

# Lawyers

The Fate of Jewish Lawyers  
in Germany after 1933

# without Rights

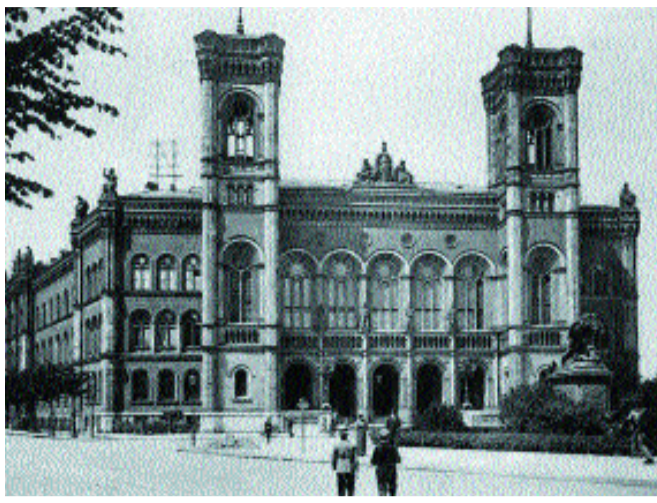
A TRAVELING EXHIBITION

of the German Federal Bar,  
the Association of German Jurists,  
the Israel Bar Association and the  
German-Israeli Lawyers's Association



# Jewish lawyers – a German identity

## The legal profession until the end of the Weimar Republic



Criminal Court, Berlin-Moabit, early 20th century

At the beginning of the 20th century the number of lawyers who were Jewish or of Jewish descent, was relatively high. This was due to the special legal position of Jews in Germany over several centuries. For a long time they were subject to a large number of special laws and many restrictions regarding the exercise of their profession. Even after they had been granted full equal rights as citizens in 1871, they did not immediately have free access to positions in the civil service. Almost at the same time as the foundation of the German Empire, an independent legal profession emerged. The discussion and analysis of the law as one of the central pillars of Jewish culture seemed obvious and in keeping with tradition. Many Jews took the opportunity to work independently in the legal domain and without depending on the benevolence of an employer, be it the courts, the administration or the universities.



Lawyers' room, Regional Court, 1903

Up until the 1920s the number of Jewish lawyers increased continuously. Subsequent generations took over the private practices of their fathers or started their own. In the big cities, the share of Jewish lawyers was higher than in smaller towns with a court. In Berlin, for example, on 1 January 1933 more than half of the 3,400 lawyers were of Jewish origin. On account of the marked increase in the number of lawyers – since the 1920s women, too, had access to the profession – the overall situation regarding income deteriorated. Even if the majority of lawyers were still part of the middle class, the structure of the legal profession was not homogenous: there were lawyers with a strong political commitment for the Left, like Alfred Apfel, Kurt Rosenfeld and Rudolf Olden who defended clients like Carl von Ossietzky. Others, like Max Alsberg or Ludwig Bendix, took a more liberal stance and a third group clearly supported German national objectives, like Max Naumann, for example. There were also considerable social differences: some lawyers, 'celebrities' such as Alsberg and Erich Frey, had many lucrative cases, whereas others earned just enough to maintain modest living standards.



Dr. Julius Fliess, Officer during the First World War (on horseback in Serbia, n.d.) was severely wounded and received multiple decorations. He was a well-respected lawyer and notary in Berlin and member of the last Council of the Berlin Bar to be elected freely before 1945.

One thing they had in common was that they would never have called themselves 'Jewish lawyers': they were German, lawyers and Jews. Many of them had been soldiers during the First World War, others had renounced the Jewish faith and some had been baptized. In the area of jurisprudence, many lawyers of Jewish origin contributed to the development of renowned legal journals and to the establishment of professional organisations. And still there was antisemitic propaganda against these 'Jewish lawyers'.

Otto Dix:  
Rechtsanwalt Dr. Fritz Glaser  
and family, 1925

Glaser was a lawyer in Dresden.  
On account of his faith and various clients he had represented, he was prohibited to practise after 1933. Glaser survived. After 1945 he was re-admitted as a lawyer. Later, in the GDR, Glaser was again ostracized from society because he represented the interests of a Nazi judge.

Staatliche Kunstsammlungen  
Dresden, Galerie Neue Meister.



Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- u. Universitätsbibliothek Dresden Abb. Dr. Fotolink



# Celebrity and darling of the media – escape – survival in Chile

**Dr. jur. et Dr. phil. Erich Max Frey**

16 October 1882 Breslau – 30 March 1964 Santiago de Chile

„Just in time before the War broke out – having taken part in one war was enough for me; and on which side should I have been this time anyway? – I left La Rochelle and landed on the Continent of Freedom“. (1959)

Erich Frey set up as a lawyer in Berlin in 1911 and made a name for himself as a defence attorney. In the 1920s he was not only a master of his profession, but also knew how to best use the media for his purposes. With an accomplished combination of seriousness and subtle humour he tried to win his cases.

