Tikkun Olam - Let your life speak

or

Who was Dr Walter Lippmann?



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The chapter headings in **bold** refer directly to Dr Lippmann's biography; the other chapters are intended to aid historical understanding.

To ensure consistent column alignment, I've used the date format DD.MM.YYYY.

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About the title: Tikkun Olam

During my research over the last few months, I came across the Hebrew term "Tikkun Olam". This is translated by the University for Jewish Studies in Heidelberg[1] as "Repairing the world". But what is broken? And who or what can repair it? Tikkun Olam, has become a Jewish collective term for social and ecological commitment. People are called upon to work in pursuit of a fairer, less conflict-ridden, nature-preserving world. Sandra Borchert describes in Raawi,[2] the magazine for Jewish life in Germany, that Tikkun Olam today refers more to social responsibility for the redress of grievances in the world than to its spiritual connection to Kabbalah.

I believe that Dr Lippmann lived according to the principle of Tikkun Olam.



Figure 1 Find from 3 October 2023

Foreword

When the right causes and circumstances come together, something new is created, which in turn becomes the cause or circumstance for something new - just like this book. The reason for this book was the old nameplate "Dr Walter Lippmann - Lawyer" on the door to my attic room. The book "Rothenbaumchaussee" by Michael Batz, was another factor, as was my sponsorship of the commemorative stone for Eugen Tuteur, called stumble stones (Stolpersteine), in front of our house. Then there was my unbridled thirst for knowledge, also known as curiosity, and the free time I have after the end of my professional life.

I have lived at Grillparzer Str. 4 since 1987. Dr Lippmann lived and worked in my flat before me. My neighbours told me that as a Jewish lawyer, he represented the interests of his clients in restitution proceedings.

Causes and circumstances:

In February 2020, an appeal for donations for a "Stolperstein" to be laid for Eugen Tuteur was posted on our front door. As I think the idea of stumble stones[3] is great, I spontaneously took on the costs of laying the first stone in front of our house. In the autumn of the same year, I met the relatives of Mr Tuteur, who had come to see the Stolperstein and commemorate their relative's birthday. A very friendly relationship developed from the subsequent encounters.

I will report on the fate of Eugen Tuteur and his fiancée Olga Stahlmann later in the context of the restitution proceedings, as an example of harassment by the authorities.

The third inspiration for this biography came in the summer of 2023 when I read the book by entitled "Das Haus des Paul Levy - Rothenbaumchaussee Nr 26".

In it, he describes the search for the owner of a clarinet that was found during renovation work. Michael Batz[4] tells of the fates of the changing occupants of the house, which was once the first Jewish building community in Hamburg and thus carries an interesting piece of contemporary and city history.

These circumstances coincided with the instigation to start my search, namely my desire to find out who Dr Walter Jacques Lippmann was.

The search begins:

On 3 October 2023, I unscrewed the nameplate that had probably been hanging on the attic door since 1955 and is now on my desk. Where do you start a search like this? Right, on Google, followed by institutions such as the Hamburg State Archives, the Institute for the History of German Jews and later also the numerous highly specialised national and international archives, most of which enable online research. I was able to familiarise myself with the various archive architectures, i.e. how what is filed where, thanks to the friendly staff at the archives and libraries, to whom I would like to express my sincere thanks at this point. I was only able to view some files in person in the reading rooms of the institutions.

Discoveries:

It is in the nature of the chaos of war and post-war history that documents are kept in all sorts of different places. Only by keeping a detailed Excel list in which I recorded the most important information was I able to keep track of the more than 3,000 pages, that I found in the various files and documents. Unfortunately, the information was not in chronological order. By systematically listing the information from the beginning, I was able to quickly establish the chronological order with the help of Excel as the amount of data increased, thus maintaining an overview and establishing connections.

At first glance, the 70-year-old tax records of Dr. Lippmann seem unexciting, but as is so often the case, the surprises are in the details. Another reaction of deep shock was triggered by the discovery of the prisoner book of the Leipzig police prison. Or a photo from the Buchenwald concentration camp showing the morning roll call on 10 November 1938, the morning after the Reichspogromnacht, in which the 9,845 men who were arrested that night can be seen. When I realised that Dr Lippmann was also in this photo, I couldn't continue working for days.

The more I learned about Dr Lippmann and his family, the more familiar I became with them, the harder it was for me to bear their fate. Occasionally I experienced "emotional reactions" and I had to take a break, whether it was to go to a concert or eat a bag of cherries. Afterwards, I was able to carry on researching and writing.

Documentation:

I'm not a writer, so I knew from the start that I didn't want to write a novel, but a documentary. I wanted to present everything I found soberly and neutrally - regardless of what I would find. At the beginning of my research, I had no idea what kind of person Dr Lippmann was.

But while writing it, I realised that you can only really understand a life story if you also know the historical context. Details about the course of the war can be found elsewhere, so I have only mentioned it here in passing. In selecting the information on the historical context, I have limited myself to events that either had a direct influence on the fate of the Lippmann family or reveal developments in civil society.

I report on many good people whose biographies I have learnt about during my research. Unfortunately, I can only refer to their detailed biographies with internet links in the context of this work. There is a lot of literature about the many perpetrators; I will only write about them if their terrible deeds had a decisive influence on the lives of Dr Lippmann and his family.

In this work, the documentary presentation and the historical context take centre stage. The facts presented often conceal unspoken truths. I trust that readers will be able to read between the lines and empathise with the drama of the situations. As an author, I am naturally emotionally involved in the writing process. This work reflects my subjective view of the available data, although I have always endeavoured to maintain a critical distance and to substantiate the information with sources. Occasional comments about my own biography are intended to emphasise how much we are all children of our time and the extent to which historical events influence our lives. I do not see my personal perspective as a limitation, but rather as an enrichment of this documentation, which offers readers an additional framework for interpretation.

My research:

I limited my research to archives. I researched both on site and online. It can be assumed that some files are still under lock and key and others have not yet been digitised and are therefore not yet available.

The detective work involved in interpreting the various documents was a lot of fun and highly entertaining. Sometimes, however, the obvious conclusion is not the right one, as we know from every

crime thriller. So, it is all the more gratifying when a new lead is successfully followed, especially in view of the obstacles put up by a justice system that has not exactly made a name for itself in terms of restitution.

To expose these legal injustices, I have listed the relevant documents in detail at one point or another. Not to tire the reader, but to draw attention to these injustices and meanness of the bureaucracy and to show the systemic violence behind which the 'perpetrators' later hid.

Until his death in 1986, Dr Lippmann represented clients who belonged to the legally defined group of victims entitled to compensation under the Federal Compensation Act (BEG). All other victims of Nazi persecution were not eligible for compensation under the BEG. It was not until 1988 that the Hamburg Foundation for Aid to Victims of Nazi-Persecution was established. I think it is in the spirit of Dr Lippmann that I also report on the work of this foundation.

Importance of the documentation:

I have endeavoured to document precisely what I have found in the documents. This biography of a Jewish lawyer is just one of many; it is not universally valid, but unfortunately it is not the exception either.

In addition to describing the two devastating dystrophies of the 20th century, I will show some of the positive developments in civil society that give hope. From the introduction of voting rights for women to Angela Merkel, the first female German Chancellor - from racial segregation, for example in the USA, to President Barak Obama - the first black American President - from discrimination against homosexuals to Guido Westerwelle, a German Foreign Minister who revealed he was homosexual. The independence and democratisation of many colonies - the publication of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the founding of the United Nations and the European Union.

These are welcome developments in the direction of democratic, pluralistic societies. None of this is perfect, but it is up to us, like in a relay race, to carry these developments forward and perfect them so that we can hand the world over to our children in a better state than we received it.

A particular value of this documentation lies in the more than 1,400 Internet links to qualified websites that deal with the topics in a highly specialised and detailed way that a documentation of this kind cannot achieve. The links provide the reader with an immediate "fact check".

If you follow the links to the documents, such as the Buchenwald Concentration Camp account book,[5] you will become an eyewitness!

Findings:

I am very happy to have saved the life of Dr Lippmann and his family from oblivion and to be able to present it in this form.

Over the past 18 months, I have learnt an enormous amount and deepened my existing knowledge. In addition to historical events, I have also learnt about Esperanto, the draining of swamps in Palestine

with the help of eucalyptus trees, the selling prices of citrus fruits and I have read many biographies of marvellous people who have achieved heroic deeds on a large and small scale.

History does not repeat itself, but its patterns do. Today, fascists no longer wear brown shirts, but white women's blouses under blue jackets.

The intensive reading of Jewish newspapers from the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s gave me an authentic feeling for the zeitgeist, the spirit of the times. It is shocking that so many did not want to accept what they could read in black and white. I wish that we would all recognise the signs of the times earlier and act accordingly.

There is no right to prejudice and hatred! Hate is not an opinion! This is also the view of the German Criminal Code (StGB) § 130, 185, 186 and 241.[6]

It is about cultivating an attitude of vigilance and living compassion and working towards a world in which the mistakes of the past are not repeated, but in which we take responsibility together and contribute to a more just, tolerant and inclusive society.

Completion of the manuscript:

All in all, the research and writing were a lot of fun. As I had never undertaken a project like this before, I had no idea how time-consuming it is to turn a manuscript into a print-ready book.

After the editing, where you want to rewrite what you've written again and better, comes the proofreading - until late in the evening all you see are jumping dots and bouncing commas.

Adhering to the specified formatting, citation rules, captions and footnotes requires a great deal of concentration - not so easy, because I get very bored with such work. I apologise for any mistakes.

It took me ten days just to set up the index for this book. The result of this work is my great appreciation for all "colleagues" who provide their books with an index.

Prologue:

With the biography "Tikkun Olam - Let your life speak", I would like to introduce you to the life of Dr Walter Jaques Lippmann. I invite you to get to know him and be inspired.

Dr Lippmann had a doctorate from the University of Leipzig and worked successfully as a lawyer, which initially pointed to a promising career. But when the National Socialists seized power in 1938 and Jewish lawyers were subsequently banned from practising, his life changed abruptly. These shattering events became the catalyst for his determined plan to send his son Bernhard to England on a Kindertransport and at the same time to find an escape route for himself and his wife.

He managed to escape to the USA, but the new start was not easy. He kept his head above water with various "emergency jobs", as he called them. Was it homesickness or was it the changed circumstances in the young Federal Republic that made him return in 1955? He was 60 years old when he set up as a lawyer in Hamburg.

In the city of Hamburg, which was slowly flourishing again, Dr Lippmann continued his work as a lawyer, which he had interrupted in 1938. The BEG, the Federal Compensation Act, came into force on 1 October 1953 and promised justice and compensation for victims of National Socialism.

Perhaps it was the Jewish idea of Tikkun Olam,the repair of the world", which today stands as a synonym for social action and the commitment to social justice, or was it his pronounced sense of legal justice that made him a sought-after and respected lawyer in restitution proceedings?

He fought for justice with tireless determination until the end of his life. Shortly before his death, at the age 90, his work was honoured with the Order of Merit of the Federal Republic of Germany. This biography is not only an exciting life story, but also a call to action:

Let your life speak for you!

Weblinks

With over 1,400 links to external websites, I would like to achieve various goals:

Fact check: The links lead to websites and are intended to explain the context. On the websites of, for example, Yad Vashem, the Arolsen Archive or similar institutions, there is a lot of scientifically sound information and documentation for those interested. Some links lead to documents that I have found, so that you can become an eyewitness if you follow the link.

Footnotes: I have given the full Internet address in the footnotes so that it is clear to which website the link leads. Depending on your reading device, you can access the external websites by clicking on the hyperlinks, i.e. the underlined words in the text or the Internet addresses in the footnotes.

Entertainment: Numerous links lead to Wikipedia. The many biographies of the people mentioned in this book, who have achieved or experienced extraordinary things, are well worth reading.

In-depth: In the context of this paper, I can often only refer to topics such as hyperinflation in one or two sentences. Detailed explanations can be found on the linked websites such as the "LEMO" Living Museum Online, which is operated by the House of History of the Federal Republic of Germany, the German Historical Museum and the Federal Archives.

From enlightenment to barbarian ideology - and back

Before I begin with the biography, I would like to give a brief overview of the global political situation into which Dr Lippmann was born. From the German Empire to the Weimar Republic and the fascist Third Reich, it was a long and rocky road to a democratic and multicultural Germany based on the Grundgesetz, the Basic Law and universal human rights.

One example of the rapid development of science and technology is the path from the first aeroplane to the first satellite to the moon landing.

Part of my learning process is the collection of data and information. Only when you understand how the data is connected and the context in which it stands does it become your own knowledge. In Faust, Goethe reminds us to tread carefully in this pursuit, for truth often hides in "des Pudels Kern", or the poodle's core. Something that appears benign may conceal something far more sinister — even the devil may lurk within the essence of the matter. While the search for understanding can be deeply rewarding, it is never without risk.

If we ask ourselves how the self-proclaimed "people of poets and thinkers" could turn into a barbaric horde of fascists in a short space of time, murdering people on an industrial scale with unimaginable sadism and brutality and waging war on other peoples, then we must also ask ourselves whether the same thing could happen to us today. If the answer is "yes", then it is the duty of each and every one of us to stand up and do something about it.

First internet search on 03.10.2023

Inspired by the magic inherent in every beginning, as a Wikipedia member I first looked for information there.

The first entry I found was for Walter Lippmann, journalist (1889-1974). According to the Wikipedia article, he was an American journalist and publicist. His work "Public Opinion"[7] from 1922 is apparently still considered fundamental reading for journalism, media studies, political science and social psychology.

In a newspaper archive[8] I found a review of the book "The moral way of life of modern man" by Walter Lippmann, published in the year 1930. It is an examination of the moral and ethical challenges facing modern man. Lippmann believes that traditional moral values and religious beliefs are becoming less important in the modern world. To meet the demands of modern society, new ethical principles must be developed. He points to the need for a new moral orientation based on rational thinking and scientific knowledge.

Unfortunately, very few people in Germany read this book back then. And today, in the year 2025, on the day of Donald Trump's inauguration, we would like to see such a book as compulsory reading in all schools.

Interesting, but since the journalist Walter Lippmann didn't live in Hamburg, he can't be the one I'm looking for. I have more luck with the second attempt. I find this entry on Wikipedia:

> "Walter Lippmann, (lawyer)[9]
>
> (* 13.10.1895 in Leipzig; † 05.04.1986 in Hamburg) was a German lawyer and Esperantist). After the First World War (Iron Cross II Class), Lippmann completed his doctorate in law at the University of Leipzig; in 1924 he completed his legal training and opened a law firm in Leipzig. As a veteran of the First World War, Lippmann fell under the exemption rules of the National Socialist Law on the Admission of Lawyers, so that after 1933 he retained his licence to practise law for the time being despite his Jewish origins. All Jewish lawyers were disbarred in 1938, the authorities allowed Walter Lippmann to represent only Jews as a so-called "consultant."

He was arrested four times and spent a month in Buchenwald concentration camp.

In July 1941, he managed to emigrate to the USA. He lived in the USA in Philadelphia and New York. In 1955, he returned to Germany and opened a law firm in Hamburg, focusing on representing former victims of Nazi persecution in their restitution cases. In 1957, the young Claus von Amsberg, later Prince Consort of Queen Beatrix of the Netherlands, worked for him for several months.

Dr Walter Lippmann was awarded the Cross of the Order of Merit at the end of 1985 for his work on "reconciliation between Jews and Germans". He worked as a lawyer until his death at the age of ninety.

Walter Lippmann was an active member of the Jewish community in Leipzig in the 1920s. He had been speaking Esperanto since 1908 and was already involved in its dissemination in the 1920s in the interests of worldwide peaceful understanding. He became Director of the Grammatical Section of the Esperanto Academy, held courses and translated. In 1965, he was awarded the badge of honour of the German Esperanto Association."

This information gives me many clues for further research and raises questions to which I would like to have answers. They are my signposts, guiding me like Ariadne's thread through the maze of 20th century history.

At a lecture at the Association for Hamburg History[10] I was advised by our chairman Prof Dr Franklin Kopitzsch[11] to look for traces of Dr Lippmann in the Hamburg State Archives. So, a few days later, I cycled to the Hamburg State Archives to look at the files I had previously found online in the reading room.[12] There I found a curriculum vitae of Dr Lippmann from 1955, which he had sent to the President of the Hanseatic Higher Regional Court with his application for readmission to the bar.[13]

How fortunate that this personnel file still exists. It contains valuable information, but it only documents the external facts, the professional successes and failures. The inner, the personal remains unmentioned.

It's not just the dates and events that characterise a life. Isn't it primarily the small, everyday moments, the deep emotions and personal passions that characterise a life? And isn't it the elements that often go unmentioned in official documents, such as a penchant for art, music, poetry and love, that determine whether a life is perceived as beautiful and worth living?

This curriculum vitae does not provide any answers to these questions. I may discover answers later in letters, diaries or in the stories of contemporary witnesses.

But perhaps these gaps can simply be filled with empathy and imagination? After all, a person's life is more than the sum of their documented data

Curriculum vitae of Walter Lippmann from 08.07.1955

3

LEBENSLAUF

des früheren Rechtsanwaltes Dr.iur.Walter Lippmann
in Hamburg 39, Grillparzerstr.4 I

1895 Geboren am 13.Oktober in Leipzig als Sohn des Arztes (sp.) Sanitätsrat Dr.Michaelis Lippmann und seiner Frau Ernestine geb. Asch, preussische und sächsische Staatsangehörige, jüdischer Konfession
1902-1905 Erste Höhere Bürgerschule, Leipzig
1905-1914 Humanistisches Gymnasium zu St.Nikolai, Leipzig
1914-1915 Rechtsstudium an den Universitäten Leipzig und Heidelberg
1915-1919 Dienst im deutschen Heere an den Kriegsfronten in Russland, Belgien, Elsass und Frankreich. E.K.und F.K.M.
1919-1920 Rechtsstudium an den Universitäten Göttingen und Leipzig
1920 Erste Juristische Staatsprüfung in Leipzig
1920-1924 Referendar bei den Amtsgerichten Zwenkau und Dresden, bei den Rechtsanwälten Dr. Wohrizek und Dr. Zander in Leipzig, bei dem Landgerichte und bei der Staatsanwaltschaft in Leipzig. Amtsanwalt beim Amtsgericht Zwenkau.
1921 Eheschliessung mit Elise Clara, geb.Barbag in Leipzig
1923 Promotion zum Doctor Iuris "magna cum laude" an der Universität Leipzig
1924 Zweite Juristische Staatsprüfung in Dresden.- Assessor, dann Rechtsanwalt im Büro der Rechtsanwälte Dr.Graf, Unger und Dr.Jaffé in Leipzig
1924-1938 Rechtsanwalt in eignem Büro in Leipzig, erst Grimmaische Strasse 24, dann Petersstrasse 15 (Allgemeinpraxis, auch Verteidiger in Strafsachen, Syndikus, Konkursverwalter, Geschäftsaufsichtsperson, Vormund, Pfleger; Mitglied des Aufsichtsrates einer Aktiengesellschaft)
1926 Geburt des Sohnes Bernhard Lippmann in Leipzig
1933-1941 Nationalsozialistische Verfolgung: Boykott, vier Verhaftungen (in keinem Falle wegen irgendeiner strafbaren oder unerlaubten Handlung), ein Monat im Konzentrationslager Buchenwald, Judenabgabe (25% des Vermoegens), Gold- und Silberabgabe, Vermoegensbeschlagnahme, Sonderbesteuerung, Namenszwang ("Israel"), Verweisung in sog. Judenhaus, Entziehung der Freizügigkeit und des Telefons, Entzug der Anwaltsbefugnis(1938) u.s.w.; Zwang zur Auswanderung wegen Lebensgefahr (Vernichtungslager)
1938-1939 "Konsulent" für Leipzig
1940-1941 Arbeit im Palästina-Amte der Jewish Agency for Palestine in Berlin (Hilfe zur Auswanderung von Juden nach Palästina)
1941 Auswanderung nach den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika mit Handgepäck und 4 Dollars. Vermögen von der nationalsozialistischen Regierung eingezogen.
1942-1947 Verschiedene Berufstätigkeiten in Handel, Industrie und Wohlfahrtseinrichtungen in New York, Collegeville, Philadelphia
1947-1955 Accountant und Comptroller (Rechnungsführer) einer Werbe-Agentur in New York
1946-1952 Studium der Accountancy (Bücherrevisionswissenschaft) und einiger Rechtsfächer am City College in New York
1955 Rückkehr nach Deutschland. Niederlassung in Hamburg. Eigne Wohnung in Hamburg-Uhlenhorst, Grillparzerstrasse 4 I
Wiederaufnahme des Rechtsanwaltsberufes beabsichtigt.

Dr. Walter Lippmann

Figure 2 Curriculum vitae of Walter Lippmann from 08.07.1955

13.10.1895 Walter Lippmann's Birthday

Walter Jaques Lippmann was born on 13 October 1895 at 08:45 in his parents' flat at Langestrasse 49 in Leipzig. Walter's mother Ernestine Lippmann, née Asch, was born on 25 March 1870 in Waritsch near Posen. Walter's father was the doctor and medical officer Dr Michaelis Lippmann, born on 19.06.1860 in Wongrowitz, approx. 60 km north of Posen.

In its chequered history, Poznan[14] used to belong to the German Empire from 1871. Today, Poznan (Posen) belongs to Poland and is well worth a visit. The young parents have Prussian and Saxon citizenship and are Jewish.[15]

At the time, Leipzig belonged to the Kingdom of Saxony and was a city known for its cultural diversity and intellectual life. Walter grew up at a time of great social and political upheaval, which had a decisive impact on his life and that of his generation.

1902 - 1914 School days in Leipzig

In 1902, Walter was enrolled at the Erste Höhere Bürgerschule[16] from 1796. He later transferred from the primary school to the humanistic grammar school at St Nikolai.[17] At the beginning of the 18th century, compulsory education was introduced in Prussia. It is a point of pride that from 1655 to 1661, the great universal scholar Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz[18] taught at the humanistic grammar school.

The pupil with the greatest musical talent was Richard Wagner.[19] I have not yet been able to find out whether Walter was also musical.

In the first year of grammar school, when Walter was perhaps ten years old, his class teacher made a comment that led Walter to the conclusion that he was different from the other boys because he was a "Jewish" boy. From then on, he began to take interest in Judaism. Around five years later, his class teacher gave him the choice of writing an essay on Goethe's "Iphigenia in Tauris"[20] or on "An experience from my childhood". Walter did not choose Goethe's classic work, which expresses the ideal of humanism. The teacher was shocked when he read Walter's childhood experience. He had no idea what effect his remark had had on the boy's soul. A conversation followed in which the teacher expressed his respect and regret.

This conversation may have encouraged Walter to stand up for himself and seek dialogue with others to achieve mutual understanding. Another story, which was probably also characteristic of his personality, can be found in the same newspaper article on his 85th birthday.

A master craftsman in Leipzig was the head of an anti-Semitic group that also produced books and pamphlets. Seventeen-year-old Walter sought out the master craftsman and they had an in-depth conversation. The pupil from the humanist grammar school amazed and moved the anti-Semite. Perhaps it was not only Walter's very well-founded arguments, but also his undaunted tolerance towards those who thought differently. The then eighty-five-year-old said:

> "You can't blame people for having a different opinion. None of us is perfect."

It can be assumed that Walter already possessed qualities in his youth that he retained and even developed further despite many difficulties in his life. He endeavoured to live as a German and a Jew in the German Reich. Walter seems to have been a keen observer of his time, primarily interested in social rather than political issues.

On 7 March 1914, he received his school-leaving certificate[21] at the end of his school years. At the time he left school he spoke German, Hebrew, Latin, Ancient Greek, French, English and Esperanto.[22]

The Esperanto World Federation was founded in 1908. Esperanto[23] is a constructed language.[24] In 1887, Dr Ludwik Lejzer Zamenhof had the great idea of developing a "neutral language" that did not discriminate against any other language and was easy to learn. The grammar should follow simple and clear rules, without exceptions that make it difficult to learn another language.

Zamenhof's idea of a 'cosmopolitan humanism', known in Esperanto as „Homaranismo",[25] is intended to prevent ethnocentrism and the formation of ghettos. The dream of a common language for all people is as old as the story of the Tower of Babel. Esperanto is intended to help overcome the Babelian confusion of languages between nations and thus promote world peace.

These ideas must have appealed to the young Walter just as much as the simple rules of Esperanto grammar, which he had probably found in the Esperanto Bulletin from 1908.[26] At that time, Walter had no idea what an important role Esperanto would play in his life.

In 1913, the "Blau-Weiß" hiking association[27] was founded, modelled on the Wandervogel and Scout associations, in which Walter worked as an honorary group leader. Dr Lippmann continued to enjoy hiking into old age, as he later recounted in an interview.

"Blau-Weiß" was the first Zionist youth organisation in Germany with the aim of training young people for the settlement of Palestine. At times, up to 3,000 young people took part in the preparatory courses. In May 1914, an issue of the Blau-Weiß-Blätter[28] stated:

> "The Wanderbund should set itself apart from all political and religious parties. It should - towering above all party squabbles - turn its boys and girls into proud and happy Jews. This is to be achieved by singing German wandering songs and Jewish freedom songs, not by lectures or even by assemblies. The wanderers' own activities should predominate on home evenings. Home-made theatre performances and repeated singing by all, cultivation of music: violins, flutes, lutes should be heard."

1904 - 1908 Genocide of the Herero and Nama

The German colonial history[29] of the German Empire only began in 1871. Colonialism and racism are closely linked. In order to understand German history of the 20th century, it is important that the German colonial period[30] is also researched in more detail. There seems to be a direct link between the colonial murders and the racially motivated murders that soon followed.

For a long time, the reappraisal of colonial history was overshadowed by National Socialism. Why is there still a Woermanns Weg[31] in Hamburg, named after Adolph Woermann,[32] one of the great profiteers of the colonial trade? The company is still based in Africa House[33] in Hamburg.

The genocide of the Herero and Nama[34] people took place between 1904 and 1908. They had risen up against German colonial rule in German South West Africa,[35] now Namibia. After the fighting, the Herero and Nama were interned in concentration camps in Namibia, where almost half of the prisoners died. It estimated that up to 60,000 died.

Occasional excursions – such as the genocide in distant Africa or the epidemic on the doorstep – may at first glance seem to have little to do with the life of a Leipzig lawyer. Yet they mark the historical coordinates within which Walter Lippmann's life unfolded, and they reveal what was possible in this era and how early certain developments began.

Anno 1908 First antibiotic

The Jewish physician and bacteriologist Paul Ehrlich[36] was awarded the Nobel Prize in Physiology and Medicine in 1908 together with the Jewish Ilya Meschnikov[37] for their contributions to the field of serum research and immunology. Their discovery of the first antibiotic made it possible to successfully treat anthrax, tuberculosis and syphilis, a venereal disease that until then had frequently been fatal.

Ilya Metschnikov came from Kharkov in the Ukraine, which at the time was part of the Russian Empire. He discovered how white blood cells trigger an immune reaction against bacteria that cause cholera, for example. The worldwide cholera pandemics[38] in the 19th century claimed tens of thousands of lives despite the use of medicines. The cholera epidemic hit Hamburg[39] particularly hard in August 1892, when around 17,000 people fell ill and half of them died. The Wikipedia article tells me that the disinfectant Lysol was produced by the company Schülke & Mayr,[40] in what is now the Goldbekhaus cultural centre in my neighbourhood, and was used at the time to combat the cholera epidemic.

1914 - 1915 Law studies

In his curriculum vitae from 1955[41], Walter notes that he attended lectures in Leipzig and Heidelberg at the beginning of his law studies.

Walter received his high school certificate on 7 March 1914 and, according to his enrolment record dated 30 July 1914,[42] began his law studies as early as 17 April 1914. Another matriculation card dated 03 April 1915[43] shows that from 23 October 1914 to 15 April 1919 Walter was "otherwise" employed, which refers to his deployment on the front in the First World War.[44]

The Leipzig University[45] archive also contains a two-part index card on which the tuition fees per semester are noted. The first card[46] is stamped "Drafted" for the period 1915-1919.

Is this proof that Walter did not volunteer for the military?

The second card[47] shows the semester fees for 1919/1920 and 1920. In his CV, Walter had stated that he had also studied in Heidelberg and Göttingen. I was pleased to find proof of this as well. As the matriculation card dated 12.04.1920[48] shows, he studied there from 11 October 1919 to 15 October 1922.

It can be assumed that he spent many a happy hour in Auerbach's cellar with his fellow students in Leipzig, much like Goethe, whom he admired, with his "Faust". Was it Mephisto himself who put an end to the hustle and bustle, sent Walter to the front and brought the world into disaster with the First World War?

Around 100,000 Jewish soldiers[49] fought for their homeland, which was called Germany. During the war, 12,000 of them died.

Otto Dix,[50,51] painted the horrors of war like almost no other painter. His paintings were considered degenerate art by the Nazis, probably because they showed what "heroic death" in the field really looked like.

1914 - 1918 First World War

9 million soldiers and 6 million civilians died on both sides in the First World War,[52] which lasted from 28 June 1914 to 11 November 1918. Many survivors were severely wounded and maimed, even if they did not die of wound infections.

I am writing this paragraph on 11 November 2023, when I learn from the radio news that carnival begins today, but not that the terrible First World War ended on this day 105 years ago.

Unfortunately, there have always been wars in the history of mankind. As a rule, they were man-to-man battles. In the First World War, completely new weapons were used: tanks, fighter, planes, cannons and other artillery: weapons of mass destruction such as flamethrowers, machine guns and poison gas. Killing became technical, mechanical and impersonal - but not dying.

The bones of 130,000 nameless French and German soldiers rest in the Ossuary at Douaumont[53] near Verdun alone. In front of the ossuary, thousands of white crosses with the names of the fallen stand in vast fields. The average life expectancy at the front was 14 days![54] The men all died very young.

The visit to this memorial and the walk across the fields with the endless rows of white crosses bearing the names and young ages of the fallen leaves a deep and lasting impression of the tragedy of every war.

The Hague Conference of 1899[55] had banned such weapons, yet by the end of 1916 the battlefield of Verdun saw the use of 26 million explosive grenades and 100,000 poison gas grenades.[56] Once this red line had been crossed, the way was clear for the later use of poison gas in the Nazi concentration camps and the use of napalm in Vietnam[57] by the USA.

Humanity, if you can even say that in the context of war, had crossed a red line.

1915 - 1919 Military service in the First World War

Walter interrupted his studies and fought in the German army on the war fronts in Russia, Belgium, Alsace and France from 1915 until the end of the war in 1918. For his excellent service in the First World War[58] he was awarded the Iron Cross II Class[59].

I found this photo and an indescribable wealth of information in the dissertation by Dr Hubert Lang[60] entitled: Zwischen allen Stühlen. "Caught between Two Stools" (Lawyers of Jewish origin in Leipzig (1848 - 1953). His book was a great help to me and the nice meeting in Leipzig was an interesting experience, because until then Dr Lang was the only person who knew anything about Dr Lippmann.

The census of Jews[61] ordered by the Prussian Minister of War in 1916 was experienced by many German Jews and especially by the Jewish soldiers as degrading discrimination.

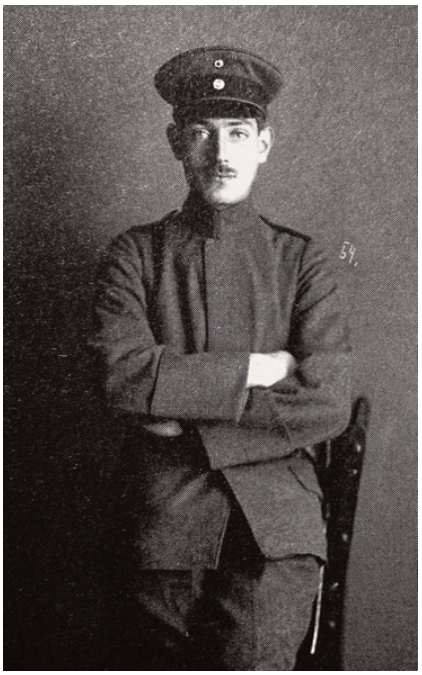


Figure 3 Walter Lippmann between 1915 – 1918

From autumn 1918, the claim was made that the main reason for the defeat was the shirking and "internal decay" of the Jewish population.

What must the Jewish soldiers and the surviving family members of the approximately 12,000 Jewish soldiers who died a "hero's death" have felt?

And the 1,500,000 war-disabled veterans who were dependent on meagre state support and their prostheses? When I started my commercial training in the mid-seventies, war invalids often earned a little extra over and above their pensions as collection agents. This work was very arduous and painful with prosthetic arms and legs, as the technology and materials were not as advanced as they are today. As a result, they were still suffering from the consequences of the war 40 years later.

The Reichsbund Jüdischer Frontsoldaten,[62] Walter was a member of the Leipzig chapter, which endeavoured to counter the rising anti-Semitism of the Weimar Republic.

As I cannot explain all topics in detail, I refer as often as possible to websites that deal with the respective topic in detail. I invite you to check the facts for yourself. All links in this work lead to sites that are not under suspicion, to spread "alternative truths". Please do the fact check!

For me, for example, the "Lebendige Museum Online"[63] is an excellent source for almost all questions about German history. The website is maintained by "Haus der Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland", "Deutsches Historisches Museum" and "Das Bundesarchiv".

There was no radio or television in 1914. Newspapers and cinemas were the only sources of information. From 1914, cinemagoers were able to see news from all over the world in moving pictures in newsreels that were shown before the actual programme. Today, various Internet archives, such as the Meesternewsreel[64] and Deulig newsreel,[65] provide a glimpse into the world of our great-grandparents. There is an extensive collection of newsreels in the Federal Archives. [66]

Did the cinemas have any visitors at all in the turnip winter of 1916/1917?[67] During the war economy, food was rationed and only 1,000 kilocalories were allowed per person. Turnips replaced potatoes. Due to the lack of artificial fertiliser, grain and potato yields fell by 50%. Around 700,000 people died of malnutrition.

Walter had fought for his fatherland for four years. And now, in 1924, the Weimar Republic called his integrity into question. Fortunately, he was unaware of this internal memo from the Reich Ministry of Justice[68] in his personal file, from which I quote in part:

> "From 1915 to 1918 he did military service, ultimately as a non-commissioned officer in the field artillery; apart from training and leave, he was always at the front. Not wounded. [Under the item "Statement on fitness for service" it is noted:] "Appearance neat. Is Jewish. Character and political reliability difficult to judge."

Anti-Semitism did not just begin in 1933, as this memo makes clear. How can a soldier who fought at the front for four years be unreliable? Isn't it frightening how deeply rooted prejudice and discrimination can be, even against those who risked their lives for their country?

30.11.1918 Introduction of women's right to vote

On 30 November 1918, the new electoral law came[69] into force, giving women the right to vote[70] and stand for election. The elections to the National Constituent Assembly on 19 January 1919 marked the first time that women could vote and be elected[71] throughout Germany.

This was an important milestone for German society on the road to gender equality. Another memorable date on this path is 22 November 2005, when Angela Merkel[72] became the first female Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany. Fortunately, not all social changes take more than 90 years.

Hopefully the day is not far off when women will receive the same payment as men for the same work.

1919 - 1920 Law studies and first state examination

After the war, Walter studied at the universities in Göttingen and Leipzig. The application for re-admission to the bar dated 9 July 1955 shows that the final examinations were on 17, 18 and 19 May 1920 in Leipzig. He passed the first state law examination on 26 June 1920 with the grade "satisfactory".[73]

The grade 'satisfactory' is unlikely to have really satisfied the young, ambitious Walter. Walter was aware of the fate of many war returnees[74] and was certainly aware of how lucky he was to have returned from the war in good health and to have completed his studies.

During this time, Walter later said that he preferred to deal with social rather than political issues. He became involved in the life reform movement.[75]

Many of the ideas of the life reform movement were groundbreaking, including a vegetarian, alcohol-free and drug-free lifestyle. He was a member of the Guttempler order.[76]

24.02.1920 Party programme of the NSDAP

Adolf Hitler presented the 25-point programme of the National Socialist German Workers' Party[77] in Munich's Hofbräuhaus. The programme explicitly stated that the aim was to transform a democratic society into an authoritarian one. Point 4 states quite unequivocally:

> "You can only be a citizen if you are a member of the people. Only those who are of German blood, regardless of denomination, can be "Volksgenosse". No Jew can therefore be a fellow citizen."

If the German people had read the entire election programme carefully and paid attention to it, the world might have been spared a lot of grief and suffering.

1920 - 1924 Legal internship

Walter's theoretical training was followed by the mandatory legal internship. On 10 December 1920, he was sworn in for the first time as a trainee lawyer in Zwenkau. Walter worked as a trainee lawyer at the Zwenkau and Dresden district courts.

Ideally, you should get to know someone personally. The second-best way to get to know them is through personal testimonies such as letters, diaries, photos or interviews with people close to them. Unfortunately, during my research I did not find any personal documents or people who could give me information about Dr Lippmann.

That's why the employers' testimonies about Walter's personality are very revealing. I found them in the files in the Hamburg State Archives. Walter, who at the age of 25 was at the start of a promising career, was recognised not only for his outstanding professional qualifications but also for his excellent human qualities.

The district court director Dr Rotte in Stollberg issues his assessor Dr Lippmann with a certificate on 12 January 1924 and writes:

> "Mr Assessor Dr Walter Lippmann from Leipzig worked as a trainee lawyer at the Zwenkau District Court under my supervision from December 1920 to August 1921. He is one of those young lawyers who put their serious sense of duty into hard work. He is characterised by diligence and dedicated, purposeful striving. He is a very good lawyer with many talents. The most striking traits of his likeable personality are

> modesty without weakness, warm devotion to the duties of his profession, a lively sense of what is right and calm, sure tact. Dr Lippmann[78] can be regarded as a brave, honourable man of character."

On 8 January 1924, Dresden district court judge Dr Willy Mirus confirms that Dr Lippmann, as an assessor from 1 October to 31 December 1921, had passed judgements for him in contentious civil matters in the first instance. He writes:

> "...carried out all the work assigned to him with great diligence, great skill and a correct understanding of what was important. He demonstrated a comprehensive knowledge of all areas of law that is rarely found in young lawyers. I consider him to be a particularly capable person who, with his conscientiousness, will always fulfil his position to the fullest satisfaction, wherever he may be placed, and wish him all the best for the future".[79]

The accompanying letter[80] states:

> "My warmest congratulations to you and your honoured wife on passing your exams so well - as I had expected! How stupid of the state to miss out on people like you! I wish you all the best for your future and hope that you will soon find something suitable. It is a pleasure to be able to issue you with the attached certificate - with a clear conscience - and I hope it will be of some use to you."

The Leipzig District Court Director Dr Drechsel also gave Walter a favourable report[81] on 1st January 1924:

> "Court assessor Dr Walter Lippmann worked for me as a trainee lawyer from mid-April 1923 to mid-July 1923. He has good legal knowledge and experience. His easy comprehension will enable him to familiarise himself quickly and confidently with unfamiliar areas. Thanks to his diligence, his keen interest in his work and his good manners, he has been a useful and pleasant colleague to me. I wish him every success in his future career."

He then worked for the lawyers Dr Emil Wohrizek[82] and Dr Paul Zander at Hain Strasse 9 in Leipzig. After his legal clerkship at the district court and the Leipzig public prosecutor's office, Dr Lippmann was admitted as a district attorney at the Zwenkau district court.[83] In the certificate dated 19 January 1924, Dr Wohrizek writes:

> "Mr Assessor Dr Walter Lippmann in Leipzig, who worked for me during his preparatory service in the second half of 1922, was involved in all the work that occurs in the legal profession. He personally negotiated in court in civil and criminal cases and in the office with clients and opponents. He has proved himself in all regards, thanks to his knowledge and good judgement, which far exceed the usual level, and I can testify that in connection with these achievements he also is of good appearance which is indispensable for success. I consider him not only a valuable employee, but also capable of organising and executing independently."[84]

Dr Hubert Lang writes in his book that Dr Emil Wohrizek was murdered together with his wife Tilly in the Trawniki concentration camp[85] in 1942. Two of his four siblings also fell victim to the Holocaust.

In Dr Hubert Lang's book I also read that Dr Paul Zander was arrested by the Gestapo together with Dr Lippmann on 10 November 1938 and sent to Buchenwald concentration camp. He was subsequently able to work as a consultant for a short time until his emigration to England in August 1939. He died of a heart attack in London on 6 July 1943, aged 59.[86]

Anno 1921 Esperanto grammar published

Dr Lippmann was not only a lawyer, but also an expert in Esperanto. In the "Stabi", the library of the University of Hamburg, I found a copy of "Dr Zamenhof's Sprachliche Gutachten", which he published with Hirt Verlag in Leipzig.

Here I was able to do "my" university library a service. On careful reading, I noticed that in the catalogue entry for Dr Lippmann's "Dr Zamenshof's linguistic expertise", the dates of his American namesake were noted. The error was corrected after I pointed it out. If I have made similar mistakes here, please let me know ;-) Thank you.

Dr Lippmann also wrote the treatise on "La refleksiva pronomo en Esperanto",[87] which was first published by Horrem near Cologne: Heroldo de Esperanto, (1921). A reprint of the book was published in 1984.[88]

Dr Lippmann had been "esperantising" since 1908, and the 1967 edition of the "Oficiala Bulteno de la Akademio de Esperanto - N° 9"[89] reports that he was admitted to the grammar commission of the Esperanto Academy in 1923.

As a pupil and student, he had studied the grammars of six other languages. A special feature of a constructed language such as Esperanto[90] is that it has a simple and regular grammar without exceptions and can therefore be learnt quickly. In contrast, in natural languages there are often exceptions and peculiarities in the grammatical rules that make learning more difficult.

In 1921, the publishing house Ferdinand Hirt & Sohn in Leipzig published "Dr Zamenhof's Sprachliche Gutachten[91] - Lingvaj Respondoj" - in German with additions and explanations by Walter Lippmann (teacher and examination commissioner at the Saxon Esperanto Institute in Leipzig).

Apparently, this grammar for Esperanto was also used in teaching in the United States. A teacher reported in the American Esperantisto of November 1926[92] that he also used example sentences from Dr Lippmann for training purposes.



Figure 4 Dr Zamenhof's linguistic expert reports

On a personal level, things could hardly have gone better for the young lawyer Dr Lippmann. Within five years from the end of the war, he had completed his studies, completed various legal internships, written three books and successfully courted Elise Barbag. On 5 June 1921, Walter (26 years old) and the accountant Elise Clara Barbag (28 years old) tied the knot in Leipzig. Elise was born the daughter of a merchant on 12 April 1893 in Brody, Galicia.[93][94] Elise's birthplace, Brody, has a very eventful history with current relevance.

Russia has been at war with Ukraine since 2022. This has brought places like Brody[95] and the former capital Lwiw,[96] which was 90 kilometres away and is now called Lviv, back into the public eye. Both cities are located in Eastern Galicia, a region in the south of Poland and the west of Ukraine. A small German-speaking minority lived there. During the German occupation in the Second World War, almost all of Brody's approximately 9,000 Jewish inhabitants were initially plundered and then massacred, some of them used for forced labour, locked up in a ghetto from December 1942 and finally murdered, although only a small number were deported to extermination camps. By far the majority were murdered at the edge of the forest behind the Jewish cemetery or shot on the Schlossplatz.[97]

Anyone who is proud to have been born within a national border should look at this example to realise how random national borders can be. For from 1772 to 1918, the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria belonged to the Austro-Hungarian Empire. It is therefore understandable that Elise later occasionally referred to herself as Austrian.

While reading the history of the German settlers in Eastern Galicia[98], I discover that one of my favourite authors, Joseph Roth[99] also comes from Brody. At their best, artists belong to an avant-garde who recognise the signs of the times early on. As early as 30 January 1933, Joseph Roth wrote to his friend, my other favourite writer Stefan Zweig:

> "By now you will realise that we are heading for great catastrophes. Apart from the private ones - our literary and material existence has been destroyed - the whole thing is leading to a new war. I wouldn't give a penny for our lives. We have succeeded in letting barbarism reign. Don't harbour any illusions. Hell reigns."

Their books were burned along with many others on the night of 10 May 1933, and the Nazis continued to burn books until October 1933. Both writers met a tragic end. Joseph Roth died on 27 May 1939 in exile in Paris and Stefan Zweig took his own life together with his wife Lotte on 22 February 1942 in Petrópolis, Brazil.

I am always amazed at what I discovered in passing during my research - I never knew that the two authors knew each other. How marvellous, my research is becoming a Studium Generale. If I didn't like to get sidetracked reading somewhere so often, I would certainly make faster progress, but only at the cost of missing out on a lot.

I am very pleased to find out that three interesting women whose names I know also lived in Brody: They are Amalia Nathansohn Freud,[100] mother of Sigmund Freud,[101] and the art historian, translator and patron of "Die Brücke" painters Rosa Schapire.[102] A memorial plaque from the Patriotic Society has commemorated Rosa Schapire at Hans-Henny-Jahnn-Weg 41 in the street parallel to Grillparzer Straße since 2010.

Remembering is an ongoing process that goes from yesterday to today to tomorrow.

Anna Schapire-Neurath,[103] the painter's younger sister, completed a doctorate in philosophy and translated literary and historical works from Russian, Polish, English and French into German. In her publications, she campaigned for women's rights and called for educational and professional opportunities for women.

30.03.1922 Death of the mother Ernestine Lippmann

Walter was 27 years old and newly married when his mother Ernestine Lippmann[104] died in Leipzig on 30 March 1922. She was buried in the Old Jewish Cemetery in Leipzig.[105]

A note dated 10 December 1968, which I found in the restitution file[106], shows that Elise and Walter lived in furnished rooms in Dresden during the inflation period and later in Leipzig in the furnished rooms of his father's flat at Tauchaer Str. 10. This only changed when they moved to Leibnizstrasse 13 II in Leipzig on 17 May 1939 and set up their own household.

20.09.1923 Doctorate

On 20 September 1923, Walter was awarded a doctorate in law by the University of Leipzig with the grade of "magna cum laude".[107,108] It is easy to imagine Walter was, by all accounts, a happy man that day. His dissertation had been judged "with great praise".

I had previously analysed the information from the Hamburg State Archives. In October 2023, I found the title of Walter's dissertation in the very informative book by Dr Hubert Lang "Zwischen allen Stühlen - Juristen jüdischer Herkunft in Leipzig (1948 - 1953)". There I found the title of Dr Lippmann's dissertation. It is entitled "The Epileptic Criminal. Monograph for criminal lawyers".[109]

As a representative of the many positive experiences that occurred during my research, I would like to emphasise one particular event that shows it is not just dry work at a desk.

It wasn't until March 2024 that I was able to follow up on this tip and found out during an online search that a copy of the dissertation is in the archives of Leipzig University.[110] Registering with the archives works differently every time and sometimes not at all. I was very surprised when I found a name in the university telephone directory that made me sit up and take notice. At the university where Dr Walter Lippmann did his doctorate, there is now a Dr Stefan Lippmann, who is the deputy director of general medicine at the medical faculty. I wrote to him and asked for help.

It soon turned out that he is not related to Dr Walter Lippmann but is very interested in the dissertation. Dr Stefan Lippmann was kind enough to scan the dissertation for me and send it to me.

The spontaneous willingness to help and support I received during my research always impresses and pleases me anew. The personal conversations and contacts were extremely helpful and informative. I would like to take this opportunity to thank all the people I have met during this work. Their interest in this book has often motivated me through weary evenings on the computer.

I have been studying the life of Dr Lippmann for six months now. In my mind's eye, a picture emerges of an honourable man of integrity who behaved appropriately and honestly in a wide variety of life situations.

In the 1920s, Eugenics,[111] also known as hereditary health theory, a young scientific theory came into fashion. The National Socialists misused the ideology of racial hygiene for their National Socialist purposes. They later used this racist ideology to justify the "extermination of life unworthy of life" in the concentration camps.

Would reading his dissertation influence my opinion of Dr Lippmann? I read the 192 pages with some trepidation.

In his doctoral thesis "The Epileptic Criminal", Dr Lippmann examines the question of the extent to which epileptics are sane and therefore culpable. Using numerous examples, he aims to inform lawyers, public prosecutors and judges about the various manifestations of epilepsy. Dr Lippmann pleads for a thorough investigation into whether and to what extent the perpetrator was at all sane during a seizure. He argues sympathetic and in a very nuanced way in favour of humane treatment of sick people and their imprisonment.

I was very relieved that Dr Lippmann had not followed the zeitgeist of the time but represented a humanistic point of view that is still acceptable today.

Apparently, the examination board was also of this opinion and awarded his dissertation the highest mark. After completing his doctorate, Dr Lippmann worked as an assessor and finally earned more money. This was urgently needed as Germany was in a period of highest inflation[112].

15.11.1923 Introduction of the Rentenmark

In September 1923, it was not possible to predict when and at what point hyper-inflation[113] in Germany would come to a halt. To be able to pay reparation to the victorious powers after the previous war, the German Reich printed more and more money.

The inflation rate shot up to dizzying heights. For example, on 3 January 1923[114] a kilogramme of rye bread still cost 163 marks. On 19 November 1923 you had to pay 4 trillion 800 billion marks (= 4,800,000,000 marks) for it.

Dr Lippmann's salary as a trainee lawyer could not be adjusted as quickly and to the same extent as food prices soared. For his wife Elise, obtaining food must have been a major problem. Hunger, dysentery and other diseases were widespread due to the persistent malnutrition. Citizen's kitchens tried to help, as the Sächsische Volkszeitung of 17 April 1923[115] writes. In November 1923, one US dollar was exchanged at the peak exchange rate of 4.2 trillion marks (not millions)!

The end of hyper-inflation[116] began with the introduction of the Rentenmark[117] (equal in value to the later Reichsmark). That was the end of the crisis and everyone was destitute, except for those who had property, production facilities or other material assets. The Weimar Republic had thus survived its first major crisis. But times remained very turbulent as the timeline from the Federal Agency for Civic Education[118] shows.

08.11.1923 Hitler Putsch

The so-called Hitler Putsch took place on 8 and 9 November 1923. Adolf Hitler and d Erich Ludendorff[119] led the attempted coup by the National Socialists[120] in Munich. Adolf Hitler was sentenced to five years imprisonment in Landsberg am Lech[121] for the failed coup attempt. In prison, he wrote the book "Mein Kampf"[122,123], which was published in 1925.

Only very few people in Germany were able to hear the news of the attempted coup on the first radio news, which was broadcast by Funk-Stunde AG Berlin[124] as the first radio station in Germany. The first radio broadcast began on 29 October 1923 at 8 pm.

As a small side note, I would like to point out that even at the beginning of broadcasting history in Germanyhttps://www.dhm.de/lemo/kapitel/ns-regime/alltagsleben/volksempfaenger.html,[125] a broadcasting fee of 60 marks was levied from 1 January 1924, which corresponds to a GEZ fee of around EUR 280 today, adjusted for inflation.

The Nazis ensured that radio technology quickly became affordable for everyone so that they could broadcast their propaganda to every household via the so-called Volksempfänger.[126] They used methods that the American namesake Walter Lippmann had warned against in his book "The Public Opinion".

In 2022, the world rubbed its eyes in amazement when Elon Musk bought "Twitter"[127] and renamed it "X". He paid 44 billion dollars to use the social network to become the influencer of "public opinion". In December 2024, Elon Musk[128] was made "Chief of the Department of Government Efficiency" by the incumbent US President, Donald Trump.[129] The MAGA website,[130] Make America Great Again, spreads "fake news"[131] and "alternative truths".[132] In reference to Ken Wilber's integral developmental philosophy – particularly his elaboration of Spiral Dynamics – it can be said that history does not simply repeat itself, but rather recurs in cyclical patterns that are re-integrated at higher levels.

It is important to remember that nothing embittered the population more at the time than the high reparation payments to the victors because of a lost war and the resulting inflation. The consequences of inflation, such as unemployment and hunger, made the population "Hitler-ready". Stefan Zweig put

it in similar terms in his book "The World of Yesterday: Memoirs of a European",[133] which he wrote between 1939 and 1941 and which still provides good access understanding of this period today.

I am impressed by good literature because it can help us to better understand the past. One example of this is the novel "Berlin Alexanderplatz"[134] by Alfred Döblin[135] from 1929, in which he describes the world of the "Lumpenproletariat", ordinary people, away from the hustle and bustle of the roaring 1920s, which seems so wicked and sophisticated today. Alfred Döblin learnt of the book burnings in his exile in Paris, during which "Berlin Alexanderplatz" also went up in flames. He had already left Germany on 28 February 1933.

Shortly before the invasion by the German Wehrmacht in France in May 1940 he fled with his family from Paris to Hollywood in the USA. There he worked with a team of other exiled writers on the screenplay for the film "Mrs Miniver"[136] in 1942. The screenplay was honoured with the screenplay Oscar. The role of Mrs Miniver was played by the enchanting Greer Garson.[137] She was nominated 7 times for the Oscar for best leading actress and is now only known of by a few.

05.01.1924 Assessor

On 5 January 1924, Dr Lippmann passed his second state examination in law in Dresden. The written examination was "close to excellent" and the oral examination "good".[138,139] He was awarded the assessor's diploma.

Dr Lippmann then worked as an assessor in the office of the lawyers Graf, Unger und Dr. Jaffe in Leipzig.[140]

On 2 February 1924, the Ministry of Justice granted him admission to the Bar at the district and regional courts in Leipzig. The confirmation[141] was addressed to Tauchaerstrasse 10 II. From then on, Dr Lippmann was qualified to open a law firm as an independent lawyer.

1924 - 1938 Lawyer in Leipzig

Dr Lippmann opened his law firm in Leipzig, initially at Grimmaische Strasse 24, before moving a little later to Petersstrasse 14. He specialised in criminal defence and also worked as an in-house lawyer, a bankruptcy administrator, a member of the supervisory board of a public limited company I. C. Richter Koffer- und Lederwarenfabrik AG, and as a guardian and tutor.[142]

Years later, in an affidavit dated 18 March 1955, Dr Erich Simon, a former state court judge, assured the public that Dr Walter Lippmann had quickly established himself professionally in his hometown of Leipzig:

> "His practice developed rapidly. (200 cases in the first year alone). After working temporarily with other lawyers, he moved into an entire floor of a building in the main street in the city centre in 1924 and set it up as an office. He soon began to employ trainee lawyers and other lawyers and at times had up to 5 employees at the same time. His annual income in the years 1930 to 1933 was between 20,000 and 35,000 RM."[143]

> "For many years (approx. 1928 to 1938), Dr Lippmann was a member of the supervisory board of I. C. RICHTER Aktiengesellschaft in Leipzig. As such, he received a fixed bonus of 1,000 Reichsmark per year.
>
> When National Socialist legislation banned Jews from remaining on the supervisory boards of German companies, Dr Lippmann also lost this income, which cost him 1,000 Reichsmark per year."

And

> "My election to the Supervisory Board was solely due to my close friendly relationship with the Management Board of the stock corporation, Mr Iwan von Oss, Probstdeuben." He presented a confirmation for the period from 1931 to 1938."[144]

Dr Hubert Lang gives the company name as J. F. Richter Koffer- und Lederfabrik AG, Leipzig, while Dr Erich Simon and Dr Lippmann give the company name as I. C. Richter AG.[145] I have not yet been able to clarify whether they are the same or different companies.

I quote excerpts from Dr Lippmann's letter of 5 March 1967 to the Berlin Compensation Office regarding his application for compensation. Here he describes the extent of the loss of his law firm:

> "The office furnishings essentially consisted of the furnishings of my study (desk, armchair, bookcase, divan, chairs, conference table, Persian carpet, pictures, lighting fixtures,) the room of the employees (assessor or trainee lawyer) with desk, chairs, etc., the waiting room with table, chairs, and the office room for the employees with the usual office furniture and lights, the archive room with a large file shelf reaching to the ceiling.
>
> When I moved from Grimmaische Strasse 24 to Petersstrasse 15, I had to sell at knockdown prices furniture that could no longer be accommodated in the smaller office, and again later when I moved from a larger office space, which I shared with the lawyer Moser, to smaller rooms on the top floor of Petersstrasse 15. I remember trying in vain to sell the office furniture. I gave away one of my typewriters to my former trainee lawyer.
>
> As far as I remember, everything else simply had to be abandoned. After the office was closed a while after my emigration, some of the things, in particular a typewriter, paper supplies etc., remained with my last employee, the Jewish Mrs Hertha Engel, who was herself a persecuted person and, as far as I know, also had to abandon the things when she emigrated a little later. In any case, I did not receive anything of value in return.
>
> The estimate of the financial loss caused by the loss of the office equipment, including the extensive legal library, is certainly underestimated in the curriculum vitae as at least 800 Reichsmark.

> When I stopped practising because of the National Socialist ban, I was left with not insignificant outstanding debts, the amount of which I can no longer remember today. Some of these were Jewish clients who become impoverished or had emigrated, so that nothing could be recovered from them, and some were non-Jewish clients whom I, as a Jew, could not prosecute at that time and against whom I did not dare to enforce previously obtained debt titles. I assume that a reasonable estimate of this property damage would not be less than 1000 Reichsmark."[146]

1924 - 1938 Social Commitment

In addition to his professional advancement, Dr Lippmann obviously also had a great interest in social and societal issues, which is evident from his wide-ranging commitment.

Dr Lippmann was President of the lodge Independent Order of B'nai B'rith (U.O.B.B.)[147] in Leipzig, a Jewish communal order founded in New York in 1843 and dedicated to the promotion of tolerance, humanity and charity as well as education about Judaism and education within Judaism.

In this capacity, Dr Lippmann undoubtedly also knew the President of the Jewish Grand Lodge, Rabbi Leo Baeck[148] (1873 - 1956). Rabbi Baeck had also been Grand Master and President of the B'nai B'rith Grand Lodge since 1924, to which around 100 individual lodges in the German Reich belonged. He was President of the Grand Lodge until all lodges were closed by the Gestapo on 19 April 1937.

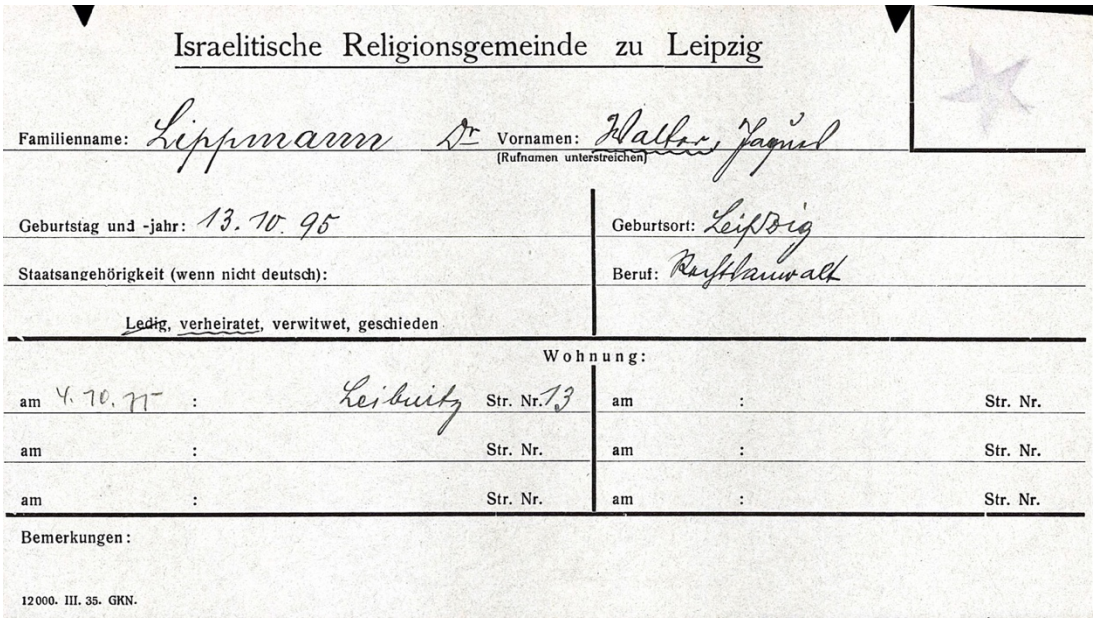
Leo Baeck was regarded as the leading representative of liberal Judaism and for many years was the most recognised representative of all German Jews.

The Leipzig lodge was not reactivated after the Second World War. Since 1979, however, there has been a B'nai B'rith lodge in Berlin, the Raoul Wallenberg Lodge e. V.[149] named after the Swedish diplomat Raoul Wallenberg.[150] He had campaigned for the rescue of Jewish Hungarians and ultimately paid for it with his life.

I have so far found no evidence that Dr Lippmann became involved with the Berlin Lodge or any other lodge after his return.

Rabbi Leo Baeck was also chairman of the Central Welfare Organisation of Jews in Germany (ZWST)[151] from 1925 to 1938. The mission statement of the ZWST is based on the concept of "Zedaka",[152] a central principle of Judaism that encompasses social justice, charity and benevolence.[153] In his writings, the great Jewish scholar Maimonides[154] emphasises the moral obligation and personal responsibility of the individual to support those in need and to help the community through donations. It was therefore customary for wealthy Jewish families for example in Leipzig to donate to the Israelite Hospital,[155] the Ez Chaim Synagogue,[156] free flats and retirement homes, amongst other things.

Dr Lippmann was involved in the social committee of the Leipzig Israelite Religious Community,[157] which was the sixth largest Jewish community in Germany with 12,594 members according to the 1925 census.



Israelitische Religionsgemeinde zu Leipzig

Familienname: Lippmann Dr. Vornamen: Walter Jaques
(Rufnamen unterstreichen)

Geburtstag und -jahr: 13. 10. 95 Geburtsort: Leipzig

Staatsangehörigkeit (wenn nicht deutsch): Beruf: Rechtsanwalt

Ledig, verheiratet, verwitwet, geschieden

Wohnung:

am 4. 10. 11	: Leibnitz	Str. Nr. 13	am	:	Str. Nr.
am	:	Str. Nr.	am	:	Str. Nr.
am	:	Str. Nr.	am	:	Str. Nr.

Bemerkungen:

12000. III. 35. GKN.

Figure 5 Israelitische Religionsgemeinde zu Leipzig - membership card

In a newspaper article[158] on his 85th birthday, the following short story was reported, which must have taken place during this time. Kaiser Wilhelm II's birthday was officially celebrated for the last time on 27 January 1918.

On the Kaiser's birthday, Dr Lippmann was asked by a German nationalist colleague: "I don't suppose this is a day of remembrance for you, Dr Lippmann?" Dr Lippmann replied that he did not know what led him to believe this. The two men continued their conversation. Dr Lippmann gave his colleague, whose name is unfortunately not known, books on Judaism, which helped him to overcome his prejudices and develop a better understanding of the Jewish cause. During the Nazi era, this colleague was persecuted as a resistance fighter.

29.05.1926 Birth of son Bernhard Lippmann

His son Bernhard Ludwig Raphael was born in Leipzig.[159]

The Jewish Newspaper Archive of the Goethe University Frankfurt[160] is a real treasure chest. I have spent many nights leafing through the volumes of various digitised Jewish newspapers. Is there a better, livelier and more comprehensive way to get a picture of an era than through its daily newspapers?

You have to look closely not to miss the small birth announcement of Bernhard Lippmann, the son of Elise and Walter, in the Leipzig Jewish Community Gazette. [161]

On 11 June 1926, Dr Walter Jaques Lippmann and Elise Clara, née Barbag, Tauchaerstrasse 10 II, reported the birth of their son Bernhard in the civil status news of the municipal gazette. They had become parents on 29 May 1926.

It seems that Walter used the time when the nappies were drying on the line to write a second book on the grammar of Esperanto.

Sometimes things turn out differently than you would think. Today, 14 April 2024, I wanted to start revising the manuscript. When I read Bernhard's birth announcement again, my curiosity was aroused. I wanted to know what had happened to the other two children whose births had been announced in the same section. My morning research yielded the following result:

Lothar Fried[162] was born on 29 May 1926 as the son of Moses Fried and his wife Amalie Elise Petruchka. He was transported to safety in England on a Kindertransport in 1939. He later took part in battles in Italy and campaigned for Israel's independence. Sadly, Lothar died in Tel Aviv in 1948 at the age of just 22.

Lilli Wohl[163] was born on 29 May 1926. She was the daughter of Rubin Wohl and Fanny, née Krüwer, from Richterstrasse 2. Unfortunately, she died very young in 1943 and her early death is honoured in the Île-de-France Shoah Memorial[164] in Paris. During my last visit to Paris, I visited the impressive memorial and exhibition.

As an attentive newspaper reader and Hamburg resident I noticed the name Dr Ephraim Carlebach[165] among the birth announcements. As an important Leipzig personality, he announced the bar mitzvah of his son David for 19 June 1926. Dr Carlebach was the brother of Dr. Joseph Carlebach,[166] who lived in Hamburg and was considered one of the most important German rabbis of his time. The Gestapo made an offer to Dr Joseph Carlebach that he would not have to leave when his congregation was deported. He decided instead to leave with his congregation and to follow the deportation order and travel to the Jungfernhof concentration camp near Riga in Latvia on 6 December 1941.

On 26 March 1942, around 1,600 to 1,700 prisoners from the Jungfernhof concentration camp[167] were shot in the forest of Bikernieki.[168] Among the victims were Dr Joseph Carlebach, his wife and three youngest daughters as well as seven other members of his family. Between 1941 and 1944, between 35,000 and 46,500 people were murdered in this forest and burned or buried in mass graves. Of the 964 people who were deported with Dr Carlebach and his family from Hamburg and Lübeck between 6 and 9 December 1941, only 35 survived.

This means that only 35 out of 964 people were able to apply for restitution after the end of the war, which is not even 4%. I will come to this later, especially in connection with the allegedly "large number" of restitution proceedings.

The Bornplatz square on which the main synagogue of the German Israelite community in Hamburg[169] stood until 9 November 1938 is now called Joseph-Carlebach-Platz. The "Joseph Carlebach Institute" [170] is the faculty of Jewish Studies in German at Bar-Ilan University in Israel.

Time often flies when researching historical events intensively. Sometimes, however, it takes patience and perseverance to find the right information. The joy is all the greater when the detective work is successful.

The cruelty and senselessness of the violence and suffering revealed in the documents and information from this period never cease to stun me. The moral greatness of people like Dr Joseph Carlebach, who accompanied his community to their deaths to give them comfort, touches me deeply. I didn't expect this work to be so often emotionally challenging.

But back to Bernhard's birth. He was born into a time that is often referred to as the "Golden Twenties" and which can currently be seen in the lavishly produced television series "Babylon Berlin".[171] The Weimar Republic experienced a time of economic upturn and social change during the "Golden Twenties".[172] This era began with the introduction of the Rentenmark in 1924 and ended with the global economic crisis of 1929.

The Dawes Plan[173] made it easier for the Weimar Republic to pay the war reparation from the First World War stipulated in the Treaty of Versailles.[174] It enabled the Weimar Republic to take out foreign loans, primarily from the USA. By 1929, these loans totalled around 21 billion Reichsmark. The implementation of the Dawes Plan marked the beginning of a period of economic upturn.

Almost a third of the population of the Weimar Republic now lived in the cities. At this time, Leipzig was the pulsating metropolis of central Germany. In 1930, the population had risen to 718,000 and reached its highest level ever. People sought work and a better life in the cities - many in vain.

Most people may not have experienced it that way, but for a certain social class it was a time of new beginnings and joie de vivre. Cafés, theatres and variety theatres emerged. At the same time, cinema[175] developed into an affordable entertainment for the masses. Around two million people attended a film screening every day in the mid-twenties. There were 44 cinemas in Leipzig alone. With the introduction of the eight-hour working day,[176] even people without good jobs could also afford this leisure activity. From 1914, newsreels with moving pictures from all over the world were an integral part of the cinema programme.

At a time when there was no radio or television, newsreels developed into an influential mass medium alongside newspapers. They enabled people to follow current events, entertainment and information from all over the world on the big screen. Increasingly, the "powerful" used these media to spread their propaganda to the people. Perhaps they had read "Public Opinion" by the American Walter Lippmann.

These were turbulent and exciting times, even for a young lawyer like Dr Lippmann, who certainly worked hard to establish himself. His wife and child were waiting for him at home. It is all the more astonishing that he found the time to write a grammar for Esperanto. Perhaps his need for order and regularity drove him to realise this project.

Anno 1927 Publication of a 2nd Esperanto-grammar

Dr Lippmann published another grammar of Esperanto under the title "La refleksiva pronomo en Esperanto"[177] with the publishing house Heroldo de Esperanto in Horrem near Cologne.

The word Esperanto means "the one who hopes". There was hope for international understanding and humanism in the Esperanto movement. Dr Lippmann was now a member of the Esperanto Academy,[178] which is responsible, among other things, for interpretation of the grammar and the further development of Esperanto.

The effects of the First World War had strengthened both nationalist and internationalist currents. Some criticised Esperanto as "western fantasy". Other, more liberal forces supported the Esperanto movement, arguing that international understanding was more important than ever at this time. In

1923, Reich President Friedrich Ebert[179] took over the patronage of the Esperanto World Congress[180] in Nuremberg, which was attended by 4,963 Esperantists.

The general interest in Esperanto was great. For example, from 5 October 1924, Nordische Rundfunk AG,[181] began broadcasting news in Esperanto every Monday at 6 p.m. under the title "Dek minutoj da Esperanto" and "Zehn Minuten Esperanto".

The municipal bulletin of the Jewish Religious Community from 3 August 1928[182] states that during the XX International Esperanto Congress from 3 to 11 August 1928, the sermon in the main synagogue in Antwerp was held in Esperanto. This how diverse and influential the Esperanto movement, was in various areas of society at the time.

10.12.1929 Nobel Prize for Thomas Mann

The novel "Buddenbrooks - Verfall einer Familie"[183] (Buddenbrooks – The Decline of a Family), published in 1901, depicts the gradual decline of a wealthy merchant family over four generations. Thomas Mann offers a very vivid and detailed insight into the social role and self-image of the Hanseatic bourgeoisie between 1835 and 1877, an era that many people later referred to as the "good old days". "The Buddenbrooks" is regarded as the first world-class German-language social novel. Thomas Mann was rewarded the Nobel Prize[184] for Literature for this novel.

In his "Appeal to Reason",[185] dated 17 October 1930, Thomas Mann examines various social and political developments with clear-sightedness. Thomas Mann confidently analyses

> "…such intellectual and pseudo-spiritual influxes" of National Socialism in their mingling "with the giant wave of eccentric barbarism and primitive mass-democratic fairground rawness that is sweeping over the world as a product of wild, confusing and at the same time nervously stimulating, intoxicating impressions that are pouring in on humanity".[186]

12.03.1930 Gandhi's Salt March

In another part of the world, Mahatma Gandhi[187] led India to independence from British colonial rule. The Salt March,[188] also known as the Dandi March, took place from 12 March 1930 to 6 April 1930 and was a major campaign of civil disobedience led by Mahatma Gandhi.

The British government levied high salt taxes, which burdened the Indian population. The aim of the salt march was to break the state salt monopoly in India. Thousands of Indians responded to Gandhi's call for 'non-violent protest' and 'civil disobedience', while the police reacted with violence and arrested around 50,000 Indians. The Salt March was a symbolic act of resistance and showed the strength of non-violent resitance. This action contributed significantly to the mobilisation and unity of the Indian population in the struggle against British colonial rule. Gandhi's innovation was to turn non-violence into more than just a moral stance; he made it the guiding force behind civil disobedience and resistance, transforming them into powerful strategies for achieving independence and social justice in India.

Gandhi drew on two fundamental, traditional principles of Hinduism, which also play a role in Buddhism and Jainism: Ahimsa,[189] one's own non-violence and non-harming of others, and Satyagraha,[190] adherence to the power of truth and love. The principles of Ahimsa and Satyagraha[191] are timeless prerequisites for peaceful conflict resolution and require civil courage, personal courage and determination. Gandhi did not see Satyagraha as a weapon of the weak, but as a strategy for those who are mentally and morally the strongest.

The "Jüdische Presse" of 2 May 1930[192] from Vienna and Bratislava reports on the reactions and views of the Jewish community to the events surrounding Mahatma Gandhi and his fight for India's independence. On the front page is a report under the headline "The All-India Muslim Conference against a Wailing Wall Commission". It reads:

> "But quite apart from the repercussions on Palestinian affairs, the religious, orientated, Jewish people, who are not entirely under the spell of English interests, do not follow Gandhi's great struggle unsympathetically, for Gandhi's endeavours, his method of struggle, also hold a great lesson for religious Judaism. Basically, Gandhi is not fighting against England, but for the liberation of the Indian people from the claws of a soul-killing modern technology.
>
> Gandhi still moves his troops on foot in the age of aviation and automobilism because he wants to condemn modern technology. Self-produced salt, self-produced materials, self-tilled fields on free soil are the ideological means through which Gandhi wants to educate his people to autonomy. The parallel is obvious."

Gandhi's quest for autonomy and independence for India is sympathised with by oppressed peoples around the world.

01.04.1930 The Blue Angel

The premiere of the film "The Blue Angel"[193] took place in Berlin on 1 April 1930. The film was produced in the UFA studios Babelsberg in Potsdam under the direction of Josef von Sternberg[194] and made Marlene Dietrich[195] a world star. The screenplay is based on the novel "Professor Unrat"[196] by Heinrich Mann[197] from 1904.

Heinrich Mann was not only Thomas' brother, but also an important German writer whose socially critical books were also burned at the stake in 1933. His satires opposed authoritarianism and called for social justice and democracy.

14.09.1930 Reichstag election

The Reichtags elections[198] took place on 14 September 1930. These elections were of particular importance to the Weimar Republic[199] as the National Socialist German Labour Party Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (NSDAP) became the second strongest party in the Reichstag with 18.3% of the vote, while the SPD remained the strongest party with 24.5%.

The NSDAP benefited from the economic difficulties of the Weimar Republic and the hardship of the

population, particularly after the start of the global economic crisis in 1929, but also from the increasing political instability and the dissatisfaction of many voters with the established parties. The failure of the Weimar Republic and the underestimation of the Nazis by political opponents and established parties also played a role. Despite intimidation and the use of violence by the Sturmabteilung (SA) of the NSDAP, voter turnout was 82%.[200]

This election was a decisive moment in German history, as it paved the way for the National Socialists' subsequent seizure of power.

On 17 October 1930, Thomas Mann gave a speech against National Socialism in Berlin's Beethoven Hall entitled: "Deutsche Ansprache - Appell an die Vernunft" (German Speech – Appeal to Reason).[201] In it, he said, among other things, about politics and Nazi propaganda:

> „Politics in grotesque style with Salvation Army airs and graces, mass convulsions, booing, hallelujahs and dervish-like repetition of monotonous catchphrases until everything foams at the mouth."

10.10.1930 New Land - Peaceful Development

The Jüdische Rundschau on 10 October 1930[202] proudly reported that the amount raised for the national fund Keren Kayemet LeIsrael had exceeded expectations. A total of 302,463 Reichsmark was collected to buy almost 2,000 dunam, or two square kilometres of land. On 24 October 1930, the newspaper[203] called on its readers to "Keep working hard!" to improve the result.

The report in the Jüdische Rundschau on 10 October 1930[204] about donations to the Jewish national fund Keren Kayemet LeIsrael (KKL)[205] provides an insight into the activities of the Jewish community in Germany before the National Socialists seized power. The Keren Kayemet LeIsrael was founded in 1901 with the aim of acquiring and developing land in Palestine for Jewish settlement. In the spirit of the Zionist movement, this was intended to support the establishment of a national home for the Jewish people.

The great commitment and determination to advance the Zionist goals was reflected in the collection results to date. This was particularly important in view of the increasingly difficult situation of Jews in many parts of Europe, especially in Germany. Such reports created and strengthened awareness of the need to support Jewish settlement projects.

24.04.1931 Land donation for KKL

This is also evidenced by the publications in the "Gemeindeblatt der Israelitischen Religionsgemeinde zu Leipzig"[206] of 24 April 1931 and in the "Jüdische Rundschau"[207] of 8 May 1931. Many German Jews sympathised with the Zionist movement and supported the Keren Kayemet LeIsrael (KKL) [208] . The National Fund played a central role in promoting Jewish settlements of the land in Palestine. The donations of land and trees had a direct effect on the material and economic development of the Jewish settlements in Palestine. The mention of certain places, such as Wadi Chawarith, illustrates the geographical focus and the strategic considerations behind the land purchases. The financial or non-material support of Keren Kayemet LeIsrael was a sign of hope and endeavour to create a safe and permanent refuge for the Jewish people.

The Jewish National Fund[209] primarily acquired land for Jewish settlers in the British Mandate of Palestine[210] until 1948. It received financial support from Jewish communities all over the world. Immediately after the purchase, the acquired land was subject to a resale ban to prevent speculation. Since the founding of the State of Israel, the Jewish National Fund[211] has been particularly committed to the cultivation of the land, including the planting of 240 million trees (as of 2006).

To provide shade and improve the soil, the settlers planted eucalyptus trees every 15 metres. This type of planting proved to be advantageous for agriculture, as the shaded space between the trees was ideal for farming. The Jewish settlers began draining the swamps[212] to gain usable land and because it was believed that the swamps caused the spread of malaria.

If last link to the "History of the draining of the marshes" opens in Hebrew, it may be helpful to copy the web address and open it with another browser to view the page in another language.

1931 - 1932 Association-General Counsel

Dr Lippmann worked as an honorary legal adviser to the "Association of Jewish Merchants and Travellers in Leipzig".[213,214] His main duties included providing legal advice and support to members in a wide range of legal matters and settling internal disputes.

On 23 January 1931, the association expressed its gratitude in the "Allgemeines Jüdisches Familienblatt"[215] on page 7 for the organisation and financial result of the charity coffee on the Hanukkah festival. Such fundraising campaigns not only financed the association's activities but also promoted cohesion and support members in times of need, which was of growing importance at the time.

They say that nothing is as old as yesterday's newspaper. That may be true, but newspapers from 90 years ago are valuable treasure troves.

On page 1 of the "Allgemeines Jüdisches Familienblatt"[216] of 23 January 1931 it is reported that Dr Albert Einstein[217] turned down a five-week film contract in Hollywood for a fee of £40.000 Not because of the amount of the fee, but because he did not want to trade an hour of his studies of the speed of light in Pasadena for all the fame Hollywood had to offer. Dr Albert Einstein applied for expatriation on 04 April 1933. However, this was rejected.

Instead, he was deprived of his Prussian citizenship on 24 March 1934 by means of a criminal expatriation[218] and thus placed on the second expatriation list of the German Reich.[219]

22.01.1932 Further land donation for KKL

On 22 January 1932, the "Jüdische Rundschau"[220] again published a list of donors by name on page 29. Dr Lippmann repeatedly contributed to the purchase of land in Wadi Chawarith for the Keren Kayemet LeIsrael, Berlin with donations.

The Wadi Chawarith cannot be localised with the help of Google Maps. In an interesting article about the history of the Hashomer Hazair in Bukovina[221] and the settlement of the area around Hadera, I found a reference that Wadi Chawarith is now called Emek Chefer. There were two kibbutzim there,

Givat Haim[222] and Ma'barot.[223]

In 1939, Ma'barot took in one of the first groups of Jewish children who had been rescued from Nazi Germany by the youth organisation, Aliyah[224] under the leadership of Henrietta Szold.[225] This remarkable woman emigrated from America to Palestine in 1933. Youth Aliyah succeeded in rescuing 30,000 Jewish children from the Nazis.

1932 – 1933 Holodomor

Ukraine was part of the Soviet Union until 1991, after which it became a sovereign state. The Holodomor,[226] which means "starvation" in Ukrainian, refers to the devastating famine in Ukraine in the 1930s. The catastrophe began with two consecutive crop failures in 1931 and 1932. Despite the obvious famine among the rural population, the Soviet government increased the Ukrainian farmers' grain levy quota to 44 per cent. Most of this grain was sold on the world market to earn foreign currency.

The proceeds were used to drive forward the industrialisation of the Soviet economy and strengthen the military. The Holodomor claimed an estimated three to seven million lives in Ukraine.

1933 - 1941 Shadows and Darkness

This is not a work of fiction but a documentary, source-based biographical reconstruction with a clear focus on the historical context. The real drama does not unfold in invented scenes, but in the space between the sources and the reader's own sense of empathy. What follows will also make clear what distinguishes a biography from a mere curriculum vitae.

As I said, a curriculum vitae is not a biography. In 1955, Dr Lippmann summarised[227] the events during the Nazi era as follows:

> "Boycott, four arrests (in no case for any criminal or unlawful offence), one month in Buchenwald concentration camp, Jewish levy (25% of assets), gold and silver levy, confiscation of assets, special taxation, name compulsion ("Israel"), referral to so-called disbarment (1938), etc; forced emigration due to danger to life (extermination camp)."

This is how simply Dr Lippmann describes eight years of his life. But behind every point in his list hides the humiliation and immeasurable suffering caused by the cruel anti-Jewish measures of the National Socialists, which he, like all other Jews, had to endure. Every crime committed by the National Socialists was carefully planned and carried out by a great many people.

It is shocking to realise that it was not just "those at the top". Many people in various bureaucracies and institutions committed anti-Jewish actions. The number of people who stood idly by and watched these crimes was also very large. They all, almost all, had one thing in common: after the war they claimed not to have known anything.

In the following, I will describe the eight years Dr Lippmann only briefly outlined in his curriculum vitae in as much detail as the archive documents I have consulted allow.

Even if no general rule can be derived from an individual case, such examples illustrate the range of what was possible. Like a mosaic, many individual cases gradually come together to form an overall picture. It is important to develop a clear understanding of the events of this dark era in order to recognise the same signs in the present at an early stage to prevent any serious developments.

30.01.1933 Seizure of power by the Nazis

On 30 January 1933, Reich President[228] Paul von Hindenburg[229] appointed the NSDAP leader[230] Adolf Hitler[231] as Reich Chancellor.[232] One day later, on 1 February 1933, Hindenburg dissolved the Reichstag. With Hitler's rise to power, anti-Semitism moved to the centre of National Socialist politics and events came thick and fast.

27.02.1933 The Reichstag is on fire

On the night of 27 to 28 February 1933, a devastating fire broke out in the Reichstag.[233] Both the plenary chamber and some neighbouring rooms were destroyed by the fire. Although it was clearly arson, the question of who was to blame remains unresolved to this day. Those in power were not interested in this, instead they used the event for their propaganda and as a pretext to intern opponents of the regime - above all communists, socialists and thousands of opposition members - in provisional concentration camps.

The so-called Reichstag Fire Decree[234] enabled the Gestapo to arrest them in protective custody[235] without a court order or examination, which constituted a serious violation of fundamental civil rights.

One of the most prominent victims was Ernst Thälmann,[236] the leader of the German Communist Party. He unsuccessfully ran for the office of Reich President twice in 1925 and 1932 and was considered a staunch opponent of the National Socialists. He spent more than eleven years in solitary confinement, including the prison in Bautzen, before being murdered in Buchenwald concentration camp in 1944 on the direct orders of Adolf Hitler. The Soviet Union and Walter Ulbricht, later Chairman of the State Council of the GDR and a rival of Ernst Thälmann,[237] did nothing to free him.

The Reichstag fire of 1933 was a decisive event in German history and marked the beginning of the National Socialist dictatorship under Adolf Hitler.

01.04.1933 Boycott of Jewish shops

The Nazis implemented their prepared propaganda measures within a very short time. The "Volksempfänger VE 301"[238] was presented at the 10th Berlin Radio Exhibition. VE 301 refers to the day of the seizure of power, 30 January 1933. This radio set cost only a third of the price of a conventional radio and was therefore affordable for 65% of all households until 1945. Radio quickly became a mass medium by which the Nazis were able to spread their propaganda nationwide.

