

**International Biographical Dictionary
of Central European Emigrés 1933—1945**

Sponsored by
Research Foundation for Jewish Immigration, Inc., New York
and Institut für Zeitgeschichte, München.

General editors
Herbert A. Strauss and Werner Röder

**Biographisches Handbuch
der deutschsprachigen Emigration nach 1933**

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Werner Röder und Herbert A. Strauss

**International Biographical Dictionary
of Central European Emigrés 1933–1945**

**Volume II / Part 1: A–K
The Arts, Sciences, and Literature**

General Editors

Herbert A. Strauss, New York — Werner Röder, München

with

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Prefaces

The Research Foundation for Jewish Immigration considers it as its foremost task to promote research and writing in the field of migration history; special emphasis is given to the catastrophic Nazi period (1933–1945), one of the darkest chapters in the history of civilization. The pages of this *Dictionary* reflect the goals of the Foundation.

This Volume II documents the lives of 4,600 Hitler persecutees in the fields of the arts, sciences, and literature, and is meant to be representative of the many additional thousands worthy of being listed; it follows the German-language volume (Volume I) published in 1980, dealing with refugees active in public life, business, and selected professions. This work serves as evidence of man's inhumanity to man, and man's successful resistance and self-assertion in the face of duress, humiliation, persecution, and sufferance. It testifies to the invincible human spirit which, threatened by defeat, emerges finally triumphant. It promises to become a necessary tool for scholarly thinking and analysis. It presents itself as a source book for scholars, students, and lay readers interested in the history of the Nazi period.

This *Dictionary*, created through an international effort over a ten-year span of extensive cooperation, includes not only racial persecutees and persons of the Jewish faith, the most prominent targets of Hitler's persecution, but also the thousands of men and women forced to flee Germany, Austria, and Czechoslovakia because of their political or humanitarian beliefs or activities against an evil, oppressive, and dictatorial regime. Thus the *Dictionary* stands for the conviction of the Foundation that a better future can only be secured if it is built on the full recognition of the errors and failures of the past, on the knowledge that persecution cannot destroy man's spirit and man's will to survive, and on the experience that determination to remain creative despite adversity can shape a new existence and uphold ideals such as scientific research, scholarship, and the arts.

With the approximately 8,700 biographies compiled in the volumes of the *International Biographical Dictionary of Central European Emigrés 1933–1945*, the Institut für Zeitgeschichte and the Research Foundation for Jewish Immigration document the fate of a group which has so far only been studied in aspects that were limited to a certain time, a certain region or certain other criteria in the research on resistance and persecution under National-Socialism. Although by its outward appearance similar to a *Who's Who*, i.e. to a dictionary of more

The *Dictionary* project sponsored by this Foundation and by the Institut für Zeitgeschichte, Munich, would not have been carried out without the assistance and labor of numerous persons and institutions on both sides of the Atlantic. Joint planning between the research principals, Prof. Dr. Herbert A. Strauss of the Research Foundation for Jewish Immigration, and Dr. Werner Röder, of the Institut für Zeitgeschichte, Munich, created the continuity and methodology on which these volumes are based. Their staffs provided the professional research, writing, and editing that went into the project, assisted by professionals and volunteers in many countries who believed in the importance of the task and gave of their time and labor to make the idea come true. The names of many of the institutions and of the men and women who thus contributed to this work will be mentioned at the appropriate place in the *Introductions* to follow. It is nonetheless fitting to acknowledge here with gratitude the financial assistance and moral encouragement which this work has received from the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft and the Ministry for Technology and Science of the Federal Republic of Germany, and, in its later stages, from the National Endowment for the Humanities, Washington, D.C.

If the reception of this volume will equal the acceptance of Volume I as a significant scholarly contribution to the history of the 20th century, the dedication of time and effort, and social and financial resources appears amply justified. This work will thus serve as a perpetual testimony to a chapter in human history whose preservation, even in its darkest aspects, is imperative both as a lesson and a monitor for future generations, so that they may be spared the tragic experiences of the 20th century.

Dr. Curt C. Silberman, Chairman
Research Foundation for Jewish Immigration, Inc.
New York

or less prominent personalities, the special quality of the *Biographical Dictionary* lies in the selection of the group of persons and the fact that the emphasis of the biographical information is not determined primarily by rank and position within the society of a country, but by a common history of suffering — the compulsory emigration from the sphere of power of National-Socialist Germany. The data on an individual's life, career and work do not primarily document persons for their own sake. They should be read and understood as being

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representative of an extremely painful process, during which about half a million people were forced to leave the political, social and cultural life of their German-speaking home countries.

The *Dictionary* remains "elitist" insofar as here, too, the inclusion of biographees had to depend on an evaluation of their achievements. The measure of whether or not a person was deemed worthy to be included has been defined in part according to the circumstances of exile, as described in the introductions to the first two volumes. Thus, many names that are hardly known today could be saved from oblivion. The selection even encompasses the sphere of the "average," usually anonymous, social history of emigration. This is true especially for the political exiles, who make up more than half of the biographees in Volume I. One fifteenth of the political exiles should thus be recorded by name. Here, especially, not only prominence in political life was decisive, but also the individual contribution to small groups and circles which resisted the tyranny from the underground or from abroad. The often particularly tragic destinies suffered by the large "lower social classes" of the political exile could thus be treated at least by exemplification. They could naturally not be documented commensurate with their share in the whole *Emigration*.

Emigration from the Third Reich and the later "Grossdeutschland" has been the object of intensive contemporary documentation and research for only one and a half decades. Following earlier pioneer studies, for instance, the large socio-historical study by Hans-Albert Walter in the field of exile literature or the regional model studies on exile in England by Werner Röder and on German-speaking émigrés in Sweden by Helmut Müssener, research in the Federal Republic of Germany has been considerably improved: Thanks to the support of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft the rather poor documentary state has been remedied by locating and securing sources with the help of numerous institutes and archives. In the Institut für Zeitgeschichte a central catalogue of archival sources was established in the early seventies as the result of many years of work in domestic and foreign archives. This preliminary work became the basis for the concentrated research effort which Dr. Werner Röder was in charge of. Without these preparations the work for the *Biographical Dictionary* could not have begun as it did in 1972/73.

First plans for the project originated in talks Prof. Dr. Herbert A. Strauss and I had in New York at the end of 1971. The cooperation with the Research Foundation for Jewish Immigration was of greatest importance, especially as concerns emigration to the United States and Palestine. But it was also indispensable for other basic considerations: A biographical representation of the entire migration movement could not only describe the temporary emigration of political opponents of National-Socialism, which usually ended after the fall of the

régime with the return to the home country. Rather, it was also of importance to document representatively the final "transfer" of people and culture through the displacement of the Jewish population, the loss for the countries of origin as well as the immigration and acculturation in the countries of settlement. With this, two central themes of emigration history are touched upon: The emigration of large parts of the Jewish population because of the "racial" policy of the Hitler régime, and exile as a form of self-assertion of the "other Germany." The biographies of "political" exiles are closely connected with the history of resistance in the Third Reich, which found its backing in groups abroad. The first volume of the *Dictionary* does not only offer numerous new findings and corrections to this period of German and Austrian contemporary history. It also elucidates the historical significance of exile for the spiritual and organizational continuity of an autonomous democratic tradition and the manifold connecting lines between exile and political and social reconstruction after the end of the war.

The exodus of the Jews ended the extremely fertile historical period of German-Jewish co-existence and led to a metamorphosis of its cultural tradition in the environment of the immigration countries. In the academic, literary and artistic fields, besides creating long-lasting exile-like conditions, it also led to new creative contacts, syntheses and influences — the effects of which also reverberated throughout the German-speaking post-war states. Only a future cultural history will be able to fully assess its significance. The biographies contained primarily in Volume II of this *Dictionary* are an important step in this direction.

The "elimination" of opponents through displacement and murder on the part of National-Socialism did not occur without historic preconditions. Although this biographical documentation cannot undo what has happened, it can certainly contribute to the dissolution of continuing prejudices. As a common project of German and Jewish historians the dictionary project has been accompanied by these memories and sufferings. They have not prevented the collaboration, but on the contrary, motivated it. The merit for the success of this cooperative effort goes to the heads of the two teams, Werner Röder and Herbert Strauss. Special thanks go to the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, which has financed the largest part of the costs, to the Bundesminister für Forschung und Technologie of the Federal Republic of Germany, to the National Endowment for the Humanities, Washington, D.C., to the Research Foundation of the City University of New York, and to the Fritz-Thyssen-Stiftung which has rendered possible the appearance of the present volume by taking over the translation costs.

Prof. Dr. Martin Broszat
Director of the Institut für Zeitgeschichte
Munich

Introductions

Jews in German History: Persecution, Emigration, Acculturation

Herbert A. Strauss

I

This century, now its ninth decade, will go down in demographic history as an era of massive transfers of population. Its wars, famines, and other momentous episodes caused the displacement of millions of people in Europe, Asia, and Africa, their legacies being the homelessness and discontent which have determined the political physiography of regions including the Near East, Africa, and the Indian subcontinent.

The first half of the century saw Europe as a major theater for population displacement, featuring the victimization and expulsion of mass numbers of people by their own governments. As in other demographic transfers, the displacements among European populations drew other nations into service as host countries with numerous immigrants to absorb, saddling them with the problems which frequently accompany this process. One of the major obstacles attendant on the absorption procedure was the clash between the political cultures of the old national states and the new demographic realities, the former lagging painfully behind the latter. This political-cultural lag remains still evident in contemporary European societies which perpetuate concepts of national culture and sovereignty, even in an age of demographic pluralism, when economic, military and political realities are affected by super-power politics, multi-national economics, and regional military pact systems.

The authors of the following introductions are aware of the limitations of research in the history of Central European émigrés 1933–45, and in accounts of the post-1945 history of émigrés in most countries. Their introductions reflect these limitations on several levels of conceptualization and generalization. It is their hope that this *Dictionary* will contribute to closing these gaps through further research and interpretation, and complement the considerable amount of work now in progress in several countries on various aspects of the intellectual migration.

The migrations and displacements of populations of this century reached a dramatic apex between 1933, when Adolf Hitler was appointed chancellor of the German Republic, and 1945, when the European phase of the Second World War ended. As the Nazi régime usurped total control over its own population and ended the political pluralism of the Weimar Republic, its predecessor, it threatened its political enemies with torture and destruction. Driven by an irrational racism that culminated in an insane hatred of the Jewish people, the Nazis fostered a calamitous pattern of persecution and discrim-

ination against the Jews of Germany, Austria, and Czechoslovakia. As Nazism expanded its design of conquest across the continent of Europe in World War II, its totalitarian policies of oppression and persecution resulted in the deaths of millions of Europeans, especially in Eastern Europe. The genocide committed against the Jewish people was part of the trail of murder left behind by the Third Reich, even against its own nationals; more than 800,000 from Germany alone were incarcerated in concentration camps. An estimated 50 million persons died in World War II, perpetrated by the aggression of the Third Reich. At the same time, this war and its aftermath effected one of the most massive displacements of European populations within little more than a dozen years.

The history of the Nazi period forms the stark background for this *International Biographical Dictionary of Central European Emigrés 1933–1945*. Its purpose is the documentation of one area of this vast population displacement: the emigration of the enemies and persecutees of the Nazi régime from Germany proper, from Austria following its turn to authoritarian government in 1934, and from Czechoslovakia following the German take-over of its Sudeten territory in September 1938, and the invasion of German armed forces in March 1939. Between January 1933 and 1941, an estimated 500,000 men, women and children succeeded in leaving these three countries. They included persons who fled because they were political enemies of the Nazi régime and were threatened with persecution; persons of the Jewish religion or of Jewish family background attacked for their "race;" persons of foreign nationality, members of trade unions, churches, oppositional political parties, associations or organizations. From these large numbers of émigrés, the *Dictionary*, in its two volumes, documents the histories of about 9,000 men and women. Their names were selected from biographical files assembled by the staffs of the *Dictionary* in an international cooperative effort in the Federal Republic of Germany and the United States. As a result, 25,000 biographical files were compiled in identical collections in New York and Munich.

The men and women selected for inclusion in the *Dictionary* were chosen on the basis of clearly defined criteria derived from the characteristics of the émigrés themselves. Unlike the mass migrations of the 19th century, this migration was not primarily proletarian or rural, but, for the most part, urban and middle-class. It also included leading representatives of almost every segment of social and cultural life who had actively

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opposed Nazism, or had been singled out for Nazi persecution — political oppositionals, writers and artists, scholars and professionals, academic teachers and businessmen, community or religious leaders. The émigrés from Central Europe of the Nazi period included a larger number and ratio of highly educated, trained, or creative persons than any other 20th century displaced population groups.

These unusual qualities of the emigration movement derived primarily from the characteristics of the largest group among the émigrés, the Jews. Of the about 500,000 émigrés from Central Europe, at least 94%, or 470,000 were of the Jewish religion, or came from Jewish family backgrounds. The unusual qualities of this migration movement also stem from the pattern of Nazi persecution. Many of these migrants became the targets of Nazi attacks precisely because they held visible, leading, positions in their respective fields. Nazi persecution was unleashed first against persons active in politics and “public life,” such as government positions and the arts and literature. It was then extended to persons active in “semi-public life,” occupations subject to licensing by government, or considered of special public significance, and to such “private sectors” as business or religion. It thus progressively displaced civil servants, university professors, and scholars in numerous fields, after attacking cultural and political opponents, professionals, and, finally, businessmen. In most of these occupations, Jews in Germany, Austria, or Czechoslovakia, and persons of Jewish family background but not of the Jewish religion, or persons married to Jewish spouses, had achieved sufficient eminence to obtain public positions or recognition, and had become integrated into the cultures and societies of the countries in which they and/or their families had resided for decades and centuries. By forcing these men and women and their families to leave the country, the Nazi government deprived Germany of a substantial segment of its cultural, artistic, and intellectual leadership, and, in some areas of scholarship, damaged or destroyed potentially creative research for decades to come.

Added to this Jewish segment, however, were the political persecutees, mainly men and women of radical left (Communist) or Social-Democratic leanings, or members of liberal, progressive, or oppositional groups. Among these were numerous academic teachers, artists, and writers who were deprived by the Nazi régime of their livelihoods, or preferred exile to life under dictatorship. The “intellectual migration” also included a substantial number of those persons who had created what is now called “Weimar culture,” among them many writers, musicians, painters, performers of stage and screen, architects, or composers. Persecution intensified for persons in this group if, in addition to being known as opponents of Nazism or as members of radical or socialist groups, they were singled out also for their Jewish religion or family background, even if they had severed all connections with their Jewish religious or ethnic origins long ago.

In view of this background, the present volume includes three major population segments of the German-language areas of Central Europe controlled or occupied by the Nazi régime: the Jewish group and persons persecuted for their Jewish ancestry, the (partly non-political) “intellectual migration,” and the “Weimar intellectuals” who had waged the political and cultural battle against Nazism until 1933. The differences

among these three groups, however intertwined, were rooted in their individual histories. The next chapters focus on the background of the largest of these groups, and trace the history of German Jewry to its tragic end.

II

The appointment of Adolf Hitler as Chancellor of the German Reich and the resulting penetration of public life with the forms and the spirit of National-Socialism signified — as Rabbi Leo Baeck said in 1933 — the “end of the two thousand year-old history of the Jews in Germany.”

Jews had come to northern Europe with the Roman conquest, along the trade routes and the rivers. The earliest reference to Jewish settlement on German soil is to be found in a Roman document unearthed in Cologne from the time of Constantine the Great. The scanty but nonetheless revealing documents of the following period indicate that, as a non-Christian minority, Jews were virtually equal socially and economically with their neighbors, perhaps into the 10th century. With the general turn of the Catholic church against heretics and outsiders, which culminated in the eradication of the Waldensians and Albigensians, the Jews also became the object of religious persecution. Thus, at the time of the crusades, the Jews living on the Rhine and Main rivers, in cities like Würzburg, faced growing, partly economically motivated, hostility, and were attacked by the mob accompanying the armies of the knightly crusaders. Ecclesiastical regulation had restricted them to trade, including then still rare precious metals, and to the loaning of money; and when the Church had feared they might convert Christian serfs to Judaism, Jews were forbidden to own land. The socio-economic developments and shifts of the early and high Middle Ages brought many Jews to the newly developing cities, where local and long-distance trade were concentrated. Here, Christian merchants established monopolies (guilds) and suppressed the Jewish competitor. In the country-side, greedy religious and secular feudal lords exploited the Jews as a source of taxation. They were forced to provide ever-higher revenue and, according to the practice of the time, to pay ever-increasing dues for the right to settle and trade. At the latest in the 13th century, Jews in Germany became *servi camerales* and could be sold for money or concessions to secular or ecclesiastical lords and cities by their legal “owner,” the Roman Emperor.

Prior to Jewish emancipation, the growth of the medieval city had marked the decisive turning-point in the condition of Jews in Germany: for centuries, their religious status as outsiders and *perfidii Judaei* had thus been fixed in law with changing interpretations by ecclesiastical authorities. With the advent of the money economy, the competitive relationship with the Christian population linked up with the religious tradition and intensified its anti-Judaism. This led to sweeping expulsions of Jews from many cities in the later Middle Ages and the 16th century. Economic and social tensions had brought about a low point in the position of Jewry in Central and Western Europe.

The rise of the absolute monarchy ushered in the end of the Jewish Middle Ages. Now, some Jews engaged in international trade, and Jewish metal merchants, assumed important new functions in the development of the industrial and financial policies of the new mercantilism. Jews functioned as links be-

tween the predominantly agrarian organization of the territorial state and the economic modernization pursued by their sovereigns. These new absolute rulers used their Jewish residents to expand their economic power and increase their military might in the late 17th and 18th centuries. Nonetheless, the socio-economic position of the Jews continued to be determined by medieval traditions: in Western Europe, they were above all employed in trade and in certain types of handicrafts and manufacturing. In South and West Germany they settled primarily on the lands of petty feudal princes and church institutions, where, as in the past, they discharged important economic functions within the agrarian economy, and became indispensable to the church dignitaries and secular princes of the early modern period. The rural Jewish communities in Bavaria and Baden, Hesse and Württemberg, Westphalia and Silesia — far more than the *Judengasse* of urban Frankfurt — were typical for German Jewry before its emancipation. For centuries, Jews maintained their separate way of life and related in “antagonistic cooperation” to their rural neighbors. At the end of the period, the currents of the Enlightenment and rationalism gave rise to an economic and intellectual Jewish upper class. Its members resided exclusively in the cities, although, in its passion for regulation, the absolutist bureaucratic state sought to isolate its Jewish elite by assigning to it the special legal status of “protected Jews” (*Schutzjuden*).

The emancipation of Jews in the German states began in the 18th century. It differed in its historic rhythm (periodization) and its results from Jewish emancipation in other parts of Western and Eastern Europe. This was due to structural differences in the socio-economic environment and the different policies pursued by European governments vis-a-vis the Jews. The common feature of European absolutism had been a government-directed change of the feudally-controlled agrarian economy into bureaucratically guided mercantilist economies that would serve the political and military purposes of their rulers. In pursuing this policy, absolutist governments had laid the foundations for the expansion of incipient commercial and industrial capitalism.

This, in turn, affected the status of Jewish minorities in the economic development, and thus their political and civic status. In *Western Europe*, feudal groups had either traditionally pursued mercantile activities, as in Great Britain, or had proven themselves open to rising bourgeois groups either in the economic sphere, or through the development of a *noblesse de robe*, as in France. The French Revolution, as de Tocqueville had realized already in the 19th century, continued in this respect the egalitarian policies of their absolutist predecessors, and the emancipation of the Jewish bourgeoisie appeared as much the result of this long-standing trend as of revolutionary ideologies.

In contrast, in *Eastern Europe*, the agrarian-feudal order retained a more significant role during the period of incipient and low-capitalized changes to commercial and industrial modernization. Jews found themselves squeezed by this development from which, to a large extent, they had been excluded by discrimination. Their traditional roles and the relative overpopulation they suffered due to these restrictions did not permit them to share significantly in the modernization process. They remained confined to petty trading, the carriage trade, some clearly limited crafts, and peddling. The emergen-

ce of a small Jewish industrial class and a factory proletariat in certain centers (e.g. in textile production) served to underline the unevenness of this structural change. As a result, the economic and political emancipation of the Jewish population *as a group* was delayed, and remained limited. The virulent anti-Semitism of East European states until after the Second World War can be viewed as an outgrowth of Christian traditions and economic relationships carried over from the pre-modern period.

In contrast to their neighbors in East and West, the emancipation of the Jews in the German states which began during the Napoleonic era was conditioned by the uneven history of Germany's economic modernization. The *raison d'état* behind the Prussian era of reform also led to the Jewish Emancipation Edict of March 13, 1812. Other emancipation edicts were issued by the states of the Federation of the Rhine. Soon, however, with the collapse of civil reform and the onset of political reaction around 1819, the legal equality of Jews became circumscribed. The governments of the *Vormärz* period, to be sure, advanced economic modernization, but simultaneously attempted to prevent the integration of the middle classes into the state power structure, and likewise turned against full emancipation for the Jews. Classes which were affected by the agrarian crisis, or which saw themselves victimized by the modernization process — for example, the rural and urban proletariat as well as small farmers, retailers, and artisans — joined in socio-political alliances with precapitalist forces. These forces included the Junkers, the old *Mittelstand*, parts of the bureaucracy, and the (predominantly conservative) Protestant consistories and ecclesiastical hierarchies. What united them was their opposition to the structural economic and political changes of the new era. This constellation tied the legal equality of the Jews to the success of socio-economic modernization in Germany and thus to political liberalism. Bismarck's constitution for the Reich did, in fact, grant the middle classes a limited constitutionalism. However, these classes failed to wrest full political power and responsibility from the traditional forces linked to “throne and altar,” the Junkers, the officer corps, the court nobility, and the ministerial bureaucracy. Political modernization matched economic modernization only to a limited extent; middle class liberals continued by and large to be denied decisive political and social influence. The consequences of this imperfect compromise between a monarchical power structure, social traditionalism, and economic modernization manifested themselves also in the ambivalent role of Jews in the German Empire. Their legal emancipation was, to be sure, anchored in the Constitution of 1871, and permitted the integration of Jews in parliamentary politics, commerce, and cultural life. On the other hand, the long economic crisis following the unification of Germany led to a new form of anti-Semitism, which spread around the turn of the century among large landowners, conservative peasants, the bureaucracy, the officers corps, and the academic elite. It meshed with cultural pessimism and with the idea of a traditional Christian state and a God-given social order ordained by nature and history. Concepts such as these served as ideological underpinnings for the apolitical attitudes of the intellectual elite (*Bildungsbürgertum*) as well as of the power elites. For large sections of these groups and their followers, the German Jew turned into a symbol for changes they were unable to face constructively and analytically. The Jew

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was blamed for developments for which he was not necessarily responsible, but which he represented in a highly visible way — the single *major* minority in German majority culture. If he clung to his religion, he was clannish and embraced the Talmud; if he worked for social reform and a better future for the working man, he was subversive and a revolutionary; if he devoted all his liberated energies to further new developments in the arts, he undermined tradition; if he developed new manufacturing processes or forms of retail distribution, he was a capitalist. His historically conditioned role of private banker, declining under the impact of structural changes in the major financial markets, was held against him as much as his contributions to German armament procurement and economic warfare in World War I. Behind it all was the traditional sneer of the “Christian anti-Semite,” the status snobbery of a class society unable to accept social changes, industrialization, modernization. Paradoxically, Nazism and World War II would, in effect, level traditional distinctions in a paroxysm of ruination and self-destruction.

Attitudes like these revealed the uncertainty and perplexity with which traditional establishment institutions, including the churches, met the spiritual problems and social changes of the modern industrial state.

The decline of liberalism, and its refashioning into an economic ideology of the commercial and industrial upper middle class around the turn of the century, left the majority of German Jews politically isolated, and threatened their short-lived civic and political equality. Hence, for the Jewish community, the struggle for full emancipation appeared as the preeminent political task of the period. However, the cultural nationalism and the Christian image of German society propagated by the middle and upper classes required even assimilationist Jews ultimately to renounce their religion. Although the majority of German Jews took pains to comply with the demands of their environment for *cultural* accommodation, German national culture proved too narrow to accept a Jewish minority determined to maintain its separate identity in the *religious* and, to some extent, *social* domain. Thus the development of the German-Jewish relationship in the Weimar Republic rested on historical roots reaching from the unification of Germany to the First World War.

For German Jews, the Weimar Republic satisfied their nearly 150-year-old quest for equality. To be sure, anti-Semitic excesses occurred in the immediate postwar period, which combined the hatred for Jews from Russian Poland employed in the German war industry with attacks on Jews in revolutionary politics and, paradoxically, in business. After 1923, this wave levelled off and gave way to relative tranquility. The faith in the constitutionally guaranteed *Rechtsstaat* fostered the certainty that accommodation between Jewish and Christian Germans would finally be realized. But it could endure only if the Weimar Republic succeeded to overcome its numerous problems. The strongest Jewish interest groups, the majority *Central-Verein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens* and the association of Jewish veterans known as the *Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten* (R.j.F.), relied upon an alliance with the moderate parties of the middle classes for the success of the Republic. The relatively small Zionist party (*Zionistische Vereinigung für Deutschland*) and its right wing (*Jüdische Volkspartei*), as far as they participated in German political life, were

also moderate in their political orientation. Hence, as the influence of the moderate parties declined after September 14, 1930, in the wake of political polarization, German Jewry again found itself politically isolated as an organized entity. None of the right- or left-wings extremes offered a viable alternative.

Beginning in 1930, the struggle against anti-Semitism constituted the principal concern for Jewish organizations. The voters of the Weimar Republic denied right-wing extremists major political influence until the onset of the world economic crisis. Thereafter, under the pressures of the social and political crisis, latent anti-Semitism, nationalism, and anti-republicanism found a common foe in the Jewish minority.

The temporary ascendancy of a socially reformist liberalism in the Weimar Republic allowed a relatively large number of politicians of Jewish ancestry or Jewish faith to move into responsible and visible positions. This resulted in another Jewish dilemma. The responsibility thrust upon the republican authorities for the military defeat of Germany and for the “dictated peace” (*Diktatfrieden*) of Versailles allowed nationalist propagandists to implicate the Jewish minority. Already during the war, an official of the Prussian War Ministry had ordered a “census” of Jewish front-soldiers. It was a notoriously anti-Semitic display with the aim of suggesting insufficient patriotic sacrifice on the part of German Jews.

In the 1920s, Jewish organizations considered themselves bound to the procedures of the constitutional *Rechtsstaat* and committed to legal procedures. They opposed anti-Semitism through litigation in the courts, and relied on the constitutionally guaranteed equality of all Germans before the law. The skillful propagandistic exploitation of such litigation by anti-Semitic defendants soon led the Jewish organizations to realize that the courts offered insufficient protection against public libel. This in itself could have provided an opening for a *political* fight against anti-Semitism. Despite many personal ties to Social-Democracy, the middle class character of the representatives of Jewish interests, and socialist indifference to its religious and ethnic group character, precluded organizational Jewish collaboration with the socialist labor movement or with a (never realized) coalition of the Left. The major parties of the Left, in contrast to Jewish organizations, had recognized that anti-Semitism was increasingly viewed by socially and economically endangered classes as the solution to their difficulties. But the Left underestimated its political function in the strategy of National-Socialism. It characterized the situation that the governments holding office after 1930 under Article 48 of the Constitution proved unresponsive to demands by Jewish representatives for open Reich-level intervention against anti-Semitism.

In 1932 and 1933, respectively, 37.3% and 43.9% of voters saw in anti-Semitism at least no hindrance in voting for the N.S.D.A.P. Jewry, politically isolated, thereby became the victim of the anti-liberal coalition represented in the Hitler Cabinet.

In Austria, too, in the late 19th century, anti-Semitism had become a means of political mobilization and integration among the lower middle class and the rural population, which saw themselves endangered by economic changes. In Austria, as in Germany, anti-Semitism also gained support above all from

the German nationalist Right — for example, in Georg von Schoenerer's Linz Programme (1878) and his anti-clerical and Pan-German demagoguery. The conflict of the nationalities, especially in Bohemia and Moravia, and the linkage of Catholic social reformism with anti-capitalism (Lueger), resulted in another penetration of political life with anti-Semitic ideas in Austria. In 1922, perhaps two-thirds of the electorate gave their votes to parties that used anti-Semitism in their appeals to farmers, to the Viennese middle classes, and to the middle classes of the provincial districts (*Christlich-Soziale Partei* 37%, *Nationalverband* 31%, compared to 32% for the socialists). This constellation was destined to maintain its strength until the 1930s. Thus the historic foundation had been laid in Austria for parties which prepared the ground for the N.S.D.A.P., and from which the latter drew part of its ideology.

III

In 1933, the stage was set for the persecution of the Jew. Being a relatively small and powerless group, dispersed over the cities and rural areas of Germany, without central organization, political unity, or reliable allies, the idea of collective political resistance as a group occurred to none, not even the Zionists. Even if Jews had been armed, as they were not, open resistance would have been little short of lunatic. If movements like the Social-Democratic or Communist parties with their millions of adherents failed to activate what will there was for revolutionary action against the concentrated powers of the German army and police, government and institutional structures, the small Jewish community would not have stood a chance to succeed, even if anybody could have foreseen, as was impossible for this generation of Jewries everywhere, that Nazi persecution would end in the physical, genocidal destruction of European Jewry. More than a century of in many ways

Table 1: Total Number of Jewish Emigrés from Germany, 1933–1945*

Year	Jew. pop.	1,000 Emigr.	1,000 Excess deaths	1,000 Deport.
1933	525,000(est.)	37	5.5	
1934		23	5.5	
1935		21	5.5	
1936		25	6.0	
1937		23	7.0	
1938		40	8.0	
17th May 1939	213,390			
31st December 1939		78	10	
1940		15	8	10
1st May 1941	169,000			
1st October 1941	164,000	8	4	25
1942	139,000		7.5	73
1943	51,000	8.5	5	25
1944	14,500			1
1945	20–25,000			
Total		278,500**	72,000	134,000

* Source: *Leo Baeck Institute, Year Book* (no. 25, 1980, p. 326). (N.B.: The figures for the overall Jewish population for 1939–1944 include persons defined as "full Jews by race" by Nazi legislation. They were placed under the jurisdiction of the central Jewish coordinating organization, the *Reichsvereinigung der Juden in Deutschland*, by a decree dated July 14, 1939, and represented mainly Jewish spouses of "racially mixed marriages," whose children were of Christian, rather than Jewish religion.

** This number — 278,500 Jewish émigrés — represents a reasonable estimate from among the available data. The actual number of Jewish émigrés may have varied from this figure by as much as 10% upward or downward.

successful co-existence — symbiosis — in German society would not be wiped out overnight. Therefore flight, emigration and search for survival became the major ways of resistance open to the weak. Tables 1 and 2 document the pattern of Jewish emigration for Germany and Austria.

Table 2: Total Number of Jewish Emigrés from Austria

Year	Jew. pop.	Emigr.	Excess Deaths	Deport.
1934	191,481			
1938 (3/1)	220,000			
1939 (March)	120,000	100,000		
1941 (11/1)*		128,500		
1943 (1/1)**	8,102	149,124	14,509	47,555

* E. Weinzierl, *Zu wenig Gerechte: Österreich und Judenverfolgung 1938–1945* (Graz, 1969).

** Korherr report, based on tables supplied by the *Reichsvereinigung der Juden in Deutschland* (p. 170).

The first period of Nazi persecution, from 30th January 1933 to mid-1933, was dominated by the multiple violence occurring across Germany. It was perpetrated mainly by the Storm Troopers (S.A.) which, in several states, had been drafted as auxiliary policemen. The main targets of this violence were political enemies of the régime, persons against whom local Nazi individuals harbored political — sometimes personal — grudges, lawyers, physicians, members of the *Reichstag*, persons considered guilty of past misdeeds, etc. On 1st July 1933, the Ministry of the Interior recorded that 26,789 persons were held in "protective custody," the euphemism for the internment of political opponents. All of these victims included persons of the Jewish religion. Sadistic tortures, beatings, and gangster-like killings characterized these events. They went on in a highly charged atmosphere of street demonstrations, marches, elections, the take-over of state and local governments, and the dissolution of the political parties, workers' associations, and trade unions.

For the Jewish minority *qua* Jews this terror phase brought legislative exclusion primarily from "public life" — *öffentliches Leben* — including the removal of certain categories of civil servants, lawyers and judges, a curtailment of the activities of Jewish physicians, etc. The "boycott day" of 1st April 1933, and widespread local pressures brought attacks on Jewish retail stores and large-scale dismissals of Jewish employees, partly (under pressure) by Jewish-owned firms. Jews began to be excluded from cultural activities, the press, and the arts. As associations were brought in line with Nazi principles — *gleichgeschaltet* — numerous Jews lost their positions. Anti-Semitic propaganda and harassment were intense, but did not lead — they never did in Germany — to non-organized, spontaneous pogrom-style attacks on Jews. The passivity of broad strata of the population in Germany remained a constant throughout the period of persecution.

Phase II began during the summer of 1933. Sadistic S.A. brutalities were confined and institutionalized in the newly founded concentration camps. Legislative activity against Jews continued. It affected primarily professionals, students, foreign Jews, Jewish employees and workers, the legal position of Jews, the theater, and Jewish business. Characteristic for this phase of creeping persecution was the announced intention

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not to interfere with Jewish economic activities. This was declared *Reich*-policy. Numerous attacks and pressures of many kinds by local Nazi organizations and propaganda agencies as well as intense defamation continued.

Phase III divided into two sub-periods. In April 1935, a new wave of street terror and propaganda attacks began nationwide, culminating in July in pogrom-like mass attacks by Hitler Youth and S.A. on Jews on the Berlin Kurfürstendamm. This sub-phase was stopped by the party leadership on Hitler's orders. The Nuremberg Laws passed on 12th September 1935 and subsequent *Verordnungen* deprived Jews of German citizenship rights and led to the exclusion of all remaining Jewish civil servants, artists, university teachers, judges, and other public servants. The activities of other professionals like lawyers and physicians continued to be curbed, and Jewish art dealers were prohibited from pursuing their business. Legal and local economic pressures to force the sale of Jewish business continued, but Jewish business kept being assured by *Reich* agencies that its activities would be protected.

Phase IV, covering most of 1936 and extending into the autumn of 1937, once again saw creeping persecution, primarily through continued Nazi pressures on local levels. *Reich* decrees excluding Jews from the economy extended to those in occupations considered "semi-public" or "quasi-public" in Germany such as accountants, consultants on foreign currency or tax matters, apothecaries, veterinarians, book-dealers, publisher and similar groups. Creeping pressures were also exerted on rural cattle and produce traders, Jewish representatives of large companies working abroad, and on Jewish private banks. (Some large companies had shifted Jewish managers abroad to promote business and protect them and their employers from Nazi harassment.)

In the autumn of 1937, phase V opened with a concerted drive to force the sale of the remaining business establishments (1st April 1938: 39,552), an estimated 50% of the number existing in 1933. The drive to "Aryanize" (enforce the transfer of business from a Jewish to a German owner at depressed prices) now extended systematically to Jewish manufacturing and big business. Persons owning more than RM 5,000 were obligated to register all their holdings with the government in April 1938, and a series of *Berufsverbote* and decrees sharply narrowed the sphere of Jewish economic activities. Physicians and lawyers lost their remaining practices. Licenses were withdrawn from salesmen and agents. Jewish communal institutions suffered a change in legal status and severe disadvantages in their economic and service activities. In mid-1938, the synagogues of Munich, Düsseldorf, and Nuremberg were torn down as part of "urban renewal" or to make way for subway construction. On 28th October 1938, between 14,000 and 17,000 Polish-Jewish nationals were expelled to Poland under inhuman conditions. Following the pogroms of 9th/10th November 1938, all Jewish activities in the German economy were prohibited, Jews were forced to make good the damage they suffered through the organised vandalism of S.A. units across Germany, and to pay RM 1.25 billion to "atone" for the murder of German diplomat Ernst vom Rath at the hands of a Jewish student in Paris. About 30,000 Jewish men were interned in German concentration camps.

The last phase, VI, of the emigration period lasted until October 1941. Jews were now forced to live off their savings or receive social assistance. They were drafted into forced labor in factories or had to accept menial jobs. The first deportations began in 1940 (Baden, Stettin, Vienna, Prague, Moravská Ostrava). On 1st October 1941, the *Reichssicherheitshauptamt* (R.S.H.A.) prohibited further emigration, although exceptions to this prohibition continued throughout the later war years.

Already this first review suggests that, in its framework of defamation and anti-Jewish propaganda, Nazi persecution was selective in the groups whose economic or professional activities it curtailed or destroyed. The periodization of this summary reveals two kinds of influence patterns: an interplay between terror and street pressure and legislative measures, and between *Reich* level measures and local or regional pressures. Both in its "on-again-off-again" timing, and in the action patterns occurring on the different levels of German social and political space, persecution policy was polymorphous.

The political activities from which the pattern of persecution derived tend to support this observation.

It has often been pointed out, in part with apologetic intent, that even under the extreme propagandistic and terror pressures accompanying the German elections of 5th March 1933, the Nazi vote rose only to 43.9% from its earlier high (in completely free elections) of 37.3% (1932a). Phrased differently, the about 51.9% of Nazi and German nationalist voters supporting Hitler outright in March 1933 saw no hindrance in the anti-Semitic policies with which the Nazi party had interlaced its electoral appeals with varying degrees of salience and intensity. German right-nationalist anti-Semitism, the literature has made abundantly clear, rested on older anti-Jewish traditions. Conservatives had accepted an anti-Semitic platform for their party as early as 1892 (Tivoli Programme). The ready acceptance of Hitler's chancellorship by Conservatives, Catholic political leaders, church dignitaries and the *Beamten-schaft* rested to a considerable extent on a common anti-liberal and anti-modernist political mood for which Jews exemplified the enemy, especially in such highly visible fields as journalism, films, literature, and the arts (the cosmopolitan avant-garde minority culture misnamed "Weimar culture").

Thus, in 1933, not one but several anti-Semitic strains coexisted within the broad consensus of center-right government and politics. Programs for anti-Jewish action prepared by Nazi "shadow" ministerial and party officials before 1933, and the legislative program dated 6th April 1933, first published by the late Israeli scholar Shaul Esh in 1963, summarize the consensus among the several strains of anti-Semitism in Germany.

The administrative travail from whose strained intra-governmental and intra-party quarrels the over 400 anti-Jewish *Reich* laws and decrees were born, reflect, in part, the disintegration of the *völkisch*-centrist consensus of 1933. These administrative quarrels — which do not indicate opposition to anti-Semitism or philo-Semitic trends within the ministerial bureaucracy — explain changes in policy only to a limited degree, and derive from several sources. They originate, for one, in the "institutionelle Bewahrungspolitik" typical of polycentric administrative patterns. They originate also with the differences among the Nazi coalition in granting priority to

anti-Semitism as contrasted with such priorities as domestic economic recovery, foreign trade, and international relations. They denote differences in form, and contrasts between, the "bekoved anti-Semitism" (Hebrew for "honorable", an ironic folk-term used in Germany) of conservative moderates, and the vulgarities of the violence and murder squads among Nazi extreme radicals. In sum, they reflect unstable balances between the members of the government coalition of 1933.

The influence of non-Nazi power centers on anti-Semitic policy diminished in step with their general loss of influence (denoted by the Röhm affair of 30th June 1934, the assumption of the president's office by Hitler on 2nd August 1935, and the Nazification of the military high command and the foreign office leadership). The dismissal of Hjalmar Schacht as economics minister in 1937, and the rise of Security Service (S.D.), Gestapo and R.S.H.A. were the most influential components of these shifts in power for Jews in Germany.

A summary review of the policy background of the periodization introducing this chapter will substantiate these general observations.

In 1933, the first phase, numerous anti-Jewish terror attacks accompanied legislative exclusions or restrictions imposed on Jews in the professions, the civil service, universities or other public positions. Terror against Jews was far exceeded by the universal violence and terror unleashed against communists, socialists, and other enemies of the régime. Politically, it served to put "revolutionary" pressures on local and state governments and administrations by using or threatening violence unless legal or constitutional changes were effected. The laws incorporating terror-induced changes *ex-post-facto* failed to establish uniform conditions for Jews, since states and localities, courts and education authorities enacted different laws and decrees on Jewish restrictions.

Legislative restrictions, in this situation, were perceived as "normalizations" and "moderate policies" by Jews and ministerial officials alike. That a Jewish agency, the *Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten* (R.j.F.), for the first and only time during the period, succeeded in having a law amended prior to its promulgation indicates the initial fluidity of the Jewish situation. (This fluidity should caution against using Jewish documents of the early period as basis for reconstructing the policy of Jewish communal agencies in Germany for the entire period.) Policy was controlled by, and was part of, domestic political considerations during the *Gleichschaltungs*-period. Whether anti-Jewish terror was initiated or merely used by Hitler to effect the desired changes remains unclear. It was tolerated, defended, or, certainly in the case of the abortive anti-Jewish boycott of 1st April 1933, initiated by Hitler and Goebbels.

Phase II coincided with the Nazi government's decision to use the political gains achieved by the terror phase to ease German economic problems and initiate rearmament. Programs for either area brought an alliance with conservative power centers. Rearmament was to proceed in an orderly fashion, i.e., the military high command was entrusted with reconstructing the armed forces (and a new air-force was to be built up clandestinely) along the lines of military technology. It was to be based on the necessary military and industrial infrastructures. With this program, Hitler and the generals had rejected the

option of a "people's army" proposed by *S.A.-Führer* Ernst Röhm. His opposition to the new army led, one year later, to his and his henchmen's murder, and the political decline of his military-political troopers. In its rearmament drive, the Nazi government had obtained the cooperation of German industry and big business and a representative of big finance, Schacht (a "Christian-conservative" anti-Semite of long standing) was appointed economics minister (2nd August 1934).

Reich-level policy to keep Jews unmolested in the economic sphere originated in this conservative turn. Jewish economic activity was as yet considered vital for German domestic recovery and foreign trade. The Economics Ministry under Schacht, by promoting this policy, acquired the image of a "moderating influence" in intra-government competition with other ministries. It found Hitler's tactical support, i.e., economic consideration and rearmament took priority over Nazi party promises of relief to the *Mittelstand* and attacks on monopolies, trusts, and banking. As a result of the turn to big business and industry, the Nazi *Mittelstand* organisations lost political power and were submerged in the Labor Front. Their disappointment was deflected into sporadic terror acts, widespread local Nazi party pressures and numerous propaganda attacks against Jewish retail business across the country. Effective especially on local levels where Jewish business was highly visible, the *Mittelstand* eliminated Jewish competition, managed to take over Jewish stores at bargain prices, and drove Jews into the bigger cities. Central authorities, including the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Interior, and Economics, attempted to assert "legality" against such wild actions.

The Nuremberg Laws, which placed Jews under *Fremdenrecht*, had fulfilled a traditional program point of the German anti-Semitic tradition. They were by no means a legislative coup sprung by Hitler on unsuspecting *Judenreferenten* in the ministries, as suggested in the literature. Like earlier measures, they were designed to fix in law what the street violence and terror occurring in the spring and summer of 1935 had aimed at, a further step in the radical exclusion of Jews from German life. Their racism linked them with the ideology of Nazi radicals, while their quality as "laws" passed by the *Reichstag* appeased the moderate demands of the Economics Ministry for a "legal solution." That official Jewish declarations supported "law and order" as preferable to street terror reflects this constellation.

Phase IV, 1936—1937, reflected not only the delicate state of foreign affairs reached by German expansionism with the occupation of the demilitarized zone of the Rhineland (March 1936), and by Germany's military unpreparedness against possible Western interventions, but also the propaganda purpose of presenting the image of an orderly, anti-Communist Germany to the world while attention was riveted on the Olympic Games in Garmisch-Partenkirchen and Berlin in 1936. The near-total lack of reaction by Nazidom to the murder of a German *Gauleiter* (Wilhelm Gustloff) in Switzerland in February 1936 must be compared to the violent "reaction" following the murder of vom Rath in November 1938. Intra-government disputes now centered on fine points in the definition of the Jew. In education, the law, medicine, and, especially, the economy, Jewish activities were restricted progressively while major steps were postponed. Gestapo and S.D. began to compete with government and Party agencies for in-

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fluence on Jewish policy, and embraced radical emigration as the openly acknowledged goal of Nazi policy.

The next phase, begun in the autumn of 1937, was linked with major changes in the policies and perceptions of the Nazi government. Domestically, economic preparation for war was intensified as war in Europe entered the practical calculations of the Nazi government. Industry, under this stimulus, approaching limits in its productive capacities, stood to gain from additional allocations of raw material or foreign currency by absorbing Jewish big business, even if the increased cartellization derived from "Aryanizing" Jewish firms met with hostility from the Nazi *Mittelstand*. In foreign trade, the bilateral arrangements entered into with South-eastern Europe, Latin America, and Asia by Schacht had increased Germany's independence from markets controlled by the liberal-democratic industrial nations of the West. The anti-German boycott resulting from persecution could be disregarded. Schacht's dismissal from office (September–November 1937) signalled the first of several major new concentrations of government power in the hands of the Nazi hierarchy (Hitler, Göring, Ribbentrop).

Under such changed conditions, the fixations on the "zerstrender Einfluss" of Jews on morale in the First World War revived: Hitler's Memorandum on the Four-Year Plan (most likely dated August 1936) implied fear of sabotage directed against Germany's intensified rearmament and autarky drive on the part of the Jews, and called for laws providing collective reprisals against all Jews should this contingency arise.

Finally, the events surrounding the *Anschluss* in Austria added another element and changed the condition of Jews in Germany. Austrian atrocities and greed had resulted in a fast takeover of numerous Jewish firms, and had led to the mass exodus of Jews. In 1938, the S.D.'s *Zentralstelle für jüdische Auswanderung* was founded in Vienna to force a mass emigration of the Jewish community. Compared to the Austrian exodus, German emigration figures were low. A memorandum by a *Bankdirektor* in charge of "Aryanization" (Dr. Binder, Dresdner Bank) notes as of 23rd May 1938 that prices for Jewish property were still too high since Jews showed "strong reluctance" to put them on the market. The *Kristallnacht* pogroms of November 1938 thus stand at the end of a planned long-range policy. They offered an immediate occasion for the long-prepared final exclusion of Jews from the last area they were still active in, the German economy.

With the destruction of the Jewish economic position, the semi-independence enjoyed by the community during the first six years of Nazi rule and Nazi policies against Jews sunk to a low priority. Diplomacy and war took the center of the stage. From now on, not policy but police measures shaped persecution. The drafting of Jews for forced labor owed probably as much to the Nazi fear of having to make welfare payments for the Jewish poor as to their desire to humiliate and proletarianize Jews by forcing them to work under degrading conditions. Robbing and despoiling powerless victims needed no policy, and found no opposition within government or party. The rapidly diminishing number of Jews had been brought under the control of unified anti-Jewish policies directed by the R.S.H.A. and its S.D., much as, after the destruction of all Jewish voluntary associations, only one central Jewish agency,

the *Reichsvereinigung der Juden in Deutschland* established 4th July 1939, coordinated what remained of Jewish communal life. In Berlin, the S.D. set down a *Reichszentrale für jüdische Auswanderung* modelled on its Vienna *Zentralstelle* to centralize "all work for Jewish emigration" until the war, the changing age and social structure of the Jewish population, and increased immigration restrictions abroad made their work redundant.

IV

The Jewish émigré of the Nazi period faced not only persecution and defamation in his home country, but also a world whose governments did not welcome the "refugee," as he was soon known, as a temporary or permanent resident. Because the Nazi government, by its violence and brutality, forced a relatively large and prominent group of refugees — political and intellectual opponents of the régime — into exile in the relatively short span of a few months in 1933, the perception of the refugee in Western Europe was forged quickly. That many Jews panicked and fled, without constructive plans for a long siege abroad, created the "refugee problem." Considerable numbers of refugees became wards of their host Jewish communities and received long-range aid from English and, especially, American social agencies. The service for refugees organized by these agencies lasted for twelve years. Whatever their shortcomings and human failings, the achievements of these agencies, not yet fully recorded, are examples of responsible private mutual aid. They were not matched by Catholic or Protestant charities, especially in America. The network of voluntary aid agencies developed for the general refugee community included the agencies created to help the intellectual and the professional refugee. They will be discussed in subsequent sections.

Nazi policy towards its opponents and towards Jews before the Holocaust was designed to render them powerless and remove them from positions of influence. Those considered most dangerous were interned in concentration camps and exposed to the slow or sudden death built into this system. About 800,000 German citizens alone were so interned between 1933 and 1945. Those considered less dangerous were threatened with similar consequences for daring to oppose Nazism. As has been detailed above, Jews were removed in tightening if discontinuous steps from public, then "semi-public" life, finally barred from all economic activity. From the beginning of the Nazi régime, the most vulnerable, marginal, and poor section of the Jewish community — its vast majority — was pushed deeper into poverty. Jewish unemployment in Nazi Germany hovered around 40,000 persons in spite of the decreasing number of Jewish residents in Germany. In 1935, about every eighth person was supported by public welfare. As many as 33% of German Jews received social assistance from Jewish institutions in Germany in one form or another. The destruction of the economic existence of the Jew preceded his physical destruction. Emigration was the only resort open to the weak.

It was the declared goal of the Nazi government to force Jews to leave Germany after they had been deprived of whatever

they possessed. Those able to transfer funds abroad to start a new life suffered heavy losses. They were forced to pay innumerable taxes, duties, and special levies. Where exceptions were agreed upon, as in the transfer of property to Palestine at more favorable rates, they served the goal of speeding up the process of removing Jews from Nazi-ruled countries. Dumping poor Jews in foreign countries was expected to increase anti-Semitism abroad and create "understanding" for Nazi anti-Semitic measures. Under these circumstances, the German government rejected all attempts by Jewish agencies and foreign governments to assist in a "constructive" organization of this international migration. Nazi policy toward its opponents aimed at rendering them impotent, destroying their economic and political existence.

Economic necessity thus became a second major factor in pushing Jews and other opponents of the regime into emigration or flight. Among those affected by the first measures of the régime were the academic community, professionals like lawyers and physicians, students, writers, and artists. Some of these professionals were forced to flee immediately to escape physical harm. Others had accumulated sufficient financial reserves to prepare their emigration and seek positions abroad during a grace period, which lasted until the funds ran out. The majority of persecuted Jews had to leave penniless. Yet, the decision to leave Germany can not be correlated precisely to this progressive economic decline, at least until 1937/38, when the Nazi government prohibited all economic activity. Prior to this final phase, Jews sought refuge in the anonymity of larger German towns, to which they fled from rural and small-town persecution. Many deceived themselves about the policy and durability of the Nazi régime, and misread the determination of the Western world, or of the Soviet Union, to stop the Nazi menace. Jewish social agencies in Germany expected that the increasingly overaged Jewish population in Germany would not be able to find countries willing to accept them. The end of Jewish life in Germany was perceived as a slow fading away of the aged and infirm, a matter of social service, not of emigration policy.

In response to the first group of refugees seeking asylum abroad, the League of Nations debated measures to assist them, and set up a "High Commission for Refugees (Jewish and other) coming from Germany." It achieved some results in easing the legal status of refugees who had been made stateless by the Nazi government's policy of depriving émigrés of German citizenship, and for those who had been unable to secure the established League of Nations passport designed for stateless refugees in the 1920s ("Nansen" passport). International conferences held in the 1930s to "solve" the refugee "problem" revealed the root cause of the League's failure.

The migration emergency created by Nazi persecution occurred at a time when most countries had enacted legislation barring immigration. This restrictionism had historic roots. In the late 19th century, racist moods, combined with nationalist and protectionist interests in the Western world, had led to worldwide restrictionist immigration legislations. The population pressures created by World War I, and the economic dislocations attendant on the world depression gave way to even more stringent admission policies. Immigration policy had become primarily a function of the economic calculations of governments as perceived by forceful political and economic

interests. Thus, when Hitler instituted his program forcing Jews and other opponents of the régime to seek havens abroad, international migration restrictions were at a peak.

The distribution of emigrants of the Nazi period was thus largely determined by the manner in which immigration restrictions were applied under the changing domestic and international pressures of the 1930s and 1940s. The first countries to which the refugees fled, and where political intellectuals were admitted or, at least, not immediately extradited, whether or not they had valid documents (passports, visas) or adequate funds, were Germany's European neighbors: France, Czechoslovakia, Switzerland, Holland and, to some extent, other smaller neutrals. In 1933, up to 77% of all Jewish refugees went to another European country. Percentages fell to 35–40% in 1934, 26–31% in 1935, 20–25% in 1936. Still, in 1937 and the first half of 1938, 25% of all refugees sought security in another European country. In these countries, especially in Czechoslovakia, France, and Switzerland, political and ideological traditions upheld the idea of political asylum against pressures for economic restrictions, fed by large-scale unemployment, hostile (and, in countries like France, openly anti-Semitic) bureaucracies, adverse public opinion or fear of German diplomatic or economic sanctions for harboring enemies of the Nazi régime.

Most European countries, including Great Britain, denied refugees the right to work. As a result, the majority of refugees soon became wards of social agencies or of mutual aid societies, unless they succeeded in maintaining themselves illegally, i.e. working without government permits on the "grey labor market." Thus for most emigrants, European countries of refuge became countries of intermediate settlement, forcing them to seek final settlement overseas. And, when the Nazi war machine overran its Western European neighbors, special rescue efforts had to be organized by American aid agencies, e.g. in France, to spirit out as many artists, intellectuals, and political leaders as resources permitted.

The following Table 3 reflects this migration situation. The number of migrants in European countries can not be established with certainty, since precise figures for the rate of re-emigration are not available. Double counts are included, and the rate of illegal entry, and entry by other than residence permit or permanent immigration visa, especially in the case of France, cannot be set.

The first overseas country to admit Jewish refugees from Germany, Austria, and Czechoslovakia was Palestine, then administered by Great Britain under a mandate of the League of Nations. Faced with the political pressures of conflicting national aims and potentially escalating violence, restrictionism for Jewish immigrants was based on political considerations, but phrased in economic terms ("absorptive capacity of the country"). An agreement between Palestine and Jewish interests and the Reich Finance Ministry concluded in 1933 allowed for improved rates of exchange (currency transfer). It remained in effect, with diminishing results, until September 1939. As a result, 36% of Jewish immigrants from Germany, as compared to 33% workers and agricultural settlers, etc., were of middle-class origin.

The following Table 4 indicates the national origin and year of immigration of Jews to Palestine between 1933 and 1941.

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Table 3: Estimated Numbers of Jewish Refugees from Germany/Austria having entered (ent.) or present (pr.) in Selected European Countries, 1933–1939

Year	Belgium	Czechoslovakia	France
1933		4,000 ent.	8,900–9,500 ent.
1934			10,000–12,000 pr. 2,400–3,000 re-emigrated
1935		800 pr.	9,000 pr. of whom 2,000 illegal residents
1936		6,500 ent. (1933–1936)	
1937			7,000 pr. of whom 2,500 supported
1938	15,000 ent. (1933 to Sept. 1938) 13,300 pr. Nov. 1938 3,000 ent. illegally (Nov./Dec. 1938)	5,000–6,000 pr.	10,000 pr. beginning 1938 13,500 ent. to Dec. 1938–January 1939 25,000 pr., incl. 2,000 Czechoslovaks
1939	25,000 pr. (March) 400 per week illegal entrants (March 1939)		7,500 Baden deportees to Gurs (22nd October 1940)

Year	Netherlands	Great Britain	Italy
1933	3,682 ent.	300–400 per month	
1934	1,200–1,500 returned to Germany, 1933/34 Total 9,000 ent. 1933/34	100 per month	
1935			1,000 pr.
1936		“Several thousand” pr. (8th Sept. 1936)	
1937	600 ent. per month (late 1936)		
1938	11,000 pr. 1933–38 of whom 2,000 on relief 2,000 ent. (elderly relatives of resident immigrants)	11,000 total entry 1933–Sept. 1938 + 400 transit	6,000 pr. 7th Sept. 1938: Italian race laws

Year	Netherlands	Great Britain	Italy
1939	10,000–12,000 pr. Feb. of whom 3,000 supported 7,000–8,000 pr. Sept.	46,458 ent. 1933–Sept. 1939 of whom: aged 1–18 9,028 trainees 1,707 elderly 877 domestics 4,461 at Richborough camp 1,700 residents 28,685	(?) 10,000 left by Sept. 1939

Year	Switzerland
1933	10,000 ent. Bad. Bahnhof Basle, March–Sept. (all kinds, German nationals) 5,000 pr.
1934	
1935	2,000 pr.
1936	
1937	
1938	3,000 ent. from Austria March–April 2,000 ent. illegally (after April 1938) 3,000 ent. from Italy (to Sept. 1938)
1939	2,300 ent. from Austria (July–August 1938) 10,000–12,000 pr. (late 1938/early 1939) 5,000 pr. (Sept. 1939), 300 children ent.

Sources: Y. Bauer, *My Brother's Keeper: A History of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, 1929–1939* (Philadelphia, 1974); R. Fabian, C. Coulmas, *Die deutsche Emigration in Frankreich nach 1933* (Munich, New York, Paris, London, 1978); *Aid to Jews Overseas: Report for 1939*, American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (New York, 1940); C. Ludwig, *Die Flüchtlingspolitik der Schweiz seit 1933 bis zur Gegenwart (1957)* (Berne, 1966); A.J. Sherman, *Island Refuge: Britain and Refugees from the Third Reich 1933–1939* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, California, 1973).

Between 1934 and 1936, more Jews went to Palestine than to any other immigration country.

The United States emerged as the next major immigration

country for German Jews when immigration to Palestine slackened under the impact of British restrictionism, the 1936 Arab unrest, and the change in age of applicants in Germany

Table 4: Immigration to Palestine, 1933–1941

Year	Total immigration	Immigrants from Germany		Immigrants from Austria	Immigrants from Czechoslovakia	Total Central European immigrants	
		No.	%			No.	%
1933	30,300	7,600	25	400	300	8,300	27
1934	42,400	9,800	23	1,000	900	11,700	28
1935	61,900	8,600	14	1,100	1,500	11,200	18
1936	26,700	8,700	29	500	600	9,800	33
1937	10,500	3,700	35	200	200	4,100	39
1938	12,900	4,800	37	2,200	400	7,400	57
1939	16,400	8,500	52	1,700	1,700	11,900	73
1940	4,500	900	20	200	400	1,500	33
1941	3,600	600	18	—	—	600	18
Total	212,200	53,200	25	7,300	6,000	66,500	31
Illegal immigrants 1933–1941	18,100	1,800	10	2,200	5,000	9,000	50
Grand total	230,300	55,000	24	9,500	11,000	75,500	33

Total immigrants from Germany, other than German (mostly of Polish nationality): 6,000, including 500 immigrants originating from the Free City of Danzig.

Sources: Feilchenfeld, Werner, Michaelis, Dolf, and Pinner, Ludwig, *Haavara-Transfer nach Palästina und Einwanderung deutscher Juden 1933–1939* (Tübingen, 1972, p. 90).

which made them inadmissible as workers. In 1937, 38% of all Jewish émigrés from Germany succeeded in obtaining admission to America, which maintained its position as foremost choice through 1940. The outbreak of World War II caused the number of “enemy aliens” admitted to drop sharply. Following World War II, an unknown but probably not insignificant number of former German Jews immigrated as quota immigrants, relatives of residents, or under the Displaced Persons Act of 1948. These immigrants came, in part, from intermediate settlement countries, especially Latin America, Great Britain, and, to a smaller extent, Palestine/Israel.

American immigration policy had been severely restrictive for some time when the migration emergency began in 1933, and may have served as an influence and model for similar policies, e.g. in Latin America. Its principles, as evolved in legislative commissions and congressional acts, reflected nationalist, racist, geographic, religious, and economic motives and prejudices. By an odd coincidence, it favored the immigration of Jews from Germany on geographic principles, since birth in a “Nordic” country like Germany had been rewarded with a larger quota for immigrants than birth in Eastern or Southern Europe. (The German quota was about 25,000 persons per annum.) However, the high unemployment and deep economic depression of the 1930s had motivated the government under President Herbert A. Hoover to raise the economic requirements demanded of potential émigrés. This was done through tightening the so-called LPC-clause of the immigration law of 1917 which prohibited the immigration of persons liable to become a public charge. As a result of these conditions, net emigration from America exceeded immigration between 1932 and 1935 (fiscal years beginning July 1), and was about even in 1936. However, the immigration law did contain provisos that made the United States a potential center of the intellectual emigration: *bona-fide* university teachers could be admitted upon proof that they had been offered teaching positions in colleges or universities. Similar exceptions existed for clergymen and close relatives of residents.

The following Table 5 indicates percentage of “quotas filled” in absolute numbers of Jewish refugees admitted between 1933 and 1941 born in Germany and Austria (from 1938).

Table 5: Percentage of the German-Austrian Quota Fulfilled, and Number of German and Austrian Immigrants Admitted to the United States, 1933–1944

	Total quota	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938
Per cent:	100	5.3	13.7	20.2	24.3	42.1	65.3
Numbers:	27,370	1,450	3,740	5,530	6,650	11,520	17,870
	Total quota	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944
Per cent:	100	95.3	47.7	17.4	4.7	4.8	
Numbers:	27,370	26,080	13,050	4,760	1,290	1,351	

Calculations of absolute numbers prepared by the author, based upon percentages adapted by M. Davie, *Refugees in America: Report of the Committee for the Study of Recent Immigration from Europe* (New York, 1947, p. 29); from G. Krichesky, “Quota Immigration, 1925–1944,” *Immigration and Naturalization Service Monthly Review* (vol. 11, 12, June, 1945, pp. 156–195).

Source: Herbert A. Strauss, “The Immigration and Acculturation of the German Jew in the United States of America,” in *Leo Baeck Institute, Year Book* (no. 16, 1971, p. 68).

This table shows that only in 1939 was the American immigration quota for German and Austrian Jews filled completely. Part of the explanation for this failure to admit the legal number of immigrants earlier lies in the flow of migration described above, and the perception of depression-plagued America held by potential émigrés. The other reason lay with the discouragement of immigration created by the execution of American immigration law under the “Hoover directive” of 1930. Beginning in the mid-1930s and throughout the existence of the Third Reich, a bitter political battle was waged by left and liberal forces to ease immigration restrictions which would have saved lives that were lost to the Holocaust. They fought against a nationalist and xenophobic trend in a public opinion seared by the economic depression and influenced by journals, spokesmen, or organizations representing a.o. anti-Semitic trends in this opinion. Although at least 132,000 Jewish émigrés from Germany and Austria reached safety until 1941/45,

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the policy of maintaining the restrictions of the law (while, to some extent, and too late, easing its execution by consuls and immigration officers) until after the end of World War II has become a target of severely critical scholarship since then. Still, America provided havens not only for oppositional left-wing intellectuals including leading Communists, actors, writers, performing artists, painters, architects, etc., but also for a considerable number of academic scholars and teachers as documented in this volume and discussed below. All told, the U.S.A. accepted the largest number of refugees of the Nazi period, more than any other country.

Restrictionism also prevailed in the dozen or so Latin American countries that admitted refugees from Continental Europe. This restrictionism resulted from political constellations and pressure from economic interest groups. It was further influenced by the closing of the U.S.A. in the 1920s to Eastern European Jewish immigration, since this created immigration pressures on Latin America: Eastern Jews had expected to wait out their time in these countries before being admitted under their quota to the United States, and Latin American governments followed the U.S. lead and closed their frontiers to most immigrants who, they believed, could not be "easily assimilated." However, since Latin American governments, with a few major exceptions, were controlled by warring factions composed of the ruling elites and the military, this restrictionism was applied with considerable inconsistency. Immigration provisions generally favored the wealthy over the poor, and could to some extent be manipulated by financial considerations, or personal and organizational intervention, not only in the issuance of immigration visas, but also in obtaining residence permits for persons arriving as tourists or crossing frontiers from one country to another.

The most stable settlements of German Jews occurred in Brazil and Argentina, both of which, prior to the Nazi emergency, had solid Jewish communities that could support the new immigrants. Their complex domestic policies in the 1930s (described below) allowed enough leeway to attract about 20,000 to 30,000 refugees to Argentina, and 12,000 to 15,000 to Brazil. Jewish immigration to other Latin American countries is summarized by Table 6.

Table 6: Jewish Immigration to Latin America, 1933-1945

Country	Restrictions (dates) on immigration	No. of Jews	No. of immigrants settlement	Main centers of immigrant
Bolivia (3.2 mill. 1940)	Ethnic, Occupational, 5/3/40: Jews barred	100	2,000(to 1938) 6,000(to 1939) 3,400(arr. Apr. to Sept. 1939) 6,000-10,000 (to May 3, 1940)	La Paz Coroico (agricultural colony, failed)
Chile (5 mill. 1950)	No "middlemen" (1933). Government directive to consuls to exclude Jews (1936): religion asked on applications. "1,000s on visitors visas" (1938/39). Immigration stop (1940)	25,000 30,000	200 (1933-36) 1,000 (to 7/38) 2,000 (5-9/39) 4,000-6,000 (total 1940) 12,500(est. total all categories) 70 on S.S. Augustus (28/12/1940)	Santiago de Chile Valparaiso, Chiloc Island (temporary 1940) (agricultural settlement failed)

Table 6: Jewish Immigration to Latin America, 1933-1945 (Continued)

Country	Restrictions (dates) on immigration	No. of Jews	No. of immigrants settlement	Main centers of immigrant
Colombia (11 mill. 1950)	Ethnic (10 (!) persons p.a. of selected categories including Jews). Anti-immigration campaign (1934). Senate directs government to protect industry from Jewish etc. competition (11/1938). Immigration stop (1939)	2,045 (1935) 5,000 (1940) 6,625 (1943)	2,347 (to 1937) 1,400 (1938) 5,000 (to 1940) (plus "non-Aryan" Christians)	Bogota, Cali. Agricultural settlement (failed)
Cuba (5 mill. 1950)	Jews under alien law. Occupational. 50% of employees in commerce and industry to be Cubans (1937). Immigration stop (1940)	8,000 (1925) 12,000 (1952)	197(1933) 1,212 (1933-1935) 7,200 "Ashkenazim") 1,550 (1933-1936) 2,900 (1940) 10,000-12,000 (1933-1944) total, of whom 5,000-6000 German Jews). 1,500 (remaining in 1939)	Havana
Ecuador (2 mill. 1940; 5-mill. 1950)	Occupational; excludes business or retailers, 7/1938 law (not executed) forces Jewish immigrants not in agriculture to leave country. \$400 minimum to be invested in industrial project by immigrant	400 (to 1933)	1,000 (1933-1939) 2,700 (1933-1943) 3,000 (to 1945, of whom 2,500 from Central	60 families on chicken farm (1937, failed). Freeland League scheme (abortive)
Mexico (48 mill. 1970)	Depression-induced new restrictions (1930). Quota by national origin (Constitution of 1937 [e.g. 100 each for Polish or Romanian nationals])	45,000 (1970)	400 (1940) 1,500 (German Jews left in 1967, affiliated)	Mexico City
Paraguay (950,000)	Only agriculturists and some crafts admitted. All restrictions on Jewish immigration, including non-farmers, lifted (Jan. 1936)	1,700	1,000 (to 1940)	Mainly in transit (Asunción)
Peru (6.5 mill. 1940)	"Illiberal." Licences for foreign and naturalized citizens limited to 20% in peddling (1937)	1,500-3000 (1940) 5,000 (1960)	600-2,000 (to 1940) 536 families registered with Jewish welfare (1939) 250 families left (1960s)	Lima

Table 6: Jewish Immigration to Latin America, 1933–1945
(Continued)

Country	Restrictions (dates) on immigration	No. of Jews	No. of immigrants settlement	Main centers of immigrant
Uruguay (2.1 mill. 1933)	Admits relatives; others minimum \$400 cash on arrival	30,000	500 (1933) 1,500 (1932– 1935) 1,262 (1936) 7,000 (total 1940, of whom 3,500 immigrants and 3,500 transients)	Montevideo

Sources: *American Jewish Yearbook* (Philadelphia, 5693–1933; 5700–1940); for Bolivia: *Digest of Information, About the Situation in South American Countries* (January, 1940; mimeographed), no author or provenance; probably from reports to the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. In Blaustein Library, Am. Jewish Committee, New York; Dana G. Munroe, *The Latin American Republics* (New York, 1942, p. 273, 276); *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (vol. 4, cols. 1187–1189); for Chile: *Information Bulletin, Conference on Jewish Relations*, no. 2 “Anti-Jewish Developments in Chile”, (1981, 8 p., mimeographed); *ibid.*; *J.D.C. Report 1941*, by American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee; F. Borchardt and M. Glick, *Chile, report by Messrs. F. Borchardt and M. Glick dated May 15, 1939* (Montevideo, 1939); *ibid.*, Deutsches Auslandsinstitut Collection, National Archives, micro. T 81, roll 336, frame 5061370; National Archives, Washington, D.C.; *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (vol. 5 cols. 464–466); for Colombia: *American Jewish Yearbook* (Philadelphia 5696–1936/37, 5698–1938/39); *J.D.C. Digest, 1940*; G. Neumann, “German Jews in Colombia; a Study in Immigrant Adjustment,” in *Jew Social Studies* (vol. 3, Oct. 1941, p. 189–206); *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (vol. 5, cols. 744–746); Cuba: *J.D.C. Report 1941*; *American Jewish Yearbook* (Philadelphia 5696–1935/36; 5697–1937/38); *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (vol. 5, cols. 1146–1150); for Ecuador: *Digest 1940*; A. Golodetz, *Report on Settlement: The Possibilities of Settlement in Ecuador* (Paris, 1936); *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (vol. 6, cols. 359–362); for Mexico: *American Jewish Yearbook* (Philadelphia, 5696 – 1936/37, 5699 – 1939/40); *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (vol. 11, cols. 1453–1462); for Paraguay: *J.D.C. Digest 1940*; *American Jewish Yearbook* (Philadelphia, 5636 – 1936/37); Deutsches Auslandsinstitut, micro. T-81, roll 336, frame 5061370; loc. cit; for Peru: *American Jewish Yearbook* (Philadelphia 5670–1939/40); *J.D.C. Digest 1940*; *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (vol. 13, cols. 322 – 325) for Uruguay: *J.D.C. Digest, 1940*; *American Jewish Yearbook*, (Philadelphia, 5694 – 1934/35; 5696 – 1936/37); *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (vol. 16, cols. 10 – 16).

However, in evaluating the figures for Argentina, Brazil, and the other Latin American countries, it must be remembered that they are derived partially from highly contradictory estimates offered in the sources, generally including “refugees” from all European countries and Eastern Europe, and containing numerous double counts for tourists or immigrants who left countries of intermediate settlements after arrival and settled elsewhere. As a result, total estimate for Jewish immigration for the period range from as low as 37,000 to as high as 84,000.

Restrictionism also dominated the admission policies for refugees in the major British dominions. South Africa closed its frontiers to Jewish immigration from Germany in early 1937. About 6,000 Jews from Central Europe were admitted for residence during the Nazi period. Canada, equally restrictive, admitted about 4,000 refugees from all countries of continental Europe, while Australia is reported to have admitted up to 7,000 refugees (of all nationalities) between 1935 and 1940, and permitted a number of “enemy aliens” to be shipped there from England in 1940 with the opportunity to obtain residence permits later on. Finally, Shanghai’s international settlement, the only territory to which, initially, Jews were permitted to travel without first obtaining visas or residence permits, harbored about 17,000 refugees (from all countries) for the du-

ration of the war. In 1944, the remaining 14,425 Jewish refugees then under Japanese occupation control remaining from this overaged group included 8,114 German, 3,942 Austrian, 1,248 Polish, and 236 Czech Jews. The settlement disappeared through re-emigration following World War II.

For Austria, the total number of émigrés, as pointed out above, is estimated at between 128,500 (November, 1941) and 149,124 (Nazi sources, emigration as of 1 January 1943). The following table indicates their distribution by countries of final settlement:

Table 7: Areas/Countries of Final Settlement of Austrian-Jewish Refugees, 1938–1945

Continents	Totals
Europe, of which United Kingdom settled 31,000	56,000
United States and Canada	29,000
Latin America	12,000
Asia and Near East, of which Shanghai settled 18,000; of which Palestine settled 9,200	28,000
Australia	2,000
Africa	640
Total	127,640

Source: E. Weinzierl, *Zu wenig Gerechte: Österreicher und Judenverfolgung 1938–1945* (Graz, 1969).

V

Intellectual émigrés of the Nazi period suffered persecution largely because in the vast majority they were Jewish or of Jewish ancestry; the history of anti-Jewish measures and policies was their history. And the history of Nazi persecution of political enemies was also their history. The relatively small group of intellectuals among them (6%) who were not identified by the racist legislation of the Third Reich were persecuted because of their opposition to the Nazi movement prior to Hitler’s appointment. They bore the brunt of Nazi “revolutionary” brutalities immediately after Hitler’s rise to the chancellorship. Scores of political opponents were murdered outright during those first few months of 1933, thousand of others were brought to stormtrooper collection points to be beaten and tortured. Those surviving this treatment were interned in the first concentration camps set up by the régime. Many of these men (there were as yet no camps for women) died after months or years of suffering.

Nazi persecution for racial and political reasons was thus the unifying element among intellectual émigrés. The Third Reich, scholars have established in decades of careful research, was not necessarily totalitarian in its governmental and bureaucratic decision-making. The review of its anti-Jewish policies presented above demonstrates the “polymorphous” character of its administrative practices. The Third Reich *was* totalitarian in establishing total monopolistic control over political life, and it was totalitarian in its persecution of the Jews. Tactical accommodations cannot obscure the planned brutality with which the Third Reich destroyed those it considered its outstanding enemies.

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The legislative measures of the Third Reich affected Jewish professionals and political intellectuals from the very beginning of the régime. On April 7, 1933, barely two months after Hitler's appointment as chancellor, a law still voted on by the entire (mainly conservative-nationalist) cabinet, ludicrously labelled "Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service," ordered the dismissal of a substantial number of Jewish and "politically unreliable" university teachers, members of scholarly academies, and government-directed research agencies. Those exempted from exclusion by virtue of some specified prior national service, e.g. front-line service in World War I, were dismissed following the passage of the Nuremberg Laws of September 16, 1935. Since all German universities and most research and teaching institutes were (and are) state-controlled and -financed, these measures purged the entire German university and research structure of Jews and political opponents.

The records of German universities do not reveal any institutional or public protests against these measures. Nazism had made its first major inroads into university life through elections to student representations in many universities long before 1933. The number of active proponents of radical Nazism among university teachers was relatively small prior to 1933 — but so was the number of active defenders of the republican form of government. More characteristic for Germany's educated middle class, the professionals, and the *Bildungsbürgertum* was a pervasive scholarly and political conservatism. Numerous occupants of major university chairs, like other civil servants, had been carried over into the Weimar Republic from Imperial Germany, and reflected the social and political nationalism of the Imperial establishment. Some became *Vernunftrepublikaner*, e.g. they accepted the republic established after Germany's defeat in World War I as a rational, if unloved necessity, and withdrew from political participation into a non-political professionalism whose political impact they tended to repress. Conservative and nationalist scholarship did not count as political, and this helped to pave the way for the silent acceptance of Nazi policies towards Jews and oppositional (mostly left-wing) colleagues. German nationalism and the appointment policies of university administrations, which had long been dominated by anti-Semitic beliefs and practices contributed further to the failure to stand by their colleagues in their hour of need. The number of Jewish university teachers dismissed in 1933 and 1935 is conservatively estimated at 2,000. However, sources on the actual number of persons dismissed from civil service and university positions by the Third Reich vary widely because of war-caused losses of archives and ambiguities in the personnel records of universities that did not permit a precise separation of persons dismissed under this legislation from persons leaving for other reasons, including retirement. A high estimate places the number of *all* university personnel (all ranks) dismissed by the Third Reich at 3,120, or 28% of all full professors, and 39% of all teaching personnel. Since the U.S.A. was the main recipient of displaced academic personnel during the Nazi period, and immigration statistics for Germany *and* Austria for the years 1933—1945 list only 1,000 educators, 2,352 medical personnel of all kinds, 811 lawyers and jurists, 465 musicians and 296 artists among 7,622 professionals admitted, this figure may serve as an upper-limit estimate only.

Besides the tenured or salaried intellectuals Nazi legislation, or street action, also progressively deprived the free professional of his livelihood. Already in 1933, physicians were barred from serving patients on health insurance rolls, and politically active physicians were persecuted. The total number of Jewish physicians then practicing in Germany is estimated at about 8,000 men and women. Early in 1933, by the same law, judges and civil servants were dismissed. Street actions against lawyers were followed by legal exclusion. The number of Jewish lawyers in Germany in 1933 is estimated at 5,400. About 2,000 lawyers had completed their studies but not the required practical training (*Referendare*). They too were barred from completing their qualification requirements. Jewish artists, too, were affected by the exclusion from civil service. Musical organizations like orchestras and operas, and theaters were generally financed by municipal or state agencies. Thus, the law barring Jews and politically "unreliable" persons from government employment affected artists, too. The census of June 1933 (when numerous oppositional artists had already fled Germany) lists 4,245 Jews as engaged in "cultural and artistic professions." No reliable counts are as yet available for engineers, writers, journalists, and émigrés in other intellectual professions. Artists and writers who had not fled Germany were barred from all activities by being excluded from membership in the several "chambers of culture" through which the Ministry of Propaganda (Joseph Goebbels) undertook to control all cultural life in Germany. None but members could exhibit their work, publish their books, or be employed by musical organizations. The organization of these chambers was concluded by late 1933. For Jewish artists, the Nazi-licensed Jewish "Kulturbund" which was permitted only to perform for Jewish audiences offered some substitute activity, and by 1936, 2,357 artists (of all specializations) were registered with this organization. Its activities declined sharply following the pogroms of November 1938 and the outbreak of World War II.

To date, precise figures for the number of persons dismissed from public service in Austria following the establishment of the authoritarian Christian-Social régime under Chancellor Engelbert Dollfuss in February, 1934 and the invasion by Nazi Germany in March, 1938 appear not to be available. Austrian census reports do not reveal data on the religious breakdowns of the occupational distribution of the population. Since Nazi law was based on "non-Aryan" descent, such breakdowns would be of limited value, since Austria's substantial Social-Democratic intelligentsia included numerous persons of Jewish background but not of the Jewish religion.

The table on page XXV offers a breakdown for persons paying *Kultussteuer* (tax to Jewish religious organizations) in 1935:

According to one estimate, the number of Jewish university teachers in Austria dismissed in March, 1938 was about 400. Half of this number were said to have served at the medical faculties of the Universities of Vienna and Graz, most of the others in the faculties of law, music, chemistry, or art history. In 1936, of 2,163 lawyers 1,345, and of 3,268 physicians about 2,440 were reported to have been Jewish. The relationship of these estimates to the figures offered above, and the relationship of the number of university physicians to the total number of physicians could not be ascertained.

Table 8: *Numbers of Jewish Taxpayers in Austria by Occupational Groups, 1935*

	Number of Jews	Jewish Taxpayers	Number of Taxpayers in Occupational Groups
Austria	191,481	47,782	
Vienna	176,034		
Business			25,000
Workers			15,000
Professions and Artists			4,500
Civil Service			750

Source: *Bericht des Präsidiums und des Vorstandes der Israelitischen Kultusgemeinde Wien über die Tätigkeit in den Jahren 1935/36* (Vienna, 1936).

Figures such as these offer a measure of the extent of the persecution and destruction of the cultural roles of Jews in Germany and Austria. They also suggest that the Jewish group, different from the group of political persecutees, with which, of course it in part overlapped, did not have a common, political or cultural profile. The Jewish religious community, i.e. the members of Jewish congregations as established by law in Germany (the “Gemeinden” or “Kultusgemeinden”), were found at various stages of the acculturation and integration processes characteristic of such communities in industrial societies. Close to 20% of Jews in Germany were recent immigrants, mainly from Eastern Europe, who had generally established a subculture of strong ethnic and national orientation, including use of the Yiddish language. The core of German Jews consisted of a predominantly urban population following commercial pursuits as independents or salaried employees. Their origins had been rural only a generation or two previously. German Jewry was divided into one minor (Reform) and two major (Conservative and Orthodox) branches of religion, but it differed little in the degree to which the cultural influences of a half-century of full legal equality had suppressed the original ethnic culture, and had created variously perceived forms of a “German-Jewish symbiosis.” Since German Jews had been reared for generations in German schools, their political and cultural identity with forms of bourgeois German life and thought appeared secure and, for the vast majority, unquestioned before Hitler rose to power.

This identification with German culture was even stronger among Jews active in universities and research institutes, since appointment to such positions was not uninfluenced by anti-Semitic stereotypes of “Jewish behavior” or “Jewish intellectualism.” Appointments and promotions depended on a candidate’s not conforming to this stereotype. Persons of Jewish descent but not of the Jewish faith, a group that, by Nazi standards, may have numbered as many as 390,000 persons (as compared to the about 400,000 *native-born* German Jews found in Germany in 1933, in addition to about 110,000 *foreign-born* Jews) through intermarriage and a change of religion, had as their only common denominator the fact of being lumped together and being persecuted by the Nazi régime. In every other conceivable way, these Protestant or Catholic Germans shared the attitudes and qualities of their German peers except, probably, the anti-Semitic stereotypes of radical Nazism. Although no religious census is available, by law, on the religion of intellectual immigrants to the U.S., the major

country of refuge, observations suggest that the number of “non-Aryan” Christians or unaffiliated among them was substantial.

This wide band of acculturation situations among Jewish and “non-Aryan” intellectual Nazi persecutees explains sufficiently why only speculative generalizations have been offered so far — and are empirically justified — concerning the intellectual orientations or political persuasions of this group of Jewish and “non-Aryan” professional experts. Their activities and attitudes ranged over the entire spectrum of scholarship and the arts. The impact of being persecuted can not be related to one core response. Persecution was perceived by them in an equally wide range of personal responses. It reflected the entire gamut of acculturation situations, political attitudes, professionally influenced views, socio-political or religious characteristics of a group of experts in industrial society, with the exception of radical-left extremism, which in most universities in Central Europe would have debarred them from appointments, or radical-right extremism which their personal situations made unlikely. A historic evaluation of their lives’ work and attitudes will have to follow the intellectual history lines of their professions. The present *International Biographical Dictionary* offers sufficient concrete information for relevant research designs.

One consequence of the expert professionalism of this group of persecutees was also that the dates of their leaving Germany in many cases can not be directly related to the date of their dismissals from positions, or the progress of Nazi legislation. As suggested in the section describing the biographees included in this volume of the *Biographical Dictionary*, the date of emigration from Germany was more closely related to the pattern of persecution, and the restrictionism that permitted them, or denied them, the right to strike roots abroad. Dismissal remained a necessary, but insufficient cause for the date of emigration. Peaks in the immediate post-1933 and post-November 1938 periods for Germany, post-Anschluss for Austria, and post-invasion for Czechoslovakia, tend to corroborate this function.

This group of persecutees represented the “academic and salaried intellectual migration” in a narrow sense. Its members were established in their professions prior to leaving their homelands, and sought, and in numerous instances succeeded, in finding employment abroad in their chosen occupations. This was not true for a second major group of émigrés who had been forced to flee or emigrate before they had risen to the levels of competence of their elders. Over one fourth of all persons included in this volume (28%) had not yet reached 20 years of age when they crossed the frontiers, 9% were still in primary school or younger, 19% came from the age range of 10–19 years, while another 19% were under thirty years of age upon emigration. Thus, nearly half of the persons documented in this volume (47%) make up a younger generation of émigrés, primarily of Jewish but also of non-Jewish parentage, or of political émigré status.

The emigration of this younger generation of persecutees points to a fact often overlooked in previous documentation and research: the basic social unit of emigration was the family, and the cohesion and mutual support given by relatives to each other was a major factor in its timing and ultimate desti-

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nation. The data suggest an overwhelming role played by family migration for the younger group. Others, however, who left as children were transplanted as groups in the children's transports organized by social agencies to such countries as Palestine (Youth Aliyah) or Great Britain. (Attempts to change U.S. immigration provisions to permit the non-quota admission of Jewish children from Germany failed in the late 1930s due to Congressional resistance.) Some children were sent abroad by affluent parents to attend primary and secondary schools, or colleges and universities. Some young adults went abroad by themselves and succeeded in preparing the emigration of their families subsequently — many other children and young adults failed to establish themselves in time and suffered the loss of their parents in the Holocaust. Young men of military age were inducted into military or labor service units in Western countries like France, or the U.S.A., or served as volunteers in fighting or self-defense units (Palestine). In Great Britain, a substantial number of men and women were interned in mid-1940 ("intern the lot" — Home Office) and selectively transported overseas to Australia or Canada. Later on, many served in British units, while those deported served in military or labor units of Commonwealth countries and frequently stayed on for permanent settlement following World War II. Younger émigrés of all kinds participated in the war against the Third Reich in Allied armies, including the Soviet Army, and were assigned occupation and information duties in occupied Germany and Austria. Following World

War II, émigré veterans, now citizens of their new homelands, benefited from preferences in being granted educational opportunities as veterans, e.g. through the U.S. support program for veterans (the so-called "G.I. Bill-of-Rights"), or used their service-related experiences to enter upon professional, including technical and government, careers.

The presence of a group of this size of younger émigrés in our compilation expands the time dimension in which the history of this migration is to be seen. Emigration caused more than a simple transfer of ideas or skills from Central Europe to other countries. It also involved the transfer of family units in whose environment and, it may be added, through whose substantial sacrifices in time, educational efforts, or funds, the achievements of this generation became possible. Its implications for the analysis of exile and acculturation, the two major dimensions of émigré response to being displaced, are as yet unexplored as are the occupational profiles, the career patterns, or the more subtle influences deriving from the existential and cultural dilemmas characteristic of younger generation immigrants under the several intellectual climates of their settlement countries. Whatever the social and economic opportunities reflected in the development of this group may have been, it continued a pattern of "professionalization" characteristic of Jewish populations and, in parallel processes, the populations and labor forces of post-industrial societies.

The political Exiles: their Policies and their Contribution to Post-War Reconstruction

Werner Röder

I

The National-Socialists persecuted their Jewish victims because of their "racial" origin, that is, independently of their political attitudes, religious creed, or cultural identity. Emigration — the National-Socialist régime's "solution of the Jewish question" during the prewar years — was therefore the only alternative for the entire Jewish population in response to economic repression, social isolation, deprivation of rights, and murder. Different from those of the Jewish emigration were the motives, circumstances, and aims of persons who emigrated for reasons other than anti-Semitism. This group included two main subdivisions. First, political opponents of the N.S.D.A.P. and representatives of the democratic "system" who had to fear persecution, or were exposed to it during the Third Reich because of their political affiliation (and not primarily because of their possible Jewish family background or religion); or those who had decided to continue fighting National-Socialism in exile. Second, there was a group of emigrants who had not been involved in political parties or government, and who did not share the consciousness and cultural patterns of the Jewish population: authors, journalists, artists, and scientists, who feared creative, moral, and intellectual atrophy under the Hitler régime, or had lost their means of livelihood due to National-Socialist *Kulturpolitik*. With the German language as their means of production, or deep roots in the social, cultural, and scientific traditions of their surroundings, this latter group of the émigrés stood between the political exile and the Jewish emigration. It was characterized mainly by a continuing, often occupational concern with German affairs, and, after the war, by re-establishing ties to the home countries, returning to them, or through public activity pertaining to them.

The emigration of the Jewish population and its political, intellectual, and religious elite, which had to a certain extent acquired ethnic consciousness under the pressures of racial persecution, put an end to German-Jewish acculturation. Relations to Germany or Austria were usually seen by this group of Jewish émigrés as a history of suffering. This became a definite trait when, for the majority of Jews and Germans, the inconceivable had become reality — the replacement of the National-Socialist policy of forced emigration by a continental strategy of genocide during the last four years of World War II.

In contrast to the majority of Jewish émigrés, political exiles and many intellectual émigrés identified with the German or Austrian nation, and saw themselves as the valid representatives of their traditions. This claim deserves special attention: it manifested itself in environments which were beyond the

social and psychological influence of National-Socialist power in contrast to those opponents of the régime who stayed behind. Exiles were not constrained to preserve pre-National-Socialist values and ideas, and the enlargement of the political, intellectual, and expressive capabilities through the experience of living in other societies lent an additional quality to their creating a "national history outside of the national borders." After 1945, these experiences promoted modernization in the home countries by intellectual influence from abroad and by personal remigration.

Of special interest to historians are the free German and Austrian "islands abroad" in a period when crucial changes took place on the European continent: the dissolution of the German *Reich*; the population transfer from former Eastern provinces of Germany and from Czechoslovakia; the establishment of an Austrian national state; and the struggle between the Soviet Union and the Western powers for influence in Central Europe. Exiles not only expressed their opinions about these changes and tried to influence this policy early on, but also participated to a considerable extent in shaping the states succeeding the Third Reich.

If we define the German and Austrian political and cultural exile in terms of continuing ties to the home country and of the desire to return to it, in contrast to those who considered their emigration as irreversible, some qualifications are in order. Discontinuities in social consciousness, variations in political aims, and the range of individual motivations and available options preclude a single categorization applicable to the whole period and to all refugees. Emigrés who fled political persecution as active opponents of National-Socialism sooner or later felt themselves to be immigrants, and sought full integration in the host country. On the other hand, many of those who were "racially" persecuted put off the decision to resettle permanently rather than return. Reemigration at the end of the war depended on various personal, economic, and administrative factors, so that failure to return home does not necessarily mean that an émigré broke ties with his country of origin. Furthermore, exiles and Jewish émigrés were linked by similar experience during their emigration, and by the impact of the Third Reich. For heuristic reasons, the juxtaposition, in documentation and analysis, of the two groups will lead to a better understanding of both. On the basis of these methodological considerations, the *Institut für Zeitgeschichte* and the *Research Foundation for Jewish Immigration* have tried to present their lives, emigration histories, and achievements in the form of a common project.

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The joint cause of the “racial,” “political,” and *weltanschauliche* emigration lay in the totalitarian and terrorist character of the N.S.D.A.P., originally a socially and intellectually marginal party, that managed to seize power because particularly German developments and the collapse of the social balance during the worldwide economic crisis reinforced each other.

The National-Socialists introduced a radical form of political violence and emotion into German culture that went beyond conflicts known to other modern Western societies. There are a number of reasons for this phenomenon. The governmental system of Wilhelmian Germany prevented the integration of the organized working class into a parliamentary and constitutional state. The failure of the “bourgeois revolution”, in turn, led the middle classes to misunderstand the emancipatory thrust of the labor movement as part of a common political interest. The foundations and goals of the German *Reich* were not meant to realize *liberté, égalité, fraternité*, but rather, to raise the authoritarian state into a moral category. Instead of facilitating pragmatic alliances between the labor movement and the liberal middle class, political and psychological conditions led to a closed, class-specific ideology of the workers’ organizations based on Marxism. Besides the rhetorical claim to being a revolutionary force in the historically inevitable change from capitalism to a socialist order of the future, their international creed, refusal of any monarchic hierarchy, and their basic laicism questioned directly the fundamental ideological tenets of society. This was far more effective in placing the socialist workers’ movement in the position of a threatening outsider than socio-political or parliamentary actions could have been.

While large parts of the Jewish population during the Wilhelmian era strove for integration into society, the workers’ movement developed an effective counterculture. With their educational and cultural activities, their self-help organizations, their press and publishing houses and with the special modes of expression and behavior which develop in such a uniform community, the workers’ movement assumed a role within society almost as alien to Wilhelmian Germany as that of non-assimilated Jews. Because of their growing membership and representation in parliament, the labor parties and trade unions became the target of ideological and social rejection and caused existential anxieties in the establishment and the lower middle classes. That a relatively large number of politicians and intellectuals of Jewish origin had been functionaries of the labor movement was in part related to both of these groups being social outsiders — aside from a certain affinity between Jewish ethics and socialist reformism: Instead of adapting to the social and religious values of the system in power, “scientific socialism” promised not only civic equality for the future but also a withering of the self-segregating characteristics of historically grown Jewish ethnicity. Ideology and solidarity of the labor movement held out the possibility of becoming fully integrated, even if only in a German counter-culture. In addition, the Social-Democrats offered access to Jews to influential political and parliamentary positions, which were much more difficult to obtain in bourgeois parties.

The trench fighting of World War I, with the various social classes united in a side-by-side struggle for survival, paved the way for the labor movement to identify emotionally with German national interests. The appointment of Social-Demo-

cratic politicians to administrative positions, and their ultimate assumption of governmental responsibility, seemed to point to their integration in the political structure of the Empire. For the leaders of the German Social-Democratic Party, it was precisely this participation in the declining imperial era which prepared them psychologically to hope for the success of the Republic after the war was lost, without effecting true changes in the administrative, legal, military, and educational systems. On the other hand, the patriotic loyalty of the S.P.D. majority to the war effort spurred the growth of a radical left outside as well as within its own party. For nationalists, the anti-war activity of this left opposition and the leading role of the Social-Democrats in replacing monarchic state and national governments led to the belief that the labor movement was mainly responsible for the military defeat and the humiliation of the German nation. This highly emotionalized belief was reinforced even during the years of relative stability of the Weimar Republic: Under the protection of Social-Democratic and Liberal administrations, modernizing trends developed in the arts, literature, and public morality which threatened and provoked the traditionalists although modernization did not extend beyond the cultural centers in the big cities.

The Social-Democrats and the Free Trade Unions, the liberals and most Jews were convinced that the Weimar Republic had created the conditions necessary for social justice, individual freedom, and civic equality. In the eyes of the nationalist and monarchist right, the labor movement, liberalism, and Jewish influence in business, culture, and politics, as much as democratic Weimar symbolized the decline of the German *Staat* and its “natural” order. The racist and anti-Semitic *Völkische* considered communism, Social-Democracy, liberalism, capitalism, and the Weimar Republic to have been brought about by the Jewish spirit and a worldwide Jewish bid for power.

In the elections of July 31, 1932, the N.S.D.A.P. became the largest party in the *Reichstag*, but not necessarily on the strength of its *Weltanschauung*. More decisive factors in this success were the hopes among industrialists for the protection of their economic and socio-political interests; middle and lower class fear of losing status because of the deepening economic crisis and under the impression of a noisy propaganda of Communist organizations; the urge to protest and bring about change among large numbers of unemployed proletarians and intellectuals. Comprising large sectors of the German population, these groups of N.S.D.A.P. voters were not necessarily bound to any political or ideological system. They welcomed the destruction of the Marxist labor movement and the displacement of Jews from influential public and economic positions on grounds of emotional nationalism and traditional anti-Jewish and class prejudices, without, in their majority, desiring or approving the “excesses” anti-Semitism and anti-Socialism would lead to. Equally, most persons, who would be affected directly by a National-Socialist victory — functionaries of organizations wielding influence in the constitutional state and in the Jewish community — had expected, at the worst, that a temporary Hitler government would suspend their organizations for a time, or restrict the economic activities of Jews. They were not prepared for the terror and extreme ideological hatred which the National-Socialists developed after they seized power. The intensity of this hatred corresponded to the historically conditioned National-Socialist

perception of their Jewish, leftist, and liberal-democratic enemies. Their primary aim was not to defeat the internal opponent, but rather to “square accounts” in the tradition of ethnic or religious blood feuds. The socialist labor movement and the Jews represented the *artfremde* (“totally other”) tribal minority, whose usurping rule had to be destroyed once and for all.

The first wave of political emigration from Germany consisted of persons in acute physical danger, namely the *Novemberverbrecher* (“political criminals”). They had been either active in the founding of the Republic, or had been prominent politicians, democratic government officials, or *Kulturbolschewisten* and literary exponents of the left, who had acquired reputations as opponents of National-Socialism. In addition, many rank-and-file Communists, Social-Democrats, and union officials, known to be militant anti-fascists on a local level, now had to fear acts of personal revenge from S.A. gangs in their neighborhoods. In Prussia alone, where as early as February 22, 1933, the S.A. had been commissioned as auxiliary police, close to 30,000 political arrests were registered during March and April. Especially after the *Reichstag* fire, thousands of regionally and locally known activists and members of the political or publicist elite disguised themselves as tourists, and legally or illegally crossed the nearest borders to the Saar Territory, France, Holland, and Belgium, to Denmark, Czechoslovakia, Austria, or Switzerland. Their escape at that time was not organized.

Many of these political exiles — contemporary sources speak of approximately one third of the total — also faced potential anti-Semitic persecution because of their Jewish background; the decisive reason for their flight was, however, their activist political opposition to National-Socialism. The bloody terror taking place in the cellars of the S.A. and in “wild” concentration camps during the months after the so-called *Machtergreifung* illustrate how well-founded the fears of the first wave of refugees had been. 500 to 600 political opponents were murdered during this period by the National-Socialists, and thousands were tortured cruelly. On the other hand, the comparatively larger number of persons getting away with “moderate” treatment — relatively short internment in concentration camps and “only” professional and social discrimination against formerly very active enemies of National-Socialism — demonstrates that the flight to other countries helped to evade the perhaps deadly risks during the “revolutionary” phase of the régime, but as a rule was not the only alternative for survival for its non-Jewish opponents. After their political *Ausschaltung* (elimination), the destruction of their organizations and ideological influence in public and in cultural life, the National-Socialists in most cases were satisfied if a former opponent renounced his ideas, or just abstained from further political engagement. The integration of formerly *marxistisch verhetzter Volksgenossen* (fellow-travelling Marxist Germans) into the national community was a declared goal of the régime. The emigration of political opponents was not in the interest of the new government, in contrast to that of the Jewish population. Border controls were intensified, and temporary visas were required for foreign travel to assist authorities in apprehending refugees. In addition, the National-Socialists believed correctly that their political opponents not only wanted to flee from persecution, but would continue

their activities from the outside. To those non-Jewish political refugees who had refrained from political activities in exile, the Third Reich offered an opportunity to return to Germany — but few accepted. Accordingly, the unorganized emigration during the first months of 1933 differed mainly because of its circumstances, rather than in political background and goals, from the second phase of emigration, which started around the middle of 1933.

The S.A. terror against the organizations of the left, prohibitions to assemble in public and publish periodicals, and the regional repressions by the police, were followed by the *Notverordnung zum Schutze von Volk und Staat* (“Emergency Decree for the Protection of People and State”) of February 28, 1933, which inaugurated a period of semilegality for leftist party organizations and their parliamentary representatives. Then, on March 9, the *Reichstag* mandates of the K.P.D. were annulled, on May 2, the trade unions were dissolved, on June 22, the S.P.D. was outlawed, and on July 14, 1933, totalitarian rule was decreed formally in the *Gesetz gegen die Neubildung von Parteien* (law prohibiting the establishment of new parties). The middle-class parties of the Weimar Republic had dissolved their organizations between June 27 and July 6, 1933.

After the spring of 1933, S.P.D., K.P.D., and the splinter parties of the left sent representatives to neighboring countries to organize activities from abroad in view of the increasing obstacles to their organizational and publishing work in Germany. These centers expanded, and top-party officials who had been persecuted joined them beginning in the summer of 1933. In the end, these transplanted structures assumed the character of exile party directorates after their organizations in the *Reich* were outlawed.

During the third stage of emigration, which lasted far into the war years, the ranks of parties-in-exile were reinforced by members of their home resistance organizations escaping from Germany. The illegal continuation of party and trade union activities there had become the object of prosecution by the police and the courts. Dealing with political opponents had been taken from the S.A. by the *Gestapo* and by special courts. Political offenders, after having served their sentences, were usually threatened with unlimited *Schutzhaft* (“protective custody”) in concentration camps. The terror from below was replaced by the “legal” terror from above. In face of the full impact of a modern police state, resistance in exile and illegal activities within the country depended increasingly upon close cooperation. Organized opposition at home had to rely on communication and coordination, on propaganda material, escape routes, and shelters provided by their friends in exile. The escape or shift abroad of endangered “illegal persons” and the continuation of their political work within the framework of the exile organizations constituted an important part of resistance to the National-Socialist system. The utilization of emigrants as couriers and instructors in the home country served the same purpose.

Representatives of bourgeois politics and oppositional N.S.D.A.P. members also went into exile. This group was comprised mostly of prominent individuals: Liberals, *Christlich-Soziale*, leaders of youth organizations, national conservatives, monarchists, and left nationalists, who all strove to continue fighting against Hitler by means of a variety of

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associations and federations, but more so through their contacts with personalities and political circles abroad. Aside from the escape of a few politically exposed publicists, lay functionaries and theologians, the two Christian churches participated in emigration primarily by transferring their clergy to foreign countries. Besides clerics and members of the religious orders who were threatened by persecution because of their "non-Aryan" origin, quite a few clerics had to go into exile under the guise of regular monastic transfer connected with "criminal" charges against religious orders instigated by the régime, and because of the pressure exerted against religious, research, educational, and missionary institutes. Some of these men and women participated in the political, publicistic, and welfare activities of the German opposition abroad. In Austria, the threat to adherents of the Christian corporate state after the *Anschluss* of 1938 and of racial persecution caused many clerics to escape.

The number of emigrants organized in exile by the Social - Democrats and the trade unions was estimated at 3,500 at the end of 1933; according to the High Commissioner for Refugees of the League of Nations, 55,000 racially persecuted emigrants from Germany, 5,000 to 6,000 Social Democrats, 6,000 to 8,000 Communists and almost 5,000 other political opponents of National-Socialism lived as refugees in foreign countries in 1935. Altogether, the German "political exile" comprised between 16,000 and 19,000 people in 1935. Apart from the approximately 4,000 political refugees from the Saar Territory who escaped after the referendum of January 1935, the growing success of the *Gestapo* in destroying resistance groups had been the primary cause of their increase in the years 1934 to 1935. During the following years, political emigration from Germany decreased due to the decline of organized resistance at home. Young, unmarried party activists with a record of unemployment during the depression years constituted the majority of the Communist and Social-Democratic emigration. For France, the following data on Social-Democratic exiles were compiled by the S.P.D. directorate at the end of 1933:

Table 1: Social-Democratic Refugees in France, 1933

Persons under 20 years of age	ca. 15%	Unskilled workers	ca. 60%
20—30 years	50—60%	Skilled workers	ca. 10%
30—40 years	15—20%	Employees	ca. 10%
over 40 years	10—15%	Professionals	ca. 10%
Women	5—10%	Party and Union officials and persons without professional occupation	ca. 5%
Families	3—4%	Persons of Jewish religion or family background	30—35%

After February 12, 1934, several thousand persons persecuted by the Austrian corporate state joined the political emigrants from Germany. They were activists from the suppressed left-wing parties and the dissolved Free Trade Unions of Austria. Their foreign organizations maintained close contacts with

underground groups at home. Since the Austrian police were far less efficient than the *Gestapo*, their political work was centered primarily in the home country until 1938. The Austrian authoritarian system had to deal not only with the leftists and the outlawed N.S.D.A.P., but was increasingly involved in sharp conflicts with the Third Reich. After the German invasion in 1938, the hatred of the National-Socialists was therefore directed — aside from the Jewish population — against representatives of the corporate state as much as against the former labor parties, with whose members they had, after all, served sentences in Austrian *Anhaltelagern* (concentration camps) and prisons. Thus, the *Anschluss* not only led to a renewed emigration of the former German émigrés who had found refuge in Austria after 1933, and to the flight of an (unknown) number of Austrian Socialist and Communist activists; they were joined by a smaller group of Austrian conservative opponents of National-Socialism. Now, *Christlich-Soziale* and legitimists as well as representatives of the left who had been living in exile since 1934 claimed to be the true exponents of the Austrian resistance against National-Socialism. In their countries of asylum, especially since 1940/41 in Great Britain and the U.S.A., later in Sweden und Latin America, the Austrian exile organizations were divided into three more or less distinct groups: the Communist emigration with its conspiratorial cadre structure and its attempts to form popular fronts; the adherents of the corporate state and legitimist groups which, to varying degrees, accepted the Communist strategy of political alliances; and finally, the Socialist emigration which refused to cooperate with either of the two other groups.

Starting in the fall of 1938, the German-language exile was further enlarged by political refugees from the C.S.R. The political and social difference between the labor movement and the opponents of socialism had been intensified by the ethnic conflicts within Czechoslovakia: Since the end of the twenties, the Sudeten-German Social-Democratic party had tried in vain to cooperate with the Czech government in order to find a socio-political solution to the problems of the German minority. Wide sectors of the German population believed increasingly that the Social-Democrats and other democratic parties had in this way abandoned the vital aims of their own ethnic group. In addition to the stigma of alleged disloyalty to the national cause, the far-reaching support the Sudeten labor movement had given to *Reich*-German exile organizations in the C.S.R. since 1933, made it a special target of persecution for the *Gestapo*. When the Sudeten area was surrendered to the *Reich* in the fall of 1938, nearly 30,000 Germans fearing political persecution fled to the unoccupied parts of Czechoslovakia. 4,000 to 5,000 Social-Democrats, about 1,500 Communists, about 150 members and functionaries of the *Deutsch-Demokratische Freiheitspartei* (German Democratic Liberty Party) and about 25,000 Jews succeeded in emigrating to foreign countries. The Sudeten-Germans were thus the largest contingent of political émigrés from Czechoslovakia. Thousands who had not been able to emigrate fell into the hands of the *Gestapo* after the establishment of the Protectorate, or after having been previously returned to their native towns by Czech officials — thus, in fact, handed over to the National-Socialists. With the establishment of the Czech exile government, Paris, later London, were the main centers of the Sudeten-German exile politics. Strong Sudeten-German Social-Democratic groups established themselves in Norway, and,

after the beginning of the war, in Sweden. The Communist leaders emigrated to the U.S.S.R. where the executive committees of the other Communist exile parties had already settled. In contrast to German and Austrian émigrés after 1933/34, the Sudeten groups had neither time nor politico-geographic opportunities to establish contact with opposition groups in their region. Their escape was part of a development that soon threatened the entire European exile.

Until shortly before the war, about 30,000 people had left Germany, Austria, and the German-language regions of Czechoslovakia for political reasons. A majority of these émigrés identified with exile politics for a longer or shorter period, and felt committed to fight National-Socialism.

II

The majority of Jewish émigrés chose to migrate overseas to settle there permanently. Most of the political refugees re-

mained in states adjoining the *Reich*. They participated closely in the developments of, and maintained contacts with, opposition groups at home, which became an important element in the self-perceptions of the exiled parties and groups. They saw the democracies of Europe as actual or potential allies against the Third Reich, and as the true centers of international affairs. Writers, publicists, and journalists found their small publics-in-exile enlarged by readers in German-language areas of Europe, where the cultural climate was more familiar than anywhere else. Also, the majority of political refugees, i.e. the rank and file of the labor parties and unions, usually lacked the means, connections, and experience necessary for escaping the depressing social circumstances of the life in exile by emigrating overseas. Above all, they hoped, at least during the first years of exile, for an imminent collapse of the Hitler régime.

Before the war, the main centers of exile were France and Czechoslovakia. At the end of 1933, nearly 30,000 of the 65,000

Table 2: Major German and Austrian Parties-in-Exile, 1933–1945

Name of Party	Memberships and election returns prior to suppression, membership in exile (approx. numbers)	Location of headquarters in exile	Principal party newspapers and periodicals published in exile (U = mainly for underground dissemination; C = highest circulation in approx. numbers) *)
S.P.D. — Social-Democratic Party of Germany	1 mill. 7,2 mill. 6,000	Prague — Paris — London	<i>Sozialistische Aktion</i> (Karlsbad/C.S.R., 1933–1938) (U) (C: 25,000); <i>Neuer Vorwärts</i> (Karlsbad, Paris, 1933–1940) (C: 10,000); <i>Deutschland-Berichte der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands</i> (Prague, Paris, 1934–1940) (C: 450); <i>Zeitschrift für Sozialismus</i> (Karlsbad, 1933–1936) (C: 1,000); <i>Sozialistische Mitteilungen</i> (London, 1940–1948) (C: 450)
K.P.D. — Communist Party of Germany	300,000 5,9 mill. 8,000	Paris — Moscow	<i>Die Rote Fahne</i> (Saar Territory, C.S.R., Belgium, Netherlands) 1935–1939) (U) (C: 60,000); <i>Der Gegen-Angriff</i> (cont. as <i>Deutsche Volkszeitung</i> (Prague, Paris, Basel/Switz., Copenhagen, 1933–1937) (C: 10,000 and 25,000); <i>A.I.Z. Arbeiter-Illustrierte-Zeitung</i> (cont. as <i>V.I. Die Volkes-Illustrierte</i>) (Prague, Strasbourg/Fr., 1933–1939) (C: 12,000); <i>Die Internationale</i> (Prague, Paris, 1933–1939)
D.S.A.P. — German Social-Democratic Workers' Party in the Czechoslovak Republic/ T.G. — Association of Sudeten-German Social-Democrats	80,000 300,000 5,000	London	<i>Der Sozialdemokrat</i> (London, 1940–1972); <i>Freundschaft</i> (London, 1941)
K.P.Tsch. (Deutsche Sektion)—Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (German membership)	13,000 (?) (total vote: 850,000) 1,500	Moscow	<i>Einheit</i> (London, 1940–1945)
S.D.A.P. — Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Austria/ R.S.Ö. — Revolutionary Socialists of Austria	650,000 1,5 mill. (?)	Brünn — Paris — New York and London	<i>Arbeiter-Zeitung</i> (Brünn/C.S.R. 1934–1938) (U) (C: 53,000); <i>Der (sozialistische) Kampf</i> (Prague, Paris, 1934–1940) (C: 2,000); <i>London Information of the Austrian Socialists in Great Britain</i> (London, 1941–1946); <i>Austrian Labor Information</i> (New York, 1942–1945).
K.P.Ö. — Communist Party of Austria	7,000 20,000 (?)	Prague — Paris — Moscow	<i>Weg und Ziel</i> (Prague, 1936–1938)

*) Without numerous papers and periodicals published by individual party members, by regional or local party groups and fellow-travelling organizations, and without the German-language press published by the Comintern and the Soviet government.

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German emigrants lived in France. The size of this colony seems to have remained relatively constant during the years that followed — after having increased to about 35,000 in 1935 by refugees from the Saar. It may be assumed that between 7,000 and 10,000 German emigrants had come to France as political refugees. This corresponds in number to the 18,500 Jewish emigrants to France registered by the *Reichsvertretung der Juden in Deutschland*. Paris became the intellectual, cultural, and political center of the German opposition to Hitler. It was a microcosm of organizations, groups, associations, and discussion circles, in which writers and left-leaning bourgeois publicists of high standing exerted a major influence. However, the strongest political power was the K.P.D. which for several years maintained its headquarters in Paris. Approximately half of all German Communist émigrés lived in France during the mid-thirties.