Frey acted as counsel of the defence for the members of the *Ringverein Immertreu* (1928). In the course of this trial Frey came to work – this was the only occasion – with Max Alsberg. The trial was about the death of a carpenter who was part of a group of carpenters who had been involved in a fight at a pub with members of the *Ringverein Immertreu*. The so-called *Sport- und Geselligkeitsvereine* (clubs promoting sports and conviviality), to which also the *Immertreu* belonged, were associations of the Berlin underworld. Clubs called *Heimatklänge*, *Hand in Hand* or *Deutsche Kraft* had a total membership of around 1000 and partly lived from the proceeds of blackmail or prostitution. They had a very strict code of honour and served as an inspiration for Fritz Lang's film 'M' (1930) and also for Bert Brecht's 'The Threepenny Opera'.

During the trial, Frey tried to create for the public the image of a 'tough guy' called *Muskel-Adolf* or *Klamotten-Ede* who, deep down, possessed a natural sense of justice. The court pronounced a mild judgement – thanks to the defence.

Like many other lawyers of Jewish origin, Frey had nevertheless been baptized. In the spring of 1933 he was warned of his imminent arrest, whereupon he emigrated in 1933 via Paris to South America, where he died in 1964. In 1959 he published his memoirs entitled "*Ich beantrage Freispruch*" (I plead not guilty).



Erich Frey (centre, standing) during the *Immertreu* trial. On the far right of the picture Max Alsberg as additional counsel of the defence. Photograph by Erich Salomon, 1928.



Erich Frey talking to the leading actor of his play "*Meineid*" (Perjury), Heinrich Hehlger, which was staged at the Theater am Schiffbauerdamm and directed by Bernd Hofmann, 1932.



Erich Frey on his way to court, Tempo 3.4.1929



# Prohibition to practise – detention – survival in Palestine

## Dr. Ludwig Bendix

28 June 1877 Dorstfeld - 3 January 1954 Oakland, California

“To my clients: I had to give up my activities as lawyer and notary. – However, having practised and studied German law my whole life, I feel so closely linked with German law that even if it were only for this innermost, idealistic reason, I have to continue my activities within the new framework that remains under current legislation...” (around 1933)



Ludwig Bendix, 1927/28

Ludwig Bendix had been practising as a lawyer in Berlin since 1907 and later also as a notary. At the same time he was presiding judge at the Berlin Labour Court, and labour law was also the main area of his professional activity in general. Bendix, too, was prohibited to exercise his profession, despite the fact that, according to the legal provisions of 7 April 1933, he should have been re-admitted to the profession since he had been admitted to the Bar before 1914. In May 1933, however, he was banned from practising on the grounds of “Communist activities” because he had defended members of the Communist Party. Thus, Bendix had become conspicuous in a displeasing way also from a political point of view. The so-called communist activity served as an argument to exclude him from

the legal profession. On 2 June 1933 he was taken into protective custody for four months. On his release he was told that his detention was supposed to “teach him a lesson”.

Following the ban from practising, Bendix worked as a legal adviser (*Rechtsberater*) without making much profit. However, this did not keep a former colleague from reporting him to the authorities for unlawful provision of legal advice and unfair competition. Although Bendix won the case, he felt morally beaten by the virulent campaign which accompanied the proceedings. Subsequently, a general solution to this kind of problem was provided by the Law against the abuse of legal advice (*Rechtsberatungsmissbrauch-Gesetz*) established at the end of 1935, which was used extensively at the time to further ostracize Jewish lawyers.

Bendix was held in custody again – this time in Dachau concentration camp – from July 1935 until May 1937. He was released on the condition that he would emigrate to a non-European country. In May 1937 he left for Palestine. From 1947 onwards he lived in the United States with his son Reinhard who had become a prominent sociologist.



Ludwig Bendix after his stay in concentration camp passed 1937



# Boycott and discrimination –

1933 - 1938



Prussian Minister of Justice Hanns Kerrl in a training camp for trainee lawyers, left: head of the camp Senior Public Prosecutor Spieler, right: *Sturmführer* (Lieutenant) Heesch, August 1933 in Jüterbog

Even though Hitler's appointment as *Reichskanzler* (Chancellor) did not lead to a reshuffling of the Ministry of Justice (Gürtner, German National People's Party), the takeover - which was rather a handover of power - in January 1933 did mark a turning point. The individual units of the SA (*Sturmabteilung*, Storm Troopers), which were organised like paramilitary groups, caused so much terror in the first quarter of 1933 that the democratic State governed by the rule of law ceased to exist. Following the burning of the *Reichstag* building (27 February 1933) a retroactive rule providing for stricter sanctions was adopted - an untenable procedure according to the standards applying under the rule of law. By introducing the so-called protective custody, undesirable political opponents were arrested arbitrarily and for an indefinite period of time.

