

NEWSLETTER
OF THE
INTERNATIONAL FEUCHTWANGER SOCIETY

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Liebe Freunde Lion Feuchtwangers. Wie bereits im Juni d. J. angekündigt, erscheint der Nachrichtenbrief der Gesellschaft nunmehr vierteljährlich. Sie finden darin u. a. offizielle Verlautbarungen der Gesellschaft, so z. B. diesmal das Programm der diesjährigen Tagung der Gesellschaft im Oktober in Paris, sowie Neuigkeiten zur Person und zum Werk Lion Feuchtwangers (soweit solche vorliegen, womit ich als Herausgeber einmal mehr an die Mitgliedschaft appellieren möchte, derartige Beiträge zur Verfügung zu stellen bzw. darauf aufmerksam zu machen), und weiterhin auch – allerdings wesentlich kürzere – Rezensionen einschlägig relevanter Literatur. Wie Sie dem Programm weiter unten entnehmen können, wird im Anschluß an das wissenschaftliche Programm am Freitag die Mitgliederversammlung (AGM) der Gesellschaft stattfinden, wo insbesondere die Änderungen des *Newsletters* und dessen zukünftiges Format diskutiert und bestimmt werden sollen. Es wäre daher wünschenswert, wenn Sie ziemlich zahlreich daran teilnehmen würde!

Jörg Thuncke

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Liebe Teilnehmer, liebe Interessenten,

die diesjährige Feuchtwanger-Konferenz wird am 11. Oktober um 13.30 Uhr im Heinrich-Heine-Haus in Paris¹ beginnen und ebenfalls dort am Samstag, den 14. Oktober um 20 Uhr mit einer Aufführung von Walter Hasenclevers Stück *Ein besserer Herr* ausklingen.²

Anbei eine Liste der Hotels, die sich in der Nähe des Tagungsortes befinden. Es wäre empfehlenswert, die Zimmer sobald wie möglich zu reservieren, da Hotels in Paris oft Monate im Voraus ausgebucht sind. Es steht Ihnen auch frei, Ihr Hotelzimmer in einem anderen Pariser Viertel zu reservieren. Das Pariser Verkehrsmittelnetz ist so kleinmaschig (Bus, Metro, RER, Tramway), dass Sie innerhalb einer halben Stunde überallhin ankommen können.

- 1) Virginia Hotel (66 rue du Père Coirentin 75014 - Paris)
- 2) Hotel du Parc Monsouris (4 rue du Parc Monsouris 75014 - Paris)
- 3) Le Myosotis (37 rue de l'Aude 75014 - Paris)
- 4) Hotel Ibis Paris Porte d'Orléans (33 rue Barbès, 92120 - Montrouge)
- 5) Hotel Ibis Styles Paris Porte d'Orléans (41 avenue Aristide Briand 92120- Montrouge)

Alle Hotels befinden sich in der Nähe des Heinrich Heine Hauses in der Cité Internationale: Cité Internationale Universitaire de Paris, 27C Boulevard Jourdan, 75014 Paris

Verkehrsverbindungen: 1) métro RER B : Cité Universitaire 2) bus 21 et 67 : Stade Charléty 3) bus 88 : Montsouris - Tombe-Issoire 4) tramway T3a : Cité Universitaire.

Wir senden Ihnen später weitere Details.

Ferner:

Wir werden, wie Sie schon wissen, vom Heinrich Heine Haus bewirtet. Die Organisatoren möchten wissen, ob einige unter Ihnen eine vegetarische Kost bevorzugen. Wir bitten Sie, es uns umgehend mitzuteilen, da die Vorbereitungen schon im vollen Gange sind.

Freundliche Grüße,

Daniel Azuelos

Andrea Bunzel

Frédéric Teinturier

Ian Wallace

¹Maison Heinrich Heine, Cité internationale universitaire de Paris, 27C Boulevard Jourdan, 75014 Paris, Frankreich, Telf.: +33 1 44 16 13 00.

² Leider musste diese Veranstaltung zwischenzeitlich abgesagt werden!

Mercredi 11 octobre

Accueil et ouverture du congrès: 14h30

Christiane Deussen, Daniel Azuélos, Ian Wallace

- 15h: Adrian Feuchtwanger: «*Die Geschwister Oppermann: A German Jewish Family in Extremis: en commun avec Edgar Feuchtwanger*».

(Discussion et pause : 15h30 - 16h)

Panel 1 (président de séance Ian Wallace): Die Franzosen und das Exil / Les Français face à la question de l'exil

- 16h: Helga Schreckenberger: «Voices of French Intellectuals in the Exile Publication *Nouvelles d'Autriche* (1938-1940) ».
- 16h30: Hyewon Yoon (en anglais) : sur Gisèle Freund
- 17h: Jacqueline Vansant: « «French people here are very kind but too shallow to understand us». A Young Exile's View of France and the French 1939-1940».

DISCUSSION: 17h30 - 18h

Jedi 12 octobre

Panel 2: Paris als Exilort / L'exil à Paris (président de séance Andrea Chartier-Bunzel)

- 9h: Robert Krause: «Autotopographien. Zur Alltags- und Literaturgeschichte der Exilmetropole Paris (1933–1940)».
- 9h30: Alfred Prédhumeau: «Das Hotelzimmer – chronotopische Metapher des Exils».

(DISCUSSION et PAUSE 10h-10h45)

- 10h45: Maren Köster: «Vorwärts und [...] vergessen ? Hanns Eisler in Paris».
- 11h15: Dirk Rose: «Kulturtopographie als Heimat. Deutschsprachige Schriftsteller als Emigranten in Paris 1933–1940».

(DISCUSSION: 11h45 - 12h15)

REPAS: 12h30

Panel 3: Die ProvinzalsExilort / L'exil en province (président de séance Frank Stern)

- 14h: Jacques Lajarrige: «Errance en France de Soma Morgenstern – Une mémoire des camps d'internement».
- 14h30: Günther Scheidl: «Metamorphosen - Zur Exilerfahrung bei Albert Drach und Fred Wander »
- 15h: Alain Ruiz: «1933-1940. Les souvenirs d'Anne Marie Hirsch, émigrée du IIIe Reich à Bordeaux».

(DISCUSSION et PAUSE : 15h30 - 16h15)

- 16h15: Herbert Krill: « «Rather a dismal crew already showing the disastrous effects of exile» Aldous Huxley and the Jewish-German exiles in Sanary and Los Angeles ».
- 16h45: Camille Jenn: «Charlotte Salomon en France ou l'exil < à la marge de l'exil ».
- 17h15: Anne Hartmann: «Sanary als Exil- und Erinnerungsort ».

(DISCUSSION : 17h45 - 18h15)

Jedi 12 octobre (président de séance François Genton)

«Zeitzeugen» / Témoignages et récits

- 20h: Dorothea Bohnkamp / Annette Antignac.
- 20h30: Peter Schrag: «Some Urgent, Unanswered Questions».

(DISCUSSION: 21h - 21h30h)

Vendredi 13 octobre:

Panel 4 (président de séance Olivier Agard): Fragen der Rezeption/Questions de réception

- 9h: Matthias Hennig: «Zur Kracauer-Rezeption in Frankreich (1933-1940)».
- 9h30: Anne-Marie Corbin: «Axel Corti et Georg Stefan Troller : « «An uns glaubt Gott nicht mehr » ».

(DISCUSSION et PAUSE: 10h - 10h45)

- 10h45: Michaela Enderle-Ristori: «Lieux de mémoire, lieux d'oubli : les traductions françaises des écrits d'exil en langue allemande, hier et aujourd'hui».
- 11h15: Ute Lemke: « «Das deutsche Volk klagt an» – «Le peuple allemand accuse»: Editions- und Rezeptionsgeschichte einer Exilpublikation».

(DISCUSSION: 11h45 - 12h15)

REPAS: 12h30

Panel 5 (président de séance Daniel Azuélos): Kinokunstim Exil / Cinéma en exil

- 14h: Frank Stern: «Mise-en-images: Exiled Filmmakers in France Looking Back or Envision the Future».
- 14h30: Christiane Schönfeld: «Pariser Exilromane im Film: Formen Transnationaler Neukodierung von Erinnerungskultur».