Czechoslovakia had become the center of German Social-Democratic resistance abroad after the S.P.D. leaders settled in Prague in June 1933, and the *Auslandsvertretung der deutschen Gewerkschaften* (Foreign Representation of German Trade Unions) was founded in Komotau in June 1935. The borders shared by the C.S.R. and the *Reich* followed a complex pattern that made illegal crossing easy. In addition, the solidarity of the Sudeten-German labor movement offered very advantageous conditions for secret contacts with Germany. Between 1934 and 1938, Czechoslovakia was the only neighboring state which offered the Austrian left political possibilities for illegal activities in the home country. In May 1933, the central committee of the K.P.Ö. was established in Prague; in February 1934, the *Auslandsbüro österreichischer Sozialdemokraten* (Foreign Bureau of Austrian Social-Democrats) was founded in Brünn. Although as many as 20,000 refugees may have found their first asylum in the C.S.R., the country did not attract larger numbers of Jewish émigrés: many of those who came re-emigrated to other countries. Until 1938, probably less than 3,000 Jewish émigrés and about 1,500 political refugees had lived in Czechoslovakia for an extended period of time. The functionaries of the labor movement who had fled across the border from central Germany, Silesia, Bavaria, and Austria to the C.S.R. lent exile activities there a distinctly political character in comparison to the predominantly cultural scene in France.

Although government authorities in France and Czechoslovakia tried, as did those of other European countries of refuge, to enforce their laws against the gainful employment of aliens and against an undesirable intervention of aliens in domestic politics, the activities of the exile organizations directed against the National-Socialist régime were generally in line with the interests of the governments in Paris and Prague. As long as the balance of power permitted, diplomatic démarches of the Third Reich against the political activities of German exiles were answered by these governments by referring to the constitutional liberties prevailing in their countries, or by pretending to have no knowledge of clandestine activities organized from their territories by émigrés.

Besides the headquarters they established in France and the C.S.R., parties, groups, and trade unions maintained representations, bureaus, and frontier stations in almost all other states bordering on Germany and, until 1935, in the Saar Territory administered by the League of Nations. The latter was, how-

ever, only a provisional asylum. Between March 1933 and spring 1934 it was the first station in the flight of about 37,000 emigrants. 5,000 to 6,000 persons stayed there temporarily, among them probably 1,500 political refugees. Many participated actively in the campaign against the return of the Territory to National-Socialist Germany under the slogan "Beat Hitler at the Saar." Together with opponents from the Saar Socialist, Communist, and Christian groups, these refugees moved on to France after the referendum of January 1935.

Austria also was only a transitional country for emigrants. It lost much of its attraction for members of leftist groups in February, 1934, when the constitutional government was overthrown; apart from the nearly 2,500 Jewish emigrants from Germany, only Catholic conservative exiles struck some roots and found official recognition there under the corporate régime.

The Soviet Union, partly in contravention of article 12 of its own Constitution of 1925 (which assured asylum to all foreigners who were "subject to persecution due to their activity in the service of the revolutionary liberation movement"), admitted emigrants from National-Socialist-controlled Europe only with great reluctance. The fact that between 1933 and 1941, only 17 German Jews had been registered by the *Reichsvertretung* as emigrants to Russia might be due to the quite obvious lack of attraction the U.S.S.R. held as an immigrant country. Still, after 1938, only about 1,000 persecuted Jews from Austria were granted asylum in the Soviet Union, a comparatively small number in view of increasingly limited possibilities for escape. Soviet admission policy was equally restrictive regarding emigrants from the lower ranks of the Communist parties. One prerequisite for an entrance permit was "the threat of death sentence or very long imprisonment, or the danger of immediate extradition, with the Soviet Union the very last possibility for granting asylum." The "fatherland of all workers" was thus not an open country of refuge, even for leftists. An exception was made for several hundred activists of the Austrian *Republikanischer Schutzbund* to whom the U.S.S.R. ostentatiously offered asylum after February, 1934. Including relatives, they totalled about 1,000 persons. In 1938/39 the U.S.S.R. granted entrance permits to about 200 Communists and their families from Czechoslovakia. The temporary or permanent residence of fellow-travelling intellectuals, writers, and artists was determined by Moscow's propagandistic and cultural self-interests, and required a personal invitation from a Soviet institution. According to Soviet sources, approximately 7,000 anti-fascist Germans and Austrians and members of their families lived in the U.S.S.R. in 1937; this number includes, however, those German industrial specialists who immigrated to the Soviet Union on temporary contracts in the late thirties (approximately 18,000, of whom ca. 12,000 returned to Germany until 1939). So only up to 3,000 German-speaking refugees may have found asylum in the U.S.S.R. after 1933. Most of them had been admitted only after the deterioration of conditions for political work in Western Europe. Stalin's purges claimed a high death toll among this group. From the conclusion of the German-Soviet Pact of 1939 until the invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941, an unknown number of émigrés were delivered directly to the *Gestapo* from N.K.W.D. prisons. They had become victims of internal party strife. Others who had fallen into political

disgrace, or were deeply disappointed by conditions in the U.S.S.R., applied for voluntary repatriation into the *Reich*. After 1945, those who returned home were moved into important positions in the Communist hierarchy, having survived Stalin's purges by toeing the party line, and having proved their loyalty to the Soviet state by fulfilling functions in the party, the Comintern, or propaganda activities during World War II. The struggle for leadership and the ideological conflicts which accompanied the exile continued even after the war. The "purges" of the fifties in the G.D.R. and C.S.S.R. claimed their victims mainly from among former members of the "western emigration."

Spain held a special position among exile countries. After 1936 and during the Civil War, primarily Communist and left-wing Socialist emigrants served as civilians for the republican government, or became members of the International Brigades. Armed resistance against Fascism within an international united front had a special ideological and emotional appeal. It was thus possible for Communist exile organizations to free large numbers of ordinary members from demoralizing emergency conditions and emigrants' "collectives" in their countries of refuge. This was also affected by a situation in which illegal work in the home country had become almost impossible owing to the increasing efficiency of the *Gestapo*. Of the approximately 5,000 German and Austrian members of the International Brigades, close to 2,000 are said to have died in the Civil War. After the defeat of the Republic at the beginning of 1939, the majority of those who had fought in Spain went to France where they were usually interned as soon as they had crossed the border. Some of them eventually established contacts with the Résistance, or Communist underground organizations in Southern France.

Due to the annexation of the Sudetenland in the fall of 1938, and the occupation of the remaining territory of Czechoslovakia in March, 1939, Great Britain and Sweden, two countries where political asylum had until then been marginal, became centers of party emigration in Europe. The London government had applied strict rules to keep the number of refugees from Germany transient and limited. Until 1935, about 2,500, and until November 1938, between 7,000 and 8,000 persons were admitted. Permanent residence permits were granted only in special cases. After the pogroms of the *Reichskristallnacht*, however, and in an public moral response to Britain's share in concluding the Munich Pact, Great Britain admitted refugees whose re-emigration from the U.K. was not assured. By this policy, the government also tried to take pressure off Jewish demands for admission to Palestine. In early 1939, about 16,000 Jewish émigrés and 4,000 political refugees from Germany, Austria and the Sudeten region lived in Britain. As a result of emigration overseas and internment in Australia and Canada, the number of German and Austrian (55,000), and Czech (8,000) émigrés admitted after 1939 was reduced to about 40,000 in 1942, 25,000 in 1943. The number of political refugees from Germany, Austria, and the C.S.R. probably amounted to 5,000 in 1940. England developed into a significant center for exiles primarily through the establishment of the Social-Democratic headquarters-in-exile in London early in 1941, and the presence of representatives of the Sudeten-German labor movement.

Until 1937, only about 1,500 German emigrants had settled in Sweden, which held little attraction because of its economic situation and, especially, because of its anti-alien and particularly anti-Semitic immigration policy. Swedish attitudes remained essentially unchanged even during World War II on account of her neutrality. After 1938, most of the approximately 4,000 émigrés from Germany, Austria, and the Sudeten area sought and succeeded in gaining entry to Sweden only because this was the last possible refuge left to them. In 1943, probably 5,000 German-speaking emigrants, including the refugees from German-occupied Denmark and Norway, lived in Sweden. As many as one third of those were political refugees, and since Swedish culture and society offered very little opportunity for integration, Sweden's exile groups congregated in urban centers in political party organizations with relatively large memberships.

Switzerland also was extremely reluctant to admit refugees for reasons of economic nationalism and fear of foreign penetration, but mainly out of consideration for Swiss foreign trade with Germany. Until 1941, scarcely more than 1,800 Jewish refugees from the *Reich* and barely 3,500 from Austria had been permitted to remain in Switzerland; the number of transients was, of course, much higher. In 1939 close to 3,000 political exiles and about 5,000 Jewish refugees were counted. Altogether, approximately 10,000 German-speaking emigrants resided in Switzerland during the war years. The majority had been granted temporary asylum because they were unable to migrate elsewhere. From 1933, the Swiss Federal Council had prohibited emigrant employment or political activity. Accordingly, the number of emigrants active in exile party politics was limited to a few hundred persons. Until the second half of the thirties, some exile circles had succeeded in making contacts with resistance groups in Southern and South-western Germany. During the war, Switzerland became more important as an exile country: it offered the last possibility for escape into a neighboring country to persons persecuted in the *Reich* or in France, and through cooperation with allied secret service organizations, German and Austrian émigrés in Switzerland managed to re-establish contacts with oppositional circles at home.

The United States did not initially attract the political refugees because of its distance from the European centers of exile politics. With Hitler's increasing threat to Europe, several hundred political refugees, mostly scientists, academics, writers, publicists and a small number of political leaders — particularly from the Social-Democratic and the middle-class parties — turned to the U.S.A. This group was able to meet the requirements for a non-quota visa, or possessed the personal and political connections necessary to secure affidavits and travel costs.

During World War II, several thousand German-speaking political émigrés lived in North and South America. Centers of organized political and journalistic activities developed in Argentina, Bolivia, Chile and, especially, in Mexico. Communists and left Socialists, usually coming via France, were the largest group seeking refuge in Mexico, because this country offered shelter without restrictions to the defeated Spanish Republicans as well as to former members of the International Brigades, and a domestic labor movement granted support to the exile groups.

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Table 3: Geographic Distribution of German and Austrian Political Exiles as Compared with the Distribution of Jewish Emigrés from Germany 1937 and 1941 in the Sequences of Foremost Countries of Refuge (approx. Numbers):

Political exiles		Jewish émigrés 1937		Jewish émigrés 1941	
France (1936)	9,000	Palestine	39,000	U.S.A.	100,000
United Kingdom (1940)	5,000	U.S.A.	26,000	Palestine	55,000
Soviet Union (1941)	3,000	United Kingdom	8,000	Argentina	40,000
Switzerland (1939)	3,000	France	7,000	United Kingdom	32,000
Saar Territory (1934)	1,500	Netherlands	7,000	German Occupied W. Europe and S. France	30,000
Czechoslovakia (1936)	1,500	Italy	6,000	Brazil	20,000
Sweden (1943)	1,500	Belgium	5,000	Chile	10,000

After 1939, conditions in the countries of refuge influenced decisively the further development of the political exile groups: With the approach of the war, the majority of political émigrés living in Europe had to escape from the National-Socialist military juggernaut to a free country if they wanted to survive. Laws concerning the rights of aliens had a far-reaching influence on the nature, extent, and duration of exile political activity. In Great Britain, for example, refugees were enlisted to work for the war effort in different parts of the country, thus reducing their opportunities to participate in metropolitan party affairs. This, however, lent further impetus to the organization of refugees, including the younger generation, in exile labor union groups affiliated with the British T.U.C. In other countries, laws forbidding refugees to work tended to bring party members together in urban centers and to strengthen exile political life. Internment and prohibition of political work, as in Switzerland, thwarted open organizational activities, but led to a personal cohesion of like-minded emigrants, loyalty towards their own past, and readiness for future activity. The political culture in a country of admission, above all, and the existence of a labor movement similar to the one at home which respected the refugee as member of a fraternal party and expected him to continue the fight against Fascism, was an important factor in the maintenance of political identity in exile. Where exiles found opportunities for integration, and where the geographic distance from the home country was too wide, the exiled groups tended to dissolve.

III

During the prewar period, political exile organizations considered their main tasks to be threefold: to support, instruct,

and represent abroad illegal groups at home; to influence public opinion and politics in the country of settlement; and, at least in the large exile parties, to safeguard the social, legal and political interests of fellow exiles as well as to support imprisoned members and their families at home. All exile organizations tried to establish contacts with opposition groups in the homeland. Their common claim of speaking for the German and Austrian resistance was, however, met in reality only as far as the exile organizations of the old labor movement and the left splinter groups were concerned. Social-Democrats, Communists, and Unionists relied on their numerous former members at home, and were helped by fraternal organizations and friendly governments abroad. They also disposed of funds transferred from the treasuries of their now suppressed home organizations and were thus able to maintain a network of underground connections. The splinter groups profited from their pre-1933 experience in conspiracy and their elitist structure, and managed to work successfully with their friends in Germany. With the aid of salaried party members stationed at the borders in the C.S.R., in Denmark, the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, France, and to a lesser degree, in Poland, Austria, and Switzerland, all these groups tried to spread information and propaganda material, or to deliver it to illegal groups for distribution. Couriers and instructors endeavoured to keep in constant contact with resistance circles at home, to establish new organizations there, to ensure the authority of the exiled directorates, and to secure confidential information on political and economic developments.

In contrast to the thesis of a "consistent guidance" of the illegal K.P.D. by its leadership abroad as propagated in Communist historiography, relations between the activities of the underground movements in Germany and the politics-in-exile of the respective party directorates were, however, only of subsidiary character for both sides: Regardless of their actual effectiveness in posing a threat to the security of the régime, the exile groups tried to contribute to resistance at home in the form of illegal organizational and propaganda activities. In this way they hoped to prove that they were still a political force to be reckoned with. Furthermore, organized cadres at home were needed to secure influence immediately after the expected breakdown of the régime. Legitimation through underground activities was an important point of contention in the political and ideological discussions among the parties in exile and their competitive factions and leaders. Press, public opinion, and the fraternal parties abroad tended to judge exile parties and to give them political, propaganda, and financial support relative to their successful connections to oppositional forces at home. On the other hand, the militants in Germany welcomed illegal literature and organizational assistance from abroad as contributions to their underground fight, as long as the strategic concepts of the exiled leaders corresponded with their own evaluations of internal reality. Until June 1936, for instance, more than 1.2 million numbers of the party newspaper, 100,000 pamphlets and over 1.5 million broadsheets and stickers were illegally transported into the *Reich* on behalf of the S.P.D. headquarters in Prague. These quantities were even exceeded by the Communists' attempts towards mass propaganda in Germany.

None of the exile groups tried to hinder the consolidation of the N.S. régime or at least demonstrate their presence through

direct action or sabotage. Although such action had occasionally been discussed, the exile groups refrained from it because they knew that their return to a political future would depend not only on their own party members at home but also, and more importantly, on the majority which had accepted Hitler's rule because they feared anarchy, and would shy away from partisan "counterviolence" even against this violent régime. Instead, most non-Communist groups in exile expected the end of National-Socialist power due to an initiating action of the *Reichswehr* and other traditional forces responsible for the public order, i.e. sectors of the civil service and the churches, backed up by the secretly organized members of the former political parties. They considered the promotion of such a development by clandestine political education, organization, and encouragement, and by an international isolation of the N.S. régime, as the true contribution of exile politics to the fall of the Third Reich. Orthodox Marxist groups hoped that, by the same means, they would accelerate the inevitable social and economic crises of the régime, and prepare the working class for united revolutionary action under their leadership.

The failure of the resistance movements, and the eventual destruction of the Third Reich by military action from the outside, suggest that the activities of political émigré groups were historically irrelevant. Indeed, their methods and means of resistance were no match for a modern totalitarian government. The hopes and expectations of the exiles until shortly before the end of the war and the sacrifices of the resistance groups proved equally illusionary and ineffective. To a large extent, the strategies and actions of this opposition, which paid a high death toll for their futile attempts to counteract the régime at home and from abroad, might appear as results of wrong or ideological judgment, or as casualties of the political aspirations of their leadership. For those involved at the time, however, to continue fighting the régime became a re-affirmation of their identity, and the discharge, in exile, of a political mission. Whether their sacrifices succeeded or failed is not as crucial as their efforts, which deserve to be remembered as part of recent German and Austrian national history.

The "offensive of truth," that is, the propaganda battle against the N.S. régime in foreign countries, was much more successful in damaging the interests of National-Socialism. While the exile organizations viewed it secondary to illegal political work at home, propaganda was indeed their main activity. More than 400 newspapers, magazines, news services, circular letters, and bulletins issued by *Reich* German émigrés have so far been identified. They were only partly geared towards underground circulation, or internal information purposes. The most important periodicals, frequently continuations of Weimar German publications or of reputable political-cultural magazines, reached politicians, government institutions, and editors abroad, in addition to their German-language readers in Czechoslovakia, Poland, Switzerland, the Saar Territory, and Austria. Press services, announcements, speeches, contributions by émigré journalists to the press and radio of their countries of exile, books published by prominent politicians and well-known authors, as well as reports on the experiences of persecuted persons influenced international public opinion on National-Socialist Germany.

The extensive countermeasures taken by the Third Reich prove that it perceived the propaganda activities of political émi-

grés as potentially damaging to its aims. In May 1933, the German government had already begun to register all political émigrés. This led to a detailed data compilation which was kept up-to-date until the end of the war by systematic observation on the part of the German embassies, the N.S.D.A.P. *Auslandsorganisation*, *Gestapo*-agents, and confidential informers. The National-Socialists attempted to infiltrate and corrupt organizations, abduct and murder refugees beyond the German borders, aim propaganda at the émigrés, intervene diplomatically, and have the *Gestapo* collaborate with the police and immigration offices of the countries of asylum, in order to deprive the emigrants of their personal, material, and political basis. The *Gesetz über den Widerruf von Einbürgerungen und über die Aberkennung der deutschen Staatsbürgerschaft* (Law for the Revocation of Naturalizations and the Deprivation of German Citizenship), effective July 14, 1933, provided a special tool in this concerted effort. On the basis of this law, close to 40,000 persons listed by name had their German nationality voided by the spring of 1945. At first, the law was directed exclusively against political opponents who had left Germany. After 1937, more and more Jewish refugees were added to the list of those deprived of German citizenship. Instigated by the *Gestapo* and the German Foreign Office, by April 1939 about 9,000 émigrés thus had lost the relative mobility which a valid German passport would have permitted. In the end, the *11. Verordnung zum Reichsbürgergesetz* (11th enabling decree to the law of Reich-citizenship — the *Nürnberger Gesetze* of September 15, 1935 —) dated November 25, 1941, decreed the expatriation of all Jewish émigrés and deportees.

IV

The activities of the exile groups had been increasingly hindered after 1935/36 by the destruction of organized circles of resisters in Germany. This not only decreased the possibilities for propaganda work in Germany, but rendered reports on the Third Reich by exiles less detailed and authoritative. By 1937, the Prague government began to limit the freedom of movement of political exiles in the C.S.R. because of heavy pressure from Germany. The occupation of Austria and Czechoslovakia and the effect of the *Reichskristallnacht* on German Jews in favor of emigration increased the flow of émigrés to the few countries of asylum remaining free in continental Europe, which were themselves feeling the growing danger of a German take-over. As a result, they restricted the admission and rights of aliens, and limited the mobility of the exile parties. Declining financial resources of non-Communist exile groups coincided with the low point in organized opposition in the *Reich*. The German-Soviet Non-Agression Pact of August 1939 finally paralyzed even Communist exile organizations.

The climax in this crisis of the political emigration between 1938 and 1941 came with the German military offensives in the West. Deportation, internment, and compulsory service in labor battalions of the French army were now added to the prohibition of political activities of aliens and to the dissolution of organizations brought about by the flight of emigrants from Western European capitals, or their emigration overseas. Between 1939 and 1941, 18,000 to 20,000 emigrants were held in more than 100 French internment camps. Families and rela-

tives of the internees, and discharged or escaped refugees gathered in Southern France hoping for a chance to emigrate. During this period, political parties and groups in exile concentrated on measures to obtain entrance permits for threatened members, especially for Great Britain and overseas. In 1940/41, for instance, almost 1,000 Social-Democratic refugees were rescued from France with the support of American trade unions; in 1942, about 500 German and Austrian Socialists remained behind without exit visas. Some émigrés found shelter in hiding, and were able to disguise their true identities permanently, or later joined domestic resistance movements. Despite closed borders and the risk of being expelled after entering illegally, some tried to reach nearby Switzerland; others chose the route to African, Asian, and Latin American ports, frequently with visas of doubtful value, and with the help of obscure shipping agencies. The number of those who died in French internment camps due to inadequate living conditions, who were picked up by the *Gestapo*, or were delivered to the German occupying forces by collaborating Western-European governments will never be known. In the early fifties, approximately 16,000 pre-1945 Jewish refugees still lived in their former countries of asylum on the European continent.

It was only after the German invasion of the Soviet Union and the entry of the United States into the war that a new phase of political activities began. The political centers had shifted since 1938 from Czechoslovakia and France to England, Sweden, and Switzerland, and, for the Communist parties, to the Soviet Union. Small groups and informal circles of party members — often connected to journals or prominent individuals — established themselves in almost all overseas countries. This geographic dispersion posed more than the problem of maintaining connections during wartime; the discouraging political developments, the troubles accompanying an apparently permanent exile, and the tempting integration in host countries also contributed, in a major way, to the decline of membership in exile organizations. They were not totally reduced to being “generals without an army,” but the difficulties of adhering to political aims and cultural values subjected these groups to a selective process which challenged the national identity of each individual. Among the political refugees of Jewish background, members of the Socialist and Communist parties were most capable of maintaining their national ties during this last phase of exile, despite their growing knowledge of National-Socialist genocide.

During World War II, exile parties and groups outside the Soviet Union continued in their attempts to influence public opinion in their settlement countries. Before 1939, providing information on the crimes committed by the Third Reich and the demand for tougher attitudes on the part of the democracies against National-Socialist Germany had been major concerns for the exiles. Now, exiles promoted the image of the “Other Germany,” and emphasized their views of the future post war order in Europe. But their once vital publicity work had been severely limited by changed circumstances: major exile journals and book publishers succeeded in continuing their work only in a few Latin American countries during the war. In general, mimeographed newsletters distributed in small quantities had to serve as party and group publications. Financially, the exile party directorates in England, Scandinavia, and America survived, most often poorly, on the modest

contributions provided by the rank and file and through donations from friendly organizations in the countries of refuge.

Apart from bases in Switzerland and Sweden, where “illegal” actions against the National-Socialist Germany were prosecuted under penal law as breaches of neutrality, effective attacks on the Third Reich were only possible within the framework of Allied war efforts. Thus, individual members and functionaries of exile parties, and a number of intellectuals and political publicists closely connected with them, contributed to the overthrow of the N.S. régime by collaborating in Allied propaganda agencies, advising decision-making authorities on the war, or serving in Allied armies. The official representatives of the democratic parties and the Free Trade Unions in exile requested, however, that the cooperation of their organizations with the Allies be based on some recognition of their political goals, or some degree of autonomy in pursuing exile policies. Since the U.S. administration, the British government, and the Czech exile government fundamentally opposed even a very limited autonomy for German exile organizations in the common fight against Hitler, the possibilities for action were extremely restricted. Only in a few cases were radio scripts, manifestos, drafts, handbills, or information material provided by the exile parties taken over by Allied propaganda agencies. Towards the end of the war, some groups seized the opportunity to employ their own couriers behind the German lines in exchange for cooperating with Allied military intelligence services. There had been isolated plans to set up emigrant units within the allied forces, or even to establish independent “Free German” military units. Like attempts to create an exile government, or form an official representation for the German opposition, they were bound to fail. The only exception were Austrian émigrés. When the Moscow declaration of October 1943 proclaimed the reconstruction of Austria as an Allied war aim, but made Austria’s treatment by the victors dependent on her contributing to her own liberation, five refugee battalions were formed on Communist initiative within the Yugoslav People’s Army of Liberation in Serbia and Slovenia, and recognized as Austrian units on the Allied side. Only one unit saw military action before the war ended.

Even more than previously, dependence upon the Soviet Union determined the behavior of the Communist exile parties during the war. In the period between the German-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact and the invasion of the Soviet Union, the Communists were isolated within the framework of the political emigration, and were seen as tools of the Russian-German alliance in western countries of asylum. Even after 1941, they continued, for the most part, conspiratorial forms of organization, and appeared only rarely in public as a political party. As their main task at that time, they activated welfare and cultural associations and, from 1943 on, tried to recruit political and un-affiliated émigrés in “democratic bloc organizations.” These associations also served as platforms for the propaganda of the Communist exile parties in western countries of settlement. For those among Communist leaders who had established themselves in the U.S.S.R., there seemed indeed to exist the prospect of making their exile policy effective and influential after the end of the “imperialistic phase” of the war in 1941. Emigrés worked for radio and propaganda groups on the front, in the Red Army, in the Soviet administration, and in

agencies of the Comintern, often in important positions. The *Nationalkomitee "Freies Deutschland"* founded in 1943 could be considered the first recognized political representation of the German opposition to Hitler. Later developments proved, however, that the Communist exile parties were used, ultimately, as instruments of Moscow's European policy. When, in 1944, the Soviet Union agreed to dismember the *Reich* and to "transfer" the German populations residing in Central East Europe to Germany, the result was a new and final isolation of the K.P.D. within the spectrum of German exile politics.

V

The discussions, conflicts, and ideological reflections within the political emigration were initially concerned with identifying the reasons for the failure of their own movements at home. With the exception of the Communist parties — which here, too, were tied to the Comintern line and viewed the victory of fascist and "reactionary" forces in Germany and Austria as a further step taken by capitalist society towards its inevitable crisis — the defeat led Socialist and liberal émigrés to self-criticism, especially of their political strategies since World War I, and thus also of the ideological theorems of this period. The immediate results of this were usually a return to left traditions of political thought and demands for radical internal, economic, social, and cultural policies in the future. The respective change of outlook at the foreign leadership level of the old Social-Democratic parties had also been promoted by competitive relations to left opposition groups, who saw their point of view confirmed by the course of history. This initial reaction was soon followed by attempts to reflect upon the developments of the past decade by applying the methods of sociology and the history of ideas to the analysis of Fascism. Consideration of the "objective factors" leading to the rise and victory of Fascism promoted the ideological stabilization of the party leaders and their return to the basic aims and political methods of the time before their flight. Their recognition that the victory of the German dictatorship was mainly a result of the social isolation of their own movement was one of the intermediate results of the historical re-assessment in almost all camps of the exile. Apart from left splinter groups, whose hope for a united party of the working class was finally destroyed only by the German-Soviet Pact, the exile parties began with the idea that their future policy would have to be built on an alliance with strata of society beyond their own traditional clienteles. Impressed by the success of National-Socialism, sectors of the *Reich* German and Sudeten Social-Democracy, for instance, saw an ally in those classes which, like the lower middle class and the peasants, had not or only partly accomplished their economic, social, and psychological integration into modern industrial society and, due to the exclusive class character of the old labor movement, now served as a mass basis for Fascism. They were to be won for a nationally oriented socialism (*Volkssozialismus*) which was to be organized on the line of professional corporations. As a part of this framework, the organized workers would be able to overcome their former positions as outsiders in society.

The majority of political exiles, however, sooner or later came to the conclusion that only through the collaboration of the labor movement with other progressive sections of society could a modern democratic order be realized. In almost all

camps it was assumed that private and state capitalism had once and for all been discredited by the economics and politics of the thirties and the role they had played within the war machinery of the Third Reich. Capitalism was to be replaced by a form of socialist economy which would adjust its production goals to the needs of the consumer majority. Workers and consumers were to be guaranteed a far-reaching economic co-determination by a system of democratic decisions starting on basic local and factory levels. While, at first, the left still meant to realize this goal by means of a new revolutionary class movement, the Social-Democratic leadership saw the future task of their party in convincing the majority of the voters by political education within the framework of a pluralistic society that democratic socialism would serve the best interests of all. They wanted to prevent the re-establishment of a party system based on the exclusive representation of classes and ideologies, which would again prevent a basic democratic consensus of the nation as a whole. Without a doubt, these programs and considerations anticipated important elements of the *Volkspartei* conceptions of the West German parliamentary parties of the postwar period, and the historic compromise between the Austrian Socialists and former supporters of the corporate state. The creation of federated trade unions in Germany and Austria after 1945 was also influenced by these ideas. Whereas the common anticipations of a Socialist economy did not survive the realities of the reconstruction period in the Western zones of occupation, and were succeeded by programs of a modified market economy and of a limited co-determination on an industrial level, the concept of ideological and social pluralism became constituent for the postwar party system in contrast to the Weimar Republic. The reflections of the exiles thus combined the experiences of the opposition at home with the objective processes of modernization which came through the National-Socialist régime's destruction of Wilhelminian social traditions and political milieus.

The theoretical possibility of including the Communists in a democratic alliance first arose after the 7th World Congress of the Comintern in the summer of 1935. Abandoning their previously "ultraleft" course, the Communist parties now demanded a united labor-front and an "anti-fascist popular front" of all opponents of National-Socialism. It soon became apparent, however, that a declaration of liberal and democratic principles on the part of the K.P.D. without renouncing the dictatorship of the proletariat as the ultimate aim would not remove their differences from Social-Democracy. The temporary cooperation between the K.P.D., some middle class and Social-Democratic exile politicians, and representatives of the cultural emigration, for example in Paris within the *Deutsche Volksfront*, failed, because the Communist partners aspired to political control. After 1939, the Communists increasingly restricted their concept of a popular front to seeking an *Einheitspartei aller Werktätigen* (nited party of all workers under Communist dominance), and reduced their factual alliances to cooperation with middle class groups and fellow-travelling dissenters of the socialist parties. Events like Stalin's purges in the U.S.S.R., or the German-Soviet Pact, rendered the socialist exile groups even less prepared to enter any organizational ties or even pragmatic contacts with the Communists. Only with the founding of the *Nationalkomitee "Freies Deutschland"* in Moscow in July 1943 did the Communist concept of an alliance gain new, if temporary, impetus; *Freie deutsche Bewegungen* based on this

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model were set up also in Western countries of exile. Their initial success was influenced strongly by the extensive concessions which Soviet policy on Germany seemed ready to make in response to an effective German resistance movement. In contrast to the harsh plans advanced by the Western Allies for a defeated Germany, the Soviet step created hopes in patriotic exile circles for the territorial and economic survival of the *Reich*. Moscow's actual German policy after 1944, however, destroyed the basis for this coalition, too. After 1945, Communist *Blockpolitik* on the lines of the *Nationalkomitee* and the *Freie deutsche Bewegungen*, which excluded the Social-Democratic parties unwilling to accept "unification" under Communist control, became a central element in Communist strategy in East Germany and the Soviet-dominated countries of Europe.

The ambivalent relations of the German exile towards Allied war aims had already been predicted in theoretical papers prepared by émigrés on the eve of World War II. Besides the Communist definition of the war as an "imperialist war" which, until 1941, had been propagated by Moscow, other political groups also saw the imminent military confrontation between France, Great Britain, and the Third Reich more or less as a traditional conflict of interests between imperialist powers, not only as a "civil war between democracy and dictatorship." It was apparent, however, that the territorial expansion of "Greater Germany" could only be stopped by military intervention of the main European powers. In addition, the effectiveness of the National-Socialist system of persuasion and oppression had convinced the exiles that the uprising of the "Other Germany" could only be brought about by heavy setbacks from outside. As effective resistance in the *Reich* finally seemed impossible under the conditions of war, one hoped, if at all, for a democratic revolt at the time of the last decisive defeat on the battle-field. In line with the motto "For Germany, against Hitler," political exiles had no choice but to support the *military* war aims of the Allies.

Until 1943, i.e. during the period when the Allies still had not yet decided on a political program for Germany, the exile groups recognized in the aims for peace offered by the Labor Party in November 1939, the Atlantic Charter, the declarations issued by Stalin in November 1941 and May 1942, and in Winston Churchill's radio speech of May 21, 1943, provisions for the construction of an independent democratic postwar Germany within a cooperative European community of states. It was important, at the time, that publics, parties, and politicians of the host countries gained confidence in the regenerative forces of the "Other Germany." The battle against the "Vansittartist" thesis of the basically authoritarian, militaristic, imperialist, and inhumane nature of the German people and its collective guilt for the rise and the crimes of National-Socialism therefore became a main concern for the exiles. After the Teheran Conference at the end of 1943, when the consent of the powers to the cession of German territory to Poland became known, and plans for the division of the *Reich* appeared, the non-Communist exile groups tried to oppose these plans for cession of territory, population transfer, deindustrialization and national partition, despite the hopelessness of this endeavour. The futility of exile political actions in foreign countries became apparent. Besides the lack of material means, this was the second, and main reason for the shift

of activities from public programs to internal preparations, from actionism to attentism.

After 1943, the "anti-fascist" period of exile politics was followed by a phase of democratic patriotism, which also saw National-Socialism as its main enemy, but concentrated on the political autonomy, territorial integrity, and economic viability of the postwar German nation state. The main activity of the exile organizations now centered around political, social, and economic plans and programs for an autonomous postwar German republic. They were intended to serve as practical guidelines for the democratic forces at home, and as alternative plans for the Western powers, once the expected failure of their policy had become apparent.

Despite the severe conditions which Washington and London planned to impose on a defeated Germany, for most of the non-Communist groups hope for the future lay in an alliance with the Western democracies. In their opinion, economic and political necessities called for a federation of Central and Western European states, and sooner or later would lead to the integration of postwar Germany on the basis of industrial reconstruction and political partnership. Furthermore, they foresaw that the Western powers would come into conflict with the expansionism of the Soviet Union in Central Europe. Territorial, economic and political measures initially imposed on occupied Germany by the Allies might then be revised in favor of the reconstruction of a free and democratic state within historical borders as a counterweight against Moscow's predominance in Eastern Europe.

For the Austrian émigrés, the national question was settled by an understanding reached in 1943 by the Allies about an independent Austrian postwar republic. Initially, the *Auslandsvertretung der österreichischen Sozialisten* adhered to the principles of the 1918 constitution which proclaimed that *Deutsch-Österreich* was part of the — not yet existing — unified German Republic. Their plans anticipated, at first, the integration of Austria into a revolutionary Germany along ethnic lines (*Gesamtdeutschland*). Until the Moscow Declaration of 1943 it then was hoped that Austria would be incorporated into a socialist European federation which would render national boundaries obsolete. This idea served as a *deus ex machina* not only for the Austrian, but also for *Reich*- and Sudeten-German Socialists who basically welcomed the incorporation of German-speaking territories into the *Reich* as a revision of the Versailles Peace Treaties, but who could not, of course, agree with the means and political effects of German expansion under National-Socialist leadership. For the Austrian Communists as well, incorporating Austria into a Soviet-Germany (*Rätedeutschland*) was a basic point of their program until the second half of the 1930s. By 1937, however, the K.P.Ö. had turned to propagating an historically and culturally evolved Austrian nation distinctly separate from the German nation. On this basis, Communist émigrés were able to define their resistance against the National-Socialist régime as an Austrian national fight for liberation in accordance with the Comintern's concept of anti-fascist strategy. Exiles who were legitimist or adherents of the corporate state differed greatly among themselves about the national question. But they, too, rejected a German annexation and Prussian-Protestant infiltration, and could thus agree to the prospect of an independent Austria. Therefore, after 1943, Austrian exiles, including the

Socialists, also focused their considerations and discussions on the form of a future national state.

For the Sudeten-German exiles, the elaboration of their national interests posed more difficulties. Exiled Social-Democrats and Communists had, at first, rejected the reconstruction of Czechoslovakia without being assured of autonomy for the German minority. During the war years, the Sudeten Social-Democrats who still insisted on guarantees for self-determination had to face a popular front-like coalition of Communists, Social-Democratic oppositionals, and middle class liberals, all of whom cooperated with the Czech government-in-exile. This union broke apart in 1944 because plans for transferring the German minority to Germany were supported by the Communists only. The Social-Democratic majority tried in vain to prevent the displacement of the German population by influencing public and government opinion abroad and attempting to create a Sudeten-German resistance organization in the home country. The expulsion of approximately 10 million ethnic Germans from Czechoslovakia and the Eastern provinces of the *Reich* was equivalent to a second, final displacement of the anti-Hitler refugees from these areas. They remained in their countries of asylum, or settled in the postwar German states and in Austria.

It has been estimated that at most 4% of those who had left the *Reich* for "racial" reasons remigrated to West Germany. The number of politically motivated refugees who returned to their home countries, however, seems to have been significant. Of the 2,150 political emigrants who appear in volume I of this *International Biographical Dictionary* about 280 (13%) had fallen into the hands of the *Gestapo* during illegal missions to Germany, Austria, and Czechoslovakia or, after 1938, in the occupied countries; some of these survived imprisonment and concentration camps. Only about 30 returned voluntarily to the Third Reich, for the most part in 1933/34, or after the occupation of Western Europe. Close to 200 (9%) died abroad before 1945. Nearly 1,000, i.e. 68% of those still living in exile at the end of the war, returned to West and East Germany and to Austria. Of course, the high percentage of returnees in this *Dictionary* cannot be extrapolated to the entire group of political exiles. It permits the assumption, however, that a considerable part of the political exile population had preserved its national identity. In addition, quite a few of those refugees who remained in their countries of emigration have kept or reacquired their former nationalities, and thus became Germans or Austrians living abroad. They contributed extensively to the reestablishment of political, economic, and cultural relations between postwar Germany, Austria, and the countries where they had settled.

In contrast to the speedy repatriation of Communist exiles to Germany with the help of the Soviets, an early return, or the return of groups of political émigrés was prevented by the Western powers as a matter of policy; only some individuals were granted entrance permits. Those whose political attitudes the military governments distrusted had the chance to return to the Federal Republic of Germany only after 1949. In the meantime, a probably not insignificant number of former exiles had despaired of being able to participate in the construction of a new order, while the old bureaucracies and social elites reasserted themselves under Allied military control. Although the German public evinced, at first, a lively and positive inter-

est in the émigrés — as evidenced by the public debate between Walter von Molo, Frank Thiess, and Thomas Mann in 1945 and 1946 — it eventually based its picture of the exile on those former émigrés who served in the military governments, and thus appeared as "victors." Due to the restrictive repatriation practices, the public failed to notice that most of the political emigrants had projected programs which agreed with Allied policy on the military, organizational, and ideological destruction of National-Socialism, but had rejected those points of Allied war and postwar policies towards Germany which were understood by the Germans not as measures to combat the Third Reich but as steps towards the dissolution of the German nation. The official attempts to come to terms with the National-Socialist past (*Vergangenheitsbewältigung*) either in categories of guilt and collective responsibility, or by administrative "de-nazification" procedures, did not meet the perceptions of the realities of the Third Reich held by the majority of contemporary Germans, and thus contributed strongly to a general habit of defense and inhibition instead of a cathartic confrontation with the whole spectrum of the National-Socialist régime, i.e. with its every-day normalcy, its crimes, its victims, and its resisters. Later, the atmosphere of the Cold War intensified public mistrust of any "anti-fascist" engagement against the Third Reich as a potentially subversive Communist activity. The exile experience came to be regarded at least as a dubious detachment from the fate and sufferings of one's own people. Very soon, returnees to West Germany and Austria began to abstain from public reference to their exile in response to the unifying pragmatism in the period of social and economic reconstruction. So, until the mid-sixties, the history of political and cultural emigration and resistance from abroad was almost nonexistent in the literature and general knowledge about the National-Socialist era. The factual extent of re-emigration and participation of former émigrés in the political leadership of West Germany and Austria belonged to the remarkable findings in the course of research work for the *Dictionary*. The representation of returnees in political parties and trade unions, in press, administration, diplomacy, judiciary and education has been documented on a high level of selection mainly by the biographical entries in Volume I.

Table 4: *Leading Political Positions of Former Emigrés in Germany and Austria, 1945–1971*

	West Germany	East Germany	Austria
Members of National and Länder Governments	28	66	11
Members of National Parliaments	57	63	15
Members of Länder Parliaments	102	22*)	10
Members of National Party and Labor Union Directorates	90	80	86
Publishers, Editors-in-Chief, and Directors of Leading Periodicals and of Radio Stations	68	66	34

*) *Länder* dissolved in 1952.

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The important part former émigrés played in the construction of the Federal Republic of Germany and the respective roles of remigrants to East Germany and Austria prove that politics in exile served as a factor of special significance within the continuities and discontinuities of pre-National-Socialist political

culture and postwar Central European history. Developments suggest a direct connection between experiences gained in exile and new party structures, basic political values, economic theories, and orientations in national and foreign policy.

Errata

Introduction, page XLI, last paragraph, line 5
should read:

The so-called *Nürnberger Gesetze* of September 15, 1935

From Weimar to Bonn: The Arts and the Humanities in Exile and Return, 1933—1980

Horst Möller

“Burn me (my books)!”: Oskar Maria Graf protested in the Viennese *Arbeiterzeitung* of May 12, 1933 against his inclusion in a so-called White List of authors of the “New Germany” which, as he stated, could only be a “black list in the world conscience.” This White List had been compiled by the National-Socialists on the occasion of their book-burning of May 10, 1933 on Berlin’s Opernplatz. “After a life devoted to writing I have the right to demand that my books be surrendered to the pure flame of the stake, and not to the bloody hands and the deranged minds of the brown murder gangs. Burn the works of the German spirit! It will be as ineffaceable as your disgrace!” This bitter demand did not remain unheeded. In the main auditorium of Munich University students, in the presence of professors, burned the works of the “Bavarian Balzac,” which the *Reichspropagandaminister* Goebbels had mistakenly left out of his autodafé. This book-burning which destroyed not only literary works of world fame but also numerous scientific and journalistic writings of older and recent date, was a public manifestation of a censure policy that put about 3,000 works on the index of banned books by 1934. Within a few months public libraries were “purged” of writings that were classified as “degenerate” or that were written by authors of Jewish background, or by politically disagreeable persons, which was a priori the case for leftist authors.

In quick steps, the N.S. government had created the “legal” basis for its actions. It resorted to this device every time the use of “spontaneous” popular rage seemed to be an in-appropriate means of terror, as, for instance, in the so-called *Reichskristallnacht* on November 9, 1938. The *Verordnung des Reichspräsidenten zum Schutz von Volk und Staat (Reichstagsbrandverordnung)* (Decree of the *Reichspräsident* for the Protection of People and State) of February 28, 1933 already abrogated the basic rights which the Weimar constitution had guaranteed, and allowed the persecution of political opponents and the restriction of the freedom of the press. The *Verordnung des Reichspräsidenten zur Abwehr heimtückischer Angriffe gegen die Regierung der nationalen Erhebung* (Decree of the *Reichspräsident* for Countering Treacherous Attacks against the Government of the National Revolution) permitted the punishment of critics of the N.S. government or the organizations supporting it (especially the N.S.D.A.P. or its sections) even when a German had committed the “deed” in a foreign country. The so-called *Schriftleitergesetz* (editors’ law) of October 4, 1933 established the guidelines for “collaborating with the N.S. authorities in the programming of the intellectual content of newspapers and political journals edited in the Reich.” In the case of professional journals, the *Reichspropagandaminister* decided,

in agreement with the highest national or “Land” authorities concerned, whether they were to be classified “political” or not. Persons who were “non-Aryan” or were married to a person of “non-Aryan” descent were excluded from being editors from the outset. This regulation alone deprived some of the most renowned publicists of the Weimar Republic of the possibility to work in their profession, among them Georg Bernhard, Theodor Wolff, Carl von Ossietzky, Siegfried Jacobssohn, and Alfred Kerr.

In addition, on the basis of this law, all editors were forced to join a professional organization whose head was appointed by the *Reichspropagandaminister*. From September 22, 1933 on, a *Reichskulturkammer* acted under him with sections for theater, the visual arts, music, radio and the press. Its task was supervision and guidance of cultural policy in the Reich. In addition to the *Reichskulturkammer*, there existed the *Reichsfilmkammer* which had already been founded on July 14, 1933 and was the first public institution of this kind. The fight against “degenerate” culture of every sort had assumed an organizationally tangible form in this way. With the aid of these organizations, a comprehensive supervision of the personnel policies followed by cultural institutions became possible. The *Preussische Akademie der Künste* had already been “purged” of representative artists and writers during the first months of the N.S. state; the greatest writers of the twenties, who belonged to its poetry section, — for instance, Thomas and Heinrich Mann — had been barred and were replaced by representatives of the “new Germany,” without exception authors of a lesser rank.

Already during the first year of the N.S. régime, the *Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums* of April 7, 1933, led to the dismissal of, or refusal to employ, civil servants who were Jewish or classified as politically incriminated, including those who worked in cultural fields as teachers or scientists. The so-called *Nürnberger Gesetze* of September 15, 1933, above all the *Reichsbürgergesetz* and the *Gesetz zum Schutze des deutschen Blutes und der deutschen Ehre* led to further radicalization of anti-Semitic policies. They affected the entire part of the population which was either Jewish or declared as Jewish on biological premises. The public cultural role of these persons, as far as it extended beyond Jewish communal activities, was thus ended. A further series of discriminatory laws and the individual terror of the S.A. against those who were politically or “racially” not in favor, which had already begun before 1933, had either reduced cultural work to a minimum or terminated it altogether for many of those who, in the widest

sense, had been culturally active. The suppression of books, the demagogic criticism of writers, artists and scholars, and the spectacular expatriations of émigrés which occurred soon after their flight from Germany — all these facts must have been an obvious warning already during the first months of the “new Germany” to those who remained. Also those who did not have to feel included in the polemics against “corrosive Jewish asphalt literature” and in whom the régime had an interest — as long as they conformed to its aims — because it wanted to use them as world-renowned representatives of German culture, had to decide — as in the case of Thomas Mann — whether or not they should take the risk and remain in Germany and thereby reject the solidarity with esteemed colleagues and friends who had escaped from imminent danger. “Burn me,” for many reasons, was the motto not only of Oskar Maria Graf. To protest against violations of basic human rights which they considered a pre-condition for any viable cultural life, and to reject the barbarism visible even at this early stage, in addition to direct pressures due to political or “racial” persecution, were the main motives for the departure from the N.S. state also of the cultural emigrants. In numerous cases, several motives can be discerned: The date of emigration could be determined by the variety of these motives or by external factors, such as the “annexation” of Austria by the German Reich in 1938, or the Munich Pact of 1938 and the resulting destruction of Czechoslovakia in 1939, all of which caused a further wave of emigration. Finally, the impending or already existing German military occupation compelled further emigration after the initial emigration had taken place. For these reasons, many European countries were for most emigrants only intermediate stations of their Odyssey. Main centers of German-language exile like France, the Netherlands and Czechoslovakia were starting points for the New World; many did not succeed in getting there because the necessary visas were not granted: Anna Seghers has vividly described Marseilles as a transit center of emigrants. Individual life histories show how oppressive the uncertainty of escaping in time from the Germans or from the collaborating governments was. Walter Benjamin committed suicide in this predicament, and he was only one of many.

No matter how varied the motives for emigration may have been in the individual case, in a wider sense the cultural emigration deserves the rating “political,” as emigration was also an act of resistance against the totalitarian claim to power of the N.S. régime for most of the emigrating scientists, artists and authors. Of course, this statement must not lead to the misunderstanding, that the term “European resistance,” which is frequently encountered in emigrant circles, signifies a well-organized movement, reaching beyond the borders of, or existing in, individual countries and having a uniform objective and homogeneous structure. Although homogeneous points of crystallization for an organized resistance existed, for instance, in the constantly renewed threat of the expanding N.S. régime or the Spanish Civil War in 1936, the cultural emigrants were characterized by individualism and heterogeneity, frequently even by totally contrary attitudes in contrast to the political emigrants, who were organized in separate groups. The reasons for this were not only the different material and professional situations of those concerned, not only their pronounced individuality, but — also without party affiliation — their varied political attitudes. Numerous emigrants fell into

deep social and political disorientation. In this situation, they formed more or less formal circles, which were based, as a rule, on common convictions or old friendships, but were short-lived because of the extreme fluctuations of their membership. The varying degree of success in integrating themselves quickly (though superficially) into the host countries, which frequently accepted the emigrants only reluctantly and often only as transit travellers, reduced the feeling of solidarity. Klaus Mann described this lack of understanding which the emigrants often faced in his autobiography *Der Wendepunkt*, Lion Feuchtwanger the inner tensions besetting the cultural exiles in his novel *Exil*. In fact, contrary to what much secondary literature frequently maintains, no homogeneous German exile literature existed. Nor do other sectors of the cultural emigration show homogeneity in contents. The cultural emigration can only be defined precisely by its common elements: the resistance to the Nazi régime, the danger it represented to the émigrés and the material conditions of existence in exile.

For a definition of the term “cultural emigration” the following constituent factors are relevant, in addition to objectives set by individual emigrants and emigrants’ groups: the contours of German intellectual life after World War I, the cultural situation in the Third Reich and finally, the attempt of the emigrants to present German culture in exile as that of another, better, Germany with the help of writings, proclamations, and organizations of all kinds. This was common to most cultural activities if not in their respective contents at least in form. The positive cultural aim was common to all directions, it pointed back to the years prior to 1933 and at the same time to the time after 1945. The activities of the cultural emigrants took place “facing Germany” and were, at the same time, directed towards the respective host countries. But already at this point, new difficulties for a stringent definition become obvious. The reason for this heterogeneity of the cultural emigrants lies, on the one hand, in the basic structure of Weimar culture, which had been decisively influenced by later emigrants, and, on the other hand, in the contents of the N.S. polemics against this culture.

The reasons for the explosive cultural wealth of the Weimar years can hardly be reduced to a common denominator. Rather, they become more tangible with the aid of formal criteria, the most important of these being the general consciousness of crisis and the revolutionary impetus within the Republic, which has lately been analyzed by John Willet under the title *The New Sobriety. Art and Politics in the Weimar Period 1917–1933*. The general consequence of this culture was the erosion of the middle or, as Hans Sedlmayr puts it, the “loss of the middle.” This consciousness of crisis and the revolutionary elements originated long before World War I. Jacob Burckhardt’s cultural pessimism, the spirit of the *Fin de siècle*, the fascinated prophecy of threatening disaster by Friedrich Nietzsche, early expressionism: these are only a few of the influences. But the increase in, and cumulation of, these tendencies in the twenties was a consequence of the World War, characterized culturally by the development toward extremism. These extremisms professed to be revolutionary in an exclusive manner: the Conservative Revolution on the one hand, the Socialist Revolution on the other. In the view of either directions, the Weimar Republic never had a chance from the beginning, but bore the obvious features of transition and disso-

lution. In both camps, the keen perception of social, political, and ideological problems was joined to the defamation of the republican state and its political institutions. During this process, the new Republic shrank to a merely transitional form of government, no matter how many years it would survive. Past and future crushed it into an episode of insignificance. But the Conservative Revolutionaries were not only agents of restoration: Although their attitude was obviously marked by political reaction, they too strove toward new goals. Whatever the "Third Reich" of Moeller van den Bruck and his partisans may have been meant to look like, it was not meant to be a simple resurrection of the vanished monarchy. The Conservative Revolutionaries recognized, rather, as Carl Schmitt did, the symptoms of the political and constitutional crisis, and, as Oswald Spengler and Ernst Jünger pointed out, the importance of modern technology and the changes of life due to urbanization, and, finally, the fundamental structural social changes as well, which Ernst Jünger described in his novel-essay *Der Arbeiter*. The paradox extended also to the political form of organization of the future: despite all elitist disgust for the recognized mass character of modern society, some of these conservative-revolutionary enemies of the Weimar Republic supported a Caesarism whose plebiscitarian basis Carl Schmitt had recognized. But plebiscitarian Caesarism had nothing to do with the restoration of the Hohenzollern monarchy. It is fruitless to share still today this disastrously erroneous view of German nationalists and some other conservatives. Weimar democracy would hardly have succumbed to the anti-revolutionary and restorative tendencies of the twenties and early thirties alone, although the advocates of these goals belonged to its gravediggers.

And on the other end of the political spectrum? The intellectual left had no better intentions toward the Republic. Perhaps its attacks on the system were more varied in a few points, yet the fact that it failed in the face of the N.S. revolution, whose earliest victim it became, must be conceded. The Weimar Republic offered a home to the intellectual left — despite the embitterment of the latter; the Weimar government treated this opponent well; its rich culture resulted above all from this tolerance. But did the renowned analysts of the Frankfurt Institute for Social Research — who were, after all, a product of capitalist patronage and intellectual open-mindedness — really have a personal reason to fight the political and socio-economic system of Weimar? Did Carl von Ossietzky and Siegfried Jacobsohn really have reason enough to condescendingly mock the Social-Democratic *Reichspräsident* Ebert, or to, as it were, posthumously accuse Otto Wels of opportunism, as described by Hans Mayer in the first volume of his memoirs, *Ein Deutscher auf Widerruf*? It was that same Otto Wels, who, as speaker of the S.P.D. representation, courageously justified his party's refusal to vote for the *Ermächtigungsgesetz* in the German *Reichstag* on March 22, 1933, and thus gave one of the most important, although unsuccessful, speeches in the history of German parliamentary democracy! However this may have been: the University of Frankfurt cooperated with the Institute for Social Research, whose members were almost exclusively leftists, and whose director became concurrently a full university professor. The City University of Cologne, under the auspices of mayor Konrad Adenauer, pursued a liberal appointment policy. For instance, it appointed a Socialist specialist in public law and a representative

of the *Reine Rechtslehre*, Hans Kelsen, from Vienna and, with his support, the juristically ingenious but politically disastrous Carl Schmitt. The later co-creator of the social market economy, Alfred Müller-Armack, together with Helmuth Plessner and the political economist and sociologist, Erwin von Beckerath, held seminars on Marxism: Hans Mayer, who, as *roter Kämpfer* was able to obtain his doctor's degree in Cologne under the Prussian constitutional lawyer and counselor to Adenauer, Fritz Stier-Somlo, has recently described this intellectual life in great detail.

Certainly there is no reason to idealize the appointment policy of Weimar universities — which thwarted the careers of many renowned scholars for political or other reasons that had nothing to do with their professional competence. Too many examples demonstrate to what little extent the universities, as institutions, i.e. professors and students, were a bastion or, at least, a refuge of Weimar democracy. At one point, the rector of the Berlin University even objected to the presence of the Social-Democratic *Reichspräsident* at a festive event! Still, the numerous leftist scholars, authors, artists, writers, and publicists who dominated the capital — although not the universities — had ample opportunities to express their interests. Yet they did not thank the Republic for this, as little as did the adherents of the Conservative Revolution.

For those who still hoped for the Socialist Revolution and frequently held these hopes to be scientific gospel, the state of Weimar was seen as a despicable product of an unfinished revolution and merely transitory. On the other hand, these leftist intellectuals contributed to the founding of modern sociology through their keen analyses of social problems. One need only remember Siegfried Kracauer's essays *Über die Angestellten*, which appeared as a series in the liberal *Frankfurter Zeitung*, Theodor Geiger's analyses of *Die soziale Schichtung des deutschen Volkes*, Siegfried Neumann's analyses of Weimar political parties, Emil Lederer's, Carl Grünberg's and many other sociologists' works on problems of social development, for instance, the *Darstellung des gewerblichen Proletariats* by the liberal Goetz Briefs. No less sharp-witted were the commentaries on, and criticism of, daily politics, which Kurt Tucholsky and others published in Ossietzky's periodical, *Die Weltbühne*, as well as other kinds of diagnoses of the times. Hermann Broch described the "dissolution of values," and Lion Feuchtwanger and Oskar Maria Graf the social breeding ground for National Socialism. The *Politisches Theater* of Erwin Piscator and Bertolt Brecht influenced the opinion of the intellectual community. The high level of daily journalism, for instance of the *Berliner Tageblatt*, the *Vossische Zeitung* and the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, was marked by a liberal spirit, and treated the new Republic with more respect than the sharp-tongued left, but on the whole it can be stated that the Republic had no good press on either side. The politically moderate journals and newspapers without party affiliation, which had either a liberal or Social-Democratic character, or those which were oriented towards political Catholicism, remained in a minority, as did the parties that had founded Weimar democracy in 1919 — S.P.D., Zentrum and D.D.P. — and, since the first election to the *Reichstag* in 1920, remained in the minority.

Peter Gay called his book on the intellectuals of the Weimar Republic *Weimar Culture. The Outsider as Insider*. And,

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indeed, the Weimar state was a republic of outsiders, but in regard to the intellectuals, it was hardly a government-imposed outsider position. Rather, the “new” intellectuals of the left and right did not accept the Republic, and the old cultural elites of the empire usually did not know what to make of the Republic. *Vernunftrepublikaner*, i.e. those who accepted the Republic for mere pragmatic reasons, existed among the scholars, e.g. Friedrich Meinecke, and among authors and artists, e.g. Thomas Mann and Max Liebermann. Certainly this list could be enlarged with well-known names, but how representative was this group for the spirit of the era? This spirit was, generally yet concretely stated, for the most part critical of the times, analyzed society and politics with great intellectual acumen, wanted to be political and yet cared little for the political consequences of its behavior. George Grosz drew the “ruling class” in biting caricatures; *Reichspräsident* Ebert, *Reichsaußenminister* Stresemann — to name only these two pioneers of the Weimar Republic — appeared in the same light as the “pillars of society” of before 1918. John Heartfield depicted upcoming National-Socialism in his photomontages and buried his criticism in his hatred of capitalistic society, of which he considered National-Socialism to be a product. He did not recognize, and did not want to recognize, the difference between the Nazis and the Weimar democrats whom he also fought, until the N.S.-revolution of 1933 made it clear to everyone how the critics had identified and fought enemies and friends alike without differentiating between the two. Intellectualism of this kind was a symptom of the crisis and, at the same time, the most keen-eyed diagnosis of the crisis. In the short time of its existence, the critics of the Republic did not give it enough time. They criticized not as democrats, not with critical sympathy, but with hostility.

Weimar intellectuals, as Walter Laqueur has rightly remarked, were in a certain way unable to carry on a dialogue: Leftist intellectuals took no notice of the intellectuals of the right, and vice versa. The old cultural elites, for their part, did not know how to deal with the revolutionary spirit of this culture. This is also true for the art of those years. They rather knew what to do with Conservative Revolutionaries like Oswald Spengler, but also in this case much leads us to assume that individual catchphrases — like the title of his historical-philosophical main œuvre, *Untergang des Abendlandes*, had more influence than the frequently vague political ideas of the author. On the left as well as on the right wing, there existed such a polarity that no communication took place. Indeed, they ignored one another. There was a circular movement of ideas that always led to renewed cell divisions: The line of demarcation was usually the attitude towards official party communism, the orthodoxy of which the most renowned heads of the intellectual left rejected sooner or later, since it threatened to paralyze their critical thought. By the end of the twenties and the beginning of the thirties more and more humanitarian motives, as well as political and scholarly reasons for the rejection of the K.P.D. were brought forward. The Stalinist show trials of the thirties and the Hitler-Stalin Pact of 1939 brought disillusionment to many. And thus it is revealing that the majority of the cultural emigrants, even those who were leftists, did not emigrate to the U.S.S.R. In regard to the Frankfurt Institute for Social Research, Martin Jay has remarked: “The Marxist and anti-capitalist-oriented Institute, characteristically enough, did not emigrate to the communist Soviet Union,

but to the center of the capitalist world, to New York.” And this at first sight specific observation is true for the general state of affairs. The critical intellectuals were in a strict sense dependent on the crisis-shaken, imperfect, criticizable Republic of Weimar, on its social problems, on its capitalist economic system, even on the colorlessness of its political leadership. The critical faculties of these intellectuals were made keen by this world, they became brilliant in their polemics against the Weimar state beyond justice or truthfulness. Their quality lay in the accuracy of their social criticism, not in constructive politics; the political sphere, as a result of Marx’s model of interpretation, was relatively neglected anyhow, in comparison to the social and the economic spheres. It is not by chance that, neither during emigration nor after 1945, a similar highly developed journalism, which was at the same time politically destructive, could develop. The fatal blow which Goebbels gave to this Weimar brand of journalism was successful not because its protagonists had been driven away, incarcerated, forbidden to work or murdered, but because the N.S. revolution had removed the breeding ground which had nourished this critical potential, the state of Weimar.

In a different way — and in regard to developments after 1945 much more effectively, the N.S. regime removed the Conservative Revolution: This was achieved primarily through the establishment of a radical dictatorship, which fundamentally discredited the similar aims of the Conservative Revolutionaries, and which made visible the devastating effect of such ideas, even if they only appeared identical with National-Socialist rancour and the ideological components of its state. Spengler’s postulate of a master race, which was not based on biological arguments, as that of the National-Socialists, serves as an example. In addition, National-Socialism effected a radical restructuring of the social hierarchy, a social revolution and mobilization of the masses, which ran counter to the elitist thinking of the Conservative Revolution. This social revolution forced the conservatives either to change their thinking, to turn to opportunism, to “inner emigration,” or to actual physical emigration, above all, when they realized the basically inhumane and anti-intellectual character of the régime and its ideology. Therefore, members of the political right, even former National-Socialists, were among the emigrants. At the end of this social revolution, any social basis for the Conservative Revolutionaries had disappeared. In this case, too, N.S. rule had removed the breeding ground of Weimar, from which the rightist intellectuals had drawn their strength.

National-Socialism was also a product of instability, of a fundamental shock and social, political, and moral disorientation, but it was not an intellectual reaction to them, as was the case with the programs promoted by intellectuals of the left and the right. It did not parallel the humane, moral protest that more or less motivated the intellectual left. It was, rather, of a socio-psychological order, thriving on anti-intellectual, anti-bourgeois prejudice and fundamentally questioning the principles of traditional morality. But it shared the contempt for Weimar democracy with the revolutionaries on both sides. It pursued, with anti-Semitic emphasis, anti-capitalism — although in an unreflected, not rationally programmatic, form as is characteristic of the varieties of Marxism. National Socialism was, in a different sense than is usually assumed, the mass movement of a center driven to extremism. In the field of cul-

ture it propagated a taste for simple-minded, harmonizing, "natural" mediocrity. This "völkisch" realism was in certain respects related to the socialist realism of Soviet origin. Apart from this, there existed, however, Hans Grimm's *Volk ohne Raum*, which was characterized by expansionism, or the self-aggrandizement of the monumental "master architecture" — for instance, of the buildings for the Nuremberg party rallies or the plans of Albert Speer for the capital Berlin.

A comparison of the inexpressive nudes by N.S. painters with those of the Weimar period or by exiled artists shows how strongly mediocre taste was liable to agree with the attacks of official N.S. "cultural policy" against "decadent" and "degenerate" art. Those painters who broke new ground in the fields of color and space, like Max Beckmann and Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, were too critical for such "art policy" and taste, too aggressive, too problem-oriented. But it would not necessarily have led to the destruction of Weimar culture or to emigration, if N.S. cultural policy had simply replaced diversity by a mindless simplicity. The fundamental animosity arose, because cause and effect had been confused. The diagnosticians of this crisis were blamed for the crisis of their times, for the shock that went to the roots of bourgeois life and security. It was easy to blame them since their caustic criticism went hand in hand with their wish for the downfall of capitalist society. Without distinction, Communists, Marxists, Social-Democrats, Liberals, and Jews were considered exponents of the Bolshevik revolution. The problems of modernity were comprehended as the political challenge of the Soviet revolution and thus minimized. All those considered enemies were called adherents of Bolshevism. And enemies were fought to their physical destruction. The N.S. régime tried to overcome the uneasiness and dreariness of the modern world with the aid of anti-intellectual and racial prejudice. In their "back to nature" slogan they set the metaphysics of "blood and soil", which offered a "natural identification" for the people, against the "labyrinth of the cities," against urban forms of life, in which art and artificiality were united. Among the "asphalt" authors of this acrimonious, homeless, intellectualism, the Nazis singled out many Jews. They embodied the foreign, the uncanny, which had not grown on native soil, the city against the country: the city which as a rule was the political stronghold of Social-Democrats and Communists, if it was not, for regional and religious reasons, dominated by political Catholicism.

The National-Socialists set the total claim of their resentments and ideology against the liberalism and pluralism of Weimar cultural policies. This total claim to power corresponded to that of the main enemy who was no less totalitarian: the Bolshevik ruling system in Russia, whose supposed exponents were to be destroyed in Germany. The general claim to humanitarianism advanced by leftist intellectuals served, paradoxically, to re-enforce National-Socialist animosity, which consciously employed biological and barbaric accents in their ideological conceptions. Prior to 1933, their language and their practice of terror showed this all too clearly — in an ideological sense, analogies could be found in many adherents of the Conservative Revolution. The basic animosity of National-Socialism toward liberalism, pluralism, and Bolshevism forced many to emigrate, but the structure of intellectual life during the Weimar Republic sketched above also brought about a continuing pluralism among the "cultural" emigrants, with their

numerous ideological shadings, including the intellectual left — not to mention the differences between Catholic, conservative, liberal, social-democratic, and communist emigrants. The relatively short span of time of actual exile, which lasted for fifteen years and, of course, seemed to be long and had severe personal consequences for the survivors, suggests that we should not separate the term "cultural" emigration completely from its history before 1933 and its history after 1945. In so far, "cultural" emigration does not constitute an independent period of cultural history; its establishment and its impact must accordingly be taken into account. On the other hand, "cultural" emigration can neither be separated from the régime which caused it, nor from the conditions they met during their exile, or the possibilities for acculturation in their host countries and the mostly overseas countries where they finally found themselves. This aspect of their history will be analyzed by H. A. Strauss elsewhere in this introduction. We will only marginally touch upon it here.

A few remarks are necessary at this point on the relationship of émigrés towards the N.S. state and those among the cultural elite who did not emigrate. In this context, the question has to be answered to what extent the "cultural" emigration was "Jewish," as N.S. propagandists suggested. The question is important, since there is more to it than National-Socialist defamation. It has left traces in the self-perception of the Jewish "cultural" emigrants, as considerable segments of this group returned to their Jewish tradition only as a result of N.S. threats and the exile that followed. In other words, the consciousness of Jewish cultural identity among these groups was for many Jews not the cause but a consequence of the threat that all of them had to deal with.

The general assertion that among the emigrated cultural elite there were — in comparison to the whole population — a proportionately large number of persons of Jewish background, is indeed true. This statement applies especially to the field of social research which has already been mentioned. It was, indeed, not by chance that Theodor Wiesengrund Adorno was asked to omit the Jewish-sounding part of his name (Wiesengrund) when he joined the Frankfurt Institute for Social Research in New York, because the Institute already had "too many Jewish names." Adorno complied with this wish of the directorate of the Institute, which was by no means anti-Semitic, but itself mainly of Jewish background.

Most of the members of the Institute were also Marxists, although they usually were not actively engaged in party activities. The majority were unorthodox, but orthodox C.P. members also existed among them. Both Jewish background and political conviction have to be considered here. Being Jewish in the sense of being of the Jewish religion was for many members of the Institute not a realistic factor; they were probably — like the Marxists of protestant or Catholic background — frequently atheists. Max Horkheimer's religiosity asserted itself only during his last years. He had grown up in a consciously Jewish home, but during his early and middle years the Jewish religion was not important enough for him to be concerned with his parents' disapproval of his marriage to a non-Jewish wife. Others, for instance Adorno, had either only one Jewish parent, or their ancestors had been integrated into German culture and society long ago. These facts also reduce the possibility to speak of Jewish culture in regard to the German-

speaking cultural elite. This is true especially when socialization is considered as the determining factor. The majority of the members of the Institute for Social Research mentioned here, for example, were influenced by the philosophy of German idealism, above all by Hegel. The philosophers who influenced Horkheimer's thought were, apart from Hegel, primarily Kant to whom he dedicated his dissertation and his habilitation thesis, Schopenhauer, and Marx — that is, only one philosopher, Marx, was of Jewish background, and his polemics against Jews are notorious. The point here is not to analyse who was influenced by whom, but to point out that a large part of the German émigrés of Jewish background mentioned above were influenced by the culture of their home countries just as much as by genuine Jewish traditions. Although these traditions stimulated their thought as well, they were only one factor of their cultural identity.

Those Jewish emigrants of the cultural elite who consciously adhered to their religion and Jewish cultural traditions prior to 1933 or were Zionists like Martin Buber or Gershom Scholem, constituted a special group. Scholem has described his personal discovery of Zionism in the German environment prior to the N.S. dictatorship in two books, *Von Berlin nach Potsdam* and *Walter Benjamin — die Geschichte einer Freundschaft*. Such persons were, without doubt, part of the "cultural" emigration but did not constitute the entire group. The "cultural" emigration, despite its high percentage of people with Jewish or partly Jewish background, was not simply Jewish emigration in the sense of having had a common cultural or national identity, and cannot be considered so in light of what caused so many of them to emigrate. In a biological sense — which, paradoxically, would be in line with the *Nürnberger Gesetze* — we cannot talk of "Jewish culture" in this context anyway.

Nevertheless, the high percentage of émigrés with Jewish background needs to be explained. The explanation has to be sought in two directions: First, in the N.S. threat, and second, in the special direction scientific interests had been pursued by the émigrés. Due to the fanatical anti-Semitism of the N.S. dictatorship, all Jews were sooner or later threatened, especially those who were considered exponents of the hated Weimar Republic, even if they had been opposed to it because of their communist or German-nationalist convictions. This applied even to the Jewish veterans of World War I, who were mostly patriotic and frequently nationalistic as well. But the N.S. politicians in charge of cultural policy did not understand this paradox. In other words: Jews, or those who were declared Jews because of their names or descent were endangered to a much greater degree than those who were classified as belonging to the "Aryan" part of the cultural elite.

Those whom the National-Socialists did not count as "cultural Bolsheviks" were among the least threatened. This was hardly considered a compliment, as the appeal by Oskar Maria Graf at the beginning of this essay shows, but this fact must not lead to the conclusion that only those belonged to the cultural elite who were defamed by the new rulers as "cultural Bolsheviks." Even after 1933 certain sectors of cultural life existed over which the N.S. rulers had little or no influence. Due to these circumstances, and especially due to the acute danger they faced, the percentage of those "cultural" émigrés who were Jews or were declared Jews by the Third Reich was

bound to be larger than the percentage of Jews in the population as a whole.

The second reason for the high percentage of Jewish "cultural" emigrants is harder to define. It remains necessarily speculative as far as it claims to evaluate scholarly and artistic creativity. Two points have to be considered: First, the occupational discrimination against Jews which had lasted for centuries had resulted in a concentration in certain professions, among others in a high percentage of academically trained Jews in intellectual professions. Second, the unequal chances for employment which existed in the German *Reich* until 1918 and which had affected not only Jews but also Catholics and Social-Democrats, had strengthened the trend toward intellectual professions not covered by civil service employment for non-assimilated Jews. In this context, it has to be kept in mind that many intellectuals of Jewish background came from wealthy urban manufacturers' and merchants' families. To break out of this family tradition, which was frequently considered to be specifically Jewish by their social peers, did not necessarily signify social advancement, but it was an escape from a world which was from the start identified as a Jewish ghetto. This experience of life and family history and a latent and at times open anti-Semitism (which was, however, not restricted to Germany) increased the tendency to reflect on the nature of one's own social existence and aroused interest in social problems in general among those whose assimilation had not taken place generations earlier. In other words, it heightened the social sensitivity of those who had had the personal experience that they or their ancestors had belonged to a social minority — especially when they had to fear discrimination. Such effects have to be considered, although a large part of these Jews had been integrated into the upper middle class of society during the 19th and early 20th centuries and had more or less adopted its national and bourgeois systems of rules, i.e. had adopted a German identity.

This interpretation is supported by the autobiographies of numerous members of the cultural elite with Jewish background. It is very plausible but cannot claim sociological validity since its evidence is based on the perception of those who interpreted their own education under the impact of being totally uprooted by the National-Socialist danger. And here lies a possible answer to the question for the identity of German-speaking "cultural" emigration: It certainly had identity patterns, but these patterns were, with one exception, not overarching but competing. These competing identities could be of a religious or political nature, could be based on universal humanitarian ideals as an answer to ultranationalism, and could find their expression in nationalism, as for instance, in Zionism. They frequently had the aim of representing the cultural and humanitarian values of the "other Germany," in contrast to the barbarism of National-Socialism. But for most of the scientists, artists and writers, their rootedness in the German language and culture remained during exile. It is true that to this day some emigrants strictly refuse to use the German language because they see in it the language of Hitler — who really did not master it well — yet the majority of emigrants of Jewish background declined to let the National-Socialists deprive them of the language of Goethe and Heine. For this reason, Horkheimer flatly refused to publish the *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung* in English. English contributions remained the

exception until 1940. But also those authors who viewed the German tradition from which they came more critically, in many respects could not escape from it. Theodor W. Adorno's remark, he did not return to Germany because he loved it, but because his philosophizing was dependent on the German language and because he could therefore only count on reception, resonance and dialogue in Germany, is characteristic. Naturally this statement was true to a greater extent for those sectors of the "cultural emigration," whose productivity was related to language, i.e. philosophy and literature. Of course, there were the exceptions of those who had learned to express themselves in both languages, more in the sciences than in literature. Taking all the above facts into consideration, we can conclude the following: The cultural identity of the émigrés was fractured in many ways, it cannot be clearly identified as "Jewish" or anything else, the common cultural tradition of the German-language countries remains as the single unifying factor, although Weimar had already been characterized by manifold cultural diffractions and competing identities. The backward-looking orientation to German culture on the one hand, and the necessity and frequently also the desire to become acculturated in the host country on the other, a process during which new national identities had to be found, became deciding factors when, at the end of the N.S. dictatorship, the question of return arose. However, this was not only a question of cultural identity, but frequently a question of professional opportunities, of age etc. The question "return — yes or no —" could not only be answered by considering what the émigrés had done during exile. Just as important was the answer to another question: What was cultural life in the N.S. state like? Did there exist anything else besides the government-decreed "*Unkultur*", besides literature more or less strongly influenced by National-Socialism? Finally, what was the attitude of those members of the cultural elite who had remained at home towards the emigrants?

It was doubtless the aim of the N.S. régime to replace the hated Weimar culture with the "*gleichgeschaltete*" N.S. ideology. N.S. policy led logically to the displacement of considerable sections of the cultural elite active after World War I. The damage to German cultural life consisted of the replacement of intellectual brilliance with ideological narrowness and dogmatic triviality. However, despite their claim to wield absolute power, the rulers never did actually have complete control over everything they aspired to dominate. For reasons of international prestige and as a defense against sharp criticism by German emigrants, the N.S. state needed to keep scholars and artists of rank in Germany who could be shown off abroad. For this reason, they were granted a certain amount of freedom. In addition, even Joseph Goebbels placed great value on artistic quality in certain genres useful for his propaganda, primarily in the motion picture industry. Aside from their propagandistic intent and disastrous political bias, one cannot deny that some films of high artistic quality were produced. In addition to the more or less dictated conformity and opportunism that were prevailing and the activities of convinced party members as well as the more or less "unpolitical" holdovers in several fields of scholarship, one is able to observe some resistance, a more or less secret or indirect opposition, the activities of persons who had found refuge in one of the several forms of "inner emigration" within the culture of the N.S. state. In addition, quite a few members of the cultural elite, as

the elites of other fields, remained in their positions in order to keep up "cultural activities" which deserve this name to the largest possible extent. This perception of their task may have sprung at times from their desire to justify their behavior, at other times from an honest conviction that they had acted properly. Politically their attitudes acted in favor of the N.S. régime and were thus disastrous — even when, in the individual case, the desired goal was achieved in this manner.

In those fields in which the National-Socialists or their cultural functionaries developed ambition for ideological or personal reasons, there usually remained little room for free art and literature. Certainly there existed possibilities for withdrawal, as in music or the theater. Even after 1933, great art was still possible in these fields, when the régime was interested in outstanding artists for propaganda purposes, and these artists used their chances cleverly. One famous example is the actor, stage manager and state theater director, Gustaf Gründgens. Others, who had similar success, let themselves be forced to greater compromises than Gründgens without using their position to help those persecuted by the N.S. régime, for instance, the composer Richard Strauss and the conductor Wilhelm Furtwängler. Still, quite a few of the artists who made their career during the N.S. dictatorship were driven by ambition or opportunism. But the problems that especially actors had to face abroad due to their inability to function in a foreign language must also be taken into consideration. One frequent consequence was the decision to avoid emigration at all costs. In addition, the temptation was great to remain in a state which offered considerable chances to talented actors by the masterly use of the film for ideological purposes — chances which were an artistic challenge, as the achievements of Heinrich George and Emil Jannings demonstrate.

In regard to literature, similar examples can be cited although the possibilities were in several respects more limited. To stage German classics, for instance dramas by Schiller, whose criticism of tyranny could be understood by the audience as an allusion to current events and therefore as hidden criticism, was more easily possible than to write similar plays and criticism in a contemporary setting and thus provoke the suspicion of Nazi cultural functionaries and risk suppression by the régime. Nevertheless, a number of important writers of non-Jewish background remained in the Third Reich, some with at least a temporary sympathy for the régime, like Gottfried Benn, who was all the same forbidden to publish on March 18, 1938, as believing National-Socialist. Still others, for instance Gerhart Hauptmann, succumbed to being honored by the N.S. cultural establishment. Again others, who, like Ernst Jünger, had been bitter enemies of the Weimar Republic as partisans of the Conservative Revolution, did not accept a compromise with the régime after 1933. Finally, those authors should be mentioned who did not leave Germany, but felt themselves to be in a sort of "inner emigration" under the totalitarian régime: Elisabeth Langgässer, Gertrud von Le Fort, Erich Kästner, Frank Thiess, Oskar Loerke, Werner Bergengruen, Reinhold Schneider, Jochen Klepper, to mention only a few. Open criticism was impossible for them if they did not want to endanger themselves. Many of those who remained and did not sympathize with the régime published only little, or only harmless works during the twelve years of the dictatorship. Works which could be read as veiled criticisms of the régime,

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regardless of whether they were intended to be so or not, appeared rarely. One exception was Ernst Jünger's *Auf den Marmorclippen*. With regard to the numerous younger authors who began to write only after 1933, the assessment is more complex. They profited from being unknown and it was assumed that their experiments were merely aesthetic and not recognizable as critical political statements. They grew up from the beginning with a "split consciousness" (*gespaltenes Bewusstsein*), as Hans Dieter Schäfer has recently remarked. In any case, those non-National-Socialist authors who remained in N.S. Germany gave expression to other trends in the German literature of the 20th century in aesthetic and thematic respects than had the exiled authors who had been formed, on the one hand, by their Weimar cultural background, and on the other, by their exile and in some cases by style and subject matter adapted from other national literatures.

In principle it can be stated for literature and art that the characteristic traits of Weimar cultural life existed with typical limitations in the culture of the exile, but not in the N.S. state. The latter took little or no notice of the exiled authors and their literature. The statement of that usually very perceptive man of letters, Wilhelm Hausenstein, "I doubt whether much has been written in exile that equals in rank this narrative" (Stefan Andres' *Wir sind Utopia*), reveals how those who remained in Germany viewed their accomplishments. Hausenstein would hardly have drawn such a conclusion, had he read the works of Thomas and Heinrich Mann, or of Bertolt Brecht and Anna Seghers, written in exile. But his opinion shows once more, that the above mentioned incapacity to carry on a dialogue beyond the limits of like-minded friends, which had characterized the Weimar Republic, was continued in another manner. By the way, not only in creative writing, but also in the humanities and the social sciences, similarities can be observed: There was quite a number of scholars, who, although they loved to decorate their works with numerous references to other experts, only cited those scholars whose political and scholarly attitudes they shared. This explains, in part, why the scholarly works of emigrants received only partial and belated recognition (as did the works of scholars staying behind in the Third Reich).

In any case, aside from the defamations by N.S. functionaries, exile literature was much less discussed than more or less important contemporary French and American authors who were translated and published in the N.S. state until the end of the thirties: In the beginning, Sinclair Lewis, later William Faulkner, Ernest Hemingway, Thornton Wilder, Thomas Wolfe, as well as numerous authors of the better light fiction. French authors of rank also were published in German translation: André Maurois, Henry de Montherlant, Jules Romains, Georges Bernanos, Paul Claudel, Antoine de Saint-Exupéry, to mention only a few of the most important authors.

The claim of the National-Socialists to total power also had limits in other respects. Until 1935, four of the six volumes of Franz Kafka's *Gesammelte Schriften* could still be published. After its prohibition, Schocken published the two other volumes as well under the cover name of a publisher in Prague. This list of examples could be expanded. Defamed or unwanted authors were still published in Germany for a number of years, remaining copies of books printed before their prohibi-

tion could frequently still be bought on the market. Nevertheless, phases can be discerned: In addition to the intensified persecution and further wave of emigration of people with Jewish background which followed the terror of the so-called *Reichskristallnacht* of November 9, 1938, the cultural controls became tighter and censorship more strict. In 1937, Hitler delivered two programmatic speeches on cultural policy in Munich and Nuremberg, in which he once again proclaimed his "unalterable decision:" He would, "just as he had ended political confusion . . . now also do away with the clichés in German cultural life." In the following years 1938/39, N.S. control over literary magazines and literary production was tightened. The result was anxiety among many authors, a more limited selection of titles offered, and caution on the part of the publishers.

A number of younger authors, who were to play an important role in German postwar literature and who were able to remain abroad during the N.S. rule for a shorter or longer period without being classified as exiles, avoided political themes anyhow. They withdrew to classical subjects, books of travel, the description of emotional life apart from its social background. Hans Dieter Schäfer has recently examined the literary position of these authors. Among them were Marie Luise Kaschnitz, Stefan Andres, Felix Hartlaub, Eugen Gottlob Winkler, Hans Erich Nossack, Günter Eich, Peter Huchel, Johannes Bobrowski, Karl Krolow, Erhart Kästner, Gustav René Hocke and others. "While in exile the satire, commentaries and the pamphlet in the tradition of Weimar lived on, in Germany National-Socialist and religious authors used speeches, war reports, or sermons and legends" (Schäfer). Naturally certain genres of writing which were common to exiled and non-exiled authors alike continued to be produced, but self-chosen or imposed restrictions existed nonetheless: Although important literary achievements were obtained during the Third Reich, they could only be created if the régime tolerated them, or illegally. Sociocritical or political statements which ran counter to the official ideology, could at best be written in extremely veiled language. The existence of literary or other artistic achievements does not invalidate N.S. claim to totalitarian controls, nor do these works change the fact in any way that this claim was asserted with utter brutality when it was of vital importance for the régime to do so. In this regard, phases of intermittent intensification of a radical cultural policy, or simple technical problems having consequence for cultural politics can also be observed. Among the latter was the scarcity of printing paper during the war, among the first were programmatic attempts at *Gleichschaltung*, as, for instance, in the above mentioned Hitler speeches, or through the exhibition *Entartete Kunst* in 1937.

In certain fields of scholarship we find considerable complexity although the totalitarian grip on cultural life was just as firm. Above all, the displacement of scholars of Jewish background or of politically "undesirable" scholars must be mentioned. They were usually replaced by party members and functionaries of N.S. university organizations. Comparatively harmless, although characteristic, were measures of a purely demonstrative character, for instance the abrogation of Thomas Mann's honorary doctor's degree by the University of Bonn. Paul Egon Hübinger has described this embarrassing incident in detail. The number of those who were dismissed and thus forbid-

den to work, and of those who were driven to their death by individual acts of terror, can only be estimated. According to a compilation assembled by the exiled sociologist, Emil J. Gumbel, *Freie Wissenschaft*, edited in Strasbourg in 1938, the N.S. government had dismissed about 1,500 scholars by the end of 1936; for the time up to the *Anschluss* of Austria in March 1938, Gumbel estimated their number at 2,000.

Aside from "racial" persecution, the already mentioned *Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums* permitted the removal from the universities of practically any political opponent of the régime, or of scholars who had been denounced as unreliable. Seemingly minor infractions, such as vaguely defined "malicious" behavior toward the N.S. movement or the "abuse" of an official position to the detriment of "national-minded" officials, sufficed as grounds for dismissal. For an assessment of the political attitude of the accused it was permitted to consider retroactively his record during the Weimar Republic. This law was certainly the most hostile to the civil service ever, according to the classical rules of German administration. The abuses of the civil service system during the Weimar Republic, which had led to accusations of political favoritism by conservative and liberal civil service associations, cannot be compared to those committed under the new N.S. act.

Self-determination and autonomy of the university, a classical axiom of academic freedom which had often been used as political weapon against the fledgling democracy during the Weimar years, were abolished with the introduction of the *Führerverfassung*. The rectors of the universities who were appointed by the minister, in turn appointed the deans who were also in charge of the university budget which had formerly been the prerogative of the senate. In order to obtain a lectureship, "character aptitude" had to be tested, an examination, which the candidates had to pass after six weeks' training in an "educational" camp. In addition, the applicant had to prove that he was a member of the National-Socialist Party. As in other sectors of social life, a number of organizations served as additional devices for political surveillance, in this case the *NS-Dozentenbund*. According to the contemporary calculations of Gumbel, the following number of members of the teaching staff at the University of Heidelberg, to take just one university, had been dismissed for political reasons by 1936 (comparison with 1932): Altogether 56 of 215 (= 25%) professors had to give up their positions for political reasons during these four years. Gumbel considers this as the lowest possible number because other cases cannot be definitely clarified, since premature retirement and "voluntary" resignation are not included. A breakdown shows that these 25% are distributed rather unevenly among the different departments. The law school had the highest percentage (37%) of dismissals for political reasons, the natural sciences had the lowest percentage with 20%, in between lay the philosophy department with 30% and the medical school with 29%.

The positions of the dismissed were not given to members of the younger generation or to university lecturers but to new members of the teaching staff who were party functionaries of local N.S. organizations. During the five years ending in 1938, 21 of 50 full professors, 28 of 71 assistant professors and lecturers were appointed at the University of Heidelberg. In 1936 the total teaching staff consisted of 178 teachers, of which 81 had been appointed between 1933 and 1936. Nearly half of

those teaching at the University of Heidelberg in 1938 had served less than four years at the university — in other words, they had come from the outside.

This fluctuation of personnel, which was similar at the other universities, is significant. In many disciplines which were not of primary interest to the National-Socialists, many "unpolitical" scholars of non-Jewish background remained more or less undisturbed. But a considerable part of the teaching staff behaved in agreement with the system out of conviction or out of opportunism. Open opposition against the régime remained the exception at the universities as well as in other sectors of society. This was probably more wide-spread than the anti-republican attitudes of many university teachers in 1933. Yet, it must be considered overall that the majority of possible opponents of Nazism had been dismissed from the universities. One partial consequence of the change of personnel, but also of opportunism, were the changes inserted in the curricula of numerous courses which had little or nothing to do with the subject matter, but were pure N.S. propaganda. According to the university catalogue for the summer of 1935, the then most renowned German university, Berlin, offered not less than 28 "courses" on "ethnology" (*Rassenlehre*); with the number of lectures and exercises in military science not far behind. If one adds those courses which were directly devoted to political subjects or were politicized in line with N.S. ideology without acknowledgement, the degree to which the universities were "gleichgeschaltet" and the susceptibility of certain fields of scholarship to N.S. ideology becomes evident. The results were less willingness to study, a decline in excellence and the indoctrination of the students.

The censorship by the *Reichsstelle zur Förderung des deutschen Schrifttums* was headed by the Fuehrer appointee and N.S. ideologist Alfred Rosenberg — the author of *Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts*. This organization had local branches throughout the *Reich* and forced even those authors who did not sympathize with the régime to write prefaces to their books that seem embarrassing today, or to make other gestures of submission. Nevertheless, it has to be stated in this case as well, that even in those areas of the humanities which the rulers considered politically sensitive, a number of important works appeared, and in all disciplines scholars existed who did not make concessions to the ruling "spirit" of the times. In some areas of scholarship, free and undisturbed research was still possible. But even the natural sciences were affected by N.S. cultural policy. One example was the absurd effort to establish, an "Aryan physics."

Still, even some of the functionaries responsible for this trend, whose main representatives were the Nobel Prize winners Philipp Lenard and Johannes Stark, kept enough sense of reality to understand the material significance of scientific research for the N.S. state. High priority research, if it was to be used, for instance, for military purposes, could not be replaced by ideology. Thus, despite the removal of leading natural scientists for "racial" or, to a lesser degree, for political reasons, numerous leading representatives of the discipline still had possibilities to work, in physics, for example, Max Planck, Otto Hahn, Werner Heisenberg, and Fritz Strassmann.

Alan D. Beyerchen states in his monograph on *Scientists under Hitler: Politics and the Physics Community in the Third*

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Reich that the cautious conformity of many physicists to the N.S. state soon gave way to increasing alienation. In addition, one important factor in their outwardly conforming to the state carried with it some advantages for physics. German scholars soon became more and more isolated internationally — an isolation which increased after the outbreak of the war. But certain research institutions, for instance, the Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gesellschaft (today the Max-Planck-Gesellschaft), succeeded in protecting themselves to a great extent from political interference and to restrict N.S. interference by making certain concessions. Alan Beyerchen called this procedure *Selbstgleichschaltung*. Although an exception, N.S. policy in regard to the sciences was at times openly criticized by scientists; in the field of physics the Nobel Prize winner Max von Laue deserves to be mentioned here. He did not leave Germany because he wanted to fight against N.S. rule *there* and be available at its demise, which he hoped would come soon. He remained unyielding, helped persecuted colleagues, deplored openly as early as September 1933 the losses which German science suffered through emigration, and delivered a public eulogy for Fritz Haber, who had to leave Germany because of his Jewish background.

The majority of the emigrating scientists was of Jewish background. This means, that the larger part of the scholars leaving Germany had to anticipate danger to their lives and limbs through the régime. Only a few not threatened in this way left Germany. The decision to emigrate was always the exception, unless it was absolutely necessary.

The number of scientists, especially of younger age, who decided not to pursue a scientific career in the N.S. state, was rather large. On the other hand, there were always cases where scientists managed in the end, to continue their work despite sharp attacks from N.S. organizations. This was true of Werner Heisenberg who faced a precarious situation when he was attacked by representatives of “Aryan” physics and members of the S.S. on the occasion of his appointment to the University of Munich. His international reputation convinced Rosenberg that it was inopportune to remove him. Above all his personal connections to Himmler’s family and other important leaders, in addition to a number of vehement protests by renowned physicists enabled Heisenberg to continue his work. He had fallen out of favour with party and science functionaries by refusing to issue a loyalty declaration to the *Führer* by the employment of Jewish co-workers during the Weimar period, by respectfully referring to Einstein, and similar acts. As a representative of theoretical physics and the theory of relativity, he was a thorn in the side of the advocates of “Aryan” physics. The “Aryan” physicists succeeded in preventing Heisenberg’s appointment to Munich and to appoint instead a physicist, who was not experienced in theoretical physics, but had written a polemical tract against the “Jewish” relativity theory under the title *Judentum und Wissenschaft*. Nevertheless, the years of “Aryan” physics during the Third Reich can be counted. In 1942/43, the end of this pseudo-scientific movement began after renewed public controversy. Its more alleged than actual importance to the German wartime economy led to the re-establishment of scientific autonomy in physics (Beyerchen).

After having sketched its political preconditions, the cultural losses and the literary, artistic and scientific character of these losses can be described. “Cultural” emigration was an impor-

tant, in some sectors the most interesting, part of German-language culture after 1933. But it was only a part, not the whole. This observation does not lessen the barbaric atrocity of the expulsion nor its cultural stupidity, but aims at a realistic assessment of the problem.

Can the cultural losses which Germany suffered after 1933 at the hands of the N.S. dictatorship be measured? The number of those emigrants who belonged to the “cultural” emigration is not exactly determinable, even under a strict definition — the more so as the criteria of definition are fluid and lead unavoidably to inaccuracy. Still, it is possible to estimate the approximate number, and it is appalling. Of the 104,098 emigrants of Austrian and German origin who emigrated during 1933 and 1941 to the United States, 7,622 (=7,3%) had an academic or artistic profession, and 1,090 of them were scientists, mostly professors. Included in this broadly defined academic emigration, which naturally consisted not only of members of a cultural elite which had published their own works, were 811 lawyers, 2,352 physicians, 682 journalists, 645 technologists, 465 musicians, 296 artists, and 1,281 following other professions (numbers according to R. Davie and D. Kent).

Doubtless the United States was the most important country of immigration, especially after the occupation of their European neighbors by the National-Socialists. One fourth of all German-speaking emigrants went to the U.S. after 1933, some immediately, most by detours through European host countries. Other states, too, offered a refuge to emigrating scholars, for instance Latin American countries and Turkey, frequently because of their own political interest in science. What was a loss to the German *Reich*, became a gain for Turkey, for example. The number of academic emigrants to the United States and other countries is greater than the number of the cultural elite in a narrower sense. The present second volume of this work lists 4,600 emigrants who originated in Germany, Austria, and other centers of German culture, for example Prague. These emigrants were full professors at universities and academies before or after their emigration, had distinguished themselves through scientific publications, literary, journalistic, or artistic achievements in the arts, architecture, music, theater, and film.

To this number have to be added those emigrants who have been included in Volume I because of their political activity, who also made significant contributions to culture. In addition, those persons have to be considered who were not included in the handbook because of the standards of inclusion dictated by the limits of space in such a reference work. The biographies are on file in the archives of the Institut für Zeitgeschichte, Munich, and of the Research Foundation for Jewish Immigration, New York. On the basis of these files, the total number of emigrants who belonged to the cultural elite during the thirties and forties, can be estimated with considerable accuracy: It amounts to about 5,000—6,000.

What were the fields of activity of these “cultural” emigrants? One of the qualitatively and quantitatively most important groups of German-speaking “cultural” émigrés after 1933 were doubtless the writers. The number of authors, journalists, and publicists in this group amounts probably to about 2,500 people. The greater part of the most important, most creative and original German-speaking writers emigrated already during

the first weeks or months of the régime, in the case of Austria frequently only in 1938. The emigrated writers are listed in this handbook. Without regard to differences in quality the most important shall be mentioned here: Bertolt Brecht, Herman Broch, Johannes R. Becher, Martin Beheim-Schwarzbach, Bernhard von Brentano, Max Brod, Ferdinand Bruckner, Elias Canetti, Alfred Döblin, Lion Feuchtwanger, Bruno Frank, Leonhard Frank, Richard Friedenthal, Stefan George, Curt Goetz, Oskar Maria Graf, Walter Hasenclever, Ödön von Horváth, Hans Habe, Julius Hay, Georg Hermann, Stephan Hermlin, Stefan Heym, Fritz Hochwälder, Hans Henny Jahnn, Hermann Kesten, Anette Kolb, Georg Kaiser, Irmgard Keun, Alfred Kantorowicz, Else Lasker-Schüler, Emil Ludwig, Thomas Mann, Heinrich Mann, Klaus Mann, Robert Musil, Walter Mehring, Peter de Mendelssohn, Ludwig Marcuse, Alfred Neumann, Theodor Plivier, Alfred Polgar, Joseph Roth, Gustav Regler, Ludwig Renn, Erich Maria Remarque, René Schickele, Anna Seghers, Hilde Spiel, Nelly Sachs, Kurt Tucholsky, Gabriele Tergit, Max Tau, Ernst Toller, Friedrich Torberg, Fritz von Unruh, Johannes Urzidil, Jakob Wassermann, Franz Werfel, Armin T. Wegner, Ernst Weiss, Peter Weiss, Friedrich Wolf, Franz Carl Weiskopf, Karl Wolfskehl, Stefan Zweig, Arnold Zweig, Paul Zech, Carl Zuckmayer. Some of those mentioned, for instance Peter Weiss, began to publish much later than 1933, since they were still quite young at the time of their emigration.

Certainly, this enumeration contains authors of different literary significance, but there are leading representatives of German literature among them who enjoyed a very good reputation in Germany and abroad, or acquired it during their emigration. Several Nobel Prize winners and several later winners of the *Friedenspreis des deutschen Buchhandels* are also among the above mentioned emigrants. A comparison with the authors who remained in Germany, on the whole turns out in favor of the emigrants in regard to quantity and quality. Only few of those writers who remained in Germany acquired an international reputation. To a large part, they were younger authors, who reached the peak of their literary career only after the war.

The definition of the term "exile literature" is difficult. Attempts to define it by its subject matter or by the formal criteria of a theory of creative writing are hardly convincing. For instance, some observers have tried to show that the sonnet was the characteristic poetic form of exile literature. Besides the fact that the sonnet has a long history and had reached its height as a poetic form during the baroque period, such a genre-specific limitation would exclude just those forms, which the exiled writers used with great virtuosity and which helped to inform a large circle of readers about the conditions of existence in exile: the political essay, the feuilleton, and, above all, the epic form of the novel. In any case, the exiled authors employed the genre of the novel much more than the authors who lived in the N.S. state, among whom were, of course, also novelists of rank. Yet many German writers of these years preferred the shorter literary forms, for instance the novella.

This fact should not lead to the opposite and false conclusion to employ the term "exile novel" as an exclusive definition of the term "exile literature." Nevertheless many works of emigrated authors deal with the exile as their subject, for instance

Lion Feuchtwanger's novels *Exil* and *Geschwister Oppermann*, Bruno Frank's novel *Der Reisepass*, Anna Segher's novels *Transit* and *Die Toten bleiben jung*, Klaus Mann's novel *Der Vulkan* and his autobiography *Der Wendepunkt*, finally in a more intellectually challenging, indirect way, also Thomas Mann's trilogy *Joseph und seine Brüder*. Other novels of rank, Heinrich Mann's *Henri Quatre* or Alfred Döblin's *Hamlet oder die lange Nacht nimmt ein Ende*, which were written in exile, could not be called "exile literature" from a narrow thematic point of view — that is, if one considers the overt contents of a work as a criterion for its inclusion in "exile literature." In addition, several authors tried to continue works of highest literary value in exile, but did not succeed to do what they had intended. For instance, Hans Mayer recently said of Robert Musil's *Mann ohne Eigenschaften* that Musil, whom he knew personally, was not able to conclude the novel because of the conditions of his exile. Karl Corino described this fact with the words "*Reflexionen im Vakuum*." Aside from the well known limitations of this approach to the field of literary criticism as a whole criteria of literary theory are, in any case, too narrow to help us formulate a definition of the term "exile literature." The broadest definition of the term would include all literary productions, the feuilleton, the theater review, the political essay, and the traditional genres of literature which were used in exile as exile literature. Such a definition is without doubt rather vague, but the approach is justified if we consider the special conditions under which these writings took form. A specific and precise literary definition which would consider the poetic form, the immanent character of the work, the personal history of its author, stylistic and other techniques of literary analysis, is not excluded by this definition. This kind of approach is, however, not specific to exile literature. Only a recourse to the conditions of origin of the concerned works can be a valid criterium of definition. Exile literature comprises those writings which were written in exile. However, such a broad definition — Manfred Durzak, for instance considers it too broad — includes literature which contains neither in form nor content any recognizable constituents of the experience of exile. This corresponds to the statement Werner Berthold made at the symposium on exile literature in Copenhagen in 1972: "We are speaking today of exile research, and consciously no longer of research on exile literature . . . exile is interesting as a total phenomenon." Nevertheless, a closer look at the "cultural emigration" will reveal to what degree writers reflected upon the experience of life in exile. The authors belong to those groups of the "cultural emigration," whose works were most decisively marked by exile. This is not surprising since literature is always the expression of its times. In addition, writers with political commitments always wished to draw attention to the fate of the exiled, and the political situation in their home countries. The more politically motivated and realistic this commitment was, the less it aimed at artistic perfection. This characterization was particularly valid for genres whose form was not standardized by poetic rules and was therefore more flexible, i.e. essays, feuilleton, and topical reports. Within the whole of exile literature, there existed a sector which left behind the above-sketched common tradition and subject matter of the Weimar culture in reflecting and representing the situation of the exiled.

This widening of the former literary spectrum did not, however, create new forms: Most novels dealing with exile are rath-

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er traditional in their narrative character; their subject matter is original, not their form. The literary avant-garde, expressionism, and playful or problem-oriented experiments were of secondary importance in comparison to the traditional, straightforwardly realistic forms. Markedly political works, especially in the broad genre of functional literature, were an answer to the political displacement caused by the N.S. régime. This political purpose of many writings and articles published in exile continued one of the Weimar traditions, and can be explained as a reaction to the N.S. dictatorship, but led in numerous publications to a strong overemphasis on current topics. The endeavor to attain literary levels in their works was frequently superseded by the political and moral interests of the authors. Not many writers succeeded, like Thomas Mann, in integrating the demands of both the literary and the political dimension in their life's work, or to realize both aims simultaneously.

A further problem for the transformation of the problems of exile into literature was the change of the reading public and thus the conditions of reception. German readers were usually no longer available to the exiled authors; the readaptation to foreign-language readers required changes in style and form, and frequently dictated simplification. The challenges of the new, often uncomprehending, cultural environment were not conducive to the writing of literary masterpieces within a few months or years — rather, they were a heavy burden. Begging for understanding, autobiographical accounts of self-justification, written to secure short-term financial rewards, were further factors liable to impede literary excellence. The loss to German-language culture is not only ascertainable in the usual sense. The extreme worsening of living conditions also impaired the possibility of carefree literary work for most exiled authors. The living conditions of exiled writers have to be taken into consideration to a greater degree than usual in the interpretation of their works. Ernst Loewy explains their partly “emphatic-antifascist” character thus: “The best part of German literature had been forced into the role of resistance, for which it had been subjectively prepared only to a limited degree; objectively such a role had lost almost all foundation. It accepted the challenge without being able to cope with it, partly with very modest, partly with surprising, although in their immediate effect rather inconspicuous results . . . Thus the history of exile literature remains primarily — although again and again interrupted by great individual achievements — a chain of hopes, errors, and disappointments.”

Aside from the necessary distinction of phases in exile literature, two contrasting assessments by Klaus Mann should be kept in mind. In his autobiography *Der Wendepunkt*, he had stated: “Especially during the first years of exile, from 1933 to 1936, the feeling of solidarity was strong and genuine. Yes, the ‘burned writers’ were something like a homogeneous elite, a real community within the whole, indistinct, amorphous emigration.” A little later, he published a retrospective account which was probably more realistic in regard to this presumed homogeneity: “The majority of our emigrants consisted, after all, of honest citizens, who saw themselves primarily as ‘good Germans,’ only secondarily as Jews and last of all, or not at all, as anti-fascists.” The last part of this statement may be exaggerated, however, since there is no doubt that the majority of the emigrants perceived themselves definitely as anti-

fascists. The question was, rather, how explicit this anti-fascism was, and, above all, through which positive political conviction it expressed itself. And in this respect, the political partisanship and differences of Weimar continued to exist. The homogeneity of the writers, as stated above, existed only seemingly, or in small circles, for instance in the “P.E.N. Club of Exiled German-Speaking Writers,” which was the theme of an exhibition in Frankfurt in 1980, or in political and literary groups centered around the numerous exile periodicals, which Hans Albert Walter has described comprehensively. These periodicals partly continued the tradition of before 1933, for instance, *Das neue Tage-Buch* and *Die neue Weltbühne*. Some of these new established programs like the journal *Die Sammlung* edited by Klaus Mann, the *Neue deutsche Blätter* edited by Oskar Maria Graf, Wieland Herzfelde, and Anna Seghers, or *Maß und Wert* which was published by Thomas Mann and edited by Golo Mann. Finally, the journal *Das Wort* has to be mentioned. It was later on published in Moscow by Bertolt Brecht, Willi Bredel, and Lion Feuchtwanger, and replaced the *Sammlung* and the *Neue deutsche Blätter*. It propagated popular front ideas more strongly than any other journal, but published not only communists but also writers of other political persuasions.

However, such collaboration independent of political opinions could not prevent many disagreements. Some might have had personal reasons, like the quarrel between Klaus Mann and Leopold Schwarzschild, but the ways of life of these exile journals contained a good deal of explosive materials. Lion Feuchtwanger has described the *Pariser Tageblatt* in his novel *Exil*. The short lives of the publications of the exile press as well as their great number — which Lieselotte Maas has recorded — are an indication of the difficulties with which the “literary” or “political-literary” journalism of the German-speaking exile was confronted, but they are also an indication of the heterogeneity of the “political” and “literary” exile as a whole. All authors also had to fight a basic problem that Theodor W. Adorno defined concisely in his *Minima Moralia* in 1951: “Every intellectual in exile, without exception, is injured and had better recognize it himself, if he does not want to be cruelly disillusioned behind the tightly closed doors of his self-respect. He lives in an environment which must remain incomprehensible to him . . . His language is expropriated, and the historical dimension from which his thought drew its strength is cut away . . . The isolation gets worse, the more closed, politically controlled groups are established, suspicious of their own members and hostile toward outsiders. The percentage of the national income that falls to the foreigner's share will not suffice and drives him into a hopeless secondary competition with other émigrés in addition to the general market competition . . . Escaped from the disgrace of the immediate *Gleichschaltung* in Germany, he wears just this escape as his distinguishing mark, an illusory and unreal existence within a living and alive society . . . All weights are shifted, and perceptions become blurred.”

Within the “literary” emigration, two groups are included in these volumes that were of major importance: We have already mentioned one of them in this essay, the journalists, who seem to represent all that was characteristic of Weimar culture. The qualitative and quantitative range of what this group produced should come as no surprise. Its members reflected in

a most direct way political developments in Germany, and they could not help commenting on them, neither before nor after 1933. For this present volume, in which only journalists engaged in the cultural sector are included, the I.f.Z. chose nearly 250 persons according to its criteria for inclusion. To this have to be added the "political" journalists of Volume I, as well as those whom the R.F.J.I. has listed. Within the "literary" emigration, journalists of all kinds comprised a considerable group of several hundred persons. Among the publicists writing on cultural topics the following famous names are to be found: Jean Améry, Max Beer, Walter Benjamin, Julie Braun-Vogelstein, Martin Esslin, Heinrich Fraenkel, Erich Franzen, Eduard Fuchs, Willy Haas, Werner Hegemann, Jakob Hegner, Konrad Heiden, Rudolf Hirsch, Artur Holitscher, Wieland Herzfelde, Robert Jungk, Alfred Kantorowicz, Richard Katz, Harry Graf Kessler, Fritz Landshoff, Erwin Leiser, Ernst Loewy, Valeriu Marcu, Max Osborn, Curt Riess, Harry Schulze-Wilde, Max Tau, Georg Stefan Troller. However, these publicists different from the great representatives of "political" journalism, are only typical for the Weimar intellect in individual cases. Thus they could resume their work more easily after 1945. Many of those mentioned here returned therefore to journalism in Germany.

The second group which shall only be mentioned briefly here, is smaller in size, but was of greater importance, for some of its members succeeded in founding their own publishing companies in the United States. This group was important for the rest of the emigrants simply because the newly-founded publishing companies became points of attraction for them and offered the authors the readership they depended on. However, the most important European publishing companies for exile literature, for instance Querido or Allert de Lange in Amsterdam and Oprecht in Zurich, were not owned by émigrés. At any rate, without their publishers, the emigrated authors would have literally become speechless; their material existence, their being accepted, and their effectiveness crucially depended on their ability to find a publisher. Without these exile publishers, who were established in Prague, Amsterdam, Paris, and Zurich immediately after the N.S. seizure of power, the emigrated authors would have hardly been able to meet with any kind of response. "Who will publish our works?" was the urgent question with which German writers-in-exile took up their work again. They received a "surprisingly fast answer," wrote Wieland Herzfelde in 1937 in appreciation of the first four years of exile publishing later described in detail by H.A. Walter. Their work was carried out under the most difficult of conditions, and depended to a large degree on the ability to improvise. Frequently, authors acted as their own publishers and book dealers, and sold their mimeographed manuscripts themselves after holding readings or lectures. Others were published by emigrated publishers, for example, the Marxist-oriented Malik publishing company of Wieland Herzfelde, or the literary publishing company of Gottfried Bermann-Fischer, who published the great Stockholm edition of Thomas Mann's works-in-exile. Kurt Wolff's Pantheon Books, Martinus Nijhoff in the Hague, the left-wing Editions du Carrefour in Paris, where Dimitroff's *Brownbook* on the burning of the *Reichstag* was published, and smaller publishers also offered a home to exiled authors. However, there also existed German publishers like Schocken or Julius Springer in exile, who published little or no exile literature. The most im-

portant exile publishers — Querido, de Lange, and Oprecht — did not only act out of financial interest. Publishing exiled authors without a guaranteed reading public was a considerable risk, but, as Klaus Mann and others reported, done for political and humanitarian reasons, i.e. because the publishers opposed the N.S. régime. Querido had to pay with his life for this in 1942. The Dutch publishers employed capable persons formerly active in German publishing companies as heads of their exile departments, e.g. Hermann Kesten, Fritz Landshoff, and Walter Landauer, all former readers of the publisher Kiepenheuer in Berlin. The two Amsterdam publishers issued almost 200 titles by more than 100 authors by the spring of 1940 (A. Stephan).

The publishing activity of Emil Oprecht in Zurich was comparable. After the occupation of Prague in 1938 and of the Netherlands in 1940, he remained the only large exile publisher in German-language countries. These three publishers and Bermann-Fischer had published nearly 500 works of exile literature by 1946 which had reached a total circulation of about 1.75 million copies with an average of 3,000—4,000 copies per title (A. Stephan). Their number is only exceeded by the books published by Soviet publishers for foreign-language literature or for national minorities, which reached a total of two million copies (H. Halfmann). The disappearance of the exile publishing companies from central and Western Europe following the occupation of these countries was a heavy blow to the exiled authors. The Aurora publishing company in the United States and El libro libre in Mexico could not completely fill in this gap despite their successful activities. The "literary" emigrants are the qualitatively and quantitatively most impressive part of the "cultural" emigration. Their productivity was extraordinary; the special compilation of the German national bibliography issued in Leipzig in 1949 lists 12,717 titles which could not be published in Nazi Germany. This quantitative weight of the "literary" emigration and the well-advanced research of exile literature must not lead to an underestimation of other groups in the "cultural" emigration. A large number of important painters, sculptors, architects, musicians, and theater artists left National-Socialist Germany or fled from N.S. terror after 1933. The emigration archives compiled by I.f.Z. and R.F.J.I. list more than 3,000 artists and theater people among its 25,000 persons, of whom about 600 were included in this second volume. The ratio of representational artists remaining in the N.S. Reich to their ratio in the "cultural" emigration is comparable to the situation in the literary field. Outstanding painters and sculptors did remain in Germany during the dictatorship, but sooner or later they had to discontinue their public appearances. Neither attempted conformity nor retreat into private life protected numerous famous artists from being defamed as "degenerate," and thus losing the possibility of making their works available to the public. State museums and exhibitions remained closed to them. Emil Nolde, who had been declared "degenerate" in 1933, was forbidden to paint in 1941. He shared this fate with Karl Hofer and Karl Schmidt-Rottluff. Other painters had already been dismissed from their positions at academies of art in 1933, for instance, Otto Dix, Max Pechstein, Willi Baumeister, Oskar Moll and Oskar Schlemmer. Still others, like Ernst Wilhelm Nay, were forbidden to exhibit their works in 1936.