The National Socialists wanted to consolidate their power at all levels. Jews were to be ostracized from all areas of social life. In the administration of justice, too, a distinction was to be made between 'Jews' and 'non-Jews', based primarily on the grandparents' origin and with the current religious orientation being only of secondary importance. The exclusion of Jews from the legal profession promised to improve the economic situation of non-Jewish lawyers.

Up until the successive dissolution of the Ministries of Justice of the individual provinces, these had considerable competence. In Prussia, the National Socialist fanatic Hanns Kerrl was made *Reichskommissar für das Preußische Justizwesen* (and later Minister of Justice in Prussia) at the end of March, Hans Frank was appointed to this post in Bavaria.

Both men tried to acquire a strong profile. On 31 March 1933 the Kerrl decree was published, on the basis of which Jewish judges, public prosecutors and lawyers were to be refused access to Prussian courts from the following day. A boycott of Jewish shops, department stores, doctors and lawyers in the entire Reich was organized for 1 April. That Saturday - a regular working day at the time - SA-squads stormed the court-houses in many cities and tried to identify any Jews present.

The legal basis for this procedure was created later: regarding notaries admitted in Prussia who were civil servants, the Reich Law to re-establish the civil service with tenure (*Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums*, 7.4.1933) was applied rigorously: the majority of them lost their admission to practise.



Registration of applications made by Jewish lawyers to the Berlin Bar for admission to continue their professional activities, early April 1933

1 April 1933: the public is advised "Don't go to Jewish lawyers"; warnings on red notepaper reading "Visits prohibited! Jew!" were affixed to the doorplates of Jewish lawyers' offices, here in Munich at the Stachus





# 'Re-admission' and general prohibition to practise

1933 - 1938

The professional activity of lawyers was subject to the Law regarding admission to the legal profession (*Gesetz über die Zulassung zur Rechtsanwaltschaft* of 7 April 1933), on this basis all lawyers of Jewish descent had to re-apply for ad-mission. Only those lawyers who had been admitted before 1914 (*Altanwälte*; Senior Lawyers) or who had fought at the front line in the First World War (*Frontkämpfer*), were permitted to continue to practise law. All the others lost their profession. In Prussia, this affected about one third of all lawyers admitted at the beginning of 1933. All femal lawyers were thus deprived of their profession, as well as all young lawyers. No Jewish Assessor could establish himself as a lawyer anymore.



In Prussia, every lawyer, here in Berlin, who according to National Socialist terminology was classified as 'non-Aryan', had to apply for re-admission. All Jewish lawyers had to declare their loyalty to the new Government.

The exemption for *'Frontkämpfer'* had been introduced on the initiative of the old Reichspräsident Hindenburg. Those mainly responsible for the introduction of this rule, had not expected such a considerable number of *'Frontkämpfer'* among Jewish lawyers. Of a total of 10,885 lawyers, 2,009 lawyers of Jewish origin in Prussia were permitted to continue

1. Professional partnerships between Jewish and non-Jewish lawyers had to be dissolved.
2. Jewish lawyers were no longer given legal aid cases.
3. The courts ceased to consult Jewish lawyers for legal opinions.

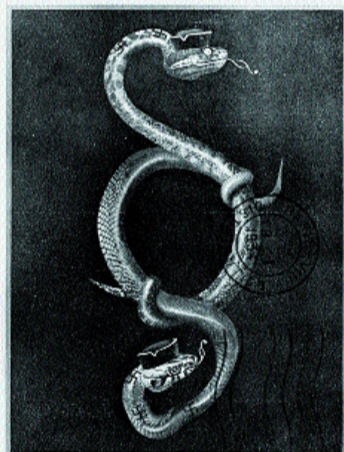
their professional activities. The share of Jewish lawyers was reduced from 28.5% to 18.5% in Prussia, in Bavaria from 17.8% to 12.6%.

But the formal admission was no safe-guard against further discrimination:

Financially, the situation of private practices of Jewish lawyers deteriorated. Due to a lack of receipts, many had to cease their activities. At the beginning of 1938 around 1750 'non-Aryan' lawyers were practising in the *'Altreich'*. Following the *'Anschluss'* of Austria, the total number changed and the rules applying in Germany were also applied in the occupied regions.