Nazi propaganda was omnipresent and was disseminated via various media, especially the radio. Everyone, almost everyone, later claimed that they had known nothing. However, these statements contradict the widespread distribution of the VE 301 and the obvious Nazi propaganda.

As early as 1 April 1933, the radio called for a boycott of Jewish businesses,[239] doctors and lawyers: "Germans! Defend yourselves! Don't buy from Jews!" or "Attention, Jew! No trespassing" or "Leave the money in German hands, Jews will drag it out of the country".

The shop windows of Jewish shops were smeared or smashed, and some of the shops were looted. Numerous members of the police and the paramilitary NSDAP organisations SA and SS were involved in the actions ordered and planned by Joseph Goebbels.[240] They did nothing to stop the violent attacks on Jews and Jewish businesses by the German population. On the contrary, they obstructed people who wanted to shop in Jewish shops out of solidarity. Many people from the neighbourhood - but also from abroad - stood idly by and watched this openly state-supported anti-Semitism.

The philosophy of Viktor E. Frankl,[241] the founder of logotherapy, is based on the idea that every person has the freedom to choose their attitude and reaction to circumstances, even in extreme situations. He believed that you can only expect other people to act heroically if you are prepared to do so yourself. And this comes from a man who survived three years in various concentration camps.

The Jüdische Rundschau of 4 April 1933[242] called for prudence and warned against behaving like an ostrich that buries its head in the sand and ignores the realities of the world. The article entitled "Wear it with pride, the yellow patch!" is a is an impressive testimony that provides deep insights into the Jewish emotional world of the time and describes the events of the boycott campaign in great detail.

The third page in the left-hand column of the Jüdische Rundschau of 4 April 1933 reports on the elimination of Jewish judges and lawyers.

The Reich Commissioner Hanns Kerrl[243] called on all sitting Jewish judges to submit applications for leave with immediate effect. He was Prussian Minister of Justice from 1933 to 1934, during which time he banned Jewish notaries and lawyers from practising their profession. Their licences were withdrawn without further ado. In Berlin, for example, only 35 Jewish lawyers were allowed to work as "consultants" for Jewish clients. Similar measures were also implemented in Bavaria, Saxony and other parts of the Reich.

To remove Jewish teachers from schools, they were summarily suspended" with immediate effect". This was the decree issued by the Prussian Ministry of Culture:

> "1. All Jewish, i.e. Jewish-born or "bastardised", teachers are to be suspended or dismissed from all Prussian educational establishments with immediate effect.
>
> 2. For Jewish pupils and students, the "numerus clausus" is introduced in accordance with the population size of the Jewish people within Germany, i.e. only 1 per cent of the student body."

The term of office of Minister of Justice Hanns Kerrl did not last long, but it left deep marks. From 1933 to 1939, trainee lawyers had to complete a centralised training programme in the "Hanns Kerrl" community camp[244] in Jüterborg, which was set up specifically for this purpose. Among the approximately 20,000 young lawyers were Sebastian Haffner[245] and Karl Carstens,[246] who were trained there for eight weeks in the National Socialist ideology. Despite this commonality, their political views and life paths were very different.

Sebastian Haffner was a German journalist, publicist and historian who opposed the National Socialists

and their ideology. During the Second World War he emigrated to Great Britain, where he wrote for the Observer newspaper. Haffner was known for his critical writings on Adolf Hitler and National Socialism.

Karl Carstens was President of the Federal Republic of Germany from 1979 to 1984. He obtained his doctorate in law in 1938 with the topic "On the Acquisition of Mortgages in Good Faith". The subject of his dissertation was highly topical, as the ousting of Jews from economic life was in full swing and really took off after the pogrom night of 9 and 10 November 1938. Karl Carstens joined the NSDAP in 1940. He was also a member of the SA.

After the Second World War, however, he was acquitted by an Allied denazification tribunal, allowing him to continue his political career. His appointment as Federal President was controversial to parts of the public due to his Nazi past and political stance. Despite this, Karl Carstens remained in office for his entire term and made important contributions to the political stability of the Federal Republic of Germany.

07.04.1933 Restoration of the professional civil service

On 7 April 1933, the "Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service"[247] came into force. This law was a central element of the National Socialist equalisation policy.[248] Politically unsatisfactory civil servants were to be removed from the civil service. The aim was to bring the civil service into line with the National Socialists and to dismiss people who were critical of the regime.

The law stipulated that those civil servants who were considered non-Aryan, politically unreliable or ideologically non-conformist were to be dismissed from the civil service. This mainly affected Jews, socialists, communists and other opponents of the Nazi regime.

The dismissals led to a massive replacement of civil servants. This firmly anchored National Socialist ideology in all areas of the state.

The "Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service" was a decisive step by the National Socialists towards establishing totalitarian control of the state apparatus and persecuting opponents of the regime, which decisively changed the political and social landscape in the German Reich.

It is obvious that this and many other laws that followed in quick succession were not written and passed spontaneously but were planned long in advance.

The list of anti-Jewish legislation[249] in the German Reich between 1933 and 1945 is frighteningly long. Between 1933 and 1940 in particular, the Jewish population was disenfranchised and discriminated against by a constant stream of new laws designed to force them to emigrate. By the beginning of 1939, around 50 per cent of the Jewish women and men living in the German Reich in 1933 had left the country, which is equivalent to a total number of around 280,000 human beings. From 1941 onwards, the legal provisions and measures served to prepare and implement the Holocaust.

19.04.1933 Professors' boycott

On 19 April 1933, the professors' boycott began, in which students were asked to denounce university

lecturers who had been dismissed two weeks earlier on the basis of the Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service. The denunciations were made by means of affidavits and incriminating evidence such as quotes from lectures or literary references. In addition to Jews, socialists, communists and pacifists were also targeted. This resulted in organised attacks on Jewish lecturers, administrative staff and fellow students. Lectures were disrupted and boycotted, Jewish professors were prevented from entering their workplaces.

Again, it seems to be a case of shameful claims by many people saying later that they had not noticed anything. It should be noted that many people remained silent and cowardly for self-protection. The reprisals and the omnipresent threat of the totalitarian National Socialist regime meant that many people, even among the intellectual elite, did not oppose the system out of fear.

However, there were always people with exceptional civil courage who helped and resisted despite the danger. These courageous people often risked their own lives to help others and fight against the injustices of the regime. Their actions are an important testimony to the fact that there is hope and humanity even in the darkest times, as Viktor E. Frankl[250] so impressively expressed in his writings.

It fills me with joy to have come across some of these remarkable people during my research. I would like to take this opportunity to remind you of their biographies, which you can easily find at the end of the many web links.

10.05.1933 Book burnings

As early as 1823, Heinrich Heine[251] warned that the burning of books,[252,253] could ultimately lead to the burning of people. Despite this urgent warning, the self-proclaimed "people of poets and thinkers" did not seem to have understood Heine's words in his theatre play "Almansor".[254] On 12 April 1933, a leaflet was distributed in many universities and published in some newspapers. The "12 theses against the un-German spirit"[255] printed on the leaflet illustrate the increasing influence on culture during the National Socialist dictatorship:

- "Language and literature are rooted in the people. The German people are responsible for ensuring that their language and literature are a pure and unadulterated expression of their national identity.
- Today there is a gaping contradiction between literature and the German people. This state of affairs is a disgrace.
- Purity of language and literature is up to you! Your people have handed over the language to you for faithful preservation.
- Our most dangerous adversary is the Jew and those who are in bondage to him.
- The Jew can only think in Jewish. If he writes in German, he is lying. The German who writes in German but thinks in an un-German way is a traitor. The student who speaks and writes in an un-German language is also thoughtless and unfaithful to his task.
- We want to eradicate lies, we want to denounce betrayal, we don't want students to learn in places of thoughtlessness, but places of discipline and political education.
- We want to respect the Jew as a foreigner, and we want to take the people seriously. We therefore demand from the censor: Jewish works must appear in the Hebrew language. If they appear in German, they must be labelled as a translation. Strictest intervention applies against the misuse of the German script. German script is only available to Germans. The un-German spirit will be eradicated from public libraries.

- We expect German students to be willing and able to recognise and decide for themselves.
- We demand from German students the will and the ability to keep the German language pure.
- We demand from German students the will and the ability to overcome Jewish intellectualism and the associated liberal decay in German intellectual life.
- We demand the selection of students and professors according to the certainty of them thinking in the German spirit.
- We demand the German university to be a stronghold of German national identity and a centre of struggle based on the power of the German spirit."

The books of around 350 authors[256] were burnt in many places in the Reich. The surviving accounts of enthusiastic students and professors taking part in the book burnings[257] are shocking. The impressive testimonies of the authors who watched their works being thrown into the fire make for quite different reading.

For example, Einstein's theory of relativity and the children's book "Bambi" by Felix Salten[258] were burned at the stake in blind rage.[259,260] The same applies to his decidedly adult tale about a prostitute, the "Josefine Mutzenbacher" from 1906.

Thomas Mann and Walt Disney[261] received honorary doctorates from Harvard University in 1935. Legend has it that Thomas Mann told Walt Disney about Felix Salten's[262] book "Bambi". Disney liked the idea and released the film of the same name, "Bambi",[263] which he had produced, in cinemas in 1942. Like the book before it, the film was a global success.

This story was by the respected "Neue Züricher Zeitung" on 26 September 2018.[264] It also reports that Adolf Hitler owned copies of many Disney films that were banned in Germany at the time. It is a bizarre idea that a mass murderer like Hitler sat in front of the cinema screen in the evening and mourned the death of Bambi, but according to the reports, he did just that.

Erich Kästner[265] wrote some of my favourite books: „Fabian",[266] "Emil und die Detektive",[267] "Conference of the Animals".[268]

Erich Kästner[269] had also personally witnessed the burning of his books in Berlin. At a conference of PEN Germany[270] on 10 May 1958 in Hamburg, he gave a memorable speech[271] in which he said, among other things, that

> "The events from 1933 to 1945 should have been combated by 1928 at the latest. Later it was too late. We must not wait until the fight for freedom is called treason. We must not wait until the snowball has turned into an avalanche. The rolling snowball must be crushed."

In 1951, Erich Kästner became president of PEN Germany, a worldwide writers' organisation that campaigns for freedom of expression, promotes literature and protects endangered authors.

Every book burning is a serious violation of freedom of opinion. It is no coincidence that the freedom of opinion now firmly anchored in the Basic Law of Germany, Article 5 (1) of the Basic Law[272] guarantees freedom of opinion and is accompanied by freedom of the press, broadcasting and film

(media freedom) as well as the right to obtain information unhindered from generally accessible sources (freedom of information). But remember, hate is not an opinion and is therefore not protected by the Basic Law!

More than 100 years ago, the American Walter Lippmann demanded in his book "The Public Opinion" that media skills should be taught at school in order to recognise propaganda and fake news. In view of today's flood of information, this demand has lost none of its topicality.

Even though Rosa Luxemburg[273] wrote in 1919: "Freedom is always the freedom of those who think differently" and the Basic Law protects freedom of opinion, the following still applies – again and again:

Hate is not an opinion!!!

16.11.1934 Purchase of a plantation in Palestine

In Dr Lippmann's restitution file, which I was only able to view in July 2024, there are several documents that prove the purchase or participation in the purchase of a plantation in Palestine.

The constantly worsening living conditions for Jews and his long-standing interest in Palestine may have prompted Dr Lippmann to no longer just donate for trees and land, but to buy two plots of land, a citrus plantation and building land. He may have intended to emigrate to Palestine as early as 1934.

To give Dr Lippmann himself a chance to speak, I am quoting extracts from his letter of 5 March 1967 to the Berlin Compensation Office regarding his application for compensation:

> "In 1934, I transferred 40,334 Reichsmark via the Palestine Trust Office for the purpose of purchasing two citrus plantations and a piece of undeveloped land.
>
> Executing the transfer and purchase turned out to be a complex undertaking. The actual transfer fees were quoted to me at 15%, but the money was not even enough, so that an additional mortgage of LP 150 had to be taken out. I had to pay 403.30 Reichsmark to PALTREU (see attached confirmation dated 16 November 1934). In addition, there were very considerable expenses for travelling between Leipzig, Berlin and Hamburg, as well as a trip to Palestine itself, which was essentially undertaken for the purpose of resolving the difficulties and possibly acquiring other assets. An estimate of these expenses at around 1,000 Reichsmark is probably approximately correct.
>
> In view of the above, I estimate that the transfer loss exceeded 20 per cent. The values obtained by me result from the enclosed copy of the contract and the payment of the amount of 40,334 Reichsmark from the enclosed original letter from the Palästina-Treuhandstelle zur Beratung Deutscher Juden GmbH, Friedrichstrasse 218 in Berlin dated 27 December 1934.
>
> [The payment channel also involved the Trust & Transfer Office "Haavara" and the "Hanotaiah Ltd, both of which are mentioned by name. Payment was only possible with the approval of the foreign exchange office of the Leipzig State Finance Office at Adolf-Hitler-Str. 143 in Leipzig dated 17 November 1934"]

> The payment was conducted via the company Martin Schiff - Marcus Nelken & Sohn,[274] Jägerstrasse 9 in Berlin. This company was founded in 1926 but changed ownership in 1936 and went out of business in 1947.[275] The payment was booked to special account II contingent b, belonging to the Jaffa plantation section under the current no. 10.
>
> If this is less than 80% of 40,334 Reichsmark based on the official exchange rate, I would ask that the difference be compensated as transfer losses.
>
> This discounts the fact that I am convinced that the purchase prices were considerably inflated, so that the value actually obtained through the transfer was even less than LP 2,771. When I asked for the value of the purchased assets in 1938, presumably for the Jewish levy, I received the report from Jaffa-Plantations Ltd attached here as a copy, according to which the value of the purchased assets was only LP 999,650. It seems hardly conceivable that the assets purchased were worth LP 2,771 in 1935 when the value in 1938 was only around LP 1,000.
>
> I am also submitting a complete copy of the approval notice from the Foreign Exchange Office dated 17 November 1934, as well as an original letter from Jaffa-Plantations Ltd dated 31 January 1939, which shows that I still have to pay 6,536 + 8,925 + 48,116, totalling LP 63,577 due to an arbitration award, which, of course, could only be paid by debiting my account due to a lack of payment options. I assume that the equivalent value of the transfer was also reduced accordingly by this LP 63,577."[276]

The reference to the trip to Palestine, which took place before the purchase of the plantation, i.e. 1933 or spring 1934, is interesting. Unfortunately, I was unable to find any further evidence of this journey. It would be fascinating to learn more about the circumstances and experiences of this journey. I am glad for Dr Lippmann that, like Moses,[277] he has seen the "Promised Land" at least once, even if, like Moses, he was unable to live there.

The file contains an undated and unsigned five-page purchase agreement between the buyer Dr Walter Lippmann, Leipzig and Jaffa Plantations Ltd[278] in Haderah, Palestine[279] in German. The other sellers are the merchant Ernst Blumenthal from Jerusalem, the medical councillor Dr Fritz Noack from Tel Aviv, the physician Dr Max Schramm from Haifa and the association of settlers in Meged "Agudath Hamitjaschwin Meged" and two cooperatives "Haschkaa Pri Hadar" and "Arisah Lematae Pri Hadar", which were irrigation and packing house cooperatives.

One plot was 9,120 square metres in size, with lime trees evenly spaced 5 metres apart. The building site has a size of 1,840 square metres. In addition, Dr Lippmann acquired 5,490 sqm of "free land" and shares in Hannah Ltd as well as a 13,463 sqm orange plantation with grafted grapefruit and Jaffa orange trees, including the irrigation system. The two co-operatives were selling their buildings on the land. The transfer of ownership took place on 01 April 1934 and 01 April 1935.

In the contract, the buyer undertook to join the settlers' association in the event of settlement. The lawyers Dr Moses Smoira, Felix Rosenbleuth and Dr Julius Rosenfeld were agreed as possible authorised representatives.

On 9 June 1937, Jaffa Plantations Ltd, Post Pardess-Hannah in Meged, Palestine confirmed the registration of the mortgage on Dr Lippmann's pardess. Attached to the letter is the amortisation

schedule for the period from 01 June 1938 to 01 June 1947. The amount to be paid is 8% on LP 150.

A letter dated 24 May 1938 from Jaffa Plantations Ltd to Dr Lippmann reported poor market prices for the years 1935/36 and 1937/38 and a poor harvest. Manager Jacobsen of Jaffa Plantations Ltd advised against selling Pardesim, as this could only be done at a loss. The shares of Emunah Ltd had also lost some of their value. Dr Lippmann informed his uncle Julius Asch, Elbchaussee 30 in Hamburg on 7 June 1938 that the value was LP 999.650 and that this value should be used as the basis for the property levy.

In an e-mail dated 20 March 2024 from the Saxon State Archives, I received a copy of a letter dated 28 September 1938 from Dr Lippmann to the Reichsbank Leipzig. At first glance it is interesting that his postal address is Petersstrasse 18 (Hohmanns Hof) Aufgang A in Leipzig C1 and is labelled "z. Zt. in Hamburg-Blankenese".

He informs the Reichsbank that he bought agricultural land in Palestine in 1935 and in this connection had to acquire a share in the company "Emunah Beeravon Mugbal (i.e. with limited liability). With this letter, he subsequently reported this property in his declaration of assets dated 27 April 1938. He informed the Reichsbank that a sale of the company shares was not possible.[280]

On 31 January 1939, Jaffa Plantations announced that there had been disagreements regarding the settlement with Dr Noack, Tel Aviv and Dr Max Schramm, Haifa, which had been settled by the lawyer Dr Bileski, Haifa. The dispute concerned the cost of pest control. The plantation had been "gassed" in 1935 – as the letter literally states – a term that would, in the years to come, acquire its most horrific association. In previous years, the pests had been "sprayed away" for half the cost. Dr Lippmann had to pay the additional costs according to the arbitration award, which was not necessarily factually correct. He also had to pay 80% of the costs of converting the irrigation pipes.

18.01.1935 New office in Petersstrasse in Leipzig

The relocation of the law firm from Grimmaische Strasse 24 to Petersstrasse 15 (Hohmanns Hof), staircase A, is documented by several small adverts.

I found advertisements in the "Gemeindeblatt der Israelitischen Religionsgemeinschaft zu Leipzig" of 4 January 1935[281] and 18 January 1935[282] and in the newspapers "Der Israelit"[283] and "Jüdische allgemeine Zeitung"[284] and the "Jüdisches Familienblatt"[285] published in Frankfurt.

During my search for clues in Leipzig on 24 April 2024, I discovered that modern commercial and office buildings had replaced the two historic Kontorhäuser. Some of the buildings that survived the war give the impression of a middle-class neighbourhood in the city centre. In both cases, these are "good addresses" for a lawyer.

Until the call for a boycott on 1 April 1933, 50% of Dr Lippmann's clientele consisted of Jews and 50% of non-Jews. Most of the latter boycotted the law firm, which led to considerable losses in turnover due to "Aryanisation". But the number of Jewish clients also decreased. Many had become impoverished, emigrated or were to flee. From 1935, the income was so low that it was no longer sufficient to cover his office and living costs. The office had to be moved to cheaper premises in another street.

The number of employees had already been reduced to a typist and an accountant. When his own funds were exhausted, a loan from his wealthy uncle Julius Asch from Hamburg helped him to continue running the office and maintain a modest standard of living.[286]

Browsing through the classified adverts, I keep discovering interesting things. For example, I learn that an office chair[287] like the old one I'm sitting on now cost 24.50 RM back then.

Or: The film „Lockvogel"[288] with Victor de Kowa[289] was shown in the "Lichtspielhaus Am Zee" in Pfaffendorfer Str. 35/37. You can watch the official trailer for this adventure film a la James Bond[290] on the Internet. It's worth it because Victor de Kowa was included by Goebbels in the Gottbegnadeten-Liste,[291] the God-gifted list of indispensable film actors. This list was compiled by the Reich Ministry for Popular Enlightenment and Propaganda and contained artists who were considered "irreplaceable" or "valuable" to the National Socialist regime. Actors on this list enjoyed many privileges, e.g. they were not called up for military service.

Gustav Gründgens[292] was one of them. His film role as Mephistopheles in Goethe's "Faust" from 1960[293] is unforgettable. He had already played this role with great success in 1932 at the Prussian Theatre in Berlin, where he was general director from 1937 to 1944. He was married to Erika Mann[294] from 1926 to 1929. Thomas Mann's children, Erika and Klaus, lived in the USA from 1936. Klaus Mann[295] wrote the novel „Mephisto"[296] there, which is strongly inspired by the life of his brother-in-law and takes a critical look at the role and relationship between power and art, morality and opportunism.

The above-mentioned newspapers from 1935 also contain an invitation to a lecture[297] on "Tradition and Life - Tradition and Renewal (Hasidism)[298] by Martin Buber.[299] It can be assumed that the event was well attended, as Martin Buber had been a well-known philosopher and theologian in Germany since the publication of "Ich und Du"[300] (I and Thou) in 1923. He was a professor at Frankfurt University until 1933 and taught his philosophical ideas on the principle of dialogue there. In 1938, he left Germany and went to Israel.

"I and Thou" has been with me for half my life. Just now, as I write these lines, I realise that the book is over 100 years old. Martin Buber's philosophy that "all real life is encounter" is timeless. He sees the essence of being human in the authentic encounter with the other, in which we recognise, acknowledge and respect each other as unique individuals.

The restitution file also contains Dr Simon's affidavit dated 18 March 1955:

> "From around 1934, and increasingly in the following years under pressure from the Gestapo, Dr Lippmann made efforts to emigrate.
>
> He made enquiries, visited relatives of emigrants, consulted emigration advisors and other experts, including foreign lawyers and agents, and travelled for this purpose, mostly in Germany, but in 1935 also to France, Switzerland, Greece and Palestine. He conducted an extensive correspondence with many countries whose immigration and livelihood opportunities he wanted to explore."[301]

I am delighted that Dr Lippmann managed to get close to the Zionist ideal of the Promised Land at least once, even if he was unable to stay. I have not yet been able to establish whether he met Martin

Buber there again. Unfortunately, I have also been unable to find out how long he was in Palestine. It can be assumed that his journeys to other countries also served to identify possible places of refuge.

17.05.1935 Ban on Esperanto lessons

On 17 May 1935, Reich Education Minister Bernhard Rust[302] issued a ban on the teaching of Esperanto[303] on the grounds that it allegedly "weakens the essential value of the national character". Within a year, all Esperanto associations were dissolved, and the German Esperanto Association was banned.

After that, Esperantists met in private circles to improve their language skills. It is possible that Dr Lippmann, who was head of the grammar department at the time, also continued to work on the development of the planned language and the idea of international understanding.

01.08.1936 Olympic Summer Games

The XI Summer Olympics[304] in Berlin (1 to 16 August 1936) were preceded by the IV Olympic Winter Games[305] (6 to 16 February 1936) in Garmisch-Partenkirchen. Both sporting events[306] were used by Nazi propaganda[307] to present a positive image of the Nazi state abroad.

At home, Nazi propaganda focussed primarily on the successes and achievements of the German Olympic participants and winners. In 1938, two documentary films by Leni Riefenstahl[308] about the Summer Games (Fest der Völker[309] and Fest der Schönheit[310]) were shown in cinemas.

Leni Riefenstahl had previously made the documentary film "Triumph des Willens"[311] about the Nazi Party Congress in September 1934, which can be accessed on Internet Archive.[312] The films mentioned are considered masterpieces of documentary film due to their technical innovations, their visual aesthetics and their staging. Nevertheless, here too, as with Gustav Gründgens, the question of the boundary between artistic integrity and personal opportunism also arises.

19.04.1937 Lodge B'nai B'rith is dissolved

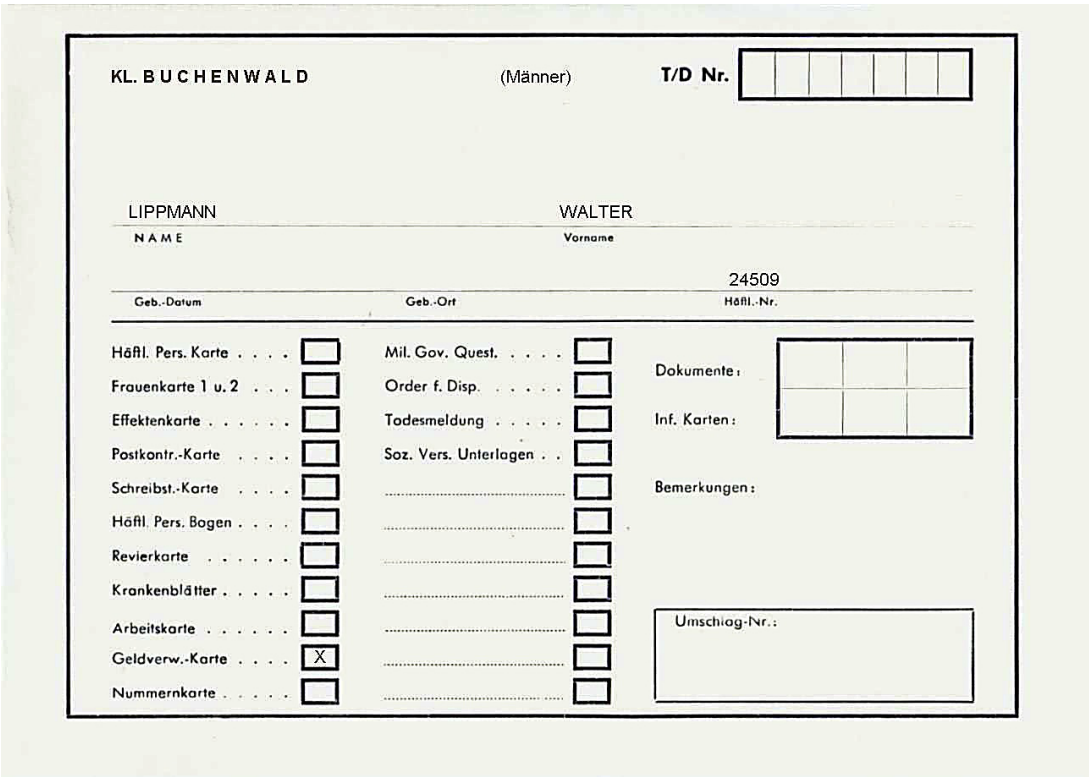
Having seen "Triumph of the Will", it is understandable that Reinhard Heydrich[313] accused the Freemasons[314] of "ruthless individualism".

Freemasonry emphasises values such as freedom, equality, brotherhood, tolerance and humanitarian aid. It attaches great importance to the education, personal development and social commitment of its members and promotes the sense of community. These principles were at odds with the world view of the National Socialists.

Until all lodges, including the Jewish lodges, were dissolved by the Gestapo, Rabbi Leo Baeck[315] was president of the Jewish Grand Lodge, which included the Leipzig B'nai B'rith Lodge,[316] whose member and president was Dr Lippmann[317] .The B'nai B'rith Lodge[318] was founded in New York City in 1843. B'nai B'rith means "Sons of the Covenant" in Hebrew and is today one of the world's most important Jewish charitable organisations.

A commemorative publication from 1933 on the 50th anniversary of the order lists around 100 regional B'nai B'rith lodges[319] in Germany. The assets and property of the lodges were confiscated by the Gestapo and other state organisations, but basically, they were looted. In Hamburg, three lodges were affected: Henry-Jones-Loge,[320] Steinthal Lodge and Nehemia-Nobel-Loge.[321]

19.04.1937 First and second arrest (November 1937)


KL. BUCHENWALD (Männer) T/D Nr.

LIPPMANN WALTER
NAME Vorname

24509
Geb.-Datum Geb.-Ort Häftl.-Nr.

Häftl. Pers. Karte		Mil. Gov. Quest.	
Frauenkarte 1 u. 2		Order f. Disp.	
Effektenkarte		Todesmeldung	
Postkontr.-Karte		Soz. Vers. Unterlagen	
Schreibst.-Karte			
Häftl. Pers. Bogen			
Revierkarte			
Krankenblätter			
Arbeitskarte			
Geldverw.-Karte	X		
Nummernkarte			

Dokumente:
Inf. Karten:
Bemerkungen:
Umschlag-Nr.:

Figure 6 Buchenwald Concentration Camp registration card

In his 1955 application for restitution, Dr Lippmann[322] stated that he had been imprisoned in Leipzig for one and a half days in April 1937. Dr Erich Simon's affidavit from 1955 states that the arrest was in connection with the closure of the B'nai B'rith Lodge, whose president was Dr Lippmann. The entire board of the lodge was arrested.

His former secretary, Margarete Miles, confirms in her affidavit[323] that the first arrest by the Gestapo was in connection with the closure of the B'nai B'rith Lodge. And further,

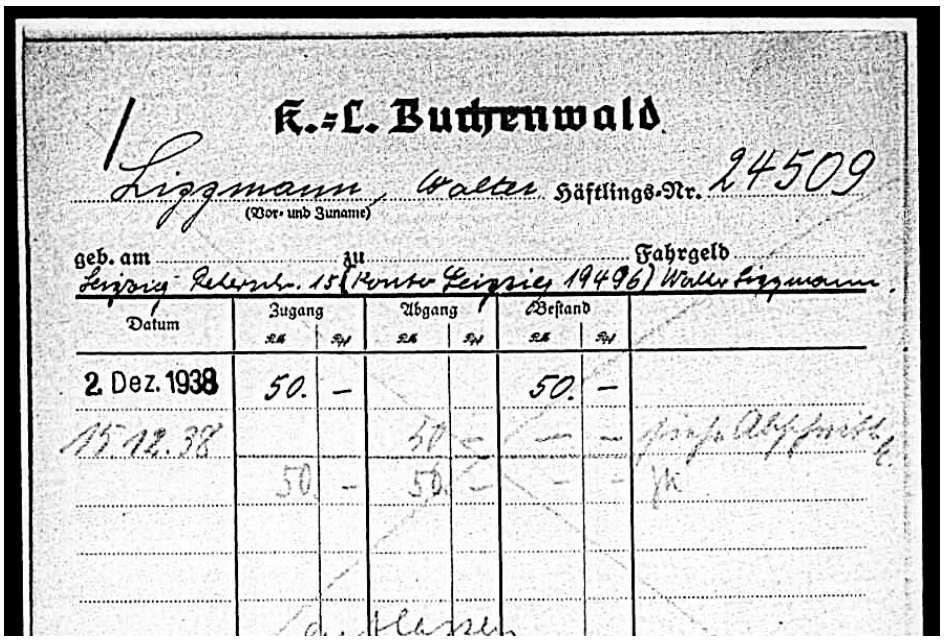
> "In November 1937, he was arrested again and detained 10 days. The reason was that he had written a letter of recommendation for the son of the cantor of the Jewish community. The Gestapo therefore saw Dr Lippmann's actions as a continuation of his former lodge's activities. However, the court did not share this view. Dr Lippmann was released and later exempted from prosecution by order of the People's Court."

The harassment did not end there. Six months later, there was another arrest, which Dr Erich Simon recounts[324] in almost identical words:

"November 1937: 10 days imprisonment in the police prison and in the district court prison because of a letter of recommendation written for the son of a former lodge member, which the Gestapo, but not the People's Court, saw as a continuation of the forbidden activities of the dissolved lodge. The proceedings were formally discontinued due to the lack of evidence of a criminal offence."

Rudolf Schick testifies[325] even more impressively on oath:

"In November 1938, I myself was arrested together with Dr Lippmann and many other Leipzig Jews because of the assassination attempt on Mr Ernst Eduard von Rath in Paris. After one day in police custody, we were transported together to Buchenwald concentration camp and beaten with steel rods on arrival. Two of Dr Lippmann's front teeth were knocked out at that time."


K.-L. Buchenwald

Lippmann, Walter Häftlings-Nr. 24509
(Vor- und Zuname)

geb. am ... zu ... Fahrgeld ...

Leipzig Zeitzerstr. 15 (Konto Leipzig 19496) Walter Lippmann

Datum	Zugang RM	Rpf	Abgang RM	Rpf	Bestand RM	Rpf	
2. Dez. 1938	50.	–			50.	–	
15.12.38			50	–	–	–	
	50	–	50	–	–	–	

Figure 7 KZ Buchwald - Cash book dated 15 December 1938

19.07.1937 Exhibition "Degenerate Art"

After the book burnings the Nazi attack on "modernism" continued. On 19 July 1937, the exhibition "Degenerate Art"[326] was opened in Munich. On display were works of art that had been categorised as "degenerate" by the National Socialists. The Nazi regime labelled as "degenerate" all cultural movements whose aesthetics were perceived as "un-German" and did not correspond to the propagated image of humanity. The exhibition served as propaganda against so-called "Jewish-Bolshevik art". The Nazis did not care whether the artists were Jewish, communist or otherwise.

The works of Otto Dix,[327] George Grosz,[328] Ernst Ludwig Kirchner,[329] Max Ernst,[330] Karl Schmidt-Rottluff,[331] Max Pechstein,[332] Paul Klee,[333] Otto Griebel[334] and Ernst Barlach,[335] amongst others, were considered "degenerate". Many of these artists fled into exile to bring themselves and their works to safety.

The authors of the Basic Law, the Grundgesetz of Germany learnt from history how important freedom of opinion, art and science are, and that is why these rights are protected in Article 5 of the Basic Law,[336] which guarantees freedom of opinion, the press, the arts and science. The right to freedom of science and teaching is one of the so-called eternal rights.

Eternal rights are fundamental rights that are particularly worthy of protection and cannot be overridden by constitutional amendments. These fundamental rights are of particular importance for the democratic order and the protection of individual freedom in Germany.

In the "Degenerate Art" exhibition, 120 artists and their works were defamed. The exhibition was shown in 12 other cities after Munich and was seen by 3 million people. Around 16,000 works of art[337] were confiscated to be sold abroad or destroyed.

A look at the exhibition catalogue[338] and the Wikipedia article on "degenerate art"[339] reveals the enormous cultural and historical damage caused by the exhibition. Most of the irreplaceable works of the avant-garde of the time, which are now considered representatives of modernism, were lost.

The press disseminated the propaganda on a broad scale. In the larger cities, newspapers such as the the Hamburger Tageblatt[340] reported on the exhibition. But even in small towns, far from the metropolitan centres, papers like the Jeverschen Wochenblatt[341] covered it – despite the fact that the exhibition was never shown there. In this way, the Nazis ensured that their propaganda against "degenerate art" was disseminated throughout the entire Reich.

It can be assumed that the well-known painting "Guernica"[342] by Pablo Picasso[343] did not appeal to the National Socialists, as it is an impressive political statement against the atrocities of war and in particular, the Spanish Civil War.[344] Probably also because it is not a naturalistic depiction. Nazis did not value art that commented critically, morally or culturally on war and violence. "Guernica" was first shown on 12 July 1937 at the World Exhibition in Paris.[345] Today, the painting is housed in the Museo Reina Sofía in Madrid together with an extensive collection of sketches.

08.11.1937 Exhibition "The Eternal Jew"

The Nazi propaganda machine was in full swing. Just a few months after the "Degenerate Art" exhibition, another large and well-attended exhibition was organised in Munich. The exhibition entitled "The Eternal Jew",[346] was opened. The exhibition was very well attended with 412,000 visitors, considering that Munich had a population of around 800,000 at the time. The exhibition "The Eternal Jew" propagated racist and anti-Semitic stereotypes and showed derogatory and defamatory depictions of Jews to stir up hatred and prejudice against the Jewish population. The Nazi regime's perfidious propaganda methods were aimed at provoking the population against the Jews.

At the request of Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels, the 1940 "documentary film" entitled "The Eternal Jew" was shot - a "Symphony of Disgust and Horror". The film can be seen in the Internet Archive.[347] If you ignore the propaganda, you get an impression of what it was like in the ghettos of Lodz and other cities after the occupation of Poland, because that is where the film was shot.

Today, on 14 May 2024, while revising the manuscript, I googled the term "stereotype". Is it a coincidence? To my great astonishment, I read on Wikipedia that the American Walter Lippmann coined this term. He used the term in his work "Public Opinion"[348] from 1922, which has already

been mentioned several times. The book is regarded as ground-breaking for stereotype research[349] in social psychology.

In this book, which I strongly recommend, the American journalist Walter Lippmann[350] analyses the role of the mass media in shaping public opinion. He emphasises the importance of well-informed and responsible elites who should steer public opinion correctly, as most people have neither the time nor the opportunity to inform themselves comprehensively about complex issues. And this was at a time when there was neither television nor the internet! Walter Lippmann's work has had a significant influence on journalism, political communication and opinion research.

26.04.1938 Regulation on the registration of the assets of Jews

The "Regulation on the Registration of Property of Jews"[351] was another key instrument of discrimination and persecution of the Jewish population in National Socialist Germany. The regulation, which came into force on 26 April 1938, obliged all Jews to provide the tax office with detailed information on real estate, cash, securities, jewellery and other assets.

Jews who did not report their assets or only reported them incompletely had to expect heavy fines and prison sentences and the confiscation of their assets. The regulation was part of a targeted strategy to economically damage and systematically dispossess the Jewish population.

29.04.1938 Poland's policy of stripping Jews of their citizenship

I spent a lot of time browsing through the old online archives of Jewish newspapers. I learnt a lot about political developments, but also about Jewish everyday life. I also came across a newspaper article written by the Leipzig lawyer Dr Walter Lippmann.

Dr Walter Lippmann reports in the "Jüdisches Gemeindeblatt" of 29 April 1938[352] on the consequences of the new Polish law on the loss of citizenship. According to this law, a Polish citizen residing outside Poland could lose his Polish citizenship. The conditions for the revocation of citizenship are that the citizen has acted abroad to the detriment of the Polish state or has lost his or her ties to the Polish state after an uninterrupted stay abroad of at least five years since the foundation of the Polish state. Another reason is if the citizen has not returned to Poland from abroad despite being requested to do so by the Polish authorities.

I have not been able to find out whether citizenship law was one of Dr Lippmann's areas of expertise. However, it can certainly be assumed that the legal developments in neighbouring countries and the flight movements of Jews were followed very closely in Germany.

In the 1930s, many Jews fled Poland[353] due to the increasing discrimination and persecution practised by state authorities and parts of the population.

In May 1935, the situation of the Jews deteriorated again. The government continued its repressive policy towards ethnic minorities. As part of its anti-Semitic policy, it introduced quotas for access to universities and further repressive measures and regulations that excluded Jews from various professions and public offices. In addition, there were violent attacks on Jews, looting of Jewish businesses and a general deterioration in the living conditions of the Jewish population. The effects of

the Great Depression and economic boycotts also contributed to the fact that many Polish Jews no longer saw any prospects and decided to leave the country in search of protection and a safer future elsewhere.

A comparison of events in the German Reich and Poland in the 1930s reveals a recognisable pattern. In both countries, anti-Semites used comparable political means to promote the discrimination and marginalisation of Jewish people. Moreover, anti-Semitism in Poland had a long history and was not only a problem brought with the invasion of the German Wehrmacht in 1939.

06.07.1938 Conference of Évian

The US President Franklin D. Roosevelt[354] initiated the Évian Conference.[355] It took place from 6 to 15 July 1938. Representatives of 32 states[356] and 71 aid organisations met to discuss the situation of Jewish refugees from the German Reich.

The delegates met in Évian-les-Bains-, France, as Switzerland feared that a meeting at the headquarters of the League of Nations[357] in Geneva could jeopardise its relationship with Nazi Germany.

The aim of the conference was to find solutions for the rapidly growing number of Jewish refugees who were forced to leave Germany due to increasing persecution and discrimination by the Nazi regime.

The conference ended largely inconclusively, as all participating states except the Dominican Republic refused to take in any more Jewish refugees or increase their immigration quotas. The Nazi regime used the failure of the conference to further its anti-Semitic propaganda. In the newspaper "Hamburger Fremdenblatt" of 18 July 1938[358] I read, among other things:

> "Nevertheless, the conference was organised on American initiative. We find it difficult to understand the morality of the double standard. At best, it confirms that the conference was only intended as agitation against Germany."

Readers of the "Jüdische Rundschau vom 19 July 1938"[359] were informed in detail about the unsatisfactory outcome of the conference.

Many historians see the Évian Conference as a moral failure on the part of Western democracies. It is assumed that a different decision could possibly have saved the lives of many Jewish people before the Holocaust occurred. Later, the participating states - we already know the pattern - claimed to have had no detailed knowledge of the extent of the Nazi persecution of the Jews. They denied or trivialised their involvement in the rejection of Jewish refugees at the Évian Conference.

17.08.1938 Name change regulation

For the reader, it may be exhausting and burdensome to come to terms with the numerous measures against Jews and Jewish life at the time. But how about the members of the Jewish communities, which included Dr Lippmann and his family in Leipzig and Hamburg? What must they have felt in the face of the daily increasing harassment and repression?

Since the seizure of power in 1933, Jewish businessmen, doctors, lawyers and professors were boycotted. The entire cultural life was severely restricted, anti-Semitic propaganda suppressed the freedom of art and opinion. The Nazi regime urged Jews to leave the German Reich, their homeland. Being forced to change their name[360] was another particularly degrading measure that impaired their personal and cultural self-confidence and right to self-determination.

The Name Change Regulation of 17 August 1938[361] was a further measure of systematic discrimination against Jewish citizens by the National Socialists. Jewish men had to adopt additional first names such as "Israel" and women the first name "Sara". This made their Jewish identity publicly visible and made it easier to stigmatise them and drive them into social isolation.

The "Jüdische Rundschau"[362] pointed out on 23 August 1938 that a prison sentence of up to six months was threatened for wilful contravention.

Walter and Jaques were the two first names of Dr Lippmann, which he had received from his parents. The Nazis forced him to take the additional first name "Israel".

If you cannot find anything about a person in online archives, it may be because the documents you are looking for have been lost or have simply not yet been digitised. However, it may also be because reading or typing errors have crept in when transcribing old manuscripts or hard-to-read copies.

If, for example, Walter was entered as Walver, or Jaques as Jacques or Jagues, which is certainly due to the Saxon dialect of the officer, the best search programme is of little use. Simply changing the order of the first names can lead to different search results. All that remains is the painstaking task of combing through endless lists with a lot of imagination. And that again and again, in each archive anew. But with a little Mozart in my ear, I managed to find one or two documents despite typos.

27.09.1938 Professional ban for Jewish lawyers

Dr Lippmann and other Jewish lawyers were hit particularly hard by the provisions of the 5th Amendment the Reich Citizenship Act[363] of 27 September 1938, which prohibited Jews from practising the profession of lawyer after 30 November 1938.

This meant that from 30 November 1938 Dr Lippmann was no longer allowed to work and earn money as a lawyer.

28.09.1938 Statement of assets of Walter Lippmann

As a researcher, you expect that you will not always find information or documents in the same place and at the same time. Every new discovery can confirm, supplement or refute previous assumptions or provide context that leads to a better understanding.

At the end of March 2024, in the Saxon State Archives, I came across a letter from Dr Lippmann to the Reichsbank dated 28 September 1938. The information it contained led to several surprising new insights and discoveries!

A few months later, I was given access to Dr Lippmann's restitution file. In July 2024, I found some information and documents in it that answered my unanswered questions from March 2024. For the sake of clarity, I have incorporated all the new information into the manuscript in chronological order.

Apparently the Reichsbank[364] had asked Dr Lippmann to sell the company shares connected with the property near Meged in Israel that he had acquired in 1935! On 28 September 1938, he duly informed the authorities that he had indeed acquired an agriculturally usable plot of land in Palestine in 1935. The German foreign exchange office had set up a transfer account to support the "securing of homes for Jews and their relatives" in Israel, as it was euphemistically called.

In accordance with Circular No. 82/34 of the Reich Office for Foreign Exchange Management,[365] the purchase price was transferred to Special Account II of the Bank of the Temple Society[366] in Jaffa. The purchase of the property also included a share in the Emunah Beeravon Mugbal company with a nominal value of 20 Palestinian pounds. Dr Lippmann informed the authorities that the aforementioned company shares currently had no market value because the shares were allegedly inseparable from the property.

I know from an article that appeared in the "Welt" on 22 November 1985 that he still owned the property in 1985, so he was not forced to sell it.

The next question is: Where is Meged? Google Maps does not recognise the place Meged. I also couldn't find the name of the Emunah Beeravon Mugbal co-operative on the Internet.

Successful research requires perseverance, good knowledge and creative approaches. Experts in the field or specialised sources can be helpful in finding the right information. Although chance and luck are not reliable partners, they are certainly welcome in any research.

I am the sponsor of the Stolperstein in front of our house, which commemorates Eugen Tuteur.[367] He lived here until 1942, when this was his last independent residence before he was murdered in Theresienstadt.

Last year I had the opportunity to meet Michael Tuteur, who had travelled all the way from New York to see the Stolperstein together with his German Tuteur-family. I remembered him telling me that he had often visited his family in Israel and surmised that he knew Israel well.

As I could not find an answer on the Internet, I asked Michael Tuteur in New York by email if he knew this place in Israel. He told me the following story: The couple who had introduced his parents to each other lived in Meged in a moshav[368] or kibbutz.[369] As a child, Michael had visited their friends and the village with his parents. He still remembers how much fun he had collecting eggs on the farm.

What a coincidence! Eugen Tuteur lived in our house at Grillparzer Strasse 4, until his deportation to Theresienstadt concentration camp, where he was murdered in 1942. Dr Lippmann moved into the house in 1955, and I only moved in in 1987. The coincidence of life stories, albeit at different times, always amazes me and makes me feel a special closeness. But it got even better!

Michael Tuteur asked his cousin David Heyd for help. David is a professor of philosophy at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem and knows the history of Israel very well. He told me that a certain Dr Zeev Wolf Brin had bought the property in the late 1920s and that the house on the property was called a 'pagoda' because of the shape of its roof.

With the help of an old photo of the 'pagoda' that he kindly sent me, I found a website on which I was able to locate the pagoda in Meged. The village is 50 kilometres south of Haifa. In 1939, Meged had joined the nearby town of Pardes-Chana-Karkur.[370] For this reason, Meged, Maged or Megged - whatever the various spellings - can no longer be found on Google Maps. The spellings vary, as the Hebrew script consists almost exclusively of consonants and hardly any vowels.

The Brin estate[371] in Meged is an impressive example of settlement history in the 20th century. The detailed account of the history of Meged on the website is worth reading.

On the basis of a transfer agreement dated 25 August 1935 as part of the Ha'avara Agreement,[372] Jews were able to transfer a large part of their assets to Israel if they used the money to buy industrial and agricultural machinery in Germany and shipped it to Israel. The Nazis' aim was to prevent the worldwide boycott of German products and increase sales. The Nazis also believed that the agreement would encourage Jews to emigrate. The Zionists who criticised the agreement considered collaboration with the Nazis to be ethically questionable and would not agree to negotiate with a government whose ultimate goal was the oppression and extermination of the Jewish population.

On the other hand, the modern devices offered excellent economic opportunities in the new homeland and contributed significantly to improving the economic situation of the Jewish community in Palestine after the financial crisis of 1929.

I assume that Dr Lippmann's investment in the Emunah Beeravon Mugbal cooperative was an investment in a moshav. A moshav is a type of agricultural co-operative settlement consisting of a group of individual farms that share harvesting equipment, storage facilities and other amenities. Although the families in the moshavim share common resources, the individual farms receive the financial profit from their yields. In contrast, profits in a kibbutz are shared collectively.

In 1929, Dr Zeev (Wolf) Breen (Wilhelm Brünn)[373] planted a very profitable orange grove with funds from Jewish investors. While working as a doctor, Dr Breen, who apparently later called himself Dr Brin, fell ill with malaria. This was the trigger for his research in this field.

From 1933 onwards, more and more Jewish investors from Germany flocked to Palestine to acquire land. Many of them were members of the "Meged Settlers Association". They had academic degrees but no practical experience in agriculture. However, they quickly acquired the necessary knowledge, so that the plantations for oranges and other citrus fruits soon produced good yields, as reported in detail in the Jüdische Rundschau on 15 March 1935.[374]

The more I delve into my research, the more fascinating and inspiring stories and biographies of courageous women and men I get to know, which I would love to tell in detail here. However, as this would go beyond the scope of this work, I invite you to follow the links on the Internet to find more about the lives of these people.

Around 1938, the plantation or parts of it, were sold to a German-Jewish woman named Claire or Clara Weimersheimer.[375] An interesting coincidence! She was the sister of Anna Essinger[376] and both were related to David Heyd! The two sisters ran a boarding school for children in Herrlingen, Germany.

Anna Essinger is one of the great heroines of the Kindertransport.[377] She recognised the danger posed

by the Nazis as early as 1933 and brought 66 children to the south of England with their parents' permission. A little later, she up a reception camp near Dovercourt,[378] through which many of the 10,000 children travelled to England. From there, they were passed on to foster families and homes.

In Meged, her sister Clara Weimersheimer founded the "Meshek Kiddim" school for children who arrived from Germany without their parents. David Heyd's mother worked as a teacher at this school for a year.

Once again, the lives of the Tuteur and Lippmann families cross paths, as it is quite possible that the thirteen-year-old Bernhard Lippmann met Anna Essinger on his way to Alec Venture in July 1939. But more on that later.

On 4 April 2024, I contacted the Saxon State Archives again to express my suspicion that Ella Löwenstein's statement of assets, shares and bonds had been mistakenly filed in Dr Lippmann's file. In fact, the "story" was corrected following my tip-off. And so it may be that later readers of Dr Lippmann's file will find documents that were not there when I read it.

Ella Isenstein, widowed Löwenstein, born in Hanover in 1874, also left her mark on the Internet. Her brother-in-law, the textile wholesaler Fedor Lewin, and Ella's sister Käthie, like Ella, committed suicide on 5 September 1942. I found this information on the website "Places you should know"[379] in Leipzig.

05.10.1938 J-Labelling for passports

To ensure that people of "German blood" could continue to enter Switzerland without a visa, the "Regulation on Jewish Passports"[380] was published in the Reichsgesetzblatt on 5 October 1938. From that point on, passports had to be stamped with a red "J". This meant that Jewish citizens were effectively denied entry to neutral Switzerland. In addition, many wealthy Jews lost access to their assets in Swiss banks. Around 50 years after the end of the Second World War, the proceedings concerning Jewish assets in Swiss banks were concluded with the payment of 1.25 billion US dollars to Holocaust survivors and their heirs. For assets without heirs, part of the compensation amount was used to set up funds to support Holocaust survivors and their descendants.

Compensation practices in Germany followed a similar pattern. Often, an agreement was reached on the smallest possible amount, with the remainder being collected by banks as extraordinary profits. Even though the Swiss banks paid 1.25 billion US dollars, they are likely to have made a considerable profit, as many potential claimants had not survived the Holocaust.

But more on that later.

26.10.1938 The Asch family wants to go to London

Erna Asch was the aunt of Dr Walter Lippmann and the wife of the wealthy Hamburg merchant Julius Asch. The restitution file, which I was able to inspect, shows that an entry permit for the Asch couple to leave for England, which was valid until September 1938, had expired. It had not been possible to obtain the necessary exit documents and difficulties had arisen with the customs investigation.

In their biography of Julius Asch,[381] Gisela and Günter Dulon write "don't conceal us":

> "On 26 October 1938, Julius Asch applied for permission to emigrate to London for himself and his wife. According to the information on the application form, he wants to "take his household effects with him and 10 RM for each of them" and "50 Reichsmark for both of them according to the special authorisation". The ship was scheduled to leave on 10 December 1938."

That was the plan! But things turned out differently. In these dark times, plans, hopes and dreams burst faster than soap bubbles. The ship left Hamburg harbour without them. But more on that later.

The events of recent years had led to a dramatic deterioration in the living conditions of the Jewish population in the German Reich.

Many Jews probably still hoped that despite the monstrosities and atrocities that the Nazis had inflicted on them in recent years, things could not get any worse. Or was the fear of leaving their homeland Germany, and with it their family and friends, greater? The costs of emigration for travelling, accommodation and living expenses were incalculable and in any case far too high for many. Learning a new language, a new culture and often a new profession seemed insurmountable obstacles.

Those who could afford it tried to emigrate to escape the growing threat. However, many countries had introduced restrictive immigration quotas and bureaucratic hurdles that made it difficult for Jewish refugees to find refuge. Despite all these difficulties, many took the risk in search of better opportunities and a new safer life. It took courage, determination and hope for a better future. Jewish newspapers constantly reported on the terrible, nerve-wracking difficulties faced by Jews wishing to emigrate, such as "Der Israelit" of 18 August 1938.[382]

Julius Asch could no longer bear the pressure and planned to emigrate to England. After losing his business, he endeavoured to obtain an entry permit to England. Thanks to special connections, he quickly obtained the permit. However, the period of validity was limited to three months and expired for the first time in September 1938. Due to difficulties with the customs investigation office, Julius Asch was unable to obtain the necessary exit papers before the permit expired.

He was arrested on 9 November 1938 during the Pogrom Night but was soon released. Further interrogations followed. During this time, he intensified his efforts to sell his remaining property. Despite repeated assurances, Julius Asch did not receive the clearance certificates from the foreign currency office required for emigration. Like many others at the time, he feared that he would no longer be able to leave Germany.[383]

28.10.1938 Polish Action

In the issue of the "Jüdisches Gemeindeblatt" of 29 April 1938,[384] Dr Lippmann reported on an amendment to the law by the Polish government, which mainly affected Polish Jews living abroad. The amendment provided for their citizenship to be revoked. After the so-called Anschluss of Austria,[385] the National Socialists called on the Polish government on 26 October 1938 to allow up to 50,000 stateless Jews to return to Poland. On 28 and 29 October 1938[386] there was a wave of arrests throughout Germany, the "Polenaktion".[387] Around 17,000 people with Polish-Jewish citizenship were arrested in their homes and initially interned in prisons and collection camps.

Among them was the later famous literary critic Marcel Reich-Ranicki,[388] who describes this experience in his impressive and readable biography "My Life". From Warsaw, he was able to follow the next disaster that befell the Jews in Germany[389] and Austria.[390]

In the context of National Socialist foreign policy, the Poland campaign can be seen as a test case. The lack of substantial resistance from abroad expanded the National Socialists' scope of action and encouraged them to take further persecution measures without having to reckon with serious consequences.

The experiences of the Second World War and the atrocities committed during the NS-era led to the formation of the United Nations (UN)[391] on 24 October 1945. The UN is intended to help promote international co-operation and prevent future conflicts and crimes against humanity. Much later, on 1 July 2002, the "Hague Tribunal",[392] i.e. the International Criminal Court (ICC)[393] was founded. The ICC is a permanent institution for the prosecution of the most serious crimes such as genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity.

09.11.1938 November- Pogroms

On the night of the Pogrom from 9 to 10 November 1938,[394] synagogues and other Jewish institutions were looted and set on fire throughout the German Reich and Austria. Due to the many broken glass windows, this night went down in history as "Kristallnacht".[395] This night marked the preliminary climax of the persecution of the Jews by the National Socialists. It was also the apocalyptic harbinger of what was to follow: the systematic extermination of the Jewish population.

Units of the Gestapo, the SA, the SS and the local police had been planning and preparing the "Aktion" for days. All the units involved knew exactly what to do: windows were smashed or smeared, department stores and shops looted, flats devastated. Jewish merchants and citizens were abused; many were dragged onto waiting lorries and arrested. Statista.com estimates that around 1,400 people were murdered ot took their own lives. One of the Hamburg synagogues destroyed was the Bornplatz Synagogue.[396] The burnt-out ruins[397] were demolished by the Hamburg National Socialists in 1939 at the expense of the Jewish community.

Almost 80 years later, in November 2020, the Bundestag's budget committee released 65 million euros for the reconstruction of the synagogue.[398] Unfortunately, the ground-breaking ceremony had not yet taken place December 2024. I very much hope to be able to visit the finished synagogue one day.

The pogrom night caught the unsuspecting Jewish population completely unprepared. Just one day earlier, on 8 November 1938, you could read an article in the "Jüdische Allgemeine" on the subject of "Can one learn English in the USA by oneself?"[399]

On the same day, the National Socialists imposed an immediate ban on all Jewish publications. This cut off the flow of information within the Jewish communities, information about new opportunities for emigration and, above all, news about new legal measures against the Jews. The Goethe University Frankfurt archive therefore does not contain Jewish newspapers from this date onwards.

The first newspaper to be archived at Goethe University after the pogroms was the "Jüdische Nachrichten" of 12 January 1939[400] from Bratislava in Slovakia. The newspaper reported on the fight against anti-Semitism in France and on "British Honduras to become a Jewish state", meaning today's

Belize.

In their blind hatred and prohibition frenzy, the Nazis had obviously not considered the consequences of banning all Jewish newspapers. They needed a medium to publish the ever-new anti-Semitic laws and decrees, therefore a Jewish newspaper, the "Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt",[401] was published under Nazi supervision from 23 November 1938. Volumes 1938-1943 of this newspaper can be seen in the Leo Baeck Institute's Internet Archive[402] and are very interesting reading to better understand and empathise with this period. Under the title "Emigration Endeavours" it reads:

> "Efforts to promote Jewish emigration from Germany are continuing intensively in many countries; the initiative is particularly strong in England, the United States and Palestine. A number of measures have already been adopted, mainly in preparation for the emigration of children and young people. It is to be hoped that further measures will take concrete shape in the near future and that, in particular, a considerable expansion of immigration opportunities to Palestine for Jews from Germany will be achieved in this context. In detail, the following reports are available:"

On the front page of the "Jüdische Nachrichtenblatt"[403] of 23 November 1938, the next event was already looming, as a further meeting of the Évian Conference[404] was scheduled for 26 November 1938. In a relief programme, 5,000 children under the age of 14 were to be placed in Palestine with families and in children's homes in the countryside. Some of these children would have found a new home in Meged with Clara Weimersheimer.

Jewish aid organisations abroad, but also Christian churches such as the Quakers in the USA, lobbied their governments for "certificates" that enabled the evacuation, i.e. the escape of Jewish children from Nazi Germany. Great Britain granted 900 children, and the Netherlands 1,500 children permission to enter or transit to a third country.

These rescue operations were of great importance because they brought many Jewish children to safety from persecution and extermination by the Nazis. The efforts of these organisations and governments were a ray of hope in the darkness of the Holocaust and helped to give at least some children a secure future.

Most states, including the USA, were not willing to issue the urgently needed certificates or increase the general immigration quotas. The tragedy of the Holocaust was made worse by the inadequate response of the international community to the plight of the persecuted Jews.

What sounded like a friendly "invitation" had a bitter aftertaste. This was because the host countries were interested in the children to place them with parents willing to adopt them. As the host countries were also struggling with high unemployment, they were not interested in the children's destitute parents who did not speak the language.

The tragedy unfolded in three acts. On the one hand, there were many bureaucratic hurdles, inhumane decisions and a lack of empathy on the part of the German authorities for the situation of the persecuted.

Next, parents had to make a decision to send their children, who were not even 14 years old, to a foreign place with unknown people for an indefinite period of time to keep them safe from the Nazis.

It doesn't take much empathy to imagine the deep emotional wounds this farewell left on children and parents. The third act only took place after the end of the war, when the hope of a reunion was destroyed by the news of the parents' death or the estrangement from the biological parents could no longer be healed.

In the same issue of the "Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt",[405] the possible advantages of settling the "Assyrians who had to leave Iraq" in the colony of British Guiana were also pointed out. "The Portsmouth Herald of 21 November 1938"[406] and Time Magazine[407] reported that the British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain[408] was prepared to donate 10,000 squares miles land (approx. 26,000 square kilometres = 150 x 70 km) of land in Tanganyika, now Tanzania. A year later, the Paris edition of the Jüdische Welt-Rundschau of 23 June 1939[409] was still repeatedly extolling the virtues of British Guiana. The plans for Jewish emigration to British Guiana ultimately failed, mainly due to the lack of support from the British government, the restrictive immigration laws and the logistical difficulties in Guiana.

Also in this issue,[410] the conditions in the "very remarkable" Belgian internment camp Merxplas[411] are described. The internees were given language courses and learnt trades to build a new existence in an uncertain future in an unknown place. There, for example, an art professor learnt to repair shoes. However, most of the internment camps were very different. They were more like prisons.

10.11.1938 Imprisonment in concentration camp Buchenwald

Dr Lippmann had completed his doctorate with a dissertation on criminal law and knew prisons from visiting clients. He would certainly never have thought it possible that he himself would be taken into "protective custody". But that is exactly what happened on 10 November 1938, the morning after the Pogrom Night.

The prisoner book of the Leipzig detention centre, which is held in the Saxon State Archives, shows that Dr Lippmann was imprisoned there from 10 to 11 November 1938. Along with him, eleven other lawyers were arrested by the Secret State Police. On 11 November 1938, they were taken to Buchenwald concentration camp,[412] 150 km away, and arbitrarily detained there for an indefinite period under the pretext of placed in so-called protective custody.[413]

In the Arolsen Archives[414] I found entries about Dr Lippmann in the Buchenwald concentration camp register.[415] Please click on the link to look at the cash book and become an eyewitness!

On 2 December 1938, 50 Reichsmark were taken from Dr Lippmann. However, on 22 December 1938, the day of his release, he was only refunded 38 Reichsmark.[416]

Did he have to pay for board and lodging?

The Arolsen Archives[417] in Bad Arolsen, Germany, is an international documentation centre that provides comprehensive information about the persecution and fate of millions of people during National Socialism and the Second World War.

Dr Lippmann later reported that there were repeated arrests and house searches by the Gestapo in the period that followed.[418] In total, he was arrested four or five times.[419]

During the November 1938 pogroms, 9,845 predominantly Jewish men were taken into so-called protective custody[420] in Buchenwald concentration camp alone. Among them were twelve lawyers[421] from Leipzig. Protective custody was another instrument used to isolate, intimidate and monitor potential opponents or to eliminate alleged "enemies of the state". Protective custody prisoners were often held without formal charges or trial and were subjected to brutality, abuse and arbitrariness. Like all Jewish prisoners, they were only released on condition of immediate "emigration".[422]

The photo of the morning roll call on 10 November 1938 in Buchenwald concentration camp shows 9,845 men who were taken into protective custody. One of them is Dr Walter Lippmann.

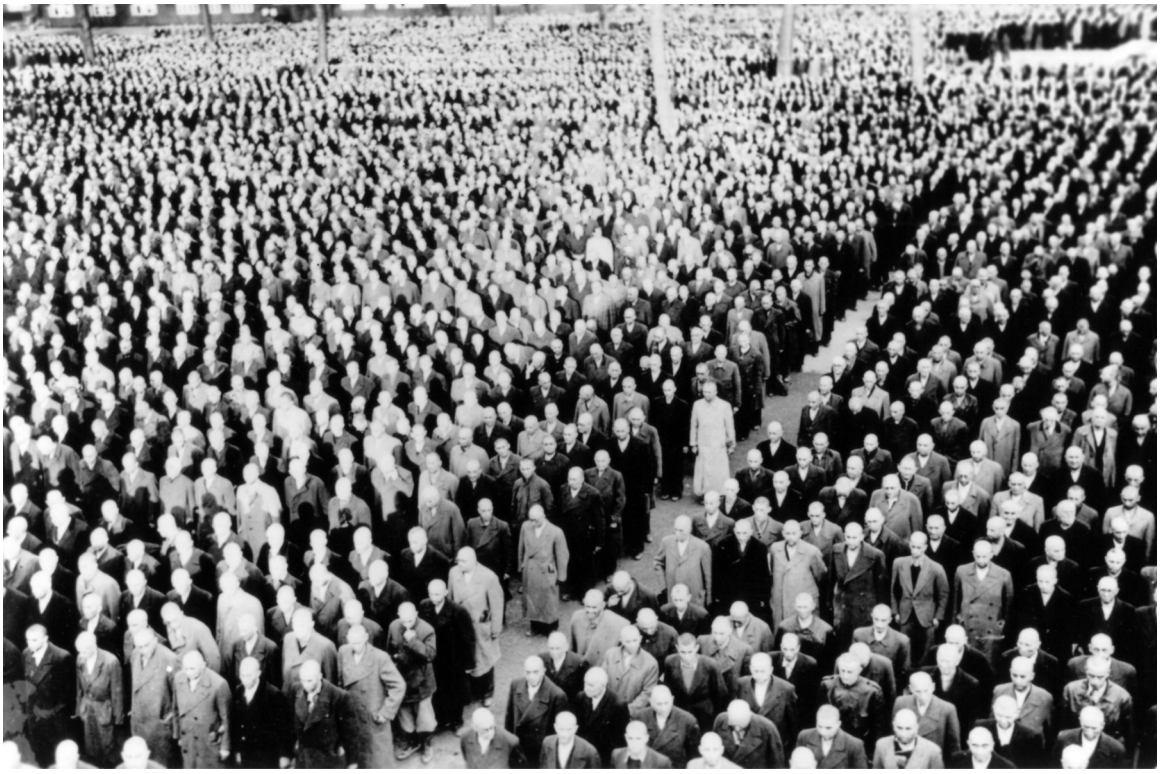


Figure 8 Roll call square after the progrom night of 9 Novermber 1938

When I saw this photo,[423] my world fell apart. When I realised the full implications of what the picture showed, I was so shaken up emotionally that I couldn't return to my desk for two days. I have been working on Dr Lippmann's, life story since 3 October 2023, and it still haunts me today. I have only a vague sense of what he and his family endured, and even this faint sense weighs heavily on me. The thought of the suffering of the other 9,844 men is overwhelming. I feel my compassion reaching its limits. That limit unsettles me deeply.

How many of them may still have been alive in 1945? How many of them were among the 6,000,000 Jews murdered?[424] Many were murdered in the camps or died of mistreatment and deprivation.

Every single one of them suffered - and with them their families and loved ones. Every single life counts and should be honoured and remembered. I tell the story of Dr Lippmann on behalf them all.

What are we to make of the small zoo,[425] which was in the immediate vicinity, separated from the crematorium only by a wire fence, for the amusement of the SS men stationed in the Buchwald

concentration camp and their families living there? In contrast to the ignored suffering of the prisoners, it is known that cruelty to animals was severely punished.

In July 2024, I was able to inspect Dr Lippmann's restitution file. So far, I had found no evidence that he had been subject to physical violence in KZ Buchenwald. At least in the applications and statements that I have been able to find so far, he has remained silent about this. I was therefore shocked to learn that Dr Erich Simon, retired District Court Judge, in Leipzig, Kurt Kresse Str. 8 stated in an affidavit on 18 March 1955 that several of Dr Lippmann's teeth were knocked out in Buchenwald concentration camp.[426]

His former secretary Hertha Engel also writes in her affidavit of 24 June 1955:

> "In November 1938, Dr Lippmann was arrested as part of the retaliation for the killing of Mr von Rath in Paris and, after a day in police prison, was taken to Buchenwald concentration camp. There, two of his front teeth were knocked out, as he reported after his return. In November 1939, Dr Lippmann was arrested again by the Gestapo because they objected to the absence of the additional name "Israel" in the signature of a petition which, however, contained the additional name in the letterhead. I repeatedly visited Dr Lippmann in prison, where he was held for six weeks."[427]

It can be assumed that the guards who knocked out two of Dr Lippmann's teeth were not punished.

After his release on 22 December 1938, Dr Lippmann must have intensified his search for a safe place of refuge. Neither the Netherlands nor France were permanent safe havens. After the invasion of these two countries by the German Wehrmacht in the spring of 1940, people had to continue to flee as far as they still had the strength and means to do so. To leave Germany, they often had to exchange what they owned for visas, boat or train tickets, or pay bribes. Some attempted to flee overseas, to South America, Shanghai or Japan.

12.11.1938 Atonement for the November Pogrom

Just three days after the Pogrom Night, i.e. on Saturday 12 November 1938, a series of decrees were issued which came into force with immediate effect. This suggests that the lawyers had been preparing these regulations for a long time.

On 7 November 1938 in Paris, the seventeen-year-old assassin Herschel Grynszpan[428] shot the German diplomat Ernst Eduard von Rath,[429] who died two days later. The assassination attempt was published in the German newspapers on 9 November 1938. This was one of the triggers for the anti-Semitic riots in the so-called "Reichskristallnacht", the Pogrom Night from 9 to 10 November 1938.

The motive for Herschel Grynszpan's act was presumably the desperate situation of his family, who had been expelled from Germany and were stuck in a Polish camp, while the Polish authorities refused them entry as they had been living in Germany for decades. The assassination served as a pretext for the National Socialists to collectively punish German Jews in the form of the November pogroms. The exact motivation behind Grynszpan's deed was complex and cannot be reduced to speculative aspects such as the homosexuality of the two men. The Nazis had no interest in a judicial investigation into the murder, as the assassination was so useful for their propaganda.

Nazi propaganda portrayed the murder Jewish hostility towards the German people and therefore demanded resolute defence and, as harsh atonement[430], a "Jewish property levy",[431] in the amount of one billion Reichsmark. The Jews were to pay 20% of their assets as a special tax in four instalments. With this 20% levy of 1 billion marks, the Nazis knew from whom they could collect a further 4 billion marks through expropriation.

All Jews whose assets totalled less than 5,000 marks were exempt from this special tax. In Hamburg, only 16% of the Jewish population,[432] i.e. only one in six Hamburg Jews, were obliged to pay this tax, proving that not all Jewish citizens were wealthy, as National Socialists liked to stereotype.

Today is 2 March 2024 and I have not yet been able to find out how much Dr Lippmann or Julius Asch paid. A few months later, I had the opportunity to inspect the files of the restitution proceedings and find out the details. But more on that later.

12.11.1938 Twisted Justice: Victims made to pay for the Pogrom Damages

On 12 November 1938, the "Regulation on the Restoration of the Street Image of Jewish Businesses"[433] was issued, which ordered Jewish tradesmen to immediately repair the damage caused during the November pogroms to their businesses and homes. In an act of perfidious reversal of blame, the injured parties had to bear the costs of the repairs themselves.

12.11.1938 Professional ban for lawyers and notaries

The "Regulation on the Elimination of Jews from German Economic Life"[434] revoked the professional licence of Jewish lawyers. The front-line combatant privilege of 1933 was cancelled.

In his mayor study "Zwischen den Stühlen - Juristen jüdischer Herkunft in Leipzig (1848 - 1953)", Dr Hubert Lang has established precise figures[435] and biographies of Jewish lawyers[436] and notaries in Leipzig. According to this, there were 59 Jewish lawyers and 31 Jewish notaries in Leipzig in 1933. After the National Socialists seized power, these lawyers were disbarred and could no longer practise their profession as part of the broader anti-Semitic policy in Germany in the 1930s.

As a front-line fighter in the First World War and recipient of the Iron Cross, Dr Lippmann and five other lawyers were granted the temporary privilege of working exclusively for Jewish clients in Leipzig as "consultants".[437]

The focus of their work as consultants was on advising Jews who wanted to emigrate or had already emigrated, for whom they negotiated with the financial and foreign exchange offices. The consultants generally earned significantly less than before.

As Dr Lippmann advised his uncle Julius Asch on business matters, it can be assumed that he also advised him when he wanted to emigrate to England.

12.11.1938 Elimination of Jews from Economic Life

The "Regulation on the Elimination of Jews from German Economic Life of 12 November 1938"[438]

had serious consequences. The aim of both decrees was to put Jewish citizens at an economic disadvantage and ultimately to drive them out of German economic life altogether. To achieve this, Jewish assets were forcibly expropriated. Company shares had to be transferred to "Aryan" owners, or the businesses had to be dissolved.

As a Jew, Julius Asch was no longer allowed to be the managing director and co-owner of his two companies. He had to sell his shares in both companies to the German co-owner. The proceeds from the sale of all assets such as companies, property, life insurance and securities were to be transferred to the state foreign exchange bank. As can be seen from the following correspondence, Julius Asch's account at the foreign exchange bank was frozen, meaning that he had to obtain official authorisation for all payments relating to his day-to-day living expenses.

Julius Asch suffered further strokes of ill fate. He was worried about his nephew Walter, who was imprisoned in Buchenwald concentration camp. The Hamburg Institute for the History of German Jews[439] has a list of the "Aryanised" companies as of 15 October 1938 from the Chief Finance President of the Foreign Exchange and Asset Realisation Office (see page 67). According to this, both companies "Chs. Lavy & Co." and "Laco Export Comp. Kelter & Asch" had their headquarters at Bleichenbrücke 25/29 in Hamburg 36. The office of the Chief Finance Director at Großer Burstah 31 was a good 200 metres from the offices of Chs. Lavy & Co. offices. Just around the corner, on Neuer Wall and Stadthausbrücke 3, were the Hamburg police headquarters and the Gestapo headquarters with the remand prison.

Today, the "Stadthaus" serves as a memorial, a place of remembrance and reminder. During the National Socialist era, people were interrogated, tortured and robbed of their dignity here. Their desperate cries echoed through the streets, while perpetrators, followers and informers went about their daily business in the immediate neighbourhood.

Julius Asch and Gerhard Martin Kelter had previously managed the companies successfully together. The Aryanisation consisted of the Jew Julius Asch having to give up his shares in the company in favour of the Aryan Gerhard Martin Kelter.

Aryanisation or expropriation was carried out according to the principle of "de-Jewification". It is doubtful that fair prices were paid for business shares or property when Jewish assets were expropriated and taken over during the National Socialist era.

I only discovered this file in the Hamburg State Archives[440] in April 2024. This file impressively demonstrates that the bureaucratic effort involved in the expropriation could only be managed with a very high level of human resources. Numerous clerks and typists were part of the system and, at best, were only employees who did not realise the full implications of their work or were unable to question the overall process.

Before computers and the internet, the administrative apparatus was huge, and the work was very laborious. Mechanical typewriters and manual bookkeeping characterised everyday office life. Copies were made by carbon copying, as photocopiers and scanners did not yet exist. Many of the clerks would later say that if they could remember at all, they were just following the law or instructions.

For Jewish citizens, writing petition letters to the tax office was a humiliating incapacitation. They had to obtain authorisation from the tax office to withdraw even the smallest amounts from their blocked accounts.

The bureaucracy of the time was not only an administrative hurdle, but also an instrument of oppression, discrimination and structural violence that systematically reproduced social inequalities.

25.11.1938 Exclusion and removal of Julius Asch

Julius Asch, Dr Lippmann's uncle, had to forfeit a temporary entry permit to England valid until September 1938 due to problems in obtaining the necessary exit papers and difficulties with the customs investigation. After his arrest during Pogrom Night, he was forced to sell his company. He was also only able to sell the house at Elbchaussee 30 and the Marienhöhe estate for less than they were worth. The proceeds had to be paid into a blocked account at the tax office. On 26 October 1938, Julius Asch again applied for emigration to London for himself and his wife.

The tickets for the Asch couple's ship passage to England were for 10 December 1938. Their exit visas were valid until 28 December 1938. He was under enormous time pressure and knew that this was his last chance of salvation. Despite repeated promises, Julius Asch did not receive the clearance certificates from the foreign currency office that were necessary for emigration. At this point, it was completely unlikely that he would receive new tickets or an extension of his visa.

When I began my research, I had not anticipated such a wealth of archival material. My astonishment was matched only by my ambition to find out as much as possible. By providing a detailed account of the ongoing discrimination through expropriation and disenfranchisement, I wanted to illustrate how mercilessly the wheels of bureaucracy crushed people.

I ask the reader for patience, for the pages that follow require attention and endurance. It may help to imagine how much patience a person in his position had to summon. Day after day, Julius Asch endured humiliations that left him no choice.

The fate of Julius Asch, Dr. Lippmann's uncle, exemplifies this structural violence. On the one hand, he searched feverishly for a way to escape; on the other, he was confronted with the cold, calculating Nazi terror that demanded, in the form of tax office accountants and civil servants, that he apply in writing for the release of his expenses, as he himself had no access to his assets, which were blocked in frozen accounts.

The authorities employed entirely "ordinary" bureaucrats. In her book "Eichmann in Jerusalem", Hannah Arendt coined the term "the banality of evil". She describes Adolf Eichmann, one of the main organisers of the Holocaust, as a frighteningly normal bureaucrat who committed his deeds not out of deep hatred, but out of obedience and a sense of duty to the Führer and the law. Evil, she says, is often not the work of fanatical ideologues, but the work of ordinary people who are simply doing their jobs and therefore do not even feel morally guilty.

On 20 April 2024, I was able to view three files from the Hamburg Chief Finance Officer (Foreign Exchange Office) from 1938 in the Hamburg State Archives. The extensive contents of these files cover the period from 11 July 1938 to 28 February 1939 and provide a deep insight into the difficult circumstances and time pressure Julius Asch had to contend with, as well as the ruthless bureaucracy that Jewish citizens faced.

By paraphrasing the contents of the files in detail below, I would like to show how challenging and stressful everyday life was for Julius Asch during this period.

This file also has the peculiarity that its contents are not organised chronologically or otherwise logically. I have reconstructed the correspondence between Julius Asch and the Chief Finance President of the Foreign Exchange Office in chronological order. The contents of the file cover the period from 11 July 1938 to 28 February 1939 and provide a deep insight into the merciless bureaucracy to which Jewish citizens were subjected and into Julius Asch's drastically changing financial circumstances.

By paraphrasing the contents of the file, I would like to show how challenging and stressful everyday life was for Julius Asch during this time.

The last digits of the archive number make it possible to understand the confusion in the files. I would like to know why many of these old files are so unsorted, even though they were processed after the war. In order to "organise" the files for myself - you're not allowed to change the order in the archived file itself, of course - I created another Excel spreadsheet.

314-15_R1938_0956 Volume 1_0022
Apparently, a security order for the bank accounts had already been issued on 11 July 1938. From this date, Julius Asch had to apply to the President of the Oberfinanzdirektion (foreign exchange office) for the release of any payment from his own blocked accounts. On 22 August 1938, Mr Asch filed an application for the release of notarial costs amounting to 3,574.63 Reichsmark, which he had incurred in connection with the closure of his business.

314-15_R1938_0956 Volume 1_0084 to 314-15_R1938_0956 Volume 1_0094
On 23 August 1938, Erna Asch drew up a list of her securities with a total value of 81,893.15 Reichsmark. Her husband Julius had 164,357.05 Reichsmark at his disposal. Other assets and receivables totalled 865,343 Reichsmark. The real estate included the residential building at Elbchaussee 30 (70,000 Reichsmark) and the Marienhöhe estate in Blankenese/Sülldorf (30,100 Reichsmark). Julius Asch noted that he wanted to give away some of the property to relatives before emigrating.

> "Annex 4 of the statement of assets lists "other assets" as receivables from a revaluation mortgage from the estate of Gustav Blass:
>
> Debtor Angela Durska, Rawitsch in Poland, approx. 192 Reichsmark.
> Claim to ¼ share of the revaluation mortgage from the estate of Ludwig Asch:
>
> Debtor Chojnacki, Krotoschin in Poland, approx. 534 Reichsmark. The money is to be transferred to the lawyer Dr Paul Mendel, Alstertor 21, after foreign exchange authorisation has been obtained.

Annex lists usufructuary rights from donations made in May 1933:

> Niece Mrs Eva Zimmermann, Wagnerstrasse 5, Göttingen. The annual income of RM 1,397.42 has a capital value of 13,974 Reichsmark.
>
> Nephew Dr Walter Lippmann, Petersstrasse 15, Leipzig

Niece Miss Gertrud Rosenberg, Rothenbaumchaussee 233, Hamburg

Julius Asch would like to waive the usufructuary rights 2+3 with the authorisation of the office."

Annex 6 lists a receivable from the French company Camie & Cie S.A. Paris in the amount of 1,734 Reichsmark.

Appendix 7- lists the lifelong pensions that Julius Asch assumed:

Mrs Meta Asch, born 17 February 1868, Wittekindstrasse 44, Berlin-Tempelhof. The capital value is 25,200 Reichsmark.

Dr "Max" Michaelis Lippmann, born 19 June 1860, Tauchaerstrasse 10, Leipzig. The capital value is 18,000 Reichsmark.

Miss Gertrud Rosenberg, born 2 February 1897, Rothenbaumchaussee 233, Hamburg. The capital value is 36,000 Reichsmark.

Exhibit 8 includes 175 shares in the railway companies Canadian Pacific Railway and 75 shares in Chesapeake & Ohio.

It was still the heyday of railway construction in America. The expansion of the railway promised good profits. The shares were held in New York by J. Henry Schroder Banking Corp. in the name of Wilhelm Ree Jr. from the Hamburg banking house of the same name. The Chief Financial Authority had ordered that these assets also be sold, and the proceeds paid into Julius Asch's blocked account for "later transfer".

314-15_R1938_0956 Volume 1_0020 and _0021
In the extensive list of assets dated 31 August 1938, the single-family house at Elbchaussee 30 and the agricultural properties in Dockenhuden and Sülldorf, i.e. the Marienhöhe estate, are listed as the largest items. Julius Asch had an undated loan claim against Dr Walter Lippmann in the amount of 15,516 Reichsmark.

It is known from other documents that Dr Lippmann used the loan in 1934 to buy the plantation in Palestine.

Mr Asch had a 750 Reichsmark stake in the company Camin & Cie at 6 Rue de Honore in Paris (today Prada has a chic boutique at this address). The payment of annuities to Käte Figulla in London and other people was one of his constant financial burdens.

314-15_R1938_0956 Volume 1_0004
On 5 September 1938, Julius Asch asked the Hamburg Chief Finance Directorate to allow him to transfer his own money in the amount of 17,000 Reichsmark to his blocked account as additional security for the Reich Flight Tax.

Despite the introduction of the compulsory name on 1 September 1938, Julius Asch did not sign his name as Julius "Israel" Asch until the end of this correspondence. This was risky behaviour, as it violated Nazi laws.

314-15_R1938_0956 Volume 1_0024
On 23 September 1938, Julius Asch applied for the payment of 3,215 Reichsmark to the settlement office of the High German Jewish Community in Altona and 1,749 Reichsmark to the Hamburg Jewish Religious Association. These were back payments and advance payments for the years 1937 and 1938.

314-15_R1938_0956 Volume 1_0005
On 30 September 1938, the banker Wilhelm Ree Jr., Adolphsbrücke 10 in Hamburg, applied to the Oberfinanzdirektion for the transfer of the securities accounts to Deutsche Bank because of the security order against Mr and Mrs Asch.

314-15_R1938_0956 Volume 1_0038
An internal letter from the authorities dated 5 October 1938 on the "monitoring of Jewish assets" notes the intention, but no purchase price, of Gerhard Martin Kelter and co-owner Julius Asch to sell the properties at Große Bleichen 79 and Bleichenbrücke 25 in Hamburg's city centre (!).

Gerhard Martin Kelter is considered an Aryan and lives at Heilwigstrasse 110 in Hamburg.

314-15_R1938_0956 Volume 1_0026
On 10 October 1938, Deutsche Bank submitted a report on the account movements. According to this, Dr Lippmann had received 565.53 Reichsmark. The frozen account had received a payment from W. Ree Jr. from Hamburg of 42,164.50 Reichsmark.

The ship that was supposed to take Julius and Erna Asch to England set sail on 12 October 1938 without them. The chances of a new passage were slim and the prospects of obtaining all the papers by the time the visas expired on 28 December 1938 were bleak.

314-15_R1938_0956 Volume 1_0017
On 17 October 1938, Julius Asch received a "provisional clearance certificate for emigrants", which could be revoked at any time and was only valid until 10 December 1938.

The relentless bureaucracy once again increased the time pressure on Erna and Julius Asch to leave the country. But they had not yet collected all the necessary papers. Julius Asche submitted applications for payment of his daily expenses on a weekly basis. It seems that these were granted in most cases.

314-15_R1938_0956 Volume 1_0018 and _0019
On 20 October 1938, Julius Asch stated in the emigration questionnaire that his annual income in 1937 had been 150,444 Reichsmark. He and his wife "wanted" to export only 120 Reichsmark ready cash - knowing more than suspecting that they would not be granted any more and that they would lose the balance in the blocked account when they left the country.

314-15_R1938_0956 Volume 1_0027
The Deutsche Bank account statement dated 20 October 1938 shows a further receipt of money from Wilhelm Ree Jr in the amount of 6,870.65 Reichsmark.