Among established painters who remained in N.S. Germany but whose effectiveness was considerably reduced, in addition

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to those already mentioned, were Ernst Barlach, Friedrich Ahlers-Hestermann, Erich Heckel, Werner Heldt, Georg Meistermann, Otto Modersohn, Gabriele Münter, Franz Radziwill, Georg Scholz (who was also labelled “degenerate”), Fritz Winter, and a number of younger artists, whose works surfaced mostly after 1945. Max Liebermann, who was already 86 years old when the Nazis seized power, remained in Berlin until his death in 1935. The number of those prohibited to paint and exhibit, of dismissals and other measures which amounted to a professional ban, show how little freedom of movement visual artists enjoyed. The losses to German art through these discriminations were high and, in many cases, resulted in emigration. Again, many of the emigrants had contributed to the reputation enjoyed by German art during the Weimar years, as had those defamed after 1933. The most prominent émigrés are: Josef Albers, Max Beckmann, Lyonel Feininger, George Grosz, Thomas Theodor Heine, Paul Klee, Oskar Kokoschka, Wassily Kandinsky, Anna Mahler, Max Oppenheimer, Hans Purrmann, Hans Richter, Emy Roeder, and Kurt Schwitters. In addition, those have to be mentioned who had left Germany before 1933, and were forced to flee before the Germans occupied France and forbidden to exhibit their works in Germany during the N.S. dictatorship: they include for instance Max Ernst and Otto Freundlich, who did not survive his deportation.

Outstanding architects left National-Socialist Germany as well. The best known were Walter Gropius, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, Bruno Taut, Erich Mendelsohn, and Ernst-Georg May. One of the few internationally known architects who remained and whose career was not impaired by N.S. rule, was Peter Behrens, in whose office some of the most famous architects of the 20th century had worked prior to 1933, e.g. Le Corbusier, Gropius, and Mies van der Rohe. Behrens was epoch-making primarily through his industrial and office buildings as well as his housing developments, but his most prominent buildings originated in the decades before 1933. The silencing and the professional banning of the artists remaining in Germany must be seen in relation to emigration. Although their number were smaller than those of the writers who emigrated, there were parallels. The most modern and exciting part of German art, which marked the first decades of this century, was banished by N.S. rule. In hardly any other field is more obvious how much N.S. cultural policy was a reaction to the rationalism of modernity. This was even the case in regard to those principles which N.S. functionaries were paradoxically not entirely opposed to, for instance, elements of the new functionalism that among others the Bauhaus architects had propagated.

For artistic schools like the *Deutscher Werkbund*, the *Bauhaus* and the *Blauer Reiter*, which were epoch-making in the history of art, there remained no room in the N.S. Reich. New functionalism, expressionism, surrealism, and abstract art were equally fought as “unnatural” and “degenerate.” The artistic character of these trends contradicted the naive, “*völkisch*” realism, in demand after 1933. These tendencies ran counter to artistic conventionalism as well as to architectural monumentalism. They contrasted with the monotony of N.S. housing developments which contained no room for individualists. The dictatorships of the 20th century were similar in their art policy: “The official artistic style of totalitarian countries is

everywhere the same” (Werner Haftmann). Political utilitarianism, “popular” realism — a form of democratization of art, an adaption to the “sound popular instinct” — supervision of art through functionaries of state and party — these are only a few of the common characteristics of such art policy. Germanic and “blood and soil” mythologies and anti-Semitism were additional factors in the N.S. Reich. The fight against “Cultural Bolshevism” and against art that served to “corrode” “popular instinct” and “state-supporting” N.S. ideology was aimed at representational art as well as at literature. The above mentioned steps in defamation are applicable here, too: Programmatic Hitler-speeches, for instance, in Nuremberg in 1934, the obligation to obtain permission for each exhibition from the “*Reichskunstkammer*” from 1935 on, the confiscation of “degenerate art” after 1937, the confiscation and squandering of valuable works of art starting in 1938/39. This fight was by no means directed against the living, the German, or the emigrated artists alone. Here too, the observation holds that art in Germany could — as far as it was modern — survive only in niches, in “inner emigration.” “Art became a means of propaganda” (H. Weigert). German artists were cut off from trend-setting traditions and from the international art market. In this field, the loss was much higher than the prominence and number of emigrants suggests. In addition, a national, “*völkisch*” art was propagated which was characterized in subject and form by clichés corresponding to the alleged or real taste of the masses. The representational architecture of the party state, with its depressing monumentalism and its empty, declamatory classicism, completed the picture.

The most renowned emigrated architects succeeded in establishing themselves in the United States. Gropius taught at Harvard and founded The Architects' Collaborative, a firm in which a number of younger architects could work together in complete freedom and artistic self-realization according to his principle of teamwork. This team built, for instance, the Harvard Graduate Center in 1949 and erected an apartment building in the new Hansa section in Berlin at the international *Bauausstellung* in 1957, many years after the end of N.S. rule in Germany. Generally, the work of some of the emigrated architects became more international after the end of World War II. Gropius built the U.S. embassy in Athens from 1957 to 1961 and the Rosenthal china factory in Selb/Upper Palatinate in 1964. Mies van der Rohe, who taught at the Armour Institute of Technology in Chicago after 1968 and designed some buildings there, returned to his former productivity only after 1945. In a number of important designs, which continued his earlier period of “revolutionary glass skyscrapers” (N. Pevsner), he planned private houses, apartment blocks, and office buildings in New York, Toronto, Chicago and other North American cities. Finally, he built the glass-wall National Gallery (1962–68) in Berlin. Pevsner remarked that the style of these buildings was in the tradition of the twenties and thirties but not characterized by the trends of the last one-and-one-half decades in which they were built. Erich Mendelsohn, too, who emigrated via England and Israel to the United States, successfully realized his architectural plans. He had already been in the U.S.A. during the twenties. This visit had influenced his architectural style in the same way as the contact with architectural trends in the U.S.A. had prepared the ground for both of the above-mentioned architects to design their visionary buildings.

On the basis of this affinity, it was possible for architects of rank to gain considerable reputations in the United States and in other countries — as the example of Bruno Taut in Japan and Turkey shows — and even to influence the architectural development in their host countries. It has to be kept in mind here that architecture of this rank was also utilitarian art. Its utility, which was of benefit to the host country in a direct and visible way, considerably increased the chances of émigrés of continuing to work as artists during their emigration. The number of visual artists included in this volume amounts to nearly 250 — not only quantitatively but also qualitatively an important part of the “cultural” emigration. The less verbal and representational a work of art was, the less it was suspected by the N.S. rulers of being oppositional, and the higher became the number of those who had to leave Germany not on account of their “degenerate” style but in the face of a direct threat, i.e. because they were “Jews” as stipulated by the broad interpretation of the Nuremberg laws.

In the field of music, apart from artists of Jewish background, the N.S. régime again defamed those who were radical and experimental innovators, although there were exceptions. While the twelve-tone musician Arnold Schoenberg emigrated, Anton von Webern, who had used twelve-tone techniques since 1924, remained in his Austrian home country even after the *Anschluss* of 1938. He died there in 1945. He achieved his greatest fame only several years after the end of N.S. rule, not the least because of his inspiring influence on composers like Boulez, Stockhausen and Ligeti. Alban Berg, however, was spared the decision to leave his homeland since he died a few years before the German invasion of Austria. His art had also been rated “degenerate” by N.S. cultural policy.

In the field of music the number of emigrants is lower, although a respectable number of them were musicians of rank, in addition to Arnold Schoenberg for instance Paul Hindemith, Kurt Weill, and Hanns Eisler, as well as the conductors, Bruno Walter and Otto Klemperer. Nevertheless, musicians of high rank remained in the N.S. Reich, like Richard Strauss — whose unpolitical egocentrism Klaus Mann denounced in his *Wendepunkt* — Carl Orff, and Werner Egk, as well as the conductor Wilhelm Furtwängler. The latter two, in fact, accepted government assignments after 1933. Those musicians who were forced to emigrate had to do so less because of their work but because of their Jewish background or political convictions. These great interpreters were able to continue working comparatively undisturbed during the dictatorship because they had not been classified as enemies of the régime from the very beginning. Music could hardly be understood as a criticism of the régime even when it did not hue to the prevailing taste. A pianist, for example, could use classical compositions or those of the baroque or romantic periods in his repertoire, as long as they had not been classified as “Jewish.” In this respect, a musician was able to survive the N.S. régime more easily without loss of quality than painters or writers. For these reasons, the majority of the 465 academically trained musicians mentioned earlier who emigrated to the United States did so because they were of Jewish background.

Although persons active in theater and film were equally able to retreat to interpreting literary classics, these fields of art remained dependent on communicating verbal content and,

thus, liable to give offence to official N.S. cultural policy. Of course, the N.S. state emphatically rejected “political theater” like Erwin Piscator’s and Bertolt Brecht’s. The difficulties encountered especially by actors and, on the other hand, the opportunities which the N.S. state offered them, have already been mentioned. The more remarkable was the number of persons active in the theater who emigrated. 320 biographies of actors, directors, dramatic producers, theater managers, stage designers, dancers, cabaretists, choreographers, theater and music critics were selected for inclusion in the handbook. The greater part of the emigrants in these fields were personalities who had made the German-language theater of the twenties world-famous, or who had broken new ground in the field of theater or film by bold and original productions or acting performances. The most renowned directors among the emigrants were: Max Reinhardt, Erwin Piscator, Fritz Kortner, Leopold Lindtberg, Fritz Jessner, Leopold Jessner. Helene Weigel, Bertolt Brecht, Peter Beauvais, Ernst Haeusserman, Falk Harnack, Kurt Hirschfeld, Fritz Lang, Heinrich Schnitzler, Leonhard Steckel, George Tabori, Berthold Viertel, Wolfgang Heinz, and Peter Zadeck, who only became active after 1945, also have to be mentioned. From the great number of emigrated actors the following shall be named here: Elisabeth Bergner, Ernst Deutsch, Tilla Durieux, Therese Giehse, Marlene Dietrich, Albert Bassermann, Maria Becker, Curt Bois, Ernst Busch, Eva Busch, Alexander Granach, Johanna Hofer, Lotte Lenya, Peter Lorre, Lucie Mannheim, Valérie von Martens, Grete Mosheim, Carola Neher, Max Pallenberg, Peggy Parnass, Karl Paryla, Maria und Maximilian Schell, Lotte Stein (who became known after the war), Helen Vita, Kadidja Wedekind, and finally the dancers, choreographers and dance teachers, Yvonne Georgi, Valeska Gert, and Hans Züllig, as well as the stage designer, Theo Otto. As in the case of the writers, the motives of the emigrants were more or less the same. Besides Jewish background, political reasons were often decisive for emigration, since the theater, as an integral part of Weimar culture, had a great share in its political vigor and many of the actors and directors were leftists.

In the realm of the theater, many of the most inspiring and provocative artists of the Weimar era were driven out of the country. It took many years until these traditions could be re-established after the end of N.S. rule. The Theater am Schiffbauerdamm in East Berlin — where Bertolt Brecht and Helene Weigel directed and performed, the Freie Volksbühne in West Berlin, where Erwin Piscator had worked until his death, the other stages in Berlin and Munich to which Fritz Kortner and Ernst Deutsch returned — all were part of this tradition. The Schaubühne am Halleschen Ufer in West Berlin, which recently moved to a building by Erich Mendelsohn on the Kurfürstendamm, in addition to the stages in Bochum and Bremen, has continued this tradition of the political theater since the sixties.

The renaissance of theatrical life after the end of the Second World War took place under a double precondition: The return of many theater people to Germany, and the above-mentioned theater tradition during the Third Reich which especially Gustaf Gründgens was able to uphold in Düsseldorf and Hamburg. The extremely innovative results documented in this volume permit a total representation of the history of the emigrated theater people for the first time and on the

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strength of reliable information. It forms an important basis for a history of the German theater from the Weimar Republic to the postwar period.

The situation of the scientific and legal disciplines during the N.S. dictatorship and the specific preconditions for the emigration of their representatives cannot be described here in detail. Its most important aspects have been mentioned at the beginning of this essay.

A few of the most important reasons for the emigration of the scientists may be listed here. There was hardly a field of learning which did not suffer heavy losses through emigration. This is true also for fields that remained comparatively undisturbed, or survived the attacks of the cultural functionaries relatively well during the N.S. Reich. The number of the scientists and legal experts filed in the archives of I.f.Z. and R.F.J.I. amounts to about 6,250 — or more than one fourth of the 25,000 documented emigrants!

Among these émigrés were some of the most famous scientists of the 20th century: the physicists Albert Einstein, Max Born, James Franck, Lise Meitner and Erwin Schrödinger; the chemist Fritz Haber; the mathematician Arthur Pringsheim. Outstanding jurists to be mentioned were Karl Löwenstein, Hermann Heller, Ernst Fraenkel, Hugo Sinzheimer, Franz Lehnhof, Otto Kahn-Freund, Arthur Nussbaum, Hans Kelsen, Fritz Morstein-Marx, Ernst Heinitz, Hans Nawiasky, Oscar Gans, Hermann Kantorowicz, Gerhard Leibholz, Werner von Simson, Hans von Hentig, and Fritz Pringsheim. Among the jurists were well-known constitutional lawyers or specialists in public law, while some of those named were experts in labor law. Emigration promoted comparative law approaches. Thus, Loewenstein and Fraenkel carried out fundamental analyses on the English and the American systems of government respectively, and Kahn-Freund did research on labor law and industrial relations in England, comparative studies of international civil law as well as of the methodology of the comparison of different legal systems.

These jurists are impressive examples for the way in which confrontations with legal developments in host countries was advantageous to emigrants. International discussion received a strong impetus from emigration. The documentation of lawyers in the present volume will make it possible to describe the internationalization of research related to constitutional, civil, and labor law which the émigrés helped bring about. Such analyses have influenced the legal discussion in the Federal Republic of Germany and the reception of comparative constitutional law in a political science that is situated between legal and historical scholarship.

Among the emigrated political economists were also some outstanding personalities whose work achieved similar international recognition, for example the legal theoretician on trade unions Goetz Briefs, whose fundamental analysis on the industrial proletariat appeared already in 1926. During his American emigration, he taught at first at Georgetown University, Washington D.C., then at Columbia University, New York. In the United States, he wrote further studies which advanced the industrial sociology he had founded, and continued his research on the social position of the unions for which his new experiences were of great advantage to him. Alexander Rüstow, author of the great work *Ortsbestimmung*

der Gegenwart (1950—56), Wilhelm Roepke, and Friedrich August von Hayek are other representatives of the socio-philosophical economic neo-liberalism in exile which never broke its intellectual links with the Ordo-liberalism of Walter Eucken in Freiburg. Franz Oppenheimer, a teacher of the later Minister for Economic Affairs and Federal Chancellor Ludwig Erhard, also sought a way between capitalism and communism in his sociologically influenced system of political economy and propagated a “liberal socialism.”

A look at the organization of the economic life of the Federal Republic of Germany shows to which degree the economic principles of the Freiburg School, which were developed during the last years of the war (Ludolf Herbst), were related to the reflexions on economic and social questions of the above-mentioned emigrants who became co-founders of the reconstruction of West Germany in this way. Thus, the experiences of German economic history after 1919 as formulated in the socio-economic analytic systems of the emigrants in the United States affected the direction of West German postwar economic policy in a decisive manner.

The Austrian Joseph Schumpeter, who taught at the University of Bonn until 1932 and then at Harvard University, also belonged to the political economists in American exile. Besides macro-socio-economic interpretations of the present which had a considerable impact in the United States and in Europe, he wrote *Capitalism, Socialism und Democracy*, which appeared in 1942 in New York and in a German translation in 1950, and fundamental analyses on the theory of business cycles. In his numerous works, Schumpeter advocated a highly individualistic socialism. He combined the “scientific methods of the German with the Anglo-American approach” and thus delivered “the first comprehensive and, at the same time, theoretical, historical, and statistical analysis of capitalist development” (Edgar Salin on Schumpeter’s main work *Business Cycles*, 2 vols, New York 1939).

Because of their experiences in economic policy between the wars and their political impact after 1945, “economic” journalists like the Austrian Gustav Stolper also have to be added to this group of emigrants. As a political figure, Stolper was included in Vol. I of this Dictionary. As an economic historian and pure theoretician of economic liberalism, he also belongs into Vol. II. Stolper had close contact with important politicians; he helped to influence the revision of the extreme policy towards defeated Germany considered in the United States after World War II. In 1947, he became a member of the Hoover Mission. In 1966, Hans Peter Schwarz pointed out the positive influence of emigrants like Stolper and Roepke on public opinion in the U.S.A. and on its policy toward Germany. “Thus the comparative analysis of the development of ideas within and outside of Germany will have to acknowledge the important contribution of the emigrants, a contribution which was not only in the ideological realm but frequently of a very practical nature as well some emigrants performed important functions as mediators in one way or another — something which has not been appreciated enough so far.”

The political economist Moritz Julius Bonn, who lived in England during his exile and who had played an important role in establishing international economic relations during the Weimar period, had a comparable influence. In 1919, he was

a member of the German delegation in Versailles, and afterwards an expert on reparations in the *Reichskanzlei* and a German member of delegations at important international economic policy conferences. At the same time, he was a full professor and, for a time, rector of the *Handelshochschule* in Berlin. After 1933 he began a second academic career at the London School of Economics and was invited repeatedly as guest professor at North American and Canadian universities between 1939 and 1946. After 1945 he proved to be one of those emigrants who had warned against equating Germany with the N.S. dictatorship and used his many international contacts in this direction. He had indirect influence on the economic and social policies of West Germany through friends and former students. Among his closer circle of friends were Theodor Heuss, Anton Pfeiffer, and Wilhelm Vocke, the president of the *Bank deutscher Länder*. Fritz Neumark, finally, was one of those political economists who returned from exile to assume important positions in Germany. He has described his experiences in Turkey in a very informative book.

Comparable to the above mentioned political economists are the social scientists in exile, although they did not exert as much influence on practical developments in West Germany and her relations to the Western democracies. A deep loss to research and teaching is to be noted especially in this field. Besides the already mentioned members of the Frankfurt Institute for Social Research — who represented a socio-philosophical and socio-critical method within the social sciences — a number of sociologists of other directions also emigrated. They represented one of the most important part of the emigration which occurred under the already discussed double impact of, first, political “undesirability” because of affiliation with the political left, and second, because of Jewish background.

Among the social scientists were Theodor Geiger, Emil Lederer, Emil Grünberg, Friedrich Pollok, Karl Mannheim, René König, Paul Lazarsfeld, Fritz R. Behrendt, Emil J. Gumbel, Norbert Elias, Siegfried Landshut, Helmuth Plessner, Otto Neurath, Alphons Silbermann, Karl August Wittfogel, Hans Speier, Hans Gerth, Rudolf Heberle, Reinhard Bendix, Ernst Manheim. Depending on how broadly the terms “sociology” or “social sciences” can be interpreted, further persons can be counted among this group. M. Rainer Lepsius has pointed out in a recently published article on the “sociological” emigration, that the disciplines of sociology and political science were by no means clearly defined during the twenties, and that of the 151 members of the German Association of Sociology only a third can be called sociologists by a generous interpretation of the term. Indeed, the confrontation with American social scientists probably contributed to a clarification of the term. In any case, it is possible to include cultural sociologists and art historians like Arnold Hauser, or the German-speaking Hungarian philosopher and literary sociologist Georg Lukács, in this group. Erich Fromm and Bruno Bettelheim can be entered as psychologists or as sociologists. In the case of the social philosopher, Herbert Marcuse, the terms sociologist and philosopher are equally applicable. The differences in methods and approaches of the social scientists just mentioned point to a more general conclusion which has already been stated in respect to the emigration as a whole and its groupings. The “sociological emigration does not represent a homogeneous whole; it is heterogeneous by age, background,

professional and political orientation. It exists only through one common biographical experience, the politically induced, if not compulsory emigration or flight from the sphere of the National-Socialist régime” (R. M. Lepsius).

Lepsius has analysed the consequences of emigration for German-language social science. Due to the emigration of socialist intellectuals, the macro-sociological structural analysis of capitalism, which had been characteristic for German sociology before World War I, was broken off and was only revived by the Frankfurt School during the sixties. In Nazi Germany, a sort of *Volkssoziologie*, in which not the “artificial” concept “society,” but the “natural,” “organic” forms, the people itself, had become the object of study, had been in vogue during the N.S. dictatorship. A flight into pre-industrial social forms and opposition to industrialization, urbanization, and the legalistic definition of social relations were characteristic for “German” sociology after 1933.

This regression conforms to the National-Socialist reaction to the Weimar Republic which has already been described. A number of emigrated sociologists distinguished themselves with empirical analyses of social stratification. These studies were aimed at a rational social analysis which was diametrically opposed to the harmonistic and integrationist social ideology of National-Socialism. The Frankfurt School analyzed the hierarchical structure of National-Socialism and its social patterns of identification. For this approach alone it was hated by the N.S. rulers.

Analyses of National-Socialism and its rise at the beginning of the thirties originated with the circle of emigrants. They were in the form of “diagnoses of the period,” but to these were soon added empirical studies on its social history. Works of a very different character but of high interest for contemporary history were written at that time.

The analyses of Hitler and National-Socialism by Hermann Rauschnig were critical of the period and N.S. ideology and belong to this category. He was a former intimate of Hitler and later wrote *Revolution des Nihilismus: Kulisse und Wirklichkeit im Dritten Reich*, which appeared in Oprecht’s Europa publishing company in Zurich in 1938. In 1940, he published his *Gespräche mit Hitler* which have been translated into many languages at the same company. To this genre also belong the Hitler biography of the journalist Rudolf Olden which appeared at Querido in Amsterdam in 1935, the Hitler biography by Konrad Heiden published in Zurich in 1936/37, as well as his different works on the history of National-Socialism which had already been published in 1932.

On the other hand, sociologists tried to search for the causes of National-Socialism using sociological tools and methods. Their pioneer work in methodology has been well received in West Germany since the sixties. Among the earliest analyses of this kind was Rudolf Heberle’s book *Landbevölkerung und Nationalsozialismus am Beispiel Schleswig-Holsteins 1918–1932*, which had been finished already in 1932 and which the I.f.Z. published in German in 1963. Further examples are Theodor Geiger’s analyses of social strata and of *Panik im Mittelstand* which appeared already prior to 1933, Hans Speier’s work on *Soziologie der deutschen Angestelltenschaft* (1933) which was published completely in the Federal Republic only in 1977 under the title *Die Angestellten vor dem Nationalsozialismus*.

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Of a completely different kind, but of great methodological interest, are the *Studien über Autorität und Familie*, on the „authoritarian character” by the Frankfurt Institute (then in Paris) of 1936, which initiated a sociological behavioral branch of learning on this subject. The study by Erich Fromm *German Workers 1929. A Survey, its Methods and Results*, which combined the socio-critical approach of the Frankfurt School with socio-psychological concepts, has only recently been published in the Federal Republic. In a broader sense, the first great structural analyses of the N.S. rule by political scientists, which were published in the United States first and then, in the sixties, in the Federal Republic, also belong to this subject: Franz Neumann's *Behemoth* and Ernst Fraenkel's *The Dual State*. The latter has been instrumental in providing a framework for research on National-Socialism. The questions posed were marked by the shock of personal experiences; the experiences of having lived in the socio-political systems of Western Europe and the U.S.A. benefited these analyses.

Work on methods of empirical and applied social research, which had begun at the end of the twenties, was broken off permanently in Germany and Austria by the emigration of its leading exponents. German sociology was cut off from this core of the modern social sciences. The results of the emigrants' research have not been systematically acknowledged, as Lepsius observes: “The sociological emigration is not only an exodus of persons but also an exodus of specific sociological paradigms.” It is not surprising that the reverse side of this loss has been a tremendous influence of the innovative ideas of the emigrants on the American social sciences following the reception of Max Weber's thought as introduced by Talcott Parsons in the twenties. The description of this impact, which also occurred in other fields, is not the task of this part of the introduction. Instead, we refer to studies whose empirical basis has been broadened by the documentation of the professional careers and the lists of publications of the exiles. In the future it will be possible to examine the benefit to the host countries in a systematic way, encompassing all important representatives of a discipline, and to undertake a historical comparison of the individual disciplines on the basis of this *Dictionary*. The cultural gain for the host countries has doubtless been very large — at least for those states which opened themselves to the scholarly work of the immigrants. In some countries, the activities of emigrants led the way to the establishment of new scholarly disciplines, for instance, of musicology and art history in the United States. In the English and American understanding of social science, the influence of the “logical positivism” of the *Wiener Kreis*, to which many emigrants belonged, is still to be felt today. The theories of the philosopher Karl R. Popper — who at present lives in London — came into being as a result of the critical discussions of this school, and enjoy worldwide recognition to this day. Some of the natural Sciences, especially nuclear physics, were similarly influenced. The same is true for the psychoanalysts, almost all of whom were forced to leave Germany. Although these scientific disciplines had of course already been received into English and American culture before 1933, their importance increased through emigration. One immeasurably positive consequence of emigration, which the N.S. rulers had by no means desired, was the internationalization of science, especially in sociology, political science, psychology, law, and art history, to the detri-

ment of scholarship in Germany and at the price of two decades of provincialism.

Proof of this can be found in the names of some of the most outstanding representatives of these fields: Among emigrated psychologists, aside from the psycho-analytical school of Sigmund Freud and his daughter, Anna Freud, mentioned earlier, other directions represented were: William Stern, Karl and Charlotte Bühler, Wilhelm Reich, Theodor Reick, Bruno Bettelheim, Erich Fromm, the former psychoanalyst and later founder of individual psychology Alfred Adler, and the Gestalt psychologists Wolfgang Köhler, Kurt Lewin, and Max Wertheimer.

The bloodletting of German philosophy was also quite considerable as far as number and rank of the emigrated scholars are concerned. In this field, many directions can be found, too, as only a few representative names will document: Ernst Bloch, Ernst Cassirer, Karl Löwith, Hans Jonas, Herbert Marcuse, Ludwig Marcuse, Theodor W. Adorno, Max Horkheimer, Georg Misch, Paul Ludwig Landsberg, Ludwig Landgrebe, Helmut Kuhn, Theodor Lessing, Arthur Liebert, Julius Lips, Arnold Metzger, Hans J. Wolff, Fritz Heinemann, Felix Kaufmann, Walter Kaufmann, Ulrich Sonnemann, Felix Weil, Julius Kraft, Richard Kroner, Hannah Arendt, Leo Strauss, E.F. Podach, Hermann Schmalenbach, Kurt Riezler (formerly on the staff of Reichskanzler Bethmann-Hollweg), and the logical positivists, Rudolf Carnap, Otto Neurath, and Karl R. Popper, and, finally, the internationally recognized Renaissance scholar Paul O. Kristeller. Kantians, Hegelians, Marxists, positivists, phenomenologists, Nietzscheans and existentialists from the schools of Martin Heidegger and Karl Jaspers, as well as individualists belonging to no school, and historians of philosophy; to most emigrating philosophers, the threat resulting from being of Jewish background was the factor deciding their leaving Germany or Austria. And yet, it has to be stated here, too, that outstanding philosophers remained in Germany during the Nazi dictatorship. Heidegger may have been politically one of the most problematical among them, but he was certainly the most important philosopher writing in Germany during these years. A whole range of behavior is encountered among the philosophers in the N.S. Reich: conformity, “inner” emigration, and more or less open opposition.

The philosophers in exile continued their work in their former ways as far as their professional and financial situations permitted. Thus, the continuity of philosophical thought was upheld much more in Germany after the war than the traditions of some other fields.

Among emigrating art historians were first-class scholars. One of them was Erwin Panofsky, who published his Dürer biography in Princeton in 1943 (it was translated into German only in 1977) and an impressive number of other works on Gothic architecture, the Renaissance, early Dutch painting, iconography, tomb sculptures, and, finally, art theory. From his American exile, he firmly established his worldwide reputation as the head of the Hamburg *Schule der Kunstwissenschaft* which had been founded by Aby Warburg. Another art historian of rank who becomes increasingly known in the Federal Republic was Ernst H. Gombrich — like Panofsky, author of many works on the history of art and member of the order “Pour le Mérite.” Among the older generation of important

art historians in exile were also Hans Kaufmann, Rudolf Wittkower, and Arnold Hauser — the latter a highly educated, independent-minded art sociologist influenced by Marxism, whose books *A Social History of Art*, *Methoden moderner Kunstbetrachtung* as well as *Der Manierismus — Krise der Renaissance und Ursprung der modernen Kunst*, interpreted art in its social environment. An unquestioned pioneer of architectural history was Nikolaus Pevsner — like the other art historians mentioned here a scholar with a broad grasp of his field, encompassing not only German and European but also non-European art history. Otto von Simson whose scientific renown was established only after World War II belongs to a younger generation. He wrote his study *The Gothic Cathedral. Origins of Gothic Architecture and the Medieval Concept of Order* in exile, and, after his return to Germany, published a comprehensive medieval art history among other publications. In addition, he has rendered great services to his home country in the diplomatic and cultural field.

The list of important art historians can easily be expanded, for instance, by Walter Friedländer, Max J. Friedländer, Hans Huth, or the architectural historian, Julius Posener (Berlin), to mention only a few. Even this short list conveys an idea of the innovative significance of German art historians. They were not committed in method or contents to any single line of interpretation in art history.

A similar observation holds true for the theologians. The protestant emigrants Karl Barth and Paul Tillich, the Catholic emigrants Hubert Jedin, Hugo Rahner, Walter Mariaux, and the theologian Edith Stein — originally an important philosopher and student of Husserl — were very different personalities, although the two first-mentioned protestant theologians were influenced by “religious socialism” and influenced it in turn. In the case of the Catholic theologians, the possibility existed that, as members of a universal Church, they could be transferred to a foreign country when political difficulties arose. An appointment to an office at the Vatican, however, was not formally considered as emigration. Thus, the last chairman of the German *Zentrumspartei*, prelate Ludwig Kaas, did not return from Rome after the signing of the *Reichskonkordat* in 1933. Until his death in 1952, he held high office in the Vatican and served as secretary to the Congregation of Cardinals at St. Peter's. In addition, many theologians stayed in the N.S. Reich to care for their parishioners and enjoyed a certain institutional protection through their churches if they expressed limited opposition to the government. When difficulties arose, they did not have to face the régime alone. The churches, in turn, were required to make concessions to the government in order to retain their relative independence. Nevertheless, there were churches that openly objected to the church policy of the Third Reich, for instance the Confessional Church, which was established to oppose the “*Deutsche Christen*” of the *Reichsbischof* Ludwig Müller. The latter had been dependent on the N.S. régime, but was deprived of all real power in 1935.

One of the academic disciplines that was most susceptible to ideological tampering was German philology. Thus, the number of emigrants who were not Jews or of Jewish descent as defined by N.S. legislation was rather small. Although this generalization holds, there were still renowned scholars in this field who were forced to leave Germany. Walter A. Berend-

sohn was one of them, yet his emigration showed him a new purpose in his life's work: He became the pioneer of research on the “literary” emigration. Others included an expert on Novalis and expressionism, Richard Samuel; a researcher on Jean Paul, Eduard Berend; Richard Alewyn, an expert on the baroque period, and Hofmannsthal; a scholar of Old German, Friedrich Ranke; and literary scholars still working today, like Erich Heller, Oskar Seidlin or Käthe Hamburger, who writes, among other subjects, about Thomas Mann and romanticism and does methodological studies as well. Among the most famous of the literary scholars or critics were the following: the scholar of romance languages and literatures Erich Auerbach, the chronicler of literary expressionism Kurt Pinthus; the theater critic Alfred Kerr; and, above all, Walter Benjamin whose rich work has greatly influenced literature and the humanities in the Federal Republic for the past two decades. Classical scholars and archeologists of rank also emigrated. We cannot generalize here about the nature of their work, as it was quite varied. The one unifying common denominator was the threat posed by the N.S. régime. The following shall be named here as being representative: Fr. M. Heichelheim, Werner Jaeger, Paul Maas, Kurt von Fritz, Eduard Fraenkel, Hermann Fraenkel, and the archeologist, Karl Schefold.

History and political science are, by nature, disciplines closely related to politics. The proximity is greater the more the political history of the most recent periods becomes of central interest. Some of the political scientists have already been mentioned before, as many of them were originally lawyers or sociologists and political science was even less defined than sociology before 1933. Some of the emigrants who later became outstanding political scientists had originally been journalists; still others emigrated with their parents and were children at their time of emigration. This group became important only after the war. Among these political scientists of different backgrounds and, in part, of different political directions were: Ernst Fraenkel, Richard Löwenthal, Arnold Bergsträsser, Arnold Brecht, Ferdinand A. Hermens, Carl J. Friedrich, Karl J. Newman, Joseph Rovin, Kurt L. Shell, Franz Neumann, Ossip K. Flechtheim, Emmerich K. Francis, Eric Voegelin, Wolfgang Hirsch-Weber and Alfred Grosser, whose scientific and publicistic career began only in the fifties. Among this group was also a pioneer of research on political parties, Sigmund Neumann, whose diagnosis of the party system of the Weimar Republic of 1932 is to this day among the best books written on the subject. Neumann's experiences in exile are reflected in comprehensive works of comparative party research (*Modern Political Parties*, 1956). His own personal history and his having witnessed the N.S. seizure of power produced his powerful work as well as his analyses of the totalitarian N.S. dictatorship, *Permanent Revolution* (1942), and his interpretation of the world-political situation, *The Future in Perspective* (1946). The questions posed, the topics treated, and the methods applied by political science in exile have influenced this discipline in the Federal Republic for years.

There exists no systematic description of the emigration of historians. The present volume will make it possible to investigate this field in the future. After 1933, history was in a similar situation as the other disciplines. Among the emigrants there were a large number of people of Jewish background. During N.S. rule, highly sophisticated research in specialized fields

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was continued in Germany. These were mostly in areas that, because of their specialist character, lay outside the interests and horizon of N.S. functionaries, or in fields which could avoid the direct influence of the régime. Conformity, withdrawal into private spheres, the dismissal of many scientists, resistance — this was the series of experiences that appeared with changing emphasis in all disciplines. Besides ideological, pseudo-historical concoctions, numerous works of high quality appeared, for instance Otto Brunner's *Land und Herrschaft* (1943), which influenced research on late medieval constitutional history and the social history of concepts which is particularly topical today. Despite the fact that a number of prefaces were written by renowned historians that can only be read with embarrassment today, scholarly judgement has to concentrate on the actual value of these works. Here it can be shown frequently that formal gestures of submission to the régime which can be encountered in all totalitarian dictatorships do not necessarily prejudice the academic rank of a work. Disregarding the National-Socialist historian Walter Frank, whose *Reichsinstitut für Geschichte des neuen Deutschlands*, Helmut Heiber has described in a comprehensive book, the following historians of high reputation lived in the N.S. Reich: Friedrich Meinecke, Otto Hintze, Percy Ernst Schramm, Heinrich Mitteis, Franz Schnabel, Karl Hampe, Johannes Haller, Gerd Tellenbach, Walter Kienast, Friedrich Baethgen, Hans Herzfeld, Karl Brandi, Willy Andreas, Fritz Hartung, Walter Goetz, Hermann Oncken, Johannes Ziekursch, Carl Erdmann (who was prevented from accepting a professorship by being drafted into military service), Gerhard Ritter, who belonged to the conservative resistance against Hitler — to mention only a few. None of these men were National-Socialists, but some of them shared the tradition of a national ideology of German medieval history, or had a strict "national" way of thinking which had a certain affinity to N.S. ideology. This does not mean that they supported an interpretation of history as promoted by the National-Socialist rector of Heidelberg University Ernst Kriek. To him, "race" and "blood" were the driving forces in history. The majority of history professors did by no means agree with the historian Karl Alexander von Müller, either. He had become a full professor of medieval and modern history only after 1933, and belonged to the historians who remained unwavering National-Socialists till the very end. This did not prevent him from writing brilliant biographical essays on non-European history, however.

In most history departments the outright National-Socialists remained a minority. Walter Frank himself remained an outsider of the learned fraternity. In January, 1933, no full professor of medieval and modern history in Germany was a member of the N.S.D.A.P. Besides Heiber, primarily Karl Ferdinand Werner and, under different aspects, Gerhard Ritter, Theodor Schieder and — from a very critical point of view — the American, Georg Iggers, as well as the Marxist historian, Hans Schleier, contributed to the clarification of the wide range of attitudes among German historians during the N.S. dictatorship. If one disregards those areas of the discipline that were of special interest to N.S. propaganda, including as Werner Philipp has shown, the considerably *gleichgeschaltete* presentation of Eastern European history, then it becomes obvious where the problem lay, that is, less in the number of opportunists or convinced partisans of the régime than in a *deutsch-*

national way of thinking of a number of historians who had rejected Weimar democracy. Still, "between the conservative historians and the Nazis there existed basic *weltanschauliche* differences. The conception of history Hitler presented in *Mein Kampf*, or Alfred Rosenberg in *Der Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts*, was determined by race, that of the historians by the state. The former was Pan-German, the latter dedicated to the continuity of Prussia" (G. Iggers). That was, by the way, one of the reasons why quite a few Austrian historians were susceptible to "Pan-Germany" N.S. ideology.

The majority of the best of German historians were not National-Socialists. However, their concepts of history coincided, in part, with those promoted by N.S. historians, and found common areas of agreement with them. At times, this was true even for those who distinctly protested against the influence of N.S. ideology and its functionaries in other areas of scholarship. The less nationalistic their concept of history was, and the more they thought and worked in European contexts, the less susceptible even conservative or liberal-conservative historians were to N.S. ideology. Examples of these are Gerhard Ritter and Percy Ernst Schramm.

The prominence of the above-mentioned historians demonstrates that in this discipline, in contrast to the social sciences, no extensive emigration of innovative, creative, and original scholars can be observed. On the contrary, many historians remained in the Third Reich and contributed to the advancement of the discipline, for instance in constitutional history. Otto Hintze had combined it with social history long before 1933. How did emigrated historians rate in comparison to historians who stayed in Germany? A great number of the emigrated historians had very different political convictions. Next to conservatives stood liberals, social democrats, and communists, next to Marxist-oriented scholars like Arthur Rosenberg — the first historian of the Weimar Republic, who was originally a specialist in classical history and had been politically active in the K.P.D. — stood historians from the school of thought of Friedrich Meinecke, or scholars whose main field of study was political history, international relations, or economic and social history. A single common denominator of these emigrants is again the fact that they were mostly of Jewish background. The names of the most renowned historians indicate once again the extraordinary loss that German culture suffered after 1933: Veit Valentin, Ludwig Quidde, Felix Gilbert, Hans Rothfels, Dietrich Gerhard, Gerhard Masur, Francis L. Carstens, Hans Kohn, Robert A. Kann, Ismar Elbogen, Alfred Vagts, Gustav Mayer, Erich Eyck, Hajo Holborn, Ernst Kantorowicz, Walter Ullmann, Helmut Georg Koenigsberger, Viktor Ehrenberg, Eugen Taubler, Simon Dubnow, Leonard Krieger, Ernst Simon, Arnold Berney, Heinrich Benedikt, Hans Ehrenberg, G. W. Hallgarten, Golo Mann, Gustav Mayer, Werner Richter, Guido Kisch, Carl Landauer, Selma Stern, Hans Liebeschütz, Hans Mottek, Jürgen Kuczynski, Karl Obermann, Walter Markov, Wolfgang Steinitz, Ernst Engelberg, Edgar R. Rosen, Albrecht von Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Friedrich Engel-Janosi, Paul Isaac Bernays, Otto Maenchen-Helffen, Fritz T. Epstein, as well as the historian of civilization and sociologist, Alfred Weber. Among those emigrants who had to leave Germany or Austria at an early age and began their academic career only after the end of the N.S. rule were Fritz Stern, Carl Schorske, Klaus Epstein, Peter Gay, Georg Iggers, Werner T. Angress, Klemens von Klempe-

rer, Walter Laqueur, George Mosse, Walter Grab, Shlomo Na'aman, Walter Michael Simon, Uriel Tal.

The fields of research of the emigrants were far-reaching. In many cases they had already written important books before the Nazi seizure of power. Veit Valentin, for instance, had completed his history of the revolution of 1848, still considered a standard work. Gustav Mayer had written his great biography on Friedrich Engels and Ernst Kantorowicz his on the Staufan emperor, Frederick II, which had been influenced by the circle around Stefan George and which Hitler liked particularly well, much to the chagrin of its author. Arnold Berney also had finished the first volume of his biography of Frederick the Great. During emigration, new works were published. Among the important books of Erich Eyck, those that should be given special mention here are his critical Bismarck biography and his history of the Weimar Republic, which remained for many decades the only larger comprehensive description of the Republic. Hans Rosenberg's critical book on the history of the Prussian Civil Service since the 17th century and his work *Grosse Depression und Bismarckzeit*, Hajo Holborn's three volumes of *Deutsche Geschichte*, Rosenstock-Huessy's individualistic studies of the character of the European nations and their revolutions, Gerhard Masur's biography of Simon Bolivar — the list of impressive works with different themes and methods could go on and on.

But the studies done by the emigrated historians were not basically different from those of their colleagues living in Germany. Historiography of great style, profound knowledge of the sources, the formulation of new questions — all this can be found in Weimar as well as among the historians who lived under the N.S. dictatorship and among the emigrants too, yet really outstanding performances were the exception in all groups. Thus, the situation of the historians differs from that of the social or political sciences, where the innovative achievements in these fields were nearly without exception made by emigrants, either before or after 1933.

The reason for this was not only that the last-mentioned disciplines were closer to politics, or that there were more Jews in them, but also because of the political attitudes of the majority of historians before 1933. Although few historians of first rank conformed to the system after 1933 in a strict sense, many were skeptical of, or openly rejected, Weimar democracy. Before 1933, the majority came from the liberal-conservative or the *deutschnational* spectrum. Leftist liberals or even Social Democrats were the exception. Zentrum-affiliated historians were rare outside of the circle of Catholic church historians or the *Konkordatslehrstühle*. Despite some informative analyses of the political behavior of historians after World War I, more detailed studies of the whole group are necessary.

Apart from the few critics of *deutschnational* or monarchical tendencies, the historians did not count as a particularly endangered group if they were not of Jewish background. It has to be kept in mind that political attitudes and methodological principles are by no means the same. There were conservative historians who did pioneer work in methodology and in certain subject matter areas, and politically "progressive" historians who did traditional work. The same can be said of historians who emigrated. The whole political spectrum of Weimar was represented among them, albeit with characteristic differ-

ences. Among the emigrated historians were comparatively few Marxists, considerably less than in the other sectors of the Weimar cultural elite that had been compelled to leave Germany. With a predominant affiliation to the conservative-nationalist, but not yet National-Socialist political camp, the extremes which typified Weimar culture as a whole were not found among the historians. They were atypical in the academic scene of the N.S. dictatorship and atypical for the political structure of the "cultural" exile. The majority of the leading historians in Germany kept their distance from the *Zeitgeist* more rigidly than scholars in many other areas. If this was a disadvantage for the new Weimar democracy after 1918, it was by no means an advantage for the N.S. dictators after 1933. After 1945 this fact helped in the development of new historical research in the Federal Republic of Germany. Of course, there were exceptions to this generalization. There were also exceptions in certain fields of history which deviated from the average behavior of the historians, for instance the — paradoxically — better adaptation to "N.S. modernity" of many ancient historians, some of them renowned.

History may also serve to clarify additional aspects of the question "return to Germany (and Austria) — yes or no?" In regard to the historians, Georg Iggers has concluded that only a few of the emigrants returned to Germany or Austria. This appraisal is at first sight correct, as the rate of return is considerably lower for historians than for some other disciplines. Yet, this observation refers to only one side of the problem. Thorough study will show that besides formal return, other criteria have to be considered to receive a satisfactory answer to the original question. Above all, it is necessary to include the influence of the emigrants on Germany after the end of N.S. rule in the evaluation. To influence the thought of a country does not necessarily require an actual physical presence. Prior to a quantitative analysis of the number of those who returned in the legal sense, the broader question of influence has to be considered.

A satisfactory assessment of the impact which the emigrated scientists had on Germany after the end of the N.S. dictatorship requires us to answer some basic questions. Was it possible to pick up the pieces of Weimar culture after 1945, was it possible to call back some of the "cultural émigrés?" Or is Carl Zuckmayer's depressing dictum valid that "the journey into exile is 'the journey of no return?' Who ever sets out on it and dreams of return is lost. He may return, but the place which he then finds is no longer the same as it was when he had left it, and he is no longer the same person who had left. He may return to the people he missed, to places which he loved and did not forget, to his language which is his own. But he never returns home." No doubt the psychological problems which impeded a return from emigration are expressed in these sentences by Zuckmayer. Certainly a number of further reservations existed, among them the mistaken, although understandable identification of the German people with National-Socialism. Finally, it seemed uncertain, what would await the emigrants at their return. A number of external factors played a role, as, for example, to which degree a particular emigrant had succeeded or not succeeded in gaining a foothold in his host country in exile. In addition, it was of importance to which degree the opinion of many emigrants during the first years that the N.S. dictatorship would not last long had given way to a consciousness of the permanency of exile.

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For emigrants of Jewish background much more was at stake than coming to terms with emigration than for non-Jews. Their shock about the mass murder of the Jews was more existential and more personal. A person's motives for emigration also influenced his decision whether to return to Germany or not in a special way. The more politically-motivated he had been after 1933, the more likely was the possibility of his re-migration. Particularly the politicians among the emigrants usually wanted to return, especially when they continued to have political aspirations. Similarly, many communist intellectuals went to the Soviet-occupied zone of Germany, the later G.D.R. In regard to other groups of the "cultural" emigration, especially for emigrants who did not have any party affiliations, the picture was more complex and cannot be painted with a few strokes. Remigrants of this kind, especially writers, were confronted with prejudices or had, at least, to reckon with the alienation of their former colleagues and friends. After 1945, a sharp controversy began, for which the public correspondence between Walter von Molo and Frank Thiess on one side, and Thomas Mann on the other, was symptomatic.

The central point of the controversy was the definition of the relationship between exile and "inner emigration." The request issued to the emigrants to return to Germany was accompanied by a description of the sufferings under the Nazi dictatorship to which those writers who did not emigrate also had been exposed. These letters intimated: "We, who remained at home, have suffered the most." Thomas Mann's moving description of existence in exile, his statement, that it had been impossible "to make culture" in Germany after 1933, his announcement that he did not wish to return — all this seemed self-righteous and unjust to authors like Frank Thiess. He wrote a "farewell to Thomas Mann" in which he contrasted the misery of life in Germany to the life of luxury Thomas Mann had led, who now lectured the Germans on their fate from the American West Coast. Others, who did not have to reproach themselves for any collaboration with the N.S. régime and had been forbidden to publish, equally concluded, like Elisabeth Langgässer: "I believe that the despair of inner emigration has not been inferior to that of the outer emigration, no matter of what nature it may have been."

Regardless of how one judges this post-war controversy, the relationship to remigrants, especially to "political" remigrants, in the Federal Republic of Germany has without a doubt been a problem for a long time. Each side had reservations toward the other. In addition, numerous left-oriented emigrants were reproached because their animosity toward Weimar democracy had contributed considerably to its downfall. This political destructiveness — despite their brilliance — of left and right prior to 1933 has already been touched upon previously, as was the inherent impossibility of continuing the cultural traditions of the Weimar period after 1945, as if nothing had happened, for instance in journalism.

But "intellectual" emigration and re-migration also had another side. Through the emigration of so many intellectuals, the internationalization of science and culture was greatly advanced. "Cultural" emigration has not remained the one-way street which it seemed to be in the beginning and as it still appears as an "irreversible loss" today. Very early, many emigrants had tried to arouse attention in their home countries

through publications and radio programs in order to counter N.S. cultural policy. After World War II, many intellectual emigrants eventually returned into German language areas. The remigrants — the majority of whom became "normal" citizens again — brought numerous experiences and new knowledge back to Germany and frequently retained their worldwide contacts. The result was a lasting intensification of exchange among scientists and scholars and of cultural exchange as a whole.

The effects of return and internationalization and their benefits to the cultural reconstitution of Germany after 1945 were much larger than the actual number of emigrants suggests. Numbers do not reveal that many emigrants — without formally returning — were present in the German-language world of their disciplines once again, through private visits and appointments as Honorarprofessors, lecture tours, and research projects. The policy of the Federal Republic on the arts and sciences has promoted this process of intellectual reintegration for decades, with great success. The works of emigrated scholars have been published in Germany to great effect. One example: The historian Hans Rosenberg was for a long time at Brooklyn College before he became a professor at the renowned University of California at Berkeley where he worked until his retirement.

Only after his return to Germany in the middle of the seventies was he appointed *Honorarprofessor* at the University of Freiburg. Yet, he had actually been present in his field and in Germany since the beginning of the fifties, at first as a visiting professor at the Free University of Berlin, and then, and most importantly, as the leading exponent of the new social history area of research. Rosenberg established a school of thought, and a number of his (in the broader sense of the term) students received history chairs at universities in the Federal Republic. Indeed, one can say that he had reached his greatest influence in the Federal Republic while he was still teaching primarily in the United States.

Other historians who did not return also made their mark on postwar German thought, for instance Arthur Rosenberg. His critical interpretation of the revolution of 1918/19 has inspired numerous re-interpretations and monographs on the structure and the political function of workers', soldiers' and factory councils written by historians of the Federal Republic of Germany since the sixties. The books of leading emigrants were usually translated into German, and were thus accessible to a wider academic and historically interested public. There were surprising exceptions to this positive reception, for instance Hans Rosenberg's much discussed, much criticized, and much praised book, *Bureaucracy, Aristocracy and Autocracy. The Prussian Experience 1660–1815* (1958), or Leonard Krieger's *The German Idea of Freedom. History of a Political Tradition* (1957). These exceptions should not lead to the premature conclusion that books critical of German history written by emigrants have not been published in Germany. On the contrary, a number of such works were sooner or later translated, among them studies by Hans Rosenberg, Hans Kohn, Fritz Stern, G.W. Hallgarten, and others.

Some of the re-migrated historians became quite famous in German-language countries for their work. Above others Hans Rothfels should be mentioned here, who had helped to begin West German research on contemporary history during

the early fifties. He not only influenced it in the sense of the research he himself did, in connection with additional work on his book *Deutsche gegen Hitler* which he had written in exile, but through his organizational activity which he grounded on programmatic-methodological reflections on the possibilities and necessities of contemporary history. As chairman of the advisory board of the *Institut für Zeitgeschichte* and co-editor of the *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, he had lasting national and international influence on this discipline and taught as a full professor at the University of Tübingen. Another emigrant, for whom it is hard to decide whether he should be classified as “returned” or not, since he lived at times in the Federal Republic and at times in the United States, established a new school of thought through the advancement of an important historical discipline, although he is probably known to specialists only: Dietrich Gerhard became one of the founders of early modern historical research on the estates (Stände) which has had considerable influence on the present understanding of European absolutism. Gerhard was able to inspire, or carry out by himself, numerous studies on this subject while he was the director at the Max-Planck-Institute for History in Göttingen.

Golo Mann had the greatest public success among remigrating historians. Although he lived in Switzerland most of the time, he worked part-time in Stuttgart fulfilling his duties as a full professor of political science, and was constantly present on the German cultural scene. His great books on German history of the 19th and 20th centuries (1958), and his biography on Wallenstein (1971) became standard works and bestsellers of their kind because of his profound knowledge of the sources and his problem-oriented style.

A look at the development of historiography in the G.D.R. shows a similar strong influence of remigrating historians. The *Geschichte der Lage der Arbeiter unter dem Kapitalismus*, a many-volume work written by the economic historian Jürgen Kuczynski (East Berlin), has become a basic work of G.D.R. historiography. The second most important G.D.R. economic historian was also an emigrant: Hans Mottek, author of an economic history of Germany in three volumes. Among historians analyzing revolutions, Karl Obermann, a specialist on 19th century German history, and Walter Markov, whose research was primarily devoted to the French revolution of 1789, as well as the methodologists Ernst Engelberg and Wolfgang Steinitz also played leading roles in their fields. The cultural-political activity of emigrants in the G.D.R. linked up with the ideas of some of the historians who had survived the N.S.-dictatorship in Germany, and with the ideas of a younger generation that had begun their careers only after the war. In contrast to the situation in the Federal Republic, the political orientation of the remigrants to the G.D.R. was homogeneous. Almost exclusively, communist historians went to the G.D.R. whereas conservatives, liberals, and Social Democrats — the latter few in number, as there were only very few Social Democratic historians before 1933 — returned to the Federal Republic.

In other disciplines, too, the impact of those who returned, or of those who did not return to Germany but whose works were read there, can be established. To mention only a few examples: The ideas, which political scientists like Ernst Fraenkel and Richard Löwenthal brought back with them from emi-

gration to the *Deutsche Hochschule für Politik*, (later renamed Otto-Suhr-Institut) in Berlin, influenced a whole generation of political scientists. The Frankfurt School also returned to its original city, and individual members, like Herbert Marcuse, influenced the intellectual atmosphere of the Federal Republic from abroad from the mid-sixties on. Literary critics, like Hans Mayer, or art historians, like Otto von Simson, who had returned, also had a considerable impact beyond the limits of their particular disciplines. The remigrated constitutional lawyer, Hans Nawiasky, not only worked within his own discipline but put his mark on the constitution of the *Freistaat Bayern*; Gerhard Leibholz became a lawyer at the Federal Constitutional Court. More visible than in the Federal Republic is the political effect of the remigrés in the G.D.R. where they influenced the reconstitution of the state from the beginning and where their ideology became part of the controlling state dogma. Those remigrants who went to the G.D.R. were usually communists. In contrast to this, the pluralism of the cultural life of the Federal Republic of Germany has resulted in part from the diversity of thought of those emigrants who returned there.

The question how many persons returned from the “cultural emigration” to the successor states of the German Reich may be answered in different ways depending on the criteria on which the evaluation of the material is based. The following considerations are limited to those scientists, artists, writers, and publicists who have been included in vols. I and II of the *International Biographical Dictionary of Central European Émigrés 1933–1945*, and therefore encompass the cultural elite in its widest sense. The actual number of those emigrants belonging to the “cultural emigration” is much higher, but a precise determination of their number is not possible for the time being. Thus, with regard to the total “cultural emigration” the following determinations represent only trends. With regard to the cultural elite the figures given here are — cum grano salis — precise. This cultural elite is not limited to persons included in the present second volume of the dictionary, since volume one contains political publicists as well as a number of scholars and cultural publicists who were also politically active, for instance Richard Löwenthal, who later on became professor of political science but who had to be included in volume II because of his non-political research. For these reasons, the following evaluation has to consider both volumes. The question of numbers can only be answered sufficiently when the possibility of returning and the desire of returning as expressed by émigrés are included in the interpretation. For this reason, the age of the émigrés as well as the date of their death had to be considered where necessary.

A differentiation between the first and the second generation of émigrés is useful, because the acculturation of both generations in the last country of refuge differed significantly: While the first generation usually had completed their schooling or professional training in the German cultural sphere, most members of the second generation emigrated already at an age in which education and professional activities were still ahead. Therefore, learning the new language was not as problematical either for the second generation since they learned the language of the host country already in school. Thus to which generation an émigré belonged frequently had a decisive influence on the possibility or desire to return. Who had grown up in

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the host country, who had mastered its language, who had no difficulty in entering professional life due to his being educated in the new country and, in addition, only had little personal recollection of his country of origin usually had only little interest in returning.

Although some émigrés, by these criteria, were, so to speak, between the generations, a quantitative evaluation cannot do without limiting values. A possible inaccuracy through this limitation must be accepted in favor of the verification of the procedure and the categorization of the results.

Since in those times, an academic education, the most time-consuming of all forms of education, could be absolved by the age of 25, and emigration from the German Reich began in 1933, those émigrés who were born prior to 1908 are counted among the first generation. As far as Austria and the German speaking areas of Czechoslovakia are concerned, a later birth date has been used since these states fell under the National Socialist sphere of power only in 1938 resp. in 1939.

The "possibility to remigrate" after the end of the N.S.-dictatorship implies that an émigré was still alive. Those who had died during their exile therefore have to be excluded from the reference group in this context. The year 1948 has been chosen as fixed date for the return.

Immediately after 1948 also those willing to return were frequently faced with obstacles. They often had to wait for visas which were granted slowly by the Western allies. In addition, the émigrés did not know what would become of Germany. Quite a few persons willing to return thus delayed their decision. They also had to wait whether they would be able to find appropriate work in their homeland. Quite a few needed time to overcome the psychic barriers to return. In any case, during the first years after the end of the N.S.-dictatorship, many émigrés who had decided to return could not or did not want to act on their decision, especially since to many who were politically motivated, the complicity of large parts of the German population in the crimes of the régime was beyond question. To émigrés of Jewish background Germany was, after all, not only the land of their fathers, but primarily the country, in which their fathers had been murdered.

On the other hand reservations, frequently also open rejection of the émigrés existed in parts of the German population during the first post-war years, for instance when the émigrés returned as officers of the occupying forces like Alfred Döblin. These and similar considerations suggested the use of a later year than 1945 for date of return. From the group of possible returnees those were excluded who had died prior to 1948. We cannot decide for them whether they would have returned or not.

In the first volume of the *Biographical Dictionary*, approximately 940 persons have been entered including rabbis and priests, who besides their political work were also engaged as scholars, artists, or publicists and therefore belong to the émigrés of the cultural sector. About 645 of them were born before 1908 resp. 1913 and still alive in 1948. About 245 returned to the German successor states, that is about 38%. About 2% went to Switzerland. Of those who returned, about 60% went to the Western occupied zones, resp. the Federal Republic of Germany, 21% went to the Eastern occupied zone, resp. the German Democratic Republic, about 19% to Austria.

Approximately four fifth of this group of returnees may be assigned to the publicists in the widest sense, the rest are scholars, theologians, and (very few) artists.

This ratio of return is clearly a result of the political activity of the biographees of volume I. The return quota among "political" émigrés is very high because their political creativity from the beginning had been connected with the will to return to a Germany that had been delivered from N.S.-dictatorship. For this reason, the return quota even in the second generation was very high. About half of this age group contained in volume I returned to the German cultural sphere. Many of these political rémigrés reached great influence and important positions, as Hartmut Mehringer, Werner Roeder, and Dieter Marc Schneider have shown in a 1981 study.

Of the about 4,600 members of the cultural elite included in volume II of the *Biographical Dictionary*, about 2,500 were born before 1908 and 1913 respectively and still alive in 1948, and about 26% returned to the successor states of the German Reich. However, only 8% of the members of the second generation of émigrés who were not politically active returned. The distribution as to the countries of return corresponds to that part of the emigration of volume I which was culturally as well as politically active. About four fifth, close to 80%, went to the Federal Republic of Germany resp. to Austria, one fifth to the German Democratic Republic.

The rémigrés of the cultural emigration portrayed in volume II belong to the following disciplines: The humanities as well as writers and artists are the largest group with 27% each, followed by actors and theater directors with 24%. 12% of the rémigrés were scientists, engineers, and medical scientists, 9% were publicists.

The cultural remigration of the G.D.R. differs insofar from its Western counterpart as artists and writers had the highest share and ranked before actors and theater directors. The pronounced leftist orientation of many artists and writers already before their emigration, as discussed above in the context of the political situation of the Weimar Republic, explains this concentration.

The differences in the distribution of returnees among the individual disciplines is based on professional facts: scholars and artists whose work was dependent on language usually had a greater interest in returning to the German cultural sphere. What Theodor W. Adorno stated in a lecture on philosophy is, mutatis mutandis, also valid for other sectors of cultural life: "Language is essential to philosophy. Philosophical problems are to a large extent problems of its language, and the distance of its language from the thing, which you find in the so-called positive sciences, does not hold true in the same way for philosophy."

Scholars are much more dependent on the expressive possibilities of their language than scientists, engineers, and medical specialists. Similar differences as in the sciences exist in the arts: An actor or writer needs a perfect mastery of his language for performing in his profession, while a painter, composer, or pianist may be great in his field without being dependent on his language. It is therefore not by chance that creative bilingualism among the emigrated writers remains the exception — as in the case of Stefan Heym, for instance.

A summary of the cultural emigration of the first generation included in the two volumes of the *Biographical Dictionary* shows that among this group of persons — for whom the possibility and an interest in returning existed — the total of *rémigrés* was almost one third (32%). This percentage is much higher than so far assumed, but implies, on the other hand, that about two thirds of the members of the cultural elite forced to emigrate did not return permanently to the successor states of the German Reich, be it because they did not want to return, be it because a return was little attractive to them due to successful acculturation in the host country and in their professional careers. It was also of importance whether in case of their return they would encounter adequate professional possibilities which were at least equal to their career in the host country.

In this context it should be remembered that, in general, non-Jewish *émigrés* decided more often to return. It had to be more easy for them than for *émigrés* of Jewish background: To many of them, being Jewish meant an existential and social identification due to the barbarism of the N.S.-dictatorship, while to numerous non-Jewish *émigrés* the national identification with Germany remained decisive.

The return to the German cultural sphere after the end of the N.S.-dictatorship requires, of course, not only quantitative but also qualitative research, requires research on individual phases of emigration which cannot be accomplished in this framework. The results presented here refer to the total period, i.e. to the editorial deadline of the *Biographical Dictionary*. A more specialized study would certainly reveal a different impact of *rémigrés* on individual sectors of cultural life, as already mentioned above.

But also disciplines which have not been listed separately were able to re-integrate famous *rémigrés*, for instance the theater directors Erwin Piscator and Fritz Kortner, the actors Ernst Deutsch, Helene Weigel, and Therese Giehse, the choreographer Yvonne Georgi, the physicists Erwin Schrödinger and Max Born, the mathematician Carl Ludwig Siegel, the Germanist Richard Alewyn, the philosophers Ernst Bloch, Karl Löwith, Georg Misch, and Helmut Kuhn, the sociologists René König and Helmuth Plessner, the political economist Erich Schneider, the theologians Hubert Jedin and Hugo Rahner, to mention only a few. There was probably no sector of cultural life, no scientific discipline, without *rémigrés* making important contributions to it. In the G.D.R numerous *rémigrés* achieved similar recognition and influence, for instance Bertolt Brecht, Johannes R. Becher, and others.

If one asks about the willingness to receive the *rémigrés* in the successor states of the German Reich about the recognition of their achievement, one will have to differentiate between different phases and disciplines here, too. The frequently heard Marxist claim, that in the Federal Republic of Germany usually politically motivated prejudices had been prevalent towards the *émigrés*, cannot be upheld. The actual share of *rémigrés*, which is, as has been shown, much higher than in the G.D.R., the careers of those who returned and only a few of which have been enumerated here, but also other evidence, for instance honors and awards, contradict this argument. In the place of others, the "Orden pour le mérite für Wissenschaft und Künste" shall be named here. It was newly founded

by Theodor Heuss and is sponsored by the Federal President. No doubt, it represents an elite association. Aside from the physicist Albert Einstein, who had been added to this organization already in 1923, and the chemist Richard Willstätter who joined it in 1924, there were between the years 1952 and 1980 not less than 25 *émigrés* among its 153 members. Ten of these *émigrés* returned to the German cultural sphere after the end of NS-rule. The order appointed the following emigrated scientists, writers, and artists since 1952:

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| 1952 | the lawyer Erich Kaufmann and the composer Paul Hindemith; |
| 1955 | the writer Thomas Mann, the classical philologist Werner Jäger, and the painters Hans Purrmann, and Oskar Kokoschka; |
| 1956 | the physicist Erwin Schrödinger and Lise Meitner; |
| 1957 | the architect Ludwig Mies van der Rohe; |
| 1961 | the historian Hans Rothfels; |
| 1963 | the mathematician Carl Ludwig Siegel; |
| 1966 | the writer Anette Kolb; |
| 1967 | the art historian Erwin Panofsky, the conductor Otto Klemperer and the writer Carl Zuckmayer; |
| 1970 | the theater director Fritz Kortner; |
| 1972 | the biochemist Sir Hans Adolf Krebs; |
| 1973 | the historian and writer Golo Mann; |
| 1974 | the biochemist Fritz Lippmann; |
| 1976 | the art historian Richard Ettinghausen; |
| 1977 | the painter Hans Hartung; |
| 1978 | the art historian Ernst H. Gombrich; |
| 1979 | the physicists Victor Erich Weiskopf and Felix Bloch; |
| 1980 | the philosopher Sir Karl Popper. |

Three *émigrés* who did not return but had nevertheless great influence on cultural life in the Federal Republic as representatives of their disciplines shall be named here in place of others: the cultural sociologist and historian Eugen Rosenstock-Huussy, the architect Walter Gropius and the writer Jean Améry. Rosenstock-Huussy was visiting professor at the universities Göttingen (1950), Münster (1957), Cologne (1962–63), director of the America-Institute of the University Cologne (1961–62), became Dr. h.c. of the universities Münster (1958) and Cologne (1961) and received the Great Federal Service Cross (1960).

Walter Gropius designed the apartment houses in the Berlin districts Britz-Buckow-Rudow from 1959 on. He received the Goethe Prize of the City of Hamburg (1956), the Ernst-Reuter-Medal of the City of Berlin (1956), the Great Federal Service Cross (1958) and the Great State Prize for Architecture in Düsseldorf (1960), the award of the German Academy for Municipal and Regional Planning (1962).

The Viennese writer Jean Améry, who emigrated to Belgium after 1938, worked regularly for German language radio and periodicals after 1945, became member of the PEN-Center of the Federal Republic of Germany, honorary president of the Austrian PEN, received the German Critics' Prize for literature (1970), the Literary Prize of the Bavarian Academy of Fine Arts (1972), the Lessing Prize of the City of Hamburg, the Prize of the City of Vienna for Journalism (1977). Similar

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awards were given to Nelly Sachs, Max Tau, Walter Mehring, to mention only these.

These persons represent the 8–10% of those émigrés who belong to the group of potential returnees, but did not return permanently. Nevertheless they were represented in the cultural life of Germany and won influence. Visiting professorships, memberships in academies, invitations, regular lecture tours, permanent work in German or Austrian newspapers and magazines, exhibitions and other activities were characteristic for these émigrés.

Those émigrés who went to Switzerland during NS-rule or — like Thomas Mann — lived there after 1945, also influenced cultural developments in Germany or Austria. Clearly the intellectual reintegration of this group has to be considered too. The literary and artistic works of most émigrés have been published in numerous single editions or as collected works in the Federal Republic and in the G.D.R. during the fifties, the sixties, the seventies and eighties, even if at times with considerable delay, as in the cases of Lion Feuchtwanger or Oskar Maria Graf, yet with great expenditure and success.

The combination of the facts enumerated here — share in migration, organizational influence without return, intellectual reintegration of the work — suggests a revision of the opinion prevailing so far, that the extremely severe loss to German

culture through the emigration of large parts of the cultural elite after 1933 has been completely irreversible also after the end of the N.S. dictatorship: A considerable part of the cultural loss, which N.S. rule has caused through its persecution of Jewish but also non-Jewish members of the cultural elite since 1933, could slowly be restored during the decades after 1945, although with interruptions and delays. Numerous émigrés have sooner or later contributed to the reconstitution of the successor states of the German Reich after the end of N.S.-rule. It is time to recognize their achievement. This conclusion does not mean, that all losses could be reversed after 1945. The displacement had meant too many personal sacrifices. It should be remembered here that many persons committed suicide during exile, and that many did not succeed in settling down permanently and in continuing their scientific or artistic work. The above modification of the previous assessment of the cultural loss must not lead to a minimization of the barbarian injustice of the displacement, or the terrible and generally hard lot of the émigrés.

Our result rather means that the displacement of the German spirit which the N.S.-dictatorship began ended after 1945. Despite the fundamental interruption of major scholarly literary, and artistic traditions of German cultural life, N.S. cultural policy gained its objective only in part, and, in many sectors of cultural and scientific life, only for a limited time.

The Migration of the Academic Intellectuals

Herbert A. Strauss

The intellectuals and artists who suffered the persecutions described above reflected the diversity of the culture from which they had been displaced. This diversity of their origins persisted in their flight and emigration. The world of nation states and empires, to which they were forced to turn for shelter and a chance to begin anew, was not hospitable to newcomers. No country welcomed intellectual or artistic émigrés in large numbers. Those who gained admission faced numerous obstacles in securing jobs to maintain themselves and their families. The support they received from family members, especially their wives, forms a persistent theme in many biographies documented in this volume. Only the best-known among displaced scholars and artists found the doors of universities, institutes, or art organizations open when they sought to continue their lives' work. For the others and for the young, starting at the proverbial bottom of their professions was the more characteristic experience. For émigrés whose large majority was formed by middle-class values and traditions, this was a new social experience.

The process by which the émigré related to the cultural stimuli of his country (or countries) of settlement is best summarized by the term acculturation. It denotes the unstable equilibrium which the fusion of diverse cultural traits brings about when a person or group comes into intimate and prolonged contact with persons or groups of another culture. It is characterized by changes in attitudes and values ("subjective factors:" self-image, identity) as well as observable behavior ("objective factors:" traits, habits, language behavior, sociability, etc.). Acculturation is a function of concrete situations as well as the generalized images, perceptions, and values the several cultures or personalities bring to bear upon the circumstances of the cultural encounter.

The concept acculturation thus describes also the two extreme situations found in cultural encounters as documented in this volume. For one significant group of primarily literary and political intellectual émigrés, being forced to flee and reside in another country constituted an exile. Upon close analysis, this did not, in most instances, exclude an "objective" and behavioral acculturation, and may have included use of the language of the host country, economic activities of the exile or his wife, schooling of children, active or passive participation in the political, intellectual, and entertainment aspects of the host culture, acquaintance with its literature and history, or sociability with neighbors and like-minded natives. Subjectively, however, and in professional and political activities, the exile identified with his home country, and maintained a national component in his self-understanding that was often sharpened by his absence from home or by active participa-

tion in exile politics. Such politics consisted primarily of the usually somewhat abstract planning, publicity, lobbying and writing for post-totalitarian reconstruction, and maintained intra-exile dissension along older party lines. The political divisions of the German and Austrian exile of the Nazi period influenced the activities of German writers who continued to write and publish in the German language. (Their outlines are presented in the essay preceding this section.) These writers, who had been established or were active *prior* to their emigration, and had made up a central segment of the Austrian and Weimar cultures referred to below, created a literature in exile — German *Exilliteratur*. Research has established that this literature, too, bears some influence, at least in its contents, of the exile, i.e. the acculturation experience.

At the other extreme stands the group consisting primarily of younger persons for whom acculturation constituted "full integration" into the culture and society of the country of settlement. Such integration, verifiable by objective indices such as education, military service, language habits, customs, leisure time activities, or marriage and child rearing patterns, and by "subjective factors" such as identification with national history and politics, may be characterized by minimal influences from parental cultures, at least on observable conscious or verbal levels of behavior, and in extreme ideal-typical cases.

For intellectual émigrés, the particular cultural traits of original and host cultures (including the complex pattern of acculturation derived from Jewish sub-cultures in home or settlement countries) were not correlated directly enough to allow predictions of individual behavior from group attitudes. The variety of historic situations in which intellectual émigrés experienced acculturation permits, none the less, some empirically verifiable generalizations about group behavior. Among the factors involved were age, political and professional activities and orientation, country of settlement, perception of historic experiences, Jewish ties, family ties, and/or economic and other interests.

That group identification is closely related to patterns of socialization and peer group relationships derives sufficiently from social and educational psychology so that it need not be detailed here. Observations of group behavior in the immigration situations of "second generations" are a commonplace of American immigration history. This pattern of second generation acculturation/integration is significant for the large group of younger émigrés included in this volume, and deserves a separate study. It also affects older generations, especially in Jewish and similar groups that accept family cohesion as a strong determinant of behavior. Withall, age by itself is not a

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stable or continuous factor, since attitudes towards the older parental generation and culture change as the cycle of life advances. The recent concern with “roots” among minority groups in the U.S.A. suggests further that cultural history and politics as provided by the media may affect group attitudes. Reversals in the language habits of aging persons and the increased European travel of older émigrés suggest other dimensions of age-[or income-]specific changes in the acculturation process.

Of major significance for émigrés of the Nazi period, including intellectual émigrés, was the generalized image of German and Jewish history and culture. For the Jewish group, Nazi persecution, adverse personal experiences with friends and neighbors during the Nazi period, the absence of effective German and Austrian resistance to anti-Semitism, and finally, genocide and the murder of close relatives had tended to strengthen the wish to cut identification and cultural ties with the country of origin, and to seek as much integration with the new homeland as the situation permitted. For some, this included a strengthened Jewish identification, and the acceptance of Jewish collective attitudes towards the generalized image of German culture and the German people. The foundation of the state of Israel and the political success of the Federal Republic of Germany and its policy of compensating victims for their material losses were additional influences on attitudes. They, too, deserve detailed investigation. It is further possible that the pattern of Jewish acculturation in Germany and Austria may have provided some models for the acculturation of émigrés.

Acculturation differed also with respect to the cultural expectations of the country of settlement. European nation states did not perceive themselves as immigration countries during the migration period under discussion, and in the majority do not see themselves as such today. Therefore, they do not have the collective memory or social habit of tolerating the coexistence of majority cultures with immigrant strains undergoing acculturation in a generational sequence. Even multinational states like Switzerland or prewar Czechoslovakia, or Poland have failed to develop social thought accounting for acculturation processes. Most, if not all of these states perceived the immigrant as a temporary sojourner or foreign laborer (“guest worker” in the postwar period). They exerted cultural pressures to either eliminate the alien through complete integration, or return him to his country of origin. Acculturation, or the process of combining features of several cultures, appeared as a “lower form” of the “pure” national culture, e.g. in countries like France or Great Britain whose cultures stress language behavior as an index of in-group belonging, or Greece or Latin America where religious uniformity is tied to the perception of the national culture. In the 1930s, economic factors and fears of émigré competition on labor markets, as well as xenophobic and anti-Semitic currents reenforced such perceptions.

The U.S.A., too, the prototype of a Western industrialized immigration country, looked back in the 1930s on a history of nativism, xenophobia, racism, and anti-Semitism. Such trends had emerged in public precisely during the period of large-scale immigration beginning in the second half of the 19th century, and had formed a reflex against such immigration. Earlier, this nativism was expressed as Protestant fear of Catholicism, white rejection of blacks, or rural rejection of urbanism. Empirical studies based on interviews and questionnaires, and

public opinion polls taken during the 1930s and 1940s suggest a high degree of generalized rejection of immigrants from Central Europe. They also suggest that immigrant intellectuals teaching in American universities and colleges faced considerable pressures to “adjust” their behavior to prevailing standards in their professional activities and in human relations. Such attitudes were strongly reinforced by the economics of academic employment (as discussed below). Still, with the economic expansion following World War II and the arrival of new groups of immigrants, cultural pluralism as propagated earlier by liberal groups appeared to be more widely accepted, and became incorporated in the national ideology. As a result, immigrant subcultures reflecting changing equilibria of cultural elements became part of the national self-understanding. The intellectual immigrant, instead of meeting hostility and reserve, now turned into a national asset and reached the highest levels of government, intellectual life, or the academic world.

The culture in which the intellectuals and artists documented in this volume originated was the German-language culture of Central Europe between the two World Wars. It comprised the German Reich, a republic, the Austrian *Bundesrepublik*, and the German-language areas of the Czechoslovak Republic. Each of these cultures left its imprint on their national scholars and artists. The central component called “Weimar culture” in postwar literature has given its name to the period. German intellectual life had been influenced strongly by foreign (including Austrian) intellectuals and artists who had migrated primarily to Berlin following the break-up of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. To be sure, singling out Weimar culture to reflect upon the original cultures of *all* émigré intellectuals disregards the refugees from Austria and Czechoslovakia, especially their writers and musicians. It appears justified, nonetheless, to see in Weimar culture the paradigm of German-language civilization and the major embodiment of the intellectual and artistic achievements and failures of the pre-Hitler period.

Long before the exodus of scholars and artists from Germany had become an international event in demographic and intellectual history, German culture had been part of, and influenced by, European cultural history, especially by personalities and trends originating in other countries. It has been pointed out correctly that most of the characteristic features of Weimar culture had been created in many countries prior to World War I. What characterized the post-World-War I period in Germany (and Austria) was the profusion and creative intensity with which its energies found release. The war had left Germany with a cauldron of political and social contradictions. Of the barely 15 years the Weimar Republic survived, only five years, 1924—1929, bore a semblance of normalcy. All others were years of political and economic turmoil, dissolution, and polarization. In the atmosphere of crisis, the polarities inherited from the prewar world not only sharpened, but also turned into intense political confrontations, especially when the Republic proved unable to solve the economic and social problems created by the World Depression, and took refuge in authoritarian government in 1930. As a result, Weimar culture became intensely politicized. Politicization extended not only to traditionally political branches of thought like political science and theory, economics, history, *Literaturwissen-*

schaft (literary science), the social sciences, or literature. It also translated as politically-inspired styles in entertainment media such as theater and motion pictures, painting and sculpture, musical composition, architecture, or psychology. Even the theories of relativity and psychoanalysis shared in this politicization since their opponents attacked them as “Jewish intellectualism and destructiveness.”

Kulturpolitik — really the politicization of culture, its political interpretation and use — had, of course, antecedents in European cultural history. Conservatives had condemned literary trends like realism or naturalism, and innovators, in turn, had interpreted styles like social realism, expressionism, or Dadaism, as direct attacks on the prevailing “system.” That socialist scholars had not been able to obtain university appointments in Germany prior to 1918 (and only sparingly afterwards) illustrates merely in an extreme example the finely tuned political uses of government controls over *Kulturpolitik* — which also had discriminated in major fields against Jews who failed to submit baptismal certificates to obtain professorships.

The background of this *Kulturpolitik* derived from the birth defect of the Republic: it had carried over in its government, business, social, and intellectual structures the achievements and thus the short-comings represented by the prewar establishment of Imperial Germany. The already far-reaching bureaucratization of intellectual life — life-tenure provisions for the professoriate, even for actors and musicians, the civil-service mentality of cultural elites — had thus imprinted upon Weimar establishment culture a stamp of conservatism that was shared by wide segments of the educated middle classes, business, the teaching profession, and the social elites of middle and small towns across the country.

The churches, too, shared in conservative *Kulturpolitik*. The Catholic Church had long been active in defense of its moral and social teachings in German politics, and used its influence to ward off modernization or innovations that (it believed) might morally endanger its members. The Weimar constitution and German legal codes had provided accordingly, that literature and art could be censured as “Schund und Schmutz” — worthless and dirty — and its creators prosecuted in the courts. Protestant churches, while neglecting to found a party of Protestants to defend their interests, joined battles with modernism through the political channels of middle class and conservative-right-wing parties. As a result, the Weimar judiciary meted out harsh sentences to “cultural offenders” of the left while excusing “offenses” committed by those of the right. It also allowed itself to be used to censure works of art offensive to the churches, and works of literature that satirized official definitions of national interest and honor, German war service, generals, or public personages. It sought to suppress movements to liberalize laws against abortion and homosexuality (*Sexualreform*) while finding it hard, under law, to send pornographic anti-Semitic propagandists and liars to jail.

Academic scholarship and higher (university) education in the Weimar Republic continued to function on levels that had earned them a worldwide reputation prior to World War I. In some fields of science, in mathematics, sociology, Gestalt psychology, Weimar Germany became a recognized leader or participant in advancing knowledge through pioneer investiga-

tions. In many other fields, Weimar scholars enjoying worldwide recognition continued their work or started on their careers. The impact of universities such as Göttingen, Hamburg, Munich, or Berlin on the development of modern physics represents the most noted and influential example, and there are less noted parallels in other fields. Increasing numbers of students, including students of middle- and lower-class origin, attended universities to prepare for higher service careers, reflecting the changed social role of higher education in post-industrial society. Seeking to guard their professional and increasingly labor-divided standards of scholarship, university teachers sought to isolate the university from the partisan political currents swirling around them. Only a minuscule minority among the 7,000 university professors of the period participated in efforts to commit university professors to public loyalty declarations for the liberal-democratic *Republik*. Since Nazi decrees were to sever about 2,000 professors from their positions, it follows that those among them who would emigrate had shared, to a large extent, the turn to non-political professionalism characteristic of the period.

Significant exception to this general trend occurred both within and without established academic institutions. New departments in the social sciences took place within the university system. At the University of Frankfurt/Main, a young and thus less tradition-bound institution, Marxist scholars established an Institute for Social Research that promoted critical theoretical scholarship. Other universities also provided appointments for younger and critical scholars. A significant number of émigrés who, in retrospect, embodied the innovative aspects of Weimar culture in exile, began their careers in German universities in the late 1920s and early 1930s.

Significant innovation also occurred in institutions engaged in research and teaching outside the formal framework of the universities. They included the *Deutsche Hochschule für Politik* (Academy of Political Science) in Berlin which attracted to its teaching staff not only outstanding future émigrés but also American liberals. In Hamburg, the Institute-Library founded by Aby M. Warburg created a center for a renewal of the classics as a cultural force in Western civilization. Re-introducing the comprehensive revisions in classical scholarship promoted by such 19th century scholars as Jacob Burckhardt and Friedrich Nietzsche and stressing Warburg’s, interest in the non-rational aspects of culture, the Library stimulated new departures in research on Renaissance and Reformation thought, art history, and philosophy. The Bauhaus, founded in Weimar in 1919 and continued in Dessau in 1923, summarized inventive and integrative trends in European art. Its architects and designers would achieve worldwide recognition and pervasive influence as émigrés from Hitler Germany. Psychoanalysis, too, as organized in the *Psychoanalytisches Institut Berlin* developed outside the university framework. Its Viennese center as well as its German and Hungarian theoreticians joined as émigrés in making depth psychology a broad force in culture and scholarship.

Besides such institutionalized centers of innovation, Weimar culture was most typically represented in today’s view by its intelligentsia — the nonbureaucratized intellectual and artist. He created the art, literature, architecture, and music that has, in part, enjoyed acceptance in the Western world as anticipating the sense of life and reality of the later 20th century.

Joined with this group, although considerably more limited in their influence, were the writers and journalists that made up the cultural opposition to the "Weimar system" on the left of the political spectrum. In political orientation, these writers ranged from the liberal center to the Communist extreme seen, as yet, as a radical ally in the common cause of change and "revolution." Like the Weimar parties and the intellectual Left elsewhere, they had split and subdivided into numerous ideological and political factions. Like the radical right, they fought the "system," sought to transform society in the image of their Utopias, and rejected the accommodations of the Weimar *Republik* in the name of a "new Man," and a "new Society." Their political journals pointed out early, and correctly, the numerous nationalistic and civil rights violations of the constitution, or fought for world peace, *Sexualreform*, the nationalization of industry, disarmament, free speech, or new forms in communal life, art, or literature. Their novels reflected sharp analyses of social ills and oppression. Their most pervasive stylistic loyalty belonged to the expressionist school, seen as revealing the incoherent structures of modern society, the shock of discontinuity, the greater "realism" of distortion and violent color, the rejection of the pretty surface.

Many of these men and women were of Jewish background or ancestry although quite distant, in most instances, from the middle-class community of organized religious life. A variety of explanations have been offered at the time to account for the relative strength of such persons in this group: the spirit of Judaism and its prophetic ethics of care for the poor; identification of past Jewish oppression and suffering with the hunted and exploited; Jewish critical intellectualism and a search for new solutions.

Explanations such as these are, as yet, beyond proof for the group as a whole, although their correctness for individual biographies is acknowledged, as long as they avoid the circularity of "Volkgeist" explanations that have haunted German intellectual life since romanticism. More to the point, and subject to empirical study, would be a link between the course of acculturation, and its stages, on the one hand, and Jewish reactions to such stages, including their share in avant-garde art and literature, on the other. Such a study would have to be related to socio-economic conditions, urbanization, immigration, political images and self-perceptions, socialization and other factors. It would show that not one but a number of typical situations created a series of options for the Jewish intelligentsia of which avant-gardism would be only one. It might also show, however, as has been impressionistically asserted, that some of the most creative minds severed their connection with Judaism before or when they achieved distinction in the wider German culture and society.

Although this intelligentsia was set apart, in its social role, from the salaried university scholar and teacher, only a small minority represented the "free-floating" intellectual of *Wissenssoziologie*. Weimar freelance writers created their works for a cultural and political market that flourished in the pluralistic atmosphere of culture and counter-culture, primarily in Berlin. Their literary essays and political criticism were published in "newspapers, magazines, collections, or books by a variety of publishers serving clienteles (*Gemeinden*) of devotees of every style, taste, or shade of opinion" (Pachter). They were supported by theaters and academies, state prizes and

book clubs. The political parties, following their own *Kulturpolitik*, absorbed and supported the works of fellow-travellers and party members. A substantial number of the best-selling writers of the period, by no means political extremists — Franz Werfel, Emil Ludwig, Stefan Zweig, Alfred Döblin, the Mann brothers are examples of future émigrés among them — enjoyed considerable public and financial success in the 1920s. For all of them, emigration ended all links with their informal networks of finely shaded political and cultural support. That such networks could not be established abroad was, in fact, one of the tragedies suffered by exile writers of the Nazi period.

Although a national culture open freely to other German-language influences, especially the Austrian, Weimar culture rested on the traditions of European internationalism. This internationalism had expressed itself not only in literature where superb translations of foreign writers had created a *Weltliteratur*, but rested also on the internationalism of musical life and the central position of art metropolises like Paris for the plastic arts. In many other fields, especially the more nationally conceived humanities and social sciences, international cross-fertilization was as yet rare. Weimar culture represented a transitional stage in developing systems of international communications networks. By the evidence assembled in this volume, Weimar musicians and artists travelled extensively and had contacts with their foreign colleagues. Musical performers accepted engagements in foreign countries: the Salzburg festivals organized by later émigré Max Reinhardt are one example of the trend. German musical scores were performed abroad. In literature, writers like Thomas Mann enjoyed international contacts and notoriety, and the Nobel Prize he received in 1929 was testimony to his worldwide reputation. Best-sellers by German writers found foreign publishers and translators, especially in the field of biography and the lighter novel (*Unterhaltungsliteratur*). The developing motion picture industry also created international styles for German actors until the introduction of sound limited it to directors and other non-acting personnel. There were to be outstanding exceptions to this observation in the Hollywood of Marlene Dietrich in the 1930s and 1940s.

Internationally connected also were the Catholic Church and the world of Jewish learning, whose scholars and theologians benefited from study abroad. Although Protestant ecumenism was still in its infancy, it had been inaugurated in time to afford social assistance to refugees from its developing headquarters in Geneva.

Soviet and Communist *Kulturpolitik* had started as an international movement open to experimentation and innovation. The bureaucratic controls that entered into Soviet society with the five-year plans under Stalin's dominance ended experimentation in Soviet art and literature, and enforced conventions like social realism or architectural monumentalism as part of the party's control mechanism. Communist innovations in the arts outside of the Soviet Union were redirected accordingly, as the Comintern asserted Soviet control over communist parties, and enforced compliance with Soviet policies. Protests by theoreticians like Ernst Bloch or George Lukács in the late 1920s against the sociological inappropriateness of applying Soviet styles in *Kulturpolitik* to the "class struggles" of Western industrial societies did not change this poli-

cy. Communist or "revolutionary" artists were encouraged instead to use accepted forms of "proletarian art" (e.g. in the theater, in "agitprop," in photocollages etc.) for their creative work.

The international exchange of scholarship occurred on several levels prior to Hitler's rise to power. Each of the fields in which scholarship had produced major innovators has its own history of the reception of such innovations in other countries. The prestige of German graduate study and scholarship e.g. in the U.S.A. prior to World War I derived from American perceptions of the excellence of German scholarship. Following World War I and during the depression years of the early 1930s, American philanthropic organizations like the Carnegie or Rockefeller foundations had encouraged the international exchange of scholars. (Some of their grantees would become émigrés following Hitler's rise to power.) The reception of Freud's depth psychology, of experimental and Gestalt psychology, or of Weberian and Simmelian sociology in the U.S.A. preceded the advent of the intellectual émigrés, and was characteristic of the developing internationalism.

The natural sciences, in contrast to such humanities as history, literature, and *Germanistik*, or to jurisprudence, may have been among the most effective in developing early international communications networks. Foreign students had early on attended lectures at German universities: in mathematics, for example, a survey of doctorates held in the U.S.A. published in 1936 disclosed that since 1862, 114 degree holders (both native and foreign born) had obtained degrees abroad compared to 1,286 American and Canadian graduates: "Göttingen, with 34 such degrees, far surpassed any other foreign source" (Reingold). Albert Einstein's career before and after World War I and prior to his emigration, and the careers of American physicists point to considerable international exchanges, studies, conferences, and personal contacts since the turn of the century. Modern physics exemplifies international interaction in the development of a discipline at its best. It formed the most noted and outstanding example of the internationalization of the sciences in personnel, exchange of information, and joint multinational organizations.

Yet, as the history of the intellectual migration made quite clear, this personnel and communications revolution did not lead to the undisputed admission and absorption of émigré intellectuals from Nazi Germany or Austria. Internationalism had been institutionalized by national intellectual structures. It did not change the institutional imperatives or the national policies of these structures. Internationalism had never penetrated German intellectual life beyond the most successful top layers of the universities or the arts and literature. As a factor in intellectual migration, internationalism was effective if émigrés had belonged to the German (Austrian, Czech-German) branch of an international institution. Thus, Catholic organizations like the orders or theological seminaries, used their international organization to shift some of their property and their politically or racially persecuted or endangered members out of the reach of Nazi persecution. Austrian-Catholic persecutees transferred to Roman institutions following the invasion by Nazi Germany in March 1938. In the mid-1930s German Catholic orders had responded in similar fashion to Nazi charges of criminal financial manipulations and sexual misconduct raised against their members. Most leaders of the Jewish

religious and political community (with the exception of German Zionist leaders) remained with their charges until personally persecuted or until after March 15 (Austria) or November 1938 (Germany). Following their emigration many of them were employed abroad by sister agencies or founded organizations on the homeland model. Communist internationalism, although difficult to document, appears to have been influential in setting up propaganda centers (like the Muenzenberg center in Paris), and to have financed Communist activities among exiles. Communists also set up their own publishing houses for exile literature. Gerhart Eisler served as a Comintern agent in the U.S.A. during World War II. Postwar trials in Switzerland established that Communist exiles assisted Soviet intelligence efforts there, especially after June 22, 1941. Other radical left writers and artists served in the Spanish Civil War. Writers and artists as well as political exiles living in the Soviet Union in the 1930s and 1940s were supported partly by having their works published, or through theater and film activities. They were paid (as with all such work) by government or government-supported agencies. Some of them were later murdered in Stalin's purges. Social-Democratic exiles, too, received support from "fraternal parties" and organizations in other countries; they too included artists and writers.

The organizational structure of the intellectual *Exil* was, in part, linked with the political network of exile organizations. Political cohesion and, at times, coercion along party lines formed the background for this politically oriented segment of the *Exilliteratur* of the Nazi era. The *Kulturpolitik* emerging at international meetings of intellectual exiles followed the political currents of the period and continued basic Weimar groupings. In addition, *Exilliteratur* reflected new problems, such as the popular front policies of the mid-1930s, propaganda activities against the Third Reich, or the shape of postwar Allied policies towards Germany.

For the large majority of émigrés, political and ideological internationalism was of little help in establishing themselves abroad. The political activists among intellectual émigrés constituted only a small, if vocal and visible minority. Most intellectuals emigrated, like their fellow persecutees, by using the assistance of families, colleagues, or friends, the formal or informal small groupings they had related to before emigration. This explains in part the concentration of some schools of thought or of political friends and allies in certain countries and localities following emigration. Only Communist and fellow-travelling intellectuals and artists were permitted to live in the U.S.S.R., a small and select group in view of harsh Soviet restrictions on immigration. The New School for Social Research, New York, appointed a group of progressive German professors, most of whom had known each other as Social-Democrats or Liberals in universities or government service. Psychoanalysts concentrated in New York and Chicago on the strength of having been preceded by others before arrival, and being able to establish contact with the "American movement." Similar attractions created centers of other psychoanalytic schools, e.g. Alfred Adler's in New York, or of Gestalt psychology at Smith College, Bryn Mawr, and the New School, and the re-founded branch of *Bauhaus* in Chicago and at Harvard. Professors who emigrated would attract advanced student assistants wishing to continue their work in emigra-

tion. Such informal groupings are known from the natural sciences, some social sciences, labor law, and, of course, literature, and deserve detailed analysis as factors in emigration.

Aside from the Warburg *Bibliothek* (which had had close contacts with English scholars prior to Hitler's rise, and transferred to London in 1933 to begin a brilliant international career) the outstanding example of international diversification through emigration was the *Institut für Sozialforschung* directed by Max Horkheimer at the University of Frankfurt/M since 1931. Privately endowed, the *Institut* had transferred funds to, and established a branch office in, Switzerland prior to 1933, then moved to Paris, and finally, to New York's Columbia University in 1934. President Nicholas Murray Butler arranged for a loose affiliation of the *Institut* with Columbia University. Most of its co-workers and students remained intellectual exiles interested in Marxism and psychoanalysis. That the *Institut* was refounded by Max Horkheimer in Frankfurt/M following World War II and gained new attention for its critical theory, represents a rare example of an *institution* closing a transatlantic circle of scholarly exchange and communication.

The corporate transfer of a Central European institution abroad and into emigration remained the exception in the pattern of intellectual emigration. For the political-literary émigré, advice and assistance was provided by fraternal organizations, newly established social agencies, and by the mutual assistance associations established by them in major centers of refuge in Prague, Paris, Switzerland, or the Netherlands. Many received help from fellow refugees. Artists and writers formed small colonies, e.g. in Sanary-sur-Mer (France) in the 1930s, and in New York and Hollywood in the 1940s, where exile art and literature were created and appreciated. As long as it was still possible, political intellectuals were helped in Germany by their political friends and associates. Within the churches, organizations to assist Christian "non-Aryans" sprang up in Germany, but failed to elicit major financial or moral support for their work from the established churches. Jewish persecutees benefited from the elaborate network of social agencies the Jewish Community had created to assist earlier migrants to Germany, overseas, or Palestine, or to provide social assistance to Jews abroad. For intellectuals and students financially and personally capable of preparing their emigration, these aid agencies provided the advice and help with which to start the search for positions in their fields abroad.

Just as migration in general faced increased restrictionism, intellectuals faced major obstacles in their search for employment. Few, if any, countries had included provisions for the immigration of university teachers, scientists, lawyers, writers, artists, or engineers in their immigration codes. Some countries, e.g. in Latin America, had excluded physicians and other professionals from their lists of desirable immigrants. In most countries, the placement of foreign university teachers in national institutions had been rare, and had not called for regulation by law. Only the American immigration code provided for the preferential non-quota immigration of university teachers (and their families) who had been appointed to teaching or research positions in a recognized institution of higher learning in the U.S.A. Mandate Palestine also provided for the admission of university personnel of some financial means. As a result, the search for a haven abroad became pri-

marily a search for a position in which to continue one's career, even after one had succeeded in obtaining the desired immigrant visa or residence permit.

The two main difficulties intellectual émigrés faced in this situation were economic and cultural. In the entire Western world, employment conditions for university graduates had worsened in the 1930s. The increase in the number of university graduates had created an "academic proletariat" of considerable size and had led to fears of political extremism in its wake. (For example, about half of the 25,000 graduates *per annum* of German universities had been unable to find positions in fields for which they had been trained.) With the lower birth cohorts of World War I entering schools and colleges, and shrinking endowments or incomes, teaching positions became scarce: in the U.S.A., about 2,000 college and university teachers lost their jobs between 1930 and 1933 — about as many persons as may have been dismissed from university positions in Nazi Germany in 1933–35. In the arts, too, unemployment was widespread. In Great Britain alone, 16,000 musicians received public support in 1933 (Lord Beveridge).

As a result, the traditional cultural nationalism with which a country's higher education system was administered and perceived gained strong support and created additional obstacles to the placement of émigrés. National university systems, aware of academic unemployment and the need to produce native *Nachwuchs* impressed upon them by policy and interest groups, now faced the question of whether to make room for a substantial group of foreign colleagues. Even the emigration of "White Russians" after 1917 had not posed a similar challenge to Western universities, to scientific research centers in governments, and to private industry.

The wanton displacement of academic experts by Nazi Germany aroused not only fear of economic competition or national defense reactions, but was also perceived from early on as an attack on academic freedom and human rights everywhere. Albert Einstein and other less prominent refugees aroused the conscience of their colleagues in the Western, especially the English-speaking world, in well-attended and widely reported mass meetings. Political émigrés, for their part, propagandized the brutalities and injustices affecting political and intellectual enemies of the Régime. In many countries, liberal intellectuals had long been on the defensive against conservative trends threatening academic freedom. Although the U.S.A. was not among the first major targets of academic emigration in 1933–35, its voluntary philanthropic agencies and its academic defense organizations joined their continental Western European colleagues and the major British center to support intellectual refugees.

The placement of academic intellectuals was thus the result of the efforts of an aroused liberal community of conscience pitted against economic realities and against national self-interests as perceived by conservative traditionalists in government and academic bureaucracies. Concerned university teachers set up organizations through which effective aid could be made available: the *Comité des Savants* and the *Foyer Henri Heine* in France (Paris), the *Academisch Steunfonds* in the Netherlands (Amsterdam), and, on a more international and lasting scale, the *Comité International pour le Placement des Intellectuel Réfugiés* in Geneva (which established branches in Paris, Brussels,

and London, and cooperated closely with the High Commissioner for Refugees of the League of Nations). Similar committees sprang up in other continental European countries that were the first targets of refugee intellectual migration after 1933.

The history of these continental European committees has not yet been sufficiently analyzed to be placed into the context of the academic and political forces determining their successes or failures. In 1933, the French committees succeeded in placing 54 scholars, and the Dutch committee 44 scholars in temporary positions. Their work was financed partially by grants from the Rockefeller Foundation and Jewish agencies, but these funds were drying up as early as 1934. Relatively few academic intellectuals were placed permanently in continental European universities or other institutions.

Major assistance, on the other hand, came from the Academic Assistance Council founded in London by the (then) head of the London School of Economics, Sir (later Lord) William Beveridge. It was supported by the contributions of more than 2,000 subscribers in Great Britain, composed mainly of university teachers and professionals (1937), and worked closely with American funding and aid agencies. In 1933/34, the Council succeeded in placing 57 scholars in permanent positions in the United Kingdom, 155 in temporary positions. 56 of these were at the London School of Economics, 30 at Cambridge, 15 at Oxford, 7 in Scottish universities, the rest in other agencies and institutions. These temporary placements represented 46% of the total temporary placements (336 persons) effected during these first two years. The Council continued to assist refugees through the entire period of the Third Reich, extending its aid later to Austrian, Italian, and other refugees from Nazi-occupied Europe.

Still, already in 1933/34 the number of job seekers registered with the Council had amounted to more than three times the number of those placed, a total of 650 displaced scholars. European institutions proved unable to absorb the university scholars or the students seeking research or teaching careers.

Of overseas universities, the Hebrew University in Jerusalem was only 8 years old when Hitler was appointed chancellor. By 1933, its original three departments (Jewish studies, chemistry, parasitology/microbiology) had grown to 9, but its student body included only 151 matriculated, 20 non-matriculated and 17 research students. Unsure of its ultimate role in the developing Jewish society, and beset by internal crises concerning its governance structure, the university saw itself unable to use the talent set free by Nazi persecution for the construction of a full-fledged university. In addition, the Carnegie Foundation, a major potential source of funding, had not included Palestine, then a British mandate, in its definition of British Commonwealth countries whose development it stood ready to advance. Jewish attempts to raise funds for a larger number of displaced scholars proved disappointing. As a result, by 1937 only 8 professors, 3 lecturers, and 9 fellows or assistants had found employment with the university. They had grown to about 20 by 1939. An equally limited number of scientists, although of great significance for the institution's development, found employment with the Weizmann Institute of Science in the 1930s. (As indicated by this volume of the *International Biographical Dictionary*, however, by the 1970s the number of immigrants hol-

ding positions at these and other major Israeli institutions (Technion, Bar-Ilan University, Tel Aviv University) was considerable 8% of all persons listed are located at institutions in Israel.) A comprehensive analysis of the intellectual immigration to Palestine/Israel has not been undertaken to date — a major gap in the account of Nazi period emigration and acculturation. Unique in the annals of intellectual migration was the appointment of about 100 displaced German and Austrian scholars to universities and institutes in Ankara and Istanbul, Turkey, between 1933 and 1938. Their appointment was carried out through the good offices of a mutual aid agency for academic refugees from Nazi Germany, the *Notgemeinschaft deutscher Wissenschaftler im Ausland*. Paradoxically, the scholars displaced in Nazi Germany had benefited from long-standing intellectual and political connection between the German and Turkish governments. German influence had displaced the strong French connection in Turkish foreign policy in the 20th century, and had led the Turkish government as early as World War I to appoint 19 German professors to the University of Istanbul in 1915. With the seizure of power by Kemal Pasha, the long-standing attempts by Turkish rulers (beginning with reform-minded sultans in the 19th century) to secularize and Westernize Turkish society and education had received new impetus. In the late 1920s, a German advisory team recommended the establishment of an institute devoted to the agricultural sciences and veterinary medicine. It opened in 1933 with a staff of 20 German professors under a German *Rektor* (president) (Yückseck Ziraat Enstitütü), the last of whom left Turkey for Germany in 1942. For the reform of the traditional university in Istanbul, where older forms of higher education persisted alongside a modern Islamic university, a Swiss pedagogue (Prof. Malche, University of Geneva) had submitted a plan in the early 1930s. He proposed to entrust the desired changes in research and teaching to a group of university teachers selected from several European universities in order to avoid control of Turkish higher education by a single country.

As a result of contacts between the founder of the *Notgemeinschaft*, Prof. Philipp Schwartz, formerly of the medical faculty of the University of Frankfurt/M and himself a refugee scholar, and Prof. Malche, the Turkish Ministry of Education under Resit Galip, appointed 139 displaced scholars (including assistants) in universities and institutions of higher education in Ankara and Istanbul between 1933 and 1939. In what may well have been the most massive appointment process at one time in academic history, 30 professors were appointed in a short series of meetings between Prof. Schwartz and Minister Galip in mid-1933, and others were added subsequently.

The following tables 1 and 2 on page XXIV indicate the extent of these appointments:

The appointments at the University of Istanbul were accompanied by the foundation of 14 university institutes in medicine, 14 in mathematics and the natural sciences, 12 at the faculty of philosophy, and 5 in the faculty of law. 10 of 17 directors of medical institutes (1933—1945), and 7 of 17 directors of university clinics were refugees. In addition, 3 displaced scholars were appointed to the Technical Academy (Technical University 1944), and 3 to the Academy of Fine Arts. Displaced artists (including Paul Hindemith and Carl Ebert) were appointed to the music school (1935 conservatory) in Ankara to help with its modernization.

LXXIV Introduction

Table 1: *Refugee scholars, University of Istanbul*

	<i>Profs.</i>	<i>Assists.</i>	<i>Aids</i>	<i>Total</i>
Medicine	19	20	7	46
Mathematics and natural sciences	17	4	—	21
Philosophy	10	11	—	21
Law	10	—	—	10
	56	31	7	98

Source: Adapted from H. Widmann, *Exil und Bildungshilfe: Die deutsch-sprachige akademische Emigration in der Türkei nach 1933* (Berne, 1973).

Table 2: *Refugee scholars, appointed at institutions in Ankara*

	<i>From Germany</i>	<i>From Austria</i>	<i>Total</i>
Music	12	9	21
Language, history, geography	5	1	6
Schools of medicine	7	1	8
Agricultural and technical	3	1	4
Acad. political science	1	1	2
Totals	28	13	41

Source: *idem*.

The faculties which included distinguished scholars in several fields enjoyed a unique position because they co-existed, without social or professional contacts, with a non-refugee German faculty in the agricultural school. In contrast to the German colony, they played a special, non-chauvinistic role as displaced scholars, and had the benefit of working closely with a sophisticated Turkish intelligentsia advancing Turkish modernization. Their stay in Turkey, presumably also as conceived by Turkish authorities, was temporary as indicated by the following Table 3:

Table 3: *Emigration and Remigration from Turkey*

<i>Year</i>	<i>U.S.A.</i>		<i>Germany</i>		<i>Other countries</i>	
	<i>Profs.</i>	<i>Assts.</i>	<i>Profs.</i>	<i>Assts.</i>	<i>Profs.</i>	<i>Assts.</i>
1934—39	12	9	—	1	7	2
1940—45	2	—	—	—	3	—
1945—50	8	2	2	3	3	—
1950—56	1	5	20	2	—	—
1956—	—	—	2	—	1	1
	23	10	24	6	14	3

Source: *idem*. 15 refugee academics died while in Turkey, three while travelling. By the mid-1970s, only six members of the original group remained in Turkey.

The United States of America took in more persecutees of the Third Reich than any other country. It also saved more refugee academics and intellectuals than any other country. Its immigration laws, as has been pointed out, permitted the non-quota immigration of academic teachers who had been engaged in teaching at the university level for at least two years, and secured positions in recognized American universities or colleges. Given the number of such academic institutions a-

cross the continental expanse, even the strict application of restrictive practices to immigration provisions failed to close America's borders to the intellectual refugee.

America's preeminent position in providing admission and new careers for the refugees is illustrated by the fact that 48% of all persons documented in this volume were immigrants to America, where, in large proportion, they achieved the levels of excellence required for inclusion in this *Dictionary*. That this large proportion includes persons of the younger generation of émigrés, who received most or all of their professional training following their emigration, documents the important changes in admission and appointment policies that had revolutionized American higher education since the World War I and, irreversibly, since World War II.

The admission of displaced scholars to the U.S.A. and their placement in academic positions took several forms. For a large majority, and for the younger generation, employment, training, or retraining for a position in a college or university was a personal initiative that followed immigration. Such persons arrived with their families as quota immigrants, especially during the large-scale immigration following November, 1938, and went through the stages of integration and acculturation characteristic of their fellow immigrants. The biographies of numerous university teachers of language and literature (especially German), of political science, sociology, economics, or history suggest successful retraining patterns for former lawyers, civil servants, high school teachers, or businessmen. Like those of the younger generation, their careers were made possible by the expansion of American higher education following World War II. Many received assistance from their families, especially wives, while preparing for those careers. For the younger generation, government support for veterans (the "G.I. Bill-of-Rights") provided grants or loans for advanced training or study. Careers also began for some through training received while serving in the Armed Forces, e.g. in engineering, space, psychology/psychiatry, or information control/communications.

For the numerically most significant group of older and younger refugees, however, the aid they acknowledged receiving from voluntary organizations was decisive in establishing their careers. These organizations were set up primarily along denominational lines, and supported mostly by Jewish contributions. Also significant for refugees of the Nazi period in the U.S.A. were the numerous "self-help" and communal organizations set up by the refugee community in many localities across the country. Their record is beyond the purview of this introduction.*

Academic refugees displaced by Nazi legislation from established positions in Germany (and after 1938, Austria and Czechoslovakia) began to arrive in the U.S.A. in some number only after 1935. An agency to assist academic scholars, the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced Foreign Scholars, had been organized in 1933 by the Institute of International Education, an agency of the Rockefeller Foundation. By 1935, this Emergency Committee had placed 68 scholars in permanent, and 83 in temporary positions, numbers that fall considerably

* Cf. Steven W. Siegel, compiler, *Archival Resources*, volume I of series, *Jewish Immigrants of the Nazi Period in the U.S.A.* (New York, Munich, 1978).

below the figures for the United Kingdom, where resources were much smaller than those available to American institutions. The number of scholars placed by the Committee between 1933 and 1943 was 228, out of a total of 613 applicants. Only less than half of these 228 scholars had originated in Germany. The number of scholars placed by the Rockefeller Foundation in the U.S.A. between 1933 and 1945 was 313. After November 1938, numerous *ad hoc* committees sprang up across the United States to assist teachers or students among refugees from Germany and Austria. Following the fall of France in 1940, a non-denominational committee, the Emergency Rescue Committee, operated alongside agencies of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, the American Friends Service Committee, and the Unitarian Church in France, Spain and Portugal, to rescue intellectual and political leaders, especially trade unionists. Their admission to the U.S.A. outside the quota system was effected by the President's Committee on Political Refugees, and by the political, religious, and labor organizations whose pressure had brought it into existence. 2,500 of the 3,268 visas issued with the authorization of the President's Committee went to intellectual refugees, including academics.

The placement of refugee scholars from Germany was not popular either in Great Britain or the U.S.A. until by 1937/38, the public perception of the depth of the human crisis engendered by Nazism began to be changed by events. The motives for this lack of wide public support in the perception of the aid agencies concerned, were economic, intellectual, and social. In the U.S.A., younger scientists and academics opposed jobs for refugees since many young American scholars were out of work. Also, the university administrators directing the Emergency Committee feared that placing refugees in large numbers would damage the development of a new generation of productive American scholars. Voluntary Jewish aid agencies whose financial contributions, to a large extent, made the activities of the specialized and non-denominational agencies possible, saw increased anti-Semitism and further immigration restrictions result from a steep increase in the number of refugees in American universities, or in sharper competition between native professionals and the émigrés. The unwillingness of Congress to change immigration laws, and of the Roosevelt Administration to ease their application appear to lend credence to their caution. Immigration was opposed by a vocal conservative lobby. Numerous states and trade unions had long required U.S. citizenship or loyalty oaths as prerequisites for employment or membership.

Of equal influence had been the restrictions imposed by ivy league and other colleges and universities across the country since the 1920s on the admission of Jewish students, and the appointment and promotion of Jewish faculty members, even in departments of science and mathematics. Many of these restrictions had developed in opposition to the opening of admissions to gifted children of immigrants, placing obstacles in the paths of their search for jobs as college teachers. As a result of such social changes, and in defense against the intrusion of "modern doctrines" like evolutionism, religious and philosophical dissent, even abolitionism and bimetalism in the 19th century, American education had split into liberal and conservative factions. This split was reflected, for example, in faculty defense organizations like the American Association of Uni-

versity Professors (founded 1915), and in the increased vulnerability of faculty vis-a-vis administrators during the Depression years. A report by the American Historical Association in the late 1930s revealed substantial inroads into academic freedom. By the late 1930s, several state legislatures had invaded the colleges in search of subversives, and had intimidated faculties into conformity.

If these difficulties arose out of the conservative image of radicalism and pushiness impugned to immigrants and their children, especially the Jewish immigrant of the period, other images derived from changes in the educators' image of German education. Although American intellectuals had shared in the strong anti-German moods of the First World War and repudiated the high esteem in which they had held German graduate studies as models for American universities, by the late 1920s German universities, once again, appeared to influential educational administrators as examples to be emulated, in contrast to what they perceived as the deterioration of American undergraduate education at the hands of the progressives, and its effect on graduate studies.

Crosscurrents such as these shaped the policies of agencies like the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced German (Foreign) Scholars and the Rockefeller Foundation, and the numerous organizations established in the 19th century by distinguished German-Jewish immigrant families that now turned to assisting academic refugees. Their involvement, like that of American and British college and university professors, was sparked by the conviction that academic freedom and civil rights were in danger not only in Germany, but that it could happen here, too. To forestall right-wing and anti-Semitic turns in a situation they considered volatile, they refused to assist all but the elite among displaced scholars, did not solicit jobs among American institutions for fear of stirring up anti-Semitism, and strove to disperse refugee scholars among institutions across the entire expanse of the United States. (Contrary to this policy, refugee scholars clustered in institutions in the Middle Atlantic states and New England, the Midwest and California.) This cautious policy of American agencies soon met with the opposition of the British Academic Assistance Council (Society for the Protection of Science and Learning), which provided fares to refugee scholars for visits to the U.S.A., thus expediting the personal search for placement (frequently during speaking tours at colleges and universities), and disregarding the sharp protests of their American colleagues. U.S. placement agencies did not assist younger scholars until 1942, and it was only by the late 1940s that they began cautious solicitation of positions for displaced academics.

