Giro - Konto
- Postfach -

Eingeg. 15. SEP. 1938

W F Nr. 2312/38

Tgb.-Nr. 1133

Nach der Bekanntmachung des Herrn Reichsministers des Innern vom 21. Juni 1938 in Nr. 142 des Deutschen Reichs- und Preussischen Staatsanzeigers vom 22. Juni 1938 ist Otto Landsberg, geboren am 4. Dezember 1869 in Rybnik, der deutschen Staatsangehörigkeit für verlustig erklärt worden. Landsberg hat am 8. Oktober 1889 in der Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Breslau zum Dr. promoviert. Unter Bezugnahme auf Ziffer 11 des Erlasses vom 16. Dezember 1936 - W I a 1910/36 - und den Erlaß vom 15. Juli 1937 - W F 834 - ersuche ich, wegen Entziehung des Doktorgrades das Weitere zu veranlassen und mir von dem Geschehenen Mitteilung zu machen.

An

den Herrn Rektor der Universität in

Breslau

- d.d. Herrn Kurator der Universität u.d. Techn. Hochschule -

Im Auftrage
gez. Schwarz



Beglaubigt.

Verwaltungssekretär.

Decision on the revocation of Otto Landsberg's doctoral title
Source: University of Wroclaw Archive, S180, p.52.

Otto Landsberg

Otto Landsberg (1865–1942) was born on 29th May 1865 in Breslau as the son of a Jewish merchant Wilhelm Landsberg and his wife Helena. At the time of his birth, the family lived at no. 1b Neue Graupenstraße – present-day Krupnicza street, south-west of the Market Square, near Podwale street.¹

Landsberg graduated from Friedrich-Gymnasium and enrolled at the Philosophical Faculty of the University of Breslau. He was particularly interested in mathematics, and he studied it as his main subject. He also took additional courses in physics, mineralogy, and philosophy.² He spent part of his studies at Berlin University, where he attended lectures in statistics and national economy.³

In 1889, at the age of 24, Otto Landsberg defended at the University of Breslau his doctoral dissertation entitled *Study of linear five-dimensional linear manifold groups* (*Untersuchungen über die Gruppen einer linearen fünf-fachen Mannigfaltigkeit*). The reviewer's only criticism was that "written with skill and clarity, the dissertation ... could in several instances benefit from more carefulness with regard to diction".⁴ The 81-page long dissertation was later published by Preuß und Jünger Verlag.⁵

In the following years Otto Landsberg worked in Berlin, Stuttgart, Elberfeld (Wuppertal) and Magdeburg. In the last-mentioned place, in 1904 the city council appointed him the director of the statistical office. He published excellent statistical yearbooks, winning acknowledgement and esteem from both specialists and the city authorities. In recognition of his work, in 1906 he received the title of Professor.

Landsberg showed great concern for the common good. The city of Magdeburg found in him a true benefactor. He continually sought ways of translating his specialized knowledge and skills into social engagement. This was expressed for example in his 1908 first memorandum on combatting unem-

¹ Wrocław State Archive: City Council II/26, file no. 89, p. 174.

² Wrocław University Archive, register of doctoral dissertations from 1889, file no. S 164, p 1.

³ <http://www.uni-magdeburg.de/mbi/Biografien/0672.htm>

⁴ Electronic Research Archive for Mathematics, Jahrbuch Database.

⁵ Ibid.

ployment. Based on this document, in 1917 he developed a set of instructions for helping the unemployed. During the First World War, his office was responsible for food supplies. When in 1917 Landsberg was called to work as a professional city councilor, he got involved in various fields of activity, supporting the development of Magdeburg tramway infrastructure and exhibition facilities, and modernizing the gas works and powerhouse.

Ten years later, in 1927, Otto Landsberg was elected the Deputy Mayor of Magdeburg. He was in charge of the financial department, and had to represent the city authorities' economic and fiscal policy in a politically difficult period. However, after three years in office, at 60, he had to step down due to age.

On 22nd November 1938, pursuant to §2 of the Act on the Revocation of Naturalization and the Deprivation of German Citizenship⁶, the 68-year-old Otto Landsberg was deprived of German citizenship and of the right to use the title of Doctor. He had managed to emigrate to the UK before 1938. He died in Leicester in 1942⁷.

The withdrawal of Landsberg's doctoral title was confirmed in an official letter, which stated that twenty-three doctors of Friedrich-Wilhelm University were deprived of this title. In this letter, as well as in other university documents concerning revocation of academic degrees, Otto Landsberg the mathematician is confused with his namesake, a well-known Jewish politician, member of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD). The other Otto Landsberg, however, probably never set foot in the University of Breslau, not to mention defending a doctorate there⁸.

⁶ http://www.documentarchiv.de/ns/1933/deutsche-staatsangehoerigkeit_ges.html [Retrieved 10/27/2014].