(DISCUSSION et PAUSE 15h - 15h45)

- 15h45: Margrit Frölich: «The Nebenzahls, Nero-Film, and Film Exile in France byBetween 1933 and 1940».
- 16h15: François Genton: «La référence allemande dans les classiques du cinéma français à la veille de la Seconde Guerre mondiale».
- 16h45: Olivier Agard: «Le mythe Fritz Lang en France».

(DISCUSSION: 17h15 - 17h45)

Suivi par l'AGA des membres

Samedi 14 octobre

Panel 6: A propos de Lion Feuchtwanger/über Lion Feuchtwanger (président de séance Frédéric Teinturier)

- 9h: Anne Hartmann: «Lion Feuchtwanger et son livre *Moskau1937:Ein Reisebericht für meine Freunde*».
- 9h30: Manfred Flügge: «Présentation du livre : *Fry – Bingham – Sharp. Die amerikanischen Retter von Lion und Marta Feuchtwanger*».

(DISCUSSION et PAUSE: 10h - 10h45)

- 10h45: Jacob Boas: «In defense of culture: German-Jewish emigrés at the Paris antifascist Congress of 1935 and Sepp Trautwein's engagement with barbarism in Lion Feuchtwanger's *Exil* ».
- 11h15: Tadeus Skwara: «Ein Land fürExilanten und Nazis? – das Bild vonFrankreich und Franzosen in Lion Feuchtwangers *Exil*».

DISCUSSION: 11h45 - 12h15

REPAS: 12h30

Panel 7: (Autres) grandes voix germanophones / (Andere) deutschsprachigeFiguren des Exils (président de séance Jacques Lajarrige)

- 14h30: Gesa Singer: «Klaus Manns Exilerfahrungen in Frankreich».
- 15h00: Markus Börner: «Autour de Hannah Arendt».

(DISCUSSION et PAUSE: 15h30 - 16h15)

- 15h45: Birgit Maier-Katkin: «France and Émigrés: Transcultural Encounters in Seghers' *Transit*».
- 16h15: Ruth Werfel : «Franz Werfel: «Schreiben im Exil» ».
- 16h45: Daniel Azuélos: «Les impasses politiques de l'exil : lecture critique du *Pariser Tageszeitung / Pariser Tageblatt* ».

DISCUSSION: 17h15-...

Samedi 14 octobre soir

20h: repas de cloture (à restaurant «Les Noces de Jeannette»).

EXILE NEWS

David Weissman of Portland, Oregon, made a noteworthy donation to USC's Feuchtwanger Memorial Library in August 2017. The donation consisted of three carbon copies of a typed letter from Heinrich Mann to Salomea Rottenberg dated December 18, 1944;¹ two copies of a letter from Mann to Rottenberg from January 3, 1945 (incorrectly dated 1944); and an original, handwritten letter from Mann to Rottenberg dated January 30, 1945. The letters chronicle the most tragic episode of Heinrich Mann's life – the suicide of his beloved wife, Nelly Mann.

This donation will be added to Heinrich Mann Papers and supplement Mr. Weissman's previous gift two decades ago that consisted of photocopies of these letters. This recent donation of original documents will enhance the Heinrich Mann Papers by bringing together unique historic materials for scholars and students to explore and study now and in the future.

Salomea Rottenberg was a close friend of Nelly Mann and frequent correspondent with both of the Manns. Heinrich Mann's December 18 letter to Salomea was written one day after Nelly's death. Mann writes poignantly: "meine, liebe Nelly hat Ihnen sonst geschrieben. Sie hing sehr an Ihrer Freundschaft, wird es aber nie bezeugen, wir haben sie verloren." Mann describes how his tormented wife had previously tried to take her own life before finally succeeding. Mann closes his letter in this way: "Ich bin vom Schmerz erschöpft und bin geängstigt von der tiefen Einsamkeit, in der ich zurückbleibe."

In Mann's January 3 letter to Salomea, he provides greater details about Nelly's previous suicide attempts and her deep depression near the end of her life. He writes: "Meine Angst um sie war beständig. Heilung durfte ich nicht mehr hoffen, mein einziger Wunsch war, sie zu erhalten."

In the handwritten January 30 letter, Mann thanked Salomea for sending him Nelly's letters and photographs. He explains that these will help him remember happier times. His words ache with his loneliness and despair: "Die einfachsten Gedanke werden schrecklich."

David Weissman found these letters in the papers of his grandfather, Majer Rubin, who was born in Lodz, Poland, in 1902. Between the late 1920s and 1939, Majer Ruben lived in Bucharest before immigrating to the United States in 1940. Majer and his wife, Fella Rubin, lived modestly in an apartment in Beverly Hills where they met regularly with numerous fellow émigrés. Their wide circle of friends apparently included among them someone who was acquainted with Salomea Rottenberg.

There is little documentation about Nelly's friend Salomea Rottenberg, who lived in Paris, France, before immigrating to America in the early 1940s. Salomea and her husband lived in New York City and in Weehauken, NJ. Salomea Rottenberg and Nelly Mann met and became friends while still

¹ A copy of this letter is reproduced at the end of this contribution.

living in Europe. In a typed letter from Nelly to Salomea from October 1942, she wrote with regret that the Rottenbergs had decided against moving to Los Angeles. Nelly was convinced that Mr. Rottenberg would reconnect in Hollywood with many of his acquaintances and business associates from Paris.

The Heinrich Mann Archive includes several dozen letters between Rottenberg and the Manns written between 1937 and the late 1940s. This enduring friendship continued beyond Nelly's death, with Heinrich Mann and Salomea Rottenberg keeping each other apprised of their struggles and achievements. In her letters Salomea expressed great admiration for Heinrich Mann and would include newspaper clippings of reviews of Mann's writings or references to him.

Marje Schuetze-Coburn, Los Angeles

18. Dez. 1944
301 So. Swall Drive
Los Angeles, Calif.

Liebe Frau Rottenberg,

meine arme, liebe Kelly hat Ihnen sonst geschrieben. Sie hing sehr an Ihrer Freundschaft, wird es aber nie mehr bezeugen; wir haben sie verloren.

Sie wissen, dass sie Anfälle von Schwermut hatte. In solchen Augenblicken hatte sie schon mehrere Male versucht ihr Leben zu enden. Zuletzt ist es ihr gelungen. Der Arzt machte mir Hoffnung, aber ihre Organe hatten zu sehr gelitten unter der vorigen Vergiftung. Das Auswaschen des Magens vertragen sie nicht mehr. Sie starb auf dem Wege zum Krankenhaus in der Ambulanz, um 12 h 30, die Nacht von Sonnabend auf Sonntag.

Erlauben Sie, dass ich mich für heute auf die Mitteilung beschränke. Ich bin vom Schmerz erschöpft und bin geängstigt von der tiefen Einsamkeit, in der ich zurückbleibe.

Ihr
Heinrich Mann

AXEL SMEND: *GEDANKEN SIND KRÄFTE. EINE PERSÖNLICHE ANNÄHERUNG AN DEN WIDERSTAND MEINES VATERS GÜNTHER SMEND*. GÖTTINGEN: WALLSTEIN, 2017. 36 S.



Bei der vorliegenden Brochüre handelt es sich um eine – im Rahmen der sogenannten ‚Stauffenberg-Gedächtnisvorlesungen‘ – am 19. November 2016 im Stuttgarter Neuen Schloss gehaltenen Rede des Sohnes von Günther Smend (1912-1945), der im Zuge zahlreicher Hinrichtung von Beteiligten am Attentatsversuch auf Hitler am 20. Juli 1944 in Plötzensee sein Leben verlor.

Smend, Berufssoldat seit 1932, war seit Dezember 1942 im Range eines Oberstleutnant Adjutant von Generaloberst Kurt Zeitzler (1895-1963),² der bis zweite Hälfte 1944 Chef des Generalstabs des deutschen Heeres war, an Lagebesprechungen im ‚Berghof‘, im ‚Mauerwald‘ (= Hauptquartier des OKH) sowie in der ‚Wolfsschanze‘ teilnahm und daher über die jeweilige Kriegslage gut informierte war. Smend wurde am 1. August 1944 in Berlin verhaftet. Am 29. August wurde er im Rahmen eines Schauprozesses am Volksgerichtshof unter Vorsitz von Roland Freisler zum Tode durch den Strang verurteilt, das am 8. September vollstreckt wurde. Der Witwe wurde – wie üblich – im Oktober d.J. in Lüneburg eine Rechnung über die Vollstreckung zugestellt. Ein Grab hat Smend nie bekommen, da seine Asche auf den Rieselfeldern von Berlin verstreut wurde.