Although British academic leaders continued to chide the financial assistance provided for this work by e.g. the Rockefeller Foundation as inadequate, the record contained in this *Biographical Dictionary* suggests far-reaching success in placement, a testimony to the voluntarism and humanism of wide strata of the Jewish community, and of leading academics who sparked the aid effort.

The few postwar investigations available on the "adjustment" of refugee scholars in American undergraduate institutions appear to reflect, in part, the division among progressive and conservative educators and administrators. For the faculties of small, non-cosmopolitan colleges, the German graduate style

of teaching, and the personal and social aloofness of refugee professors appeared grating precisely because it appeared to deny the teaching faculty's progressive and generous impulse to help in defense of academic freedom. Placing elite scholars in graduate positions at major universities, on the other hand, tied in with conservative aims to upgrade higher education. Yet, in placing refugee professors who were either Jewish or of Jewish family background in faculties across the country, a major step was taken towards breaking down anti-Jewish prejudice among faculty, while changed economic conditions and the expansion of higher education following World War II as well as the changed image of the Jew and the Jewish immigrant following the Holocaust permeated public consciousness.

The policy of dispersing refugee scholars across the country to avoid resentment was disregarded by institutions like the Frankfurt Institute for Social Research and the *Bauhaus*, which were transferred whole, or refounded by former members in New York and Chicago, or at the architectural school of Harvard University. Other scholars succeeded in opening up employment opportunities for fellow refugees at their institutions once they had established reputations with faculty, administration, or students. Similarly, faculties and administrators seeking strength in an area of research or teaching that had been introduced by the appointment of refugee scholars sometimes increased the number of refugees on the faculty. This was true, for example, at the University of Chicago where the educational reforms introduced in the humanities by Mortimer Adler and in the social sciences by President Hutchins stressed the kind of integrated learning that corresponded to their image of the "Bildungsideal" of the European elite university and its goal of combining professional training with an integrated world view. Refugee scholars appeared especially qualified to serve as models for such elitism.

Based on similar models and educational convictions was the unique Institute for Advanced Study founded in Princeton, N.J. by Abraham Flexner with funds provided by a private Jewish foundation. Flexner, long an educational conservative, admired prewar German universities for their alleged excellence, and saw the Institute as a frankly elitist and aristocratic statement that could stem the decline brought to American education by reformers and progressives. A number of refugee scholars from several countries, beginning with Albert Einstein, were appointed as life members of the Institute, and succeeded in making major intellectual contributions to American scholarship in fields including mathematics, physics, art history, computer science, economics, political science, and history. Other refugees obtained invitations to work at the Institute for limited periods. However, the results it produced did not differ in kind from work done at major universities across the country; the "democratization," or opening of American higher education to lower economic income groups or minorities, remained the secular trend.

If these appointments originated in conservative images of German education, the other best-known example of a group appointment of refugee scholars grew out of the more traditional American association of immigration with political radicalism. It took place at the New School for Social Research in New York City. Founded in 1919 by American progressives including John Dewey, Thorstein Veblen, Charles Beard, and

James Harvey Robinson, the school was headed since 1923 by Alvin Johnson, an economist and radical-progressive who had served as one of the two editors-in-chief of the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, and had become acquainted with a number of its German and Austrian contributors in economics and political and social science. The New School differed in design from traditional American universities and colleges, in serving an adult population without imposing the strict qualifications and requirements leading to degrees, and in stressing a critical spirit of progressivism and social reform. Its closest German equivalent was represented by the Berlin *Hochschule für Politik*, where two of Johnson's close associates and colleagues, Charles Beard and Nicholas Murray Butler, had taught as Carnegie professors in the 1920s. By 1933, the New School had established a solid reputation for innovative research and teaching, and had introduced the American public to several new departures in the arts and social sciences.

Shocked like the rest of his academic colleagues by the Nazi dismissal of "the most creative and ablest scholars to be found anywhere," Johnson established a Graduate Faculty of Political and Social Science at the New School — a "University in Exile." He secured its financing from Jewish philanthropists and the Rockefeller Foundation, often precariously. It was "to preserve the methods and character of a German faculty," and would be composed of well-known German university teachers who, in addition, had had practical experience in government, economics, politics, or the media. The 10 refugee social scientists with which he opened the Graduate Faculty in 1933 were selected with the help of refugee economist Emil Lederer, with Hans Speier serving as a go-between to London. They corresponded to Johnson's image of the Faculty. However, among the twenty tenured faculty members teaching at the Graduate Faculty during the first six years, the majority originated outside the German university establishment of Weimar, having taught at labor or business academies, the Hochschule für Politik (seven faculty members), pedagogical academies, or having served in high government positions. It was precisely this non-academic-establishment character of the faculty that had set them apart from their non-political German university colleagues in the 1920s, and fitted them into Johnson's purposes — the upgrading of progressive education, protest against Nazi barbarism, creation of a power center for social reform in the U.S.A., assistance to eminent liberal refugees, and development of the New School's academic standing.

As a result, the New School became a nationally recognized center for innovation. It attracted not only scholars, but also artists like Erwin Piscator, who opened a Theater Workshop there following his exit from the Soviet Union, or the composer Hanns Eisler, whose appointment on a Rockefeller Foundation grant for a study of film music subjected the New School to conservative attacks in Congress for "harboring known Communists" and subversive radicals. Johnson succeeded in giving almost 170 refugee scholars (from all Europe under Nazi or Axis domination, in addition to Germany and Italy) at least a first opportunity to start a career in the academic world: most of the refugees obtained more permanent positions at other colleges and universities following their term of service at "the School." The "Graduate Faculty" introduced new levels of adult education into American academic life, saw

faculty members participate in the war effort, or take influential government positions, and became another, possibly important, influence in breaking down American faculty prejudice against Jews. Faculty members remaining at the School achieved respected and influential positions among New York City's liberal establishment (Hannah Arendt, Hans Morgenthau, Albert Salomon, Hans Speier being among the more widely known at the time), precisely as American radical reform was pushed into a defense of New Deal achievements, and as the Cold War broke up the tactical Communist-Liberal alliance of the more innocent 1920s and 1930s. The Graduate Faculty, the "University in Exile," had entered the mainstream of American intellectual life and politics. Like other progressive experiments in American education, colleges like Bard, Bennington or Reed, or like the more temporary and radically experimental Black Mountain College, the progressive New School, for its own reasons and purposes, had joined their humane or forward-looking colleagues at other established universities in welcoming the persecuted scholar.

It is beyond the scope of this introduction to summarize the increasing number of studies dealing with the *intellectual* history of the academic immigrant, his role in research and higher education, and as an agent in the transfer and retransfer of knowledge and methods between his country of origin and the countries receiving him. This *International Biographical Dictionary* provides the first firm basis for comprehensive studies of various fields of knowledge, and of a generation — the so-called "younger generation" — that has received scant

attention in the literature to date. In several fields, the record suggests that international exchanges of personnel preceded the arrival of these refugees, for example through the Rockefeller Foundation after World War I, through foreign students attending continental universities, or, on another level, in the translation and reception of ideas by developing international communications networks. In some fields, most notably physics, mathematics, and some of the social sciences, research and teaching institutes in immigration countries were ready to receive their expelled German or Austrian colleagues because their disciplines were developed sufficiently to accommodate sophisticated contributions from foreigners. In some countries and fields, important stimuli are said to have been provided by the refugee experts, for example in art history, applied mathematics, applied social research, archival training, architecture, or Gestalt psychology. In most of the fields they chose to enter, refugee scholars of the older and younger generations took part in the explosive growth of higher education following World War II, and by the testimony of this *Dictionary*, joined their colleagues in advancing their disciplines through research and writing. It is the hope of the editors of this *Dictionary* that the labors of their dedicated research teams and co-workers on three continents over the last decade have prepared the ground for a comprehensive, worldwide accounting of the intellectual record of a period whose deep shadows are offset by the courage and humanity of these men and women whose achievements represent the will of the refugee community — of all religions, politics, or occupations — to assert life in the face of death.

Some Demographic and Occupational Characteristics of Emigrés included in Vol. II of the *Dictionary*

Herbert A. Strauss

Biographical dictionaries, analysts have established, do not lend themselves readily to quantitative analysis. Methodological strictures apply with even greater force to a compilation like the present volume. Although the teams of researchers and scholars who produced this volume in the Federal Republic of Germany and the U.S.A. strove to define the standards by which a person would be included in this *Dictionary* with maximum clarity and precision (see the Technical Introduction to this volume), they would have failed in their commitment to record not only the triumphs but also the losses caused by Nazi persecution, if they had not also included individuals active in the frequently fleeting or temporary subcultures created by refugee communities. The *Dictionary* thus records also those intellectual émigrés who strove to make the lives of their fellow sufferers more bearable, or who planned futures for their homelands that never came as they had visualized them in their most ardent intellectual efforts. Thus, from its inception, the *International Biographical Dictionary* was designed to transcend the format of the standard *Who's Who*.

Our design for this double commitment was tempered, from the very beginning, by the realities of the "sample" we constructed on the basis of our evolving standards of inclusion. Emigrés, exiles, and immigrants have always been men, women, and children in flight from a situation seen as less tolerable than an unknown new situation elsewhere. For the émigré of the Nazi period, especially for the intellectual or political persecutee who had sought safety in a European country, the pattern of Nazi conquest in Europe as much as the unwillingness of these countries to serve as permanent havens for Nazi persecutees meant a prolonged period of continued persecution and flight. More than half of all persons included in this volume (53%) had been forced to leave their country of first refuge before striking final roots in a new environment, or being able to return to their homelands. Fully one fifth of biographees had to pull up stakes three or more times before reaching countries where they could settle permanently (Table 1).

Table 1: *Percentage Distribution of Sample by Number of Countries of Settlement following Emigration*

Number of Countries	Pct "stops"	N
One country	46	(275)
Two countries	34	(206)
Three or more cos.	20	(117)
Total	100	(598)

Thus, many of the intellectuals had been forced to flee persecution precipitously and repeatedly to avoid arrest, concentration camps, or a worse fate, as Nazi secret police agents hunted their human prey. A number of prominent refugees committed suicide. Many lost papers and documentary materials. For those caught, the trail was lost in the deportation and extermination machine that swallowed them up. When research for this program began, four decades had already passed since the Nazi seizure of power, and many of the older refugees had died. Members of the younger generation had often blended into new environments, changed their names, or became hard to identify for other reasons. For many persons, information had to be obtained from surviving next-of-kin, whose memory was often dimmed by the passage of time. The dead answered no questionnaires. Thus, although the instruments developed to gather information were designed for uniform responses, information on many aspects of a biographee's history was lacking or spotty.

In addition, the "sample" brought together in this *Dictionary* does not "represent" the entire group of émigrés of the Nazi period or its major sub-groups, like Jewish, political, or intellectual migrants. It does not correspond in major demographic ways to the composition of the whole émigré group estimated to have included about 94% professing the Jewish religion, or having been persecuted for "racial" reasons, and 6% persons persecuted for political reasons (disregarding overlapping of these two factors of Nazi persecution). Within the standards of inclusion which have been applied as conscientiously as the often poor information situation permitted, the teams strove to obtain complete samples. Quantitative analysis reflects only this sample.

Finally, using statistical information to describe some of the contents of this *Dictionary* should not obscure the sense of the author of this essay, and the Research Foundation for Jewish Immigration, that the lives whose documentation it has undertaken must not be turned into numbers for the sake of scholarly curiosity. The Research Foundation commissioned Prof. Philip Leonhard-Sparks of the City College of the City of New York to design a first computer summary of the biographies included in this volume, because it trusted that this would not obscure its commitment to see respect for this unique group maintained, even in the face of quantitative social science.

The study, some of whose results will be discussed below and recorded in the tables following this essay, is based on a random sampling of every seventh biography available in the New York office of the Research Foundation for Jewish Im-

migration, New York, N.Y., on April 1, 1982 — 598 biographies of a total of 4,190 biographies. The final volume as printed here includes about 4,650 biographies. The 460 biographies not sampled in this way were not available at the time, for technical reasons, in a form accessible to sampling and coding. They were, however, entirely random, and thus considered irrelevant for the commissioned study. The categories for coding the material were developed in a test procedure by the coding staff in cooperation with members of the editorial staff of the project (Ms. Hannah Caplan and Ms. Belinda Rosenblatt). In coding the material, some ambiguities could not be avoided. The practically worldwide dispersion of biographies often made it difficult to equate English-language usages and designations with foreign designations e.g. of positions, career patterns, artistic or scholarly specializations, especially in cases in which translators had retained foreign designations in their final versions of biographies. The material resulting from the study is available for interested and qualified researchers at the Research Foundation for Jewish Immigration, New York, N.Y.

If, for the sake of comparison, the largest group among refugees from Nazi persecution is taken as a foil, the sample (i.e. the group selected from the present volume for this study; the term will be so used subsequently) was considerably younger when it emigrated than the German-Jewish group, which provided the largest contingent of the entire Nazi period emigration. In 1933, about half of German Jewry was age 40 years or older. In contrast, only 31% of this sample was aged 40 years or older at the point of emigration. 28% of the sample were less than 19 years of age, 19% age 20–29, and another 32% 30 to 39 years old (Table 2). This relative youth reflects a variety of factors and conditions: education abroad was a factor in achieving prominence; pupils, students, and children's transports were assisted in emigrating as a matter of policy, while older persons found greater difficulties in being admitted to other countries: many Nazi persecutees in Germany expected to be able to live out their lives in reduced, if relatively undisturbed, conditions there.

Table 2: *Percentage Distribution of Sample by Age and Sex at Emigration*

Age	Sex	Pct Male	Pct Female	Total Pct	Total N
0–9		9	0	9	(51)
10–19		20	9	19	(109)
20–29		19	26	19	(114)
30–39		22	22	22	(130)
40–49		14	19	15	(86)
50–59		10	10	10	(59)
60 and over		6	4	6	(36)
Totals		100	99	100	
N		(517)	(68)	(585)	(585)

The frequency and timing of leaving the country of origin reflects the pattern of persecution discussed above. In 1933, one third of persecutees aged 20 years or older left Germany (Ta-

Table 3: *Percentage Distribution of Sample by Year of Emigration and Age at Emigration*

Year	Age: 0–19	Pct Age 20 & over	Pct Row Totals	(N)
Before 1933	—	2	1	(9)
1933	16	34	29	(172)
1934	6	9	8	(49)
1935	4	7	6	(36)
1936	9	6	7	(40)
1937	6	5	6	(33)
1938	29	20	23	(134)
1939	25	14	17	(102)
1940 and after	4	1	2	(13)
Total %	99	98	99	
(N)	(161)	(427)		(588)

ble 3). They represented the adult population of intellectual and political refugees bearing the first brunt of Nazi measures. The second peak occurred in 1938 and 1939. During 1938/39, 54% of all persons in the sample aged 19 years or younger left their countries of origin, and slightly more than one third of all persons aged 20 years or older emigrated. The year 1938, as pointed out elsewhere, had seen the occupation (*Anschluss*) of Austria, the take-over of the Sudeten area of Czechoslovakia following the Munich Agreements, and a tightening of Nazi discriminatory measures against Jewish economic activities, culminating in the pogroms of November 9/10, 1938, and the internment of about 30,000 male Jews in concentration camps.

The high ratio of young persons among émigrés of 1938 and 1939 also suggests that Jewish emigration (by then, most political persecutees had long left Germany) was a family emigration, although political persecutees were included in the figures of émigrés from Austria and Czechoslovakia 1938/39. The relatively higher ratios of persons aged 19 and under for the years 1936 and 1937 (15% compared to 11% for the older group) may also be related to the pattern of persecution and immigration restrictions as outlined elsewhere.

The occupational distribution of émigrés as related to year of emigration (Table 4) also reflects the pattern of emigration as represented by the differences between political and academic, and Jewish persecutees. The years 1933 and 1934 saw the exclusion of Jewish and politically oppositional university personnel from positions, and led to the resignation from university posts of persons unwilling to serve the Nazi régime or anticipating later measures against themselves (for example on account of a Jewish family background). 1933 also saw violent attacks on oppositional intellectuals, and the disgraceful ritual of a public burning of the books of enemies of the régime by German students at the universities. Writers and artists of Jewish background or of dissenting political views were excluded from membership in the *Kulturkammern* (chambers of culture) that was made a prerequisite for continued cultural ac-

Table 4: Percentage Distribution of Sample by Year of Emigration and Occupation at Emigration

Year of Emigration	Occupation	Pct Students	Pct Medicine	Pct Scientists Engineers	Pct University Teachers	Pct Writers	Pct Musicians	Pct other Artists	Pct other professionals & technical administrators	Pct managers and groups	Pct other groups	Row Totals Pct	N
Before 1933		—	—	—	1	5	2	5	—	—	—	2	(9)
1933		19	32	47	36	41	24	51	31	15	37	29	(169)
1934		8	5	12	10	11	9	8	7	—	—	8	(47)
1935		4	9	3	9	6	6	3	11	8	—	6	(33)
1936		8	11	8	9	5	4	5	—	8	12	7	(39)
1937		7	1	—	3	3	6	5	9	—	12	5	(31)
1938		27	22	23	16	19	37	13	20	31	25	23	(134)
1939		24	17	7	15	11	9	11	22	23	13	18	(101)
1940 and later		3	5	—	1	—	2	—	—	15	—	2	(13)
Total Pct		100	100	100	99	100	99	101	100	100	99	100	
N		(207)	(51)	(31)	(48)	(64)	(46)	(63)	(45)	(13)	(8)		(576)

tivity. As a result, 52% of émigré writers, 59% of émigré scientists and engineers, 46% of university teachers, 37% of émigré medical personnel, and 38% of professional technical personnel left Germany in 1933/34. This was an “exodus of the intellect” that created the image of a barbaric and crude new Germany, and had considerable cultural and world-historic consequences, the best known of them in physics. That 31% of musicians left in 1933/34, a somewhat smaller ratio than

other artists, may have been due to the fact that Jewish musicians were in part absorbed by a Jewish cultural organization created by the Nazi government, the *Jüdischer Kulturbund*. This enabled musicians (and other performing artists) to continue performing before Jewish audiences in rigidly limited programs offering only works composed or written by Jews (after an initially more liberal period). The peaks of emigration for all occupations in 1938/39 are adequately explained

Table 5: Percentage Distribution of Sample by Occupation at Emigration and Year of Emigration

Occupation	Year:	Pct Before 1933	Pct 1933	Pct 1934	Pct 1935	Pct 1936	Pct 1937	Pct 1938	Pct 1939	Pct 1940 and later	Row Totals %	N
Students		11	23	34	24	44	48	41	48	53	36	(207)
Scientists and Engineers		—	8	8	3	8	—	4	2	—	5	(31)
Medicine		—	7	6	15	13	—	10	7	15	9	(51)
University Teachers		11	8	11	12	10	6	5	11	8	8	(48)
Writers		33	15	15	12	8	6	9	7	—	11	(64)
Musicians		11	6	8	9	5	10	13	4	8	8	(46)
Other Artists		33	20	11	6	8	10	6	7	—	11	(63)
Other professionals and technical people		—	8	6	15	—	13	7	10	—	9	(45)
Managers and Administrators		—	1	—	3	3	—	3	3	2	2	(13)
Other Occupations		—	2	—	—	3	3	1	1	—	1	(8)
Total %		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	—
N		(9)	(169)	(47)	(33)	(39)	(31)	(134)	(101)	(13)	—	(576)

by the Nazi invasion of Austria, the rape of Czechoslovakia, and the events of November 9/10, 1938 which were described previously. It should be remembered, though, that these peaks include considerable numbers of younger persons who had not as yet embarked upon their later careers: 36% of all émigrés in this sample were students, 30% academics and professionals, 31% artists, writers, etc. (Tables 5 and 6).

Table 6: *Percentage Distribution of Sample by Occupational/Social Group; Occupation at Emigration and Lifetime Occupation*

Occupational Group	Pct Occupation at Emigration	Pct Lifetime Occupation
Students	36	—
Academics and Professionals	30	65
Artists	31	34
Other Occupations	3	1

The breakdowns for the nationality of émigrés at birth is limited to 3/5th of the sample due to insufficient information. If representative, it suggests that about 3/5th of émigrés came from Germany, while about 30% originated in Austria and a very small ratio (1%) in Czechoslovakia. That even this unrepresentative table (see Table 7) includes 3% of émigrés born in Poland/Russia and 2% in Hungary points to the small but culturally significant number of nationals of these countries who played major roles in German and Austrian artistic, literary, and scientific life, including medicine and psychoanalysis, in the inter-war period. Still, the data base is too small to warrant more than suggestions.

Similarly restricted is the validity of data on the religious affiliation and background of this sample (1/3rd of the sample does not include information on religious affiliation, and the

Table 7: *Percentage Distribution of Sample by Nationality at Birth*

Nationality	Pct	Nationality	Pct
Germany	61	C.S.R.	1
Austria	28	All Others (II)	2
Russia (Imperial+Soviet)	3	Total %	100
Hungary	2	N	((396)
Latin America	2		

Missing Cases: 202.

traditional method of using names or other indirect indices for religious affiliation does not seem reliable for this group) (Table 8). On the basis of this limited segment, the number of persons professing the Jewish religion appears to have been smaller than the ratio estimated for the entire group of 500,000 émigrés. (63% over against 94% estimated for the entire émigré population.) Nazi legislation was based on "racial" categories, for it discriminated against, and persecuted, persons married to a Jewish spouse, or having some Jewish ancestry. If this factor in persecution and emigration is considered, for about 4/5th of émigrés in this sample some Jewish family background, marital link, or ancestry may have been a factor, or an additional factor, in emigration, while about 20% of the sample had no such ancestry or affiliation (Table 8). If correct, these ratios would suggest a higher degree of acculturation for this sample, possibly as a factor in appointments to university or research positions (prior to 1918, the appointment of religious Jews to university positions in Germany was restricted in a number of faculties). This would also be suggested by the strong over-representation of Protestant and Catholic émigrés in university positions (39% and 13% respectively over against 19% Protestant and 6% Catholics as indicated by 2/3rds of the sample: Tables 9 and 10). The relatively larger ratio of Jews among medical personnel (73% of medical personnel in the sample) and of students (71% of students in the sample) reflects the known representation of Jews in the medical professions in Germany and Austria, and the facts of persecution dis-

Table 8: *Percentage Distribution of Sample by Religion and Religious ("Jewish-ethnic") Family Background*

Religion	Religious Family Background	Pct at Emigration	Pct No Jewish Background	Pct Jewish Religions Identificat.	Pct Jewish Background	Pct Jewish Spouse	Pct other Indication of Jewish Background	Total %	Total N
Protestant		19	57	—	23	11	9	100	(74)
Catholic		6	76	—	16	4	4	100	(25)
Jewish		63	—	100	—	—	—	100	(241)
Other		1	25	—	75	—	—	100	(4)
None		11	29	—	50	3	18	100	(38)
Total Column %		100							
N		(382)	(73)	(240)	(44)	(10)	(15)	—	(382)

Missing Cases: 208.

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Table 9: Percentage Distribution of Sample by Religion and Occupation at Emigration

Religion	Occu- pation:	Pct Students	Pct Medicine	Pct Science/ Engineering	Pct University Teachers	Pct Writers	Pct Musicians	Pct other Artists	Pct other Professional and Technical	Pct Management Administrators	Pct other Groups	Total Row Pct	N
Protestant		14	16	29	39	28	8	20	13	33	—	19	(72)
Catholic		2	3	—	13	8	8	17	12	—	—	6	(24)
Jewish		71	73	65	39	59	59	50	68	56	75	63	(244)
Other		1	2	—	3	—	4	—	—	—	—	1	(4)
None		13	8	6	6	5	21	14	6	11	25	11	(42)
Total		101	101	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
N		(150)	(29)	(17)	(23)	(39)	(24)	(42)	(42)	(9)	(4)		(386)

Missing Cases: 212.

Table 10: Percentage Distribution of Sample by Occupation at Emigration and Religion

Occupation	Religion	Pct Protestant	Pct Catholic	Pct Jewish	Pct Other	Pct None	Row Total %	Row Total N
Students		29	12	44	25	45	39	(150)
Scientists and Engineers		7	—	5	—	2	4	(17)
Medicine		6	4	12	25	7	10	(39)
University Teachers		17	17	5	25	5	8	(31)
Writers		15	12	9	—	5	10	(39)
Musicians		3	8	6	25	12	6	(24)
Other Artists		11	29	9	—	14	11	(42)
Other Professionals and Technical People		6	17	9	—	5	8	(31)
Managers and Administrators		4	—	2	—	2	2	(9)
Other Groups		—	—	1	—	1	1	(4)
Total %		100	100	100	100	100	100	—
N		(72)	(24)	(244)	(4)	(42)	—	(386)

cussed above. (The ratios of persons professing no religion, under such self-identification as agnostic, free-thinker, freely religious [*freireligiös*], and others, warrants further investigation in this connection. It may reflect the influence of active Marxist party affiliation or function, which frequently carried religious dis-affiliation with it.)

The pattern of settlement for émigrés in the sample suggests differences in the function of European countries of refuge or emigration, including the smaller European neutrals (Switzerland, the Scandinavian countries, Belgium and Holland), as compared to Israel and overseas areas, with Great Britain occupying an intermediate position with regard to this function.

Independent information has established that European countries adjoining the Third Reich, especially France, Czechoslovakia, Holland, Belgium, and Switzerland, had been the first countries of refuge for Hitler persecutees during the first two years of the régime, and following the take-over of Austria in March 1938. These waves of émigrés also included a sizeable group of Jewish émigrés who fled Germany in response to, or anticipation of, persecution. Czechoslovakia and France (as described in another section of these introductions) also harbored the first political centers towards which oppositional intellectuals gravitated. Great Britain, guided by the concern of British academicians with the fate of the refugee intellectual, was the first European country to develop effective organized

assistance to displaced scholars and university teachers, although, given the limited openings available during a period of academic depression and the national orientation of higher education, the placement of intellectual refugees in permanent positions was limited. Switzerland also stood ready to provide havens for students and intellectuals, as long as it was assured that such havens would remain temporary and not affect an economy that saw itself as depressed, and turned towards the placement of its own nationals in preference to foreign specialists, however qualified.

Table 11: Percentage Distribution of Sample by Country of First Settlement (.6 Pcts and Above)

Country	Pct	N	Country	Pct	N
Austria	3	(16)	Hungary	1	(4)
C.S.R.	3	(16)	U.S.S.R.	1	(9)
U.K.	19	(112)	U.S.A.	27	(162)
Netherlands	3	(16)	Israel	8	(50)
Sweden	1	(6)	Australia	1	(4)
Belgium	1	(6)	Argentina	1	(5)
France	9	(56)	Brazil	1	(4)
Switzerland	9	(57)	All Others	7	(20)
Italy	3	(21)	Total %	100	
Turkey	2	(11)	N	—	(589)

Table 11 reflects this pattern. 25% of émigrés in the sample chose the smaller European countries, including Czechoslovakia, Italy, Austria, and Turkey, as their first country of settlement (refuge). Turkey appointed the largest number of émigré university teachers of any country to its two universities and to its technical schools to promote their modernization. 19% of students and intellectual refugees were admitted to the United Kingdom in 1933/34 and following the pogrom of November 1938. France was chosen by 9% of the sample as country of first refuge.

This contrasts with the ratios of those persons in the sample who recorded European countries as their countries of final settlement: 10% stayed on, or returned to those smaller European countries that had originally been the targets of 25% of émigrés, 2% were found in France (over against 9% arriving there as their first country of settlement), 10% found permanent positions in Great Britain (over against 19% being admitted there as a country of first refuge or emigration [settlement]). 10% of the sample returned to either of the two German states, and 4% to Austria. (See Tables 12 and 14.)

Several factors account for the fact that European countries served in larger measure as countries of first rather than of final settlement. They include government policies restricting permanent settlement and promoting re-emigration, limited employment opportunities, the Nazi take-over of continental European countries forcing émigrés to flee abroad, and, in case

Table 12: Percentage Distribution of Sample by Country of Origin and Final Settlement or Return

Country	Origin Pct	Final Settlement or Return in Pct	N	N Origin
Germany	73	10	(61)	(422)
Austria	24	4	(22)	(140)
C.S.R.	1.5	.5		9
U.S.A.	—	48	(288)	—
U.K.	—	10	(63)	2
Israel	—	8	(49)	—
Switzerland	—	4		1
Netherlands	—	2		1
France	—	2		—
Australia	—	2		—
Argentina	—	1		—
All Others	2.5	9.5		(23)
Total %	100	100		
N	(587)	(598)		

of Great Britain, the admission of refugees following 1938 on condition that they migrate elsewhere. They were allowed to wait out the time until such opportunity would be realized in what was thought to be a reasonably short time. It lasted in many cases until the end of World War II and beyond.

In contrast to European countries, the two major overseas countries of immigration, the U.S.A. and Israel, showed either no change in the ratio of first versus final settlement (8% even for Israel), or record a dramatic increase of the ratio of final settlement as in the case of the U.S.A. (48% of all émigrés in the sample over against the ratio of first settlement, 27%). Practically all émigrés appointed to Turkish universities and institutions left that country following World War II. If, once again, the trend of general Jewish emigration from Nazi Germany is taken as a foil, these ratios parallel migration patterns in the general population. Following 1934, Israel became a major target of immigration, to be superseded in 1937 by the U.S. as a major destination of Jewish migration from Germany and Austria. From 1930 to 1937, severe restrictions had been in effect in the admission practices of the U.S.A. which retarded considerably the immigration from Germany. The U.S.A. continued to play this central role as a place of final settlement for intellectuals (the "brain drain") for a considerable time during the postwar period.

The minute ratio of émigrés admitted to the U.S.S.R. (1%) derives from the rigid exclusion policies of that country, even for members of Communist parties in Axis-controlled countries. Similarly, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand tended to follow severely restrictive admission policies for refugees from Nazi Germany and Austria.

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Table 13: Percentage Distribution of Sample by Country of First Settlement and Occupation at Emigration

Country nation:	Occu- pation	Pct Students	Pct Science and Engineering	Pct Medicine	Pct University Teachers	Pct Writers	Pct Musicians	Pct Other Artists	Pct other Professional and technical	Pct managem., Adminstr.	Pct other Groups	Pct Row Total	N
Austria		1	—	—	—	3	6	9	2	—	—	3	(15)
C.S.R.		1	—	—	1	9	—	10	—	—	—	3	(16)
U.K.		22	37	22	14	12	9	13	20	8	12	19	(109)
Scandinavia		1	—	3	1	1	—	1	2	23	12	1	(12)
Belgium/Netherlands		2	—	7	1	3	4	6	9	—	—	4	(23)
Switzerland		10	8	7	11	15	4	10	2	23	—	9	(55)
France		6	3	3	21	21	15	12	7	8	—	9	(55)
Italy		4	—	1	6	3	2	3	7	—	—	3	(20)
Turkey		2	—	9	1	—	2	—	2	—	—	2	(11)
U.S.S.R.		1	—	3	—	1	6	2	—	—	—	1	(9)
Canada, Australia, New Zealand		1	—	3	6	—	2	—	—	2	12	1	(8)
U.S.A.		34	35	18	31	12	32	13	27	31	37	27	(160)
Brazil and Argentina		.5	5	—	—	3	4	—	—	—	—	2	(9)
Israel		10	8	13	6	8	2	6	13	8	—	8	(48)
All others (coun- tries and regions)		4	5	9	—	9	4	12	5	—	25	4	(23)
Total %		100.5	101	98	99	100	101	97	96	103	98	96	—
N		(208)	(31)	(51)	(49)	(66)	(46)	(67)	(45)	(13)	(8)	—	(583)

Table 14: Percentage Distribution of Sample by Country of Final Settlement and Occupation at Emigration

Country	Occu- pation	Pct Students	Pct Science and Engineering	Pct Medicine	Pct University Teachers	Pct Writers	Pct Musicians	Pct other Artists	Pct other Professionals Technical	Pct manage- ment and Adminstr.	Pct other Groups	Total Row Pct	N
Germany		4	—	14	11	15	13	21	13	8	13	10	(59)
Austria		2	—	3	1	1	13	7	4	—	—	4	(22)
U.K.		8	11	9	14	14	4	12	16	—	12	10	(61)
Small and Neutral European Countries		3	11	20	12	11	9	9	4	15	—	7	(42)
France		.5	—	—	9	6	2	3	—	—	—	2	(10)
Other Europe		.5	—	—	4	4	2	9	2	—	—	3	(15)
U.S.A.		65	57	40	42	32	35	28	38	70	50	48	(281)
Other Western Hemisphere		5	8	—	—	8	13	1	7	—	—	5	(29)
Israel		9	6	12	1	8	4	9	13	8	—	8	(48)
Asia, Africa, Pacific		3	6	3	5	1	4	—	2	—	25	3	(16)
Total %		100	100	101	99	100	99	99	99	101	100	100	
N		(208)	(31)	(51)	(48)	(66)	(46)	(67)	(45)	(13)	(8)		(583)

If first admission to countries is controlled by occupations, the data suggest the predominant role of the United Kingdom among European countries in admitting trained engineers, scientists, university teachers, and other professional and technical personnel in ratios exceeding her average admissions for the entire sample. Switzerland and France were sought by the largest ratios of émigré writers (15% and 21% respectively, over against 12% each for the United Kingdom and the U.S.A.). Both Switzerland and the United Kingdom accepted a ratio of students above that for other European countries (10% and 22% respectively). The age breakdown of persons in the sample settling in selected countries of settlement reflects the fact that overseas countries took in the bulk of émigré students (Table 15): almost 3/4th of the age groups 19 years and under, and nearly half of the age group 20–39 years settled in the U.S.A. as the country of final settlement, with Israel following as a distant second (14% of age group 9 years and under, 6% of age group 10–19 years). The ratios of those in these age groups who stayed there for final settlement is correspondingly substantial, or reflects additional arrivals of pupils and students from countries of intermediate settlement.

The ratio of males to females in this sample is 88%: 12%, significant only in that it confirms a tradition of male predominance in German, Austrian, or Czech professional and artistic life, that appears to have held even for the younger group and during emigration. Occupational breakdowns for each sex do not yield significant differences, except for a persistently and significantly lower ratio of women in professions such as engineering and science, in contrast to stronger predominance of women in medicine and some of the arts. The ratio of women writers to men among the sample is about even for the period before emigration, but significantly larger for occupations following emigration (23% women: 13% men writers following emigration). Women also drew even in university appointments following emigration, compared to the ratio before leaving their countries of origin (4%: 9% before, 24%: 28%

after emigration; a significant effect of emigration on this sample [the lop-sided ratio of 88%: 12% remains to be considered!]). Similarly, the ratio of persons holding doctorates is nearly twice as large for men as for women (48%: 25%), while ratios are reversed for persons holding baccalaureates or their equivalents (*Abitur*): 34% of women, but only 15% of men hold such degrees as highest degrees achieved. In view of problems in identifying foreign degrees, no more than suggestive quality is claimed for this section. A study of the role of women in emigration should clarify male-female roles further.

As suggested above, the occupational breakdown indicates that more than 1/3rd, or 36% of the sample, were students at the time of emigration. The specific ratios for individual occupations at emigration show writers and "other artists" (plastic, theater, non-music performing arts) at 11% each, followed

Table 16: Percentage Distribution of Sample by Occupation at Emigration and Lifetime ("Career") Occupation

Occupation	Pct occupation at emigra- tion	Pct Lifetime occupation	Occupation	Pct occupation at emigra- tion	Pct Lifetime occupation
Students	36	—	Other Artists	11	11
Scientists and Engineers	5	19	Other Professionals and Technical people	8	3
Medicine	9	14	Managers and Administrators	2	3
University Teachers	8	28	Other Occupations	1	2
Writers	11	15	Totals	100	100,2
Musicians	8	7	N	(583)	(590)

(Consolidated Occupational Groups.)

Table 15: Percentage Distribution of Sample by Age at Emigration and Country of Final Settlement

Country	Age:	Pct Age 0–9	10–19	20–29	30–39	40–49	50–59	60 et over	Pct Totals	N
Germany		4	3	13	7	20	15	11	10	(59)
Austria		—	2	3	4	5	8	6	4	(22)
U.K.		2	9	15	8	7	12	28	11	(62)
France		—	—	2	3	1	3	6	2	(10)
Israel		14	6	8	7	9	7	8	8	(47)
U.S.A.		73	72	45	45	37	37	14	49	(285)
Other Countries: Small and Neutral; other		8	9	15	25	21	17	28	18	(103)
Europe; other Western Hemis- phere, Aisa, Africa, Pacific										
Total %		101	101	101	99	100	99	101	102	
N		(52)	(109)	(114)	(132)	(86)	(59)	(36)		(588)

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by medicine (9%), university teachers and other professionals (8% each), musicians (8%), scientists and engineers (5%), a.o. The greatest increase in ratios for occupations following emigration ("lifetime occupations," i.e. occupations held consistently from before until after emigration, or occupations chosen following emigration, primarily by younger persons) occurred for academics and professionals, a gain of 20 percentage points for university teachers, 5 percentage points for medical personnel, 14 percentage points for scientists and engineers. A decrease in ratio is registered for "other professional and technical personnel," a numerically small category, from 8% before to 3% after emigration (Table 16).

Thus, the ratio of persons in this sample who maintained occupational continuity before and after emigration has to be read as indicating the distribution of the student population in the sample following emigration (no student was included under the standards of inclusion for this *Dictionary*) as well as the continuous career pattern of persons indicating occupations before emigration other than students (the "older group"). 35% of those who were students when they emigrated achieved distinction in university teaching, 33% in science and engineering (a partly overlapping category, at least for some persons for some time). Thus, more than 2/3rds of the persons in this sample who were still students at emigration achieved distinction through continued education and/or university appointment. Given the large ratio of persons making the U.S.A. their country of final settlement, this result conforms to observations made independently about the expansion of

American higher education following World War II and its significance for immigrant absorption and the social mobility of younger immigrant groups. Equally significant, however, are the ratios for occupational continuity in most other occupations indicating a range from 100% (engineers and scientists), 91% for medical personnel, to about 72%–75% for university teachers, writers, musicians and other artists. University teaching also attracted the largest ratio of "other professional and technical personnel" (45%), and of "management and administrative personnel" (50%, but a numerically minute group N = 12) and "other groups" (50%, but N = 8). These ratios do not reflect the real difficulties and dislocations attending the career patterns of émigrés. They occurred especially during the earlier stages of settlement, when "entry jobs," the proverbial dish-washing, were the general rule for the overwhelming number of professionals, while work-study was typical for students, especially during periods of educational expansions. Lower income families and immigrant children and students had benefited from equal opportunity education in urban America since the 1930s (Table 17).

These tables, more than others, suggest the tenacity with which factors dominating pre-emigration occupational choices or new factors affecting social mobility appear to have been operating following emigration. It is hoped that these observations, like others contained in this short summary, will be tested by detailed investigations of the social and intellectual history of this unique group of migrants.

Table 17: Percentage Distribution of Sample by Occupation at Emigration and "Lifetime" Occupation

Carreer Occupation	Emigration Occupation	Pct Students	Pct Science and Engineering	Pct Medicine	Pct University Teachers	Pct Writers	Pct Musicians	Pct other Artists	Pct Professional & Technical Administrat.	Pct Managem.	Pct other Groups	Row %	Total N
Science Engineering		33	100	—	6	1	—	—	9	—	12	18	(24)
Medicine		14	—	91	8	2	2	—	7	8	13	14	(83)
University Teachers		35	—	1	72	11	16	6	45	50	50	28	(158)
Writers		7	—	4	5	74	2	11	16	17	25	15	(84)
Musicians		2	—	—	3	—	74	1	4	—	—	8	(43)
Other Artists		5	—	—	—	6	2	75	2	—	—	11	(65)
Other Professional and technical		2	—	2	1	3	2	1	11	—	—	3	(16)
Managers and Administrators		2	—	2	5	3	2	6	4	25	—	3	(19)
Other Groups		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	2	(1)
Total %		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	—	
N		(208)	(30)	(48)	(47)	(66)	(45)	(66)	(45)	(12)	(8)		(575)

Standards for Inclusion, Editorial Policy

The ca. 8,700 biographees included in Volume I and II of the *International Biographical Dictionary* emigrated from Germany, Austria and German-speaking Czechoslovakia (Sudeten area, Prague) and the Free City of Danzig between 1933 (Germany; 1934 Austria; 1938 Czechoslovakia) and 1945, because they were persecuted for political or religious ("racial") reasons, or feared persecution from the Nazi regime or from the Austrian Corporate State. They were nationals not only of these countries, but also alien residents who had come to Central Europe prior to 1933 (1934, 1938), had participated in the political or cultural lives of these countries, or of German-language minorities, and were then forced into emigration. Also documented as an exception from this rule were persons who had gone abroad temporarily before 1933 for professional reasons or study, and who had decided not to return to their homelands under the Nazi or the corporate régime. At the request of the Institut für Zeitgeschichte, another exception was made for a small group of writers who left Germany before 1933 (Joseph Breitbach, Jean Gebser, Claire and Yvan Goll) but had maintained cultural ties with Germany during their emigration, and are considered representatives of "Exilliteratur" today. At the request of the R.F.J.I., a number of persons have been included who, during their sojourn in Germany, Austria, or Czechoslovakia, did not participate in German political or cultural life, but contributed to East European Jewish culture (e.g. David Bergelson, Joseph Bibermann, Daniel Charney, Jacob Leschtschinsky).

For various reasons, some names which might have been included do not appear in the *Dictionary*. Some persons requested to be excluded, although this was fairly uncommon. Other exclusions were due to the absence of reliable information. In some instances it could not be verified whether or when a person emigrated, and was therefore omitted. There were also several cases of Czechoslovak nationals whose linguistic-cultural status could not be established definitively. Since only those nationals or residents of the C.S.R. were eligible for inclusion whose primary language (i.e. cultural milieu) was German rather than Czech, persons whose status could not be clarified had to be excluded. A number of academics, authors, and artists will not be found in this volume; they have already been included in Vol. I of this *Dictionary* (*Biographisches Handbuch der deutschsprachigen Emigration nach 1933: Politik, Wirtschaft, Öffentliches Leben*) due to their eminent roles in politics and in exile organizations. Vol. III, a bilingual Index, offers a list of all persons included in Vols. I and II, and cumulative indices of professional groups.

Of the circa 4,700 biographies in Vol. II the *Dictionary*, about 3,000 were prepared by the Research Foundation for Jewish Immigration, and about 1,700 by the Institut für Zeitgeschichte. The division of labor between the two teams was based — like in Vol. I — upon professional, geographic, and genera-

tional criteria. Among entire professional groupings, the Research Foundation was responsible for the music, psychiatry, psychoanalysis, and clinical psychology samples, and the Institut für Zeitgeschichte contributed the fields of theater and the performing arts. Practically all biographies of émigrés to Palestine/Israel in all categories were prepared by the Research Foundation. With respect to biographies divided according to geographic and generational criteria, the Institut covered émigrés from continental Europe and members of the older generation whose careers in literature, journalism, the visual arts, and architecture had peaked prior to emigration; in these categories the Research Foundation was responsible for the younger generation of émigrés whose careers began or climaxed in the countries to which they emigrated. The Institut was also responsible for nearly all biographies of those who returned to Central Europe after the end of World War II. The fields of science, medicine, jurisprudence, and the liberal arts and humanities were divided similarly, the Research Foundation covering the larger group, including the younger generation and/or those who emigrated to Britain and overseas, while the Institut dealt with the smaller groups including the older generation, émigrés to continental European countries, and those who returned to Central Europe in the early postwar years.

The selection of candidates for inclusion in this *Dictionary* was determined by specific sets of standards established over time, as well as by physical limitations of space and financial resources. Research Foundation and Institut für Zeitgeschichte jointly determined these standards for each of the professional groups, in collaboration with experts in their respective fields. The following criteria were applied in making selections for inclusion in all categories: (1) position in hierarchically structured institutions such as universities, academic institutions, professional organizations, hospitals, or firms; (2) accomplishments defined by number and quality of publications, performances, exhibitions, commissions, productions, and so forth; (3) accomplishments defined by public or peer recognition such as the Nobel and similar prizes, membership in the Royal Society and other prestigious professional associations, or role at national or international congresses; (4) innovation in fields such as scholarship, art forms or styles, inventions and discoveries, founding of schools of successors, and other comparable endeavors. Also, as in Volume I, standards were relaxed slightly when applied to émigrés active in developing countries, to those who participated actively in founding social, cultural, political, religious, or other émigré organizations, or to those who had physically resisted Nazism within or outside Central Europe, including in the Spanish Civil War. Lastly, standards were adjusted for the special retardations in careers affecting women who reached positions of stature in fields which had previously been closed to them due to traditions of male dominance or discrimination.

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The general guidelines for selection were refined still further when applied in individual professional categories, since most fields dealt with in this *Dictionary* have their own unique value systems for measuring achievement. In the category of university teaching and academic administration, all full professors and ordentliche Professoren were included if they held positions at most universities outside, and at selected schools inside, the United States. All readers at British and Commonwealth universities were included, and, in special cases, senior lecturers at British schools and ausserordentliche Professoren at Central European universities were accepted, depending upon publications, inventions and discoveries, or establishment of new institutions or disciplines. In the field of university administration, college and university presidents, provosts, deans, and officials holding comparable posts were included.

Due to the very large number of Central European academics at American colleges and universities, the scope of the *Dictionary* has been limited to full professors at selected institutions. Selection was based upon the evaluations reflected in *The Comparative Guide to American Colleges* (7th edition), *Barron's Profile of American Colleges* (10th edition), M. R. Lerner's *Medical School: The Interview and the Applicant* (1977), and for law schools, "The Cartter Report on the Leading Schools in Education, Law and Business," in *Change — The Magazine of Higher Learning* (February, 1977). The criteria used by these books to evaluate their respective educational institutions included median of entrance examinations, scores of freshmen classes on specialized examinations such as Scholastic Aptitude Tests, and Grade Point Averages. Also considered were grade averages or class ranks required for admission, and the proportion of faculty members holding doctorates. From *Barron's Profiles*, colleges and universities listed as "most competitive," "highly competitive" and "very competitive" were included in the handbook. Exceptions were made for some schools listed under "competitive," "less competitive" and "non-competitive" categories when specific departments or schools were known to be of outstanding quality.

Also included were teachers at the following specialized institutions: Hebrew Union College, Union Theological Seminary, Jewish Theological Seminary, Brookings, Hoover, and Rand Institutes; also in this group are schools that appointed large numbers of refugees to their faculties, like the New School for Social Research, New York, Black Mountain College in North Carolina, Sarah Lawrence and Bennington Colleges. Since a clear pattern of discrimination faced women at most American academies, we have compensated for this by including females who attained the rank of associate professor. Also included are persons of exceptional scholarly or professional reputation based on publications, innovations, peer recognition, even if their formal academic affiliations were minor or insignificant.

The scientific and engineering biographies were selected mainly according to the criteria for academics outlined above. However, special guidelines were employed for nonacademic scientists and engineers in government and industry: senior scientific and administrative positions, such as senior physicist at a national laboratory, or chief engineer or research associate in private industry. Inquiries were made to determine precise meanings for job titles, since designations for positions vary from company to company.

Selections for the medical sample were patterned similarly to those in other scientific groups, with some exceptions. Emigrés who had established careers before emigrating, such as professors, heads of clinics, heads of departments in major hospitals, laboratories and comparable institutions in Central Europe, were included. For medical careers established after emigration, criteria included full professorships in medical schools accredited by the A.M.A. (U.S.); directorship of medical schools or major hospitals; high level administrative positions in the National Institutes of Health, U.S. Public Health Service, or like institutions abroad. Clinical professors were generally not listed unless they were noted for outstanding research, scholarship, or other contributions. Also excluded were Israeli medical practitioners at small regional institutions, or those active on regional levels for the *Kuppat Holim* (see Glossary), unless their positions were combined with administrative responsibility.

The psychiatry sample was chosen along the same guidelines as those used for medicine, the lowest qualifying level being chief psychiatrist in a major institution of hospital. For professors of psychiatry or psychoanalysis, the academic criteria outlined above apply. Criteria for non-teaching psychoanalysts included scholarship recognized by critical opinion, publications, presidency in national or international associations representing branches of psychoanalysis, or pioneer status in the development of the field. Non-teaching clinical psychologists were chosen on the basis of recognized quality and continuous record of scholarly contributions to the field. Also included were chief psychologists in hospitals.

In the categories of theater and the performing arts, those holding leadership positions in theaters, cabarets and similar institutions were included. Among criteria for selection were outstanding artistic and creative or innovative qualities of performers, directors, producers, choreographers, dancers, puppeteers and circus personnel, as recognized by the public and professionals (peers, critics, and in secondary literature), as well as administrative and technical directors and functionaries in professional or Union organizations. Special contributions to exile culture, such as the founding of exile/German-language theaters, ensembles, cabarets, or political, anti-Nazi (including agitprop) professional activities were considered to be of special importance, as were special achievements such as teaching, writing, or theoretical activities in the field of the performing arts.

The field of music encompasses representatives of all musical forms: classical, modern, popular, traditional, liturgical, folk, and music for stage and screen. Selecting musical practitioners for inclusion was especially complex because of the great occupational diversity among them: conductors, instrumentalists, opera singers, musicologists, cantors, etc., were evaluated mainly within the contexts of their individual specializations. Criteria for composers included quality and/or originality of works, published and/or performed and recognized in the profession by peers, critics, or musicologists. For conductors, affiliation with major orchestras or opera houses, or establishment of new musical organizations — especially in musically non-Western countries like Turkey and Japan, or in the countries of South America — were major criteria. Musicologists were selected according to affiliation with universities, publications, and specializations, particularly in unusual fields such

as Byzantine or Japanese music. Singers were chosen by evaluating affiliation and position in the major European and/or American opera houses and music schools, as well as by professional recognition and public reputation determined from clipping files housed in the Music Division of the New York Public Library's Performing Arts Research Center at Lincoln Center, New York. Instrumentalists were chosen if they served as concertmasters, in first desk positions with major orchestras, or in leading or membership roles in outstanding chamber ensembles. Like singers, instrumentalists were chosen by professional and critical recognition, as well as when important affiliations with prominent music schools and major opera houses were indicated. Impresarios and administrators connected with major national or international organizations or festivals were also selected. For music teachers, quality of the conservatory, outstanding students, and related musical activities were among the criteria.

For émigrés in the visual arts and architecture, guidelines included major commissions and exhibitions, acquisitions of works by high-ranking museums and galleries, receipt of important national and international prizes, and critical acclaim in the literature. Teachers at major art schools, university art departments, or other specialized institutions were considered according to standards established for academics, as above. For photographers, illustrators, and cartoonists, affiliations or syndications with major newspapers, journals, or publishing houses were necessary, for architects, participation in major modern movements (e.g. *Bauhaus* or *Neue Sachlichkeit*), formal or informal association with institutions or schools, leadership in innovative design, appointments to major town planning positions, were all factors in the selection process, as were anti-Nazi activities and their translation into artistic forms at home or in countries of emigration. Success in sales was in itself insufficient for inclusion.

In the literary field, the Institut für Zeitgeschichte's sample of older generation and *Exilliteratur* writers was based upon standards adopted for this purpose by the Department of Exile Literature of the German National Library (Deutsche Bibliothek), Frankfurt/M. Primarily belletristic writers came under the selection criteria for the category literature. Approximately 350 biographies were allotted for this section of the handbook, and the minimal qualifications were literary quality and contemporary, also political, effectiveness. Evaluation was based on ranking according to the consensus of literary-historical research and on the expert opinions of specialist. Because the *Dictionary* is a reference book addressing emigration and exile, decisions between equally qualified writers and in cases of doubt as to minimal qualifications, were made in favor of those authors whose writings referred to emigration.

Authors of trivial and entertainment literature were not considered, regardless of how prolific they were, so long as they did not come under one of the above-mentioned secondary criteria, or under the criteria of the journalists' and publicists' sample. In view of the numerous reference works and monographs on German exile literature which have appeared in the interim, entries have been purposely confined to a comparatively concise personal record with references to the most important secondary literature and to personal works, especially those from the period of exile. Likewise, authors in the lower stratum of standards of inclusion have been omitted if research

did not lead to more information than contained in existing reference works.

About 300 persons were allotted by the Institut für Zeitgeschichte to be included in the sample of journalists and non-fiction writers. To this group belonged publishers and editors-in-chief of newspapers and periodicals, and editors and major contributors to leading newspapers and periodicals in countries of origin and in European countries of return. Also included were editors and major contributors to the "exile press" except for those already listed in Vol. I for other activities. Included further were non-fiction writers and publicists who had published a not insignificant number of books during their emigration (1933–48), or had cooperated significantly in the exile press or in leading foreign newspapers. Considered also were persons who, during their emigration or exile, published contributions to the analysis of National-Socialism, Jewish questions, German or exile politics, or the life of the exile. Finally, publicists were included who also made major contributions to émigré organized life. A final criterion for inclusion was if writers or publicists enjoyed public influence through the quality of their specialized reporting or writing, were known to the public at large, or held positions in the publishing business, or in professional associations organizations besides their writing activities.

For the younger generation, writing in languages other than German, literary quality and critical recognition of work was essential; quality of output or sales were not criteria for selection unless the person in question had produced work of solid literary quality. Authors of "Trivilliteratur" were excluded. The following special standards were considered for this field: concern with contemporary problems such as Nazism, the "Jewish question," German or Austrian politics, or the emigration and acculturation experience; transmission of literary forms or stylistic elements from one culture to another; dissemination of scholarship through creative writing (history, science, sociology, archeology, etc.); and recognized standing in innovative fields such as science fiction or technology. For poets, continuous records of publications in books, literary magazines or anthologies, awards and grants; public readings, and artist-in-residence status at certain colleges, were all factors in the selection process.

While most political journalists appeared in Volume I, the journalists documented by the Research Foundation in this volume were or are editors of major newspapers, journals, and news agencies, with special attention to the immigrant press. Considered also were regular contributors, editorial writers, bureau chiefs, correspondents, and feature writers for newspapers; also writers in cultural and informational areas.

Since Günther Peter Straschek will publish a book of several thousand film biographies within the research program on German emigration of the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft*, (probable book title: "Kinematographie im Exil. Zur Geschichte der deutschsprachigen Filmemigration 1933–1945"), only short notations of émigré filmmakers were included in this volume. For this purpose G.P. Straschek selected 125 names of film émigrés to be included as references to his forthcoming film biographies according to standards similar to those applied in the literature sample. The 36 film émigrés documented in full-length biographies are a sample of

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outstanding film directors, actors, screenwriters and producers which the New York team selected to meet the interests of the non-German user of this *Dictionary* in view of their great popularity in the pre-emigration German cinema, or in Hollywood.

One last note regarding the Israelis who appear in the *Dictionary*. During the entire research process, biographies of immigrants to Israel were kept in a separate sample, partly because of the need for Hebrew-speaking researchers to deal with the Hebrew language materials, and also because of the extraordinary positions in which these émigrés found themselves — pioneers in a developing country. The standards for inclusion of Israeli immigrants corresponded to those imposed on all fields mentioned above, but special consideration was given to innovators in agricultural science, forestry, pertinent engineering disciplines, and in the development of higher education networks in rural art. Extra attention was paid to émigrés in literary, fine and plastic arts who significantly helped to mold Israeli culture.

Guide to Editorial Usage

Each biography is divided into three paragraphs. The first summarizes briefly the key personal, religious, and emigration-related data of the biographee. Information on citizenship and religion is indicated only if provided by the biographee's own statement, or, in a minority of cases, if found in reliable secondary sources; where omitted, no dependable source was available. Since Nazi persecution extended also to persons not of the Jewish religion, but to some finely fractionalized degrees of Jewish ancestry, the designation "Jewish family background" was employed in the second paragraph where precise information was available to explain this factor in persecution and/or emigration. Special attention was given to citizenship ("Cit.") designations in the first paragraph. The indication "Pal./Isr." refers to the automatic transfer of Palestinian to Israeli citizenship when the state of Israel was founded in 1948. Another significant background note in the citizenship category stems from a law on citizenship promulgated by the Nazi government on 14 July 1933, which provided for the revocation of German citizenship for (1) persons naturalized after 9 November 1918, and (2) any German national residing abroad whose behavior "violated his duty to be loyal to the Reich and Volk." Based on this entirely illegal and immoral breach of international conventions, the Nazi government deprived numerous naturalized and German-born citizens of their nationality. Lists of German citizens who, as political or intellectual émigrés were deprived of their citizenship and property, were published at irregular intervals in the *Reichsanzeiger*, an official German law gazette. Another technique of depriving German citizens of their identity was the issuing of short-term passports to Jewish or political émigrés. Nazi consulates abroad were instructed not to renew such passports once they expired, thus making its bearers "stateless persons." The designation "stateless" is therefore found numerous times within this handbook under "Cit." Finally, by an enabling decree to the Nuremberg laws (*11. Verordnung zum Reichsbürgergesetz*, 25 December 1941), all Jews of German nationality residing abroad were deprived collectively of German citizenship. Numerous émigrés failed to recover their citizenship following the demise of the Third

Reich, and preferred to remain stateless until naturalized in their countries of final settlement. Also, persons of Polish nationality residing in Germany were, in effect, deprived of their citizenship by decree of the Polish government, except if they returned to Poland to have their passports renewed prior to 1 November 1938. Reinhard Heydrich, chief of the German Gestapo, ordered the deportation to Poland of all such persons on 28 October 1938 to forestall their becoming stateless. They were forced to live for weeks under most inhuman conditions, until being either admitted to Poland, or returning to Germany to prepare for their emigration. In sum, the remaining portion of the first paragraph is devoted to outlining the emigration, education, and career patterns for parents, siblings, spouse(s) and children of biographees. For explanation of symbols employed in the first paragraph see "Key for Use of *Dictionary*" at the back of this volume.

The second paragraph for each entry comprises the main body of the biography, and as such describes in detail the pre- and post-emigration histories for each individual listed. In most cases a work description based upon available sources follow the factual/chronological section. Length and depth of work descriptions vary: some well-known émigrés such as Freud, Buber, Einstein, or Thomas Mann were given special consideration by the R.F.J.I. due to their international and extraordinary standing. On the other hand, the Institut für Zeitgeschichte has stressed, under the aspects of a special dictionary on exile and emigration, the biographical sections pertaining to this period; so, especially in cases of prominent émigrés, sections on pre-emigration and postwar achievements might be purposely limited to basic information in view of the available common lexicographic and monographic literature. Thus, the length of an entry does not necessarily reflect the importance of a biographee in respect to his professional life. The final section of paragraph II was reserved for listings of memberships in professional societies and associations, as well as awards, honors and prizes received.

The larger part of the third paragraph is given over to bibliography ("*Biblio.*"), which was usually limited to important books and articles. If pertinent unpublished manuscripts exist, they are listed under "*Papers*". The "*Lit.*" section lists secondary literature concerning the biographee, including published biographies or biographical materials, obituaries, and special articles in professional publications. The final sentence in each biographical entry indicates the types of sources used by research associates in compiling the biographies. "Arch." refers to archival resources consulted. The letters "E.G.L." indicate that information was obtained from →Ernst-Gottfried Lowenthal, a research associate of the Institut für Zeitgeschichte. The letters "H.G.R." refer to the late →Hanns G. Reissner, a research associate of the Research Foundation for Jewish Immigration, who did research and wrote biographies for this volume before his passing in 1977. "Hand." denotes information obtained from handbooks including biographical dictionaries, encyclopedias, and similar compilations. "Journ." stands for articles or notices in scholarly journals. "News." indicates use of articles or notices in newspapers, bulletins, or non-scholarly periodicals. "Pers." refers to information obtained from persons who knew biographees personally, usually in the form of questionnaires completed by next-of-kin or close friends or associates. "Pers." may also designate

information from questionnaires of files of other émigrés, and from interviews and correspondence. "Print." includes all printed sources except those mentioned above. "Qu." means that a questionnaire, extensive curriculum vitae, or comprehensive autobiography was submitted by the biographee him(her)self.

A note on geography: Unless they have well-known English names (e.g. Vienna, Munich, Cologne), names of cities are cited in the original contemporary language, with current name and country in parentheses in cases where the present name is different. Examples are "Breslau, Silesia, Ger. (Wrocław, Pol.)," or "Lemberg, Galicia, Aus. (Lvov, U.S.S.R.)." A list of cities considered sufficiently notable to need no further identification in the text appears at the back of the *Dictionary*. Finally, the symbol → appearing before any name in the volume refers to a biography for that person in Volume II; the asterisk * means that the name following it may be found in Volume I.

Editorial style and decisions for Volume II were based in general upon the twelfth edition of the University of Chicago Press's *A Manual of Style* (Chicago and London, 1969). However, several editorial conventions were adopted following careful consideration by editors and research associates, which bear on both stylistic and contextual aspects of the handbook.

First, for the purpose of elegance and clarity, and due to the extensive use of abbreviations in the book, the editorial staff agreed not to employ double punctuation at all. For example, what would commonly appear as "1938 res. assist., 1939 assoc. prof., 1940 full prof.;" would be expressed here as "1938 res. assist, 1939 assoc. prof, 1940 full prof;". Second, bibliographical and literary citations were punctuated with commas and parentheses rather than periods and colons. Book titles composed of several parts were rendered in American spelling and punctuation, i.e. the parts were generally separated by colons even if the originals varied in their punctuations. Names of biographees cited in secondary works listed in a biography were abbreviated, even if they were spelled out in the original titles. Frequently used literature is cited in abbreviated forms as explained in the appendix. It is hoped that these editorial decisions and other small liberties taken in style and punctuation contribute to the readability and overall aesthetics of the volume. Third, it should be noted that the biographies are arranged in alphabetical order according to German-language style: Umlauts are treated as if an "e" follows. (For example, the biography for Walter Friedländer precedes that of Erich Friedlander.) Lastly, a word about foreign languages in the *Dictionary*. German and French were considered to be "understood languages" for our purposes, and were as a rule not translated in biographical text; words and titles in other foreign languages were usually translated into English.

Acknowledgements

Preparing a biographical dictionary of this complexity and international character over a ten-year span was a major experiment in international biographies and cooperation. From the beginning, the work was conceived as a comprehensive historical document designed to cut across a gap which has affected scholarship and publicity on the émigrés to this day: the division between the Jewish/Zionist and the German-Austrian/political migrations. The *Dictionary* was planned to conform strictly to accepted canons of international scholarship to the best of the ability of each researcher, writer, bibliographer, or editor. Over the years, considerable efforts were made by the New York and the Munich organizations to work out the numerous detailed questions that arose on nearly every level of research, writing and editing. Where differences in national usage or style could not be bridged, or where the research interests of the German and American teams differed — the selection of data, projection of information interests on the part of the users, and ultimately, national and ethnic values — the American and German general editors agreed to allow legitimate differences to stand and appear in the book, rather than bury them in compromise. Each biographical entry is therefore signed by the research team responsible for its origins and contents (“I.f.Z.” or “R.F.J.I.”). It was hoped that this policy would lead to a better understanding of the values and orientations of each group, whose members in the U.S. as well as in Germany approached their tasks with a commitment transcending the professional involvement usually expected in undertakings of this kind. For similar reasons the authors of the four introductory chapters can claim complete independence with regard to content and style of representation of their contributions. The general editors only tried to prevent larger overlaps of the historical facts by coordinating the authors.

This second volume of the *Dictionary*, like Volume I and the index volume (III) would not have been possible without the efforts of the many people whose names appear on the title pages of this book. The cooperating institutions were fortunate in securing highly qualified collaborators for the different tasks involved in the production of the *Dictionary*. Many members of the New York team, for shorter or longer periods, took time out from pursuing their careers to accept the moral and intellectual obligation of accounting for the tragedies and achievements of the darkest period in 20th century European and Jewish history. Dr. Egon Radvany assisted with efficiency and dedication in the technical direction of the project, and used his comprehensive knowledge of Austrian and German cultural history to direct research. He also provided liaison with the Institut für Zeitgeschichte and with other correspondents abroad and in the U.S. Hannah Caplan contributed to practically all research and editorial phases of the project. Her considerable energy and organizing ability were evident in her design of editorial policies and as manager of the

editorial staff. She was assisted by Belinda Rosenblatt, who also shared the responsibility for editing and proofreading major portions of the manuscript, especially the translations of the German research. Other editors for the *Dictionary* included Susan Hacker, Dennis Rohrbaugh, Margaret Tidemann, and Waltraud Ireland. They were fortunate in being able to build upon research and editorial precedent established by Louise Forsyth for Volume I of this project.

Main responsibility for selecting, researching and/or writing biographies was assigned as follows: music (Hannah Caplan, Egon Radvany, Louise Forsyth); Israel sample (Hannah Caplan, Lea Honigwachs, with Daniel Schwartz); academics (Margaret Tiedemann, Fred Bilenkis, Louise Forsyth, Hanns G. Reissner); art and literature (Belinda Rosenblatt, Egon Radvany); motion pictures (Egon Radvany); science and medicine (Susan Hacker, Egon Radvany, with Waltraud Ireland); psychiatrists, clinical psychologists and psychoanalysts (Waltraud Ireland); classical philologists, Jewish historians and librarians (Daniel Schwartz); social workers (Belinda Rosenblatt); major biographies (Herbert A. Strauss). Bibliographical work, while generally the responsibility of each researcher, was undertaken by Daniel Schwartz, with Dennis Rohrbaugh, Daniel Niederland, Joshua Schwartz, and Grunna Cohen. Outside the United States, research for the New York team was carried out in Israel by Perez Leshem (with Herbert A. Strauss and Daniel Schwartz); in South America by Günter Böhm, Günter Friedländer and Heinrich Lemle; in Australia by Wolfgang S. Matsdorf; in South Africa by Frieda Sichel; and in Great Britain by Louise Forsyth.

The director of the New York project remains greatly appreciative of the years of association leading, in some cases, to friendships he was privileged to enjoy in guiding this project to completion, and the commitment to a deeply felt task his co-workers shared with him over a long period of time. Many of the decisions that went into the making of this project were the results of joint deliberations, discussions, and advice received especially from Egon Radvany and Hannah Caplan, who carried on following his leaving New York for a new assignment abroad and were instrumental in seeing this project to completion. He will always be grateful for the careful and informal way in which team members shaped their cooperation. The overall responsibility for the *Dictionary* of course, remains his, along with his co-editor, Dr. Werner Röder.

The Institut für Zeitgeschichte was also able to secure specially trained, highly qualified collaborators for selection of biographies, supplementary research and formulation of handbook entries. Brigitte Bruns was in charge of the art emigration area, Helmar Klier of the theater category; Oberbibliotheksrat Harro Kieser of the German National Library (Deutsche Bibliothek) in Frankfurt/Main was responsible for contributions in exile literature. Dr. Dieter Marc Schneider and Helmut Scha-

bel compiled the sciences and the art history biographies, and Dr. Werner Röder completed the field of factual and cultural journalism. Hildegard Möller undertook the management of the translating team, which rendered the German-written biographies into English, in preparation for English language editing in New York. Dr. Beatrix Schmidt was responsible for manuscript exchanges between the Institut and the Research Foundation, including comparison of the contents of the translations and the texts edited by the Research Foundation with the original manuscripts. The formal and textual construction of the entries as well as the stylistic adaptations and proof-reading for Volume II of the *Dictionary* remained, however, the responsibility of the Research Foundation.

Work on the biographies included in the two volumes of the *International Biographical Dictionary* was based extensively upon research begun in 1972, when the first hesitant steps were taken by a small team of co-workers to explore the mountain of biographical materials on the émigré of the Nazi period. During the decade that followed the project enjoyed the support of numerous individuals, libraries, archives, research institutes and other foundations in the various countries where research was conducted.

The Research Foundations expresses its gratitude to all those agencies and individuals in the Federal Republic of Germany and other countries of continental Europe who, by assisting the Munich team, have contributed to the completion of this volume. The individuals who have assisted the Research Foundation by providing leads, advice, information, or corrections in its New York office are too numerous to mention here. Their contributions are gratefully acknowledged, and their names are recorded in the project's archives, which are available in New York and Munich for scholarly use.

Of the many institutions that have made their resources available to the New York team in preparation of Volume II, the following are gratefully acknowledged as having been of special assistance: Columbia University Libraries, New York; City University of New York, Library; various branches of the New York Public Library, especially the Performing Arts Research Center at Lincoln Center, and the Collection on the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced Foreign Scholars, Manuscript and Archives Division; Department of Records and Information Services, New York City; Leo Baeck Institute Library and Archives, New York; Artists' Files, Museum of Modern Art, New York; New York Bar Association Library; New York Medical College Library; Cornell University Medical College Library; New York Academy of Medicine Library; United Engineering Center Library, New York; American Institute of Physics, New York; New York University Library; Y.I.V.O. Institute for Jewish Research, New York; Archives, Society for the Protection of Science and Learning, London; Zionist Archives and Library, New York; Blaustein Library, American Jewish Committee, New York; Jewish National and University Library (Hebrew University), Jerusalem; Wiener Library, London; Library of the Technion, Haifa; Jewish Theological Seminary, New York; Union Theological Seminary, New York; Oral History Collection, Research Foundation for Jewish Immigration, New York; National Archives, Washington, D.C.; Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

The Institut für Zeitgeschichte once again expresses its gratitude to those project workers, benefactors, archives, libraries, and institutions mentioned in the introduction to Volume I. The following persons and institutes deserve special mention for their contributions to Volume II: Professor Dr. Hans-Heinz Eulner, Institute for the History of Medicine, Göttingen University; Professor emeritus Dr. Oskar Gans, Como/Ticino; Fritz Heine, Bad Münstereifel; Dr. Renate Heuer, Bibliographia Judaica, Frankfurt/Main; Horst Klausnitzer, Society of German Stage Members, Hamburg; Professor Dr. M. Rainer Lepsius, Mannheim University; Professor Dr. Erna Lesky, Institute for the History of Medicine, Vienna University; Professor Dr. Marta Mierendorff, University of Southern California, Los Angeles; Dr. Helmut Müssener, Stockholm University; Pater Dr. Anton Pinsker, Archives of the Austrian Province of the Societas Jesu, Vienna; Professor Dr. Hans H. Simmer, Institute for the History of Medicine, Erlangen University; G.P. Straschek, Mayfield, East Sussex; Curt Trepte, Academy of Arts of the German Democratic Republic, Berlin; and Hans-Albert Walter, Hofheim/Taunus. Among the scholarly institutes, archives and authorities who provided consistently important information from their records, or offered support in other ways, the Institut would especially like to thank the Anthropos Institute in St. Augustin; the department of exile literature of the Deutsche Bibliothek in Frankfurt/Main; the Document Center of the United States Mission in Berlin; the Political Archives of the German Foreign Office in Bonn; The Academy of Arts in Berlin; the Municipal and National Archives in Vienna; the Public Record Office in Hamburg; the Municipal Archives in Munich; and the Resident and Alien Control Board of Zurich. The editors would like to extend special thanks to the staff members of the archives and library of the Institut für Zeitgeschichte, Munich. The general editors owe special thanks to Professor Dr. Horst Möller (University of Erlangen) who, during his term of office as deputy director of the Institut für Zeitgeschichte from 1979 to 1982, supported the *Dictionary* in word and deed. Also due to his commitment, it has been possible to secure the necessary grants for the conclusion of this large project in times of dwindling public funds.

For their advice and support, the editors also thank the members of the advisory board to the project: Library Director Dr. Werner Berthold, Deutsche Bibliothek, Frankfurt/Main; President/Professor Dr. Hans Booms, Bundesarchiv Koblenz; Professor Lewis Edinger, Columbia University, New York; and Dr. Curt C. Silberman, American Federation of Jews from Central Europe, New York.

Of great significance for the success of the project was the unstinting support it received from the Board of Directors of the Research Foundation for Jewish Immigration, the American Federation of Jews from Central Europe, and the Jewish Philanthropic Fund of 1933, Inc., all New York. In addition to making this project part of their agenda, members of these boards accepted and promoted it financially and morally from the beginning, against the initial resistance of the Council of Jews from Germany, and the disinterest of other organizations. Although it is difficult to single out individuals, special thanks for their active support go to Arnold Paucker, London, Peter Lekisch, Alfred Prager, Hans Frank, Hermann Si-

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mon, Fred Lessing, Franz Winkler and Henry Zacharias, New York, all of whom, in many ways, have taken personal interest in the project. To Curt C. Silberman Foundation and Project owe friendship, understanding and encouragement spanning more than two decades. His understanding of human nature and of the history of German Jewry, and his deep commitment to its obligation to leave a record of the singular period it was fated to experience contributed to the projects of the Research Foundation much more than words can convey. The *Dictionary* is in many ways a monument to his support.

The Institut für Zeitgeschichte and the Research Foundation for Jewish Immigration sustained the documentary and handbook work with the aid of their own scholarly and technical staffs, assumed administrative duties and subsidized most of the technical costs. However, without the generous financial assistance from supporting institutions in the Federal Republic of Germany and the United States, a research project of

this scope could not have been realized. From 1972 to 1974, the Bundesminister for Research and Technology, and thereafter the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft financed the work in Munich and New York. In 1978/79, the Research Foundation of the City University of New York, and since 1979 the National Endowment for the Humanities in Washington, D.C., provided additional funding for the New York team in the form of research grants and gift-and-matching grants. Allotments from the Bundesanstalt für Arbeit, by means of its Arbeitsbeschaffungsmassnahmen (ABM), were essential for the wind-up of the project at the Institut für Zeitgeschichte, and a grant from the Research Foundation for Jewish Immigration permitted the final phase of the editorial process to go forward uninterrupted. The Fritz-Thyssen-Stiftung, through its nonbureaucratic translation grant, expedited greatly the appearance of this volume in its English-language form. The editors are grateful to the above-mentioned institutions for their indispensable support and their demonstrated faith.

**International Biographical Dictionary
of Central European Emigrés 1933—1945**

Volume II

The Arts, Sciences, and Literature

Part 1: A—K

A

Abel, Emil, prof. of chemistry; b. Vienna 2 June 1875, d. London 3 Apr. 1958. *E*: 1938 U.K. *Cit*: Aus. *F*: Lawyer. ∞ Marr-ied.

Att. T.H. Vienna; 1898 Dipl.-Ing; then studied at Univ. Göttingen; Dr. phil. under Walter Nernst. 1905–38 mem. fac, T.H. Vienna: 1905 recd. first teaching license for phys. chem, 1919 a.o. Prof. and fdr, Inst. for Phys. Chem, 1923– o. Prof; 1938 dismissed. Concurr. 1909– taught at Univ. Vienna. 1938 emigr. to U.K. Cont. res. work, incl. dev. of dry cell battery. Mem. Free Aus. Movt. Est. successful new school of chemists at T.H. Vienna. E.A, with Rudolf Wegscheider, was a leading physical chemist in period between the two World Wars. Carried out internationally recognized res. work, esp. in fields of chemical catalysis (intermediate-reaction catalysis), kinetics (isotope effect) and thermodynamics. Mem: Aus. Acad. of Scis. (corresp. mem. 1929). Royal Inst; Royal Inst. of Chem. (fel. 1945); Assn. of Aus. Chems. (hon. mem.). Recd: Haitinger Prize, Aus. Acad. of Scis. (1916); Golden Engr. Dipl, Vienna (1949).

Biblio: *Theorie der Hypochlorite* (Vienna, 1904); *Hypochlorite und elektrische Bleiche* (1905); others; contrib. more than 100 arts. in sci. tech. journals. incl. *Zft. für physikalische Chemie*, *Zft. für Elektrochemie und angewandte physikalische Chemie*, *Zft. für anorganische und allg. Chemie*, *Monatshefte für Chemie*, *Berichte der deutschen Chemischen Ges*; further biblio. in *Pogendorff* (vols. 3–7a), *G.K.* (1925, 1954). *Lit*: G.M. Schwab, *Zft. für Elektrochemie* (vol. 59, 1955); P. Cross, *Zft. für Elektrochemie* (vol. 62, 1958); *Nature* (181, 1958). *Arch*: S.P.S.L. *Sources*: Arch, Hand, Journ. — IfZ.

Abeles, Paul William, civil engineer; b. Mistelbach near Vienna 17 Jan. 1897. *R*: Jewish. *E*: 1939 U.K. *Cit*: U.K, fmlly. Aus. *F*: Ludwig A, b. Nikolsburg, Moravia, Aus. (Mikulov, C.S.S.R.) 1856, d. Vienna 1933, Jewish, timber merchant, mem. exec. comm, Israelitische Kultusgde. *M*: Sophie Pisk, b. Nikolsburg 1861, d. Vienna 1938, Jewish. *S*: Erwin, b. Mistelbach 1882, d. Cleveland, Ohio 1947, engr, emigr. to U.S.; Friedericke Geist, b. Mistelbach 1883, d. Vienna 1932. ∞ (none). *C*: (none).

1915–28 att. T.H. Vienna; 1921 Dipl.-Ing, 1928 Dr.-Ing. Concurr: 1917–18 serv, Aus.-Hung. Army; 1921–22 engr. with local bldg. auth. in Recklinghausen, Westphalia; 1922–29 design engr, later chief design engr, N. Rella and Neffe, Vienna. 1929–38 consult. engr, Vienna, spec. in reinforced concrete and indus. design in var. cent. Eur. countries. Aug. 1939 emigr. to U.K. 1941–44 consult. engr, London. 1944–62 with Chief Civil Engr, Brit. Railways, E. Region, London. Concurr: 1949–55 lect, Brixton Sch. of Building; 1952, 1954 guest lect, Am. colls; 1962– res. fel, Univ. Southampton. 1965–67 vis. prof. of engr, Duke Univ, N. Car. 1967–68 vis. prof. of engr, Univ. Kentucky. 1969– consult. engr. with Jan Bobrowski and Partners, London. Res. on fatigue in concrete, ultimate load, sheer and cracking in prestressed concrete; design dev. in the use of prestressed concrete and tensioned steel members. Var. Am. and Brit. patents. Mem: Intl. Assn. Bridge and Structural Engrs; Alloy Casting Inst. (mem. var. comms.); Am. Soc. Civil Engrs; Prestressed Concrete Inst; others. Recd: Martin Korn Prize (1962) and Medallion Award (1971), both from Prestressed Concrete Inst; hon. mem, Concrete Soc, London (1972); also recd. awards from Inst. Structural Engrs. and Reinforced Concrete Assn. A: (1978) London.

Biblio: "Über die Wirkung von Entlastbögen bei gewölbten Brücken" (diss, T.H. Vienna, 1927); *The Principles and Practice of Prestressed Concrete* (New York, 1949; London, 1949, 1952); *An Introduction to Prestressed Concrete* (vol. 1, 1964; vol. 2, 1966); co-auth, *Prestressed Concrete Designers Handbook* (London, 1962; 2nd ed. New York, Slough, Eng, 1976); contrib. num. arts. to prof. journals. *Sources*: Hand, Qu. — R.F.J.I.

Abeles, Robert Heinz, prof. of biochemistry; b. Vienna 14 Jan. 1926. *E*: 1939 U.S. *Cit*: 1944 U.S. *F*: Ernest A. *M*: Carolyn

Schwartz. ∞ 1948 Barbara Anne Mincher. *C*: Lisa Joy; Steven Leon.

1939 emigr. to U.S. 1944–46 serv, U.S. Army. 1950 M.S, Univ. Chicago. 1950–51 assist, dept. of pediatrics, Univ. Chicago. 1954–55 fel, Arthritis and Rheumatism Found, Univ. Colorado. 1955 Ph.D, 1955–57 post-doctoral fel, Harvard Univ. 1957–60 assist. prof. of chem, Ohio State Univ. 1960–64 mem. fac, Univ. Michigan: 1960 assist. prof. of biochem, 1961 assoc. prof. 1964– mem. fac, Brandeis Univ, Waltham, Mass: 1964 assoc. prof, 1967– prof. Res. in enzymes. Ed, *Journ. of Biol. Chem.* Mem: Am. Chem Soc; Am. Soc. Biol. Chems; A.A.A.S. A: Newton Centre, Mass.

Sources: Hand. — R.F.J.I.

Abelmann, Walter H, prof. of medicine; b. Frankfurt/M 16 May 1921. *R*: Jewish. *E*: 1933 Switz, 1939 U.S. *Cit*: 1944 U.S. (dual), fmlly. Ger, 1935 Switz. *F*: Arthur A, b. Riga, Latvia, Russia (U.S.S.R.) 1888, d. Zurich 1934, 1933 to Switz. with fam. *M*: Else Weill, b. Zurich 1893, Jewish, att. Höhere Töchtersch, Zurich, 1939 to U.S. with children, active in Selfhelp. *S*: Edith Leopold, b. Frankfurt/M 1923, Ph.D, sociol. ∞ 1958 Rena I. White, b. Boston 1926, Jewish, 1948 B.A, pre-retirement consult. *C*: Nancy A, b. 1959, att. Harvard Univ; Ruth E, b. 1960, att. Lawrence Univ, Appleton, Wisc; Arthur W, b. 1962, att. Dartmouth Coll, Hanover, N. Hamp; Charles H, b. 1964, student.

1933 emigr. to Switz. 1934–39 att. Gym, Zurich. 1939 emigr. to U.S. 1939–40 att. Univ. Virginia, Charlottesville. 1940–43 att. Harvard Coll; 1943 B.A. 1943–46 att. Univ. Rochester, N. Y.; 1946 M.D. 1946–47 intern, Boston City Hosp. 1947–48 assist. resid, Mml. Hosp, New York. 1948–50 rose from lieut. to capt, U.S. Army med. corps, Gen. Hosp, Okinawa. 1950– mem. fac, Harvard Univ. Sch. of Med: 1950 fel, 1951 assist, 1953 instr, 1955 assoc, 1958 assist. prof, 1964 assoc. clin. prof, 1969 assoc. prof, 1972 prof. of med. Concurr: 1951–74 res. fel, later assoc. physician, Thorndike Mml. Lab, Boston City Hosp; 1953–60 assoc. with Am. Heart Assn: 1953–55 res. assoc, 1955 established investigator; 1968– lect. in med, Tufts Univ. Sch. of Med, Medford, Mass. 1974– prof. of med, Harvard-M.I.T. Div. of Health Scis. and Technol, Cambridge, Mass; 1977– chmn. of its Bd. of Tutors and Advs. Consult. for var. orgs. Mem. ed. bds: 1965–67 assoc. med. ed, *The Heart Bull*; 1966–72, 1977–80 *Am. Heart Journ*; 1969–75 *Journ. of Molecular and Cellular Cardiology*; 1972–75 *N. Eng. Journ. of Med*; 1976– *Am. Journ. of Cardiology*; 1977– *Am. Coll. of Cardiology Extended Learning*. Invest. cardiovascular and pulmonary aspects of various conditions such as pregnancy and alcohol use, and diseases such as hepatitis, cirrhosis of the liver, and diseases of the heart. Fel: Am. Coll. of Cardiology (mem. bd. of trustees 1977– and of var. comms.); Am. Coll. Physicians. Mem: Am. Heart Assn. (mem. bd. of dirs. 1975–78; mem. and chmn. of var. comms.); Assn. Univ. Cardiologists (pres. 1972–73).

Biblio: Co-auth, "Cardiovascular Effects of Exercise in Hamsters with Experimental Thiamine Deficiency," *Japanese Circulation Journ.* (vol. 43, 1979); co-auth, "Increased Myocardial Catalogue in Rats Fed Ethanol," *Am. Journ. of Pathol.* (vol. 96, 1979); co-auth, "The Direct Effect of Tobacco Smoke on the Intrinsic Mechanical Properties of Cardiac Muscle," *Environmental Res.* (vol. 20, no. 2, 1979); co-auth, "Resistance of Contracting Myocardium to Swelling Following Hypoxia and Glycolytic Blockade," *Cardiovascular Res.* (vol. 13, 1979); co-auth, "Acute Hemodynamic Effects of Cigarette Smoking in Man Assessed by Systolic Time Intervals and Echocardiography," *Circulation* (vol. 60, 1979); contrib. more than 150 chaps. to books and arts. to prof. journals. incl. *N. Eng. Journ. of Med*, *Journ. of Clin. Invest*, *Am. Journ. of Med*, *Am. Heart Journ*, and *Am. Journ. of Cardiology*; for complete biblio. to 1979 see R.F.J.I. arch. *Sources*: Hand, Qu. — R.F.J.I.

Aber, Adolf, musicologist; b. Apolda, Thuringia, Ger. 28 Jan. 1893, d. London 21 May 1960. *R*: Jewish. *E*: 1933 U.K. ∞ Mignon Platky.

4 Abraham

Studied music, philos. and hist. at Univ. Berlin. Att. Berlin Acad. of Music, studied under Kretzschmar, Friedländer and Wolf. 1913 assist. to Kretzschmar at Berliner Musikhistorisches Sem. 1919 Dr. phil., Univ. Berlin. 1918–33 music critic for *Leipziger Neueste Nachrichten* and *Allg. Musikztg.* Active in fostering mod. music, giving support to cond. → Hermann Scherchen's perfs. of → Ernst Křenek's *Jonny spielt auf* and → Kurt Weill's *Mahagonny*. 1927 partner in music publ. firm Friedrich Hofmeister (Edition Germer). 1933 emigr. to U.K. 1933– with Novello and Co. publ. firm, 1936 mem., bd. of dirs; promoted publ. of Ger. composers. 1950– dir. of Perf. Right Soc. Recd.: Grosses B.V.K., Fed. Repub. Ger. (1953).

Biblio: *Studien zu J.S. Bachs Klavierkonzerten, Bach Jahrbuch* (vol. 10, 1913); *Die Pflege der Musik unter den Wettinern und wettinischer Ernestinern von den Anfängen bis zur Auflösung der Weimarer Hofkapelle, 1662* (Bückeburg, 1921); *Handbuch der Musikliteratur in systematisch-chronologischer Anordnung* (Leipzig, 1922; Wiesbaden, 1967); *Die Musikinstrumente und ihre Sprache* (Berlin, 1924); *Die Musik im Schauspiel, Geschichtliches und Ästhetisches* (Leipzig, 1926); auth. of intro, Johannes Brahms: *Verzeichnis seiner Werke* (Leipzig, 1928); short biogs. of Bach, Beethoven, and Brahms, all in Ger; ed. of instr. books for cornet and saxophone, also ed. 16 vols. of studies for wind instruments and colls. of Ger. folk dances; contrib. num. arts. in Ger. and Eng. to prof. journals. **Sources:** Hand, Print. — R.F.J.I.

Abraham, Claude Kurt (fmly. Kurt Jakob Abraham), prof. of French; b. Lorsch, Hessen, Ger. 13 Dec. 1931. *R:* Jewish. *E:* 1938 Fr, 1946 U.S. *Cit:* 1952 U.S., fmly. Ger. *F:* Siegmund A, b. Lorsch 1892, d. in Holocaust, Jewish, merchant, 1939 to Fr, 1942 deported to E. Eur. *M:* Johanna Wachenheimer, b. Zwingenberg, Hessen, Ger. 1904, d. in Holocaust, Jewish, 1939 to Fr, 1942 deported to E. Eur. ∞ 1956 Marcia Edythe Phillips, b. Cincinnati, Ohio 1937, Jewish, B.A., concert pianist, piano teacher. *C:* Susan Jacqueline, b. 1959; Stephen Edward, b. 1960; Catherine Gail, b. 1961; Linda Anne, b. 1967.

Dec. 1938 emigr. to Fr; lived with rels. in Paris; parents arrived Jan. 1939. 1942 interned in Gurs, Rivesaltes, and Drancy concentration and internment camps. When parents were deported, C.A. escaped camp; aided by Fr. underground group which placed him in boarding sch. under an alias. 1946 emigr. to U.S. Supported by rels. 1949–56 att. Univ. Cincinnati, Ohio; 1953 B.A., 1956 M.A. Concurr. 1953–55 serv., U.S. Army in Korea. 1956–59 att. Indiana Univ., Bloomington; 1959 Ph.D. 1959–64 mem. fac., Univ. Illinois; 1959 instr., 1961–64 assist. prof. 1963, 1964 instr. at summer insts, Rockford Coll, Ill, and Pennsylvania State Univ. 1964–75 mem. fac., Univ. Florida, Gainesville; 1964 assoc. prof., 1970–75 prof., 1972–73 assist. dean, grad. sch. Concurr. 1969 recd. N.E.H. grant; 1974 co-ed. of papers on 17th cent. Fr. lit. 1975– prof. of Fr, dept. of Fr. and It, Univ. California, Davis. Consult: Univ. Alabama Press; *Kentucky Romance Quart*; Prentice-Hall Inc, publ. co; N.E.H.; others. Mem. ed. bd., *Oeuvres et Critiques*. Fel: Hum. Res. Cent., Australian National Univ. Mem: Am. Assn. of Teachers of Fr. (libr. comm. 1974–); Am. Coun. Teachers Fgn. Langs. (adv. coun. 1968–69); Am. Assn. of Teachers of Fr, Fla. (pres. 1971–73; mem. exec. bd. 1971–74); mem. and off. of var. brs. of the M.L.A.; others. Recd: S. Atlantic M.L.A. Studies Award (book publ. 1971); recd. num. res. grants and awards from univs. and insts. A: (1980) Davis, Calif.

Biblio: *Gaston d'Orléans et sa cour: étude littéraire* (diss., Indiana Univ, 1959; publ. Chapel Hill, N. Car, 1963; rev. ed. 1964); ed, Molière's *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme: comédie-ballet* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J, 1966); *The Strangers: The Tragic World of Tristan L'Hermite* (Gainesville, 1966); co-trans, *Pascal* (University, Ala, 1969); *Enfin Malherbe* (Lexington, Ky, 1971); *Pierre Corneille* (New York, 1972); co-auth, *Théâtre complet de Tristan L'Hermite* (University, Ala, 1975); *Jean Racine* (New York, 1977); *Tristan* (Boston, 1980); contrib. num. arts. to prof. journals; for biblio. to 1979 see R.F.J.I. arch. **Sources:** Hand, Print, Qu. — R.F.J.I.

Abraham, Henry J(ulian), prof. of political science; b. Offenbach, Hessen, Ger. 25 Aug. 1921. *R:* Jewish. *E:* 1937 U.S. *Cit:* 1943 U.S., fmly. Ger. *F:* Fred A, b. Hillesheim, Hessen, Ger. 1889, d. U.S. 1951, Jewish, 1939 to U.S. *M:* Louise Kullmann, b. Busenberg, Bavaria, Ger. 1897, Jewish, sec. educ, ∞ 1939 to U.S. *S:* Otto W, b. Offenbach, 1939 to U.S., B.S., engr. ∞ 1954 Mildred Kosches, b. New York 1930, Jewish, M.A., M.L.S., libr. at var. colls. *C:* Philip F, b. 1957, A.B., Kenyon Coll, Gambier, Ohio; Peter P, b. 1962, att. Kenyon Coll.

1937 att. Realgym, Frankfurt/M; worked as printer's apprentice. Apr. 1937 emigr. to U.S.; stayed with aunt; delivered newspapers. 1943–48 att. Kenyon Coll, 1948 A.B. summa cum laude, Phi Beta Kappa. Concurr: 1943–46 serv. with U.S. Army Intell. in U.K, Fr, Belg. and Ger; recd. commendation medal and two battle stars. 1948–49 att. Columbia Univ; 1949 M.A. in pub. law and govt. 1949–72 student and mem. fac, dept. of polit. sci., Univ. Pennsylvania: 1949 instr., 1952 Ph.D. in polit. sci.; 1953 assist. prof., 1957 assoc. prof., 1962–72 prof. Concurr: 1949 vis. lect. and prof. at var. univs. and colls. in U.S., Den, Neth, Swed, Fed. Repub. Ger, U.K., India and Iran incl. 1959–60 vis. prof., Univ. Aarhus and Univ. Copenhagen, 1964 Univ. Colorado, 1967–68 City Coll, New York (C.U.N.Y.), 1969 Columbia Univ; 1951–58 assoc. ed., *Soc. Sci.*; 1956 mem. adv. bd., *Soc. Educ.*; 1958 S.S.R.C. fel., Univ. Wisconsin; 1958–67 ed. adv. in polit. sci., Oxford Univ. Press; 1960–61, 1970–71 Am. Philos. Soc. fel.; 1962 N.S.F. fel.; 1968–69 consult, Nat. Commn. on the Causes and Prevention of Violence; 1969– occasional consult, U.S. Senate Comm. on the Judiciary. 1972– mem. fac., Univ. Virginia: 1972 Henry L. and Grace Doherty Mml. Found. Prof. in govt. and fgn. affairs; 1978– James Hart prof. of govt. and fgn. affairs; concurr. 1975, 1976 and 1978 N.E.H. teaching grants; 1976– mem. bd. dirs, Anti-Trust Inst; 1978 Rockefeller Found. resid. schol., Bellagio, It. Res. in constitutional law, civil rights, comparative judicial process, American and comparative government, and public law. Mem: Fels. in Am. Studies (pres. 1964–65); var. regional and nat. polit. sci. assns; Nat. Conf. of Christians and Jews; screening bd. for Fulbright candidates in Scand; Hillel Found., Philadelphia (bd. of trustees); B'nai B'rith; others. Recd: Award for excellence in undergrad. teaching, Univ. Pennsylvania (1959); L.H.D. h.c., Kenyon Coll. (1972). A: (1980) Charlottesville, Va.

Biblio: *Compulsory Voting* (Washington, D.C. 1955); *Government as Entrepreneur and Social Servant* (Washington, D.C. 1956); *Courts and Judges: An Introduction to the Judicial Process* (New York, 1959); co-auth, *Elements of Democratic Government* 4th ed. New York, 1964); co-auth, *Essentials of American National Government* (3rd ed. New York, 1971); *The Judiciary: The Supreme Court in the Governmental Process* (3rd ed. Boston, 1973; 5th ed. 1980); *Justices and Presidents: A Political History of Appointments to the Supreme Court* (New York, 1974; Eng. ed. 1975); *The Judicial Process: An Introductory Analysis of the Courts of the United States, England, and France* (3rd ed. New York, 1975; 4th ed. 1980); *Freedom and the Court: Civil Rights and Liberties in the United States* (3rd ed. New York, 1977; 4th ed. 1981); contrib. more than 50 chaps. to books and arts. to encycls. and prof. journals, incl. *Journ. of the Indian Law Inst*; *The Virginia Quart. Rev*; *Annals of the Am. Acad. of Polit. and Soc. Sci*; *Soc. Sci*; biblio. to 1979 in R.F.J.I. arch. **Sources:** Hand, Qu. — R.F.J.I.

Abraham, Paul (fmly. Pál A.), composer of light opera, film scores; b. Apatin, Hung. 2 Nov. 1892, d. Hamburg 6 May 1960. *E:* 1933 Fr, 1938 U.S., 1956 returned to Ger.

Studied music at Budapest Acad. of Music, where became prof. of music theory and liturgical music. Early compositions of "serious music" perf. at Salzburg Fest. and by Budapest Philh, but best known for operettas written after 1928. Collab. with Franz Lehár on *Friederike* and *Das Land des Lächelns*, and enjoyed great success with *Viktoria und ihr Husar* (première Budapest and Leipzig, 1930). 1931 première of *Die Blume von Hawaii* in Leipzig. Film version and London première of *Viktoria* while living in Berlin. 1932 première of *Ball im Savoy*, Berlin. 1933 film version and Milan première of *Blume*; P.A.'s music banned by Nazi regime. 1933 emigr. to Paris; same yr.

Vienna première of *Ball im Savoy*. 1934–38 premières of P.A.'s operettas in Vienna (see "other works" below). Concurr. from 1930 composed music for films (see "other works" below). 1939 emigr. to U.S, where poverty and isolation led to mental breakdown and institutionalization in 1946. Paul Abraham Soc. est. in Fed. Repub. Ger; 1955(56?) returned to Fed. Repub. Ger. on govt. invit; treated in Hamburg Sanatorium.

Other works: Composer of a requiem, concertos, chamber and orch. music, and 13 operettas and musicals, incl. *Mädchen im Grand Hotel* (première Vienna, 1934); *Dschainach, das Mädchen aus dem Tanzhaus* (première Vienna, 1936); *Julia* (première 1937); *Roxy und ihr Wunderteam* (première Vienna, 1937); *The White Swan* (première U.S, 1939); also music for over 30 films, incl: *Melodie des Herzens* (1930); *Die singende Stadt* (1930); *Die Privatsekretärin* (1931); *Das Blaue vom Himmel* (1932); *Glück über Nacht* (1932); *Zigeuner der Nacht* (1932); *Ein bisschen Liebe für Dich* (1932); *Rákóczy-Marsch* (1933). *Arch:* Perf. Arts Res. Cent, Lincoln Cent, New York. *Sources:* Arch, Hand, News. — R.F.J.I.

Abramowitsch, Ruth (pseud. 1933–1950s Ruth Sorel), dancer, choreographer, teacher; b. Halle/Saale, Saxony, Ger. 1907. *R:* Jewish(?). *E:* 1933 Pol, 1941(?) S. Am, 1945(?) Can, 1950s Pol. *Cit:* Pol.(?), fmly. Ger.

Studied dance with Mary Wigman in Dresden, and perf. with Wigman dance co. 1926–27 debut, Stadttheater Essen. 1927–33 prima ballerina, State Opera Berlin; dramatic dancer and choreographer; solo dance concerts with partner Georg Groke; assist. dir, children's dance group, State Opera, Berlin. Spring 1933 emigr. to Pol. Ballet perfs. and tours in Pol, Pal, and S. Am. with partner G. Groke under pseud. Ruth Sorel. During W.W.II emigr. to S. Am, later to Can. 1949 opened dance sch. in Montreal; also choreographic work. Early 1950s returned to Warsaw; dance teacher. Contrib. to contemporary dance through synthesis of virtuoso free dance and classical ballet.

Lit: *Enciclopedia dello spettacolo*; Friedrich, *Ballet*. *Sources:* Hand. — IfZ.

Abravanel, Maurice (fmly. de Abravanel), conductor, music director; b. Salonica, Gr. 6 Jan. 1903. *R:* Jewish. *E:* 1933 Fr, 1936 U.S. *Cit:* U.S. *F:* Edward de Abravanel, pharmacist, Port. *M:* Rachel Bitty, Port. ∞ 1947 Lucy Carasso.

From 1909 close contact with Stravinsky and other noted musicians through neighbor Ernest Ansermet in Lausanne, Switz. 1919–1921 studied med, Univ. Lausanne; concurr. cond. univ. orch, and decided to pursue career in music. 1921–22 att. Univ. Zurich; studied harmony, counterpoint and music fundamentals with E. Masson in Zurich and with → Kurt Weill in Berlin. Concurr. cond. popular concerts in Mecklenburg-Strelitz. 1924–26 cond. at Zwickau Stadttheater, Saxony, Ger; 1926–29 at Altenburg, Thuringia; Lausanne, Switz; 1929–32 in Kassel, Hessen-Nassau, Ger, and later in other opera houses incl. Berlin Opera; concurr. cond. appearances in London, Paris and Rome. 1933 left Ger. to cond. in other countries: 1933 for Balanchine at Paris Ballet (première of → Bertolt Brecht-Weill's *Seven Deadly Sins*, Fr. première of Brecht-Weill's *Mahagonny*); 1933–34 in London, Rome and Geneva. 1934 assist. to → Bruno Walter in preparing *Don Giovanni* for Fr. Nat. Opera. 1934–35 tours of Aust. with Brit. Nat. Opera Co. as music dir; 1935–36 cond. with Aust. Broadcasting Commn. 1936 emigr. to U.S. with recommendation of Bruno Walter and Wilhelm Furtwängler for cond. position at Metropolitan Opera, New York; became the youngest cond. to work with Metropolitan Opera; revived Saint-Saëns' *Samson et Dalila*; left Metropolitan after two unsatisfactory yrs. 1938 turned to cond. for Broadway shows, the first being Weill's *Knickerbocker Holiday* at the Barrymore Theater in New York. 1940–41 cond. with Chicago Opera Co; concurr. guest cond. in New York, Washington, D.C., Pittsburgh, Penn, and Cleveland, Ohio. 1941 music dir. for Weill's *Lady in the Dark* at Alvin Theater (travel tour with co.), 1943 for *One Touch of Venus* at Imperial Theater, 1944 for Weill's *The Seven Lively Arts* at the Ziegfeld Theater, all New York. 1942 cond. of progs. of mod. music with New York City Symph. 1945 assoc. with Nat. Opera Co, Mexico

City. Concurr: Tour of Eng, later Aust; music dir. of *The Firebrand of Florence* at the Alvin Theater. Ca. 1946 musical dir, guest cond, builder of orchs. in Sydney and Melbourne; concurr. mus. dir. for Sir Benjamin Fuller's opera co. in Sydney, intro. contemp. music to Aust. audiences. 1947 returned to U.S. to serve as musical dir. and cond. of Utah Symph, Salt Lake City until 1979; cond. of summer fests. in Utah; 1966 tour to Eur. under auspices of U.S. State Dept; extensive tours of U.S; teacher at Univ. Utah. Concurr: 1947 music dir. of Weill's *Street Scenes* at Adelphi Theater, New York; num. guest appearances as cond. in U.S. and Eur; 1949 music dir. of *Regina* at 46th Street Theater, New York; from 1955 co-fdr. with Bruno Walter and dir. of Music Acad. of the West and its symph. orch, Santa Barbara, Calif; 1977 cond. of Mostly Mozart concerts, New York. Under M.A.'s direction, the Utah Symph. evolved as one of the important orchestras in the U.S; spread the knowledge of modern music throughout the U.S. and abroad; recording with the Utah Symph. of Mahler's 5th Symph. selected by Gustav Mahler Soc. as world's best Mahler release. Recd: Tony Award for *Regina* (1950). A: (1975) Salt Lake City, Utah.

Recordings: All nine Mahler symphs, major symphs. of Brahms, complete works of Tchaikowsky, and Grieg's major works with Utah Symph. for Vanguard Records; also recorded for Westminster Recording Co. with Utah Symph, and for Columbia Records. *Sources:* Hand, News, Print. — R.F.J.I.

Acht, Peter (fmly. Maurycy Oskar), journalist; b. Lemberg, Galicia. Aus. (Lvov, U.S.S.R.) 9 June 1898, d. Vienna 25 June 1974. *R:* Jewish. *Cit:* Aus. *E:* 1936 C.S.R., 1938 Fr, 1946 Aus. *F:* Maks A, owner of precious metal refinery. *M:* Chana. *S:* Jakob; Salomon (both d. in Holocaust); Regina (suicide). ∞ Marianne, b. 1906, clerk, 1937 C.S.R., 1938 Fr, interned at French concentration camp Gurs, 1942 to Lyons illegally, collab. Travail Anti-Allemand. *C:* (none).

During W.W.I with family to Vienna: worker in ammunition factory. 1922– mgr. of father's firm. 1926–31 public relations counsel of Paneuropa-Union. Concurr. from end of 1920s mem. K.P.Ö. and Union of Proletarian-Revolutionary Authors of Austria (founded Feb. 1930 by its first chmn. *Ernst Fabri); 1932 successor to Fabri following latter's emigration. From May 1933 responsible for publ. of communist newspaper *Die Rote Fahne*, which cont. to appear until July 1933 after banishment of K.P.Ö. 1936 briefly arrested, then emigr. to Prague, 1938 emigr. to Paris. Interned in camps Les Milles and Nîmes. 1942 by order of K.P.Ö. illegally to Lyons. Collab, later group leader of Aus. br. of Travail Anti-Allemand within Fr. Résistance (*Oskar Grossmann). 1945 secy. of newly-founded Front National Autrichien, Lyons. Until Feb. 1946 leader of K.P.Ö. section in Lyons. Mar. 1946 returned to Vienna. Until 1955 mem. ed. staff, cultural section of *Österreichische Zeitung*, also contrib. to *Die Andere Zeitung*, Hamburg.

Biblio: *Europas antiautoritäre Kulturrevolution* (1972). *Lit:* Spiegel, *Résistance*; Gerald Musger, *Der "Bund proletarisch-revolutionärer Schriftsteller Österreichs" (1930-1934)* (diss, Graz, 1977). *Sources:* Pers, Print, News. — IfZ.

Ackermann, Otto, conductor, music director and producer; b. Bucharest, Rum. 5 Oct. 1909, d. Bern 2 Mar. 1960. *E:* 1935 Switz. *Cit:* Switz.

Att. Royal Acad, Bucharest. 1924 cond, Royal Rum. Opera on tour. 1926–28 att. Hochsch. für Musik, Berlin. Studied composition and piano with → Julius Prüwer, cond. with → George Szell and Gmeindl. 1928–32 cond, coach, Düsseldorf opera. 1932–35 opera dir, Deutsches Theater, Brno, C.S.R. 1935 emigr. to Switz. 1935–47 cond. and opera prod, munic. operas of Bern, Zurich, Lucerne, Geneva. 1946 cond, Mozart-Wagner Fest, Barcelona. 1947–52 music dir, Staatsoper in der Volksoper, Vienna. Until 1960 cond, Stadttheater, Zurich. 1953–(?) gen. music dir, Städt. Bühnen, Cologne. Guest cond, Acad. Santa Cecilia, Rome, and in opera houses and symph. concert halls throughout Eur. Also cond. on Eur. radio. O.A. was known as successful opera conductor and for interpretation of Wagner's music.

Sources: Hand. — R.F.J.I.

6 Ackermann

Ackermann, Paul Kurt, prof. of German; b. Bremen, Ger. 5 Sept. 1919. *E*: 1935 U.S. *Cit*: U.S. ∞ 1945 C: 2 children.

1935 emigr. to U.S. 1945 A.B. in Ger, Colgate Univ, Hamilton, N.Y. 1945 Hervey schol, Columbia Univ, 1945–46 teaching fel. in Ger. dept, 1947 M.A. 1946–48 instr, Amherst Coll, Mass. 1948– mem. fac, dept. of Ger, Boston Univ: 1948 instr, 1953 assist. prof, 1958 assoc. prof, 1965– prof. Concurr. 1952 Olmstead travel fel, Harvard Univ; 1953 Ph.D. in Ger. Chmn, Boston Univ. Press. 1966 ed, *Boston Univ. Journ.* 1966 prof, Univ. Würzburg. Spec. on → Thomas Mann, → René Schickele, 18th cent. Ger. and comp. modern lit. Mem: Am. Assn. of Teachers of Ger; M.L.A.; Intl. Assn. for Germanic Studies; Thomas Mann Soc. A: (1978) Boston, Mass.

Biblio: "René Schickele: A Critical Study" (diss, Harvard, 1953); "René Schickele: A Bibliography," *Bull. of Biblio.* (vol. 22, 1956–57); contrib. biblio. to René Schickele, *Werke* (vol. 3, Cologne, 1959); ed. student eds: → Thomas Mann, *Die Bekenntnisse des Hochstaplers Felix Krull* (Boston, 1958); F. Dürrenmatt, *Der Besuch der alten Dame* (Boston, 1960); M. Frisch's *Biedermann und die Brandstifter* (Boston, 1963); *Homo Faber* (Boston, 1973); also contrib. arts. to prof. journals. *Sources*: Hand, Pers. — R.F.J.I.

Ackermann, Werner (pseud. Rico Gala), author, translator; b. Antwerp, Belg. 28 Dec. 1892. *E*: 1933 Tur, Sp, Belg, 1951 S. Afr. ∞ Married.

Att. Gym, Antwerp. Studied at Sch. for Journ. and Univ. Berlin. 1913–14 ed, Touring Club Suisse, Geneva. partic. W.W.I. 1921–23 publisher. 1923–25 co-owner, Kurhaus Monte Verità, Ascona, Switz. Freelance writer in Ger. 1933 emigr. to Belg. via Tur. and Sp. 1940 drafted as trans. by the Ger. Army. 1941 dismissed because of polit. unreliability. 1942 recalled and serv. as lieut.-commander. 1944–46 Am. P.O.W. 1947–51 in Fed. Repub. Ger; resid. in Weinheim an der Bergstrasse. 1951 emigr. to Johannesburg. Novelist and dramatist; translator of Flemish and Dutch works incl. Stijn Streuvels, Elisabeth Zernike, and Anton Coolen. Contrib. to newspapers and journals. incl. *Die Sammlung*, Amsterdam (1934) and under pseud. Rico Gala, *Nationalzeitung*, Basel.

Biblio: *Flucht nach Shanghai*, drama (1928); Rico Gala, *Wehe dem Sieger* (1932); *Langusten für das Volk*, drama (Vienna, 1935; Fr. ed, 1935); *Le duel américain*, radio play (Brussels, 1936); *Jeux de hasard*, comedy (Brussels, 1937); *La cargaison phantôme*, play (Brussels, 1937); *Le poète méconnu*, radio play (broadcast Paris; Brussels, 1937); *Kinder aus Spanien*, play (Basel, 1938; Fr. ed, 1938); *L'Étrangère*, radio play (broadcast; Paris, Brussels, 1939); *Urwald in der grossen Stadt: Kleiner afrikanischer Roman* (1955); *Schwarz-weiss gestreift: Südafrikanische Geschichten* (1958); "La Fille de Prague," play (unpubl. ms.) others. *Sources*: Hand. — IfZ.

Adam, Ken, film designer; b. 1921; see Straschek film biographies.

Adam, Leonhard, prof. of anthropology, judge; b. Berlin 16 Dec. 1891, d. Bonn 9 Sept. 1960 (on acad. vis). *R*: Evangelical, fmly. Jewish. *E*: 1936 U.K., 1940 Aust. *Cit*: 1946 Aust, fmly. Ger. *F*: Michael Meinhard A, b. Berlin, d. Berlin 1940, Jewish, textile importer. *M*: Rosa Schmidt, b. Berlin 1870, d. Melbourne 1951, Evangelical, 1948 to Aust. *S*: Manfred, b. 1894, d. Melbourne 1967, att. Univ. Berlin, 1938 to U.K., 1940 to Aust; Edgar, b. 1908, d. Melbourne 1972, foodstuffs importer, hidden and supported by wife during W.W. II, 1948 to Aust. ∞ 1943 Julia Baillie, b. Melbourne 1905, Church of England, licenciate, Royal Acad. of Music, assoc. Royal Coll. of Music, piano teacher, concert pianist. *C*: Mary, b. 1945, B.A. Monash Univ, fmly. personal secy. to → Walter Lacquer, a: U.K.