314-15_R1938_0956 Volume 1_0006
In a letter dated 21 October 1938, Julius Asch applied to the Hamburg Chief Finance Directorate for the payment of various amounts relating to two wills of 4,347.40 Reichsmark:

"Will of Wolf and Seraphine Asch, mortgages RM 2,211.00
Will of Ludwig Asch, mortgages RM 2,136.40

The inheritance was divided as follows:

1,271.10 RM paid to Dr Walter Lippmann
1,271.10 RM paid to Eva Zimmermann, née Rosenberg. Eva Zimmermann, Wagnerstrasse 6 in Göttingen was the heiress of her deceased sister
Gertrud Rosenberg, Hamburg
1,271.10 RM paid to Käte Figulla, née Asch, London
534.10 RM paid to Julius Asch"

Today is 20 April 2024 and I feel like an accountant who is bored with recording the details. A little tired, I look at the 100 pages that still lie ahead of me. But suddenly I'm wide awake, because the next letter tells me something completely unexpected. I've been researching on the Internet and in archived files for six months, so I think I already know a lot. And then suddenly an illegitimate son, Wolfgang Julius Paul Brendler turns up!

314-15_R1938_0956 Volume 1_0008
On 25 October 1938, Julius Asch applied for permission to donate an amount of 27,000 Reichsmark to his biological son Wolfgang Julius Paul Brendler, Admiralitätsstrasse 31 in Hamburg.

He intends to finance the gift with the help of the outstanding claim that Julius Asch has against his former company Chs. Lavy & Co.

314-15_R1938_0956 Volume 1_0028
On 25 October 1938, Julius Asch informed the Chief Finance Office that he had been paying his nephew Dr Walter Lippmann, the son of his sister Ernestine, an average monthly support of 400 Reichsmark since 1937. He applied for permission to transfer an amount of 4,900 Reichsmark for his nephew's family for the whole of 1939, as Dr Walter Lippmann was no longer allowed to work as a lawyer from 30 November 1938.

314-15_R1938_0956 Volume 1_0030
Also on 25 October 1938, Julius Asch applied to the Chief Finance President for permission to transfer 3,600 Reichsmark each to his brother-in-law, medical officer Dr Michaelis Lippmann, known as Max Lippmann, Tauchaerstrasse 10 in Leipzig, and his sister-in-law Meta Asch, Berlin-Tempelhof, Wittekindstrasse 44, for 1939, as he intended to emigrate to England in the near future. On the basis of notarised contracts, he was obliged to pay 3,600 Reichsmark to each of them annually.

314-15_R1938_0956 Volume 1_0032
On 25 October 1938, Erna Asch also applied for the payment maintenance for 1939 for her 75- year-old mother Louise Basse, Marienhöhe 30 in Hamburg-Blankenese, in the amount of 4,200 Reichsmark.

Many of the files are in such a mess that you could almost suspect a system behind it - but not a sense of order on the part of the authorities. I couldn't find out why this document was in the file some 60 pages later.

314-15_R1938_0956 Volume 1_0098 and 314-15_R1938_0956 Volume 1_0099
On 25 October 1938, Julius Asch informed the tax office of an increase in assets. Due to the death of

his niece Gertrud Rosenberg, Rothenbaumchaussee 233, born on 2 February 1897, deceased on 14 September 1938, his earlier gift from 1933 reverted to him as an inheritance.

The gift consisted of 1,254 Reichsmark bonds issued by Keren Kayemet LeIsrael, Jerusalem, and a property bond issued by Hanotaiah Ltd in Tel Aviv.

In 1933, Dr Walter Lippmann also received a gift from Julius Asch. In 1934, using this money together with his own funds and with the approval of the Foreign Exchange Office, he purchased a plot of land in Palestine. On 5 September 1938, Julius Asch applied to the tax office for permission to waive the usufruct of Meged.

314-15_R1938_0956 Volume 1_0014 and 314-15_R1938_0956 Volume 1_0097
One day later, on 26 October 1938, Julius Asch wrote again to the Chief Finance President. In addition to the list of assets dated 31 August 1938, he asked for permission to take a "small car", household effects and personal belongings with him as part of his "Emigration". Attached to the letter were the changes to the bank accounts listed since 31 August 1938. The total value of the assets was 851,067 Reichsmark, excluding the value of the two properties and other receivables and liabilities.

We recall that on 26 October 1938, Julius Asch applied for permission for himself and his wife to emigrate to London. The ship was scheduled to depart on 10 December 1938. In view of their considerable wealth, one can imagine the despair and powerlessness they must have felt when they received a special permit allowing them to take only 50 Reichsmarks with them.

314-15_R1938_0956 Volume 1_0035
The Deutsche Bank account statement dated 31 October 1938 shows donations of 100 Reichsmark each to the "Hilfsverein der Juden" in Deutschland and the Jewish National Fund Keren Kayemet LeIsrael, as well as 500 Reichsmark to the "Jüdische Winterhilfe", in addition to current expenses for the AOK health insurance and the Elektrizitätswerk Unterelbe. At the same time, the account was credited with interest on the "Lange Geld" totalling 552.08 Reichsmark and an amount of 1,371 Reichsmark from Wilhelm Ree Jr.

314-15_R1938_0956 Volume 1_0016
On 1 November 1938, the Chief Finance President issued another security order for Julius Asch, as he wanted to emigrate to London, England, and they wanted to prevent a flight of capital.

314-15_R1938_0956 Volume 1_0011 and 314-15_R1938_0956 Volume 1_0010
On 3 November 1938, the notary Hans Willhöft concluded the purchase agreement between Julius Asch and his neighbour, the shipowner and state councillor John Leonard Theodor Essberger,[441] Elbchaussee 34 in Hamburg. The seller was represented by the estate agent J. H. Wrage from Blankenese, the buyer by Nic. von der Meden & Co. from Hamburg. The large country house property at Elbchaussee 30 is in the land register of Dockenhuden with a total size of 16,476 square metres. The contractually agreed purchase price was 105,000 Reichsmark. This corresponds to a purchasing power of around EUR 525,000 in 2023.

It was agreed that the house and the land be vacated on 1 January 1939. However, the seller was to have the option of remaining until 31 March 1939 in return for a reduction in the purchase price to 103,750 Reichsmark. The purchase price was of course to be transferred directly via the Hamburg tax office to the blocked account, so that Julius Asch had no access to it.

The documents with the numbers 314-15_R1938_0956 Volume 1_0041 to 314- 15_R1938_0956 Volume 1_ contain the notarised purchase agreement dated 4 November 1938. Interestingly, a unit value of 70,000 Reichsmark is stated for the property. A standard assessed value of 70,000 Reichsmarks is given here for the property, a figure that would later play an important role in the restitution proceedings.

314-15_R1938_0956 Volume 1_0034
In a letter dated 3 November 1938, Julius Asch asked the Chief Finance President to approve the sale of the property at Elbchaussee 30 on the condition that payment of the purchase price would be made to his blocked account at Deutsche Bank.

314-15_R1938_0956 Volume 1_0036
On 10 November 1938, the notary Paul Mendel, Alstertor 21 in Hamburg, issued an invoice for fees and expenses for 900 Reichsmark for work carried out in September and October 1938. The invoice includes the following points, among others: Waiver of usufruct due to donations to Dr Lippmann and Gertrud Rosenberg, as well as pension redemptions for Gertrud Rosenberg and the natural son Wolfgang Julius Paul Brendler.

314-15_R1938_0956 Volume 1_0059
The Deutsche Bank account statement dated 11 November 1938 shows, among other entries, the payment of 52,500 Reichsmark by John T. Essberger.

314-15_R1938_0956 Volume 1_0037
In an application dated 15 November 1938, Julius Asch requested that his housekeeper Miss Charlotte Rahter, 73 years old, be allowed to receive a severance payment of 2,500 Reichsmark for her 24 years of service. The domestic servant Johanna Sellhorn was to receive a severance payment of 500 Reichsmark and the long-serving chauffeur Karl Geest a severance payment of 1,500 Reichsmark.

314-15_R1938_0956 Volume 1_0046 to 314-15_R1938_0956 Volume 1_0058
On 18 November 1938, a notarised purchase agreement was signed between Mr Julius Asch and Mr Gustav Oskar Scipio, merchant and landowner, resident in Bremen at Osterdeich 54. Mr Scipio was represented by the auditor Tidemann Ulrich Lemberg, of Hamburg Trostbrücke 4.

A further 10,000 Reichsmark was to be paid for the living and dead inventory. Section 5 of the purchase contract stipulated that the family vault and the grave monuments were to be dismantled and re-erected at the Ohlsdorf cemetery. The buyer had to bear the costs up to an amount of 12,000 Reichsmark. The caretaker, the gardener, the coachman and the chauffeur Karl Geest lived on the property.

The buyer had to take on the aforementioned persons as employees and to continue to provide them with living space. A unit value of 124,600 Reichsmark was determined in a decision dated 14 November 1938 under § 9.

314-15_R1938_0956 Volume 1_0040
The account statement dated 22 November 1938 shows only two cash withdrawals, each in the amount of 1,000 Reichsmark, which transacted on 11 and 15 November 1938.

314-15_R1938_0956 Volume 1_0039
In a letter dated 24 November 1938, Julius Asch was granted permission to sell the property in Blankenese.

On 25 November, Julius Asch responded in detail to suspicions from the customs investigation office regarding his work in London and concluded with the words: "If there were any doubts on the part of the authorities, I would immediately pursue my emigration to Palestine. I can only emigrate to London if I find a job as an employee of Lavy London." He received the reply that he must inform all foreign creditors that he had assigned his claims against the German Reich. He received a verbal promise that he would be allowed to transfer money to his domestic staff and the chauffeur.[442]

I would like to point out that the reverse sides of the applications submitted by Julius Asch to date generally bear official approval stamps. The Higher Finance Authority did everything in its power to gain full control over the assets of Jewish citizens. Nevertheless, as we have seen, Julius Asch managed to transfer a small portion of his assets to relatives, employees and the Jewish community.

314-15_R1938_0956 Volume 1_0063
On 29 November 1938, Julius Asch applied to his supervisory authority for payment of an invoice from the lawyer Dr K. Spiegelberg, Chilehaus Aufgang B IV. OG in the amount of 2,000 Reichsmark. This was to pay for the lawyer's work in connection with Julius Asch's departure from Chs. Lavy & Co. and his emigration to England.

314-15_R1938_0956 Volume 1_0015
On 1 December 1938, Deutsche Bank informed the Chief Finance President that a total of 2,000 Reichsmark had been withdrawn in cash on 25 November 1938 and 30 November 1938. At the same time, interest amounting to 552 Reichsmark was credited to the "long-term funds".

314-15_R1938_0956 Volume 1_0068
On 5 December 1938, the notary Paul Mendel, Alstertor 21 in Hamburg, issued an invoice for fees and expenses of 900 Reichsmark for his work in November 1938.

314-15_R1938_0956 Volume 1_0065 and 314-15_R1938_0956 Volume 1_0067
In a letter dated 6 December 1938, Julius Asch asks the Jewish consultant Dr James G. Kauffmann, Alter Wall 32 in Hamburg, to transfer the costs for the removal goods amounting to 3,542 Reichsmark, which the consultant had disbursed.

314-15_R1938_0956 Volume 1_0069
On 7 December 193, the lawyers Dr Rudolf Dehn and Dr Labowsky, Neuer Wall 72-I. (Paulsenhaus), submitted an invoice in the amount of 4,500 Reichsmark. This included the expenses and legal services in connection with the emigration, the transfer and registration of assets, etc. in the Kelter case.

314-15_R1938_0956 Volume 1_0066
On 10 December 1938, the ship to England departed. The Asch couple were not on board. At that time, it was almost impossible to obtain new exit papers or secure another passage. Among the transactions recorded on 12 December 1938, a cash withdrawal of 1,500 Reichsmarks stands out.

The Chief Finance Directorate had blocked the bank account of Julius Asch and larger transfers were subject to authorisation. However, Julius Asch was allowed to withdraw a limited amount of cash for his personal needs from his blocked account. According to the available documents, he was paid at least 5,500 Reichsmark within four weeks. RM 5,500 in four weeks is a very large amount when compared with the annual pension of RM 3,600 that Julius Asch paid his brother-in-law Dr Michaelis Lippmann.

It can only be assumed that he tried to withdraw as much cash as possible from his account in order to have the necessary funds for his hoped-for departure. Whether he was still able to leave the country, however, was written in the stars.

314-15_R1938_0956 Volume 1_0070 to 314-15_R1938_0956 Volume 1_0072
On 14 December 1938, the tax office requested Julius Asch to settle a claim from the profit settlement with his former company Chs. Lavy & Co. in the amount of 10,459.74 Reichsmark. He had a profit from the sale of his shareholding in Camie & Cie. Paris to Erich Kelter and Hans Weger on 7 December 1938 for 2,361.60 Reichsmark.

314-15_R1938_0956 Volume 1_0081 to 314-15_R1938_0956 Volume 1_0083
On 22 December 1938, his former company Chs. Lavy & Co. demanded payment of an invoice for disbursed costs totalling 467.90 Reichsmark.

314-15_R1938_0956 Volume 1_0073
On Wednesday, 28 December 1938, Julius Asch writes to the tax authorities "that I will provide the Hamburg Jewish Religious Association with 60,000 Reichsmark as a special income tax levy for 1938 and for Reich flight tax in accordance with the requirement."

Julius Asch's name is printed on the letterhead. He still signs his name without the suffix "Israel". On the letter he states under his name: Identification card J No. A 00091 Hamburg.

314-15_R1938_0956 Volume 1_0076
On 29 December 1938, Dr Paul Mendel invoiced 450 Reichsmark for legal advice in December 1938.

314-15_R1938_0956 Volume 1_0077
On the last working day of the year, Saturday 31 December 1938, Consultant Kauffmann, Alter Wall 32, issued an invoice for 1,500 Reichsmark for his efforts in emigration matters for the month of December 1938. He had added the name Israel to the name Dr James G. Kauffmann printed on the letterhead using a typewriter. Unlike Julius Asch, he had bowed to the name requirement.

On 3 January 1939, Erna Asch reported her husband missing to the police station of Hamburg-Blankenese. There is no record of this in files of the Finance Authority.[443]

314-15_R1938_0956 Volume 1_0074 and 314-15_R1938_0956 Volume 1_0075
On Friday, 06 January 1939, the company Chs. Lavy & Co. invoiced the driver Karl Geest's pro rata wages for the period from 3 December to 31 December 1938 in the amount of 226.64 Reichsmark.

Apparently Chs. Lavy & Co. already knew that Julius Asch was missing and addressed the invoice to Mrs Erna Asch with little reverence.

314-15_R1938_0956 Volume 1_0078
On 10 January 1939, an invoice for 2,000 Reichsmark for the purchase contract with Gustav Oskar Scipio was issued to Julius Asch by Dr Fritz Seydel, Hans Willhöft and Dr Junge at Blankeneser Bahnhofstrasse 33. Interestingly, there is no reference to the death of Julius Asch in this file. His body was found on the icy banks of the Elbe and identified by his wife Erna Asch on 13 January 1939.

Interestingly, this file contains no reference to the death of Julius Asch – despite the fact that a taxpayer had died. His body was found on the frozen bank of the Elbe and was identified by his wife, Erna Asch, on 13 January 1939. I will address the circumstances of his death in a later chapter. At this point, I continue to follow the chronological sequence of events and the order in which they appear in the files.

314-15_R1938_0956 Volume 1_0079 and 314-15_R1938_0956 Volume 1_0080
On 28 February 1939, lawyer Dr Paul Mendel acting for Erna Asch, the heiress of her husband Julius, informs the Chief Finance President of the intention to take over the previous mortgage creditors of the following mortgages and to transfer the total of 23,000 Reichsmark to the previous holder of the mortgages, Dr Edgar Windmöller. The authorities were asked for authorisation:

> Menche & Co., property Danielstrasse 113 in the amount of RM 5,000
> C.M.F. Forth, property Ritterstrasse 165 in the amount RM 6,000 Mrs Lütkemeyer, Wwe, property Alsterdamm 38 b in the amount of RM 12,000

03.12.1938 Legislation on the use of Jewish assets

When I started my research, I hadn't expected to find so much archive material. My astonishment was as great as my ambition to find out as much as possible. I wanted to explore what I could find out with simple means such as a laptop and an internet connection. Initially, I planned to document the individual finds as they appeared. I wanted to illustrate how mercilessly the mills of bureaucracy crushed people by providing a detailed account of the ongoing discrimination caused by dispossession and disenfranchisement.

I therefore decided to organise all the information chronologically, which occasionally presented new challenges. For example, what if events happen at the same time? In such cases, I had to work with flashbacks, just like in a film.

I'm now going back a month in time:

The Regulation on the Use of Jewish Property[444] of 3 December 1938 was more than just regulation for the "elimination of Jews from economic life".

It also required Jews to sell their property and restricted them in the disposal of their assets. In addition, Jews had to hand in all gold and silver items to state purchasing offices by 31 March 1939. I found this note in the restitution file:

> "When the authorities demanded gold and silver items from all Jews, probably in 1939, Dr Lippmann handed over numerous old heirlooms (jewellery, two heavy gold men's watches, large silver candelabra, cutlery, etc.) as well as his new silver cutlery. He estimated their value at least 2,000 Reichsmark. He was paid around 350 Reichsmark as the value of the materials (into his frozen bank account, which was later confiscated)."[445]

On 6 December 1938, the Chief Finance President issued a security order to prevent capital flight. According to this order, owners of life insurance policies, accounts and safe deposit boxes were only allowed to dispose of their assets with official authorisation.[446]

10.12.1938 Consultant

A personnel file[447] is kept in the Federal Archives in the BArch R 3001 fonds, which shows that Dr Lippmann was sworn in on 10 December 1920. An imprinted stamp notes that on 17 October 1938 "Admission was withdrawn at the end of 30 November 1938 due to the 5th V.O. of the Reich Citizenship Act".

On 30 November 1938, all Jewish lawyers and notaries were banned from practising their profession when the 5th Amendment to the Reich Citizenship Act of 27 September 1938[448] came into force. The professional ban meant that Jewish lawyers were no longer able to earn a living. The "Regulation on the Elimination of Jews from German Economic Life" of 12 November 1938[449] also meant that they were no longer able to pursue any other profession.

An official "security order" ruled that Jews who had become unemployed could no longer freely dispose of their financial resources. Even everyday expenses had to be authorised by the authorities, which also made it considerably more difficult or even impossible to finance emigration.

On the one hand, the National Socialists called on the Jews to leave the country, but on the other they deprived them of the financial means to do so. The desperation of those affected by this contradictory situation was undeniably enormous. The crucial question was not whether they wanted to leave Germany, but how they could do so without money or visas.

At the beginning of 1933, 19,208 lawyers[450] were living throughout the German Reich, of whom around 5,000 were considered "non-Aryan" after the assumption of power and subjected to attacks, segregation measures, professional bans and persecution. Of these, 60 lawyers and 31 notaries of Jewish origin working in Leipzig were disbarred and banned from practising their profession.

At the end of 1938, six selected Jewish consultants took the place of the lawyers who had been disbarred in November 1938. As consultants, they negotiated with the financial and foreign exchange offices on behalf of their Jewish clients who wanted to emigrate or had already emigrated. Presumably due to his services in the First World War and his award of the Iron Cross, Dr Lippmann was granted a licence as a consultant – a front-line combatant privilege.

When Dr Lippmann returned home on 22 December 1938 after six weeks of "protective custody" in Buchenwald concentration camp, he was no longer allowed to work as a lawyer. In his mail he found a letter from District Court President Dr Lorenz[451] dated 10 December 1938, in which he informed Dr Lippmann that he was allowed to work as a Jewish consultant in Leipzig for the period from 1 December 1938 to 31 December 1938 - upon payment of a fee of 5 RM.

The letter was addressed to Dr Lippmann's address at Petersstrasse 15 in Leipzig C1. His work as a consultant apparently ended on 31 December 1938 before he could take it up.

30 years later, Dr Lippmann wrote to the Berlin Compensation Office on 19 December 1968:

> "Since, if I'm not mistaken, there were only five consultants in Leipzig, I immediately had a considerable influx of Jewish clients. After my status as a consultant was revoked

> because of my membership of the Jewish lodge, I still had some income from outstanding accounts. In addition, there was interest from my assets, which were invested in securities and deposited with Deutsche Bank. It is therefore by no means inconceivable that I paid income tax for the years 1938 and 1939 and perhaps even to a lesser extent for the year 1940."[452]

The consultants had to work for a small fee and pay part of it to a compensation centre.[453] Retired and unemployed lawyers could apply for financial support there. It can be assumed that the consultants before court were barely taken seriously and were discriminated against, which led to frustrating results for both their clients and them.

In an internal letter dated 18 January 1939, which is held in the Hamburg State Archive[454], the Reich Minister of Justice extended the licences of five Leipzig consultants. Dr Lippmann's licence was not extended without any reasons being given. What led to this cannot be explained from the files found. Perhaps the answer lies in the interrogations at Buchenwald concentration camp. The letter was signed by Dr Max Nadler,[455] the head of the Personnel and Court Organisation Department. He was one of the lawyers who were informed about the "extermination of life unworthy of life" on 23 and 24 April 1941 at one of the highest legal conferences of the German Reich, the Schlegelberger Conference.[456]

I will come back to Franz Schlegelberger,[457] the host of the conference, later.

On 6 December 1938, the police imposed a "Jewish ban"[458] on certain streets and squares as well as all theatres, cinemas, sports facilities and swimming pools. Jews were only allowed to move within the banned area with a permit.[459] The occupational ban deprived them of their economic freedom, while the police "ban on Jews" severely restricted the freedom of movement of all Jews.

At the Jewish cemetery in Leipzig, where Dr Lippmann's parents found their final resting place, I found a marble slab with the inscription:

> "During the National Socialist era, Jewish children were forbidden to play in public green spaces. This was the only place in Leipzig where they were allowed to play outdoors.

On a sunny day, I visited the graves of Dr Lippmann's parents and was shaken by the thought that this had been the only place where Dr Walter Lippmanns twelve-year-old son Bernhard was allowed to play in the fresh air.

In addition to financial problems, other obstacles to emigration were age, family and the prospect of having to work in an unqualified profession abroad. Like Dr Lippmann, many Jews were closely connected to their German homeland, culture and legal system. Although Dr Lippmann was very talented in languages, he would not have been able to work as a lawyer in a different legal system.

No one could expect a "welcoming culture" in the country of their refuge, as we experienced in Germany in the 2020s. Against all odds, the majority of the Jewish population hoped that this nightmare would soon come to an end and would not grow even worse.

13.12.1938 Death of the father Michaelis Lippmann

Tragically, his father Dr Michaelis Lippmann died at the age of 78 on 13 December 1938, nine days before Dr Walter Lippmann was released from Buchenwald concentration camp on 22 December 1938. Dr Lippmann was only able to fulfil his religious duties to his father after a painful delay.

These included saying the Kaddish,[460] the Shiva,[461] the seven-day wake, and the Schloschim,[462] the subsequent thirty-day period of mourning.



Figure 9 Visited the Old Jewish Cemetery in Leipzig on 26 April 2024

The grave of the parents of Dr Walter Lippmann, Dr Michaelis Lippmann (19.06.1860 bis 13.12.1938) and Ernestine, née Asch (26.03.1870 bis 30.03.1922) is located in the Old Jewish Cemetery in Leipzig.[463] Thanks to his father's inheritance, Dr Walter Lippmann was able to improve his precarious financial situation.

> "Walter Lippmann was the sole heir. The estate totalled around 50,000 Reichsmark, of which a legacy of 3,000 Reichsmark was deducted. The Jewish tax on his father's assets totalled about 13,000 Reichsmark, while Walter had to pay about 2,000 Reichsmark Jewish tax on his own assets before the inheritance."[464]

I am no longer surprised that this file is not organised chronologically either. I have the impression that someone threw the 300 or so pages into the air once and then simply filed them as the pages fell. Isn't that strange for an administrative file?

Further back in the file, there is a letter from the Leipzig lawyer and notary Kutschbach dated 21 December 1955 as proof of the paternal inheritance and the associated taxes. In this letter, the inheritance was estimated at 90,000 Reichsmark, from which, however, Jewish property tax and taxes were still to be paid. According to the decision of 23 February 1940, only 34,936.18 Reichsmark remained. Lawyer Kutschbach expressed the hope that Dr Lippmann would one day visit him in his

old homeland - Leipzig was now in another country, the GDR - and that they could then meet again.[465]

Since the end of his work as a consultant, i.e. from 1939, Dr Lippmann no longer had any income from professional activities. Apart from the regular income from the small amount of interest on his securities and the contributions from his uncle Julius Asch, he had no income.

The next stroke of fate hit the family shortly after the turn of the year.

12.01.1939 Death of Julius Asch

Julius Afrael Asch had worked his way up to the management of Chs. Lavy & Co. at Bleichenbrücke No. 25-31 in the centre of Hamburg. The company employed around 500 people and was regarded as one of the largest European companies for the manufacture and customisation of outerwear, which later became known as LACO ties. LACO ties are still available today.

Julius Asch was also very active in his private life. After initially living at Alstertor 21 (the building was replaced after the war by a new one), he bought several plots of land on the Elbe near Blankenese in 1919 and moved into the villa at Elbchaussee 30 (now 557). In 1920, he acquired the Marienhöhe estate with fields, meadows and a wooded area (approx. 50 hectares) between Blankenese, Sülldorf and Rissen from the Rostocker Bank. In the summers after the First World War, summer camps for Jewish children were organised here, in which Bernhard Lippmann also took part.

Within a few months, the Nazis had taken his business and his assets under their control, which was tantamount to expropriation. From 11 July 1938, he had to have all his expenses approved by the tax office. The events of the Pogrom Night, which among other things led to the arrest of his nephew Walter, weighed heavily on him, as did the death of his brother-in-law Dr Michaelis Lippmann. His plan to emigrate to England had failed.

Julius Asch was reported missing on 3 January 1939. According to the biography "Verschweigt uns nicht" by Gisela Dulon, Julius Asch chose suicide to escape the threat of deportation to Theresienstadt concentration camp. His body was found on the banks of the Elbe on 12 February 1939. Today, a stumble stone commemorates Julius Asch[466] at the spot where the Elbe washed up his body.



Figure 10 Stumbling Stone for Julius Asch

It can be assumed that Erna Asch called Dr Lippmann to discuss the situation when her husband did

not come home. He was officially listed as missing on 3 January 1939. On 12 January 1939 Erna identified her husband in the harbour hospital. Fearing the threat of deportation, Julius Asch threw himself into the icy Elbe to end his life.

A memorandum from the accountant Dr K. Spiegelberg dated 29 November 1945 shows that he advised Mr Asch on economic issues, in particular tax and foreign exchange law, even after he had left his companies. During these many years of personal counselling, Mr Asch also gave him some personal thoughts and opinions in confidence.

This leads to this very depressing note:

> "At the end of 1938, Mr Asch chose [suicide]. I don't know what prompted him to do so. At the time, under the impression of our last counselling session, I thought to myself that he wanted to fully preserve his [Aryan] wife's assets in this way, as they would otherwise have dwindled to such a degree due to the transfer of the Sperrmark sale, which was the only other option for him, that they might not have been enough for his and his wife's livelihood."[467]

Despite all the hostility, Julius Asch and his non-Jewish wife Erna Asch remained together even after the "Law for the Protection of German Blood and Honour"[468] was passed on 15 September 1935. After his death, Erna Asch[469] was exposed to hostility because of "racial dishonour".[470]

I have not yet found any further information about her three children from her first marriage and Wolfgang Julius Paul Brendler, the illegitimate son of Julius Asch.

17.05.1939 Leibnizstrasse 13 II in Leipzig

Dr Walter Lippmann lived with his wife Elise and his son Bernhard at his parents' home at Tauchaer Strasse 10, around 6 km from the city centre. After the death of Dr Michaelis Lippmann, the family moved to Leibnizstrasse 13, second floor.

I was able to trace the Lippmann family's move in 1939 using a document in the Federal Archives. In the fonds BArch R 1509-KARTEI Reichssippenamt[471] I found an "Ergänzungskarte zur Volkszählung vom 17 May 1939",[472] an supplemantary census form on which the residential address of Dr Lippmann at the time of the census is given as Leibnizstrasse 13 II in Leipzig. The Arolsen Archives also contain a membership card of the "Israelitische Religionsgemeinde zu Leipzig" for Dr Walter Lippmann,[473] which confirms the same address.

Dr Lippmann's restitution file contains several affidavits, excerpts of which I quote here because they describe the flat on the second floor of the house.[474]

The affidavit of the former district court judge Dr Erich Simon dated 18 March 1955:

> "Around 1926, Dr Lippmann moved into a spacious flat in Leibnizstrasse (12 rooms including adjoining rooms, plus a furnished loggia). He had this flat refurbished at great expense (partly with paintings on the walls, new flooring in 4 rooms) and spent considerable sums on its furnishings and further additions and improvements (furniture partly newly made to his own specifications, other furniture rebuilt with a

> view to future emigration, real carpets, pictures, modern installations in the kitchen and bathroom, etc.). Dr Lippmann brought into the flat valuable old (inherited) and modern porcelain and silverware, paintings, original etchings, a library of 2,000 - 3,000 books and writings, etc. He estimated the value of the flat at least 20,000 to 25,000 RM."[475]

It can be assumed that Dr Erich Simon is wrong about the 1926 moving date. Since the peak of hyperinflation in 1923 and the introduction of the Rentenmark, the economy had begun only just begun to recover. As a young, successful lawyer in his second year of practice, Dr Lippmann was probably not yet in a position to finance such a large flat from his own resources. It seems more plausible that he moved into the flat in Leibnizstrasse, financially strengthened by his father's inheritance in 1938 and the good turnover in the early 1930s.

In the restitution file, the court noted the question: Had furniture already been remodelled in 1926 with a view to future emigration? Is it possible that Dr Lippmann had already been thinking about moving to Palestine as early as 1926, although he only bought the plantation in 1934?[476]

The affidavit of Erika Schilasky from Magdeburg, Am Fuchsberg 33, dated 13 April 1955 is also in the Berlin restitution file 212241:

> "I have known Dr Walter Lippmann since 1927. He lived in Leipzig at the time, and I visited him and his family there several times later, even staying in his flat in Leibnizstrasse as a guest from time to time. I remember this flat well. It consisted of numerous rooms (bedroom, master bedroom, dining room, children's room, guest room, bathroom, maid's room, hallway, balcony, etc.) and was elegantly furnished. I saw elegant, modern furniture, real large and small Persian carpets, good pictures and lots of books in several bookcases. Estimating the value of this flat at around 20,000 Reichsmark seems reasonable to me and certainly not too high."

On 25 April 1955, Mrs Tatjana Kober-Deuel from Berlin-Grunewald, Bismarckallee 43a, stated on oath:

> "Mr Lippmann was a highly respected and, before the National Socialist boycott, successful and wealthy lawyer. His office in Leipzig's main thoroughfare (Grimmaische Strasse) was spacious and tastefully furnished. I would estimate the value of the office inventory at around 1,200 to 1,500 Reichsmark. Dr Lippmann's flat in Leipzig was large and elegantly furnished. Various pieces of furniture were specially made according to his specifications.
>
> He also had large, modern furniture, an antique bookcase, an extensive library (in 4 cabinets and shelves), genuine Persian carpets, good pictures and valuable lighting fixtures. He owned precious porcelain that came from his father's house (medical officer Dr Lippmann), whose only son he was. I am convinced that his home furnishings were worth at least 20,000, if not 25,000 Reichsmark."

Tatjana Kober-Deuel was the cousin of Dr Pascal Deuel,[477] who founded the Israelite Hospital Foundation 1919 in Leipzig, which existed until the inauguration of the Israelite Hospital of the Eitingon Foundation[478] (later the Women's Hospital) in 1928. The founding of an infirmary or hospital

is an example of the great social commitment of many German Jews in their hometown. Dr Lippmann was a friend of Dr Pascal Deuel.

On 30 April 1955, the former secretary Margarete Miles from Birmingham stated on oath, among other things:

> "The front door was protected by steel plates. The door and window to the balcony were protected by iron scissor grilles that Dr Lippmann had installed. The bathroom and kitchen were furnished in the most modern style."

The flat was conveniently located. The Brody synagogue at Keilstrasse 4-6[479] with the adjoining Jewish school was just a 20-minute walk away, as was his office at Petersstrasse 15. I have not yet been able to clarify whether he still owned the office in Petersstrasse.

It is always a special "aha" moment when you realise that the sum of all information is more than its parts. This creates a context that enables new insights. Until then, I had seen the move as a normal development for a young family who finally wanted to set up their own household in the new flat.

The picture changed abruptly when I discovered an essay by Dr Eberhard Ulm on "Jewish Houses in Leipzig 1939-1945"[480] on the Internet.

On 30 April 1939, the "Law on Tenancies with Jews"[481] came into force and made life even more difficult for the Jewish population. The law cancelled the legal tenant protection for Jews. Landlords could terminate tenancies without further ado, but with due notice, if they had a certificate from the local authority guaranteeing that the tenant would be "accommodated elsewhere". Jewish landlords and tenants were instructed to take in other Jewish families. This meant that several families, who often did not know each other, had to share a flat - one room per family.

The first 47 "Judenhäusern", Jewish Houses in Leipzig established on 31 October 1939 included Leibnizstrasse 4 and 30, Keilstrasse 3-5, 4, 9-11, Löhrstrasse 10 and 11 and Gohliser Strasse 1 and 11. The degrading conditions, such as the inadequate hygienic conditions in a Jewish House, became increasingly miserable and unbearable over time as more people had to move in.

The former shorthand typist and accountant Hertha Engel made an affidavit[482] on 24 June 1955:

> "In 1939, Dr Lippmann had to give up his flat in Leibnizstrasse by order of the housing office and move into a so-called Jews' house in Gohliser Strasse. The new flat, which consisted of 8 rooms including adjoining rooms, had to be completely refurbished. This and the move cost around 1,500 Reichsmark."

One of the harassments of the National Socialist housing office was to repeatedly order new moves. At the end of July 2024, I was given access to Dr Lippmann's restitution file[483]. In it I found a letter from Dr Lippmann dated 5 March 1967 to the Compensation Office in Berlin. I am quoting excerpts from this six-page letter in order to let him speak for himself. I am impressed by his modesty in view of the great material loss and his economically precarious situation after his return to Germany:

> "I already have affidavits about the type and estimated value of my home furnishings. I would like to emphasise that, as a result of National Socialist persecution and with a view to emigration at a time when it was still possible to take furniture with me, I had

the very large furniture, which was unsuitable for transport but too valuable to be given up, rebuilt by dividing it up and thus reducing its size.

The large three-part linen cupboard was turned into three separate cupboards, the large double bed into two separate beds and the large crockery cupboard, if I remember correctly, into three separate parts. I remember with certainty that this change cost about 2,300 Reichsmark.

It was a difficult job, which was carried out by a furniture factory. Not only did the furniture have to be divided, but new parts, especially walls, had to be added. This expense turned out to be a total loss for me because I could only emigrate at a time when it was no longer permitted to take any furniture with me.
I would also like to point out that some of the furniture in the master bedroom, namely a tall centre cupboard that stood between the windows and whose folding top door served as a writing table, and two other side cupboards at windowsill height were custom-made for me according to my own designs. I don't remember exactly, but I believe I remember that the purchase price was around 2,000 Reichsmark.

The first loss of home furnishings occurred when I had to move from the large flat at Leibnizstrasse 13 to the attic flat on the fourth floor of the Judenhaus Gohliser Str. 1 in 1939.
The person who took over my flat, who was apparently a National Socialist and didn't want to buy anything from a Jew, refused to buy anything or pay for anything that was left behind. These included the stone floors I had laid in the spacious bathroom and (separate) toilet, the murals designed and executed by an artist in the very large T-shaped hallway, a tiled stove I bought and a new hot water system I installed with a Junkers boiler.
Some things were sold at a great loss, such as the large, combined gas and coal stove in the kitchen and other things that I cannot remember in detail.

Items for sale for which there was no room in the Judenhaus flat, were either left behind or, like the bidet I had bought, were placed in the attic of the new flat and had to be abandoned there when we emigrated.

The estimate of the damage caused by the expulsion to the Jews' house of 1,500 Reichsmark in my CV is certainly too low rather than too high, especially as the flats in Gohliser Str. had to be completely redecorated and repainted. Then there were the costs of moving. It therefore seems to me that an estimate of 1,500 Reichsmark would be justifiable.

With regard to the loss of household effects due to the forced emigration, I refer to the information in the curriculum vitae with the following addition: The furniture from the bedroom (2 beds, 3 wardrobes, converted from an earlier large wardrobe), a toilet table, 2 bedside tables and 1 dressing table mirror) were sent to my aunt, Mrs Erna Asch in Hamburg, who put them in her house. However, this meant a total loss for me because I could not use the furniture again, so that while I was in America it was given to my son Bernhard Lippmann, who lived in England, without payment.
But the other items were also completely lost to me, because those that could be sold under the circumstances at the time only yielded small proceeds, and even these

proceeds did not go to me, but had to be paid into my confiscated account. I never saw any of it. I remember that the landlord, who lived next door, took quite a few of the things that had been left behind - without any payment - such as two almost new bicycles, one complete tool cupboard and other things.

As I was only staying in Leipzig temporarily and lived in Berlin, I have no knowledge of the whereabouts of some of the things I left behind. At the time of my emigration there were three forced subtenants in the flat, and I assume that they also simply took possession of the things left behind, perhaps also those tenants who were assigned to the flat after my emigration. It is difficult for me to estimate the total loss, but I would like to assume that the estimate of about 10,000 Reichsmark given in the curriculum vitae is not exaggerated.

Regarding the loss as a result of the transfer to the Jewish house, I must add that, in view of the threat to the Jews from National Socialist burglars, who were reported to have broken into Jewish flats and committed acts of violence there, I had heavy scissor bars fitted to the window of one room and to the balcony door. I also had the door to the flat secured from the inside with steel plates so that they could not get in. These fittings, which I estimate to have cost between 600 to 700 Reichsmark, also had to be abandoned when I was evicted from the flat. These facts are confirmed in the affidavit of Mrs Margarete Miles."

Dr Erich Simon, the district court judge, describes it like this in his affidavit:

"In 1939, the National Socialist housing office ordered Dr Lippmann to give up his flat and move into a so-called Jews' house. He found a smaller flat in one of these. In order to be able to move into it, he had to sell some things at a considerable loss, had to abandon all the improvements and embellishments of the previous flat, and the installations that Dr Lippmann had purchased and installed for the flat became worthless. (The hot water system, for example, could not be used in the other flat). The flat in the Judenhaus (Gohliser Strasse 1) had to be completely refurbished. The losses mentioned, the removal and refurnishing costs totalled around 1,500 Reichsmark, if not more.

Before his emigration, Dr Lippmann had to leave his flat essentially in the lurch. Although Jews were not allowed to advertise in newspapers, he managed to sell some items (furniture, pictures, the new hot water system, lamps) to random interested parties, naturally far below value, but he never received the proceeds of around 400 - 500 Reichsmark, as the money could not be paid out to him, but had to be paid directly into his frozen account, which was immediately confiscated by the National Socialist government. He gave some things away.

Everything else was simply left behind and was probably taken by forced subtenants, the landlord or others. Dr Lippmann saved nothing of his entire household effects worth 20,000 to 25,000 Reichsmark for himself except a small cupboard worth about 100 DM and various books and magazines worth about 300 DM which friends had kept for him.

An estimate of about 10,000 Reichsmark for the financial loss suffered by Dr Lippmann as a result of

being forced to give up his home furnishings, including his library, is probably too low. When the office was liquidated, A. [Dr Lippmann] could sell next to nothing. Here, too, he had to either give away or abandon everything, which caused him a financial loss of at least 700 to 800 Reichsmarks."[484]

The various currency figures appear exactly as they do in the eight-page annex to his compensation claim of 15 October 1955, as recorded by the authorities. After returning from the United States in February 1955, he submitted the claim on his 60th birthday.

The insidious benefits for the Nazis are obvious. "Aryan" families could now move into the former Jewish flats and enrich themselves with the household goods left behind. I will come back to another benefit for the National Socialists.

While searching for traces in Leipzig on 24 April 2024, I discovered that heavy bombing of Leipzig in 1943[485] destroyed the surrounding area and the house of Dr Michaelis Lippmann at Tauchaer Strasse 10. Today there is a supermarket at this address.

I was unable to clarify why Dr Lippmann did not later demand compensation for his father's house. Perhaps his father had only lived there as a tenant?

But the above-mentioned Gohliserstrasse 1 is still standing. A marvellous house from the late-nineteenth century. As I hoped to take a few photos of the foyer and staircase, it was fortunate that I happened to see an elderly gentleman struggling to open the heavy front door. I helped him and asked him if I could take some photos. When I told him the reason for my request, the 90-year-old professor of biophysics invited me and my friend Erika in for a coffee. We chatted for more than two hours with Mr and Mrs Pliquett about East Prussia and their escape from there, because they both identified my surname as clearly East Prussian. On the return journey and on other occasions, we talked about the spontaneous hospitality and openness of these two wonderful people. We learnt a lot during the visit and were very touched when Prof. Pliquett later sent me a copy of his family history by email.

These personal encounters and conversations were definitely the icing on the cake of my entire research work.

During my sightseeing tour, I naturally wanted to visit "Leibnitzstrasse 13", where Dr Lippmann had lived with his family. Somewhat puzzled, I followed the instructions of the satnav, which led me more than ten kilometres out of the city centre into the south-eastern outskirts of Leipzig. Could Dr Lippmann really have had such a long commute every day?

Unlikely. The street I was looking for is now called "Leibnizstrasse" and lies north of the Leipzig city centre. However, since its incorporation in 1999, the village of Liebertwolkwitz has also been part of Leipzig – and it brought a "Leibnitzstrasse", spelled with a *t*, into the city map. Google Maps has not yet taken note of this and directs users exclusively to the street with the *t*. That small *t* makes all the difference. According to Wikipedia, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz[486] began spelling his name without the *T* only from 1671 onwards. And because Leipzig is so proud of its famous son Gottfried,[487] the city has kept both street names – one with a *t* and one without.

Incidentally, Leibniz attended the Nikolai School from 1655 to 1661, the same school that Walter Lippmann would later attend. The original building has been preserved and restored; it stands opposite the Old Exchange. Fortunately, my detour did not last as long as that of Odysseus. Twenty minutes later, with the help of the satnav, I found myself standing in front of the correct house in the city

centre — a house whose history is no longer visible today. Leibnitzstrasse 13 lies in a residential area which — then as now — is characterised by late-nineteenth-century buildings close to the city centre, much loved by the people of Leipzig. There is nothing about the building itself that gives any indication of its history.

At that time, an increasing number of refugees were wandering through Germany in search of safe haven, which was becoming more and more like running a gauntlet. The Nazis issued new bans almost every week,[488] and the punishment for non-compliance were draconian:

> It was forbidden for Jews to own a telephone.
> Jews were forbidden to move about outdoors after 8 pm.
> Jews were forbidden to own a radio.
> Jews were forbidden to keep pets.
> Jews were forbidden to go to the cinema or theatre.
> It was forbidden for Jews to go to restaurants.
> It was forbidden for Jews to use public transport without a special permit.
> Jews were forbidden to take seats and had to ride on the outside platform of the last tram carriage.
> Jewish children were forbidden to play in playgrounds.

Working on this biography is characterised by a particular ambivalence. On one hand, I am still excited by the detective game - the exciting search for new evidence, clues and traces that can shed light on Dr Lippmann's life. On the other hand, the documents found often trigger horror and terror and bring the dark sides of the story to light. But it is precisely in these difficult moments that we have an opportunity to learn new things and understand them better. I am always amazed at the treasures I find in the archives and the stories they tell.

I can promise that I have discovered many more exciting and moving stories and will report on them. This was just the beginning, as the size of the book suggests.

13.05.1939 Odyssey of the SS St Louis

A good six months after the Pogrom Night, 937 Jewish men, women and children boarded the elegant HAPAG cruise ship St Louis[489] on 13 May 1939 at the Hamburg Landungsbrücken, the city's harbour pier, for emigration to Cuba. A band played "Muss i, denn zum Städtele hinaus". The hope of a better and safer future was abruptly dashed on 27 May 1939. Cuba had changed its entry regulations shortly before their arrival and refused entry to the passengers despite their tourist visas. The captain travelled from Cuba along the coast of the USA to Canada trying to find somewhere for the refugees to land legally.

Millions of people were unemployed in the USA; President Franklin D. Roosevelt[490] was campaigning and had sealed off his country with a strict quota system: Only 25,957 Germans[491] were allowed into the country each year; there were no exceptions for "Hebrews". The American Secretary of State, Cordell Hull,[492] who received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1945 for his contribution to the founding of the United Nations, and other members of the Democratic Party vehemently opposed the admission of the passengers. Roosevelt had to give in to their demands and the captain of the SS St Louis[493] had to steer the ship with all the refugees back to Europe.

Only when the Belgian government granted permission to land on 17 June 1939 did the odyssey end in Antwerp. The refugees[494] were distributed among Belgium, the Netherlands, France and Great Britain.

The Paris edition of the Jüdische Welt-Rundschau of 23 June 1939[495] states that these countries demanded a per capita guarantee of 500 US dollars from the Joint Distribution Committee[496] in Paris, as none of these countries wanted to pay for the costs of the refugees they were taking in. Permanent admission was not envisaged from the outset.

A return to Germany was impossible, as the refugees had had to leave behind everything that the Nazis had not taken from them. They didn't have much left because, like all passengers, they were only allowed to export 10 Reichsmark and goods worth 1,000 Reichsmark.

Later, when the Nazis attacked the countries in which the passengers had found temporary refuge, most of them fell under Nazi control again after the occupation. Almost all of these died in concentration camps.

Two impressive films tell the story of the SS St Louis and the despair of its passengers: The 1976 feature film "The Voyage of the Damned"[497] can be streamed free of charge. "Die Ungewollten - Die Irrfahrt der St Louis"[498] is a documentary film from 2019 that traces the fate of the exiles.

09.06.1939 Marlene Dietrich becomes American

Marlene Dietrich[499] had made seventeen silent films between 1923 and 1930 before Josef von Sternberg[500] made her world-famous as the singing "Blue Angel".

The screenplay was written by Carl Zuckmayer,[501] Karl Gustav Vollmoeller[502] and Robert Liebmann[503] based on the novel "Professor Unrat"[504] by Heinrich Mann.[505] Marlene Dietrich followed the fate of these remarkable men.

She was not on the God-gifted-list[506] and did not allow herself to be taken in by Nazi propaganda like many other actors. Instead, she publicly expressed her opposition to the rise of National Socialism. This made it impossible for her to stay in Germany and continue working. "Der Blaue Engel"[507] had an easy time leaving Germany for the USA as an internationally known film star.

After 1933, together with the Jewish directors Josef von Sternberg and Ernst Lubitsch[508] who had been established in Hollywood since the 1920s, she helped Jewish refugees and politically persecuted people who had emigrated to America.

She applied for American citizenship as early as 1937, which she received on 9 June 1939. After Germany declared war on the USA at the end of 1941, she collected money for the war against Hitler. During the war, she also supported the American troops near the front by singing for the soldiers as part of the troop support programme and visiting the wounded in the military hospitals. In 1947, Marlene Dietrich received the Medal of Freedom, the highest civilian honour in the USA.

The books by Heinrich Mann[509] and Carl Zuckmayer[510] were burnt by the Nazis in 1933. Heinrich Mann was expatriated in the same year. From 1936 he held Czechoslovak citizenship, which enabled him to flee to the United States in 1940. Carl Zuckmayer was Jewish and politically opposed the Nazis. He fled to Switzerland in 1938 and from there to Rotterdam on 28 May 1939 to emigrate by ship to

the United States. Robert Liebmann[511] was the most successful silent film screenwriter in the Weimar Republic. He was murdered in Auschwitz concentration camp in July 1942.

The fourth in the group was Karl Gustav Vollmoeller,[512] whom I only "got to know" through my research. He was a German archaeologist, philologist, lyricist, playwright, author, screenwriter, translator, racing driver, aircraft designer, pioneer of silent and sound film, entrepreneur and reformer of German, European and American theatre and at times a politician against his will. As a cultural ambassador between the film centres of Babelsberg and Hollywood, at a time when Europe was dissolving into nation states and nationalism, he was committed to the dialogue of all artists across national and linguistic borders, to the exchange of cultures and the dialogue of religions.

As soon as I have finished working on this book, I will dedicate myself to a list of extraordinary biographies that I came across during my research. That seems enough reading material for two lifetimes! Each life story is a unique kaleidoscope of challenges, successes and triumphs, but also of capitulations and defeats. I am inspired by how people weave the threads of their destiny, developing qualities such as creativity, resilience, a thirst for knowledge, love, decency and humanity and trusting that everything has a deeper meaning and that everything will turn out well in the end. For me, that's more interesting than any novel.

15.06.1939 Really, I live in dark times!

The poem "An die Nachgeborenen" (To those born after),[513] which Bertolt Brecht[514] wrote between 1934 and 1938, was published in Paris in the newspaper "Die neue Weltbühne". The following quote comes from this poem:

> "What a time it is when talking about trees is almost a crime,
> because it involves keeping silent about so many misdeeds!"

In view of the events of recent years, the urgency and timelessness of his message becomes even clearer to me. Brecht warns against the rise of totalitarian dictatorships and appeals in his poem to the responsibility of those born later to learn from history and stand up for a better future. The fact that his words are still relevant today shows the actuality and universal significance of this poem - and his work. And what does this say about our time?

Bertolt Brecht left Berlin on 28 February 1933, one day after the Reichstag fire, and learnt in exile that his books had been burnt. As a communist, he was on the "blacklist".[515] He lost his German citizenship in 1935.

18.07.1939 Kindertransport for son, Bernhard Lippmann

The seizure of power in 1933 and the Nuremberg Laws in 1935 marked the beginning of the "legitimised" discrimination and persecution of Jews, but also of other "undesirable groups" in German society. It is safe to assume that Dr Walter Lippmann made plans for his family's emigration at the latest after his "protective custody" in Buchenwald concentration camp following the Pogrom Night of 9 November 1938, and the ban on his profession, which drove him to unemployment and his uncle Julius Asch to suicide.

Obtaining travel documents and transport became increasingly difficult. So, it may have seemed natural

to the parents to send their now thirteen-year-old son Bernhard to safety in England - in the hope that they would somehow manage to follow him.

Up to 10,000 Jewish children from Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia and other areas threatened by the National Socialists were allowed to travel to Great Britain after the November pogroms of 1938. These Kindertransport were organised by organisations such as the Refugee Children's Movement (RCM) in Great Britain and the Reich Representation of Jews in Germany.

The transports were facilitated by the British government through the issuing of collective visas, and the children were considered transmigrants who would eventually emigrate to other countries.



Figure 11 Dammtor Trainstation – monument Trains into life - Trains to death

How difficult must it have been for the parents to send their Bernhard to a foreign country for an indefinite period of time in the hope that he would be safe there? Or is it better for the boy to face an uncertain future alongside his parents? How might a thirteen-year-old boy, perhaps already in his puberty, feel when sent by his parents to a foreign country whose language he spoke hardly at all, if at all?

Since the National Socialist seizure of power in 1933, Jewish pupils had been increasingly discriminated against, marginalised and pushed out of everyday school life. The situation deteriorated dramatically on 14 November 1938, when the German Reich issued a decree officially banning all Jewish children from attending state schools. Bernhard may have learnt some English, and perhaps also some Hebrew as part of his preparation for his Bar Mitzvah, which boys celebrate on the Sabbath following their thirteenth birthday.

Twice a week, I cross the forecourt of the Dammtor railway station on my way to university and every time I see this group of sculptures, I think about how many tears have been shed here. The memorial "Trains to Life - Trains to Death" on the south side of Hamburg's Dammtor railway station is a symbol of the trains that travelled from the Hanover railway station[516] in Hamburg to their deaths.

Only one track remains of this Hannover railway station in today's Lohse Park in Hafen-City. A documentation centre is due to open here in 2027.

Apparently, Bernhard's parents decided in favour of the Kindertransport. I can't imagine the gravity of this decision and the farewell in front of the station. To avoid any commotion, the parents were not allowed to accompany their children to the trains. They had to say goodbye to them outside the station.

On 18 July 1939, Bernhard Ludwig Raphael Lippmann got on a train to travel to England on a "Kindertransport". His father had contacted his English Esperanto friend Alec Venture[517] and asked him to take in his son.

Bernhard's name is on a list of children[518] who became wards of Ronald Gorell Barnes, 3rd Lord Gorell[519] under the (Refugee Children) Act, 1944.[520] The first children arrived in the UK after 1 December 1938 because of war or persecution. They were under 17 at the time of their arrival and had no parents in the UK. In the archives of the David M. Rubenstein National Institute for Holocaust Documentation of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum[521] I found the list of names # 40204[522] of the children with whom Bernhard had come to England. Bernhard's destination address on this list was 60, Lilian Road, Streatham, London, SW16. According to the Polling List of 1938, that is the address of Ethel and Alec Venture, his father's English Esperanto friend. I believe that this location was the residence of Alec Venture and also served as a home for Bernhard.

On this list is also a Guenther Lippmann, born 2 May 1924 with the destination 91, Melrose Avenue, London, NW2. In the Arolsen Archives[523] I have found an index card for Guenther. So far, I have not been able to clarify whether he is related to Bernhard.

Ronald Barnes, 3rd Lord Gorell, was a true English gentleman. In his youth he played cricket successfully, worked as a lawyer and journalist, fought in the First World War and later sat in the House of Commons for the Labour Party. In addition to his political work, he was involved in numerous charitable, educational and literary organisations. From 1949 to 1959 he was, among other things, President of the National Council for the Unmarried Mother and her Child.

During my research, I came across many things that took my breath away or brought tears to my eyes.

But now and again there were also amusing discoveries, such as the information that Lord Gorell was co-president of the Detection Club[524] together with Agatha Christie from 1956 to 1963. The members of the club pledged to uphold the Knox Principles[525] when writing crime novels, ensuring that readers were given a fair chance to deduce the culprit. If life it's not fair, at least games and crime thrillers can be!

I was unable to ascertain what influence Lord Gorell'sguardianship had on Bernhard's future life. But one thing is certain: his English host father Alec Venture had a great influence on Bernhard. In due course, we will learn from the obituaries of Alec Venture that I found in Esperanto archives what an extraordinary person he was.

I find it remarkable that Alec Venture worked from a young age to support his mother and half-siblings financially. And that he found time to educate himself and others. Looking after his half-siblings for a long time, he took over the care of thirteen-year-old Bernhard in 1939. Alec was 29 years old (24 March 1910 – 11 April 1991) and his wife Ethel Maude Bottle was seven years older (3 March 1903 – 27 October 1984). They had only been married for two years and had certainly planned their family differently. Ethel and Alec Venture had a son of their own three years later, Ian (1942 - 2017).

Although Esperanto did not have its hoped-for success as a language, it can be said that Bernhard's connection to it saved his life. Equally important was the generosity of Alec and Ethel Venture, who remained loyal to Bernhard throughout his — a loyalty he returned in equal measure.

I was deeply shocked by the fate of the children from the Kindertransport. During my research, I also contacted the English Association of Jewish Refugees.[526] A few days later I received a phone call from 92-year-old Rabbi Bernd Koschland.[527] Unfortunately, he was unable to answer my questions about Bernard. But the conversation with this friendly man was a further motivation to write this book. Rabbi Koschland tells his story on YouTube[528] and in his book called "My Story",[529] which you can read online.

Encounters or phone calls like this encouraged me immensely in what I have been doing for many months. I work eight hours a day on this project and sometimes people ask why I am researching a strange man and not my own family.

In the beginning it was just curiosity and interest, but as the research progressed, a certain enthusiasm was added - along the lines of "let's see what else I can find out". Dr Lippmann's story, which gradually came to light, offers valuable insights into historical events and social developments that cannot be found in this form in my own family. The time I have dedicated to researching and writing has enriched me in many unexpected ways.

Today, 22 April 2024, marks the 300th anniversary of the birth of Immanuel Kant.[530] Kant held the view that moral action must be based purely on the fulfilment of duty to the "categorical imperative",[531] regardless of personal inclinations and consequences. This means that we should reasonably act as we would wish others to act in the same situation. In other words, our actions can become a model for all or a law for all.

This biography often talks about people who acted morally "correctly" despite all the dangers. Viktor Frankl[532] said analogously:

> "We, who were not in the specific situation, must not demand heroic deeds from others that we ourselves did not commit. We must not condemn those who did not have the strength to perform such morally high deeds. But we must honour and admire those who had the strength and courage to choose and perform these amazing deeds."

Another example of civil courage and compassion is Nicholas Winton,[533] who saved 669 children from Prague by helping them to escape and travel to England. Not until 50 years later did the world find out about his great commitment through a TV programme.[534] Before you watch this short film, I recommend that you have a handkerchief ready.

For more information about "Kindertransport" I recommend two books: Barry Turner "The Rescue of the Children" and one that deals with Jewish remigration and which you can also read online: "We Weren't Really at Home in Germany Either".[535] A brief description of a child's fate can be found in "When German Trains Saved Jewish Kids",[536] where we read that Adolf Eichmann personally provided the trains.

The cruelty of the "Kindertransport" rescue operation becomes ever clearer as time goes on. It was certainly a difficult decision for all parents to send their child away. The National Socialists demanded monstrous things from the parents. The parents had to make a "selection", as they were not allowed

to bring all their children to safety. The Oscar-winning film "Sophie's Choice"[537] from 1982, starring Meryl Streep, tells of the gravity of such a decision and its psychological consequences, among other things.

Various websites, such as the Anne Frank Educational Centre,[538] the Jewish Museum Berlin[539] and Mashable[540] are dedicated to the fate of the "children" with detailed texts and many photos.

The children on the Kindertransport were between 3 and 16 years old. The older children had to look after the younger ones. This was necessary because of the long train journeys, for example, from Berlin to Hoek van Holland and from there by ferry to England, not enough adults travelled with them.

The few accompanying adults were forced to return to Germany. Those parents who had acquaintances or relatives in England could send their children directly to the sponsoring foster parents. Half of the children lived in foster families. The others lived in homes, schools or on farms throughout Great Britain. The foster parents were responsible for the upkeep of the children, as there was no support from the English state. They were presented to interested foster carers on a weekly basis with the aim that they would take them in. It was a lottery for the children. Some of them later received a university education, others had to work as servants to earn a living. Over the years, they lost contact with their parents. Of the 10,000 children, only about 500 ever saw their parents again.

Most of them had to live their whole lives with the trauma that only they survived. But now, in 1939, they may have dreamt of escaping their unfamiliar surroundings and their homesickness.

But perhaps, like Dorothy, they also dreamed of following the Yellow Brick Road to a free, safe, tolerant world, perhaps "Over the Rainbow", where they could start afresh.

12.08.1939 The Wizard of Oz

The classic film "The Wizard of Oz"[541] (1939), based on the novel by Lyman Frank Baum,[542] is more than just a fairy tale from 1900. Dorothy's journey to the land of Oz can be interpreted as a metaphor for the human search for identity and security.

The fate of the young refugee Bernhard Lippmann, who seeks safety in England, offers an interesting parallel to Dorothy's journey. Dorothy is swept away by a hurricane into the magical land of Oz. Both Dorothy and Bernhard are torn from their familiar surroundings and must find their way in a strange world. Their fears and insecurities are universal human experiences. Everyday challenges such as communication difficulties and unfamiliar customs, such as driving on the left-hand side of the road in a foreign country, must be overwhelming and frightening for Bernhard.

The Yellow Brick Road symbolises the American dream and the search for a better life far away from persecution, discrimination, destruction and war. The characters Dorothy meets represent different aspects of the human psyche: the Scarecrow stands for the desire for knowledge, the Tin Man for emotional warmth and the Lion for courage. It is to be hoped that Bernhard had equally loyal companions.

Judy Garland played Dorothy in the film and sang "Over the Rainbow", the song that became the anthem of all the oppressed, which says: "The dreams you dare to dream will come true."

As a 13-year-old boy, Bernhard may not have identified directly with Dorothy. But I think he could empathise very well with the fact that she had a similar fate to his own. It must have given him courage to see that hope and the confidence that everything will be all right strengthen the ability to deal with problems. The children's parents would certainly have needed this comfort as well, but unlike the American original, the film did not reach German cinemas until 19 April 1951.

In the "Jüdische Rundschau" of 23 August 1939,[543] parents were addressed under the title "Expatriate Children". The psychologist gave the parents empathetic advice on how they could best prepare their children for an indefinite stay abroad. She explained to parents what their children could expect in a foreign country and how they could prepare for everyday life there.

While some children experienced the trip as an adventure and adapted well to their new surroundings, there were other children who found the separation from their parents and siblings very painful, were very homesick and found it difficult to get used to the changes. It was therefore important to give the children encouragement in letters from home. They appealed to the parents' discipline not to send any bad news from home that might burden the children. Bernhard, who had come to England as a young boy, may have been perceptive enough to understand all this. But what of the younger children - some of whom were only three years old. What must life have been like for them.

I have read several books about the fate of the "Kinder", as they still call themselves today, and spoke to Rabbi Bernd Koschland, who came to England as a young boy. The children, but also their parents, dealt with the trauma they experienced in very individual ways. Some repressed or banished their memories into their fantasy world, others may have had lifelong psychological problems.

I am deeply shocked when I think of the children and their parents who had to suffer under the Nazi dictatorship. The thought of their suffering is unbearable.

Only by actively confronting the dark side of our history and understanding the wider causes can we ensure that we recognise the signs in time and fight back. This is the only way we can prevent such atrocities from happening again.

22.08.1939 Attempt to emigrate to Palestine

Events came thick and fast in the summer of 1939. The numerous harassments by the Nazis and the search for a way out, for a safe haven, made everyday life increasingly agonising.

After the First World War and during the British Mandate over Palestine (1920-1948), the British pound sterling was introduced as the official currency, and the Palestinian pound (LP) was a derivative of it. The exchange rate was 1:1. Dr Lippmann was authorised to purchase and export foreign currency worth up to LP 1,000. In addition, he had to pay 150 Reichsmark (RM) to the Palestine Trust Office for the registration fee.

On 3 January 1939, a doctor friend and the lawyer Dr Sandler, 40 Lilienblum Street in Tel Aviv, helped him to take the necessary steps to obtain an entry certificate for Palestine.

The manager of Hashgacha Ltd. recommended checking with the British consulate whether the family members could enter the country separately if they had a joint entry certificate for the family. He also recommended that small pieces of furniture and household items such as an electric washing machine,

an electric fridge and a paraffin stove packed in boxes should be brought into the country.[544]

On 13 June 1939, Dr Lippmann contacted the English lawyer Alexander B. Stewart, Neue Wilhelm Str. 1 in Berlin, as the issuing of the entry certificate had been delayed. There was little hope that there would soon be a new entry quota for Palestine.

On 24 June 1939 Dr Lippmann paid the basic fee for the processing of the "Vorzeigegeld". The funds were required to be shown to the authorities as a condition for emigration.

Four weeks later, on 27 July 1939, Dr Lippmann received a certificate from the Palestine Office, Meinekestrasse 10 in Berlin, which held out the prospect of an emergency certificate for a transfer upon payment of up to LP 500 (Palestine pounds).

Another four weeks later, on 22 August 1939, he received a certificate from the British Passport Control Office, Tiergartenstrasse 17 in Berlin, which was necessary to overcome the legal and administrative hurdles and legalise his emigration. As Palestine was under the British Mandate, the British authorities were responsible for immigration control. Passports had to be presented there by 8 November 1939 for the visa to be entered. The certificate was time limited. The family had to migrate to Palestine by 8 December 1939.

On 5 September 1939, Dr Lippmann paid the required differential fee of 100 Reichsmark to the Palestine Office. That was four days after the German invasion of Poland.

Further negotiations were interrupted by the outbreak of war on 1 September 1939 and all later attempts to emigrate to Palestine failed.[545] In 1955, Dr Lippmann pointed out in his application for restitution that, according to the Federal Court decisions RzW 62,314 and 64,385, expenses incurred in preparation for an emigration that was not carried out could also be compensated under § 56 BEG, Bundesentschädigungsgesetz, the Federal Compensation Act.[546]

On 12 July 2024, I had the opportunity to view Dr Lippmann's restitution file 212241 from Berlin. Since the beginning of my research, I had repeatedly asked myself why Dr Lippmann did not leave Germany earlier. In the meantime, I have learnt from the documents that this became increasingly difficult from 1933 and almost impossible from September 1939.

I try to present the facts of the events as clearly as possible. While contemporary novels dramatise the events and capture the emotions of the characters, I can't do that as a documentary writer. However, both perspectives complement each other and enable a more comprehensive understanding of the time.

The book "Transit"[547] by Anna Seghers[548] is a contemporary document and testimony of a very different kind. She was able to flee to Mexico in a roundabout way and wrote there in 1941 and 1942 this book, which contains autobiographical elements. It is about the hopes and fears of emigrants and refugees who are desperately waiting for papers and visas to emigrate or continue their journey. The bureaucratic hurdles and the associated fateful turns in life are impressively portrayed, like her other novel "The Seventh Cross"[549], which also left a lasting impression on me.

01.09.1939 Invasion of Poland - beginning of the 2nd World War

The German attack on Poland on 1 September 1939 marked the beginning of Adolf Hitler's[550] long-planned war for "living space in the East".[551] Although National Socialist propaganda was strong in Germany, the start of the war was above all a source of horror. Many people looked to the future with concern, as memories of the devastating consequences of the First World War were still fresh. The initial war successes of the German Wehrmacht[552] led to a palpable sense of victory at home, which continued even after the invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941.[553]

This positive mood in the German Reich, which dominated large parts of Europe at the time, stood in stark contrast to the later desolation and lack of prospects that prevailed just a few years later in defeated, occupied and heavily destroyed Germany.

In 1939, the Wehrmacht[554] had around 4.5 million soldiers, while the British army only had around 480,000 and the French army around 5 million. Over the course of the war, the British army grew steadily, reaching around 5.1 million soldiers by the end of the war in 1945. There was also a strong mobilisation in the Soviet Union, this meant that the Red Army had around 12.2 million soldiers in 1944 - more than twice as many as in 1940.

Fighting, war crimes and mass murders took place all over the world. It is estimated that more than 70 million people were killed in total. The greatest losses were suffered by the Soviet Union, where around ten million Red Army soldiers were killed or died as prisoners of war. In total, at least 24 million Soviet citizens lost their lives because of Nazi Germany's racial mania and war.

With the start of the war, the Nazi regime began the greatest genocide in world history, which will forever be remembered as the Holocaust.[555] After the Jews of Germany had been subjected to arbitrariness, expropriation, imprisonment, torture and even murder since 1933, the Nazi leadership extended the persecution to the territories occupied by the German Reich from 1939 onwards. The Jewish population of Europe was persecuted, deported to German concentration and extermination camps in Eastern Europe and murdered there. In total, over six million Jews[556] fell victim to systematic murder in the Holocaust.

At the end of the Second World War, an estimated 70 million people[557] had died. Added to this is the unknown number of injured, maimed and traumatised people as well as the suffering of the displaced, homeless and displaced persons.

02.09.1939 Last children's transport to England

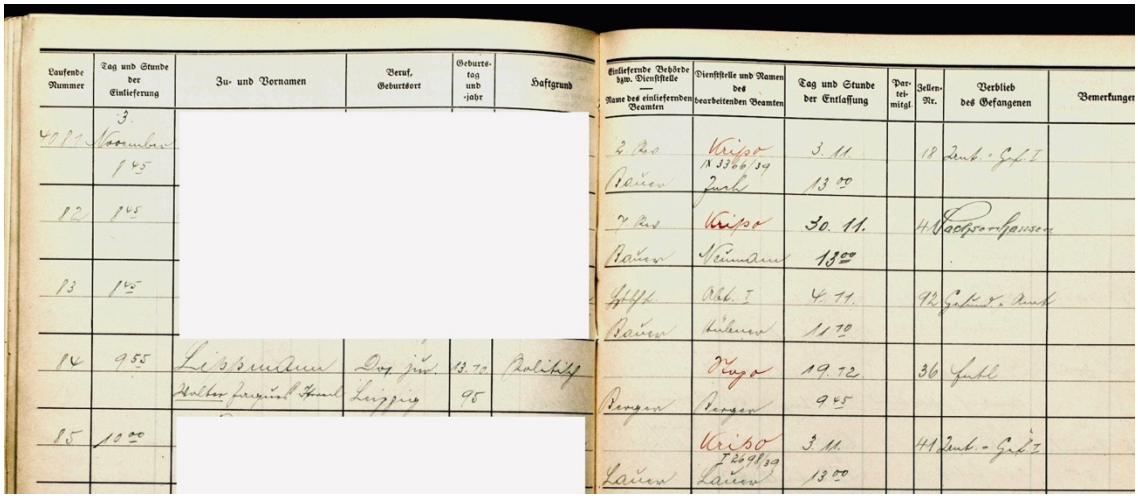
The last official Kindertransport reached England on 2 September 1939. Nevertheless, the operation was a triumph of humanity and a success, as around 10,000 unaccompanied children up to the age of 17 were transported to Great Britain alone, including around 1,000 Jewish children from Hamburg.

If his parents still had some hope of seeing their son Bernhard again soon in England, this was dashed with the outbreak of war.

Mrs Lippmann first had to adjust to the compulsory rationing[558] that had been gradually introduced since the beginning of the war. To avoid hoarding, from 1 September 1939 fat, meat, butter, milk, cheese, sugar and jam were only available against food stamps, followed by bread and eggs from 25 September 1939.

03.11.1939 Fifth arrest of Walter Lippmann

The prisoner book[559] of the Leipzig police prison is kept in the Saxon State Archives. It records Dr Lippmann's arrest on 3 November 1939 at 9.55 am and his release on 19 December 1939 at 9.45 am. No reason for the arrest is given.



Laufende Nummer	Tag und Stunde der Einlieferung	Zu- und Vornamen	Beruf, Geburtsort	Geburtstag und -jahr	Haftgrund
	3. November 1939				
12	1945				
13	1945				
14	955	Lissmann Walter israelit. Arzt	Dr. jur. Leipzig	13.12.95	Politisch
15	1000				

Einliefernde Behörde bzw. Dienststelle — Name des einliefernden Beamten	Dienststelle und Namen des bearbeitenden Beamten	Tag und Stunde der Entlassung	Partei-mitgl.	Zellen-Nr.	Verblieb des Gefangenen	Bemerkungen
2. Rev. Bauer	Kripo IV 3366/39 Zuch	3.11. 1300		19	Unt.-Gef. I	
7. Rev. Bauer	Kripo Neumann	30.11. 1300		41	Sachsenhausen	
Hptm. Bauer	Kdo. I Bäuerle	4.11. 1170		92	Gefängn.-Amt	
Bergen	Kripo Bergen	19.12. 945		36	Fuhl	
Bauer	Kripo IV 3699/39 Bauer	3.11. 1300		41	Unt.-Gef.	

Figure 12 Diary from the Leipzig police prison, 1939

In his curriculum vitae from 1955, Dr Lippmann states that he was arrested three more times. There are no further documents in the Saxon State Archives. Many files were lost in the chaos of war, destroyed by the National Socialists or simply have not yet been digitised.

I only found Dr Lippmann's application for restitution, which provided information about the other arrest, six months later. Dr Simon made an affidavit[560] in 1955 about the reasons for this arrest:

> "November-December 1939: six weeks in police prison for repeatedly not using the additional name ISRAEL in the signature of a petition, although the full name was stamped with ISRAEL in capital letters at the top. Imprisonment partly coincided in time and was extended by general 'action' against Jews because of the Munich assassination attempt."[561]

This refers to the failed assassination attempt on Adolf Hitler[562] in Munich's Bürgerbräukeller by resistance fighter Johann Georg Elser[563] on 8 November 1939. When the Nazi leadership realised on 9 April 1945 that the war was lost, they wanted to prevent their strongest opponents from surviving the war at all costs and possibly helping to determine Germany's future. This is why resistance fighters such as Georg Elser in Dachau concentration camp, Dietrich Bonhoeffer and Wilhelm Canaris in Flossenbürg concentration camp and Hans von Dohnanyi in Sachsenhausen concentration camp were murdered shortly before the end of the war.

The Arolsen Archives - International Centre on Nazi Persecution[564] in Bad Arolsen is the world's largest research archive on victims and survivors of National Socialism. This unrivalled archive would not be possible without the work of many volunteers. As my research has benefited so much from the

work of others, I am now also involved in preparing the documents for digitisation. Currently, in February 2024, we are recording the Bremen Emigration Register. Anyone can take part.[565]

For example, I found entries on Israel Jacques Lippmann, Walter Jaques Lippmann, Israel Walter Lippmann and Walter Lippmann in the Arolsen Archives, but they all related to "my" Dr Lippmann.

Initially I searched with a very narrow focus, but the more I opened it up, the more entries I was able to assign to "my" Dr Lippmann. I really had to laugh about the entry Jagues Walter Lippmann. Apparently, the clerk couldn't speak French and therefore wrote down the name Jaques as he had heard it with his Saxon ears.

When searching for the surname, another German Walter Lippmann appears again and again, who is 10 years older and can only be clearly distinguished if the date of birth is given. Unfortunately, this is not always the case. In such cases, I can only regard a document as "provisional" and may have to discard it if I cannot find any suitable reference documents or information over time to confirm the assumption.

07.09.1940 Germany attacks England

The German air raids are referred to in English as "The Blitz"[566] and took place between 7 September 1940 and 16 May 1941. The German Luftwaffe's attacks on Great Britain and particularly on London during the Air Battle of Britain,[567] were intended to force the British government to surrender.

From the beginning of the Blitzkrieg[568] in 1940, all Germans in Great Britain were considered "enemy aliens". It did not matter whether they were there as emigrants, refugees or as supporters of the Nazi regime. The "enemy aliens", which also included now children aged 16 and over from the Kindertransport, were regarded as a security risk.

In 1940, the British authorities interned around 1,000 young people from the Kindertransport as enemy aliens. They were held in internment camps on the Isle of Man, in Canada and Australia. Despite, or perhaps because of, their classification as "enemy aliens", some boys from the Kindertransport programme later joined the British Army and fought in the war against Germany.

As Bernhard was only 14 years old in 1940, he was probably not interned. Postal traffic between England and Germany was suspended from 7 September 1940 and continued throughout the Second World War. This meant that he lost contact with his parents.

How helpless must Bernhard's parents have felt, when the Blitz started? They hadn't seen their son for a year. They could only hope that his hosts were as concerned for his safety as they had been. They had to get on with their lives without the slightest chance of hearing from their son.

Anno 1940 German listeners! by Thomas Mann

I assume that Dr Lippmann, who loved Goethe and Shakespeare, also liked Thomas Mann's books,[569] which speak for themselves. What impresses me more than his books is Thomas Mann's political and public engagement[570], as described in the Living Museum Online:

"Still defending the German Empire in 1918, the great German writer of the 20th century

declared his support for democracy in 1922. Concerned about the increase in votes for the NSDAP in the 1930 Reichstag elections, he warns against the National Socialists in his "Appeal to Reason. The winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature did not return from a trip abroad in 1933. He was expatriated in 1936 and moved from Switzerland to exile in the USA in 1938.

He supported German refugees financially and helped them obtain entry permits. Commenting on the policies of the Nazi regime, he addressed "German listeners!" in his monthly radio address from 1940 to 1945. An American citizen from 1944, he returned to Switzerland in 1952 after being suspected of Communist sympathies by the Committee for Un-American Activities."

The "Internet Archive" contains examples of Thomas Mann's impressive speeches to "German Listeners",[571] which the British BBC broadcasted to Germany. Anyone who even just listened to the programme from November 1941[572] could no longer plead a claim to ignorance later!

The year before, in November 1940,[573] Thomas Mann said, among other things:

> "What must and will be the outcome of this war is clear. It is the beginning of a world unification; the creation of a new balance of freedom and equality; the preservation of individual values within the framework of the demands of collective life; the dismantling of national state sovereignty and the establishment of a society of free peoples, but responsible to the whole, with equal rights and duties. The peoples are ready for a reorganisation of the world."

Under the title "Deutsche Hörer",[574] BBC radio regularly broadcast speeches by Thomas Mann[575] in its German programme from 1940 to 1945. There were also special programmes and a final speech on New Year's Day in 1946.

Thomas Mann recorded his speeches in Los Angeles, where he had been living since 1938, on discs that were brought to England by plane. BBC radio broadcasted from London to Germany on long wave, where listening to "enemy stations"[576] on the radio, called Volksempfänger was a punishable offence.

The possession of radios[577] was forbidden to Jews from 20 September 1939. Jews had to hand in their radios. Telephones had to be handed in by 30 September 1940. To cut off as many communication channels as possible, Jews were even forbidden by law to keep carrier pigeons from 29 November 1938.

25.06.1940 Emergency Rescue Committee

The Emergency Rescue Committee (ERC) was a humanitarian organisation founded in the United States during the Second World War. Between 1940 and 1942, the ERC helped refugees from France, which was occupied by the German Wehrmacht, to escape.

Like many other intellectuals and artists under threat, Heinrich Mann initially emigrated to France. He only managed to escape in August 1940 with the help of the unimaginably courageous journalist and freedom fighter Varian Fry,[578] who worked for the Emergency Rescue Committee (ERC).[579] Despite close surveillance by the fascist Vichy regime in southern France, which collaborated with the Nazis, he managed to enable more than 2,000 "leftists and Jews"[580] to flee from Marseille to neutral Portugal

within 13 months.

Varian Fry wrote about his life-threatening work in 1945 in his book "Extradition on Demand". It is a cultural history of a special kind and reads like a crime novel in which the "who's who" of the European artistic elite appear. Numerous contemporary witnesses confirm the authenticity of Varian Fry's report.

Alma Mahler-Werfel[581] and her husband Franz Werfel[582] had great difficulty emigrating to the USA. When they fled Sanary-sur-Mer in June 1940, Paris had already been occupied by the Wehrmacht. Without the necessary visas, they had to wait in Lourdes and were eventually given permission to travel to Marseille. In Marseille, they met Heinrich Mann, his wife Nelly and his nephew, the historian Golo Mann,[583] with whom they stayed until their arrival in the USA. Varian Fry helped them escape and took them to the French-Spanish border. Crossing the mountains on foot was an enormous challenge, especially for the almost 70-year-old Heinrich Mann and the overweight Franz Werfel. In Barcelona, Varian Fry organised flight tickets to Lisbon, from where they travelled to New York on the Greek passenger ship Nea Hellas. They arrived safely in the United States on 13 October 1940.

Among the people rescued by Fry were Hannah Arendt, Ernst Josef Aufricht, Georg Bernhard, André Breton, his wife Jacqueline and daughter Aube, Marc Chagal, Marcel Duchamp, Max Ernst, Lion Feuchtwanger, Leonhard Frank, Fritz Kahn, Siegfried Kracauer, Konrad Heiden, Heinz Jolles, Wifredo Lam, Wanda Landowska, Jacques Lipchitz, Alma Mahler-Werfel, Heinrich Mann und Golo Mann, André Masson, Walter Mehring, Otto Meyerhof, Soma Morgenstern, Hans Natonek, Hans Namuth, Hertha Pauli, Alfred Polgar, Anna Seghers, Hans Sahl and Franz Werfel.

I "can't jump over my shadow" here and banish them to a "footnote" out of respect for these great artists. The hyperlinks lead to the respective biographies on Wikipedia, which I think are well worth reading and noting, as are their works.

These are just the names of artists I know. The flight and persecution of Jewish artists during National Socialism left a deep gap in Germany's cultural life. Many of these artists had significantly influenced the art, music, literature and theatre of their time. Their absence led to a loss of cultural diversity and creativity that can still be felt today. The void has never been filled.

Many of those rescued forgot Varian Fry once they were safe. Some were even as disdainful as Alma Mahler-Werfel , who in her biography "My Life" [584], reduced his efforts to transporting the luggage. The biography of this courtesan and muse puts Casanova in the pale.

In his historical novel "Marseille 1940", Uwe Wittstock describes the work of Varian Fry. The book reads like a mixture of spy thriller and German cultural history.

After his return to the USA in September 1941, Varian Fry was quickly forgotten. In vain, he asked artists he had rescued, including Marc Chagall, Max Ernst and André Breton, to support him in a new aid project for exiles. Varian Fry became involved in the civil rights movement and became a member of the International League for Human Rights,[585] the umbrella organisation of 188 human rights organisations (as of 2023). He died at the age of 59 on 13 September 1967.

The story of people like Varian Fry is not only an important historical testimony, but also a powerful example of humanity and civil courage in times of injustice and oppression. Viktor E. Frankl would certainly call for Varian Fry to be honoured. And indeed, his memory is honoured as "Righteous

Among the Nations"[586] in Yad Vashem[587] in Israel.

1940 - 1941 Jewish Agency for Palestine

Since 1929, the Jewish Agency for Palestine[588] or the Palestine Office played a central role in the Jewish colonisation of Palestine, particularly during the British Mandate period. It represented and promoted the economic, social and political interests of the Jewish community in Palestine. During the Second World War, the agency played an important role in the immigration and rescue of European Jews to Palestine.

In his curriculum vitae from 1955, Dr Lippmann reported that unemployed Jews were used for all kinds of forced labour of the heaviest and lowest kind. Dr Lippmann, who had been unemployed since 31 December 1938, worked voluntarily for the Jewish Agency for Palestine in Berlin[589] to avoid being forced to do such work.

His former secretary Hertha Engel declared, among other things, on oath:[590]

> "When Dr Lippmann took up the (voluntary) position offered to him at the Palestine Office in Berlin in 1940 in order to avoid the forced labour service for unemployed Jews in Leipzig, he was unable to find a flat for himself there or find accommodation as a subtenant because of the anti-Jewish measures, but had to live in hotels owned by foreigners, because only those hotels accepted Jews. He therefore lived first in the Tempo Hotel owned by a Turk, then in the "Hollywood" boarding house owned by a Persian. He had to eat his meals in restaurants. As a result, his expenditure was considerable. According to my memory, I estimate his additional expenses during this time at 4,000 Reichsmark..."

> "...At the beginning of 1940, Dr Lippmann therefore accepted a position offered to him as an employee of the Palestine Office of the Jewish Agency[591] in Berlin, Meinekestrasse 10 in Berlin- Charlottenburg. He became a member of the Commission for the Immigration of German Jews to Palestine and took part in other functions of the Palestine Office (Jewish Agency for Palestine).

> He moved to Berlin and first lived in a hotel (TEMPO on Kurfürstendamm, on the corner of Leibnizstrasse), then in a boarding house (HOLLYWOOD, also on Kurfürstendamm, on the opposite corner of Leibnizstrasse) until his emigration 1941. His wife Elise continued to live in the Leipzig flat.[592]

> Because Dr Lippmann had to stay in a hotel in Berlin, then in a boarding house and eat in restaurants from 1940 to 1941, he incurred additional expenses of around 4,000 Reichsmark."[593]

This can be read elsewhere in the restitution file:

> "According to the applicant's recollection, the Pension Hollywood was run by Muslim Persians. It was located on several floors in a large building on the north-west corner of Leibnizstrasse/Kurfürstendamm. This guesthouse had been recommended to the applicant by the Hotel Tempo on the opposite corner when he had to move out because the SS frequented the hotel's new bar. If the client is correctly informed, the Hotel Tempo is now called Metro. The address Kurfürstendamm 59/60 and the telephone number 327911 are noted in handwriting."