In September 1938 the decision was taken to ban all Jewish lawyers from practising their profession. This general prohibition entered into force on 30 November 1938 (in Austria on 31 December 1938). Following the prohibition, only few Jewish lawyers were able to continue their activities under the professional title of *'Konsulent'* (Legal Consultant). They were only permitted to advise and represent Jewish clients.

## HAKENKREUZOTTERN



Sie winden sich und drehen sich und nennen sich deutsche Richter

Sitzung des Hofes der Akademie der Künste, Berlin

A number of rules and regulations tried to define the term 'non-Aryan' and a confusing order emerged which distinguished between *'Mischlinge'* (hybrids), *'Mischlinge ersten Grades'* (1st degree hybrids), *'Mischlinge zweiten Grades'* (2nd degree hybrids) and *'Geltungsjuden'* (Jews by definition). These definitions were linked to different kinds of persecution. In particular, *'Mischehen'* (mixed marriages) consisting of a Jewish and a non-Jewish spouse and with children, were granted a

'privilege' which provided a certain degree of protection against further persecution. However, if the non-Jewish partner died, the 'privilege' was no longer effective and the remaining partner fell victim to the persecution machinery. The status of *'Mischling'* also had far-reaching consequences for the exercise of the profession (cf. example Adolf Arndt).



Alfred Apfel, who had been a defence lawyer for Carl von Ossietzky together with Rudolf Olden in what was called the Soldiers Trial ("All soldiers are murderers"), was depicted as a *'Volksverräter'* (traitor of the people) on this poster. He was arrested after the fire which destroyed the Reichstag February 1933. Upon his release he fled to France. Apfel died in Marseille in 1940 under unknown circumstances.



Munich lawyer Dr. Michael Siegel (1882-1979) had complained to Munich Police Headquarters in early April 1933, when one of his clients was taken into 'protective custody'. He had the legs of his trousers cut off and was led through Munich's inner city streets barefoot with a board around his neck that read: "I will never complain to the police again!" Siegel managed to flee to Peru as late as 1940, where he died in 1979.



# Last greetings from the concentration camp

**Justizrat Dr. Georg Siegmann**

21 May 1869 Berlin – 1944 missing, Auschwitz

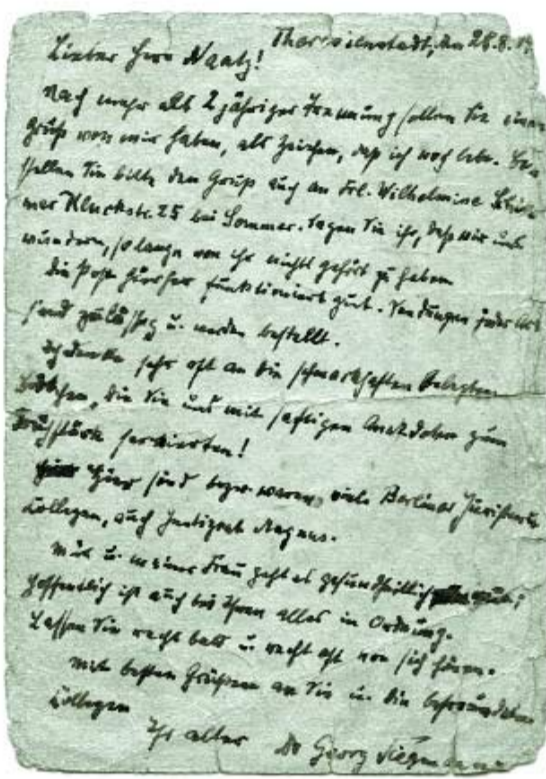


Naatz-Album



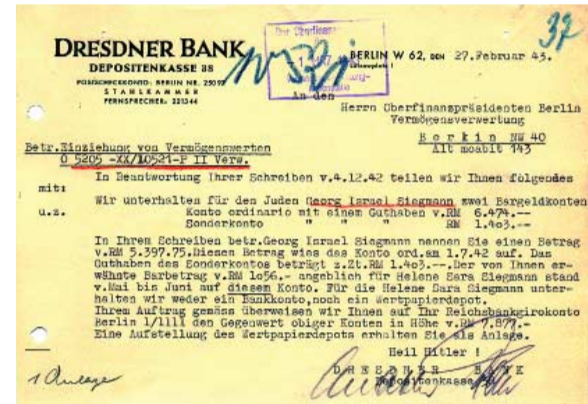
Postcard from Theresienstadt (Terezin) to Naatz