Studied law, ethnology and sinology, Univ. and Oriental Seminar of Berlin. Studied primitive mat. cultures at Ethnographic Mus, Berlin. Dr. jur, Univ. Greifswald. During W.W. I res. among Ghurkas in P.O.W. camp in Rum; recd. Verdienst-

kreuz. 1928–33 app. Amtsgerichtsrat, Charlottenburg, Berlin. Concurr: 1930–33(?) fdr. and ed, *Zft. für vergleichende Rechtswiss*; Doz. in Primitive Laws, Inst. für Auslandsrecht, Univ. Berlin; mem. bd. of experts, Ethnographic Mus, Berlin. 1933 dismissed from positions as Amtsgerichtsrat and as journ. ed. Oct. 1936 emigr. to U.K. on vis. visa. Aided by ref. org. 1936–40 res. for the Colonial Off. Concurr: Lect, teacher, Univ. London; contrib. to anthro. period. Sept. 1940–42 interned and transported to Tatura, Aust. Dir. of educ, teacher of anthro. and Chinese, Tatura. 1942 released from internment status to Melbourne Univ. due to testimony of Sir Thomas Maltby, M.P., before Legislative Assembly and A.P. Elkin, prof. of anthro. 1942–44(?) recd. res. grant to study aboriginal stone artifacts in Nat. Mus. of Victoria under Elkin. 1942–57 mem. staff, Univ. Melbourne: 1942–57 fdr. and curator of ethnological coll, 1944–47 res. fel, 1944– lect. in ethnology, then lect. of hist, 1957 ret. Concurr: Teacher of Chinese, Queens Coll; 1957 held sem. on Aust. aboriginal culture, dept. of anthro, Univ. Bonn. Res. on art, culture, law and religion of primitive peoples, including works on Nepalese, North African and Northwest American Indian ethnological jurisprudence, comparative law, Asiatic art, and on archeology and technology. Mem: Soc. of Americanists, Vienna (1937). Recd: Dr. phil. h.c, Univ. Bonn (1957).

Biblio: *Hochasiatische Kunst* (Stuttgart, 1923); *Buddha Statuen* (Stuttgart, 1925); *Sitte und Recht in Nepal* (Stuttgart, 1934); *Primitive Art* (Harmondsworth, U.K., 1949; trans. into Sp, It, Fr, Serbo-Croatian); contrib. to var. periods. and journals. incl. *Iowa Law Rev*; *Am. Anthropologist*; *Far East. Quart. Papers*: Some papers in Sem. für Volkskunde, Univ. Bonn. *Lit*: *Zft. für vergleichende Rechtswiss.* in hon. of L.A. (vol. 59, 1957); cat. of 1973 exhib. of aboriginal bark paintings from Univ. Melbourne Leonhard Adam Ethnographic Coll. *Arch*: S.P.S.L. *Sources*: Arch, N.D.W, Pers, Print. — R.F.J.I.

Adams, George (fmly. Georg Teltscher), graphic designer, professor; b. Vienna 1 July 1904. *E*: 1933 Aus. 1934 Sp, 1938 U.K., 1940 Aust, 1941 U.K. *Cit*: 1946 U.K., fmly. Aus. *F*: Wilhelm Teltscher, b. Brünn, Moravia, Aus. (Brno, C.S.R.), d. Vienna 1940, Jewish, merchant. *M*: Mary Adams, b. Quincy, Mass. 1876, d. Cambridge, Mass. 1974, Protestant. *S*: Arthur Adams, b. 1898, d. U.S. 1939, engr. ∞ 1973 Sara Jean Murray, b. London 1937. *C*: (none).

1913–18 att. Realgym, Vienna. 1919–21 studied with Prof. Cizek at the Graphic Teaching and Experimental Inst. in Vienna. 1921–23 studied at Bauhaus Weimar with → Wassily Kandinsky, → Paul Klee, and → Johannes Itten; then studied with Julius Klinger. Freelance graphic artist. 1925–28 again in Vienna; chief graphic designer for Vacuum Oil Co. and stage designer. 1928–30 art dir, Hamburger Städtische Anzeigen G.m.b.H. (Hamburg Municipal Advertisements, Ltd.). 1933 freelance graphic designer in Berlin and Hamburg. 1933 returned to Aus. Resid. in Vienna. 1934 emigr. to Sp. 1934–36 art dir. at agcy. in Barcelona. 1936 before formation of Intl. Brigades partic. in Sp. Civil War. 1938 emigr. to U.K. on tourist visa. Aided by Soc. of Friends, which provided a work permit. Lived in London. Freelance work. 1940 interned as enemy alien and shipped to Aust. 1941 returned to U.K. 1941–45 designer, Polit. Intell. Dept. of Fgn. Off. in London. Vol. Supreme Headquarters Allied Command in Eur; active in psych. warfare, coop. in Allied radio broadcasting from Luxembourg. 1945 posted to Vienna to work with allied P.O.W.s. 1951–73 sr. lect, design dept, London Coll. of Printing. Concurr: 1950–73 consult, Thames & Hudson Publ, London; mem. Educ. Comm. (External Exam. in Colls.); 1960–65 consult, George Rainbird Ltd. London. 1973–77 prof. of graphic design and photography, Univ. Nigeria, Nsukka. 1975– consult. designer for var. commnrs. Mem: Amnesty Intl; Soc. of Indus. Artists and Designers, London (fel.). Works reproduced in *Graphis*, *Graphis Annual*, both in Zurich, *Gebrauchsgraphik* in W. Berlin, among others. A: (1981) London.

Lit: Bauhaus cat. (vol. 2); Wingler, *Bauhaus* (vols. 1, 2); *Tendenzen der Zwanziger Jahre*, cat. *Sources*: Print, Qu. — IfZ.

Adamson, (Joy) Friederike Victoria née Gessner, fmy. von Klarwill, fmy. Bally (pseud. Joy Bally, Joy Adamson), author of books on wildlife, conservationist, painter; b. Troppau, Silesia, Aus. (Opava, C.S.R.) 20 Jan. 1910, d. Kenya 4 Jan. 1980 (murdered?). *R*: Protestant. *E*: 1937 Kenya. *Cit*: U.K. *F*: Victor Gessner, Protestant, civil serv. *M*: Traute Friederike Greipel, b. 1888, Protestant. *S*: Traute Erdmann, b. Troppau 1909, journalist, d. Vienna 1974; Dorothea Cooper, b. 1920, a: U.K. ∞ I. 1935 Victor von Klarwill, Austrian, Jewish; II. 1938 Peter Bally, Swiss; III. 1943 George Adamson, Brit.

Staatsprüfung in piano, Vienna. 1928 dipl. in dressmaking. 1929–30 studied sculpting in Vienna. 1931–32 studied metal work, Kunstgewerbesch, Vienna. 1933–35 grad. course. Mar. 1937 emigr. alone and as vol. exile to Kenya via Switz. to find appropriate resid. for first husband, who was Jewish. Supported fam. in Kenya by self-taught painting and woodcarving. 1938–43 painted 700 varieties of flora. 1944–52 illus. 7 books; also commnd. to paint tribes of Kenya by Kenya govt. Works exhib. at Nat. Mus, Statehouse, Tryon Gall, Nairobi, Kenya, and in London. 1956 began res. on wild animals. 1960 auth. of *Born Free: A Lioness of Two Worlds* (New York, 1960), the first of many books about Elsa, the lioness and other wild animals; trans. into many langs. 1961 partic, Elsa Wild Animal Appeal, U.K.; 1969 in U.S., 1971 in Can. Mem: Active in intl. conservation orgs, incl. Elsa Wild Animal Appeal Intl. For Wildlife Preservation; Wild Life Conservationist Intl. Recd: Gold Grenfell Medal, Royal Horticulture Soc, London (1947); Award of Merit, C.S.S.R. (silver medal, 1970); Joseph Wood-Krutsch Medal, Humane Soc, U.S. (1971).

Biblio: Publ. as Joy Adamson: *Born Free: A Lioness of Two Worlds* (New York, 1960, 1961 and many other eds. and trans; filmed 1966); *Elsa: The True Story of a Lioness* (London–New York, 1961; Fr. ed. 1962); *Living Free* (London – New York, 1961, 1964; filmed 1971); *Forever Free: Elsa's Pride* (London – New York, 1962, 1963, 1966; Ger. ed. 1964; filmed 1971); *Elsa and her Cubs* (New York, 1965); *The Story of Elsa* (London – New York, 1966); illus, auth, *The People of Kenya* (New York – London, 1967); *The Spotted Sphinx* (London – New York, 1969; filmed 1970); *Pippa the Cheetah and Her Cubs* (London – New York, 1970; filmed 1970); *Joy Adamson's Africa* (London – New York, 1972); *Pippa's Challenge* (New York, 1972); *Queen of Shaba: The Story of an African Leopard* (New York, 1980); works trans. into Ger, Fr, Pol, Hung, Czech, Russ, and Swahili; contrib. many arts. to journs. and mags. in U.S., U.K. and Aust. incl. *Geog. Journ.*, *East African Annuals*, *Ger. Anthro. Journ.*, *Brit. Geog. Mag.* *Sources*: Hand, Qu. — R.F.J.I.

Adiel, Shraga (until 1955 Edelman), educator, director-general of Youth Aliyah; b. Leipzig, Saxony, Ger. 21 June 1913. *R*: Jewish. *E*: 1934 Pal. *Cit*: 1948 Isr, fmy. Pol. *F*: Abraham Edelman, b. E. Eur. 1863, d. Pal. 1939, Jewish, relig. educ, merchant, 1912 to Ger. from Russ, 1939 to Pal. from Ger. *M*: Hadassah Potrovsky, b. Russ. 1873, d. Ger. 1929, Jewish, primary educ, 1912 to Ger. from Russ. *S*: Lisa Edelman, b. Mezhirech, Russ. (U.S.S.R.) 1892, d. Warsaw 1942 in Holocaust, 1939 to Pol. from Ger; Mali Ziege, b. Mezhirech 1900, d. Isr. 1976, sec. educ, 1936 to Pal. from Ger; Sarah Hundstuck, b. Mezhirech 1901, d. Paris 1962, sec. educ, 1933 to Fr. from Ger. ∞ 1938 Tova Dashevsky, b. Braslav, Russ. Pol. (U.S.S.R.) 1915, Jewish, 1922 to Pal. from Russ, teacher's cert, Hebrew Teachers' Coll, Jerusalem, teacher in elem. schs. *C*: Yonatan, b. Tel Aviv 1942, M.A., lawyer; Hadassah Siton, b. Tel Aviv 1951, B.A., teacher.

Until 1933 att. Prof. Schustersche höhere Lehranstalt; denied Abitur as Jew. Mem: Zionist youth movt; world secretariat, Young Maccabi. Sept. 1934 emigr. to Pal. with B-III cert. 1934–37 att. Hebrew Teachers Coll, Jerusalem, 1937 recd. teacher's cert; concurr. partially supported by father, also gave priv. lessons and held odd jobs. 1937–48 teacher, principal, elem. and sec. schs. Concurr. 1946 B.Sc, 1948 M.A., 1962–63 Ph.D. candidate, Teachers Coll, Columbia Univ. 1950–71 with Isr. Min. of Educ: 1950–56 supr; inspector; dist. inspector; 1956–71 assist. dir.-gen; dep. dir.-gen; chmn, pedag. secretariat. 1959– lect. on educ. admin. 1972–78 dir.-gen, Youth Aliyah, Jewish Agcy. Mem: Histadrut. A: Jerusalem.

Biblio: Ed. var. publs. of Min. of Educ; num. arts. in prof. journs; contrib. to *Encycl. of Educ.* in Isr, *Sources*: Hand, Qu. — R.F.J.I.

Adler, Alexandra, dir. of institute, clinical prof. of psychiatry; b. Vienna 24 Sept. 1901. *E*: 1935 U.S. *Cit*: U.S. *F*: → Alfred Adler. *M*: Raissa Timofeyewna Epstein, b. Russ. 1873, d. 1969, att. Univ. Vienna, active socialist. *S*: Kurt, b. 1907, Dr. med, psychiatrist, 1935 to Tur, later to U.S, a: Jamaica, New York; Vali, d. prison camp, U.S.S.R., Dr. econ; Nelli, actress. ∞ 1959 Dr. Halfdan Gregersen.

1926 Dr. med, Univ. Vienna. 1926–35 intern, resid. and vis. physician, Univ. Vienna Neuropsychiatric Clin. Ed, *Intl. Zft. für Individualpsych.* 1935 emigr. to U.S. 1935–44 res. fel, assist. and instr. of neurol, Harvard Univ. Sch. of Med. Concurr: Grad. assist. in neurol, Massachusetts General Hosp; res. assoc. and sr. vis. physician, Boston City Hosp. 1944–46 assist. psychiatrist, Duke Univ. Hosp, Durham, N. Car. 1946– mem. fac, New York Univ: 1946 assist. clin. prof. of neurol, 1953 assoc. clin. prof, 1969 clin. prof. of psychiatry. 1946– mem. staff, Bellevue Hosp, New York: 1946 assist. att. neurol, 1953 assoc. att. neurol, 1969 assoc. att. psychiatrist. Concurr: 1946–55 adj. psychiatrist, Mt. Sinai Hosp, New York; 1946–56 assoc. vis. physician, Goldwater Mml. Hosp, New York; 1948– psychiatrist, Dept. of Correction, New York; 1948– med. dir, Alfred Adler Mental Hygiene Clin, New York. Ed, *Intl. Journ. of Individual Psych.* Leading authority in the field of individual psychology with spec. in psychosomatic syndromes and psychopharmacology. Mem: New York Assn. Individual Psych. (pres.); Intl. Assn. Individual Psych. (past pres.); Am. Psychiatric Assn; Am. Acad. Neurol; Assn. for Res. of Nervous and Mental Diseases; others. Recd: Golden Cross of Honor, City of Vienna (1978). A: (1979) New York.

Biblio: *Guiding Human Misfits: A Practical Application of Individual Psychology* (New York, 1939, subsequent eds.); ca. 70 arts. and contribs. to books. *Sources*: Hand, News. — R.F.J.I.

Adler, Alfred, neurologist, psychologist; b. Vienna 7 Feb. 1870, d. Aberdeen, Scot. 28 May 1937 (on lect. tour). *R*: Protestant, fmy. Jewish. *E*: 1935 U.S. *F*: Leopold A, grain merchant. *M*: Pauline. *S*: Friedrich. ∞ 1898 Raissa Timofeyewna Epstein; for further info. on ∞ and C see dir. → Alexandra Adler.

1895 Dr. med, Univ. Vienna. 1895–97 with Allg. Krankenhaus und Polyklinik, Vienna. 1897–1927 neurol, priv. practice, Vienna. 1914–18 serv, Aus.-Hung. Army med. corps. Active mem. of S.D.A.P. 1902–11 mem. of → Sigmund Freud's discussion group, known after 1908 as Vienna Psychoanal. Soc, 1910–11 serv. as pres. 1910–11 co-ed, *Zentralblatt für Psychoanalyse*. 1911 broke with Freud and libido theory, dev. instead theory of "individual psychology" based on premise of individual's aim of self-assertion, and his "will to power" against basic feelings of inferiority. A.A. minimized importance of intrapsychic phenomena and emphasized the role of social factors in the dev. of neuroses. 1911 fdr, Soc. for Free Analysis, 1912 renamed Soc. for Individual Psych. Ed, *Zft. der Individualpsych.* 1919 fdr, head of first child guidance clin. connected with Viennese sch. syst. 1924– lect, Pedagogical Inst, Vienna. 1927 lect, Columbia Univ. 1928 clin. dir, Mariahilfer Ambulatorium, Vienna. 1930 hon. cit, City of Vienna. 1930s fdr. of *Intl. Journ. of Individual Psych.* 1927–34 frequent lect. tours in U.S. 1935 emigr. to U.S; subsequently div. yr. between U.S. and Eur. 1934(35?)–37 prof. of med. psych, Long Island Med. Coll. (now S.U.N.Y. Downstate Med. Cent.). Also lect: Temple Emanu-El, Vanderbilt Clin. of Columbia Presbyterian Med. Cent, and New School for Social Research, all New York. A.A. originated individual psychology and made a significant contribution to the study of compensation for organ inferiority. Earliest synthesizer of Marxist and Freudian thought (1909).

Biblio: *Studie über Minderwertigkeit von Organen* (Berlin, 1907; trans. as *Study of Organ Inferiority and Its Psychological Compensations* [New York, 1917]); *Über den nervösen Charakter* (Wiesbaden, 1912, 1919, 1922, 1923, 1928); *Das Problem der*

Homosexualität (Munich 1917, 1927; Leipzig, 1930); *Praxis und Theorie der Individualpsychologie* (Munich, 1920, 1924, 1927, 1930); *Heilen und Bilden* (1922); *Menschenkenntnis* (Leipzig, 1928, 1929, 1930, 1931; Zurich, 1947); *Der Sinn des Lebens* (Vienna, 1933); *The Science of Living* (1929); *Education of Children* (1930); *The Pattern of Life* (New York, 1930; London, 1931); *What Life Should Mean to You* (Boston, 1931); *Social Interest: A Challenge to Mankind* (1937); *Understanding Human Nature* (1946); *The Problem Child* (1963); *Problems of Neurosis*, Heinz L. Ansbacher, ed. (New York, 1964); works trans. into many langs; for complete biblio. see Grinstein (vol. 1, 1956; vol. 5, 1960; vol. 6, 1964; vol. 10, 1971). *Lit*: Putnam et al, "Symposium on the Theories of Freud, Jung and Adler," *Journ. of Abnormal Psych.* (vol. 12, 1917); Philippe Mairet, *The ABC of Adler's Psychology* (1929); H. and R. Ansbacher, eds, *Individual Psychology of Alfred Adler: A Systematic Presentation of Selections from His Writings* (1956); P. Botome, *Alfred Adler, A Portrait from Life* (1957); H. Orgler, *Alfred Adler: The Man and His Work* (1965). *Sources*: Biblio, Biog, Hand, News, Print. — R.F.J.I.

Adler, Alfred, prof. of mathematics; b. Frankfurt/M 21 Feb. 1930. *R*: Jewish. *E*: 1936 It, 1938 Fr, 1939 U.S. *Cit*: 1945 U.S. *F*: Frederick A, b. Frankfurt/M 1899, Jewish, Dr. phil. econ, Dr. jur, emigr. with fam. *M*: Erna Strauss, b. Heilbronn, Württemberg, Ger. 1907, Jewish, emigr. with fam. *S*: Stephan, b. Frankfurt/M 1933, in import/export bus, emigr. with fam; Renate, b. Milan 1937, writer, emigr. with fam, auth, *Speedboat*. ∞ 1967 Susan Seidner, b. Jihlava, C.S.R. 1935, Jewish, 1938 to U.S, B.A., portrait painter. *C*: Karen; Nina; Katherine; Elizabeth.

1936 emigr. to It. 1938 emigr. to Fr. Mar. 1939 to U.S. Att. Dartmouth Coll, Hanover, N. Hamp. 1952 B.S., M.I.T. 1956. Ph.D. in math, U.C.L.A. 1956–58 instr. of math, Princeton Univ. 1958–60 lect, M.I.T. 1960–61 assist. prof, Rutgers Univ, New Brunswick, N.J. 1962–63 vis. prof. of math, Univ. Bonn. 1963–66 assoc. prof, Purdue Univ, Ind, 1966–67 prof. 1967–prof, S.U.N.Y., Stony Brook. Res. in differential geometry and math. econ. Mem: Nat. Sci. Found. A: (1978) Dobbs Ferry, N.Y.

Biblio: Math. arts. in *Am. Journ. of Math*, *Math. Annalen*, *Transactions of the Am. Math. Soc.* (1957 to present); essays in *Atlantic* and *The New Yorker*. *Sources*: Hand, Qu. — R.F.J.I.

Adler, Bruno (pseud. Urban Roedl), writer; b. Karlsbad, Bohemia, Aus. (Karlovy Vary, C.S.S.R.) 14 Oct. 1889, d. London 27 Dec. 1968. *E*: 1933 C.S.R., 1936 U.K. *F*: Moritz. *M*: Therese Hirsch. ∞ Ilse.

Att. Univs. Vienna, Erlangen and Munich; 1917 Dr. phil. 1920–30 instr. in art hist. at Staatl. Kunstakad., Weimar. 1933 emigr. to Prague; 1936 emigr. to London. During W.W.II worked for Ger. sect, B.B.C. 1944–50 ed.-in-chief, *Die neue Auslese*. Contrib. to the *Times Literary Supplement*. Spec. in editing the works of Matthias Claudius and Adalbert Stifter. Translator from the English and author of articles dealing with art hist.

Biblio: Ed, *Utopia: Dokumente der Wirklichkeit* (Weimar, 1921); *Der Schuss in den Weltfrieden: Die Wahrheit über Sarajewo* (Stuttgart, 1931); *Im Zeichen der schwarzen Hand: Die Wahrheit von Sarajewo* (Stuttgart, 1932); *Kampf um Polna*, novel (Prague, 1934; also in Czech. and Hung.); under pseud. Urban Roedl, *Matthias Claudius: Sein Weg und seine Welt* (Berlin, 1934); Urban Roedl, ed, *Adalbert Stifter: Geschichte seines Lebens* (banned in Nazi Ger; Berlin, 1936); Adalbert Stifter, *Abdias* (London, 1945); Urban Roedl, *Adalbert Stifter in Selbstzeugnissen und Bilddokumenten* (Reinbek bei Hamburg, 1965); others. *Lit*: Stern, *Werke*. *Sources*: Hand. — IfZ.

Adler, Emil, prof. of physical medicine and rehabilitation; b. Prague 23 Sept. 1900, d. Jerusalem 4 Jan. 1971. *R*: Jewish. *E*: 1939 Pal. *Cit*: Isr, fmly. C.S.R. *F*: Jacob A, b. Amschelberg, Bohemia, Aus. (Kosova Hora, C.S.S.R.) 1850, Jewish, J.U.D.,

Oberfinanzrat in Prague. *M*: Flora, b. 1875, d. Lodz concentration camp, Jewish. *S*: Franz A, b. Prague 1899, d. Auschwitz concentration camp, Jewish, J.U.D., dir, Union Bank, Prague, Privatdoz, German Univ, Prague. ∞ 1927 Marianne Herz, b. Prague 1903, studied in sch. of commerce, M.A. *C*: Chaim A, b. Prague 1928, assoc. prof, dept. of sociol. and Sch. of Educ, Hebrew Univ.

1918–1924 att. Med. Sch, German Univ, Prague; worked in Inst. for Exp. Pathol. and in dept. of internal med. 1924 Dr. med, Univ. Prague. 1924–26 work in internal med, neurol. and psychiatry, dept. of med, Univ. Prague; concurr. in neurol. dept, Univ. Breslau. 1925–32 assist, 1932–38 dep. dir, Priessnitzsche Kuranstalten, Grafenberg, Silesia (for internal and nervous diseases). Concurr: 1925–38 studied at var. Aus. and Czech. clinics and insts; 1929 title of specialist for nervous diseases, 1931 title of specialist for internal diseases, both from Czech. Min. of Health. 1938 short term priv. practice, then permission to practice revoked. 1939 emigr. to Pal. on A-I cert. 1940–71 mem. fac, Hebrew Univ.-Hadassah Med. Sch; 1940–fdr. and dir. dept. of physical med. and rehab, 1949 sr. lect, 1955 assoc. prof, 1965–71 prof. of phys. med. and rehab. Concurr: 1940–44 taught in Sch. for Physiotherapy and Nursing Sch, Hebrew Univ; co-fdr, prof, Sch. of Physiotherapy and Occupational Therapy, Hebrew Univ.-Hadassah Med. Sch; 1950 Hadassah student and lect. fel. in U.S; 1970 chmn. of affiliation comm. of hosps. to the Hebrew Univ.-Hadassah Med. Sch. Professional activities: 1949– consult. for rehab, Isr. Mins. of Health, Welfare, Defense and Labor; 1957– fdr. and chmn, Comm. for Res. in Rehab, Isr; 1960–71 chmn, Assn. of Rehab. and Rheumatology; 1961– adv. for the Swedish Village, a govt. inst. for retarded children, and adv. for rehab. of mentally retarded children for Min. of Welfare; 1964– expert, civil court. Introduced modern methods of physical medicine and rehabilitation; known esp. for contribution to treatment of wounded I.D.F. soldiers. Mem. ed. bds: Chmn. bd. of dirs, *Isr. Journ. of Med. Scis*; contrib. ed, *Am. Journ. of Physical Med. and Rehab*; assist. ed, *Intern. Rev. of Physical Med*; mem. fgn. ed. bds. of *Iberian Journ. for Physical Med. and Rehab*, *Excerpta Medica* and *Europa Physica*. Fel: Am. Geriatric Soc. (1969). Mem: Sch. of Occupational Therapy, Jerusalem (mem. bd. of govs. 1949–); Assn. of Rehab. Med. and Rheumatology in Isr. (chmn. 1950–); Sch. for Physiotherapy, Zrifin, Isr. (mem. bd. of govs. and examiner); Ilan, Isr. Found. for Handicapped Children, Jerusalem br. (hon. chmn. 1953–); Isr. Assn. of Physiotherapists (hon. chmn. 1954–); Sci. Coun, Isr. Med. Assn. (chmn. 1962–67); Intl. Cong. for Physical Med. and Rehab. (v. pres. Paris, 1964; Montreal, 1968); Isr. Soc. for Gerontol. (coun. chmn. 1969); Hosp. Assn. in Isr. (chmn, spec. comm. for exam. dept. 1969); Nat. Coun. for Rehab; Isr. Soc. for Neuropsychiatry; Isr. Assn. for Rehab. of the Disabled (exec. comm.); many others. Recd: Szold Prize from City of Tel Aviv (1970).

Biblio: "Rheumatoid Arthritis in Old Age," *Isr. Journ. of Med. Scis.* (vol. 2, 1966); co-auth, "Rheumatoid Arthritis in a Jerusalem Population. I. Epidemiology of the Disease," *Am. Journ. of Epidemiology* (vol. 85, 1967); co-auth, "Rheumatoid Arthritis in a Jerusalem Population. II. Epidemiology of Rheumatoid Factor," *Am. Journ. of Epidemiology* (vol. 85, 1967); co-auth, *Stroke in Israel, 1957–1961, Epidemiological, Clinical, Rehabilitation and Psycho-Social Aspects* (Jerusalem, 1969); for complete biblio. see R.F.J.I. arch. *Sources*: Hand, Print. Qu. — R.F.J.I.

Adler, Erich, prof. of chemistry; b. Frankenreuth, Ger. 24 Oct. 1905. *E*: 1933 Sweden. *F*: Max A. *M*: Elfriede Putzker. ∞ 1935 Annemaria Pawel. *C*: Eva Garellick; Rolf Mikael.

1931 Dr. Ing, T.H. Munich, 1931–32 res. assist. 1932–33 res. assist, Mannheim Munic. Hosp. lab. 1933 emigr. to Swed. 1933–44 mem. res. staff, Univ. Stockholm; 1933 res. assist, Biochem. Inst, 1938 sr. res. assist, Inst. Organic Chem. 1944–52 res. assoc, Forest Prods. Res. Lab, Stockholm; concurr. 1946–52 assist. prof. of organic chem, Royal Inst. of Tech, Stockholm. 1952– prof. of organic chem, Chalmers Inst. of Tech, Göteborg, 1962–66 head, dept. chem. Res. in biochemistry, organic and wood chemistry, synthesis of estrogen in substances, oxida-

tion reactions with phenols, structure and reactions of lignin, chemistry of phenol-formaldehyde resins. Recd: Knight of the Order of the North Star. Mem: Kungl. Vetenskaps- och Vitterhetsakademien, Göteborg; Royal Swed. Acad. of Engr. Scis. A: Stockholm.

Biblio: "Synthese der Bilirubinsäure, der Xanthobilirubin-säure und bilirubinähnlicher Farbstoffe (Bilirubinoide)" (diss, Munich, 1931; publ. in *Hogge-Seyley's Zft. für physiologische Chemie* [vol. 197, no. 5-6, 1931]); arts. incl. co-auth, "The Structure and Reactivity of Lignin," *Advanced Chem. Series* (no. 59, 1966); "Ligninets kemiska byggnad" (The Chem. Structure of Lignin), *Svensk kemisk Tidskrift* (vol. 80, no. 9, 1968); co-auth, "Periodate Oxidation of Phenols. XVII Oxidation of 2 methylphenols with Aqueous and Methanolic Periodic and Iodic Acids," *Acta Chem. Scand. Series B* (vol. 29, no. 9, 1975); co-auth, "Reaktionen von o-Benzochinonen mit Methanol unter neutralen und sauren Bedingungen," *Justus Liebigs Ann. Chem.* (nos. 7-8, 1976); "Lignin Chemistry—Past, Present and Future," *Wood Sci. Technol.* (vol. 11, no. 3, 1977); contrib. num. arts. to sci. journals. *Arch:* S.P.S.L. *Sources:* Arch, Hand, Print. — R.F.J.I.

Adler, Ernst, lawyer, author; b. Vienna 12 July 1903. *E:* 1938 Aust, 1960 Aus, then to Ger. Dem. Repub. *F:* Employee.

1922-28 studied law, Univ. Vienna; Dr. jur. 1928-34 legal assist. 1934-38 criminal lawyer in Vienna. 1938 emigr. to Sydney. Odd jobs incl. laundry work, construction and metal work. 1960 returned to Vienna, then emigr. to Ger. Dem. Repub. Until 1961 ed, *Rund um die Welt*, then interpreter and trans. Collected and compiled Australian and Southeast Asian fairytales and legends. Translated Australian, American, and African contemporary literature. A: E. Berlin.

Biblio: *Legende vom Bumerang*, Aust. legend. (Berlin, 1966); *Der Elefant im Waschtrog*, Burmese fairytale and legend (Berlin, 1968); *Ko und Ala*, Aust. fairytale (Berlin, 1969); *Mit Muscheln fängt man Tintenfische*, legend of the South Seas (1970); *Märchen der Südsee* (Frankfurt/M, 1976); trans: Dorothy Hewetts, *Bobbin Up*; John Reed, *Insurgent Mexico*; Xavier Herbert, *Seven Emus*; others. *Lit: Schriftsteller der D.D.R. Sources:* Hand. — IFZ.

Adler, Frederick Charles, conductor; b. London 2 Jul. 1889, d. Vienna 1959. *E:* 1937 U.S. *Cit:* U.S. *F:* b. U.S. *M:* b. Bavaria, Ger.

Att. Musikakad, Munich; studied piano with August Halm, theory with Beer-Walbrunn and cond. with Gustav Mahler. 1908-11 assist. to Felix Mottl, Königliche Oper, Munich, serv. as choir leader in première perf. of Mahler's 8th symph. 1913 first cond, Städt. Oper, Düsseldorf. Guest cond, Richard Wagner fests. throughout Eur. Champion of Bruckner and Mahler in N. and S. Am. 1919-33 cond. symph. concerts in Eur. *Concurr:* 1924-33 head cond, Radio Berlin, and musical dir, U.F.A.; until 1933 owner of "Edition Adler." 1933 emigr. to U.S. Feb. 1936 guest cond, Curtis High Sch, Staten Island, New York. 1937 fdr, Saratoga Springs Music Fests, N.Y. Radio cond. Prod. mgr. for publ. and recording businesses. Cond, New York Chamber Orch. 1957 emigr. to Aus. Recd: Schoenberg and Bruckner medals, Am. Bruckner Soc. Expert on Mahler's music.

Arch: Perf. Arts Res. Cent, Lincoln Cent, New York. *Sources:* Arch, Hand, News. — R.F.J.I.

Adler, Helmut E(rnest), prof. of psychology; b. Nuremberg, Bavaria, Ger. 25 Nov. 1920. *R:* Jewish. *E:* 1935 U.K., 1940 U.S. *Cit:* 1943 U.S., fmlly. Ger. *F:* Paul A, b. Berlin 1880, d. Nuremberg 1928, Jewish, Dr. Ing. T.H. Berlin, engr; Ernst Eisemann (step-father), d. Auschwitz concentration camp 1943. *M:* Lola Offenbacher Eisemann, b. Marktedwitz, Bavaria 1894, Jewish, 1939 to U.K., 1940 to U.S. *S:* Hanna Hale, b. Nuremberg 1923, emigr. to U.S., teacher; Ellen Greif, b. Nuremberg 1927, emigr. to U.S., teacher. ∞ 1943 Leonore Loeb, b. Karlsruhe, Baden 1921, Jewish, 1972 Ph.D. Adelphi Univ, res. assoc, 1973

adj. assist. prof, Molloy Coll, Rockville Centre, N.Y. *C:* Barry Peter, b. New York 1945, att. coll, syst. anal; Beverly Sharmaine, b. 1954, att. coll; Evelyn Renee, b. 1955, att. coll.

1930-35 att. Gym, Nuremberg. 1935 emigr. to U.K. on student visa, att. sec. sch. 1937-38 att. Dover Coll; 1939-40 part time courses at Burnley Munic. Coll. 1938-39 worked as trainee, Anderson-Grice Carnoustie Co, Scot; concurr. 1939-40 trainee, Lancashire Grinding Wheel Co, Burnley, Lancashire; also att. coll. part time. 1940 emigr. to U.S. to join mother, sisters and grandparents. Worked in grinding wheel co. and as welder in Wedge Bar Screen Co. 1942-45 serv, U.S. Army in Philippines. Att. Columbia Univ: 1948 B.S.; 1949 A.M.; 1952 Ph.D. 1949-60 with Columbia Univ: 1949-51 assist, 1952-55 mem. sci. staff, summer 1955 vis. assist. prof, 1955-60 part time lect. in psych. From 1950 mem. fac, Yeshiva Univ, New York: 1950 instr, 1953 assist. prof, 1957 assoc. prof, 1964- prof. of psych. *Concurr.* from 1955 with Am. Mus. of Natural Hist, New York: 1955-69 res. fel, 1969- res. assoc. 1972-73 consult, psych, New York Aquarium. From 1979 res. assoc, Mystic Marinellife Aquarium, Conn. Fel: Am. Psych. Assn. Work in comparative psychology and history of psychology with emphasis on evolution of behavior and sensory factors of animal orientation. Mem: Sigma Xi; Psi Chi; Intl. Org. Study Group Tensions; Am. Meteorol. Soc; Animal Behavior Soc; New York Acad. of Sci. (fel; Chair Sect. Psych, 1978-80); Intl. Union Biological Scis. (secy-gen. Sect. Experimental Psych. and Animal Behavior, 1972-). A: (1980) New York.

Biblio: "Some Factors of Observational Learning in Cats" (diss, Columbia Univ, 1955); co-auth, *Bird Behavior* (New York, 1962); trans, G.T. Fechner, *Elements of Psychophysics* (vol. 1, New York, 1966); co-auth, *Bird Life (for Young People)* (New York, 1969); ed, *Orientation: Sensory Basis, in Annals, New York Acad. of Sci.* (New York, 1971); co-ed, *Comparative Psychology At Issue, in Annals, New York Acad. of Sci.* (New York, 1973); *Fish Behavior: Why Fishes Do What They Do* (Neptune, N.J., 1975); "Vicissitudes of Fechnerian Psychophysics in America," in Rieber and Salzinger, eds. *Psychology: Theoretical Historical Perspectives* (New York, 1980); ed. of encycl; contrib. num. arts. to sci. publs. and journals. *Sources:* Hand, Qu. — R.F.J.I.

Adler, Hermann, writer; b. Deutsch-Diosek near Pressburg/Posony, Hung. (Bratislava, C.S.S.R.) 2 Oct. 1911. *R:* Jewish. *E:* 1934 C.S.R., 1939 Pol, 1940 Lithuania, 1941 U.S.S.R.-Gen. Govt. (Pol.), 1943 Hung, 1944 Ger, then Switz. *Cit:* 1960 Switz, fmlly. Ger, 1935 C.S.R. ∞ 1941 Anita Distler, b. 1915.

Spent childhood in Nuremberg. Att. teacher's sem. in Würzburg and Breslau. 1932-34 taught children with learning disabilities in Landeshut/Silesia. 1934 emigr. to C.S.R.; freelance writer in Prague and Bratislava. 1939 emigr. to Cracow, Pol; joined the Czech legion. 1940 fled to Lwow, then to Vilna. 1941 in Vilna Ghetto, then Bialystok and Warsaw Ghettos. Active in revolutionary groups. Partic. in the Warsaw Ghetto Rebellion. 1943 fled to Budapest. 1944 interned in Bergen-Belsen concentration camp. Dec. 1944- in Switz. Wrote many radio and television scripts. Mem: I.S.D.S.; P.E.N. Recd: Hon. award from the Lit. Commn. of the City of Zurich. A: (1977) Basel.

Biblio: *Gesänge aus der Stadt des Todes* (Zurich-New York, 1945); *Ostra Brama: Legende aus der Zeit des grossen Untergangs* (Zurich, 1945); *Balladen der Gekreuzigten, der Auferstandenen, Verachteten* (Zurich-New York, 1946); *Fieberworte von Verdammnis und Erlösung*, poetry (Basel, 1948); *Bilder nach dem Buche der Verheissung* (Basel, 1950); *Vater vergib: Gedichte aus dem Ghetto* (Berlin-Hamburg-Stuttgart, 1950); *Das Lied vom letzten Juden: Nachdichtungen nach Jizchak Katznelson* (1951), and others; contrib. to *Berner Tageszeitung* and *Der Bund*. *Lit:* Paul E.H. Lüth, *Literatur als Geschichte: Deutsche Dichtung von 1885-1947* (Wiesbaden, 1947); *D.L.L.*; Stern, *Werke*. *Sources:* Hand. — IFZ.

Adler, Hugo Chaim, cantor, composer; b. Antwerp, Belg. 17 Jan. 1896, d. Worcester, Mass. 24 Dec. 1955. *R:* Jewish. *E:*

1938 U.S. ∞ Selma Rothschild, b. Mannheim, Baden, Ger. 1900, Jewish, sec. educ, 1939 to U.S. C: → Samuel Hans Adler, composer; Marianne Aaron, b. 1930, 1939 to U.S., att. Massachusetts Sch. of the Arts, cml. artist, a: Hartford, Conn.

Educ. at Talmud-Torah Sch, Hamburg, and Jewish Teachers' Training Coll, Cologne. Chorister for cantor Yossele Rosenblatt, Hamburg. 1921–39 cantor in Mannheim, 1930–39 Oberkantor. Studied composition with → Ernst Toch; influenced by modern music. Set Hebrew poetry translated by Franz Rosenzweig to music. Applied the → Bertolt Brecht / → Paul Hindemith idea of the Lehrstück (ethical-political musical cantata) to compositions incl. *Licht und Volk*, a Maccabean cantata (1931), and *Balak und Bileam* (1934). Nov. 1938 perf. of A's composition *Akedah* prevented on Kristallnacht; arrested and interned in Dachau concentration camp for one mo. Dec. 1938 escaped to U.S. Cantor in Worcester, Mass; revised liturgical music for the Jewish syn. serv. Substituted modern music for the standard 19th century additions to synagogue song.

Works: Short pieces and other cantatas, *Behold the Jew* (1943); *Jona* (1943); *Parable of Persecution* (1946). *Lit*: A. Sendrey, *Bibliography of Jewish Music* (1951); *American Hazzan* (vol. 2, no. 1, 1956); Fromm, in *Jewish Music Notes* (Fall, 1956). *Arch*: Cologne File, R.F.J.I. *Sources*: Arch, News, Pers, Print. — R.F.J.I.

Adler, Israel, library director, musicologist; b. Berlin 17 Jan. 1925. *E*: 1937 Pal. *F*: Hermann A. *M*: Fanny Friedmann. ∞ Claire Thiessard. *C*: Eliezer.

1937 emigr. to Pal. 1943–48 serv. Haganah, 1948–49 serv. Palmah. 1949–53 att. Conservatoire National de Musique, Paris. 1953 Licence d'Harmonie, École Normale de Musique, Paris. 1960 Élève diplômé, École Pratique des Hautes Études, Sorbonne. 1963 Docteur du III cycle, Inst. de Musicologie; concurr. 1950–63 head, Hebraica-Judaica dept, Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, publ. cat. of early Hebrew printed books in that libr. 1963–69 head of music dept, Jewish Nat. and Univ. Libr, Hebrew Univ, 1969– dir. Concurr: 1964–69 fdr. and dir, Jewish music res. cent, Hebrew Univ; 1968– chief ed. of *Yuval*; ed, div. of music, *E.J.* Mem: Isr. Musicol. Soc. (chmn, 1967–69); Intl. Fed. of Sound Arch. (1968–1969); Répertoire Intl. de Littérature Musicale; Conseil Intl. Mixte. A: Jerusalem.

Biblio: *Les Incunables Hébraïques de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1962); *La pratique musicale savante dans quelques communautés juives en Europe aux 17e–18e siècles*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1966; rev. Eng. ed. Jerusalem, 1974); ed, Obadiah the Proselyte, *Three Synagogue Chants of the Twelfth Century* (Tel Aviv, 1969); ed. other medieval Hebrew scores; contrib. arts. to prof. journals. *Sources*: Hand, Print. — R.F.J.I.

Adler, Jankel, painter; b. Tuszyn near Lodz, Pol. 26 June 1895, d. Aldbourne near London 25 Apr. 1949. *R*: Jewish. *E*: 1933 Fr, 1935 Pol, 1937 Fr, 1943 U.K. *Cit*: Polish. *F*: Jewish, timber and coal dealer, deported, killed in Holocaust(?). *M*: Deported, killed in Holocaust(?). *S*: 9, incl. Emil, textile worker; Moritz, merchant; 2 bros. emigr. to Isr; 7 siblings deported, then killed in Holocaust(?). ∞ Betty Kohlhaas, b. 1899, d. 1971, Roman Catholic, drawing teacher. *C*: Nina Kohlhaas (from 1947 Adler), b. 1927, writer, a: Munich.

Apprenticed to goldsmith and engraver. 1911–12 worked at the Royal Post Engraver's, Belgrade. 1913 moved to Barmen. 1913–14 studied with Gustav Wiethüchter at the Sch. of Applied Art in Barmen-Wuppertal. 1914–18 resid. in Wuppertal. 1918–19 lengthy visits to Warsaw, Düsseldorf, Berlin, and Paris. 1918 in Lodz, fdr. art journ. *Yung Yiddish* with Moses Broderon. 1920 in Berlin, met Marc Chagall and became friends with → Else Lasker-Schüler. 1922 partic. with → Otto Freundlich, → Raoul Hausmann and others, in Intl. Exhib. Progressive Artists, Tietz dept. store, and counter exhib. of Intl. Revolutionary Artists in Grosse Berliner Kunstausstellung. 1923, 1929, 1931 partic. in exhibits. of the Novembergruppe. 1922–33 in Düsseldorf: 1925 commn. to design fresco for the Planetarium; 1926 commn. to paint mural for the exhib. "Gesolei." Mem. Rheingruppe and Rheinische Sezession. 1928 recd. gold medal for "Katzen" (exhib. of German Art in Düsseldorf 1928), with

Franz W. Seiwert exhib. at Barmer Museum. 1929–32 worked with Seiwert on the journ. *A bis Z* for the Group of Progressive Artists. 1929 partic. in exhib. "Zehn junge deutsche Maler," Kestner Soc, Hannover. 1929 and 1930 repeated visits to Mallorca, Sp. 1930 partic. in the exhib. "Seit Liebermann in Deutschland," Gall. Flechtheim, Berlin. 1931 own studio at the Art. Acad. in Düsseldorf; met → Paul Klee. Produced first abstract paintings. 1932 with Klee, → Wassily Kandinsky, → Johannes Molzahn, → Lyonel Feininger and others, mem. of the artists' assn, "Selection e.V." in Berlin. 1933 partic. in the exhib. of the Coll. Art Assn. C.A.A. at Rockefeller Cent, New York. 1933 emigr. to Paris due to racial persecution and discrimination as "degenerate" artist. Sojourn in Argèles-sur-Mer. Left fam. behind, met with → Arthur Kaufmann and → Teo Otto. 1935 emigr. to Pol. by traveling through Ger. Exhib. in Warsaw and Lodz after Pol. govt. helped rescue paintings from Düsseldorf storage. Trips to It, Balkan countries, and Moscow where he met → Will Lammert. 1937 returned to Fr. 1937 Stanley W. Hayer's "Atelier 17" in Paris. Incl. in the exhib. "Entartete Kunst" in Munich. 1938–39 in Cagnes-sur-Mer. 1940 vol. in Pol. fgn. army in Fr, then evacuated to Scot. 1943 discharged for health reasons in Kircudbright, Scot. 1943–45 in London. 1945–49 in Aldbourne, U.K. Exhib. at the Palais des Beaux Arts, Brussels; Gimple Fils Gall, London (commission); Gal. de France, Paris; Waddington Gall, Dublin. 1947 refused Brit. cit. due to "contact with anarchists." 1948 exhib. at Knoedler Gall, New York. 1951 exhib. in J.A.'s memory at the Arts Coun, London. 1955 touring exhib. org. by the Art and Museum Assn, Wuppertal, travelled to Cologne and other cities.

Lit: J.D. Ferguson, *Adler and his Work*, cat, Anans Gall. (Glasgow, 1941); Gaston Diehl, *J.A.* cat, Palais des Beaux Arts (Brussels, 1946); Ch. Gamzuasa, *J.A.* cat. (Tel Aviv, 1947); Stanley W. Hayter and Paul Fierens, *J.A.* (London, 1948); Stefan Themerson, *J.A.* (London, 1948); Michael Hamburger, "In Memoriam, J.A.," *Flowering Cactus, Poems 1942–49* (Aldington, Kent, 1950); Alfred Werner, "Odyssey of a Polish Jew," *Jewish Frontier* (vol. 30, no. 7, New York, 1963); Anna Klapheck, *J.A.* (Recklinghausen, 1966); cat, *Avantgarde Gestern* (Kunsthalle Düsseldorf, 1970/71); Ulrich H. Bohnen, *Das Gesetz der Welt ist die Änderung der Welt* (W. Berlin, 1976); Natan Zach, *J.A.* cat, Rosenfeld Gall. (Tel Aviv, 1977); *J.A.* cat, Gal. Michael Hasenclever (Munich, 1977); Hansen, *Judenkunst*; Frommhold, *Kunst im Widerstand*; Schmied, *Neue Sachlichkeit*; Kliemann, *Novembergruppe*. *Papers*: Charles Aukin, London. *Sources*: Hand, News, Pers, Print. — IfZ.

Adler, Julius, prof. of biochemistry and genetics; b. Edelfingen, Württemberg, Ger. 30 Apr. 1930. *R*: Jewish. *E*: 1938 U.S. *Cit*: 1943 U.S, fmlly. Ger. *F*: Adolf A, b. Edelfingen 1899, Jewish, elem. educ, butcher-grocer, 1938 to U.S. with wife and children. *M*: Irma Stern, b. Hohebach, Württemberg, Ger. 1900, Jewish, elem. educ, grocer. *S*: Helen, b. Edelfingen 1928, Jewish, att. univ. ∞ 1964 Hildegard Wohl, b. Nuremberg, Bavaria, Ger. 1928, Jewish, 1939 to U.K., 1942 to U.S., phys. educ. teacher, M.S. C: David, b. 1965; Jean, b. Kenosha, Wisc. 1971.

Apr. 1938 emigr. with fam. to U.S. 1952 A.B. Harvard. 1952–57 att. Univ. Wisconsin: 1954 M.S., 1957 Ph.D. 1957–59 fel, microbiol, Washington Univ, St. Louis, Mo. 1959–60 fel, biochem, Stanford Univ. 1960– mem. fac, Univ. Wisconsin, Madison: 1960 assist. prof. of biochem. and genetics, 1963 assoc. prof, 1966– prof, 1974– Edwin Bret Hart prof. Res. in biochem. and genetics of behavior. Att. prof. meetings in Ger. Mem: Am. Soc. Microbiol; Am. Acad. Arts. Sci; Nat. Acad. of Sci; Am. Chem Soc; Am. Soc. Biol. Chem. A: (1980) Madison.

Biblio: "The Metabolism of Itaconic Acid by Animal Tissues" (diss, Univ. Wisconsin, 1957); contrib. to *Chemotaxis: Its Biology and Biochemistry*, E. Sorkin, ed. (Basel, New York, 1974); also contrib. more than 60 arts. to prof. journals. *Sources*: Hand, Qu. — R.F.J.I.

Adler, Karl, dir. of music conservatory, conductor, music teacher; b. Buttenhausen, Württemberg, Ger. 25 Jan. 1890, d.

New York 10 July 1973. *R*: Jewish. *E*: 1940 U.S. *F*: Louis A, b. Buttenhausen 1862, d. New York 1944, Jewish, shopkeeper (co-owner with wife), voluntary cantor, emigr. with son. *M*: Mathilde Löwenberg, b. Buttenhausen 1863, Jewish, emigr. with son. *S*: Fanny Neumann, b. 1891, a: New York; Irene Adler, b. 1898, d. New York 1980, both emigr. to U.S. ∞ Margarete Marx, b. Stuttgart, Württemberg 1901, Jewish, priv. secy. to K.A., emigr. with husband, a: Leonia, N.J. *C*: Fritz, b. Stuttgart 1927, 1939 sent to U.K. with children's transport, d. 1943 (drowned when U.S.-bound ship disappeared at sea).

Learned Jewish liturgical music from father. 1909 grad. Teachers Sem, Esslingen, Württemberg. 1912 att. Hochsch. für Musik, Stuttgart. 1911–14 opera singer, Hoftheater, Stuttgart. 1915–18 lieut, Ger. Army, wounded; 1919 recd. E.K. 1919 fdr. and head of music dept. and chorus cond, Volkshochsch, Stuttgart; also ed. of its *Musikalische Blätter*. 1921–33 fdr, dir, cond. and teacher, Stuttgart Cons. of Music. Concurr. 1926 cofdr, Jüd. Lehrhaus, Stuttgart. Mar. 1933 dismissed from Stuttgart Cons. of Music following violent attack by S.A. troopers. 1933–38 fdr. and head, Stuttgarter Jüd. Kunstgemeinschaft, whose chorus and orch. of 200 persons gave frequent concerts. Concurr: 1935–38 mem. exec. comms. and head of music dept, Mittelstelle für jüd. Erwachsenenbildung of the Reichsvertretung; 1935–38 head, Zentralstelle für das jüd. Vereins- und Veranstaltungswesen, Stuttgart. Represented the Jewish cmty. to var. Nazi officials; assisted many Jews in obtaining emigr. visas. Nov. 1938 arrested during Kristallnacht; released on condition of halting Jewish cultural activities and expediting emigr. process. 1938–40 head, Mittelstelle (emigr. adv.), Stuttgart where facilitated emigr. of Jews who had been imprisoned; recd. secret aid from non-Jewish sources incl. S. Bosch. 1940 emigr. to U.S. on non-quota visa with wife and parents. 1940 activities concerning further rescue of Württemberg Jews. 1941–44 mem. fac, New York Coll. of Music. 1942–48 head of music dept. and choral cond, Briarcliff Jr. Coll. (where in 1945 instrumental in obtaining first postwar Ger. exchange schol. for dtr. of Carl Friedrich Goerdeler, a leader of the Ger. underground). 1944–62 choral group leader and music instr, Extension Div, City Coll, New York (C.U.N.Y.); perfs. at Carnegie and Town Halls, New York. Also gave courses at Extension Div, Hunter Coll. (C.U.N.Y.). 1945–69 mem. fac, Yeshiva Univ, New York; 1951–66 fdr. and dir. of music dept. and cantorial training inst; prof. of music. Concurr. 1954– Am. rep. of Künstlerhilfe, Süddeut. Rundfunk. 1961 instrumental in building of monument to deported Jews of Buttenhausen, and 1966 initiated est. of mml. at site of destroyed synagogue at Buttenhausen (fin. largely by City of Stuttgart). Mem: Music Educ. Nat. Conf; N.Y. State Music Assn; N.Y. Singing Teachers Assn; Jewish Music Forum; Jewish Music Coun; Intl. Jewish Welfare Bd. Recd: Dr. music h.c., New York Coll. of Music (1944).

Lit: Zelzer, *Juden*; Fritz Brodnitz, *Gemeinschaftsarbeit der Jüdischen Jugend* (Berlin, 1937); Annedore Leber, *Doch das Zeugnis lebt fort* (Berlin, Frankfurt/M, 1965); Paul Sauer, *Die jüdischen Gemeinden Württembergs* (Stuttgart, 1966). *Arch*: Perf. Arts Res. Cent, Lincoln Cent, New York. *Sources*: Arch, E.G.L., Pers, Print. — R.F.J.I.

Adler, Kurt, conductor, pianist; b. Neuhaus, Bohemia, Aus. (Jindrichuv Hradec, C.S.R.) 1 Mar. 1907, d. 21 Sept. 1977. *E*: 1933 U.S.S.R., 1938 U.S. *F*: Siegfried A. *M*: Olga Furth. ∞ Tocco Christiane. *C*: Evelyne; Pierre-Philippe.

Att. Gym. in Vienna. Studied musical. with Guido Adler and Robert Lach at Univ. Vienna. Concurr: Studied with Ferdinand Foll; also studied piano with Richard Robert, composition with → Karl Weigl. 1927–29 assist. cond. to → Erich Kleiber, Berlin State Opera. 1929–32 assist. cond, Neues Deutsches Theater, Prague. 1932 returned to Berlin. 1932–33 cond, Dt. Musik-Bühne, Berlin. 1933 cond, Vienna Symph. Orch. 1933 emigr. to U.S.S.R. several days before Hitler seized power. 1933–35 head cond, Kiev State Opera. 1935–37 org, cond, Stalingrad Philh. Orch. 1938 emigr. to U.S. Toured U.S. as pianist. 1938–43 cond. Bach concerts for Friendship House, New York, 1940–42 dir; presented concert of obscure works of com-

posers of var. eras and genres there. 1943 cond. Mozart Fest. in Mexico City; also cond. in Can. 1943– assist. cond, Metropolitan Opera, 1945– chorus master, 1951 cond. debut in Mozart's *Die Zauberflöte*; 1960 cond. *La Forza del Destino*; and 1961 cond. Met's first perf. of *Alceste*; 1973 retired. Known for fostering esprit de corps in his musicians in order to further a cohesive group feeling within his ensembles.

Biblio: Ed, *Songs of Many Wars, From 16th to 20th Century* (New York, 1943); *The Art of Accompanying and Coaching* (Minneapolis, Minn, 1965; 2nd ed. New York, 1971); *Phonetics in Diction and Singing* (Minneapolis, 1967; London, 1968). *Sources*: Arch, Hand, News. — R.F.J.I.

Adler, Kurt Herbert, conductor, general music director and music administrator; b. Vienna 2 Apr. 1905. *R*: Protestant. *E*: 1938 U.S. *Cit*: 1941 U.S. *F*: Ernst A, indus. *M*: Ida Bauer. ∞ I. 1940 Diantha Warfel, 1963 div; II. 1965 Nancy Miller. *C*: Kristin Diantha; Ronald Huntington.

1921–26 att. New Vienna Cons. Concurr: 1923–27 att. Univ. Vienna; studied with Guido Adler; 1925–28 coach, instr. accompanist, chorus dir, cond, → Max Reinhardt's Theater i. d. Josefstadt, Vienna. 1928–34 cond. at var. opera houses in Ger. and It; guest appearances on radio progs. 1934–36 cond. Vienna Volksoper; concurr. dir, opera dept, New Sch. of Music, Vienna. 1936, 1937 partic. in Salzburg Fest, initially as assist. to Toscanini. 1936–38 cond. for opera and radio in C.S.R.; concurr. gave courses at intl. summer sch. at Salzburg Mozarteum. 1938 emigr. to U.S. 1938–43 cond, Chicago Civic Opera Co, 1941 cond. Grant Park concerts, Chicago; concurr. 1942 guest cond, Illinois Symph. Orch. 1943– with San Francisco Opera Co: 1952 assist. to gen. dir, 1953 artistic dir, 1956 gen. dir; 1944– cond. annual Midsummer Music Fest. 1945 with New Opera Co, New York. 1949–50 lect, guest cond, Univ. California, Berkeley Symph. Orch. 1949–52 artistic adv, San Francisco Cons. of Music, also cond. of youth concerts, San Francisco Symph. Guest cond: Standard Hour Symph. broadcasts; N.B.C.; Hollywood Bowl; 1951– Pacific Music Camp; 1958 San Carlo Opera, Naples, It. 1961 gen. dir, Spring Opera of San Francisco. 1966– fdr. and gen. dir, Western Opera Theater, a travelling co, and 1969– of Music Cent. Opera Assn, Los Angeles. Also fdr. of Brown Bag Opera, San Francisco. 1968 Kurt H. Adler Award estd. for winners of San Francisco Opera auditions, in hon. of K.H.A.'s 25th year there. 1980 nominated by Pres. Carter to serve six yr. term on Nat. Coun. on the Arts. Recd: Hon. dr. music, Coll. of the Pacific (1956); Decorative Star of Solidarity, It. (1957); Ger. Officer's Cross (1959); Great Medal of Hon, Aus. (1961); Cavaliere, It. Repub. (1965); Comdr's Cross, Order of Merit, Fed. Repub. Ger; Repertoire Award, Nat. Opera Inst. (1978); San Francisco Opera Medal (1978). Responsible for expanding and updating the repertoire of the San Francisco Opera, and for introducing Marilyn Horne, Birgit Nilsson and Leontyne Price to Am. audiences. Initiated the first major Am. productions of *Les Troyens* by Berlioz, Britten's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and Strauss' *Die Frau ohne Schatten*. Introduced offbeat operas to San Francisco audiences, incl. some by → Kurt Weill. *A*: San Francisco.

Biblio: Ed: *Operatic Anthology* (New York, 1954); *Famous Operatic Choruses* (New York, 1955); *Arias from Light Operas* (New York, 1960). *Arch*: Perf. Arts Res. Cent, Lincoln Cent, New York. *Sources*: Arch, Hand, News, Print. — R.F.J.I.

Adler, Leo, cantor; b. Braunsbach, Württemberg, Ger. 16 May 1884, d. New York 28 Mar. 1966. *R*: Jewish. ∞ Lottie.

Att. Evangelisches Lehrersemin, Esslingen, Württemberg. Grad, Stuttgart Hochsch. für Musik. 1908–38 Oberkantor, Hauptlehrer, Stuttgart Jewish cmty. Oct. 1938 transported to Dachau concentration camp; freed after 4 weeks. 1938 emigr. to U.S. Active partic. in Org. Jews from Württemberg. *A*: New York.

Biblio: Heinrich Sontheim: *Ein Künstlerleben* (Stuttgart, 1916); "Verhandlungen bei dem Oberrat der Israelitischen Religionsgemeinschaft," *Feiertagsschriften der Israelitischen Kultusvereinigung Württemberg und Baden* (Sept. 1962, Apr. 1963,

Stuttgart); "Die Bibliothek des Israelitischen Oberrats," *Jüdisches Gemeindeblatt* (1938); "Israelitische Religionsgemeinschaft of Württemberg," *L.B.I.Y.B.* (no. 5, 1960). *Arch*: Cologne File, R.F.J.I. *Sources*: Arch, News, Print. — R.F.J.I.

Adler, Ludwig, gynecologist; b. Vienna 7 Nov. 1876, d. U.S. 1958. *E*: 1938 U.S. *F*: Adolf A. *M*: Josefine Wolf. ∞ 1912 Hedwig Reinau. *C*: Dorle Nichols.

1894–1900 studied med, Univ. Vienna; 1900 Dr. med. Assist. Gen. Hosp. Vienna and Univ. Inst. of Pathol.-Anat. 1904– with Clinic Schauta, where involved in pioneering work on endometritis glandularis with Fritz Hitschmann. 1912 Habil. in obstet. and gynecol, Univ. Vienna, 1919 a.o. Prof. 1921–38 head, Dept. of Gynecol, Wilhelminen Hosp, later on Rudolph-Hosp. and Bettina-Pavillion, Vienna. Sci. work in Aus. focused on pathol. of the uterus, ovarian functions, and treatment of uterine carcinoma. Earned international reputation as surgeon by discovering method for radical vaginal hysterectomy with implantation of radium into the parametria. 1938 emigr. to U.S. 1942– attend. gynecol, Beth Israel Hosp, New York. Consult, St. Claire's Hosp, New York. Mem. of num. Eur. and Am. sci. socs. incl. hon. mem. Brit. Assns. of Obstet. and Gynecol, Vienna Med. Soc, and hon. fel, Am. Assn. of Gynecol. and Abdominal Surgeons.

Biblio: Co-auth. with Hitschmann, *Die Lehre von der Endometriitis* (1908); *Der Bau der Uterusschleimhaut* (1908); *Die Radiumbehandlung maligner Tumoren in der Gynäkologie* (1919); *Die Uterusschleimhaut der geschlechtsreifen Frau* (1928); *Die Uterusschleimhaut bei Blutungen* (1928); *Physiologie des Ovarium* (1929, Eng. trans. 1931); many others; contrib. more than 100 arts. to prof. journals, and handbooks. *Lit*: Fischer I. *Sources*: Arch, Hand, Journ, Print. — IfZ.

Adler, Paul, writer; b. Prague 4 Apr. 1878, d. Zbraslav near Prague 8 June 1946. *R*: Jewish. *E*: 1933 C.S.R. *F*: Adolph, b. 1839, d. 1915, merchant. *M*: Laura Popper, b. 1852, d. 1925. ∞ 1925 Anna Kühn, née Dusik, b. 1874, d. 1950. *C*: Elisabeth, b. 1912; Hans, b. 1914, Dipl.-Ing.

1896–1900 studied law, Univ. Prague; 1901 Dr. jur. 1901–02 judge. 1903–10 in It. with *Jakob Hegner. 1912– lived in the Hellerau artist colony near Dresden which he co-founded. Contrib. to many journals. incl. *Pan*, *Die Aktion*, *Neue Blätter*, *Die Weissen Blätter*, *Das Forum*, *Summa*, *Marsyas*, *Der Anbruch*, *Neue Blätter für Kunst und Dichtung* and Expressionist anthologies. Pacifist in W.W.I. 1917 mem. U.S.P.D. 1918 fdr, Sozialistische Gruppe geistiger Arbeiter. 1921 temporary art and theater critic for *Die Prager Presse*. 1923– returned to Hellerau. Contrib. to journals. *Die literarische Welt* and *Der Querschnitt*. 1933 escaped to Prague, wrote under pseud. for the feuilleton *Prager Presse* 1939 paralyzed on one side as the result of a stroke. Expressionist writer and poet; precursor of Surrealism. Trans. from the French, works by P. Claudel, J. Cocteau, G. Flaubert, P. Valéry and E. Zola.

Biblio: *Elohim*, stories (Dresden, 1914); *Nämlich*, novel (Hellerau, 1915); *Die Zauberflöte*, novel; (Hellerau, 1916); *Vom Geiste der Volkswirtschaft* (Leipzig, 1917); *Japanische Literatur* (Frankfurt/M., 1925); *Sachwörterbuch zur japanischen Literatur* (Frankfurt/M., 1925); many others. *Lit*: Gustav Krojanker, ed, *Juden in der deutschen Literatur: Essays über zeitgenössische Schriftsteller* (Berlin, 1922); Ruediger Engerth, ed, *Expressionismus; Im Schatten des Hradschin: Kafka und sein Kreis* (Graz, Vienna, Cologne, 1965); Paul Raabe, ed, *Expressionismus: Der Kampf um eine literarische Bewegung* (Munich, 1965); Ludo Abicht, *P.A., ein Dichter aus Prag* (Wiesbaden, Frankfurt/M., 1972); *D.L.L.; Stern, Werke*. *Sources*: Hand. — IfZ.

Adler, Peter Herman(n), conductor; b. Gablonz, Bohemia, Aus. (Jablonec, C.S.S.R.) 2 Dec. 1899. *E*: 1939 U.S. *Cit*: 1944 U.S. *F*: Bertold A, dr. *M*: Else Rindskopf. ∞ 1954 Helen George.

1920–24 studied at Prague Cons. and privately with Fidelio Finke, Vitězlav Novák and → Alexander von Zemlinsky.

1924–29 opera cond. in Ger. and C.S.R. 1924–25 in Gablonz (Jablonec), 1925–27(?) in Brünn (Brno), C.S.R., 1928–29(?) in Teplitz-Schönau (Teplice-Sanov), C.S.R., 1929–33(?) in Bremen and Darmstadt, Ger. 1932(?) emigr. to U.S.S.R. 1932–38(?) cond. of Kiev State Orch. Concurr: Taught cond. at Kiev Cons, also in Moscow and Leningrad; guest cond, New Opera Co, New York and of orchs. in cent. Eur. 1938 guest cond. in Prague. 1939 emigr. to U.S. 1939 debut with New York Philh. 1940–48 guest cond. of symph. orchs. and operas. Concurr. 1942 cond, New Opera Co, New York with → Fritz Busch. 1949– musical and artistic dir. of N.B.C. Opera Co; concurr. dir. of symph. concerts for N.B.C. 1959– music dir, Baltimore Symph. Orch; guest Eur. T.V. operas. 1967– guest cond, music adv. to Nat. Educ. T.V. Recd: Artist/Craftsman Award for pioneering efforts in the prod. of televised opera, Nat. Opera Inst.

Sources: Hand, Print. — R.F.J.I.

Adler, Peter T, dir. of mental health center; b. Vienna 5 July 1934. *R*: None, fmly. Roman Catholic. *E*: 1938 U.K., 1940 U.S. *Cit*: 1945 U.S., fmly. Aus. *F*: Paul A, b. Vienna 1900, d. St. Johnsville, N.Y. 1960, Roman Catholic, Dr. med, physician, interned Dachau concentration camp, 1939 to U.K., 1940 to U.S. *M*: Maria Langer, b. Vienna 1907, Roman Catholic, soc. worker, 1938 to U.K., 1940 to U.S. *S*: (none). ∞ 1958 Eileen Moran, b. Buffalo, N.Y. 1931, M.S.W., Hunter Coll, soc. worker. *C*: Alanna, b. 1959; Corinne, b. 1961; Paul, b. 1962; all students.

1938 emigr. with mother to U.K., and 1940 with fam. to U.S. 1955 B.S., Union Coll, Schenectady, N.Y. 1957–61 clin. psych. trainee, Veterans Admin. 1961 Ph.D. in clin. psych, New York Univ. Licensed in N.J. and Penn; cert. in N.Y. 1963–70 priv. practice of psych. Concurr. 1961–70 mem. staff, New York Med. Coll.-Metropolitan Hosp: 1961 staff psych, 1963 sr. psych, and instr. in psychiatry, 1965 assist. prof. psych. and dir, internship prog. in clin. psych, 1967 chief psych. 1970– dir, consult. and educ. div, South Hills Health System Mental Health/Mental Retardation Cent. and part-time fac, dept. of psych, Univ. Pittsburgh Sch. of Soc. Work. Concurr: 1972– proj. dir, Nat. Inst. of Mental Health grant on preventive serv. for children; 1974–76 proj. dir, Police Coun. Proj, L.E.A.A. grant in conjunction with Steel Valley Coun. of Govts. Mem: Am. Bd. Prof. Psych; Am. Psych. Assn; Penn. Psych. Assn. (div. cmty. psych, pres. 1975–76); Penn. Consult. and Educ. Coun. (1975–76 chmn.). *A*: (1979) Pittsburgh, Penn.

Biblio: Contrib. approx. one dozen papers on cmty. mental health and related issues to journals. incl. *Intl. Journ. Addictions*, and *Journ. of Consult. and Clin. Psych.* *Sources*: Hand, Qu. — R.F.J.I.

Adler, Robert, research engineer; b. Vienna 4 Dec. 1913. *R*: None, fmly. until 1927 Jewish. *E*: 1939 U.K., 1940 U.S. *Cit*: 1946 U.S., fmly. Aus. *F*: Max, b. Vienna 1872, d. Vienna 1937, Jewish, Dr. jur, prof. of sociol. *M*: Jenny Herzmark, b. Riga, Latvia, Russ. (U.S.S.R.) 1877, d. Chicago 1950, Dr. med, physician, 1939 to Fr, 1942 to U.S. *S*: Leonore Suschitzky, b. Vienna 1910, att. univ, 1938 to U.K. ∞ 1946 Mary Buehl, b. Pigeon, Mich. 1912, Methodist, B.S. in chem, med. technol. at var. hosps. *C*: (none).

1937 Dr. phil. in phys, Univ. Vienna. 1937–38 assist. to patent lawyer; concurr. contrib. arts. on electronics to prof. journals. Mar. 1939 emigr. to Belg; brief stay in Brussels. June 1939 emigr. to U.K. on vis. visa. Jan.–June 1940 engr. in electronics lab. for Sci. Acoustics Ltd, London. June 1940 emigr. to U.S. (fare paid by Quakers). 1940–41 head of lab, Assoc. Res. Inc, Chicago. 1941–77 with Zenith Radio Corp: Res. engr, assoc. dir. of res. 1957 v. pres, 1963 dir. of res. From 1978 v. pres. of res, Extel Corp. Ca. 150 patents; best known for inventing ultrasonic remote control for T.V.; also regarded for electron beam tube and acoustic work. Mem: I.E.E.E. (mem. 1940–; fel. 1951–); A.A.A.S. (mem. and fel.); Nat. Acad. of Engr. (1967–). *A*: (1980) Northfield, Ill.

Biblio: Contrib. arts. to prof. journals. *Sources*: Hand, Qu. — R.F.J.I.

Adler, Samuel Hans, composer, prof. of composition; b. Mannheim, Baden, Ger. 4 Mar. 1928. *R*: Jewish. *E*: 1939 U.S. *Cit*: 1944 U.S, fmlly. Ger. For *F*, *M* and *S* see father → Hugo Charles Adler. ∞ 1960 Carol E. Stalker, b. Rochester, N. Y. 1938, Jewish, B. A., writer, poet-in-resid. at Pittsford, N. Y. sch. syst. *C*: Deborah, b. 1961; Naomi, b. 1966.

Jan. 1939 emigr. to U.S. 1946–48 att. Boston Univ; studied with → Karl Geiringer, → Paul Pisk, 1948 B. Mus. 1948–50 att. Harvard Univ, studied with Walter Piston, Herbert Fromm, Randall Thompson and → Paul Hindemith; concurr. 1949–50 studied with Aaron Copland and Serge Koussevitzky at Tanglewood Inst, Lenox, Mass; 1950 dipl. 1950–52 cpl, U.S. Army; org. and cond. Seventh Army Symph. Orch. (Stuttgart) touring Ger. and Aus; recd. Medal of Hon; also guest cond. for num. opera cos. and orchs. in Ger, and in 1952 cond. Royal Dutch Ballet orch. 1954–56 org. and cond, Dallas Chorale, Tex; concurr. 1954–57 cond, Dallas Lyric Theater. 1954–66 prof. of composition, North Texas State Univ, Denton. Concurr: 1953–66 music dir, Temple Emanu-El, Dallas; 1958 cond, lect. in Middle East, sponsored by U.S. State Dept; 1965 Rockefeller and Ford Found. grants. From 1966 prof. of composition, Eastman Sch. of Music, Univ. Rochester, N. Y., 1974– chmn. composition dept. S. A.'s works have been performed all over the world. Interested in the concept of the "total music theater." Mem: Nat. Assn. Composers and Conds; Am. Music Cent; Am. Choral Found; others. Recd: Dallas Symph. Prize, Univ. Texas (1953); 1st Prize, Texas Composers Guild (1955, 1957–63); Charles Ives Mml. Award, Univ. Houston (1963); spec. A.S.C.A.P. Award (annually from 1960); S. W. Coll. Bandmasters Award (1964); Dr. mus. h.c., Southern Methodist Univ, Tex. (1969). *A*: (1981) Rochester, N. Y.

Works: 5 stage works: *The Outcasts of Poker Flats*, opera in one act (1959); *The Wrestler*, sacred opera in one act (1971); *The Lodge of Shadows*, music drama (1973); *The Disappointment*, reconstruction of an early American ballad opera (1974); *The Waking*, for dancers, chorus and orch. (1978); 5 symphs. (1953, 1957, 1960 revised 1980–81, 1967, 1975); 4 concertos: for winds, brass and percussion (1968), for organ and orch. (1970), for orch. (1971), for flute and orch. (1977); other orch. works incl. *Tocatta* (1954) and *Rhapsody* for violin and orch. (1961); larger choral works incl. *B'shaaray Tefilah*, a Sabbath service (1963) and *The Binding*, an oratorio (1967); also works for organ, wind ensembles, chamber music (incl. 6 string quartets) and songs; many works on Jewish sacred themes incl. for children; num. other works for ensembles of all lengths and description listed in R.F.J.I. arch. *Recordings*: Incl. for R.C.A., Vanguard, Crystal, Lyricord; list in R.F.J.I. arch. *Biblio*: *Anthology for the Teaching of Choral Conducting* (New York, 1971); *Singing and Hearing*, a sight-singing book (New York, 1979); *The Study of Orchestration* (New York, 1982); contrib. num. arts. to prof. journals. incl. *The Music Educator's Journal*, *The Am. Choral Rev.*, *The Am. Music Teacher*; further info. in R.F.J.I. arch. *Papers*: Complete works to date in Sibley Music Libr, Eastman Sch. of Music. *Arch*: Perf. Arts Res. Cent, Lincoln Cent, New York. *Sources*: Arch, Biog, Hand, News, Print, Qu. — R.F.J.I.

Adolf, Helen, prof. of German; b. Vienna 31 Dec. 1895. *R*: Jewish. *E*: 1939 U.S. *Cit*: 1944 U.S, fmlly. Aus. *F*: Jakob A, b. Przemysl, Galicia, Aus. (Pol.) 1850, d. Vienna 1926, Jewish, Dr. jur, lawyer. *M*: Hedwig Spitzer, b. Vienna 1864, d. Vienna 1936, Jewish, att. high sch. *S*: Anna Spiegel, b. Vienna 1893, Dr. med. and Doz, Univ. Vienna Sch. of Med, 1930 to U.S., prof. emer, Temple Univ, Philadelphia. ∞ (none). *C*: (none).

1915–18 att. art sch, Vienna. 1918–23 att. Univ. Vienna; 1923 Dr. phil. with highest hon. Worked for Reclam publ. house, Leipzig, as compiler of anthols; concurr. priv. studies and writing. Mem: Intl. Soc. for Psych. of Relig. (secy. 1923–38). Apr. 1939 emigr. to U.S. Aided by rels. and Am. Friends Serv. Comm. 1939–40 att. summer sch, Univ. Pennsylvania to learn Sp. 1940–41 head, sch. latin dept, Foxcroft, Va. 1942–43 teacher of Fr, San Luis Ranch sch, Colo. 1943– mem. fac, Pennsylvania State Univ: 1943–46 instr. of Ger, Fr. and Sp. at Altoona, Penn. undergrad. cent, 1946–47 assist. prof, 1947–53 assoc.

prof, 1953–63 prof. of Ger, 1963– prof. emer. Concurr: 1963–66 vis. prof. of Ger, Muhlenberg Coll, Allentown, Penn; summer 1966 teacher of grad. course in Ger, Univ. Pennsylvania. Spec. in linguistics and religious psychology, also noted for poetry, historical and cultural studies. Mem: M.L.A.; Mediaeval Acad. of Am; Linguistic Soc. of Am; Arthurian Soc; P.E.N. (Aus.). Recd: Hon. Mention, *Journ. of Aesthetics* (1951); Louis H. Bell Mml. Award, Pennsylvania State Univ. (1960); Ehrenkreuz 1st class, arts and letters, Aus. (1972). *A*: (1981) Philadelphia.

Biblio: Trans, Jeanne Galzy, *Therese von Avila, der Lebensroman einer Heiligen* (Munich, 1929); compiler, *Dem neuen Reich entgegen, 1850–1871* (Leipzig, 1930); compiler, *Im neuen Reich, 1871–1914* (Leipzig, 1932); *Wortgeschichtliche Studien zum Leib/Seele-Problem* (Vienna, 1937); *Visio pacis: Holy City and Grail; an attempt at an inner history of the Grail Legend* (University Park, Penn, 1960); *Werden und Sein; Gedichte aus fünf Jahrzehnten*, poetry (Horn, Aus, 1964); for biblio. to 1968 see *Helen Adolf Festschrift, 1968* (New York, 1968); Spalek-Strelka, *Deutsche Exilliteratur* (vol. II); contrib. more than 50 arts. and 70 revs. to prof. journals. *Sources*: Hand, Print, Qu. — R.F.J.I.

Adorno, Theodor W. (fmlly. Wiesengrund), prof. of philosophy and sociology, musicologist; b. Frankfurt/M 11 Sept. 1903, d. Brig, Wallis, Switz. 6 Aug. 1969. *E*: 1934 U.K., 1938 U.S., 1949 Fed. Repub. Ger. *Cit*: Ger. *F*: Oskar Wiesengrund, Jewish, wine merchant. *M*: Maria Cavelli-Adorno della Piana. ∞ 1937 Dr. Margarete Karplus.

Studied music, philos. and sociol, Univ. Frankfurt/M; 1924 Dr. phil. with thesis in theory of knowledge on Edmund Husserl. Musicol. and for a time ed, *Neue Blätter für die Kunst und Literatur*. 1925–28 studied music in Vienna with Alban Berg and Eduard Steuermann; composed music. 1928–32 head of Viennese music journ. *Anbruch*. Reputation as theoretician of New Music. 1930–33 with Univ. Frankfurt/M: 1930 at Inst. for Soc. Res, Univ. Frankfurt/M, 1931 Habil. and Privatdoz. in philos, with thesis on Kierkegaard. 1933 retraction of *venia legendi*. 1934 emigr. to U.K. Instr. at Oxford Univ. 1938 emigr. to New York as mem. of Inst. for Soc. Res, which was moved to and re-opened in U.S. Concurr. until 1941 dir. of music dept, Princeton Radio Res. Proj. 1941 moved to Calif. with → Max Horkheimer. With Horkheimer wrote *Dialektik der Aufklärung*. Res. at Inst. for Soc. Res. for *Authoritarian Personality* within the coll. work *Studies in Prejudice* (5 vols, 1949–50). Instr, Univ. California, Berkeley. 1944–49 dir. of Res. Projct on Soc. Discrimination in Los Angeles. 1949 returned to Ger. Resumed activities at Univ. Frankfurt/M and at Inst. for Soc. Res: 1950 apl. Prof, 1953 a.o. Prof. and 1956– o. Prof. of philos. and sociol. 1953– together with Horkheimer dir, Inst. for Soc. Res. Influenced by Hegel, Marx, → Sigmund Freud and → Walter Benjamin. A's philosophical writings made him the dialectical critic of neo-positivism, and led him to critical analysis and rejection of existential philosophy. With the return to Frankfurt of the Institute for Social Research, A. gave German postwar sociology a decisive impetus, esp. concerning the expansion of empirical social research. In the 1960s conducted the so-called "Positivism dispute" against → Karl Popper on the methodological problems of the social sciences (which was continued by their respective students Jürgen Habermas and Hans Albert). A's influence as intellectual critic is most effective in academic circles in the Federal Republic of Germany. A's critique of the restrictions and rigidity of modern industrial society earned him a position as an intellectual leader of the student and youth revolts of the 1960s. Well known also as musicologist. As composer, wrote songs, quartet and orchestra pieces and was → Thomas Mann's musical advisor for *Doktor Faustus*, among others. Mem: Ger. Soc. for Sociol; Philos. Soc. Oxford; Ger. P.E.N.-Cent, others. Recd: Arnold Schönberg Medal (1954); Ger. Critics' Award for Lit. (1959); Goethe-Plaque of the City of Frankfurt/M (1963).

Biblio: *Kierkegaard — Konstruktion des Ästhetischen* (1933; 3rd ed. 1966); co-auth. with → Willi Reich and → Ernst Kfeneck, *Alban Berg* (Vienna, 1937); co-auth. with Max Horkheimer, *Dialektik der Aufklärung* (Amsterdam, 1947); *Philosophie*

der neuen Musik (Tübingen, 1947); *Democratic Leadership and Mass Manipulation* (1948); co-auth, *The Authoritarian Personality* (New York, 1950; 2nd ed. 1965); *Minima moralia: Reflexionen aus dem beschädigten Leben* (Berlin, Frankfurt/M, 1951; new ed. 1962); *Versuch über Wagner* (Berlin, Frankfurt/M, 1952; new ed. 1964); *Prismen: Kulturkritik und Gesellschaft* (Berlin, Frankfurt/M, 1955; new ed. 1963); *Dissonanzen: Musik in der verwalteten Welt* (1956; 3rd ed. 1963); *Zur Metakritik der Erkenntnistheorie* (Stuttgart, 1956); *Noten zur Literatur*, 3 vols. (Frankfurt/M, 1958, 1961, 1965); *Mahler* (Frankfurt/M, 1960); *Einleitung in die Musiksoziologie* (Frankfurt/M, 1962; 2nd ed. 1968); co-auth, with M. Horkheimer, *Sociologica II* (1962); *Eingriffe* (Frankfurt/M, 1963); *Der getreue Korrepetitor* (Frankfurt/M, 1963); *Drei Studien zu Hegel* (Frankfurt/M, 1963); *Moments musicaux* (Frankfurt/M, 1964); *Jargon der Eigentlichkeit: Zur deutschen Ideologie* (Frankfurt/M, 1965); *Negative Dialektik* (1966); *Der Positivismusstreit in der deutschen Soziologie* (1969); *Komposition für den Film* (Munich, 1969; written 1944 with → Hanns Eisler; Eng. ed. 1947 and Ger. ed. 1949 mention only Eisler as auth.); "Wissenschaftliche Erfahrungen in Amerika." *Neue deutsche Hefte* (vol. 16, 1969; Eng. trans. in Bailyn and Fleming, *Perspectives in American History* (vol. 2, Cambridge, Mass, 1968); others; further biblio. in *G.K.* (1950–). *Lit.*: Max Horkheimer, ed, *Zeugnisse: Theodor W. Adorno zum 60. Geburtstag* (Frankfurt/M, 1963); *Über Theodor W. Adorno*, with contribs. by Jürgen Habermas and others; 2nd ed. Frankfurt/M, 1968); Radkau, *Emigration*; Martin Jay, *The Dialectical Imagination: A History of the Frankfurt School and the Institute of Social Research 1923–50* (Boston-Toronto, 1973; Ger. trans. Frankfurt/M 1976); Rolf Wiggershaus, "Die Geschichte der Frankfurter Schule," *Neue Rundschau* (Frankfurt/M, 1978); Helmut Dubiel, *Wissenschaftsorganisation und politische Erfahrung: Studien zur frühen kritischen Theorie* (Frankfurt/M, 1978). *Ach.*: S.P.S.L.; Houghton Libr, Harvard Univ. *Sources*: Arch, Hand, Journ, News, Pers, Print. — IfZ.

Aladjem, Frederick, prof. of biophysics and immunochemistry; b. Vienna 8 Feb. 1921. *E.*: 1938 Bulg, 1940 U.S. *Cit.*: U.S. ∞ 1957. *C.*: 3.

1938 emigr. to Bulg. 1940 emigr. to U.S. 1944 B.A., Univ. California, 1954 Ph.D. in biophys. 1944–46 serv. U.S. Army. 1950–54 physicist, radiation lab, Univ. California. 1954–57 fel. and res. fel. in chem. div, nat. microbiol. inst, U.S.P.H.S., at California Inst. of Technol. 1956– mem. fac, Univ. Southern California. Sch. of Med: 1956 instr, 1957 assist. prof, 1960 assoc. prof, 1965– prof of microbiol; concurr. 1957– consult. in pathol, Los Angeles County Gen. Hosp. Res. on the immunochemistry of lipoproteins; allergic and antigen-antibody reactions. Mem: Am. Assn. of Immunologists; Am. Soc. Microbiol; Biophys. Soc; A.A.A.S.

Biblio.: "Immunochemical Studies on Ovalbumins and Human Plasma Lipoproteins" (diss, Berkeley, 1954); contrib. arts. to prof. journs. incl. *Nature*, *Science*, *Journ. Exp. Med.*, *Journ. Theoret. Biol.*, *Immunochem.* and *Biochem.* *Sources*: Hand, Journ, Pers, Print. — R.F.J.I.

Albeck, Chanoch, rabbi, prof. of Talmud; b. Lowicz, Russ. Pol. (Pol.) 3 Aug. 1890, d. Jerusalem 9 Jan. 1972. *R.*: Jewish. *E.*: 1935 Pal. *Cit.*: 1938 Pal. (Isr.), fmlly. Russ, then 1921–38 Aus. *F.*: Shalom A, b. Warsaw 1858, d. Ger. 1920, Jewish, businessman, scholar and auth, emigr. from Pol. to Ger. *M.*: Rachel Brodt, b. Pol, d. 1926, Jewish. *S.*: Israel A; Jehudah Leib Leo, emigr. from Pol. to Ger. to U.S. ∞ 1922 Hendel Henia Weiss, b. Podhajce, Pol. (Podgaitz, U.S.S.R.) 1891, d. Jerusalem 1973, Jewish, 1915(?) from Pol. to Aus, 1923(?) to Ger, to Pal. with C.A. and children. *C.*: Lili Leah Bacharach, b. Vienna 1923, to Ger, Pal, educ. Hebrew Univ, teacher; → Shalom Fridemann Albeck; → Michael Albeck.

1905 publ. ed. talmudic commentary of Meiri on Tractate Yevamot. 1905 ordained rabbi. 1915 att. theol. sem, Vienna. 1917–21 att. Univ. Vienna; 1921 Dr. phil; concurr. emigr. to Ger. 1920–29 res. scholar, Akad. für die Wiss. des Judentums, Berlin; 1926–35 lect, L.(H.)W.J. 1935 emigr. to Pal. with offer

of post at Hebrew Univ. 1936– prof. of Talmud, Hebrew Univ, 1937 prof. of Talmud and Midrash, 1956 emer. Spec. in Talmud; editor and author of studies on Literary texts; composed comprehensive introductions to various Talmudic works. Popular commentary on Mishnah is generally recognized as the basic modern tool for its study, summarizing the results of C.A.'s own research and that of others who have studied talmudic literature with modern critical approaches. Mem: Isr. Acad. of Scis. and Hums. (found. mem. 1959). Recd: Rabbi Kook Prize of Tel Aviv (1945); Bialik Prize of Tel Aviv (1970).

Biblio.: Co-ed, notes on *Bereschit Rabba* (Berlin 1903–36); auth, *Untersuchungen über die Redaktion der Mischna* (Berlin, 1923); auth, *Untersuchungen über die halachischen Midraschim* (Berlin, 1927); auth, *Das Buch der Jubiläen und die Halachah* (Berlin, 1930); completed father's ed. notes on *HaEshkol*, by Abraham ben Isaac, I–II (1935–38); ed. and supp, *Hadrashot beYisrael* (Heb. trans. of Zunz *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge*; Jerusalem, 1947); auth, *Shishah Sidre Mishnah* (commentary on the *Mishnah*; 6 vols, Jerusalem, 1952–58); auth, *Mavo laMishna* (Introduction to the *Mishnah*; Jerusalem, 1959; Ger. ed. Berlin–New York, 1971); auth, *Mavo laTalmudim* (Introduction to the Talmud, I; Tel Aviv, 1969); num. other publs, incl. books, commentaries, and articles in periods; biblio. to 1963 in *Sepher haYovel leRabbi Chanoch Albeck*, 70th Birthday Jubilee vol. (Jerusalem, 1963). *Lit.*: A.M. Habermann in S.K. Mirsky, ed, *Ishim uDemuyyot beHohmat Yisrael beEiropa haMizrahit* (Men and Images in the Wisdom of Israel in Eastern Europe; 1959); obits. in *Isr. Exploration Journ.* (vol. 22, 1972); art. by Y.D. Gilat in *Sinai* (vol. 72, 1972/73); *Al Professor Chanok Albeck* (Hebrew Univ. mml. booklet, Jerusalem 1972/73); see also Jubilee vol. listed in *Biblio. Sources*: Hand, Journ, Pers, Print, Qu. — R.F.J.I.

Albeck, Michael, prof. of chemistry; b. Berlin 15 Oct. 1934. *R.*: Jewish. *E.*: 1935 Pal. *Cit.*: Isr. For *F*, *M*, *S* see father → Chanoch Albeck and brother → Shalom Albeck. ∞ 1955 Shulamit Firan-ko, b. Jerusalem 1934, Jewish, M.A. in sociol. *C.*: Amnon, b. 1958; Dan David, b. 1959; Yael, b. 1965; Ruth, b. 1970.

1935 emigr. to Pal. with fam. 1952–55 serv. with I.D.F.; afterwards major with I.D.F. reserves. 1955–61 studied chem, Hebrew Univ; 1959 M.S., 1961 Ph.D. 1962–64 sr. invest, Inst. for Fiber and Forest Prods, Jerusalem. 1964–66 dir. of chem. labs, Mekorot Water Co. 1966– mem. fac, Bar Ilan Univ, Ramat Gan, Isr: 1966 sr. lect, 1967–69 and 1972–75 dean, fac. of natural scis, 1972 assoc. prof, 1978– prof. Spec. in polymer chem, mechanisms of reactions, organotellurium compounds. Pres, Isr. Chem. Soc. Mem: Bd. of trustees, Bd. of Governors of Bar Ilan Univ; mem, bd. of governors: Dead Sea Works; Weizmann Sci. Press, Isr; Isr. Nat. Comm. on Biosphere and Environment; hon. secy, Assn. for Advancement of Sci. in Isr. A: (1979) Ramat Gan.

Biblio.: Co-auth, "Electroinitiated Polymerization of Vinylic Monomers in Polar Systems," in *Journ. of Polymer Sci.* (1971); co-auth, "Substituent and Solvent Effects on ElcB Elimination of Second Type from-2 Anisyl-1,1,2-Tricyano Propanes," *Journ. Chem. Soc.* (1972); co-auth, "A Very Slow ElcB Elimination under Extreme ElcB Conditions," *Tetrahedron Letters* (1972); co-auth, "An ElcB and E2cB Mechanisms in the Elimination of Trifluoroethoxide Ion from L,L-Dinitro-B,B-Diphenyl-B- (Trifluoroethoxy) Ethyl Anion and the Non-Reactivity of the B-Cyano L,L-Dinitro-B,B-Diphenylethyl Anion," *Journ. Chem. Soc.* (1975); co-auth, "Reactions of Te(IV) Halides with Anthracene and Other Organic Compounds," *Journ. Chem. Soc.* (1975); co-auth, "Influence of Applied Electric Fields on the Free Radical Copolymerization of Methylmethacrylate and Styrene, An Unusual Decomposition of Benzoylperoxide," *Journ. Chem. Soc.*, Faraday Transactions I (1978); num. other publs. in sci. journs. *Sources*: Hand, Pers. — R.F.J.I.

Albeck, Shalom, prof. of law and Talmud; b. Berlin 4 Sept. 1931. *R.*: Jewish. *E.*: 1935 Pal. *Cit.*: 1938 Pal. (Isr.), fmlly. Aus. For *F*, *M* and *S* see father → Chanoch Albeck and brother

→ Michael Albeck. ∞ 1958 Pliah Nebenzahl, b. Jerusalem 1937, Jewish, M.J., Hebrew Univ, 1963–65 chief assist. state atty, Isr, 1965 dep. state atty, 1962 mem. Isr. Bar Assn, dtr. of Itzhak Ernst Nebenzahl, businessman and Isr. govt. off. C: Jehudah, b. Jerusalem 1960; Rachel, b. Jerusalem 1960; Rivkah, b. Jerusalem 1962; Chanoch, b. 1972; Batia, b. 1973.

1935 emigr. to Pal. 1948–50 serv, I.D.F. 1952 B.A. Hebrew Univ, 1955 M.A., 1956 M.J., 1959 Ph.D. in Jewish hist. 1960–63 lect. in Talmud, Jewish Theol. Sem, New York. 1964–78 mem. fac, Bar Ilan Univ, Ramat Gan, Isr: 1964–67 sr. lect. in Talmud, 1968–72 assoc. prof. of Talmud, 1973 prof. of Talmud and law, 1976–78 dean of law sch. 1979 vis. prof, Yale Univ. Contrib. to recent interest in the application of Jewish law in modern Israeli society. Works focus on dev. of talmudic law, particularly in areas of contracts, torts and communal law. Mem: Isr. Bar Assn; Bd. of Trustees and Exec. Coun, Bar Ilan Univ. (1976–78; 1980–). A: (1980) Jerusalem.

Biblio: "Toledot haMishpat haZibburi haYehudi beSefarad ad haMeah ha-14" (History of Jewish Communal Law in Spain until the 14th Cent; diss, Jerusalem, 1959); *Pesher Dinei haNezikin baTalmud* (Gen. Principles of the Law of Torts in the Talmud; Tel Aviv, 1965); *Dinei haMamonot baTalmud* (The Law of Property and Contracts in the Talmud; Tel Aviv, 1976); *Batei haDin b'Yemei haTalmud* (Law Courts in Talmudic Times; Ramat Gan, 1980); ca. 35 arts. on Jewish law and hist. in prof. journals; 20 contribs. on var. topics to *E.J.*; for biblio. to 1979 see R.F.J.I. arch. *Sources:* Biblio, Hand, Pers, Qu. — R.F.J.I.

Albers, Anni (Anneliese) née Fleischmann, textile designer, commercial artist, graphic artist; b. Berlin 12 June 1899. *R:* Protestant. *E:* 1933 U.S. *Cit:* 1937 U.S., fmlly. *Ger. F:* Siegfried Fleischmann (later Farman), Protestant, emigr.(?) *M:* Toni Ullstein. *S:* Hans L. Farman; Lotte Benfey. ∞ 1925 → Josef Albers.

Att. Univs. Berlin and Hamburg. 1922– att. Bauhaus in Weimar and Dessau, 1930 recd. dipl. Teacher at weaving workshop, Bauhaus, 1931 temp. commn. as dir. after Gunta Stölzl's departure. 1932–33 at Bauhaus Berlin-Steglitz; concurr. freelance weaving. 1933 emigr. to U.S., offered teaching position at Black Mountain Coll, N. Car; 1933–49 assist. prof. of art, Black Mountain Coll. From 1950 freelance artist, New Haven, Conn. Taught at var. univs. in U.S., Eur, and Japan. Recd: Gold Medal, Inst. of Archit. (1961); Citation, Philadelphia Mus. Coll. of Art (1962); Decorative Arts Book Award (1970); Dr. h.c., Maryland Inst. Coll. of Art (1972), York Univ, Toronto (1973); others. A: (1977) New Haven.

Biblio: *On Designing* (New Haven, Conn, 1959; 3rd ed. 1971); *On Weaving* (Middletown, Conn. 1965; 2nd ed. 1972); *Pre-Columbian Mexican Miniatures* (New York, 1970). *Papers:* See Spalek. *Lit:* C.E.B., "Paintings and Woven Textiles by J. and A. Albers," *Wadsworth Atheneum Bull.* (no. 41, 1953); *50 Jahre Bauhaus: Württembergischer Kunstverein*, cat. (Stuttgart, 1968); *Royal Acad. of Arts*, cat. (London, 1968); *Musée National d'Art Moderne*, cat. (Paris, 1969); *Art Gallery of Ontario*, cat. (1969); *Illinois Inst. of Technol.* cat. (Chicago, 1970); *J. and A. Albers, Bildweberei - Zeichnung - Druckgrafik* (Art Mus, Düsseldorf-Bauhaus Archiv, Berlin, 1975); Wingler, *Bauhaus*; other exhib. cats. *Arch:* Bauhaus Arch, Berlin. *Sources:* Hand, News, Pers, Print, Qu. — IFZ.

Albers, Josef, painter, professor; b. Bottrop, Westphalia, Ger. 19 Mar. 1888, d. New Haven, Conn. 25 Mar. 1976. *R:* Roman Catholic. *E:* 1933 U.S. *Cit:* 1939 U.S., fmlly. *Ger. F:* Lorenz A, b. 1859, d. Bottrop 1944, Roman Catholic, housepainter. *M:* Magdalena Schumacher, d. 1899, Roman Catholic; stepmother: Elisabeth Funke, b. 1868, d. 1952. *S:* Paul, b. Bottrop 1890, d. 1915; Magdalena, b. Bottrop 1974; Franz, b. Bottrop 1902, d. 1903; Wilhelm, d. Bottrop 1906. ∞ 1925 Anni Fleischmann (→ Anni Albers). *C:* (none).

1902–05 att. prep. teachers training sch. 1905–08 att. teachers coll, Büren, Westphalia, Ger. 1908–13 teacher at primary sch. in Dülmen/Bottrop. 1913–15 att. Royal Sch. of Art, Berlin: 1915 qualified as art teacher. 1915–19 teacher, pub. sch. in Bot-

trop; concurr. 1916–19 studied at Sch. of Appl. Arts, Essen. 1919–20 studied at Acad. of Fine Arts, Munich with Max Doerner and Franz von Stuck. 1920–23 studied at Weimar Bauhaus, partic. in preliminary course. 1923–33 with Bauhaus: 1923 org. instr. and head of glass-workshop, material and design course, 1925 master craftsman, both in Weimar; 1926–32 prof. at Dessau Bauhaus (Hochsch. für Gestaltung), 1928 instr. and head of preliminary course and furniture workshop after the departure of → László Moholy-Nagy. Developed sandblasted glass painting, designed furniture. 1928 lect. at Intl. Cong. for Art Educ, Prague. Mem. R.V.B.K.D. 1930 assist. dir, Dessau Bauhaus. 1932 moved with remaining staff to Berlin-Steglitz. June 1933 premature dismissal, then Bauhaus closed by Nazis. Purchases discontinued by City of Dessau. Same year accepted position as first Bauhaus artist at newly founded Black Mountain Coll, N.Car. (offered by John Andrew Rice with the encouragement of Philip C. Johnson of the Mus. of Modern Art, New York). Nov. 1933 emigr. with wife to U.S. on non-quota visa. Helped by Edward Warburg. 1933–49 mem. fac, Black Mountain Coll: 1933–49 instr, head of art dept, and teacher of Kenneth Noland, Robert Rauschenberg, Robert Motherwell, and Willem de Koonig. 1948–49 dir. of coll. Concurr: 1933–36 mem. Abstraction-Création, Paris; 1936 mem, newly-founded Am. Abstract Artists Assn; 1936–39 vis. instr, Grad. Sch. of Design, Harvard Univ; 1949 vis. instr, Cincinnati Art Acad; 1950– vis. instr. at Harvard Univ, Yale Univ. and Pratt Inst, New York. 1950–58 dir. of the newly founded dept. of design, Yale Univ. 1960 prof. emer. 1959 Ford Found. fel. and grant, New York. 1962 Graham Found. grant, Chicago. Vis. critic in advanced painting, Yale Univ. Vis. lect. and prof. at var. univs, insts. and colls. incl. National Univ. of Mexico; Havana, Cuba; Lima, Peru; St. John's, Kansas; Houston; Minneapolis; M.I.T.; Santiago, Chile. 1953, 1955 lect. at Hochsch. für Gestaltung, Ulm, Fed. Repub. Ger; Syracuse Univ, New York; 1967 Univ. Bochum, Fed. Repub. Ger. Designed num. murals for Time-Life Bldg, New York (1961); Pan-Am Bldg, New York (1963). 1960s developed teaching methods for basic design, drawing, and color. Num. exhibs. internationally incl. more than 200 individual shows and an equivalent number of group shows. *Exhibitions:* Individual shows incl. New Art Circle (1936, 1938, 1945); Nierendorf Gall. (1941); Sidney Janis Gall, New York (1949, 1952, 1955–); San Francisco Mus. of Art (1940); Baltimore Mus. of Art, Md. (1942); Cincinnati Mus. of Art, Ohio (1949); First Retrospective Exh, Yale Univ. Art Coll. (1956); Osthaus Mus, The Hague (1957); Stedelijk Mus, Amsterdam (1961); "Homage to the Square," Mus. of Mod. Art, on tour in S. Am, Mex, and U.S. (1965–67); Landesmus. Münster, on tour in Fed. Repub. Ger. and Switz. (1968); Kunsthalle Hamburg (1970); Metropolitan Mus, New York (1971); Kestner Ges, Hannover, Fed. Repub. Ger. (1973); Busch-Reisinger Mus, Harvard Univ. (1976). Group shows incl. Am. Abstract Artist Assn, exhib. Riverside Mus, New York (1939); Herbert Hermann Gall, Stuttgart, Fed. Repub. Ger; "Geometric Abstraction in America," Whitney Mus, New York (1962); "Responsive Eye," Mus. of Mod. Art, New York (1965); "Two Decades of American Painting," Mus. of Mod. Art, on-tour in Jap, India, Aust. (1967); "Futurism: A Modern Focus," Guggenheim Mus, New York (1973). *Collections:* Represented in more than 100 museums around the world. Fel: Royal Soc, London; Benjamin Franklin, Royal Soc. of Arts, London (1970); Am. Acad. of Arts and Scis, Boston (1973). Mem: Am. Acad. of Art and Letters; Nat. Inst. of Arts and Letters, New York. Recd: William A. Clark Prize, Corcoran Gall, Washington, D.C.; Ada S. Garrett Prize, Chicago Art Inst. (1954); Konrad v. Soest-prize, Fed. Repub. Ger. (1958); Medal of the Year, Am. Inst. of Graphic Arts, New York (1964); Gr. B.V.K. (1968); Grand Award for Art North Rhine-Westphalia (1968); Hon. Citation of Bottrop (1970); Medal for Graphic Art, Skowhegan Sch. of Painting and Sculpture (1971); Citation, Nat. Assn. of Schs. of Art, Washington (1971); Extraordinary mem, Div. of Fine Arts, Acad. of Art, Berlin (1974); Medal of Fine Arts, Am. Inst. of Archit. (1975); Dr. h.c. and title of prof. from many U.S. univs. incl. Univ. Hartford, Conn. (1957); Yale Univ. (1962); Pratt Inst, New York.

Biblio: Poems and Drawings (2nd enlarged, New York, 1961); co-auth, *Despite Straight Lines* (New Haven, Conn; London, 1961; Ger. trans. *Trotz der Geraden*, Bern, 1961); *Interaction of Color* (New Haven, London, 1963, 1970; Ger. trans. Cologne, 1970); *Search versus Research* (New Haven, 1969); further biblio. in Winger, *Bauhaus* (vols. 1, 2, 3). *Papers*: See Spalek. *Lit: J.A.*, Am. Abstract, ed. (New York, 1946); Eberhard Roters, *Maler am Bauhaus* (Berlin, 1965); Ernst Gomringer, *J.A.* biblio. and cat. of works (Starnberg/Munich, 1968); J. Finkelstein, "The Life and Art of Josef Albers" (diss, New York Univ, 1968); Werner Spies, *A.* (New York, 1970; Ger. trans. Stuttgart, 1977); Jürgen Wissmann, *J.A.* (Recklinghausen, 1971); Gottfried Boehm, "Die Dialektik der ästhetischen Grenze," *Neue Hefte für Philosophie* (vol. 5, 1973); Hans Joachim Albrecht, *Farbe als Sprache Robert Delaunays, J.A.s, Richard Paul Lohses* (Cologne, 1974); Fleming and Bailyn, *Migration; Exil in den U.S.A.* (vol. 3); num. cats. discussing J.A.'s work. *Arch: Bauhaus Archive*, W. Berlin. *Sources: Hand, News, Pers, Print, Qu.* — IfZ.

Alder, Henry (Heinrich) Ludwig, prof. of mathematics; b. Duisburg, Rhineland, Ger. 26 Mar. 1922. *R: Jewish. E: 1933* Switz, 1941 U.S. *Cit: 1944* U.S, fmlly. *Switz. F: Ludwig A, b. Munich 1888, d. Berkeley, Calif. 1949, Jewish, Dr.-Ing. in chem, chemist, 1941 to U.S. M: Otti Gottschalk, b. Hemer, Westphalia, Ger. 1893, Jewish, sec. educ, emigr. with husband. S: Berni J, b. Duisburg 1925, Ph.D. chem, res. chemist, emigr. with parents; Charles K.A, b. Duisburg 1925, emigr. with parents, D.D.S, dentist. ∞ 1963 Benne B. Daniel, b. Fletcher, Okla. 1928, Protestant, Ph.D. in rhetoric, high sch, then jr. coll. teacher, later univ. teaching assist, assist. prof. of rhetoric. C: Lawrence J.A, b. Woodland, Calif. 1964.*

Sept. 1933 emigr. to Switz. with fam. 1940 3 mos. serv, Swiss Army. 1940–41 att. E.T.H. Zurich. 1941 emigr. to U.S. with fam; joined aunt already in U.S. 1941–47 att. Univ. California, Berkeley; 1942 A.B. in math. and chem, 1942–43 assist. in math, 1943–44 assoc. in math. and jr. instr. of meteorol, 1947 Ph.D. in math, 1947–48 instr. in math; concurr: 1944–45 serv, U.S. Air Corps. From 1948 mem. fac, Univ. California, Davis: 1948 instr. in math, 1949 assist. prof, 1955 assoc. prof, 1965– prof. Res. in theory of numbers, specifically the investigation of the existence and nonexistence of certain identities in the theory of partitions. Mem: Mu Alpha Theta (pres. 1956–59); Math. Assn. of Am. (hon. life mem. 1956–57; chmn, N. Calif. section, nat. secy. 1960–74; nat. pres. 1977–78); Am. Math. Soc; Inst. of Math. Statist; vice chmn, bd. of govs, *Pacific Journ. of Math*; others. Recd: Intl. Dist. Serv. Award, Mu Alpha Theta (1965); Outstanding Educator of America (1971); Cert. of Merit, Nat. Coun. of Teachers of Math. (1975); Dist. Teaching Award, Univ. California, Davis (1976); Award for Dist. Serv. to Math, Am. Assn. of Am. (1980). A: (1980) Davis.

Biblio: Co-ed, Introduction to Probability and Statistics (San Francisco, 1960); "The Nonexistence of Certain Identities in the Theory of Partitions and Compositions," *Am. Math. Soc. Bull.* (54, 1948); "Generalizations of the Rogers-Ramanujan Identities," *Pacific Journ. of Math.* (4, 1954); "Partition Identities—From Euler to the Present," *Am. Math. Monthly* (76, 1969, for which H.A. won the Lester R. Ford award of the Math. Assn. of Am, 1970). *Lit: "Henry L. Alder," in Am. Math. Monthly* (vol. 82, no.2, Feb, 1975); "Award for Dist. Serv. to Henry L. Alder," *Am. Math. Monthly* (vol. 87, no. 2, Feb, 1980). *Sources: Hand, Qu.* — R.F.J.I.

Alewyn, Richard, Germanist, literary historian, prof. of literature; b. Frankfurt/M 24 Feb. 1902, d. Prien, Bavaria, Ger. 14 Aug. 1979. *R: Protestant. E: 1933* Fr, 1935 Aus, 1938 Switz, 1939 U.S, 1949 Fed. Repub. Ger. *Cit: 1953* Ger, fmlly. Ger. 1945 U.S. *F: George A, b. Moscow 1871, d. Munich 1935, Protestant, officer, factory owner. M: Mathilde Schmitz, b. Bad Homburg vor der Höhe, Hessen 1880, d. Scharding, Aus. 1945, Protestant. ∞ I. 1928 Nelly Ferch, b. Frankfurt/M 1902, Protestant, emigr. to U.S, div. 1951; II. 1952 Marianne Schroeter. C: Christiane Wallace, b. 1933, a: U.S; Veronika Brelsford, b. 1935, a: U.S.*

Att. Univs. Frankfurt/M, Marburg, Munich and Heidelberg. Active in youth movt. 1925 Dr. phil. Student of Heinrich Wöflin and Friedrich Gundolf. 1926–31 recd. schol. from N.D.W. 1931 Habil, Univ. Berlin. 1932 succeeded Friedrich Gundolf as a.o. Prof. of mod. lit. at Univ. Heidelberg. 1933 dismissed from civil serv. because of Jewish descent and emigr. to Fr. 1933–35 Rockefeller schol. and vis. prof. at Sorbonne. 1935 emigr. to Aus. for econ. reasons. 1938 emigr. to Switz. Feb. 1939 emigr. to U.S. with fam. 1939–49 assoc. prof, Queens Coll, New York (C.U.N.Y.). 1947 vis. prof, Univ. Cologne. 1949 returned to Fed. Repub. Ger. and app. as o. Prof, Univ. Cologne. 1956–59 o. Prof. and dir. of Ger. Inst, Free Univ. Berlin. 1959–67 o. Prof, Univ. Bonn, 1967 prof. emer. Vis. prof. at var. insts. in U.S. R.A. is well known for the discovery of the baroque poet Johann Beer, whom he proved to be the actual author of numerous novels published under various pseudonyms. Besides baroque literature and cultural history, also wrote on Hugo von Hofmannsthal. Was one of the first Germanists to study the so-called trivial literature, publishing an analysis of the detective novel. Mem: Rheinisch-Westfälische Akad. der Wiss; Intl. Germanistische Vereinigung (v. pres. 1955–57) Acad. of Scis, Göttingen; Ger. Acad. of Lang. and Poetry; Ger. P.E.N. Cent; M.L.A. (hon. mem.).

Biblio: Vorbarocker Klassizismus und griechische Tragödie (Heidelberg, 1926; 2nd ed. 1962); *Johann Beer: Studien zum Roman des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1932); *Über Hugo von Hofmannsthal* (Göttingen, 1958; 4th ed. 1967); co-auth, *Das grosse Welttheater* (Hamburg, 1959); co-ed, *Euphorion Zft. für Literaturgeschichte* (1957–61); num. publs. in Ger. acad. journs; for biblio. see G.K. (1950–76). *Lit: Festschrift für R.A.* with biblio. (Cologne, 1967). *Arch: S.P.S.L. Sources: Arch, Hand, Journ, News, Print, Qu.* — IfZ.

Alexander, Edgar (fmlly. Edgar Alexander Emmerich), journalist; b. Saarbrücken, Saarland, Ger. 13 June 1902, d. New York 19 Jan. 1970. *R: Roman Catholic. E: Vatican City, Fr, U.S.*

Recd. doctorate. Alleged mem. of comm. for culture, Zentrumspartei. Emigr. to Vatican City after Nazis came to power; later to Fr. Contrib. to *Der Deutsche in Polen, Die neue Weltbühne, Das Neue Tage-Buch* and others. Analyzed fascism from a Catholic-conservative viewpoint. Later emigr. to U.S.; lived in seclusion in New York, supported by Catholic relief orgs. Stricken by cancer.

Biblio: Der Mythos Hitler (Zurich, 1937); ed, *Deutsches Brevier: Politisches Lesebuch* (Zurich, 1938; New York, Toronto, 1938); epilogue to Cardinal Jean Verdier's *Die Kirche und die soziale Frage* (Zurich, 1940); *Adenauer und das neue Deutschland* (Recklinghausen, 1956); *Europa und der russische Imperialismus: Karl Marx und das europäische Gewissen* (Recklinghausen, 1957); *Menschlichkeit und Gewissen in der Politik: Bundeskanzler Dr. Konrad Adenauer zum 5. Januar 1957* (Bonn, 1957); *Der Fall Edith Stein* (Frankfurt/M, 1969). *Sources: Arch, Hand, Pers.* — IfZ.