Während der Untersuchungshaft im August 1944, als er von der Gestapo gefoltert wurde, war sein einziger Trost ein Buch des Titels *Gedanken sind Kräfte*,³ das er im März 1944 von einem Vetter als Geschenk erhalten hatte und Lektüre zu Themenkreisen für jeden Kalendertag Jahres enthielt (z.B. über Glaube, Hoffnung, Liebe, Tod) und in deren Mittelpunkt auserwählte Bibelworte zu finden waren. In diesem Buch, das Smends Haftzeit überlebte und nach seiner Hinrichtung der Witwe zugestellt wurde, betonte der zum Tode Verurteilte insbesondere *ein* Bibelwort, das von seinem Sohn an zwei Stellen (15-16 & 36) gezielt hervorgehoben wurde, nämlich 2. Timotheus 4, Vers 7: „Ich habe einen guten Kampf gekämpft, ich habe den Lauf vollendet, ich habe Glauben gehalten.“

² An der Verschwörung gegen Hitler, die zu dem Attentat führte, war Zeitzler nicht beteiligt gewesen. Sein Adjutant Günther Smend hatte allerdings – vergeblich – versucht, Zeitzler zur Teilnahme zu bewegen. Da jedoch mehrere seiner Untergebenen der Beteiligung überführt bzw. verdächtig wurden, sah sich dieser genötigt, in einem persönlichen Brief an den Führer seine ungebrochene Treue zu beteuern, trat jedoch bald darauf in den Ruhestand. Nach dem Ende des Zweiten Weltkrieges war Zeitzler bis Februar 1947 in britischer Kriegsgefangenschaft. Er trat als Zeuge der Verteidigung bei den Nürnberger Prozessen auf.

³ *Gedanken sind Kräfte. Gedanken und Aussprüche*, gesammelt von Maria March. Berlin: Warneck, 1911 (zahlreiche spätere Auflagen).

Fast noch bedrückender als die Einzelheiten über die Verhaftung und Hinrichtung Smends waren die Folgen für die Angehörigen, d.h. die Witwe und ihre drei Kinder: sie mussten ihre Wohnung räumen, ihr gesamtes Vermögen wurde beschlagnahmt, und sie wurden anschließend als ‚Veräterfamilie‘ von der deutschen Bevölkerung geächtet (19). Aber das war noch nicht alles; denn zu unser aller Schande setzten sich diese Verhältnisse auch in der direkten Nachkriegszeit fort, als z.B. 1954 ein Lehrer an Axel Smends Schule die Dreistigkeit besass, der armen Mutter anlässlich eines Elternabends zu verkünden: „Als Sohn eines Verräters ist es ja kein Wunder, daß Axel in der Schule versagt.“ (25) Hilfe bekam die Familie lediglich außenstehenden Organisationen und Privatpersonen, wie etwa mittels Care-Paketen aus den USA, durch den vom Bishop of Chichester ins Leben gerufenen ‚July Memorial Fund‘, die Stiftung 20. Juli 1944‘ sowie durch den schweizer Wohltäter Albert von Erlach aus Bern, der jugendlichen NS-Opfern jeweils dreimonatige Aufenthalte in einem dortigen Kinderheim ermöglichte (22).

Das Büchlein schließt mit folgendem Gedankengang:

Alle Genannten wie auch alle Ungenannten [Widerstandskämpfer] einte das Ziel, sich in eigener Verantwortung, auf eigene Weise und im eigenen Umfeld gegen die Diktatur wehren und einbringen zu müssen, dabei immer riskierend das eigene Leben und das der Familie. (33)

Jörg Thunecke, New York

BIRGIT WITAMWAS: *GEKLEBTE NS-PROPAGANDA: VERFÜHRUNG UND MANIPULATION DURCH DAS PLAKAT*. BERLIN: DE GRUYTER, 2016. 292 pp & OVER 150 COLOR ILLUSTRATIONS.



This art history dissertation was written at the University of Graz, but the source material it uses is from the Bundesarchiv, the Munich Stadtarchiv, and other sources, and the study focuses on German rather than Austrian history of the Nazi era. As the introductory 'Forschungsbericht' establishes, Nazi propaganda posters have long been taboo for academic discussions, as exhibitions and publications of political posters excluded this far as unartistic and thus unworthy of attention, at best noteworthy as a historical document. Birgit Witamwas proposes breaking new ground by approaching these works seriously and systematically analyzing their contents and style with art historical criteria, while tracing developments of iconography and communicational methods. She also investigates the stories and works of three major graphic artists (if one dare use that word) behind these posters. Her study ranges from 1920 to 1940, from the Weimar Republic or the 'Kampfphase' (a loaded Nazi jargon word perhaps used too often here) to the beginning of the Second World War, although it is unclear why that is chosen as the end point of this examination. The research is well organized and argued, but the understated, even dry text, does not strive to narrative power. There is no clever irony or polemics to be found, though the title, *Geklebte NS-Propaganda*, seems to allude winkingly to both a 'lived' experience and also a 'slap in the face' of the populace by the many raised hands seen on the cover image. Though we may find no surprises or compelling new insights here, this is a solid description and systematization of a rich trove of documentation, over 150 posters reprinted in color (with a useful reverse index linking the images back to the text). While she reads the images in detail as works in their own right, carefully cataloguing their elements, style, and messages in roughly chronological order, Witamwas also links them to the changing political, social and ideological context.

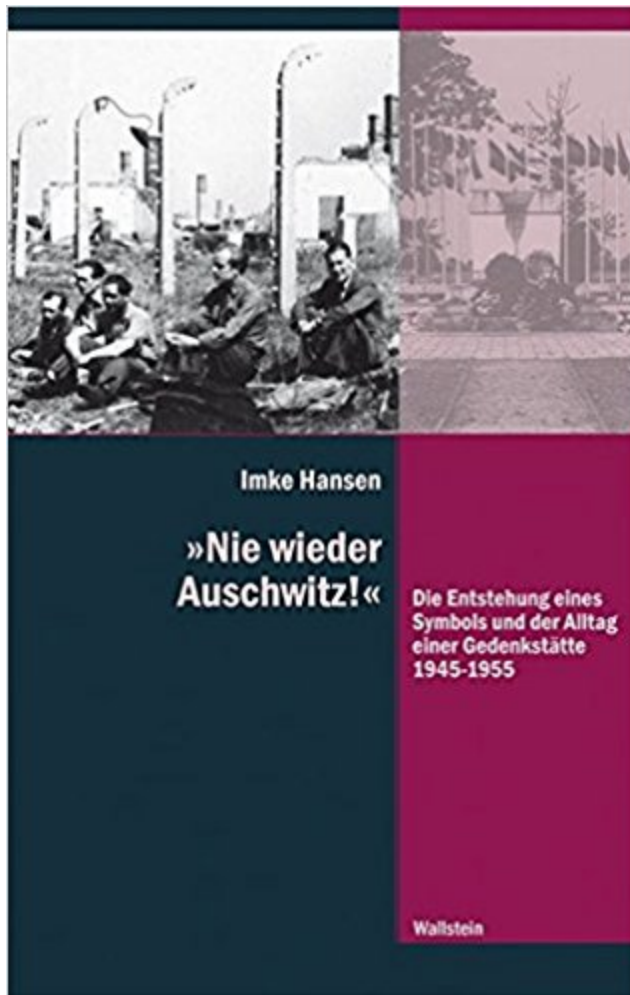
Hans Schweitzer (1901-80) is the creator of the earliest campaign posters of the young, militant party, agitational and often raw, with occasional bursts of caricature. Witamwas analyses Schweitzer's imagery of violence and defamation (especially the iconography of anti-Semitism) the use of the swastika, and the creation of the iconic image of the heroic 'unknown SA man'. But in 1932, with a populist upsurge and elections that promised to change the militant opposition movement to a mass party building consensus, Schweitzer's star faded (though he remained an influential Nazi official, and he enjoyed a comeback with the start of the war, where his aggressive imagery again served to work up emotions). Then a new poster designer, Felix Albrecht (1900-80), came to the fore with more positive