Dr Lippmanns former shorthand typist and accountant worked as Dr Lippmann's private secretary from 1938 to 1941, i.e. until his flight, therefore even after the liquidation of the law firm. We learn from Hertha Engel that Dr Lippmann worked as an employee of the Palestine Office in Berlin and that she usually wrote his letters according to his stenographic drafts or telephone dictations in Leipzig. She also helped prepare his emigration. She was a guest in his Leipzig flat in Leibnizstrasse and in the so-called Judenhaus in Gohliser Strasse.[594]

I had to laugh when I wrote the last paragraph. The address Kurfürstendamm 59/60 is not only familiar to me, but also to many TV viewers of the series Ku'damm 59. The musical of the same name has been showing at the Theater des Westens since 24 May 2024. The Pension Hollywood was located right next door at Kurfürstendamm 62.

In his work for the agency, he certainly benefited from his diverse language skills such as English, French, Hebrew and perhaps even Esperanto.

In this role, Dr Lippmann was able to help many threatened Jewish people to escape. He certainly also used this opportunity to investigate the possibility of emigration for himself and his wife. Dr Lippmann's commitment to his persecuted fellow victims was all the more courageous as he himself had already been subjected to numerous persecution measures during this time. In his curriculum vitae from 1955, Dr Lippmann mentions two further arrests, for which I have not yet found any evidence.

The Palestine Office was responsible for counselling and supporting those wishing to emigrate to Palestine. Between 1933 and 1938, more than 18,000 people were supported in organising their departure.

Between 1938 and 1941, the USA received 123,868 Jewish refugees. However, American consulates were bound by immigration quotas. Hundreds of thousands of refugees who were unable to leave the Reich were prevented from finding safe havens because of other countries denying them further visas.[595] These countries are also partly responsible for the Holocaust.

On the other side of the world, Shanghai[596] offered the Jews refuge, refuge in a completely foreign culture, with a tropical climate and poor housing and living conditions. Fortunately, anti-Semitism was not part of Chinese culture. However this changed with Japan's entry into the war[597] through the attack on Pearl Harbor[598] and the occupation of Shanghai on 7 December 1941. As allies of Nazi Germany, the Japanese allowed an SS colonel into the city, who established the Hongkew ghetto.[599] Over 6,000 Jews lived[600] there in miserable conditions, like those they had left behind in their homeland.

At the instigation of the Gestapo, the Palestine Office was incorporated into the Reich Association of German Jews[601] in December1938 and was thus able to continue its work until 1941.

In the course of 1941, the prospects of escaping abroad deteriorated dramatically from day to day.

From 1 July 1941, all applicants had to obtain the approval of an examination commission of the American visa office and submit further documents. This included a second affidavit of financial independence. At the same time, the National Socialist regime instructed the United States of America to close its consulates in all territories occupied by the Germans.

After July 1941, it was almost impossible to emigrate from the territories occupied by the German Reich. Many escape routes were already blocked due to stricter exit controls by the Nazi authorities or by the countries of refuge themselves for fear of large streams of refugees. The British kept a very close eye on the number of Jewish immigrants to the Protectorate of Palestine[602] and did not increase the set quota of 15,000 people per year![603]

It was only in July 2024 that I was given access to Dr Lippmann's 1955 "Wiedergutmachungsakte" (restitution file). This file is a real treasure trove, as it contains a lot of new information and either confirms or refutes my previous assumptions. Despite his fruitless efforts to find refuge, Dr Lippmann did not give up, as can be seen from the affidavit of former District Court Judge Dr Erich Simon is quoted several times:

> "He estimated his expenses for these emigration preparations at around 2,500 Reichsmark in the years up to 1940 and around 1,500 Reichsmark in 1940/41, which included payments to the emigration centre of the Jewish community in Berlin, to consulates for visas, trips to authorities, shipping companies (Hamburg) and others. For railway and transport costs, he paid 400 Reichsmark to the Hilfsverein der Juden[604] in Berlin, which handled the emigration.
>
> Railway costs, insofar as they could not be paid in advance in Germany, as well as the costs of the ship passage were partly covered by a loan given by Americans and partly by help from the Joint Distribution Committee[605] in America. Dr Lippmann has repaid $260.00 on the American loan.
>
> At the time of his emigration (June 1941), Dr Lippmann still had a sum of around 17,800 Reichsmark in his (frozen) bank account at Deutsche Bank und Disconto-Gesellschaft. This amount was confiscated by the Reich immediately after his emigration. When he emigrated, he was permitted to take only $4 and his hand luggage.
>
> Before his emigration, Dr Lippmann handed over all his remaining lawyer's and tax files, business books and other documents to the former lawyer Dr Dan Zülzer in Leipzig, Ritterstrasse 19, who was working as a consultant at the time, for safekeeping. He heard that Dr Zülzer had been deported as a non-Aryan and had died or been murdered. Dr Lippmann was not able to find out about the whereabouts of these files and documents."

In his book "Zwischen allen Stühlen", Dr Hubert Lang describes the life of the lawyer Dr Dan Zülzer,[606] among others. He was born on 30 December 1895 in Leipzig into a Jewish family and was a classmate of Dr Walter Lippmann at the Nikolaischule. They probably also studied law together. Dr Max Dan Zülzer was murdered in the Theresienstadt concentration camp on 23 May 1944.

15.06.1941 Walter Lippmann's escape to New York

Reconstructing the escape of Dr. Lippmann was very complicated and complex, but also exciting detective work. Of course, I didn't find the information and documents all at once, in chronological order and in one place. I spent days and nights searching endless lists of emigrants, refugees and passengers for clues. Handwritten documents were often difficult or even impossible to read, but typewritten documents were also difficult to read because the carbon paper was used up or the typewriters worn out. It was easy to read an "e" for an "a" or "o", which does not lead to immediate success. But because of my diligent detective work, I am now able to describe the escape fairly accurately. For the sake of clarity, I have documented the escape chronologically.

The anti-Jewish laws since 1933, the constant threat of violence and terror such as boycotts and public pogroms, arbitrary arrests and professional bans made it increasingly difficult or impossible for Dr Lippmann to earn a living. These circumstances may have prompted him to leave his homeland and undertake a dangerous escape. Unfortunately, I have not found any personal records about him, but the available documents support this assumption. The courage of desperation and the hope of a better life must have accompanied Dr Lippmann and his wife Elise on their escape.

> "Under pressure from the Gestapo, who summoned him on several occasions and urged him to emigrate, Dr Lippmann went to great lengths to find ways of emigrating to various countries. He employed foreign lawyers and emigration consultants, carried on an extensive correspondence, undertook journeys, etc.
> When preparations were made for his emigration to the United States, he had to make payments to the emigration centre of the Jewish community in Berlin and to consulates for visas. According to my recollection, I estimate the costs incurred in Germany in 1940 and 1941 for emigration and its preparation at 1,500 Reichsmark.
> Dr Lippmann also took out a loan from the Americans to cover the cost of the passage, which had to be paid in dollars."

This is what Dr Lippmann's former secretary wrote in an affidavit[607] on 24 June 1955.

> "Emigration on 15 June 1941 to the United States of America with hand luggage and only 4 US dollars. The assets had been confiscated by the National Socialist government."[608]

This brief, disrespectful note in his curriculum vitae reveals nothing about the suffering he had experienced up to that point, but also nothing about the course of his escape. It was the starting point for my search for traces of the escape route.

I assume that Dr Lippmann made use of all the opportunities available to him during his work for the Jewish Agency. His work certainly included contacts with the JDC, the Joint Distribution Committee.[609] The Transmigration Bureau was founded by the JDC in New York to help refugees emigrate from Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg, mainly to the USA. Its main task was to receive deposits from friends or relatives abroad for the travelling expenses of Jews emigrating from Europe. The archive contains payment slips for 37,732 people who emigrated between 1940 and 1956, most of them between 1940 and 1942. During my online research I found some documents in the JDC archives in New York and Jerusalem.

In the archives of the JDC Transmigration Bureau[610] I came across, among other items, an index card noting that Albert Einstein had provided funds to cover the escape costs of Hugo Moos from Ulm.

Another card records payments under transaction no. 1040,[611] for the beneficiaries Dr Walter Lippmann and "wife", listed at an address in one of Leipzig's Jewish houses, Gohliserstrasse 1, fourth floor. The deposit was covered by Ernest Dodge, residing at 1471 Irving St., N.W., Washington, D.C.

This document raises the following questions: Why is this index card not dated, why does it not state the amount of the deposit, why does it not state Elise Lippmann's name? Who is Ernest Dodge?

Through his international Esperanto connections, Dr Lippmann had managed to bring his son Bernhard to safety in England. As Alec Venture was an Esperantist, I suspected that Ernest Dodge might be too.

In fact, my suspicions were confirmed when I found a trace on the Internet of one Ernest Green Dodge, the chairman of the Executive Committee of the "Esperanto Association of North America". The "Ernest G. Dodge Papers" from 1937-1954 are in the library of the University of Oregon. The following quote may have come from him:

> "Most Esperantists are humanists. We believe with Dr Zamenhof, the inventor of the planned language Esperanto, that the inner idea is 'brotherhood and justice among all people'. Most of us agree on that."

I have not been able to determine whether Ernest Dodge made the payment and guarantee on behalf of the Brotherhood or in his capacity as president of the Esperanto Association of North America. It is possible that he paid the costs out of his own pocket, as did Joseph R. Scherer, but more on that later. What is certain is that the Esperanto connection enabled Dr Lippmann and his wife to escape and probably saved their lives.

On the Internet I found a "Bulteno Esperanto - March April 1944",[612] from which I learnt that the residential and/or business address in Washington of Ernest Green Dodge was the same as the one on the deposit card.

On page 27 of this "Bulteno Esperanto" it can be seen that, among other things, he organised the distribution of books written in Esperanto. The newspaper is written in English and Esperanto. I enjoyed reading Esperanto because I understood more than I thought I would. But I was very pleased when I found out that Google Translator translates Esperanto clearly.

When I unscrewed Dr Lippmann's nameplate on 3 October 2023, I never thought one evening I would be reading newspaper articles in Esperanto. Now I am glad to know more about this language, because on page 5 of the "American Esperantist" from March-April 1944, Ernest Green Dodge explains in the article "Esperanto - The True "Basic" Language" what Esperanto is and what advantages the planned language has.

Elsewhere in the JDC archives, I found transaction number 1040 on a JDC settlement list[613] which transferred $733.56 to the Executive Office. The entry for "Walter & Wife" is on page 33 of 59. In my search for Walter and Elise, I also found Vera, Gertrud, Frieda and Wolf Lippmann. I will leave their relationships out of consideration for the time being. List # 29 alone ends with a total of $189,936.13 for flight costs donated by Americans.

The escape money of $733 was an enormously high sum. In 1941, it corresponded to about three

months' salary of an American teacher, i.e. $1,435. According to the Bundesbank,[614] the purchasing power equivalence of 1 US dollar was around 4.8 Reichsmark and therefore almost the annual salary of a German teacher.

In a further, more intensive search I also found the supplementary list to passenger list no. 243[615] of the SS Villa de Madrid[616] of the shipping company Companie Transmediterranea in the JDC archives.

Each new document brings new information. Now I know that Walter Lippmann left Barcelona for New York on this ship on 15 June 1941. But what about Elise, whose name is not listed? Looking again, I saw that the address given is the Judenhaus in Walter-Blümel-Strasse in Leipzig.

The time interval between these two documents could not be ascertained. There were Jewish houses,[617] so called Judenhäuser in both Gohliserstrasse and Walter-Blümel-Strasse, today's Löhrstrasse at numbers 10 and 11. Walter Blümel[618] was a Nazi who was allegedly "murdered" by "Marxists" in 1931. It is perfidious to name a street after him in which two Jewish houses stood. The address suggests that Dr Lippmann had recently lived in several collective accommodation centres.

Walter Lippmann travelled as passenger number 74, but elsewhere it says next to the passenger's name, for example, 75/77, which probably means that three people were travelling together. Contrary to my expectations and to my great surprise, I was unable to find a passenger number for Elise Lippmann.

Based on the first payment receipt, I had believed for three months that Walter and Elise had fled together. She was not a passenger on the SS Villa de Madrid".

What had happened?

And what does the reference to the reimbursement of costs for the unused journey to Lisbon mean? Obviously, the plan was to emigrate from neutral Lisbon to the USA. Under the auspices of the Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, the refugees were to be transported in sealed trains through Spain and France to neutral Portugal. I have not yet been able to find out why Dr Lippmann left the train in Barcelona and boarded the SS Villa de Madrid" instead of going to Lisbon, which would have been safer.

The small reference to the "sealed trains"[619] is easily overlooked, but what did that mean back then? Today, a train journey in the borderless Schengen area[620] in modern, electrically powered express trains would take around 18 hours. The journey through occupied countries took four days or more in overcrowded carriages pulled by steam locomotives that often had to stop to reload coal. What fears did the refugees have to endure in the face of the arbitrariness of the numerous route and border controls? The compartments must have been cramped, as the refugees had to leave most of their belongings behind and could only take as much as they could carry with them. It is hard to imagine the state of the sanitary facilities.

When I asked, I learnt that unfortunately there are no documents about these transports in the archives of Deutsche Bahn, the successor to the Reichsbahn.

He may have taken the risk of crossing the Strait of Gibraltar, which was under British control, and attempting to reach freedom across the Atlantic because he feared he would no longer be able to reach Lisbon by train. Pedro Correa Martin-Arroyo provides a possible explanation in his dissertation Europe's Bottleneck "The Iberian Peninsula and the Jewish Refugee Crisis, 1933 - 1944".[621]

21.06.1941 Voyage of the SS Villa de Madrid

As I sit at my desk, I find myself - if only in thought - standing at the pier of Barcelona's harbour. It is Saturday, the 21st of June 1941. The ship carrying Dr Lippmann is departing. Ahead lies the Strait of Gibraltar and, beyond that, the Atlantic Ocean – vast, unknown, and perhaps a way to salvation.[622]

On the run, you couldn't be picky when choosing a means of transport. Would the passengers have boarded if they had known that the SS Villa de Madrid, built by the Friedrich Krupp Germania shipyard in Kiel, had been bombed and partially sunk by the German Wehrmacht on 26 January 1939[623] in the port of Barcelona?

The ship, designed for 225 passengers, was repaired. The brochure and the beautiful description with many pictures of the SS Villa de Madrid[624] look inviting, don't they?

Everyone who boarded the ship in June 1941 realised that the sea voyage to the USA would not be a fun cruise. Just how bad it really was is shown by a letter I found in the archives of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee.

The letter dated 12 July 1941[625] is addressed to the shipping company and was written by Paul Zimbler, Alfred Levy and Dr Heinz Tuchler. In a translated transcript of the letter describing the journey on the SS Villa de Madrid, he describes the voyage with the following words:

> "NCJW, New York Villa De Madrid 12.07.1941
>
> As representatives of the passengers on the above-mentioned ship, we hereby provide you with the following detailed report on the voyage and the conditions on board the ship.
>
> First of all, we would like to mention that the person in charge of the committee in Barcelona was not up to his task. The JDC organisation there is inexperienced, and the transport would have been completely impossible if some of the 617 passengers had not taken the initiative and helped. Their work was made more difficult by the fact that they had to assert themselves among the nervous and agitated passengers.
>
> COMPANIE TRANSMEDITERRANEA, MADRID provided the 3rd class passengers with completely inadequate care. The beds were taken away from the children in Barcelona, although the passage was paid for them, but the beds had already been sold several times. The children had to sleep together with their mothers in one bed in the overcrowded sleeping cabins. The sanitary conditions on the ship are simply an insult to hygiene, e.g. 4 toilets and 10 washbasins were provided for 200 men and 200 women, and they were hardly cleaned during the entire journey.
>
> There was no ventilation, and the air was impossible in the sleeping cabins, so many passengers preferred to spend the nights on the deck on chairs they had bought themselves. It is pointless to imagine the condition of the seasick.
>
> The water was undrinkable from the start of the trip. It was not possible to buy mineral

water as there was very little available, and it was sold at high prices at the bar. It was also not possible to buy wine because of the high prices. There was also a lack of medical supplies in the hospital. The medical care was so poor that we asked the doctors who were among the passengers for help, and this made the situation much easier. Dr Heinz Tuchler, Dr Erich Simon, Dr Ney and Dr Harf offered their services.

The food was so bad and inadequate that most people suffered from stomach problems. Spoilt food and insufficiently baked bread with the worst ingredients were used. We came as emigrants from Germany and France, we were certainly not biased, we were not used to good food, and we made no demands, but the food and the whole way we were treated by the steamship company leaves no doubt that we were once again being subjected to brutalities in the vilest of ways. The best proof of this was the behaviour of the captain, who paid no attention to any of the complaints and openly admitted that he too was anti-Semitic.

The crew and officers were overloaded with work and the staffing on board was completely inadequate. We offered help from amongst our own passengers. The crew behaved well considering how overworked they were.

On rainy days, there was not enough space for the 3rd class passengers as they were asked to leave the other accommodation class areas. It was not possible to stay in the cabins during the day as these rooms were full of insects, bugs, rats, etc.

We refer to our report to the management of the steamship company in Lisbon, a copy of which was given to Mr Nussbaum of Transmigration in Lisbon. We contacted Mr Nussbaum in Lisbon and asked him to provide us with the necessary assistance. This also included returning to the passengers the boarding money withheld by Mr Oberlaender in Barcelona and by Hapag and Amexco.

Mr Nussbaum gave us the most necessary medicines, some milk for the children, sick and expectant mothers (because we never got butter and milk), corn flakes and a supply of drinking water in clay pots. Mr Nussbaum and his office provided us with wonderful help.

We had to spend the most unpleasant days in Las Palmas, where we were informed on board that our journey would probably have to end here due to uncontrollable circumstances and that we would have to pay for our own maintenance and stay ashore until our departure. We hope that the JDC has received our telegram from Mrs Steinberg.

However, the consulate soon informed us that this delay to our trip had nothing to do with political issues, and on 5 July, after a five-day stay, we were able to continue our journey.

A passenger, Mr Gustav Grüner from Vienna, who died in the ship's sick bay on the way from Lisbon, was brought ashore in Las Palmas. Mr Grüner had been very ill since he boarded the ship in Barcelona. The body could not be buried until our departure; we assume that it was dissected as Mr Grüner left no relatives. The German consulate in Las Palmas is in possession of all his belongings.

After our departure from Las Palmas, the food got a little better for 3 days as there was a diarrhoea epidemic and we were put on a diet. After long negotiations, some of the passengers were given special food such as soup, eggs, toast and tea instead of the usual bad food. For days, much of the food was thrown overboard because it was spoilt.

Some of the passengers were exempt from paying the fee for the smallpox vaccination on the steamer. The vaccination was carried out under the supervision of Dr Tuchler, but he was unable to ensure that every case was treated properly.

We will be happy to provide you with further information if you wish.

Signed by
Dr. Heinz Tuchler, Berlin c/o Richard Galsten Potsdam (N.Y.), Hauptstraße 23
Paul Zimbler c/o Robbins, 322 West 108 St. New York
Alfred Levy, Hannover c/o Adolf Levy, 4996 Broadway, Apt. 2F, New York "

The Brooklyn Eagle of 14 July 1941[626] reports on the arrival of the SS Villa de Madrid, which I found on the website Redhookwaterstories.org[627] in connection with an interesting, illustrated article on the history of the SS Villa de Madrid. Translation of the article from the Brooklyn Eagle of 14.07.1941:

"Overcrowded ship here from Spain with 617 refugees: Passengers on the Villa Madrid bitter about ship conditions and prices.

Scarred by German bombers who sank her when she was in Loyalist possession in Barcelona harbour during the Spanish Civil War, the relaunched Spanish vessel, the Villa de Madrid, is now safely housed at the foot of Columbia Street after an eventful sea voyage.

The ten-year-old ship, which normally accommodates 225 people, arrived yesterday from Barcelona with 617 war refugees from German-occupied territory crowding her decks and public spaces. The refugees were brought to Lisbon in sealed trains through Spain and France under the auspices of the Jewish Joint Distribution Committee of New York.

After leaving Barcelona on 21 June, the ship was detained in Gibraltar for 30 hours as British officers thoroughly searched the passengers and luggage and a Swiss doctor, Dr Noel Cornelius. Stops were also made in Lisbon, Tangier and Las Palmas, Canary Islands, where four days were spent loading fuel.

The passengers on arrival were bitter about the lack of accommodation. They were crammed into every available corner of the ship and 300 slept in two between-deck compartments, one for men and the other for women.

The passengers also complained about the lack of sanitary facilities and protested that they had paid from 350 to 450 dollars for these accommodations. It was said that a first-class passage cost 1,200 dollars."

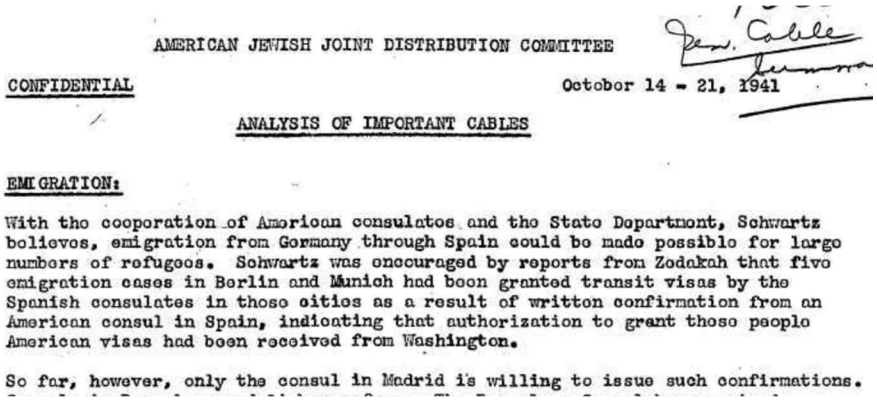
The New York Times of 14 July 1941[628] also reported 617 refugees on the SS Villa de Madrid, whose normal capacity was 225 people. The captain testified that he had orders not to disclose the cargo from Switzerland. Unfortunately, he did not say what that was.

During my research I also found a financial and statistical study of the JDC for the years 1940-1942. The following figures are interesting: In 1940 - 1941, 105 ships with 8,150 passengers travelled west from Portugal and Spain to freedom. JDC provided around $2.8 million to cover the costs - from private donations! In 1941, 63.5% of the refugees wanted to emigrate to the USA, 17.9% to Cuba, 5.86% to Argentina and 3.78% to Brazil. According to this study, there were a total of 353 passengers on the SS Villa de Madrid on 26 June 1941. JDC had paid $119,265 for this journey.

How confusingly crowded must the ship have been for the letter writers to count only 400 passengers when in fact there were 617? JDC had therefore paid for 353 passengers. Who paid the travel expenses of the remaining 254 passengers? Who pocketed the travelling expenses of the other 254 passengers?

In addition to the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC), organisations such as the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (HICEM),[629] the International Red Cross[630] and the Quaker Aid[631] were instrumental in rescuing and assisting refugees from the areas occupied by the German Wehrmacht. In some cases, underground organisations and resistance groups and courageous individuals played a decisive role in helping the persecuted during National Socialism and the Second World War.

In order to save people from persecution, deportation and death, these diverse organisations, groups and individuals often worked under extremely dangerous conditions, risking their own lives in the process. Their courageous actions and humanitarian aid contributed to the rescue of thousands of people. They were a sign of hope in the midst of the darkness of the Holocaust.



AMERICAN JEWISH JOINT DISTRIBUTION COMMITTEE

CONFIDENTIAL

October 14 - 21, 1941

ANALYSIS OF IMPORTANT CABLES

EMIGRATION:

With the cooperation of American consulates and the State Department, Schwartz believes, emigration from Germany through Spain could be made possible for large numbers of refugees. Schwartz was encouraged by reports from Zodakah that five emigration cases in Berlin and Munich had been granted transit visas by the Spanish consulates in those cities as a result of written confirmation from an American consul in Spain, indicating that authorization to grant those people American visas had been received from Washington.

So far, however, only the consul in Madrid is willing to issue such confirmations.

Figure 13 vertrauliche Analyse von Telegrammen an JDC

This is an excerpt from a "confidential" letter dated 14 October 1941, which I found in the JDC archive and is a summary of several reports from the various JDC offices to the JDC office in New York. These reports had far-reaching consequences that decided between escape or arrest, life or death. Everywhere there were some brave people, against all odds, trying to find a way out of the situation.

The following is the transcript of the entire letter:

> "IMMIGRATION: By working with the American consulates and the State Department, Schwartz said, emigration from Germany via Spain could become possible for a larger number of refugees. Schwartz was encouraged by reports from Zedakah that five emigration havens in Berlin and Munich had received transit visas from the Spanish consulates in those cities after an American consul in Spain confirmed in writing that authorisation to issue American visas for these individuals had been received from Washington.
>
> So far, however, only the consul in Madrid is prepared to issue such confirmations. The consuls in Barcelona and Lisbon are undecided. The consul in Barcelona has received authorisations from Washington for 11 such persons, but has refrained from writing the necessary letters, as he requires family documents as a prerequisite, which are not available. (These are needed to prove that no relatives remain in the occupied territories). The only actual emigration activity is taking place in Marseille, where about 100 visas were issued last month. Even this number, which primarily due to an unusually favourable attitude on the part of the consulate, is low compared to the total number of applicants. However, the rate of visa issuance in Marseille is expected to improve.
>
> In the meantime, 133 Luxembourgers have left Paris for Barcelona, where they will add to the number of Luxembourgers already living there, which was put at 184 last week. The situation in this city is difficult, as maintenance costs are high and the issuing or renewal of visas slow. The SERPAPINTO is due to set sail from Lisbon on 25 October, although our office there is prepared for a postponement of one or two days and is increasing the reservations for our protégés from 600 to 700. A train with refugees from Germany departed on 17 October and is expected to arrive in Lisbon today (21 October).
>
> The SERPAPINTO will stop in Vera Cruz, San Domingo and Havana on its way to New York. However, all passengers wishing to travel to the United States will have to transfer to the SS COLONIAL, which departs for New York and possibly Havana on 15 November.
>
> The COLONIAL will take on the excess passengers from the SERPAPINTO and provide an emigration option for others from France and Germany travelling to Cuba and the United States.
>
> LUXEMBOURG: The first transport of expelled Jews has left Luxembourg for Poland. All 500 - 600 Jews remaining in Luxembourg, except for 133 who have travelled to Spain to obtain visas for the United States, are threatened with being sent there.
>
> SHANGHAI: Laura Margolis reports from Shanghai that an agreement has been reached between the German and Eastern European refugee aid organisations. However, the budget must be increased from the $24,000 approved last month to at least $26,000 to cover the "terrible" price increase. The housing problem is still said to serious. One place has been rented for one year and will be used by the 250 students

of Mir Yeshiva. Another place is needed for 150 more, for which an additional sum is required. In response to our enquiry, Mrs Margolis adds that landing permits can be obtained for the 400-600 German emigrants that Zedakah hopes will be able to sail from Lisbon to Shanghai in December. A deposit of 4,000 each would have to be paid to the steamship company.

HAVANA: About 30 Jewish families who arrived on the ships SS VILLA de MADRID, NYASSA and MAGELLANES are now interned on the immigration island of Tisoornia in Havana, as we learn in an unsigned telegram from that city. They are threatened with deportation because they have not paid the required deposit of $650 per person. The telegram asks for our intervention. We will investigate the matter with Cornat.

ADD EMIGRATION!
Thirty Polish nationals who are currently in Lisbon and have Canadian visas have been informed by the American consulate that the transit visa requirement has been lifted and that they can continue their journey to Canada via the United States. Only three of them are our protégés. There is no news yet about the 100 Czech nationals who are in a similar situation."

On 13 July 1941, the SS Villa de Madrid arrived in New York after a 22-day voyage full of hardship and privation. The ship moored at Columbia Street in Red Hook, Brooklyn. Ellis Island[632] and the Statue of Liberty on Liberty Island are clearly visible from there. Many a passenger must have begged the Statue of Liberty to honour her promise of freedom.

For almost 150 years, all immigrants were processed on Ellis Island, just two kilometres from Liberty Island, for quarantine and to complete immigration formalities. Anyone who did not fulfil the conditions for admission had to return or travel on to another country.

Up to this point, I have documented the state of the investigation as it appeared to me up to 12 March 2024. I still had a number of unanswered questions. I was delighted when, on 12 July 2024, I was given the opportunity to see Dr Lippmann's restitution file 212241. The file comprises 374 pages and I feel that each page contains new information that answers outstanding questions and at the same time raises new questions.

I have incorporated the new information chronologically into my manuscript, referring to the restitution file. Like a jigsaw puzzle, this completes the picture or the biography. To illustrate how exciting research in an archive can be, I would like to quote here from a letter from Dr Lippmann to the Berlin Compensation Office on 12 March 1967. His remarks are like a door opening that leads to a series of interesting information and insights.

This letter confirms that, in addition to the plan to flee to Palestine, Dr Lippmann was also considering the possibility of emigrating to the USA. The costs of certificates, visas and money transfers was very high compared to the average monthly salary[633] of an employee of 160 Reichsmark. Then there were the travel costs, which had to be paid in advance. The letter shows the important role Ernest Dodge played in raising money for the Esperanto Society. Dr Lippmann insisted that the escape money be repaid.

His remarks are like a door-opener, leading to a series of interesting facts and insights.

"My actual emigration to the United States took place in 1941, when I was placed on the waiting list of the American Consulate on the basis of an earlier application. I no longer have any records of the expenses I incurred in obtaining the entry certificate, passport, visa, etc., and would ask you to determine an amount for this according to your experience. However, I remember with certainty that I had to pay 200 Reichsmark each to the emigration department of the Jewish Community for my wife and myself.

Because the passage expenses had to be paid in foreign currency and I didn't have any, I turned to various foreign acquaintances for help. I must point out that I had been active in the Esperanto movement for years and that finally American Esperantists, through a friend of mine in Los Angeles, raised a total of $666.50 for the passage to America for my wife and me. The collection was organised by a Mr Ernest G. Dodge in Washington, who sent me a carbon copy of a letter he sent to my wife on 5 August 1943, which I enclose herewith, and from which the amount is derived. The letter is written in Esperanto and was obviously prompted by the fact that both I and Mrs Lippmann had begun to repay the money raised for us.

The letter will now be given in a German translation, which I hereby assure you corresponds to the original text in Esperanto:

2. paragraph: When I opened the envelope, I immediately noticed the postal order sent with it, which pays back $80 towards the cost of the ocean crossing.

3. paragraph 2nd sentence: I have discussed the financial matter regarding your emigration to the United States with the help of financial support from several Esperantists.

5. paragraph: So far I have not explained to him or to you (i.e. Dr Lippmann) in detail the sources of the money that was collected to pay for both of you to flee Europe. The total sum of $666.50 was collected, of which $300 was my own second deposit, after it became apparent that the first sum would in no way suffice.

6. paragraph: Regarding the $366.50 in the collection first made by correspondence, it could be divided into three parts as follows: First: six Esperanto clubs took in a total of $86.50. Second: $75 was contributed by two wealthy people. Thirdly, $205 was contributed by 6 devoted members of the Esperanto Society of North America in amounts ranging from $10 to $100 (my first income was only $50).

8. paragraph: It seems to me that I would not be very much mistaken if I said that 1/3 of the whole sum could be treated as a voluntary planned gift and 2/3 (totalling $440) as a loan. So far, $100 has already been paid (back).

I enclose the original copy herewith. I have underlined the figure $666.50 in red.

I subsequently repaid exactly $440 to Mr Ernest Dodge, as can be seen from further correspondence with Mr Dodge. [Dr Lippmann's return address is 5626 Gainor Road in Philadelphia, PA.] I enclose the original carbon copy of my letter to him dated 22 November 1944, in the 3rd paragraph of which it says in German translation:

> You have received the October payment, and today I am adding the November payment $10, which - together with the September payment - fulfil a full repayment sum of $440.This is the sum that you regard as a loan to be repaid according to your letter of 5 August 1943. I have hesitated and still hesitate to agree with you definitively to limit the repayment to this $440 forever.
>
> It is possible that the contributors of the remaining sum may at some time express a different opinion and declare the remaining sum in whole or in part to be a loan, the repayment of which they demand or at least desire. Moreover, even if the remaining sum were a pure gift, I would not feel very comfortable accepting such a large gift from strangers (even if they were like-minded people). I would therefore prefer to leave the question of whether it should be a loan or a gift open, so to speak."

In his reply letter of 28 November 1944,[634] Mr Dodge declared his agreement that the payments should be interrupted, at least for the time being."

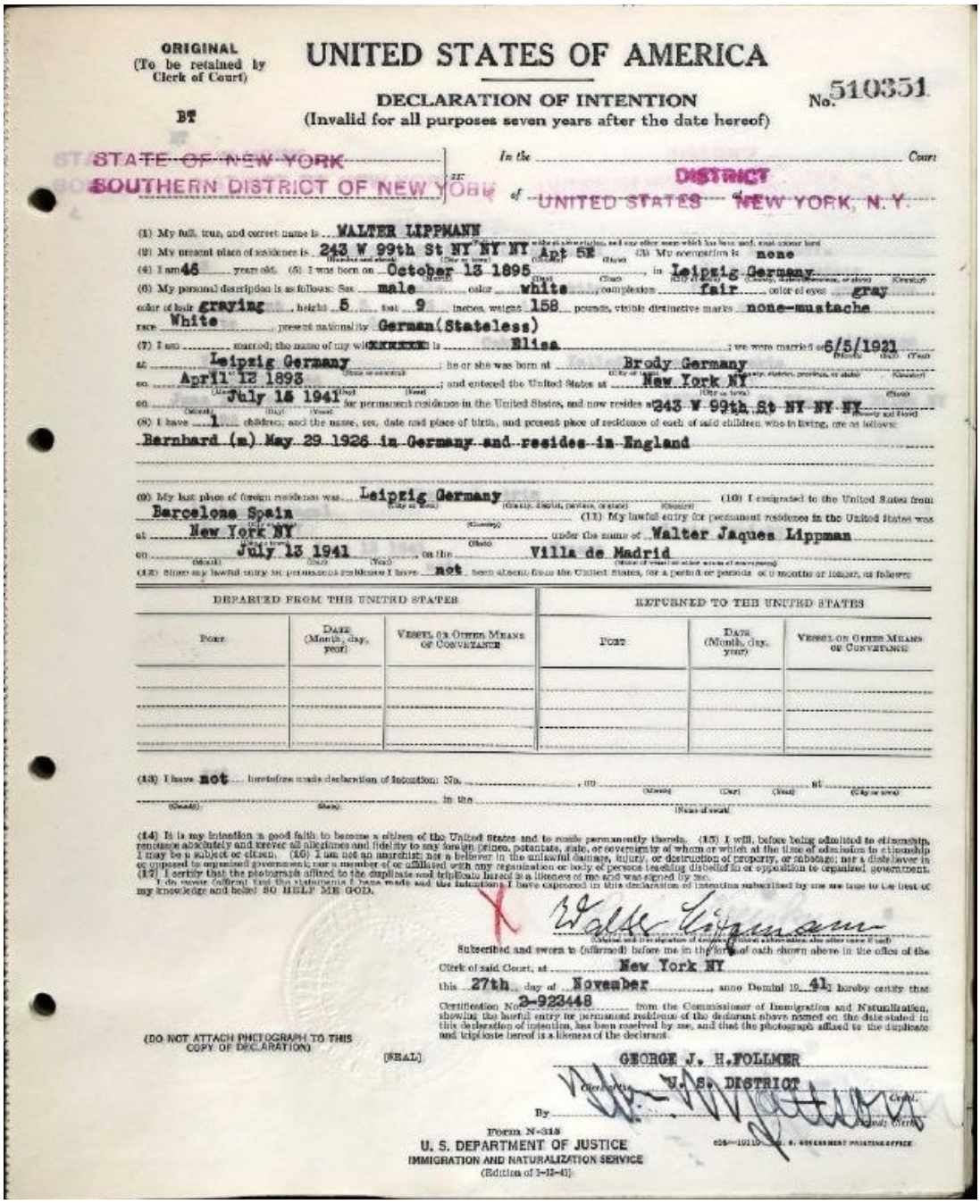
Given his low income after arriving in the USA, this was certainly a major challenge.

The SS Villa de Madrid" once again brought refugees to New York in September 1941.

27.11.1941 Walter Lippmann's US immigration application

I have not yet been able to clarify whether Dr Lippmann had to spend the four and a half months after his arrival on 13 July 1941[635] on Ellis Island. In view of the large number of arriving refugees and immigrants, however, it seems very unlikely that he was detained on Ellis Island from his arrival until he signed his immigration application on 27 November 1941.

I was beside myself with joy when I found the passenger list of 21 June 1941[636] and the immigration application from 27 November 1941 in the Ancestry.de archive. These documents contain exciting information that will help me to put my foot in the door in the USA. The first thing I did was look at the passenger list that was handed over to the authorities when the SS Villa de Madrid arrived.



ORIGINAL
(To be retained by Clerk of Court)

BT

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

DECLARATION OF INTENTION

(Invalid for all purposes seven years after the date hereof)

No. 510351

STATE OF NEW YORK
SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK } ss.

In the DISTRICT Court
of UNITED STATES NEW YORK, N.Y.

(1) My full, true, and correct name is WALTER LIPPMANN

(2) My present place of residence is 243 W 99th St NY NY Apt 5E (Number and street) (City or town) (State) (3) My occupation is none

(4) I am 46 years old. (5) I was born on October 13 1895 (Month) (Day) (Year) in Leipzig Germany (City or town) (State or country)

(6) My personal description is as follows: Sex male color white complexion fair color of eyes gray color of hair graying height 5 feet 9 inches, weight 158 pounds, visible distinctive marks none-mustache race White present nationality German(Stateless)

(7) I am married; the name of my wife is Elisa; we were married on 6/5/1921 (Month) (Day) (Year) at Leipzig Germany (City or town) (State or country); he or she was born at Brody Germany (City or town) (State, district, province, or state) (Country) on April 12 1893 (Month) (Day) (Year); and entered the United States at New York NY (City or town) (State) on July 15 1941 (Month) (Day) (Year) for permanent residence in the United States, and now resides at 243 W 99th St NY NY NY (Number and street) (City or town) (State)

(8) I have 1 children; and the name, sex, date and place of birth, and present place of residence of each of said children who is living, are as follows:

Bernhard (m) May 29 1926 in Germany and resides in England

(9) My last place of foreign residence was Leipzig Germany (City or town) (State, district, province, or state) (Country) (10) I emigrated to the United States from Barcelona Spain (City or town) (Country) (11) My lawful entry for permanent residence in the United States was at New York NY (City or town) (State) under the name of Walter Jaques Lippman on July 15 1941 (Month) (Day) (Year), on the Villa de Madrid (Name of vessel or other means of conveyance)

(12) Since my lawful entry for permanent residence I have not been absent from the United States, for a period or periods of 6 months or longer, as follows:

DEPARTED FROM THE UNITED STATES			RETURNED TO THE UNITED STATES		
Port	Date (Month, day, year)	Vessel or Other Means of Conveyance	Port	Date (Month, day, year)	Vessel or Other Means of Conveyance

(13) I have not heretofore made declaration of intention: No. , on (Month) (Day) (Year) at (City or town) (State) in the (Name of court)

(14) It is my intention in good faith to become a citizen of the United States and to reside permanently therein. (15) I will, before being admitted to citizenship, renounce absolutely and forever all allegiance and fidelity to any foreign prince, potentate, state, or sovereignty of whom or which at the time of admission to citizenship I may be a subject or citizen. (16) I am not an anarchist; nor a believer in the unlawful damage, injury, or destruction of property, or sabotage; nor a disbeliever in or opposed to organized government; nor a member of or affiliated with any organization or body of persons teaching disbelief in or opposition to organized government. (17) I certify that the photograph affixed to the duplicate and triplicate hereof is a likeness of me and was signed by me.

I do, swear (affirm) that the statements I have made and the intention I have expressed in this declaration of intention subscribed by me are true to the best of my knowledge and belief SO HELP ME GOD.

X Walter Lippmann
(Original and first signature of declarant, if initial or abbreviation, also other name if such)

Subscribed and sworn to (affirmed) before me in the form of oath shown above in the office of the Clerk of said Court, at New York NY

this 27th day of November, anno Domini 19 41 I hereby certify that Certification No. 3-922448 from the Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization, showing the lawful entry for permanent residence of the declarant above named on the date stated in this declaration of intention, has been received by me, and that the photograph affixed to the duplicate and triplicate hereof is a likeness of the declarant.

(DO NOT ATTACH PHOTOGRAPH TO THIS COPY OF DECLARATION)

[SEAL]

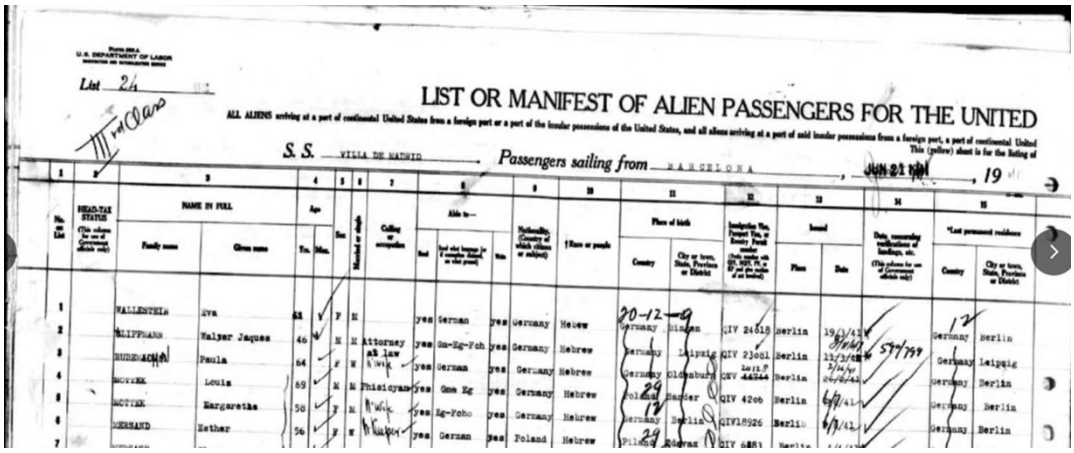
GEORGE J. H.FOLLMER
Clerk of the U. S. DISTRICT Court

By Deputy Clerk

Form N-315
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE
(Edition of 1-12-41)

025—10115 U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

Figure 14 Declaration of Intention, Walter Lippmann



LIST OR MANIFEST OF ALIEN PASSENGERS FOR THE UNITED

S. S. VILLA DE MADRID Passengers sailing from BARCELONA, JUN 21 19

		NAME IN FULL		Age																	
		Family name	Given name	Yrs.	Mos.	Sex	Married or single	Calling or occupation	Able to read	Able to write	Nationality (Country or which citizen or subject)	Race or people	Place of birth: Country	Place of birth: City or town, State, Province or District	Issued: Place	Issued: Date	Date, examination verification of landings, etc.	*Last permanent residence: Country	*Last permanent residence: City or town, State, Province or District
1		WALLENSTEIN	Eva	22		F	M		yes	German	yes	Germany	Hebrew								
2		WALTHMANN	Walter Jaques	46		M	M	Attorney at law	yes	Ge-Eg-Fch	yes	Germany	Hebrew	Germany	Leipzig	QIV 23081	Berlin	19/1/41	5/7/41	Germany	Berlin
3		RUBENACH	Paula	64		F	W		yes	German	yes	Germany	Hebrew	Germany	Oldenburg	QIV 44344	Berlin	11/3/41		Germany	Leipzig
4		MOSSEK	Louis	69		M	M	Physician	yes	Ger Eg	yes	Germany	Hebrew	Poland	Danzig	QIV 420b	Berlin	2/3/41		Germany	Berlin
5		MOSSEK	Margarethe	50		F	M	Wife	yes	Eg-Fch	yes	Germany	Hebrew	Germany	Berlin	QIV18926	Berlin	6/7/41		Germany	Berlin
6		HERSAND	Esther	56		F	W	Widow	yes	German	yes	Poland	Hebrew	Poland	Radom	QIV 6881	Berlin	6/7/41		Germany	Berlin
7																					

Figure 15 Lippmann, passenger list 21 June 1941

We are used to having computers searching through lists. This works very well if the data is entered correctly. Here is an example where this is not the case, where the computer search did not work and I had to read line by line. There were a lot of lines!

"Walver Jaques Clippmann" is number 2 on the passenger list. Two typos in the name make the person almost impossible to find in an online search, so you need to search many lists with your eyes and sometimes think around corners to find the information you are looking for. Dr Lippmann claims to be 46 years old, a lawyer, able to read and write and to speak German, English and French.

He states his nationality as German and his religion as Hebrew. His visa bears the number QIV 23081 and was issued in Berlin. He gives Felix Medelson, Kastanienallee 22 in Breslau as his first contact. He states that he has never been to the United States and that he has more than $50. He gives his cousin, Thea Cahn, 2013 Boolan Ave, Branx, N.Y., as his destination. This is therefore clearly Dr Walter Lippmann.

The immigration application dated 27 November 1941 contains further information that I was not previously aware of. Dr Lippmann describes his appearance as follows: white race, 1.75 m tall, weighing 79 kg, grey eyes, grey hair, unemployed, living in New York at 243 West 99th Street – App 5 E.[637] His current citizenship is German (stateless).

Why does Dr Lippmann claim to be a German citizen in one instance and stateless in another? According to the Reich Citizenship Act of 1935, Jews could be German citizens, but not citizens of the Reich. One possible explanation could also be that he feared that the quota for German immigrants would already be exhausted in November and that he hoped to have better chances as a stateless person.

Dr Lippmann would like to visit his cousin Thea Cahn at 2013 Bollan Ave, in Branx. The correct address should be 2013 Ballon Ave, in the Bronx. Another typo that could have been misleading. According to Ancestry.com, Thea Cahn lived in the Bronx, New York City, on 24 January 1944, was 23 years old and had come to New York in 1934. She was born Thea Gumpert[638] on 13 October 1920 and died on 11 May 1999.

In his immigration application dated 27 November 1941, Dr Lippmann gave the following address in

New York: 243 W 99th St - App 5 E[639] on the corner of Broadway. If Dr Lippmann had wanted to visit theatres, musicals and operas, he could have taken a one-hour walk through Central Park to Times Square and the musical theatres.



Figure 16 Hamburger Abendblatt dated 28 December 1985

What effect did the Manhattan skyline have on him? There was nothing comparable in Leipzig or Berlin. Did he like the Empire State Building, completed only in May 1931 and was then the tallest building in the world?

A new animation technique made it possible in 1933, in the film "King Kong and the White Lady",[640] for exactly this building to be climbed – at least on the cinema screen. And had Edgar Wallace not died before the script was completed, the film might have been even more exciting. As is well known, King Kong died in his attempt to protect the lady.

And speaking of protection and safety – that reminds me: what happened to Elise Lippmann?

16.07.1941 Elise Lippmann's escape

I had always wondered whether, and in what way, Elise might have possibly escaped the Nazis. Why hadn't she boarded the SS Villa de Madrid in Barcelona with Dr Lippmann?

I only found the documents that allowed me to reconstruct Elise's escape a few months later, in a completely different archive from the documents about Walter's escape.

On Walter's JDC transaction card no. 1040,[641] Elise was listed only as "Wife" without being named. From this it could be concluded that the expenses for two people were covered. This assumption was confirmed by the discovery in the archives of a 59-page settlement with the Executive Office for several refugee transports carried out on different ships. The name Lippmann appears a few times on this list, but only in connection with other people. Lippmann is not a rare name. It was only on page 33 that I also found Walter and Elise with the transaction number 1040.

And then I made another exciting discovery. It threw my previous thoughts about their escape out of the window.

I found JDC transaction card 15978[642] for the escape costs, which only shows Elise Lippmann as the beneficiary. Unfortunately, it is not noted who paid the expenses for Elise's escape. As on Walter's card, the address Gohliserstrasse 1 in Leipzig is noted, so I am certain that it is Walter's wife.

On another also undated card with the number 15978, there is an undated handwritten note "cancelled transfer" from case 1040.[643] No reason was given for the cancellation. On the back of the card, the cost of Walter's passage by ship is listed as $374.90, the cost of the train as $42.00, and the cost of food as $32.54, making a total of $449.44. The following is written very illegibly: 15 June 1941, SS Mirandella and 4 July 1941. What do these notes mean?

Card 1040 shows that Elise and Walter wanted to flee to America together. For reasons unknown to me, the JDC subsequently created two separate files.

Perhaps it was already clear in Berlin that the two could not or did not want to flee together?

Then they would have had to say goodbye in Berlin. They had already been through a lot in the 20 years of their marriage. The worst was certainly the separation from their son Bernhard two years earlier. During our lives, we experience old age, illness and separation from loved ones. That is part of the human experience. But how do you say goodbye in such a situation? How much more difficult is it when this separation is brought about by the malice of other people, by the Nazis, under duress?

But perhaps they did not part company until Barcelona, where Walter boarded the SS Villa de Madrid on 21 June 1941, when it might have been easier to say goodbye because they were closer to their destination. But between them and a reunion in America stood the familiar dangers of war at sea, the bureaucratic and political difficulties that could make an escape fail. They knew the fate of ships like the St Louis in 1939.

Elise Lippmann escaped on from Barcelona to Lisbon.[644] Travelling from Barcelona to Lisbon in 1941 was not easy for Germans. During the Second World War, Spain was officially neutral under the dictatorship of Francisco Franco,[645] but there were strict controls and restrictions for travellers, especially for German Jews and all those persecuted by the Nazis. It can be said that Franco was sympathetic to the Nazis. Portugal was also neutral under the dictator Antonio de Oliveira Salazar[646] and became an important transit country for refugees from Nazi persecution. Today, a journey by fast train from Barcelona to Lisbon takes around 12 hours. It can be assumed that it took much longer and was much more uncomfortable back then than it is today. Did she and Walter possibly leave Berlin on 15 June 1941?

An archived multi-page passenger list of the SS Mirandella[647] shows that Elise boarded as passenger no. 9 on 4 July 1941 to travel from Lisbon to New York.

Did Elise think the 4th of July[648] in 1941 was a good omen? This day commemorates 4 July 1776, when the USA declared its independence from Great Britain. This day is a symbol of freedom and self-determination.

Another passenger list dated 16 July 1941[649] (here Elise has the number 9 or 12) contains the following information: Elise wants to be naturalised. She states that she is German and was born and married in Brody, Poland. Her passport/visa was issued in Berlin on 11 March 1941. On the back of the document, she describes her appearance: brown eyes, brown hair, 1.57 metres tall. She states that the

travelling expenses were paid by her father (and not by the JDC as had been assumed). She had $10 (!) with her. She states that she speaks German, English, French and Esperanto.

The port agency Dichmann, Wright & Pugh[650] – or, equally possible, a later transcription error during digitisation – recorded on 4 July 1941 that Elise's final destination was Woodride, NY. Since no place of that name exists in New York, it is reasonable to assume that Woodridge, NY was meant; this destination is far more plausible than Woodridge in Illinois.

She named as contact person Benjamin D. Schwartz, who lived at 601 W 168th St in New York. Somewhat disheartened, I set off in search of the traces of Benjamin Schwartz. Schwartz is not an uncommon name. I found 17,405 records in the digital search in the Ancestry.de[651] archive alone.

I was very lucky to find the right one after two hours. I found the immigration application[652] of Benjamin D. Schwartz (born 24 August 1905 in Grodno, Poland). He had been married to his wife Anna Schwartz (born on 5 January 1913 in Lukow, Poland) since 4 June 1933. They lived from mid-1933 at the address given by Elise in New York.

The fact that Benjamin D. Schwartz had been in New York since (at least) December 1928 was confirmed by two witnesses on the immigration application. The application for naturalisation was submitted on 14 May 1930. Unfortunately, the information is very difficult to read. The notes show he arrived in New York from Danzig on the SS Estonia on 29 April 1928. He became an American citizen when he took the oath of allegiance on 19 March 1934.

But now back to the passenger list[653] of the SS Mirandella, the ship on which Elise travelled to reach the "Land of the Free". This list also shows that the crew consisted of 45 people on arrival in New York. On departure for Lisbon on 23 July 1941, there were only 39 crew members left. One man had died and five had deserted, i.e. they had not returned to the ship.

Elise's visa was issued on 11 March 1941, but she had to wait four anxious months before she was finally able to leave Lisbon for New York on 4 July 1941.

Those four months must have seemed endless to her and Walter. While they waited, the Nazi regime tightened the restrictive laws against the Jewish population. How did they cope with the uncertainty and fear that their escape might fail so close to their departure?

For example, the invasion of the Soviet Union on 22 June 1941, "Operation Barbarossa",[654] marked a turning point in the Second World War and intensified the persecution of Jews in the territories controlled by the National Socialists. The importance of luck and chance during this fateful period is illustrated by the few known and (still) unknown circumstances of the escape and the risks involved.

Their escape is an impressive example of how survival in extreme times often depends on unpredictable factors, but also on the fact that you must take your fate into your own hands with courage, optimism and self-confidence.

It was nothing short of a miracle that Elise Lippmann XE "Lippmann, Elise (geb. Barbag)" arrived in New York on 16 July 1941, just one day after Walter. For four long weeks, they had lived in silence — oceans apart, uncertain of each other's fate. And then, against all odds, they stood face to face in freedom.

As an enthusiastic swing dancer, I imagine how they danced with joy to the current hits from the radio such as Frank Sinatra's[655] „This Love of Mine"[656] with Tommy Dorsey[657] & Orchestra or Glenn Miller's[658] „Chattanooga Choo-Choo"[659]. This music will always remind me of the two of them – but at the same time also of 18 August 1941.

On this day, the Nazis arrested young people all over Germany, the Swing-Youth, who did not want to march in step with the Hitler Youth but preferred to dance to swing music. But more on that later.

19.09.1941 Jewish star

From 19 September 1941, Jewish citizens were forced by police order to wear clearly visible on their clothing the Star of David with the inscription "Jew", the so-called "Jewish Star". This stigmatising measure was another part of the systematic surveillance and control of the Jews' restricted freedom of movement.

A few years earlier, the "Jüdische Rundschau"endnote 659[660] had already called out in its issue of 4 April 1933: "Wear it with pride, the yellow stain!" A few days earlier, shops and houses belonging to Jews had been daubed with the Star of David and a boycott had been called for.

While rummaging through the JDC archives, I found, among other things, a 'confidential' letter dated 17 March 1942,[661] which describes the situation of the Jews in Nazi Germany in great detail and confirms that Dr Lippmann's fate was not an isolated case.

29.09.1941 Mass shooting at Babyn Yar

On 29 and 30 September 1941 alone, more than 33,771 Jewish men, women and children were murdered within 48 hours in a ravine on the outskirts of the Ukrainian city of Kiev. The murders in Babyn Yar[662] continued until the autumn of 1943, shortly before the Soviets gained control of Kiev on 6 November 1943. It is estimated that a total of around 100,000 Jewish and non-Jewish people as well as Russian prisoners of war were murdered in Babyn Yar, which is called Babyn Yar in Ukrainian and Babi Yar in Russian.

I remember older colleagues telling me in the mid-seventies that the German Wehrmacht fought fairly and behaved decently. In this case at least, it has been proved that the main perpetrators were members of the Security Police[663] - consisting of the Secret State Police(Gestapo)[664] and Criminal Police, the Security Service(SD),[665] the Order Police(Orpo)[666] and the Waffen-SS[667] – who, in the Babyn Yar massacre,[668] were actively supported by members of the Wehrmacht. They observed the shootings and, in some cases, helped to carry out the murders.



Figure 17 Square of the Jewish Deportees next to the University of Hamburg

15.10.1941 Start of the systematic deportations

From 15 October 1941, the National Socialists in the German Reich began the systematic deportation of Jews[669] to the ghettos and extermination camps. The Arolsen Archives have carried out extensive research to gather information about those persecuted, the perpetrators and the places and processes of the Nazi deportations. The results are now available in a digital image atlas.[670]

A central gathering point for these deportations in Hamburg was the green area in front of the Lodge House on Moorweidenstrasse, opposite the Dammtor railway station and next to Hamburg University. The square is centrally located and easily visible to everyone. This place, today's "Platz der Deportierten" (Square of the Deportees), stands in a special way for the systematic murder of Hamburg's Jewish population, even if other places were later used as deportation cites.

The trains did not depart from Dammtor station, but from Hanover station[671] which was near the harbour, to the Theresienstadt concentration camp or to other Eastern European ghettos and concentration camps in Lodz[672] or Minsk.[673] Since 1996, one of the transport wagons used has stood as a "Freight Wagon Memorial"[674] in front of the district school in Hamburg Winterhude, which is located in the Jarrestadt[675] quarter.

The school and the housing estate were built in the style of reform architecture[676] according to the plans of Fritz Schumacher[677] and Karl Schneider[678] in the 1920s. Many of Schumacher's impressive buildings can still be seen in Hamburg today. In Leipzig, he built the first German commercial college, today's Geschwister-Scholl-Haus, in 1910.

Karl Schneider was an architect and professor at the Landeskunstschule am Lerchenfeld in Hamburg. In 1938, he followed his partner, the Jewish photographer Ursula Wolff,[679] to Chicago, where he succumbed to a serious illness in 1945.

23.10.1941 Emigration Ban for Jews

The Lippmann couple fled literally at the last minute, just before the emigration ban was issued! They probably left Germany on 15 June1941.

The ban on emigration[680] on 23 October 1941 for the Jews remaining in the German Reich was a further step in the systematic persecution that was to lead to the Final Solution,[681] the extermination of the Jewish population by the Nazi regime. Emigration was a cruel instrument of racial policy to consign the Jewish population to their final fate of systematic murder in the Holocaust. This brutal measure was taken because the Nazi regime wanted to bring about the so called "Jewish Question".[682]

11.12.1941 Germany declares war on the USA

The Three Paty Pact of 27 September 1940[683] between the German Reich, the Kingdom of Italy and the Empire of Japan was intended as a pledge of military assistance against enemies. However, it was essentially about the division of spheres of interest and strategic importance for the post-war period. Italy wanted to secure dominance in the Mediterranean. Japan coveted the East Asian region, which was largely under British influence. The German Empire wanted to extend its sphere of influence into Eastern Europe.

In November, Japan had again received assurances from the German Empire and Italy that they would stand by Japan if it had to "defend" itself against the USA. Following this assurance, the Japanese navy attacked the American naval base at Pearl Harbor[684] on the Hawaiian island of Oahu on 7 December 1941. This attack led to the USA's entry into World War II and the theatre of war moving to the Pacific. After the attack on Pearl Harbor, the USA declared war on Japan. In response, the German Reich and Italy declared war on the USA on 11 December 1941.

23.02.1942 Stefan Zweig's escape into death

Stefan Zweig[685] was a widely read and respected writer and author of literary biographies such as "Magellan", "Maria Stuart" and "The Triumph or The Tragedy of Erasmus of Rotterdam". Shortly before his death, he completed his impressive autobiographical book "The World of Yesterday – Memoirs of a European". The loss of his "spiritual home Europe" and "the long years of homeless wandering" had exhausted him, he wrote in his farewell letter.[686] Together with his wife Lotte, they had decided "voluntarily and in their right minds" to leave life together.

It is deeply moving to learn that not all people who managed to flee into exile found a new home there. Many people who had lost their families and their homeland suffered great emotional pain and grief, which led to severe depression and psychological stress. The loss, the trauma and the feeling of being uprooted were so overwhelming for many that they felt suicide was the only way out. He concludes his farewell letter with the following words:

> "I greet all my friends!
> May they still see the dawn after the long night!
> I, all too impatient, go ahead of them."

Fortunately, many other refugees lived to see the dawn. Despite the pain of losing their families, homes and possessions, they found a way to orient themselves in their "new, free life", which was certainly not always easy.

07.07.1942 Stalingrad

The Battle of Stalingrad[687] began on 7 July 1942. Up to 300,000 soldiers of the German Wehrmacht and its allies were encircled by the Red Army. Despite the hopeless situation at the front, the military leadership – or rather Hitler, who was sitting warm and dry in Berlin - insisted on continuing the fighting and demanded that the German troops offer resistance.

The 2 February 1943 is regarded as the turning point in the course of the war,[688] as most of the German soldiers stopped fighting and went into captivity; about 10,000 soldiers continued to resist until the beginning of March 1943.

More than 700,000 people lost their lives in the fighting, most of them Red Army soldiers. The extraordinarily high casualties on both sides were not only due to the armed violence, but also to the extreme winter conditions with temperatures of down to -40 degrees, and the lack of clothing and food.

Of the approximately 110,000 soldiers who were taken prisoner, only 5,000 to 6,000 returned home.

My grandfather only returned to his family in Boizenburg from Soviet captivity on 1 December 1947. When he entered the house, his daughters did not recognise the sick, emaciated man who was their father. That was the experience of many of the few people who returned home.

24.07.1943 Operation Gomorrah - Hamburg firestorm

Bombs had been falling on Hamburg since 18 May 1940. There were air raid alarms almost every night. The population "got used" to the wailing of the sirens when they were told to seek shelter in the cellars or bunkers. By the end of the war, 213 air raids had destroyed half the country's living space, left 900,000 people homeless, killed around 55,000 people and injured hundreds of thousands more.

From 24 July to 3 August 1943, British and American air forces in a concerted „Operation Gomorrha"[689] reduced Hamburg to rubble. On the night of 28 July 1943, the Royal Air Force dropped phosphorus bombs on parts of the city east of the Alster, setting fire to the roof trusses of many houses[690] and destroyed the houses.

The attacks during the Hamburg firestorm[691] destroyed a total of 277,330 homes, 580 industrial plants, 2,632 commercial enterprises, 80 Wehrmacht facilities, 24 hospitals, 277 schools and 58 churches.

You must bear these figures in mind to understand how difficult the post-war housing situation was in a city like Hamburg. After the war, refugees from the occupied eastern territories came to the city in search of a new home.

After the Allies had taken Sicily in July 1943 and subsequently agreed to an armistice, Italy dissolved its alliance with the German Reich. In response, the German Wehrmacht occupied northern Italy,

including its industrial regions, and declared around 650,000 Italian soldiers who had previously fought alongside Germany to be "military internees".

Up to 10,000 prisoners of war and concentration camp inmates, some of them Italian, had to retrieve bodies from the rubble and collect body parts from the streets of Hamburg to bury them in mass graves at the Ohlsdorf cemetery. Due to unexploded bombs, collapsing ruins and a lack of protective clothing, a third of them died and others suffered the consequences of this work for the rest of their lives. Many Italians found their final resting place in the Öjendorf cemetery.[692]

With the bombing raids on London and Coventry in the Blitzkrieg of 1940, the German Luftwaffe had sown the wind that now came back to our city as the Hamburg firestorm.[693]

Why am I frightened by the film footage of my hometown, which was in flames for days?[694] Perhaps because I live in the neighbourhood that was hit hard by the air raids. Because I can see the scars in the cityscape, I have an idea of the extent of the destruction and devastation.

> "He who sows the wind reaps the whirlwind!" Hosea 8:7

The house Dr Lippmann lived and I live in, Grillparzer Str. 4, burned down during the Hamburg firestorm. I found this out when I was interested in the "biographical" data of my house, which was also once the home of Eugen Tuteur and Dr Walter Lippmann. At the beginning of June 2024, I was able to inspect the files of the land registry and the building police.

In 1948, Goethe Strasse[695] in Uhlenhorst, was renamed Grillparzer Strasse because Altona, a separate town outside of Hamburg that had belonged to Denmark for some time and where there was also a Goethe Strasse, was incorporated into the city of Hamburg.

In 1931, the decision was made to build a semi-detached house with 27 flats on a plot at the southern end of Goethe Strasse 4 and 6. The architect Willy F. G. Henze had erected eleven buildings in Ulmenstrasse and Buchenallee in 1929, which are on the list of cultural monuments in Hamburg-Winterhude. The staircase in Mührenhof,[696] Bei den Mühren 70[697] near Hamburg's Speicherstadt, the old warehouse quarter in the port, is considered one of the most beautiful of its time. On 23 January 1932, the architect received planning permission for his client, the Uhlenhorst Citizens' Association.[698] Construction work began on 11 November 1934 and the new building in Goethe Strasse was approved on 13 June 1935. The construction period was remarkably short. It should not be forgotten that the global economic crisis led to a shortage of materials and capital, among other things, and that the houses were built by hand, i.e. without modern construction machinery.

At the end of the fire storm in the summer of 1943 the house was completely burnt out. Only the outer walls, the stairwells and the load-bearing walls were left standing. The basement ceilings were covered 2 metres high with rubble and threatened to collapse. Despite the danger and because of the housing shortage, some people lived in the cellars.

On 22 November 1949, Werner Suerbier Bauunternehmung KG, as the new owner of the property, received the preliminary approval for reconstruction, which began on 7 March 1950 and was completed on 27 October 1950.

Dr Walter Lippmann moved into the flat on the first floor to the right of Grillparzer Str. 4 in 1955 and I moved in in 1987. Eugen Tuteur was one of the first tenants to live here in 1936 - until he was

deported to Theresienstadt in 1942.

Our circumstances, those of Eugen Tuteur, Dr Lippmann and myself, could hardly be more different. C. G. Jung defined synchronicity as the coincidence of two or more events that are not causally connected but nevertheless have a meaningful relationship to each other.

In our case, the spatial and temporal proximity of our lives, even though we have never met in person, is for me such a meaningful encounter. Reflecting on the historical continuity and tragedies hidden behind the walls of Grillparzer Strasse 4 allows me a deeper understanding and connection to other people's experiences that goes beyond mere causality. It illustrates how history and individual destinies are often interwoven with an invisible thread, and how important it is to preserve and learn from these stories in order to recognise these connections and patterns.

Ken Wilber[699] is a well-known theorist of Integral Theory, which brings together insights from philosophy, psychology, spirituality and the philosophy of science into a comprehensive model. According to this view, history, society and consciousness do not develop in a linear fashion but in a spiral, embodying an evolutionary principle. The spiral symbolises a process in which older patterns and insights reappear in new contexts, thereby enabling a dynamic and ongoing process of learning and development.

To recognise such developments, we must remain vigilant and critical. Today's extremists no longer wear brown shirts — they may well appear in white blouses beneath tailored women's jackets, presenting themselves as respectable. And that is precisely why our vigilance must be greater than ever.

19.11.1943 German declaration of war on Judaism

"German declaration of war on Judaism". This was the headline of an article in the Tel Aviv newspaper Mitteilungsblatt from 19 November 1943.[700]

The article summarises the developments from a Jewish perspective from 1933 up to the point at which the Nazis declared that they regarded the Jews as enemies of war and would therefore have to treat them accordingly. This applied to all Jews, including those who did not live in the German Reich or in the occupied territories – in other words, to Jews everywhere in the world!

It was around this time that one of my "silent, honourable heroes" did what he felt was necessary out of compassion and perhaps also out of the "categorical imperative". This courageous 21-year-old man secretly brought three groups of Jewish children from France across the Swiss border. Three years later, he began his training as an actor in Paris. He went on to become the world-famous pantomime "Monsieur Bip", alias Marcel Marceau.[701]

His story is an inspiring example of how, even in the darkest times and deepest despair, a single light can dispel the darkness. Viktor E. Frankl often said that every person, regardless of external circumstances, has the freedom to choose their attitude and behave humanely. "Monsieur Bip" chose wisely.

04.12.1943 Bombing of Leipzig

Throughout 1943, the Royal Air Force flew heavy air raids on Leipzig,[702] amongst other cities. The raids of 4 December 1943 caused enormous destruction and high loss of life. Over 1,800 people are said to have died. There were further attacks in the years that followed, which caused further damage to the city and its inhabitants. Leipzig shared this fate with many other German cities that were severely damaged by bombing.

I assume that Dr Lippmann saw the pictures of his destroyed hometown on American newsreels or at least heard about the bombings on the radio.

How immeasurably great must the feeling of helplessness and the fear for the family members, friends, colleagues and neighbours left behind have been.

30.01.1945 Sinking of the Wilhelm Gustloff

As the Red Army advanced towards East Prussia in January 1945, many people tried to reach safety and desperately sought escape routes. The largest of the refugee ships used to evacuate civilians, wounded and soldiers from the east had previously sailed as a cruise ship of the organisation Kraft durch Freude (KdF)[703] under the name of the National Socialist, Wilhelm Gustloff.[704] Refugees streamed from all directions to Gotenhafen near Danzig, where the ship Wilhelm Gustloff[705] had docked. On 30 January 1945, the Wilhelm Gustloff was torpedoed by a Soviet submarine and sank in the ice-cold water of the Baltic Sea off Gdingen (now Gdynia in Poland). It is estimated that around 9,300 people died and 1,200 were rescued.

In comparison, around 1,495 people lost their lives when the RMS Titanic[706] sank on 14/15 April 1912.

Escaping by sea[707] as dangerous, so my grandparents, like many others, decided to leave Königsberg by land and head west. As the Russian army had cut off the land route to the west, they had to try their luck across the frozen Curonian lagoon[708]. My great-grandparents were too old and too weak to flee, and they also wanted to wait in Königsberg for their 16-year-old son Harry, who had been drafted into the Volkssturm[709]. Tragically, they were both killed by Red Army soldiers.

My grandparents, who had left my great-grandparents behind in Königsberg[710], were pulling my six-year-old father and his little sister on a children's sledge across the ice on the Curonian Lagoon. They could see the Red Army approaching[711] on the horizon and heavily laden carts breaking through the ice to the left and right. The horses screamed as they were dragged under the ice by the weight of the wagons. This image haunted my father's nightmares until the end of his life.

23.01.1945 End of the resistance

During the National Socialist era, there were several resistance groups in the German Reich that fought against the dictatorial rule and inhumane policies of the Nazi regime. Unfortunately, there is not enough space here to adequately honour them.

However, I would at least like to take this opportunity to recall the names of the best-known groups.

Helmuth James Graf von Moltke (1907-1945)[712] was a German lawyer and resistance fighter against National Socialism. During the Second World War he worked in the international law department of the German Reich's Abwehr and at the same time campaigned against the human rights violations of the Nazi regime. He was a co-founder of the Kreisau Circle,[713] a resistance group that opposed the Nazi regime and developed plans for a Germany after Hitler. He rejected violence and campaigned for a moral and democratic renewal of Germany. In January 1944, he was arrested because he had warned a friend of his imminent arrest.

A year later, he and other members of the Kreisau Circle were sentenced to death by the President of the People's Court, Roland Freisler. Twelve days after his conviction, on 11 January 1945, he died on the gallows. The resistance fighter Graf von Moltke honoured the obligation to face up to one's own history and to find a new way of dealing with the guilt for the injustices committed from 1933 onwards.

The students of the White Rose resistance[714] movement used leaflets to draw attention to the crimes of the Nazi regime. Graf von Moltke's connection to the White Rose student resistance movement was that he brought their sixth leaflet to Scandinavia, where it was translated and distributed. This helped to spread the White Rose's message internationally. The members of the White Rose were beheaded with a guillotine in Munich's Stadelheim prison:

On 22 February 1943, Sophie Scholl,[715] born in 1921, and Hans Scholl,[716] born in 1918, and on 13 July 1943, Alexander Schmorell,[717] born in 1917, and Kurt Huber[718], born in 1917, were executed. On 12 October 1943, Willi Graf,[719] born 1918, was also executed after months of interrogation by the Gestapo.

In his farewell letter to his family, Kurt Huber[720] wrote:

> "Rejoice with me! I may die for my fatherland,
> for a just and more beautiful fatherland
> that will surely emerge from this war."

But there was also resistance within the military. Leading soldiers around Graf Claus von Stauffenberg had attempted to kill Adolf Hitler by assassination on 20 July 1944.

The resistance of many social democratic, socialist and communist groups, such as the Rote Kapelle[721], was also very strong. They tried, as other groups or individuals, to educate with leaflets, to disrupt by sabotage and to pass on information to the Allies.

The novel by Hans Fallada was published in 1946, followed in 1976 by the film "Jeder stirbt für sich allein" [722], (Every Man Dies Alone), which tells the story of a married couple, the mother played by Hildegard Knef, who secretly distribute with her husband postcards with anti-Nazi messages in Berlin after the death of their only son during the Second World War. The Gestapo arrest the two and they were sentenced to death in a show trial.

Fallada's "Jeder stirbt für sich allein" or Anna Seghers' "Das siebte Kreuz" (The Seventh Cross)[723] can be regarded as contemporary documents, as their authors themselves experienced the events and social circumstances of the time. Their works provide valuable insights into the experiences and emotions of the time.

Let me come back to Viktor E. Frankl, who would put it like this: We cannot expect others to perform heroic deeds that we ourselves not prepared to do. Nevertheless, it is important to honour and respect those who had the courage to do the right thing in difficult times.

In the midst of danger and adverse circumstances, these people freely and independently chose to give meaning to their lives by standing up for their convictions - and they were prepared to die for them if necessary. In this way, they were able to rise above themselves, transcend suffering and pain and (hopefully) face life and death with serenity.

08.05.1945 Nazi Germany surrenders

On 8 May 1945, the Second World War in Europe ended with the unconditional surrender of Germany.[724] This day marked a turning point in history, signalling both the end of a devastating war and the beginning of a long and difficult reconstruction of millions of homes, industrial plants and infrastructures, but also the restoration of people's confidence in a peaceful future.

The Allies, made up of the Soviet Union, the USA, Great Britain and France, had defeated the Nazi regime and laid the foundations for a new world order. The horrors of the Holocaust and the atrocities committed by the Nazi regime came to light, causing horror and grief around the world.

In Germany itself, the surrender was a moment of both relief and shock. Millions of people had lost their homes, the cities lay in ruins, and the economy was devastated.

The immediate post-war period was marked by hunger, homelessness, unemployment and the difficult task of building a new, democratic Germany. The consequences of the war[725] were hard to bear for everyone.

8 May 1945 became a day of remembrance and reflection. It reminds us how important it is to learn from history and to advocate for peace and justice. Reconciliation and reconstruction after the war show that hope and new beginnings are possible even after the darkest times.

At the end of the war,[726] Hamburg was faced with some 43 million tonnes of rubble, not including the port. Although Berlin was almost four times the size of Hamburg, it had less than twice as much rubble, some 70 million tonnes. The debris in Hamburg would have been enough to not only fill the 164-hectare, 4.5-metre-deep Outer Alster, but also to raise it to a height of 23 metres.

After the end of the war, the image of the Trümmerfrauen, the "rubble women"[727] emerged – a notion that later became a cultural memory myth: women who cleared the destroyed cities. Yet already during the war, prisoners of war, concentration camp inmates and members of the Reich Labour Service had been deployed for clearing rubble. Many lost their lives when unexploded ordnance detonated or collapsing ruins crushed them.

In the collective memory, the image persists of the rubble women who broke stones or removed 400 million cubic metres of debris using bucket chains. In this generalised form, however, the image does not withstand historical scrutiny. Although women – particularly in Berlin and in the Soviet occupation zone – did take part in clearing rubble, the majority of the work was carried out by machines and professional companies, as well as, already during the war, by forced labourers, prisoners of war and other workers.

In the American and French occupation zones, the deployment of women for such work was rejected; in the British zone, only a small number of women were used between 1945 and 1947. Berlin played a special role, as unemployed men and women were drafted for rubble clearance. Later, the figure of the rubble woman became associated in the West with the economic miracle, and in the East with the construction of socialism. The women's movement of the 1980s also adopted this idealised image.

This clarification is by no means intended to diminish the extraordinary achievements of women, particularly in the post-war years. They faced the difficult task of providing food for their families, washing clothes by hand and carrying coal for the stoves into the air-raid shelters. This speaks volumes about the resilience, resourcefulness and quiet strength of those who managed the reconstruction after the war – an immense testament to survival amid the ruins.

At the same time, this clarification seems necessary to me because it highlights that accounts described as oral history[728] must also be critically examined. They are true in individual cases, but one must not generalise from the individual to the whole. The value of such oral accounts lies in the personal perspective of the narrators and in their emotional experiences – these are authentic, but not readily generalisable; they do, however, show what was possible.

08.05.1945 Day of liberation

After 8 May 1945, the international community began its efforts to help the liberated concentration camp prisoners. Humanitarian organisations such as the Red Cross, the Jewish Relief Organisation[729] and the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA)[730] quickly activated their resources to provide urgently needed assistance. This aid included the provision of food, medical care and clothing as well as psychosocial support for the survivors, who often suffered from severe health and psychological trauma. Camps for refugees and displaced persons were set up to provide them with temporary accommodation and to help them rebuild their lives. International aid was crucial for the survival and rehabilitation of the liberated concentration camp prisoners, even if it was often insufficient.

The Allies demanded that the Federal Republic of Germany make reparation to the victims of National Socialism. But more on this later.

The German surrender ended the war in Europe, but not yet in Asia.

06.08.1945 Hiroshima and Nagasaki

The atomic bombs dropped by the USA[731] on Hiroshima[732] in Japan on 6 August 1945 and on Nagasaki[733] on 9 August 1945 are still the only uses of nuclear weapons[734] in a war.

President Harry S. Truman[735] had ordered the use of the atomic bombs. He believed it to be "the greatest achievement of organised science in history". 200,000 people died[736] immediately because of the bombing.

The loss of life and health caused by the radioactivity released can hardly be estimated for future generations. With the two nuclear strikes, the USA opened Pandora's box.

The atomic bombing crossed an important ethical boundary in warfare similar to the use of poison gas in the First World War, even though the bombs led to Japan's surrender and ended the Second World War altogether.

Robert Oppenheimer[737] was the scientific director of the Manhattan Project[738] and developed the first atomic bomb together with other important scientists such as Enrico Fermi,[739] Leó Szilárd,[740] Niels Bohr,[741] Edward Teller,[742] Richard Feynman,[743] John von Neumann,[744] and Hans Bethe.[745] Many of them were Jews and had fled from the Nazis, as was Albert Einstein. With his work on the theory of relativity, Albert Einstein[746] had inadvertently provided the theoretical basis for the development of a nuclear weapon.

He had warned the American President Franklin D. Roosevelt[747] in a letter that the Nazis could develop an atomic bomb. However, due to his pacifist political views, Einstein was not directly involved in the Manhattan Project. The first test detonation took place on 16 July 1945 in the New Mexico desert.

Robert Oppenheimer became known as the "father of the atomic bomb" but later condemned its use after the bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. After the war, he campaigned for international control of nuclear energy and spoke out against a nuclear arms race. During the McCarthy era, he came into conflict with the political leadership because of his political stance and his criticism of the development of armaments, which led to the withdrawal of his security clearance in 1954.

Friedrich Dürrenmatt[748] dramatised this conflict in his 1962 play "The Physicists".[749] It is about knowledge and the moral responsibility of scientists for the consequences of their findings.

Medical experiments on people in concentration camps without their consent violated all basic ethical principles, including the oath of Hippocrates. Had the nation of poets and thinkers forgotten its own Kant? According to Kant's "Groundwork for the Metaphysics of Morals",[750] man is always to be regarded as an end in himself and never as a mere means to an end.

But man must not exceed the general ethical boundaries and must always be orientated towards the well-being of the individual. These moral boundaries must be explored continually re-examined. Today, for example, we must think about the use of AI, artificial intelligence.

These warnings from Dr Albert Einstein prompted President Roosevelt to push ahead with the American nuclear programme. Shortly before his death, Albert Einstein described them as the only major mistake of his life.

Dr Einstein emphasised in several writings that scientific knowledge is never complete and that every advance give rise to new questions – for example in his 1936 essay "Physics and Reality". After the Second World War, he also warned in interviews with the "New York Times" (May 1946) that the technical mastery of the forces of nature, without a corresponding moral development of humanity, was dangerous.

But after this war, world politics changed fundamentally. The use of atomic bombs ushered in the nuclear age and emphasised how dangerous and unpredictable wars can be. This led to the Arms Race during the Cold War, in which the major countries tried to develop more and more nuclear weapons.

The threat of nuclear weapons strongly influenced international politics, and the issue of security remains very important for all countries.

During the Cold War, the nuclear Overkill,[751] i.e. the nuclear destruction potential, corresponded to around 2,500 times the destructive power[752] of the Second World War.

The pacifist "Manifesto against compulsory military service military training of youth",[753] which had been written by the "Joint Peace Council", was published as early as autumn 1930. Among the signatories were Albert Einstein, Sigmund Freud,[754] Selma Lagerlöf,[755] Thomas Mann, Romain Rolland,[756] Bertrand Russell,[757] Upton Sinclair,[758] Rabindranath Tagore,[759] H. G. Wells[760] and Stefan Zweig.

As a pacifist, Albert Einstein worked on the moral development of the world and the secrets of the cosmos until his death on 18 April 1955.

I have been "travelling" through history and the archives for a few months now. That's why the rediscovery of the "Manifesto against Compulsory Military Service"[761] particularly touched me.

In 1979, during my legal recognition procedure as conscientious objector. I reject violence in any form. As the son of German refugees, I did not want to be forced during the Cold War[762] under any circumstances to fight on a man-made border against other people who belonged to my family but lived in the GDR. In principle, I condemn war as a means of politics.

At the same time, I believe in the principle of the defensive pacifist, who can fight back in self-defence if attacked. It is important that we work for peace and justice but also can protect ourselves from immediate threats. This balance between active pacifism and the right to self-defence is of central importance to me.

I say this because I feel that this deeply rooted attitude is the result of good family education and enlightened school lessons. Although we are moving further and further away in time from the catastrophe of the Second World War and the Holocaust, we must not begin to forget.

02.09.1945 End of the 2nd World War

On 2 September 1945, the Second World War ended with the signing of the Japanese declaration of surrender[763] on board the American battleship USS Missouri in Tokyo Bay.

This officially ended the Second World War. The war had lasted six years and was the most devastating in human history.

1942 - 1947 Temporary jobs of Walter Lippmann

The Lippmann couple arrived in New York in July 1941 and experienced world events there. Dr Lippmann briefly describes his first years in the USA in his curriculum vitae from 1955[764]:

> "Various professional activities and casual jobs in commerce, industry and welfare organisations in New York, Collegeville near Philadelphia and in Philadelphia."

I am quoting excerpts from Dr Erich Simon's affidavit from 1955, which supplements the information provided by Dr Lippmann. I found this document in Dr Lippmann's Berlin restitution file[765] in July 2024:

> "In the United States, where Dr Lippmann arrived in July 1941 [aged 46], he found it difficult to find any work at all, let alone suitable work, given his age and unsuitable educational background.
>
> He was unemployed until February 1942 and in later years repeatedly moved between different positions. He worked in a factory, in a statistical office, ran a holiday camp for boys, was a salesman, later managing director of a drug store, paymaster in a hospital, office manager in a commercial company and accountant for an advertising agency."
>
> "According to the available income tax files and an estimate for 1942 and 1944, since documents are missing for these two years, his income in America in the years 1942 to 1954 [totalled] $36,866, i.e. an average of $2,835 per year."

That was very little money, because the average annual income in the USA[766] at that time was around $10,000.

Walter and Elise Lippmann lived with the family of Elise's cousin Benjamin D. Schwartz at 601 W 168th St in New York. The flat was north of the former Jewish Harlem[767] in the now Jewish Bronx.[768] There were 260 synagogues here for up to 350,000 people, which quickly developed into a lively community. However, the constant influx of immigrants also led to a persistent housing shortage and gentrification in other neighbourhoods in New York.

Black and Jewish inhabitants lived side by side here and had to get along with each other. There were prejudices on both sides. Many Jews were stigmatised by the general racism of the whites, just as the blacks were influenced by white anti-Semitism. Their historical experiences were very different. Some were descendants of abducted slaves; others were Jews who had been expelled from their homeland.

What united them, however, was the experience of racial discrimination by the white majority, which we now refer to as white supremacy.[769] For example, the principle of racial segregation in public, e.g. on buses, still applied to black Americans until the Civil Rights Act of 1964.[770] The Jews had had similar experiences in the German Reich only they were now able to take off the stigmatising Jewish star. The blacks could not remove their skin. And yet they all strove for the freedom enshrined in the American Declaration of Independence. "Pursuit of Happiness",[771] the founding fathers of the USA wrote this ideal into the founding charter back in 1776:

> "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these rights are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness".