Alexander, Ernst, prof. of applied physics; b. Berlin 19 Mar. 1902. *R: Jewish. E: 1933* Pal. *Cit: Isr, fmlly. Ger. F: Georg A, b. 1866, d. Berlin, Jewish, primary educ, businessman. M: Selma Baden, b. Jacobslager, Pomerania, Ger. 1877, d. Berlin, Jewish, primary educ, div. head in dept. store. S: Edith Baron, b. Berlin 1903, Dr. phil. emigr. to U.K, then to U.S, a: Cambridge, Mass; Fritz, b. Berlin 1905, d. in concentration camp, sec. educ. ∞ 1929 Ernestine Esther Dienstfertig, b. Berlin 1906, Jewish, 1933 to Pal, child psych, Child Guidance Clin. of Min. of Health, Jerusalem, now priv. practice. C:→ Shlomo Alexander; Dina Ruth Ron, b. Jerusalem 1933, educ. Oranim Teacher's Sem, Isr, arts and crafts teacher.*

1920 Abitur. 1920–27 studied with M. Volmer and K. Hermann at T.H. Berlin; 1925 Dipl.-Ing, 1927 Dr. Ing. Concurr: 1922– mem. Blau-Weiss; 1928– mem. K.J.V. 1929–33 assist. Privatdoz, Phys.-Chem. Inst, Univ. Freiburg/Breisgau. 1933 emigr. to Pal. with vis. visa. 1933–74 mem. fac, dept. of phys, Hebrew Univ; 1933 instr, 1945 lect, 1956 assoc. prof, 1964 prof. of

appl. phys, later head of dept, 1974– prof. emer; concurr. 1934–48 serv, Haganah. Res. in physical chemistry, crystallography, scientific instruments, X-ray emissions, space group theory and other areas of physics and chemistry. A: (1980) Jerusalem.

Biblio: "Zur Theorie der flüssigen Kristalle" (diss, T.H. Berlin, 1928); co-auth, *Praktikum der chemischen Analyse mit Röntgenstrahlen* (Leipzig, 1933); contrib. arts. to *Zft. Kristallographie*, *Zft. der Physik*, *Transactions Faraday Soc.* and other prof. journals; for biblio. see *Poggendorff* (vols. 6, 7a). *Arch:* S.P.S.L. *Sources:* Arch, Hand, Pers, Print, Pers, Qu. — R.F.J.I.

Alexander, Gideon, prof. of physics; b. Berlin 31 Jan. 1932. *E:* 1934 Pal. ∞ Sima Peled. *C:* 2 sons.

1934 emigr. to Pal. M.Sc, Hebrew Univ; Ph.D, Dublin Univ. and Dublin Inst. for Advanced Studies. 1958–60 sr. phys, Isr. A.E.C. Lab. 1960–62 at Lawrence Radiation Lab, Univ. California, Berkeley. 1963– at nuclear phys. dept, Weizmann Inst, Rehovot. (date?) prof. of phys, Tel Aviv Univ. 1966–67 ed, *Proc. of the Second Intl. Conf. of High Energy Phys. and Nuclear Structure*. Res. in high energy and elementary particle physics. Mem: Isr. Phys. Soc. (pres.). A: (1972) Tel Aviv.

Biblio: Contrib. many arts. to prof. journals. incl. *Il Nuovo Cimento*, *Nuclear Phys*, *Phys. Rev.* and *Phys. Letters*. *Sources:* Hand, Print. — R.F.J.I.

Alexander, Haim (fmly. Heinz Günther), composer, pianist; b. Berlin 9 Aug. 1915. *R:* Jewish. *E:* 1936 Pal. *Cit:* Isr, fmly. Ger. *F:* Emil A, b. Posen, Ger. (Poznan, Pol.) ca. 1868, d. Beuthen, Upper Silesia, Ger. (Bytom, Pol.) 1923, merchant, chief rep. for suitcase factory. *M:* Elfriede Schuftan, b. Breslau, Silesia, Ger. (Wroclaw, Pol.) ca. 1876, d. Lodz, Pol. 1942, deported to Lodz and killed by Nazis. *S:* Liselotte Cannon, b. Berlin 1910, 1946 to U.S, singer. ∞ 1941 Ruth Rosenbaum, b. Hamburg 1920, Nov. 1939 to Pal. via Bulg. *C:* Gad, b. 1945, Ph.D. in educ, Univ. California, Los Angeles, instr, Univ. Beersheba; Ron, b. Jerusalem 1950, d. in milit. action on Lebanese-Isr. border, 1970; Dror, b. Jerusalem 1956.

1923 placed in orphanage at death of father. Studied music, piano, composition, Stern Cons, Berlin, 1933 expelled. 1936 emigr. to Pal. on B-III cert. with help of Emil Hauser, principal, Pal. Cons. of Music (later called Rubin Acad. of Music). 1936–45 studied composition and music, 1945 grad. Pal. Cons; concurr. worked as pianist in bars and hotels to fin. studies; during W.W. II and Isr. War of Independence serv, Haganah. Concurr. from 1937 freelance lect. and pianist, Pal. Broadcasting Serv. (later Kol. Isr.). From 1945 teacher of piano, harpsichord, composition, theory. Concurr: 1958, 1962 partic. in summer courses in contemp. music, Darmstadt, Ger; 1962, 1964 to Freiburger Hochsch, Baden, to study composition and harpsichord on grant from D.A.A.D. 1974, 1978 lect, New York Univ, in coop. with Rubin Acad. of Music, Jerusalem. Summers 1971, 1977 lect, intl. summer courses, Dalcroze Inst, Geneva, Switz. From 1972 mem. fac, Rubin Acad. of Music, Jerusalem: Instr. in piano, assoc. prof. of composition and head, of theory dept, 1976– prof. and head, dept. of perf. 1972–77 assoc. guest prof. of musicol, Tel Aviv Univ; 1978 partic. in Am.-Isr. exchange prog, New York Univ. Works perf. by Isr. Philh. Orch. and other orchs. in var. countries; also taught many well-known composers and other musicians. Recd: First Zimriah Prize, for composition of *VeKibazti Ethem* (1952); President's Zimriah Prize for *Lemaan Ziyon loEhesheh* (1955); Engel Prize of the City of Tel Aviv for *Six Israeli Dances* (1956); First Prize, Isr. Music Inst. for *Sound Figures* (1966); First Prize for obligatory piano work, Artur Rubinstein Intl. Piano Competition (1973). Mem: Rubin Acad. of Music (bd. dirs.); B'nai B'rith. A: (1980) Jerusalem.

Works: *VeKibazti Ethem* (1952); *Six Israeli Dances*, for piano (1951); *Lemaan Ziyon lo Ehesheh* (1955); *Sound Figures*, for piano (1966); *Jerusalem Eternal* (1967–68); also, *Overture Artza*; *A Journey to the Present* (1975); *Sonata brevis*, for 2 clarinets; *Song of Faith* for mixed choir and orch. (1977); *In This World*, seven songs for voice and chamber ensemble; other cho-

ral, chamber, voice, and piano works. *Sources:* Hand, News, Print, Qu. — R.F.J.I.

Alexander, Leo, psychiatrist; b. Vienna 11 Oct. 1905. *E:* 1933 China, U.S. *F:* Gustav A. *M:* Giesela Rubel-Schaefer. ∞ 1936 Phyllis Harrington. *C:* 3(4?).

1926 res. training fel, Zool. Station, Naples. 1926–29 demons. in neuropsychiatry and neuroanat, Univ. Vienna, 1927 assist, Univ. Hosp; 1928 studied at Kaiser Wilhelm Inst. for Brain Res, Berlin; 1929 Dr. med, Univ. Vienna. 1929–31 psychiatric intern, Univ. Hosp, Frankfurt/M, 1931–32 resid. and instr. 1933 to China on one yr. app; lect. Peiping Union Med. Coll, hosp. assoc. 1933 emigr. to U.S. 1934– priv. practice of psychiatry. 1934 clin. assist. and mem. of res. dept, Worcester State Hosp, Mass. 1934–41 jr. vis. neurol. and neuropathol, Boston City Hosp, Mass. 1935–64 mem. fac, Boston State Hosp; 1935 assoc, 1946 assoc. dir. of res, 1948 dir. of neurol. unit, div. of psychiatric res. 1938–41 vis. psychiatrist, Washington Hosp, Boston. 1941–46 assoc. prof. of neuro-psychiatry, Duke Univ, Durham, N. Car. 1942–46 serv, U.S. Army med. corps, col, med. intell; concurr. 1945–46 mem. combined intell. objectives subcomm, U.S. Army, investigating Ger. hosps, prison camps, concentration camps. 1946–47 expert consult. to U.S. Secy of War, Nuremberg War Crimes Trials. 1946– mem. fac, Tufts Univ. Sch. of Med; 1946 assist. clin. prof. of psychiatry, 1973– lect. on psychiatry. 1961– co-dir, Chandler Hovey United Res. and Treatment Multiple Sclerosis, Brooks Hosp, Brookline, Mass. Vis. psychiatrist, Bournewood Hosp, Brookline; psychiatrist and neurol, Brooks Hosp; assoc. neurol, Beth Israel Hosp, Boston. Consult: Boston State Hosp; U.S. Army Hosp, Fort Devens, Mass; The Tribunal, Archdiocese of Boston (1960–); Bedford Veterans Admin. Hosp; Northampton Veterans Admin. Hosp; Elmcrest Manor, Portland, Conn; Elizabeth Hosp, Boston; Nat. Res. Coun; Nat. Acad. Scis. (drug efficiency study). Assoc. ed, *Journ. Am. Assn. Neuropathology*, ed, *Conditional Reflex*, *Journ. Pavlovian Soc*, *Confinia Neurologica*, *Organic Therapies*, *Psychiatric Journ. Univ. Ottawa*, mem. of intl. ed. comm. of *Minerva Medica Argentina*. Mem: N. Eng. Soc. of Clin. Hypnosis (pres. 1973–74); Electroshock Res. Assn. (pres. 1951–52); Assn. of Gen. Hosp. Psychiatrists (pres. 1966–68); dipl. mem. of Am. Bd. of Psychiatry and Neurol; fel, Soc. Clin. and Exp. Hypnosis; Am. Coll. of Clin. Pharm. and Chemotherapy; others. Recd: Jean Larsner Medal, Confed. Brasileira de Hipnologia (Rio de Janeiro, 1973); Honra as Merita of Associação Brasileira de Hipnodontia (Rio de Janeiro, 1973). A: (1979) West Newton, Mass.

Biblio: *Treatment of Mental Disorders* (Philadelphia, 1953); *Objective Approaches to Treatment in Psychiatry* (Springfield, Ill, 1958); *Multiple Sclerosis: Prognosis and Treatment* (Springfield, 1961); contrib. more than 250 chaps. and arts. to books and prof. journals. incl. *N. Eng. Journ. Med.*, *Intl. Journ. Neuropsychiatry*, *Am. Journ. Clin. Hypnosis*, and others. Writings concern the fields of electroshock therapy, multiple sclerosis and the clin. uses of hypnosis. *Biblio.* to 1976 in R.F.J.I. archs. *Lit:* N.d.W. *Arch:* S.P.S.L. *Sources:* Arch, Hand, Qu. — R.F.J.I.

Alexander, Paul Julius, prof. of history; b. Berlin 12 May 1910, d. Berkeley, Calif. 16 Dec. 1977. *R:* Jewish. *E:* 1933 Fr, 1935 U.S. *Cit:* 1943 U.S, fmly. Ger. *F:* Carl A, b. Berlin 1871, d. London 1946, Jewish, banker, mem. D.D.P, later Staatspartei, emigr. to U.K. *M:* Anna Mauthner, b. Vienna 1878, d. Reading, U.K. 1939, Jewish. *S:* Fritz, b. Berlin 1912, 1940 to U.S, C.P.A.; Heinz Gustav, b. Berlin 1914, Dr. jur, 1939 to U.K., journ; Hilde Irene, b. 1917, d. Oxford 1945, teacher, emigr. to U.K. ∞ 1938 Eleanor Eyck, b. Berlin 1913, Jewish, 1933 to Fr, 1934 to U.K., 1936 to Braz, 1937 to U.S, var. jobs, M.A, univ. lect. in comp. lit. *C:* Ann Margaret, b. 1941, M.A. Univ. California, Berkeley, music admin, coll. admin; Lawrence Ernest, b. 1944, L.L.B, Syracuse Univ, N.Y, lawyer; Michael Charles, b. 1947, Ph.D. Univ. Toronto, historian, teacher.

Att. Univs. Berlin and Hamburg; 1932 Dr. jur. Univ. Hamburg. 1931–32 Referendar in Hamburg; 1932–33 in Cologne. 1933 emigr. to Fr. on student visa. 1933–35 private secy. in Fr.

Concurr. 1934 earned second law degree, Univ. Paris. 1935 emigr. to U.S. via Can. 1935–40 att. Univs. Michigan and Harvard; 1940 Ph.D. in hist, Harvard. 1941–43 jr. fel. res. libr, Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. 1943–45 res. anal, O.S.S., Washington, D.C. 1945–54 mem. fac, Hobart Coll, Geneva, N.Y.: 1945 lect, 1947–54 prof. of ancient and medieval hist. Concurr: 1951–52 Guggenheim fel; 1951–52, 1970–71 mem. Inst. for Advanced Study, Princeton. 1954–58 mem. fac, Brandeis Univ, Waltham, Mass: 1954 assoc. prof, 1956–58 prof. and chmn. of dept. 1958–67 prof, Univ. Michigan. Concurr. 1960–61 S.S.R.C. grant; 1965–66 Guggenheim fel. and Fulbright fel. in It. 1967–77 prof. of hist. and comp. lit, Univ. California, Berkeley. Concurr: 1974 sr. fel, N.E.H.; 1974–77 mem. ed. comm, *Am. Hist. Rev.* for ancient and medieval hist. Res. on the intellectual relationship between Byzantium and the Latin West. Major contributions to the study of the Iconoclastic controversy in the eighth and ninth centuries and of the Byzantine apocalyptic writing between the fourth and sixteenth centuries. His book on the Patriarch Nicephorus is considered to be the standard work on the period. Fel: A.A.A.S. (1976). Mem: Am. Hist. Assn; Medieval Acad; Brit. Acad. (corresp. mem.); Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neellenici (corresp. mem.). Recd: Hon. Phi Beta Kappa.

Biblio: *Konkurs des Rückversicherers in Recht und Versicherung* (diss, 1933); *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople* (Oxford, 1958); co-auth, vol. 5, *Gregori Nysseni Opera* (Leiden, Neth, 1962); *The Ancient World to 300 A.D.* (New York, 1963; 2nd ed. 1968); *The Oracle of Baalbek* (Washington, D.C., 1967); contrib. arts. to prof. journals. *Lit:* Unpubl. biog. art. by Stephen Kutner in R.F.J.I. arch. *Sources:* Hand, Print, Qu. — R.F.J.I.

Alexander, Peter, prof. of radiobiology; b. Munich 27 Jan. 1922. *E:* 1933 U.K. *Cit:* 1938 U.K, fmlly. Ger. *F:* Elias, b. Leipzig, Saxony, Ger. 1875, d. London, Jewish, publ, 1933 to London. *M:* Katherine Lommer, b. Ger. 1892, d. U.K, Protestant, 1933 to London. *S:* (none). ∞ 1950 June Pickwood, b. Crediton, Devon, U.K. 1924, Protestant, B.A, teacher. *C:* Adam, b. 1951, att. London Film Sch, film tech; Maxine, b. 1951, riding instr; Leone, b. 1955, geologist in U.K.

1933 emigr. with fam. to London. 1934–38 att. University College Sch, London. 1941 B.Sc. Univ. London; 1943 Ph.D., 1956 D.Sc, Imperial Coll. of Sci, both Univ. London. 1941–45 res. assist. in war work for the Admiralty. 1945–50 mgr, res. dept, Wolsey Ltd. 1950– mem. staff, Chester Beatty Res. Inst, Inst. Cancer Res, Sutton, Surrey, Eng. 1954– head of radiobiol. dept. 1965 prof. of radiobiol. Spec. in mechanism of biological action of ionizing radiation. Mem: Belg. Acad. Sci; Leopoldina. Recd: Gold Medal, Edinburgh Royal Soc. A: (1980) London.

Biblio: Co-auth, *Wool: Its Chemistry and Physics* (New York, London, 1954); co-ed, *Radiobiology Symposium* (Proc. of the Symposium held at Liège, Aug.–Sept. 1954; New York, 1955); *Fundamentals of Radiobiology* (New York, 1955; rev. ed. 1961; trans. into Ger. and Fr.); *Atomic Radiation and Life* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1957; rev. ed. Baltimore, 1965; trans. into Russ.); *A Laboratory Manual of Analytical Methods of Protein Chemistry, Including Polypeptides* (New York, 1960); *From Molecule to Man: The Explosion of Science*, J.Z. Young and Tom Margerison, eds. (New York, 1969); contrib. arts. and monos to sci. publs. *Sources:* Hand, Qu. — R.F.J.I.

Alexander, Shlomo (Edgar), prof. of physics; b. Freiburg, Baden, Ger. 4 Sept. 1930. *E:* May 1933 Pal. *Cit:* Isr, fmlly. Ger. *F:* → Ernst Alexander. *M:* Erne Esther Dienstfertig, b. Berlin 1906, 1933 to Pal, child psych. with child guidance clin, Min. of Health, Jerusalem, retired, now practices privately. *S:* Dina Ruth Ron, b. Jerusalem 1933, educ. Oranim Teachers' Sem, Oranim, Isr, teacher. ∞ 1951 Vera Esther Neumann, b. Budapest 1929, 1949 to Isr, 1969 M.A. econ, Univ. British Columbia, Vancouver, Can, economist, Isr. Coun. for Res. and Dev. *C:* Michal, b. Rehovot, Isr. 1956, studied at Univ. California at Los Angeles; Nitzza, b. Summit, N.J. 1961; Amir Roi, b. Rehovot 1963.

May 1933 emigr. to Pal. with fam. 1948–50 serv, I.D.F.; also May–July 1967, Oct. 1973 to Feb. 1974. 1950–55 att. Hebrew Univ; 1956 M.Sc. Concurr. 1954–69 phys, Weizmann Inst, Rehovot, Isr; 1958 Ph.D. 1967 org. Bat Sheva Sem. on theoret. solid state phys, 1968 prof. of phys, 1970 consult. to isotope dept. Concurr: 1961–62 at Bell Telephone Labs, Murray Hill, N.J.; 1967–69 at Univ. British Columbia (on leave from Weizmann Inst.). From 1969 mem. fac, Hebrew Univ: 1969 M. Polak prof. of phys, 1974–76 chmn, Racah Inst, 1978–81 dean, fac. of sci. 1970–75 consult, dept. of chem, Weizmann Inst. 1971–75 consult, solid state group, phys. dept, Tel Aviv Univ. 1976–77 vis. prof, Collège de France. 1977–78 vis. prof, Univ. California, Los Angeles. Consult. to num. sci. insts. incl. summers 1979, 1980 to U.C.L.A. Ed. bd. mem: *Bull. of Magnetic Resonance and Solid State Communications*. Main scientific activity in areas of chemical physics, statistical mechanics and the physics of condensed matter; work has had considerable impact on the initiation and dev. of res. in these fields in Israel. Contributions include: 1. demonstrating how the effect of chemical dynamics on magnetic resonance line shape can be handled; 2. adding to the understanding of magnetic interactions in metals; 3. analysis of the role of hard collisions in nuclear relaxation processes in a consistent way, and the use of this analysis in the dev. of a novel technique to study molecular dynamics in crystals by nuclear quadruple resonance. 4. study of var. aspects of diffusion in random systems, resulting in part in the dev. of a scaling technique to derive anomalous indices for diffusion and for the density of states in 1-d random chains. 5. reviving of the Landau approach to the liquid-solid transition and showing that this approach predicts definite crystal structures (triangular in 2-d and bcc in 3d) and presenting a large body of evidence for its relevance to the phase diagram and to nucleation. Mem: Isr. Phys. Soc. A: (1979) Jerusalem.

Biblio: "Relative Signs of Spin-Spin Interactions in Nuclear Magnetic Resonance" (diss, submitted to Weizmann Inst. and Hebrew Univ, 1958); "Exchange of Interacting Nuclear Spins in Nuclear Magnetic Resonance. I. Intermolecular Exchange," *Journ. of Chem. Phys.* (37, 1962); "Id. II. Chemical Exchange" (ibid.); co-auth, "Interactions between Localized States in Metals," *Phys. Rev.* (133, 1964); "Angular Dependence of Interactions between Localized Magnetic Moments in Metals," *Phys. Letters* (13, 1964); co-auth, "Measurement of Molecular Rotations by N¹⁴ Nuclear Quadruple Resonance Relaxation Times," *Phys. Rev. Letters* (13, 1964); co-auth, "Relaxation by Slow Motional Processes. Effect of Molecular Rotations in Pure Quadruple Resonance," *Phys. Rev.* (138, 1965); co-auth, "Lattice Diffusion and the Heisenberg Ferromagnet," *Phys. Rev.* (18, 1978); co-auth, "Low Energy Density of States and Long-Time Behavior of Random Chains. A Scaling Approach," *Journ. Phys.* (12, 1979); other important publs. in *Journ. of Chem. Phys.*; *Phys. Letters*; *Phys. Rev.* and other journals; for complete biblio. to 1979 see R.F.J.I. arch, New York. *Sources:* Hand, Qu. — R.F.J.I.

Alexandre, Alexandre (fmlly. Albrecht Alexander), film journalist, writer; b. 1901; see Straschek film biographies.

Alfert, Max, prof. of zoology; b. Vienna 23 Apr. 1921. *R:* Roman Catholic. *E:* 1939 Belg, 1940 deported to Fr, 1942 U.S. *Cit:* U.S, fmlly. Aus. ∞ 1945.

1939 Matura, Vienna. 1939 emigr. to Belg. 1939–40 univ. student. 1940 arrested after Nazi attack on Belg. and deported to Fr; interned for 2 years at St. Cyprien, Gurs and Les Milles concentration camps. 1942 emigr. to U.S. via Afr; recd. aid from Am. rels; worked as mechanic in war indus. 1947 B.S, Wagner Coll, New York. 1948 M.A, Columbia Univ, 1951 Ph.D. in zool; concurr. 1949–50 fel, Nat. Insts. of Health. 1950– mem. dept. of zool, Univ. California, Berkeley: 1950 instr, 1952 assist. prof, 1958 assoc. prof, 1963 prof. 1956 Guggenheim fel. Res. in cytochemical studies and techniques; also 1962– active as artist, mainly in sculpture; ca. 20 exhibitions in California museums and galleries. Mem: Am. Soc. Zoologists; Soc. Gen. Physiol; Am. and Intl. Socs. Cell Biol. A: (1979) Berkeley, Calif.

Biblio: Contrib. approx. 80 arts. to prof. journs. concerning cell biology, incl. *Exp. Cell Res*, *Intl. Rev. of Cytology*, *Journ. of Cell Biol*, and var. *Proc. of the Nat. Acad. of Scis*. *Sources:* Hand, Pers. — R.F.J.I.

Alker, Ernst, prof. of German literature, librarian; b. Vienna 22 Dec. 1895, d. Cademario, Switz. 5 Aug. 1972. *R:* Roman Catholic. *E:* 1934 Swed, 1946 Switz. *Cit:* 1946 Swed, fmlly. Aus. and Ger. *F:* Maximilian A, mem. Kaiserlicher Rat at Aus. Imperial Royal Treasury. *M:* Marie Hauser. ∞ 1937 Maria Pawelka, b. Rhineland, Ger. 1909, d. Bern 1976, librarian, 1937 to Sweden, 1946 to Switz. *C:* (none).

Studied lit. and art hist, Univ. Vienna; 1918 Dr. phil. 1918–20(?) priv. librarian in Swed. 1920–22 mem. staff, Aus. Nat. Libr. Studied at Univ. Groningen, Neth; 1924 Doctorandus. Until 1929 Gym. teacher of Ger. lang. and lit, Arnheim, Neth. 1929–31 acad. Referent at City Pub. Libr, Leipzig. 1931 passed Saxon librarian exam; concurr. Studienleiter, Libr. Sch, Bonn. 1932–34 examiner, Prussian State Libr, Berlin. 1934 emigr. to Swed. after closing of Bonn Libr. Sch. by Nazis. 1934–42 lect. in Ger. lang. and lit. in Lund. 1942–46 lect. at cml. coll. in Stockholm. 1946 emigr. to Switz. 1946–69 mem. fac, Univ. Fribourg, Switz; 1946 a.o. Prof. of mod. Ger. lit, 1950 o. Prof. and concurr. 1952–53 dean of philos. fac. Spec. in the history of German literature and in Norse lit. Mem: Swiss Assn. of Ger. Philologists; Fryske Acad, Leeuwarden (1954); Intl. Inst. of Arts and Letters (1954); Adalbert Stifter Inst, Upper Aus. (1958); Acad. of Sci. and Lit, Mainz (1962); others.

Biblio: *Gottfried Keller and Adalbert Stifter* (Vienna, 1923); *Philipp Hafner* (Vienna, 1923); *Franz Grillparzer* (Marburg, 1930); *Modern tysk litteratur* (Stockholm, 1948); *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur von Goethes Tod bis zur Gegenwart*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1949–50); many publs. in schol. journs. and omnibus vols; for further biblio. see Egon H. Rakette, *Ernte und Aussaat: In memoriam Ernst Alker* (Munich, Vienna, 1973); incl. complete biblio.). *Lit:* "Eine Einführung in sein nachgelassenes Werk," intro. to posthumous ed. by Egon Thurner, Ernst Alker: *Profile und Gestalten der deutschen Literatur nach 1914* (Stuttgart, 1977). *Sources:* Arch, Hand, Print. — IfZ.

Allers, Franz, conductor; b. Karlsbad, Bohemia, Aus. (Karlovy Vary, C.S.S.R.) 6 Aug. 1905. *R:* Unaffiliated, fmlly. until 1922 Jewish. *E:* 1938 U.K., U.S., 1973 Fed. Repub. Ger. *Cit:* 1944 U.S., fmlly. Aus, 1918 C.S.R. *F:* Carl A, b. Eger, Bohemia, Aus. (Cheb, C.S.S.R.) 1868, d. 1943, Jewish, Dr. jur, Univ. Vienna, lawyer in Karlsbad. *M:* Paula Kellner, b. Dobris, Bohemia 1881, Jewish. *S:* Otto, b. 1902, d. Paris 1926, Dr. jur, 1926 to Fr. ∞ I. 1941 Carolyn Schaffer, sociologist, div. 1961; II. 1963 Janina Furch née Ertel, b. 1905, auth. *C:* Carol Chappell, b. 1945, B.A. Univ. New Mexico, Albuquerque.

1920–23 att. Acad. of Music, Prague, studied violin with Marak and Schweyda. 1923–26 att. Hochsch. für Musik, Berlin; studied violin with Haveman, piano with Burgstaller, composition with Schrattenholz and cond. with → Julius Prüwer, 1926 dipl. Concurr: 1924–26 violinist, Berlin Philh. Orch. and State Opera Orch; 1925–26 choirmaster, Berlin Schubert Choir; summer 1926 cond, Munic. Theater, Karlovy Vary. 1926–27 assist. to gen. dir. of music, F.V. Hoesslin, Wuppertal-Elberfeld, Rhineland. 1927–33 first cond. under Hoesslin of the United Munic. Theaters in Wuppertal; 1933 dismissed. Concurr. summer assist: 1927 Bayreuth Fest; 1929 Wagner Fest. in Paris. 1933–38 musical dir. of opera and cond. of philh. concerts, Munic. Theater, Usti, C.S.R. Concurr: Guest cond. with Czech. Philh. Orch, and with Prague Radio Symph. Orch; also guest cond. of opera and symph. concerts in Prague, Karlovy Vary and other Czech cities; org. youth concerts. June 1938 emigr. to U.K. Invited to join cond. staff of Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo. Oct. 1938 emigr. to U.S. 1938–39 freelance violinist, pianist. 1938–44 cond, Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo in U.S. and S. Am. Concurr: 1942 cond. world première of Agnes de Mille's Rodeo at Metropolitan Opera House, New York; regular guest cond. of the New York Philh. at Lewisohn Stadium, the Philadelphia Orch, the Toronto Philh. and of var. summer concerts. 1945–63 cond. Broadway musicals incl: 1956 first

perf. of *My Fair Lady*; also 1947–48 *Brigadoon*, 1951–52 *Paint Your Wagon*, *Plain and Fancy*, *Camelot*. Concurr. 1950–51 cond. nat. touring prod. of *South Pacific*, 1957 cond. *Die Fledermaus* and *Merry Widow* at New York City Opera Co. 1960–63 cond. fgn. tour of *My Fair Lady*, during which Khrushchev invited F.A. to cond. the Kiev orch. 1963– cond. *Die Fledermaus* at Metropolitan Opera House. During the 1950s and 60s cond: Most major Am. symph. orchs; Berlin Philh. Orch; radio orchs. of Hamburg, Munich, Zurich, Oslo; Vienna Symph. and Vienna Tonkünstler orchs. Cond. music for Am. and Eur. T.V. prods, incl. Hallmark Hall of Fame. 1973 ret. to Fed. Repub. Ger. 1973–76 Chefdirigent, Staatstheater am Gärtnerplatz, Munich. Cont. num. appearances as guest cond. with leading Am. and Eur. symph. orchs. Mem: Bohemians; New York Musicians Club; Actors' Fund of Am. Recd: Antoinette Perry Awards (Tony) as musical dir. and cond. for *My Fair Lady* (1957) and *Camelot* (1961).

Recordings: Columbia, R.C.A. Victor, Vanguard, Philips, Electrola, Eurodisk. *Lit:* *The New Yorker* (2 Apr. 1960); *Opera News* (1965). *Arch:* Perf. Arts Res. Cent, Lincoln Cent, New York. *Sources:* Arch, Hand, News, Pers, Print, Qu. — R.F.J.I.

Allers, Rudolf, philosopher, psychiatrist; b. Vienna 13 Jan. 1883, d. Hyattsville, Md. 14 Dec. 1963. *R:* Roman Catholic. *E:* 1938 U.S. *F:* Marcus A, physician. *M:* Augusta Grailich. ∞ 1908 Carola Meitner. *C:* Ulrich Stephen, dec.

Early educ. at home. 1906 Dr. med, Univ. Vienna. 1907 assist. in biochem. lab; publ. several arts. 1908 assist. at Clin. for Nervous and Mental Diseases, German Univ, Prague; Became interested in work of → Sigmund Freud. 1909 assist, Psychiatric Clin, Munich, working under Dr. Emil Kraepelin, one of the fdrs. of mod. psychiatry. 1913 instr. of psychiatry, Univ. Munich. During W.W.I. serv. in Aus.-Hung. Army as brain surgeon on Pol.-Russ. front, and on War Ministry staff in Vienna; recd. Golden Cross of Merit with the Crown, and medal of the Ger. Red Cross. 1918–38 head, dept. of med. psych. and sense-physiol. at the Inst. of Physiol, the Univ. of Vienna Sch. of Med. Concurr. cond. courses and lect. in univs. throughout Eur, incl. Sem. of Vienna and Catholic Univ, Salzburg. 1934 Dr. phil, Univ. Milan. 1938 emigr. to U.S. 1938–48 prof. of philos. psych, Catholic Univ. of Am, Washington, D.C. Serv. for seven yrs. as expert in the Ecclesiastical Court of the Catholic Church, esp. in matrimonial cases. 1948–63 prof. of philos, Georgetown Univ, Washington, D.C. Crippled by arthritis, but cont. to hold classes in a nursing home. Identified and described a persecution syndrome later known as the Allers syndrome, which deals with persecution complexes arising in men who are removed completely from speakers of their native tongue. Mem: Washington Philos. Club (pres.); Metaphys. Soc. of Am. (pres.); New York Acad. of Sci; Am. Philos. Assn; Medieval Acad. of Am. Recd: LL.D. h.c, Georgetown Univ. (1960).

Biblio: *Das Werden der sittlichen Person* (Freiburg/Breisgau, 1929; 4th ed. 1935; New York, 1970); *Allgemeine somatische und psychophysische Konstitution*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1931); *The Psychology of Character* (New York and London, 1931; abridged version, New York, 1934); *Sexualpädagogik: Grundlagen und Grundlinien* (Salzburg und Leipzig, 1934); *Self Improvement* (New York, Cincinnati, 1939); *Character Education in Adolescence* (New York and London, 1940); *The Successful Error: A Critical Study of Freudian Psychoanalysis* (New York, 1940; London, 1941); *Existentialism and Psychiatry: Four Lectures* (Springfield, Ill, 1961); other books; contrib. approx. 600 arts. to prof. journs. *Lit:* Louis Juguet, *Rudolf Allers ou L'Anti-Freud* (Paris, 1950). *Sources:* Hand, News, Print. — R.F.J.I.

Allner, Walter Heinz, designer, painter, art director; b. Dessau, Anhalt, Ger. 2 Jan. 1909. *E:* 1933 Fr. 1949 U.S. *Cit:* 1957 U.S., fmlly. Ger. ∞ I. 1938 Colette Vasselon, 1951 div; II. 1954 Jane Booth (née Pope?). *C:* Michel; Peter.

1927–30 studied with → Josef Albers, → Paul Klee and → Wassily Kandinsky at Bauhaus, Dessau. 1930–31 temp. work at

Gesellschafts- und Wirtschafts-Museum, Vienna, and assist. to typographer Piet Zwart in Wassenaar, Neth. 1933 emigr. to Paris. Worked with poster artist Jean Carlu. 1934–36 fdr. and art dir. "Omnium Graphique" advertising agcy, collab. with → Albert Flocon-Mentzel. Concurr. art dir. on art and photog. mag. *Formes*, Paris. Mem. of Salon des Surindépendants and Salon des Réalités Nouvelles. 1945–48 Paris corresp. for art mag. *Graphis*, Zurich. 1948–51 co-dir. of Editions *Parellèles*, Paris. 1948–52 fdr. and ed, *Intl. Poster Annual* for Zollikofer Publ. St. Gallen, Switz. Also co-ed. of other publs. on poster graphics. 1949 emigr. to New York. Freelance designer. 1949–74 with *Fortune* mag, New York: 1949–51 staff mem, 1962–assist. art dir, 1963–74 art dir. From mid-1950s consult. designer for leading indus. and pub. orgs, incl. Johnson & Johnson, New Brunswick, N.J. (1954–55); Traffic Safety Campaign (1959–60); Am. Cancer Soc; Container Corporation of Am; I.B.M.; Intl. Telephone and Telegraph Corp. (I.T.T.); 1974–lect. in communication design, Parsons Sch. of Design, New York. Vis. critic, Yale Univ. Sch. of Art. *Exhibitions*: Kunstgewerbemuseum Hamburg (1964), Vienna (1966), Zurich (1968, 1971); Am. Inst. of Graphic Arts, New York (1966, 1971); Bauhaus travelling exhibs. (1968); America Houses in Stuttgart, Hamburg, Frankfurt/M, Cologne and Munich (1973); Stedelijk Mus, Amsterdam (1973); Isr. Mus, Jerusalem (1974); Toledo Art Mus, Ohio (1977); Kordegarda Gall, Warsaw (1978); many others. Mem: Prog. chmn, 10th Visual Communications Conf, Art Dirs. Club, New York-Nat. Soc. of Art Dirs. (1965); Alliance Graphique Internationale (pres. of U.S. section 1972; intl. pres. 1974); N.E.A. (panel mem. 1973, 1974); mem. hon. comm. 5th Intl. Poster Biennale, Warsaw (1974); jury, Intl. Poster Competition of Pol. Min. of Culture and Arts (1975); jury mem, 7th Intl. Poster Biennale, Warsaw (1978); chmn, Intl. Jury at 8th Biennale of Graphic Design in Brno, Czech. (1978). Recd: Chicago Art Directors Club award (1952, 1960); Art Dirs. Club Award, New York (1956, 1958, 1960). A: (1979) New York.

Lit: Winger, *Bauhaus* (1, 2); cat, Bauhaus-Archiv Darmstadt (1969) and Berlin (1976); cat, Amerika-Haus (Hamburg, Frankfurt/M, Cologne, Munich, 1973); cat, Stedelijk Mus. (Amsterdam, 1973). *Arch*: Bauhaus-Archiv, W. Berlin. *Sources*: Hand, Pers, Print. — IfZ.

Alpar, Gitta, opera singer (soprano); b. Budapest 5 Mar. 1903. *E*: 1933 Aus, 1936 U.S. *F*: Cantor. ∞ I. Niels Bagge, Danish dancer; II. Gustav Fröhlich, b. Hannover 1902, journ, stage, then film actor in films dir. by → F. Lang (*Metropolis* 1924); → M. Ophüls; W. Dieterle; and others. *C*: (none).

Studied voice with Laura Hilgermann in Budapest, after study at Budapest Acad. of Music performed as soprano leggero in operetta. 1923 debut at Budapest Royal Opera. 1925 guest appearances at Munich State Opera, 1927 at Vienna State Opera. 1927 came to Berlin; after brief prep. at Stern's Cons, won acclaim as Queen of the Night in *Die Zauberflöte*, and Rosina in *Il Barbiere di Siviglia* at Berlin State Opera, then played Wagnerian roles. 1927–33 lived in Ger. as Berlin's leading diva; star of num. premières; tours to Vienna, Budapest with operetta co. 1930 created a sensation at Berlin's Metropol Theater in *Der Bettelstudent*; afterward turned to operetta exclusively. 1931 title role in the première of Mackeben's *Die Dubarry*. 1933 forced to leave Ger; emigr. to Vienna. 1936 emigr. to U.S, cont. to perform as operetta singer, actress in films.

Works: Films incl. *Gitta entdeckt ihr Herz*, with Gustav Fröhlich (Ger. 1932); *Le Disque 413* (Fr, 1934); *Guilty Melody* and *Give my Heart* (Eng, 1936); René Clair's *The Flame of New Orleans* (with → Marlene Dietrich) (U.S, 1941). *Recordings*: Homochord, Parlophone, American Columbia; U.S. reissue: Am. Decca; U.S. rerecording: Scala, Eterna. *Sources*: Hand. — R.F.J.I.

Alsberger, Markus, lawyer, journalist; b. Breslau, Lower Silesia, Ger. (Wrocław, Pol.) 30 Apr. 1889. *E*: 1934 C.S.R., 1938 Bol. *Cit*: Ger. *F*: Heribert A, elocutionist. *M*: Violetta Brichel, operetta singer.

Att. Gym, Breslau. Studied law and Ger. lit, Univs. Würzburg, Berlin, Munich and Lausanne, Switz; there fdr. of

Alpinistenbund der deut. Studenten. 1914 Referendar. W.W.I vol, Ger. Army, then mem. Freikorps. 1922 Assessor; Dr. jur, Univ. Breslau. Legal rep. (Syndikus) of publ. co. Fröhlich & Aschwold, Leipzig. 1926 and 1928/29 org. expeditions to Nepal, achieved prominence with expedition reports, num. lect. tours in Ger, It. and Switz. Wrote popular books and arts. on mountaineering. 1930 invited to visit U.S.S.R., subsequently lost post as Syndikus. Own law office in Berlin, contrib. to *Arbeiter-Illustrierte-Zeitung* under pseud. 1934 emigr. to Prague. 1935 fdr. of short-lived Assn. of Dem. Ger. Mountaineers, advocated Ger. popular front. 1936/37 partic. in preparations for S.E. Asia expedition of orientalist W. van Bechtold, plans failed due to pol. dev. Early 1938 via U.S.S.R. and Japan to Bol. Hotel mgr. in Oruro.

Biblio: "Der geistige Vorbehalt im Lichte der neueren Rechtssprechung" (diss, Univ. Breslau, 1922); *Im Frühtau zu Berge: Eine Liedgutsammlung für den Bergsteiger und Naturfreund* (Apolda, 1924); with Johann Windel and F. Strackl, *Faustregeln für die erfolgreiche Seilschaft* (Apolda, 1926); *Harry Musbacher, Bergheld am Polarkreis*, juvenile lit. (Leipzig, 1931); other works. *Sources*: Arch, News, Pers. — IfZ.

Alster, Raoul (fmly. Abraham), actor, stage director and manager; b. Lemberg, Galicia, Aus. (Lvov, U.S.S.R.) 27 Oct. 1899, d. Bern 19 Mar. 1962. *R*: Jewish. *E*: 1933 Aus, 1934 C.S.R., 1935 Switz. *Cit*: Switz.(?) ∞ Agnes Busch, actress, a: 1980 Munich.

1916 fled from Lemberg because of Russian encroachment. Matura, Vienna. Studied law. 1920–21 acting classes at A.M.d.K. 1921–24 theater engagements: 1921–22 Stadttheater Gablonz, Bohemia, Aus. (Jablonec, C.S.S.R.); 1922–23 Chemnitz, Ger. (Karl-Marx-Stadt, Ger. Dem. Repub.); 1923–24 Königsberg, E. Prussia, Ger. (Kaliningrad, U.S.S.R.). Until 1933 actor in Nuremberg, Frankfurt/M, Dresden, and Mannheim; mem. G.D.B.A. 1933 dismissed. 1933 emigr. to Vienna. Engagement at the Komödie. 1934–35 with United Ger.-Theaters, Brünn (Brno), C.S.R. 1935 emigr. to Switz. Until 1955 actor and dir. at Stadttheater Bern. 1959–60 dir. of theater, dir. of radio-plays for Radio Bern and Beromünster. 1945 mem. of Preparatory Comm. (for the restoration of cultural life in Aus.), Zurich. 1955–62 head of Atelier-Theater Bern; dir. Swiss premières of mod. drama. Mem: Swiss Theater Mgrs. Assn; Swiss Actors Equity Assn. S.B.K.V.).

Lit: Kürschner, *Theater*; Kurt Weibel, "Raoul Alster zum Gedenken", in *atelier kurier*, monthly paper of the Atelier-Theater Bern, no. 21, Apr. 1962. *Sources*: Hand, Pers, Print. — IfZ.

Alt, Franz Leopold, mathematician; b. Vienna 30 Nov. 1910. *R*: Jewish. *E*: 1938 U.S. *Cit*: 1944 U.S, fmly. Aus. *F*: Joseph A, b. Wischau, Moravia, Aus. (Vyskov, C.S.S.R.) 1878, d. New York 1944, Jewish, Dr. jur, lawyer, 1939 to U.S. *M*: Else Schreier, b. Triesch, Moravia (Trest, C.S.S.R.) 1889, d. New York 1974, Jewish, sec. sch, emigr. with husband. *S*: → Fred Alt. ∞ 1938 Alice Modern, b. Vienna 1908, d. New York 1969, Dr. phil, Univ. Vienna, worked with disturbed children. *C*: Theresa, b. New York 1943, M.A. and Ph.D, Columbia Univ, teacher; James, b. New York 1946, B.A. Columbia Univ, M.A. and Ph.D, Essex Univ. and London Sch. of Econ, assoc. prof, Washington Univ, St. Louis, Mo.

1932 Dr. phil, math, Univ. Vienna. 1932–33 apprentice teacher, sec. sch. 1933–35 engaged in unpaid res. 1935–38 actuary. May 1938 emigr. to U.S. 1938–46 res. principal, later assist. dir. res, Econometric Inst, New York. Concurr. 1943–45 serv, U.S. Army. 1946–48 dept. head of computing lab, Ballistic Res. Labs, Aberdeen Proving Ground, Md. 1948–67 with Nat. Bur. of Standards: 1948–52 assist. head, Computation Lab, 1952–62 assist. head, Appl. Math Div, 1962–63 head, Off. Intl. Rels, 1964–67 area mgr. for info. systems designs and res, off. of standard reference data. Concurr: Ed. 1954–58 *Journ. of Assn. Computer Machinery*; 1959–61 *Journ. Res. Nat. Bur. of Standards*; from 1960 *Advances in Computers*; 1960–62 consult, Mgt. Sci. Res. Group, Univ. Maryland. 1967–73 dep. dir, Info. Div, Am. Inst. of Phys; 1973 ret. Also taught grad. math. at var. univs.

Spec. in electronic computers and their applications in sci, engr, mgt. and data processing; also info. retrieval, automatic language translation, numerical anal. operations res, econometrics, geometry of metric spaces. Mem: Am. Math. Soc; Assn. for Computing Machinery (pres. 1950–52; chmn, ed. bd. 1954–58); Nat. Res. Coun. (1961–64); Assn. for Computational Linguistics (v. pres. 1963–64); Am. Standards Assn. Subcomm. (chmn. 1963–65); Intl. Coun. Sci. Unions-CoData Intl. Task Group on Computer Use in Data Cents. Recd: First winner of Dist. Serv. Award of the Assn. for Computing Machinery. A: New York.

Biblio: *Electronic Digital Computers* (New York, 1958); contrib. more than 50 arts. to prof. journals. incl. *Annals of Math*, *Econometrica*, *Intl. Cong. of Math, Computers and Automation*; for biblio. to 1973 see R.F.J.I. archs. *Sources:* Hand, Qu. — R.F.J.I.

Alt, Fred, electrical engineer; b. Vienna 6 Mar. 1912, d. Washington, D.C. 4 Jan. 1969. *E:* 1938 U.S. *Cit:* 1944 U.S. fmly. Aus. For *F, M* and *S* see brother → Franz Leopold Alt. ∞ 1941 Hansi Schwarz, b. Vienna 1911, grad. A.M.d.K., Vienna, music teacher, 1938 to Fr, 1941 to U.S., music teacher, publ. teaching material for piano, a: Washington, D.C. *C:* (none).

1934 Dr. jur., Univ. Vienna. Worked in father's law off. 1938 emigr. to U.S. 1944–46 serv. U.S. Army in Eur. 1949 B.S. elec. engr, Cooper Union Sch. of Engr. 1951–58 chief elec. engr, Holmes and Narver, Los Angeles, Calif. 1959–64 chief instrument engr. and dev. br, Nat. Insts. Health, Bethesda, Md. 1964–dir. of testing div, Naval Oceanographic Instrumentation Cent, Washington, D.C. 1964– chmn, instrumentation comm, Engrs. Joint Coun. 1966– dir. of marine sci. div, Instrument Soc. of Am. 1966– chmn, task group on instrumentation for exposure sites, Am. Soc. for Testing and Mats. Developed and applied instruments for oceanographic use, especially to protect undersea structures; also developed instrumentation for medical and industrial use. Mem: A.A.A.S.; Nat. Soc. Prof. Engrs; Marine Tech. Soc, I.E.E.E.; Instrument Soc. of Am. (dir. bio-med. sect. 1963–65); Chamber Music Players Soc.

Biblio: Ed, *Marine Sciences Instrumentation* (vol. 4, New York, 1962–68); ed, *Biomedical Sciences Instrumentation* (vol. 1, 1963); ed, *Advances in Bioengineering and Instrumentation* (New York, 1966); ed, *Systems Approach to Oceanographic Instrumentation* (Pittsburgh, Penn, 1967). *Sources:* Hand, Pers, Print. — R.F.J.I.

Alter, Israel, cantor, composer; b. Lemberg, Galicia, Aus. (Lvov, U.S.S.R.) 23 Sept. 1901. *R:* Jewish. *E:* 1935 S. Afr, 1961 U.S.

Studied music in Vienna. 1921(?) first app. as cantor, Brigitte-nauer Tempel-Verein, Vienna. 1925–35 in Hannover. 1935 emigr. to S. Afr. Head cantor, United Hebrew Cong, Johannesburg. 1961 emigr. to U.S. Mem. fac, Sch. of Sacred Music, H.U.C.-J.I.R., Cincinnati, Ohio. Ed. of liturgical works of David Eisenstadt, incl. "leDavid Mizmor" (A Song of David).

Biblio: *Shirei Yisrael* (Songs of Israel; 2 vols. of cantorial compositions; 1952–57); *Mayne Lider* (My Poems; musical settings in Yiddish poems; 1957); *Cantorial Recitatives for Hallel, Tal Geshem* (1962). *Arch:* Cologne File, R.F.J.I. *Sources:* Arch, Print. — R.F.J.I.

Alterman, Zipora Stephania née Balaban, prof. of mathematics, geophysics; b. Berlin 6 Aug. 1925, d. Aust. 1974. *R:* Jewish. *E:* 1938 Pal. *Cit:* Isr. *F:* Leon Balaban, d. Isr, Jewish, engr, emigr. to Isr. *M:* Regina Wischnitzer (sister of *Mark Wischnitzer), d. Isr, emigr. to Isr. *S:* → Ernst Balaban; Hanan Balaban, b. Berlin, 1939 to Pal, engr. ∞ 1950 Israel Altermann, b. Chisinau, Rum. (Kishinev, U.S.S.R.) 1920, Jewish, 1932 to Pal, D.Sc, dir, Environmental Engineering, Ltd, Tel Aviv; consult, civil engr. *C:* Ilan-Moshe, b. Isr. 1954, recd. prizes for inventions in aeronautics.

1938 emigr. to Pal. 1943–47 studied math, minors in phys. and philos, Hebrew Univ; 1948 M.Sc; 1953 Ph.D. Concurr. 1948–55 capt, I.D.F. and res. sci. dept, Isr. Min. of Defense.

1956–67 mem. staff, dept. of appl. math, Weizmann Inst, Rehovot; 1956–60 sr. sci, 1961–67(68?) prof. Concurr: 1960–61 vis. sci, Yerkes Observ, Univ. Chicago; 1961–65 vis. prof, depts. of math. and meteorol, Hebrew Univ; 1965–66 vis. prof, dept. of appl. math, Tel Aviv Univ; 1966–67 vis. mem, Courant Inst. of Math Scis, New York Univ. From 1967 mem. fac, Tel Aviv Univ: 1967 prof. of theoret. geophys. and dir, Inst. of Space and Planetary Sci, 1968 head dept. of environmental sci. Concurr: Mem: ed. bd. *Celestial Mechanics*; *Geophysical Surveys*; bd. dirs. Isr. Oceanographic and Limnological Res. Ltd; num. Isr. nat. comms, incl. 1971–73 Isr. Nat. Comm. on Biosphere and Environment and Comm. on Air Pollution. Theoretical res. on the internal layers of the Earth by means of seismic waves and computer work, particularly in field of oscillatory problems: Z. A. was first to compute frequencies of free oscillations of earth; obtained complete theoretical seismogram for explosive and other point sources in a sphere; found propagation constants for sound and heat in rarified gases. Mem: Isr. Math. Union (exec. secy. 1963–65); Isr. Soc. Geodesy and Geophysics (chmn, seismology sect. 1964–; pres. 1967–); Inst. for Petroleum and Geophysics Res. (mem. bd. dirs.); Seismology Assn. Am; Isr. Union for Data Processing; others. Recd: Award of Isr. Soc. of Data Processing (1969).

Biblio: Contrib. chaps. to several books, arts. to tech. journals, incl: "Higher Mode Surface Waves," *Upper Mantle Comm. of the Intl. Union of Geophysicists and Geologists Geophysical Monograph* 1969; co-auth, "Source of Finite Extent," *Geophysical Journ. of the Royal Astron. Soc.* (vol. 21); co-auth, "Corner Generated Surface Pulses," *Geophysical Journ. of the Royal Astron. Soc.* (vol. 25, 1971). *Sources:* Hand, Pers. — R.F.J.I.

Altman, George (Georg Altmann), stage director, head of theater, professor; b. Berlin 15 June 1884, d. Los Angeles 9 June 1962. *R:* Jewish. *E:* 1933 Fr, 1938 U.S. *Cit:* U.S. *F:* Eugen(e) A, U.S. cit. *M:* Born in Berlin. *S:* Ernst, co-mgr. of publ. house. ∞ 1908 Alice Hall, actress, 1933 to Fr, 1938 to U.S. with husband and child. *C:* Ralph G, b. 1909(?), d. 1968, art historian, emigr. with parents; Felicitas Gilbert, 1937 to U.S.

1902–05 att. Univs. Heidelberg, Berlin, Oxford, Jena and Munich. Mem. Akademischer-dramatischer Verein. First worked as actor and dir. with Otto Falckenberg (later head of the Kammerspiele, Munich), and others. 1905–06 studied at Univ. Berlin. Studied directing under → Max Reinhardt, also serving as his assist. 1905– mem. Gesellschaft für Theatergeschichte, Berlin. Publ. essays on the dramatic arts in prof. journals. 1906–07 att. Univ. Jena; 1907 Dr.phil, with one of the first dissertations on dramaturgical aesthetics written in Ger. 1907–09 Dramaturg and dir, Hof- und Nationaltheater in Mannheim under Carl Hagemann. 1910–13 dir, Kurtheater in Pymont and Deutsches Theater, Hannover; there dir. many premières of works by contemporary dramatics incl. Ibsen, Hauptmann, Schnitzler, Wedekind. 1913–26 succeeded Max Reinhardt and → Victor Barnowsky as dir. of Kleines Theater, Berlin. Concurr: 1921– guest dir. at the Rotter-Bühnen; 1926 study tour of U.S. 1927–33 dir, Schauspielhaus der Städtischen Bühnen, Hannover; innovator in stage direction due to personal style, esp. in staging contemporary dramas, among them num. world-respected German premières. Concurr. 1931 rep. D.B.V. at conf. of the Société Universelle du Théâtre, Paris; also lecturer. Mem: D.B.V.; Verein Berliner Theaterdirektoren; V.k.B, Berlin; instr. for stage dir. within the V.k.B; 1933 dismissed from post as dir. 1933 emigr. as U.S. cit. to Fr. via Belg, Eng. and Switz. 1933–36 in Nice; mem. of the Presse Étrangère; theater critic for newspapers in Zurich, Basel and Vienna; contrib. to Sunday ed. of *Pariser Tageszeitung*. 1937 emigr. to U.S. 1938–45 drama instr, dir. of plays and operas for San Francisco theaters incl. 1939 Green Street Theater, first Eng.-lang. staging of works by → Bertolt Brecht in the U.S., and 1941 festival staging in celebration of the city's 75th anniversary at Greek Theater, Berkeley, Calif. 1945(?)–62 in Los Angeles; staged last play for charity perf. at Jewish Club of 1933. 1945(?) lect, U.C.L.A. with → William Melnitz. Worked on exhibits. connected with theater; trans. and publ. for journals. of dramatic arts.

Biblio: Heinrich Laubes *Prinzip der Theaterleitung* (diss, Univ. Jena, 1907; publ. Dortmund, 1908); Ludwig Devrient: *Leben und Werke eines Schauspielers* (Berlin, 1926); co-auth, *Theater Pictorial: A History of World Theater as Recorded in Drawings, Paintings, Engravings and Photographs* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1953); *Vor fremden und eigenen Kulissen: Geschautes und Erlebtes*, autobiog, Carl Niessen, ed. (Emsdetten, 1964). *Lit:* Claus Harms, "Georg Altman," in *Leben und Schicksal. Zur Einweihung der Synagoge in Hannover* (biog, ed. by the State Capital Hannover in cooperation with the Jewish Congregation in Hannover; Hannover, 1963); Carl Niessen, "Statt einer Einführung: In memoriam Prof. Dr. Georg Altman," in Georg Altman, *Vor fremden und eigenen Kulissen* (pp. 1-9); Friedrich, *Theater: Wächter, Exiltheater*; German Language Theater. *Arch:* Univ. California; Theatermuseum, Cologne. *Sources:* Autobiog, E.G.L. Hand, News, Pers, Print. — IfZ.

Altmann, Alexander, rabbi, prof. of Jewish philosophy; b. Kassa, Slovakia, Hung. (Kosice, C.S.S.R.) 16 Apr. 1906. *R:* Jewish. *E:* 1938 U.K., 1959 U.S. *Cit:* 1946 U.K. *F:* *Adolf A, b. Hunsdorf, Hung. 1879, d. Auschwitz concentration camp 1944, Jurist, legal philos, Regierungsdirektor, Chief Rabbi of Trier, 1938 to Neth, deported to Theresienstadt concentration camp and later Auschwitz. *M:* Malwine Weisz, b. Kassa, Slovakia 1881, d. Auschwitz concentration camp 1944, emigr. to Neth, interned Westerbork concentration camp, deported to Auschwitz concentration camp. *S:* Erwin A, b. Salzburg, Aus. 1908, studied Univ. Marburg, 1934-39 in Holl, 1940 to U.S., dir, Pub. Welfare Off, County of Los Angeles; *Manfred Altmann, b. Salzburg 1914, Dr. econ. and law, Univ. Marburg, 1939 to U.K., chmn. and dir. of mfg. and export firms, Jewish funct. ∞ 1932 Judith Frank (daughter of Louis Frank, fdr. of Misrachi in Germany). *C:* Fay Aviv Lunzer; Michael; Eve Yardeni.

Studied Yeshivah Bratislava, C.S.R. 1931 Dr. phil, summa cum laude, Univ. Berlin. 1931 ordained rabbi, Hildesheimer Rabb. Sem, Berlin. 1932-38 rabbi, Jewish Cmty, Berlin. Concurr. 1932-38 lect. on Jewish philos, Rabb. Sem, Berlin. Fdr, Rambam-Lehrhaus für jüd. Erwachsenenbildung. 1938 emigr. to U.K. 1938-59 communal rabbi and Av Beth Din (head of rabb. court) for Manchester and Dist. Jewish Cmty. Also chmn. of Syn. Coun. 193(?) -59 fdr, dir, chmn. of bd. of gov. Inst. for Jewish Studies, Manchester (later in London as div. of University Coll.), modeled on the Frankfurter Lehrhaus, 1959- hon. pres. Concurr: 1954-59 ed, *Journ. of Jewish Studies*, vols. 6-9 (London); 1957- co-ed, *Scripta Judaica*; vis. prof. 1958- Hebrew Univ, 1958-59 Brandeis Univ, Waltham, Mass; lect, Univ. Manchester and pres. of its Jewish Soc; mem. bd. Assn. Jewish Refs; mem. coun. Jews' Coll, London; mem. B'nai B'rith; pres. Misrachi; jt. pres, Coun. of Christians and Jews, Manchester. 1959 emigr. to U.S. 1959- Phillip W. Lown prof. of Jewish philos, Brandeis Univ; 1960-65 dir. of Lown Inst. of Advanced Jewish Studies. Until 1968 ed, *Studies and Texts of the Lown Inst*, vols. 50-55. *Fel:* Am. Coun. of Learned Socs. (1966-67); Am. Acad. of Arts and Scis, and Am. Acad. for Jewish Res. (1967). *Mem:* bd. dirs, L.B.I., New York; Am. Oriental Soc; ecc. comm. Conf. on Jewish Philos, New York; mem. senate of Lessing Acad, Fed. Repub. Ger. (1973). *Recd:* M.A. h.c, Univ. Manchester (1943); hon. D.H.L., H.U.C.-J.I.R. (1967); Drs. phil. h.c, Univ. Munich (1972), Univ. Cologne (1979), and Univ. Trier (1980). *A:* (1977) Waltham, Mass.

Biblio: "Die Grundlagen der Wertethik: Wesen, Wert, Person" (diss, Berlin, 1931); *Metaphysik und Religion* (1931); *Was ist Jüdische Theologie?* (Frankfurt, 1933); *Des Rabbi Mosche Ben Maimon More Newuchim im Grundriss* (Berlin, 1935); *Franz Rosenzweig und Eugen Rosenstock-Huussy: An Introduction to their Letters on Judaism and Christianity* (1944); also in *Judaism Despite Christianity*. 1968); *Saadya Gaon: The Book of Doctrines and Beliefs* (Oxford, Eng, 1946, abridged Eng. trans. from the Arabic and commentary); contrib, *The Jews, Their History, Culture and Religion*, 2 vols. Louis Finkelstein, ed. (New York, 1949, 1953, 1955, 1960); co-ed, co-trans, with commentary, *Isaac Israeli, A Neoplatonic Philosopher of the Early Tenth Century* (London, 1958); *Jewish Studies: Their*

Scope and Meaning Today (London, 1958); "Moses Mendelssohn on Leibnitz and Spinoza," *Studies in Rationalism, Judaism, Universalism*, in memory of Leo Roth (London, 1966); "Moses Mendelssohns Kindheit in Dessau," *L.B.B.* (vol. 10, no. 40, 1967); "Moses Mendelssohns Gesammelte Schriften," *L.B.B.* (vol. 11, no. 42, 1968); *Studies in Religious Philosophy and Mysticism* (Ithaca and Plainview, N. Y., London, 1969); "A New Evaluation of Moses Mendelssohn's *Jerusalem* in the Light of Biographical Data," *Zion* (Hebrew, vol. 33, no. 1/2, 1968); *Moses Mendelssohns Frühschriften zur Metaphysik* (Tübingen, 1969); *Moses Mendelssohn: A Biographical Study* (London, Philadelphia, and Univ. Alabama, 1973); others; also biblio. rep. in *L.B.I.Y.B.* (vol. 4, 1959 and vol. 15, 1970). *Lit:* A. Altmann *Festschrift*, Univ. Alabama Press (1976 [77?]). *Sources:* Arch, Hand, News, Print. — R.F.J.I.

Altmann, Margaret, prof. of psychology; b. Berlin 6 Oct. 1900. *E:* 1933 U.S.

1921-30 farm mgr. Concurr: 1928 Dr. phil, agric, Univ. Bonn; 1928-29 dairy res. for Ger. govt; 1929-31 lect, Ger. Agric. Min. 1931 Ger. govt. and Rockefeller fel. 1932-33 agric. countries specialist. 1933 emigr. to U.S. 1933-41 mem. fac. Cornell Univ; 1933 assist. animal breeder, 1938 res. assoc. psychobiologist. 1941-56 mem. fac. Hampton Inst, Hampton, Va: 1941 assoc. prof. of biol. and animal husbandry, and chmn. dept; 1951(?) prof. of animal husbandry and genetics. 1948-big game res, Biological Res. Station. 1958 vis. lect. psych, Univ. Colorado. 1959 vis. prof. psych. and biol, Kenyon Coll, Gambier, Ohio. 1959-69 mem. fac. Univ. Colorado: 1959 prof, 1969- prof. emer. *Mem:* A.A.A.S; Genetics Soc. Am. A: Boulder, Colo.

Biblio: "The Endocrine Basics for the Elevated Blood Calcium Level Associated with Reproduction in the Female Fowl" (diss, Cornell Univ, 1938); co-auth, "A Psychosomatic Study of the Sex Cycle in Women," *Psychosomatic Med.* (vol. 3, 1941); "A Study of Patterns of Activity and Neighborly Relations in Swine," *Journ. Comp. Psych.* (vol. 31, 1941); "Interrelations of the Sex Cycle and the Behavior of the Sow," *Journ. Comp. Psych.* (vol. 31, 1941); auth, "Social Behavior of the Elk...," *Behavior* (vol. 4, 1952); "A Study of Behavior on a Horse-Mule Group," *Sociometry* (vol. 14, 1951); "Social Integration of the Moose Calf," *Animal Behavior* (vol. 6, 1958). *Sources:* Hand, Journ. — R.F.J.I.

Altschul, Rolf, prof. of chemistry; b. Düsseldorf, Rhineland, Ger. 24 Jan. 1918. *E:* 1937 U.S. *Cit:* U.S. ∞ 1955. *C:* Two.

Att. Univ. Zurich, Switz. 1937 emigr. to U.S. 1939 A.M., Harvard Univ, 1941-44 Pittsburgh Plate Glass fel; Ph.D. in chem. 1944-45 lect, Bryn Mawr Coll. 1945- prof. and chmn, dept. chem, Sarah Lawrence Coll, Bronxville, N. Y.; concurr. 1954- res. assoc, Brandeis Univ, Waltham, Mass. *Mem:* Am. Chem. Soc. A: (1979) Bronxville.

Biblio: "The So-Called 'Positive Halogen'" (diss, Harvard Univ, 1941). *Sources:* Hand, Pers, Print. — R.F.J.I.

Altschul, Rudolf, prof. of anatomy; b. Prague 24 Feb. 1901, d. Saskatoon, Can. 4 Nov. 1963. *E:* 1939 Can. *F:* Emanuel A. M: Emma Schneider, b. Neuhaus, Bohemia, Aus. (Jindrichuv Hradec, C.S.S.R.). *S:* Irma, d. Saskatoon 1980, early 1940s in Theresienstadt concentration camp, late 1940s emigr. to Can, libr, Univ. Saskatoon; Wilma Katz, d. in Holocaust; Franz, d. in Holocaust. ∞ 1928 Anna C. Fischer, b. Prague, emigr. with husband, a: Saskatoon.

1925 Dr. med, German Univ, Prague. 1925-26 postgrad. studies, Salpêtrière, Paris. 1926-29 Royal Neurol. Clin, Rome. 1929-39 res. fel, Histology Inst, German Univ, Prague; concurr. priv. practice in neuropsychiatry, Prague. 1939 emigr. to Can. 1939-63 mem. fac, Univ. Saskatchewan, Can: 1939 instr. of histology and neurol, 1941 assist. prof, 1945 assoc. prof, 1948-63 prof, 1955-63 head, dept. of anat. 1952-63 dir, Am. Soc. for the Study of Arteriosclerosis. Major work in fields of histology, neurology and cholesterol metabolism res. *Mem:* Am. Assn.

for the Advancement of Sci; Am. Assn. of Anatomists; fel, Royal Soc. of Can; pres, Can. Assn. of Anatomists.

Biblio: *Selected Studies on Arteriosclerosis* (Springfield, Ill, 1950); *Endothelium: Its Development, Morphology, Function and Pathology* (New York, 1954); contrib. num. arts. to prof. journs. *Sources:* Hand, Pers. — R.F.J.I.

Altschuler, Helmut Martin (to 1943 Altschüler), electrical engineer; b. Mannheim, Baden, Ger. 13 Feb. 1922. *R:* None. *E:* 1934 Japan, 1940 U.S. *Cit:* 1943 U.S, fmly. Ger. *F:* August Altschüler, b. Neustadt a.d. Hardt, Bavaria, Ger. 1886, d. New York 1964, no relig. (of Jewish origin), att. sec. sch, businessman, 1906–21 worked in Japan, 1933 to Japan, 1946 to U.S. *M:* Johanna Lilienfeld, b. Berlin 1890, d. New York 1979, Jewish, att. sec. sch, 1912–21 lived in Japan, emigr. with husband, active in local cmty. helping Jewish refs. *S:* Gertrud Jonas, b. Yokohama, Japan 1913, d. Salem, N.J. 1962, att. sec. sch, studied nursing, 1934 to Japan, 1937 to Shanghai, 1938 to U.S., nursemaid, governess, companion; Howard D. Ashley (Hans Dieter), b. Yokohama 1916, att. sec. sch, 1937 to U.S. from Ger, importer. ∞ 1942 Selma Smith, b. New York 1921, no relig. (Jewish origin), 1948 B.A, cert. in teaching mentally retarded, secy, interior decorator, teacher of mentally retarded. *C:* Robert, b. New York 1951, B.A, bus. admin, businessman; Lynn, b. New York 1953, B.S, environmental biol, geological draftsman; Susan, b. New York 1955, B.S. environmental geog, Peace Corps vol, Kenya.

Jan. 1934 emigr. to Japan with mother and sister. 1934–40 att. Canadian Acad, Kobe, Japan, 1940 dipl. (Eng. lang. sch.). 1934–40 mem, troop leader in Boy Scouts. 1940 emigr. to U.S. 1940 temp. odd jobs. 1941–46 serv, U.S. Army; 1945–46 with O.M.G.U.S. Concurr. 1943–44 att. Clemson A & M Coll. (now Clemson Univ.), S.Car. 1946–63 att. Polytechnic. Inst. of Brooklyn (now Polytech. Inst. of New York); 1947 B.E.E.; 1947–48 fel; 1949 M.E.E.; 1963 Ph.D. in electrophys. From 1948 mem. staff, Polytech. Inst. of Brooklyn: 1948–51 res. assist, Microwave Res. Inst, 1951–52 res. assoc, 1952–63 sr. res. assoc, electrophys. dept, 1963–64 res. assoc. prof. 1957–58 mem. ed. bd, Inst. of Radio Engr. *Transactions on Microwave Theory and Tech.* From 1964 involved with Nat. Bur. of Standards, Boulder, Colo: 1964 head of radio standards, engr. div, later acting head, Radio Standards Lab, then sr. res. sci, electromagnetics div; from 1977 coord. intl. activities, Inst. for Basic Standards; was engaged primarily in nat. and intl. org. of cooperation in his field. H.M.A.'s res. projects incl: res. in microwave, electrophysics and the engr. fields incl: measurement methods for connector and adapter evaluation; modelling the Automatic Network Analyzer for purposes of its calibration; dev. network theory approach to the operation of, and to errors in, coaxial adjustable-slot directional couplers; electrical model and theory of measurement of electro-explosive devices; theory of the Wiltron HF impedance bridge; theory of a frequency-variation method of microwave impedance measurement; many others. *Fel:* Inst. Elec. and Electronics Engrs. (secy-treas, v. chmn. and chmn. of Microwave Theory and Techs. Soc.). *Mem:* Intl. Union of Radio Sci, Commn. A (U.S. rep, v. chmn. and chmn.); Conf. on Precision Electromagnetic Measurements (mem. exec. comm, chmn.); High Frequency Working Group of the Intl. Comm. of Weights and Measures (rep. of Nat. Bur. of Standards); Sigma Xi; others. *Recd:* 3 awards as employee of Nat. Bur. of Standards. *A:* (1978) Gaithersburg, Md.

Biblio: Co-auth, "Network Methods in Microwave Measurements," *Proc. of the Symposium on Mod. Advances in Microwave Techs.* Polytech. Inst. of Brooklyn (Nov, 1954); "A Method of Measuring Dissipative Four-Poles Based on a Modified Wheeler Network," *I.R.E. Transactions on Microwave Theory and Techs.* (vol. MTT-3, no. 1, Jan, 1955); co-auth, "On Network Representations of Certain Obstacles in Waveguide Regions," *I.R.E. Transactions on Microwave Theory and Techs.* (vol. MTT-7, no. 2, Apr. 1959); "The Measurement of Arbitrary Linear Microwave Two-Ports," *Proc. of the Inst. of Elec. Engrs.* (vol. 109, Part B, suppl. 23, London, 1962); "The Interchange of Source and Detector in Low-Power Microwave Net-

work Measurements," *I.E.E.E. Transactions on Microwave Theory and Techs.* (vol. MTT-13, Jan. 1965). While at Polytech. Inst. of Brooklyn wrote ca. 25 reports and 30 publs, incl. several chaps. in a definitive handbook on microwave instruments. *Sources:* Hand, Qu. — R.F.J.I.

Alva (until 1925 Solomon Siegfried Allweiss), painter, lithographer and serigrapher; b. Berlin 29 May 1901, d. London 13 Nov. 1973. *R:* Jewish. *E:* 1933 Fr, 1938 U.K, 1955 Fr. *Cit:* U.K, 1933 stateless. *F:* Herman Allweiss. *M:* Marie, b. Aus, orthodox Jew. *S:* (none). ∞ Married. *C:* Son.

Att. Berlin Jewish Sch; yeshiva educ. 1919 att. Stern Cons, Berlin. Worked as printer and studied drawing in Berlin. 1928 studied painting, Atelier libre de l'académie Colarossi, Paris. 1929–32 painted and travelled to Fr, Switz, and It. Apr. 1933 emigr. to Paris; Ger. passport cancelled. 1934 painted and travelled in Syria, Greece, and Pal. First solo exhib. in Pal. 1935 studied painting in London. 1938 emigr. to U.K; lived in London. 1940 interned on Isle of Man, U.K. 1945 first abstract work entitled "Dynamic Composition." 1955 emigr. to Paris; worked as artist. Movement and tonality were major elements of Alva's calligraphic style. Many works were dominated by Jewish themes, including Biblical figures and vignettes of Eastern European life. During the middle years of his career, Alva employed the abstract mode of painting. He later turned to more classic art forms, focusing especially on voluptuous nudes.

Exhibitions: Individual shows at Maskit Gall, Tel Aviv (1935); Leger Gall, London (1941); Lefèvre Gall, London (1943); Leicester Gall, London (1948); Meltzer Gall, New York (1954, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958); Artist's House, Jerusalem (1954); Palais des Beaux Arts, Brussels (1955); Traklin Gall, Haifa (1955); Het Atelier, Antwerp (1956); Retrospective Exhibit, Aachen Mus, Ger. (1957); Galleria del Fiore, Milan (1958); Adler Gall, Cape Town, and Johannesburg, S. Afr. (1958); Vektiko Gall, Bonn (1961); Modern Nordisk Konst, Karlstad, Swed. (1965); Waddington Gall, London (1973). *Biblio:* *Campflowers*, 13 ball pen drawings of fellow internees (Isle of Man, 1940); "Towards Concise Form in Painting: A Memoir," *Leonardo*, vol. 2 (Jan, 1969); for complete listing of biblio. and lit, see Alva's autobiog, *With Pen and Brush* (London, 1973). *Arch:* Artist Files, Mus. of Mod. Art Libr, New York. *Sources:* Arch, Hand, News, Print. — R.F.J.I.

Alvensleben, Werner von, painter, writer; b. Kassel, Hessen, Ger. 1 Aug. 1889. *E:* U.K. *Cit:* Ger. *F:* Werner von A, b. Berlin 1851, teacher at milit. acad. in Kassel. *M:* Julie von Miller.

Spent youth in Darmstadt, Ger.(?). Studied drawing in Eisenach, Thuringia, and painting at Acad. Munich. Subsequently freelance genre and landscape painter; also stage designer in Berlin. 1927 co-fdr. of Porza artists' soc. in Porza near Lugano, Switz. 1927 moved off. to Berlin under W.A.'s directorship. Org. exhibs and lect. evenings; fdr. of branches in Switz, Fr, Neth. and Den; Oct. 1928 first Porza House opened in Lugano-Cadernpino, Switz. as meeting place for intellectually and artistically active people. After emigr. to U.K, 1939 partic. in First Group Exhibit. of Ger, Aus. and Czech. Painters and Sculptors of F.D.K.B. at Wertheim Gall, London.

Biblio: *Porza*, found. proclamation (Berlin-Charlottenburg, 1927); *Porza*, program and by-law (Cologne, 1929); Günter Metken, ed, "Automatische Kunst," *Als die Surrealisten noch recht hatten*, texts and documents (Stuttgart, 1976). *Lit:* Dresslers (II; 1930); Vollmer (I, 1953); Olbrich, *Künstler im Exil; Berlinische Galerie 1913-1933*, cat. (Berlin, 1979). *Sources:* Cat, Hand, Print. — IfZ.

Alwin, Karl Oskar (fmly. Pinkus), conductor, composer, pianist; b. Königsberg, E. Prussia, Ger. (Kaliningrad, U.S.S.R.) 15 Apr. 1891, d. Mexico City 15 (16?) Oct. 1945. *R:* Jewish. *E:* 1938 to U.S, 1941 to Mex. ∞ I. 1920 → Elisabeth Schumann, 1936 div; (?) Stefanie Harrison. *C:* (stepdaughter) Lillian Harrison, a: New York.

Studied lit, philos, music, with Engelbert Humperdinck, Hugo Kaun, Univ. Berlin. 1910 coach at Berlin Hofoper. 1912 assist. to Carl Muck at Bayreuth Fest. 1913 cond. in Halle, Saxony, Ger; 1914 in Posen, Ger. (Poznan, Pol.); 1915–17 in Düsseldorf, Rhineland, Ger; 1917–20 in Hamburg. 1920–38 cond, Vienna State Opera. Concurr. 1923–25 guest appearances in U.K, Fr. and Sp; 1925 prof, Musik Akademie, Vienna; 1930 tour of U.S. 1938 emigr. to U.S. after Nazi troops marched into Vienna and closed the Vienna Opera. Upon arrival worked mainly as accompanist to → Jan Kiepura on nationwide concert tour, went to Hollywood. 1939–40 cond, Chicago Civic Opera Co. 1940– frequent trips to South Am. 1941 emigr. to Mex. 1941–45 cond, Opera Nacional, Mexico City.

Works: Num. Lieder, symphonic waltzes and a symphony in E major. *Sources:* Hand, News. — R.F.J.I.

Amann, Paul, translator; b. Prague 6 Mar. 1884, d. Fairfield, Conn. 24 Feb. 1958. *E:* 1939 Fr, 1941 U.S. ∞ Dora.

Studied Germanic and Romance langs. and lit, Univs. Vienna and Prague; Dr. phil. Taught in Reichenberg (Liberec, C.S.S.R.) and Prossnitz, Moravia, Aus. 1910– teacher at Realsch. Vienna. Serv. W.W.I. 1915– corresp. with → Thomas Mann. 1935 confiscation of his work *Tradition und Weltkrise*. Feb.. 1939 emigr. to Paris. Moved to Montpellier after Fr. defeat. Sept. 1941 emigr. to U.S. 1945– prof. at Mohawk College, Utica, N.Y. Instr, Champlain College, Plattsburg, N.Y. Later recd. Aus. pension. Translator from Fr. of works by Romain Rolland, Henry de Montherlant and others; wrote on literary criticism.

Biblio: *Leopold Komperts literarische Anfänge* (Prague, 1907); *Tradition und Weltkrise* (Berlin, 1934); *Kristall meiner Zeit: Verschonte Verse 1914–1955* (Fairfield, Conn, 1956); trans. Romain Rolland's *L'âme enchantée*, 6 vols. (Zurich, 1935–36); Henry de Montherlant's *Les jeunes filles* (Basel, 1937), and his *Pitié pour les femmes* (Basel, 1937); James Ronald's *Ruth Malverns lange Nacht* (Zurich, 1946). *Lit:* H. Wegener, ed. *Thomas Manns Briefe an Paul Amann 1915–1922* (Lübeck, 1959); Zvi Altman, "Die mildere Zone Österreichs: Thomas Mann und Paul Amann," in *Bull. für die Mitglieder der Gesellschaft der Freunde des Leo Baeck Instituts* (vol. 3, Tel Aviv, 1960); *D.L.L. Sources:* Hand. — IfZ.

Amar, Licco, violinist; b. Budapest 4 Dec. 1891, d. Freiburg/Breisgau, Baden, Ger. 19 July 1959. *R:* Jewish. *E:* Ca. 1933 Fr, 1934 Tur, 1957 Ger. *Cit:* 1934 Tur. (fam. from Macedonia). *F:* Michael A, b. 1865, d. 1918, merchant. *M:* Regina Strakosch, b. 1871. ∞ 1925 Emmy Matteredstock.

1911 studied violin with Emil Bare, Budapest Cons. Studied with Henri Marteau, Hochschule für Musik, Berlin; 1912–15 played second violin in Marteau's quartet. 1915 emigr. to Ger. 1915–20 concertmaster, Berlin Philh. Orch. 1920–23 concertmaster, Nat. Theater, Mannheim, Baden, Ger. Concurr. 1921(22?) fdr. of the Amar String Quartet with → Paul Hindemith, Walter Caspar, and → Maurits Frank; partic. in Hindemith's Donaueschingen concerts; until 1929 toured Eur. with group until it disbanded in that year. Ca. 1933 emigr. to Fr. Ca. 1934 emigr. to Tur. 1938–ca. 57 prof. at Ankara Cons. Ca. 1957 emigr. to Ger. 1957–59 taught at Hochschule für Musik, Freiburg/Breisgau.

Biblio: "Weltgeschichte der Musik" (unpubl. ms, 1946). *Sources:* Hand, Print. — R.F.J.I.

Amberg, Carl Helmut, prof. of chemistry; b. Nuremberg, Bavaria, Ger. 16 Dec. 1923. *R:* None, fmyly. Protestant. *E:* 1939 U.K, 1940 Can. *Cit:* Can, fmyly. Ger. *F:* Richard A, b. Elberfeld, Westphalia, Ger. 1881, d. 1927, ca. 1910 Protestant, fmyly. Jewish, Dr. Ing, chem. *M:* Anna Philip, b. Aachen, Rhineland, Ger. 1886, d. Lublin, Pol. 1943(?) in Holocaust (off. date 1945), ca. 1910, Protestant, fmyly. Jewish. *S:* Irmgard Treuherz, b. Aachen 1912, att. sch. of Arts and Crafts, Aachen, interior archit, 1930s to It, 1939 to U.K; Margret Gardikas, b. Aachen 1916,

univ. educ, chem, 1939 to U.K. via Switz. and Neth, 1952 to Gr; Marie-Luise Herrmann, b. Düsseldorf 1920, att. cons. in Cologne, violinist, 1939 to U.K. ∞ 1950 Annemarie Charlotte Kraus, b. Prague 1928, 1938 to U.K, 1944 to Can, M.S.S., soc. worker, assoc. prof. at Univ. Ottawa Sch. of Med. *C:* Ricarda, b. 1960; Veronica, b. 1962; Nicolas, b. 1964; all students.

1938–39 att. Goldschmidtsch, Berlin. Summer 1939 obtained exit visa through indirect intervention of Brit. M.P; had schol. to Winchester Coll. 1940 interned in U.K, transported to Can. Apr. 1942 released and off. entry to Can; aided by Ottawa Ref. Comm. 1942–47 att. Queens Univ, Kingston, Ont; 1946 B.A., 1947 M.A; concurr. summers 1943–45 work in paper and aluminum indus. 1947–49 lect, Univ. New Brunswick, Can. 1949–52 att. Toronto Univ; 1952 Ph.D. in phys. chem. 1952–53 res. assoc. in surface chem, St. Andrew's Univ, Dundee, Scot. 1953–55 res. assoc. and instr, Amherst Coll, Mass. 1955–64 res. off, div. of appl. chem, Nat. Res. Coun. of Can, Ottawa: 1955 assist, 1958 assoc, 1962 sr. From 1964 mem. fac, Carleton Univ, Ottawa: 1964 assoc. prof, 1966 prof, 1969–70 chmn. of dept. 1971–72 vis. prof. and acting chmn, T.H. Eindhoven, Neth. Spec. in adsorption and gas chromatography. *Fel:* Chem. Inst. of Can. (chmn, Catalysis Div.); Chem. Soc. of London (Faraday Div.). *Mem:* Am. Chem. Soc; Fam. Serv. Cent. of Ottawa (past bd. mem; v. pres; pres.); cellist in var. orchs. and chamber groups. *A:* (1975) Ottawa.

Biblio: Contrib. 35 publs. to prof. journals, incl. *Can. Journ. of Chem. Journ. of Chem. Phys. Journ. of Phys. Chem. Journ. of Catalysis. Papers:* Tech. publs. at Carleton Univ. *Libr. Sources:* Hand, Qu. — R.F.J.I.

Amberg, George (fmyly. Hans Georg Franz Aschaffenburg), prof. of cinema studies; b. Halle, Prussian Saxony, Ger. 28 Dec. 1901, d. New York July 1971. *E:* 1933 Fr, 1941 U.S. *Cit:* 1946 U.S, fmyly. Ger. *F:* → Gustav Aschaffenburg. *M:* Maria (Maja) Thekla Nebel, b. Heidelberg, Baden, Ger. 1878, d. Minneapolis 1965, Protestant, teacher's dipl, teacher and vol. in soc. agcs, 1938 to It, 1939 to Switz, 1939 to U.S. *S:* Gertrude, b. Cologne, Rhineland, Ger. 1905, d. U.Ā. 1945, actress, med. assist, 1934 to It, part owner of boarding house, 1938 to U.K, chambermaid; Eva, b. 1909, d. U.S. 1952, 1934 to It, part owner of boarding-house, 1938 to Switz, teacher, 1940 U.K, 1942 to U.S, soc. worker; Helga (twin), b. 1909, teacher and res. assist, 1934 to It, part owner of boarding-house, 1938 to U.S, grad, Pennsylvania Sch. of Social Work, soc. worker and psychotherapist. ∞ 1943 Gisela Engel.

Studied art criticism and hist. of theater, Univs. Kiel, Munich and Cologne; 1930 Dr. phil, Univ. Cologne. Concurr: 1923 est. Cassette avant-garde theatre, Cologne; 1924–28 stage dir, Cologne, Darmstadt and Heidelberg Fests. 1930–33 lect, drama dept, Univ. Cologne; org. with others its theater mus; fdr. and dir. of its Film Libr. and Inst. Concurr. lect in Berlin, Frankfurt, Zurich, Basel and other cities; contrib. ed. on dance to *Ullstein Encycl.* (Berlin) and dance spec. for *Herders Encycl.* (Freiburg). 1933 emigr. to Fr. 1933–39 photog. in Paris. 1939–40 joined Fgn. Legion (prestataire?). 1941 emigr. to U.S. 1943–48 curator of dance arch, Mus. of Mod. Art, New York; org. dept. of dance and theater design (later theater arts dept.). Concurr. 1946 compiled *Dance Film Index*, New York. 1948–52 lect. on gen. educ, New York Univ. 1952–66 mem. fac, Univ. Minnesota, Minneapolis: 1952 assoc. prof, 1956 prof. Concurr: 1956–63 prof, Minneapolis Sch. of Art; 1958– contrib. ed, *Funk and Wagnall's Standard Encycl.* and Ger. encycl. 1960–63 dir, Robert Flaherty's *Louisiana Story* Study Film; 1963– prod, dir, *The Captive Eye*, six one hour films on the art of the film in coop. with KYCA-TV under grant from Louis W. and Maude Hill Fam. Found, not all films completed. 1966–71 prof. of film, fdr. and dir. of grad. prog. in cinema, New York Univ, the first inst. in Am. to grant a Ph.D. in film. New York Univ. George Amberg Film Study Cent. named in his hon. *Fel:* Benjamin Franklin fel, Royal Soc. of Arts; Soc. of Cinematologists (pres. 1963); Coll. Art Assn. of Am. Mem: Am. Fed. Film Socs; Am. Soc. for Aesthetics; Creative Film Found; Am. Soc. Theater Res; Theater Libr. Assn; Brit. Film Inst; trustee, Intl. Film Sems, Inc; Soc. Cinematologists, Brit. Film Inst. (pres. 1968).

Biblio: Der Kritiker Theodor Fontane; ein Beitrag zur Frage des kritischen Wesens und Wirkens (diss, Cologne, 1930; Eng. trans.); *Theodor Fontane: The Critic* (Heidelberg, New York, 1930); *Art in Modern Ballet* (New York, 1946); *The Theatre of Eugene Berman* (New York, 1947); *Ballet in America: The Emergence of an American Art* (New York, 1949; 1955 5th printing); ed. and auth. of intro, *The New York Times Film Reviews, 1913-70* (New York, 1971); compiled with foreword, *The Art of Cinema; Selected Essays* (New York, 1972); contrib. arts. on art and dance to journals. incl. *Dance News, Theatre Arts*, and to encycl. incl. *Encycl. of Arts, Encycl. Americana, Dance Encycl., Graphis, Saturday Rev.* and others. *Lit: Enciclopedia dello spettacolo; Dance Encycl.; Dict. Am. Scholars* (1969); others. *Sources: Hand, News, Pers, Print.* — R.F.J.I.

Améry, Jean (fmly. Johannes Mayer), author; b. Vienna 31 Oct. 1912, d. Salzburg, Aus. 18 Oct. 1978 (suicide). R: None. E: 1938 Belg. *Cit: Aus. ∞ Married.*

Studied hist. of lit. and philos., Univ. Vienna. Assoc. with "Vienna Circle" ("Wiener Kreis") of neo-positivist philos. 1938 emigr. to Belg. because of Jewish fam. background. 1941-43(?) mem. Ger.-speaking group within Belg. resistance movt; partic. in handbill propaganda among Ger. occupation forces. July 1943 arrested and tortured by Gestapo; imprisoned in Auschwitz, Buchenwald and Bergen-Belsen concentration camps; Apr. 1945 liberated, later returned to Brussels. Freelance writer for Ger. lang. press and radio; author. Influenced by Jean-Paul Sartre. Late 1960s literary breakthrough with series of autobiog. essays, in which J.A. reflects on wartime experience in captivity; experiments with critical interpretation of fate and freedom. 1976 created sensation with book *Hand an sich legen*, which makes a case for the right of the individual to commit suicide as an act of protest against the will to live under conditions forced upon the individual by society. Mem: P.E.N. Cent. Fed. Repub. Ger.: Aus. P.E.N. (hon. pres.). Recd: Ger. Critics' Award for Lit. (1970); Lit. Award of the Bavarian Acad. of Fine Arts (1972); Lessing Award of the City of Hamburg and Award of the City of Vienna for Journalism (both 1977).

Biblio: Geburt der Gegenwart: Gestalten und Gestaltungen der westlichen Zivilisation seit Kriegsende (Olten, Freiburg/Breisgau, 1961); *Gerhart Hauptmann: Der ewige Deutsche* (Mühlacker, Würtemberg, 1963); *Jenseits von Schuld und Sühne: Bewältigungsversuche eines Überwältigten* (Munich, 1966); *Über das Altern: Revolte und Resignation* (Stuttgart, 1968, 1969); *Unmeisterliche Wanderjahre* (Stuttgart, 1971); *Widersprüche* (Stuttgart, 1971); *Lefeu oder der Abbruch* (Stuttgart, 1974); *Hand an sich legen: Diskurs über den Freitod* (Stuttgart, 1976); for further works see G.V. *Lit: Hans Schwab-Felisch, "Die Probe auf das Individuum," Merkur* (vol. 20, 1966); Hilde Rubinstein, "Bewältigungen des Übermächtigten," *Kürbiskern* (vol. 1, 1967); *Über Jean Améry* (Stuttgart, 1977); Beat Schmid, "Aufklärung als Revision und Selbstbehauptung," *Neue Zürcher Ztg.* (vol. 56, 9 Mar. 1979). *Sources: Hand, Journ, News, Print.* — IfZ.

Amichai, Yehuda (fmly. Ludwig Pfeuffer), poet, novelist; b. Würzburg, Bavaria, Ger. 1924. E: 1936 Pal.

1936 emigr. to Pal. W.W. II serv. with Jewish Brigade, Brit. Army. Late 1940s began to publ. poetry. 1955 publ. first vol. of poetry, *Akshav uveYamim Aherim* (Now and in Other Times) which marked emergence of new school of Hebrew poetry. This and his subsequent vols. of poetry reflected the enormous transformation that had taken place in the Hebrew lang. during W.W. II and War of Independence; its enrichment by new idioms and syntactical elements drawn from new usages. Amichai drew his metaphors from the terminology of technology and law, rather than restrict himself, as did earlier poets, to sacral-phrasing. His knowledge of modern Eng. poetry, its wit, irony, use of understatement and prose phrasing, helped him to adapt new Hebrew lang. to verse. Later publs. incl. poetry; short stories, written in a confessional, reflective, and poetic style; a novel about an Israeli seeking revenge from Germans who par-

ticipated in the extermination of Jews in his native village; a play staged by Habimah; several radio sketches; and trans. of Ger. poetry into Hebrew, and his own poetry into Eng. 1981 recd. Kulturpreis, City of Würzburg (DM 10.000). A: (1981) Jerusalem.

Biblio: Akshav uveYamim Aherim, poetry (Now and in Other Times; 1955); *BeMerhak Shetei Tikvot* (At the Distance of Two Hopes; 1958); *BaGinnah haZibburit*, poetry (In the Public Garden; 1959); *Shirim: 1948-1962*, poetry (1963); *Lo meAkshav, Lo miKan* (Not of This Time, Not of This Place; 1963; Eng. trans. 1968); *Mass leNineveh*, play (Journey to Nineveh; 1962; staged by Habimah, 1964); *Paamonim veRakkavot* radio sketch (Eng. trans. Bells and Trains; in *Midstream*, Oct. 1966); *Poems*, trans. from Hebrew by Assia Gutman (1968); trans. 50 poems by → Else Lasker-Schüler (from Ger. into Hebrew, Tel Aviv, 1969); *Amen*, poetry (trans. from Hebrew into Eng. by Amichai and Ted Hughes, New York, 1977). *Lit: A. Cohen, Soferim Ivriyyim Benei Zemannenu* (Hebrew Writers of Our Times; 1969); S. Zemach, *Sheti vaErev* (1960); Friend, in S. Burnshaw, eds, *The Modern Hebrew Poem Itself* (1965); M.L. Rosenthal, "Hebrew, Arabic, and Death," rev. of *Amen* in *The New York Times Book Rev.* (July 3, 1977). *Sources: News, Print.* — R.F.J.I.

Amir, Yehoshua (until 1951 Hermann Neumark), translator, senior lecturer in Jewish philosophy; b. Duisburg, Rhineland, Ger. 1 Dec. 1911. R: Jewish. E: 1939 Pal. *Cit: Isr, fmly. Ger. F: Manasse Neumark, b. Posen, Ger. (Poznan, Pol.) 1875, d. Theresienstadt concentration camp Nov. 1942, Jewish, Dr. phil, rabb. dipl, rabbi, mem. Demokratische Partei and C.V, B'nai B'rith lodge pres, K.K.L. fundraiser, 1942 deported to Theresienstadt concentration camp. M: Martha, b. Posen 1877, d. Duisburg 1924, Jewish, educ. teachers' sem. S: Eva Frank, b. Duisburg 1907, grad. Gewerbesch, 1939 to U.K, 1965 to Isr, mem. Kibb. Kefar haNassi; Yisrael (Ernst) Neumark, b. Duisburg 1913, Dr. phil, 1936 to Pal, mem. Kibb. Hazorea, worker in citrus orchard; Ruth Schaal, b. Duisburg 1915, grad. home econ. sch, 1940 to Pal. illegally, home econ. teacher, retired. ∞ 1951 Margalith Lissauer, b. Amsterdam 1918, Jewish, sec. educ, during W.W.II in hiding in Neth, 1947 to Pal, occasional jobs. C: Josef de Miranda (stepson), b. Amsterdam 1942, took course in Gestalt therapy, Sociall Akad, Amsterdam, 1947 to Pal, 1963 to Neth, therapist; Gideon Amir (stepson), b. Biaricum, Neth. 1946, 1947 to Pal, M.Sc, computer scientist; Rivka Greenspan, b. Jerusalem 1952, educ. Teachers' Sem, Ulpan, teacher, 1978 to U.S; Yehoyada Amir, b. Jerusalem 1954, student, Hebrew Univ, youth leader.*

1928-34 mem. Bund Jüdischer Pfadfinder, Duisburg, later Berlin. Att. Sch. der jüdischen Jugend, Berlin. 1930-31 att. Univ. Bonn, 1931-33 att. Univ. Berlin, denied permission to complete dr. thesis there. 1933-37 att. Univ. Würzburg; 1937 Dr. phil. Concurr. 1931-39 att. L.(H.)W.J., att. Bible classes of → Martin Buber, occasional preaching in Jewish congs, gave priv. Hebrew lessons, 1939 rabb. dipl. concurr. 1931-33 mem. S.P.D, 1934-39 mem. Hechaluz. Oct. unable to obtain student cert to Pal. (Brit. consulate in Berlin closed); travelled to It. with help of Palästina-Amt, obtained visa to Pal. from U.K. consulate in Rome. Nov. 1939 emigr. to Pal. on B-III cert, supported for several mos. by loan from H.O.G.; extended on strength of anticipated Haavarah funds which never arrived; att. course sponsored by H.O.G. for elem. sch. teachers who arrived in Pal. without valid teaching certs. 1939-47 gave priv. Hebrew and Ger. lessons. 1941 vol. for Brit. Army, after few weeks dismissed on med. grounds. 1942 joined Haganah, released for med. reasons. 1943 several mos. arch. work in Zionist Arch. 1947 serv. Mishmar HaAm (civil defense). 1947-49 serv. I.D.F.; 1949-56 serv. I.D.F. reserves. Concurr: 1949-63, 1965-66 Hebrew teacher, Ulpan Etzyon, Jerusalem; 1963-65 taught Gr, Haifa Univ. Inst. From 1965 sr. lect. in Jewish philos. and classical studies, Tel Aviv Univ. Concurr: 1970- part time lect, Hebrew Univ; 1970- part time rabbi, Emet veEmunah Syn; 1973-75 part time lect, Beersheba Univ; 1975-76 vis. prof. for Jewish subjects, Gesamthochsch, Duisburg; Nov. 1978 gave series of pub. lects, sermons, etc. at ceremonies com-

memorating Kristallnacht. 1979–80 prof, Hochsch. für Jüdische Studien, Heidelberg. Res. and writing on Hellenistic Judaism, esp. on Philo of Alexandria. Recd: Tschernikowski Prize of Tel Aviv Munic. (1971) for trans. of Rosenzweig's *Stern der Erlösung* (see *Biblio.*). A: (1979) Jerusalem.

Biblio: Trans. several essays of → Yoḥanan (Hans) Lewy from Ger. into Hebrew, coll. appeared as *Olamot Nifgashim* (World Encounters; Jerusalem, 1960); trans. Yoḥanan Lewy, *Philo Judaeus, Philosophical Writings* (Oxford, 1956; *Ketavav haFilosofiyim shel Philon* [Tel Aviv, 1964]); trans. → Martin Buber, *Königtum Gottes (Malhut Shamayim)*; Jerusalem, 1965); trans. Georg Kerschensteiner, *Die Seele der Erzieher (Nesfesh haMehanekeh uBaayat Haksharat haMorim)*; Jerusalem, 1965); trans. Salo Baron, *Social and Religious History of the Jewish People (Historiyah Havrutit veDatit shel Am Yisrael)*; vol. 2, part 7; Tel Aviv, 1966); trans. Franz Rosenzweig, *Stern der Erlösung (Kohav ha Geullah)*; Jerusalem, 1970); trans. → Ismar Elbogen, *Der Jüdische Gottesdienst (Ha Tefilah beYisrael beHitpathutah haHistorit)*; ed. → Joseph Heinemann, Tel Aviv, 1972). *Sources:* Hand, Qu. — R.F.J.I.

Amiran, David, prof. of geography and university vice president; b. Berlin 1910. *E:* 1935 Pal. ∞ Ruth, b. 1914, field archaeologist, Isr. Mus, Jerusalem, mem. Hazor and other expeditions, publ. *Ancient Pottery of the Holy Land* (1970), co-auth, *Hazor* (3 vols, 1958–61).

Att. Univ. Bern, Switz; 1935 Dr. phil. nat. 1935 emigr. to Pal. 1935–libr, geology dept, Hebrew Univ, 1949 lect. geog, 1952 sr. lect, 1956 assoc. prof, 1963 prof, 1965–68 univ. v. pres. Concurr: W.W. II off. in Royal Engrs; 1946–47 assist. to chief, div. of climate, Pal. Meteorol. Serv; 1956–59 dir. Res. Coun. of Isr, and Negev Inst. for Arid Zone Res, Beersheba. 1960 vis. prof, Univ. Chicago. Mem: Intl. Geog. Union's Commn. on Man and Environment (acting chmn. 1962–68). Recd: Isr. Prize (1977). A: Jerusalem.

Biblio: *Geographical Conversion Tables* (Zurich, 1961); ed. (for U.N.E.S.C.O.), *Land Use in Semi-arid Mediterranean Climates (Arid Zone Res, vol. 26, Paris, 1964)*; *Report on the Census of Industry and Crafts* (Jerusalem, 1964); "A New Application of Hypsographic Colours in Map Reproduction" in D. Nir, *Geomorphological Map of the Judean Desert* (Jerusalem, 1965); *Development Towns in Israel* (Jerusalem, 1969); dir. compilation of *Atlas of Israel* (Hebrew ed. 1956–64; Eng. ed. 1970); co-ed, *Coastal Deserts* (Tuscon, Ariz, 1973); co-ed, *Urban Geography of Jerusalem* (Berlin, 1973). *Sources:* Hand, Pers, Print. — R.F.J.I.

Anbar, Michael, dir. of scientific institutes, prof. of chemistry; b. Free City of Danzig (Gdansk, Pol.) 29 June 1927. *E:* 1933 Pal, 1967 U.S. *F:* Jehoshua. *M:* Chava Migdal. ∞ 1953 Ada Komet. *C:* Ran; Ariel.

1933 emigr. to Pal. 1948–50 serv, Isr. Air Force. 1950 M.Sc. Hebrew Univ, 1953 Ph.D. in phys. organic chem. 1953–55 post-dr. fel. and instr. of chem, Univ. Chicago. 1955–67 mem. staff, Weizmann Inst. Sci, Rehovot, Isr: 1955 sr. sci, 1960 prof. Feinberg Grad. Sch; concurr. 1956–59 dir, Radioisotope Train. Cent, Rehovot. 1959(61?)–66 mem. staff, Isr. A.E.C. Res. Lab: 1959 head, dept. of radiation res. at Sorek Nuclear Res. Cent, 1962 head, chem. div: 1958 mem, Isr. deleg. to Geneva Conf. on Peaceful Use of Atomic Energy; 1959 mem. Isr. deleg. to Sclay Intl. Sem. on nuclear educ; 1963–64 res. assoc, Argonne Nat. Lab, Argonne, Ill; 1964–65 vis. prof. chem, Stanford Univ. 1966–67 vis. prof. of inorganic chem, Tel Aviv Univ. 1967 emigr. to U.S. 1967–68 sr. res. assoc. exobiol, N.A.S.A. Ames Res. Cent. 1968– dir. of phys. scis, Stanford Res. Inst. Res. in mechanisms of organic and inorganic redox and substitution reactions (esp. hypohalites, trivalent copper, chloramines, hydrogen peroxide; radiation chem. and molecular radiobiol, mechanisms of somolysis of water). Mem: Am. Chem. Soc; Chem. Soc. of London; Faraday Soc; Isr. Radiation Res. Soc; Sigma Xi; others. Recd: Kuppah Holim Mayer Prize in thyroid physiol. (1959); Meir Award (1960); Hermann Zondek Award in endocrin, Isr. Med. Assn. (1962[?]). A: Menlo Park, Calif.

Biblio: "HaEstrim a Hipohalitiyim" (diss, Jerusalem [?], 1953[?] – summary in Eng.); *HaVaadah LeEnergyah Atomit* (Rehovot, 1962); co-auth, *Reactions of Hydrogen Atoms with Isopropanol in Irradiated Aqueous Solution* (Yavne, Isr, 1964); co-auth, *The Hydrated Electron* (New York, 1970); co-auth, *Possible Utilization of Organic Polyphosphonates in Restoration of Teeth* (Menlo Park, 1972); co-auth, *Selected Specific Rates of Reactions of Transients from Aqueous Solution* (Washington, D.C, 1973); num. arts. in sci. journs. *Sources:* Hand. — R.F.J.I.

Anders, Günther (fmly. Günther Stern), author; b. Breslau, Lower Silesia, Ger. (Wroclaw, Pol.) 12 July 1902. *R:* Jewish. *E:* 1933 Fr, 1936 U.S, 1950 Aus. *Cit:* 1951 Aus, fmly. until 1933 Ger, then cit. revoked, 1933–49 stateless, 1949 U.S. *F:* → William Stern. *M:* Clara Josephy, b. 1877, d. 1945, 1934 to U.S. *S:* Hilde Marchwitza, b. 1900, d. 1961, 2nd marriage to → Hans Marchwitza; *Eva Michaelis, b. 1904, soc. worker, journ, 1938 to Pal, U.K, 1945 to Pal, 1938–45 dir. of Cent. Youth Aliyah Off, London, rep. Jewish Agcy. for Youth Aliyah London, fdr. and co-fdr. of children's villages in Pal, Isr. ∞ I. → Hannah Arendt; II. *Elisabeth Freundlich, b. 1910, Dr. phil, journ, auth, 1938 to Switz, Fr, 1940 to U.S, 1950 to Aus, co-fdr. of Liga für das geistige Österr, mem. P.E.N.-Club Aus.

1918–24 studied philos, psych. and art hist, Univs. Hamburg and Freiburg/Breisgau under Edmund Husserl, → Ernst Cassirer and Martin Heidegger, among others; 1924 Dr. phil. 1924–33 freelance auth. and journ. in Berlin and Paris. Contrib. to newspapers incl. *Vossische Zeitung* and var. broadcasting stations. Mar. 1933 emigr. to Fr; lived in Paris. Worked as priv. teacher. 1936 emigr. to U.S; until 1939 in New York. 1939–42 in Los Angeles. During W.W.II temp. work, O.W.I. 1949 univ. lect. in philos, New School for Social Research, New York. Contrib. to exile journs. *Die Sammlung, Aufbau, Deutsche Blätter, Recherches Philosophiques*, Paris (1934–36); *Journ. for Philos. and Phenomenological Res*, Buffalo (1943–50), *Commentary*, New York and *Neue Rundschau*, Stockholm. 1950 moved to Aus, in order to partic. in the post-W.W.II intellectual reconstruction of Eur. Contrib. to broadcasting stations and to newspapers and periods. incl. *Süddeutsche Zeitung, Merkur* and *Argument*. Co-initiator of movt. against atomic arms, and judge on Russell-Tribunal in Stockholm and Copenhagen. 1977 freelance auth. in Vienna. Novelist, lyric poet, author of fables, and translator of English works. Cultural-philosophical writings deal with contemporary problems such as historical ramifications of atomic war. Mem: P.E.N. Club (1955); Acad. of Arts, W. Berlin (1971). Recd: Prize of Querido Publ. (1936); Premio Omega (1961); Ger. Critics' Prize (1968).

Biblio: Auth. of num. works incl. *Die Rolle der Situationskategorie im Logischen* (diss, Freiburg/Breisgau, 1924); *Der Hungermarsch* (Amsterdam, Querido, 1936); *Pathologie de la Liberté* (Paris, Boivin, 1936); *Kafka — pro und contra* (1951); *Die Antiquiertheit des Menschen*, 2 vols. (1956–80); *Der Mann auf der Brücke* (1959); *Gespräche mit Brecht* (1960); *Off limits für das Gewissen* (1961); *Bert Brecht* (1962); *Wir Eichmannsöhne* (1964); *Philosophische Stenogramme* (1965); *Die Schrift and der Wand* (1967); *Der Blick vom Turm* (1968); *Der Blick vom Mond* (1970); *Endzeit und Zeitenwende* (1972); also num. additional unpubl. mss; for further biblio. see *Intl. Biblio. Papers:* see Spalek. *Lit:* B. Nordmeyer, *Zeitgenossen: Biographische Skizzen* (1966); Spalek/Strelka, *Exilliteratur*. *Sources:* Hand, Qu. — IfZ.

Andresen, Kurt Heinrich, chemical engineer, physical chemist; b. Kassel, Hessen-Nassau, Ger. 21 Feb. 1910. *E:* 1936 U.S. *Cit:* U.S. ∞ 1947. *C:* One child.

1933 Dipl. Ing, 1935 Dr. Ing. in phys. chem, T.H. Berlin. 1933–35 assist, T.H. Berlin. 1935–36 chem. engr, Julius Pintsch A.G. 1936 emigr. to U.S. 1936–37 jr. res. assoc, Stanford Univ. 1937–39 instr, Pennsylvania State Univ, College Park. 1939–44 petroleum engr, Case, Pomeroy and Co. 1944–47 petroleum engr, S. Pennsylvania Oil Co. 1947–57 rose from sr. res. engr. to group leader, Carter Oil Co, Okla. 1957–63 chief reservoir engr, Iranian Oil Exploration and Prod. Co, Iran. 1963–66 engr. and

econ. consult, Standard Oil Co, N.J. 1967–69 prof. of chem. engr, Pennsylvania State Univ. 1969– prof. of chem. engr, Beaver County Community Coll, Glenside, Pennsylvania. Invest. secondary recovery methods of petroleum prod. and var. aspects of planning and operating of oil prod. and flow. Mem: Am. Inst. Mining, Metall. and Petroleum Engrs. A: Freedom, Penn.

Biblio: Untersuchungen über die Spaltvorgänge von normalen Paraffin-Kohlenwasserstoffen unter Druck (diss, T.H. Berlin; publ. Berlin, 1937). *Sources: Hand, Print.* — R.F.J.I.

Andrian-Werburg, Leopold von, writer and poet; b. Vienna 9 May 1875, d. Freiburg, Switz. 19 Nov. 1951. *E:* 1938 Switz, 1939 Fr, 1940 Braz, 1945 Eur. *Cit:* Aus, Liechtenstein. *F:* Ferdinand von A, b. 1835, d. 1914, Ministerialrat. *M:* Cäcilie Meyerbeer, b. 1836, d. 1931. *S:* Gabriele, b. 1870. ∞ I; II (after 1945).

Att. Jesuit sch. in Kalksburg. Studied law, Univ. Vienna; Dr. jur. 1899 entered dipl. serv. Assignments in Athens, Rio de Janeiro, Buenos Aires, St. Petersburg and Bucharest. 1912–14 consul-gen. in Warsaw. 1914 evacuated, then extraordinary envoy to Ger. Comdr.-in-Chief East. 1916 mem. staff, sect. for Pol. problems in Vienna. Expert at peace conf. of Brest-Litovsk. July 1918 Genralintendant of court theaters in Vienna. After 1918 temp. in Liechtenstein, later in Altaussee, Aus. 1938 emigr. to Switz, 1939 to Fr, 1940 to Braz. via Port. 1945 ret. to Eur. Mem. of circle around Stefan George, and from 1894–1901 collab. on journ. *Blätter für die Kunst*. Mem. of group, Young Vienna. Friendship with Hugo von Hofmannsthal and Hermann Bahr.

Biblio: Der Garten der Erkenntnis (Berlin, 1895; rev. ed. Frankfurt/M, 1970); *Das Fest der Jugend* (Berlin, 1919); *Die Ständeordnung des Alls: Rationales Weltbild eines katholischen Dichters* (Munich, 1930); *Österreich im Prisma der Idee: Katechismus der Führenden* (Graz, 1937); contrib. to *Hugo von Hofmannsthal: Die Gestalt des Dichters im Spiegel der Freunde*, H.A. Fiechtner, ed. (Vienna, 1949); *Leopold von Andrian und die Blätter für die Kunst*, Walter H. Perl, ed. (Hamburg, 1960); *Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Leopold von Andrian. Briefwechsel*, Walter H. Perl, ed. (Frankfurt/M, 1968); *Gedichte*, Walter H. Perl, ed. (Hamburg, 1972); further biblio. in Georg Peter Landmann, *Stefan George und sein Kreis: Eine Bibliographie* (Hamburg, 1960); Wilpert/Gühring; *Intl. Biblio: Kötterwesch, Biblio. Hand. Lit:* Horst Schumacher, "Das Weltbild Leopold Andrians" (diss, Innsbruck, 1958); *H.d.G.; D.L.L. Arch:* Deut. Literaturarch, Marbach/N. *Sources: Hand.* — IfZ.

Angeluschew, Boris (also Angelusheff; pseud. 1924–33 Bruno Fuk or Fuck); caricaturist, commercial artist, painter, book illustrator, film illustrator, poster designer; b. Plovdiv, Bulg. 25 Oct. 1902, d. Sofia, Bulg. 24 Aug. 1966. *E:* 1933 Switz, 1935 C.S.R., 1935 Bulg. *Cit:* Bulg. *F:* Dimitar, dec. teacher. *M:* Gena, dec. teacher. *S:* Schiwko, surgeon, 1933 to Switz, Fr, U.S.S.R.(?), 1941 to U.S. ∞ Gerda Glocke, lect. at theater inst. in Sofia, 1933(?) to Switz, 1935(?) C.S.R., Bulg.