appeals, above all to target groups of women, workers, and peasants, that strove to build identity and identification. It was Albrecht who created the new icon of the strong German worker proudly pointing the way to the future. Around this time, photography entered the designs, above all drawing on images by Hitler's personal photographer Heinrich Hoffmann; Witamwas traces the visual stylization of Hitler from an individual on the margins to the embodiment of the party, the 'Führer'. Modernist tones became more pronounced with the integration of montage techniques and innovative design. After 1933, Witamwas diagnoses another shift in character as well as personnel, as Ludwig Hohlwein (1874-1949) now steps in to set the tone. The dramatic plasticity and color of his designs is striking and memorable. Their pathos and heroism, with overstated, happy 'Nordic' racial types, are the epitome of what we today think of as Nazi kitsch – but Witamwas refrains from ridicule or denunciation, instead speaking of their "eindringliche Bildhaftigkeit" (159). Further into the Third Reich, posters expanded from campaigning to promoting events and organizations, from the Olympics to the Hitler Youth or the 'Winterhilfswerk'. Some, such as the notorious poster advertising the 1937 exhibit 'Der ewige Jude', are once again explicitly defamatory. Around 1936, another motif becomes popular: before-and-after contrasts that visualize the regime's accomplishments. Finally, the varied uses of the 'deutscher Gruß' by means of the outstretched right hand in posters (often accompanied with a large 'ja') appears as a signal for unanimity, closing the process of identity-building on the brink of war.

Witamwas is strong on objective, systematic inventory of these images, each of which gets at least a paragraph of detailed description, but she seems hesitant to make the step to qualitative evaluation and reflection. Comparisons with posters of other political persuasions could have proven useful here, for though the names of John Heartfield and Käthe Kollwitz fall along the way, parallels or contrasts to their well-known works do not appear. If studying this corpus in isolation does not offer the final word in penetrating the power of Nazi propaganda or the emotional strategies of visual propaganda in general, nonetheless this book is a useful overview and breakdown, and the appendix of color reproductions that makes up about a quarter of the book is in itself a valuable resource.

Alan Lareau, Oshkosh, WI

IMKE HANSEN: *“NIE WIEDER AUSCHWITZ!“: DIE ENTSTEHUNG EINES SYMBOLS UND DER ALLTAG EINER GEDENKSTÄTTE 1945-1955*. GÖTTINGEN: WALLSTEIN, 2015. 310 S.



The notoriety of Auschwitz-Birkenau as the linchpin of a Europe-wide killing machine is as firmly entrenched as its post-war epitome of Nazi crimes against humanity, genocide, and a warning for future generations. In 1955, ten years after the camp's liberation by the Red Army, the final stop on a guided tour of the 'Gedenkstätte' was a wall covered in its entirety with the motto 'Nie wieder Auschwitz'. Displayed in five languages, 'Nie wieder Auschwitz' was a formula as simple as it was effective in establishing an unambiguous statement centered on the meaning and purpose of postwar Auschwitz.

Simplicity notwithstanding, the 'Gestaltung' of the Auschwitz-Birkenau 'Gedenkstätte' was freighted with overlapping narratives and competing interests from the start. Unraveling this tangled skein is the task Imke Hansen embraces in a superbly documented, judiciously illustrated transformation of the former death camp into the planet's memorial of memorials in the first decade of its post-war existence. Through its various iterations between 1945 and 1955 – shifting internal and external political winds (including Stalinization and de-Stalinization), multiple planning commissions, personnel changes, media involvement, internationalization, the impact of the 'Alltag' and input from former prisoners employed at the site – the 'Gedenkstätte' managed to keep a good deal of its original shape, as was intended from the beginning.

Almost immediately, Auschwitz-Birkenau was seen as a symbol of a central memorial site to which Poles laid exclusive claim. Twelve days before the museum opened its doors on July 14, 1947, the Polish parliament passed a law pledging to maintain Auschwitz-Birkenau "für alle Zeiten als Denkmal des Leidens des polnischen Volkes und anderer Nationen...." (130). The language of the law, reinforced by

remarks in the inaugural address by the then prime minister Józef Cyrankiewicz, himself a former prisoner, expressed a bias in favor of the suffering of the Polish nation.

Establishing Polish 'Recht' to the site was understandable. For one, Poland held the keys to the former 'kingdom of death' and with it the capacity to put her footprint on it, especially in its initial phase. As well, Poland had suffered enormous devastation and human losses: roughly as many non-Jewish Poles as Jewish Poles, 3 million on each side, were murdered. As for the 'Gestaltung' in this initial phase, the problem was where to put the accent. On Polish suffering and martyrdom? On heroic resistance to Fascism? On Auschwitz and the occupation as the latest installment of centuries-long Teutonic designs on Poland? In the end, none of these proved mutually exclusive: "Mit der Zeit entstand eine Mischung religiöser, politischer und kultureller Gedenkpraktiken, wobei es für die Akteure unproblematisch zu sein schien, dies mit einander zu kombinieren." (284)

The problem with this picture is that the other 27 nationalities felt entitled to a slice of this same 'Recht', Jews being a case in point. The latter, the only group targeted for complete annihilation, regardless of politics, gender, and age, accounted for 1.5 million of Auschwitz's 4 million deaths.

Attended by tens of thousands, the memorial site's inauguration on July 14 – a date picked to coincide with the 7th anniversary of the first transports to Auschwitz – led off with a battery of religious services, Christian and Jewish. Because July 14 fell on a Saturday, Rabbi David Kahane, however, complained that 'El male rachamim', the Jewish prayer for the dead, could not be recited. "Offenbar war der Termin der Feier nicht mit der jüdischen Gemeinschaft abgestimmt worden", observed Imke Hansen (131).

This is a recurring theme in Hansen's study. Although the 1955 exhibition accorded the persecution and destruction of the Jews increased prominence compared to half a decade earlier, „wurde die Verfolgung und Ermordung der Juden weniger als etwas Einzigartiges denn als Beispielhaft für die Opfer von Auschwitz-Birkenau dargestellt" (261), and this was not the last time that Jews would pull up short in the hierarchy of victimhood, Auschwitz not being a level killing field in which every victim wore the same inverted triangle. Resisters for example, who wound up in Auschwitz had a choice; others, like the Jews and the Roma, did not. Unsurprisingly, women were underrepresented, both in the planning stages and as a victimized group. Keeping all that in mind, *Whose Auschwitz?* would have served Ms. Hansen equally well for the book's title!

With the accession of the Polish Communist party to power in 1948 and the hardening of the Cold War, the emphasis was on the liberating Red Army, anti-Fascism and anti-Americanism. But even then, international developments could not efface the essential nature of the memorial. In every phase, there remained components of earlier incarnations. In 1955, as before, the 'Schlussakzent' lay on the fight for freedom and 'Never Again' (270-71).

'Nie Wieder Auschwitz', accompanied by several flags, including the American, demonstrated how far the memorial had come politically. This was due to a series of intersecting developments: de-Stalinization, an increase in the number of visitors from other countries, internationalization, and a growing involvement of non-Polish actors in the camp site's 'Gestaltung' and rituals; the anti-American rhetoric was toned down and the guides better prepared.