⁷ <http://www.uni-magdeburg.de/mbf/Biografien/O672.htm> [Retrieved 10/27/2014].

⁸ Wrocław University archive, Withdrawal of doctoral degrees, file number S 280, p 6.

Hugo Steinthal¹

Hugo Steinthal (1893–1961) was born on 27th July 1893 in Saarbrücken. He was the son of Josef Steinthal and Fanny nee Stolzberg. At twenty-one he enrolled at the University of Freiburg, where he studied history and philosophy. Several months later, following the outbreak of the First World War, he suspended his education to enlist in the German army. In 1916 he was released from service due to injuries.

Following convalescence, Hugo Steinthal continued his studies in Munich, Freiburg and Breslau. In 1921 in Breslau he defended his doctoral dissertation entitled *Jews in the Frankish Kingdom: Their Legal and Socio-Economic Situation* (*Die Juden in Fränkische Reich. Ihre rechtliche und wirtschaftliche-soziale Stellung*), receiving a PhD degree from the Friedrich-Wilhelm University. After that he did not pursue an academic career; since the end of the First World War, he worked as a rabbi in his hometown of Saarbrücken, devoting himself to the Jewish community.

Hugo Steinthal fell victim of anti-Semitic sentiments for the first time in 1928. Leaving the Jewish community house, he was attacked and beaten so hard that he had to go to hospital². When the Nazis seized power in Germany and introduced the Nuremberg Laws, Steinthal saw that his family was under deadly threat. In 1935, he and his whole family left for France. As a consequence of his escape, the Reich Security Office deprived him of citizenship, which in turn resulted in the decision of the University of Breslau authorities to take away his academic degree.

After the end of the Second World War, Steinthal and his family returned to Saarbrücken, where he took up work in a bookshop. He died at the age of 68.



Hugo Steinthal

Source: Courtesy of the Leo Baeck Institute.

¹ Bio note based on the description of Hugo Steinthal's collection held by Leo Baeck Institute: <http://digifindingaids.cjh.org/?pID=475540> [Retrieved 11/10/2014].

² Gunther Siegmund Stent, *Nazis, Women and Molecular Biology: Memoirs of a Lucky Self-hater*, Kensington 1998, p. 17.

Elfriede Danziger

Elfriede Danziger (1894–1976), nee Goldmann, was born on 11th February in Friedland (present-day Polish Mieroszów) in Lower Silesia. Her parents David Goldmann and Charlotte Emilie Goldmann had five daughters and two sons. Elfriede's both brothers, Ernst and Max, died at the age of seventeen, fighting in the First World War¹. Elfriede studied medicine in Munich, and then in Breslau, where on 20th October 1920 at the University Children's Clinic she received the doctoral degree, having presented a dissertation entitled Peritoteum tuberculosis treatment in children. She became a pediatrician, opening her own practice in Brieg (Brzeg). In those times there were few women doctors, and even fewer women pediatricians of Jewish origin. Elfriede Danziger also headed an infant care facility at the local welfare center in Brieg².

In Brieg Elfriede met her future husband. Ten years her senior, Karl Danziger was born in Hindenburg (Zabrze). He studied medicine in Heidelberg, Würzburg and Breslau. He received his doctoral title in Breslau on 18th April 1913, having presented a dissertation entitled Spontaneous spinal and mandibular fracture in cases of tabes dorsalis. He took part in the First World War as a German officer, and received the Iron Cross for his work in the field epidemiological hospital. After the war, he settled in Brieg, where he was a general practitioner and a medical examiner for the local healthcare fund³. Like his wife, he was a member of the Jewish community, but he was not particularly religious⁴.

When the national socialists seized power and anti-Semitism became the policy of the state, both Elfriede and Karl lost the right to practice their profession. However, not everywhere in Germany Jews were excluded from public or economic life to the same degree at the same point in time. Upper Silesia, supervised by the League of Nations, enjoyed a special status. The 1935 Nuremberg Laws could not be enacted there, which, however, does not mean that Upper-Silesian Jews were not affected by boycott campaigns or acts



Dr Elfriede Danziger in the lab as a young doctor, ca. 1920
Source: Gideon Greif's private archive.

¹ Kai Kranich: Karl and Elfriede Danziger. Interview with Gideon Greif. Cologne, 25.11.2014, handwritten notes.

² Hermann Zabel, "Beate Greif", [in:] *Nächstes Jahr in Jerusalem. Gespräche mit Israelis deutscher Muttersprache*, ed. Hermann Zabel, Essen 2004, p. 165.

³ *Ibidem*, p. 166.

⁴ Kai Kranich: Karl and Elfriede Danziger. Interview with Gideon Greif.



Dr. Karl Danziger with personnel in the hospital, ca. 1914

Source: Gideon Greif's private archive.

of violence⁵. Since Karl Danziger's family was from Hindenburg, moving to Upper Silesia seemed a natural solution. The local law on the protection of national minorities gave the Danziger family a temporary relief – they could open a new practice.