1923 partic. in Bulg. revolt. 1924 emigr. to Ger. 1924–29 studied with Profs. Spiegel and Meid at United State Schs. for Fine and Applied Art, Berlin. Studied work of Käthe Kollwitz, → George Grosz and Franz Masereel. Joined K.P.D. 1925–33 under pseud. Bruno Fuk (Fuck; also BF, f, GA), illus. and caricatures, incl. satiric picture series and polit. caricatures for K.P.D. publs. incl. *Der Knüppel*, *Die rote Fahne*, *Der Rote Pfeffer*, *Welt am Abend*, *Arbeiter-Illustrierte Zeitung (A.I.Z.)*. Revolutionary graphics for the Agitprop Div. of the Cent. Comm. of the K.P.D. incl. posters. Illus. for → Wieland Herzfelde's Malik Publ. Co. and Publ. Co. of Jugend-Internationale. 1928 mem. A.R.B.K.D. 1933 emigr. to Switz. illegally. 1933–35 contrib. to *Nebelspalter*, *Büchergilde Gutenberg* and other journs. 1935 emigr. to C.S.R., Contrib. illus. and caricatures to *Simplicus (Der Simpl)*, *A.I.Z.*, *Der Gegen-Angriff*. Autumn 1935 returned to Bulg. Joined group, New Artists. 1941 and 1944 partic. in "Allgemeine" and "Front und Hinterland" exhibitions; also 1949 displays of caricature, book illus-

trations and Bulgarian placards. 1944 partic. in the "people's revolution" and contrib. posters and illus. 1945(?)–66 contrib. illus. and caricatures to the newspapers *Otechestven Front*, *Rabotnicheskio Delo*, *Starchel* and *Literaturen Front*. Illus. works by → Thomas Mann, → Anna Seghers, Victor Hugo, Jean Louis Aragon, Andersen, Milew and Wasow. Produced cycle of paintings on the hist. of Bulg. Recd: Dimitrov prize (1951, 1964); People's Artist (1962); Order of Georgi Dimitrov, Order of Kiril and Metodi; many prizes for book illus, book design and appl. graphics. *Illustrations:* Rosa Leviné, *Aus der Münchner Rätezeit* (Berlin, 1926); Leonid Ivanovič Penteleiev, *Die Uhr* (1931; 2nd ed. 1949; Berlin); Lisa Tetzner, *Fotbollen (Der Fussball)*, Berlin, 1932(?); 2nd ed. Stockholm, 1946); Maria Leitner, *Wehr dich Akato!* (Berlin, 1932); others. *Exhibitions:* 15th General Art Exhib, Sofia (1941); Front and Hinterland (1945); Exhibs. of Caricature, Book Illus. and Bulg. Posters, Sofia (all 1949); Retrospective in Sofia (1970 and 1975); Retrospective of Ger. Period in Berlin (1975).

Lit: Ernst Jazdzewski, "Bruno Fuk – Ein Meister der revolutionären Grafik," *Bildende Kunst* (no. 1, 1959); T. Mangow, *B.A.* (Sofia, 1961); Todor Mangow, "B.A.," *Bildende Kunst* (no. 4, 1963); Fritz Duda "Ein grosser Künstler und aufrechter Kämpfer," *Bildende Kunst* (no. 8, 1967); Vladimir Svintila, *B.A.* (Sofia, 1969; Ger. trans. 1969); K.I. Wendland, "Sein Werk hielt vom Tag das Bleibende fest. B.A. Ausstellung in Berlin," *Neues Deutschland* (Nov. 8/9, 1975); *Vollmer* (vol. 5, 1961); Olbrich, *Künstler im Exil; Realismus und Revolution*, cat. *Sources: Hand, News, Journ, Pers, Print.* — IfZ.

Angröss, Werner Thomas, prof. of history; b. Berlin 27 June 1920. *R:* Jewish. *E:* 1937 U.K., 1938 Neth, 1939 U.S. *Cit:* 1943 U.S, fmlly. Ger. *F:* Ernst Hermann A, b. Berlin 1883, d. Auschwitz concentration camp 1944(?), Jewish, sec. educ, banker, mem. D.V.P., 1937 to U.K., 1938 to Neth, Apr. 1941 deported to Ger. *M:* Henny Delby-Angröss née Kiefer, b. Berlin 1892, Jewish, sec. educ, 1937 to U.K., 1938 to Neth, remarried, 1947 to U.K. *S:* Fred P, b. Berlin 1923, sec. educ, emigr. to U.K. and Neth. with parents, 1947 to U.S., bookkeeper, a: San Francisco; Herbert H, b. Berlin 1928, emigr. to U.K. and Neth. with parents, real estate agent, a: Bloomfield, Calif. ∞ I. 1953 Ruth Klueger, b. Vienna 1931, 1943 interned with mother in Theresienstadt concentration camp, 1944 to Auschwitz concentration camp, 1945 to U.S., Ph.D. in Ger. lit, chairperson, Ger. dept, Univ. Virginia, 1962 div; II. 1964 Mildred Ruth Rapp, b. New York 1941, Jewish, B.A., M.A., secy, teaching assist, div. C: Percy G, b. 1954, coll. educ; Dan R, b. 1957, coll. educ; Miriam L, b. 1965; Nadine M, b. 1968.

1930–36 att. Gym. 1933–34 mem. Jüdischer Jugendbund Schwarzes Fähnlein. 1936–37 agric. training at Gross-Breesen. 1937 emigr. to U.K. via Neth. on vis. permit. 1938 emigr. to Neth; cont. farm training at Werkdorp Wieringerwaard; Gross-Breesen arr. for settlement in U.S. 1939 emigr. to U.S. on agric. non-quota visa; recd. aid from J.D.C. 1939–41 work on cooperative farm, Hyde Farmlands, Virginia. 1941–45 serv. U.S. Army in Eur; rose to master sgt, interrogated P.O.W.s. Milit. awards: Bronze Star; Purple Heart; Combat Infantry Badge, Parachutist Badge and others; mem. of reserve until 1951. 1945–49 att. Wesleyan Univ, Middletown, Conn; 1949 B.A., Phi Beta Kappa. 1949–53 studied hist, Univ. California, Berkeley; 1950 M.A.; 1953 Ph.D. 1954–55 Ford. Found. instr, Wesleyan Univ. 1955–63 mem. fac, dept. of hist, Univ. California, Berkeley; 1955 instr. of mod. Eur. hist, 1956 lect, 1957–63 assist prof. 1963– mem. fac, dept. of hist, S.U.N.Y., Stony Brook; 1963 assoc. prof, 1969– prof. 1972–74 mem. ed. bd, *Cent. Eur. Hist.* 1975 att. scholarly meeting as guest of Fed. Repub. Ger. Known for res. on the German revolutions of 1918–19, the relationship between German Army officials and Jewish reserve officers in Wilhelmian Germany and Weimar Germany. Mem: L.B.I. (fel. 1968; mem. bd. of dirs. 1976); Am. Hist. Assn. (mem. conf. group. of Cent. Eur. Hist.); N.A.A.C.P. Recd: Am. Philos. Soc. travel grant (1969–70); S.U.N.Y. Chancellor's Award for excellence in teaching (1975). A: (1980) Port Jefferson, New York.

Biblio: "The German Government and the Communist Uprisings" (diss, Berkeley, 1953); "Weimar Coalition and Ruhr Insurrection, March–April 1920: A Study of Government Policy," *Journ. of Mod. Hist.* (vol. 29, no. 1, Mar, 1957); *Stillborn Revolution: The Communist Bid for Power in Germany, 1921–23* (Princeton, N.J., 1963; Port Washington, N.Y., 1973; Ger. ed. 1973); *Juden im politischen Leben der Revolutionszeit*, monograph in *Deutsches Judentum in Krieg und Revolution, 1916–23* → Werner E. Mosse and → Arnold Paucker, eds. (Tübingen, 1971); "Prussia's Army and the Jewish Reserve Officer Controversy Before World War I," *L.B.I.Y.B.* (no. 17, London, 1972, repr. in James J. Sheehan, ed. *Imperial Germany* [New York, 1976]); "Das deutsche Militär und die Juden im Ersten Weltkrieg, Dokumentation," *Militär-geschichtliche Mitteilungen* (vol. 19, no. 1, Jan. 1976); contrib. other arts. to prof. journs. and chaps. to books; biblio. to 1978 in R.F.J.I. archs. **Sources:** Hand, Print, Qu. — R.F.J.I.

Anker, Alfons, architect; b. Berlin 1872, d. Stockholm 1958. *E:* 1937 Swed.

Student, then assist, T.U. Berlin. 1924–37 archit. with brothers Wassili and Hans Luckhardt, Berlin, with whom A.A. dev. concepts for exp. settlements in Berlin-Dahlem, Leipzig-Gohlis and other cities; also designed construction and remodeling of cml. bldgs. incl. 1925 Tauentzienstrasse, 1929 Potsdamer Platz and 1929 plans for rebuilding Alexanderplatz in Berlin. Also designed one-family and row houses, incl. 1928 a grouping at Rupenhorn, Berlin, 1930 Haus Kluge, Berlin and 1932 houses in Velten, Berlin and Berlin-Lankwitz. Mem. Bund Deutscher Architekten (B.D.A.). 1930 co-ed. with Luckhardt brothers, *Zur neuen Wohnform*, Berlin. 1933 exhib. on bldg. at Ausstellungshaus, Berlin. Expelled from R.K.B.K.; persecuted for racial reasons. 1937 emigr. to Stockholm.

Biblio: Co-auth, *Zur neuen Wohnform* (Berlin, 1930). *Lit:* Müller-Wulckow, *Architektur*; Udo Kultermann, *W. und H. Luckhardt* (Tübingen, 1958); *Tendenzen der zwanziger Jahre*, cat. (Berlin, 1977); Dresslers (II. 1930). **Sources:** Hand, Print. — IfZ.

Anker, Herbert S(alomon), prof. of biochemistry; b. Danzig, W. Prussia, Ger. (Gdansk, Pol.) 16 Aug. 1912, d. Chicago 18 May 1976. *R:* None. *E:* 1938 Switz, 1939 Fr, 1941 U.S. *Cit:* 1945 U.S, fmlly. Free City of Danzig. *F:* Arthur A, b. Wormditt, East Prussia, Ger. (U.S.S.R.). 1877, d. U.S. 1941, Jewish, businessman, 1938 to U.S. *M:* Helene Raczkinski, b. Berlin 1887, d. U.S. 1972, Jewish, 1938 to U.S. *S:* Frank J, b. Danzig 1914, 1938 to U.S, businessman; Rudolf M, b. Danzig 1917, d. U.S. 1959, Ph.D. in chem, 1947 to U.S, prof. of biochem; Kurt J, b. Danzig 1919, 1938 to U.S, att. law sch, atty. ∞ II. 1960 Dorothy Goldberg, b. New York 1928, M.A, instr. at Erickson Inst. for Early Childhood Educ. *C:* Martin R, b. 1948, economist; Wendy A, b. 1952, M.A, psychologist; Anthony L, b. 1962.

1932–36 att. Univ. Freiburg/Breisgau. 1936–38 att. Univ. Vienna. 1938 emigr. to Switz. 1939 Dr. med, Univ. Basel. 1939 emigr. to Fr. on vis. visa, interned. 1941 emigr. to U.S. Assist. by rels. 1941–45 att. Columbia Univ; 1942–43 fel; 1943 Ph.D. in biochem; 1943–45 post-doctoral fel. and res. assist. 1948–76 mem. fac, dept. of biochem, Univ. Chicago; 1945 instr, 1948 assist. prof, 1955 assoc. prof, 1959 prof. Res. in fat metabolism and protein synthesis. Mem: Sigma Xi; Am. Soc. Biol. Chem; Biophys. Soc; Am. Chem. Soc.

Biblio: *Die traumatischen Frakturen des Processus coracoideus scapulae* (diss, Univ. Basel, 1939; publ. Mulhouse, Ger. 1939); "The Action of Platinum on Cholesterol in Acetic Acid Solution" (diss, Columbia Univ, 1944; publ. as a co-authored art, "The Action on Cholesterol in Acetic Acid Solution" in *The Journ. of Am. Chem. Soc.* [vol. 66, 1944]); contrib. more than 40 arts. to sci. journs. *Papers:* Mrs. Herbert Anker, c/o Dr. Erin Novick, 3960 Blanton Rd, Eugene, Ore. 97405; Dr. Don Steiner, Dept. of Biochem, Univ. Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 60637; see Spalek. **Sources:** Hand, Print, Qu. — R.F.J.I.

Apel, Hans (fmlly. Appelbaum), prof. of economics; b. Konitz, W. Prussia, Ger. (Chojnice, Pol.) 23 Aug. 1895. *R:* Jewish. *E:* 1935 Neth, U.K., 1937 U.S. *Cit:* U.S, fmlly. Ger. *F:* Max Appelbaum, b. Berlin 1867, d. Berlin 1910, Jewish, Justizrat. *M:* Ida Schoenlank, b. Posen, Ger. (Poznan, Pol.) 1869, d. Berlin 1935 (?). *S:* → Willi Apel; Lotte Appelbaum, b. 1897, d. in Holocaust ca. 1939/40. ∞ 1921 Toni Werner, b. Posen 1899, Jewish, d. Boston 1958. *C:* Eva Ruth Meyer, b. Berlin 1922, educ. at Radcliffe Coll, Cambridge, Mass, prof. of phys. therapy, Ann Arbor, Mich.

1912–14 bus. apprentice. 1914–19 serv, Ger. Army. 1919–21 att. Univ. Berlin. 1922–25 bus. clerk. 1925–35 exec, then mem. of bd. dirs, Kantorowicz-Kohlbaum A.G, Berlin, a liquor mfg. firm which changed ownership and was "Aryanized" in 1935; concurr. 1 Apr. 1933 ("Boycott Day") attempt by Nazis to force H.A.'s resignation failed. 1935 dismissed from position. July 1935 emigr. to Neth, U.K.; 1937 obtained visa to Braz. but unable to use it when immigr. was halted; obtained affidavit from friends in U.S; 1937 emigr. to U.S. 1937–42 factory engr; wife worked as seamstress and fitter. 1942–46 grad. studies, Boston Univ; 1945 Ph.D. 1945–47 rose from lect, instr, to assist. prof. of econ, Boston Univ. 1948–49 assoc. prof, Middlebury Coll, Vt. 1950–61 prof, chmn. dept. of econ, Univ. Bridgeport, Conn, 1961 emer; concurr. 1955 cond. T.V. prog. series *Economics for Everybody*. 1962–67 res. trips to Ger. Dem. Repub. and other Eur. countries; 1972–73 to Bulg. and Gr. Res. on economic systems, fluctuations, forecasting, and inflation; res. based on surveys. *A:* (1975) Ann Arbor, Mich.

Biblio: "Outline of a Dynamic Theory of Income" (diss, Boston Univ, 1945); "Marginal Cost Constancy and its Implications," *Am. Econ. Rev.* (vol. 38, no. 5, Dec. 1948); *Ohne Begleiter: 287 Gespräche jenseits der Zonengrenze* (Cologne, 1965); *Spaltung - Deutschland zwischen Vernunft und Vernichtung* (Berlin, 1966); *Wehen und Wunder der Zonenwirtschaft* (Cologne, 1966); *D.D.R. 1962–1964–1966* (Berlin, 1967); "Neue Perspektiven im Wettstreit der Systeme," *Frankfurter Hefte* (vol. 29, no. 6 and 7; June/July, 1974); *Umfrage UdSSR und Offener Brief an Andrej Sacharow* (Cologne, 1977); contrib. other arts. to prof. journs. incl. *A.A.U.P. Bull*, *Am. Econ. Rev.*, *Journ. of Econ. and Sociol. Soc. Res.* **Sources:** Hand, Pers, Qu. — R.F.J.I.

Apel, Willi (fmlly. Appelbaum), prof. of musicology, pianist; b. Konitz, W. Prussia, Ger. (Chojnice, Pol.) 10 Oct. 1893. *E:* 1936 U.S. *Cit:* 1944 U.S. For *F*, *M* and *S* see brother → Hans Apel. ∞ 1928(?) Ursula Siemering.

1912–13 studied math, Univ. Bonn. 1913–14 att. Univ. Munich. 1918–21 studied math, Univ. Berlin; concurr. studied piano with → Leonid Kreutzer, → Edwin Fischer, → Moritz Mayer-Mahr and C.A. Martiessen. 1922–28 math. and music teacher, Freie Schulgde, Wickersdorf. 1928–36 teacher, Luisenstädtisches Gym. and other Gymnasias, Berlin. 1936 Dr. phil, Univ. Berlin. Contrib. to music periods; gave piano recitals and broadcast lects. 1936 emigr. to U.S. 1936–43 teacher at Longy Sch. of Music, Cambridge, Mass; concurr. 1938–42 lect, Harvard Univ. and Radcliffe Coll. 1937–50 lect, Boston Sch. for Adult Educ. 1950–63 prof. of music, Indiana Univ, Bloomington, 1963– prof. emer. Summer 1958 guest prof, Univ. Heidelberg and Freie Univ, W. Berlin. Best known for work in music notation, the hist. of the keyboard and medieval music. Fel: Medieval Acad. of Am. Mem: Am. Musicol. Soc; Intl. Ges. für Musikwiss. Hon. mem: Mark Twain Soc. *A:* (1975) Ladis, Tiro, Aus.

Biblio: *Die Fuge*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1932); *Musik aus früher Zeit* (Mainz, 1934); *Accidentien und Tonalität in den Musikdenkmälern des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts* (diss, Berlin, 1936); ed, *Concord Classics of the Piano* (Boston, 1938); *The Notation of Polyphonic Music, 900–1600* (Cambridge, Mass, 1942; 5th ed. 1961; Ger. trans. Leipzig, 1962); ed, *The Harvard Dictionary of Music* (Cambridge, Mass, 1944; 2nd ed. 1969); co-ed, *Historical Anthology of Music*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass, 1946–50; rev. eds. 1949, 1950–54); *Masters of the Keyboard* (Cambridge, Mass, 1947); *Gregorian Chant* (Bloomington, Ind, 1958); *Geschichte der Orgel- und Klaviermusik bis 1900* (Kassel, 1967).

Also num. arts. in Am. and Eur. journals and festschriften; for list see: Cl. G. Rayner in H. Tischler ed, *Essays in Musicology* (Bloomington, 1968); list of works and biblio. in *M.G.G.* (vol. 15). *Lit*: See Festschrift mentioned in *Biblio. Arch*: Perf. Arts Res. Cent, Lincoln Cent, New York. *Sources*: Arch, Hand, Pers, Print. — R.F.J.I.

Apsler, Alfred, author of books for young readers, prof. of history; b. Vienna 13 Nov. 1907. *R*: Jewish. *E*: 1938 Switz, 1939 U.S. *Cit*: 1943 U.S. *F*: Hermann A, b. Vienna, d. in Holocaust, Jewish, acct. *M*: Helene Pasternak, b. Sokolov, Russ. Pol. (U.S.S.R.) 1880, d. 1941 in Holocaust, Jewish. ∞ 1936 Ernestine Gerson, b. Mikulovice, Aus. Silesia (C.S.R.) 1912, Jewish, 1937 Dr. med, prof. of human anat, 1938 to Switz, 1939 to U.S. *C*: Robert K, b. Portland, Ore. 1943, Ph.D, Univ. California, res. psych; Ruby Mal, b. Longview, Washington 1946, grad. studies, U.S. fgn. serv. off.

1926–30 att. Univ. Vienna, 1930 Ph.D. Concurr: 1927–29 Pädagogisches Inst. Vienna, 1929 cert; 1926–30 dist. leader Kinderfreunde; mem. Cent. Comm, Rote Falken. 1930–34 Journ, *Arbeiterztg*, Vienna. Concurr: 1929–34 lect, trainer of librs. and youth leaders, Sozialistisches Bildungswesen; 1930–34 consult. on lit, Arbeiterbildungszentrale. Freelance writer and lect, Vienna. 1932 passed state teaching exam. 1933–38 elem. sch. teacher, Vienna and Graz; dismissed. Sept. 1938 emigr. to Switz. with wife; recd. aid from Jewish cmty; contrib. arts. to local newspapers. Nov. 1939 emigr. to U.S. Some aid from H.I.A.S.; retrained, Columbia Univ. Libr. Sch. 1940–43 libr, Duke Univ, N. Car. 1943–46 high sch. teacher in Portland, Ore. 1946–56 prof, Lower Columbia Coll, Longview, Wash. 1956–73 with Clark Coll, Vancouver, Wash: Prof. of hist, chmn. of soc. sci. div, 1971– dir. of educ. activities, gerontol. prog; also prof. of polit. sci. Concurr: Freelance writer, T.V. and pub. lect; 1961, 1963 educ. tour dir; taught at colls. incl. Univ. Portland, Portland Cmty. Coll, and East Washington Coll; 1975 lect, Pädagogisches Inst. and Urania, Vienna. Spec. in writing biographies of major historical figures for young people. Mem: A.A.U.P. (pres, Clark Coll. chap. 1957–58); Am. Assn. for U.N. (pres. Vancouver chap. 1957–58); N.W. Hist. Assn; Nat. Educ. Assn; Nat. Assn. of Ret. Teachers (chap. pres.); Optimist Club (pres. 1968); Jewish Fed, Ore. (bd. mem.); Socialist Teachers Assn, Aus. (hon. mem.). Recd: Cert. of Recognition for editorial writing, Freedoms Found. (1952); "Alfred Apsler Day" for work done with sr. cits. A: (1977) Vancouver, Wash.

Biblio: *Northwest Pioneer: The Story of Louis Fleischer* (New York, 1960); *Sie kamen aus deutschen Landen* (New York, 1962); *Fighter for Independence: Jawaharlal Nehru* (New York, 1963, 1966); *The Court Factor: The Story of Samson Wertheimer* (Philadelphia, 1964); *Sun King: Louis XIV of France* (New York, 1965); *Prophet of Revolution: Karl Marx* (New York, 1967); *Iron Chancellor: Otto von Bismarck*, a Junior Literary Guild Selection (New York, 1968); *Introduction to Social Science*, textbook (New York, 1971, 1975, 1980); *Ivan the Terrible* (London, New York, 1971); *Vive De Gaulle* (New York, 1973); *Communes Through the Ages* (New York, 1974); *From Witchdoctor to Biofeedback: The Story of Healing by Suggestion* (New York, 1977); other books; also contrib. many other arts. to newspapers and nat. youth mags. *Sources*: Hand, Print, Qu. — R.F.J.I.

Aptowitzer, Victor (Avigdor), prof. of Talmud, biblical literature and Jewish philosophy; b. Tarnopol, Galicia, Aus. (Ternopol, U.S.S.R.) 16 July 1871, d. Jerusalem 5 Dec. 1942. *R*: Jewish. *E*: 1938 Pal. *F*: Moshe Aharon Kassner. *M*: (?) Aptowitzer. ∞ Sophia Dornbaum, deceased, bedridden for 20 yrs. *C*: (none).

Child prodigy in Talmud; lect. at local syn. Yeshiva educ. 1899 external matriculation at Czernowitz, Bukovina, Aus. (Chernovtsy, U.S.S.R.). 1899– att. Univ. Vienna and 1900–1907 Isr.-Theol. Lehranstalt. Failed to obtain position as pulpit rabbi; gave priv. lessons and became priv. secy. of Abraham Epstein. 1909– mem. fac. of Isr.-Theol. Lehranstalt: 1909 instr,

1912 prof. of Midrash, biblical exegesis, Jewish philos. and later also Talmud; concurr. 1919–38 Talmud teacher, Hebrew Teachers' Coll, Vienna. Cont. to write and teach with the help of student readers and aids despite a 27 yr. battle with progressive blindness. 1938 emigr. to Pal. 1939– Res. Fel. Abroad, Am. Acad. for Jewish Res. Spec. in the analysis of the preservation of early material in later sources, such as the citations of biblical verses in rabbinic writings, ancient midrashic materials in later rabbinic writings, and pro- and anti-Hasmonean arguments in talmudic and pseudepigraphic literature. A.A.'s major work was his 25-year project of editing and writing commentary and introduction for *Sefer HaRaviah*, a rabbinic compilation of the 13th century. He also publ. 2 collections of studies of gaonic literature.

Biblio: *Das Schriftwort in der rabbinischen Literatur* (5 parts, Vienna, 1906–15; repr. New York, 1970); *Beiträge zur Mosaischen Rezeption im armenischen Recht* (Vienna, 1907); ed, *Sefer HaRaviah*, 4 vols. (Talmudic compilation by Eliezer ben Joel HaLevi; Berlin 1912–38); *Die Syrischen Rechtsbücher und das Mosaisch-talmudische Recht* (Vienna, 1909; 1923 Hebrew ed.); *Kain und Abel in der Agada, den Apokryphen, der hellenistischen, christlichen und muhammedanischen Literatur* (Vienna, Leipzig, 1922); *Parteilpolitik der Hasmonäerzeit im rabbinischen und pseudoepigraphischen Schrifttum* (Vienna, 1927); "Untersuchungen zur gaonischen Literatur," *Hebrew Union Coll. Annual* (vol. 8/9, 1932); *Mehkarim BeSifrut HaGeonim* (Studies in Gaonic Literature; Jerusalem, 1941); also contrib. arts. to prof. journals. esp. *Monatsschrift für die Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* (M.G.W.J.) and *Hebrew Union Coll. Annual*. *Lit*: Hebrew necrologies; → S. Krauss, in *Mezudah* (vol. 1, 1943); → Ch. Albeck, in *Moznaim* (vol. 16, 1943); → H. Z. Hirschberg, in *Sefer HaZikaron LeVeit HaMidrash LeRabbanim BeVina* (mml. vol. for the Vienna Lehranstalt, Jerusalem, 1946); also necrology by S.W. Baron and M. Higger in *Proc. of the Am. Acad. for Jewish Res.* (vol. 13, 1943). *Sources*: Journ, Print. — R.F.J.I.

Archenhold, Günter Herman, astronomer, astrophysicist; b. Berlin-Treptow 28 Aug. 1904. *R*: Protestant. *E*: 1939–40 U.K. *F*: Friedrich Simon A, b. Lichtenau, Westphalia, Ger. 1861, d. Berlin 1939, 1907 Ph.D, Western Univ. Pennsylvania, Pittsburgh, astronomer, dir. Grunewald Observ, fdr. and 1896–1931 dir, Treptow Observ, Berlin-Treptow. ∞ Married. *C*: One child.

1922–25 att. Univs. Tübingen and Berlin; concurr. 1924 assist. father at Treptow Observ. 1926–36 at Treptow Observ: 1926–30 mem. staff, 1930 assist. dir, 1931 acting dir. Gave num. lects, presented many photo exhibits and pub. observations, and became assist. ed, *Das Weltall*. 1936 resigned due to status as a "non-Aryan Christian." 1938 vis, Univ. Zurich; Feb. 1938 Dr. phil. 1939–40 emigr. to U.K.

Biblio: Contrib. many arts. on sunspots and related topics to prof. journals. incl. *Astronomische Nachrichten*, *Monthly Notices of the Royal Astron. Soc.*, *Weltall*, and others; for biblio. see *Poggendorff* (vols. 6, 7a). *Arch*: S.P.S.L; Emergency Comm. *Sources*: Arch, Biblio, Print. — R.F.J.I.

Ardon, Mordechai (fmly. Bronstein), artist; b. Tuchov, Galicia, Aus. (Pol.) 13 July 1896. *E*: 1933 Pal. *Cit*: Isr, fmly. Pol. *F*: Sender Bronstein, Jewish (Hassidic), watchmaker, emigr. from Russ. to Pol. *M*: Elisheva. *S*: 3 sisters, 4 brothers. ∞ Miriam Buaet. *C*: One son.

After W.W. I moved to Ger. 1920–25 studied with → Johannes Itten, → Paul Klee, → Wassily Kandinsky and → Lionel Feininger at Bauhaus in Weimar, and Art Acad, Munich in Novembergruppe. Taught at Eaton Art Acad, Berlin. 1926 worked with Max Doerner at Staatl. Kunstakad, Munich, later with Itten. 1933 emigr. to Pal. with tourist, later A-I cert. 1935–52 taught drawing at Bezalel Sch. Arts, Jerusalem, becoming its dir. 1943–52, after death of → Joseph Budko; students incl. Avigdor Arikha and → Naphtali Bezem; concurr. to 1952 lect. in art. 1952–62 artistic adv. to Isr. Min. of Educ. Coll. incl. Tate Gall, London; Mus. of Mod. Art, New York. M.A.'s work

is based upon fusion of the realistic and the abstract, and of the intellectual and the emotional, which may be traced to his background in the Bauhaus and Hassidic traditions. *Exhibitions*: Individual shows incl. Jewish Mus, New York (1948); Passeden Gall, New York (1952); Stedelijk Mus, Amsterdam (1960); Städtische Galerie, Munich (1961); Kunsthalle Recklinghausen, Westphalia (1961); Marlborough Gall, New York (1962); Tel Aviv Mus. (1963); Bezalel Mus, Jerusalem (1963); Miskham Leomanut Mus, EinHarod, Isr. (1963); Marlborough Gall, New York (1967, 1971). Group shows incl. Novembergruppe, Berlin (1928); Seven painters of Isr, Metropolitan Mus, New York (1953); Biennale, Venice (U.N.E.S.C.O. Prize; 1954); Gall. Moderna, Rome (1954); Palais des Isr. Art. B.-A, Brussels (1955); "Isr. Art." Stedelijk Mus, Amsterdam (1955); Bezalel Mus. (1955); Biennale, Venice (1958); "50 Years Modern Art," Brussels (1958); Guggenheim Mus, New York (1960); Musée Nat. d'art moderne, Paris (1960); var. ex-hibs, New York (1964-68). Recd: Isr. Prize (1964); Dr. phil. h.c, Hebrew Univ. (1974).

Lit: G. Talphis, *Zayyarim be Yisrael* (Painters in Isr; Tel Aviv, 1954); art. by Carl Katz in *Ariel* (no. 5, Jerusalem, July 1963); *M.A.* (Haifa, 1963). *Arch*: Isr. Mus, Jerusalem. *Sources*: *Arch*, *Hand*, *News*, *Print*, *Qu.* — R.F.J.I.

Arendt, Erich, author; b. Neuruppin, Brandenburg, Ger. 15 Apr. 1903. *E*: 1933 Switz, 1934 Fr. and Sp, 1939 Fr, 1942 Col, 1950 Ger. Dem. Repub. *Cit*: Ger. ∞ Käthe (Katja) Hayek, b. Königsberg, E. Prussia, Ger. (Kaliningrad, U.S.S.R.) 1900, translator.

Att. elem. sch, then teachers sem. Thereafter var. jobs incl. bank employee, theater painter, assist. dir, teacher, Karl Marx Sch, Berlin-Neukölln. Num. travels to Switz, Fr. and It. 1926 mem. K.P.D.; 1928 mem. Union of Proletarian-Revolutionary Auths; leader, local br. of Berlin-Neukölln. Publ. in journ. *Der Sturm*. 1933 emigr. to Switz; 1934 to Fr, then Sp. 1936-39 partic. in Sp. Civil War, fighting in Catalan Div. Carlos Marx. 1939 returned to Fr; several times interned. 1942 emigr. to Col; lived in Bogota. Until 1943 secy. of anti-Nazi Movimiento pro Libertad; v. pres, Latin Am. Comm. of Free Germany. Collab. ed, *La Libertad*, and publ. poetry in exile journs. *Internationale Literatur*, *Das Wort* and *Freies Deutschland*. 1948 arrested for polit. reasons. 1950 returned to Ger. Dem. Repub. as freelance writer. 1954 deleg. of Ger. Dem. Repub. at intl. P.E.N. cong. 1977 lived in Wilhelmshorst/Potsdam. Poet; co-author with wife of photo documentaries; translator and interpreter of South American literature, esp. of Pablo Neruda. Mem: S.E.D.; Comm. of Cultural Workers, Greater Berlin; Writer's Union of Ger. Dem. Repub. (1953); P.E.N. (1960); Acad. of Arts of Ger. Dem. Repub. (1969). Recd: Nat. Prize IIIrd Class (1952); Trans. Award of Ger. Dem. Repub. (1956); J.R. Becher Prize (1966); others.

Biblio: *Héroos: Narraciones para soldados* (Barcelona, 27 division, 1938); *Trug doch die Nacht den Albatros*, poetry (Berlin, 1951); *Bergwindballade: Gedichte des spanischen Freiheitskampfes* (Berlin, 1952); *Flug-Oden*, poetry (Leipzig, 1959); *Unter den Hufen des Winds: Ausgewählte Gedichte 1926-1965* (Reinbek/Hamburg, 1966); Gerhard Wolf, ed, *Gedichte* (Leipzig, 1976); *Zeitsaum*, poetry (Leipzig, 1978); further biblio. in *Intl. Biblio*; Köttelwesch, *Biblio. Hand*; Maass, *Exilpresse*. *Lit*: L.S.D.L.; H.d.G.; D.L.L.; Kiessling, *Alemania Libre*; *Schriftsteller des Bezirkes Potsdam* (Potsdam, 1974); Gregor Laschen, Manfred Schlöscher, eds. *Der zerstückte Traum: Für Erich Arendt zum 75. Geburtstag* (Berlin, Darmstadt, 1978). Wolfgang Kiessling, *Exil in Lateinamerika* (Leipzig 1980). *Sources*: *Hand*. — IfZ.

Arendt, Hannah, political philosopher, prof. of political philosophy; b. Hannover, Ger. 14 Oct. 1906, d. New York 4 Dec. 1975. *R*: Jewish background. *E*: 1933 Fr, 1941 U.S. *Cit*: 1951 U.S. *F*: Paul A, Jewish, engr. *M*: Martha Cohn, Jewish, active Soc. Dem. ∞ I. → Günther Anders (Stern), div; II. 1940 → Heinrich Blücher. *C*: (none).

1924 Abitur, Lyceum, Königsberg. 1924-28 studied philos. with Martin Heidegger at Univ. Marburg, Edmund Husserl at Univ. Freiburg/Breisgau and Karl Jaspers at Univ. Heidelberg; 1928 Dr. phil, Univ. Heidelberg. 1930-33 res. fel, Nietzsche-Gesellschaft der Deutschen Wiss. 1933 res. in Berlin on anti-Semitic propaganda by invit. of *Kurt Blumenfeld, Ger.-Jewish Zionist leader; house search led to 8 day detention. 1933 emigr. to Fr. illegally. Cont. studies, res. and writing. 1935-38 gen. secy, Fr. br. of Youth Aliyah, Paris. 1940 emigr. to U.S. 1944-46 res. dir, Conf. on Jewish Rels. 1946-48 chief ed, Schocken Books; responsible for publ. of → Max Brod and Kafka's diaries. 1949-52 exec. dir, Jewish Cultural Reconstruction, Inc, New York; involved in the recapture and distribution of Nazi-looted Jewish cultural property. Active mem. of Conf. on Jewish Soc. Studies and contrib. to its journ. 1952-53 Guggenheim fel. 1953 Christian Gauss lect, Princeton Univ. Until 1955 full prof, Brooklyn Coll, New York (C.U.N.Y.). 1950s and early 1960s vis. prof: 1955 Univ. California, Berkeley; 1959 first woman app. full prof, Princeton Univ; 1960 Columbia Univ; Northwestern Univ, Chicago; Cornell Univ, Ithaca, N.Y. 1958-60, 1969-70 Rockefeller fels. 1963-67 prof, comm. on soc. thought, Univ. Chicago. 1967-75 prof. of polit. philos. grad. fac. of polit. and soc. sci, New School for Social Res, New York. A provocative and controversial thinker and writer, H.A.'s work influenced the post W.W. II political, literary and academic intelligentsia in the U.S. and abroad. Her reputation as an important political theorist was established with the publication of *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. H.A. divided the work into three sections: Anti-Semitism, Imperialism, and Totalitarianism. Then, utilizing a multi-discipline approach, she demonstrated how the first two movements led to 20th century totalitarianism, particularly Nazism and Communism. Her strong emphasis on political and social citizenship for all individuals indicated the impact of H.A.'s émigré experience. The Hegelian-like *The Human Condition*, which drew upon existential philosophies and classical Greek philosophers to describe the dissolution of the modern world, perhaps best expresses Arendt's philosophy. A prodigious and varied writer, H.A.'s later books were praised for their originality and insightfulness. Proponents applauded her unswerving courage in analyzing emotional and controversial topics. Her critics, however, questioned H.A.'s interpretations of historical data, as well as her use of overgeneralizations and value judgments. Widespread criticism was provoked by the controversial report, *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, first published in series form in *The New Yorker* magazine. In this work, Arendt refused to condemn Eichmann as the sole perpetrator of the Final Solution, contending that the other western nations were also responsible, and furthermore, accused the Jews of collaborating with Nazi policy by their own passivity. H.A.'s final work, published posthumously in 1978 (see *Biblio.*) confirmed her reputation as a major political theorist. It again returned to the existential philosophies of her early training and speculated on the active versus the contemplative life, attempting to balance these two divergent stands. For a further discussion of Arendt's ideas and works, see *Lit*. Mem: Am. Acad. of Arts and Sci (fel.); Am. Polit. Sci. Assn; Am. Soc. Polit. and Legal Philos; Nat. Inst. of Arts and Letters; Deutsche Akad. für Sprache und Dichtung (corresp. mem.); P.E.N.-Cent, Fed. Repub. Ger. (1971); Sp. Ref. Aid (fmr. chmn, mem. bd. dirs.); Judah Magnes Fund (mem. bd. dir.). Recd: Award, Nat. Inst. of Arts and Letters (1954); Lessing Prize, City of Hamburg (1959); Sigmund Freud Prize, Deutsche Akad. für Sprache und Dichtung (1967); Emerson Thoreau Medal (1969); Sonning Prize for Contrb. to Eur. Civilization (1975); hon. doctorates from יו"ם univs. and colls. incl. Bard, Annandale-on-Hudson, N.Y. (1959); Goucher, Towson, Md. (1960); Smith, Northampton, Mass. (1966); York, Toronto (1968); Loyola (1970); others.

Biblio: *Der Liebesbegriff bei Augustin* (diss, Univ. Heidelberg, 1928; publ. Berlin, 1929); *Rahel Varnhagen: The Life of a Jewess* (drawn from art. orig. publ. in Ger. 1933; London, 1958; Ger. ed. Munich, 1959; New York, 1974); *Six Essays* (Heidelberg, 1948); *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York, 1951; publ. in Eng. as *The Burden of Our Time* [London, 1951]; Ger. ed. *Elemente und Ursprünge totaler Herrschaft* [Frankfurt,

1955); ed. and auth. of intro, Hermann Broch's *Essays*, 2 vols. (Zurich, 1955); *Fragwürdige Traditionsbestände im politischen Denken der Gegenwart: Vier Essays* (Frankfurt, 1957); *The Human Condition* (Chicago, 1958); *Die Krise in der Erziehung* (Bremen, 1958); *Between Past and Future: Six Exercises in Political Thought* (London, New York, 1961; Cleveland, Ohio, 1963; enlarged ed. with Eight Exercises publ. New York, 1968, 1978); ed. Karl Jaspers' *The Great Philosophers*, 2 vols. (New York, 1962, 1966); *On Revolution* (New York, 1963); *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil* (New York, 1963; rev. and enlarged ed, 1965); *On Violence* (New York, 1970); *The Life of the Mind*, 3 vols, publ. posth. and ed. by Mary McCarthy: vol. 1 *Thinking*, vol. 2 *Willing* (New York, 1978), vol. 3 *Judging* (to be publ.); contrib. to books, encycls, journs, and other periods. *Papers*: Hannah Arendt Papers, Mss. Div, Libr. of Cong, Washington, D.C.; see Spalek. *Lit*: Melvyn A. Hill, ed, *Hannah Arendt: The Recovery of the Public World*, contains biblio. (New York, 1979; paperback ed. New York, 1981); George Kaleb, "Freedom and Worldliness in the Thought of Hannah Arendt," *Political Theory* (vol. 5, May, 1977); *Social Res*, sp. vol. ed. by Arien Mack (vol. 44, Spring, 1977). *Arch*: S.P.S.L.; Hannah Arendt Coll, L.B.I., New York. *Sources*: Hand, Journ, News, Print. — R.F.J.I.

Argov, Michael (fmly. Gordon Singer), painter; b. Vienna 1 Sept. 1920. *E*: 1933 Pal. *Cit*: Isr, fmly. Aus. *F*: Zvi Singer, b. Tarnov, Galicia, Aus. (Pol.) 1888, d. 1961, Jewish, merchant, 1933 to Pal. *M*: Ethel Isler, b. Cracow, Aus. (Pol.) 1896, 1933 to Pal. *S*: *Josef Singer, b. Vienna 1923, 1933 to Pal, prof. of aeronautical engr, Technion, Haifa. ∞ 1955 Michaela Dikovsky, b. Tel Aviv 1929, B.A, phys. ed. teacher. *C*: Anath, b. 1958; Igal, b. 1961; Sharon, b. 1969.

1930–33 att. Gym, Berlin; concurr. 1932 in Switz. 1933 emigr. to Pal. 1942–46 att. Avni Art Inst, Tel Aviv. 1947–48, 1949–51 att. École Nat. Supérieure des Beaux Arts, Paris. 1954–62 instr. Avni Art Inst, Tel Aviv. 1962– instr. Argov Art Studio; concurr. lect. at educ. insts. and on radio. *Exhibitions*: Individual shows incl. Sherman Gall, Tel Aviv (1947); var. galls. in Paris (1951, 1953, 1955, 1956, 1958); Tel Aviv Mus. (1955, 1959); Mus. of Mod. Art, Haifa (1955); Palais des Beaux Arts, Brussels (1958); Museums, Cologne and Wuppertal, Rhineland (1960); Gall. Isr, Tel Aviv (1961, 1964); Hanager Mus, Beersheba, Isr. (1965); Galls. in Tel Aviv (1967, 1969). Group shows incl. Petit Palais, Musée d'Art Moderne and var. Salons, all in Paris; Biennales, Menton, Fr; Mus. of Modern Art, São Paulo; Artist of Gall. Isr, Tokyo; others in U.S, U.K, Fed. Repub. Ger, Belg. and Can. *Collections*: Var. museums in Fr. incl. Munic. Mus. of Mod. Art, Paris; Museums in Wuppertal, Tel Aviv, Haifa, Ein Harod, Beersheba, and priv. colls. in many countries. Recd: First prize, Isr. painting, Paris; Grand Prix, Uthon Friesz, Paris; Grand Prix de Deauville, Fr.

Sources: Hand, Qu. — R.F.J.I.

Arnau, Frank (fmly. Harry Schmitt; pseud. Don Urana), journalist, author; b. Vienna 9 Mar. 1894, d. Munich 11 Feb. 1976. *R*: None, until 1919 Protestant. *E*: 1933 Fr, 1934(?) Sp, 1939 Braz, 1955 Fed. Repub. Ger, Switz. *Cit*: Switz, from 1957 Ger, fmly. Switz, 1919 Ger, 1934 Ger. cit. revoked. *F*: Charles Schmitt, Protestant, Swiss. *S*: Alice Madeleine Rudolph. ∞ I. 1914 Caroline Mayerhoffer, 1923 div; II. 1924 Ruth Rickelt, d. 1951, emigr, 16 Apr. 1937 Ger. cit. revoked; III. 1953 Gerda Henriette Neuber, b. 1920, interior decorator. *C*: Ruth Gisella, b. 1926, 1933 to Sp, 1939 to Braz, 16 Apr. 1937 Ger. cit. revoked.

1912–16 auditing student in criminology and psychiatry, Univ. Lausanne, and 1919–20 at Univ. Würzburg; concurr. contrib. and corresp. for many newspapers incl. *Die Reichspost*, Vienna and *Berliner Tageblatt*; from 1912 police and court reporter. Travel corresp. in Eur, Afr. and Near East, partly under commn. of Aus. Fgn. Min. 1918 to Ger. Publ. many novels, plays, essays and non-fiction. Expressed leftist-liberal political viewpoints. Following Nazi rise to power, recd. several arrest warrants for alleged high treason. Apr. 1933 fled. to Fr; 1934

threatened with extradition because of preparations for bombing of Nazi Reichstag. 1934–39 frequent changes of residence, incl. Sp, Fr, U.K, Neth. Contrib. to publs. *Volksstimme*, Saarbrücken, *Pariser Tageblatt*, *Pariser Tageszeitung*, *Das neue Tage-Buch*, *Petit Parisien* (series about Ger. secret rearmament), *Der Gegen-Angriff*, *Mitropress*, *Volksrecht*, Zurich, *La Noche*, Barcelona, and others. 1939 emigr. to Braz. Worked as journ. During W.W. II adv. to Brit. emb. in Rio de Janeiro. Later fdr. of philatelic print shop, Artes Graficas Arnau. Indus. adv. to Mercedes-Benz, Braz, and other cos. 1955 returned to Fed. Repub. Ger. Contrib. to *stern*: freelance journ, auth. and lect. on reform of justice system and on criminal law. Intl. renowned author on criminology, philately and art forgery; contrib. to the evidence on Ger. Pres. Heinrich Lübke's collaboration on construction plans for building concentration camp. Mem: Ger. League for Human Rights, Fed. Repub. Ger. (chmn. 1966–71; v. chmn. and hon. mem. 1972–76); Intl. Assn. for Identification, New York (regional v. pres. 1967–70); Nat. Sheriffs' Assn, Washington, D.C. (hon. mem. for life); Freemason, Mem. of num. press orgs. Recd: Dr. jur. h.c, Humboldt Univ, E. Berlin (1968); Goldenes Ehrenzeichen für Verdienste um die Republik Österreich (1969); many awards from intl. police orgs.

Biblio: *La loi qui tue* (Paris, 1934); *Die braune Pest* (Saarbrücken, 1934); *Coups de feu dans la nuit* (Barcelona, 1934); *Der verchromte Urwald: Licht und Schatten über Brasilien* (Frankfurt/M, 1956); *Lexikon der Philatelie* (Berlin, 1957); *Kunst der Fälscher — Fälscher der Kunst* (Berlin, Darmstadt, Vienna, 1961; trans. into 17 langs.); *Die Strafrechtspflege in der BRD* (Munich, 1967); *Gelebt, geliebt, gehasst*, autobiog. with index of works (Munich, 1972); approx. 100 books publ. incl. detective novels under 14 pseud.; more than 3,000 arts; over 2 million books sold. *Sources*: Hand, News, Pers, Print, Qu. — IfZ.

Arndt, Fritz, prof. of chemistry; b. Hamburg 6 July 1885, d. Hamburg 8 Dec. 1969. *R*: Protestant. *E*: 1933 U.K, 1934 Tur, 1957 Fed. Repub. Ger. *Cit*: Ger. and 1943 Tur, fmly. Ger. *F*: Oscar A, exporter. *M*: Anna Himmelheber. ∞ I. 1914 Julia Heilmann, b. Breslau, Lower Silesia, Ger. (Wroclaw, Pol.) 1892, d. Prague 1949, Lutheran, fmly. Jewish, 1925 div; II. 1930 Hertha Hübner, b. 1890, d. 1972, 1933 to U.K. with husband and step-dtr. *C*: → Heinz Wolfgang Arndt; → Walter Werner Arndt; Bettina Jessell, b. Breslau 1917, univ. educ, picture restorer, a U.K.

Att. Gym, Hamburg. Studied chem, Univs. Geneva, Freiburg/Breisgau, and Berlin; 1908 Dr. phil, Univ. Freiburg. 1908–11 sci. assist, Univs. Greifswald, Freiburg and Kiel. 1911–33 mem. fac, Univ. Breslau; 1911–15 Habil. and Privatdoz, 1919 a.o. Prof, 1928– o. Prof, Apr. 1933 dismissed; concurr. 1915–18 prof. and head, dept. of chem, Ottoman Univ, Constantinople, Tur. July 1933 emigr. to Eng. 1933–34 guest prof, Univ. Oxford. 1934 emigr. to Tur. 1934–55 prof. of chem. and head of Inst. for Gen. Chem, Univ. Istanbul. Co-fdr. with other émigrés of a "Privatademie," a self-help org. 1955 retired. 1957 returned to Fed. Repub. Ger. 1955–69 Hon. Prof, Univ. Hamburg. Spec. in organic chemistry, and introduced mesomerism theory. Mem: Chem. Soc. London; Am. Chem. Soc.; Soc. of Ger. Chems; Ger. Acad. of Scis, Leopoldina. Recd: Dr. rer. nat, h.c, Univ. Tübingen (1954); num. Dr. h.c; Hon. Cit, Univ. Hamburg (1955); Grosses B.V.K. (1955); Bronze Bust, Ger. Chem. Soc. (1960); Jungius Medal, Hamburg (1965); D. Sc.h.c. Univ. Istanbul (1916); others.

Biblio: Textbooks incl. *Kisa Kimya Tatbikati* (Short Chemistry Lab Course; Istanbul, 1934); *Gayari uzvi kimyadan ilk tatbikati* (First Lab Course in Inorganic Chemistry; Istanbul, 1935); *Anorganik kimyaya başlangıç laboraturvari*, 3 vols. (Beginners Lab. Course in Inorganic Chemistry; Istanbul, 1945–46; 2nd ed. 1950); co-auth, *Denel organik kimya* (General Organic Chemistry; Istanbul 1949; 2nd. ed. 1953); co-auth, *Yeni denel organik kimya* (New General Organic Chemistry; Istanbul, 1950); for further biblio. see *Poggendorff* (7a); *G.K.* (1961), and Widmann, *Bildungshilfe*. *Lit*: Horst Widmann, "Profesör Müderris Arndt Bey," *Report of the Ger.-Tur. Soc.*

(no. 83, 1970); Widmann, op. cit. *Sources*: Arch, Hand, News, Pers, Print. — IFZ.

Arndt, H(einz) W(olfgang), prof. of economics; b. Breslau, Silesia, Ger. (Wrocław, Pol.) 26 Feb. 1915. *R*: None, fmly. Lutheran. *E*: 1933 U.K., 1946 Aust. *Cit*: 1946 U.K. For *F*, *M* and *S* see father → Fritz Arndt and brother → Walter Werner Arndt. ∞ 1941 Ruth Strohsahl, b. Cuxhaven, Hamburg, Ger. 1915, 1935 to U.K., B.Sc. soc. worker, teacher, res. off. Dept. Fgn. Affairs. *C*: Christopher, b. 1944, B.Sc. Australian National Univ, geologist; Nicholas Thomas, b. 1947, Ph.D. Univ. Toronto, res. geologist; Bettina Minogue, b. 1949, M.Psych. Univ. New South Wales, clin. psych. ed, *Forum* mag.

Feb.–Aug. 1933 mem. vol. labor camp sponsored by S.P.D. in Silesia. Father dismissed from position in Univ. Breslau. Oct. 1933 emigr. to U.K. Father app. at Oxford Univ. with assist. of S.P.S.L. Fin. assist. for educ. from uncle. 1933–38 att. Lincoln Coll, Oxford Univ; 1936 B.A. hon; 1938 B.Litt; 1941 M.A. Concurr: 1937–38 pres. Stubbs Soc; 1938–41 Leverhulme res. student, London Sch. of Econ; mem. of → Karl Mannheim's sem; 1938–39 pres. Res. Students Assn. May 1940–Jan. 1941 interned and transported to Can. 1941–43 res. assist, Royal Inst. of Intl. Affairs, London. 1943–46 assist. lect, Univ. Manchester. 1946 emigr. to Aust. with offer of sr. lect. 1946–50 sr. lect. of econ, Univ. Sydney; concurr. co-fdr, Fabian Soc. N.S.W. and mem, Aust. Labor Party. 1951–63 prof. of econ, Canberra Univ. Coll, 1959–60 dean fac. econ. Concurr: Vis. prof, 1954 Univ. South Carolina, 1958–59 Indian Statist. Inst, Indian Planning Commn; 1960–61 sr. econ, U.N. Econ. Comm. for Eur, Geneva. 1963– prof. of econ, Research Sch. Pacific Studies, Australian National Univ; 1964– vis. lect. in Ger, Japan and U.S.S.R.; 1968 vis. prof, Univ. Heidelberg. Concurr: 1964– field work in Indonesia; 1965 fdr. and ed, *Bull. of Indonesian Econ. Studies*; 1966, 1967 consult, U.N. Conf. on Trade and Dev. (U.N. C.T.A.D.), Geneva. 1968–70 external examiner in econ, Univs. Malaya and Singapore; 1976– at Singapore. 1969–75 mem. governing coun, U.N. Asian Inst. for Econ. Dev. and Planning. 1972 dep. dir. Country Studies Div, Org. Econ. Coop. and Dev, Paris. 1972– mem. steering comm, Aust.-Japan Econ. Rels. proj. Mem. of ed. bds: 1956–73 *Econ. Record*; 1970– *Intl. Dev. Rev*; 1977 *Quadrant*. Mem: Econ. Soc. of Aust. and N.Z. (pres. 1957–59); S.S.R.C. of Aust. (hon. secy. 1957–59); Soc. for Intl. Dev. (nat. v. pres. 1970–); Aust. Labor Party (1950–71); Aust. Assn. for Cultural Freedom (pres. 1977–). As mem. of Aust. Labor Party, advocated soc. and econ. change through gradualism. A. supported the nationalization of Australian banks. From 1963 A. was concerned chiefly with econ. problems of S.E. Asia, spec. in Indonesia. A: (1980) Canberra, Aust.

Biblio: *The Economic Lessons of the Nineteen-Thirties* (Oxford, 1944, trans, reprs.); *The Australian Trading Banks*, the first comprehensive study of Aust. banking syst. in more than twenty yrs. (Melbourne, 1957; co-auth. of later eds.); co-ed, *The Australian Economy: A Volume of Readings* (Melbourne, 1963; 2nd ed. 1972); co-auth, *Taxation in Australia: Agenda for Reform* (Melbourne, 1964); *A Small Rich Industrial Country: Studies in Australian Development, Aid and Trade*, coll. of rev. arts. (Melbourne, 1968); co-ed, *The Australian Economy: A Second Volume of Readings* (Melbourne, 1972); *Australia and Asia: Economic Essays* (Canberra, 1972); *The Rise and Fall of Economic Growth* (Melbourne, 1978); co-auth, *Economic Crisis: A Commonwealth Perspective* (London, 1980); contrib. more than 125 arts. on econ. dev, banking, intl. investment, fgn. aid and other econ. topics to prof. journals; biblio. to 1978 in R.F.J.I. arch. *Lit*: H. Arndt, "Three Times 18: An Essay in Political Autobiography," *Quadrant* (May–June 1969); K.S. Inglis and R.H. Wallace, "Professor Arndt and the Labour Party," *Aust. Quart.* *Sources*: Autobiog, Hand, Print, Qu. — R.F.J.I.

Arndt, Jacques (Diego A; fmly. Jacques Abrahamer; Jacques Abraham), stage director, actor; b. Sarajevo, Bosnia, Aust-Hung. (Yugo.) 8 Jan. 1914. *R*: Jewish. *E*: 1938 Lux, 1939 Urug, 1941 Arg. *Cit*: 1946 Arg, fmly. Aus, then stateless. *F*: Leo

Abrahamer, b. Aus, d. Vienna 1925, Jewish, off, merchant. *M*: Rudolfine Reiss, b. Hung, d. Yugo. after W.W.I. *S*: (none). ∞ 1964 Elisa Segal, b. Buenos Aires 1917, Jewish. *C*: 2 dtrs. (chemical engr; biologist).

Drama lessons from childhood on at Burgtheater, Vienna. 1928 Matura, Realgym, Vienna. 1931–34 schol. student in theater arts, A.M.d.K; concurr. assist. to head of A.M.d.K; recd. first prize upon graduation. 1935–36 engagement with Ger.-speaking ensemble Die Komödie, Lux. 1936–38 actor in Viennese theaters; partic. in radio plays of RAVAG (Österr. Radioverkehrs-A.G.). Mem. Ring der österreichischen Bühnen-Künstler, 1938 dismissed. July 1938 illegal entry into Lux, remaining there until Dec; supported by relief org. 1939 emigr. to Urug. 1939–41 speaker and artistic dir. of the Ger.-speaking radio-hour, "La Voz del Dia" in Montevideo (*Hermann P. Gebhardt). From 1941 actor, dir. and stage designer at the Freie Deutsche Bühne, Buenos Aires, Arg. (→ P. Walter Jacob). From 1951 dir. of radio and T.V, staged plays for Spanish-speaking theaters in Arg. and Chile. From 1958 Ger. ed. mgr. of the state-owned short-wave radio station in Buenos Aires, 1974 dismissed by Perón govt. 1959–62 after departure of → Siegmund Breslauer (which ended the Freie Deutsche Bühne), fdr. and dir. of Ger.-speaking ensemble Deutsches Theater, Buenos Aires—Teatro Alemán de Buenos Aires—with support from Fed. Repub. Ger. Tours of S. Am. and Eur. Partic. in radio and television confs. in U.S., Fr. and Fed. Repub. Ger. 1970 Arg. deleg. at intl. symposia of Ger. short-wave stations in Cologne. Auth. for radio and television; num. adaptations of plays and trans. of Ger. dramas; also contrib. to Arg. newspapers and mags. Mem. of var. prof. and cultural orgs. A: (1980) Munro, Buenos Aires.

Lit: Jacob, *Freie Deutsche Bühne*; R. (Reimer, G.E.) "25 Jahre La Voz del Dia," *La Plata-Post*, Montevideo (12 July 1963). *Arch*: Materials about Ger.-speaking theater in Latin America with J.A. *Sources*: News, Pers, Print, Qu. — IFZ.

Arndt, Walter Werner, prof. of linguistics; b. Constantinople (Istanbul), Tur. 4 May 1916. *R*: Society of Friends. *E*: 1933 U.K., U.S. *Cit*: U.S. For *F*, *M* and *S* see father → Fritz Arndt and brother → Heinz Wolfgang Arndt. ∞ 1945 Miriam Bach, Fr. instr. *C*: Robert M; David J; Prudence J; Corinne C.

Ca. 1918 to Ger. with fam. 1933 emigr. to U.K. with fam. 1936 dipl. in econ. and polit. sci, Oxford Univ. 1939 grad. student, Univ. Warsaw. 1943 B.S, Robert Coll, Istanbul, Tur. 1942 (43?)–44 intell. off, U.S. O.S.S. 1944–45 assist. to dir, O.W.I, Istanbul. 1945–48 instr. in mech. engr, Robert Coll. 1947–49 assist. to dir, U.N. Intl. Ref. Org, Istanbul and Istanbul corresp. for *Economist*, London. 1949–50 Eng. instr, Friendsville Acad, Tenn. 1950–56 mem. fac, dept. classics and mod. langs, Guilford Coll, Greensboro, N. Car. 1950 instr, 1952–56 assist. prof. Concurr: 1952–53 Ford. Found. fel, Univ. Michigan, Ann Arbor and Univ. North Carolina, Chapel Hill; 1956 Ph.D, Univ. North Carolina. 1956–57 Ford. Found. fel, Harvard Univ. 1957–66 mem. fac, Univ. North Carolina; 1957 assist. prof. of Slavic lang. and linguistics, 1962 assoc. prof; 1965–66 chmn. dept. Slavic and Oriental lang. and linguistics. Concurr: 1961–62 Fulbright res. fel, Univ. Münster; 1965 vis. prof, Univ. Colorado. 1966– prof, dept. of Russ. langs. and lit, Dartmouth Coll, Hanover, N. Hamp, 1967– chmn. dept; concurr. 1966 Am. Philos. Soc. res. grant, Leningrad and Moscow. Res. in comp. lit. and linguistics; many fine verse translations. Mem: Assn. Teachers Slavic and E. Eur. Langs. (v. pres. 1964–67); Linguistic Soc. of Am; M.L.A.; Am. Soc. for the Advancement of Slavic Studies; S. Conf. Slavic Studies (v. pres. 1964; pres. 1965). Recd: Bollingen Poetry Trans. Prize for *Eugene Onegin* (1963). A: (1969) Hanover, N. Hamp.

Biblio: *Germanic Dialect Evolution in Lexico-Static Time Perspective* (diss, Chapel Hill, 1955); trans. and intro, Alexander Pushkin, *Eugene Onegin: A New Translation in the Onegin Stanza* (New York, 1963); trans, W. Busch, *Baldwin Bählamm, der verhinderte Dichter* (Gütersloh, 1967); ed, *Studies in Historical Linguistics* (Chapel Hill, 1967); co-auth, *Grundzüge moderner Sprachbeschreibung* (Tübingen, 1969); trans, *Pushkin Threefold* (London, 1972); trans, *Faust*, ed. C.

Hamlin (New York, 1976); ed, intro. and partly trans, *Anna Akhmatova: Selected Poems* (Ann Arbor, 1976); contrib. verse trans. and arts. to prof. journs. *Sources*: Hand, News, Pers. — R.F.J.I.

Arnheim, Rudolf, prof. of psychology of art; b. Berlin 15 July 1904. *R*: None. *E*: 1939 U.K., 1940 U.S. *Cit*: 1946 U.S., fmly. Ger. *F*: Georg A, b. Konitz, W. Prussia, Ger. (Chojnice, Pol.) 1867, d. Oakland, Calif. 1944, Jewish, 1938 to U.S., salesman, mfr. *M*: Betty Gutherz, b. Berlin 1879, d. Überlingen, Baden, Ger. 1966, Jewish, 1938 to U.S., 1960 to Fed. Repub. Ger. *S*: Leni Badt, b. Berlin 1906, d. Überlingen 1973, emigr.; Hilde Eichwald, b. Berlin 1907, d. Oakland 1937(?), emigr. to U.S. via China, secy; Mary Gay, b. Berlin 1912, emigr. to It. and to U.K., photog. ∞ 1953 Mary Elizabeth Frame, b. Pittsburgh, Penn, 1918, M.A. Libr. Sci. C: Margaret Nettinga, b. 1947, att. Smith Coll, Sarah Lawrence Coll, Bronxville, N.Y., a: 1975 Neth.

1923–28 att. Univ. Berlin; 1928 Dr. phil. in psych. of visual perception. 1928–33 assist. ed. liberal weekly mag, *Die Weltbühne*. Dismissed from position as writer, ed. and lect. Aug. 1933 emigr. to It. 1933–38 assoc. ed, Intl. Inst. for Educ. Film, League of Nations, Rome. 1939 emigr. to U.K.; trans. for B.B.C., London. Oct. 1940 emigr. to U.S. 1941 res. Off. of Radio Res, Columbia Univ. 1942–43 Guggenheim fel. 1943–66 mem. fac, dept of psych, Sarah Lawrence Coll. Concurr: 1943–68 lect, then vis. prof, New School for Social Research, New York; 1959–60 vis. prof. with Fulbright fel, Ochanomizu Univ, Tokyo; 1966–67 U.S. Off. Educ. grant to study visual factors in concept formations; 1967–68 vis. prof, dept. of psych, Teachers Coll, Columbia Univ. 1968–74 prof. psych. of art, Carpenter Cent. for Visual Arts, Harvard Univ. From 1968 vis. prof. and 1974 Walgreen vis. prof, Univ. Michigan, Ann Arbor. 1978 resid, Am. Acad. Rome. Res. focused upon the psych. of visual perception and its application to the arts. Fel: A.A.A.S. Mem: Am. Psych. Assn. (div. pres. on psych. and the arts, 1957, 1965, 1971); Am. Soc. for Aesthetics (pres. 1959–60, 1979–80); Coll. Art Assn. Recd: Dr. of Fine Arts h.c, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence (1976); Deutscher Filmpreis (1978). A: (1980) Ann Arbor.

Biblio: *Experimentell-Psychologische Untersuchungen zum Ausdrucksproblem* (diss, Berlin, 1928); *Film als Kunst* (Berlin, 1932, Munich, 1975; trans. by L.M. Sieveking and Ian F.D. Morrow as *Film* [London, 1933]; publ. as *Film as Art* [Berkeley, Calif. 1957, 1966; London, 1958, 1969; It. trans. 1959]); *Art and Visual Perception* (Berkeley, 1954, 1960, 1965, 1969; London, 1956, 1967; Ger. trans. Berlin, 1965; rev. ed. Berkeley, 1974); *Picasso's Guernica: The Genesis of a Painting* (Berkeley and London, 1962); *Towards a Psychology of Art* (Berkeley, 1966, London, 1967); *Visual Thinking* (Berkeley, 1969; London, 1970); *Entropy and Art* (Berkeley, 1971); *Radio: an Art of Sound* (London, 1936; New York, 1971); *The Dynamics of Architectural Form* (Berkeley, 1977); *Kritiken und Aufsätze zum Film* (Munich, 1977); contrib. num. arts. to journs, prefaces and books. *Papers*: Arch. of Am. Art, Detroit, Mich, now transferred to Washington, D.C. *Sources*: Hand, News, Qu. — R.F.J.I.

Arno, Bruno (fmly. Aron), actor, dancer, choreographer; b. Hamburg 22 Feb. 1902. *R*: Jewish. *E*: 1935 Switz, 1935 It, 1937 Arg, 1962 Fed. Repub. Ger. *Cit*: Ger, orig. Ger, then Arg. *F*: Louis Aron, b. Hamburg 1863(?), d. Los Angeles 1947, Jewish, businessman, emigr. to Belg, 1941 to Arg.(?), U.S. *M*: Emilie Bez, b. Hamburg 1868(?), d. Los Angeles 1967, Jewish, emigr. to Belg, 1941 to Arg.(?), U.S. *S*: Dora Amoros, b. Hamburg 1883, emigr. to U.S.; → Siegfried Arno. ∞ 1925 Gertrud Ehrlich, b. Hamburg 1900, d. Bad Harzburg, Fed. Repub. Ger. 1976, Jewish, emigr. with husband and dtr. *C*: Ursula Gänger, b. Berlin 1926, a: 1977 W. Berlin.

1910 first appearances as child actor in Hamburg. Priv. ballet training, then studied choreography. From 1923 choreographer and ballet-master at the theater of Martin Zickel, Berlin; worked for → Max Reinhardt, → Fritz Massary and others. 1929–35 (1933–35 under cover) artistic dir, dance establishment "Haus Vaterland," Berlin. 1935 emigr. to Switz. with spouse

and dtr. 1935–37 toured It. 1937 emigr. to Arg. Until 1939 ballet and revue perfs. at the Casino-Theater in Buenos Aires; in between created revues in The Hague, Neth. From 1940 featured performer at → P. Walter Jacob's Ger.-speaking theater-in-exile Freie Deut. Bühne, Buenos Aires. Later saved fam. mem. from occup. Neth. 1958–also painter. 1962 returned with fam. to Fed. Repub. Ger. Actor in Düsseldorf, W. Berlin, Hamburg and Cologne. 1970 ended stage career for health reasons; thereafter painter. 1977–exhibs. in W. Berlin. A: (1980) W. Berlin.

Lit: Jacob, *Freie Deutsche Bühne*. *Sources*: Hand, News, Print, Qu. — IfZ.

Arno, Siegfried (fmly. Siegfried Aron, pseud. Sig Aron), actor; b. Hamburg 25(27?) Dec. 1890, d. Los Angeles 17 Aug. 1975. *R*: Jewish. *E*: 1933 var. Eur. countries, 1939 U.S. For *F*, *M* and *S* see brother → Bruno Arno. ∞ I. 1922 Lia Dahms, actress, 1932 div; II. 1934 Barbara Kirsanoff, 1953 div; III. 1953 Kitty Mattern, actress. *C*: With first wife, Peter.

1901–12 att. Talmud Thora Realsch, Hamburg. 1913 prof. debut as Thisbe in *Midsummer Night's Dream*, Hamburg. W.W. I machine gunner, Ger. Army. 1915–20 acted in Hamburg theaters. 1920–21 comedian, Landestheater, Prague. 1921–33 perf. at var. theaters in Berlin, incl. 1927–31 Grosses Schauspielhaus, acting under dir. → Erik Charell in *Casanova*, *Der liebe Augustin*, *Die lustige Witwe*, *Drei Musketiere*, *Das weisse Rössel*; also toured Ger. in *Streichquartett*. 1933 left Ger. 1933–37 appeared on stage in Antwerp, Belg, Rome and Zurich. 1937 wrote and acted in Belg. film *Cauchemar de Beverloo*. 1937–39 acted in and dir. "Kabarett der Prominenten," The Hague, Neth. 1939 emigr. to U.S. From 1939 appeared mostly in musicals and operettas, esp. in Calif. but also in touring U.S. and 1955 Latin Am. Late 1950s acted in Vienna, Hamburg and Berlin. 1957 recd. Tony Award nomination for role of Ferdinand the headwaiter in *Time Remembered* on Broadway. 1944 played Count Pepe le Loup in *Song of Norway* on Broadway; became his most popular part, repeated 1952 and 1962 in Los Angeles and San Francisco, 1959 at Jones Beach, N.Y. Made more than 150 films in Ger. beginning with silent movie *Schicksal* (1923); most popular films incl. *Um eine Nasenlänge* (ca. 1930), *Moritz macht sein Glück*, *Keine Feier ohne Meier*, *Ein ausgekochter Junge* (all 1932), *Heute Nacht - eventuell* (1933). Appearances in Hollywood films incl. *The Mummy's Hand* and Chaplin's *Great Dictator* (both 1940), *The Palm Beach Story* (1942), *Up in Arms* (1944), *A Song to Remember* (1945), *The Toast of New Orleans* (1950). Mem: Am. Fed. of T.V. and Radio Artists; Actors' Equity Assn; Screen Actors Guild. Recd: Bundesfilmpreis, Filmband in Gold, Fed. Repub. Ger. (1966).

Sources: Hand, News, Pers. — R.F.J.I.

Arnold, Paula née Kellner, journalist, author; b. Vienna 8 Feb. 1885. *E*: 1933 Pal. *F*: Leon Kellner, b. 1859, d. 1928, prof, Univ. Czernowitz, Bukovina, Aus. (Chernovtsy, U.S.S.R.), auth. of works on Eng. lit. and dictionaries, contrib. to Eng. and Ger. journs, Jewish rep. to the Landtag in Czernowitz, Eng. expert, off, pres. of the Aus. repub; one of Herzl's early acquaintances and aides, declined initial offer of gen. editorship for *Die Welt* (Zionist organ), but did accept editorship for 1899–1900; publ. Herzl's diary, 2nd vol. selection of Herzl's writings, *Theodor Herzl's Lehrjahre* (1920). *S*: Dora, b. 1890. *C*: One son; one daughter.

Educ. Univ. Vienna. Teacher high schs. for girls. 1933 emigr. to Pal. Contrib. to *Jerusalem Post* and *Baltimore Sun*.

Biblio: Co-auth. *Austria of the Austrians and Hungary of the Hungarians* (New York, 1914); co-auth. *Complete Hebrew-English Dictionary* (London, 1924); *Old-New Land*, trans. of Theodor Herzl's *Altneuland* (1960); Eng. adaptation from the Hebrew of the following books by Se'ev Berlinger: *Mt. Carmel Flowers* (Haifa, 1958), *Flowers of Israel* (Haifa, 1960), *Trees and Shrubs in Israel* (Haifa, 1963), *Birds of Israel* (Haifa, 1962; 2nd ed. Haifa, 1965), *Israel Nature Notes*, a selection of arts. for *Jerusalem Post* (Haifa, 1965), *Zikhronot beAhavah* (Jerusalem, 1967/68); trans. novels and plays into Ger. *Papers*: Memoirs are in Vienna. *Sources*: Hand, Print. — R.F.J.I.

Arnstein, Walter Leonard, prof. of history; b. Stuttgart, Württemberg, Ger. 14 May 1930. *R*: Jewish background. *E*: 1939 U.S. *Cit*: 1944 U.S. *F*: Richard, b. Wertheim am Main, Baden, Ger. 1904, Gym. educ, in Ger, admin. night watchmen serv, 1938 to U.S., wholesale textile bus. *M*: Charlotte Heymann, b. Stuttgart 1907, att. nursing sch, 1939 to U.S. with children, forelady in blouse and toy factories, active in League of Women Voters. *S*: Laura Altschuler, b. Stuttgart 1932, B.B.A., dept. store buyer. ∞ 1952 Charlotte Culver Sutphen, b. Cleveland, Ohio 1931, Protestant, B.F.A., Master of Music; piano teacher. *C*: Sylvia C, b. Evanston, Ill. 1954, B.F.A., M.F.A., artist; Peter Sutphen, b. Evanston 1956, M. Music, doctoral student.

1937–39 att. Jewish sch. in Stuttgart. Apr. 1939 emigr. to U.S. via Switz. and U.K.; recd. some assist. from Self-Help. 1947–51 att. City Coll, New York (C.U.N.Y.); pres. of Hist. Soc.; 1951 B.S. 1951–53 serv. with U.S. Army in Korea. 1953–54 att. Columbia Univ; 1954 M.A. 1954–56 teaching assist, Northwestern Univ, Evanston, Ill. Summer 1956 bedroom furniture salesman. 1956–57 Fulbright Schol, Univ. London. 1957–68 mem. fac, dept. of hist, Roosevelt Univ, Chicago: 1957 assist. prof, 1962 assoc. prof, 1966–68 prof. Concurr: 1961 Ph.D, Northwestern Univ; vis. prof. 1963–64, spring 1966 Northwestern Univ; 1966–75 mem. adv. bd, Victorian Studies. 1967–68 Fel, A.C.L.S. 1968– prof. of hist, Univ. Illinois, Champaign, 1974–78 dept. chmn. 1976– mem. ed. bd, *The Historian*. Fel: Royal Hist. Soc. (1973–). Mem: Am. Hist. Assn; Hist. Assn, U.K.; Conf. of Brit. Studies (nat. exec. comm. 1971–76); Midwest Conf. on Brit. Studies (pres. 1980–82); Midwest Victorian Studies Assn. (pres. 1977–80); others. A: (1981) Champaign.

Biblio: *The Bradlaugh Case: A Study in Late Victorian Opinion and Politics* (Oxford, U.K. 1965); *Britain, Yesterday and Today: 1830 to the Present* (Lexington, Mass, 1966; 3rd ed. 1976); collab, W.B. Willcox, *The Age of Aristocracy, 1688–1830* (3rd ed. Lexington, Mass, 1976); ed, *The Past Speaks: Sources and Problems in British History Since 1688* (Lexington, Mass, 1981); contrib. arts. to prof. journs. incl. *Journ. Brit. Studies*, *Hist. Today*, *Victorian Studies*, *The Historian*. Sources: Hand, Print, Qu. — R.F.J.I.

Arntz, Gerd (Gerhard) (pseud. 1935–38 A. Dubois; A. van't Hout), graphic artist; b. Remscheid, Rhineland, Ger. 11 Dec. 1900. *R*: Protestant. *E*: 1934 Neth. *Cit*: Ger. *F*: Carl Ferdinand Adolf A, b. 1871, d. 1951, tool mfr, Greb and Co. *M*: Amalie Hedwig Cleff, b. 1875, d. 1946. *S*: 1 brother. ∞ 1923 Agnes (Auguste Viktoria) Thubeauville, b. 1901, d. 1973, 1934 to Neth. *C*: Peter, b. 1924, Dipl.-Ing. in chem.

Att. Realsch; 1918 serv. field artillery, Ger. Army. 1919–studied drawing with Lothar von Kunowski in Düsseldorf. First polit. contact with activist group and with lit. and art circles around the periods. *Der Sturm*, *Die Aktion* in Berlin and *Der Ziegelbrenner* in Munich. 1920 interrupted studies, partic. in workers' uprising against Kapp-Putsch. Through → Jankel Adler had contact with Stupid, a group of artists in Cologne, first contacts with Junges Rheinland. 1922–24 apprentice to bookseller Walter Severin, Hagen, Westphalia. 1924–28 freelance artist in Düsseldorf. Close friendship with Heinrich Hoerle and Franz W. Seiwert. 1926 partic. Grosse Kunstausstellung Düsseldorf (Great Art Exhib.) with → Anton Räderscheidt, → Gert H. Wollheim, → Max Ernst, Adler, Hoerle, Seiwert and others. Mem, Allgemeine Arbeiterunion (Einheitsorganisation A.A.U.E.). Met → Otto Neurath, then dir, Gesellschafts- und Wirtschaftsmus, Vienna. 1927 first woodcutting series, 12 Häuser der Zeit, a critical survey. 1928 contrib. to press exposition, *Kölner Pressa* with Seiwert and Räderscheidt. Autumn 1928 trial period at Neurath's Inst. 1929–34(?) head of graphics dept, Gesellschafts- und Wirtschaftsmus, Vienna. Involved in the dev. of a consistent method of visual education called "Isotype" or Vienna method of Bildstatistik. 1929–33 contrib. to *a bis z*, the organ of the Gruppe progressiver Künstler, Cologne. Partic. in intl. group-shows, incl. 1930 "Socialistische Kunst heden" (Socialist Art today), Amsterdam. 1931–34 four visits to Moscow; collab. in the Inst. Isostat ("Isotype") and head of visual educ. (Bildstatistik) of Soviet cadre; met with El Lissitzky and Vladimir Tatlin; contact with Peter Alma, contrib.

to Vienna Inst. and head of Kharkov br. of Isostat. 1934 (after the socialist defeat through the Dollfuss govt.) the Gesellschafts und Wirtschaftsmus. closed. Traveled and met with Gomez in Vienna, August Tschinkel in Prague, → Jan Tschichold in Basel, → Raoul Hausmann, Paris. 1934 emigr. to The Hague. 1934–40 contrib. to Neurath's newly founded Institut Mundaneum. 1935–38 through → Paul Kühne contact with communist group De Arbeidersraad, and contrib. of polit. graphics. 1935 contact with Ger. émigrés incl. → Arthur Kaufmann. Under pseud. Dubois partic. in "Artists against Fascism and War," London, with "Vienna 1934" (1935) and "De Olympiade Onder Dictatuur," Amsterdam (1936). 1936 drawing *Das dritte Reich* removed from exhib, "De Olympiade Onder Dictatuur," Amsterdam at the request of the Ger. embassy because of "insult to friendly Head of State." 1936 traveled to the Riviera and Paris, met with Adler and Otto Freundlich, and Hausmann. 1938 prod. woodcutting series, "Lehrschritte," and worked on Neurath's book *Modern Man in the Making*. Stopped producing political graphics and worked mainly on illus. incl. 1939 Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and 1940 on Voltaire's *Candide*. 1940 emigr. to Eng. following flight of Otto and → Marie Neurath. 1940 head of newly est. Nederlandsche Stichting voor Statistiek (NSvS). Graphic style changed from woodcuts to linocuts. 1943 forced induction into the Ger. Army. 1944 serv. in Normandy, surrendered to the Résistance in Paris and held as P.O.W. in Paris, Chartres, and Cherbourg (end 1944–end 1945 as longshoreman), Compiègne and Münster. Apr. 1946 returned to The Hague. Resumed as head of NSvS. 1950–71 linocuts on themes of daily political life. 1951–62 "Isotype" work for U.N.E.S.C.O. 1954 treas. and 1970 elected hon. mem. of artistic group De Grafische. 1969 publ. *Aspekte*, a coll. of polit. graphics after 1950. 1968 individual show, Gall. Gmurzynska, Cologne. A: (1980) The Hague.

Biblio: *a bis z* (Cologne, 1919–33); co-ed, *F.W. Seiwert – Gemälde – Grafik – Schriften* (Prague, 1934); contrib, *Modern Man in the Making* (London-New York, 1939; Amsterdam, 1940; Stockholm, 1940); *Politieke prenten tussen twee oorlogen* (Political Graphics Between Two Wars; Nijmegen, 1973). *Lit*: Horst Richter, *Geschichte der Malerei im 20. Jahrhundert – Stile und Künstler* (Cologne, 1974); *Von Dadamax bis zum Grüngürtel*, Kunstverein cat. (Cologne, 1974); *Politische Konstruktivisten*, N.G.B.K. cat. (W. Berlin, 1976); Uli Bohnen, "Die Gruppe progressiver Künstler" (diss, Univ. Tübingen, 1974); Ulrich H. Bohnen, *Das Gesetz der Welt ist die Veränderung der Welt* (W. Berlin, 1976); *G.A. Kritische Grafik und Bildstatistik* biblio. and cat, Gemeente Mus, The Hague (Cologne and Hannover, 1977); "Der Ludergeruch der Revolution," *Ästhetik und Kommunikation* (vol. 8, no. 29, W. Berlin, 1977); *G.A.* cat. Kunstverein (Hannover, 1977). Sources: Autobiog, News, Print. — IfZ.

Aronson, Irene Hilde, printmaker, painter and designer; b. Dresden, Saxony, Ger. 8 Mar. 1918. *E*: 1935 U.K., 1941 U.S. *Cit*: U.S. *F*: Arthur Anderson. *M*: Helen Fürstenwalde.

1935 emigr. to U.K. 1935–37 att. Eastbourne Sch. of Arts and Crafts, Eng. 1937–40 studied art at Slade Sch. of Fine Arts, Univ. London, and at Ruskin Sch. of Drawing, Oxford Univ. 1941 emigr. to U.S. via S. Am. 1942–43 assist. teacher, Walden Sch, New York. Studied under → Georg Grosz at Art Students' League, New York. 1945–46 assist. designer, Barnum and Bailey Circus. 1946 costume designer for the play, *The Front Page*. 1947–51 instr, evening div, concurr. 1948 student, Parson's Sch. of Design, New York. 1954 student and mem, Atelier 17 group, New York. 1954(?) art instr. for cont. educ, Bryant Adult Cent, Long Island, N.Y. Until 1962 att. Columbia Univ; 1960 B.F.A.; 1962 M.A. Until 1978 art instr. in jr. high schs, New York. Paintings known for subtle tonality and controlled lines. *Exhibitions*: Individual shows at Wehye Gall; Smithsonian Inst, Washington, D.C. (1954); Brooks Mml. Art Gall; Mus. Arte Mod, Mexico City (1959). Group shows at Mus. of Mod. Art, New York (1942–45); Brooklyn Mus, New York (1950, 1958); Nat. Coll. Fine Art, Washington, D.C. (1951, 1954, 1975); Kunstmus, Bern, Switz. (1957); Mus. of Fine Arts, Boston (1958); Intl. Print Show, Ljubljana, Yugo. (1959);

Towner Art Gall, Eastbourne, Eng. (1961); Nat. Assn. of Women Artists, New York (1974–75). *Collections*: Mus. of Mod. Art, Mus. of the City of New York, and Metrop. Mus. of Art, New York; Bezalel Nat. Mus, Isr; Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; Victoria and Albert Mus, London; Stedelijk Mus, Amsterdam; elsewhere. *Mem*: Nat. Assn. Women Artists; Color Print Soc; Am. Inst. Graphic Arts; Philadelphia Print Club; United Scenic Artists of Am; Coll. Art Assn. Am. Recd: Gold Medal, Slade Sch. of Fine Arts, London (1939); Eve Clendenin Prize (1954); Medal of Honor in Graphics, Nat. Assn. Women Artists (1957). A: (1978) New York.

Biblio: Contrib. and illus. arts. on var. aspects of printmaking to prof. mags. incl. *Design*, *Art News*, *Art Digest*, *Graphic Processes*, and *Am. Artist*; has also publ. portfolios incl. *Danse Macabre* (1951) and *The Circus* (1951). *Arch*: Artists Files and Artists Exhib. Cats, Mus. of Mod. Art, New York. *Sources*: Arch, Hand, Print. — R.F.J.I.

Arpe, Verner (fmly. Werner Johannes Ferdinand Arpe; pseud. Jörgen Schau, Tanjo Skau), director, journalist; b. Hamburg 11 Jan. 1902, d. Stockholm 7 Feb. 1979. R: None, until 1913 Protestant. E: 1938 Swed. Cit: 1948 Swed, until 1943 Ger. F: Johannes A, b. Quickborn, Schleswig-Holstein, Ger. 1873, d. Hamburg 1935, Protestant, teacher, sch. principal. M: Martha, b. Altona near Hamburg 1872, d. Jürgenstorf, Ger. 1948, of Swed. extraction, Protestant. S: Gertrude A, b. Hamburg 1900, d. Hamburg 1901; Waldemar A, b. Hamburg 1905, d. Hamburg 1952, mechanic. ∞ II.(?) 1935 Nicoline K.B.K. Schatte (Ninni Arpe), b. Wanzlitz, Ger. 1899, Protestant, actress, emigr. with husband(?). C: Signe Martha Louise A, b. Hamburg 1933, att. acting sch, actress, later employed at insur. co, 1939 to Swed, a: 1975 Swed.

Sec. educ. in Hamburg. 1919–20 att. pedag. sem. and studied acting. 1920–28 actor, Dramaturg, prod. and dir. at var. Ger. theaters. 1922 fdr. of exp. theater Kunstgde, Hamburg. 1928–38 at var. theaters in Hamburg. Concurr. tours with own ensemble and lect. in Swed. and Den. 1938 emigr. to Norrköping, Swed, in face of imminent arrest due to opposition to Nazi regime. 1938–43 reader for theatrical publ. in Stockholm. 1939–43 trans. for film and theater, and contrib. to Swed. educ. radio. 1943 dismissed from publ. due to pressure from Ger. emb; expatriated as conscientious objector to milit. serv. Co-fdr. of Ger.-lang. exile theater Freie Bühne, Stockholm. 1945–promoter of cultural exchange between Ger. speaking and Scand. countries. Tours and guest directorships in var. Eur. countries. Lect. and publ. on theater and film. Translator of Scandinavian authors. Producer of documentary on Swedish film dir. Ingmar Bergman. Recd. title of Prof, Aus. (1971).

Biblio: Co-auth, *Knaurs Buch vom Film* (Munich, 1956); *Knaurs Schauspielführer* (Munich, 1957); *Aufbruch und Empörung bei Brecht und Zuckmayer* (Stockholm, 1959); *Bildgeschichte des Theaters* (Cologne, 1962); co-ed, *August Strindberg über Drama und Theater* (Cologne, 1966); as Jörgen Schau, *Theater auf Bühne und Bildschirm* (Cologne, 1967); *Das schwedische Theater: Von den Gauklern bis zum Happening* (Stockholm, 1969); trans. and ed, *Dichter über ihre Dichtungen: Henrik Ibsen* (Munich, 1972). *Lit*: Jill Johansson, "Der Regisseur, Dramaturg, Theaterhistoriker und Publizist Verner Arpe — seit 1948 schwedischer Staatsbürger," biog. incl. biblio. and list of roles played and plays directed (grad. paper, Univ. Stockholm, 1970); Sabine Engström, "Rid i natt von Moberg und die deutsche Übersetzung" (grad. paper, Univ. Stockholm, 1971); Durzak, *Exilliteratur*; Müssener, *Exil*; Müssener, *Exil-Theater*. *Sources*: Biog, News, Pers, Print, Qu. — IfZ.

Artin, Emil, prof. of mathematics; b. Vienna 3 Mar. 1898, d. Hamburg 20 Dec. 1962. R: Unaffiliated, fmly. Roman Catholic. E: 1937 U.S., 1958 Fed. Repub. Ger. Cit: 1960(?) Fed. Repub. Ger, fmly. Aus, 1925 Ger, 1946 U.S. F: Emil A, art dealer. M: Emma Laura, b. Graz, Aus. 1878, d. Hamburg 1961, Roman Catholic. S: Rudolph Hübner, Ph.D, lawyer. ∞ 1929 Natascha (Natalie) Jasny, b. St. Petersburg, Russ. (Leningrad, U.S.S.R.), Protestant, univ. educ, Russ. teacher in U.S, later ed, 1959 div.

C: Michael, b. Hamburg 1928, att. Princeton and Harvard Univ, prof. of math; Karin Maria Tate, b. Hamburg 1933, teacher; Thomas, b. Bloomington, Ind. 1938, att. Princeton Univ, prof. of Eng; all reside in U.S.

Att. Gym. Reichenberg, N. Bohemia. 1916 one semester att. Univ. Vienna. 1916–19 serv. W.W.I in Aus. infantry regiment. 1919–21 studied math, Univ. Leipzig; 1921 Dr. phil. Sci. assist. Univ. Göttingen, then Hamburg. Until 1937 mem. fac, Univ. Hamburg: 1923– Privatdoz, 1925 a.o. Prof, 1926 o. Prof. of math. Spec. in class field theory and algebra. Summer 1937 retired, because wife was of Jewish descent. Sept. 1937 emigr. with fam. to U.S. with job offer. 1938– prof. of math, Indiana Univ. 1946– prof. of math, Princeton Univ. June 1958 returned to Fed. Repub. Ger. 1958 Prof. and dir. of math sem, Univ. Hamburg.

Biblio: *Einführung in die Theorie der Gammafunktionen* (1931); *Galois' Theory* (Ger. trans. 1959); John Tate and Serge Lang, eds, *The Collected Papers of Emil Artin* (1965); *The Gamma Functions* (1969); co-auth, *Class Field Theory* (1967); Biblio. in G. V. *Sources*: Arch, Hand, Pers, Print. — IfZ.

Artzy, Rafael (until 1933 Deutschländer), prof. of mathematics; b. Königsberg, E. Prussia, Ger. (Kaliningrad, U.S.S.R.) 23 July 1912. R: Jewish. E: 1933 Pal, 1960 U.S., 1975 returned to Isr. Cit: 1966 U.S. and Isr, fmly. Ger, 1935 Pal. (Isr.). F: Eduard Deutschländer, b. Hamburg 1880, d. 1923, Jewish, sec. educ, merchant, Zionist. M: Ida Freudenheim, b. Königsberg 1878, d. 1964, Jewish, D.D.S, dentist, Zionist, 1933 to Pal. S: (none). ∞ 1934 Elly Iwiansky, b. Königsberg 1915, Jewish, 1933 to Pal, att. home econ. sch. in Tel Aviv, playground supr. C: Ehud, b. Tiberias, Isr. 1939, Ph.D. in computer sci, lect, Haifa Univ; Michael, b. Tiberias 1944, Ph.D. in archeology, prof, 1960 to U.S, 1977 prof, Haifa Univ; Barak, b. Petah Tikvah, Isr. 1949, d. 1975, B.A. in hist.

1930–33 att. Univ. Königsberg; 1933 studies interrupted. Concurr: 1927–33 leader in Habonim, Königsberg and 1931–32 active in K.J.V. Aug. 1933 emigr. to Pal. on B-III cert. 1933 gave private lessons; wife worked as housekeeper. 1933–34, 1942–44 att. Hebrew Univ; 1934 M.A.; 1945 Ph.D. 1935–51 teacher, princ. of high schools in Haifa, Nahariyyah, Tiberias, Kiryat Motzkin. Concurr: 1936–46 Haganah underground off; 1946–48 off. with Aliyah Bet; 1948–49 police inspector. 1951–60 mem. fac, Technion, Haifa: 1951 instr, 1953 lect, 1955 sr. lect, 1959 assoc. prof. 1956–58 res. assoc, lect, Univ. Wisconsin, Madison. 1960 emigr. to U.S. 1960–61 assoc. prof, Univ. North Carolina, Chapel Hill; 1961–65 prof, Rutgers Univ, New Brunswick, N.J. 1964 vis, Inst. for Advanced Study, Princeton, N.J. 1965–67 prof, S.U.N.Y., Buffalo, N.Y. 1967–75 (?) prof, Temple Univ, Philadelphia. 1970 vis. prof, Technion, Haifa. 1975 returned to Isr. From 1975 mem. fac, Haifa Univ, 1975–head, dept. of math, 1978–80 dean of soc. and math. studies. Spec. in geometry, projective planes, algebraic properties and geometric applications. Lect. at Ger. univs; 1962 dir. of math. sem. in Oberwolfach, Ger. Org. and led intl. conferences on geometry. Mem: Isr. Math. Union; Am Math. Soc; A.A.U.P; Math. Assn. of Am. Recd: Nat. Sci. Found. res. grants (1962–67); Isr. Medal "Aleh" for underground serv. A: (1979) Haifa.

Biblio: *Linear Geometry* (Reading, Mass, 1965); also auth. of ca. 40 res. arts. on geometry and algebra in math. journals. in U.S, Isr, Fed. Repub. Ger, Can, Switz, It, Tur; ca. 300 revs. in journals, and encycl. arts. on geometry. *Sources*: Hand, Qu. — R.F.J.I.

Aschaffenburg, Gustav, psychiatrist; b. Zweibrücken, Saxony, Ger. 23 May 1866, d. Baltimore, Md. 2 Sept. 1944. R: 1899 Protestant, fmly. Jewish. E: 1939 Switz, 1939(40?) U.S. Cit: Stateless, fmly. Ger. F: Lazarus (Louis) A, b. Albersweiler, Palatinate, Bavaria, Ger. 1828, d. Cologne 1914, Jewish, Talmud teacher and merchant. M: Julie Feibes, b. Lengerich, Westphalia, Ger. 1843, d. 1929, Jewish, active in cmty. work. S: Anna Levi, b. Zweibrücken 1864, d. Pal. 1940s; Otto, b. Cologne 1869, d. Cologne 1933, co-owner of textile factory; Hermann, b. Cologne 1872 (?), d. Cologne 1920, co-owner of textile facto-

ry; Clara Herz, b. Cologne 1875, d. Belg. 1940 (suicide); Elise Herz, b. Cologne 1882, emigr. to U.S., a: Louisville, Ky. ∞ 1901 Maria (Maja) Thekla Nebel, for further info. on ∞ and C see son → George Amberg.

Att. Univs. Heidelberg, Würzburg, Freiburg/Breisgau, Berlin and Strassburg; spec. in psychiatry and neurol. under Krafft-Ebing in Vienna, and Ball, Charcot and Pierre Marie in Paris; 1890 Dr. med, Univ. Strassburg. 1895 physician, Kraepelin's Clinic, Heidelberg. 1895–1900 mem. fac, Univ. Heidelberg; 1895 Privatdoz, 1900 a.o. Prof. 1900 dir, Inst. for the Criminally Insane, Halle, Saxony. 1904–34 o. Prof. of psychiatry, Univ. Cologne, and dir. of its Lindenberg Clin. for Nervous and Mental Diseases. Concurr: 1904 co-dir, Inst. of Criminology, Cologne; 1904 ed, *Bibliothek der Kriminalistik*; 1904–35 fdr, ed, *Monatschrift für Kriminalpsychologie und Strafrechtsreform*; 1911–23 ed, *Handbuch der Psychiatrie*; W.W. I. serv. as psychiatric consult. to Ger. Army; recd. E.K. first class. Founder of forensic psychiatry in Germany based upon principles of modern psychology, and aimed at rehabilitation and elimination of social causes of crime; active in penal reform; instrumental in ridding institutions for the insane of straitjackets and barred windows. Consult. in forensic psychiatry to Eur. govts. Mem. and off: Deut. Naturwissenschaftliche Ges; Deut. Verein für Psychiatrie; Intl. Kriminalistischer Ver; others. Recd: Dr. jur. h.c, Univ. Heidelberg (1926); Dr. phil. h.c. (1932). 1939(40?) emigr. to Switz. on vis. visa to join sick wife returning from It. Sept. 1939 emigr. with wife to U.S. Res. prof. of criminal psych, Catholic Univ. of America, Washington, D.C. Consult. psychiatrist, Mount Hope Retreat, Baltimore, Md. Prof. of psychiatry, Johns Hopkins Univ. Mem: Am. Psychiatric Assn. (hon. mem. 1942–); Rudolf Virchow Med. Soc.

Biblio: Das Verbrechen und seine Bekämpfung (Heidelberg, 1903; 3rd ed. 1923; Eng. ed. Boston, 1913; Montclair, N.J., 1968); *Die Sicherung der Gesellschaft gegen gemeingefährliche Geistesranke* (Berlin, 1912); *Allgemeine Symptomatologie der Psychosen* (Leipzig–Vienna, 1915); *Lokalisierte und allgemeine Ausfallserscheinungen nach Hirnverletzungen* (Halle, 1916); co-auth, *Handbuch der gerichtlichen Psychiatrie* (3rd ed. Berlin, 1934); many works translated; for other listings see Grinstein (vol. 1, 1956). *Lit: Hermann von Hentig*, in Hermann Mannheim, ed, *Pioneers in Criminology* (London, Chicago, 1960); *Beiträge zur Kriminalpsychologie und Strafrechtsreform*, Festgabe zum 60. Geburtstag von Gustav Aschaffenburg (Heidelberg, 1960). *Sources: E.G.L. Hand, News, Pers, Print.* — R.F.J.I.

Aschaffenburg, Walter Eugene, composer, prof. of music theory; b. Essen, Rhineland, Ger. 20 May 1927. *R: Protestant. E: 1938 U.S. Cit: 1944 U.S. fmlly. Ger. F: William (Wilhelm) Arthur A*, b. Essen 1889, d. Hartford, Conn. 1957, Protestant, Dr. jur, lawyer, 1938 to U.S. with wife and children. *M: Margarethe Herz*, b. Cologne 1900, d. Hartford 1942, Protestant. *S: Edith D. Wilhelm*, b. Essen 1925, B.A.; *Renate Christensen*, b. Essen 1929, B.A. ∞ 1951 *Nancy Dandridge Cooper*, b. Fort Leavenworth, Kansas 1930, Protestant, M.A., elem. sch. teacher, res. assist, off. mgr; 1978 assist. to the pres, Oberlin Coll, Oberlin, Ohio. *C: Ruth Margareta*, b. 1957, student; *Katherine Elizabeth*, b. 1961, student.

June 1938 emigr. to U.S. with fam. 1942–45 att. Hartford Sch. of Music; 1945 dipl. while attending high sch. 1945–47 serv. U.S. Army; 1946 as special agent in Counterintell. Corps in Ger. 1947–51 att. Oberlin Coll; 1951 B.A. 1951–52 att. Eastman Sch. of Music, Rochester, N.Y.; 1952 M.A. 1952– mem. fac, Oberlin Coll. Cons. of Music: 1952–56 instr. in music theory, 1956–57 assist. prof. of music theory, 1957–66 assist. prof. of music theory and composition, 1966–71 assoc. prof, 1968–73 chmn. of music theory dept, 1971– prof. of composition and music theory. Concurr: 1953, 1954 resid. in Yaddo, an artists' colony in Saratoga Springs, N.Y.; 1956 studied in Florence with Luigi Dallapiccola; 1955–56, 1973–74 Guggenheim fel. Mem: A.A.U.P. (fmr. chap. pres.); Am. Music Cent; Am. Soc. of Univ. Composers; A.C.L.U. Recd: Fromm Music Found. Award (1953); Huntington Hartford Found. Cent. (1959);

Award and Citation, Nat. Inst. of Arts and Letters, New York (1966). *A: (1978) Oberlin.*

Works: Ozymandias, symphonic reflections for orch. (1952); *Bartleby*, opera in prologue and two acts (Bryn Mawr, Penn, 1967); *Three Dances for Orchestra* (Bryn Mawr, Penn, 1972); *Conversations*, six pieces for piano (1973); also, compositions for violin, cello, brass, a woodwind quintet, and a string quartet. See *Riemann*, 1972 Supp. *Arch: Perf. Arts Res. Cent, Lincoln Cent, New York. Sources: Hand, Qu.* — R.F.J.I.

Ascher, Abraham, prof. of history; b. Breslau, Lower Silesia, Ger. (Wroclaw, Pol.) 26 Aug. 1928. *R: Jewish. E: 1939 U.K., 1943 U.S. Cit: 1950 U.S. fmlly. Pol. F: Jakob A*, b. Scyzow, E. Eur. 1892, d. U.S. 1970, Jewish, elem. educ, 1920 to Ger, merchant, 1938 to U.S., owner of small furniture store. *M: Feiga Storch*, b. Gorlice, Galicia, Aus. (Pol.) 1892, d. U.S. 1949, Jewish, elem. educ, 1920 to Pol, 1939 to U.K., 1943 to U.S. *S: Henry*, b. Breslau 1920, 1939 to U.K., 1947 to U.S., Hebrew sch. prin; *Mordechai Ben-Asher*, b. Breslau 1922, d. 1976, emigr. to Pal, Ph.D, prof. of Hebrew, Haifa; *Esther Adler*, b. Breslau 1924, 1939 to Pal, 1947 to U.S., Hebrew teacher. ∞ 1958 *Anna Schaffer*, b. Baltimore, Md. 1935, Jewish, B.A., worked for C.I.A. *C: Deborah*, b. 1959; *Rachel*, b. 1962; *Stephen*, b. 1966.

July 1939 emigr. to U.K. on temp. visa with mother. 1943 emigr. to U.S. on permanent visa to join father. 1946–50 att. City Coll, New York (C.U.N.Y.); 1950 B.S.S. 1950–57 att. Columbia Univ; 1951 M.A., 1957 Ph.D. Concurr: scriptwriter for *Voice of Am*; 1953–57 instr. of hist, Brooklyn Coll, New York (C.U.N.Y.); 1956–57 part time instr. of hist, Rutgers Univ, Jersey City, N.J. 1957–58 res. analyst in intl. communism, U.S. Dept. of State. 1958–60 assist. prof. of hist, S.U.N.Y., Stony Brook, N.Y. 1960– mem. fac, dept. of hist, Brooklyn Coll, New York (C.U.N.Y.); 1960 assist. prof, 1965 assoc. prof, 1970–prof, 1967–68 acting chmn. of dept, 1974–76 chmn. Concurr: fel, 1963–64 Rockefeller Found, 1968–69 A.C.L.S. 1968–69 res. fel, Russ. Res. Cent, Harvard Univ, 1974–75 N.E.H. sr. fel; also summer res. grants. 1976–78 dir, div. of educ. progs, N.E.H. Sept. 1979 exec. off, dept. of hist, C.U.N.Y. Grad. Cent. Spec. in Russian socialism of the 19th and 20th centuries. Mem: Am. Assn. for the Advancement of Slavic Studies; syn. educ. comm. *A: (1979) Manhasset, N.Y.*

Biblio: "The Kornilov Affair," Russ. Rev. (vol. 21, 1953); co-auth, "National Bolshevism in Weimar Germany," *Soc. Res.* (vol. 23, 1956); "Imperialists Within German Social Democracy Prior to 1914," *Journ. of Cent. Eur. Affairs* (vol. 20, 1961); "Pavel Axelrod: A Conflict between Jewish Loyalty and Revolutionary Dedication," *Russ. Rev.* (vol. 24, 1965); "Axelrod and Kautsky," *Slavic Rev.* (vol. 26, 1967); *Pavel Axelrod and the Development of Menshevism* (Cambridge, Mass, 1972); *The Kremlin* (1973); ed. and intro, *The Mensheviks in the Russian Revolution* (London and Ithaca, N.Y., 1976); contrib. num. arts. and revs. to prof. journals; for biblio. to 1979 see R.F.J.I. arch. *Sources: Hand, Qu.* — R.F.J.I.

Ascher, Leo, composer; b. Vienna 17 Aug. 1880, d. New York 25 Feb. 1942. *R: Jewish. E: 1938 U.S. Cit: Aus. F: Moriz*, d. Vienna ca. 1916, Jewish, umbrella mfr. *M: Eva Friedenthal*, d. Vienna ca. 1913, Jewish. *S: Arnold*, b. Vienna, d. Vienna May 1938 in Gestapo prison, pres, Vienna lodge, B'nai B'rith; *Rudolfine Handler*, d. Vienna 1937; *Josefine Tausky*, d. Prerau, C.S.R. 1937. ∞ 1908 *Luise Frankl*, b. C.S.R. 1872, d. New York 1924, Jewish. *C: → Franz Ascher-Nash.*

1898–1904 studied piano with Hugo Reinhold and Louis Thern, and composition with Robert Fuchs, A.M.d.K.; also studied privately with Franz Schmidt. 1904 Dr. jur, Univ. Vienna. 1905–37 composed operettas. Concurr. cond. for radio stations in Ger. and Aus; also for B.B.C. Cond. for all opening nights of all his operettas. 10 Nov. 1938 Kristallnacht; arrested, then released the same evening. Nov. 1938 emigr. to U.S.; lived in New York. 1940 filed claim to U.S. Supreme Court that L.A.'s compositions were being played frequently in Ger. by the Nazis without his receiving royalties for them. Hon: Street in Vienna named Aschergasse after L.A.; Millersville State Coll,

Penn. est. annual Leo Ascher music award donated by dtr. (1975).

Works: Operettas: *Vergeltsgott*, first operetta (Vienna, 1905); *Die Keusche Susanna* (Vienna, 1910); *Hoheit tanzt Walzer* (Vienna, 1912; new version: *Hochzeitswalzer* [Zurich, 1937]); *Der Soldat der Marie* (Berlin, 1915); *Ich hab dich lieb* (Vienna, 1926); *La Barberina* (1928); *Um ein bisschen Liebe* (1937); film scores: *Ihre Durchlaucht die Wäscherin* (Vienna); *Mein Leopold* (Berlin, 1931); *Purpur und Waschblau* (1931); also wrote songs, choral works, piano pieces and marches. *Arch:* Perf. Arts Res. Cent, Lincoln Cent, New York. *Sources:* Arch, Autbio, Hand, News, Pers, Print. — R.F.J.I.

Ascher-Nash, Franzi (Franziska), author; b. Vienna 28 Nov. 1910. *R:* Jewish. *E:* 1938 U.S. *Cit:* 1944 U.S. fmlly. Aus. For *F, M* and *S*, see father → Leo Ascher. ∞ 1959 Edgar R. Nash (fmlly. Natscheradetz), b. Vienna 1893, d. New York 1965, Jewish, dir, Böhmisches Escompte-Bank und Kreditanstalt in Prague, 1938 to Fr, 1940 to Switz, after W.W.II to U.S. *C:* (none).

1928 Matura. Until 1932 att. Univ. Vienna. Studied singing, music acad. 1933–34 student at Volksoper, Vienna. Subsequently auth. of short stories for Viennese newspapers. 1937–38 trans. of film dialogues for United Artists Agcy. in Vienna. Nov. 1938 emigr. to U.S. via Switz. and Fr. 1939–40 one-act radio plays for Ger. Am. Writers' Assn. under chairmanship of → Oskar Maria Graf. 1941 prog. series, "A Viennese Sees New York" for Station WLTH. 1941–49 music critic for *Neue Volkszeitung*, New York. *Concurr:* 1941–49 contrib. to *Aufbau* and *New Yorker Staatszeitung und Herald*; 1945–49 contrib. to *Austro-Am. Tribune*; others. 1954– lect. on music hist, New School for Social Research. Part-time secy. and interviewer for pub. opinion surveys. Public lecturer; author of poetry, essays and short stories for American radio broadcasting companies and for American and European newspapers. *Mem:* B'nai B'rith Liberty Lodge (1956); *Verband deutschsprachiger Autoren in Amerika* (1974). *A:* (1978) Elmhurst, N.Y.

Biblio: *Bilderbuch aus der Fremde* (Vienna, 1948); *Gedichte eines Lebens* (Darmstadt, 1975); *Essays aus jüngster Zeit* (Saarbrücken, 1976); others; further biblio. in IfZ arch. *Arch:* Max Kade Res. Cent, Univ. Kentucky, Lexington. *Sources:* Hand, Qu. — IfZ.

Aschheim, Isidor, painter, graphic artist; b. Margonien near Kolmar, Posen, Ger. (Margonin, Pol.) 14 Sept. 1891, d. Jerusalem 19 May 1968. *R:* Jewish. *E:* 1939 Pal. *Cit:* Pal. (Isr.), fmlly. Ger. *F:* Jewish, businessman. *S:* 1 sister, d. China, emigr. to China; 1 brother, d. in Holocaust. ∞ I. 1934 Charlotte Malten née Gross, b. Breslau, Lower Silesia, Ger. (Wroclaw, Pol.) 1902, sculptor, 1940 to U.S., a: U.S.; II. Margo Lange, b. Glewitz, Upper Silesia, Ger. (Glicwice, Pol.), att. Acad. of Arts, 1940 to Pal.

1904 in Breslau. 1919–23 studied at the Breslau Art Acad. with Otto Müller and Friedrich Pautsch, then drawing instr. 1925– mem. of Künstlerbund Schlesien. Partic. in exhibs. of the Berliner Sezession, Preussische Akademie der Künste and gall. in Berlin. Travelled to It, Fr, Pol. Worked as stage designer at the Ger. Lobe-Theater. 1933 prohibited from exhibiting and painting. Expelled from R.K.B.K. 1933–39 instr. at Jewish schs. End 1939 emigr. leaving collected works behind. Most works lost during W.W.II. 1939 emigr. to Pal. on the illegal Aliyah Beth boat, *Hilda*, with a C-cert. for 3 mos; then interned by Brit. admin. for ca. 7 mos. at Atlith detention camp. 1940–freelance painter in Jerusalem. 1943–68(?) instr, then dir. at Bezalel Sch. in Jerusalem. 1948– co-fdr. and mem. of Artist's Assn, Jerusalem. *Mem.* of the Jerusalem Sch, which incl. → Jakob Steinhardt, → Shalom Sebba, → Miron Sima, → Mordecai Ardon, and other refs. from Nazi Ger. Graphic artist in the Expressionistic style; lithographer and printmaker. *Recd:* Dizengoff-Prize, Tel Aviv (1951); Art Prize, Jerusalem (1955). *Exhibitions:* Individual shows incl. to 1933 at Breslau and Berlin (Arnold, Miller, Stengel Galls.); after 1933 at mus. at Haifa, Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, and Düsseldorf. Group shows incl. Ve-

nice Biennale (1956, 1958); Graphic Biennale, Ljubljana, Yugo. (1959); Helsinki (1967). *Collections:* Incl. Israel Mus, Jerusalem; Haifa Mus. of Modern Art; Boston Pub. Libr; public and priv. collections in U.S, Isr, It, Fed. Repub. Ger, Switz.

Lit: H. Petora, "Der Maler J.A.," *Die Kunst und das schöne Heim* (vol. 59, no. 6, 1961); *I.A. Handzeichnungen, Grafik* (Kunstamt Berlin-Charlottenburg, 1968); *Jüdische Maler und Grafiker*, cat. Ostdeut. Galerie (Regensburg, 1977); Hansen, *Judenkunst*; Vollmer; Roth, *Juden. Sources:* Hand, Pers, Print. — IfZ.

Aschheim, Selmar, gynecologist; b. Berlin 1 Oct. 1878, d. Paris 15 Feb. 1965. *R:* Jewish. *E:* 1937 Fr. *Cit:* 1938 Fr, fmlly. Ger. *F:* Heymann F, b. Exin, Prov. Posen 1832, d. Berlin 1914, Jewish, merchant. *M:* Ernestine Hirschberg, b. Exin 1845, d. Berlin 1903, Jewish. *S:* Henriette Jenny, b. Berlin 1875, d. Berlin 1916; Meta, b. Berlin 1876, d. before 1914, teacher; Toni, b. Berlin; Alice Rönisch, b. Berlin, d. Eichwalde near Berlin after 1945. ∞ 1919 Eva Alice Lea Fliess, b. Berlin 1893, d. Paris 1965, Protestant. *C:* Pierre, b. Berlin 1921, M.D, Maître de Recherche at Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris.