Theresienstadt, 28.8.44  
Dear Mr. Naatz!  
After more than two years of separation I shall send you my greetings as a sign that I am still alive. Please give my regards also to Wilhelmine Schickmer (?) Kluckstr. 25, c/o Sommer. Tell her that we are wondering why we have not heard from her for such a long time. The postal service here works very well. Any kind of mail is permitted and delivered. I often think of the delicious sandwiches you served us for breakfast accompanied by juicy anecdotes! Many jurists and colleagues from Berlin are or were here, among them also Justizrat Magnus. [died 15 May 1944, Theresienstadt]  
My wife and I are ... In good health; I hope that all is well with you, too.  
I hope to hear from you soon and many times.  
With my best wishes, also to my colleagues, I remain  
your old Dr. Georg Siegmann



Since it was not allowed in Theresienstadt (Terezin) to give information about a person's status, Siegmann had to use a code for his message about Magnus' death.

Justizrat Georg Siegmann was admitted as a lawyer to the Berlin Regional Courts and also practised as a notary. When power was handed over to the National Socialists he was already 63 years old. As *'Altanwalt'* (Senior Lawyer) who had been admitted prior to 1914, he felt safe and did not lose his profession in the spring of 1933. He practised until the general prohibition was imposed in 1938; his admission as a notary was withdrawn earlier.



The bank transfers the seized property to the Oberfinanzdirektion (Finance Ministry), 1943

On 2 July 1942 Siegmann signed his declaration of property, in which all those who were to be deported had to list their remaining assets (which were confiscated afterwards). Two weeks later, on 16 July 1942, Siegmann and his wife were deported to Theresienstadt (Terezin) with the 23rd *'Alttransport'* (Old People's Transport). As late as 1944, Siegmann sent a card from the camp to the trusted *'Anwaltsbeamten'* Naatz. He informed Naatz about the death of the well-known Justizrat Magnus. Siegmann was transferred from Theresienstadt to Auschwitz, where his trace ends.

# Cannot pass you my hand...

## Justizrat Dr. Dr. Julius Magnus

6 September 1867 Berlin – 15 May 1944 Theresienstadt (Terezin)

Julius Magnus practised as a lawyer in Berlin from 1898 and later also as a notary. He was the author of numerous publications on competition law, the protection of industrial property, copyright and patent law. For over 18 years he was also the editor of the *Juristische Wochenschrift (JW)*, published by the *Deutscher Anwaltverein* (German Bar Association). Magnus made the JW an internationally recognized legal journal. It provided a forum for legal debate on central issues and thus contributed considerably to the development of the law during the Weimar Republic.



Bildarchiv Preuss. Kulturbesitz

Following the handover of power, Magnus had to resign from his position as editor immediately.

He continued to practise as a lawyer until the general prohibition of 1938, but had to cease his activities as a notary in 1933.

Victor Klemperer notes in his diary on 9 October 1936, how Justizrat Magnus held an obituary speech at the funeral of their common friend Dr. jur. James Breit (a Protestant of Jewish descent) in Dresden-Tolkewitz:

“At the beginning he copied the whining tone of the priest, but then the man got going and started to speak in his own characteristic vein. He spoke in such a way that none of his words would have been of any use to an informer... The previous day, an official order had been issued according to which all juridical publications of non-Aryans had to be removed from the libraries and could not be re-edited. Breit, however, who had been an examiner in Second State Examinations, was the author of many publications. The speaker [Magnus] stressed again and again to what extent he had enriched German law and how he had relentlessly struggled against formalism and advocated a living German law. How this had been recognised everywhere and had influenced everyone, and also how this would be appreciated in the future. But what felt like a blow to my heart and shook me from my depression was a final remark, into which the speaker must have stumbled against his own will: I cannot give you my hand for I have to load my musket... I mean... just now: I cannot pass you my hand for I have to load my musket, may you rest in eternal peace, my good comrade! [after Ludwig Uhland, *The Good Comrade*, 1809]. This really shook me up and I thought to myself: muskets are still being loaded; it does not matter if one writes a book about law or about the history of French Enlightenment. Those who as Jews continue to work and to enrich Germany's intellectual life, are loading – and suddenly there was an air of conspiracy about this entire gathering. The wonderful cello music would not have been necessary, for I was already deeply moved...”

On 25 August 1939 Magnus fled to Holland, where his persecutors caught up with him. In the summer of 1943 he was abducted to Westerbork concentration camp, at the beginning of 1944 deported to Theresienstadt (Terezin) via Bergen-Belsen, where he probably died from starvation. The last piece of information about Julius Magnus came from Justizrat Georg Siegmann.