Die kollektive Verurteilung der westlichen Länder und die Gleichsetzung der USA mit dem faschistischen Deutschland gehörten offenbar der Vergangenheit an. Internationalisierung und der positive Bezug auf westlichen Länder bildeten das grundlegend Neue der Ausstellung und spiegelten schon sehr früh einen Trend der Öffnung vor allem nach Westen, der sich in der zweiten Hälfte der 1950-Jahre zunehmend in der polnischen Kulturlandschaft manifestieren sollte. (71)

For all that, Hansen elaborates, some things stayed more or less the same. Among these were the integration of Auschwitz-Birkenau into the Communist worldview and assigning German responsibility to German economic elites for persecution and murder. Likewise, narratives oriented to nationalism, martyrdom, and suffering – staples in the early stages of memorializing – received a new boost. Summarizing, Hansen writes:

Bei einem Rückblick auf die Repräsentation von Auschwitz-Birkenau, die sich in den ersten zehn Nachkriegsjahren in Geschichtspolitik und Alltage, Diskussionen und Gestaltungen, Symbolgehalten und im konkreten Raum manifestierten, könnte man fast die Tatsache aus der Augen verlieren, dass es hier um ein Konzentrationslager-Vernichtungslager ging. Denn die Geschichte des Lagers wurde zu dieser Zeit nicht – wie heute das häufig der Fall ist – als absolutes Negativum, als dunkelste Seite der Geschichte und Zivilisationsbruch dargestellt. Im Gegensatz dazu bemühten sich die Akteure gemeinhin, einen positiven Bezug zur Geschichte des Lagers zu schaffen, sei es durch Versuche, dem Leiden einen Sinn zu verleihen, sei es durch die Betonung von Kampf und Widerstand sowie der gegenseitigen Hilfe und Solidarität der ehemalige Häftlinge oder des letztendlichen Sieges über die nationalsozialistischen Täter. Auschwitz-Birkenau sollte ihrer Meinung nach eine positive, produktive Botschaft beinhalten. (289)

"Nie Wieder Auschwitz!" was awarded the Auschwitz Foundation – Remembrance of Auschwitz Prize.

Jacob Boas, Portland, OR

YVONNE WOLF: FRANK THIESS UND DER NATIONALSOZIALISMUS. EIN KONSERVATIVER REVOLUTIONÄR ALS DISSENT. TÜBINGEN: MAX NIEMEYER VERLAG, 2003; NEUAUFLAGE BEI DE GRUYTER (BERLIN). 339 S.



Der aus dem Baltikum stammende und der ‚inneren Emigration‘ zuzurechnende Schriftsteller Frank Thieß (1890-1977) erlangte direkt nach Kriegsende Berücksichtigung, als er – und Walter von Molo – Thomas Mann aufforderte, nach Deutschland zurückzukehren sowie Emigranten generell – im Gegensatz zu den im Lande verbliebenen Autoren – als passive Zuschauer von „den Logen und Paterreplätzen des Auslands“ (4) einstuft.

Wolfs Monographie – ursprünglich eine Doktorarbeit – setzte sich zum Ziel. „durch detaillierte Textanalysen zu einer Versachlichung des Themas ‚Frank Thieß und der Nationalsozialismus‘“ beizutragen (V). Thieß war bereits vor der ‚Machtübernahme‘ 1933 international etabliert gewesen, und er kann weder zu den Parteigängern des Nationalsozialismus, noch als Bewunderer des ‚Führers‘ gezählt werden, gleichwohl sich die Kritik an Thieß‘ Überbewertung der eigenen oppositionellen Haltung während der NS-Zeit entzündete, wie dieser sie in seinem autobiographischen Band *Jahre des Unheils* (1972) thematisierte. Die Autorin fasste dies folgendermaßen zusammen:

Bei der [...] Interpretation ausgewählter geschichtlicher Werke von Frank Thieß soll das für nichtfaschistische Autoren typische, widersprüchliche Geflecht von partieller Opposition und weltanschaulichen Affinitäten mit nationalsozialistischen Positionen als Leitfaden des Untersuchungsinteresses dienen. (10)

Kurzen Überblicken über die Thieß-Forschung (12-18), die ‚innere Emigration‘ (18-26), die sogenannte ‚konservative Revolution‘ (26-34) sowie die Biographie des Autors (35-59) folgen sodann ‚in-depth‘-Untersuchungen zu den Romanen *Der Tod von Fadern* (1921 [60-124]), *Tsushima* (1936 [125-185]) und *Das Reich der Dämonen* (1941 [186-315]).

Bzgl. *Der Tod von Fadern* gelangt Wolf in ihrem Resümee („Frank Thieß am Vorabend der NS-Diktatur“ [121-124]) zu dem Ergebnis, dass „der eigentliche Kern von Thieß‘ Überzeugung zunächst primär die lebensphilosophisch geprägte Vorstellung eines neuen Menschen, d.h. eine kulturelle und ethisch-moralische Erneuerung, einhaltete und weniger konkrete politische Ziele verfolgte.“ (121)

In der sich daran anschließenden – teils sehr ermüdenden¹ – Diskussion des Seekriegsromans *Tsushima* erörtert die Autorin Thieß‘ Kriegsroman „als Ausdruck literarischer Dissidenz im ‚Dritten Reich‘“ (125), um zu schlussfolgern, dass es sich hierbei – im Vergleich etwa zu Schauweckers und Plievierts Werken

¹ Insbes. vergleichende Untersuchungen anderer zeitgenössischer Seekriegsroman, wie etwa Schauweckers *Der Panzerkreuzer* (1938), Plievierts *Des Kaisers Kulis* (1929) sowie Eisensteins Stummfilm ‚Panzerkreuzer Potemkin‘ (1925), sprengen teilweise den Rahmen des Erträglichen!

(s.u.) – um „kein faschistisches oder nationalsozialistisches Buch“ handle, allerdings sehr wohl um ein Werk, „das die beiden unter dem Nationalsozialismus protegierten Genres des historischen und des Kriegsromans in sich vereinigt“ (184).

Den längsten Teil ihrer Abhandlung widmet Wolf dem 1941 veröffentlichten Roman *Das Reich der Dämonen*. Trotz seiner vorsichtigen Haltung gilt – wie die Autorin ausdrücklich betont – die kritische Aussage des Werkes im allgemeinen als unbestritten, und Thieß selber hob im Nachhinein hervor, dass die Leserschaft seine Intention damals sehr wohl verstanden hätten (191). Einmal mehr beeinträchtigen jedoch auch hier die sehr langatmigen Erörterungen zu Thieß' Geschichtsbild der griechisch-römischen Antike die Lektüre: das Ganze ist äußerst ermüdend und stellt die Geduld des Lesers wiederholt auf die Probe!² Zusammenfassend merkt Wolf zu diesem Roman – entstanden auf dem Zenit des NS-Regimes – an, dass sich Thieß darin auf einen geistaristokratischen, konservativ-elitären Standpunkt zurückgezogen habe (304) und dass sich *Das Reich der Dämonen* damit in diejenigen Werke der ‚inneren Emigration‘ einreihe, deren Intention war, Trost zu spenden (306). „Dieses Geschichtsverständnis“, so die Autorin

ist allerdings geradezu typisch für Werke der ‚Inneren Emigration‘ und kann durchaus mit einer subversiven Botschaft gekoppelt werden. So unterstreicht Thieß durch die Ablehnung von Willkürherrschaft, Militarismus und blindem Völkerhaß – bei gleichzeitiger Betonung von geistiger Freiheit und kultureller Vielfalt – sowie einem primär kulturell-geistesgeschichtlichen Interesse seine Ablehnung zentraler Elemente nationalsozialistischer Ideologie und Herrschaftspraxis auf deutliche Weise. (308).

In einer ‚Schlußbetrachtung‘ (309-315) fasst Wolf dann noch einmal das Ergebnis ihrer Untersuchung zusammen, von der man sich insbesondere auch eine detaillierte Analyse von Thieß' autobiographischem Nachkriegsband *Jahre des Unheils* (1972) erhofft hätte:

Der Grundgedanke der drei Werke – des frühen *Tod von Fadern*, des Kriegsromans aus dem Jahre 1936 und seiner Darstellung der Geschichte des Altertums nach Ausbruch des Zweiten Weltkriegs – bleibt der Gleiche: Thematisierte *Der Tod von Fadern* den Untergang eines überalterten Staates in einer proletarischen Revolution, so exemplifiziert *Tsushima* die Ursachen für das Ende des Zarismus durch den Bolschewismus. Im *Reich der Dämonen* formuliert Thieß am Beispiel der griechisch-römischen Antike seine organologischen Vorstellungen vom Verlauf der Geschichte, wobei auch hier durch die Akzentuierung der Spätantike die Frage des Niedergangs eines Staates in Revolutionen und Pöbelherrschaft sowie die Möglichkeit der Stabilisierung und der Erneuerung großen Raum einnehmen. (310-11).