1888–1896 att. Askanisches Gym. in Berlin. Studied med, Univ. Berlin and Freiburg/Br.; 1901 Staatsexamen and Dr. med. 1901–05 furthered gynecological studies. 1905– priv. practice as gynecologist in Berlin. *Concurr. spec.* work in field of hormone res. 1912– head of sci. lab. of univ. hosp. for women, Charité Hosp, Berlin. 1915–18 serv. W.W.I head physician Ger.-Osmanic med. commn. in Constantinople; then med. off. in Tur. Army, and last staff surgeon W. front; recd. E.K. II. *Cont. sci. res.* with → Bernhard Zondek. Epoch-making discovery of the female sex-hormone in the urine of pregnant women. 1930 lect. and 1931– Hon. Prof. of gynecological histology, Univ. Berlin. 1935 dismissed from pub. duties. 1937 emigr. to Fr. with fam. 1937–57 Maître, then dir, of Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris (C.N.R.S.). Employment interrupted during Ger. occup. of Fr. Went underground until liberation of Paris in 1944. 1944–65 cont. res. at C.N.R.S. *Mem:* Sociétés de Physiologie, de Gynécologie et Obstétrique, de Biologie, Paris; Ger. Acad. of Sci, Berlin (corresp. mem. 1955). *Hon. mem:* Royal Soc. of Med, London (hon. corresp. 1934); Soc. d'Endocrinologie, Paris (1939); Ger. Soc. for Gynecology (1952); Rudolf Virchow Med. Soc, New York (1960); Ger. Soc. for Endocrinol. (1960). *Recd:* Dr. h.c, Med. Fac, Humboldt Univ, Berlin (1960).

Biblio: In *Les Annales d'Endocrinologie* (vol. 15, no. 3, 1954); Kürschner G.K. (1966). *Lit:* "Pierre Aschheim, A propos de l'histoire du diagnostic biologique de la grossesse," *Bruxelles-Médical* (vol. 34, no. 48, 1954); different references to S.A.'s merits in sci. mags. incl. *Neue Ztg. für ärztliche Fortbildung* (Neue Folge 1, 1958); *Zentralblatt für Gynäkologie* (vol. 30, 1965); *La Presse Médicale* (vol. 23, 1965). *Sources:* Hand, Journ, Pers, Print. — IfZ.

Aschner, Fritz Simon, engineer; b. Breslau, Silesia, Ger. (Wroclaw, Pol.) 23 Dec. 1903. *E:* 1936 Pal. *Cit:* Isr. (until 1948 Pal.) and Ger. *F:* Max A, b. Nikolai, Upper Silesia, Ger. (Mikolow, Pol.) 1866, d. 1923. *M:* Eugenie Oettinger, b. Mannheim, Baden, Ger. 1869, d. Auschwitz concentration camp 1943. *S:* (none). ∞ Margot Lewy. *C:* Ruth Berman, b. 1931; Reuben Eshel, b. 1936.

1921–27 att. T.H. Munich, Zurich and Breslau; 1926 Dipl.-Ing, mech. engr, 1927 Dipl.-Ing. elec. engr, T.H. Breslau. *Concurr.* 1916–30 mem. Kameraden. 1927–36 with Turbine Works of Allg. Elektrizitäts Ges, Berlin: 1927 engr, Thermodynamics Dept, 1929 design engr, Power Station Dept. *Concurr.* 1934 Dr. Ing, mech. engr, T.H. Breslau. 1936 emigr. to Pal. 1933–66 head, Mech. Planning and Design Dept, Isr. (fmlly. Pal.) Elec. Corp. 1952–73 mem. fac, Technion, Haifa: 1952 assoc. prof, 1971 prof, mech. and nuclear engr, since 1973 prof. emer. *Concurr:* 1969 vis. prof, Inst. für Dampfkraftmaschinen, T.H. Munich; studied nuclear engr. 1956 at Univ. London; 1959 at Harwell Reactor Sch. of Brit. A.E.C.; 1968 res. scholar, dept. of nuclear engr, Univ. California, Berkeley; 1969 consult, Motor-Co-

lumbus Ltd, Baden, Switz. Spec. in application of nuclear energy to sea-water desalination. Fel: Inst. of Mech. Engrs; Inst. of Elec. Engrs, London. Mem: Isr. Engrs. and Archts. Assn. (tech. coun.); H.O.G.A.: (1980) Haifa.

Biblio: Dampfturbinenkraftwerke kleiner und mittlerer Leistung (diss, T.H. Breslau, 1934, publ. Berlin, 1935); *Planning Fundamentals of Thermal Power Plants* (New York, 1978); contrib. arts. on tech. subjects to books and prof. journs. in Isr. and abroad. *Sources: Hand, Qu. — R.F.J.I.*

Ashtor, Eliyahu (orig. Eduard Strauss), prof. of Islamic history and librarian; b. Vienna 17 Sept. 1914. *E:* 1938 Pal. *Cit:* Isr.

Att. Theol. Sem, Vienna for five yrs; 1936 Dr. phil. in Oriental studies, hist, Univ. Vienna. 1938 emigr. to Pal. 1939–57 librarian, oriental dept. of the Nat. and Univ. Libr, Hebrew Univ. Concurr: 1944 Ph.D, Hebrew Univ; 1948–50 res. fel, concurr. 1949–50 and 1952–53 external teacher; 1955 lect. Arabic studies, 1956–68 lect. Moslem law in law fac, 1963 assoc. prof, 1969 prof, Hebrew Univ. Concurr: 1967–68 Directeur d'études associé, École Pratique des Hautes Études, section des sciences économiques, Sorbonne; 1968–69 vis. prof, dept. hist, Harvard Univ. 1972–73 vis. lect, Univ. Zurich. *A:* (1976) Jerusalem.

Biblio: Toledot haYehudim beMizrayim veSuryah taht Shilton haMamlukhim (History of the Jews in Egypt and in Syria under the Mamluks; 3 vols, Jerusalem, 1944–70); *Korot haYehudim beSefarad haMuslamit* (History of the Jews in Moslem Spain; 2 vols, Jerusalem, 1960–66); *Histoire des prix et des salaires dans l'Orient médiéval* (Paris, 1969); *Les métaux précieux et la balance des paiements du Proche Orient à la basse époque* (Paris, 1971); approx. 150 sci. papers and revs. in Hebrew, Eng, Fr, Sp. and Ger. concerning hist. of Moslem civ, hist. of Jews in Moslem world, econ. hist. of the Mediterranean. *Sources: Hand, Qu, Print. — R.F.J.I.*

Askin, Leon (fmly. Aschknasy), actor; b. 1907; see Straschek film biographies.

Asriel, André, composer, prof. of music; b. Vienna 22 Feb. 1922. *E:* 1938 U.K, 1946 Soviet Occup. Zone, Ger.

1936–38 student, A.M.d.K, Vienna. 1938 emigr. to U.K. 1939–40 studied at Royal Coll. of Music, London. 1940–45 studied composition privately with → E.H. Meyer and piano with Osborn. 1946 emigr. to E. Berlin. 1947–49 studied composition with Schwarz-Schilling and piano with R. Rössler at Berlin Hochsch. für Musik; 1949 State Exam. 1950–51 att. master classes with → Hanns Eisler at Deut. Akad. der Künste, Berlin. 1951– lect. on musical phrasing, Deut. Hochsch. für Musik, E. Berlin, 1968 prof; concurr. 1951–53 mem. staff, "Unser Lied – unser Leben" div, E. Berlin Radio. 1956 studied composition with Luigi Dallapiccola in Florence. Recd: Nat. Prize, 3rd class (1951); Kunstpreis, Freier Deut. Gewerkschaftsbund (1970). *A:* E. Berlin.

Works: Symph. music incl. Four Inventions, for trumpet, trombone and orch. (1963); *Metamorphosen* (1968); *Serenade* for 9 instruments (1969); *Choral music incl. Suite in Scat*, for chorus with rhythm group (1965); *Six Fables*, based upon Aesop's fables, for chorus; also *Baroque in Blue*, suite for guitar (1962); a series of film scores incl. *Der verlorene Engel* (1966); *Faust I*, show music (1968); num. Lieder, songs, and ballads incl. *Lied vom Sankt Nimmerleinstag* (1948); *Sechs Lieder*, based upon → Bertolt Brecht (1954) and *Jüdisches Liebeslied* (1960); music for T.V. and radio shows. *Biblio: Jazz, Analysen und Aspekte* (Berlin, 1966); co-auth, *Musiklexikon* (Leipzig, 1966). *Sources: Hand, Print. — R.F.J.I.*

Aster, Ernst von, prof. of philosophy; b. Berlin 18 Feb. 1880, d. Stockholm 22 Oct. 1948 on vacation. *E:* 1933 Swed, 1936 Tur. *Cit:* Ger. *F:* Eduard v. A., b. 1825, d. 1897, officer. *M:* Hedwig Bock, b. 1848, d. 1923. ∞ 1923 Heldur Dixelius, Swed. writer.

Studied natural sci. and philos. at Univs. Berlin and Munich; 1902 Dr. phil, Univ. Munich under Theodor Lipps. 1905 Habil.

with work *Untersuchungen über den logischen Gehalt des Kausalgesetzes*. 1913–33 mem. fac, Univ. Giessen: 1913 a.o. Prof, 1920–33 o. Prof. of philos. and educ, 1933 dismissed. Mem. S.P.D. and Weimar Circle of democratic-minded univ. profs. 1933 emigr. to Swed. 1936 emigr. to Tur, app. Prof, Univ. Istanbul. Teacher and researcher on the history of philosophy, systematic philosophy and philosophy of law. Attempted a revival of Nominalism, on which his philos. of nature was oriented.

Biblio: Prinzipien der Erkenntnislehre (Leipzig, 1913); *Geschichte der antiken Philosophie* (Berlin, 1920); *Geschichte der neueren Erkenntnistheorie* (Berlin, 1921); *Raum und Zeit in der Geschichte der Philosophie und Physik* (Munich, Berlin, 1922); *Goethes Faust* (Munich, Berlin, 1923); *Geschichte der englischen Philosophie* (Bielefeld, 1926); *Die Psychoanalyse* (Berlin, 1930, 2nd ed. 1949); *Naturphilosophie* (Berlin, 1932); *Die Philosophie der Gegenwart* (Leiden, 1935); *Felsefe Tarihi Dersleri I – İlk ve ortaçağ Felsefesi* (Lectures on the Hist. of Philos. I – Philos. of Ancient Times and of the Middle Ages, Istanbul, 1943); *Hukuk Felsefesi Dersleri* (Lectures on Philos. of Law, Istanbul, 1943); *Bilgi teorisi ve matik* (Theory of Sci. and Logic; Istanbul, 1945); *biblio. in G.K. (1925–); N.D.B. I. Lit:* Memorial copy of Turkish journ. *Felsefe Arkivi*, with complete biblio. (vols. 2, 3, Istanbul, 1943); Widmann, *Bildungshilfe. Arch:* S.P.S.L. *Sources: Arch, Hand, Journ, Print. — IfZ.*

Aterman, Kurt, prof. of pathology; b. Bielitz, Galicia, Aus. (Bielsko, Pol.) 9 Sept. 1913. *R:* Jewish. *E:* 1939 U.K, 1957 Can. *Cit:* Can, fmly. Brit. *F:* Max A, b. London 1888, d. U.K. 1944, educ. T.H; tech. engr, 1939 to London from C.S.R. *M:* Amalia, b. Pol. 1890, d. U.K. 1974, Jewish, emigr. with spouse. *S:* Lilli Kolin, b. Bielitz 1911, Gym. educ, secy, emigr. with fam, a: U.K. ∞ 1955 Helen Rita Lawrence, b. London 1927, Catholic, B.A, emigr. to Can. *C:* Robert, b. Chicago 1957, student; Paul, b. Halifax, Nova Scotia, Can. 1959, student; Peter, b. Halifax 1961, student.

To 1933 student, Deut. Realsch, Ostrava, C.S.R. 1936 Masaryk Found. fel, Charles Univ, Prague; 1938 Dr. med. 1938 clin. assist, Czech. Univ. Children's Clin, Prague. April 1939 emigr. with fam. to U.K. Recd. aid from Soc. of Friends, Intl. Student Serv. and Self-Help. 1939–42 att. Queen's Univ, Belfast; 1942 B. med; B. chem; 1965 D.Sc. W.W. II capt, Royal Army Med. Corps in India. 1948–50 Commonwealth fel, Harvard Univ. and Univ. Chicago. 1950–58 sr. lect, Univ. Birmingham; 1959 Ph.D. Concurr: 1956 Willett fel, Univ. Chicago. 1957 emigr. to Can. upon receipt of job offer. 1958–61 assoc. prof. of pathol, Dalhousie Univ, Nova Scotia, Can. 1961–63 prof, Women's Med. Coll, Pa. 1963–67 prof, State Univ. N.Y, Buffalo and Children's Hosp. 1967–79 prof. of pathol, Dalhousie Univ. and I.W. Killam Hosp. for Children. From 1979 dir. of labs, Regional Lab, Dr. Everett Chalmers Hosp, Fredericton, New Brunswick. Invest. experimental pathology, esp. of the liver. *Fel:* Royal Coll. of Path. Mem: Am. Soc. Exp. Pathologists; Pathol. Soc. Great Brit. and Ireland; Am. Assn. Pathol. and Bacteriol; Royal Coll. of Physicians, London. *A:* (1980) Halifax, Can.

Biblio: Co-auth, "Liver Necrosis, Adenovirus Type 2 and Thymic Dysplasia," *Virchows Archiv, Abteilung A: Pathol. Anat.* (vol. 360, Aug. 1973); co-auth, "Die Erzeugung von Lebertumoren durch lokale Implantation von Carcinogenen," *Verhandlungen der deut. Ges. für Pathologie* (vol. 59, 1975); co-auth, "Pulmonary Hypertension due to Multiple Emboli," *Journ. Pediatrics* (vol. 92, no. 5, 1978); "A Possible Early Example of Mucocutaneous Lymph Node Syndrome," *Journ. Pediatrics* (vol. 92, no. 6, 1978); "The Development of the Concept of Lysosomes. A Historical Survey with Particular Reference to the Liver," *Journ. of Histochem.* (vol. 11, 1979); co-auth, "Extrarenal Wilms' Tumor: A Review and Case Report," *Investigative and Cell Pathology* (vol. 2, 1979). *Sources: Hand, Qu. — R.F.J.I.*

Auerbach, Alfred, author, music and drama teacher; b. Stuttgart, Ger. 9 June 1873, d. Stuttgart 31 Jan. 1954. *R:* Jewish. *E:* 1933(?) emigr, 1941 U.S, early 1950s Fed. Repub. Ger. *F:* Ben-

jamin A, merchant. *M*: Emma Fröhlich. ∞ 1908 Evelyn Kahn née Loeb. *C*: Trude, b. 1909.

Merchant, later att. music cons, Frankfurt/M. 1898–1923 comic and character actor, Schauspielhaus, Frankfurt/M. Concurr. 1906– dir, dept. of drama and instr. of speech tech. and mime, Hoch Cons, Berlin. Auth. of several polit. works for speaking chorus publ. by Arbeiter-Theaterverlag, Leipzig. 1933 presumably emigr; Jan. 1941 emigr. to U.S. Odd jobs. Author and broadcaster of Swabian progs. for Ger. lang. radio station in Chicago. Failed to est. acting and film writing career in Hollywood. Early 1950s returned to Stuttgart. Stage and radio writer, and satirist. Author of Swabian folkplays.

Biblio: *Mimik* (Berlin, 1910); *Mimik II. Pantomimen* (Berlin, 1922); *Der jüdische Goy*, comedy (Frankfurt/M, 1923); *Schwäbische Miniaturen* (Hannover, 1925); *Der Prominente*, novel (Halle, 1926); *Wir sind die Kraft*, work for speaking chorus (Leipzig, 1930); *Ein Schwabe studiert Amerika*, memoirs (Stuttgart, 1948; serialized in Ger.-Am. newspaper *Sonntagspost*, 1946); biblio. in *G.V. and L.K.N. Sources*: Autobiog, Hand, Print. — IFZ.

Auerbach, Charlotte, prof. of animal genetics; b. Krefeld, Rhineland, Ger. 14 May 1899. *R*: Jewish. *E*: 1933 U.K. *Cit*: 1940 U.K, fmy. *F*: Friedrich A, b. Breslau, Silesia, Ger. (Wroclaw, Pol.) 1870, d. 1924, Jewish, Dr. phil. chem, res. chemist, Oberregierungsrat. *M*: Selma Sachs, b. Jauer, Silesia, Ger. (Jawor, Pol.) 1878, d. Scot. 1955 Jewish, 1939 to Scot. *S*: (none). ∞ (none). *C*: (none).

1919–23 att. Univs. Berlin, Würzburg, Freiburg/Breisgau; 1923 Staatsexamen. Trained for sec. sch. teaching, Elisabethen Sch, Frankfurt/M and Luisen-Sch, Berlin. Until 1931 Studienreferendar in var. schs. 1931–33 att. Kaiser-Wilhelm Inst. of Biol, Berlin-Dahlem. Dr. phil. not completed. Oct. 1933 emigr. to Scot, assist. by Woburn House. 1935 Ph.D, Univ. Edinburgh. 1935 personal assist. to prof. F.A.E. Crew. From 1946 mem. fac, Inst. Animal Genetics, Univ. Edinburgh: 1946 lect, 1957 reader, 1967– prof, 1969 prof. emer. Pioneer in the field of chemical induction of mutations; exp. with chemicals, ultraviolet light, X-rays, etc. on flies, mice and fungi. Co-discoverer of mutagenic action of mustard gas in 1940. Fel: Royal Soc, Edinburgh (1949); Royal Soc, London (1957). Mem: Genetics Soc. Jap. (hon. mem. 1966); Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab (1968); Nat. Acad. of Scis. (fgn. assoc, 1970); Genetic Soc. Britain. Recd: Keith Prize, Royal Soc, Edinburgh (1947); Am. Soc. Environmental Mutagens award (1972); Eur. Soc. Environmental Mutagens award (1975); Darwin Medal, Royal Soc. London (1977); Dr. Sci. h.c, Univs. Leiden (1975), Cambridge (1977), Dublin (1977). *A*: (1978) Edinburgh.

Biblio: *Genetics in the Atomic Age* (Edinburgh, 1956, 2nd ed. New York, 1965; also trans. into Ger. and Russ.); *The Science of Genetics* (New York, 1961, 1964; London, 1962); *Mutation, Pt. 1 – Methods* (Edinburgh, 1962); *Heredity* (Edinburgh, London, 1965); *Mutation Research* (London, 1976); contrib. arts. to sci. journals. *Sources*: Hand, Qu. — R.F.J.I.

Auerbach, Clemens, chemist; b. Berlin 30 Nov. 1923. *R*: Jewish. *E*: 1936 Tur, 1945 U.S. *Cit*: 1952 U.S, fmy. *F*: → Erich Auerbach. *M*: Marie Mankiewitz, b. Berlin 1892, Jewish. *S*: (none). ∞ 1964 Josette Korman, b. Paris 1936, baccal. Lycée, 1956 to U.S. *C*: Claude, b. 1966.

1934–36 att. Gym. in Marburg, Hessen-Nassau. 1936 emigr. to Tur. with fam; father appointed prof. at Univ. Istanbul. 1943 B.S, Robert Coll. (Am.), Istanbul. 1945 emigr. to U.S. Help from H.I.A.S. 1948 M.A, Harvard Univ, 1951 Ph.D. in chem. 1950–53 res. fel, Univ. Minnesota. 1953–56 assist. prof, Univ. Buffalo, N.Y. From 1956 with dept. of nuclear energy, Brookhaven Nat. Lab, Upton, N.Y.: 1956–58 assist. chem, 1958–62 assoc. chem, 1962– chem. Res. in analytical chemistry and nuclear materials safeguards dev. Mem: Am. Chem. Soc; A.A.A.S. *A*: (1980) Bellport, N.Y.

Biblio: Ed, *Chemical Instrumentation* (1966–78); contrib. arts. to Am. prof. journals. *Sources*: Hand, Qu. — R.F.J.I.

Auerbach, Edgar, prof. of ophthalmology; b. Berlin 10 Aug. 1914. *R*: Jewish. *E*: 1938 Pal. *Cit*: Isr, fmy. *F*: Herbert A, b. Berlin 1884, d. Haifa 1958, Jewish, Dipl.-Ing, Dr. Ing, T.H. Berlin-Charlottenburg, chemist, builder of chem. factories in C.S.R., 1939 to U.K., 1941 to Pal, dir. of potash works in Haifa. *M*: Many Silbermann, b. Odessa, Russ. 1886, d. Jerusalem 1962, Jewish, sec. educ. and music acad, concert pianist, emigr. with husband. *S*: Susanne Goldstein, b. Berlin 1918, 1940(?) illegal emigr. to Pal. ∞ 1944 Rena Renate Mark, b. Allenstein, E. Prussia, Ger. (Olsztyn, Pol.) 1918, Jewish, 1936 to Pal, studied libr. sci. in U.S. and at Hebrew Univ. Libr. Sch, acad. libr. head of acquisitions, Nat. and Univ. Libr, Hebrew Univ. *C*: Judith Sandbank, b. Jerusalem 1949, 1977 M.D, Univ. Tel Aviv, physician, Isr. resid.

1934–38 studied philos. and med. German Univ. Prague; studies interrupted; concurr. mem. anti-fascist org. 1938 emigr. to Pal. on B-III cert. Ca. 1940 serv, Brit. Army, 1941–44 res. fel. under Leonid Doljanski, cancer res. lab, Hadassah Hosp; 1944–46 studied med, St. Joseph Univ, Beirut, Lebanon; 1947 M.D. 1946–47 practical yr, Hadassah Hosp, Jerusalem. 1947–spec. in ophthalmology. 1948–59 serv, I.D.F, discharged as major. 1949–52 resid. physician, eye dept, Hadassah Hosp; 1951 second assist, 1957 chief physician, ophthalmology dept; 1952–54 and 1955–57 res. fel. in sensory physiol. biol. labs, Harvard Univ, with Prof. George Wald; Concurr. 1954–55 res. fel, Iowa State Univ. Hosp. From 1958 fdr. and dir, vision res. lab, Hadassah Hosp. and mem. fac, Hadassah-Hebrew Univ. Sch. of Med: 1958 assoc. prof, 1976– Friedenwald Prof. of ophthalmologic res, 1977 full prof; concurr. guest prof. in Ger. Univs. and at Max Planck Inst, Göttingen. Basic research and chemical research on physiology of vision. Mem: Intl. Res. Group on Color Vision Deficiencies (dir. of vision res.); Isr. Assn. of Physiol. and Pharmacol; Isr. Ophthalmological Soc; Intl. Soc. for Clin. Electoretinography; U.S. Nat. Res. Coun. commn. on vision; others. *A*: (1978) Jerusalem.

Biblio: Contrib. arts. to prof. journals. incl. *Journ. of the Neurol. Scis*, *Documenta Ophthalmologica*, *Vision Res*, *Mod. Problems in Ophthalmology*, *Exp. Eye Res*. *Sources*: Hand, Print, Qu. — R.F.J.I.

Auerbach, Erich, prof. of Romance languages and literature; b. Berlin 9 Nov. 1892, d. New Haven, Conn. 1957. *E*: 1936 Tur, 1947 U.S. *Cit*: Ger. *F*: Hermann A, merchant. *M*: Rosa Block. ∞ 1923 Marie Mankiewitz. *C*: Clemens, a: U.S.

Att. French Gym, Berlin. Studied law, Univs. Berlin, Freiburg/Breisgau, Munich and Heidelberg; 1913 Dr. jur, Univ. Heidelberg. Cont. philos. studies in Heidelberg. 1914–18 serv. in W.W.I. 1919–21 studied at Univ. Berlin, dept. of Romance langs. 1921 Dr. phil, Univ. Greifswald, 1922 Staatsexamen. 1923 practical training in Prussian libr, then head libr. at the Univ. Libr, Marburg. 1929–35 mem. fac, Univ. Marburg: 1929 Habil. in Romance langs, lect. on It. lang. and lit, 1930 o. Prof. of Romance langs. and lit. 1935 dismissed and emigr. to Tur. 1936–47 succeeded → Leo Spitzer as o. Prof. for Romance langs. and lit, and dir. of the fgn. lang. sch, Univ. Istanbul. Like Spitzer, A. placed a no. of young emigrés as lects. and instrs. at the lang. sch. (Yabanei Diller, Yüksek Okulu). 1947 emigr. to U.S. 1948 vis. prof, Pennsylvania State Univ, University Park. 1949 mem. Inst. for Advanced Study, Princeton. From 1950 prof. of Romance langs. and lit, Yale Univ. Mem: M.L.A.; Medieval Acad.

Biblio: *Mimesis: Dargestellte Wirklichkeit in der abendländischen Literatur* (Bern, 1946; Eng. trans. Princeton, 1953); *Neue Dantestudien* (Zurich, 1944; Tur. trans, 1944); *Roman filolijinsine girls* (Intro. into Romance Languages and Literature; Istanbul, 1944; Fr. trans. Frankfurt/M, 1949; Eng. trans. New York, 1961); *Literatursprache und Publikum in der Lateinischen Spätantike und im Mittelalter* (Bern, 1958; Eng. trans. New York, 1965); *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Romanischen Philologie* (Bern, Munich, 1967); contrib. var. arts. and essays to colls, incl. in Tur. and U.S. *Lit*: Dante della Terza, “E.A.,” in *Belfagor* (vol. 18, May 1936); W.B. Fleischmann, “E.A.’s Critical Theory and Practice: an Assessment,” in *Modern Language Notes* (vol. 81, Dec, 1966); *Marburger Gelehrte in der ersten Hälfte des*

20. *Jahrhunderts* (Marburg, 1977); Widmann, *Bildungshilfe*; Harry Levin, "Two Romanists in America: Spitzer and Auerbach," in Bailyn and Fleming, *Migration. Arch.*: S.P.S.L. Sources: Arch, Hand, Journ, News, Print. — IfZ.

Auerbach, Erna, art historian, painter, lecturer; b. Frankfurt/M 1 Oct. 1897, d. London 23 June 1975. R: Jewish. E: 1933 U.K. Cit: 1946 U.K., fmlly. Ger. F: Ernst Moritz A, b. Frankfurt/M 1863, d. 1926, Jewish, Dr. jur, lawyer, notary, Justizrat, mem. coun. of Univ. Frankfurt/M, Syndikus of lib. Jewish cong. and Philanthropin. M: Emma Kehrmann, b. Frankfurt/M 1867, d. London 1958, Jewish, painter, 1939 to U.K. S: Ilse Schmitthoff (wife of *Clive M. Schmitthoff), lawyer, emigr. with sister, a: London. ∞ (none). C: (none).

1917–21 att. Univs. Frankfurt/M, Bonn, Munich. 1921–24 att. Univ. Frankfurt/M; 1924(25?) Dr. phil. in art hist. Also studied art 1917–22 at Kunstgewerbesch, Frankfurt/M; 1926 in Paris; 1928–30 with Prof. Willie Baumeister, Frankfurt/M. Lect. privately and publicly, esp. 1923–33 at Volksbildungsheim, Frankfurt/M. Contrib. arts. on art hist. to journals, esp. *Kunstwanderer*. Work in oils and watercolors painting portraits, still lifes, and landscapes. Individual shows: Schames Gall, Frankfurt/M (1925); Frankfurter Kunstverein (1931). Regular exhibs. in group shows in var. cities, esp. at Frankfurter Kunstverein and Kulturbund. Unable to exhib, lect, or publ; later prevented from painting. 1933 emigr. to U.K. Lect. privately and at pub. insts, esp. Crosby Hall, Westfield Coll, and Royal Holloway Coll, both colls. of Univ. London. 1939–45 mem, Women's Vol. Serv. 1945(?)–49 att. Courtauld Inst, Univ. London: studied with Sir Henry Hake, dir, Nat. Portrait Gall; 1949 Ph.D. in hist. of art. 1947–75 perm. position as vis. lect, London Polytech. Inst. 1970–75 lects. in U.S. at Metropolitan Mus, New York, and Nat. Gall, Washington, D.C., and var. univs, art mus. and galls. Also wrote lects. on art for the B.B.C. Spec. in English painting of the sixteenth century. Individual show: Brook Street Gall, London (1938). Group shows: Annual exhibs. at Women's Intl. Art Club and Ben Uri Art Gall. (from 1934); Ger. Jewish Artists' Work at Parson's Gall. (1936); Exhib. of 20th Century Ger. Art at New Burlington Gall, Royal Acad. (1938); United Artists Exhib, Royal Acad. Arts (1943); Leicester Gall. (1944); Arcade Gall. (1945); Flower Paintings of the World at Augustine Gall, Holt, Norfolk (1971).

Biblio: "Die deutsche Bildnismalerei im 16. Jahrhundert in Franken, Schwaben und Bayern" (diss, Univ. Frankfurt/M, 1924); "The English Portrait and Patronage of Art from 1520–1590" (diss, Univ. London, 1949); "An Exhibition of Illuminated Royal Portraits from the Plea Rolls of the King's Bench," *Archives* (no. 6, 1951); *Tudor Artists* (London, 1954); *Nicholas Hilliard* (London, 1961); co-auth, *Paintings and Sculpture at Hatfield House* (London, 1971); also contrib. arts. to prof. journals. incl. *Apollo*, *Burlington Mag*, *The Connoisseur*; for complete biblio. see R.F.J.I. arch. *Papers*: E.A. coll, Skinners' Libr, City Univ, London. Sources: News, Pers. — R.F.J.I.

Auerbach, Frank Helmuth, painter, draftsman; b. Berlin 29 Apr. 1931. R: Jewish. E: 1939 U.K. Cit: 1947 U.K. F: Max A, lawyer. M: Charlotte Norah Borhardt.

1939 emigr. to U.K. (?)–1947 att. Bunce Court Sch, Kent, then Borough Polytechnic, London. 1948–52 studied with David Bomberg at St. Martin's Sch. of Art, London; 1952 Nat. Dipl. of Design. 1952–55 cont. art studies at Royal Coll. of Art, London; 1955 1st Class Hon, Silver Medal, Assoc. Royal Coll. of Art. 1956–58 art teacher at Sidcup, Ealing, Bromley, Camberwell and Slade Schs. of Art in U.K. 1956 first individual show at Beaux Arts Gall, London, regular exhibs. there until 1963. 1965– contract with Marlborough Fine Art Gall, London. Num. individual shows abroad incl. 1969 New York, 1972 Sydney, 1972 Melbourne, 1973 Milan, 1974 Dublin. Group exhib. incl: Carnegie Intl, Pittsburgh, Penn. (1958, 1961); Critics' Choice (Arthur Tooth and Sons), London (1958, 1963, 1971); Dunn Intl. and Gulbenkian Intl, London (1963, 1964); Immagine per la Citta Genua (1972); others. A: (1979) London.

Biblio: "Interview with John Christopher Battye," *Arts and Artists* (London, Jan, 1971); "Statement," *European Painting in the Seventies* (Los Angeles, 1975). Lit: *Englische Kunst der Gegenwart*, cat, Künstlerhaus Bregenz (Bregenz, Aus, 1977). Sources: Hand, Print. — IfZ.

Auerbach, Moses, dir. of school network, author of historical and pedagogical works, editor; b. Halberstadt, Saxony, Ger. 3 Feb. 1881. R: Jewish. E: 1934(33?) Pal. F: Selig Aviezi A, b. 1840, d. 1901, Dr, head of Jewish sec. sch, Fürth, Bavaria, Ger, then succeeded father as rabbi, Halberstadt. M: Rosa, b. Halberstadt, d. Halberstadt 1932, chmn, Nashim Zedkanioth (charitable org.), Halberstadt. S: Isaac Emil, b. 1870, d. 1932, Dr. phil, succeeded father as rabbi, Halberstadt, dir, local Jewish sch, Halberstadt, many yrs. chmn, Bund gesetzestreuer Gemeinden, Ger, and of its Landesverband, many yrs. chmn, Agudass Yisroel, Ger; Hirsch B, b. 1873, d. 1952, physician, Halberstadt, 1935 to Pal, co-fdr, Mekor Hayyim Cong, Petah Tikvah, Pal./Isr, led by *Rabbi Benedikt Pinchas Wolf; ten siblings altogether, incl. 4 bros. and 6 sisters. C: Abraham Samuel, 1947–48 with father reorg. Jewish schools in Tripoli, Lebanon.

1905(?) Dr. phil, Univ. Strassburg. 1907–09 teacher, Lehrersemin, Cologne (headed by brother-in-law Rabbi Benedikt Pinchas Wolf). 1909 emigr. to Pal. 1909–17 dir, network of schools est. by Freie Vereinigung für die Interessen des orthodoxen Judentums (orthodox Jewish org. in Ger.). Serv. Ger. Army. For short period principal, Havazzelet Girls' Sch, Warsaw. 1918–22 teacher, Talmud Thorah, Cologne. 1922–35(?) Doz, Talmud and hist, Rabbinersem, Berlin. Last chmn, Jüdische Lit. Ges. and last ed. of its Jahrbuch. 1934(33?) emigr. to Pal. 1935–47 principal, Nezaḥ Yisrael schs, Petah Tikvah. 1947 with son entrusted with reorg. of Jewish schools in Tripoli. 1949– lect, Beth Jacob Sem, Tel Aviv. Co-fdr, Yavneh gym, Haifa, and Yeshurun gym, Petah Tikvah. A: (1974) Petah Tikvah.

Biblio: *Wörterbuch zur Mechilta des R. Israel* (diss, Strassburg, 1905); ed, *Festschrift zum 50jährigen Bestehen des Rabbinerseminars Berlin* (Hannover, Ger, 1924); "Zur politischen Geschichte der Juden unter Hadrian," *Jeschurun* (vol. 10, 1923; vol. 11, 1942); "Der Streit zwischen Saadiah Gaon und dem Exilarchen David ben Zakkai," *Jüdische Studien* (Frankfurt/M, 1928); *Torat haHinukh, Sefer Ezer leHinukh veHoraah beVatei Sefer Datyyim* (The Theory of Education, Guide to Education and Instruction in Religious Schools; Jerusalem, 1957/58); ed, *Sefer Zikaron leRabbi Yizhak Izik Halevi* (Memorial Volume for Rabbi Yizhak Isaac Halevi; Bnei Berak, Isr, 1964); also contrib. arts. to *Jeshurun*, *Der Israelit*. Sources: News, Print. — R.F.J.I.

Auerbach, Robert, prof. of zoology; b. Berlin 12 Apr. 1929. R: Jewish. E: 1939 U.K., 1940 U.S. Cit: 1946 U.S., fmlly. Ger. F: *Richard Joseph Auerbach, b. Posen, Ger. (Poznan, Pol.) 1892, Jewish, Dr. jur, lawyer, Berlin, 1939 to U.K. and 1940 to U.S. with wife and children, C.P.A, pres. Am. K.C. Fraternity, treas. A.F.J.C.E, New York. M: Ella Levi, b. Frankfurt/M 1900, Jewish, Dr. jur, lawyer, soc. worker and mem. bd. dirs, Selfhelp, active in Cong. Habonim, New York. S: Brigitte Prusoff, b. 1926, Ph.D, Yale Univ, assist. prof. of biostatistics, Yale Univ. ∞ 1950 Wanda Virginia Irwin, b. Powell Station, Tenn. 1927, Protestant, M.S.W, M.L.S, soc. worker, med. libr. C: Richard J, b. 1954, B.A, Stanford Univ, lawyer; Emily K, b. 1956, B.A, LL.D, Univ. Wisconsin.

Att. elem. sch. in Ger. Jan. 1939 emigr. with fam. to Eng. on transit visa. Sept. 1940 emigr. to U.S. with fam. 1946–49 att. Berea Coll, Berea, Ky; 1949 A.B. 1949–54 att. Columbia Univ, New York; 1950 A.M., 1954 Ph.D. in zool. 1952–53 fel, Nat. Sci. Found; 1953–54 Boese fel. 1954–55 assoc. biol. div, Oak Ridge Nat. Lab, Tenn. 1954–57 fel, Nat. Cancer Inst. 1957– mem. fac, Univ. Wisconsin, Madison: 1957–61 assist. prof. of zool, 1961– assoc. prof, 1965– prof, 1972– dir, dev. biol. training prog. Concurr: 1967–68 Guggenheim fel. for res. and study in Melbourne; 1974–75 Rockefeller Found. spec. fel. in reprod. biol. Spec. in developmental biology, immunology and cancer

res. Mem. ed. bd: *Journ. Exp. Med; Journ. Exp. Zoology; Transplantation; Developmental and Comp. Immunology; Thymus; Differentiation*. Mem. govt. comms: Dev. biol. comm, Nat. Sci. Found. Adv. Panel; Sect. human embryology and dev, Nat. Inst. Health Study; maternal and child health res. comm, Nat. Inst. Child Health and Human Dev. Mem. Am. Zool. Assn; Soc. Dev. Biol; Soc. Exp. Biol. and Med; A.A.A.S; Transplantation Soc; Intl. Soc. of Dev. Biol; Am. Assn. of Immunologists; Am. Fed. of Musicians; A.C.L.U. Recd: Wisconsin Student Assn. Award for outstanding teaching. A: (1979) Madison.

Biblio: "Analysis of the Developmental Effects of a Lethal Mutation in the House Mouse" (diss, Columbia Univ, 1954); contrib. more than 80 arts. to prof. journals. *Sources*: Hand, Pers, Qu. — R.F.J.I.

Auernheimer, Raoul, author; b. Vienna 15 Apr. 1876, d. Oakland, Calif. 7 Jan. 1948. *E*: 1938 U.S. *Cit*: 1944 U.S, fmlly. Aus. *F*: Johannes Wilhelm A, bus. *M*: Charlotte Büchler. ∞ 1906 Irene Leopoldine Guttmann. *C*: One dtr, a: U.S.

Gym. educ. 1894–1900 studied law, Univ. Vienna. Gerichtsreferendar, then journ, theater critic and writer. Ed. *Neue Freie Presse*, Vienna. Contrib. *Nationalzeitung*, Basel. 1922– pres. and v. pres, P.E.N, Aus. Outspoken opponent of Nazism. Feb. 1938 arrested by Gestapo and transported to Dachau concentration camp. Aug. 1938 released from camp upon intervention of Emil Ludwig and the Am. diplomat Prentiss Gilbert, on condition that R.A. emigr. to U.S. Fall 1938 emigr. to New York. Summer 1941 moved to Calif. Aided by fam. and dtr. Unsuccessful attempts to live by writing; recd. university teaching contracts. Lect. and script writer for film co. Attempted to est. Aus. theater with → Ernst Lothar. 1941 co-fdr. of Aus. comm. 1944 contrib. to *Kulturblätter* and *Kulturelle Schriftenreihe* of the Free Aus. Movt. Author of novels, short stories and sketches, and popular social comedies; books banned in Nazi Germany.

Biblio: *Prince Metternich, Statesman and Lover* (New York, 1940); *Franz Grillparzer: Der Dichter Österreichs* (Vienna, 1948); *Das Wirtshaus zur verlorenen Zeit: Erlebnisse und Bekennnisse* (Vienna, 1948); for further biblio. see Wilpert/Gühning; *Intl. Biblio*; Köttelwesch, *Biblio. Hand. Lit. N.D.B.* (vol. 1); Harry Zohn, *Wiener Juden in der deutschen Literatur* (Tel Aviv, 1964); Stern, *Werke; D.L.L.; Spalek/Strelka, Exilliteratur*; Spalek, *Guide: Sources*: Hand. — IfZ.

Aufricht, Ernst Josef, theater manager and producer; b. Beuthen, Upper Silesia, Ger. (Bytom, Pol.) 31 Aug. 1898, d. Cannes, Fr. 26 July 1971. *R*: Roman Catholic, fmlly. Jewish. *E*: 1933 Fr, 1941 U.S, 1953 Fr, Fed. Repub. Ger. *Cit*: Ger. *F*: Emanuel A, timber merchant. *M*: Else Brieger, b. Breslau, Lower Silesia, Ger. (Wrocław, Pol.), d. New York 1947(?), Roman Catholic, fmlly. Jewish, emigr. to U.K., 1947 to U.S. *S*: 2 bros. ∞ 1920 Margot Schoeps, Roman Catholic, fmlly. Jewish, 1933 to C.S.R. and Fr, 1946 U.S, 1953 Fr, Fed. Repub. Ger, 1972 U.S. *C*: Heinz A, b. Dresden, Saxony, Ger. 1921(?), mgr. of tourist bureau, 1933 to C.S.R. and Fr, 1940 to U.K. (served Brit. Army)(?), Fr.(?), U.S; Wolfgang A, b. Berlin 1926(?) adv. expert, 1933 to C.S.R. and Fr, 1946 to U.S, 1953 to Fr, Fed. Repub. Ger.

1902 moved with fam. from Beuthen to Gleiwitz, Upper Silesia. Att. Gym. 1915(?)— vol. enlistment in milit. serv, instr. in basic training. 1918 in Breslau. 1919— priv. acting classes in Berlin, matriculated at univ. 1920–23 actor, Sächsisches Staatstheater, Dresden. 1923 with → Berthold Viertel, fdr, later assist. dir, theater ensemble Die Truppe, Berlin (1924 bankrupt). 1926–27 assist. dir, Wallner-Theater Berlin. 1928–31 rented Theater am Schiffbauerdamm (Dramaturg → Heinrich Fischer); then prod. of premières incl. *Die Dreigroschenoper* by → Bertolt Brecht and → Kurt Weill; 1929 *Giftgas über Berlin* by → Peter Martin Lampel with the Assn. of Young Actors; *Pioniere in Ingolstadt* by Marieluise Fleisser; 1930 *Feuer aus den Kesseln* by → Ernst Toller; 1931 *Italienische Nacht* by → Ödön von Horváth. 1931 discontinued work at Theater am Schiff-

bauerdamm. Mem. of Ger. Theater Mgrs. Assn. (D.B.V). 1931 fdr, Ernst Josef Aufricht Prod. for which he prod. premières by Brecht and Horváth. 1932– also artistic dir, Theater im Admiralspalast, Berlin. Mar. 1933, following Nazi attack on the theater because of its "Red" repertoire, emigr. to Paris via Switz. 1934–35 rented farm in Normandy; set up agric. sch. for young émigrés. 1937 Worlds-Fair prod. of *L'Opéra de Quai' Sous* (Fr. version of *Three-Penny Opera*) in Paris. Until 1939 rented the Théâtre de l'Etoile and Théâtre Pigalle in Paris. 1939 interned at Vierzon; 1940 interned at Camp Braconne near Limoges. Drafted for unarmed milit. serv. (prestataire); stationed at Albi; demobilized. For several months with spouse and son Wolfgang at a village of the Département Ardèche. Then in hiding, due to threats of extradition to Ger. 1941 emigr. to New York via Marseille, Sp. and Port. Supported by relief orgs. Mem. Y.M.C.A. Regisseur for *Aufbau* radio-series *We Fight Back* (polit. commentaries, readings and radio dramas by prominent émigrés.). 1946 spent short time in Paris. 1947 returned to New York. 1950 with → Felix G. Gerstman prod. *Weill Memorial*, a tribute to → Kurt Weill. 1953 returned to Eur, first to Nice, Fr, then to W.Berlin. Failed in attempts to form a theater co. similar to former Schiffbauerdamm Theater. Recd: Literary Hon, Bavarian Acad. of Fine Arts (1967).

Biblio: *Erzähle, damit du dein Recht erweist: Aufzeichnungen eines Berliner Theaterdirektors*, autobiog. (Frankfurt/M, W.Berlin, Munich, 1969). *Lit*: Kürschner, *Theater*; Friedrich, *Theater*; Knellessen, *Agitation*; Stern, *Werke*; Wächter, *Exiltheater*; Trilse, Hammer, Kabel, *Theaterlexikon*. *Sources*: Autobiog, Hand, News, Pers, Print. — IfZ.

Augenfeld, Felix, architect, interior designer; b. Vienna 10 Jan. 1893. *R*: Jewish. *E*: 1938 U.K., 1939 U.S. *Cit*: 1941 U.S. (fmlly. Aus.). *F*: Isidor A, b. Baja, Hung. ca. 1860, d. Vienna ca. 1936, Jewish, businessman. *M*: Paula Bendiener, b. Brünn, Moravia, Aus. (Brno, C.S.R.) ca. 1870, d. London 1946, 1939 to U.K. with second son. *S*: Walter A, b. Vienna 1891, retired, a: 1975 U.K. ∞ 1966 Anny (Anna) Friedländer, b. Vienna 1902, Jewish, ceramist, interior decorator, painter, 1938 to U.S. *C*: (none).

Att. Realsch. in Vienna; 1910 Matura. 1910–14 studied engr, T.H. Vienna. 1914 serv, Austro-Hung. Army; 1915–19 P.O.W. in It; released as cadet. 1919 resumed studies at T.H. Vienna. 1920 civil archit. 1921–38 freelance archit. in Vienna in partnership with Karl Hofmann working on archit. commns. and interior designs in Aus. and C.S.R., and bldgs. in Vienna. 1931 assist. to Oskar Strnad as theater and stage designer in Vienna and London. 1933 partic. exhib. Milan. Publ. in prof. journals. in Aus, Ger, U.K, It, and U.S, incl. *Moderne Bauformen*, Berlin; *Die Bühne*, Vienna; *Kunst und Dekoration*; and 1934 contrib. to *Das Wiener Möbel*, Stuttgart. Mem. Cent. Union of Aus. Architects (1921–38). June 1938 emigr. to U.K. 1938–39 lived in London on resid. permit; aided by Brit. and Am. friends. Freelance architect and designer on private commissions. Aug. 1939 emigr. to U.S. Freelancer. From 1941 ran own archit. studio in New York. Mem: Am. Inst. Archits. from which F.A. recd. an hon. mention (1961) for Buttlinger Libr. Bldg, New York (built 1952–56). A: (1979) New York.

Biblio: 1942–70 publ. in prof. journals. incl. *Forum*, New York; *Interiors*, New York; *Progressive Archit*, New York; *Domus*, Milan (1950–60). *Lit*: *Das Werk der Auslandsösterreicher in der Welt*, cat. *Arch*: Photos and drawings at Columbia Univ. Libr, New York. *Sources*: Hand, Print, Qu. — IfZ.

Aull, Felice, assoc. prof. of physiology; b. Vienna 12 Aug. 1938. *R*: Protestant. *E*: 1940 U.S. *Cit*: 1946 U.S, fmlly. Aus. *F*: Heinz Benjamin A, b. Berlin 1899, Protestant, Dr. phil, chemist, 1940 to U.S. via It. and Port. *M*: Gertrude Silberg, b. Offenbach, Hessen-Nassau, Ger. 1910, Protestant, Dr. phil. in psych, psychologist, emigr. to U.S. with mother. *S*: (none). ∞ 1962 Martin S. Nachbar, b. New York 1937, Jewish, M.D., 1969– mem. fac, New York Univ. Sch. of Med. *C*: Nancy, b. 1968.

Aug. 1940 emigr. to U.S. via It. and Port. with mother; father had preceded them. 1956–60 att. Barnard Coll, New York; 1960

A.B. 1960–64 doctoral candidate in physiol, Cornell Univ. Sch. of Med, N.Y.; concurr. 1960–63 N.I.H. fel; 1964 Ph.D.; 1964–65 N.I.H. postdoctoral fel. in physiol, Cornell Univ. 1966– mem. fac, dept. of physiol, New York Univ. Sch. of Med: 1966–69 instr, 1969–72 assist. prof, from 1972 assoc. prof. Areas of expertise incl. membrane transport and permeability of single cells, especially ascites tumor cells, erythrocytes; chloride transport across cell membranes; electrolyte transport across cell membranes; membrane permeability to solutes and water. Mem: Harvey Soc; Soc. Gen. Physiol; Am. Physiol. Soc; New York Acad. of Scis.

Biblio: Contrib. arts. to prof. journals. incl. *Biochimica Biophysica Acta*, *Journ. of Cell Physiol*, *Am. Journ. Med. Sci*, *Am. Journ. of Physiol*. Sources: Hand, Qu. — R.F.J.I.

Ausländer, Josef, prof. of physics; b. Vasloutz, Bukovina, Aus. 20 Mar. 1911, d. Karlsruhe, Baden, Ger. 16 June 1978. *R:* Jewish. *E:* 1933 Switz, later to Rum, 1965 Fed. Repub. Ger. *Cit:* Rum, Ger, fmlly. Aus. *F:* Simon A, b. Bukovina, Jewish, farmer, 1940 deported to Russ. *M:* Nathalie Geiger, b. Bukovina, d. 1940, Jewish. *S:* Klara, b. Czernowitz, Bukovina, Aus. (Chernovtsy, U.S.S.R.) 1908, univ. educ, sec. sch. teacher, a: Rum. ∞ 1940 Erika Deligdisch, b. Czernowitz 1913, Jewish, studied mod. langs, Univs. Czernowitz and Paris, 1940–teacher in Czernowitz, 1947–64 sec. sch. teacher in Bucharest, 1966–73 sec. sch. teacher in Ettlingen near Karlsruhe, ret, a: Karlsruhe. *C:* Kitty, b. Bucharest 1952, studied philol, sec. sch. teacher in Fed. Repub. Ger.

1928 Matura, Vienna. 1928– studied phys, esp. current engr, T.H. Berlin and 1931– at Univ. Berlin. 1933 emigr. to Switz. Cont. studies at Univ. Zurich; 1938 Dr. phil. Later went to Rum. During W.W.II forced labor. After war mem. fac, T.H. Bucharest; First assist, 1949 univ. lect, 1952– o. Prof. of phys, head of res. lab. for cosmic radiation and elem. particle phys. at the Inst. of Nuclear Phys. of the Rum. Acad, Bucharest. 1965 vis. sci, C.E.R.N, Geneva. Vis prof: 1965–67 T.H. Karlsruhe; 1967 Univ. Strasbourg (app. as assoc. prof.); 1968–76 hon. prof, Univ. Karlsruhe, sci. collab, Inst. of Exp. Nuclear Phys, Cent. for Nuclear Res. Concurr: 1956–58 co-ed, *Buletin Inst. Politech*, Bucharest; 1959–63 co-ed, *Revue de Phys*. Recd: Rum. Doctor's degree for math.-phys. scis. (1954).

Biblio: Contrib. more than 35 arts. to prof. journals. in the field of nuclear phys. Sources: Arch, Hand, Pers. — IfZ.

Avenary, Hanoch (fmlly. Herbert Loewenstein), musicologist; b. Danzig, W. Prussia, Ger. (Gdansk, Pol.) 25 May 1908. *E:* 1936 Pal. *Cit:* Isr, fmlly. Free City of Danzig. *F:* Norbert Loewenstein, b. 1871, d. 1942, Jewish, emigr. to Pal, merchant. *M:* Anna Begach, b. 1878, d. 1960, Jewish, emigr. to Pal. *S:* Ruth Arnold, b. 1910, emigr. to Pal, secy, a: Can. ∞ 1936 Thea Wrzeszinski, b. Danzig 1912, physiotherapist. *C:* Tamar Givoli, b. Tel Aviv 1936, mem. Kibb. Magen.

Studied musicol, music hist. and lit, and art hist. at Univs. Leipzig, Munich, Frankfurt/M, and Königsberg; 1931 Dr. phil. in musicol, lit. and art, Univ. Königsberg. Mem. Kameraden. 1932 fdr. of independent publ. co. for Jewish art books in Berlin; art publ. for Mus. der Jüdische Gde. Berlin, and Kulturbund Deut. Juden; career terminated by exclusion from Bund Deut. Kunstverleger. 1936 emigr. to Pal. on A-I cert. Worked as publ. advertising agent, salesperson, inventor, held patent for a building mat. substitute, and tech. adv. in a factory. 1948–65 tech. and major, Isr. Air Force. 1964– res. fel, Jewish Music. Res. Cent, Hebrew Univ. From 1966 mem. fac. of visual and perf. arts, dept. of musicol, Tel Aviv Univ: Rose from lect. to assoc. prof. Publ. on topics incl. Spanish-Jewish music and the development of Hebrew hymns and cantorial music of the 18th and 19th centuries. Res. on Oriental and medieval European music. Mem: Intl. Musicol. Soc; Isr. Musicol. Soc. (hon. pres.). Recd: Zelig Altschul Res. Award (1955–56). Joel Engel Prize of Tel Aviv (1977). A: (1981) Tel Aviv.

Biblio: *Wort und Ton bei Oswald von Wolkenstein* (diss, Univ. Königsberg, 1931; publ. Königsberg, 1932); "Jüdische Musik," *M. G. G.* (vol. 7, 1958); *Studies in the Hebrew, Syrian and Greek*

Liturgical Recitative (Tel Aviv, 1963); *Hebrew Hymn Tunes: The Rise and Development of a Musical Tradition* (Tel Aviv, 1969); ed, *Sal. Rossi, Canzonette* (Tel Aviv, 1975); *The Ashkenazi Tradition of Biblical Chant* (Tel Aviv, 1978); *Encounters of East and West in Music* (Tel Aviv, 1979; contains biblio. to 1979); contrib. arts. to prof. journals. incl. the music sect. of *E. J. Sources: Hand, Print, Qu.* — R.F.J.I.

B

Baade, Hans Wolfgang, prof. of law; b. Berlin 16 Dec. 1929. *R:* Protestant. *E:* 1934 Tur, 1946 U.S., 1949 Ger. Dem. Repub, 1960 U.S. *Cit:* Ger. *F:* *Fritz B, b. Neuruppin, Brandenburg, Ger. 1893, d. Kiel, Schleswig-Holstein, Ger. 1974, Protestant, Dr. rer. pol, mem. S.P.D, 1930–33 M.d.R, 1934 to Tur, 1946 to U.S., 1948 to Ger, 1949–65 M.d.B. *M:* Edith Wolff, b. Znién, Russ. (Pol.) 1898(97?), Jewish, later Protestant, att. Univ. Freiburg, polit. reporter *Berliner Börsen-Courier*, emigr. with husband, 1949 returned to Ger. Dem. Repub. *S:* Aenne Laqueur, b. Göttingen, Hannover, Ger. 1918(19?), ∞ *Kurt Laqueur, 1938 to Tur, later to Switz; Peter K, b. Göttingen 1920(21?), Dr. Ing, engr, 1938 to Tur, later to U.S. ∞ 1957 Ann A. Johnston, b. Gorebridge, Scot. 1931, mem. Church of Scot, M.A. Edinburgh and Duke Univs, trans. and interpreter. *C:* Friedrich James, b. 1958, 1960 to U.S., B.A., Univ. Texas, student; Hans Alistair, b. 1963, student.

1934 emigr. to Tur. with fam. on resid. visa. 1941–44 att. Deut. Sch., Istanbul. 1946 emigr. to U.S. with fam. 1946–49 att. Syracuse Univ, N.Y.; 1949 A.B., 1948 pres. of Ger. Club at univ. 1949 returned to Ger. 1951 Dr. jur, Univ. Kiel. 1951–53 serv, U.S. Army milit. intell. 1955 LL.B. and LL.M, Duke Univ, Durham, N.Car. 1956 dipl, Hague Acad. of Intl. Law; 1955–60 res. assist. in intl. law, Univ. Kiel, 1960 Privatdoz; concurr. 1956–60 educ. secy, *Jahrbuch Intls. Recht*. 1960 second emigr. to U.S. on vis. visa. 1960–70 mem. fac. of law, Duke Univ: 1960 assoc. prof, 1964 prof. Concurr: Summer 1963 vis. assoc. prof, Univ. Chicago; spring 1966 vis. prof. U.C.L.A.; summer 1967 at Univ. Texas, Austin; summer 1968 at Free Univ, W. Berlin. 1969 consult. for proj. on govt. reform, Fed. Repub. Ger. Fed. Min. of Interior. 1970–71 prof. of law, Univ. Toronto. 1971– mem. fac, Univ. Texas, Austin: 1971 A.S. Burleson prof. of law, 1975– H.L. Stone prof. of law. Spec. in intl. bus. and trade law and comparative and intl. law. Mem: S.P.D. (1960–); Vereinigung der Deut. Staatsrechtslehrer (1960–); Deut. Ges. für Völkerrecht (1960–); Am. Assn. for the Comp. Study of Law (1960–); Am. Fgn. Law Assn. (dir. 1963); Am. Arbitration Assn. (mem, nat. panel of arbitrators 1966–). A: (1976) Austin.

Biblio: *Die Behandlung des feindlichen Privatvermögens in den Vereinigten Staaten* (Düsseldorf, 1952); *Das Verhältnis von Parlament und Regierung im Bereich der auswärtigen Gewalt der B.R.D.* (Hamburg, 1962); ed, *Jurimetrics* (New York, 1963); ed, *The Soviet Impact on International Law* (Dobbs Ferry, N.Y., 1965); contrib. to *Essays on Expropriations*, Richard Miller and Roland Stanger, eds. (Columbus, Ohio, 1967); co-ed, *The Institutionalized Presidency* (Durham, 1970); contrib. num. arts. to prof. journals. incl. *Law and Contemp. Problems*, *Am. Journ. of Comp. Law*, *Staatslexikon*, and *Jahrbuch für Intl. Recht*; for complete list of publs. to 1975 see R.F.J.I. archs. Sources: Hand, Qu. — R.F.J.I.

Bab, Julius, author, theater critic, dramaturg, stage director; b. Berlin 11 Dec. 1880, d. Roslyn Heights, New York 12 Feb. 1955. *R:* Jewish. *E:* 1939 Fr, 1940–41 U.S. *Cit:* U.S., fmlly. Ger, Aug. 1940 Ger. cit. revoked. *F:* Elkan B, businessman. *M:* Fanny Herrmann. ∞ 1904 Elisabeth Loos, b. 1878, d. N.Y. 1963, emigr. with husband. *C:* Bjoern, b. 1906; Ursula, b. 1910; Barbara, b. 1911.

Abitur, Askanisches Gym, Berlin. Studied in Berlin and Zurich. 1901– theater critic for leading Berlin newspapers and

mags. incl. 1904–06, 1919–23 *Welt am Montag*, *Berliner Volkszeitung* 1923–33, later *Die Schaubühne* and *Die Weltbühne*. Dramatic prod. with → Fritz Jessner in Königsberg, E. Prussia, Ger. (Kaliningrad, U.S.S.R.). Dir. and dramatic prod. in Berlin. Lect. at Univ. Berlin and elsewhere; num. lects. on cultural-political themes. Leading drama critic of the time with extensive lit. criticism publs, esp. on the dramatic and theatrical arts. Publ. of num. monographies of actors; pioneer of sociological approach to theater. Mem: D.D.P. (1919–30); S.D.S.; Deut. Buchgemeinschaft (mem. bd. dirs.); C.V. (mem. gov. bd.); Volksbühne, Berlin, Verband der Deut. Volksbühnenver., mem. Reichsbanner, 1923–32 ed. of *Dramaturgische Blätter*, a publ. of Verband der Deut. Volksbühnenver. 1925 in opposition to the theater of contemp. problems, dev. idealistic Volksbühne prog. Doz. at → Max Reinhardt's Actor's Sch. of Deutsches Theater, Berlin. Mem. of expert comm. Assn. of Theater Art Mgrs, Berlin. 1933–38 mem. bd. of dirs, drama and rhetoric sect, Jüdischer Kulturbund. Ed. *Monatsblätter des Jüdischen Kulturbundes*, publ. on problems of Ger. Jews. 1935 expelled from Reichsschrifttumskammer. 1939 emigr. to Paris after dissolution of Kulturbund. Late 1940 emigr. to New York. Sold major portion of extensive libr. 1941– active as lect; theater and lit. critic for *New York Herald* and *New Yorker Staatszeitung und Herald*; contrib. to *Aufbau* and *Deutsche Blätter*. Santiago, Chile. 1951, 1953 lect. tours in Fed. Repub. Ger.

Biblio: Author of num. books on theater and lit. incl. *Kritik der Bühne* (Berlin, 1908); *Die Chronik des deutschen Dramas* (Berlin, 1908; repr. Berlin, 1921–26, Darmstadt, 1972); *Neue Wege zum Drama* (Berlin, 1911); *Wesen und Weg der Berliner Volksbühnenbewegung* (Berlin, 1919); *Neue Kritik der Bühne* (Berlin, 1920); *Der Mensch auf der Bühne: Eine Dramaturgie für Schauspieler* (Berlin, 1922); *Schauspieler und Schauspielkunst* (Berlin, 1926; 4th ed. 1928); *Das Theater der Gegenwart: Geschichte der dramatischen Bühne seit 1870* (Leipzig, 1928); *Das Theater im Lichte der Soziologie* (Berlin, 1931; repr. Stuttgart, 1974); *Die Devrients: Geschichte einer Theaterfamilie* (Berlin, n.d. [1932]); *Rembrandt und Spinoza: Doppelbildnis im deutsch-jüdischen Raum* (Berlin, 1934); *Kränze dem Mimen* (Emsdetten, 1954); *Über den Tag hinaus: Kritische Betrachtungen*, posth. (Heidelberg – Darmstadt, 1960); publ. of revolutionary and war poetry; auth. of dramatic works; contrib. to *Jüdische Lexikon* (Berlin, 1927–30); others; num. unpubl. writings. **Papers:** See Spalek. **Lit:** *Rh.D.G.*; Hans Knudsen, *Theaterwissenschaft: Werden und Wertung einer Universitätsdisziplin* (Berlin, Hamburg, Stuttgart, 1950); Ilse Bab, "Der Theaterkritiker Julius Bab," biog. and biblio. (diss, Free Univ, W. Berlin, 1953); Kosch, *Theater*; *Enciclopedia dello spettacolo*; Freedon, *Jüdisches Theater*; Rühle, *Theater*; Friedrich, *Theater*; Ernst Warschauer, "Julius Bab im Exil," *Mitteilungen des Verbandes ehemaliger Breslauer und Schlesier in Israel* (no. 31, Ramat Gan, Isr, Mar. 1972); Marlene Gärtner, *Verband der deutschen Volksbühnen-Vereine* (Düsseldorf, 1978). **Arch:** Mat, diaries, letters and unpubl. work in L.B.I, New York and Julius Bab-Arch, Akad. der Künste, W. Berlin. **Sources:** Arch, Hand, News, Print. — IFZ.

Babin, Victor, pianist, composer; b. Moscow 13 Dec. 1908, d. Cleveland, Ohio 2 Mar. 1972. **E:** 1937 U.S. **Cit:** 1944 U.S. ∞ 1933 Vitya (Viktoria) Vronsky, b. Eupatoria, Crimea, Russ. 1909, pianist, studied Kiev Cons. in Berlin with → Artur Schnabel and Egon Petri and in Paris with Cortot, 1937 to U.S. with V.B.

1927 grad. summa cum laude in piano and composition, Riga Cons. of Music, Latvia (U.S.S.R.). 1928 emigr. to Ger. 1928–31 studied music with Artur Schnabel and Franz Schreker, Berlin Hochsch. für Musik; concurr. from teenage yrs. piano and composition teacher. 1933 formed two-piano team with wife which gave more than 2,000 recitals with major orchs; concurr. perf. throughout Eur. and U.S. incl. at I.S.C.M. fest. in Amsterdam in 1934. 1937 emigr. to U.S. U.S. debut as husband-wife team. W.W. II. serv. in U.S. Air Force Band. 1949 mem. Fest. Quartet with Saymon Goldberg, William Primrose and Nikolai Graudari. 1950 fdr. (?) Aspen Sch. of Music; 1951–54 dir. chmn, Berkshire Music Fest, Tanglewood, Mass. 1961–72 dir,

Cleveland Inst. of Music, Ohio. Concurr. 1962 celebrated 25th anniv. of Babin/Vronsky team with concert at Carnegie Hall; from 1969 adj. prof. of music, Case Western Reserve Univ, Cleveland, Ohio; also taught at Northwestern Univ, Evanston, Ill. and Univ. Wichita, Kansas. Works perf. by Albeneri Trio. Recd: D. Fine Arts h.c, Univ. Mexico (1961).

Selected Works: *Capriccio*, for full orch; *Concerto*, for two pianofortes and orch; *Konzertstück*, for violin and orch; *String Quartet*; *From an Old Notebook*, for cello and piano; *Sonata-Fantasia*, for cello and piano; *Twelve Variations on a Theme by Purcell*, for cello and piano; *Hillandale Waltzes*, 8 waltz movts. on a theme by Hummel, for clarinet and piano; *Fantasia, Aria, and Capriccio*, for piano; *Deux Mouvements dansants*, for piano; *Six Studies for Two Pianos*; *Three Fantasies on Old Themes*, for two pianos; *Three March Rhythms*, for two pianos; *Beloved Stranger, 11 Love Themes* (words by Witter Bynner); more than 50 works incl. all forms of music, incl. piano works, orch. works, songs and song cycles, chamber music. **Sources:** Hand, News, Print. — R.F.J.I.

Babinger, Franz, prof. of Oriental and Turkish languages and culture; b. Weiden, Bavaria, Ger. 15 Jan. 1891, d. Durrës, Albania 23 June 1967. **E:** 1935 Bulg, 1937 Rum, 1948 Ger, (U.S. Occup. Zone). **Cit:** Ger. ∞ I. Mechthild, II. 1948 Margot Nagel.

Studied Oriental and Turkish langs. and culture, Univ. Munich. 1914 Dr. phil. Serv. in W.W.I. 1921 Habil. 1924 a.o. Prof. dept. of Oriental langs. and culture, Univ. Berlin. 1935 forced to retire; emigr. to Bulg. 1937 emigr. to Rum. Vis. prof. at Univ. Bucharest. O. Prof. and dir, Turkish Inst, Univ. Jasi. 1948 returned to Ger. 1948 o. Prof. of Near Eastern and Tur. hist. and culture, Univ. Munich; fdr. and dir. of the Inst. for Oriental Langs. and Culture. 1958 retired. With his biog. of the Ottoman sultan, Mehmed II, and his studies on the history of the Balkan nations, Babinger gained prominence both as an historian of European politics and as an expert on cultural and political relations between East and West. Mem: Bavarian Acad. of Scis; Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rome; corresp. mem. of the Acads. of Scis, Göttingen, Vienna, Zagreb, Venice, Udine; hon. mem. of It, Greek, Tur. and Macedonian acad. socs.

Biblio: *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke* (Leipzig, 1927); *Mehmed der Eroberer und seine Zeit* (Munich, 1953); *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen zur Geschichte Südosteuropas und der Levante* (Munich, 1962); num. other works and arts, some publ. in several eds, and trans; for biblio. see Franz Babinger, *Schriftenverzeichnis* (Würzburg, 1938) and *Schriftenverzeichnis 1952–1957*; also G.K. (1966). **Lit:** *Serta Monacensia* (1952); *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen zur Geschichte Südosteuropas und der Levante*, op. cit. **Arch.** S.P.S.L. **Sources:** Arch, Hand, Journ, Print. — IFZ.

Bach, Hans I, author, literary historian; b. Stuttgart, Württemberg, Ger. 31 Mar. 1902, d. London 5 Dec. 1977. **R:** Jewish. **E:** 1939 U.K. **Cit:** U.K, fmlly. Ger. **F:** Albert B, b. Stuttgart 1869, d. Tel Aviv 1942, Jewish, att. Gym. up to Einjähriges, mfr, 1938 to Pal. **M:** Bertha Samson, b. Neustadt a.d. Hardt, Bavaria, Ger. 1879, d. New York 1966, Jewish, att. lyceum, fdr. of children's home, Mühringen, Württemberg, 1938 to Pal, 1947 to U.S. **S:** Rudolf D, b. Stuttgart 1904, Jewish, Abitur, businessman, 1936 to Pal, 1947 to U.S. ∞ 1938 Suse (Susan) R. Fleischhacker, b. Berlin 1902, Jewish, 1939 to U.K. with spouse, psychiatrist(?). **C:** (none).

1920–21 att. Univ. Freiburg/Breisgau. 1921–23 att. Univs. Frankfurt and Leipzig; concurr. worked in bookstore, Stuttgart. 1927 co-ed. complete works of Jean Paul for Acad. of Sci. 1928 Dr. phil, Univ. Berlin. 1928–33 reader at Min. of Interior, 1933 dismissed. 1933–39 co-ed. *Der Morgen*. Mem: Kameraden. May 1939 emigr. to U.K.; 1940 interned on Isle of Man; worked in factory and as boarding sch. instr. W.W. II (194?–44) with Brit. Fgn. Off. and then Bd. of Trade; dealt with confidential war documents. After war lect, Inst. of Jewish Learning, U.K. 1945(?)– teacher of Ger. lit, elem. sch, U.K. 10 yrs. mem. ed. staff of sci. dept, *Butterworth*, U.K. 1958–65 ed. *Syn. Rev.* of the Brit. Reform Syn. Movt. 1966 retired. 1966–77 freelance

author on psychological, cultural and religious subj. Wrote books concerning various topics in Jewish history and literature, and is credited with the most important biography of Jakob Bernays, the 19th century philologist. Recd: Univ. Medal, Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms Univ, Bonn (1977) for *Jakob Bernays*.

Biblio: Ed, *Jean Pauls Sämtliche Werke: historisch-kritische Ausgabe* (Weimar, 1927-); *Die Entstehungsgeschichte von Jean Pauls Hesperus* (diss, Weimar, 1929); *Jüdische Memoiren aus drei Jahrhunderten* (Berlin, 1936); *Jean Pauls Hesperus* (Leipzig, 1929; repr. New York, 1970); *Jakob Bernays: ein Beitrag zur Emanzipationsgeschichte der Juden und zur Geschichte des deutschen Geistes im 19. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, 1974). *Lit:* *L.B.I.Y.B.* (vol. 19, 1974, ref. 11857; vol. 20, 1975, ref. 11912). *Sources:* News, Pers, Print. — R.F.J.I.

Bach, Max, prof. of French; b. Laupheim, Württemberg, Ger. 24 Jan. 1921. *R:* None. *E:* 1933 Fr, 1938 U.S. *F:* Hugo B, b. Laupheim 1888, d. U.S. 1966, no relig. affil, M.S., 1933 to Fr, 1938 to U.S. with fam. *M:* Selma Stiefel, b. 1889, d. U.S. 1978, no relig. affil. *S:* Harry, b. 1922, M.L.S., d. 1971. ∞ 1947 Huguette Dhorne, b. St-Germain-en-Laye, Fr. 1929, no relig. affil, M.A.T., prof. of math. California State Univ, Sacramento. *C:* Dominique Geraldine, b. Paris 1951, A.B. Univ. California, Davis, secy; Marc Hugh, b. Paris 1959, student.

1933 emigr. to Fr. 1933-38 att. lycée, Paris. 1938 emigr. to U.S. 1938-42 att. Univ. California, Berkeley; 1942 A.B., Phi Beta Kappa. 1943-46 serv. with U.S. Air Corps; to 1955 first lieut, U.S. Air Force Reserve. 1946-47 and 1951-52 att. Sorbonne. 1947-52 att. Univ. California, Berkeley; 1948 M.A., 1952 Ph.D. in Romance lit. 1952- mem. fac, dept. of Fr. and It, Univ. California, Davis; 1952 instr, 1954 assist. prof, 1960 assoc. prof, 1967 prof. of Fr, 1967-77 chmn. dept; concurr. 1958-59 fel, Am. Philos. Soc. Res. on 19th century criticism and on Victor Hugo, Sainte-Beuve, Balzac, George Sand and others. Mem: Philos. Assn. Pac. Coast; M.L.A.; Am. Assn. of Teachers of Fr; Bd. of Educ, Davis Joint Unified Sch. Dist. (v. pres. 1978-).

Biblio: "Les romans de Victor Hugo et la critique du jour" (diss, Univ. California, Berkeley, 1953); "Hugo's Interest in Social Problems," *Mod. Lang. Notes* (vol. 72, Jan, 1957); "Sainte-Beuve and Voltaire," *Fr. Rev.* (vol. 31, 1957); "Critique et Politique: La Réception des Misérables en 1862," *P.M.L.A.* (vol. 77, Dec, 1962); "Sainte-Beuve: Critique du Théâtre de son Temps," *P.M.L.A.* (vol. 81, no. 7, Dec, 1966); other arts. *Sources:* Hand, Qu. — R.F.J.I.

Bach, Stephen (fmly. Stefan), reader in biochemistry, b. Nuremberg, Bavaria, Ger. 11 Dec. 1897, d. Bristol, U.K. 22 Mar. 1973. *E:* 1933 U.K. *Cit:* 1946 U.K., fmly. Ger. *F:* Siegfried B, b. 1862, d. 1919, indus, consul gen. of Tur. *M:* Anna Rosenwald, b. 1871, d. 1940. *S:* Rudolf, b. 1894, d. London 1951, merchant, 1936 to U.K.; Olga Maria, b. 1901, d. 1979. ∞ 1924 Erika Engelmann, b. Munich 1902, teacher. *C:* Irene Gibbs, b. Nuremberg 1929, emigr. to U.K., pediatrician.

W.W. I lieut, field artillery, Ger. Army. Att. T.H. in Munich, Darmstadt and Berlin; 1922 Dipl.-Ing, T.H. Berlin; 1923 Dr. Ing. 1923-31 assist, Tech.-Chem. Inst, T.H. Berlin; concurr. sci. adv. in indus. 1931-33 assist, Phys. Inst, Univ. Erlangen. 1933 emigr. to U.K. 1934-35 consult, in est. gold leaf plant in London. 1935-50 mem. fac, dept. of biochem, Cambridge Univ: 1935 res, 1937 Ph.D. in biochem, 1941 lect. and demons; also tutor at Trinity Coll. and Fitzwilliam House; concurr. 1949-50 goodwill lect. tour of Ger. univs, sponsored by Brit. Fgn. Off. 1950-73 mem. fac, Univ. Bristol: 1950 sr. biochem, 1955 reader in chem. physiol, 1963 ret; also mem. fac, dept. of vet. surg; 1963-73 cancer res. and chem. adv; 1968 Dr. Sc. Concurr. 1950-73 guest lect. at var. Ger. univs, incl. Münster, Kiel and Göttingen. Res. in enzymology and the metabolism of protein constituents, esp. amino acids; contrib. to understanding of metabolic pathways in mammalian organism with significant implications for cancer res. Fel: Royal Inst. Chem. (1950). Recd: Hon. prof, med. fac, Univ. Göttingen (1964).

Biblio: "Der isoelektrische Punkt von Formaldehyd gegebter Gelatine" (diss, Berlin, 1922); "Über den isoelektrischen Punkt von Haut- und Knochen-Gelatinen" (diss, T.H. Berlin, 1923); "Observations on Carbohydrate Synthesis in Liver" (diss, T.H. Cambridge, 1937); *The Metabolism of Protein Constituents in the Mammalian Body* (Oxford, 1952; Japanese trans, 1955); contrib. more than 70 arts. to sci. journals. incl. *Kolloid Zft, Biochem. Journ, Biochem. Zft, Nature, Brit. Journ. Chem. and Vet. Record*; for biblio. to 1963 see R.F.J.I. arch. *Arch:* S.P.S.L. *Sources:* Arch, Hand, News, Pers. — R.F.J.I.

Bach, Susanne (Susi, Susan), née Eisenberg, bookseller; b. Munich 29 Jan. 1909. *R:* Jewish. *E:* 1933 Fr, 1941 Braz, 1946 Fr, 1948 Braz. *Cit:* Braz, fmly. Ger. ∞ Div. *C:* Catharina Isabel, b. Petropolis, Braz, d. 1970.

Studied Romance langs, Univ. Munich; 1932 Dr. phil. Oct. 1933 emigr. to Fr. Employed by internationally reputed Libr. Droz in Paris. 1940 interned in French concentration camp Gurs. 1941 emigr. to Braz. via Sp. and Port. Secy. in bookstore; journ. for *Correio de Manhã*, Rio de Janeiro. 1946-58 cont. studies in Paris, working part time in the book trade. 1948 returned to Braz; est. intl. bookstore in Rio de Janeiro. From 1970 spec. in Ger. exile literature, esp. as translator into Spanish and Portuguese. Mem: Intl. League of Antiquarian Booksellers (pres. Braz. sect.). *A:* (1978) Rio de Janeiro and Munich.

Biblio: *A la recherche d'un monde perdu*, memoirs (Rio de Janeiro, 1944). *Sources:* Hand, News, Qu. — IfZ.

Bachmann, Hellmuth Norbert, author; b. Munich 17 Dec. 1901, d. Buenos Aires 29 Oct. 1957. *R:* Protestant. *E:* 1933 Arg. *Cit:* Arg, fmly. Ger. *F:* Alfred B, b. Dürschau 1863, d. Ambach near Munich, Ger. 1956, Protestant, painter, ornithologist. *M:* Gertrud Krieger, b. Potsdam, Brandenburg, Ger. 1861, d. Munich 1918, Protestant. *S:* Jan, b. Munich 1894, 1915 killed in action W.W.I; Susanne, b. Munich 1897, d. Rio de Janeiro 1972, nurse. ∞ 1933 Jeanne Selma Rosenthal, b. Munich 1907, d. Wiesbaden, Fed. Repub. Ger. 1972, Jewish, sec. educ. journ, legal secy, trans, dietary cook, 1933 to Arg. *C:* Antonio Ricardo, b. 1939, farmer; Nicolas Alfredo, b. 1943, merchant; Norberto Federico, b. 1946, merchant.

Studied med. and art hist. at Univs. Heidelberg and Berlin. Freelance auth; active politically; after 1933 arrested several times. Nov. 1933 emigr. to Arg, settled in Buenos Aires. 1933-53 art critic for *Argentinisches Tageblatt*; contrib. to *Das Andere Deutschland* (*August Siemsen) and *Aufbau*, New York. Worked as translator, author and lecturer on art history. Mem: Circolo de la Prensa; Acad. de Bellas Artes; Freie Deutsche Bühne; others.

Biblio: *Holbein el Hijo* (Buenos Aires, 1943); *Solitarios Del Arte* (Buenos Aires, 1946); *La Pintura en Alemania* (Buenos Aires, 1947). *Sources:* Pers. — IfZ.

Bachrach, Uriel, prof. of molecular biology; b. Heilbronn, Württemberg, Ger. 9 Sept. 1926. *E:* 1933 Pal. *F:* Julius B. *M:* Hanna Würzburger. ∞ Esther Z(S?)acharin. *C:* Gilad; Zlilah; one other dtr.

1933 to Pal. Att. Hebrew Univ; 1950 M.Sc. Concurr. 1948-49 lieut. I.D.F. 1950- with Hebrew Univ: 1950 assist; 1953 Ph.D.; 1954 instr, 1957 lect, 1960 sr. lect, 1965 assoc. prof, 1971- prof. of molecular biol. Concurr: 1953-55 res, Humanitarian Trust fel, dept. of microbiol, Reading Univ, U.K.; 1960-62 vis. sci, U.S. Nat. Insts. Health, Bethesda, Md; 1967 res. assoc, Columbia Univ; 1968 vis. sci, U.S. Nat. Insts. Health. Res. in bacteriology, biochem. and molecular biol, esp. in antibacterial substances and molecular biol. of bacterial viruses. Mem: New York Acad. of Sci; Soc. for Gen. Microbiol; Isr. Biochem. Soc; Isr. Microbiol. Soc.

Biblio: *The Influence of Penicillin on the Metabolism of Staphylococcus aureus* (diss, Jerusalem, 1953, also in Heb.); also publ. arts. in prof. journals. *Sources:* Hand, Print. — R.F.J.I.

Back, Kurt Wolfgang (fmlly. Baeck), prof. of sociology and psychology; b. Vienna 19 Oct. 1919. *E*: 1938 U.S. *Cit*: 1943 U.S. *F*: Paul L. B. *M*: Thekla Fuchs. ∞ 1949 Edith Bierharst, 1965 div; C: Allan.

1938 emigr. to U.S. 1940 B.S., New York Univ. 1941 M.A., U.C.L.A. 1943–46 serv. with U.S. Army. 1946 statist. with Ballistic Res. Labs, Aberdeen Proving Ground, Md. 1946–49 assist. study dir, Res. Cent. for Group Dynamics. 1949 Ph.D. in group psych, M.I.T. 1949–51 soc. sci. anal, U.S. Bur. of Census, Washington, D.C. 1951–53 res. assoc, Columbia Univ. Bur. of Appl. Soc. Sci. 1953–56 res. assoc, Univ. Puerto Rico, Rio Piedras; spec. res. consult, P.R. Model Housing bd; concurr. 1955–57 res. assoc, Conservation Found, Jamaica population proj. 1958–59 res. assoc. prof, Univ. North Carolina, Chapel Hill. 1959– mem. fac, Duke Univ, Durham, N. Car: 1959 assoc. prof, 1962– prof. of sociol. and psych; concurr. 1967–68 guest invest, Rockefeller Univ, New York. Spec. in methodology and applications of social psychology; dealt with problems of decision-making, population control, group interaction, development of self-image and the wielding of influence. Mem: Am. Sociol. Assn; Am. Psych. Assn; Am. Statist. Assn; Am. Assn. for Pub. Opinion Res; Soc. for the Psych. Study of Soc. Issues. Recd: Deroy Award (1956); Burgess Award, Nat. Coun. for Fam. Rels. (1960). A: Durham.

Biblio: Co-auth, *Social Pressures in Informal Groups* (New York, 1951); co-auth, *The Family and Population Control* (Chapel Hill, 1959); co-auth, "The Summary Under Unusual Conditions," in *Human Org.* (Ithaca, New York, 1959); *Slums, Projects and People* (Westport, Conn. and Durham, 1962); *The Control of Human Fertility in Jamaica* (Ithaca, 1964); co-auth, *The June Bug: A Study in Hysterical Contagion* (New York, 1968); *Beyond Words: The Story of Sensitivity Training and the Encounter Movement* (Baltimore, 1973); ed, *Social Psychology* (New York, 1977); also contrib. more than ninety arts. to prof. journs. *Sources*: Hand. — R.F.J.I.

Bacon, Isaac (until 1939 Bakon), prof. of linguistics, college dean; b. Svinov, Moravia, Aus. (C.S.S.R.) 3 Sept. 1914. *R*: Jewish. *E*: 1939 U.S. *Cit*: 1943 U.S. *F*: Hirsch Bakon, b. E. Eur. 1890, d. Auschwitz concentration camp 1944, Jewish. *M*: Regina Klapholtz, b. E. Eur. 1889, Jewish, interned in Theresienstadt concentration camp, 1946 to U.S. *S*: Simon, b. (C.S.R.) 1915, Ph.D, work in educ, 1939 to U.S, a: Isr; Rosa Mann, b. C.S.R. 1918, d. in Pol, Gym. grad. ∞ 1942 Esther Liebb, b. Lithuania 1918, Jewish. *C*: Stephen J, b. 1942, Ph.D, clin. psychologist; Joshua H, b. 1948, Ph.D, assist. prof; Ari D, b. 1953, businessman.

1939 Dr. phil. Masaryk Univ, Brno, C.S.R. Aug.–Dec. 1939 in charge of Palästina-Amt at Zentralstelle für Jüd. Auswanderung, Prague. Dec. 1939 emigr. to U.S. Assist. by H.I.A.S, odd jobs. 1943–45 serv. with U.S. Army in N. Afr. and It. 1946 post-doctoral studies, Johns Hopkins Univ, Baltimore, Md. 1946–60 mem. fac, Univ. Colorado, Boulder: 1946 instr. of Ger, 1950 assist. prof, 1956–60 assoc. prof. Concurr: Summer 1950 vis. lect. Johns Hopkins Univ; 1945–55 Ford Found. fac. fel. at Yale Univ. and Univ. Pennsylvania; 1959 acting dean of Yeshiva Coll, Yeshiva Univ, New York. 1960–78 acad. dean and prof. of linguistics, Yeshiva Coll, 1978– dean emer. and consult. to v. pres. of acad. affairs. Res. on Old High German and New High German linguistics. Mem: M.L.A.; Am. Assn. of Teachers of Ger; Assn. Am. Deans. A: (1981) Monsey, N.Y.

Biblio: "Pietistische und rationalistische Elemente in Klopstocks Sprache," *Journ. of Eng. and Ger. Philol.* (vol. 49, no. 1, Jan. 1950); "Versuch einer Klassifizierung altddeutscher Zaubersprüche und Segen," *Mod. Lang. Notes* (vol. 67, Apr. 1952); "A Survey of the Changes in the Interpretation of 'Ackermann aus Böhmen,'" *Studies in Philol.* (vol. 53, 1956). *Sources*: Hand, Print, Qu. — R.F.J.I.

Bader, Franz, art and book dealer; b. Vienna 19 Sept. 1903. *R*: Jewish. *E*: 1939 U.S. *Cit*: 1944 U.S, fmlly. Aus. *F*: David B, b. Kromsier, Moravia, Aus. (Kromeritz, C.S.S.R.) ca. 1873, d. Auschwitz concentration camp, Jewish. *M*: Elsa Steindler, b.

Vienna 1880, d. Washington, D.C. 1955, Jewish, pub. health worker for S.P.Ö. *S*: (none). ∞ I. 1928 Antonia Blaustein, b. Vienna 1909, d. Washington 1969, emigr. with husband; II. 1971 Virginia Forman, b. Boston 1935, M. Ed, health care admin. *C*: (none).

Att. Realgym. and Handelsakad, Vienna. Owner, Wallis-hausser bookshop, Vienna. 1939 emigr. to U.S. with offer of job at bookstore in Washington. 1939–51 rose to partner, v. pres. and gen. mgr, Whyte's Bookstore, Washington, D.C, where he exhib. paintings of local artists. 1951– pres, Franz Bader Gall. and Bookshop, Washington, D.C, the first priv. art gall. there, which exhib. local abstractionists as well as Eur. painters; org. first American exhibs. of Am. and fgn. artists. Concurr: Photographer, with photogs. at Nat. Air and Space Mus, Smithsonian Inst, Washington, D.C. Individual shows at Phillips Coll, Corcoran Gall. and Nat. Acad. of Sci, all in Washington, D.C. Consult. to collectors, art appraisals for museums and priv. collectors. Recd: Goldenes Ehrenzeichen, Aus; B.V.K. 1st class. A: (1980) Washington, D.C.

Sources: Hand, News, Qu. — R.F.J.I.

Badt, Kurt, art historian; b. Berlin 3 Mar. 1890, d. Überlingen, Baden, Fed. Repub. Ger. 22 Nov. 1973. *R*: Roman Catholic (?). *E*: 1938 U.K, 1950 Fed. Repub. Ger. *Cit*: Ger. *F*: Leopold B, b. 1858, d. 1929, Jewish, banker in Berlin. ∞ Helen Arnheim. *C*: Totta Loew, a: Neuchâtel, Switz.

Studied art hist. and philos, Univs. Berlin, Munich and Freiburg/Breisgau, 1914 Dr. phil, Univ. Freiburg/Breisgau. Student of Wilhelm Vöge. Freelance scholar in Ludwigshafen on the Bodensee, Ger. 1939 emigr. to U.K. Worked at Warburg Inst, London. 1950 ret. to Fed. Repub. Ger. and settled in Überlingen. 1969–73 hon. prof, Univ. Konstanz. Critical treatises on methodology and studies on the development of artistic form in works of artists incl. Cézanne, van Gogh, Vermeer, Delacroix and Poussin. Studies on the relationship between art and natural sci, art and everyday life, going beyond the realm of art history. Recd: Grosses B.V.K. (1962).

Biblio: *Andrea Solario: Sein Leben und seine Werke* (Leipzig, 1914); *Delacroix Drawings* (Oxford, 1946; Ger. trans, 1951); *Die Kunst Cézannes* (Munich, 1956; Eng. trans, 1965); *Wolkenbilder und Wolkengedichte der Romantik* (Berlin, 1960); 'Modell und Maler' von Vermeer - *Probleme der Interpretation: Eine Streitschrift gegen Hans Sedlmayr* (Cologne, 1961); *Die Farbenlehre Van Goghs* (Cologne, 1961); *Raumphantasien und Raumillusionen - Wesen der Plastik* (Cologne, 1963); *Kunsttheoretische Versuche: Ausgewählte Aufsätze* (Cologne, 1968); *Die Kunst des Nicolas Poussin*, 2 vols. (Cologne, 1969); others; complete biblio. and lit. in *Argo. Festschrift für Kurt Badt zu seinem 80. Geburtstag* (Cologne, 1970). *Arch*: Transfer of priv. libr. to the Univ. Konstanz. *Sources*: Arch, E.G.L, Hand, Journ, News, Pers, Print. — IfZ.

Badt-Strauss, Bertha (pseud. Bath-Hillel), writer; b. Breslau, Lower Silesia, Ger. (Wroclaw, Pol.) 7 Dec. 1885, d. Chapel Hill, N. Car. 20 Feb. 1970. *R*: Jewish. *E*: 1939 U.S. via U.K. *F*: Benno Badt, b. Schwarsenz, Posen, Ger. (Swarziedz, Pol.) 1844, d. 1909, noted classical schol, Gym. prof, serv. Bd. of Jewish Rep, Breslau. *M*: Martha Guttmann. *S*: *Hermann, b. Breslau 1887, d. Isr. 1946, 1919 admitted to civil serv, Ministerialdirektor in charge of constitutional affairs, Prussian Min. of Interior, 1933 to Isr; Lotte Badt-Prager, b. 1891, d. 1957, physician. ∞ 1913 → Bruno Strauss. *C*: → Albrecht Benno.

1904–08 studied Eng. and Ger. at Univs. London, Breslau, Munich and Berlin; 1908 Dr. phil, Univ. Breslau. 1912–39 lect. in Breslau, Berlin, and other Ger. cities. Concurr: 1912(?)–33 contrib. to Ger. and Ger.-Jewish press incl. *Berliner Tageblatt* and *Vossische Ztg*; 1912 publ. *Rahel und ihre Zeit* (Berlin). The book dealt with the Ger.-Jewish intellectual Rahel Varhagen and Berlin salon life in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; 1937 publ. *Jüdinnen* (Berlin), which further discussed Jewish women and the Berlin salons. Mem. Berliner Zion. Ver. 1939 emigr. to U.S. with husband via U.K, settled in Shreveport, La. Cont. to write and contrib. arts. to var. mags. and

journals. Auth, frequent contrib. to the Ger.-Jewish press, active in intellectual circles in Berlin prior to W.W. II.

Biblio: *Annette von Droste-Hülshoff, ihre dichterische Entwicklung und ihr Verhältnis zur englischen Literatur* (diss, Univ. Breslau, 1908; publ. Leipzig, 1909); *In Bene Berak und andere Erzählungen* (Berlin, 1920); ed, Profiat Duran, *Sei nicht wie deine Väter* (Berlin, 1920); ed, *Die Lieder des Süßkind von Trimberg* (Berlin, 1920); trans, Leone da Modena, *Eldad und Medad, oder: Der bekehrte Spieler* (Berlin, 1920); ed, *Moses Mendelssohn: Der Mensch und das Werk* (Berlin, 1929); co-ed. with husband, Hermann Cohen, *Briefe* (Berlin, 1939); *White Fire: The Life and Works of Jessie Sampter* (New York, 1956); others; ed. and trans. works by other auths, incl. Droste-Hülshoff, Heine, Marlowe, Flaubert. Contrib. to *Der Morgen. Jüdische Rundschau*, L.B.B. *Aufbau, Reconstructionist, Jewish Way, Menorah Journ, Nat. Jewish Monthly, Woman's Outlook, Hadassah Newsletter. Papers:* Coll. at L.B.I., New York. *Sources:* E.G.L., Hand, News, Pers, Print. — R.F.J.I.

Baer, Edwin Markus, book dealer, antique dealer; b. Frankfurt/M 21 Sept. 1881. *E:* 1934 Switz, 1937 U.K. *Cit:* Ger, Oct. 1937 deprived of cit. *F:* Simon Leopold B, b. 1870, d. 1916, book and antique dealer. *M:* Lizz(e) Lehmyer (Lehmaier?). *S:* Dr. Leo B, b. Frankfurt/M 1880, d. Paris 1948, book and antique dealer, bd. chmn, Fed. of Ger. Antique and Export Book Dealers, num. publs. in art hist. ∞ Elsa Aronson, b. 1886, emigr. with husband.

Gym. training as book and antique dealer in Leipzig, Fr, U.K. and in his father's co. 1905–mgr. 1911– with brother co-owner of internationally noted book and art firm (autographs, graphic arts) Joseph Baer and Co, Frankfurt, founded in 1785. May 1934 emigr. to Geneva with most valuable possessions. Expatriated because of "currency offence and flight from taxation." June 1937 emigr. to U.K. Lived in London, est. antiquarian sci. book store.

Sources: Arch, Hand. — IFZ.

Baer, Eric, prof. of polymer science and engineering; b. Niederweissel, Hessen, Ger. 18 July 1932. *E:* 1939 U.K., 1947 U.S. *Cit:* 1952 U.S. *F:* Arthur B. *M:* Erna Kraemer. ∞ 1956 Ana Golder. *C:* Lisa, b. 1961; Michelle, b. 1964.

1939 emigr. to U.K. 1947 emigr. to U.S. 1953 M.A., Johns Hopkins Univ, Baltimore, Md; 1957 Ph.D. in chem. engr. 1957–60 res. engr, polychem. dept, E.I. du Pont de Nemours and Co. 1960–62 assist. prof, chem. engr, Univ. Illinois. 1962–mem. fac, Case Western Reserve Univ, Cleveland, Ohio: 1962 assoc. prof, prof.-in-charge polymer sci. and engr, 1966–prof. of engr, 1967–78 chmn, dept. of macromolecular sci, 1978–dean, Case Inst. of Technol. Concurr: 1961–consult. on plastics to indus; 1963–ed. *Engr. Design for Plastics*; 1967–69 ed, *Polymer Engr. and Sci*; 1971–assoc. ed, *Mat. Sci. and Engr*; mem. var. ed. adv. bds; Trustee, Plastics Inst. of Am. Res. in polymer plastics incl. its physical behavior and structure and of its properties under high pressure and cryogenic temperatures. Fel: Am. Phys. Soc; Am. Inst. Chem. Mem: A.S.M.E; Am. Chem. Soc; Am. Soc. Rheology; Soc. Plastics Engrs. Recd: McGraw Res. Award, Am. Soc. for Engr. Educ. (1968); Annual Award, Soc. Plastics Engrs. (1979); Dist. Alumnus Award, Johns Hopkins Univ. (1979); Intl. Awards, Soc. Plastics Engrs. (1979, 1980).

Biblio: Ed, *Engineering Design for Plastics* (New York, 1964); co-ed, *The Solid State of Polymers* (New York, 1974); co-ed, *Polymeric Materials: Relations Between Structure and Mechanical Behavior* (Metals Park, Ohio, 1974); contrib. more than 150 arts. to prof. journals. esp. *Journs. of Colloid Sci*; *Journ. of Polymer Sci*; *Journ. Appl. Polymer Sci*; *Polymer Letters*; *Journ. Macromolecular Sci.* *Sources:* Hand. — R.F.J.I.

Baer, Erich Eugen Ferdinand, prof. of chemistry; b. Berlin 8 Mar. 1901, d. Toronto 24 Sept. 1975. *E:* 1932 Switz, 1937 Can. *F:* Eduard B, b. Württemberg, Ger. d. 1934(?). Protestant. *M:* Sophie Lutz, b. Württemberg, d. 1940(?). *S:* Eduard, d. 1920;

Albert, d. E. Berlin 1960; Hildegard Rettschlag, d. Nuremberg, Bavaria, Ger. 1961(?). ∞ 1944 Dorothy Margaret Hodder, b. Stafford, Eng. 1916, Protestant, 1938 to Can. *C:* (none).

Studied organic chem. with → Hermann O.L. Fischer, Univ. Berlin; 1927 Dr. phil. 1927–32(?) assist, Kaiser Wilhelm Inst. Berlin. 1932 emigr. with Fischer, an anti-Nazi, to Basel. 1932–36 assist, Univ. Basel; 1936–37 Privatdoz. 1937 emigr. to Can. to follow Fischer to Toronto. 1937–69 mem. fac, Univ. Toronto: 1937–47 assist. prof. of organic chem, 1947–51 assoc. prof. at the Sir Frederick Banting (discoverer of insulin) and Best Dept. of Med. Res, 1951–69 prof, 1948–69 head, dept. of synthetic chem, 1969–75. Assoc. ed, *Journ. of Lipid Res.* and *Can. Journ. of Chem.* Invest. carbohydrates, intermediaries of carbohydrate metabolism, lipids research, optically active glycerol derivatives, oxidative cleavage, other areas. Mem: Am. Oil Chem. Soc. (recd. its first award in Lipid res. 1964); Am. Chem. Soc; Am. Soc. Biol. Chemists; Can. Biochem. Soc. Recd: First Glycerine Res. Award (1953); Neuberg Medal, Soc. Promoting Intl. Sci. Rels. (1961); Normann Medal, Deut. Ges. für Fettwiss. (1975).

Biblio: "Über den kristallisierten Glycerinaldehyd und seine Umwandlung in Dioxyaceton" (diss, Univ. Berlin, 1927); between 1927 and 1964 contrib. more than 100 arts. on lipid chem. to prof. journals. *Sources:* Hand, News, Pers, Print. — R.F.J.I.

Baer, Ferdinand, prof. of atmospheric science; b. Dinkelsbühl, Bavaria, Ger. 30 Aug. 1929. *E:* 1935 U.S. *Cit:* U.S., fmlly. Ger. *F:* Julius F. B, b. Giessen, Hessen, Ger. 1899, Jewish, 1935 to U.S. *M:* Leonie Rothschild, b. Frankfurt/M 1898, Jewish, 1935 emigr. to U.S. ∞ div. *C:* Four.

1935 emigr. to U.S. with parents. 1950 A.B., Univ. Chicago; 1954 M.S. 1955–56 assist. atmospheric phys, Univ. Arizona 1956–61 meteorol, Univ. Chicago; 1961 Ph.D. in geophys. sci. 1961–71 mem. fac, Colorado State Univ, Ft. Collins: 1961 assist. prof. of atmospheric sci, 1965 assoc. prof. Concurr: 1962–63 dir, summer conf. on atmospheric sci, 1962 and 1964 lect; 1964 summer vis. sci, Nat. Cent. of Atmospheric Res, Boulder, Colo; 1966 U.N. expert in India; 1968–69 vis. res. fel, Geophys. Fluid Dynamics Lab, Princeton, N.J. 1971–75 consult, McGraw Hill Info. Sys. 1972–77 prof, dept. of atmospheric and ocean scis, Univ. Michigan, Ann Arbor. 1977–79 dir. of meteorol. prog, Univ. Maryland, 1979–chmn. of meteorol. Res. in atmospheric dynamics; numerical weather prediction; numerical analysis, initialization; spectral methods; atmospheric energetics; gravity waves. Mem: Am. Meteorol. Soc. (pres. Denver chap. 1970–71); Am. Geophys. Union; Sigma Xi; Japanese Meteorol. Soc; Royal Meteorol. Soc; others. *A:* (1979) Silver Spring, Md.

Biblio: Co-auth, *The Extended Numerical Integration of a Simple Barotropic Model*, parts I and II (Chicago, 1958); "Some Properties of the Spectral Vorticity Equation" (diss, Univ. Chicago, 1961); *Numerical Analysis of T.I.R.O.S. Radiation Observations* (Fort Collins, Colo, 1965); *A General Computation Form for a Class of Nonlinear Systems Incorporating Both Spectral and Finite Difference Approximations* (Fort Collins, 1967); *Computational Stability and Time Truncation of Coupled Nonlinear Equations with Exact Solutions* (Fort Collins, 1968); publs. in *Journ. of Atmospheric Sci*; *Tellus*; *Journ. Meteorol.*, others. *Sources:* Hand, Qu. — R.F.J.I.

Baer, Gabriel, prof. of history; b. Berlin 13 Jan. 1919. *E:* 1933 Pal. *Cit:* Isr. *F:* Albert B, lawyer. *M:* Kaete Freyer. ∞ 1946 Eva Apt, prof. of Islamic art hist, Tel Aviv Univ. *C:* Gideon, b. 1951; Tirzah, b. 1956.

1933 emigr. to Pal. 1937–39 att. Hebrew Univ. 1939–40 att. American Univ, Beirut, Lebanon. 1940–50 teacher of Arabic, sec. schs. Concurr. 1948–52 major, I.D.F. 1950–52 studied Arabic lang. and lit, Moslem culture, mod. hist. of Middle East, Hebrew Univ; 1952 M.A.; 1957 Ph.D. 1953– mem. fac, dept. of hist. of Muslim countries, Hebrew Univ; 1953 assist, 1954 instr, 1957 lect, 1960 sr. lect, 1964 assoc. prof, 1970– prof. Concurr: 1953–65 ed, *HaMizrah heHadash* (quart. of Isr. Oriental Soc.); 1961–67 assist. dir, 1967–71 dir, Inst. of Asian and Afr. Studies,

Hebrew Univ; freelance journ. on Arab affairs; 1965– ed, *Asian and Afr. Studies* (annual of Isr. Oriental Soc.); 1976–77 vis. prof. and res. assoc, Harvard Univ. Mem: Isr. Oriental Soc. (chmn, mem. exec. comm.) Recd: Isr. Prize of Hum. (1976).

Biblio: "Land Ownership and Land Reform in Egypt" (diss, Hebrew Univ, 1957); *Mekorot leToledot haMizrah haTikhon heHadash* (Sources for the History of the Modern Middle East; Jerusalem 1960, 1964; Tel Aviv 1971); *Aravei haMizrah haTikhon. Ukhlossiyah veHevrah* (The Arabs of the Middle East, Population and Society; Tel Aviv, 1960; 2nd ed. 1973); *A History of Land Ownership in Modern Egypt 1800-1950* (London, 1962); *Population and Society in the Arab East* (London and New York, 1964); *Egyptian Guilds in Modern Times* (Jerusalem, 1964; no. 8 of Isr. Oriental Soc, Oriental Notes and Studies); *Studies in the Social History of Modern Egypt* (Chicago, 1969); *HaUlama uBaayot Dat baOlam haMuslami, Mehkaram leZekher Uriel Heyd* (The "Ulama" and Problems of Religion in the Muslim World, Studies in Memory of Professor Uriel Heyd; Jerusalem, 1971); *Mavo leToledot haYahasim haAgrariyyim baMizrah haTikhon 1800-1970* (Introduction to the History of Agrarian Relation in the Middle East 1800-1970; Tel Aviv, 1971); also num. arts. on Middle Eastern soc. hist. *Sources*: Hand. — R.F.J.I.

Baer, Reinhold, prof. of mathematics; b. Berlin 22 July 1902, d. Zurich 22 Oct. 1979. *E*: 1933 U.K., 1935 U.S., 1956 Fed. Repub. Ger. *Cit*: Ger. *F*: Emil B. *M*: Bianka Timmendorfer. ∞ 1929 Marianne Erika Kirstein. *C*: Klaus.

Att. T.H. Hannover and Univs. Freiburg/Breisgau, Baden, Göttingen and Kiel; 1925 Dr. phil. (with Helmut Kneser) Univ. Göttingen. 1928 Habil, Univ. Freiburg. 1928–33 Privatdoz, Univ. Halle. 1933 emigr. to U.K. 1933–35 hon. res. fel, Univ. Manchester. 1935 emigr. to U.S. 1935–37 mem, Inst. for Advanced Study, Princeton. 1937–38 assist. prof. of math, Univ. North Carolina, Chapel Hill. 1938–57 mem. fac, dept. of math, Univ. Illinois, Urbana: 1938–44 assoc. prof, 1944–57 prof, 1957 prof. emer. 1956–67 o. Prof. of math, Univ. Frankfurt/M, then emer. 1967–68 dist. prof. of math, New Mexico State Univ. Ed, co-ed: 1933–67 *Composition Mathematica*; 1950 *Ergebnisse der Mathematik*; 1950–56 *Am. Journ. of Math*; 1956–63 *Ill. Journ. of Math*; 1959 *Archiv der Mathematik*. Spec. in group, ring, lattice and set theories. Mem: Am. Math. Soc; London Math. Soc; Ger. Math. Soc.

Biblio: *Linear Algebra and Projective Geometry* (New York, 1952; trans. into Russ.); num. arts. in tech. schol. journs. and contrib. to omnibus vols; for further biblio. see *G.K.* (1950–). Arch: S.P.S.L. *Sources*: Arch, Hand, Journ, Print. — IFZ.

Baer, Rudolf Lewis, prof. of dermatology; b. Strassburg, Alsace-Lorraine, Ger. (Strasbourg, Fr.) 22 July 1910. *R*: Jewish. *E*: 1934 U.S. *Cit*: 1940 U.S., fmly. Ger. *F*: Ludwig B, b. Würzburg, Bavaria, Ger. 1875, d. New York 1951, Jewish, Gym. educ, dir. of metal co, 1938 to U.S. with wife and dtr. *M*: Clara Mainzer, b. Heppenheim, Hessen, Ger. 1880, d. New York 1956, Jewish. *S*: Werner, b. Strassburg 1907, d. New York, Dr. jur, lawyer, emigr. to U.S., economist; Eva, b. Frankfurt/M, att. Philanthropin, Frankfurt/M, worked for T.V. co, studied law. ∞ 1941 Louise Jeanne Grumbach, b. New York 1912. *C*: John Reckford, b. 1943, att. George Washington Univ, Washington D.C., banker; Andrew Rudolph, b. 1946, att. Boston Univ, pub. relations exec.

1928–33 att. Univs. Heidelberg, Frankfurt/M, Berlin, and Vienna; 1933 Staatsexamen; 1934 Dr. med, Univ. Basel. Mem. K.C., Heidelberg. May 1934 emigr. to U.S. 1934–35 intern, Beth Israel Hosp, New York. 1936–37 resid. in dermat, Montefiore Hosp, New York. 1937–39 postgrad. studies in dermat, New York Postgrad. Med. Sch. 1939–48 mem. fac, Columbia Univ. Sch. of Med. 1934–55 assist, co-ed, 1956–65 ed, *Yrbk. of Dermat.* 1948– mem. fac, New York Univ. Sch. of Med: 1950 prof, 1961–chmn, dept. of dermat; concurr. dir. of dermat, Univ. Hosp. and Bellevue Hosp, New York. Sr. consult: Veterans Admin. Hosp, New York; Goldwater Mml. Hosp, New York; Monmouth Med. Cent, Long Branch, N.J.; Elizabeth A. Horton

Mml. Hosp, Middletown, N.J.; Jewish Home and Hosp. for Aged, New York; also consult. to surg. gen. of U.S. Army and to Food and Drug Admin. Res. into fungal and skin infections; immunology; photobiology; skin sensitization tolerance to chemicals and drugs. Mem: Armed Forces Epidemiologic Bd. (commn. on cutaneous diseases); Soc. Invest. Dermat. (v. pres. 1956, pres. 1963; mem. of ed. bd. of its journ. 1950–62); New York Acad. of Med. (fel; chmn. sect. dermat. 1963–64); A.M.A. (chmn. dermat. sect. 1965–66); Am. Bd. Dermat. (dipl; mem. 1964; pres. 1967–70); Intl. League of Dermat. Socs. (pres. 1972–77); Am. Acad. Dermat. (pres. 1974–75); Dermat. Found. (chmn. bd. 1974–78); Rudolf L. Baer Found. for Skin Diseases (mem. bd. of dirs. 1974); Am. Dermat. Assn. (pres. 1977–78); hon. or corresp. mem. of 21 fgn. sci. socs. Recd: Five scientific medals incl. Dohi Medal of Japanese Dermat. Soc. (1965). A: (1980) New York.

Biblio: Co-ed, *Office Immunology* (Chicago, 1947); ed, *Atopic Dermatitis* (New York, 1955); *Allergic Dermatoses due to Physical Agents* (1956); contrib. more than 23 chaps. to books and 270 arts. to prof. journs. *Sources*: Hand, Print, Qu. — R.F.J.I.

Baer, Werner, prof. of economics; b. Offenbach, Hessen, Ger. 14 Dec. 1931. *R*: Jewish. *E*: 1937 Belg, Fr, Switz, 1945 U.S. *Cit*: U.S., fmly. Ger. *F*: Richard B, b. Wissen, Rhineland, Ger. 1896, dec, Jewish, physician, 1937 to Belg, 1945 to U.S. *M*: Grete Herz, b. Saarbrücken, Saarland, Ger. 1906, emigr. to U.S. with husband. *S*: Marianne Kilby, b. Offenbach 1935, lawyer, to U.S.

1937 emigr. to Belg. Moved to Fr. and then Switz. 1945 emigr. to U.S.; aided by H.I.A.S. and Am. rels. 1950–53 att. Queens Coll, New York (C.U.N.Y.); 1953 B.A. 1953–58 att. Harvard Univ; 1955 M.A., 1958 Ph.D. in econ. 1958–61 instr. of econ, Harvard Univ. 1961–65 assist. prof. of econ, Yale Univ; concurr. 1961 consult, U.S. Dept. of the Treasury. 1965–74 mem. fac, Vanderbilt Univ, Nashville, Tenn: 1965 assoc. prof, 1969–prof. Concurr: 1965–66 S.S.R.C. grant, Braz; 1966–68 vis prof. of econ, Univ. São Paulo and Getulio Vargas Found, Braz; 1968– prog. adv. econ, Ford Found, 1968–75 consult. 1974–prof. of econ, dept. of econ, Univ. Illinois, Champaign. 1975 Rhodes vis. fel, St. Anthony's Coll, Oxford Univ, 1975–76 vis. prof, Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, Rio de Janeiro. Spec. in the study of less developed countries, esp. in Latin America. Work in understanding the industrialization of Latin America countries, the inflationary experiences, transfer to technology, and the role of state enterprises. Mem: Am. Econ Assn; Royal Econ. Soc; Latin Am. Studies Assn. A: (1980) Champaign.

Biblio: "The Postwar German Foreign Trade Recovery" (diss, Harvard Univ, 1954); *The Puerto Rican Economy and United States Economic Fluctuations* (Rio Piedras, P.R., 1962); co-ed, *Inflation and Growth in Latin America* (Homewood, Ill, 1964; New Haven, Conn, 1970); *Industrialization and Economic Development in Brazil* (Homewood, 1965; Port. trans. Rio de Janeiro, 1966); *The Development of the Brazilian Steel Industry* (Nashville, 1969; Port. trans, 1970); *The Brazilian Economy* (Columbus, Ohio, 1979); contrib. more than 90 arts. to prof. journs. incl. *Quart. Journ. of Econ, Economica, Am. Econ. Rev, World Dev. Sources*: Hand, Pers, Qu. — R.F.J.I.

Baerwald, Friedrich, lawyer, prof. of economics; b. Frankfurt/M 14 Oct. 1900. *R*: 1926 Roman Catholic, fmly. Jewish. *E*: 1934 U.S., 1970 Fed. Repub. Ger. *Cit*: 1940 U.S., fmly. Ger. *F*: Anton B, b. Berlin 1866, d. Frankfurt/M 1920, Dr. med, Jewish, pub. health off. *M*: Charlotte Lewino. b. Mainz, Hessen, Ger. 1870, d. St. Gallen, Switz. 1966, Jewish, pianist. *S*: Hans, b. Frankfurt/M 1895, killed in action, Verdun 1916; Therese, b. Frankfurt/M 1906, kindergarten teacher, soc. worker, a: London. ∞ 1948 Franziska Schwarte, b. 1902, Roman Catholic, soc. worker.

Abitur in Frankfurt/M. 1919–23 studied law and econ. with teachers incl. → Franz Oppenheimer, Univs. Freiburg/Breisgau, Munich, Frankfurt/M. 1922 first, 1926 second state exam