Unfortunately, the documents I found do not provide any information about how Elise and Walter

Lippmann experienced their first years in America. Perhaps – unlike Stefan Zweig - they shared the view of Thomas Mann, who wrote in The New York Times of 22 February 1938:[772]

> "It [exile] is hard to bear. But what makes it easier is the awareness of the poisoned atmosphere in Germany. It makes it easier because in reality you haven't lost anything. Where I am, is Germany! I carry my German culture within me. I live in contact with the world, and I don't see myself as a fallen human being."

Dr Lippmann was unable to work as a lawyer in America. Fortunately for both of them, they spoke English. This enabled them to find "jobs" that did not correspond to their professional training but still provided an income. Dr Lippmann later described his various jobs as "emergency professions".

Even then, flats in New York tended to be small and expensive. Hospitality dictated taking in refugees as visitors from Europe, but the generosity soon came to an end in the cramped flats event though those who have lost everything are travelling with light luggage. So, I found traces of Walter and Elise Lippmann in different places.

Dr Lippmann seems to have moved from New York to Collegeville[773] in Pennsylvania. I was unable to find out the exact circumstances of his stay. The town had just under 1,000 inhabitants in the 1940s and is located just 50 kilometres west of Philadelphia. Did Dr Lippmann simply want to escape the confines of New York? Dr Lippmann's home address is given as 824 Buck Lane in Haverford on the draft card dated 27 April 1942,[774] halfway between Collegeville and Philadelphia. It takes about an hour by car to cover the entire distance.

To find out more about this address, I wrote to the Haverford Historical Society.[775] Quite quickly I got the reply that they only document the history of the place, but not the history of individuals. Four weeks later I received, to my surprise, an email from a nice lady called Kate. She had followed up on my enquiry.

The USA's immigration quotas had not been increased during the war and there was no financial support from the government. Until the refugees could find work, they had to rely on the humanity, compassion and solidarity of the American people.

Kate had found out that the house at 824 Buck Lane was then, as now, run by Quakers[776] and served as a general registration address for emigrants living in the Collegeville area.

During this time, not only the Jews already living in America helped the newcomers, but also many Christian communities, especially the Quakers. The Quakers presented an impressive testimony of faith. They were known for their tireless commitment to the new arrivals. They not only believed in the "Godliness" in every human being, but they also lived and acted accordingly. Their motto 'Let your lives speak and your words be followed by deeds' was reflected in their actions and made them an outstanding force for help and charity.

Dr Lippmann's new life began with the support of the Quaker relief agency, the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC)[777] at Haverford College.[778]

Since I have not found a registration card for Elise in Haverford, I cannot assume that she left New York with him.

At Haverford College, the arriving refugees were familiarised with American customs and habits, and taught English. It is possible that the linguistically gifted Dr Lippmann was there to teach or improve his English.

Hermann and Grete Ebeling[779] were also there at the same time. Unfortunately, I can only refer to the interesting biographies of these two wonderful people on Wikipedia.

And the biography of Christopher Isherwood[780] who also worked there as an English teacher from 1941 to 1942. His name electrified me when I read it.

During my research, I got to know many interesting people and their biographies. Very often I have also made discoveries that have shocked or affected me. There have always been remarkable discoveries that I enjoy, such as the idea that Dr Lippmann may have met Christopher Isherwood there. At the beginning of the year 2024, I had read Christopher Isherwood's fascinating biography and his "Berlin Stories"[781] which served as the literary source for the musical "Cabaret".[782]

The concept of "Six Degrees of Separation"[783] states that every person in the world is connected to every other person through a maximum of six social connections. In keeping with this concept, Sally Bowles from "Cabaret" and her alter ego in the film Liza Minelli[784] and I are connected in a very special way through these two gentlemen, Dr Lippmann and Christopher Isherwood.

In the Buddhist Avatamsaka Sutra,[785] the net of the god Indra is described as follows: It runs through the entire universe and at each knot there is a jewel that reflects all the other jewels in the net. The image of Indra's net symbolises the basic Buddhist assumption of the "dependent origination"[786] of all being, i.e. the concept of "interbeing". It shows that no individual or event exists in isolation, but that everything is interconnected in a complex network of relationships. We are all connected to each other, which is why co-operation is always better than competition.

Christopher Isherwood refused to do his British military service because he did not want to shoot at Germans. As a conscientious objector, he had to go to the USA. Before coming to Haverford, he helped Swami Prabhavananda[787] in translating the "Bhagavad Gita - The Song of God".[788] This is still a highly regarded work of Hindu literature in English.

When I take a second look at the American enlistment form, I wonder why Walter does not list Elise as the contact person, but Grete Stein, 367 Vermont St, Brooklyn, NY. Who is she?

It would have been an incredible coincidence if it had been the incomparable Gertrude Stein,[789] as I mistakenly assumed at first glance. Gertrude Stein, who was Jewish, was living in France at the time with her partner Alice B. Toklas. She was a great patron of the French avant-garde, supporting artists such as Pablo Picasso,[790] Henri Matisse,[791] Georges Braque,[792] and Juan Gris.[793] She survived the Second World War thanks to her strangely good relations with the fascist Vichy regime.[794] This is remarkable, because the Vichy regime collaborated with the Nazis and handed over 13,000 Jews, Freemasons and homosexuals. Most of them died in the concentration camps.

Dr Lippmann appears to have recovered from the hardships of the escape and the poor care he received en route. On his arrival in New York, Dr Lippmann gave his weight as 71 kg. His muster card stated 90 kg.

1942 - 1955 From accountant to comptroller

In his curriculum vitae from 1955, Dr Lippmann notes:

> "1942 – 1947 various professional activities in trade, industry and welfare organisations in New York, Collegeville, Philadelphia
>
> 1946 - 1952 Studied accountancy (book revision science) and some legal subjects at City College in New York
>
> 1947 - 1955 Accountant and Comptroller of an advertising agency in New York"

Dr Lippmann had had to leave all his belongings behind in Germany. He arrived in New York with three suitcases and a laundry bag as hand luggage and $4 in cash. There was no "welcome money" or state social benefits for the arriving refugees. Everyone was on their own and that meant finding work as quickly as possible. Dr Lippmann said[795] that he started out stocking shelves in a drugstore. According to Dr Lippmann, the first five years in the USA were characterised by several moves and various jobs, which he described as "emergency jobs".

After the USA entered the war in December 1941, news from overseas dominated the front pages of American and other newspapers. The public heard the latest news on the radio and saw moving pictures in the American newsreels[796] shown in cinemas.

The first images and reports from the liberated concentration camps, which were shown on the news from April 1945, shocked and horrified the world. The reactions were characterised by grief, indignation and compassion, even if not everyone was equally affected.

After the "unconditional surrender of the Wehrmacht"[797] on 8 May 1945, Germany had to accept the refugees from the lost territories such as Silesia, Pomerania and East Prussia, which was very difficult given the extent of the destruction in the cities. In cities such as Hamburg and Dresden, more than 80% of the residential buildings were destroyed or damaged.

It can be assumed that a politically interested person like Dr Lippmann saw the pictures and reports[798] from his lost homeland. Did he still have any hope of returning to Germany?

By 1946 at the latest, Dr Lippmann was back in New York to study accounting and "some legal subjects" at City College.[799] His studies seem to have paid off, as he began working as an accountant and controller in a New York advertising agency in 1947. He ended his studies in 1952, by which time he had risen to the position of Comptroller and was apparently responsible for financial administration and financial reporting.

I read with interest that the writer Mario Puzo[800] volunteered to fight against the Nazis in the Second World War. After his return, he studied at City College on a GI soldier's scholarship before writing his successful novel "The Godfather".[801]

I wonder what it would have been like if the two had met. Would the American have faced a German or a Jew? Would one have felt like the liberator and the other the liberated?

In his tax returns[802] from 1948 to 1954, Dr Lippmann gave the following address: 1021 East 14 St No.174, Brooklyn, New York. In the Berlin restitution file, I found an affidavit by Rudolf Schick[803] from 1955. Mr Schick lived at 700 Riverside Drive in New York and had previously been the owner of a publishing house for books, magazines and teaching aids in Leipzig. He had known Dr Lippmann since 1924 and later became his client. They were friends and active together in the B'nai B'rith lodge. It seems that they both became active in the Esperanto Society in New York[804].He wrote[805]:

> "I emigrated first to Canada, then to the United States, where I met Dr Lippmann again in New York in 1946. We worked together again for the association and continued to be on friendly terms. My wife and I also visited him in his extremely modest, small attic flat in Brooklyn."

In June 2026, as the manuscript entered its final stretch, I came across the name Rudolf Schick whilst reviewing the endnotes — a name that does not appear in any of the standard reference works. The decisive clue emerged from a biography of Fritz von Unruh[806]: Thomas Mann had written there to thank Rudolf Schick, proprietor of the Rudolf Schick Publishing Company in New York, for the publication of a monograph by Alvin Kronacher. The book appeared with a preface by Albert Einstein.

Rudolf Schick belongs to those small émigré publishers whom nobody remembers today. In New York, during the nineteen-thirties and forties, such houses appeared as if from nowhere, sustained by a single name, an entry in a directory, perhaps a dozen titles. That Thomas Mann expressed his gratitude to Rudolf Schick, that Albert Einstein contributed a preface and Alvin Kronacher was the author — three names who knew one another and moved in the same circles of the New York exile community — suggests that Rudolf Schick's publishing house was part of that intellectual counter-public which operated in the shadows. And which, for precisely that reason, is absent from the standard works. I find myself asking whether Dr Lippmann belonged to these circles.

What is certain is that Dr Lippmann worked in advertising for the "American Dream" of the 40s and 50s until 1955, a total of 13 years. It's fun and interesting to see how the spirit of the times is reflected in advertising if you follow the link above.

In his compensation file, he states his occupational damages on 10 December 1962:

> "My income in America consisted of my regular salary as an accountant with S. T. Seidman & Co. (later Inc.)., a small advertising agency (one-man company), and a bonus, first based on business, but then fixed at $1,040 a year when the company found a profit-increasing business connection.
>
> However, when this was resolved and business in general declined, my working hours and salary were to be cut in half as early as 1954. I did not agree to this. This and my age, which was unusually high for an employee in America, led to the termination of my employment contract. A younger employee who was available at any time could fill

this position for a much lower salary, and in fact a lady on a lower salary was hired after I left."

On 12 February 1964, The New York Times[807] reported on the agency S. T. Seidman & Co. Inc. where Dr Lippmann had worked

> "Merling-Marx Advertising and S. T. Seidman & Co, Inc. will merge to form Merling-Marx & Seidman, Inc. according to the Merling-Marx agency. For the first quarter of 1964, McCall's advertising time is estimated at 729,000, an increase of 5.9 per cent over the same period in 1963."

I can't find a website on the Internet, but I can find the office address: Merling, Marx & Seidman, Inc. 40 West 57th Street, 22nd Floor New York, NY 10019, USA. This ends my search for clues on this path.

01.11.1943 American Esperantist

While Dr Lippmann was working on his professional advancement, he apparently also found time for Esperanto. Even with the help of the American Esperanto Society, I was unable to find out to what extent. However, they did give me a reference to an article by Prof Raymond Frank Piper entitled: "Filozofiaj Notoj pri Justeco", which Dr Lippmann had published. The translation appeared in the bi-monthly magazine "American Esperantist in Nov - Dec 1943"[808] on page 129.

The USA had been at war with Nazi Germany for two years. And I find it very remarkable to read such clever and profound thoughts about human dignity, social needs, individual and global justice alongside the loud war propaganda.

> "Philosophical Notes on Justice
>
> Written in English by Prof. Raymond Frank Piper and translated into Esperanto by Walter Lippmann, Doctor of Law
>
> What does justice mean?
>
> This will become clearer when we set forth the system of its premises. Such a "return to the root" is characteristic of the philosophical method of analysis.
>
> (1) Intelligence
>
> In a profound definition by Leibniz we read:
>
> "Fundamentally, justice is nothing other than benevolence (goodness) in accordance with wisdom."
>
> The essence of intelligence and wisdom is the ability to achieve an ordered relationship of parts or aims within a whole; justice is such an ordered integration of persons within society. Hence Plato said that justice in society is analogous to wisdom in the mind, and the chief aim of his masterpiece *The Republic* was to clarify the meaning of justice.

(2) The Value and Dignity of the Human Person

In order to preserve this value, certain fundamental rights must be guaranteed, especially:

- the right to life and personal security,
- bodily freedom and the opportunity to earn a sufficient livelihood through work,
- the right to freedom of thought and expression,
- the right to education and to the practice of religion.

Another factor in justice is the safeguarding of such rights, their protection against violation; this is justice in the negative, protective, legal sense.

A community must protect itself against wrongdoers who would destroy the elementary rights of the human being. When someone acts against these rights, he becomes subject to rules and punishments — this is called compensatory justice.

Yet justice also has a positive function: to grant each person the fullest possible opportunity to develop his or her abilities, insofar as this can coexist with similar opportunities for others.

(3) A Society of Persons in Need

Since (a) each person depends upon others to obtain the most necessary goods, and (b) most goods exist only in limited quantity, the welfare of humanity requires the distribution of goods in various complex ways.

Justice prevails in this respect when, in distribution, a just measure, portion, or proportion according to need is realised within the community.

Today, the community in which such distributive justice must operate has become the world itself; for modern science and the tragedies of war have shown that every nation depends upon many others for essential goods.

For the adequate realisation of worldwide justice under modern conditions, several new techniques of communication are urgently required, especially:

- a universal auxiliary language and script,
- universal systems of weights and measures,
- universal currencies and passports,
- and certain other institutions.

(4) Imaginative Sympathy

Even a cool calculation of just actions in society is difficult without an imaginative consideration of the viewpoints of those who differ from us in their value judgments.

For this reason, Leibniz insisted that that conformity to wisdom which constitutes justice requires love and goodwill.

Augustine declares in his *Confessions* that justice is "love serving those who are loved."

The Bahá'í prophet Bahá'u'lláh wrote in *The Epistle to the Son of the Wolf*:

"It is necessary to possess intelligence and a pure and holy vision in order to attain justice and equality."

In other words, a fundamental basis of our claim to justice is the knowledge that we cannot expect our neighbour to grant us privileges which we are not equally willing to grant in return.

(5) Practical Institutions

Practical institutions of various kinds are necessary for the realisation of justice. In ethical abstraction, justice is one of the highest ideals, calling forth human striving and virtue.

(a) Reciprocity

One condition of its practical realisation is that habit of reciprocity which Kung-fu-tse (Confucius) so brilliantly described.

The regular practice of refined social manners is a high virtue that stands far above calculated and minimal obedience to laws.

Such customs include the practice of just conduct toward our neighbours in matters such as:

- manners and conversation,
- religion,
- sport,
- aesthetic enjoyments.

Needless to add, the practice of justice also requires obedience to the laws of one's community.

(b) Legal Formulation

Equally necessary is the legal formulation of the conditions of justice and the ways of applying them within the community.

Justice is commonly understood to include both law and equity.

One of the great contributions of Anglo-Saxon culture to the world is the establishment and widespread use of suitable institutions for achieving justice, such as:

- the jury system,
- rules of evidence,
- the Court of Equity.

The rule of justice means that laws apply to all without exception. It is one of the fundamental pillars of democracy.

(6) Organic Cooperation

We return to the first, all-pervading condition of justice: intelligence or reason.

Plato taught that an individual can attain virtue and spiritual well-being only if reason governs and coordinates the other faculties of the mind.

Similarly, he said, justice prevails in society when each person properly attends to his or her own affairs — that is, fulfils those duties or functions for which he or she is best suited and best trained.

The just community, therefore, is a whole or organism in which a wide variety of human personalities is harmoniously integrated.

Conclusion

In its highest form, justice prevails in a society when there exist such reciprocal adjustment and cooperation among its self-respecting and considerate members that each attains the greatest possible values — in harmony with equal attainments by his or her neighbours."

I believe that this text has lost none of its relevance.

23.07.1944 Liberation concentration camps

The Soviet Red Army was the first Allied force to liberate a concentration camp. KZ Majdanek, near Lublin, fell into their hands almost intact on 23 July 1944. The preserved gas chambers, crematoria and personal belongings of tens of thousands of victims found there were regarded as the first concrete evidence of the industrial scale of the Holocaust.

As the offensives against Nazi Germany progressed, troops from the Soviet Union, the United States and Great Britain came face to face with the unimaginable reality of the systematic extermination of millions of people in concentration and extermination camps.

In the following months, Soviet troops liberated additional camps:

13.10.1944	Kaiserwald[809] (Riga)
27.01.1945	Auschwitz-Birkenau[810]
13.02.1945	Groß-Rosen[811]
22.04.1945	Sachsenhausen[812]

30.04.1945 Ravensbrück[813]
09.05.1945 Stutthof[814] and Theresienstadt[815],

Meanwhile, American forces advanced in western Germany and Austria, where they encountered:

04.04.1945 Ohrdruf[816]
11. 04.1945 Buchenwald[817]
and Dora-Mittelbau[818],
23.04.1945 Flossenbürg[819]
29.04.1945 Dachau[820]
05.04.1945 Mauthausen[821]

Photographs and reports from American generals, including General Dwight D. Eisenhower[822] (Supreme Commander of the Allied Forces in Europe and later President), who visited Ohrdruf, shocked audiences worldwide. Eisenhower insisted that the press and political leaders visit the camps in person to counter accusations of propaganda.

The British forces liberated Bergen-Belsen[823] on 15 April 1945. The appalling sanitary conditions, high death toll due to disease and starvation, and vast number of unburied bodies provoked a global outcry and left a lasting impression on collective memory.

The liberation of these concentration camps[824] marked not only the end of organised Nazi mass murder, but also laid the legal and moral groundwork for the subsequent prosecutions at the Nuremberg Trials.

24.03.1945 Bernhard Lippmann is wounded

Bernhard Lippmann was born on 29 May 1926 and was therefore not yet 19 years old on 24 March 1945 when he went to war against Nazi Germany.

Bernhard came to England at the age of 13 and lived with Alec Venture's family for six years. Together they experienced the German air raids on the centre of London in Surrey, about 50 km south-west of London. He was familiar with the many rapid attacks by the Germans, known as the Blitz, and he knew about the devastating raids on other cities such as Coventry[825] in November 1940, which became known in the newspapers, on the radio and in cinema newsreels as the Coventry Blitz

No doubt a young man like Bernhard, who had been socialised in England, also followed the news about the invasion of Normandy, which was known as D-Day[826] and the beginning of Operation Overlord[827]. D-Day took place on 6 June 1944 and marked one of the most important turning points in the Second World War.

Thousands of young soldiers from the USA, Great Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and other Commonwealth countries as well as from France, Poland, Belgium, the Netherlands and other European countries were sent to the beaches of Normandy in France to fight against Nazi fascism. They fought for the freedom of oppressed people they did not know. Many of these young men paid with their lives for this fight against Nazi Germany and for a better, more just world.

Freedom and democracy do not come for free. These heroic men paid for it with their lives. What better way to honour the victims and their legacy than to treat it with the utmost care and respect?

The figures show how extraordinarily high this price was: On 6 June 1944, i.e. the first day, the so-called D-Day, recorded losses were of around 12,000 men, including around 4,400 casualties - in a single day. During the entire Operation Overlord,[828] more than 100,000 soldiers and many civilians lost their lives during the Allied landings in Normandy.[829]

These figures remind me of my visit to the cemeteries of Verdun and the ossuary of Douaumont,[830] where 130,000 unknown soldiers of the First World War alone - French and German - are buried. Most of the crosses in the cemeteries are for men who were only between 18 and 25 years old when they went to war and died.

These messages, from Europe probably also reminded Dr Lippmann of his service in the First World War. Did he know that his son Bernhard went to war with the British army?

I was unable to find out whether Bernhard, like many other children on the Kindertransport was drafted into military service or volunteered. The children had been separated from their parents and families and sent to a foreign country to live with strangers. During the war, they didn't know whether their parents were still alive or where they were being held captive. The first information about the systematic extermination of Jews by the National Socialists began to emerge in 1942. From 1944, the secret service reports on gas chambers[831] for mass extermination in concentration camps such as Auschwitz became increasingly detailed and credible. The full extent of the atrocities only became clear after the end of the war.

I often tripped over the different spellings of names in the archives. The soldiers and medics in the field had more important things to do than worry about correct spelling. I found a document on Ancestry.de that shed light on Bernhard's war service and his hospitalisation.[832]

According to this document, on enlisting in the army Bernhard was given the service number 42040878 and became a paratrooper in the 5th Infantry Unit.[833] As a "student or air-force cadet", he was severely wounded in action, as the hospital record shows. Unfortunately, neither the place nor the date is given in the surviving records.

It is possible that Bernhard's unit was involved in Operation Plunder.[834]

The main British attack took place between Wesel and Rees, north of Duisburg. The American part of Operation Plunder took place between Wesel and Dinslaken. The Rhine crossing north of the Ruhr area was chosen to enable the Allies to penetrate the German Reich to the east and north via the North German Plain.

In March 1945, Bernhard was apparently severely wounded in the foot and lumbar spine(laminectomy)[835] by an artillery shell and hospitalised. The removal of his posterior vertebral arch was necessary and led to his discharge from the army due to disability. Many of the wounded might have had a chance of surviving their serious injuries, but in many cases they died due to wound infections. Perhaps Bernhard was lucky and benefited from the new antibiotic penicillin?

The antibiotic penicillin,[836] a new, ground-breaking substance, was discovered in 1928 by the Scottish physician and freemason Sir Alexander Fleming.[837] He was awarded the Nobel Prize for Medicine for

this beneficial discovery. The discovery of penicillin was a revolutionary achievement, in that it provided the first effective remedy against bacterial infections and changed the course of medicine.

It took some time before penicillin could be mass-produced. In 1943,[838] American pharmaceutical companies were already producing just under 1.5 tonnes of pure penicillin, and by 1945 the figure had risen to over 400 tonnes. Penicillin was urgently needed and produced under high pressure, as many wounded were expected during the Allied landings in Normandy.

The discovery of penicillin was a major advance in medicine and has saved countless lives. Many bacterial infections that were previously fatal could now be successfully treated. The inappropriate use of antibiotics, including penicillin, however, has led to bacteria developing resistance.

If this trend continues, some antibiotics, including penicillin, could become ineffective in the future, and the deadly horror of many diseases could return.

After thirteen months, in April 1946, shortly before his twentieth birthday, Bernhard was discharged according to the hospital records. It appears that from then on, he suffered from the severe consequences of his injuries.

20.11.1945 Nuremberg Trials

The Allies tried the captured main war criminals[839] who had not evaded responsibility by committing suicide or fleeing abroad. Shortly after the end of the war, the Allies did not want to hold summary courts or "short trials". The first of the thirteen Nuremberg Trials,[840] which began six months after the capitulation of Nazi Germany on 20 November 1945, lasted until 1 October 1946. Within a very short time, the Allies brought the most important war criminals they had captured to trial. The trials were primarily concerned with coming to terms with the crimes and the personal guilt of the accused.

The Nuremberg Trials[841] took place before the eyes of the public. Numerous journalists reported on the course of the trials, including Willy Brandt,[842] Alfred Döblin,[843] Ernest Hemingway,[844] Robert Jungk,[845] Erich Kästner,[846] Alfred Kerr,[847] Erika Mann,[848] John Dos Passos[849] and John Steinbeck.[850]

There are numerous documentary films[851] on the internet showing the accused criminals. And you might be shocked to discover that these Nazi criminals do not have devil's horns but look completely perfectly normal - like your next-door neighbour.

It is frightening that people who have committed such horrific acts appear so innocent and completely unremarkable on the outside. Evil is not always visible at first glance. Given the opportunity, such heinous crimes can be committed by seemingly ordinary people.

The Nuremberg Lawyers' Trial[852] was part of the post-war trials that dealt with the crimes of the Nazis. The trial began on 17 February 1947 and lasted until 4 December 1947. The defendants were lawyers and judges who had created and applied laws during the Nazi regime that led to the discrimination, persecution and murder of people.

The Nuremberg Lawyers' Trial was not only a trial to punish crimes under criminal law. It was also an important step in the historical reappraisal of the National Socialist state of injustice. The trial documented the failure of an entire generation of lawyers and the abuse of the law to achieve criminal goals in an unjust state.

The aim was to highlight the responsibility of these lawyers for disregarding fundamental legal and moral principles and to address the misuse of the law to achieve criminal purposes, to prevent any future such unforgivable developments.

The American military court accused the defendants of conspiracy to commit "War crimes" and "crimes against humanity".

It is important to note that the court only tried war crimes and not crimes against humanity[853] that had been committed between 1933 and 1939 or were directed against Germans in Germany. The accused were ordinary civil servants from the Ministry of Justice who had drafted criminal and inhumane laws, as well as public prosecutors and judges who had worked at the People's Court and the special courts.

Franz Schlegelberger[854] was the highest-ranking defendant in this trial as State Secretary and in 1941/1942 as Acting Minister of Justice. The Schlegelberger Conference convened by Franz Schlegelberger on 23 and 24 April 1941 in Berlin's "Haus der Flieger" was aimed at informing the heads of the judiciary about the gas murders that had been taking place since January 1940 as part of "Aktion T4".[855] The conference participants were instructed not to process complaints and submissions relating to the euthanasia murders. The huge 'Haus der Flieger' building complex in Leipziger Strasse is now the seat of the German Federal Council, the Bundesrat.

On 4 December 1947, 71-year-old Franz Schlegelberger was found guilty of conspiracy and crimes against humanity. He received a life sentence in prison. After 3 years in prison, he was released conditionally in January 1951 due to poor health and incapacity. The American ambassador pardoned him in 1957 at the age of 81.

At his request, Franz Schlegelberger received a pension from 1 April 1951 in accordance with the law governing the legal status of persons covered by Article 131 of German Basic Law,[856] (the German Constitution). His denazification proceedings had not led to the termination of his employment and the loss of his pension entitlement.

A great number of his former, "brown" colleagues were still working in the Federal Ministry of the Interior and would not acknowledge any relevant facts that could support formal criminal proceedings against Franz Schlegelberger.

In 1959, Franz Schlegelberger received a monthly pension of DM 2,894.08 as a civil servant state secretary in the higher civil service. The pension was regularly increased until his death at the age of 94 on 14 December 1970 in Flensburg. According to Statista.de,[857] the average monthly salary in West Germany in 1959 was only DM 467 gross.

This case clearly demonstrates the failure of the concept of denazification. In Schleswig-Holstein, on 14 March 1951, a law was passed to end denazification[858] and the CDU member of the parliament Oskar-Hubert Dennhardt[859] was appointed "special representative for denazification". Dennhardt categorised Schlegelberger as category V (exonerated), although he was a criminal sentenced to life imprisonment!

One might wish this were an isolated case, but it is anything but, as shown by the Panorama television report[860] of 30 January 1997, entitled "Tax Billions for Nazi Criminals - German Law makes Perpetrators into Victims" shows.

This is just one of many examples of the failure of an entire generation of lawyers,[861] but also of the policies of the young Federal Republic of Germany and the GDR. The victims of the Holocaust and National Socialist persecution had to fight for decades to have their losses and damages recognised. The vast majority of judges in the young Federal Republic had also been judges before and during the Nazi era.

This continuity was a particular obstacle to a fair and speedy judgement of the compensation claims of Nazi victims in the post-war years.

Very often, the judiciary delayed the processing of compensation claims for so long that many victims died due to their health impairments or old age or gave up their claims in view of the high legal fees. The compensation awarded after long, agonising and humiliating trials for the victims was disproportionate to the enormous pension payments of the perpetrator Franz Schlegelberger.

While a convicted State Secretary of the 'Third Reich' received a state-guaranteed pension, a German jurist who had been driven into exile was required, decades later, to document his professional career in meticulous detail in order to have even a fraction of his losses recognised. But more on this later.

The purpose of the Nuremberg Trials[862] was to punish the perpetrators, the leading representatives of the NSDAP, SS and Wehrmacht, but even more so to come to terms with the atrocious Nazi crimes. All Germans learnt about the extent of the Holocaust, the murder of Jews and other minorities, at the latest through the extensive reporting.

The post-war period in Germany was characterised by a complex mixture of grief, loss, repression and a tentative confrontation with one's personal role during National Socialism. Many Germans saw themselves as victims of the war and its consequences. They too had suffered human losses, many had had to leave everything behind when they fled, many city dwellers had become homeless. The economy was in ruins.

The Nuremberg Trials marked the beginning of a collective suppression of guilt, which was mainly blamed on the defendants. Many Germans claimed to have known nothing of the atrocities committed by the Nazi regime. The fact that National Socialist Germany had declared war on the world and committed the Holocaust was hardly ever discussed due to the blanket of silence. There was a widespread view that you could not be a perpetrator if you felt like a victim.

The philosopher Karl Jaspers[863] rejected in his work "The Question of Guilt" (1946),[864] the idea of a German "general collective guilt" after National Socialism because such a generalisation would diminish individual responsibility. He distinguished between four types of guilt:

1. Criminal guilt: It affects everyone who committed Nazi crimes. They must not go unpunished.
2. Political guilt: This applies to all citizens of the Nazi state who enabled or failed to prevent the Nazi system. They are responsible for making amends for the material damage caused.
3. Moral guilt: It affects every individual who unquestioningly followed National Socialism and its racist ideology.
4. Metaphysical guilt: It affects every individual who has betrayed their own humanity.

Guilt and responsibility must be "seen" in a differentiated way. And very importantly, forgiveness can only come from the victims!

Karl Jaspers argued that only a comprehensive reappraisal of the Nazi past could give rise to a free and democratic consciousness. However, he noted that German society was not yet ready for such a reappraisal.

During my research, I came across the biography of Franz Schlegelberger, who died in Flensburg and whom we have already met above as the host of the Schlegelberger conference. At this conference, the Nazi lawyers were informed about "Aktion T 4". To my surprise, it turned out that he was the grandfather of one of my classmates. I don't know whether she was informed about her grandfather's role in the Nazi regime. Maybe it was an unspoken family secret, maybe not. It is well known that many children and grandchildren of perpetrators suffer from knowing or not knowing about the deeds of their ancestors, which led to the transgenerational transmission of trauma.

The concept of the transgenerational transmission of trauma[865] states that traumatic experiences can be passed on to subsequent generations, although this is not infrequently an unintentional, often unconscious event. The processing of such traumatic impressions is extremely complex. Epigenetics[866] investigates changes in DNA that can be caused by trauma and other environmental influences and passed on to subsequent generations.

To end this chapter, I would like to refer to the great film "The Judgement of Nuremberg"[867] from 1961. It is an important contemporary document that lies somewhere between enlightenment and a political statement on the post-war order. In his film, Stanley Kramer addresses the fundamental question of individual responsibility versus systemic coercion and puts the legitimacy of victor's justice up for discussion. The multi-layered portrayal of different positions - from Spencer Tracy's idealistic American judge to Burt Lancaster's German jurist caught between justification and guilt - demonstrates the complexity of coming to terms with the past.

The political explosiveness of the film lies in its contemporary relevance even today. During the Cold War, the American establishment was already pleading for reconciliation with West Germany, which is reflected in the film through voices for leniency. Marlene Dietrich's character epitomises the ambivalence of the post-war Germany between repression and admission of guilt. The film thus establishes an important discourse on the rule of law, morality and political responsibility, which claims universal validity beyond historical reappraisal. Kramer did not create propaganda, but a very analytical examination of the fundamental questions of democratic justice and individual responsibility of conscience in times of political pressure. The acting performances are phenomenal. Watching the film again, I was delighted to discover that Judy Garland and Marlene Dietrich were in front of the camera together for this film.

08.05.1946 Bernhard Lippmann in New York

Many "Kinder", especially those who had been brought to England as infants, later reported that they could not remember their own parents. They felt "somehow" guilty because they had forgotten the faces of their parents. The foster parents had taken the place of their own parents. If you read the reports of these "children", it often becomes clear that these psychological injuries caused by the abrupt separation had a lifelong effect. By the end of the war, most of them had lost their parents and had no family to return to.

In 1939, Bernhard's parents sent him to England on the Kindertransport at the age of 13. Bernhard Lippmann was incredibly lucky that both his parents survived the war and the Holocaust. He probably knew from 1941, when his parents managed to escape to New York, that they were safe. I was unable to find out whether they saw each other again before 1946. In view of his parents' precarious financial situation and the war at sea in the Atlantic, it seems unlikely to me. However, it is also conceivable that they were involved in each other's lives through letters[868] and perhaps even occasional telephone calls. Or was the estrangement and the feeling of "abandonment" so great that such an exchange did not take place?

At the end of the war, travelling was possible again, but unaffordable for most Europeans. I don't know how they managed to pay for passage by ship, but Bernhard arrived in New York exactly on the first anniversary of Germany's surrender, on Wednesday 8 May 1946. A twenty-year-old man who had lived through the war stood before his surely happy parents.

Shortly after his arrival in New York, on 17 June 1946, Bernhard was mustered in at 158 Avenue F in Brooklyn, NY. From the surviving US Army muster card[869] I know that Bernhard was 1.72 m tall and weighed 74 kg. It was noted that he arrived in the USA on 8 May 1946. He lived with his mother Elise at 1640 Ocean Parkway. A wound or war disability is not noted on the card.

In another archive, I found a short note in the German-language exile newspaper "Aufbau" from 31 May 1946,[870] which was published in the USA, under the heading "Es trafen ein", "The Following Have Arrived":

> "Bernhard Lippmann (formerly Leipzig), 1640 Ocean Parkway, Apt. A 1, Brooklyn, N.Y."

The newspaper covers both political and cultural topics and, in addition to adverts, contains many death notices, obituaries and numerous adverts looking for missing persons.

I still remember how in the 1970s, after school radio in the afternoon, another radio programme would read out such search messages in a monotonous voice. Orphaned relatives were searching for surviving family members, be they Holocaust survivors, deportees or refugees. Particularly tragic were the search messages from mothers who had lost one of their children whilst on the run, or from foster parents who had taken in a child and were now looking for its parents.

The German Red Cross Tracing Service[871] received 14,000,000 enquiries about missing persons from the Second World War between 1945 and 1950.[872]

The Lippmann family were lucky to be able to embrace each other.

July 1946 Viktor E. Frankl: Peace among us

> "Ultimately, life means nothing other than: to bear responsibility [...] for the fulfilment of the tasks that life sets each individual."[873]

This writes 1946 the Austrian psychiatrist Viktor E. Frankl,[874] who survived the concentration camps of Theresienstadt, Auschwitz and Türkheim.

In the concentration camps, he experienced how people deal with unspeakable suffering and how it is possible to find meaning in life even in places of the greatest inhumanity.

His central idea is that every human being is searching for the meaning of life and that it is the responsibility of each individual to give their life meaning.

Viktor E. Frankl often summarised this in the following sentence:

> "He who has a Why to live can endure almost any How."[875]

He gave meaning to his own suffering in captivity. He wanted to survive to be able to report on it and he did so with his impressive and very readable report from 1946 "Yes to Life – In Spite of Everything: A psychologist experiences the concentration camp". The English translation of Man's Search for Meaning was published in 1959 and became one of the most influential books in the USA.

Viktor E. Frankl was liberated from the Türkheim concentration camp, a satellite camp of Dachau, by the US forces on 27 April 1945. Shortly after liberation, in 1946, he published the article "Friede unter uns" (Peace Among Us)[876] in the journal "Der Turm". What follows is a free, content-based paraprase in my own words:

> Those who lived in the concentration camps saw how the human being was stripped down to his core. Everything external fell away, and what remained was the essence of humanity itself. At the same time, something else happened: people grew closer. Those who suffered under inhumanity became allies in the struggle for what is human. If survival is to have meaning, it lies in continuing that struggle.
>
> Humanity begins where we stop dividing people into groups — by religion, origin, party, or rank. No one has the right to draw such lines. We, who learned in the midst of hell to recognise one another, should be able to reach out and seek what unites us.
>
> A stance that knows only its own programme loses its purpose. A stance that reaches out to others finds it.
>
> We have come to understand the human being as one who is always confronted with decisions. This image is both warning and hope: the same being who invented the gas chambers is also the one who entered them with head held high, with a prayer or a song of freedom on his lips.
>
> Perhaps one day there will be people who achieve what once emerged from Judaism: the belief in one God — now complemented by the belief in one humanity. A monanthropism,[877] to stand beside monotheism[878]. A humanity that recognises only one final distinction: between those who act humanely and those who have forfeited their humanity.

Monanthropism describes the knowledge of the unity of humanity, which transcends the diversity of skin colour, gender and race, explains Viktor E. Frankl.

15.10.1946 The murderers are amongst us

The same film studios that had just made propaganda and so called endurance films[879] were now making films that questioned guilt and responsibility. After the Second World War, much of German post-war film production was characterised by so-called "Heimatfilme", homeland films. These films often depicted an idealised rural idyll that had little to do with the post-war reality in the bombed-out cities. They served to portray an "idealised world" and offered viewers an escape from the harsh reality. These films helped many people to suppress the traumatic experiences of the war and to convince themselves that the past and they themselves could not have been so bad.

The film "Die Mörder sind unter uns",[880][881] (The Murderers are Amongst Us), which premiered in East Berlin on 15 October 1946, was completely different.

It is a landmark in the confrontation with the past in post-war Germany.[882] It is noteworthy that the film was shot on original locations in destroyed Berlin and raised the question of personal responsibility. This film[883] caused an international sensation, and the young and beautiful Hildegard Knef,[884] (also known as Hildegard Neff), who played one of the leading roles,[885] became internationally famous.

1947 - 1956 McCarthy Era

In the election campaign, the American Republicans needed new enemy images. As the Cold War began, fear of the Soviet Union and communism grew in the USA. The Republicans and the Committee for Un-American Activities fuelled fears of an infiltration of American society.

"Political" communism[886] became the epitome of all real or perceived threats to the "American way of life" — whether through external aggression or internal communist, socialist, or Jewish subversion. Even purely theoretical interest in Marxist ideas[887] was considered potentially subversive in this atmosphere. Although philosophical communism was discussed in isolated instances at universities, this discussion was subject to considerable social pressure.

Intellectuals like Herbert Marcuse[888] kept Marxist thought alive within the framework of Critical Theory — mostly in academic exile or on the fringes of public discourse. Thus, engagement with the idea of communism remained possible, but always in the shadow of ideological repression.

The right wing of the Republican Party in the USA called for the Committee on Un-American Activities[889] to question the views of civil servants and military personnel. It was not long before filmmakers in Hollywood were also summoned and interrogated. The mere suspicion or refusal to denounce others could end careers. The list of suspected artists[890] was long and it is surprising who was on it.

The First Amendment to the United States Constitution, which guarantees freedom of speech and freedom of the press, was simply ignored:

> "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right

of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances."

The constitutionally guaranteed freedom of speech and freedom of the press did not protect the slandered from the anti-communist or socialist hysteria that is still virulent in the USA today.

One example of a tragic hero who chose the wrong side is the actor, John Wayne.[891] While many of his colleagues interrupted their careers to go to the front, Wayne continued his Hollywood career. After the war he regretted not going to the front and from then on, he tried to compensate for his shame as a "patriotic hero" - on screen and in real life. As an influential actor and icon of US-American cinema, he was an active member of the "Motion Picture Alliance for the Preservation of American Ideals",[892] which was dedicated to the fight against communism in the film industry.

The aim of Joseph McCarthy's[893] introduction of conscience tests and occupational bans was to protect democratic society[894] from communist extremism and the infiltration of the government apparatus by homosexuals. The suspicion that homosexuals could infiltrate the government goes back to the "Lavender Scare"[895] of the 1950s in the USA. Alleged communists and homosexuals were considered susceptible to blackmail and therefore a threat to national security. These unfounded accusations led to numerous dismissals and bans from public service jobs.

Only the "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" policy[896] of President Bill Clinton,[897] which came into force on 28 February 1994, countered this – a little.

However, prejudices against homosexuals also persisted in Germany. The Günter Kiessling affair[898] was a controversy in 1984 surrounding the early retirement of the four-star general and deputy NATO commander-in-chief for Europe, Günter Kießling.[899]

He was accused of being susceptible to blackmail because of his alleged homosexuality. After the allegations were refuted, General Kiessling was reinstated to his post and honourably discharged from service shortly afterwards.

When Guido Westerwelle,[900] was sworn in as German Foreign Minister on 28 October 2009, it was probably the first time that Germany had a minister and vice-chancellor who had been openly homosexual since 2004.

It is always incomprehensible and sobering for me to see how long it takes and how difficult it is to break down prejudices against women, blacks, homosexuals and other marginalised groups. On the other hand, civil society has become more open and tolerant in many areas, if only since Dr Lippmann's lifetime. Nevertheless, there is still much to be done to maintain the level of progress that has been achieved and to take it further.

Anno 1947 Bernhard Lippmann marries

Bernhard had visited his parents in the summer of 1946. I couldn't find out how long he stayed with them in New York.

In the civil register, the marriage index of the year 1947, second quarter[901] of the English county of Surrey, the marriage of Ludwig R. B. Lippmann and Joyce I. Kendall is recorded.

28.01.1947 Elise Lippmann applies for naturalisation

On 28 January 1947 Elise Lippmann signed the file card of the naturalisation register of the USA[902] with number 6668978. I have not yet been able to find the corresponding immigration application with the petition number 448634.

The address given, 601 W 168th St in Upper Manhattan, New York, was already known to me from Dr Walter Lippmann's immigration application.[903] The neighbourhood of Washington Heights[904] was also called Frankfurt-on-the-Hudson, because in the 1940s about 60,000 German and Austrian Jews sought refuge and found a new home there. Among them was the later US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger,[905] who had fled Fürth in Germany with his family in 1938 at the age of fifteen to escape the reprisals of Nazi Germany.

Elise and Walter had arrived in New York six years ago. Walter worked in an advertising agency and studied at the City College of New York, just a 30-minute walk from their flat. You would think that they would have settled into their new life, their new home, according to the circumstances.

Or did Elise Lippmann apply for naturalisation out of fear of harassment by McCarthy agents? Walter and she were stigmatised in several ways: Germans, stateless refugees and Jews.

10.11.1947 Military Government Act No.59

Military Government Act No.59[906] provided the legal framework for restitution proceedings in the American occupation zone from 10 November 1947 and in the British occupation zone from 12 May 1949. This provided the legal basis for the restitution and return of unlawfully seized assets to the victims of Nazi repression. These measures were an important step towards recognising the injustice suffered and restoring justice to those affected.

Being right and getting it right are two different things. It was far from easy for the victims of National Socialism to retrieve their property or receive compensation. But more on that later.

11.07.1947 SS Exodus 1947 to Palestine

The end of the war was not the end of flight for everyone. For some, the exodus became an odyssey.[907] One example of this is the fate of the 4,515 resistance fighters, emigrants and orphans who set off for Palestine on 11 July 1947 from Sète in France on the former pleasure steamer known as the SS Exodus 1947.[908]

The refugees were supported by the population and the authorities of the region to build a new life in freedom in the British Mandate of Palestine. The arrival of the refugee and settler ships was prevented by the naval blockade imposed by the British in 1945.

To accommodate as many passengers as possible, the ship SS Exodus 1947[909] had been converted. The

bunks for the passengers were only 45 cm wide and 60 cm high. At the time, they didn't realise that they would have to sleep in these cramped bunks for the next two months.

While attempting to break through the British naval blockade, the SS Exodus 1947[910] was rammed and boarded. The radio reports from on board the SS Exodus 1947 were transmitted by radio to the Mandate area to keep the population informed.

Once they arrived in Haifa, the refugees were distributed among three other ships and taken back to France, where they arrived on 29 July 1947. They refused to leave the ships and were then threatened with being sent back to Germany. Denmark refused them entry.

The ships had been at sea for almost two months, crossing the Atlantic, the Mediterranean and the North Sea, before finally arriving in Hamburg on 8 September 1947.[911] Rather than being allowed to rest or begin new lives, the survivors were put straight onto trains and taken roughly 65 kilometres to the Baltic coast, where they were held in the Lübeck internments camps.[912] They were held in internment camps. The British commander in charge made a heartless decision: the refugees were to remain under British control and were not to be allowed into the American zone under any circumstances, even though many Displaced Persons would have preferred it, as American authorities treated Jewish refugees far more sympathetically and offered better prospects for onward emigration to Palestine. It was as if returning to German soil was ever what they wanted.

1,000 British soldiers took the 4,515 traumatised refugees, who had only been liberated from the concentration camps two years earlier, off the ships. The British authorities were under pressure from both Zionist groups, who demanded entry permits for Jewish refugees, and Arab countries, who were against further Jewish immigration into the country. As all this was taking place in full view of the world public, Harry S. Truman[913] mediated between the British government and the American side.

The events surrounding the SS Exodus 1947 contributed to the tense political situation that led to the UN Partition Resolution of 1947, which proposed a plan to divide Palestine into a Jewish and an Arab state, i.e. a two-state solution[914]. The way to Palestine was open. Hard to believe, but nobody felt obliged to take the refugees there. Once again, they were on their own.

The historical event of the SS Exodus 1947 is told in the novel Exodus[915] by Leon Uris[916] and impressively depicted in the film of the same name[917] starring Paul Newman. The dramatic events and human fates are impressively described in both works.

15.03.1948 Walter Lippmann applies for naturalisation

An open question is why Dr Lippmann did not apply for naturalisation together with his wife, Elise, back in January 1947.

According to the US naturalisation register,[918] Dr Lippmann did not submit his application until 15 March 1948. As his residence, he gave the flat at 601 W 168th St on the corner of Broadway. His application number was 548363.

On 5 June 2025, I find a copy of the electoral roll from 29 August 1948[919], according to which Dr Lippmann is eligible to vote as an American citizen.

In his 1955 application for restitution[920], Dr Lippmann then logically stated that he held American citizenship, whereas he had previously held German citizenship.

31.03.1948 End of denazification

After the war, Germany had 69 million Germans,[921] including some 8.5 million NSDAP party members and many millions more members of Nazi organisations. About one in six adult Germans had belonged to a Nazi organisation. A difficult problem in the post-war period was the denazification[922] of these many people. Of course, not every case could be investigated individually. In many cases, however, an affidavit of innocence was sufficient to obtain the coveted "Persilschein" ", Persil is a brand of laundry detergent, and Schein, a document. These Persilscheine were issued in an almost inflationary manner. It is clear, that many people got off lightly with a "white vest". Robert Richter,[923] one of the leading racial theorists, is a frightening example of this. In his biography, he was issued a total of 39 "Persilscheine".[924]

Others, such as the Hamburg resident John Rabe,[925] had to fight for a long time for their "denazification". In Nanjing, 300 km from Shanghai, he had managed Siemens China Co. He had set up a protection zone of 2 x 2 kilometres around the factory, which was marked with a huge flag. This flag had a swastika on it to keep the Japanese bombers from dropping their deadly load. In this way, he probably saved 200,000 Chinese civilians lives. After the city of Nanjing was captured by the Japanese, 300,000 Chinese died in mass executions and rapes.

John Rabe,[926] who is held in high esteem in China, died on 5 January 1950 in Berlin in poor circumstances. He was buried in the Kaiser Wilhelm Memorial Cemetery in Charlottenburg. The city of Nanjing later honoured him with a bronze bust and, in 2013, with a newly created monument at his grave. His memory is also preserved at Yad Vashem, and through the German film "John Rabe", which I saw at the Berlinale, the Berlin International Film Festival, in 2009, where it was honoured, receiving the Jury Grand Prix and the Panorama Audience Award.

On 31 March 1948, the USA stopped denazification.[927] Many proceedings against "heavily incriminated persons" had not yet been finalised at this time!

The Law on the Completion of Denazification,[928] which came into force on 1 April 1948, enabled most former members or supporters of the Nazi regime with the exception of the groups "Hauptschuldige" (main offenders) and "Belastete" (charged persons) to return to public service and thus gain financial security. This law made it easier for many people to return to their former professions and rebuild their lives.

Many quickly managed to present themselves as having a 'clean slate': they received certificates of exoneration or denazification rulings – often based on so-called „Persilscheine" issued as a favour – while the victims had to wait years, in some cases decades, for compensation that then often turned out to be shamefully small. More on this later.



Figure 18 FDP election poster from 1949

The poster reads: "Draw a line under it! An end to denazification, disenfranchisement, and tutelage. An end to second-class citizenship. Those who want equal civic rights vote for the Free Democratic Party — formerly LDP."

This FDP election poster from 1949[929] sums up the mood in post-war Germany. Just four years after the end of the war, people wanted nothing more to do with the past. The currency reform of 1948 brought the Deutsch Mark (DM) into the people's wallets - and they wanted to participate as much as possible in the incipient German "Wirtschaftwunder", the economic miracle,[930] which was triggered by the "Soziale Marktwirtschaft", the Social Market Economy.[931]

The social market economy combines free competition with social protection; it is a market-based system that uses state regulation to guard against exploitation and social decline. A socialist market economy, by contrast, is one in which the state controls the means of production and guarantees the care of the vulnerable not through market forces but through political planning. American capitalism, finally, relies almost entirely on the self-regulation of the market and accepts that economic freedom without social safeguards produces deep inequalities and offers protection chiefly to those strong enough to secure it for themselves.

A report by the Scientific Service of the German Bundestag from 2011 entitled "Denazification"[932] is interesting to read. The denazification statistics are broken down according to the later federal states of the three western zones. Out of a total of 3,660,648 cases processed, only 1,667 main perpetrators were identified. It is striking that there was not a single one in the British zone, which included the SPD-ruled city of Hamburg.

By 31 December 1949, denazification proceedings against more than 2.5 million Germans in the three Western occupation zones had been completed; of these, only about 1.4 per cent[933] - approximately 35,000 individuals - were classified as 'main offenders' or formally charged. Of the roughly 8.5 million NSDAP members, 54% were deemed to be "fellow travellers", while proceedings against 34.6% were discontinued.

As one contemporary witness once wryly remarked: 'If you had friends like that in the Nazi era, you hardly needed real enemies.'

Many perpetrators either remained unpunished or were classified as mere followers, and numerous cases were closed prematurely. With the onset of the Cold War, denazification increasingly became a low priority. The pursuit of stability and reconstruction took precedence over confronting the past

thoroughly. This resulted in many former National Socialists being reintegrated into key societal roles: as judges, teachers, and civil servants, thereby significantly shaping post-war Germany without engaging genuinely with their histories. This led to a form of collective amnesia that relativised moral responsibility for the Nazi era, missing the opportunity for proper accountability.

April 1948 The Language of Palestine

I had asked the American Esperanto Society for help and information about Dr Lippmann. Brandon Sowers, president of Esperanto-USA, knew that Dr Lippmann had given a speech in April 1948 at the Hotel New Yorker[934] a speech entitled "The Language of Palestine"[935]. Unfortunately, as far as I am aware, the speech has not been handed down.

The occasion was presumably the founding of the State of Israel on 14 May 1948, the day on which the British Mandate was abolished. The leader of the Zionist-Socialist Labour Party of Israel, David Ben-Gurion,[936] proclaimed the State of Israel.

In an article worth reading, Brandon Sowers tells the story of the Esperantist Joseph R. Scherer,[937] who paid the escape expenses for Edward Kalmar, just like Ernest Green Dodge, who collected the escape expenses for Dr Lippmann and his wife, thus enabling him to escape Nazi Germany.

Joseph R. Scherer's, commitment once again demonstrates the humanistic attitude of many Esperantists. In the spirit of Viktor E. Frankl, it can be said that shared values and a common language influence one's own actions and inspire solidarity and support in difficult times.

14.05.1948 Foundation of the State of Israel

At this point it is interesting and helpful to look at a history book to understand how the State of Israel came to be.

The whole story began when the Israelites came to Egypt during a famine. This event is dated to around 1700 BC and is described in the biblical book of Genesis. Moses led the Israelites out of Egyptian slavery in what is known as the Exodus, which is traditionally dated to the 13th century BC. After wandering in the wilderness for 40 years, Moses led the Israelites to the border of the Promised Land, but he was not permitted to enter it himself.

My brief review of the most important events of the last 500 years is somewhat more detailed and less biblical, because they had a direct influence on the founding of the state.

Since the 16th century, the area that is now Israel and Palestine was part of the Ottoman Empire[938] from 1517 to 1917, during which time the coexistence of the various religious and ethnic groups was relatively peaceful. This may also have been because Palestine had very few inhabitants. In 1880 there were about 500,000 people[939] living in Palestine. The population consisted mainly of Muslims (over 80%), Christians (approx. 10%) and Jews (approx. 5-7%).

In 1881, the assassination of Tsar Alexander II[940] triggered pogroms, leading to the first wave of Jewish settlers moving to Palestine. By the late 19th century, the Zionist movement, spearheaded by Theodor Herzl,[941] gained momentum. Herzl's publication of "The Jewish State"[942] in 1896 outlined his vision for a Jewish homeland, a concept that quickly attracted support.

The first Zionist organisation[943] was established in Basel in 1897, a development that even caught the interest of the German ruler, Kaiser Wilhelm II[944] - though his enthusiasm stemmed from anti-Semitic reasons.[945] Chaim Weizmann[946] justified the Zionist claim to Jerusalem with the words:

> "London was still a swamp when Jerusalem was the capital of the Jews."

Tel Aviv had only 66 houses in 1910, which was a very small number for a city that would soon become a major global hub."

During the First World War, the Allies fought against the Central Powers, which included the Ottoman Empire, which fought alongside the German Empire. In 1915/1916, German and Turkish troops attacked British troops along the Suez Canal. This was the time of Lawrence of Arabia.[947]

On 11 December 1917, during the First World War, the British captured Jerusalem,[948] which had belonged to the Ottoman Empire from 1517 to 1917 – a span of four hundred years. In the same year, the Balfour Declaration[949] was published. This declaration promised a "national home for the Jewish people" in Palestine and thus strengthened the Zionist movement.

The Palestinian Arabs reacted with concern and resistance to the publication of the Balfour Declaration[950] on 2 November 1917. Many Palestinians feared that the declaration would jeopardise their political and economic rights. They saw British support for the Zionist movement as a violation of their national claims and a threat to their cultural and social identity. These tensions intensified in the following years, particularly during the British Mandate period, and led to demonstrations and clashes between the Arab population and the Jewish immigrants.

On 27 February 1919, nations, some with very different interests, clashed at the Paris Peace Conference.[951] The Zionists made a "historical claim to Palestine" and "threatened" the arrival of hundreds of thousands of Russian Jews fleeing the pogroms. It was recognised that the rebirth of a common Hebrew culture after 2,000 years of life in the diaspora would be long and slow.

France wanted to take the lead in this process, as it saw itself as part of Mediterranean civilisation but also had no objection to Great Britain assuming patronage. Britain wanted to retain control of the Suez Canal and France wanted to take over the Maghreb states and Syria.

Emir Faisal[952], the ruler of Iraq, expressed grave concerns for the Arab states and predicted serious conflicts. When calls were made to rename Palestine as Israel, both Christians and Muslims felt threatened.

On 24 July 1922, the Council of the League of Nations, the precursor organisation to the United Nations, granted Great Britain the League of Nations Mandate[953] for Palestine. The British administration was to implement the Balfour Declaration[954] and at the same time protect the rights of the non-Jewish population. In the following years, however, tensions and conflicts arose between the Jewish and Arab populations. At this time, Palestine's economy and infrastructure had been destroyed by the war and Great Britain had to provide material support for the 688,000 Arabs and 60,000 Jews. In 2021, approximately 9 million people resided[955] within the territory of Israel, an area comparable in size to the German state of Hesse. Among them, 74% were Jews, 21% were Arabs and the others were Christians, Samaritans, Armenians, Circassians and Roma communities.

In the 1920s and 1930s, Jewish immigration to Palestine increased sharply, which led to growing

resistance from the Arab population. The British tried to control the situation through various "White Papers" and restrictions on Jewish immigration, but this satisfied neither the Jewish side nor the Arab side.

After the Nazis came to power in 1933, Jewish immigration from the German Reich to Palestine continued to increase rapidly. However, it was severely restricted by the British Mandate administration in 1939. It allowed the immigration of 75,000 Jews in five years. This policy led to reactions such as Alija Bet[956] and refugee aid from war-torn Europe.

The Second World War and the Shoah, Hebrew for Holocaust, had a profound impact on the Jewish community worldwide, shaping its history, identity and future. After the war, international support for the establishment of a Jewish state grew, particularly in view of the plight of Holocaust survivors.

In 1947, the United Nations General Assembly decided to divide Palestine[957] into a Jewish and an Arab state (two-state solution).[958] This plan was accepted by most Jews but rejected by most Arabs. On 14 May 1948, David Ben-Gurion[959] read out Israel's declaration of independence.[960] Several Arab states declared war on Israel on the very night it was founded.

The War of Independence[961] lasted almost 15 months and only ended on 10 June 1949, resulting in an increase in Israeli territory of around 50 per cent compared to the United Nations' original partition plan. Israel was able to assert itself against the attacking Arab states and consolidate its existence as an independent state.

The history of the Middle East did not end there, for conflicts and efforts toward peace continue to this day. The enduring confrontations reveal the high price of persistent hostility. How much more might have been achieved through cooperation?

20.06.1948 Currency reform in West Germany

On 20 June 1948, the Trizone[962] – the three western zones of Germany - under western Allied occupation – saw the introduction of the 1948 currency reform[963]. The Deutsche Mark was the sole legal tender there from 21 June 1948.

Up to that point, the Reichsmark and the Rentenmark had been the valid means of payment. They were compulsorily exchanged at a ratio of 1:1 (both abbreviated 'RM'), and in the process their nominal value was devalued to a greater or lesser extent. The currency reform of 1948 and the introduction of the "social market economy"[964] were among the most important economic policy measures in German post-war history and are closely associated with the name of Ludwig Erhard[965] and his CDU party. His concept of the "social market economy"[966] – not socialist market economy – worked with the help of foreign countries.

The idea of the social market economy[967] has been the guiding principle of economic policy in Germany since the post-war period. It combines the principles of a market economy characterised by competition and private property rights with social elements to promote social justice and equal opportunities. So much for the theory!

In recent decades, the social market economy has made a decisive contribution to economic growth and prosperity in the Federal Republic of Germany. At the same time, it has ensured social security by expanding the welfare state. Prosperity grew and the "fat years" began.

For example, the average working week[968] was reduced to 48 hours. From 1956, the slogan "Daddy belongs to me on Saturday!"[969] was used to demand the 5-day or 40-hour working week.

Things were very different in the GDR.[970] The socialist planned economy promised a lot but did not keep its word. People worked hard, but economic success failed to materialise. It was not until 1976[971] that the 40-hour week was introduced.[972]

Ludwig Erhard did not personally benefit from the reduced working week, as he was Federal Minister of Economics from 1949 to 1963 and the second Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany from 1963 to 1966.

Ludwig Erhard, on the other hand, took advantage of his various positions as a high-ranking economic politician. Jürgen Lillteicher reports[973] on this in his fascinating dissertation, which can be read online: "The restitution of Jewish property in West Germany after the Second World War. A study on the experience of persecution, the rule of law and the politics of the past 1945 - 1971".

I will summarise the process briefly: In 1949, as Director of the Administration for Economic Affairs, Ludwig Erhard tried to prevent the return of the porcelain company Rosenthal Porzellan AG, which had been "Aryanised"[974] by the Nazis, to the family of company founder Philipp Rosenthal by intervening with the US military authorities.[975] Ludwig Erhard had a consultancy contract with Rosenthal AG[976] and received DM 12,000 a year for legal advice that he apparently never provided. The US secret service categorised him as corruptible from this point of time.

At a time when homosexuality was regarded as a security risk and equated with susceptibility to blackmail, Ludwig Erhard demonstrated that the opposite – proven bribability – was no obstacle to the chancellorship. This double standard shaped the political culture of the early Federal Republic.

10.12.1948 Proclamation of human rights

The 20th century witnessed two unimaginable wars, with unprecedented loss of life and widespread destruction. The two wars are rightly called World Wars.

The development of humanity has inflicted severe damage on its own humanity and moral substance. It seems as though all religions, philosophies and political orders have failed insofar as they were unable to prevent the catastrophes of the twentieth century.

But there was enough strength in the United Nations to agree on a common, non-secular ethic. Just as the North Star guides seafarers, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights[977] of 10 December 1948 should guide the world community.

The United Nations laid down in Article 1[978] of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights[979].

> "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights."

The progress achieved to this day is undeniable. Yet the goal has by no means been reached for all people. As long as human rights are not upheld and protected for everyone and everywhere, they remain an incomplete reality for many.

On this occasion, I reread Dr Katharina Ceming's[980] book *Ernstfall Menschenrechte. Die Würde des Menschen und die Weltreligionen* (Serious Case for Human Rights. Human Dignity and World Religions).

She examines how various world religions (Judaism, Christianity, Islam, Hinduism and Buddhism) have influenced the idea of human rights and where tensions arise. After outlining the historical and philosophical foundations of human rights, she assesses the teachings and practices of each religion against modern human-rights standards. Like a magnifying glass, the tensions become most visible where the dignity and rights of women are concerned. Dr Ceming's sobering conclusion: all religions show a considerable need for improvement in safeguarding human and women's rights.

More than seventy-five years after the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, its universal recognition is anything but self-evident. Not all states in the world have ratified all core UN human-rights treaties as of 2 January 2025. The Vatican[981] – capable of acting under international law but not a member of the United Nations – is among the actors that have not yet acceded to several of these treaties.

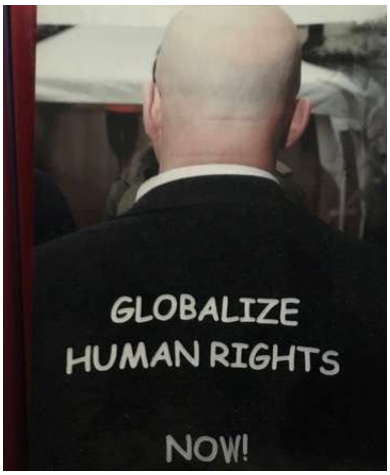


Figure 19 Self Portrait

The idea of cosmopolitanism, that all people are equal and have equal rights, is very important in our globalised world, according to Martha Nussbaum.[982] She criticises in her book "Cosmopolitanism: Revision of an Ideal" the fact that too little thought has been given to material justice in a global context. People need a roof over their heads, food and health care just as urgently as the protection of their human rights.

Contrary to Bertolt Brecht's statement "First comes the food, then the morals", Martha Nussbaum argues (very briefly summarised) that material justice and human rights go hand in hand, i.e. they must be realised simultaneously to ensure a good and just life for all people.

12.05.1949 Restitution Act for the British zone

The painstaking process of restitution began with Military Government Act No.59 on the Restitution of Identifiable Assets to Victims of National Socialist Repression.

The term "reparation" implies that something can be made good, which is of course not possible in the case of the Holocaust and its unimaginable atrocities. The survivors underwent immeasurable suffering and irreplaceable losses. The Third Reich was an unjust state, and it is the historical legacy of the Federal Republic of Germany to make amends for this injustice.

Only the victim can grant forgiveness – no one else. No institution, no government and no court can make that decision on their behalf. And since suffering endured and lives lost can never be fully restored, I consider it more appropriate to speak of efforts at compensation or efforts toward reparation – not of reparation itself.

10.10.1949 Application for restitution from Erna Asch

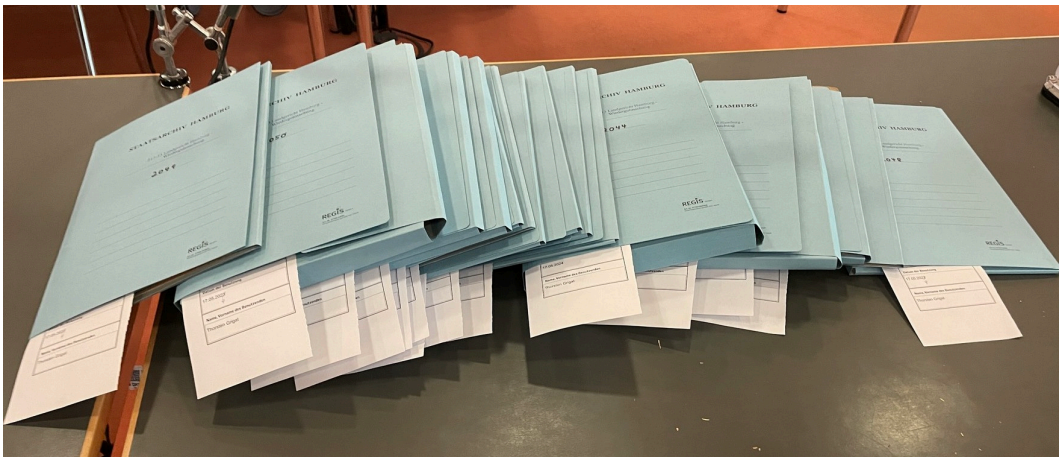


Figure 20 Restitution files for Julius Asch

I will report on the course of the compensation proceedings on the basis on the files of Dr Walter Lippmann and his aunt Erna Asch. These files are representative of other cases. My aim was to present the extensive information as briefly as possible, and as long as necessary, to show how arduous and stressful it was for the claimants to pursue their claims in court. Basically, I realised that there had been no simple restitution negotiations. But the audacity with which the possessors defended themselves, and with which the officials often assisted them, as we experienced with Ludwig Erhard, sometimes took my breath away.

In July 2024 I was given access to the files of the Restitution Chamber of the Hamburg Regional Court. In front of me were fourteen files with a total of 1,329 pages in which the restitution claims of Erna Asch as the sole heir of Julius Asch were negotiated. The files document a series of proceedings concerning the restitution or compensation of the shares in the business, including the company and private property. In view of the considerable assets for which restitution or compensation was being claimed, I was very curious about the contents of the mountain of files.

The compilation of this extensive documentation confronted me with new challenges for which I was not prepared. How can I present the contents of 1,329 pages of court documents in a brief and informative way without boring my readers? As you read the following pages, please bear in mind how long – and certainly not "boring" - these proceedings must have been for Mrs Asch.

Having catalogued the contents of the court files in a separate document and thus gaining a comprehensive overview of the various proceedings, I have decided to present only those aspects that are peculiar to, but perhaps also typical of, these proceedings. These include delaying tactics, obstruction of justice and trivialisation of damages.

The parties to the dispute maintain a polite tone in their letters and submissions; however, the arguments of the other side are often scurrilous - and shocking from today's perspective. I will quote some of these statements.

I would like to take a brief look back to Mrs Asch's situation in 1950. Her husband Julius Asch had died by suicide at the beginning of 1939 due to the ongoing National Socialist reprisals. Erna Asch was his sole heir.

Under the pressure of the times, he had been forced to sell his business shares to his business partner Georg Martin Kelter for less than their value in 1938 and thus withdraw from all the companies in which he was active.

Because of Law No. 59 of the British Military Government (Restitution Act)[983] of 12 May 1949, which applied only to the British zone, Erna Asch submitted various applications for restitution to the Restitution Chamber of the Hamburg District Court in February 1950. Erna Asch now lived at Kösterbergstrasse 4 in Blankenese.

The lawyers in these proceedings were Dr Morris Samson, Hans Seidl and H.H. Michelsen, Mönckebergstrasse 13 in Hamburg.

The behaviour of buyers and second buyers of Jewish property during and after the Nazi era varied greatly and was often shaped by the general circumstances of the time and the individual attitudes of those involved. Some purchasers were aware of the injustice of the transactions and tried to make amends after the war by returning the property or paying compensation. Others kept the property they had acquired and resisted claims for restitution. Their behaviour reflects the complex and often contradictory zeitgeist of the post-war period, in which moral, legal and economic aspects were interwoven.

In the following, I will briefly summarise the more than 1,300 pages of files on the restitution proceedings in favour of Erna Asch:

1. Repayment of the Jewish property levy
2. Company shares with the properties in Grosse Bleichen in Hamburg
3. Elbchaussee 30 in Hamburg
4. Marienhöhe Estate in Blankenese

1. Repayment of the Jewish property levy

The slightly more than 1,300 file pages are spread over more than 20 proceedings. Many pages are

copies that had to be filed several times in similar proceedings. That was tedious to read. Yet every now and then I did come across something interesting that wasn't included in the other files. One example is the letter from the Chief Finance President of Hamburg (for the attention of Dr Topp), who informed the Restitution Office on 28 February 1950 that the documents relating to the property levies paid by Jews were no longer available because some of them had already been destroyed. Dr Topp refers to a decision by the Munich Restitution Chamber in the American sector, according to which the restitution obligation does not apply if the applicant is unable to prove the payment.

Just a moment! In other words, the authorities required people who had survived the concentration camps and lost all their possessions to submit their tax assessments to receive compensation. Those who were unable to do so lost their right to compensation. Was this regarded as a serious state-level effort at compensation and reparation?

On 28 June 1950, Dr Morris Samson had to submit a copy of the confirmation from Dr Paul Mendel, Sierichstrasse 1 dated 21 April 1950, as this confirmation was not in the file of the Advisory Office for Restitution Issues. How could this be when Dr Paul Mendel had already submitted the documents on the Jewish property levy for the restitution application to the Restitution Chamber on 20 July 1945 under file number Z 274-7/10?

These, like most other files, are completely chaotic, making normal administrative work almost impossible.

All those involved in the trial knew from their professional activities as lawyers that Jews who did not pay the Jewish property levy were penalised by the Nazi regime with fines or expropriation. For the sake of simplicity, they could have taken the payment for granted if they had wanted to be benevolent towards the claimants.

However, there are no entries in the land registers of the Marienhöhe estate, e.g. a prohibition on disposal. Dr Topp could therefore have assumed in good faith that the required payments had been made.

In its decision of 16 February 1951, the Hamburg Regional Court later ruled in Mrs Asch's favour, confirming that Julius Asch had made payments totalling 329,000 Reichsmark based on the decision of the Hamburg-Neustadt tax office of 14 December 1938 regarding the Jewish property levy. The court considers the proof of the payment of the first instalments is sufficient and assumes that she also had paid the further instalments after her husband's death. Mrs Asch is therefore entitled to compensation in the amount of 329,000 Reichsmark or its equivalent in Deutschmarks (DM).

Under the special provision of section 14 of the Conversion Act, however, this amount cannot yet be paid out in DM, as a future statutory regulation is still reserved for the liabilities of the German Reich. At the time the judgment is delivered, only a determination of the obligation to provide compensation can therefore be made, 'which must also specify the date of the expropriation. The ancillary consequences follow from the application of Articles 60(1) and 63 of the American Military Government Law No.59 (REG).'

On 17 March 1951, Dr Holdeigel filed an appeal against the judgement of 16 February 1951 with the Office for Restitution on behalf of the Hamburg Chief Finance Directorate because, unlike the court, he did not see the Jewish property levy as an asset within the meaning of American Military Government Law No.59 (REG), which was irrelevant, however, as British Military Government Law

applied in Hamburg. The Chief Finance Directorate is of the opinion that the Jewish property levy falls under the Federal Compensation Act (BEG), which provides for a maximum compensation limit for such cases at the expense of the claimants. Dr Holdeigel demands clear proof of the payments amounting to 329,000 Reichsmark, probably because he fears that the Hanseatic City of Hamburg will also have to compensate the Jewish property levy in addition to the return of the properties.

On 25 April 1951, the judges Senate President Willers and the Higher Regional Court Councillors Dr Krönig and Dr Schierholt of the Hanseatic Higher Regional Court reject the complaint of the Chief Finance President of 16 February 1951 as unfounded. The court expressly states:

> "The payment of the Jewish property levy was based on an abuse of state authority."

The file ends here, so it can be assumed that the decision of 16 February 1951 came into force and Mrs Asch also received a repayment of the Jewish property levy.

Today is 3 October 2024. One year ago today, I started this research. After about 2,500 hours of research and documentation, I am still trying to understand. I will never tire of searching the internet for Dr Holdeigel and Dr Topp. In the dissertation by Dr Jürgen Lillteicher[984] I find references to both gentlemen that give us an impression of how these men thought.

In Jürgen Lillteicher's Dissertation von Dr. Jürgen Lillteicher dissertation I also find the interesting indication that Dr Topp's "standardised" assertion that the authority no longer had any documents and therefore could not confirm the payments and, moreover, that the special levies were not refundable under the law, was sent in part on pre-prepared forms. However, the Hamburg courts took a different view and granted compensation in accordance with the Federal Reimbursement Act.

Anyone who failed to pay the Jewish property levy faced heavy fines. In some cases, such as that of the Wertheim family,[985] who owned a large department store empire and were unable to make the required payments, all their assets and property were confiscated. There are no corresponding entries in the land registers of the Marienhöhe estate.

Dr Jürgen Lillteicher also reports on a different case in which Dr Holdeigel represented the Hanseatic City of Hamburg and the mindset with which he carries out his work:

> "In the course of the proceedings, this fiscal calculation took on a life of its own. The OFD [Oberfinanzdirektionen] set the value of the Loebenstein couple's property much lower. The letter stated:
>
> "The 1942 evacuees Mr and Mrs Loebenstein were 59 and 58 years old at the time and it can therefore be assumed that the household effects were more or less worn out." The auction proceeds in question of approx. 1,000 Reichsmark were reduced by the clerks for rent payments and the costs for gas and water, which had been incurred after the deportation of Mr and Mrs Loebenstein to the tax authorities as administrators of the flat."

Dr Jürgen Lillteicher concludes that

> "The higher tax authorities were much more litigious and aggressive than private restitution claimants. By adopting such a procedure, the successor state assumed

> responsibility for the corruption and participation of its citizens in the plundering of the Jewish population during National Socialism and at the same time prevented the additional unrest that would have been caused by the prosecution of every individual claim.
>
> However, this meant that all those who had, for example, bought a fur coat or a piece of furniture of Jewish ownership at a favourable price continued to belief that there was nothing reprehensible about their behaviour even after 1945."

In 1945, separate restitution proceedings submitted by Mrs Asch focused on the company shares and the associated properties and in further proceedings in the 1950s on the restitution of the properties formerly belonging to the Marienhöhe estate.

2. Company shares with the associated properties:
With a brief look back, I would like to show how "Aryanisation" took place in the case of Julius Asch. On 26 July 1938, Julius Asch and Gerhard Martin Kelter appeared before the notary Dr Arnold Sturm of the notary's office Dr Rob Martin, Dr A. Sturm, Dr H. Theissen, Schauenburger Str. 55 in Hamburg to settle their joint shareholding in the company Camin & Cie in Paris.

I never cease to be amazed at how closely Dr Lippmann's story is intertwined with my own life, across different places. In the early 1980s, I worked at 61 Schauenburger Straße for four years.

The main object of the agreement was that the companies and the two properties at Bleichenbrücke 25/29 and Grosse Bleichen 45, together known as "Bleichenhof", which they owned jointly, should now be transferred in full to Mr Kelter as the sole owner.

It was agreed that the largest part of the redemption sum should be transferred to Mr Asch's bank account at Deutsche Bank, which had been blocked by the Hamburg tax office and to which he no longer had direct access.

A further part was to be transferred to an account yet to be set up at Norddeutsche Kreditbank AG in the name of Julius Asch. According to Mr Asch's instructions, this amount was to be used to pay the guarantee of the company Chs Lavy & Co. to enable him to replace Reichsfluchtsteuer (Reich flight tax) liabilities with another form of security. This is followed by a series of contractual provisions on hidden reserves, back tax payments and refunds, etc., in which it is very often stated that "Mr Asch waives".

Voluntarily?

The office of the lawyer Dr Heinrich Lüdemann was on the 2nd floor, staircase B, of the Chilehaus - the floor where I worked the last three years of my professional career.

The Chilehaus[986], listed as a UNESCO World Heritage Site since 2015, is also a place with an unexpectedly rich Jewish history that went unnoticed for far too long. The heart of this history does not lie – as is often assumed – with its financier Henry B. Sloman[987], but with a man who almost disappeared from public memory: Ossip Klarwein[988], a Jewish architect and chief designer in the office of Fritz Höger[989].

He writes that on 13 December 1945, with the assistance of her lawyer Dr Paul Mendel, an out-of-

court settlement was reached with Mrs Asch on amicable terms. This letter states, among other things:

> "Under pressure from the Nazi authorities, the late Mr Julius Asch had to decide to leave the companies Chs Lavy & Co. and LACO Export Kelter & Asch. The arrangement took place on the basis of a separation agreement dated 25 May/23 June 1938 between Mr Julius Asch and Mr Gerhard Martin Kelter, which was influenced in individual provisions by the coercive regulations of the Nazi authorities and led to an unsatisfactory solution that was unavoidable for the parties involved at the time.
>
> To achieve a complete settlement of the matter, the parties negotiated in a mutually friendly spirit and reached the following agreement:
>
> 1. The original severance payment for leaving the company as co-partner and managing director had been agreed at 150,000 Reichsmark on 25 May 1938. Through the intervention of the National Socialist Reichsstatthalterei, the severance payment was reduced to 100,000 Reichsmark. It is now agreed that the settlement should amount to 200,000 Reichsmark.
> 2. Mrs Asch [she is now 56 years old] receives a pension of 500 Reichsmark per month from 1 January 1946 to 31 December 1954 (54,000 Reichsmark in total). This pension expires with Mrs Asch's death."

The lawyers' letter of 13 December 1945 also states:

> "It expressly emphasises that after the Nazi coercion had ceased, the parties involved held discussions to clarify those claims of Mrs Asch as her husband's sole heir which could not be settled under the coercion of the time. It is added that these discussions took place in a friendly spirit and led to a completely satisfactory settlement of all pending issues for all parties involved. Finally, it is also stated that beyond the arrangement that has now been made, Mrs Asch no longer has any claims against the companies, their shareholders or their dependent companies, regardless of the type or reason."

At the end of the letter, the companies' auditor at the time, Dr K. Spiegelberg, who has his office in Chilehouse B 4th floor, is quoted. He confirms the amicable negotiations and agreement and concludes that:

> "Mrs Asch is no longer entitled to any restitution claims, as an amicable agreement within the meaning of §§ 13 and 54 of the Restitution Act No.59 has been reached. In a contractual supplement, it was assured that the pension of 500 Reichsmark to be paid is to be understood in the event of any currency changes in such a way that the amount of 500 Reichsmark is to be converted so that it corresponds to an employee's monthly salary of the same amount."

Another memorandum, dated 29 November 1945 and written by the auditor Dr K. Spiegelberg, states that he advised Mr Asch on economic issues, especially those relating to tax and foreign exchange law issues even after the latter left the company. During these many years of personal consultation, Mr Asch also shared some of his personal thoughts and views with him in confidence. And then he wrote this very depressing note:

> "At the end of 1938, Mr Asch chose his [suicide]. I don't know what prompted him to do so. At the time, under my impression of our last counselling session, I thought to myself that he wanted to fully preserve his [Aryan] wife's assets in this way, as they would have otherwise dwindled to such a degree due to the transfer of the Sperrmark sale, which was the only option for him, that they might not have been enough for his and his wife's livelihood."

The story of Julius Asch and Gerhard Martin Kelter is an example of the tragic impact of National Socialist policies on the lives and businesses of Jewish citizens in Germany. The "Decree on the Elimination of Jews from German Economic Life"[990] of 12 November 1938 was a decisive step in a series of measures aimed at systematically removing Jews from economic life in Germany. This policy not only led to the loss of livelihoods, but also to the loss of property and financial security for many Jewish families.

The fact that Julius Asch was forced to give up his shares and his business assets or to sell them for far less than their actual value shows the traumatic situation in which Jewish entrepreneurs found themselves.

They were under enormous pressure and were often forced to negotiate and sell under unfavourable conditions, resulting in the irretrievable loss of their assets. The notarial deed dated 26 July 1938 documents not only a business transaction, but also Julius Asch's desperate efforts to survive under the repressive conditions of the time.

Such documents are windows into a dark period of history, reminding us how important it is to always fight against injustice and discrimination in all its forms.

It is remarkable that Erna Asch was able to conclude the settlement of 13 December 1945 so soon after the war to make up for the financial injustice of the sale price, which was lower than the real value. It is a testimony to the sincerity of former business partner Gerhard Martin Kelter that he was prepared to make a retrospective equalisation payment at the 1938 purchase price without much resistance.

However, this compensation payment did not comply with Restitution Act No.59, the aim of which was to restore the original situation as if the 1938 settlement agreement had never happened. This principle also had to be applied to the restitution of the business assets, i.e. the properties at Bleichenbrücke 25/29.

In 1950, the new business owners Erich Kelter and Heinrich Meyer and the limited partners Herbert Strantzen and Dr Rudolf Rixen were served with an application for retransfer, as Gerhard Martin Kelter had died in the meantime.

In the restitution proceedings, the court had first to examine how the settlement of 13 December 1945 was assessed. On 6 May 1950, Mrs Asch's lawyer, Dr Morris Samson, explained to the Restitution Office the reasons why the restitution claims were justified, but did not constitute a settlement of the restitution obligation within the meaning of § 13 REG or Law No.59 of 1949:

> "Pursuant to Art. 13 REG, the entitled person may claim the difference between the remuneration paid and the appropriate remuneration, waiving all other claims under

this law. This claim does not exist if the entitled party has reached an agreement with the party liable for reimbursement regarding the reimbursement claim."

On 20 June 1950, it is recorded in the minutes that after a further detailed examination of the situation, executors Dr Heinrich Lüdemann and the former district court director Dr Edmund Krüss were prepared to enter settlement negotiations regarding restitution on behalf of Gerhard Martin Kelter, who had died on 8 June 1942.

Internet research on the people mentioned in this biography always brings to light interesting information that completes the picture of this period and brings the people to life. Dr Edmund Krüss lived at Woldsenweg 5 in Hamburg-Eppendorf.[991]

Many people in his immediate neighbourhood were deported. The 27 stumble stones bear witness to this. His name also appears in the fascinating history of the Krüss family of Hamburg entrepreneurs, owners of A. Krüss Optronic GmbH.[992] The book on the family and company history can be downloaded from the website.

On 23 November 1950, the Office issued a partial decision stating that the contract of 13 December 1945 should nevertheless remain in force and that the two companies should pay Mrs Asch, in addition to the monthly pension of DM 500 already agreed until 31 December 1954, a one-off payment of 35000 DM. This would represent the final settlement of all claims for reimbursement in respect of the shareholding.

Just over a year later, on 15 December 1951, Dr Samson submits a claim to the Office for the settlement of all mutual claims arising from the Restitution Act No.59 of the British Military Government regarding the properties entered in the land registers of Neustadt-Nord, sheets 1778 and 1779. In the settlement, Gertrud Johanna Elise Kelter, née Gabory, joins as a prior heir after her husband Gerhard Martin Kelter.

The name Gabory sounds familiar to me. I read it this morning in the company history A. Krüss Optronics GmbH. Edmund Gabory had received an "optician's patent" in 1811, i.e. during Hamburg's French period[993] under Napoleon from 1806 to 1814. Mrs Kelter was his descendant and the wife of Gerhard Martin Kelter. Once again, my curiosity led me on an exciting journey through history.

The parties agreed that Mrs Kelter owned 5/8 and Mrs Erna Asch 3/8 of the two properties "Bleichenhof" and that the income was to be divided accordingly from 1 April 1951.

In the official minutes of the settlement dated 17 January 1952, I note that Mrs Gertrud Kelter's children Hubert Kelter,[994] Gabriele Kelter and Beate Kelter are listed as her heirs. The restitution note in the land register was deleted on 3 April 1952.

This meant that the restitution of the two properties and compensation for the shareholding were completed within two years. However, not all restitution proceedings were as quick, fair and considerate for Mrs Asch.

3. Elbchaussee 30 in Hamburg

The compensation proceedings against John T. Essberger for the restitution of the property at Elbchaussee 30 were quite different. On 3 November 1938, Julius Asch sold the 16,476 square metre

properties at Elbchaussee 30 to John Essberger for 105,000 Reichsmark. This corresponds to a price per square metre of 6.37 Reichsmark, which was far below the actual market value.