Wie gesagt, Wolf wäre gut beraten gewesen, *Jahre des Unheils* mehr Platz einzuräumen, statt – quasi als Nachgedanke – anzumerken, dass „[b]ei Frank Thieß das skeptische Gesamturteil über seine Werke

² Ein Zeichen dafür ist auch die in heutigen deutschen Dissertationen übliche Unart, Kapitel in immer weitere Unterkapitel aufzuteilen: so trägt z.B. der Abschnitt ‚ „Grausamer als der Tiger“ – Tyrannenkritik im *Reich der Dämonen*‘ (266f.) die Unterteilung 5.2.3.1.4, was schlichtweg absurd ist!

unter dem Nationalsozialismus nicht zuletzt aus dem Verhalten des Schriftstellers nach 1945 [resultierte].“ (315) Denn immerhin hatte die Autorin darauf bereits über hundert Seiten früher hingewiesen, wo es hieß:

Die Widersprüchlichkeit seines [Thieß; JT]) Verhaltens geht auch aus seiner autobiographischen Schrift *Jahre des Unheils* hervor: Durchgehend bekundet Thiess [dort] seine Verachtung für den NS-Staat und seine Anhänger, doch genauso bangt es bei jedem seiner Werke um die Anerkennung und den Erfolg in diesem verachteten Staat. (191)

Jörg Thuncke, New York

GEORGE PROCHNIK: *DAS UNMÖGLICHE EXIL: STEFAN ZWEIG AM ENDE DER WELT*. AUS DEM ENGLISCHEN VON ANDREAS WIRTHENSOHN. MÜNCHEN: C. H. BECK, 2016. 397 S.



Stefan Zweig is a hot commodity now, particularly the story of his exile and tragic end. In May, Maria Schrader's 2016 film *Vor der Morgenröte*, which tells of Zweig's last days in North and South America and his double suicide with his second wife Lotte in Brazil in February 1942, was released in the US as *Stefan Zweig: Farewell to Europe* (a DVD release has not yet been announced), and at the time of this writing, an exhibit in Berlin's Literaturhaus was devoted to Zweig's *Schachnovelle* as a work of exile. The Berlin publisher Hentrich & Hentrich just released the exile correspondence of Stefan and Lotte Zweig as well as a facsimile of his address book. The English translation of Volker Weidermann's *Ostende: 1936, Sommer der Freundschaft* was reviewed in the *IFS Newsletter* 20 (2016), and now the story crosses the Atlantic in the other direction with this German edition of the American writer George Prochnik's 2014 study *The Impossible Exile: Stefan Zweig at the End of the World*. Some readers may already be familiar with the original English release, which was widely reviewed.

The author undertakes a deeply personal search, tracing Zweig's life stations, to question why Zweig's life culminated in suicide, especially since unlike most of his exiled contemporaries, he was a wealthy, internationally acclaimed, and cosmopolitan writer for whom that step hardly appeared understandable. Prochnik's quest is underpinned by the tale of his grandfather's and father's escape from Vienna to America, though under very different conditions, as he tries to understand the phenomenon of exile through these stories. Despite the title, which suggests that this study will focus on the last months in Brazil, the account is related largely in flashback, unfolding in a multi-levelled narrative that moves between biographical anecdotes, quotations and excerpts, tales of the author's own family, historical and intellectual context, and authorial reflections and interpretation. Prochnik reveals a

deeper side to the worldly author: conflicted, torn between polar opposites, and deeply alienated already in his youth. Zweig is, as he says, a “hybrides Wesen”, and the book itself reflects that hybridity in its free-flowing, associative narrative that jumps in time and shifts surprisingly between perspectives and dimensions, “ein unheimliches Durcheinander der Zeiten” (295), mirroring the “Zickzackkurs zwischen Vergangenheit und Gegenwart” (237) of history. Current issues of European identity and refugees, as well as modern American immigration policy and xenophobia, lurk between the lines of the past.

Prochnik locates the core of Zweig’s deep inner conflicts in turn of the century Vienna, while a grand vision of Europe lies at the heart of Zweig’s humanitarian promise, but also his personal tragedy. Travel and exile almost seem like a logical consequence for this torn soul who suffers from a fundamental sense of not belonging. On returning to Brazil in late 1941, Zweig said that he had finally landed in “paradise”, a world of peace and freedom. Just months later, however, he had ended his own life, unable to bear his fate any longer. Beyond isolation and recurring bouts of depression, Prochnik proposes, suicide was the ultimate expression of “das Gefühl, dass er [...] bereits eine posthume Existenz führte” (360). Many unsettling questions arise, but Prochnik humbly resists easy answers, instead exposing complexities and the mysteries of history. At the end, time and space blend; the narrator becomes “ein Dieb, der der Gegenwart die Vergangenheit zu entwenden versucht” (374). This intimate and original exploration, at times literary in tone but full of research and insight, offers a fresh account of Zweig’s story as a compelling alternative to a traditional academic biography.

Oddly, this German edition has placed captions under the photographs, which gives them a scholarly feel and robs them of the evocative power they have in the English edition, where they stand alone but are supported by the text itself. (The captions and picture credits were located in an appendix to the English edition.) Most significantly, the climactic photo of the couple’s corpses is moved from the last page, standing alone before the ‘Epilogue’, where it is a haunting icon, into the body of the narrative, and thus weakened, even trivialized. Though the translation is excellent (surely a huge labor, carefully restoring the quotations back to the original German), the publisher undermined the impact of the book by re-conceptualizing the role of these powerful images.

Alan Lareau, Oshkosh, WI

KARIN ORTH: *DIE NS-VERTREIBUNG DER JÜDISCHEN GELEHRTEN. DIE POLITIK DER DEUTSCHEN FORSCHUNGSGEMEINSCHAFT UND DIE REAKTIONEN DER BETROFFENEN.* GÖTTINGEN: WALLSTEIN VERLAG, 2016. 480 pp.



Although there has been much research published to date on the NS-regime's expulsion of Jewish scholars from German universities or from research-funding institutes like the Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gesellschaft (KWG), Karin Orth's book, an abridged and revised version of her Habilitationsschrift (Freiburg, 2015), is the first such study of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG). Orth presents an organizational history of the DFG from its founding in 1920 to 1933 (Part I, Chs. 1-2), with particular biographical focus on the different (kinds of) reactions of Jewish scholars to their exclusion or expulsion (Part II, Chs. 3-7), followed by reorganization of the DFG and its 'Vergangenheitspolitik' after 1945 (Part III, Chs. 8-10).

The DFG (or Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft, as it was first called) was founded on October 30, 1920, and, according to its by-laws, its purpose was to prevent "die der deutschen wissenschaftlichen Forschung durch die gegenwärtige wirtschaftliche Notlage erwachsene Gefahr völligen Zusammenbruchs" (36). The early years were devoted to the development of the organization, for which it received funding from the Reichsinnenministerium, the Preußische Kultusministerium, the Rockefeller Foundation, industries, and private donors. The first president of the Notgemeinschaft was the former Preußische Kultusminister, Friedrich Schmidt-Ott, who, along with Fritz Haber, recipient of the Nobel Prize for Chemistry (1919) and Director of the Kaiser-Wilhelm-Institut für Physikalische Chemie und Elektrochemie (KWI), had been instrumental in the founding of the Notgemeinschaft.

Schmidt-Ott served as president from 1920 to 1934, and while he created and maintained continuity in the funding work of the Notgemeinschaft, he ran the organization in an authoritarian manner, dominating in the functions and responsibilities of the Präsidium, the Hauptausschuss, and even the Fachausschüsse, which evaluated applications from German scholars requesting funding for research projects, travel expenses, materials collection, equipment, or publication. According to the by-laws, the president was supposed to take the final recommendations from the Hauptausschuss, but in fact Schmidt-Ott made the decisions on who would receive funding or not. This led to conflicts with Haber and other members of the Präsidium and the Hauptausschuss as well as criticism from the Preußische Kultusminister Carl Heinrich Becker, who also objected in 1929 to the irregular election of committee members in previous years, resulting in the running of the Notgemeinschaft as a kind of 'old-boys' club. The funding practices of the Notgemeinschaft were also a controversial topic in the budget debates in

the Reichstag that summer. The Reichsinnenministerium finally demanded changes in the committee structures, for limited terms of service, and for collegial decision-making. Schmidt-Ott resisted these demands, but the Hauptausschuss voted to accept them, and they were ratified by the Mitgliederversammlung. The official name of the Notgemeinschaft was also changed to the Deutsche Gesellschaft zur Erhaltung und Förderung der Forschung, but the organization became known as the DFG or, simply, the Forschungsgemeinschaft.