Max Hachenburg, Julius Magnus, Heinrich Dittenberger (from left)

lit. Drucker, private collection



# Concern for the children

## Dr. Moritz Galliner

23 April 1884 Zinten – 28 December 1942 Berlin

“Our children shall not be sad, but remember that we have been spared the worst; our last thoughts are with them. They were our joy and happiness...”  
(Moritz Galliner in last his will, 28 December 1942)

Moritz Galliner, 1930s



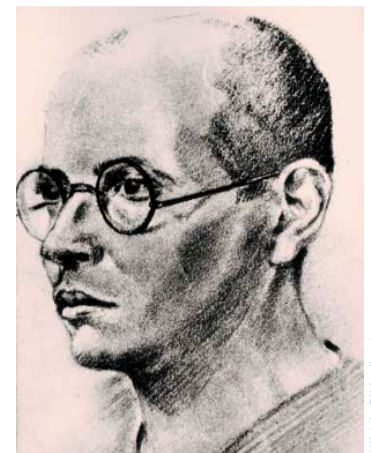
Moritz Galliner was a lawyer and notary in Berlin. Apart from his professional activities, he was also a committed member of the Jewish Reform Congregation in Berlin which supported a very liberal service with great emphasis on the German language. – Galliner was also a member of the SPD. Following the handover of power he was allowed to continue to practise as a lawyer in 1933 – until the general prohibition of 1938 (the admission as a notary was withdrawn earlier). Galliner was admitted to practise as a ‘Konsulent’ (Legal Consultant).

At the end of 1942 he and his wife were told to be prepared for deportation. The two children had already gone abroad: their daughter was in the United States, their son, who was still under age, had been sent to distant relatives in Great Britain. On the eve of the day on which they were supposed to come to the assembly camp, Galliner and his wife Hedwig took their own lives.

Faced with National Socialist persecution, many others, like Galliner, opted for suicide. Some of them, like Alsberg, took this decision as

early as 1933 and suicide numbers increased during a second wave starting in 1938. This second wave also included well-known personalities like the young Hans Litten. He had been taken into ‘protective custody’ in late February 1933. Hitler had a personal hatred for Litten since the latter had questioned and embarrassed him as a witness during a trial in 1931. Despite intensive efforts of Litten’s mother, Litten passed through several concentration camps where he was tortured. Litten, a very spiritual man who always regarded his political work as a humanistic mission, was destroyed physically, but his personality remained unbroken. He committed suicide in Dachau concentration camp on 5 February 1938.

Most of the other victims of persecution who decided to commit suicide were older. Their civil existence had been destroyed within the few years of National Socialist regime. Like Galliner, many of them tried to get their children to safety. Only when faced with imminent deportation did they take their own lives.



Litten, sketch by a fellow concentration camp prisoner



# No way out

## Dr. Gustav Herzfeld

7 May 1861 New York – 27 October 1942 Theresienstadt (Terezin)

„Dear Mr. and Mrs. Foerster! You will ... have heard that I will be deported to Theresienstadt on Saturday, 3 October...“

**G**ustav Herzfeld set up as a lawyer in Potsdam in 1909. Born in New York, it remains unknown why he came to Germany. Herzfeld was married and had a son, born in Boston in 1897. In 1908 Herzfeld converted to Protestantism.

Herzfeld's son, Joachim, was an officer killed during the First World War. The Herzfelds suffered greatly from the loss of their only child. In 1922 they had the mortal remains of their son transferred to Bornstedt cemetery, where they were

laid to rest. Elise Herzfeld never came to terms with her son's death.

She committed suicide in the 1920s. Gustav Herzfeld, who had a national conservative outlook on life, was known as a socially conscious lawyer. During the years of economic crisis in particular, he was very committed to assisting the poor and those in need, for example by providing free legal advice.

Following the National Socialists' rise to power, Herzfeld was considered Jewish, although he was a Protestant. However, having been admitted to the Bar before 1 August 1914, he was a so-called *'Altanwalt'* (Senior Lawyer) and thus came under one of the exemptions provided for by the Law regarding admission to the legal profession (*Gesetz über die Zulassung zur Rechtsanwaltschaft*) and was able to continue to practise for the time being. There is no information as to how his firm developed economically. Herzfeld also moved offices. In September 1938 he set up a partnership with his

colleagues Siegfried Lehmann and Herbert Marcuse. There is good reason to believe that they tried to keep costs as low as possible. But it was just in those weeks that the general prohibition for Jewish

lawyers to exercise the legal profession was agreed. As of 30 November 1938 all three of them were banned from practising and thus deprived of their livelihood.

Herzfeld sold his house in Bornim, but continued to live in a room in the attic of the house. He kept in touch with his fellow Protestant parishioners. One of his contemporaries remembers that, probably in 1941, she, together with five or six other friends, went to visit Herzfeld to congratulate him on his birthday.