We must remember the price per square metre of 6.37 Reichsmark, because we will be referring to it frequently.

Another process began on 13 August 1945 with the application for restitution against the former State Councillor and shipowner John T. Essberger,[995] residing at Elbchaussee 34.

At the time, Mr Essberger was in the protective custody of the British occupying power, presumably because of his leading position as a National Socialist.

His assets were frozen by the British military government. Mr Essberger was a friend of Hermann Göring[996] and chairman of the Association of German Shipowners, in which capacity he was described as the leader of German shipping.

In 1942, he took over from the cigarette manufacturer Philipp F. Reemtsma[997] the Woermann line,[998] whose colonial past is still under discussion today.[999] Since the purchase price of 105,000 Reichsmark paid at the time did not correspond to the market value of the 16,476 square metre properties at Elbchaussee 30, Erna Asch demanded compensation.

Dr Paul Mendel, Erna Asch's lawyer, asked the restitution court whether claims against prisoners whose accounts had been frozen in accordance with Military Law 52 could be served. On 25 August 1945, the director of the district court replied that he did not believe that the military government would allow John Leonard Theodor Essberger to appear in court and release funds from his accounts.

On 5 October 1945, Government Councillor Dr Loeffler[1000] demanded that the Restitution Office ask Dr Mendel to prove that Julius Asch had been Jewish and that the property in question had been sold below its value.

Today is 3 January 2025 and I have resolved to proofread the text again and not to change it, because the better is the enemy of the good. But my persistent curiosity and perhaps also something like a seventh sense make me search the Internet more intensively for Dr Loeffler.

When I read the biography of Dr Loeffler on Wikipedia, I was more than surprised. Ludwig Loeffler was born in Hamburg, where he also went to school. He studied law in Hamburg, Geneva and Freiburg. He worked as an assessor in the administration of the Hanseatic City of Hamburg. Because of his Jewish descent, he had to leave the civil service in 1933.

During the Nazi era, Dr Loeffler was imprisoned several times and eventually deported to the Theresienstadt, Auschwitz-Birkenau und Groß-Rosen concentration camps. His family were murdered in Theresienstadt. After fleeing in 1945, he returned to Hamburg, where he headed the Office for Restitution after the war and worked intensively to rebuild the Jewish community in Hamburg. He was chairman of the board of the Jewish Community Fund Northern Germany. In 1986, he was honoured with the Grand Federal Silver Cross of Merit for his services. He lived an impressive life full of challenges and commitment to the Jewish community.

It is inconceivable that Government Councillor Dr Loeffler did not know that Julius Asch was a member of the High German Israelite Community in Altona and one of Hamburg's most successful

and wealthiest entrepreneurs. So why did he ask the widow Erna Asch to prove that Julius Asch was Jewish? Did he only want to do his job conscientiously according to the letter of the law? Or was Dr Loeffler afraid of his "brown" colleagues who might accuse him of nepotism?

The elegant Palmaille 49 in Altona became the residence of John T. Essberger on 9 October 1945. He informed the court that his wife was his representative. A file dated 28 June 1946 noted Mr Essberger's release from prison. The court commissioned Dr Paul Mendel to prepare an expert report, as it did not have any experts of its own. On 26 July 1946, Dr Herbert Samuel, Neuer Wall 26-28 in Hamburg, as Essberger's lawyer, rejected all claims for restitution in full and without any justification.

This file ends with this letter! I could not find a connection file.

I found no evidence that the obviously justified claim against Mr Essberger was pursued. Despite his brief arrest, John T. Essberger was not destitute. In 1942, Mr Essberger had taken over two competing companies active in the African trade, the Woermann Line and the German East Africa Line.

After the Second World War, he merged these lines with his own company under the name Deutsche Afrika-Linien and completely rebuilt the confiscated fleet. The John T. Essberger shipping company celebrated its 100th anniversary in 2024.

4. Marienhöhe estate in Blankenese

The other interlinked restitution processes are even more complicated. Julius Asch had bought the Marienhöhe estate in 1922. Due to the increasing repression against the Jewish population, he was forced to sell the estate, and the buyers subsequently sold the plots of land later to third parties.

In this way the circle of those obliged to pay restitution was widened, placing a considerable burden on the proceedings.

This is due to the principle of German law (§ 911 ff. BGB): "A bona fide acquisition of ownership of a stolen or otherwise unlawfully obtained object is excluded." In principle, it is logical that you cannot legally sell anything that does not belong to you. Is it a coincidence that the later Federal President Karl Carstens completed his doctorate in Hamburg in 1937/1938 on the subject of "The acquisition in good faith of liens on property rights".[1001] Unfortunately, I did not have the opportunity to read the doctoral thesis.

In the following, I present a few selected examples that illustrate how the buyers were primarily concerned with their own advantage. Their self-interest came before the will to make amends. They used extremely flimsy arguments to deny responsibility and manipulate the compensation amounts in their favour.

It appears that many representatives of the City of Hamburg have lacked both the will to compensate and a certain degree of fairness. This observation raises questions about the role of the judiciary and suggests that there are serious doubts about the integrity and actions of this institution in this context.

Compensation proceedings against Consul Gustav Scipio, Osterdeich 31 in Bremen:

There have been numerous restitution proceedings in connection with the Marienhöhe estate. For the sake of clarity, I have refrained from listing in detail the manoeuvres of the other side to discourage, discriminate or delay the proceedings against the claimant Mrs Asch - perhaps in the hope that Mrs

Asch, who was born in 1890, would give up or die. In quick succession, parts of the Marienhöhe estate were sold on with enormous price increases and high profits.

On 15 November 1938, Julius Asch sells the 51.76 ha (= 517,600 square metres) estate Gut Marienhöhe to Gustav Oskar Scipio for 315,000 Reichsmark. This corresponds to a price per square metre of 0.60 Reichsmark! The estate was divided into 12 units, which were registered in the land registers of Dockenhuden and Sülldorf, both districts of the city of Hamburg.

Just as a reminder: in the same year, Julius Asch sold his other property at Elbchaussee 30 for 6.37 Reichsmark per square metre. As the following shows, the price for the Marienhöhe estate in elegant Blankenese could not possibly have been in line with the market.

Compensation proceedings against Dr Bartram and Hans Bauermeister:

On 18 February 1941, Gustav Oskar Scipio sold a plot of 12,000 square metres of his huge remaining property to Dr Bartram for 13,200 Reichsmark at a price per square metre of 1.10 Reichsmark. This corresponds to a price increase of 83% within 2.5 years.

In 1949, Dr Bartram sold a 5,800 m² plot of his 12,000 m² property to Hans Bauermeister at a price of 4.65 German marks per square metre. Due to the currency conversion and the expansion of the city, the property had increased in value by 4,000% in just under 8 years.

The 1949 price probably best reflects the actual market value of these properties. The astonishing returns were realised by the Aryan buyers and resellers, but not by Julius and Erna Asch.

Dr Bartram claimed to have "bought in good faith" and not to have known that the Marienhöhe estate had once belonged to "the Jew Julius Asch" and, although he had studied law, he was also of the opinion that the heirs of Gustav Oskar Scipio had to deal with the restitution claims and not he, as he had only been the second buyer.

A glance at the law or a quick enquiry with other lawyers would have revealed that his opinion was completely irrelevant for the assessment of the situation.

Julius Asch had sold the Marienhöhe estate of 517,600 square metres for 315,000 Reichsmark on 15 November 1938 to, who sold a partial area of 428,800 square metres to the Hanseatic City of Hamburg on 7 April 1941 for the same price, namely 0.60 Reichsmark per square metre, i.e. for a total of 254,880 Reichsmark.

On 30 August 1950, Dr Samson pointed out to the Regional Court that the opposing party - Dr Hermann, representing the Hanseatic City of Hamburg - had named witnesses who were "politically unacceptable today", including the former head of the local authority Mr Schumann, and the former clerk, Mr Hacker, whose address was unknown. He referred to his denazification files.

And then, immediately after this monstrosity comes the next one!

In this letter, Dr Samson also asks the District Court to determine how the assertion made by the opposing party that "Mr Asch was not subjected to any direct persecution measures" should be assessed. As a reminder: Julius Asch escaped the threat of deportation to Theresienstadt by committing suicide in the Elbe on 12 January 1939.

This lawyer's letter from Dr Samson states, among other things:

> "A party liable for restitution, such as the defendant, may not claim that the intensified persecution of Jews only began in November 1938.
>
> The defendant is aware of both the "Nuremberg Laws" of 15 September 1935 and the "Aryanisation" that began on 1 April 1933 and the arrests initiated on 30 January 1933, as well as the killings that took place in the concentration camps before 1938.
>
> The defendant is also familiar with the term "relevant time" within the meaning of the Restitution Act. Apparently, however, the defendant - quite wrongly - takes the position that no one emigrated before 1 September 1939 because of racial persecution, but merely to escape the danger of war. The attempt to deny the clear facts of seizure cannot be rejected harshly enough.
>
> In the meantime, the undersigned has received a reliable communication from abroad in which the indignation expressed in the letter of 10 July 1950 is - unfortunately - fully confirmed. In the already precarious legal field of restitution, the behaviour observed by the Hanseatic City of Hamburg is detrimental to the democratic state in a way that can hardly be repaired.
>
> It must be expected that the defendant, following the factual and fully accurate statements made to it and confirmed by letter dated 7 June 1950, will review and correct the position taken in the statement of 27 June 1950.
>
> More than two months have now passed since then. One of the consequences of the defendant's unfounded objection was that Scipio's heirs did not wish to declare their acknowledgement of the obligation to make restitution to the Restitution Office, which had already been made to the undersigned, to avoid prejudicing the Hanseatic City.
>
> Evidence: Testimony of the lawyer Dr O. Dettmers, Bremen.
>
> This circumstance also reveals the disadvantages inflicted on the entitled party in violation of the purpose expressly intended by the law. Under the given circumstances, the party obliged to make restitution should not be surprised that its behaviour was reprimanded with the utmost clarity."

In its public session of 4 September 1950, the Hamburg Regional Court ruled that the corresponding land registers were to be amended and that Mrs Asch was to be entered as the owner.

Protracted negotiations then begin between the Hanseatic City of Hamburg and the Scipio heirs about the conversion rate for the purchase prices to be repaid and compensation for the new properties built on the land.

On 28 December 1950, the Hamburg District Court ruled "in the combined proceedings" of Erna Asch against the Hanseatic City of Hamburg and the heirs of Gustav Oskar Scipio, that the three properties were to be returned. Mrs Asch had to repay the purchase price of 254,880 Reichsmark in the ratio of 10 Reichsmark to 1 German Mark (DM), i.e. DM 25,488.

In this decision, the Hamburg Regional Court upholds Dr Hermann's following objection:

> "The defendant [i.e. the Hanseatic City of Hamburg] denied the existence of a restitution obligation. The former owner Asch was not subject to any direct persecution measures. He had already prepared the parcelling and thus the sale of the properties before 1933. Mr Asch had died shortly after the sale of his property to Scipio. His wife and heiress were Aryan and had not been persecuted in any way. She had not contested the purchase contract with Scipio, and the reason for the sale was the friendly relationship between the seller and the buyer."

The argument that the sale was voluntary and without coercion was often an attempt to evade restitution. It is difficult to understand how some parties to the proceedings could raise such untenable objections so soon after the end of National Socialism. The court therefore expressly states in its decision:

> "As a Jew, the seller Asch belonged to a group of people who were persecuted by the National Socialist government on racial grounds. The presumption of seizure pursuant to Article 3 para. 1b REG therefore applies in his favour."

The court went on to state that, according to the Restitution Act, it was important to determine whether the property had been seized due to racial persecution or whether the sale had taken place under duress and at an unreasonable price. These legal bases are decisive to justify restitution claims and to ensure justice for the persecuted persons.

After more than 800 pages of files, I discover something surprising. In the correspondence so far, the person liable for restitution is always referred to as "Dr Bartram", perhaps not without reason. I can't find anything about Dr Bartram on the Internet with this meagre reference.

However, in a short note from the Altona district office dated 6 January 1951 to the lawyers Dr Hans Storke and Dr Arthur Stoll, Brandstwiete 29, I learn that the Hanseatic City of Hamburg will no longer derive any rights from the partition permit granted to the Minister President Dr Walter Bartram,[1002] provided that the restitution claims of the widow of the former owner, Mrs Asch, are recognised as justified.

Why is the Hanseatic City of Hamburg making such a generous promise to the Minister- President of Schleswig-Holstein, which is extremely favourable to him and to the financial disadvantage of the city?

With the first name and above all the reference that Dr Bartram was Prime Minister, I quickly found what I was looking for on the Internet:

Dr Walter Bartram had joined the NSDAP on 1 April 1936 and the CDU in 1946. Is it any wonder that he was granted planning permission for his property, which was in a landscape conservation area, which explains the extraordinary increase in value and the generous waiver by the Hanseatic city of claims arising from the declaration of division? The property was in the Blankenese district, which was incorporated into Hamburg on 1 April 1937 by the Greater Hamburg Act.[1003]

On 6 February 1951, both parties file an appeal against the court order of 28 December 1950. Dr

Hermann, representing the Hanseatic City of Hamburg, writes, among other things:

> "In view of the facts presented and substantiated in the brief of 27 June 1950, and also in consideration of the fact that the competent local municipal committee – comprising representatives of all parties – unanimously adopted a negative position, the claim for restitution had to be contested on our part. Consequently, no other motions could be submitted."

Dr Hermann also claimed that Erna Asch had invested the proceeds of the sale into the property in which she now lived to maintain its value. Dr Hermann concealed the fact that most of the money was used to pay the Judenvermögensabgabe, the Jewish Capital Levy, from which she, as an Aryan widow of a Jew, was not exempt. So much for the claim that she was not exposed to persecution.

And because Mrs Asch supposedly had the money at her free disposal (even though her accounts were blocked) Dr Hermann demanded that Mrs Asch repay the purchase price of RM 1 to DM 1 (not 10:1) to avoid "an economic disadvantage as a result" - he did not say a word about the huge economic advantage for Minister President Bartram. It can of course be assumed that Dr Hermann, in his capacity as State Councillor and lawyer, was well aware that his flimsy objection that the Hanseatic City of Hamburg had not purchased the land from Mr Asch, but from Mr Scipio, was of no significance under the Restitution Act.

Dr Hermann argued about the recoverability of the costs for the fencing, the rental income from the seven houses on the estate, about the amount of compensation for not returning the seven houses to Mrs Asch and, above all, the individual conversion rate from Reichsmark to Deutsche Mark in this case.

By order of the 1st Restitution Chamber of the Hamburg Regional Court dated 12 September 1951, Mrs Asch received the three properties back. The purchase price received earlier was offset against the later resale proceeds, so that she had to pay an additional DM 26,690 with 4% interest since 12 May 1949.

A separate decision was made on her claims for the restitution of benefits derived, namely the rental income from the buildings on the estate. In the decision of 28 December 1950, the court ordered Mrs Asch repay the purchase price at that time to Mr Scipio in the ratio of 1 Reichsmark to 1 DM.

However, her own claims were to be settled in the ratio of 10 Reichsmark to 1 DM. In the judgement of 12 September 1951, the earlier judgement was overturned, and she only had to repay the purchase price received at a ratio of 10 to 1. This was a difference of DM 6,500 in her favour.

Dr Bartram used a great deal of paperwork and questionable arguments to try to get Mrs Asch to reimburse him for the DM 2,449 cost of fencing off the property. On 26 March 1952, the district court also ended this case with a settlement.

Compensation proceedings against Karl Ludwig Grütz

In 1947, the Esso petrol station and garage owner Karl Ludwig Grütz, Warburgstrasse 25, received the 4,395 square metre properties at Rissener Landstrasse 64 from the Hanseatic City of Hamburg in exchange for his other property at Warburgstrasse 19.

At the beginning of the restitution proceedings, he had already built on one third of the new property and thus "significantly changed" it. He was therefore no longer obliged to return the developed part of the property. Instead, in accordance with the Federal Compensation Act, he would have to pay compensation for the developed part and return the undeveloped part. Whether in ignorance of the new compensation laws or simply with the intention of reducing or circumventing the restitution obligation, Mr Grütz's lawyers, Dr Robert Neuhäuser and Dr Werner Beselin, Bohnenstrasse 12/14 in Hamburg, argued that he had already left 2/3 of the property to his daughter in his will. The lawyers also pointed out that the City of Hamburg had failed to inform Mr Grütz of any possible obligation to make restitution to the previous Jewish owners.

The Compensation Act is based exclusively on the will of the expropriated owner, so it was irrelevant whether Mr Grütz wished to keep the properties.

Erna Asch insisted on the return of the undeveloped plots. She hoped that a sale by private treaty at the current selling price would generate higher proceeds than the "appropriate" compensation for restitution.

Karl Ludwig Grütz, received compensation from the Hanseatic City for the compensation he had to pay. Dr Hermann asserted corresponding recourse claims against the Scipio heirs on behalf of the Hanseatic City.

After reviewing all the files, I have gained the impression that all those liable for recourse have tried to minimise their compensation payments at the expense of the claimant Erna Asch. I cannot see any genuine will to make amends.

23.05.1949 Basic Law for the Federal Republic of Germany

After the end of the German Reich, Germany needed a new constitution to give the young state stability and orientation.

Das Grundgesetz, the Basic Law[1004] has been the constitutional basis of the Federal Republic of Germany since 23 May 1949. To be more precise, it initially applied only to West Germany which emerged from the three merged western occupation zones. The GDR constitution[1005] was established on 7 October 1949. With reunification on 3 October 1990, the Basic Law, which was intended as a provisional constitution, became the central legal document defining the structure of the state, the rights of citizens and the framework conditions for the functioning of politics and administration, and thus became the constitution of the entire German people.[1006]

The Federal Republic of Germany was thus ready for a new democratic beginning. The separation of powers according to the principle of "checks and balances"[1007] is enshrined in the Basic Law. The Federal Constitutional Court monitors compliance with the Basic Law.

With its judgements, it interprets the Basic Law and adapts it to changing social realities.

But was a new beginning really that easy? For twelve years, lawyers had obeyed the laws of the Nazi regime and argued in its favour. Many of them were still of the opinion that what had been right in the German Reich could not now be wrong.

The Federal Constitutional Court and the Federal Court of Justice disagreed with this. In doing so, they relied on Gustav Radbruch's legal-philosophical thesis[1008] from 1946, which became known as Radbruch's formula[1009] and had a major influence on case law. It can be said that every application of Radbruch's formula[1010] is a victory of humanity and reason over the stubbornness of literal-minded lawyers, bureaucrats and technocrats. Why?

Radbruch's formula states that in the event of a conflict between applicable law and justice a judge must always - and only then - decide against the law and in favour of substantive justice if the law in question is to be regarded as "intolerably unjust" or if the equality of all people, which is fundamentally inherent in the concept of law, is "deliberately denied".

Gustav Radbruch argued that laws that deliberately deny equality cannot be considered law because they are unjust. This formula had a major influence on case law in the Federal Republic of Germany, particularly when it came to dealing with National Socialist injustice.

As a senior student, I spent two semesters studying legal philosophy with great interest, especially on Gustav Radbruch and his "formula". I am pleased to see that what I learned is proving useful in life.

The Reich Citizenship Act of 1941 revoked the citizenship of German Jews. Justice was not the intention of this discriminatory law. The Federal Constitutional Court has described this law as unjust, and thus a judge who has applied it has spoken unjustly.

Spontaneously, one would think that the Reich Citizenship Act would be declared invalid retroactively and all citizens would regain German citizenship. But it's not that simple. Because there are people who, due to their experiences and their past in Nazi Germany, do not want to be German again under any circumstances. They could lose the legal rights they have acquired in their new home country. The existential question of citizenship could therefore only be decided on a case-by-case basis.

The transition from an authoritarian, fascist regime to a democratic legal system was fraught with all kinds of difficulties. The complex and difficult situation after the Second World War required time for considered decisions. To fundamentally change the legal system, everyone involved, especially in politics and the judiciary, had to be willing to rethink their positions. However, not all lawyers were willing to do so, as many had reservations and fears about re-evaluating their previous work. The National Socialists had enacted many laws that urgently needed to be revised and brought into line with the principles of the rule of law of the new Germany, the Federal Republic of Germany.

This process took time and was at the expense of many victims, who only received help late due to a lack of political and public will. For many, help came too late, as they had already died from their suffering or old age.

After "zero hour"[1011] on 8 May 1945, the day the war ended, the new beginning was not easy for most people. Just as the cities lay in ruins, biographies, families, homes, life achievements and property were also damaged or destroyed. Loss and grief characterised the lives of many, but also relief and hope for a better life.

The need to find one's bearings in the new living environment depended heavily on the individual's circumstances. Almost everyone felt victimised by the events in one way or another.

How did self-pity, which was sometimes justified, lead to blindness or ignorance towards the suffering

of the victims of National Socialism? Self-pity is a natural reaction to the experience of suffering and injustice. Viktor E. Frankl said:

> "There is a space between stimulus and response. In this space lies our power to choose our reaction. In our reaction lies our growth and our freedom."

These words remind us that we have the freedom to choose our reactions and that, despite our own suffering, we have the responsibility to recognise and respond to the suffering of others. What he means is that we have the chance to grow out of the role of victim and consciously take responsibility and have compassion for others.

The people and the politicians lacked the will to provide generous compensation for material damage. In the devastated post-war Germany, it was often not possible to provide the urgently needed material aid for the victims of National Socialism. This did not, however, apply to the period of the Wirtschaftswunder, the German economic miracle.

The "intolerable, unbearable" laws were changed. But in all state institutions and authorities there were still the old heads who did not want to rethink. "Under the gowns, the mustiness of a thousand years"[1012] was the slogan at the University of Hamburg in 1967. The students were protesting what they saw as a lack of reappraisal of the crimes of the "Third Reich" in post-war West German society.

As a result of these protests and the justified demands of those affected, a rethink began in the 1980s, which was based on new research findings. Criticism of the investigative authorities responsible for prosecuting Nazi criminals grew. These authorities still employed many civil servants who had already worked there during the Nazi era. There was a suspicion that they were not particularly eager to take action against former "colleagues" and "superiors".

At the same time, there was a growing awareness that some groups of Nazi victims had not yet been recognised as such and therefore received no support. In June 1988, the Hamburg Foundation for Victims of Nazi Persecution was established. The Radbruch formula was applied in the Mauerschützen trials (Berlin Border Guard Trials)[1013] after reunification in 1990.

31.12.1949 Impunity Act

From today's perspective, it is quite disconcerting that one of the first pieces of legislation passed by the inaugural German Bundestag – following the successful enactment of the Basic Law – was the Impunity Act, which came into force on 1 October 1950. With this amnesty, around 800,000 Nazi crimes[1014], which had been punished with prison sentences of up to six months or up to one year on probation, were declared exempt from punishment. Persecutees and victims of Nazi terror, such as convicted homosexuals, had to wait decades for similar pardons. But more on this later.

08.05.1949 Walter Lippmann in Philadelphia

In October 2023, I received a reference to the website of the "Amerika Esperanto-Akademio"[1015] from the director of the German Esperanto Library in Aalen. The president was Joseph R. Scherer with Ernest G. Dodge as secretary and treasurer and Dr Lippmann, named as head of the "Critical Committee" in the letter dated 8 May 1949. The letter is about the financing of a new edition of a

textbook.

Together with H. B. Hastings, they expressed their appreciation to the Academy and wrote accordingly:

> "The American Esperanto Academy congratulates you warmly on your success and the very good translation of the book "The Heroes of the New Dawn" by Nabil.[1016] You have translated this great work into Esperanto in a fluent and clear style. It will be a very valuable addition to the libraries of Esperantists and Bahá'ís. The President and the Treasurer have read and edited your manuscript."

This is a fine example of the intercultural and international endeavours of the Esperanto publication by the Bahá'í Publishing Committee.

An interesting feature of the letterhead from 8 May 1949, which can be seen on the linked website, is the list of Academy members, including Dr Walter Lippmann. The address given of 5626 Gainor Rd. in Philadelphia 31 PA can no longer have been up to date. Apparently old stationery had been used up.

Much later, when I was able to read Dr Lippmann's restitution file, I found his American tax returns from 1948 to 1955, which show that during this time he lived at 1021 East 14th St, Brooklyn 30, New York. He also gave this address in the annual censuses, and it matches the information in his CV:

> "1942 – 1947 various professional activities in trade, industry and welfare organisations in New York, Collegeville, Philadelphia."

Isn't it remarkable how easily you can see what Brooklyn looks like, and even where the house stands, with just a single click of a mouse[1017]?

Not every American has an ID card, but probably everyone has a national insurance number, which is often used for identification, Dr Lippmann's number was 107-18-8833.

His annual net income was between $4,133 and $5,200, which, according to the United States Census Bureau,[1018] was higher than the average income in 1947, which was given as $3,000. According to the Federal Statistical Office,[1019] the average income in West Germany in that year was DM 1,044. This was equivalent to about 315 US dollars.

The link to the website of the Esperanto Academy[1020] tells me that the young Walter began learning Esperanto as early as 1908. He was a member of the Academy from 1923 - presumably until 1949.

A great help in my research has been the huge archive of Ancestry.de. This platform collects historical documents of interest to genealogists, such as the records of the 1950 US census records. Unfortunately, historical censuses are not made available to the public until 72 years after the census date. Public documents have different embargo periods. This explains why researchers keep coming across "new" documents. In addition, the digitisation of these documents takes place gradually, so that they are available on the Internet at different times and can only be discovered gradually.

Unfortunately, some of the links mentioned in the footnotes or the endnotes – such as those to the Ancestry archive – are only accessible to paying subscribers. Other sources are free of charge but

require prior registration. The links are listed here solely for the sake of completeness and serve as references for this paper.

03.04.1950 Elise Lippmann at the 1950 census

The US census records from 1950[1021] on Elise Lippmann are very revealing. She states that she is the head of the household, an American citizen and "living separately". She works as a "special nurse".

What had happened? Did "living apart" mean that Elise and Walter had two households in 1950 because they didn't live in the same place, or because they had separated? Where was Dr Lippmann?

Elise stated that she lived 1640 Ocean Parkway in Flat # 063, Brooklyn, NY.[1022] It is a beautiful apartment building on a street that leads directly to the Atlantic Ocean, as a quick look online shows.[1023]

From the nearby Ave P subway station, she could have easily travelled into Manhattan, perhaps to work at Mount Sinai Beth Israel Hospital, where I volunteered in the hospice unit in 1995. Oh, now, as so often during my research, I have turned down memory lane to my personal memories.

I actually know the Ocean Parkway well because I often drove my car to the beach at Coney Island, where the wooden rollercoaster "Cyclone"[1024] is located. Coney Island[1025] is only a 50-minute underground ride from downtown Manhattan, making it a popular destination. The Cyclone is a popular film motif, for example in Woody Allen's "Wonder Wheel", in Bette Midler's "Beaches" or in "Brighton Beach Memoirs". Elise only needed an hour's walk to bathe her feet in the Atlantic.

07.07.1950 Elise Lippmann in Portageville, NY

On 2 February 2024 I found the American Esperanto Magazine from August 1950.[1026] In an article it is mentioned that Elise Lippmann, who also spoke Esperanto, took part in an American Esperanto conference that took place in Portageville, NY[1027] from 7-10 July 1950.

A petition to the UN proposed that Esperanto be taught worldwide as a substitute language, as a simple means of combating illiteracy. The aim was also to use a language that did not discriminate against anyone. Since Esperanto was nobody's mother tongue and everybody had to learn it as a second language, it did not discriminate against anybody. The article continues:

> "At the United Nations on Wednesday afternoon, 2 August 1950, Esperanto was spoken when a delegation from the North American Esperanto Association and the World Esperanto Association presented a petition calling on the United Nations "in view of the worldwide use of Esperanto, the only auxiliary language which has achieved any appreciable success", "to support the spread of this language in every possible way, for example by teaching it in schools where teachers are available, and developing it in travel, international trade and correspondence".
>
> The Honourable Benjamin A. Cohen of Chile, Deputy Secretary-General of the United Nations, received the fourteen-strong delegation [Mrs Elise Lippmann was a member of this delegation] and accepted four albums containing the petitions of 492 organisations, which together have 16,350,212 members, as well as the 531 most

important individual signatures (out of a total of 895,432). If all petitions had been placed in albums, 2,500 per volume, an additional 156 albums would have been required."

In this photo, Elise Lippmann is standing in the centre of the picture behind the people sitting on the chairs.



Figure 21 Elise Lippmann in Portageville

Anno 1950 Federal US Census of 1950

About three weeks after I found Elise's census records, I also found Dr Walter Lippmann's census records - and more!

A digital search for "Walter Lippmann" displays 27,915 documents in the Ancestry.de database alone. Not only are all the exact search results displayed, but also those with similar spellings of the name or transposed numbers in the dates of birth. With maximum concentration and fast reading, I scroll through the lists and find what I'm looking for. Unfortunately, I can't rule out the possibility of overlooking some documents.

Intrigued, I looked up the data from the 1950 US census[1028] about "Rochelle Lippman", who was completely unknown to me, because her husband was listed as "Walter Lippman". As an amateur detective, I now know that a missing "n" in the name doesn't matter if the rest of the data is correct. The officer in charge probably wrote the names as he had heard them or as "man" is spelt in English.

As my colleague, the master cartoon detective Nick Knatterton[1029] says: "Combine!". This "Walter Lippman" was born in Germany and is 54 years old, which fits because "my" Dr Lippmann was born on 13 October 1895. The registration form states that he works 40 hours a week as an office manager in an advertising agency. From Dr Lippmann's 1955 CV I know that he had worked in an advertising agency. So, this is a close match!

Since the personal details fit Dr Lippmann perfectly, I can be sure that he was the head of the household recorded in the census records.

He appears to be married to Rochelle Lippman, who bears his surname. And that immediately raises the question, when did he and Elise get divorced?

Elise Lippmann, who was listed as "separated" in the same census, but not as 'divorced', lived only half an hour's walk away. Which is correct?

Mrs Rochelle "Lippman" was born in Copenhagen, Denmark on 10 May 1911 and her daughter Dolores Wadeley was born in New York on 26 September 1935. Rochelle worked 40 hours a week as a receptionist in a law firm. All three claim to be American citizens when counted.

Rochelle had been "Wife" and "Mrs Lippman" and was married according to the census records. Had the interviewer simply assumed that they were married? Or was it socially impossible to live in a "wild marriage", an open marriage in prudish 1950's America and they had "fibbed"?

I can't imagine Dr Lippmann doing that. But I also lack the imagination to see how this mistake could have happened

To gain clarity, I continued my research into Rochelle and Dolores. The reward for this tedious work is always my great amazement at how unpredictable the paths of life are.

I could not find out when Rochelle came to New York. But on 17 January 1934[1030] Alexander Wadeley[1031] married his 23-year-old bride Rochelle Ernestine Rose Dolinsky[1032] in Kings, New York. In her naturalisation application of 2 December 1943,[1033] Rochelle signed her name as Roche Ernestine Wadeley, stating that her place of residence was 225 East 63rd Street in New York.

The Florida divorce index[1034] shows that "Roch D." was divorced from Alexander Wadeley in 1944. I also learn about Alexander George Wadeley[1035] that he was born on 8 August 1908 in Romford, Essex and came to New York on the SS Berengaria in 1926.

When researching, you often come across very unconventional classification systems that you first must understand to reach your goal. In the New York Index of Marriage Certificates, the spouses are not listed in one certificate, but separately by surname. They can be linked together by using the marriage number and date (see Alex[1036] and Rochelle[1037]). Their daughter "Dolores Loretta F. Wadeley" was born on 26 September 1935. Alexander George Wadeley died in New York in 1968 at the age of 60.

An embarkation list of the T.S.S. New York[1038] dated 28 July1956 shows that she travelled under the name "Rochelle Wadeley" and not "Lippman" in tourist class from Bremerhaven to New York, where she arrived as scheduled on 8 August 1956. Her address was 1780 Park Place, Brooklyn, NY. She was apparently travelling alone, as Dolores and Walter are not listed in the passenger register.

Perhaps she had come to Germany with Dr Lippmann in 1955 and was now on her way back by herself? On 12 May 1960, Rochelle Wadeley flew from Copenhagen to New York on SAS flight SK 907.[1039] She claims to live at 44 McAllister St in San Francisco, California.

Her marriage to Meyer Jacoby is recorded in the 1965 Manhattan Marriage Register[1040] Rochelle E. Jacoby is listed as residing at 13255 SW 9th Court in Pembroke Pine, Florida in the 1985 State Register of Residents.[1041]

Her secondary residence is listed as 401 on 69th St in Miami, Florida. Rochelle E Jacoby resided at 10888 N 70th St, Apt. 262 in Scottsdale, Arizona according to the 1992 state registration index.[1042] Her temporary residence is listed as 12222 N Paradise Village Pkwy S Apt. 336 in Phoenix, Arizona. Rochelle Ernestine Jacoby died[1043] at the age of 99 at 92586 Sun City, Riverside, California on 29 August 2010.

The birth register of 1935[1044] records the birth of the daughter Dolores Wadeley on 26 September 1935. There is a nice photo of her in the 1953 yearbook of the Greer School[1045] in Millbrook, NY. In 1993 she was apparently living as Dolores L. Filer in San Diego,[1046] California, where she died at the age of 86.

I have probably fulfilled my duty as a documentarist. It is safe to say that Dr Lippmann lived with Rochelle Wadeley in a marriage-like relationship.

I am constantly amazed at the research opportunities that my laptop and the internet offer me. The adventures of the last few months have taken place almost exclusively at home at my desk.

11.05.1951 Compensation Act for the Civil Service

On 11 May 1951, the Bundestag passed the "Act on the Compensation of National Socialist Injustice in the Civil Service" (BGBl. I S. 291)[1047]. It had previously been criticised from various sides. However, it was passed with only two abstentions.

This law was part of Germany's reparation policy[1048] after the Second World War. It was intended to compensate civil servants who had worked in the public sector during the Nazi era but had been discriminated against by the Nazis because of their political beliefs, their race or for other reasons.

The intertwining of state and party structures[1049] in West Germany after 1945 made it possible for former members of the NSDAP, SS members and others to return to their former state functions. This affected a wide range of professions, including judges, public prosecutors, police officers, doctors, teachers, officers and civil servants. Their expertise was considered essential for the reconstruction of the Federal Republic of Germany, so their involvement in the Nazi regime was deliberately overlooked after 1945. After their reinstatement, many of them helped each other by issuing Persil certificates, destroying incriminating documents and bending the law to their advantage. A large part of the "elite" worked within the framework of the new laws of the Federal Republic but often interpreted them in the spirit and morals of the period between 1933 and 1945. Moreover, many of them left their mark on subsequent generations within the authorities.

06.02.1952 Accession of Elizabeth II. and coronation was 2 June 1953

Elizabeth II[1050] succeeded her father King George VI[1051] to the English throne - the result of one of the greatest love stories of the 20th century - and perhaps also one of the greatest strokes of luck in history.

In 1936 Elisabeth's uncle, King Edward VIII. (1894-1972),[1052] sat on the British throne for just 325 days. He passed the crown on to his younger brother George VI so that he could marry the middle-class, twice-divorced American, Wallis Simpson.[1053] Edward and Wallis married in 1937 and, as abdicated king, he was forced to leave England for good. He was married to Wallis Simpson until his death in 1972. She died on 24 April 1986 in Paris.

George VI. did not have an easy time of it. Not only because he stuttered, but also because Edward's abdication and his open sympathy for the Nazis outraged the British. This could be seen as a stroke of historical luck, considering what would have happened if Edward VIII had allied himself with Nazi Germany.

After unsuccessful peace efforts by the Western powers and the German invasion of Poland, France and Great Britain declared war on Germany on 3 September 1939. George VI. led the United Kingdom through the difficult years of the Second World War as an empathetic and popular monarch. His decision not to flee with his family to a safe country during the bombing of London enhanced the Windsors' reputation and strengthened the confidence of the population.

After the war, George VI. supported the efforts to rebuild the country and stabilise the economy. He died on 6 February 1952 from lung cancer, probably caused by having been a heavy smoker.

Bernhard Lippmann came to England on 18 July 1939 at the age of 13. In 1952 he was 26 years old and had spent half his life with King George VI as monarch and had, as they say, gone to war for the Crown.

The coronation of Queen Elizabeth II.[1054] on 2 June 1953 was a major television event, as it was the first time in history that a coronation ceremony was broadcast live on television.

300 million people around the world watched the ceremony, which was also broadcast live by the BBC to Germany, France, Belgium and the Netherlands. It was a milestone in the history of television broadcasting. A new media age had dawned. Increasingly, the few who had televisions would invite guests into their homes to watch the broadcast of major events together.

The spread of moving images through television allowed people to be virtual eyewitnesses rather than waiting for the newsreel in the cinema. This undoubtedly revolutionised the media landscape and the way events were experienced and shared.

The internet gives us access to a wealth of information and resources. Whether historical documents, films or current events - everything is just a click away. The numerous internet links in this text will take you to the documents used here. Isn't it amazing that you can learn and experience so much today without leaving home?

28.06.1952 Esperanto conference in Sacramento

The President of the EANA, Dr William Solzbacher, spoke at the 42nd annual meeting of the EANA[1055] in Sacramento, California on 28 June 1952, on "America and the Language Problem" in which he emphasised the importance of language for the development of American society.

I know that Elise Lippmann also attended the conference, as she is in a group photo in the brochure (see page 54). In several issues of the American Esperanto Magazine, Elise Clara Lippmann is mentioned as one of the sponsors, see March 1954,[1056] January 1956,[1057] and January 1957.[1058]



42nd Esperanto Congress, Sacramento, California: *Left to right, 1st row:* Rev. A. L. Anderson, Ida Belle Craig, Eulalia Marks, Dr. W. Solzbacher, Adeline Vigelis, C. K. Sutcliffe, Celia Winnick, H. S. Corlett; *2nd row:* H. L. Thompson, Cora Cooley, Maud Kail, Senator H. E. Dillinger, Elise Lippmann, G. Alan Connor, Doris T. Connor, Germaine Chomette, A. S. Vinzent; *3rd row:* Konrad Kail, Clara Olsberg, Cecelia Thomas, Gilbert Nickel, Joseph Scherer, Blanche Parker, Margery Williams, Patricia DeCleene, H. E. Reed, M. Demrick, C. Chomette, J. E. Cooney, M. Baade, Bertha Helmer.

Figure 22 Elise Lippmann in Portageville

This is evidence of her ongoing commitment and networking within the Esperantist community.

There is a report from Hamburg, Germany: Esperanto has been taught at the city's evening school for commerce and foreign languages for several years, and in the current school year there are six Esperanto classes. Four of them are taught by A. Weide, two others by Wielgus.

Today, 23 January 2025, I am still trying to format this text as an eBook – a task that has already taken ten working days and, despite all my efforts, shows no sign of being completed. Invisible artefacts in the Word document are preventing the automatic numbering of endnotes and keywords. Concentration and some good music are essential to achieve a decent result and to endure the monotony of this task.

When placing a letter dated 4 April 1962 in the eBook layout, I noticed that Dr Lippmann had written to police councillor August Weide in Hamburg in connection with his visit to the ship MS Zamenhof. I have just edited the name A. Weide in the index, which is why I remembered it. It is certainly the Esperanto teacher A. Weide from the Esperanto magazine quoted above. Although this realisation is not decisive, it does help to complete the puzzle - a small piece of researcher's luck that provides momentum for the final spurt.

01.07.1952 Esperanto Grammar Academy

The July and August 1952 issue of the American Esperanto Magazine[1059] reports on the decisions of the Grammar Commission of the Esperanto Academy. Under the leadership of President Dr William Solzbacher, 40 academics, including Dr Walter Lippmann and Joseph Scherer, decided how the suffix "-end" should be transferred into Esperanto in the future.

20.03.1953 Recognition of "free marriage" by Eugen Tuteur

In front of the house at Grillparzer Str. 4, two Stolpersteine commemorate former residents of the building. Before the Stolperstein for Dr Walter Lippmann was laid, there was already a Stolperstein for Eugen Tuteur[1060].



Figure 23 Stumbling Stones for Eugen Tuteur and Dr Walter Lipmmann

The Stolpersteine, of which there are 7,524 in Hamburg alone as of June 2026, are set into pavements outside the last known residences of their victims. To read the inscription, you have to bend down. It is noticeable that local residents look after the brass and that passers-by take care not to step on the stones.

At this point in my research on Dr Lippmann, I would like to report on the fate of Eugen Tuteur and his fiancée Olga Stahlmann, who were also once at home here.

I have taken the biographical data from documents made available to me by his descendants. These are a statement by Olga Stahlmann Tuteur, Sierichstrasse 14 (undated), an affidavit by her son Edgar Tuteur, 120 Cabrini Boulevard in New York dated 19 December 1955 and the judgement of the Hamburg Higher Administrative Court dated 20 March 1953

Eugen Tuteur was born on 31 January 1870 in Mannheim. He attended the Realgymnasium there. After an apprenticeship at the large Moritz Edenfeld cloth factory, he travelled to the best tailors in northern Germany as a sales representative. In 1906 or 1907, Eugen founded a family business in Hamburg and, together with Max Laupheimer, the woollen cloth company Tuteur & Laupheimer in Kaiser-Wilhelm-Strasse in Hamburg's city centre was born. Their office was not far from Bleichenbrücke, where Julius Asch had his company.

They traded in fine cloth from England and Luxembourg. Eugen Tuteur had a citizenship letter from the Hamburg Senate, making him a Hamburg citizen and he was well acquainted with Mayor Dr Petersen.

At the beginning of the First World War, both business partners were drafted. Max Laupheimer had to go to the front immediately, Eugen joined the Landsturm and did not have to leave until the beginning of the war. In 1916, he was sent to the front in Lorraine, France for military service. There he was wounded in the leg as an anti-aircraft gunner in 1917. The 48-year-old was then transferred to Hamburg-Bahrenfeld to train recruits.

The cloth business that he had run together with Max Laupheimer had been liquidated in the meantime due to a lack of goods and staff. It must have been 1915 when an uncle, who was a grain merchant,

asked Eugen to sell him 15,000 empty grain sacks that were stored in Hamburg's free harbour district. With this business, Eugen laid the foundations for his successful wholesale trade in grain sacks.

Eugen was on good terms with his three children Edgar, Harald and Ruth, who lived with their mother. The marriage had ended in divorce on the grounds of adultery in 1920.

Olga Stahlmann, born in 1899, was a trained seamstress and uniform tailor in the First World War. From 1930, she and Eugen Tuteur lived together in an apartment on Imstedter Strasse.

At this time, Eugen ran his business, in which he sold, rented out, cleaned and repaired grain sacks, at Sachsenstrasse 18-20. The business flourished and Eugen employed between 15 and 20 people until the Nazis seized power.

After that, the business of sack merchant Eugen Tuteur collapsed due to the general repression on Jewish businesses.

In 1932, Eugen and Olga exchanged engagement rings at a small celebration. Out of consideration for his underage children, they wanted to wait to get married.

The "Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honour" of 15 September 1935 prohibited marriages between Aryans and Jews. In 1935, they discussed with Rabbi Dr Joseph Carlebach the possibility of marrying in Italy, where Eugen's son lived, and converting Olga to the Jewish faith. The rabbi advised against it, presumably because the marriage would have been annulled in the German Reich.

Another good example of the theory of the "Six Degrees of Separation". Eugen Tuteur and Dr Lippmann may have met through the brothers Dr Joseph Carlebach from Hamburg and Dr Ephraim Carlebach from Leipzig.

In 1936, the engaged couple moved into a new building at Goethe Strasse 4, which was closer to the Alster than their previous home. Goethe Strasse was later renamed Grillparzer Strasse.

In 1941, Eugen Tuteur had to move from the shared flat at Goethe Str. 4 to a room in a Jews' house and later to the Oppenheim-Stift of the Vaterstädtische Stiftung[1061] at Frickestrasse 26, which also served as a collection centre for Jews.

The Vaterstädtische Stiftung (Father City Foundation) with free flats - today there are 420 flats in 10 buildings - was founded in 1849 by Jewish merchants and scholars in gratitude for the civil equality they had gained and because they considered Hamburg to be their hometown.

Olga Stahlmann was not allowed to stay in the flat they shared at Goethe Strasse 4. She lived with various friends for six months before moving into a damp room in the basement of a villa. From 1947, she shared a room in the same house with a neighbour. She had occasional work as a seamstress and was forced to sell many of her household possessions, including porcelain, bronzes and paintings. She was lucky because she had not been bombed out.

Gradually she became convinced that Eugen Tuteur would not return from Theresienstadt, and she began to sell his clothes and valuable special machinery from the grain bag factory. She did not receive a pension at the time.

The official date of death of Eugen (Enoch) Tuteur is 8 May 1945, the day, the Second World War ended. Of his seven siblings, only two survived, and of his three children, only his two sons survived the Holocaust.

Olga Stahlmann filed an application for restitution for the deceased Eugen Tuteur. She wanted it established that she had lived with her fiancé in a so called "free marriage" and that she was effectively his widow.

As the opposing party, the Hamburg court of first instance countered that a self-employed and well-earning businessman like Eugen Tuteur could have married her at any time and pointed out that she, Olga, was named as the sole heir "for long-term care" in Eugen's will dated 2 December 1941. The Court of the First Instance took that as a sign that Eugen did not regard her as his wife or even his fiancée.

The attitude of the legal representatives of the Hamburg judicial administration, who had most likely experienced the Nazi era as lawyers and were informed about the conditions in the Third Reich, is shocking. A look at the biographies of these lawyers shows that many of them remained in office despite their past and were not called to account. This raises serious questions about the accountability and integrity of the judiciary.

Only an independent and impartial judiciary can ensure a fair and just application of the law. It is important that judges and judicial officials adhere to ethical standards and work transparently to prevent corruption and abuse. The integrity of the judiciary was crucial to public confidence in the legal system. This was especially true in the early 1950s.

In their decision, the representatives of the state administration of justice apparently did not consider, or did not recognise the fact that Eugen Tuteur was trying to protect his Aryan fiancée "on the basis of years of care". The court ruling of 14 July 1952 confirmed that the requirements for a "free marriage" as defined by the law of 23 June 1952 were met.

This law, known as the "Law on the Introduction of Free Marriage", made it possible to marry freely in the Federal Republic of Germany, without special restrictions for marriages between different religions, for example. It led to the legal equality of men and women and made it easier to marry without the strict conditions that applied to married couples of different denominations in the 1960s. The law was also an important step towards emancipation and gender equality in marriage.

On 12 September 1952, the state judicial administration appealed against the judgement and also requested that the plaintiff be ordered to pay the costs of the legal dispute.

Every trial carries the risk of failure. I wonder how much courage, determination or desperation it must have cost the plaintiffs to appear before a court that was predominantly made up of lawyers who had already practised justice during the Third Reich and had more or less been "de-Nazified" across the board. Can a court judge fairly and objectively when the individuals making up that court are so heavily influenced by their past?

The court of first instance had argued that the mere intention to marry at some point after the obstacles had been removed was not sufficient to assume a "free marriage". And it was inadmissible to equate intentions in retrospect with a finalised decision. I quote from the judgement of the court of first

instance:

> "Rather, the prerequisite is that it is clear from the statements or behaviour of both parties to the outside world that from a certain point in time, in conscious contradiction to the applicable laws, they actually and ethically considered themselves married and not just engaged."

The court argued that in 1935 Eugen was 65 years old and Olga 36 years old and that he had obviously not tried to remove the so-called "marriage impediment of adultery", which had made his remarriage as a "guilty divorcee" impossible.

Whether this would have been possible in principle for a Jew at the time was not considered. The "guilt principle" in divorce proceedings[1062] was only abolished in the FRG in 1977.

The court of first instance concluded that, according to the register of residents, Olga Stahlmann had ended her cohabitation by 2 December 1941 at the latest, when she moved to a different flat. In fact, because the Gestapo had forbidden her from remaining at 4 Goethe Street, she was forced to move out. She therefore did not end the cohabitation voluntarily. However, the court of first instance overlooked this fact and rejected her application.

The fact that Eugen had been forced by the Gestapo to move from Goethe-Str. 4 into a Jewish house during this time was given as little attention as Olga's statement that she had remained loyal to Eugen despite the dangers involved and had brought him food every other day until his deportation. Although Eugen had been forced to call himself Enoch and wear a Jewish star, they had met as often as possible despite the forced separation. She was also monitored by the Gestapo. Despite all the dangers, she took Eugen to the car that brought him to the railway carriage that finally transported him to Theresienstadt on 15 July 1942.

The Higher Regional Court dismissed the court of first instance's appeal as unfounded. According to § 3, Section 2 of the Law of 23 June 1950, the couple was considered to be in an engagement that could be recognised as a "free marriage of racially persecuted persons". In its 1953 judgement, the Court of Appeal stated that Olga and Eugen had entered into a close union which was no different from marriage during a time of fear and hardship, that it would be excessive to demand a ritual such as a solemn declaration and an exchange of rings, as these forms had lost their meaning during such tragic times.

The judgment of the Hamburg Higher Regional Administrative Court of 20 March 1953 required the defendant to retroactively declare the marriage of Eugen Tuteur and Olga Stahlmann to be a "free marriage", as they had not been allowed to marry on racial grounds.

From today's perspective, it seems that the young Federal Republic and its former leaders, many of whom had already been in office during the Nazi era, were not genuinely interested in the victims and felt no empathy for them. This may have been because they wanted to avoid state costs.

At least Olga Stahlmann was able to use this judgement to claim compensation as the widow of Eugen Tuteur - she had been called Olga Tuteur since her engagement. In 1955 she lived at Sierichstrasse 14, which is close to Goethe-Strasse 4, the later Grillparzer Strasse 4.

However, this case also shows that even in the early 1950s there were courts that were willing to pass a fair judgement and even overturn inadequate decisions made by lower courts, as would be expected from a modern constitutional state. Nevertheless, as we will see from other examples of restitution practice later on, judges were not always impartial.

17.06.1953 Popular uprising in the GDR

More than a million people protested against the inadequate economic development of the GDR and the SED's July 1952 resolution to "build socialism" with strikes and mass demonstrations in over 700 East German cities. To achieve this goal quickly, labour standards in the planned economy were to be raised. On 17 June 1953,[1063] the protests culminated in a popular uprising in the GDR,[1064] which went down in history as a significant, yet tragic, event.

In the Federal Republic, 17 June was designated as the 'Day of German Unity' as early as 1954 – a gesture of solidarity with the people in the GDR and a reminder that Germany was divided until 1990.

Just four years after the founding of the GDR, living and working conditions were significantly worse than in West Germany. An uprising against the communist government was violently suppressed by the Soviet occupiers. 55 people died, 15,000 were arrested by 1955 and 1,800 were convicted. The Soviet intervention was also intended as a warning to the Eastern Bloc states.

The SED regime was only able to suppress protests in the following decades with the help of the State Security (Stasi) and its massive expansion. The Stasi had nearly 250,000 full-time and unofficial employees who controlled and spied on the population. It almost goes without saying that 1.034 former NSDAP members[1065] were politically active in the GDR, enjoying astonishing careers.

The special kind of 'neighbourhood' found in East Germany, characterised by mutual spying and constant information-sharing, is sometimes glorified by dyed-in-the-wool reactionaries as a form of solidarity or social cohesion. However, this contradicts the reality of repression and control in the GDR and the psychological strain caused by the omnipresent mistrust in society, from which people suffered more than from the lower material prosperity compared to the West.

The Soviet Occupation Zone (SOZ) claimed that it had already completed denazification in 1948[1066] because National Socialism had been "eradicated root and branch".

This self-conception shaped the subsequent founding of the GDR, which saw itself as an "antifascist entity born in haste".[1067] The conveniently "overlooked old Nazis"[1068] had swapped their brown shirts for "white shirts". In 1954, according to a calculation by historian Dr Jan Foitzik, [1069] 27% of all SED members had previously been members of the NSDAP and 32.2% of all civil servants in the GDR were former members of National Socialist organisations. It was only with the help of the Stasi that the SED government was able to suppress and keep the population of the GDR in check for decades.

The history of the GDR and the State Security Service is complex and encompasses many aspects that cannot be presented here in anything like their entirety. As in other places, I recommend a more in-depth study of these topics via the Internet links provided.

01.10.1953 Federal Compensation Act (BEG) comes into force

Already during the war, the „Mitteilungsblatt"[1070] published in Tel Aviv on 19 November 1943 (!) carried the headline "Discussion about the Jews' Demands for Reparations". The discussion and the arguments put forward in 1943 are worth reading.

"Reparations in Germany 1945 - 1990. An Overview"[1071] is a very detailed article by Professor Dr Hans Günther Hockerts,[1072] which deals with compensation practices in East and West Germany.

Military Government Law No.59[1073] came into force on 10 November 1947, exactly nine years after the Pogrom Night. This law served as a model for the laws in the other two western zones. After various amendments and additions, the "Federal Law on Compensation for Victims of National Socialist Persecution - BEG"[1074] came into force on 1 October 1953.

The law granted monetary compensation to persons who had been persecuted for political, racial, religious or ideological reasons in the period from 30 January 1933 to 8 May 1945 and had suffered damage to life, body, health, freedom, property or assets as well as to their professional or economic advancement as a result. This created the basis for compensation and reparation.

The Claims Conference[1075] was founded to represent the individual Jewish interests and the interests of the Jewish people vis-à-vis the German government and the Allies. Due to numerous interventions by the Western Allies and the Claims Conference, which were primarily directed against the low benefits provided for Nazi victims and the exclusion of foreign victims of Nazi persecution, the law was revised in 1956 as the Federal Compensation Act (BEG)[1076]. The amended BEG regulated the compensation of victims of National Socialism, but now without any restriction to a specific place of residence or a specific cut-off date and with higher compensation rates.

Nevertheless, many victims of National Socialism, in particular foreign forced labourers, forcibly sterilised women, political prisoners, homosexual men and many others were excluded from compensation because they were not included in the final list of those entitled to compensation.

Unfortunately, the interpretation and application of this law in the following decades remained extremely shameful for the young and not-so-young FRG. Bureaucratic, subtle, heartless and stingy, the judges awarded very small amounts of compensation after lengthy and humiliating proceedings for the victims.

The GDR took a completely different approach to compensation policy. For over 40 years, the GDR refused to return[1077] or compensate Nazi-looted property on the grounds that the GDR was not the legal successor to the German Reich. This view was part of the political and ideological position of the GDR, which often tried to distance itself from the National Socialist past and define itself in the context of a socialist state.

It was not until April 1990, after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, that the first freely elected People's Chamber, the parliament of the GDR, accepted joint responsibility for the humiliation, expulsion and murder of Jewish women, men and children. Up to this point, the GDR took the view[1078] that all international obligations had been settled with the reparation payments made almost exclusively to the Soviet Union until 1953. The GDR rejected compensation negotiations with the Warsaw Pact states and especially with Israel.

The SED state granted the "fighters against fascism", which were mainly persecuted communists, an "honour pension" that was higher than the pension for the "victims of fascism". This victims' pension was only available to the few Jews who had returned to East Germany. However, they did not receive any personal compensation for their expropriated property. The Jewish communities only received a fraction of their assets back. In short: what the Nazis had "aryanised" was "socialised" by the GDR.

Several victims of National Socialism were not primarily concerned with financial aid and compensation. Mainly, they wanted the recognition of the suffering and injustice they had experienced. For most of them, material compensation only came second. From today's perspective, the financial compensation for the victims was shamefully low.

A Nazi functionary sentenced to life imprisonment, such as Franz Schlegelberger, who was released after three years in prison for health reasons, received a significantly higher pension compared to the compensation payments for the victims. This imbalance and the inadequate compensation increased the feeling of injustice among the victims and led to further demands for justice and more comprehensive compensation.

07.06.1954 Alan Turing dies

Pointing out that it also took a very long time for criminal judgements against homosexual men to be overturned in other countries is no excuse for the German constitutional state, which should have acted more quickly in this matter. However, it clearly shows the slowness of social change in various countries, such as England, Germany and elsewhere. The analysis also demonstrates that the fight against all forms of discrimination must be understood as a continuous process that takes time.

The tragic story of the Englishman Alan Turing[1079] illustrates the devastating personal consequences that a person can suffer under the pressure of discrimination and punishment.

Alan Turing,[1080] born in 1912, was a brilliant logician, mathematician, cryptanalyst and computer scientist. His influential contributions in the field of theoretical biology have been recognised worldwide. He developed the Turing machine "Enigma"[1081] to decode German radio messages during the Second World War. This gave the British army a major strategic advantage. From 1945 onwards, Alan Turing sought help for his depression from Franz Max Greenbaum, a Jewish psychiatrist, who had been briefly interned by the Nazis in Berlin in 1939 before fleeing to Manchester. Alan Turing developed a friendly relationship with the Greenbaum family.[1082]

In 1952, Alan Turing was charged[1083] with "gross indecency and sexual perversion". Homosexual acts were still a criminal offence in England until 1967. He had the choice between prison or chemical castration with oestrogens. He chose the latter. Alan Turing died on 7 June 1954 from poisoning, presumably self-inflicted.

In 2009, British Prime Minister Gordon Brown[1084] officially apologised on behalf of the government for the "appalling treatment" of Turing and paid tribute to his "extraordinary services" during the war. On Christmas Eve 2013, Queen Elizabeth II granted a posthumous Royal Pardon.

However, this did not mean a general cancellation of all penalties against all homosexual men.

In 1969, Section 175 StGB[1085] of the West German Criminal Code (StGB) was modified legalising homosexual acts between adult men over the age of 21. However, it was not until 1994 that Section 175 StGB was finally removed from the code.

It is important to emphasise that this change did not automatically lead to a general repeal of all criminal convictions for homosexuality. This meant that men who had been convicted under § 175 StGB could not have these convictions removed from their criminal record.

The consequences for those affected are easy to imagine. As a result, their career prospects as "ex-convicts" were severely restricted. It was a punishment after the punishment.

The overview "When did Homosexuality become Legal in European Countries?" [1086] is interesting in this context. This shows that civic processes are often very slow, yet in the end persistent public education brings about change.

The German playwright Rolf Hochhuth[1087] not only wrote the drama "Juristen" about the "terrible lawyer" and later Minister President of Baden-Württemberg Hans Filbinger,[1088] CDU, who as a military judge sentenced soldiers to death, but also a novel worth reading about Alan Turing, who as a scientist became an English war hero and in the post-war period was persecuted and punished as a homosexual.

28.08.1954 Death of Ernest Green Dodge

I don't know how closely the lawyer Dr Lippmann followed social and legal developments in Germany from New York. But I can imagine that he read, among others, the Esperanto newspapers regularly.

In "The North American Esperanto Review"[1089] of September 1954, he will, like me, have come across the obituary for Ernest Green Dodge, who died on 28 August 1954. The man who made it possible for him to escape from Germany and thus saved his life.

I would love to know if the two of them ever met in person. How can you thank someone who was a mentsh in the best sense of the word! "Mentsh" is a Yiddish word meaning "a person of integrity and honour". It is often used to describe someone who is conscientious, has a sense of right and wrong and is someone whom others admire. Ernest Green Dodge did not wait for others to take action, but raised the money himself, which saved two people's lives.

Ernest Dodge published a volume of poetry in 1901: Birthday Poems for the New Century. "Poems for the New Century"[1090] is still available in bookshops.

I had only planned to revise the first version of the manuscript today. But curiosity got the better of me for hours and I found two wonderful texts that I'm adding to the second version of the manuscript. First, a poem from the book mentioned above:

> THE POET OF THE FUTURE.
>
> Strong poet of the coming age, whose voice
> Shall leave the vale of common things,
> Shall bear the nations on its wings,

And bid the skies rejoice,

Thou mayst not tread where other bards have trod,
Who midst the silence of the race.
With childlike voice won noble place
And turned our thoughts to God

A thousand hearts now glow with lyric fire;
Each zephyr wafts a poet's song,
The singer's lost amid the throng,
The universal choir.
O thou who, winged with nobler breath than they,
And driven great by this same throng,
Shall pass thy fellows and be strong,
We wait for thee to-day.

When I read the poem, I remembered the confidence and hope we had at the beginning of the new 21st century, at the beginning of the new millennium.

Despite the wars that marked the 20th century, there was great hope for a better future. I hope that the joy and the enthusiasm of New Year's Eve, 31 December 1999 will remain with us despite all the challenges we face and that we will take the necessary steps in time to build a better future for all of us.

It is always rewarding to explore various web sites in more detail. This experience is confirmed by the second text written by Ernest Dodge in 1903.

On the fascinating website of Dr Richard Conn Henry,[1091] a professor of physics and astronomy at Johns Hopkins University, I discovered a second text by Ernest Dodge. Professor Henry[1092] tells how he travelled to Cape Canaveral in 1969 to greet the Apollo 11 crew[1093] after their successful moon landing. During the flight, he imagined how Ernest Dodge, who died in 1954, would have experienced this day, and he recalled his essay "Can Men Visit the Moon?"[1094]

In this year, the brothers Orville und Wilbur Wright[1095] made the first serious flight with their biplane.

In this essay, Ernest Dodge describes in detail the technical challenges which made travelling to the moon seem impossible in 1903. The optimistic final sentences of the essay touch, inspire and move me even more:

> "History does not always follow exactly the path the prophets have laid out for it, but in the long run it always achieves greater things than the seers dared to predict. Is it too much to suppose that after the visit to the Queen of the Night, our only near neighbour, pioneers will venture on the long journey to Venus, Mars and other planets of our system, and that some of them will be even more interesting, inviting and useful to man than the pale moon which first tempted him to try his wings in space?"

His obituary reads:

> "Ernest Green Dodge, one of the best-known American Esperantists and for nine years a member or leader of the Action Committee of the Esperanto Association of

North America, died at the age of 84 on 28 August 1954 in Braddock Heights, Maryland. The Washington Post and the Limes Herald drew special attention to him by publishing a detailed obituary with a photo of his Esperanto activity."

"Ernest Dodge was born on 29 July 1870 in Michigan and graduated from Berea College in Kentucky (B.A.) and the University of Chicago (M.A.). He was a schoolteacher and college professor for many years, teaching Greek and various other languages and subjects, such as geodesy. Later, beginning with World War I, he was a government official in Washington for many years. His last position was that of a deficiency examiner in the U.S. Civil Service Commission.

Ernest Dodge became interested in Esperanto in 1906 and learnt the language in 1910 but was not active in it for many years. It was not until 1933 that he began to work enthusiastically in the Esperanto movement and with EANA, leading courses, participating in the Esperanto Club of Washington, translating literary works, writing articles in English on Esperanto and in Esperanto on literary, scientific and philosophical topics. His short story "Flying in Another World" was published in the Netherlands in 1938. He wrote numerous articles for American Esperantist, Scientific Gazette and other magazines.

For years, he was a dedicated leader of the EANA book lending service. He recruited dignitaries to sign the petition to the United Nations. He was a member of the EANA Support Committee from its inception until his death. His most important book in English, "Bold Thoughts on Life", 310 pages long and published in Boston in 1951 also contains an effective advocacy for Esperanto.

The Esperanto movement and EANA owe much to Mr Dodge and will never forget his hard work and helpfulness. To his wife and daughter, we express our sincere condolences."

How great must the gratitude and grief of Elise and Dr Walter Lippmann have been for their loss of their friend and lifesaver.

30.10.1954 Elise Lippmann travels to Germany

The news of Ernest Dodge's death possibly reached Elise Lippmann while she was preparing to travel.

A passenger list of the SS America dated 30 October 1954,[1096] for the passage from New York to Bremerhaven provides information that a Clara M. E. Lippmann was travelling in tourist class.

Her travel document, presumably her passport, bears the number Y 756469, but as the passenger list contains no further details that would allow precise identification, it is quite possible that this is not Dr Lippmann's wife, Elise Clara Lippmann. I have often noticed that the spelling of the names was very "creative".

As already mentioned, as a good detective you must take note of all leads and check them out as quickly as possible and when the opportunity arises. It is conceivable that she travelled to Germany to find

out about the situation there and explore the possibilities of remigration. The unanswered questions are: Why did she travel to Germany? Who did she meet?

Like my great role model Nick Knatterton, Master Detective,[1097] always says in the comics: "Combine!"

Although I have not yet been able to determine her return journey, I assume that she has returned to New York, as she is named as a sponsor of the American Esperanto Society for the years 1954 to 1957.

05.04.1955 Elise Lippmann travels to England

With the next document, which I discovered weeks later, I became certain that it was Elise Lippmann because the date of birth and occupation matched what I had been able to determine so far. And the stated destination removed any doubt: she was travelling to Oxted, Surrey.

She arrived in Plymouth on 5 April 1955 in 3rd class on the SS Liberté of the French Line from New York[1098]. On the passenger list, she stated that she was single, an American citizen, a nurse and born in Austria. She wanted to stay in Oxted, Surrey, for six months. This is a good hour's drive south of London.

Bernhard Lippmann had lived there since 1947 with his wife Joyce and their two children Susan and Michael.

I was delighted when I also found the passenger list for the return journey. On 14 November 1955, after six months, Elise sailed back in tourist class from Southampton to New York on the SS Liberté,[1099] returning to her flat at 1640 Ocean Parkway in Brooklyn. It looks as if she kept this flat for the eight months she was travelling abroad. She was travelling with the ID number 560937 and again stated Austria as her country of birth.

However, in her application for entry to the USA dated 27 November 1941, she had declared Brody in Galicia, Germany as her place of birth. The historical region of Galicia[1100] has a chequered history. Over the course of time it has belonged to Poland, Ukraine, Austria and Germany. In 1955, Brody belonged to the Soviet Republic of Ukraine and thus, during the Cold War, to the Soviet Union, which was considered an enemy of the West, including Germany. Austria declared its "perpetual neutrality" on 26 October 1955. Austrian neutrality[1101] meant that Austria pledged not to enter into any military alliances and not to allow any foreign military bases on its territory.

Did Elise say she was born in Austria because she wanted to express her desire for neutrality and peace?

08.02.1955 Walter Lippmann's return to Germany

Perhaps Dr Lippmann had the Frank Sinatra song "Young at Heart"[1102] from the 1954 film of the same name[1103] ringing in his ears when he ventured into the third phase of his life. The lyrics of this song speak for themselves - and perhaps also for Walter.

Dr Lippmann was 60 years old when he returned to Germany in 1955. In his 1955 curriculum vitae, he states that he has no regular income.

But he was clearly ready for a fresh start in his personal and professional life. It is fascinating to see how differently people deal with big life decisions and the resilience and confidence with which they look to the future. Some are looking forward to retiring at 60, while others are just starting out.

It takes a lot of strength, self-confidence and determination to start another career at the age at 60. Not everyone has it. Stefan Zweig was sixty years in 1942, he was famous and had a regular income, but he no longer had the strength for a new start, as he wrote in his farewell letter. [1104]

Or was Dr Lippmann simply homesick, as Marlene Dietrich sang in 1955 in "I Still Have a Suitcase in Berlin"?[1105] Was it the "bliss of past times" in Germany that she sang about that made him leave America?

And was it again the synchronicity described by C. G. Jung that he travelled to Germany on the MS Berlin?

Dr Erich Simon confirmed on oath in 1955 that Dr Lippmann returned to Germany in February 1955:

> "The passage paid in Germany (Hamburg) for the sea voyage on the German steamer MS Berlin cost DM 882 (HAPAG), packing and transport of the effects (books, household goods, linen, etc.) DM 1,798.16 (Schenker & Co., Speersort 1 - Pressehaus, Hamburg)."

Dr Lippmann's restitution file shows that the MS Berlin (motor ship) sailed from New York to Bremerhaven and from there he travelled on to Hamburg-Blankenese by train for DM 14.

In the archived file I found a letter dated 7 January 1955 in which the Hapag-Lloyd travel agency, Ballindamm 25 in Hamburg, confirms to Mrs Erna Asch that,

> "Further to our letter of 5 January, we would like to inform you today that the lower berth K has been firmly reserved for the above passengers in the 2-bed outside cabins 61 and 57 at the rate of $210 = DM 882."

The "above passengers" in tourist class are Dr Walter Lippmann and Mrs Rochelle Wadeley.[1106] Hapag-Lloyd confirmed receipt of DM 1,764 for the sea passages and DM 300 for boarding money on 10 January 1955. Captain Heinrich Lorenz of the MS Berlin gave the order to cast off in New York on 8 February1955. He first steered the ship to Halifax, Canada, from where it sailed for Bremerhaven on 10 February 1955, arriving there on 19 February 1955.

Dr Lippmann will certainly have remembered the terrible circumstances of his escape on the SS Villa de Madrid in 1941, while he and Rochelle may have been visiting the swimming pool, the fitness room, the sauna or the dining room on board the MS Berlin where 351 crew members looked after the 920 passengers.

This is unexpected information, as Mrs Rochelle Wadeley has not been mentioned since the Federal US Census of 1950.[1107] At that time they lived as the Lippman family with her daughter Doloris as American citizens in New York. Apparently, she had left Doloris, now aged 19, behind in New York.

It is possible that Rochelle only returned to New York after a good year and a half in Germany. I deduce this from an embarkation list for the TSS New York[1108] dated 28 July 1956, which shows that Rochelle, a Danish citizen, travelled from Bremerhaven to New York in tourist class under the name

"Rochelle Wadeley" and not as "Rochelle Lippman". She arrived on schedule on 8 August 1956.

In the 1950 census, the couple lived at 1025 East 14th Street in Brooklyn. Did Dr Lippmann mean this flat, which he described as follows in a letter dated 16 March 1967 to the Compensation Office?

> "In America, I lived in a fully furnished, small two-room flat with a kitchen, bathroom and pantry for the last few years. I couldn't take the furniture with me (except for a tall corridor mirror and a small shelf), as I didn't know what my circumstances would be like in Germany, I had everything else packed and shipped to Germany. This concerned in particular my books, the number of which had grown to several hundred again, and my stamp collection, insofar as it had not been lost in the course of the persecution, all kitchen utensils, all crockery, cutlery, bedding, linen, clothing, lamps, etc. The packers packed everything in 13 boxes."

I could not help but laugh at the comment about the many books. It seems that the flat at Grillparzer Str. 4 has a long tradition of book lovers and readers. I am currently stumbling over around 1,400 books in my flat because there hasn't been enough space on the shelves for a long time. Dr Lippmann would certainly feel at home with me.

"We didn't call them! We did not invite them!" said many Germans at the time to the Jewish remigrants who returned to their homeland. The fate of Jewish remigration[1109] is described very impressively in the online book "Auch in Deutschland war nicht wirklich zu Hause"[1110] (We Were Never Really at Home in Germany Either) published by the Institute for the History of German Jews.[1111]

Biographical accounts can contain errors or inaccuracies for a variety of reasons. Thanks to progressive digitisation and the expiry of statutory restriction periods on archival records, I now have access to considerably more documents than my predecessors did. This continually broadens the available body of knowledge, provided that the newly accessible data is carefully interpreted, taking into account the historical context, the subjectivity of contemporary witnesses and the political aims of a given era. Such imprecisions are therefore inherent in biographical research, regardless of how carefully one works.

This applies to me just as much as to those who worked with the available sources before me. I therefore do not hesitate to disclose any errors I may find.

Mrs Dulon's biography of Julius Asch mentions that Dr Lippmann returned to Germany as early as 1954 at the invitation of his aunt Erna Asch. Unfortunately, it remains unclear from which source the year 1954 originates. On the other hand, Dr Erich Simon's affidavit from 1955 suggests Dr Lippmann returned to Germany in February 1955. This also seems plausible, as he was probably the first to apply for re-admission as a lawyer. However, he only applied for this on 8 July1955. Thanks to the later discovery of the travel expense account, I have clear evidence of his return in 1955.

From the membership card index[1112] of Esperanto Hamburg e.V. I know that Dr Lippmann became a member of the association in 1955. Unfortunately, the index card has no date, so it is not possible to draw any conclusions about the date of membership.

Getting readmitted to the bar to earn a living will have been one of the first and most important first things he did in Hamburg.

08.07.1955 Readmitted to the bar

At this point it might be interesting to review his curriculum vitae once again. This was attached to his application for re-admission as a lawyer that Dr Lippmann submitted to the Hamburg judicial authorities on 8 July 1955.

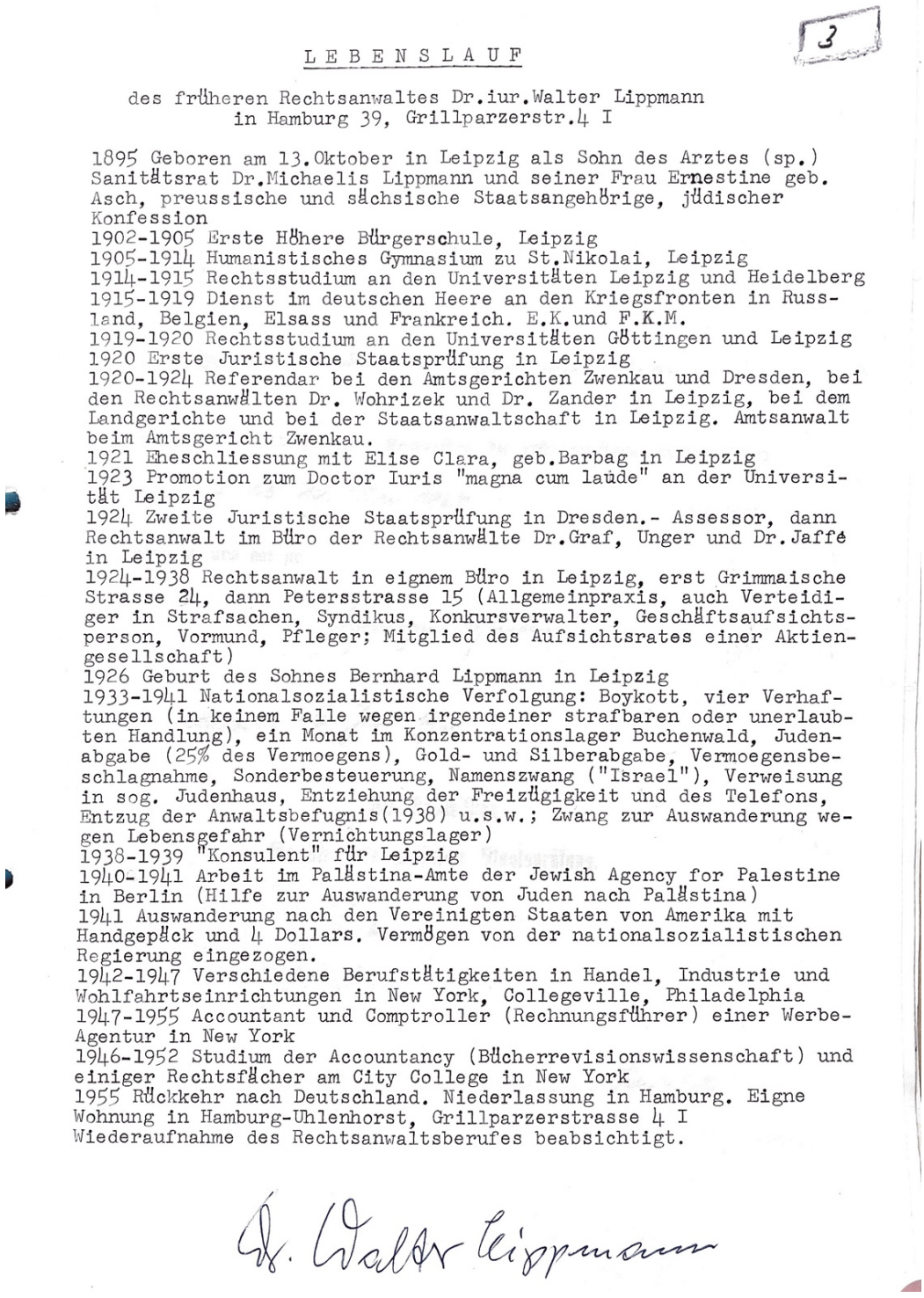
A CV provides information about career stages and qualifications but remains superficial and does not reflect the uniqueness of a person. Important aspects such as personality, individual experiences, values and challenges are not taken into account. To get a more complete picture, additional information about personal interests and life choices is essential. Ultimately, a CV only provides a limited insight into a person's real life. Isn't it fascinating how much I have already found out and how this information completes the picture of the person from the CV?

Dr Lippmann had to reapply for his licence to practise law,[1113] as it had been withdrawn from him by the "Fifth Amendment to the Reich Citizenship Act" of 27 September 1938 with effect from 30 November 1938 - although both laws had been repealed by Allied Control Council Law No.1[1114] of 20 September 1945.

On 8 July 1955, Dr Lippmann therefore submitted his application for readmission to the bar[1115] to the President of the Hanseatic Higher Regional Court in Hamburg, Dr Ruscheweyh. This photo and curriculum vitae were attached to the application.



Figure 24 Dr Walter Lippmann, 1955



LEBENSLAUF

3

des früheren Rechtsanwaltes Dr.iur.Walter Lippmann
in Hamburg 39, Grillparzerstr.4 I

1895 Geboren am 13.Oktober in Leipzig als Sohn des Arztes (sp.) Sanitätsrat Dr.Michaelis Lippmann und seiner Frau Ernestine geb. Asch, preussische und sächsische Staatsangehörige, jüdischer Konfession
1902-1905 Erste Höhere Bürgerschule, Leipzig
1905-1914 Humanistisches Gymnasium zu St.Nikolai, Leipzig
1914-1915 Rechtsstudium an den Universitäten Leipzig und Heidelberg
1915-1919 Dienst im deutschen Heere an den Kriegsfronten in Russland, Belgien, Elsass und Frankreich. E.K.und F.K.M.
1919-1920 Rechtsstudium an den Universitäten Göttingen und Leipzig
1920 Erste Juristische Staatsprüfung in Leipzig
1920-1924 Referendar bei den Amtsgerichten Zwenkau und Dresden, bei den Rechtsanwälten Dr. Wohrizek und Dr. Zander in Leipzig, bei dem Landgerichte und bei der Staatsanwaltschaft in Leipzig. Amtsanwalt beim Amtsgericht Zwenkau.
1921 Eheschliessung mit Elise Clara, geb.Barbag in Leipzig
1923 Promotion zum Doctor Iuris "magna cum laude" an der Universität Leipzig
1924 Zweite Juristische Staatsprüfung in Dresden.- Assessor, dann Rechtsanwalt im Büro der Rechtsanwälte Dr.Graf, Unger und Dr.Jaffé in Leipzig
1924-1938 Rechtsanwalt in eignem Büro in Leipzig, erst Grimmaische Strasse 24, dann Petersstrasse 15 (Allgemeinpraxis, auch Verteidiger in Strafsachen, Syndikus, Konkursverwalter, Geschäftsaufsichtsperson, Vormund, Pfleger; Mitglied des Aufsichtsrates einer Aktiengesellschaft)
1926 Geburt des Sohnes Bernhard Lippmann in Leipzig
1933-1941 Nationalsozialistische Verfolgung: Boykott, vier Verhaftungen (in keinem Falle wegen irgendeiner strafbaren oder unerlaubten Handlung), ein Monat im Konzentrationslager Buchenwald, Judenabgabe (25% des Vermoegens), Gold- und Silberabgabe, Vermoegensbeschlagnahme, Sonderbesteuerung, Namenszwang ("Israel"), Verweisung in sog. Judenhaus, Entziehung der Freizügigkeit und des Telefons, Entzug der Anwaltsbefugnis(1938) u.s.w.; Zwang zur Auswanderung wegen Lebensgefahr (Vernichtungslager)
1938-1939 "Konsulent" für Leipzig
1940-1941 Arbeit im Palästina-Amte der Jewish Agency for Palestine in Berlin (Hilfe zur Auswanderung von Juden nach Palästina)
1941 Auswanderung nach den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika mit Handgepäck und 4 Dollars. Vermögen von der nationalsozialistischen Regierung eingezogen.
1942-1947 Verschiedene Berufstätigkeiten in Handel, Industrie und Wohlfahrtseinrichtungen in New York, Collegeville, Philadelphia
1947-1955 Accountant und Comptroller (Rechnungsführer) einer Werbe-Agentur in New York
1946-1952 Studium der Accountancy (Bücherrevisionswissenschaft) und einiger Rechtsfächer am City College in New York
1955 Rückkehr nach Deutschland. Niederlassung in Hamburg. Eigne Wohnung in Hamburg-Uhlenhorst, Grillparzerstrasse 4 I
Wiederaufnahme des Rechtsanwaltsberufes beabsichtigt.

Dr. Walter Lippmann

Figure 25 Dr Lippmann's CV, 1955

It may have been a fortunate circumstance that the decision on Dr Lippmann's application was taken by Dr Herbert Ruscheweyh,[1116] as he was not one of the "brown" lawyers.

He was President of the Hamburg Higher Regional Court from 1946 to 1960 and, as a Social Democrat, President of the Hamburg Parliament from 1931 to 1933. He made a name for himself

defending "red" communists and social democrats in court during the "brown era". In 1933, for example, he defended Julius Leber.[1117,1118]

After the failed assassination attempt on Adolf Hitler on 20 July 1944, Dr Herbert Ruscheweyh was arrested and spent several weeks in Fuhlsbüttel police prison. On 27 February 1946, he presided over the first session of the citizens' assembly of Hamburg set up by the British occupying power. In the 1950s he was President of the German Jurists' Conference[1119].

It's good to know that even in the 1950s there were a few decent lawyers with integrity.

Dr Lippmann wrote in his application:

> "I do not receive any salary, pension or similar remuneration due to previous or ongoing work. Once I have been admitted to the bar, I intend to practise as a lawyer again. I have never been refused admission as a lawyer. I refer to paragraphs 1 and 27[1120] of the Federal Compensation Act. As a Jew, I was excluded from the legal profession by the National Socialist government in 1938, even after I had been a German front-line fighter in the First World War."

One sentence makes me sit up and take notice: "I do not receive a salary, pension or similar remuneration from previous or current employment."

He was still a long way from receiving any form of compensation.

The Nazis had already stolen most of his fortune before he fled, and they confiscated the rest when he managed to escape from Germany. In the early years, he would not have earned much in the "emergency jobs" in the USA. He probably earned well as an accountant for an advertising agency, but was he able to save enough to live on at the age of 60? He needed his law licence to be able to work as a lawyer again.

Reading the personnel file with its almost 100 pages of internal correspondence, I have the feeling that the musty odour of the spirit of the times is wafting towards me.

On 21 July 1955, the Hamburg State Justice Administration asked the Federal Minister of Justice, Fritz Neumayer, FDP[1121] in Bonn, whether there was any information about Dr Lippmann. The Higher Regional Court Councillor Stamp confirmed that Dr Lippmann "had emigrated to the United States of America in 1941"[1122].

Emigrated? Is it appropriate in the historical context to speak of emigration?

Could an escape at the proverbial last minute in 1941 be expressed more euphemistically and the danger to life further minimised? Doesn't the term emigration imply a voluntary, positive decision? One should expect a councillor of the Supreme Court Justice in 1955 not to trivialise the real dangers of flight, but to express himself respectfully - assuming he is even capable of showing respect and compassion for refugees.

Federal Minister of Justice Fritz Neumayer, FDP was a member of the committee of enquiry into The Naumann Affair in 1952.[1123] The Naumann Circle was a group of former National Socialists centred around Werner Naumann[1124], FDP.

He was the last State Secretary of Reich Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels[1125] and was appointed as his successor in Hitler's political will. The Naumann Circle was a "neo-National Socialist, anti-republican secret society". Among other things, the Naumann Circle attempted to infiltrate the FDP in 1952/53. The regional association of North Rhine-Westphalia was at the centre of this. The British occupation authorities arrested several members of the circle at the beginning of 1953.