Schmidt-Ott remained as president of the DFG, and when the National Socialists came to power in January 1933, he co-operated with the NS-regime in acting swiftly to fire the one non-Aryan employee in the Geschäftsstelle of the DFG on May 12, 1933, only six days after the expansion of the 'Berufsbeamtengesetz' of April 7 to include workers and employees (88). Although Schmidt-Ott did nothing to hinder the election of 11 Jewish or non-Aryan scholars to the Fachausschüsse, he did nothing to discourage 5 of them from not accepting their election in light of the NS-regime's exclusionary laws. Fritz Haber, the only "Nichtarier unter uns" (in the Präsidium), as Schmidt-Ott recalled in his memoirs (1952), resigned as Director of the KWI on April 30 and as vice-president of the DFG on May 9. For all committee members of the DFG (mostly Ordinarien), who had received any funding before 1933, but who were dismissed from their university positions for political or racial reasons, there are no records of applications after 1933; as of Spring 1933, all applications from Jewish or non-Aryan scholars for funding from the DFG were turned down. Orth labels the "Neuaustrichtung der Notgemeinschaft nach 1933" as "vorseilende Selbstgleichschaltung" (95).

After Innenminister Wilhelm Frick told Schmidt-Ott in May 1933 that he should retire, the members of both the Präsidium and the Hauptausschuss voted to resign. Schmidt-Ott remained interim president until he was replaced by the president of the Physikalisch-Technische Reichsanstalt and exponent of 'Deutsche Physik', Johannes Stark, in June 1934. The Fachausschüsse continued their work, but by summer 1934, the Geschäftsstelle sought evaluation of the political reliability of funding applicants (Antragsteller) from the appropriate NS-Dozentenführer and drew increasingly on expert evaluations from external referees instead of from the Fachausschüsse. Otherwise, the new president (as had his predecessor) often made the decision on whether to fund an application or not. In November 1936, Stark was succeeded by Rudolf Mentzel, who officially dissolved the Fachausschüsse in July 1937 and replaced them with a Forschungsrat (96-98)

Orth's analysis of how the DFG dealt with scholars, who had been classified as Jewish or non-Aryan or Jewish-related, and how these scholars dealt with their exclusion during the Third Reich, is, for lack of complete records, based on two pools of individuals. The first group, those members of the central DFG-committees, was easy to identify, as they are listed by name in the *Berichten der Notge-*

meinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft über ihre Tätigkeit 1922-1933 (20, 71). They were 20 nationally and internationally recognized scholars in their fields, and their careers could be reconstructed in detail from various reference works. For the second group, namely, applicants for DFG-funding, a data bank (21-22, 88) was compiled for more or less all applications that were funded between 1920 and 1968; from the data bank it was estimated that there were ca. 3,100 applicants between 1920 and 1933. But how many of these applications came from scholars, who were excluded from the DFG, could not be exactly determined, and therefore for Orth's analysis 46 scholars were selected, for whom it could be verified that they had received funding before 1933, and who were excluded after 1933, but who also, if they survived the Third Reich, received funding again from the DFG after 1949 (89).

Part II of Orth's book (101-314) presents "biographische Annäherungen" to these two groups of scholars. Three chose to resign from their positions, but suffered from their exclusion: chemist Fritz Haber, who died in February 1934, microbiologist Martin Hahn, who died in November 1934, and medical scientist Leopold Langstein, who died (but appears to have committed suicide) in November 1933 (Ch. 3.1). Psychologist Otto Lipmann, historian Erich Caspar, and pharmacologist Martin Kochmann committed suicide in October 1933, June 1935, and September 1936, respectively (Ch. 3.2). Civil engineer Heinrich Spangenberg committed suicide in April 1936 (Ch. 3.3). Thirty scholars left Germany, 15 or 16 of whom emigrated soon after the 'Machtergreifung' (it could not be determined when exactly chemist Fritz Mayer emigrated), and the rest in 1933 and 1934, to other west European countries (esp. Great Britain) or to the United States or to other countries such as Turkey, India, or Egypt. Orth focuses on those scholars who went to Turkey (Ch. 4.1) as arranged by the Notgemeinschaft Deutscher Wissenschaftler im Ausland in Zürich, founded in April 1933 as the Zentralberatungsstelle für deutsche Gelehrte by Philipp Schwartz, who himself got appointment in fall 1933 as a professor of pathology at the University of Istanbul. Under Kemal Atatürk's modernization plans for universities in Turkey, German academics were specifically sought out, since there were German professors (Reichsprofessoren) already teaching in Istanbul during World War One. Orth analyzes in detail the social and academic life of German exile professors in Turkey, with focus on the career of the physiologist Hans Winterstein (Ch 4.2, 145-86).³

In the first years of the Third Reich, 9 of the 66 German scholars died or committed suicide, 15 or 16 emigrated, 4 of whom went to Turkey. 41 or 42 remained in Germany, as they saw no need or opportunity to leave; moreover, some saw no immediate threat, as they were classified as 'Arier', but had a Jewish or non-Aryan wife, and were therefore driven from their university posts only later, in 1937

³ On German exile scholars in Turkey during the Third Reich, particularly the literary scholar, Erich Auerbach, who wrote the original German version (Bern: Francke, 1946) of his famous study of *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature* (Princeton UP, 1953) between 1942 and 1945 in Istanbul, see also Kader Konuk: *East West Mimesis. Auerbach in Turkey* (Stanford, CA: Stanford UP, 2010).

or 1938, after the increasing radicalization of the NS-‘Judenpolitik’ and violence against Jews, culminating in the ‘Reichspogromnacht’ of November 9-11, 1938. 14 or (if Fritz Mayer had not already emigrated) 15 fled Germany in 1938 and 1939, most of them to the United States (Ch. 5.1); Orth analyzes the representative example of the biochemist Carl Neuberg, who fled to the U.S. (Ch. 5.2, 193-221). Of the 66 German scholars under analysis, 27 were still living in Germany at the beginning of World War Two, and 10 of them (9 DFG funding applicants and 1 DFG committee member) were deported to the east in 1941; 2 committed suicide just before deportation, and 1 died as a result of Gestapo brutality. Two more DFG funding applicants were arrested in Holland (where they had fled in 1939) and deported. All but one were killed in Theresienstadt or Auschwitz. Orth sketches brief bios of 14 victims (2 of whom died in Riga, and 1 in Lodz) of the Holocaust between 1941 and 1944 (Ch. 6.1, 222-42) and presents a more detailed biography of the geographer Alfred Philippson, who survived deportation to Theresienstadt (Ch. 6.2, 243-65).