The Geneva Convention ceased to apply in 1937, and Jews could no longer “escape the sharpened measures of national socialists”⁶. Only a year later, in November 1938, Karl Danziger was captured during the Crystal Night and taken to Buchenwald concentration camp. To fight for his release, Elfriede went to the Gestapo headquarters in Berlin. She was a woman of unconventional action; as her grandson recalls, nature endowed her with “intellectual beauty, strength and pride”⁷. Despite her efforts, Karl was imprisoned in the concentration camp for another several months, and when he was finally released, he returned as a completely different man. His own daughter could not recognize him at the train station⁸. For the rest of his life, he was a sad and depressive man⁹. Yet in spite of all this the family can be said to have been lucky. Thanks to relatives in Palestine and to sufficient financial means, the Danzigers managed to obtain the much-desired “certificate” which allowed them to enter Palestinian territory under British governance.

As was the case with other Jewish university graduates, also here the Nazi authorities used the Danzigers' escape as an excuse to deprive the family of German citizenship, and consequently revoke Elfriede's and Karl's doctoral degrees. With the publication of their names in the *Journal of Laws* on 12th June 1940, Elfriede and Karl Danziger lost the right to use the title of Doctor.

The year in which Danzigers lost their academic degrees was the climax of this kind of persecution. In 1940, 108 persons were deprived of their degrees at the University of Breslau alone. For comparison, in the same year at the Faculty of Law, Faculty of Philosophy, and two theological faculties of this university, the doctoral degree was awarded to a total of only 77 persons¹⁰.

⁵ Julia Cartarius, “Juden in Oberschlesien, 1921-1945” [in:] *Jüdisches Leben zwischen Ost und West. Neue Beiträge zur jüdischen Geschichte in Schlesien*, ed. Andreas Brämer, Arno Herzig und Krzysztof Ruchniewicz, Göttingen 2014, p. 88.

⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 79.

⁷ Kai Kranich: Interview with Gideon Greif.

⁸ Herman Zabel, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

⁹ Kai Kranich: Interview with Gideon Greif.

¹⁰ Numbers derived from the author's own calculations. Cf: Kai Kranich, *Anpassung im Nationalsozialismus. Die Universität Breslau und die Aberkennung von Dokortiteln*, Wrocław 2012, p. 151.

After coming to Tel Aviv, both Elfriede and Karl – educated physicians with doctoral degrees – first had to work as nurses, and take up jobs in unrelated professions. It was only in 1944 that they were permitted to open their medical own practice¹¹. For the third time in their married life, they began from scratch, building an independent existence in their profession. Elfriede also got involved in welfare activity. She worked as a volunteer in Ma'abara Gelil, a tent town for refugees from around the world. She died on 19th April 1976, outliving her husband. Elfriede and Karl's two daughters still live in Tel Aviv.



Dr. Elfriede Danziger and Dr. Karl Danziger hiking. July-August 1921

Source: Gideon Greif's private archive.



Dr. Karl Danziger, Dr. Elfriede Danziger, Dr. Berthold Stein (chief chemist at IG Farben company), his son Ludwig Stein in Tel Aviv, 1939

Source: Gideon Greif's private archive.

¹¹ Gideon Greif, "Die Jeckes" [in:] *Stimmen aus Jerusalem. Zur deutschen Sprache und Literatur in Palästina/Israel*, ed. Hermann Zabel, Andreas Disselnkötter, Sandra Wellinghof, Berlin 2006, p. 80; Kai Kranich: Interview with Gideon Greif.

Declaration

Preamble

In 1951, the University of Cologne extended patronage over the former German Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Breslau, and is presently bound by a partnership agreement with the University of Wrocław. Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität was dissolved in 1945 and has no legal successor.

Declaration

The University of Wrocław and the University of Cologne are unanimous in affirming that during the national-socialist dictatorship in Germany in 1933-1945, organs of the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Breslau, acting on political and racial grounds, gravely wronged members of the academic community.

During these years, organs of the German University of Breslau revoked doctoral degrees, removed students and instigated persecution which lead to dismissals, expulsions or threats to life.

These acts of political persecution violated human rights. They were unlawful, arbitrary, characterized by contempt for human beings, and unworthy of a university. Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Breslau perpetrated injustice against the victims of those wayward actions. The university organs responsible for the persecution radically repudiated the very ideals which today govern the University of Wrocław and University of Cologne.

Further, both universities declare that they regard the revocation of academic degrees of the persons named here as null and void, and thus not legally binding.

The existing university archive records mention more than 250 persons who were subject to Nazi persecution and deprived of the doctoral degree. Since the records are incomplete, it can be inferred that there were yet other persons unlawfully deprived of their doctorates. The present declaration also pertains to this group.