In 1942 Herzfeld had to move to the Jewish old people's home in Babelsberg, Bergstraße 1. Trying to prevent his deportation to Theresienstadt (Terezin) he attempted suicide, but failed. Gustav Herzfeld was deported to

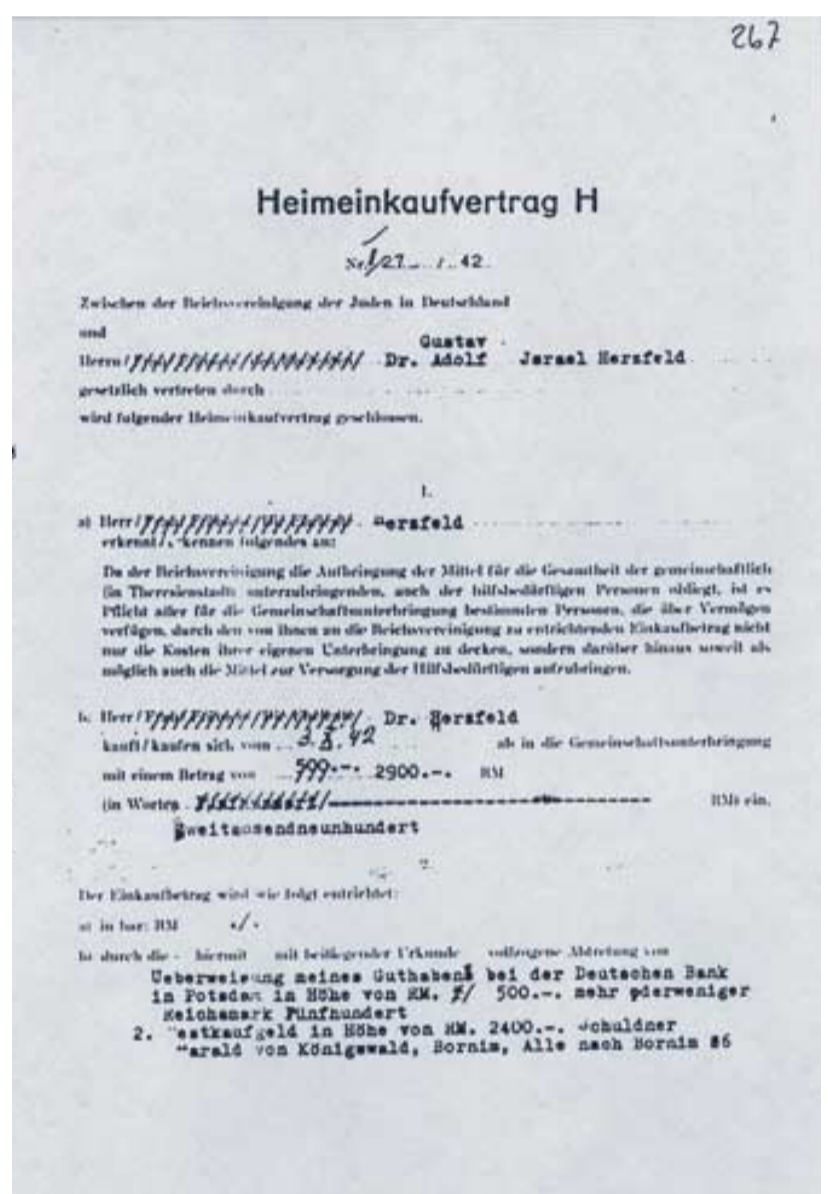
Theresienstadt on 4 October 1942. He died there only a couple of weeks later. A commemorative plaque erected at his son's grave at Bornstedt cemetery reminds us of his fate.



Gustav Herzfeld



Gustav Herzfeld with a relative, 1930s.



Gustav Herzfeld's contract concerning accommodation in Theresienstadt (Terezin), which was only used to plunder the people deported to the concentration camp.