Fourteen of the 66 German scholars, who had been expelled from their university positions, managed to survive in Germany, 4 Gremienmitglieder and 10 Antragsteller. These were individuals who were classified as ‘Mischling (I. oder 2. Grades)’ or as ‘nicht arisch versippt’. Eight were identified as ‘Mischling’ and 6, as ‘jüdisch versippt’, that is, with a Jewish or non-Aryan wife. These cases were all the more unusual as both these scholars and their wives survived (266). Several scholars found “ein Auskommen in einem freien Beruf oder in der Privatwirtschaft” (277): Jurist Erwin Jacobi, geologist Carl Walther Kockel, pharmacologist Gert Taubmann, chemist Siegfried Skraub, and chemist Günther Schiemann. Physiologist Rudolf Ehrenberg taught in school, but was forbidden to teach in 1940, and then worked for a chemical company until 1944, when he was arrested and forced to do hard labor (Ch. 7.2). Several scholars, who already had emeritus professor status and received a pension or who had considerable family assets, simply withdrew to private life, e.g., the jurist Heinrich Triepel or the physiologist Albrecht Bethe, who both were, however, at or near the end of their academic careers. In this group, Orth focuses on the biography of a younger professor (Ordinarius), the music historian Wilibald Gurlitt, who was able to continue his scholarly work and publish as a ‘Privatgelehrter’ (Ch. 7.3, 283-94). Orth follows with the example of the civil engineer Kurt Eisenmann, who successfully appealed his classification as ‘Nichtarier’ and was re-classified as ‘Mischling II. Grades’, but it required revelation of his mother’s sexual relations with the man who then adopted him, resulting in public humiliation of his then 80 year old mother. Nevertheless, Eisenmann even succeeded in returning in 1941 to the TH Braunschweig, which had expelled him in 1935 (Ch. 7.4, 294-301). The last biography, which Orth presents of a scholar who survived in Germany, is that of the physicist Erich Regener, who promoted his research areas as having particular relevance to current ‘Rüstungsforschung’ and led to his appointment as head

of the Forschungsstelle für Physik der Stratosphäre in der Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gesellschaft (to which Regener had longtime connections) in 1938. This strategy protected Regener and his wife, who had been classified as 'jüdisch-versippt' and 'Volljüdin,' respectively, but it came at the price of shifting from 'reine Grundlagenforschung' to contributing to the optimization of weapons systems for a more efficient conduct of the war and of losing his wife to an early death in 1949 as a result of years of psychological stress (Ch. 7.5, 301-14).

The postwar DFG was founded, once again as the Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft, in 1949, prevailing over the forerunner regional organizations, the Leibniz-Stiftung für Kunst und Wissenschaft (1945) and the Forschungsgemeinschaft des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen (1947), and its most serious rival, the Deutsche Forschungsrat (DFR), headed by physicist and Nobel Prize recipient (1932), Werner Heisenberg. While the DFR believed that science should be free of any ideology, it promoted the planning and support of scientific research in the service of progressive politics. The Bonner Notgemeinschaft, as the DFG was also called, believed that scientific research should be autonomous and simply result in economic development for the benefit of society. In 1951, however, the two organizations united under the DFG, maintaining the principle of autonomous research but adopting limited planning (Ch. 8.1). There would be less autocracy in the new DFG than in the original (Berlin) DFG. According to the new by-laws, the DFG-president would chair all committees; the Präsidium would be responsible for the Geschäftsführung and for obtaining outside funding; the Hauptausschuß and (new) Kuratorium would be increased in membership of both scholars and external representatives from the Bund and Länder; the Mitgliederversammlung would determine "die Richtlinien" for the work of the DFG and elect members of the (new) Senat, which would ascertain common interests in scientific research, promote collaborative research, and monitor the interests of German research with respect to research in other countries. There would be only marginal changes in the structure of the Fachausschüsse and number of members (Ch. 8.2).

Although most of the elected members of the early DFG-Präsidien were scholars who had been persecuted or harassed by the NS-regime (see biographies in Ch. 9.1), the DFG never explicitly assumed any responsibility for what had happened during the Third Reich. Indeed, no German scientific organization ever declared any 'Mitschuld' or 'Mitverantwortung'. Shortly after Erich Regener published an article on the "Mitverantwortlichkeit der wissenschaftlich Tätigen" in the *Physikalische Blätter* in 1947, however, the DFG established a commission to consider the question of the 'Verantwortung der Wissenschaft'. Regener had written that after the dropping of atom bombs on Japan in 1945, physicists could no longer ignore the potentially destructive application of scientific research, and argued for both their scientific autonomy and their ethical responsibility. Even though Regener was shocked by the deporta-

tion and extermination of Jews, he did not view Nazi atrocities as having affected his “Selbstverständnis” as a scientist. The commission conducted its inquiry until 1952, but could not produce a declaration of ‘Mitverantwortung der Wissenschaft’. The DFG formed instead a new ‘Kommission für vordringliche sozialpolitische Fragen’, which functioned from 1952 to 1966 (Ch. 9.2). The DFG did not concern itself with those German scholars who had been excluded from their profession by the NS-regime or with their subsequent fate; these German scholars, many of whom were still emigrants in the late 1940s and early ‘50s and had not yet decided whether they would even return to Germany, did not organize themselves into a group in order to make any claims to the DFG for support in seeking their academic reappointment, financial restitution, or reintegration into the scientific community. The DFG took the position that former ‘Stipendiaten’ stood in “keinem arbeits- oder dienstrechtlichen Verhältnis zur Forschungsgemeinschaft”(Ch. 9.3).

Applications for funding from the DFG in support of research or requests for help from the DFG in seeking retroactive recognition of past academic status and reintegration into the academic or scientific community would be evaluated strictly on the merits, without any regard to external considerations of the origin, religion, or ‘Verfolgungsschicksal’. Yet the (third) president of the DFG (elected in 1952), jurist Ludwig Reiser (see bio, Ch. 9.1), who had studied with Martin Wolff in Berlin, earning his Ph.D. in 1931 and having his Habilitation accepted in 1933, only to be denied “die Ausübung des Lehramtes wegen politischer Unzuverlässigkeit” (333), felt that it was the moral duty of his generation of scholars to take the past experience of Jewish scholars into account in evaluating their applications on a case by case basis (Ch. 9.4). If the application from an applicant who had been persecuted by the NS-regime had scholarly or academic merit, the DFG would try to fund or help the applicant (e.g., jurists Martin Wolff and Ernst Rabel, or Otto Loewy, who had shared the Nobel Prize for medicine in 1936); if an application was considered to be of little or questionable merit, the applicant’s background would ultimately not count (e.g., historian Helmut Hirsch). Of the 1,500 scholars who were elected as members of Fachausschüsse between 1949 and 1967, only 16% had already served as Fachgutachter during the Weimar Republic (when, however, the average age of Fachgutachter was 68.5); only 6 were Jewish scholars who had been persecuted by the NS-regime (Ch. 10.2). Among those applicants (Antragsteller), who retained their attachment (Verbundenheit) and loyalty to their university and the German scientific community and therefore sought academic reinstatement (Ch. 10.3), were geographer Alfred Philippson (Bonn), the anatomist Otto Veit (Köln), and the physiologist Albrecht Bethe (Frankfurt). Martin Wolff, who could not forget the loss of close relatives in the Holocaust, neither returned from England to Germany nor felt any attachment to the German research community. Chemist Adolf Paneth, who had to leave Königsberg in 1933, but was able to continue his career in England, was lured back to the Max-Planck-Institute

in Mainz (Ch. 10.3). Civil engineer Kurt Eisenmann, chemist Siegfried Skraup, and chemist Günther Schiemann had to fight for their “Rehabilitierung und Anerkennung” (Ch. 10.3). Finally, Orth examines typical “Argumentationsfiguren bei der Begutachtung von Anträgen NS-Vertriebener” (Ch. 10.4). There was no question of approving applications from returning “big old men,” like physicist Max Born, who received the Nobel Prize for Physics in 1954, the same year of his application, or botanist Ernst G. Pringsheim, who had returned from a distinguished career at the University of Cambridge (401-05). There was also funding of applications from scholars who had shown “besondere Anhänglichkeit an Deutschland”, like classical philologist and historian Felix Jacoby or the art historian Paul Frankel (405-07), or funding awarded, in part out of a sense of “besondere Wiedergutmachungspflicht”, to scholars like physiologist Hans Winterstein or chemist Alexander Schönberg (407-15).

Karin Orth’s book is a methodologically sound and richly detailed, and yet highly readable, historical, sociological, and biographical study. The reconstructed biographical portraits are particularly interesting and compelling. More specific cross-referencing (rather than simply, e.g., “vgl. Unten im Text” [133] or “vgl. Oben im Text” [187]), and even more so, an index of names of at least the leading members of the DFG and the NS-Vertriebenen, would have been helpful to the reader.

Frederick Betz, Carbondale, IL

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EDITORIAL CONTACT

Jörg Thunecke
3 Victor Terrace
Sherwood
Nottingham NG5 2FF
England
Tel: +44-115-9858836 / +49-221-421500
ifsnewslettereditor@gmail.com

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