On 3 August 1955, the President of the Hanseatic Higher Regional Court, Dr Herbert Ruscheweyh, confirmed the admission of Dr Lippmann as a lawyer at the Hanseatic local, regional and higher regional courts, as the old personnel files contained no evidence of a previous membership of the NSDAP or its affiliated organisations. As a result, entries were made in the lawyers' lists of the Hamburg courts[1126].

Although the Allied Control Council Act lifted the professional ban, Dr Lippmann had to pay a processing fee of DM 36. Is it not reasonable to ask whether the fee charged in his case was outrageous?

I find it both remarkable and disconcerting that a fee notice referring to a decree from the National Socialist era, such as that of 28 May 1935, is still valid alongside one from 22 May 1953 issued by the Federal Republic of Germany. This fact documents the far-reaching and lasting effects that such decrees can have on today's legal system.

It would certainly have made sense to repeal the 1935 regulation in its entirety and replace it with a contemporary new regulation. It is a prime example of the need for a fundamental overhaul of the legal framework to ensure that all laws and regulations meet the ethical and moral standards of an enlightened society. However, it can be assumed that there was a shortage of skilled labour at the time.

In the files I found neither a written apology for the professional ban of 1938 nor a friendly welcome from the Hamburg judiciary.

On 6 September 1955,[1127] Dr Lippmann publicly took the prescribed oath in accordance with § 19 RAO before the 2nd Civil Senate of the Hanseatic Higher Regional Court:

> "I swear by God, the Almighty and omniscient, to fulfil the duties of a lawyer conscientiously, so help me God."

The meeting was chaired by Senate President Rudolph Seyfferth,[1128] with the assessors, Oberlandgerichtsräte Rabe and Dr Wriede. Admission to the list of lawyers admitted to the Local Court took place on 8 September 1955, followed by registration with the Regional Court on the following day.

Rudolph Seyfferth had been a Higher Regional Court judge since 1936 and worked in the Reich Judicial Examination Office in Hamburg. Until 1955, he was President of the Senate before which Dr Lippmann was sworn in. Rudolph Seyfferth had made a career in the Weimar Republic, the German Reich and later in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Was he also sworn in again and had to pay fees every time he changed offices?

The swearing-in ceremony in front of these three men must have evoked a wide range of emotions in Dr Lippmann. They were all roughly the same age and had enjoyed a similar education. But only he had experienced the horrors of the Holocaust. The others had been able to continue their careers

without interruption.

Is Dr Lippmann bitter about the loss of the "felicities of bygone times" that Marlene Dietrich sings about? Or is it with defiant pride that he can resume his legal career despite everything? Or was it satisfaction and triumph at having survived despite all the adversity and now being able to practise his beloved profession again? What might the other three have thought and felt at the swearing-in ceremony?

03.08.1955 Practising law in Hamburg

The Western powers urged the government in Bonn to act quickly, return assets and compensate the victims of National Socialism, primarily the Jews. It can be assumed that Dr Lippmann had been following the social and legal development of restitution in Germany from New York.

The demand for restitution and compensation was already in the press before the end of the war. The newspaper "Mitteilungsblatt" of 19 November 1943,[1129] from Tel Aviv, for example, devoted more than two pages to the "Discussion about Reparation Demands of the Jews".

In the newspaper "Aufbau" of 7 January 1955[1130] under the headline "Civil Servants have it Better", it was reported that on 10 December 1954 the Bundestag had decided on all (in fact only 95%) of the 1,129 applications from civil servants under the Federal Compensation Act. However, this was nowhere near the processing status of the other Nazi victim proceedings.

On the same page of this newspaper edition, it was reported that the Allied Western powers were urging Bonn to pass the "Reparation Act" before the Paris Treaties were ratified. This article gave the sober figures on the status of processing on 31 October 1954 for the American zone and West Berlin:

516,361	Applications for compensation
91,846	Settled in favour of the applicants
87,496	Rejected or withdrawn applications
337,019	Pending applications
325,000	Expected applications under the new law
662,019	Cases to be processed

It had taken an average of five to six years to process the 179,342 completed applications. The responsible authorities already suspected that the federal government's target of having processed everything within 10 years would not be achievable.

Plenty to do for Dr Lippmann. He was faced with the challenge of fulfilling his professional obligations and coming to terms with his own fate at the same time. Added to this was the emotional burden of listening to the other difficult life stories and looking after and representing the clients until the judgement was handed down.

Anyone who, like Dr Lippmann, had had the experience of being imprisoned in the Buchenwald concentration camp would have had a deep understanding of the suffering and hardship of other victims. In the spirit of Viktor Frankl, Dr Lippmann might have seen the meaning and purpose of his

life to be helping other victims achieve justice, rehabilitation and reparation. Perhaps it is his understanding of Tikkun Olam!

Viktor Frankl emphasises that people - even in concentration camps - have the freedom to give meaning to their lives, to their survival.

We cannot always choose the circumstances in which we live, but we have the freedom to choose our attitude to those circumstances and thus to give our lives a deeper meaning and to "say yes to life in spite of everything ".[1131]

Even though the legal mandate was to compensate victims of National Socialism, two newspaper articles seem to prove the opposite. The courts made it difficult for the claimants to provide evidence and tried to defeat the claims with many cold-hearted arguments concerning the amount due to them. Repeatedly, the higher courts had to check the negative decisions of the authorities and in many cases revoke them.

If you read the archived newspapers, you get a good impression of what moved people. I am particularly interested in the articles that dealt with the fate of the refugees. I enjoy reading the feuilleton because it tries to convey normality and moral orientation. But I also enjoy looking at the advertisements. I would like to invite you to look at the issue from the newspaper "Aufbau from 14 January 1955",[1132] which is published in New York. These are the most important headlines:

> Page 1: Everyday Life in the Jungle - A Visit to Albert Schweitzer in Lambarene. Man with a Mission - Dag Hammarskjold
> Page 3: SS Voles - Former Belgian SS men are writing a threatening letter to their government in Brussels
> Page 4: In the imprint, the Advisory Board names, among others: Leo Baeck, Albert Einstein, Thomas Mann
> Page 5: Banknote Exchange Rates: for 100 DM you get $23.81
> (DM 4.20 for US $)
> Page 7: Ludwig Marcuse discusses the new novel
> "Confessions of Felix Krull the Impostor"[1133] by Thomas Mann
> Page 9: New Decisions in Favour of Restitution Claims against the German Reich. Tax Exemption of Reparation Payments

At that time, Dr Lippmann was involved in proceedings in Hamburg concerning compensation and restitution claims by Jewish applicants.

No documents from Dr Lippmann's work as a lawyer have apparently survived or are not (yet) accessible. His files were destroyed when his law firm was dissolved.

He appears to have worked together with the lawyer Hermann Fischer-Hübner[1134] in Pinneberg on larger cases. He apparently also worked as a correspondence lawyer for his colleague Ludwig Goldwasser,[1135] who lived in Israel and was also formerly based in Leipzig.

1955 - 1986 General restitution practice

In order to understand the reality of restitution practice in Germany between 1955 and 1986, I would

like to look briefly at the historical background and then present specific cases.

Historical context

The practice of reparation is a particularly difficult chapter in the history of the Federal Republic of Germany. Immediately after the end of the war, the Allies demanded that the young Federal Republic of Germany pay compensation and reparation to Jewish victims, in particular. This demand was taken up by the Federal Republic of Germany but was often only implemented half-heartedly and without any real commitment.

German cities and industry lay in ruins; the economy was devastated. There were many people who had become homeless. There were 4.5 million refugees from the eastern Germany alone, including those from East Prussia, Silesia and Pomerania, who needed to be accommodated and provided with jobs in West Germany. The Federal Republic's human and financial resources were extremely stretched.

Nevertheless, unlike the GDR, the Federal Republic of Germany assumed the legal succession of the "German Reich" and thus also the responsibility for reparation. The Scientific Service of the German Bundestag states in its letter WD 3 - 292/07 with the title "On the legal continued existence of the "German Reich":

> "The Basic Law assumes" that the German Reich survived the collapse of 1945 and did not perish either because of capitulation or through the exercise of foreign state authority in Germany by the Allied occupying powers or later".[1136]

The post-war period in Germany was characterised by numerous challenges. One of the biggest was coming to terms with the Nazi past. Many Germans did not want to recognise or remember the horrors of the Nazi era, which made it difficult to come to terms with war crimes, especially the Holocaust. In addition, the reconstruction of the destroyed infrastructure and creation of a functioning economic system were of crucial importance for the stability of the country.

The political division of Germany led to tensions that had a strong influence on the social climate. The young Federal Republic had to develop a new political culture and identity based on democratic values. This required time, patience and an active discourse to achieve a stable and democratic society. Unfortunately, it took some decades for this discourse to really get going.

The development of a new political culture also included clarifying the question of guilt. Dealing with the crimes of National Socialism was one of the greatest challenges in German post-war history. At the centre of the debate was the question of guilt,[1137] which the philosopher Karl Jaspers[1138] defined as follows: it is about the criminal, political, moral and metaphysical responsibility of Germany and each individual person towards the victims of the Nazi regime.

The difficult situation of Holocaust survivors

Holocaust survivors were severely traumatised, uprooted and often disoriented. The few survivors of the concentration camps found themselves in a precarious situation, homeless and without their families in a world that had become alien to them and which they viewed with deep suspicion.

Only a small number of them decided to stay in Germany, the majority, with the support of aid organisations, emigrated to Israel or other countries, where they often remained strangers for the rest of their lives. Coming to terms with their own past combined with the search for a new home was a painful and complex challenge for Holocaust survivors in post-war German society.

Challenges in the restitution proceedings

From the outset, the intention was to compensate the population groups named in the BEG for losses that had been unlawfully inflicted on them by the Nazi regime. Those affected had suffered financial losses because of property confiscation, forced sales and large compulsory payments.

To accomplish this, the Military Act No. 59 of 1947 and, from the mid-1950s, the Federal Compensation Act created the legal basis for the compensation of the listed population groups for the losses unlawfully inflicted on them by the Nazis.

The implementation of restitution after the Second World War was characterised by numerous difficulties. One of the main points of criticism was the rigidity of the legal regulations, in particular the deadlines set for the assertion of claims. These deadlines were often perceived as unreasonable, as they did not take sufficient account of the psychological condition and situation of the applicants.

On 17 December 1969, the Federal Constitutional Court upheld the principle that material justice must be given priority over formal justice and legal certainty. This meant that in administrative discretionary decisions, priority was to be given to the persecuted - in theory. Over time, however, jurisprudence changed, and the authorities considered it justified to impose deadlines for the submission of applications, which often worked to the disadvantage of the applicants.

Claimants criticised the new statutory definition of deadlines as it neglected material justice in favour of formal justice and legal certainty. The decision-making process was based on general interest in a swift conclusion to the compensation proceedings, while the previously central moral obligation to make reparation took a back seat.

One particularly detrimental aspect of these regulations concerned the children and young people persecuted by the Nazi regime. Advances in medical knowledge often meant that health and traumatic damage needed to be re-evaluated. Those affected often faced the challenge of waiting for the right point in time at which new medical findings were sufficiently certain to lead to relevant changes in decisions in their individual cases.

The difficulties arising from the application of rigid deadlines and formal considerations stand in stark contrast to the fundamental objective of providing those affected with the fair compensation and recognition to which they were entitled.

Should such moral obligations be limited by formal regulations? Shouldn't the obligation to make amends be enshrined in the German constitution to give it the status it deserves?

Norway sets a good example here: the burden of proof lies with the authorities, which leads to a fairer and more humane practice. Reversing the burden of proof ensures fairer procedures and protects the weaker party by shifting the burden of proof to the authorities, who in a democracy are always

accountable to the people. Such a shift ensures that procedures are not only fair, but also truly humane, with the experienced realities of those affected placed at the centre.

In the past, the emotional and psychological burdens of survivors were often not sufficiently considered. It was assumed at the time that children who were born or lived as infants in concentration camps would not be able to remember their time there or the hardships, they endured and therefore they would not have suffered any damage. The level of knowledge about early childhood development was very different back then.

A significant number of those affected decided against asserting compensation claims for moral reasons, even if they would have financially benefitted from it.

Many viewed the restitution payments as "blood money" and did not want to give the perpetrators the feeling that the suffering and losses they had been subjected to could be made up with money. For many, it was a matter of honour and respect for the deceased and the torment they had endured. Mainly, they wanted their suffering to be recognised.

Critical examination of compensation

The high amount of compensation paid, which is publicly emphasised, hardly reflects the suffering endured and the actual loss of assets. Official announcements repeatedly referred to the large compensation amounts to demonstrate the willingness to make extraordinary payments. This gave most of the population, which was not fully informed about the background, the impression that adequate financial compensation had been paid.

Official publications also fail to mention that many victims of National Socialism did not apply for compensation due to fear of the German authorities, their age or state of health, or because they did not have the means to pay for a trial.

The fact that only the very few survivors of the Holocaust were able to make claims, that many victims did not want to accept blood money, and above all, that the 6 million murdered Jews did not make any claims, was ignored.

The public perception also overlooked the fact that most compensation claims were not settled in full, but only after long and stressful court proceedings with significantly lower sums at the expense of the victims. The compensation claims were in any case limited by law to certain maximum amounts. Full compensation in line with the facts was therefore not possible from the outset.

For example, if a financial loss was claimed in addition to the health damage pension, the responsible benefit provider would generally offset the compensation for the financial loss against the health-related pension, even though there was no causal connection between the two. Is this what just and fair compensation looks like?

In many cases, the proceedings were concluded by means of settlements, which for those involved meant that, for practical reasons, they gave up significant parts of their legal claims in terms of substance and amount. Settlements were often agreed to shorten the duration of the proceedings, as the parties were anxious to put an end to the burdensome legal dispute.

Providing evidence was particularly difficult in the case of damage to health, as experts took different positions in their assessment of the connection between persecution and health consequences. A lack of empathy and comprehension on the part of courts, authorities and experts led to deep disappointment for many of those affected and ultimately to their withdrawal from proceedings, which in turn led to considerable (intended?) savings for the German state.

In 2023, the Federal Ministry of Finance published a "Wiedergutmachung - Regelungen zur Entschädigung von NS-Unrecht"[1139] (Reparation - Regulations on compensation for Nazi injustice). At first glance, the amount of compensation paid is impressive, but it is out of all proportion to the suffering and losses it is intended to compensate. Especially when one considers the lengthy, bureaucratic and painful procedures that victims of National Socialism had to go through to receive a meagre compensation that cannot really be called reparation.

In comparison, the compensation for public servants under the corresponding law from 1948 was much more generous, simpler in its regulation and more practicable in its implementation.

Unfortunately, other groups of victims of Nazi persecution who did not fall under the definition of the Federal Compensation Act were only recognised very late, often decades after the end of the Second World War. In many cases, those entitled to compensation had already passed away before they were officially recognised as victims and could apply for compensation. I will come back to this later.

07.08.1955 Application for compensation by Walter Lippmann

Since 3 October 2023, I have dedicated myself with enthusiasm and passion to this project, which has become a real affair of the heart for me and upon which I spend at least eight hours seven days a week. Thanks to the documents that I had gradually discovered, I was able to write a first version of the biography from my notes in February and March 2024, which turned out to be 407 pages long in the format of a master's thesis.

I am still fascinated by the possibilities of discovering the life and work of another person through my own research and self-taught learning. The search for Dr Lippmann's story has so far been an enriching experience for me that has opened new perspectives.

The information that has been found in the archives and on the internet is available to everyone. However, information alone does not constitute knowledge. It only becomes knowledge when you internalise it, even if that takes effort. In that sense, this work is know-how in the truest sense of the word.

I was extremely fortunate to have come across the moving story of such an upright and honest person. As my research progressed, I became increasingly convinced that it was important to tell Dr Lippmann's story to help broaden our knowledge of humanity and encourage mutual understanding. Unfortunately, I often feel that the stories of unsympathetic people or despots receive more space and attention than they deserve. But all stories have their value. They contribute to painting a complete picture of the human historical experience.

As time went on, I learned to do increasingly focused research, which constantly brought to light new and interesting archival discoveries that greatly expanded my understanding and knowledge of a wide

range of topics and aspects of this historical period.

I incorporated this new and valuable information into the second, revised version of the manuscript, which I completed at 560 pages just in time for the start of my holiday in early July 2024.

In the last week before my holiday, I unexpectedly received access to three restitution files belonging to Julius Asch and Dr Walter Lippmann. However, I have postponed the detailed evaluation of the 1,650 pages until after my holiday.

Now that my holiday is over, I can devote myself to working through the files and doing further research to incorporate the new findings into the third version of the manuscript. The affidavits from people who knew Dr Lippmann are particularly exciting. Their statements bring the man Walter Lippmann even more to life for me.

The restitution proceedings often dragged on for years. The Jewish victims had to prove their claims with documents such as bank statements to support their claims. Those unable to do so received no compensation - regardless of the catastrophic circumstances under which the Holocaust survivors had suffered and survived. The authorities' expectation that someone could have taken their financial documents with them while fleeing or being deported is absurd and unrealistic.

As a substitute, the authorities demanded affidavits from other people, e.g. neighbours. After the end of the World War and the Holocaust, the few survivors were scattered to the winds due to flight and expulsion, making it hardly possible to obtain such affidavits. And even if they were obtained, the authorities often doubted them, seeing them as testimonies of favour or as courtesies.

On 7 August 1955, Dr Lippmann applied to the Berlin Compensation Office in accordance with the Federal Supplementary Act on Compensation for Victims of National Socialist Persecution (BEG). The application was submitted by the law firm Samson, Seidl and Michelsen.

"Already" on 4 January 1960, more than four years later, the result of the application review was acknowledgement that the application had been submitted in due form and time and that "no grounds for exclusion were known so far".

The "so far" sounds as if the authorities were just waiting to find a reason to reject the claim for compensation.

The affidavit of the former district court judge Dr Erich Simon is so revealing because a contemporary witness provided nine pages of very detailed information about Dr Lippmann and his life until 1941.

It has been officially established that Dr Lippmann, as a Jew, was in police custody several times and in "protective custody" in the Buchenwald concentration camp. There are no entries in the Federal Criminal Register, which probably means that he was never sentenced to prison. Since Dr Lippmann could not remember his prisoner number from Buchenwald, the court made enquiries with the International Tracing Service of the Red Cross in Arolsen. A double entry for the Federal Central Index of Persecutees has been discovered there. Allegedly, Dr Lippmann had filed an application for restitution using the address of his aunt Erna Asch, Kösterbergstrasse 4b in Hamburg. The file bears the number 131095.

However, according to the Compensation Office, this was merely a bridging payment of return assistance in the amount of DM 300, which was paid out on 15 April 1955, and not an application for restitution.

On 27 August 1955, the Jewish Community of Berlin confirmed his last residence in the Hotel Hollywood in Berlin and the payment of the emigration tax to the Jewish community. The officials had apparently overlooked the fact that Dr Lippmann was a member of the Jewish Community of Leipzig. The Berlin community immediately informed them that they had no information, as most of their documents had been destroyed during the war.

On 19 February 1957, these questions were once again addressed to the Jewish Community of Berlin with the request for a prompt reply.

On 5 August 1955, Dr Lippmann's lawyers submitted his birth certificate from the Leipzig registry office and copies of documents dated 16 December 1938 and 13 June 1939. Wilhelm Israel Nemann confirmed therein

> "Lawyer Dr Lippmann enjoys an extraordinarily high reputation as well as a special esteem and popularity. He was leader of the Jewish youth organisation "Blau-Weiß", president of the Leipzig lodge of the B'nai B'rith order and a member of the social welfare committee of the Jewish community of Leipzig.
>
> He took a particularly keen interest in community life and all other Jewish matters and always willingly and successfully supported Jewish affairs in Leipzig in word and deed. He also held a leading position in the community's Hebrew language movement and regularly gathered circles of young people and adults with whom he practised Hebrew."

Dr Hubert Lang reports that Wilhelm Nemann worked as a civil servant in the social welfare office of the Jewish community in 1936 and was a member of the extended board of the Leipzig Zionist Association. As head of the emigration department of the Leipzig Jewish Religious Community, he was arrested by the Gestapo for failing to comply with an order and subsequently deported with his wife and youngest son to Belzec concentration camp, where they were all presumed missing and finally declared dead on 8 May 1945.[1140]

And the Leipzig rabbi Gustav Cohn writes:

> "Dr Walter Lippmann, formerly a lawyer, born 13 October 1895, resident here at Leibnizstrasse 13, has been known to me for almost 20 years as a person of exceptionally high intellectual and moral standing. His outstanding qualities of character have often placed him in leading positions within our community, in which he has always proved himself in the most excellent manner.
>
> Because of his pronounced public spirit, his unconditional trustworthiness and unrestricted willingness to help, he enjoys the sincerest respect and honour in wide circles of the community. His active Jewish community spirit and his commitment to promoting the interests of the Jewish community have earned him the gratitude of Jewish organisations and individuals. He will be an honour to every Jewish community in which he will live."

I found the following information about Hans Seidl[1141] on the Internet. He was deported with his two

siblings and his parents in April 1944 to Bergen-Belsen concentration camp from Groningen, where they had fled to. A year later, shortly before the Bergen-Belsen camp was evacuated, they were taken to Theresienstadt on one of the three large railway transports.

On 11 April 1945, the train set off with the family but was liberated by the Red Army in Tröbitz/Brandenburg after a 12-day odyssey through Germany. Hans Seidl returned to Hamburg as a lawyer in November 1948; after two years as a senior government councillor, he practised in his own law firm from 1950 onwards with Dr Morris Samson (1878-1959). Dr Samson is mentioned as a lawyer for restitution proceedings in at least two Stolperstein biographies[1142,1143].

To prove his loss of freedom and liberty, as it is called in official German, Dr Lippmann lists his arrests: one and a half days in April 1937, ten days in November 1937, twenty-nine days in November and December 1938 in the Buchenwald concentration camp, and six weeks in November and December 1939. All other arrests took place in Gestapo prisons in Leipzig. He was imprisoned for a total of eighty-two days. He refers to affidavits by Hertha Engel, Margarete Miles and Rudolf Schick, who testify to his persecution on racial grounds.

I cannot imagine an explanation for why the documents in many files are not filed in chronological order. For example, the second page of the application for restitution is page 57 in the file, and this chaos makes it extremely difficult to familiarise oneself with the case. Here is another example of the very strange order in the files. There is a statement dated 1 April 1957 in the file, directly behind a document dated 22 July 1979 with the note: residing in Hamburg. I cannot comprehend any factual connection that justifies this extraordinary filing.

The application dated 7 August 1955 is also accompanied by an affidavit dated 18 March 1955 by the former District Court Judge Dr Erich Simon from Leipzig which very clearly summarises and supplements what we already know. I have quoted his statement in full above.

Another very informative affidavit dated 25 April 1955 comes from Mrs Tatjana Kober-Deuel from Berlin-Grunewald, Bismarckallee 43. I have also quoted her details on the furnishings of the apartment in Leipzig above.

The letter from the Leipzig attorney Mr Kutschbach dated 21 December 1955 was presented by Dr Lippmann to prove his paternal inheritance and the associated claims.

Mr Kutschbach had found an official decision dated 23 February 1940 in the old files. According to this, only 34,936.18 Reichsmark remained of the inherited assets of 90,000 Reichsmark after deduction of the Jewish property levy and taxes.

On 30 October 1956, one day before the deadline for recognition as a politically and racially persecuted person expired, Dr Lippmann submitted an application to the Berlin Office for Politically and Racially Persecuted Persons. He justified his late application by saying that he had not been aware of the deadline set by the Berlin PrV Act. Many people suffered a similar fate and lost their right to compensation due to missing the deadline. And if a lawyer like Dr Lippmann, even though he had only been back in Germany for a year, did not know, how much less did an ordinary citizen know?

He informs the court that he will submit the relevant documents as soon as he has recovered from the consequences of an accident. On 16 November 1956, the Berlin office informs him that it is not responsible for him as he does not live in Berlin. However, the office did not tell him which authority

he should contact as a Hamburg resident.

On 12 April 1957 Dr Lippmann had received emergency aid in the amount of DM 6,000, according to a settlement letter dated 28 October 1968.

I find a letter with the note "12.65 processing sheet / damage". Presumably "12.65" stands for December 1965. Does that mean that he received another DM 6,000 in emergency aid?

On 10 May 1957, the Jewish community of Berlin confirmed that Dr Lippmann was listed as a "full Jew" in the 1938/1939 family register and was obliged to wear the Jewish star, that his place of residence was Leibnizstrasse 13 in Leipzig and that no further documents were available from the community in Berlin.

On 27 November 1958, Dr Lippmann let the Office know that he wished to take over the representation in his own restitution proceedings himself in future. He did not give any reasons for this step.

He may now have felt able to proceed alone, without the previously authorised lawyers, Dr Morris Samson, Hans Seidl and H. H. Michelsen. Their office was located at Ferdinandstrasse 75, where Warburg Bank is still based today.

On 23 January 1960, the Berlin Compensation Office announced that his claims for compensation for 82 days of imprisonment in concentration camps and other prisons had not been substantiated by the submission of certificates of imprisonment - date of detention and date of release. The submitted affidavits were apparently not even acknowledged.

As part of a settlement, Dr Lippmann was offered compensation for the damage with a one-off (!) payment of DM 300.

Just a small side note: Is it an oversight or sheer mockery that the letters from the office end without a greeting?

As a reminder, the last acting Minister of Justice, Franz Schlegelberger (see above), was sentenced to life imprisonment. He was released in 1959 after just 4 years for health reasons and was later even pardoned. Franz Schlegelberger received a monthly pension of DM 2,894.08 in 1959, which he received every month until his death in 1970, i.e. for 21 years. According to Statista.de, the average monthly salary in West Germany[1144] in 1959 was only DM 467 gross.

Can this be recognised as a serious attempt by German society to make amends?

In the post-war period, law and social interests took centre stage, while compassion, morality and justice were often neglected. Nazi officials received high pensions as a result, while concentration camp survivors usually received only a small pension — if they received one at all — and no other form of compensation. It was only decades later, as we shall see, that an awareness of moral justice became more important.

Goodwill claim:

On 27 January 1960, Dr Lippmann accepted this settlement and asked whether it was now also the turn of his other compensation claims to be considered. His claims from 7 September 1955 arising from his imprisonment were settled with the 300 DM. "Further claims of the applicant are not covered by this settlement", it says in the letters from the authorities that end - again - without a greeting. Dr Lippmann's letters always end "with the highest regard".

On 10 October 1960, Dr Lippmann informed the Compensation Office in Berlin that he still wished to assert a so-called goodwill claim for losses which he had suffered because of the boycott and the withdrawal of his law firm. To that end, he submitted by the same post the questionnaire for insurance claims together with a confirmation from the Deutsche Versicherungsanstalt dated 6 November 1956.

On 27 October 1960, the lawyer Helmut Krause writes on behalf of Dr Lippmann and asks the Berlin Compensation Office for a file number.

Somewhat (!) later, on 19 March 1962, almost seven years after the initial application, the compensation authority in Hildesheim requested Dr Lippmann's compensation file from Berlin.

Compensation claims by Elise Lippmann:

On 26 March 1955, his wife Elise Clara Lippmann, a resident of Brooklyn, had her own compensation claims under file number 310-237130 rejected. Late (!), as the internal memo from the authorities states. On 13 March 1959, she filed another application under the Federal Compensation Act (BEG) for compensation for damage to her professional advancement. This application was also rejected as inadmissible because the application deadline was missed.

This is another example of how the deadlines for applying for compensation were simply not fair. How is someone like Elise Lippmann, who works as a nurse in New York, supposed to know her legal rights and the legal deadlines in Germany?

Because of the deadlines, the authorities had no opportunity to be accommodating, they had to reject the applications - at least free of charge for the disappointed applicants. The judiciary could not do otherwise, but the legislature failed morally and historically by writing into the law, these deadlines which were not in the interests of the victims and their fair compensation. The extent to which the legislature and its staffing are responsible for the long processing times is another matter.

We must not forget that there were no computers, internet or AI back then. There were also no corresponding assistance and counselling services for applicants which would have helped with the bureaucratic process.

A fair legal system should meet both legal and human requirements so that people like Elise were seen not just as applicants, but as individuals with their own story.

I quote from the explanatory memorandum:

> "The jurisdiction of the recognising compensation authority is covered by § 185 para. 2 no.3 b BEG in conjunction with § 2 para. 1 no.1 ZVO-BEG of 26 April 1961 (Nds. GVB 1. p. 116), because the applicant emigrated before 31 December 1952 and her

last domestic residence was in Leipzig.

However, the application could not be granted since the application was filed after 1 April 1958, i.e. after the expiry of the application deadline pursuant to § 189 para. 1 BEG. It would only be admissible pursuant to para. 3 of this provision if the applicant Elise Lippmann had been prevented from complying with the application deadline through no fault of her own. However, no such determination can be made.

It is not apparent from the applicant's submissions to date that she would not have been able to file the application in good time if she had exercised due diligence.

Since the applicant, despite several requests (dated 25 May 1959 and 20 September 1961), neither submitted reasons for the late filing of the application nor filed an application for *restitutio in integrum*, it had to be decided that the requirements of § 189 para. 3 BEG were not fulfilled. It follows that a re-establishment of rights could not be justified. The application was therefore rejected as inadmissible due to failure to observe the application deadline."

On March 2, 1963, Dr Lippmann asked the authorities whether they would now "tackle" the goodwill compensation for the loss of his Leipzig law practice, pointing out that he had already filed his claim on October 10, 1960. He also asked whether he would have to submit a "life certificate" from the local authority with every correspondence, as this could only be obtained after a considerable waiting period.

His patience is admirable! It was not until another two years later, on 24 March 1965, that Dr Lippmann inquired about the status of the compensation claim. On this occasion, he again presented a "life certificate" to the Berlin Compensation Office. He was already 70 years old at this point - and the war had been 20 years ago.

Was it perhaps hoped, *ex officio,* that one day the applicants would no longer submit the life certificate due to his death, and that the authorities could file the case with a note of completion and without payment of compensation?

It should not be forgotten that a man born in 1895 had an average life expectancy[1145] of around 45 years. By comparison, a man born in 1995 can expect to live for around 75 years.

Application for financial and property damage:

In a six-page letter to the Compensation Office dated 5 March 1967, Dr Lippmann once again set out his financial and property losses in great detail, because the final law of the Federal Expenditure Act (BEG) had increased the requirements for evidence. After re-examining the facts of the case, he determined that the total loss of assets amounted to 20,000 Reichsmark and that the property levy paid amounted to 5,000 Reichsmark. Given the circumstances, he was unable to substantiate these figures. With a letter from the Leipzig lawyer Kutschbach dated 21 December 1955, he attempted to prove the amount of his paternal inheritance, which was stated to be 46,500 Reichsmark, from which he had to pay a property levy of 11,500 Reichsmark.

The company I. C. Richter Nachfl. KG confirmed his supervisory board mandate at I. C. Richter for the years 1931 to 1938, for which he had received an annual director's fee of 1,000 Reichsmark and emphasised that his resignation had been necessary due to the circumstances at the time.

He suffered financial losses for the following years, during which he would certainly have continued his supervisory board mandate. The greatest financial loss was the closure of his law firm. He lost an annual income of approximately 20,000 Reichsmark, but also the assets in the form of the office equipment and the extensive legal library. According to § 209 I, § 191 II of the Federal Act on the Protection of Civil Procedure (BEG) in conjunction with § 287 of the Code of Civil Procedure (ZPO), this loss was to be compensated in the form of in-kind restitution of a "reasonable amount". He also claimed the costs of the money transfer for the purchase of a plantation in Palestine in November 1934.

In the letter of 12 March 1967[1146], which supplements the application of 5 March 1967, Dr Lippmann describes the costs of the unsuccessful emigration to Palestine and the successful escape to the USA. He asks for internal clarification from the authorities as to whether his wife Elise had filed an application for restitution. Should this be the case, she would of course be entitled to reimbursement of her escape costs.

On 12 March 1967, Dr Lippmann completed his submission of 5 March 1967 with a four-page explanation of the emigration costs. I have inserted the information chronologically into the text at the relevant points above.

On 16 March 1967, Dr Lippmann filed an application for compensation for property damage and financial losses as well as for payment of special levies. He stated that his wife Elise had not owned any household effects of her own. "Some of the household goods and office equipment had been sold for a small amount of money or were left behind." In 1932, he estimated his annual net income at 20,000 Reichsmark.

In another letter dated 16 March 1967, he corrected the reimbursement of the escape costs. His wife had repaid $180, and he had repaid $275, to a total of $455, to their American sponsors. He also supplemented his earlier statements regarding the costs for the ship passage from New York to Bremerhaven and the costs for the transport of his household effects.

The costs for him and his wife Elise to flee to the USA amounted to 700 Reichsmark, and $666.50. For his return – excluding passport fees - the voyage from New York to Bremerhaven costs DM 1,798 and the shipping costs for his household goods amounted to DM 1,032. In addition, transfer losses were listed: expenses of 1,000 Reichsmark and 40,334 Reichsmark (pure transfer), as well as the loss of his Supervisory Board remuneration, the loss of goodwill due to boycott and withdrawal of his law firm, the loss of his own income and receivables, and the loss of bank interest on the remaining cash assets of approximately 17,000 to 18,000 Reichsmark.

On 6 April 1967, he submitted a list of the forwarding costs charged to him by Schenker & Co. GmbH for 13 crates (2.67 lbs, 141.2 cu ft).

On 18 October 1967, Dr Lippmann informed the Compensation Office that he was now 73 years old and that his earning capacity had been reduced by more than 50%. He requested that his application for compensation be processed as soon as possible and referred to § 173 para. 2 BEG,[1147] according to which persons over 60 years of age with reduced earning capacity were entitled to preferential

processing.

On 31 October 1967, Dr Lippmann received a notice from the Compensation Office that made me gasp with indignation.

> "Your application for damage to property and assets has been flagged for processing. As there is a large number of such applications, it will still take some time before a decision is made on the application, despite all efforts to speed up processing.
>
> We therefore ask you to be patient until then and to refrain from sending further letters or making personal appearances in this matter. You will receive further information in due course without the need for a further request on your part."

As a reminder, he had submitted his application for compensation on 7 August 1955. After more than twelve years of waiting and polite reminders, he finally received the painful response from the Compensation Office, which, however, only reflected the reality of bureaucracy and the ruthlessness of the authorities towards his plight.

It is hard to understand why, 22 years after the war, the compensation process was still so slow. The long wait and the bureaucratic hurdles must have been extremely humiliating and frustrating for those affected.

On 13 March 1968, the Berlin Compensation Office asked the Berlin Restitution Office (Central Registry) whether Dr Lippmann had submitted any other applications for compensation. The answer came from there one day (!) later. It was informed that Elise Clara Lippmann, New York, as Dr Lippmann's wife, had submitted her own applications for compensation, which were filed under file numbers IEB 237138 and 237130. In addition, Walter's files were requested for inspection.

On the same day, the Berlin Compensation Office asked the "Main Trustee for Restitution Assets"[1148] whether the last domestic address and the date and place of emigration could be determined from the documents available there. If necessary, the documents were to be sent to the Compensation Office for inspection.

On 29 March 1968 "Der Senator für Finanzen", Nürnberger Str. 53-55 in Berlin wrote to OFP-Aktenverwahrstelle[1149] (record depository).

> "The file that was kept by the former Chief Finance President of Berlin-Brandenburg under file number 0 5210-121/42 on the registration and realisation of the assets of the person named in the letter you have sent to us is no longer available. It is no longer possible to find any evidence of the assets of the named person or payments made by him. The file was handed over to the Chief Finance President in Leipzig on 7 July 1942."

On 25 April 1968, the "Deutsche Gold-Diskontbank" (Dego), in liquidation, announced that:

> "In the partially incomplete files we have on removal goods and duties without replacement, we have not been able to determine a payment for the above-mentioned person."

The Dego tax was a tax levied by the Deutsche Gold-Diskontbank during the Third Reich. It aimed to deprive Jewish emigrants of large portions of their assets by levying high taxes on the transfer of assets abroad.

On 14 May 1968, the District President in Hildesheim demanded the return from the Berlin Compensation Office of Walter Lippmann's file 212241, which had been sent two months earlier in the Elise Clara Lippmann compensation case.

Costs of escape:

On 6 July 1968, Dr Lippmann informed the Berlin Compensation Office that he had asked his wife Elise in writing whether she had registered her claims for reimbursement of the escape costs herself and that a notarised separation of property had been agreed between the couple on 19 July 1958. He expressly pointed out that he had German citizenship and that Elise had American citizenship through naturalisation.

Does this mean that he did not receive his American citizenship or that he surrendered it?

On 20 July 1968, Dr Lippmann submitted a letter from the notary Dr Gerhard Baum, Bergstrasse 11 in Hamburg, as well as the certified copy of the notarised division of property. Because approval for the payment of his wife Elise's emigration costs was still pending, he asked that this be disregarded for the time being in order not to further delay the process.

I am surprised that the office did not come up with the idea of handling that part of the process and transaction and only settling costs of the flight later.

On 9 September 1968, Dr Lippmann wrote in addition to his earlier submissions of March 1967:

> "In addition to the "damage caused by special levies", the loss in value of the plantation in Israel of 20,000 Reichsmark should be added. The loss of his stamp collection worth 4,000 Reichsmark should also be taken into account."

He also stated that Mrs Lippmann had repaid $180 of her escape costs to Mr Ernest Green Dodge and that he would shortly submit her agreement to settle her escape costs via Dr Lippmann.

On 25 October 1968, the Berlin Compensation Office reminded Elise Lippmann to give her consent.

An eight-page internal list from the authority agency is listing all losses reported by Dr Lippmann dated 28 October 1968 is available.

Claims that could not be directly substantiated were almost universally dismissed by the authorities as "unfounded." The total amount reviewed by the Restitution Chamber came to just DM 22,106. A figure that reflects the restrictive nature of the compensation process rather than the actual scope of suffering endured.

This assumption is confirmed by an internal memorandum from the authorities, that a settlement of DM 17,555 is to be proposed to the injured party.

It is astonishing that, after many individual items were struck out as "unfounded" or "without proof", the calculated remaining amount, which was supposed to represent compensation, was then "generously" reduced by 20% at the expense of the applicant.

The German term Wiedergutmachung is formed from three elements: wieder (again), gut (good), and machen (to make). It denotes a moral and legal act of setting something right. English expressions such as reparation, redress or attempting to make amends do not fully capture the meaning of Wiedergutmachung. In this sense, does it not echo the idea of Tikkun Olam — the call to repair what has been damaged and restore moral order? However, Tikkun Olam is based on a moral obligation that only carries weight when it is meant sincerely.

Although I have been dealing with reparation (Wiedergutmachung) for weeks now, the injustice of the compensation schemes for Nazi victims compared to the payments to convicted war criminals like Franz Schlegelberger pains me. It is tragic and, from today's perspective, incomprehensible that those who suffered the most often only received a small amount of compensation or compensation that was reduced on flimsy grounds, while the perpetrators were able to enjoy comparatively high pensions or financial benefits.

It is obvious that frugality in the use of public funds must not be at the expense of the victims of National Socialism. Apparently, however, the public discussion about collective and personal responsibility had not yet progressed to the point where the victims would receive the justice they deserved. The needs and circumstances of people fleeing the Nazi regime, the concentration camps and the war were often not taken into account or not sufficiently. These people were primarily dependent on saving their lives and often had no way to take important documents with them. Given the traumatic situation, it is understandable that such evidence was lost.

The systemic violence that occurs in this context is the result of laws that leave civil servants no room for human judgement. Are they really forced to strictly fulfil their "duty," as they claimed in the Auschwitz trial? An effective resolution could be The Radbruch formula named after Gustav Radbruch. He stated that legally valid laws that are nevertheless manifestly unjust (e.g. laws that legitimise serious human rights violations) cannot be considered lawful. In such cases, the injustice must be overcome, even if this means that existing laws may not be applied.

In the Auschwitz trial, Adolf Eichmann tried to portray his actions as pure fulfilment of his duty and thus considered himself innocent according to the prosecution. He argued that he had no personal motive for the atrocities and that the responsibility for the crimes lay with the leadership and the political system.

The Radbruch formula offers an important approach for those who want to act ethically and not hide behind their duty like Eichmann. For better understanding and emphasis: Radbruch's formula states that legally valid laws that are obviously unjust (e.g. laws that legitimise the most serious human rights violations) cannot be considered lawful. In such cases, the injustice must be overcome, even if this means that the existing laws may not be applied.

This requires great moral and civic courage, and there are situations in which invoking the illegality of a law can also have dangerous personal consequences. This requires great moral and civic courage. There are situations in which invoking the illegality of a law can have dangerous personal consequences. Would not Viktor E. Frankl., the Mentsh, say that it is precisely our freedom to decide in favour of what is right that gives our lives special meaning?

On 1 November 1968, Dr Lippmann informed the Compensation Office that Elise Lippmann had not replied to him regarding her escape costs and that he was therefore once again asking the Office not to take these costs into account for the time being in order not to delay the entire compensation procedure any further.

On 15 November 1968, the Berlin Compensation Office submitted a settlement offer to Dr Lippmann. For the claims for escape and repatriation costs, loss of goodwill, loss of practice, loss of income, household effects and office equipment, for the Jewish property levy and escape levy, a settlement amount of 17,555 DM, from which a further DM 3,000 was to be deducted for the emergency aid paid (=14,555 DM).

The reduction of 3,000 DM may be explained by the fact that the emergency aid under the BEG could only be credited on a pro rata basis against the types of damage specified in the settlement. Of the 6,000 DM he had received on 12 April 1957, only 3,000 DM would then have been applicable to the items settled in the 1968 settlement, whilst the remaining half was allocated to another, separately conducted proceeding. The difference ultimately remains unexplained.

Regarding the not inconsiderable other financial losses, the authority writes:

> "We also request that the claims for lost bank transfer, lost Supervisory Board remuneration, lost bank interest from cash assets, Dego levy, increased income tax, levy on jewellery, gold, silver and precious metals be withdrawn, as they are not eligible for compensation."

How can it be that these considerable losses of assets due to anti-Semitic laws of the Third Reich were not considered recoverable?

On 29 November 1968, Elise Lippmann agreed to payment of the escape costs to her husband, as her own application had been rejected as "not in time" and reinstatement to the previous status had also been refused.

On 10 December 1968, Dr Lippmann replied to the Compensation Office to the letter of 15 November 1958 and asked for a detailed and substantiated statement of the settlement proposal.

In the meantime, Elise Lippmann had agreed that Dr Lippmann should be reimbursed for the full cost of both escapes. He therefore demanded compensation for both of them.

Dr Lippmann also demanded clarification as to why the value of his household effects was reduced by half, as he and his wife Elise had lived in separation of property since the marriage and she had not submitted an application for compensation in her compensation proceedings No.23730, so there was no legal basis for the reduction.

He further explained that his supervisory board mandate was not professionally related, but rather that he was supposed to secure the majority of votes on the supervisory board for his friend, Iwan von Oss, and the compensation paid for this did not constitute professional loss but rather a recoverable financial loss.

On 19 December 1968, Dr Lippmann wrote to the Berlin Compensation Office,

> "It is absolutely not true that I had no income in 1938, because in that year I was still professionally active until I stopped practising as a lawyer, albeit to a limited extent due to the persecution, and soon after my release from the concentration camp I was again professionally active for a while due to my appointment as a consultant and I still remember with certainty that I earned 2,000 Reichsmark per month on average during these months. Since, if I'm not mistaken, there were only five consultants in Leipzig, I immediately had a considerable influx of Jewish clients.
>
> After I was also stripped of my status as a consultant because of my membership of the Jewish lodge, I still had some income from outstanding debts. In addition, there was interest from my assets, which were invested in securities and deposited with Deutsche Bank. It is therefore without doubt that I paid income tax for the years 1938 and 1939 and perhaps even to a lesser extent for the year 1940, so that it seems right and proper to award me an appropriate amount of compensation for this special levy due to persecution. I would consider an amount between 500 and 700 Reichsmark to be appropriate. "

On 8 January 1969, Dr Lippmann once again specifically declared to the Compensation Office that he was expressly withdrawing all claims of a non-compensation nature that were subject to the right of restitution.

This was apparently done for tactical reasons, as he simultaneously requested a new settlement proposal that considered the entire escape costs and the total loss of the household goods.

On 16 January 1969, a revised internal accounting was submitted, totalling DM 18,955.06. After deducting DM 3,000 in emergency assistance, the final sum stood at DM 15,955. This figure was DM 1,400 higher than the initial settlement amount, yet still more than DM 6,000 lower than the sum assessed by the authority.

How can that be? The authority did not provide an explanation for this.

On 12 February 1969 Dr Lippmann enquired about the status of the proceedings and again applied for accelerated proceedings in accordance with § 179 para. 2 BEG. He was now 74 years old, and the proceedings had been ongoing for 14 years!

On 13 February 1969, the Berlin Compensation Office submitted a further settlement offer to Dr Lippmann. It was acknowledged that he had already waived his claims for transfer losses, interest losses from cash balances and the surrender of jewellery, gold, silver and precious metals. Although he had thus voluntarily waived justified claims, the authorities demanded that he also waive his claims arising from the Dego levy, due to the expiry of the deadline on 31 March 1967.

The Dego tax was a levy that had to be paid to the Deutsche Gold-Diskontbank (Dego) on emigration during the National Socialist era in Germany. Originally, this levy was charged on assets that were invested in blocked accounts as part of the foreign exchange control system and were to be legally transferred abroad.

Had not the Deutsche Gold-Diskontbank, which was in liquidation, declared on 25 April 1968 that "in the partly incomplete files remaining to us, no payment of the aforementioned amount could be

ascertained"?

This statement merely means that the corresponding receipts are no longer available at the bank. However, it cannot be ruled out - on the contrary, it is very likely - that a payment was made in connection with the purchase of the plantations and the associated procurement of foreign currency, because no other payment method was available at the time - something that the Restitution Office must have been aware of.

It is striking in this context that the term "Wiedergutmachung" has not been used in the correspondence for some time. Was there any intention at all to make amends? It is therefore not surprising that the compensation authority interpreted the statement of the Gold Discountbank against Dr Lippmann to mean that no payment was made. The legal principle of "in case of doubt, act in favour of the accused" only applies in criminal law.

However, in proceedings aimed at securing actual redress, it would make sense to introduce a reversal of the burden of proof. The reversal of the burden of proof would then lie not with the victim, but with the "perpetrator". A reduction in the burden of proof should apply particularly to historical events where evidence is difficult to obtain or has already been lost.

Dr Lippmann had already submitted his application for compensation on 7 August 1955. In no document that I found in the archived file was he informed of the deadline of 31 March 1967. Civil servants are servants of the state and therefore servants of the citizen. They have a relationship of service and loyalty to the state under public law and are obliged to fulfil their duties impartially and in the public interest. This means that they have an obligation not only to the state, but also to the citizens, to protect their rights and interests. They should therefore have informed Dr Lippmann in good time of the deadline and not only invoked it after the deadline had expired in a mean, underhanded manner to his disadvantage.

On 21 February 1969, Dr Lippmann asked the Compensation Office whether they really thought it appropriate to compensate his household effects from his 12-room flat in Leipzig with only DM 4,300. To give the office a way out, he asked whether the 4,300 Reichsmark figure had inadvertently not been converted. Dr Lippmann also wanted to know the legal sources according to which the Supervisory Board bonuses could not be replaced. He declared his willingness to take legal action if necessary.

The reply from the Compensation Office on 28 February 1969 to the letter of 21 February 1969 "misses the point". Nevertheless, a new decision was promised.

On 25 February 1969, the Compensation Office refused to make a partial payment for the claims that had already been settled. Twenty-four years after the end of the war – Dr Lippmann was already 73 years old at the time – a partial payment could have been arranged simply out of consideration for his age, had the issue of Wiedergutmachung been taken seriously.

By doing so, the authority clearly and unambiguously wanted to increase the pressure on Dr Lippmann to waive the still unsettled claims or claims for which there was insufficiently evidence. There was no objective reason not to pay out an already agreed amount for part of the claims.

For the decision of the Berlin Compensation Office of 23 June 1969 regarding the compensation applications of 8 August 1955 and 20 March 1967, there is a note of receipt dated 26 June 1969 - fourteen years later!

After 14 years, he had been awarded monetary compensation in the amount of DM 19,109.79. The letter explains in detail which claims were recognised, and which were not. Claims for lost supervisory board remuneration, the Dego levy and increased income tax, as well as higher compensation for the loss of household goods, were rejected.

Damage to professional advancement:

The Berlin restitution file 212241 also contains the compensation file "Damage to professional advancement according to §§ 65-125 BEG". The application was submitted on 10 July 1961 and begins with a brief overview of his professional career:

> "My attempt to obtain tax receipts for my income in the last 3 years before the persecution from the responsible Leipzig tax office (Richterstrasse) was unsuccessful because all documents are said to have been destroyed during the war. I can't remember the exact amount of my income (except for one year in which I had over 32,000 Reichsmark, but I can't remember which year that was). At a conservative estimate, I would put the average income in these three years as at least 20,000 Reichsmark. It was probably higher, possibly up to around 30,000 Reichsmark.
>
> In America, I worked in various positions - wherever I happened to be - as a labourer and then as an employee. The positions were insecure and even in my last job at an advertising agency I was able to hold on for several years, but only with difficulty, because I was too old and had no specialised training.
>
> From April 1933, my law firm declined sharply (boycott of Jews, impoverishment, robbery, Aryanisation, departure of Jewish clients), so that from mid-1935 it no longer covered my expenses and maintenance, and I had to call on the help of a relative until my father died in 1938 and I inherited around 47,000 Reichsmark. After I stopped working as a consultant at the beginning of February 1939, I had no longer any income from work. I received no salary for my work in Berlin (1940/41) at the Palestine Office. In America I was without income until February 1942, but even then, I was temporarily unemployed. For further details, see above.
>
> The figures given correspond to my American income tax returns (income before tax deductions) up to 1955 and to the German income tax assessments from 1956 onwards. I can provide these. I only have carbon copies of the American tax returns."

The application was accompanied by a total of five affidavits from Keil (Feustel), Engel, Miles, Schick, Kober-Deuel and Schilasky, which provided information about his private and professional circumstances and the furnishings of the flats and offices.

I am already familiar with most of the letters from the other restitution proceedings, copies of which are also in this file.

Dr Erich Simon, a former district court judge from Leipzig, affirmed on oath that Dr Lippmann earned an estimated 20,000 to 30,000 Reichsmark per year as a lawyer in Leipzig. Dr Simon lived at Kurt-Kresse-Str. 8 in Leipzig in 1955.

In 1955, Magdalena Feustel also lived in Leipzig. Dr Lippmann had asked his former neighbour in Leipzig, Dipl.-Ing. Werner Keil, on the occasion of a visit to his parents in Leipzig, to visit Mrs Feustel and to submit to her his request for a sworn statement.

The former office worker explained to Mr Keil, that she had "learned that it was forbidden in the GDR to make statements for West German reparation and compensation procedures, and that as a member of the public service she was strictly bound by this."

The fact is that the GDR did not make any compensation payments to Jewish Holocaust victims. Only after the reunification of Germany in 1990 were agreements concluded with former Eastern Bloc states to compensate their citizens. The GDR considered the reparation payments to the Soviet Union as sufficient fulfilment of its international obligations and therefore refused to enter compensation negotiations with the Warsaw Pact states and Israel.

Another affidavit comes from Hertha Engel, 523 West 187th Street, New York. On two typed pages she confirmed much of what I already knew. I have added some new information to this manuscript at appropriate places, such as the description of the Leipzig apartment.

The former shorthand typist and accountant was Dr Lippmann's private secretary from 1938 until his escape in 1941, even after the liquidation of his law firm. From her, we learn that Dr Lippmann worked for the Palestine Office in Berlin, and that she usually wrote his letters according to his stenographic drafts or telephone dictations in Leipzig. She was therefore very well informed about Dr Lippmann's professional and financial circumstances during this time.

From her letter of 24 June 1955, I quote only what is of interest here for professional compensation in the restitution proceedings:

> "Dr Lippmann was a busy and wealthy lawyer until the Hitler era. His books showed an annual income of over 30,000 Reichsmark. However, during the time I worked for him [1938-1941, professional ban 1938], his income from his legal practice was low."

After the death of his father Dr. Michaelis Lippmann in 1938, Dr Walter Lippmann inherited 50,000 Reichsmark minus a legacy of 3,000 Reichsmark. From this inheritance he had to pay a "Jewish levy" of approximately 13,000 Reichsmark for his father.

> "At the time of his emigration (1941), Dr Lippmann's account at the bank still held around 17,800 Reichsmark. This account, which had already been frozen, was confiscated by the National Socialist government shortly after Dr Lippmann's emigration.
>
> Prior to this, however, Dr Lippmann had been provided with sufficient funds to cover his current expenses and to prepare for his escape."

The file also contains the affidavit of Margarete Miles, resident in Harborne, Birmingham, 10 St Peters Road, dated 30 April 1955. She was an accountant, shorthand typist and secretary for Dr Lippmann from 1936 to 1938 and essentially confirms the information already known.

Rudolf Schick, 700 Riverside Drive, New York, stated in his written declaration that he had been

friends with Dr Walter Lippmann since 1924 and had entrusted him with the legal affairs of his publishing house for books, magazines and teaching aids. He was also a member of the Leipzig lodge of the Order of B'nai B'rith, of which Dr Lippmann was president in the last years before the lodge was dissolved. Like him, Rudolf Schick was also taken into protective custody in Buchenwald concentration camp after the Reich pogrom. Rudolf Schick reports that he was "greeted" there with steel rods and that two of Dr Lippmann's front teeth were knocked out.

On 13 July 1961, Dr Lippmann asked again about the processing status.

On 8 February 1962, Dr Lippmann submitted a medical certificate from Dr Ruhland, An der Alster 13 in Hamburg, dated 15 December 1961, stating that, with reference to § 179 para. 2 there were now "two urgent reasons for accelerated treatment" for his occupational damages.

He was now 71 years old. Due to numerous serious health problems following a heart attack in March/April 1959:

> "Dr Lippmann is to be regarded as 70% incapacitated for work, meaning that he can only fulfil the obligations of his legal practice to a very limited extent."

On 31 January 1962, the authorities informed him on a postcard that

> "…his application is not yet pending processing. However, claims could be settled if the applicant submits a quantified settlement proposal."

On 6 February 1962, Dr Lippmann complies with this request. He writes:

> "I am surprised to hear that despite my age of over 66 and my reason for priority due to illness, my application is not yet being processed, as the claims of my clients of the same age and younger have long since been settled.
>
> Regarding to my occupational damages, I would like to assume that a calculation of the lump sum compensation for the proposed higher civil service classification would exceed the statutory maximum, as I was never able to secure a sufficient livelihood in America on a permanent basis, so that the compensation period is relatively long. I therefore suggest the following comparison:
>
> "The claimant shall receive capital compensation of DM 40,000 to settle all his claims for compensation due to occupational damages. Should higher claims be justified by a change in the law, the conclusion of this settlement shall not prevent the assertion of the additional claims."
>
> The reservation concerning the amendment of the law may not be of any practical significance, but since the statutory maximum amount is obviously unreasonably low - especially in view of the considerable increase in pensions in the meantime - an amendment of the law on this point cannot be ruled out. As questions of doubt have repeatedly arisen in settlements following the amendment of the law, it would appear appropriate to include a corresponding proviso to prevent any possible subsequent disadvantage."

This was basically a pragmatic proposal, as the amount of his damages was already far above the statutory maximum compensation of (only) DM 40,000.

Instead, nine months later, on 20 November 1962, the authorities demanded in a handwritten letter the submission of German and American income tax documents for the previous years.

Dr Walter Lippmann explained that he had worked in America in a one-man advertising agency and earned very little. Due to his age, he was replaced by a younger woman who earned even less. Theoretically, he would also have had to pay tax in the USA on the income from the two Israeli plantations. However, these had been loss-making for years and the small profits could not be exported due to foreign exchange regulations.

He submitted his tax return and a summary statement to the office. According to this, he had earned a total of $34,941 from employment in the years 1948 to 1955 and had suffered a loss from the plantation of $6,052. He pointed out that the losses from the plantation reduced his income for tax purposes but were not related to his reduced gainful employment.

I never thought I would enjoy reading other people's old tax returns.

Based on the tax returns, however, I was able to establish that from 1948 to 1955 Dr Lippmann had given 1021 East 14th St, Brooklyn 30, New York, as his residential address and 45 W 45th St, New York, as his business address.

According to his 1955 tax return, he worked as an office manager at S.T. Seidman & Co., later becoming a partner in the firm. Inc., earning US$1,180 that year. From September 1955 onwards, he practised as a lawyer at Grillparzer Strasse 4 in Hamburg. He had no income from his work as a solicitor in 1956, but in 1957 his gross income amounted to 17,148 DM.

The next document in the file is a handwritten calculation of compensation dated 11 February 1963. Since concrete documentation was missing and the information from the affidavits was considered only of the lowest possible value, if at all, the salary of a senior civil servant with the same qualifications was used to calculate the loss of earnings.

What sounds like a sensible and practicable solution turned out to be quite different in practice.

Various calculations were performed by the office, resulting in different compensation payments between DM 91,438 and DM 157,206. The calculation sheet ended with the note "according to the Federal Compensation Act, §123 BEG[1150] DM 40,000 as a settlement amount is justified", which was the legally stipulated maximum compensation for claimants under the BEG.

Naturally, there can be no real compensation for the victims and damage suffered. But the attempt to make amends cannot drag on over such a long period of time and then end in an arbitrarily determined limitation of damages. Where is the justice when you think of the pension of Nazi Justice Minister Franz Schlegelberger, who was sentenced to life imprisonment? His pension entitlement was not restricted by maximum limits as he was not a victim in the sense of the Federal Compensation Act, but an official of the Ministry of Justice during the NS era. After only three years in prison, he was released in 1959 for health reasons and received a monthly pension of DM 2,894.08 until his death, totalling around DM 730,000 over a period of twenty-one years. This example disturbingly illustrates how the system failed to make reparation.

A great deal of work could have been saved for the authorities and the victims if comparable civil servant salaries had been used as the basis for calculations from the outset – without capping benefits. The victims would have been spared an additional traumatic experience: the painful realization that much of their past is irretrievably lost – and that there is neither reparation nor justice.

The proceedings regarding the loss of professional advancement began on 10 July 1961 and were concluded on 22 February 1963 with Dr Lippmann's signature on a settlement. This relatively quickly settled the loss of professional advancement, including any loan and pension claims. The DM 40,000 from the settlement offer was transferred on 11 March 1963.

Damage to economic progress:

The restitution file then contains the documents on "Damage to economic advancement pursuant to §§ 127 - 137 BEG".

On 7 October 1960, Dr Lippmann applied to the compensation authority for compensation for the economic loss of entitlements to a life and pension insurance with Deutsche Anwalts- und Notarversicherung (DANV) in Halle, GDR. DANV was the German Lawyers' and Notaries' Insurance. He informed the compensation authority that he had:

> "…never received the slightest remuneration, as the settlement value of 4,148.36 Reichsmark was paid into a confiscated bank account that had been withdrawn from my disposal."

The footer on the letterhead of the insurance Deutsche Versicherungs-Anstalt corresponded to the zeitgeist of the GDR: "Fight for the Preservation of World Peace!"

As proof of the redemption value, Dr Walter Lippmann submitted a certificate from Deutsche Versicherungs-Anstalt in Halle, GDR dated 6 November 1956, which, however, emphasised that it was not the legal successor to Deutsche Anwalts- und Notarversicherung (German Lawyers and Notary Insurance). The redemption value of both policies as of 30 June 1941 totalled 4,148.36 Reichsmark.

The Compensation Office appears to be playing for time again, and six months later, on 6 March 1961, requests confirmation from the Deutsche Anwalts- und Notar-Versicherung of the information provided by the Deutsche Versicherungs-Anstalt.

The reply letter from Deutsche Anwalts- und Notar-Versicherungs-AG (DANV) dated 20 March 1961, as a special department of Hamburg-Mannheimer Versicherung AG, shows that the life insurance had a redemption value of 3,341.70 Reichsmark. The currency reform had led to a devaluation of receivables from banks and insurance companies at a ratio of 10:1, i.e. policy holders and account holders were at a considerable disadvantage, while these companies benefited from the situation. These examples illustrate the injustices suffered by many of those affected during and after the post-war period.

The insured pension was also reduced from 1,200 Reichsmark to 528 DM per year but was successively increased again to 1,200 DM per year by subsequent pension improvement laws. However, the actual

annual pension was reduced to DM 960.60 due to unpaid contributions from 1 July 1941, as Dr Lippmann had not transferred any contributions from the USA.

I have learned how important it is to pay attention to every little detail of a document, because sometimes, as in this case, I make surprising discoveries. The footer lists the DANV board members, including the father of my friend Ralf, with whom I worked for almost 30 years as an insurance broker for the media industry. These historical connections or six degrees of separation across space and time, never cease to fascinate me.

The concept of "dependent origination" (Pratītyasamutpāda) in Buddhist philosophy, according to which everything that exists arises in a network of causes and conditions which influence each other, and the principles of quantum physics actually have fascinating parallels. Both emphasise interdependence and the lack of an independent, inherent existence.

There is a very subtle connection between Dr Lippmann, the Board of Directors, my friend and myself that is not visible at first glance. Every decision made in the past, every relationship established, affects the current situation and can also influence future developments. It is this multi-layered network of relationships across generations that fundamentally motivates me to take responsibility and write this book. Without today, there can be no tomorrow, nor any yesterday!

On 6 April 1961, the Compensation Office asked the DANV to check the compensation calculation and stated: "Nothing is known here about the confiscation of insurance policies by the German Reich."

How can it be claimed that nobody in the General Settlement Office remembered these far-reaching and profound measures, which plunged many people into misery and were part of the systematic discrimination and a further step in the comprehensive disenfranchisement and persecution of the Jewish population by the National Socialist regime?

How can it be that no one in the entire authority knows or remembers that with the 11th Amendment to the Reich Citizenship Act of 25 November 1941[1151] all German Jews living abroad lost their German citizenship, and with it, also all their assets?

The corrected confirmation from the DANV dated 21 April 1961 shows – after complex calculations and the currency reform at a ratio of 10:1 – an annual pension of DM 950.20.

It took a good four weeks for the Compensation Office to inform Dr Lippmann on 18 May 1961 that he would receive compensation of DM 950.20 for his life insurance. The money would be transferred to him on 23 May 1961. Regarding the pension insurance, he was asked in a further letter of the same day to declare "whether he was receiving, had received or had applied for benefits from German public funds".

Couldn't this have been sorted out long ago, given the already lengthy processing time?

Had the processing been handled carefully, the Compensation Office should have noticed during the five-year review period that it lacked information regarding the duration of the pension payment or the inclusion of a widow's pension. It must therefore be seen as a further delaying tactic when the Office directed further enquiries to the DANV on 19 June 1961 - and did not pay out the money for the time being.

On 31 July 1961, DANV confirmed that this was a lifelong pension and disability insurance policy without widow's benefits.

The file ends here! I was unable to determine how case no. 212241 was concluded at the Berlin Compensation Office.

20.04.1956 Newspaper adverts in Tel Aviv

As he had not received any ongoing support or an immediate compensation payment upon his return to Germany, he had to earn a living.



Figure 26 Commercial Ad in Tel Aviv

It is against this background that the classified advertisement placed by 'Dr Walter Lippmann, lawyer' on the second page of the MB newsletter from Tel Aviv[1152] dated 20 April 1956, can be understood. He placed several adverts in various newspapers during this period. The reference to Leipzig and New York and, now Hamburg, implied that he spoke German and English and could represent clients living abroad before German courts or work as a correspondent lawyer for lawyers working abroad, especially in Israel.

This issue of the newsletter MB (Mitteilungsblatt) contains further advertisements that explicitly refer to restitution proceedings, such as the "United Restitution Organisation". It is not known whether Dr Lippmann met Dr Goldwasser again in this way or whether they had already been in contact since Goldwasser's flight to Palestine. What is certain is that they began working together for many years to come.



Figure 27 Dr. Walter Lippmann and Dr. Ludwig Goldwasser

Dr Ludwig Goldwasser[1153] (13 April 1896 Krakow – 28 July 1979 Engelberg, Switzerland) was a lawyer from 1924 to 1938. He met Dr Lippmann in Leipzig and, like him, donated to the Israelite Hospital, as reported in the Jewish Religious Community Gazette[1154] of 4 February 1926. He was also arrested during the pogrom night on 10 November 1938 and in "protective custody" in Buchenwald concentration camp for three weeks.

After his release from Buchenwald concentration camp, it was inevitable that he would emigrate to Israel with his wife and son in February 1939.

Only very few lawyers who had escaped took the bar exam again in Israel in English and Hebrew. As early as 1942, he was able to continue his work as a lawyer in Bnei Brak near Tel Aviv. In 1950, he was also admitted as a notary. After 1955, Dr Ludwig Goldwasser took on numerous restitution proceedings for victims of Nazi persecution - apparently often in collaboration with Dr Lippmann, who could represent him as a correspondent lawyer before German courts.

In the archived Jewish newspaper "Der neue Weg" from March/April 1928 there is an interesting article by Dr Goldwasser: Financing the Settlement Work in March 1928.[1155] In it, Dr Goldwasser acknowledges the great financial support of the Canadian Zionists, whom he praises as a role model for Zionists all over the world. He felt that every Zionist should examine how they could support the building of Palestine. It was recommended that they join forces to take on more economic responsibility. For example, German Zionists could surpass Canadian Zionists if they guaranteed an income for the next ten years and were willing to provide real collateral or pledge a personal loan.

In the interesting dissertation by Dr Robert Willingham[1156] "Jews in Leipzig: Nationality and Community in the 20th Century"[1157] you can learn a lot about Dr Goldwasser's involvement in the

Zionist movement in Tel Aviv.

Dr Goldwasser was chairman of the Zionist-Revisionist Association and a member of the Leipzig Zionist Association. A letter dated 8 December 1930[1158] shows that the address of his office was Hainstrasse 7, III in Leipzig.

What is remarkable is not the six-day working week as such, but the fact that the law firm was also open on Saturday, the Sabbath.

Dr Lippmann also occasionally worked together with Hermann Fischer-Hübner from Pinneberg near Hamburg in compensation and restitution proceedings. Hermann Fischer-Hübner together with his wife Helga, published the book "Die Kehrseite der Wiedergutmachung - Das Leiden von NS-Verfolgten in den Entschädigungsverfahren",[1159] ("The Downside of Reparations - The Suffering of Victims of Nazi Persecution in Compensation Proceedings"), which I will return to in detail later.

You usually browse through the archived newspapers for a search term, but it is worth taking a second look because it offers a special opportunity to learn something of the everyday world of the time. You learn details about social life, culture, politics and other aspects that usually go beyond the original search term. For a more comprehensive understanding of history, this is a valuable method that holds many surprises in store. You learn about "The problem of inflation in Palestine", "Problems of research into fruit and vegetable cultivation in Palestine" or "The problem of naturalisation". The ecological and social problems are very similar to ours.

Above Dr Lippmann's advertisement is an article about the mission of Dag Hammarskjold,[1160] the second Secretary-General of the United Nations. The article reminds us that Israel is "a creation of the United Nations" in terms of international law. Elsewhere, we learn that Bertolt Brecht's "The Good Person of Szechwan"[1161] from 1943 was performed at the Kammer Theatre in Tel Aviv.

It's incredible how my journey into the world of knowledge began simply with the nameplate on my attic door.

Anno 1957 Claus von Amsberg, junior barrister, later Prince of the Netherlands

Claus von Amsberg[1162] (1926 - 2002) studied law and political science at the University of Hamburg and passed his first law exam (Referendarexamen) in 1952 and his second law exam (Assessorexamen) in 1956. As an assessor, Claus von Amsberg handled legal claims for Dr Lippmann at Grillparzer Str. 4 for several months on behalf of Jewish victims of National Socialism.

On 1 April 1957, he entered the diplomatic service of the Federal Republic of Germany. He married the Dutch Princess Beatrix,[1163] later Queen of the Netherlands[1164] and became Claus, Prince of the Netherlands[1165].

During his time at Dr Lippmann's law firm, the former Wehrmacht soldier gained deep insights into the experiences of the victims of National Socialism. His encounters with them had a lasting impact on his world view. As a diplomat, he campaigned for the reconciliation of peoples.

Unfortunately, I could not find out how this contact with Claus von Amsberg came about.

15.03.1958 Compensation application for Michaelis Lippmann

On 15 March 1958, Dr Walter Lippmann filed an application for compensation under the Federal Compensation Act for the persecution of his father, medical officer Dr Michaelis Lippmann, during the National Socialist regime.

The file of the Hildesheim compensation authority with the file number 226418a was given the new shelf mark Nds. 110 W Acc. 8/90 No.269/03 and is in the Lower Saxony Main State Archives in Hanover[1166].

The application asked for the reason for persecution. The possible answers were "political opposition to National Socialism", "race", "faith" or "ideology". Dr Walter Lippmann stated that his father, like himself, had been persecuted on "racial" grounds. Walter applied on behalf of his late father for compensation for pecuniary losses, payment of special levies, fines, penalties and costs, as well as for professional disadvantage.

On 19 August 1958, the Compensation Authority announced that the eligibility requirements of the § Section 4 para. 1 no.1 b and c BEG were not met in the person of the persecuted person, as he had already died in Leipzig/Saxony in 1938 and thus had neither his last place of residence nor his permanent residence within the area of application of the BEG. Dr Michaelis Lippmann had also not emigrated, been expelled or deported from the territory of the Reich before 31 December 1952 according to his status on 31 December 1937. Dr Walter Lippmann followed the recommendation of the authorities to withdraw the application on the grounds of futility.

The application also shows that Dr Walter Lippmann submitted applications for restitution for his own claims to the Berlin Compensation Office in 1955 and 1956 under file number III G 52 /212241.

He did not claim any restitution for his father's house, but it is possible that his father had only rented it. In April 1957, two years after the first application, Dr Walter Lippmann received 6,000 DM as "emergency aid".

By their very nature, documents and information do not appear in chronological order according to historical events. But how can we explain this also being the case within official files?

Thanks to the notification of the file number, it was possible to track down Dr Walter Lippmann's restitution file and examine it more closely. Dr Lippmann had already submitted his application in 1955. The documentation above provides a detailed account of his proceedings.

12.11.1955 First soldiers in the Bundeswehr

Since the end of the war, there have been a number of noteworthy political, technological and civil society developments. As we have seen, coming to terms with the Third Reich and the Holocaust was very difficult for the new Federal Republic of Germany.

The establishment of new German armed forces after the Second World War initially met with resistance from both the occupying powers and most of the German population. However, with the beginning of the Cold War and the increasing tensions between East and West, pressure grew to rearm

the Federal Republic of Germany. On 6 May 1955, the Federal Republic joined NATO, the North Atlantic defence organisation, paving the way for the establishment of the Bundeswehr. On 12 November 1955, the first 101 volunteer soldiers were sworn in.

At almost all levels of command in the new Bundeswehr, former officers and non-commissioned officers of the Wehrmacht and supporters of the Nazi regime were responsible for training new soldiers. In this context, the concept of the "citizen in uniform"[1167] was important and awaited realisation. This concept emphasised that soldiers not only had military duties but are also citizens with political rights and duties.

Of the 14,900 officers in the Bundeswehr in 1959,[1168] 12,360 or 83% had already been officers in the Reichswehr or Wehrmacht, 300 officers came from the Waffen SS.

Only officers with the rank of colonel and above were examined by the Personnel Evaluation Committee for their suitability.[1169] Conversely, it follows that the non-commissioned officers and enlisted men were not examined!

There were too many people in many organisations who still sympathised with National Socialist ideology. This is one of the many explanations as to why there was so little interest in coming to terms with the Nazi era in the young Federal Republic. Unfortunately, this was also accompanied by a lack of interest in generous compensation and in recognising the suffering of Nazi victims.

04.10.1957 Sputnik 1

The 20th century was undoubtedly characterised by remarkable advances in science and technology. From the discovery of quantum mechanics to the development of the internet, technological innovations have changed life in many ways. Unfortunately, progress in areas such as humanity, the common good, tolerance and peace has not kept up with this breathtaking pace.

Enormous technical progress was made. The first Zeppelin[1170] took off on 2 July 1900. On 17 December 1903, the Wright brothers[1171] flew for twelve seconds in a biplane motorised aircraft. Louis Blériot[1172] was the first person to fly across the English Channel from Calais to Dover on 25 July 1909 and Charles Lindbergh[1173] was the first person to fly across the Atlantic on 20 May 1927. Just a few years later, Wiley Post[1174] made the first successful solo flight around the world on 15 July 1933.

Once the dream of flying had been fulfilled and all possible destinations on earth had been reached, the spirit of discovery and exploration reached for the stars.

The story of Daedalus and Icarus[1175] and the flight of the Russian Sputnik 1[1176] show interesting parallels and differences. Daedalus and Icarus used their ingenuity to build wings with which they could fly. But Icarus ignored his father's warnings, flew too close to the sun, the wax of his wings melted and he fell into the sea.

This story is a cautionary reminder of the dangers of hubris and overconfidence.

The flight of Sputnik marked the beginning of the space age. On 4 October 1957, the Soviet Union successfully launched Sputnik 1, the first artificial earth satellite. This technological breakthrough changed the world and set a series of new developments in motion.

These two stories show that human ingenuity and technological progress can bring both amazing opportunities and potential dangers. Embracing new technologies and capabilities requires wisdom and prudence. It is important to learn from history and always consider the potential consequences of our actions. After all, what is the point of reaching for the stars if we fail to embrace our fellow human beings?

17.03.1959 The XIV Dalai Lama flees Tibet

Since 1950, Tibet has been under the control of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. The XIV Dalai Lama, Tenzin Gyatso,[1177] fled from Lhasa to India in 1959, where he still lives in exile in 2025. The Tibetan Uprising[1178] cost the lives of around 89,000 Tibetans. Monasteries were plundered, valuable libraries burnt down, and countless nuns and monks murdered.

Since then, he has been campaigning for a demilitarised Tibet and self-determination for Tibetans. The Dalai Lama emphasises that hatred and violence cannot be eliminated through more hatred and violence, but through understanding, patience and communication.

In 1989 - the year of German reunification - the Dalai Lama was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize[1179] for his commitment to non-violence and intercultural dialogue.

Although the Tibetan-Chinese conflict appears to be deadlocked, there have been no armed conflicts since 1959. This could be a sign of the effectiveness of the Dalai Lama's non-violent approach.

The proverb "Constant dripping water wears away stone" describes the power of perseverance and patience. It reminds us that change often happens slowly, but that with perseverance and patience, even the longest path leads step by step to the goal.

The Tibetans still largely need both, as the annexation of Tibet by China and the attempt at cultural genocide[1180], i.e. the attempt to eradicate Tibetan culture, tradition and Buddhist religion and philosophy, continue. Around 140,000 Tibetans are currently living in exile and are supported by Tibet Aid[1181] in preserving their unique culture.

01.08.1959 Represented by attorney at law Helmut Krause

On 13 November 2023, I found a series of letters in the Hamburg State Archives that Dr Walter Lippmann had written to the judicial authorities. What initially looked like boring official correspondence, upon closer inspection, allowed conclusions to be drawn about Dr Lippmann's state of health.

In a letter dated 1 October 1959, Dr Lippmann gave Grillparzer Str. 4 in Hamburg 22 with the telephone number 23 63 28 as his office address on the letterhead. This was the address of his home office in the 75 square metre three-room flat in which he worked and lived. In this letter, he informed the Higher Regional Court that he had appointed lawyer Helmut Krause, Hirtenstrasse 13 in Hamburg 26, as his legal representative from 1 August 1959. Due to his ongoing illness, his sick leave was subsequently extended several times.

A medical certificate from Dr Ruhland[1182], An der Alster 13 in Hamburg, dated 15 December 1961, states that Dr Lippmann was to be regarded as 70% disabled due to numerous health problems resulting from a heart attack suffered in March/April 1959 and he could only perform the duties of his legal office to a very limited extent. In the past, the chances of survival following a heart attack were considerably lower than they are today.

In the letter dated 11 November 1959, Dr Lippmann also mentioned that Mr Krause had previously worked for him as a lawyer's assistant. Dr Lippmann was 64 years old and announced on 20 November 1959 that he would probably be absent until July 1960 due to his serious illness and protracted recovery.

We must remember that during this time Dr Lippmann fought several very stressful reparation proceedings on his own behalf.

It is a fact that psychological stress can lead to a heart attack and repeated attacks of angina pectoris. He certainly needed the compensation and the financial security that came with it to be able to make a living without his work. Apparently, he found it increasingly difficult to work.

In May 1960, Dr Lippmann went to a health spa to try to restore his full fitness to work. At times, he was only able to work part-time and had to be represented by Mr Krause at court hearings outside the office. The official file note dated 15 December 1960 states that his "heart condition" still required rest and that Dr Lippmann would continue to be represented by Mr Krause.

On 24 January 1961, Dr Lippmann informed the state justice administration that, according to a new medical certificate, he was now 50% fit for work, i.e. he could rest in bed in the morning and only work in the afternoon.

Five years later, on 10 November 1966, Dr Lippmann (71 years old) notified the Hamburg Higher Regional Court that the lawyer Krause had been appointed as his permanent representative, but that he was temporarily unavailable, which is why he had instructed the assessor Dietrich Frank, Gnadenbergweg 17 in Hamburg 63, to represent him.

To continue to have two representatives, Dr Lippmann had to write to the state justice administration again on 3 April 1967. The authority imposed a time limit on him having two deputies until 31 December 1967.

On 14 August 1967, Dr Lippmann had to inform the state justice administration that Assessor Frank. was "seriously ill and not be expected to be able to perform his duties for the foreseeable future". He therefore resigned as a substitute for Dr Lippmann.

In the period from 5 June to 5 July 1968, Mr Krause again took over the representation. Dr Lippmann's telephone number is now 220 63 28.

Representation is a legal necessity in the event that a lawyer is absent from work for more than two weeks or is prevented from practising their profession. Under these circumstances, appointments and court hearings must be attended by a representative.

Others retire at the same age that Dr Lippmann resumed his legal practice in Germany. His heart condition might have hampered his productivity, but it did not dampen his fighting spirit for the just cause of fair compensation for the victims of National Socialism. Despite all his physical ailments, he

continued to work. In 1968, he was 73 years old.

03.05.1960 Marlene Dietrich in Berlin

As part of Marlene Dietrich's European tour,[1183] she sang in Berlin for the first time on 3 May 1960. It was her first visit to Germany in 29 years. For some, the "Blue Angel" who had stood up to the Nazis was back, for others she was a "traitor to the fatherland", according to the American magazine Life[1184] she was a celebrated artist.

I would have loved to have attended this concert "Wiedersehen mit Marlene" (Seeing Marlene again),[1185] also because the great composer Burt Bacharach[1186] accompanied her on the piano and conducted the orchestra.

With great talent and refined style, he arranged the songs, mostly compositions by Friedrich Hollaender,[1187] who was also of Jewish descent, for Marlene. Burt Bacharach's musical oeuvre can compete with that of Friedrich Hollaender, who wrote the film music for well over 100 films in the USA and was nominated for an Oscar four times. Marlene Dietrich will forever be associated with his song "Ich bin von Kopf bis Fuß auf Liebe eingestellt" (I am Designed for Love from Head to Toe).[1188]

> The relationship between Marlene Dietrich and Leni Riefenstahl[1189] was certainly not "designed for love". I cannot resist the temptation to compare these two artists. From the perspective of Viktor E. Frankl, whom I admire, I would like to show how each of them used the freedom their careers offered them and the political and moral decisions they made.

In the 1930s, both women began their fascinating and controversial careers in the film industry. Their political convictions and their actions during and after the Third Reich could not have been more different. While Marlene Dietrich became known as a staunch opponent of the Nazi regime and actively supported the Allies in the USA, Leni Riefenstahl is primarily known for her propaganda films for the Nazi regime.

These different life paths and moral decisions provide fascinating illustrative material for an examination from the perspective of Viktor Frankl, who emphasised the central importance of meaning and responsibility in human life.

Marlene Dietrich starred in silent films in Germany in the 1920s and achieved international fame with sound films such as "The Blue Angel". When she emigrated to the USA in 1930, this marked a turning point in her career. She became the first German actress to achieve great success in Hollywood. She became an icon of classic Hollywood cinema and a symbol of independence and strength, and her legacy continues to resonate to this day.

Leni Riefenstahl, on the other hand, began her career as a dancer and actress before becoming a director. Her films "Triumph of the Will" and "Olympia" are considered technical masterpieces but are highly controversial due to their propaganda character.

Leni Riefenstahl revolutionised film technology and set new standards in visual representation. Her creative talent is undisputed, but the moral implications of her decisions cast a shadow over her achievements.

Marlene Dietrich was a resolute opponent of the Nazi regime and helped many refugees who had made it to the USA. She categorically refused offers to work in Germany and instead decided to support the Allies. Her performances for American troops at the front during the war and her public rejection of Hitler made her a heroic figure of the resistance. This conscious decision to use her celebrity to fight for the good reflects Frankl's idea that even in extreme situations, people have the freedom to choose their attitude and behaviour.

In contrast, Leni Riefenstahl worked closely with the Nazi regime. She produced some of the most famous propaganda films of the time. After the war, she claimed to have been apolitical and to have only pursued her art. This egocentric self-perception stands in stark contradiction to her active involvement in the spread of National Socialist ideology. Her proximity to Hitler and the question of her political consciousness raises serious doubts and reveal a moral irresponsibility that she did not want to acknowledge. After the Second World War, both Marlene Dietrich and Leni Riefenstahl returned to public life.

Marlene Dietrich continued her career in Hollywood and was celebrated for films such as "Witness for the Prosecution" and "The Big Bluff". She remained a determined opponent of National Socialism and continued to campaign for humanitarian causes.

Marlene's attitude and commitment made her a symbolic figure of resistance against the Nazi regime and a role model for many who fought for freedom and justice. Quite a few in Germany still regarded her as a traitor to the fatherland. These differing perceptions show the high price she had to pay for her moral convictions.

After the war, however, Leni Riefenstahl faced considerable difficulties. She experienced a career setback that was never overcome, as she was seamlessly integrated into Nazi propaganda and associated with Hitler. Despite her attempts to reinvent herself as an artist in other fields such as photography and documentary film, her reputation remained heavily tainted by her past. She repeatedly made tragic attempts to justify herself on talk shows. The consequences of her decisions haunted her until the end of her life and show the deserved tragic consequences of a lack of moral responsibility.

Marlene Dietrich's decision to oppose the Nazi regime and actively work for the Allies can be seen as a strong commitment to her moral convictions and sense of responsibility. She used her fame to fight injustice and help others. In this way, she embodies the essence of Frankl's philosophy: finding one's own meaning in life, and accepting responsibility for one's actions.

By contrast, Leni Riefenstahl's behaviour raises serious questions about her moral responsibility. Her willingness to stop at nothing to achieve personal success, even if it meant causing harm to others, is illustrated by an episode from 1939. At that time, her cameraman Willy Zielke[1190] was admitted to the Eglfing-Haar psychiatric hospital on the basis of an alleged diagnosis of schizophrenia. His homosexuality for which he was later forcibly sterilised, was also a factor in his admission. Although Willy Zielke blamed Leni Riefenstahl for his admission, he was never able to prove it. However, it is important to note that during this time, Riefenstahl appropriated Zielke's photographic work and presented it as her own. This behaviour highlights a concerning aspect of her narcissistic personality.

This decision constitutes a gross violation of the fundamental human responsibility in which Viktor Frankl believed. Leni Riefenstahl failed to question the meaning of her actions until her death in 2003, prioritising her career over the ethical implications of her decisions. According to Frankl, a person's

dignity is not determined by external circumstances, but by their willingness to critically reflect on their actions.