# Murdered

## Dr. Robert Stern, Eisenach

22 July 1883 Geisa – missing 1942, Belzyce

Robert Stern, born on 22 July 1883 as the son of tradesman Salomon Stern, came from Geisa in Southern Thuringia. Having completed his legal studies he settled down in Eisenach as a trainee lawyer and from 1912 worked there as a fully qualified lawyer. After the First World War, in which he had taken part as a soldier from the first until the last day, he started a joint practice together with a lawyer from Eisenach, Justizrat Theobald Speyer. Stern's professional success only lasted until 1933, when he, too, began to suffer from the exclusion

of Jews from society and

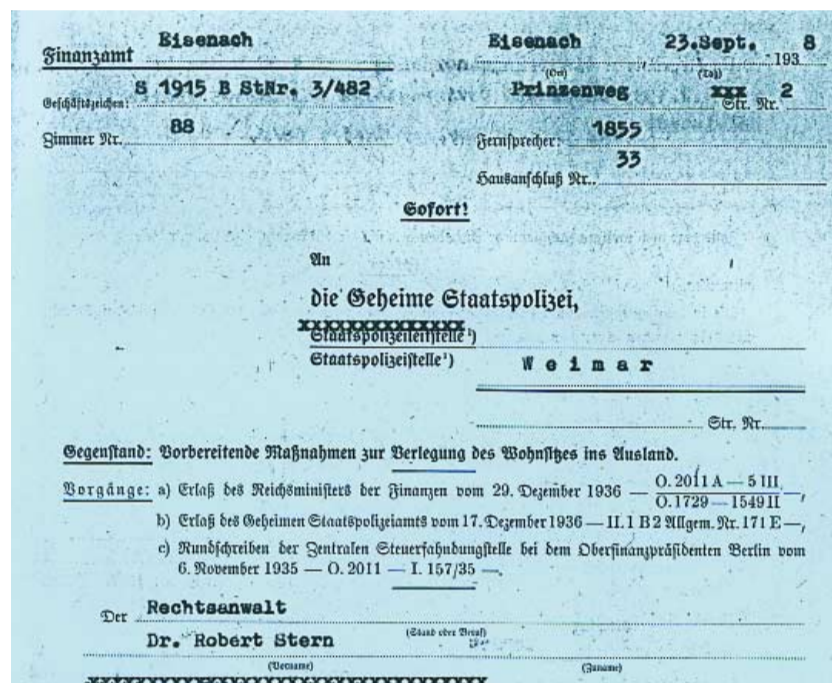
the professional restrictions which culminated in the general prohibition to practise as a lawyer in 1938. His attempts to emigrate failed. Thus, in 1942, he shared the fate of 500 other Thuringian Jews. Via Weimar and Leipzig he was deported to Belzyce, a small town south-west of Lublin, which is where his trace is lost forever.



Journey to death: Dr. Stern, photographed during the deportation of 9 May 1942. (The photographs were taken on official order for a photographic chronic of the city of Eisenach, documenting the events between 1935 and 1942. The pictures of the deportation – taken by an unknown photographer – are part of a series of 20 photographs entitled "Die Exmittierung der Juden" (The eviction of the Jews) which is part of the chronic.



Stern announces the opening of his law office



The official report of Dr. Stern's attempt to emigrate abroad.



# A pioneer Democrat

## Dr. Adolf Arndt

12 March 1904 Königsberg - 13 February 1974 Kassel

“On this side of the desert of ash that lies behind us, we take up the tradition which is founded on the sacrifice of the dead. Tradition does not mean to look after the ash, but to keep the flame alive.”  
(Arndt, after Jaurès)



1935

In the 1920s Arndt worked for the law firm of Professor Max Alsborg. He left the firm to become a judge. In 1933 he gave up his activity as a judge. Surprisingly – also for himself – he was re-admitted as a lawyer in Berlin. Beginning in the summer of 1933, he worked in a partnership with Fritz Schönbeck. Due to the fact that Arndt's wife was considered 'Aryan', Arndt was protected to some extent from massive attacks. He practised as a lawyer until 1943. Since he was considered a *'Mischling'* (Hybrid) and due to the fact that he was a Lutheran Protestant, he did not suffer the same restrictions as a *'Konsulent'* (Legal Consultant). Some other lawyers in a similar situation were able to continue to practise even until the end of the war.

In 1943 Arndt was called to forced labour and was imprisoned in 1944. Physically very weakened he managed to get through to his family in Silesia in 1945 with forged identification papers. Carrying just one suitcase they embarked on the long journey and found a hiding place in Westphalia. Until the very end, Arndt was in danger of being identified as a Jew. His 17 year old son, a soldier of the *Wehrmacht* (German army), was taken prisoner of war in Russia and returned from captivity four years later.

In August 1945 Arndt was admitted as a lawyer in Marburg and shortly afterwards he joined the civil service. He became a confidant of Kurt Schumacher in 1946 and a member of the SPD in the German *Bundestag* in 1949 (until 1969). Justice and democracy were the leading principles of his political activity. In 1963, under the aegis of Willy Brandt, Arndt took over the office of Senator for the Arts and Sciences in Berlin, which he exercised for one year.



Opening speech at the Philharmonie, Berlin 1963



Arndt with Ernst Bloch and Günther Grass at the *Werkbundtag*, 1965