11.04.1961 Start of the Eichmann trial

> „An unjust state that commits tens of thousands of murders every day entitles everyone to self-defence,"

said Dr Fritz Bauer,[1191,1192] Attorney General of Braunschweig, in his closing argument[1193] in the 1952 trial that led to the rehabilitation of the resistance fighters of 20 July 1944.[1194] Dr Bauer delivered this statement during the Remer trial, brought after Otto Ernst Remer had publicly defamed the men of 20 July 1944 as traitors. By arguing that a state which committed tens of thousands of murders every day entitled its citizens to self-defence, Dr Bauer cast the conspirators' actions as a legitimate exercise of the universal right to resist a regime built on systematic, state-organised killing. In framing their plot as an act of anti-Nazi, anti-fascist resistance, he laid the moral and legal groundwork for their later public rehabilitation.

Dr Fritz Bauer served as Attorney General of the State of Hesse from 1956 to 1968. His tireless efforts to address the crimes of National Socialism were met with considerable resistance. This resistance came from the population, but also from within the ranks of the old "brown" lawyers who were still in office in the young Federal Republic of Germany.

The young CDU member of the Bundestag Helmut Kohl,[1195] who would become Federal Chancellor in 1982, rejected Bauer's proposal for criminal law reform[1196]. Bauer's ideas went far beyond procedural adjustments; they aimed to ensure a more humane treatment of people who had committed offences, including in a legal-philosophical sense. Despite such resistance, Dr Fritz Bauer continued his work as Attorney General of Hesse and went on to initiate, among other things, the Frankfurt Auschwitz trials.[1197]

As Attorney General of Hesse, he initiated numerous criminal proceedings against former Nazi leaders who were suspected of committing serious crimes against humanity.

It is thanks to Dr Bauer that Adolf Eichmann[1198] also had to face trial in Jerusalem. How this came about is an extraordinary and exciting story of German criminal justice.

Adolf Eichmann[1199] was tracked down in Argentina in 1957. In the archive of the magazine, Der Spiegel I found the fascinating article "Doch die Mörder leben" (Yes, The Murderers are Still Alive) Part 1[1200] and Part 2[1201] which describes the search for Eichmann.

It was an extraordinarily courageous decision by Dr Fritz Bauer to secretly pass on the relevant target information to the Israeli secret service, Mossad. Dr Bauer distrusted the German police and judiciary because many of them had served in Nazi Germany, and he feared that Eichmann might be warned. In 1960, the Israeli secret service Mossad kidnapped Adolf Eichmann[1202] from Argentina to Israel.

The Israeli General Prosecutor Gideon Hausner[1203] opened the hearing with the words:

> "As I stand here before you, Judge of Israel, to preside over the prosecution of Adolf Eichmann, I do not stand alone. With me stand six million prosecutors. But they

> cannot stand up and point an accusing finger at the one sitting in the dock and shout, 'I accuse.'
>
> For their ashes are piled on the hills of Auschwitz and the fields of Treblinka and litter the forests of Poland. Their graves are scattered across the length and breadth of Europe. Their blood cries out, but their voices cannot be heard. Therefore, I will be their spokesman and unfold this terrible indictment in their name."[1204]

The trial took place before the eyes of the world public. The philosopher Hannah Arendt[1205] participated as a reporter for The New Yorker[1206],[1207] in the trial of Adolf Eichmann[1208] in Jerusalem from April to June 1961. This initially resulted in reports and finally in one of her most famous and, at the time and today, highly controversial books, "Eichmann in Jerusalem"[1209] with the subtitle "A Report on the Banality of Evil". It was first published in the USA in 1963 and shortly thereafter in West Germany.

Her description of the "banality of evil" has had a lasting influence on the discussion about the nature of evil and the role of the individual in totalitarian systems. Hannah Arendt emphasised that Eichmann's actions were not based on his deep malice, but on a lack of critical thinking and moral reflection. She wrote:

> "In those last minutes, it was as if Eichmann himself drew this conclusion from the long lesson of human wickedness which we had witnessed - the conclusion about the terrible banality of evil, before which the word fails and thinking fails."

The Israeli court sentenced Adolf Eichmann[1210] to death. He was executed on 1 June 1962.

28.05.1961 Foundation of Amnesty International

Amnesty International[1211] was founded on 28 May 1961 as a non-governmental organisation (NGO) for the observance of human rights worldwide. Its work is based on the "Universal Declaration of Human Rights"[1212] and other international agreements. The organisation was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1977.

13.08.1961 Building of the Berlin Wall

Wasn't Walter Ulbricht, until 20.01.2017, the most brazen liar of all time?.

On 15 June 1961, he claimed on camera:

> "Nobody has the intention of building a wall".[1213]

Two months later it stood, the Berlin Wall[1214], the border fortification of the German Democratic Republic[1215] (GDR) during the division of Germany[1216]. It existed from 13 August 1961 to 9 November 1989 and hermetically separated West Berlin from the territory of the GDR. The "Iron Curtain"[1217] along the 1,440 km long border between West and East Germany[1218] had already come into existence in 1952.

Many conscientious objectors[1219] moved to West Berlin[1220] until reunification in 1990 because they did not want to take the so-called examination of conscience[1221] in court or perform compulsory military service. These procedures did not exist in West Berlin because the Bundeswehr was not allowed to be stationed in West Berlin.

30.10.1961 Walter Lippmann goes on holiday

Dr Lippmann wrote a letter[1222]. stating that he would be unable to attend an information evening organised by Esperanto Hamburg e.V. because he was returning from holiday and had urgent work to do

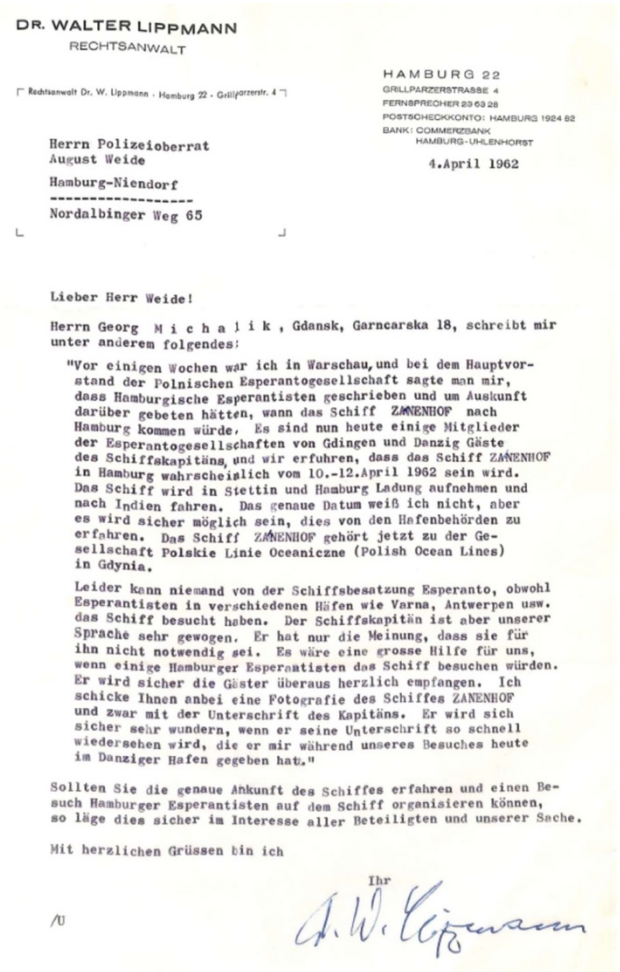
Like a puzzle, every piece is important to create a complete picture. Analysing and interpreting the documents I found is a fascinating part of my work on this project. Often, one learns something about the sender of the letter between the lines. What does his message to the Esperanto Association say about Dr Lippmann?

10.04.1962 MS Zamenhof in Hamburg

Another letter[1223] from Dr Lippmann states that the MS Zamenhof,[1224] a ship of the Polskie Linie Oceaniezne, is to pick up cargo in Hamburg from Stettin to take it to India.

As the ship bears the name of the founder of Esperanto, Ludwik Lejzer Zamenhof, he suggests a visit by the Hamburg Esperantists.

Apparently, Dr Lippmann. was active in the association Hamburg Esperanto e.V. and corresponded diligently within the Esperanto world, such as here with police councillor August Weide.



DR. WALTER LIPPMANN
RECHTSANWALT

Rechtsanwalt Dr. W. Lippmann · Hamburg 22 · Grillparzerstr. 4

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GRILLPARZERSTRASSE 4
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HAMBURG-UHLENHORST

Herrn Polizeioberrat
August Weide
Hamburg-Niendorf
Nordalbinger Weg 65

4.April 1962

Lieber Herr Weide!

Herrn Georg M i c h a l i k , Gdansk, Garncarska 18, schreibt mir unter anderem folgendes:

"Vor einigen Wochen war ich in Warschau, und bei dem Hauptvorstand der Polnischen Esperantogesellschaft sagte man mir, dass Hamburgische Esperantisten geschrieben und um Auskunft darüber gebeten hätten, wann das Schiff ZAMENHOF nach Hamburg kommen würde. Es sind nun heute einige Mitglieder der Esperantogesellschaften von Gdingen und Danzig Gäste des Schiffskapitäns, und wir erfuhren, dass das Schiff ZAMENHOF in Hamburg wahrscheinlich vom 10.-12.April 1962 sein wird. Das Schiff wird in Stettin und Hamburg Ladung aufnehmen und nach Indien fahren. Das genaue Datum weiß ich nicht, aber es wird sicher möglich sein, dies von den Hafenbehörden zu erfahren. Das Schiff ZAMENHOF gehört jetzt zu der Gesellschaft Polskie Linie Oceaniczne (Polish Ocean Lines) in Gdynia.

Leider kann niemand von der Schiffsbesatzung Esperanto, obwohl Esperantisten in verschiedenen Häfen wie Varna, Antwerpen usw. das Schiff besucht haben. Der Schiffskapitän ist aber unserer Sprache sehr gewogen. Er hat nur die Meinung, dass sie für ihn nicht notwendig sei. Es wäre eine grosse Hilfe für uns, wenn einige Hamburger Esperantisten das Schiff besuchen würden. Er wird sicher die Gäster überaus herzlich empfangen. Ich schicke Ihnen anbei eine Fotografie des Schiffes ZANENHOF und zwar mit der Unterschrift des Kapitäns. Er wird sich sicher sehr wundern, wenn er seine Unterschrift so schnell wiedersehen wird, die er mir während unseres Besuches heute im Danziger Hafen gegeben hat."

Sollten Sie die genaue Ankunft des Schiffes erfahren und einen Besuch Hamburger Esperantisten auf dem Schiff organisieren können, so läge dies sicher im Interesse aller Beteiligten und unserer Sache.

Mit herzlichen Grüssen bin ich

Ihr

/U

Figure 28 Dr Lippmanns letter dated 4 April 1962

“Dear Herr Weide,

Herr Georg Michalik, of Gdansk, Garncarska 18, writes to me, among other things, as follows:

"A few weeks ago I was in Warsaw, and at the head office of the Polish Esperanto Society I was told that Hamburg Esperantists had written asking when the ship ZAMENHOF would be arriving in Hamburg. Today, some members of the Esperanto societies of Gdynia and Danzig are guests of the ship's captain, and we have learnt that the ship ZAMENHOF is likely to be in Hamburg from 10 to 12 April 1962. The ship will take on cargo in Stettin and Hamburg and then sail for India. I do not know the exact date, but it should certainly be possible to find this out from the harbour authorities. The ship ZAMENHOF now belongs to the company Polskie Linie Oceaniczne (Polish Ocean Lines) in Gdynia.

Unfortunately, none of the crew speaks Esperanto, even though Esperantists in various ports such as Varna, Antwerp, etc. have visited the ship. The captain, however, is very well disposed towards our language. He merely takes the view that it is not necessary for him. It would be a great help to us if some Hamburg Esperantists were to visit the

ship. He is sure to give the guests an exceptionally warm welcome. I enclose a photograph of the ship ZAMENHOF, signed by the captain. He will certainly be most surprised to see his signature again so soon, which he gave me during our visit to Danzig harbour."

Should you learn of the ship's exact arrival and be able to arrange a visit by Hamburg Esperantists on board, this would certainly be in the interest of all concerned, and of our cause.

With kind regards,

Yours,
W. Lippmann"

03.09.1962 Complaint about a magazine

Most of the archives only contain official, bureaucratic data. I rarely found private letters in the public archives I searched. But from the few that exist, we can clearly hear the writer's voice and get to know him a little better.

"Dear Sirs,

On checking through the issues of GERMANA ESPERANTO-REVUO, which I always keep carefully, I notice that issue no. 6 from June 1962 is missing. Perhaps it failed to reach me by mistake, or it has been lost. I should be grateful if you could send me a replacement copy.

While I am writing, I should like to point out that the usual practice of sending the journal in a wrapper band that does not fully cover it results not only in the corners being frequently bent and the edges creased, but also in the postmark being stamped, wholly or for the most part, directly onto the back of the newspaper itself. I would therefore strongly recommend that either a wrapper band fully covering the newspaper be used, or a suitable envelope.

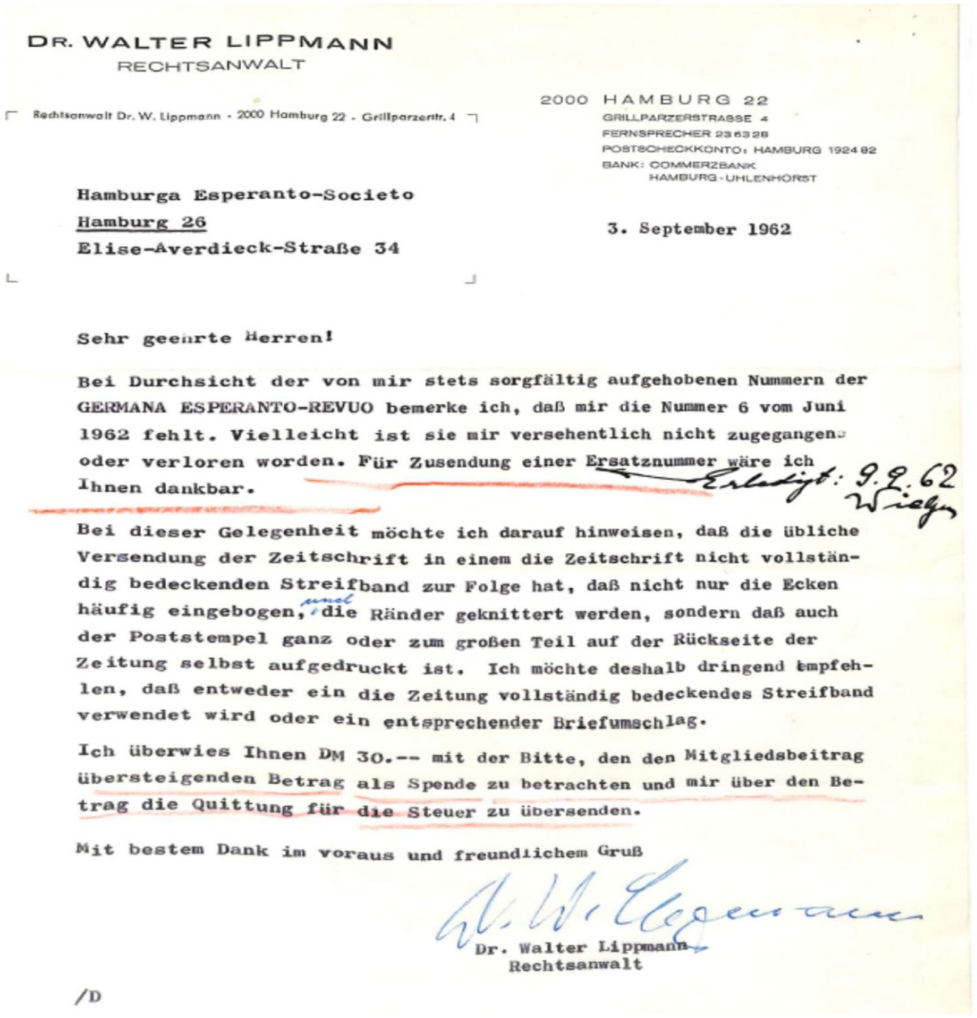
I have transferred DM 30 to you, and would ask that the amount exceeding the membership fee be regarded as a donation, and that you send me a receipt for this amount for tax purposes.

With many thanks in advance and kind regards,

Dr Walter Lippmann
Lawyer"

I am moved by Dr Lippmann's request[1225] for a replacement copy of the Esperanto newspaper – a

request that presumably reflects his need for accuracy and order. What does this wish – along with his suggestion for a newspaper without dog-ears – reveal about a man who once had everything taken from him and who, on his return to Germany, was once again forced to leave so much behind? Tikkun Olam – repairing the world?



DR. WALTER LIPPMANN
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BANK: COMMERZBANK
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Hamburga Esperanto-Societo
Hamburg 26
Elise-Averdieck-Straße 34

3. September 1962

Sehr geehrte Herren!

Bei Durchsicht der von mir stets sorgfältig aufgehobenen Nummern der GERMANA ESPERANTO-REVUO bemerke ich, daß mir die Nummer 6 vom Juni 1962 fehlt. Vielleicht ist sie mir versehentlich nicht zugegangen oder verloren worden. Für Zusendung einer Ersatznummer wäre ich Ihnen dankbar.

Erledigt: 9.9.62 Wiegn

Bei dieser Gelegenheit möchte ich darauf hinweisen, daß die übliche Versendung der Zeitschrift in einem die Zeitschrift nicht vollständig bedeckenden Streifband zur Folge hat, daß nicht nur die Ecken häufig eingebogen, sondern die Ränder geknittert werden, sondern daß auch der Poststempel ganz oder zum großen Teil auf der Rückseite der Zeitung selbst aufgedruckt ist. Ich möchte deshalb dringend empfehlen, daß entweder ein die Zeitung vollständig bedeckendes Streifband verwendet wird oder ein entsprechender Briefumschlag.

Ich überwies Ihnen DM 30.-- mit der Bitte, den den Mitgliedsbeitrag übersteigenden Betrag als Spende zu betrachten und mir über den Betrag die Quittung für die Steuer zu übersenden.

Mit bestem Dank im voraus und freundlichem Gruß

Dr. Walter Lippmann
Rechtsanwalt

/D

Figure 29 Dr Lippmanns letter dated 3 September 1962

1963 - 1974 Esperanto Academy

I was very delighted to discover the Esperanto documents in the archive of the Esperanto. At first glance, I had the feeling that I could read some of the words. But unfortunately, not enough to read and understand the text. Thankfully, Google Chrome's automatic translator came to my rescue.

According to the official bulletin of the Academy of Esperanto No. 9,[1226] which covers the period from 1963 to 1967, Dr Lippmann was the head of the Grammar Section from 1923 to 1949.[1227] In 1965, he was awarded the Badge of Honour by the German Esperanto Federation in recognition of his exceptional dedication to the Esperanto movement. This is likely to be the award listed for 1965 in a list of honourees.[1228] Senior Police Superintendent August Weide had already received this honour in 1962 – Dr Lippmann had corresponded with him regarding the MS Zamenhof.

The Aktoj de la Akademio de Esperanto provide a detailed account of the votes[1229] on the so-called participle question (-ata/-ita). It is noted that Dr Lippmann did not take part in the vote on the 14 points of the Enketo in 1965, nor in the vote on the proposed resolution in 1966. It was not until 1967 that he took part in the vote on four test sentences and cast a qualified vote ('mikse'), accepting meaning A in principle but adding a qualifying nuance to two of the sentences. In the subsequent issue No. 10[1230] (1968–1974), Dr Lippmann is expressly thanked for correcting various translations.

The annual meeting took place on 1 June 1968 in Munich under the patronage of the Mayor Dr Hans-Jochen Vogel.[1231] The minutes show that Dr Lippmann no longer wished to stand for the office of the Esperanto Arbitration Court.

Dr Lippmann is now 73 years old and, as we know, has been seriously ill for several years[1232].

28.03.1963 Martin Luther King has a dream

The Baptist pastor Martin Luther King Jr.[1233] was a spokesman for the civil rights movement of African Americans in the USA from the mid-1950s.

Racial segregation contradicted the principle of the inalienable right to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness"[1234] enshrined in the American Declaration of Independence of 1776.

M. L. King, like Gandhi, advocated non-violent civil disobedience[1235] to protest against the racial segregation still practised in the southern states of the USA.

Montgomery is a small town in Alabama where the black population, including Rosa Parks[1236] and her family, were terrorised by the racist organisation Ku Klux Klan.[1237] Black churches and schools were burnt down; black people were whipped or brutally murdered. On 5 December 1955, Rosa Parks[1238] had the courage to sit in the section of a bus reserved for whites in Montgomery. Rosa Parks was arrested for this. The subsequent bus boycott[1239] lasted just over a year and ended on 21 December 1956. The boycott led to a Supreme Court ruling which declared racial segregation on busses unconstitutional. This was one of many pivotal moments for the civil rights movement.

What might Dr Lippmann's reaction have been upon learning of this incident? Having endured similar experiences in Leipzig during his time in Germany, he would likely have recognised the parallels. However, whilst the discriminatory yellow star could be removed, people of colour cannot separate themselves from their skin—the very basis of racial prejudice. The experience of discrimination faced by black individuals differs fundamentally from that of Jewish persecution. Unlike religious or ethnic identity, which may sometimes be concealed, one's racial identity is immediately visible and inescapable.

Bayard Rustin[1240] and Asa Philip Randolph[1241] organised the "March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom"[1242] in 1963.

Senator Strom Thurmond[1243], member of the Democratic Party, insulted Bayard Rustin as a "communist, shirker and homosexual" and showed FBI photos of him in which Rustin was talking to Dr King while he was taking a bath. Thurmond was implying a homosexual relationship between the two, which both men denied.

Perhaps NAACP Chairman Roy Wilkins[1244] did not allow public recognition for Bayard Rustin, who was a major supporter of Dr King and one of the organisers of the March on Washington, because he was indeed openly homosexual.

What is more bitter? Is it worse when your opponent discriminates against you, or when those who have been discriminated against discriminate against themselves and others? Shouldn't those who have experienced discrimination show more understanding and empathy towards one another, and stand together?

The hopes of the black population rested on the young Democratic President John F. Kennedy[1245], who had a sympathetic ear for the civil rights movement.

With the words "Ich bin ein Berliner",[1246] JFK assured the audience of his and the USA's solidarity in front of the Schöneberg City Hall in West Berlin on 26 June 1963. The occasion of his visit was the 15th anniversary of the Berlin Airlift,[1247] during which the Western Allies had supplied West Berlin by air with food, coal and other essential goods for almost a year after the Soviet Union blockaded all land access to the city in 1948. The Airlift had forged a lasting bond between West Berlin and the United States, and Kennedy's visit — coming less than two years after the construction of the Berlin Wall in August 1961 — was widely understood as a renewal of that earlier American commitment to the city's freedom.

The March on Washington,[1248] on 28 August 1963 saw more than 250,000 people take part in the US, including around 60,000 white people. Alongside Martin Luther King, five other black civil rights leaders were there too – collectively known as the Big Six: A. Philip Randolph, James Farmer, John Lewis, Roy Wilkins und Whitney Young.

The event's official name, March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, reflects its dual aims of economic justice, such as a higher minimum wage and an end to employment discrimination, and legal equality. Participants also supported the civil rights legislation proposed by President John F. Kennedy[1249] in June 1963, which was passed as the Civil Rights Act of 1964 following his assassination in Dallas on 22 November 1963.

To this day, the march is regarded as one of the most significant examples of civil society mobilisation in American history.

It was here that Dr King gave his most famous speech, which went down in history under the title "I Have a Dream".[1250]

As early as 1948, President Harry S. Truman[1251] had abolished racial segregation in the US armed forces, although racial segregation (particularly in the Southern states, based on the principle of "separate but equal") had already been declared unconstitutional in 1954. When President Lydon B. Johnson[1252] signed the Civil Rights Act of 1964[1253] in the presence of Dr Martin Luther King during a ceremony on 2 July 1964 this abolished all racial segregation.

Dr King received the Nobel Peace Prize on 11 December1964. The assassination on 4 April 1968[1254] put a tragic end to his life.

Dr Lippmann himself had endured many cruel forms of discrimination in Germany. In America, he lived in a neighbourhood alongside Black people and witnessed firsthand the daily injustices they faced. What might he have felt while listening to the "I Have a Dream" speech?

How did he deal with the institutional and legal discrimination and humiliation that he himself, his clients, the victims of National Socialism, had to endure when asserting their legitimate claims for reparation in Germany in 1963? What dreams might Dr Lippmann have had for himself and humanity at the age of 69?

What would Dr Lippmann have thought if he had been able to follow the election of Barack Obama[1255], the 44th President of the United States on 4 November 2008? President Obama was the first and so far (as at 2026), the only black president; there has never been a Jewish president or a female president.

09.09.1964 Visits from the "East Zone"

Not only my mother, but many people in East and West Germany had "a dream" that their relatives from the GDR could finally travel to the West to see how their family lived. On 9 September 1964, the GDR Council of Ministers passed a resolution allowing pensioners from the East to travel to the West once a year for four weeks. It was probably secretly hoped that the old, unproductive labourers would perhaps stay in the West and their pensions could be saved.

My grandparents came and went regularly because they didn't want to leave their son on his own in the GDR. The visits were great until the day of departure, which was accompanied by many tears and uncertainty as to whether the travel regulations would still apply next year.

During this time, not only relatives from the Eastern zone (GDR), but also "guest workers"[1256] came to West Germany. The one millionth guest worker[1257] was the Portuguese Armando Rodrigues de Sá, who came to Cologne on 10 September 1964. As a welcome gift, he received a scooter. Since 1955, guest workers had been recruited from southern Europe to alleviate the shortage of labour in the West German economy.

The GDR solved its labour shortage with "contract workers".[1258] Many of them had five-year contracts which stipulated that the workers had to return to their home countries, primarily Vietnam or Eastern Europe.

GDR citizens able to work were prevented from leaving the country by firing orders[1259] at the border. The order to shoot was an instruction to the GDR border guards[1260] to shoot at fugitives to prevent them from escaping. In the early morning of 13 September 1964, 21-year-old Michael Meyer[1261] tried to climb over the Wall towards West Berlin in Stallschreiberstrasse in Berlin-Mitte. After firing warning shots, the GDR border guards fired at the fugitive. He was hit by several shots and remained lying in the immediate vicinity of the Wall. American soldiers and West Berlin police officers provided covering fire and pulled him into West Berlin with the help of ropes and a ladder leaning against the Wall.

On that same day, Dr Martin Luther King, who was visiting Berlin, rushed to the scene of the incident.[1262] The Baptist preacher and later Nobel Peace Prize recipient condemned the "dividing wall of hostility". He said in East Berlin:

"No wall built by human hands can separate God's children."

Michael Meyer was fortunate: he survived and, after sixteen weeks, was able to leave the Urban Hospital in West Berlin, as the „Berliner Zeitung“[1263] later reported. But not all escape attempts ended successfully. Those captured by the GDR border troops were sentenced to long prison terms for attempting to flee the Republic.

Between 13 August 1961 and 9 November 1989, at least 101 people attempting to flee the GDR were killed by soldiers of the East German border troops at the Berlin Wall as a result of the order to shoot – the Wall victims[1264] in the narrower sense.

20.12.1963 Start of the Auschwitz trials

The "Nuremberg Trials" [1265] took place between 1945 and 1949. Before an international court, leading representatives of the Nazi regime charged with being criminally responsible for the planning, preparation and execution of a war of aggression, for crimes against the civilian population and prisoners of war and for the mass murders in the extermination camps.

From 1956 until his death in 1968, Dr Fritz Bauer,[1266] as the Attorney General, was responsible for the Frankfurt Auschwitz Trials, in which Nazi crimes legally investigated, and the perpetrators brought to justice.

He courageously and tirelessly gathered evidence and organised the trials in the face of great resistance from German public society. A broad section of society is rejected these trials, following the motto: "Enough is enough!"

Perhaps this kind of attitude can be explained by the fact that everyone was concerned with their own personal economic growth and wanted to forget the past years of war. This is not a sufficient explanation. In this context, political, social and cultural aspects must also be considered. Extensive research and analyses are often required to answer such complex questions appropriately and comprehensively. However, these are not possible here.

Another place, I invited you to become an eyewitness and make use of the many links to interesting websites. Here, you have the opportunity to listen to the tape recordings[1267] of the first Frankfurt Auschwitz Trial. The recordings feature defendants, witnesses, experts, lawyers and judges – a total of 183 people.

Without the persistent investigations of public prosecutor Fritz Bauer, the three Frankfurt Auschwitz trials[1268] would probably not have taken place. Until then, Nazi perpetrators in the Federal Republic of Germany had generally received comparatively short prison sentences,[1269] if any, for aiding and abetting murder.

However, even the Auschwitz trials themselves fell short of Fritz Bauer's expectations. Because the courts distinguished between murder committed of one's own accord and mere aiding and abetting carried out on orders, many of those involved were given relatively lenient sentences. This line of case law was later sharply criticised by Bauer himself.

The punishment of a few Nazi criminals is not his only achievement. The Frankfurt Auschwitz Trials[1270] were the first time that the Holocaust was dealt with publicly in the Federal Republic of Germany.

This was an important step in coming to terms with Nazi crimes and helped to raise awareness of the atrocities of the Holocaust.

Dr Fritz Bauer also investigated the leading lawyers of the Third Reich. It is easy to imagine the resistance of the "brown colleagues".

Franz Schlegelberger[1271] was the highest-ranking lawyer who was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1947 because he had announced the decision to mass murder disabled people by gas in "Aktion T4"[1272] at a conference of lawyers in 1941. None of the 100 lawyers who took part in the Schlegelberger conference disagreed and they all pledged to remain silent.

It is not known whether they were familiar with medical reports such as that of Anna Maria Buller.[1273] Around 70,000 people, such as Anna Maria, died as a result of Action T4.

Dr Fritz Bauer[1274] died on 1 July 1968. His guiding idea remains:

> We cannot turn the earth into heaven,
> yet each one of us can do something to ensure it from becoming hell.

The investigations Dr Fritz Bauer had initiated against alleged armchair perpetrators of the "Euthanasia Campaign T4"[1275] were simply dropped by his successor Horst Gauf[1276] on 31 March 1970, without comment and without a press release.

But where was all the press calling for the investigations and trials to be continued? Where was critical, investigative journalism?[1277] The German press, which is often referred as the "fourth estate"[1278] in a democratic state, had a total blackout!

I assume that Dr Lippmann appreciated his colleague, Dr Fritz Bauer, as much as I do. I admire Dr Fritz Bauer for his courage and integrity, and I think Dr Lippmann would have enjoyed reading Ronan Steinke's[1279] excellent biography as much as I did.

Dr Bauer is a prime example of a "good public prosecutor": honest, trustworthy and reliable. He carried out his duties impartially, objectively and fairly, in accordance with ethical and moral principles, without allowing himself to be guided or distracted from his work by external influences.

30.07.1966 4:2 England vs Germany

Thanks to the "Wembley Goal"[1280], England became football World Champions[1281] at London's Wembley Stadium. Whether Bernhard Lippmann – due to his German heritage – or Prince Philip[1282], Duke of Edinburgh secretly kept their fingers crossed for Germany remains pure speculation. What is certain, however, is that England has only ever won the World Cup once[1283].Around 400 million viewers watched the match on television, which by then had become a mass medium.

> Prince Philip's father, Prince Andrew of Greece and Denmark[1284], was Greek and although his mother, Princess Alice of Battenberg[1285] had German ancestry, she received the "Righteous Among the Nations" award from Israel's Holocaust memorial institution, Yad Vashem, for staying in Athens during WW2 and sheltering Jewish refugees.

Perhaps it was precisely this mixture of coming to terms with the past and confidence in the future that made the Miracle of Bern[1286] so emotional and meaningful nine years after the end of the war, when Germany became football world champions for the first time in 1954.

For the first time after the lost war, the whole of Germany identified with a positive event. The national team was young and dynamic. It embodied camaraderie, hard work and team spirit. It was not only a sporting triumph, but also a symbol of a new beginning.[1287] This was also the case for England winning in 1966.

It should not go unmentioned that Germany also won the World Cup in 1974, 1990 and 2014.

It often takes too long time for developments in civil society to gain acceptance. A good example of this is women's football. The German national team has won the World Cup twice: in 2003 and 2007. This demonstrates that social change takes time and that progress must be hard-won. Hopefully, equal pay for equal work will be achieved soon.

03.04.1967 Age and illness

Several surviving letters provide an insight into Dr Lippmann's state of health. Due to his serious and prolonged illness, as well as his advanced age – Dr Lippmann was by then 72 years old – he informed the Hamburg Judicial Authority on 3 April 1967 that he had once again appointed the lawyer Dietrich Frank, of Ahlfeld 4 in Hamburg, as his representative until the end of the year.

In a letter dated 4 August 1968,[1288] Dr Lippmann asked the judicial authorities to appoint the lawyer Helmut Krause as a temporary replacement for a period of one month. This letter reveals that Dr Lippmann frequently suffered from health problems, which also hindered him in his daily work, not only during appointments outside of his home.

In another letter, the 78-year-old informed the judicial authorities that he had undergone major surgery in October 1972 and had not yet fully recovered from its effects. Due to concerns about the progression of his illness and the follow-up examinations required, as well as a planned stay in a sanatorium, he had established a joint practice with Mr Busse, a solicitor, effective from 1 February 1974. He therefore requested that the authorities confirm Mr Busse as his permanent representative.

I learnt from a letter dated 18 February 1974[1289] that he had once again asked the judicial authorities to appoint Mr Friederich Busse, of Grillparzer Straße 4, Hamburg 76, as his legal representative for any instances where he was unable to attend in 1974.

> The fact that his appointments were apparently always on a fixed-term basis suggests that the authorities found it hard to believe that, at the age of 79, he was still practising as a lawyer.
>
> However, to understand the social context of those years, we need to look back once more. Let us return to the year 1967.

05.06.1967 Israel's Six-Day War

After the Israeli War of Independence in 1948[1290] and the Suez Crisis in 1956[1291], the Six-Day War[1292] was the third military conflict between the Arab world and Israel. Israel wanted to combat a feared attack by Egypt, Jordan and Syria with a pre-emptive strike. The Arab armies were far superior to Israel's. Nevertheless, Israel won the war, but not the peace.

The Gaza Strip, the Sinai Peninsula, the Golan Heights, the West Bank and East Jerusalem were brought under Israeli control during the war. The outcome of the war continues to shape the geopolitics of the region to this day.

25.08.1967 Colour television for the FRG

People in Germany were soon able to follow these dramatic developments in a new kind of media quality. Only a few weeks later, a technological shift began that would permanently change television and the way global political events were perceived.

On 25 August 1967 at 10.57 a.m., Federal Chancellor Willy Brandt[1293] launched the broadcasting of television programmes in colour.[1294] Due to the very high purchase price, it took a few more years before it became "colourful" in all German living rooms and black and white films were seen less frequently.

To the delight of cinema audiences, films had occasionally been shown in colour since the 1920s, e.g. in Technicolor,[1295] Eastmancolor[1296] or in another colour film system, which portrayed the colourful diversity of the world.

As a young boy, I was fascinated by the wonderful animal films by Heinz Sielmann[1297] and Bernhard Grzimek.[1298] But it was the great underwater films by Jacques-Yves Cousteau[1299] or the travelogues of the circumnavigator Rollo Gebhard[1300] that that sparked my love of travel and, I suspect, the spirit of discovery that drove me to undertake this work.

Perhaps it was precisely this spirit of discovery that allowed me to go through the world with an open heart and open arms, and to say 'yes' to life. Then wonderful things can happen. On 3 October 2023, for example, I said 'yes' to the idea of researching Dr Lippmann. Later, I also agreed, as an autodidact, to turn my notes into a book, and I wrote it as well as I could. Despite all the difficulties involved in writing and completing a book, I wouldn't have missed this experience for the world.

12.04.1968 The revolt of 1968

But not everywhere was as colourful and fresh as on television. "Under the gowns – the musty smell of 1,000 years"[1301] was written on the posters of the student protests.[1302] Not only at universities, but also in all other state institutions and in politics, the process of coming to terms with the Nazi era progressed very slowly. Here, too, key positions were often occupied by people who had made the Nazi system possible.

In principle, those who claimed the grace of late birth[1303] were also distrusted. It is true that those born

after 1930 had not voted for National Socialism, but they had grown up and been socialised during this period. Many of them later had to confront their cultural and social heritage when it came to taking responsibility for the crimes of National Socialism. This debate was and continues to be an important aspect of German postwar history.

The 1968 movement was characterised by a strong desire for social and political change. The demonstrators were intensely concerned with social grievances, social inequality and political authority. They demanded a reappraisal of the Nazi past, more co-determination in the political, academic and social spheres, peace, minority rights, gender equality and educational reforms. The search for new values, social justice and a more democratic society had an impact in many countries and areas.

During the visit of the Shah of Persia to West Berlin, Benno Ohnesorg[1304] was shot in the back of his head at close range during a demonstration on 2 June 1967[1305] by an East German secret agent of the Stasi, who was working as a West German policeman.

Despite the evidence that Karl-Heinz Kurras[1306] had shot deliberately and without provocation, he was acquitted in the subsequent criminal trials. The acquittals of Karl-Heinz Kurras was seen as a symbol of tacit acceptance of authoritarian structures and a failure to come to terms with the Nazi past.

This perception contributed to the radicalisation of more and more students and activists who turned against the existing system. Protests became louder and demands for reform of the judiciary and police grew. The lack of willingness to learn from history and build a democratic society was loudly criticised.

The subsequently founded Red Army Faction (RAF)[1307] and the 2nd June Movement[1308] referred to this act. The radical left-wing Red Army Faction[1309] soon strayed into terrorism.

The death of Martin Luther King[1310] also influenced the German student movement. The dropping of atomic bombs, racial segregation and the ongoing Vietnam War[1311] did not cast the image of the USA as a "liberator from National Socialism" in a favourable light. One week after the death of Martin Luther King, Rudi Dutschke[1312] was seriously injured in an assassination attempt by a neo-Nazi.

Che Guevara[1313] was virtually revered by the global protest movement as a hero and symbol of resistance, rebellion and social revolution, despite some questionable actions.

To a certain extent, this also applied to Mao Zedong[1314] and his communist Cultural Revolution.[1315] It was probably more the idea of a cultural revolution than the actual exercise of dictatorial power that was attractive to them. The fact that up to 20 million people died in huge re-education camps during the Cultural Revolution[1316] was deliberately overlooked.

Since the unlawful annexation of Tibet[1317] by the People's Liberation Army on 6 October 1950, the systematic destruction of Tibetan culture began. It reached its height during the Cultural Revolution. In that period, more than 6,000 monasteries, temples and libraries – and with them much of a centuries-old cultural heritage – were destroyed, and countless people lost their lives.

These events and individuals, along with many others, shaped the era and world in which I grew up. It would be interesting to know what Dr Lippmann thought about these developments and the people behind them, and whether he recognised the hope and resilience that had sustained him through the darkest years of his life in them. Born in 1959, I belong to a generation that did not take these freedoms for granted. We protested and campaigned for change, achieving a great deal — though we are still far from creating a truly social, tolerant and open society.

This spirit of breaking with the old found one of its most vivid expressions in the musical Hair.

29.04.1968 HAIR

In the US, the changing zeitgeist was reflected in the Broadway musical Hair,[1318] for example. The musical[1319] is about young men in a group of hippies who do not want to be recruited for the Vietnam War. They protest against the war, against the establishment, against racism. They demand flower power, "Make Love - not War" and pacifism. Hair also ran on German stages and, after Milos Forman's 1979 film adaptation also in German cinemas.

Like many others, I referred to the "1930 Manifesto against Compulsory Military Service" [1320] in 1979. I had to appear before a German court and undergo an examination of conscience[1321] to be allowed to perform civilian service.

One could say a great deal about the absurdity of such a test, as well as the fact that a German court certified my conscience. I continue to make regular use of this to this day.

One of the three reasons why I too would probably have been sent to a concentration camp is the fact that in Nazi Germany, refusal to do military service was punished with a concentration camp or death.

28.06.1969 Stonewall Uprising

On the night of Saturday 28 June 1969, the New York Police Department raided the Stonewall Inn[1322] on the corner of Christopher Street and 7th Ave. This arbitrary and discriminatory raid was one too many. The predominantly gay patrons fought back, especially the drag queens! The protests lasted until 3 July 1969. Today, this uprising is now considered the birth of the gay and lesbian movement and was a temporary high point in the history of homosexuality.[1323] The aim of the movement is to protect queer people from discrimination, disadvantage and poor treatment and to campaign for social and legal equality and tolerance.

Judy Garland sang the song "Over the Rainbow" in the film "The Wizard of Oz," and this became the anthem of the gay rights movement. Judy was the mother of Liza Minelli, who celebrated her greatest success with the 1972 musical film „Cabaret".[1324] The musical is based on the novel "Goodbye to Berlin"[1325] by Christopher Isherwood, whom Dr Lippmann may have met at Haverford College in 1941. This could be another example of the theory of the "'Six Degrees of Separation".

A queer legend has it that the Stonewall riots only took place because Judy Garland had died a week earlier and the drag queens' nerves were on edge.

When Dr Lippmann heard about these events, did he reflect on his own experiences of exclusion and discrimination, and the impact these had on him? Perhaps he was moved by the fact that people, often young people, were standing up for their rights so openly and resolutely. Whether he saw this as confirmation that social change is possible or viewed these movements with the detachment of someone who had endured difficult times themselves can no longer be ascertained.

Sometimes one gets the feeling that nothing is moving and yet the Earth is moving through space at

107,000 kilometres per hour. Had Dr Lippmann lived a little longer, he would have witnessed Guido Westerwelle[1326] representing Germany abroad as German Foreign Minister from 2009 to 2013. He had made his homosexuality public in 2004. This shows that societies are also moving, albeit slowly.

More and more social groups, the largest being the women's movement, demanded recognition and tolerance. It can be assumed that Dr Lippmann followed these anti-discrimination movements with interest and sympathy and perhaps also drew confidence from them that a democratic, liberal and open society without discrimination was possible.

I believe that, if we broaden our perspective and view historical developments with a degree of detachment, we can see how civil society and political developments are moving towards a more tolerant, democratic future, despite occasional stagnation or setbacks. This is a future in which more is achieved through cooperation than confrontation.

21.07.1969 The first man on the moon

On 21 July 1969, NASA won the race to the moon for the USA. The moon landing of Apollo 11[1327] is a milestone in space travel. Around 600 million people around the world watched the moon landing on television.

In Germany, millions of people – including myself and, in all likelihood, Dr Lippmann – were glued to their screens, watching the landing unfold in real-time. At 02:56 UTC (03:56 in Germany), Neil Armstrong:[1328] became the first person to set foot on the Moon and uttered the famous words:

> "That's one small step for (a) man, one giant leap for mankind!"

It took 66 years from the Wright brothers' first successful flight attempt to Neil Armstrong, the first man on the moon.

The photo of the second man on the moon, Buzz Aldrin, is always a source of inspiration and confidence for me, because it shows what becomes possible when people work together.

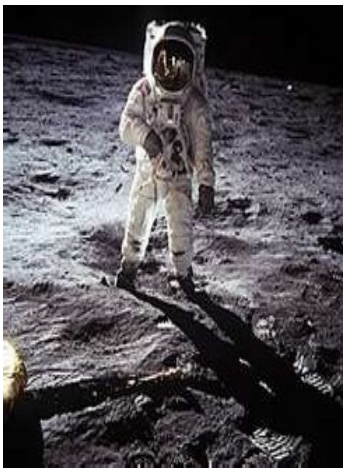


Figure 30 Buzz Aldrin on the moon

15.08.1969 Woodstock

The Woodstock Music & Art Fair,[1329] known as "An Aquarian Exposition", took place in Bethel, New York from 15 to 18 August 1969 and attracted approximately 400,000 visitors. It is regarded as the culmination of the 1960s counterculture and featured an impressive line-up of musicians and bands of the era. The film "Woodstock" conveys a strong sense of community and contributed to the subculture becoming mainstream.

The concert provided the soundtrack and myth for an entire generation of the counterculture. It popularized a subculture and turned it into mainstream pop. "Hair" celebrated the dawn of the Age of Aquarius through the song "Aquarius", which evokes a vision of hope and renewal; and new beginning where freedom, communal thinking, and spiritual growth guide humanity into a more conscious, just, and innovative future.

Dr Lippmann's aunt, Erna Asch, was not to live to see that future.

03.08.1969 Death of Erna Asch

Erna Asch died in Hamburg-Blankenese in 1969 at the age of 79. As the widow of Julius Asch[1330], who took his own life in the Elbe in 1939, she experienced with him all the stages of her Jewish husband's marginalisation and discrimination by the Nazi state. The difficulties continued for her as the Aryan widow of a Jew in the dark times. Since 1960 she had lived in a thatched cottage in the former vegetable garden of the Marienhöhe estate,[1331,1332] which once belonged to her.

07.12.1970 Genuflection in Warsaw

A simple gesture can say more than many words. A particularly impressive gesture was the Genuflection in Warsaw[1333] of German Chancellor Willy Brandt.[1334]

During the wreath-laying ceremony at the memorial to the victims of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising of 19 April 1943,[1335] something completely unexpected happened: Willy Brandt, following a spontaneous impulse, knelt down on behalf of all Germans to commemorate the three million Polish dead and the three million murdered Polish Jews, a total of over six million Polish war dead.[1336] Around 17 % of the Polish population had died as a result of the war and its consequences.

Willy Brandt travelled to Warsaw to sign the Warsaw Treaty.[1337] The treaty officially established the Oder-Neisse line[1338] as the western state border of the People's Republic of Poland. Both sides renounced territorial claims and the use of force to solve existing problems. Both sides committed themselves to non-violence in accordance with the principles of the United Nations,[1339] to which 7.5 billion people worldwide belong. The Charter of the United Nations[1340] should be the basis for bilateral relations.

One of the many positive consequences of the treaty was the reunification of Muskauer Park[1341] in 1988. This magnificent park created by Hermann Fürst von Pückler-Muskau[1342] and once divided by the German Polish border, is today once again a wonderful example of successful landscape design and invites visitors to take idyllic walks. Like his contemporary Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Prince Pückler was known as a charming womaniser, well-travelled adventurer, celebrated writer, innovative

garden artist and inventor of delicious ice cream desserts. His biography, which is well worth reading, describes a life just as adventurous as Casanova's.

As an advocate of liberal ideals, Prince Pückler campaigned for understanding between religions in 1812 and fought for the civil equality of Jews in Prussia[1343] with the aim of overcoming the stigmatisation of Jews as usurers and making them equal citizens of the state.

The growing together of the park is a beautiful sign of hope for the unification of Europe. Poland's accession to NATO in 1999 and to the European Union in 2004 were further important step towards overcoming the historical division. This process shows how common cultural heritage can contribute to the development of peace and European co-operation.

05.09.1972 Munich Olympic assassinations

After democratic structures had been established in Germany and the country became actively involved in the European Community, Germany was allowed to organise the Olympic Games for the second time. The first Games were held in Berlin in 1936 and were misused by the Nazi regime for propaganda purposes. The second German Olympic Games[1344] took place in Munich in 1972. This was a significant moment in Germany's history and a sign of recognition for the progress the country had made since the Second World War.

The Palestinian terrorist organisation "Schwarzer September"[1345] carried out a murderous attack[1346] on the Israeli team during the 1972 Summer Olympics.[1347]

The events were broadcast live on television,[1348] shocking the world and drawing attention to international terrorism. The worldwide horror was indescribable. The profound grief for the victims and the destruction of the idea of "Olympic peace" by the cowardly attack overshadowed these Games.

18.02.1974 Represented by Friederich Busse

Dr Lippmann, now 79 years old, informed the judicial authority on 18 February 1974[1349] that he had undergone a major operation in October 1972, from which he had not yet fully recovered.

On the occasion of his stay in a sanatorium in March 1974 and possible further medical examinations and operations, he informed the judicial authorities[1350] that he had appointed lawyer Friederich Busse as his authorised representative with effect from 1 January 1974. Together they had set up a joint office at Grillparzer Str. 4 in Hamburg.

I have not yet been able to find out what happened to Friederich Busse.

It was only when I looked through the manuscript for the second time that I noticed a small detail in the letter that I had previously overlooked. The abbreviation "Dr.L./mo" in the letter suggests that the letter was written by Barbara Mohr. I'll come back to this later.

13.10.1975 Walter Lippmann's 80th birthday

Dr Lippmann thanked Senator Ulrich Klug, President of the Ministry of Justice of the Free and

Hanseatic City of Hamburg, for having congratulated him on his 80th birthday[1351].

Dr Lippmann was delighted to receive these congratulations on his birthday, but it is not known how he felt two years later when he saw the nine-minute Panorama programme "The Ulrich Klug Case"[1352] on NDR on 17 January 1977.

The liberal criminal law reform proposed by Senator of Justice Ulrich Klug[1353] then Senator for Justice in Hamburg, ran counter to traditional notions of 'law and order'. The CDU's repeated calls for Senator Klug to resign – twelve within two years – can be seen as an expression of this conflict.

The calls for his resignation were prompted by the pardon of Nazi war criminal Wilhelm Rosenbaum[1354], an officer sentenced to life imprisonment for 148 personally committed gruesome murders. After 15 years in prison, he was pardoned by Senator Klug. I was unable to find out whether, like Franz Schlegelberger, he received a pension corresponding to his last rank after his imprisonment. He died two years after his release.

Political debates are highly complex, shaped by numerous political, social and historical factors, and it would be beyond the scope of this text to discuss them in detail. However, while I am writing, many questions and thoughts go through my mind, and I cannot help but let some of them find their way into the text. Such questions always arise when something touches me particularly deeply on an emotional level.

Legal philosophy takes the view that injustice does not become justice through forgiveness, and that the justice system aims not at retribution, but at the rehabilitation of offenders, with human dignity being paramount.

This attitude can be difficult for victims and their families to bear, because they wonder when their human dignity will be adequately recognised. It can be comforting to realise that the principles of legal philosophy, as enshrined in the Basic Law of Germany and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, are central to the rule of law and remind us of the importance of justice and humanity.

For many victims of National Socialism, it was extremely frustrating in the late 1970s to still be fighting for compensation and rehabilitation. On the other hand, there were many groups of Nazi victims who had not yet been legally recognised as such and therefore could not assert any claims at all. More on this later.

08.08.1978 Hans Filbinger - for example

In the first decades after the end of the war, writers such as Günter Grass,[1355] Siegfried Lenz,[1356] Heinrich Böll[1357] or, in this case, the playwright Rolf Hochhuth[1358] were among the outstanding and leading authors of German post-war literature. Their works were actively discussed in the feature sections of newspapers. Their books are not only great literature, but also historical documents, for the authors themselves experienced the times they write about. I am still impressed by the profound influence they had on society and thus contributed to a new moral consciousness.

Thirty-three years after the end of the war, when official denazification was complete, a case appeared in the media that shook Germany. Hans Filbinger[1359] was Minister President of Baden-Württemberg and a member of the CDU. In the spring of 1978, he won an injunction against the playwright Rolf

Hochhuth. This marked the beginning of a long public civil debate that went down in history as the Filbinger affair.[1360]

Rolf Hochhuth had claimed that Hans Filbinger had sentenced soldiers to death shortly before the end of the war, something he could not "remember" and denied. In fact, four death sentences that Hans Filbinger had requested or passed as a naval judge between 1943 and 1945 were disclosed. "What was right then cannot be wrong today!" he said in an interview with Der Spiegel[1361] in complete contradiction of Radbruch's formula.[1362]

Hans Filbinger's reactions to these revelations caused him to lose popular support and he finally resigned as Minister President on 7 August 1978.

The Weikersheim Study Centre (SZW),[1363] which was founded in 1979 largely by Hans Filbinger and managed by him until his death in 2007, sees itself as a Christian-conservative CDU think tank.

Hans Filbinger was one of 3,000 military judges who imposed a total of 50,000 death sentences[1364] of which fortunately "only" 20,000 were carried out. Most of them are recorded in the database of the Hannah Arendt Institute.[1365]

In Hamburg, a 20-year-old soldier was sentenced to death[1366] for searching for his parents in the bombed-out city in 1943. He found two suitcases in an air-raid shelter, which he believed to be his parents' suitcases. Declared a "public enemy" with "criminal tendencies," he was executed as a deterrent on 13 March 1944.

Was Hans Filbinger an isolated case which slipped through the denazification process? Not at all!

As the list of the careers of German Nazi military lawyers[1367] shows, most of them continued their careers uninterrupted after the war. In their sometimes very high positions, they played a decisive role in shaping the administration of justice in Germany and an entire generation of young lawyers in the second half of the 20th century.

Kurt Georg Kiesinger,[1368,1369] (CDU), the third Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, was the predecessor of Hans Filbinger as Minister President of Baden-Württemberg. Kurt Georg Kiesinger had joined the NSDAP in 1933 and the CDU after 1945. He evaded draft for military service in 1940 as a young lawyer and joined the Reich Foreign Ministry instead. There he rose to become deputy head of the Radio Policy Department, which was responsible for monitoring and influencing foreign radio and liaising with Joseph Goebbels' Reich Ministry of Propaganda. He later explained that he did not share the movement's hatred of Jews but did not regard it as a serious threat either.

Against this backdrop, the question arises as to whether it is credible that someone who held such a senior position in the Nazi propaganda apparatus could have been nothing more than a "follower" who failed to recognise the gravity of the situation facing their Jewish fellow citizens.

Beate Klarsfeld[1370] slapped Kurt Georg Kiesinger on 7 November 1968 at the CDU party conference in a gesture to make Chancellor Kiesinger's unresolved past public. Beate Klarsfeld and her husband Serge stood for the German youth that wanted to come to terms with the Nazi past. They successfully hunted down Nazi criminals in hiding all over the world.

Not only Hans Filbinger und Kurt Georg Kiesinger had a Nazi past. Defence Minister Gerhard

Schröder[1371] (CDU) was a former NSDAP member, as was Economics Minister Karl Schiller[1372] (SPD). Finance Minister Franz Josef Strauß[1373] (CSU) was a Wehrmacht officer and officer for "defence leadership" during the war. These are just a few more examples.

The second Federal President Heinrich Lübke[1374] (CDU) used concentration camp prisoners as forced labourers when he was construction manager of the Peenemünde military testing facility[1375].

They all continued their careers after the war without any problems, while a blameless lawyer like Dr Lippmann had to pay a processing fee of 36 DM in 1955 and swear an oath to the constitution to be allowed to work as a lawyer again. He also had to deal with the authorities for many years before finally receiving a small amount of compensation in 1961.

22.01.1979 Holocaust - The TV story of the Weiß family

The four-part television series about the fate of the Weiß family[1376] ran from 22 January to 26 January 1979. The broadcast was not without controversy even 34 years after the end of the war. Right-wing extremists blew up transmission masts. Half of all Germans adults, around 20 million, watched the series and spent weeks discussing collective guilt and shared responsibility. Many began to reflect on Nazi history for the first time. The philosopher Karl Jaspers' reflections on the question of guilt[1377] continued to be relevant in this context and were taken up in the discussions.

A few impressive films dealing with the Holocaust followed. For me, the most impressive of this period was "Sophie's Choice"[1378] from 1982, starring Meryl Streep.[1379]

Victor Klemperer's diaries[1380], which are worth reading, were only published posthumously in 1995 under the title "Ich will Zeugnis ablegen bis zum letzten (1933-1945)" (I will bear Witness to the very End). Victor Klemperer's life was made into a film for television based on the diaries.[1381]

27.02.1980 Represented by RA Ulrich Lemberg

A letter to the judicial authorities shows that Dr Lippmann had to undergo inpatient treatment again on 3 March 1980[1382]. He asks the judicial authorities to appoint Mr Ulrich Lemberg, lawyer, Lilienstrasse 36, 2000 Hamburg 1, as his representative and, in the event of his death, as his practice administrator.

An enquiry to Ulrich Lemberg's law firm revealed that Dr Lippmann's files were destroyed as per protocol after the statutory retention periods had expired.

13.10.1980 Walter Lippmann's 85th birthday

Dr Lippmann must have been delighted to receive congratulations from Senator Eva Leithäuser[1383] on his 85th birthday.

22.10.1980 Death of Elise Lippmann

A few days after his birthday, Walter Lippmann received the news that his wife Elise had died. Elise

Lippmann, Bernhard's mother, had died at the age of 87 in Brooklyn, New York City, USA. She lived from 1947 until the end of her life in the beautiful apartment building on the tree-lined avenue 1640 Ocean Parkway, Apartment # C 63, Brooklyn, NY 11223.

US Social Security death register[1384] gives her date of death as 22 October 1980. She had arrived in New York at the age of 39 with only $10 in her pocket and, according to the British National Probate Calendar 1981[1385] left a small fortune of £ 3,499.

Elise and Walter had lost everything on their flight to freedom: their home, their professional careers and, to a certain extent, their son Bernhard - and probably also their life together. They had survived the hardships of fleeing war and persecution and mastered the challenges of a new beginning. But had they found refuge in New York, had they found a home there?

When Walter returned to Germany in 1955, Elise stayed in New York.

Perhaps Elise had found friends and a new home in New York, or perhaps she no longer felt young enough for a fresh start, or felt too reluctant to return to the country where she and her family had suffered so much. Perhaps it was these or other reasons that prevented her from returning to Germany.

It is remarkable that Elise and Walter were married for 59 years, through good times and bad, until death did them part. For the last 25 years of their marriage, Elise and Walter lived separately, but married, on two continents.

01.12.1980 Marriage to Barbara Mohr, née Walbaum

A few months after the death of his wife Elise, Dr Lippmann married Barbara Mohr, née Walbaum, on 1 December 1980.

The realisation that Elise and Walter were married to each other until 1980 rules out the earlier assumption that Walter was married to Rochelle Wadeley in 1950, as stated in the New York census records.[1386] Why this was recorded that way at the time remains an unsolved mystery.

In the excellent book "Zwischen allen Stühlen - Juristen jüdischer Herkunft in Leipzig (1848 - 1953)" [1387] (Between two Stools – Jewish Jurist's in Leipzig (1848 – 1953)), Dr Hubert Lang wrote that Dr Lippmann was married to Barbara Mohr.

With the help of "Inspector Chance" I found out that she was born Barbara Ute Walbaum on 19 January 1935 in Scheeßel[1388] and had been called Barbara Mohr since her divorce.

Obviously, Dr Lippmann had known Mrs Mohr for several years. As previously mentioned, I found the abbreviation "Dr.L./mo" in a letter dated 18 February 1974,[1389] and it can be assumed that the letter was written by Barbara Mohr.

Barbara may have moved into with him in Grillparzer Strasse in May 1963. At that time, her mother had moved into her flat at Winterhuder Weg 73, just round the corner from Grillparzer Str. 4.

Dr Lippmann's partner of many years, Barbara Ute Mohr, née Walbaum, was the second daughter of Dr Hermann Ludwig Wilhelm August Walbaum and his second wife Meta Emma Walbaum née

Breithaupt-Meyer, born on 3 December 1892.

The story of Dr Walbaum's family shows that anti-Semitism is not a phenomenon of the big city.

Dr August Walbaum, born on 24 April 1868 in Burgdamm near Bremen, was a general practitioner in Scheeßel from 1897 to 1938. He completed his doctorate in Marburg in 1897 on "The Lower Saxon Farmhouse and its Health Risks". For almost 40 years, he was "exceptionally respected" by his patients as a general practitioner.

However, the discriminatory reprisals of the Nazis made life increasingly difficult, even unbearable, for "Mischlinge II Grades" (mixed-race of second degree) or "quarter-Jews" and "half-Jews" like him and his family, although only a few people knew that he was half-Jewish.

Had he not complied with the regulations applicable to Jews, a malicious denunciation would have been enough to send him to a concentration camp. During the Nazi regime, there were numerous cowardly denunciators[1390] who, out of vile motivations, betrayed others to the authorities. This usually led to arrests, torture and imprisonment, and many did not survive their imprisonment in the concentration camps. It is a sad fact that many of these traitors acted not only out of self-interest, but out of pure mean, underhanded, insidious, despicable malice.

"The worst scoundrel in the whole country is and will remain the denouncer," said people like Bertolt Brecht, because it is the general fear of betrayal that destroys all social trust. Totalitarian states rely on denunciation to maintain state order, i.e., control and oppression, and the restriction of freedom. In most cases, the fear of betrayal leads to people becoming alienated from one another and the isolated individual can be more easily controlled and directed by a totalitarian state.

In 1936/1937, Dr August Walbaum's fear must have been so great that he sought temporary refuge in a sanatorium. On 2 January 1938, he took his own life at the age of 70. His daughters Barbara Walbaum was only 3 and her sister Maren Walbaum 12 years old.

The family had to sell the medical practice and their flat. They first moved to Heinsonweg 11 in Hamburg-Volksdorf in 1949, then to Quickbornstrasse 27 in Hamburg 19 and from 1959 lived at Eppendorfer Baum 13.

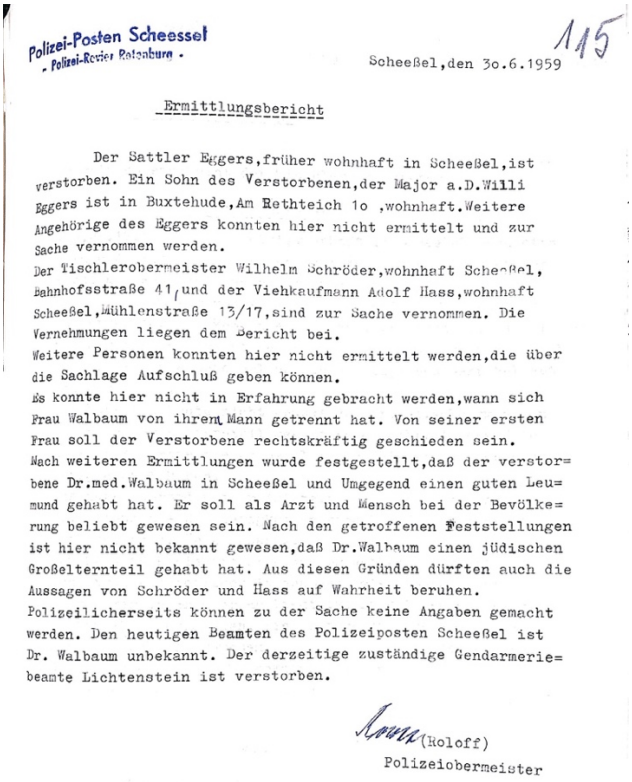
I have taken this and the following information from the "Wiedergutmachungsakten - Renten"[1391] (reparation files – pensions) of the Walbaum family, which are kept in the Hamburg State Archives.

Dr August Walbaum's widow, Meta Walbaum, and her two daughters had to fight with the Hamburg authorities for about ten years to obtain compensation for the professional discrimination against her husband during the Nazi era. Initially, the authorities argued over jurisdiction, then the widow was asked to provide evidence of persecution or obstruction in Dr Walbaum's practice of his profession, even though the judges must have been aware of the legal situation of Jewish doctors during the Nazi era.

It was common knowledge that Jewish doctors were not allowed to bill the health insurance companies for non-Jewish patients even if treatment was still permitted. Witnesses were questioned whether they knew that Dr Walbaum was Jewish.

In 1949, the lawyer Heinrich Kudelko, Ferdinandstrasse 23-27 in Hamburg, had to act to avert an

eviction action, otherwise Mrs Walbaum and her daughters would have lost their flat in Hamburg.



Polizei-Posten Scheessel
- Polizei-Revier Ratzeburg -

Scheeßel, den 30.6.1959

115

Ermittlungsbericht

Der Sattler Eggers, früher wohnhaft in Scheeßel, ist verstorben. Ein Sohn des Verstorbenen, der Major a.D. Willi Eggers ist in Buxtehude, Am Rethteich 1o, wohnhaft. Weitere Angehörige des Eggers konnten hier nicht ermittelt und zur Sache vernommen werden.
Der Tischlerobermeister Wilhelm Schröder, wohnhaft Scheeßel, Bahnhofsstraße 41, und der Viehkaufmann Adolf Hass, wohnhaft Scheeßel, Mühlenstraße 13/17, sind zur Sache vernommen. Die Vernehmungen liegen dem Bericht bei.
Weitere Personen konnten hier nicht ermittelt werden, die über die Sachlage Aufschluß geben können.
Es konnte hier nicht in Erfahrung gebracht werden, wann sich Frau Walbaum von ihrem Mann getrennt hat. Von seiner ersten Frau soll der Verstorbene rechtskräftig geschieden sein.
Nach weiteren Ermittlungen wurde festgestellt, daß der verstorbene Dr.med. Walbaum in Scheeßel und Umgegend einen guten Leumund gehabt hat. Er soll als Arzt und Mensch bei der Bevölkerung beliebt gewesen sein. Nach den getroffenen Feststellungen ist hier nicht bekannt gewesen, daß Dr. Walbaum einen jüdischen Großelternteil gehabt hat. Aus diesen Gründen dürften auch die Aussagen von Schröder und Hass auf Wahrheit beruhen.
Polizeilicherseits können zu der Sache keine Angaben gemacht werden. Den heutigen Beamten des Polizeiposten Scheeßel ist Dr. Walbaum unbekannt. Der derzeitige zuständige Gendarmeriebeamte Lichtenstein ist verstorben.

(Koloff)
Polizeiobermeister

Figure 31 Statement of Adolf Hass

A statement by Adolf Hass, local Nazi group leader from Scheeßel,[1392] is documented from 1959, which is very typical of the time, the time when "we knew nothing about anything". My translation of the letter:

> "Adolf Hass, born 29 January 1887 in Süderleder, IK Land Hadeln, residing in Scheeßel, Mühlenstraße 13/17, was made aware of the subject matter of the trial and testified as follows: In the period 1934-1939 I was employed in Scheeßel as local group leader of the former NSDAP.
>
> The deceased physician Dr August Walbaum, formerly resident in Scheeßel, was well known to me personally. Dr Walbaum was my neighbour and we were friends. I used to play cards with Dr Walbaum and we were also in a bowling club together. He was the family doctor of my mother-in-law, the late Mrs Margarete Meyer in Varel. Personally, I never knew until today that Dr Walbaum was of Jewish descent.
>
> I must also assume that the inhabitants of Scheeßel and other former party members did not know that Walbaum was of Jewish descent. Dr Walbaum was very popular as a person and a doctor in Scheeßel.
>
> I personally did not cause Dr Walbaum any difficulties for political reasons. Nor am I aware that Dr Walbaum was given any trouble by other former party members or by

> the party itself. I cannot say whether any action was taken against Dr Walbaum by higher party offices. If this had been the case, I would surely have been aware of these cases as a former local group leader.
>
> I can still remember that Dr Walbaum suffered from a severe bladder ailment and for this reason visited a hospital. I can give no further details about Dr Walbaum."

On 1 February 1957, Meta Walbaum received a pension notice[1393] under the Federal Compensation Act (BEG). She was granted a monthly pension of DM 528 with retroactive effect from 1 January 1956. The difficult wartime period and the time up to 1956, which she had to bridge as a widow with two small children without support, was not taken into consideration, i.e. there was no additional payment for this period.

The situation was quite different for Franz Schlegelberger,[1394] whom I have already discussed in detail above. A high-ranking Nazi official, he was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1947 at the age of 71. He was released on health grounds as early as 1950, aged 74, and received a monthly pension of 2,894 DM – more than five times the average income of 535 DM at the time. He continued to receive this pension until his death in 1970, aged 94.

This comparison of pensions highlights the sad fact that the effects of the war and Nazism were still being felt as late as 1959. In many cases, those who had suffered the most did not receive the support they needed.

How can justice and redress be provided to the victims of Nazism, as well as to victims of other unjust systems?

It is a sad fact that the effects of the war and the Nazi era were still being felt in 1959. In many cases, those who had suffered the most did not receive the support they needed. This underlines the need to continue to work for justice and reparation for the victims of the Nazis.

Even at the end of this documentation, I am still fascinated by the impressive wealth and depth of information that can be gained from the documents I have seen. The conclusions that can be drawn from them reveal a multitude of new perspectives and emphasise the extraordinary importance of these findings.

Today, on 5 June 2025, I am working on the English translation and have looked again at the widow's and orphan's pension notice from 1950. I see that Erwin Lippmann[1395] signed as an assessor. According to the Stolpersteine-Hamburg.de website he married Erna Norden, née Laser, on 31 August 1946. They emigrated to Argentina in 1951 but returned to Germany in 1971.

Erna's father, Max Laser, was born in 1874 in Wongrowitz,[1396] the same place where Walter Lippmann's father, Dr Michaelis Lippmann, was born in 1860. Erna Lippmann's parents and siblings were murdered in the concentration camps of Theresienstadt, Riga and Auschwitz. She herself survived the Flossenbürg concentration camp and witnessed the liberation of KZ Mauthausen in April 1946.

Erwin Lippmann is not mentioned in the biography of Dr Leo Lippmann,[1397] and it is still unclear whether he belongs to the Hamburg family of Dr Leo Lippmann.[1398] Further research is necessary to reconstruct his connection more precisely.

As a state councillor, Dr Leo Lippmann shaped Hamburg's financial policy during the Weimar Republic. He had to give up his office in 1933 due to the restoration of the professional civil service. He and his wife Anna Josephine committed suicide on 11 June 1943 to avoid the threat of deportation. Today, a room in the historic building of the tax authorities at Gänsemarkt 36 bears his name and commemorates his life's work and the injustices he suffered.

The sister of Barbara Lippmann Maren Walbaum, born on 22 February 1926, informed the Office for Restitution that her mother Meta, resident at Winterhuder Weg 73 in Hamburg, died on 3 November 1963 at the age of 71. She had moved in with her daughter Barbara, who had lived there since 3 June 1958.

On 27 September 1957, Barbara received a one-off special assistance orphan's pension in accordance with § 234 BEG in the amount of DM 13,972 - for the period from 1 February 1938 to 31 October 1963. Her sister Maren also received an orphan's pension, but it was lower because she was 9 years older[1399].

A detailed biography and description of the family's fate can be found in the book "Weitererzählen"[1400], (Pass it on) which was published by Dr Inge Hansen-Schaberg.

I do not know when and how Dr Lippmann met Barbara Mohr. His name does not appear in the Walbaum family's restitution files, so it can be assumed that they did not meet in this way. Barbara's flat at Winterhuder Weg 73 is only 270 metres away from Grillparzer Str. 4, where Dr Lippmann lived. Possibly they met while shopping at Goldbekmarkt, the nearby farmers market or at one of the nearby tram stops on lines 14, 15 or 18.

13.04.1982 Planting an oak tree

There are two trees in front of the house at Grillparzer Str. 4. The older one, a pedunculate oak, was planted in 1982. At the time, it was as small as the tree that was planted in front of Grillparzer Str. 4a on 13 April 2022. Almost unnoticed, in forty years the older tree with a 30 cm trunk has become a tree with a 167 cm trunk. The tree reaches the third floor of our building.

My detective search for Dr Lippmann began on 3 October 2023 when I found the nameplate on the attic door. Over the past few months, I have been reading, researching and writing intensively - a journey full of unexpected twists and turns. Time and again, I came across topics that surprised me and broadened my horizons. Each new discovery fitted like a piece of a puzzle into the bigger picture of my research and allowed me to delve deeper into a fascinating story.

By chance, I found out from my neighbour Gerhard Doobe that he was responsible for compiling the Hamburg tree register,[1401] in which I found information about the trees in my street. On the corner with Hofweg there is a stately oak dating from 1859, which was already a "proper" tree when Dr Lippmann was born in Leipzig in 1895 and was exactly 100 years old when I was born in Hamburg.

1859 was the year in which Charles Darwin[1402] published "The Origin of Species". The first Great Depression of 1857[1403] was over in 1859 after only two years. Some of my favourite books such as "Moby Dick" by Herman Melville[1404] (1851), "Uncle Tom's Cabin" by Harriet Beecher Stowe[1405] and "Madam Bovary" by Gustave Flaubert[1406] (1857) were published during this period. These books deal with humanity's struggle against nature and existential questions about the structure of society. These

questions are relevant today. These books are still important.

This oak is deeply rooted in the past and its annual rings are silent but living witnesses to times gone by. The tree provides shade and peace in the present so that we can learn from the past. Its branches grow towards the light and carry the future of the next generation in the form of acorns.



Figure 32 When the photo on the left was taken, Dr Lippmann was still living on the second floor above the garage.

When this little tree was planted in front of Grillparzer Str. 4 in the photo on the left and it still needed the support of a white post. Today, in summer, I'm enjoying its shade on the balcony at the bottom right, while reading. The photo on the left shows Dr Lippmann's kitchen curtains. This picture was included in the sales brochure for the apartment.

From 1981 onwards, the AIDS crisis[1407] began to spread on an unexpected scale. In New York, GMHC, Gay Man's Health Crisis,[1408] launched the pioneering self-help programme "Buddies"[1409] to help people with AIDS in their day-to-day needs.

The GMHC began professional educational work with fundraising events and newsletters to counteract the general fear of the disease and the rapid onset of discrimination and marginalisation of those affected. The Buddies helped patients to cope with their daily lives, as the few outpatient care services that existed at the time were often afraid to treat patients because the transmission routes of HIV were not yet known.

Only a short time later, HIV and AIDS also began to spread in Germany. In 1983, the Deutsche Aids-Hilfe[1410] was founded. Here too, many volunteered to help those affected. Aids-Hilfe had to defend itself against the "old thinking" of politicians such as Peter Gauweiler, [1411] CSU.

Peter Gauweiler's father was the war-disabled lawyer and NSDAP functionary Otto Gauweiler (1910–1969)[1412] and his uncle was the NS functionary and propagandist Helmut Gauweiler (1908–1965).[1413]

Peter Gauweiler[1414] wanted to apply the Federal Epidemics Act to AIDS patients in 1987. He had developed a catalogue of measures for Bavaria that included compulsory testing of "the lepers" and tattooing them[1415] to warn potential sexual partners. He also considered the internment of HIV-positive

people. Following loud criticism, the CDU politician's discriminatory plans were not implemented as they were in breach of human rights.

Thanks to the great commitment and solidarity of those affected, especially homosexual men, their relatives, friends and self-help organisations, they earned the respect of the general public. Their efforts helped to raise awareness of HIV and AIDS and to reduce stigma. Through education and compassion, society has largely moved away from the discrimination of the early days.

15.12.1983 Census boycott

A nationwide census was scheduled to be held in Germany on 27 April 1983. Based on historical experience, there were fears that the state would misuse the data of its "transparent citizens".[1416] In their time, the Nazis had an easy time with census-based data because they knew who belonged to what religion.

The widespread boycott of the census[1417] and the numerous constitutional complaints led to a landmark decision by the Federal Constitutional Court. It established the fundamental right to informational self-determination[1418] because of the general right of personal and human dignity. The judgement of 15 December 1983 was a milestone in data protection.

Of course, I was at the protests back then - and that was long before the introduction of the internet. It's good that today there is a higher awareness of how important data protection is and that abuse must be prevented as far as possible.

As an amateur detective, I have gathered a lot of information for this work from the archived census records. They are a valuable source of information for historians, sociologists and other scientists. Future researchers will certainly regret that there are no more censuses today.

But in 2024, I wonder about my carelessness or disinterest when it comes to disclosing my personal data on the internet. I only do it in reliance on legal data protection. However, past experience shows that the "transparent citizen" must not blindly trust companies and the state, but must strongly and repeatedly demand compliance with data protection, especially when new technologies are introduced.

The Nazis were able to identify the religious affiliations of the populace, as well as their respective residences, thanks to the census records. They used this information to carry out their murderous plans. Data protection is therefore of vital importance, even today. As citizens, we must hold the three branches of government to account to ensure they consistently protect and take data protection seriously.

08.05.1985 Richard von Weizsäcker on Collective shame

Theodor Heuss,[1419] the first Federal President of the Federal Republic of Germany, spoke in a speech in 1949 of "collective shame" and rejected the concept of "collective guilt"[1420] because it did not exist in criminal law. In the Nuremberg Trials, the defendants were convicted after their individual guilt and crimes were proven.

The term "collective guilt"[1421] was an oversimplification and meant an indiscriminate condemnation of

all Germans. Instead, he appealed to the conscience of each individual with the newly coined term "collective shame"[1422] Whether this appeal to conscience was also heard by the unscrupulous perpetrators is questionable.

Former Federal President Richard von Weizsäcker knew what he was talking about, because his father was Ernst Heinrich von Weizsäcker.[1423] After joining the SS, he was assigned to Himmler's personal staff[1424] and the SS Main Office,[1425] which was primarily responsible for the esoteric-folkish National Socialist private organisations "Lebensborn",[1426] "Ahnenerbe"[1427] and "Freundeskreis Reichsführer SS".[1428] There was also Wewelsburg Castle,[1429] which had been built by Count Friedrich von Arnsberg in the year 1123. It is worth looking at the relevant Wikipedia pages where you will come across many well-known people and their involvement in the Nazi regime.

Ernst Heinrich von Weizsäcker was convicted of crimes against humanity and aiding and abetting the deportations to Auschwitz in 1949.

His other son is the great physicist, philosopher and peace researcher Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker.[1430] His conversations with the Dalai Lama about philosophy, science and quantum physics are very impressive and can be read, for example, in "Gemeinsam handeln" (Acting Together).

In a speech marking the 40th anniversary of the end of both the war in Europe and the Nazi tyranny, the sixth Federal President Richard von Weizsäcker[1431] honoured 8 May 1945 as the "Day of Liberation" in a speech. He also used the term "collective shame" to initiate a paradigm shift in German politics of the past.

The main difference between the two speeches lies in the time and context in which they were given. Theodor Heuss spoke shortly after the war, when Germany was still confronted with the direct consequences and the reappraisal of National Socialist crimes.

Richard von Weizsäcker, on the other hand, spoke 40 years after the end of the war, at a time when Germany as a nation had a different view of its past due to coming to terms with part of its Nazi history and when around half of all Germans were born after the Second World War. Those born after the war, of course, bear no personal guilt for the crimes of their ancestors. However, they have a responsibility to be aware of history and ensure that such acts are never repeated.

The Christian concept of original sin or the idea of collective guilt does not exist in criminal law; everyone is only responsible for their own actions. Collective shame is not about questions of guilt but about recognising history and taking personal responsibility for shaping the present and the future.

In his essay "The Question of Guilt" (1946), Karl JaspersKarl Jaspers[1432] argued that each individual must take responsibility for their own history and for shaping the future, regardless of whether they were directly involved in incriminating historical events.

How might Dr Lippmann have thought about this distinction? How would he have viewed the social development of the Federal Republic of Germany over the last 40 years? Would he be satisfied with the slow process of coming to terms with history?

13.10.1985 90th birthday of Walter Lippmann

Senator Eva Leithäuser congratulated him on his 90th birthday and thanked him on behalf of the Hamburg judiciary,

> "... that after a difficult fate, you have made yourself available to us again for the administration of justice".

Dr Lippmann thanked her for her congratulations on 20 October 1985 and wrote

> "I was particularly pleased that you recognised my modest contribution to the administration of justice in Hamburg. After difficult years of persecution and 14 years working in temporary jobs in America[1433], it was a great stroke of luck for me to be able to work since 1955 in my former profession as a lawyer again."[1434]

The Jewish newspaper "Der Aufbau"[1435], published in America, paid tribute to Dr Lippmann in a short article.

The articles that appeared on his birthday show that Dr Lippmann considered himself a cosmopolitan. He had lived in various places around the world, with which he was connected through multilingual correspondence and reading international newspapers. He was particularly interested in the State of Israel.

In Hamburg, Dr Lippmann had once again built up a large private library. He loved bibliophile treasures such as the book by Johann David Michaelis[1436] from 1793 "On the Oldest History of Horses and Horse Breeding in Palestine and the Neighbouring Countries, especially Egypt and Arabia". Dr Lippmann also owned a large amount of world literature in Esperanto translations.[1437]

His dialogue partners praised his scientific knowledge, his universal spirituality and his high degree of humanity. From a young age, he always tried to strike a balance in courageous discussions with people of all opinions. Thanks to his charisma, he succeeded in doing so, also in the exchange of opinions with the younger generation. Dr Lippmann was always successful in his efforts to achieve humanistic interdenominational understanding.[1438]

The Hamburg Cauldron, the history of which impressively documents the development of the constitutional state, happened within the term of office of Senator for Justice Eva Leithäuser. Around 50,000 people took part in the first major demonstration against the Brokdorf nuclear power plant in October 1976. In the years that followed, hundreds of thousands demonstrated under the slogan "Nuclear power? - No, thank you!". There were repeated clashes with police and law enforcement officers, which were subsequently examined in constitutional court proceedings.

The dramatic accident at the Ukrainian nuclear power plant in Chernobyl on 26 April 1986[1439] made the world aware of the great danger of nuclear energy.

The demonstration on 8 June 1986 in Hamburg was a direct reaction to the excessively harsh police action[1440] at a previous demonstration against the Brokdorf nuclear power plant, where the security forces had acted with great severity against the demonstrators. These brutal police actions caused outrage and incomprehension among both the demonstrators and the public.

The participants in the demonstration on 8 June 1986 were therefore convinced that they were defending the right to freedom of expression and assembly. They resolutely opposed the arbitrary and

violent behaviour of the police. The situation finally escalated into the so-called "Hamburg Kessel"[1441] (Hamburg Cauldron), in which over 800 demonstrators were encircled by the police for more than twelve hours. During this time, the demonstrators were not given any food and were not allowed to use the toilets or leave the huge square in the centre of Hamburg known as the Heiligengeistfeld. I was lucky that day because I had left early and was already on my way home when the police action began.

The violent behaviour of the police fuelled resentment among the population and led to the actions of 12 June 1986, when tens of thousands took part in another large demonstration. This demonstration was symbolically led by numerous taxis and sent a clear signal against arbitrary police violence. The judiciary also began to deal with the incidents. Due to public pressure Senator Eva Leithäuser resigned on 6 August 1986.[1442]

Interestingly, there was also opposition within the police force to the actions of their colleagues. A group of courageous Hamburg policemen publicly criticised the operation and later founded the Federal Working Group of Critical Police Officers.[1443] This initiative contributed to the idea of the "citizen in uniform"[1444] and strengthened confidence in the police.

The events surrounding the Hamburg riots clearly show how important the right to demonstrate is for the protection of fundamental democratic rights. Like Articles 1 to 20, Article 8 of the Basic Law[1445] is subject to the special protection of the "guarantee-of eternity".[1446] One of the lessons of the Nazi era was that there must be laws that apply eternally and cannot be changed.

The events surrounding the 'Hamburg Kessel' demonstrate just how important the right to protest is for safeguarding fundamental democratic rights. Article 8 of the Basic Law guarantees freedom of assembly, thereby protecting the right to publicly and peacefully express political concerns. While not every fundamental right is subject to the 'eternity clause', fundamental constitutional principles, particularly human dignity (Article 1 of the Basic Law) and the democratic and constitutional order, are permanently protected under Article 79(3) and cannot be abolished.

A key lesson from the Nazi era is that the fundamental principles of a free and democratic state governed by the rule of law must never again be suspended by majority decisions. The 'eternity clause' is therefore a constitutional safeguard in the Basic Law that permanently preserves the core of the democratic order.

In summary, the story of the Hamburg Kessel demonstrated how important the right to protest and civic engagement are for democracy and strongly influenced the public debate on police violence and the role of the state in dealing with peaceful demonstrations.

It has become clear that public pressure and non-violent resistance to state abuse can bring about positive changes in a constitutional state and that peaceful protest is not a disruption of democracy but an active participation in it.

Since Eva Leithäuser served as Senator of Justice in Hamburg until 6 August 1986, she was given the task of presenting the Federal Cross of Merit to Dr Lippmann.

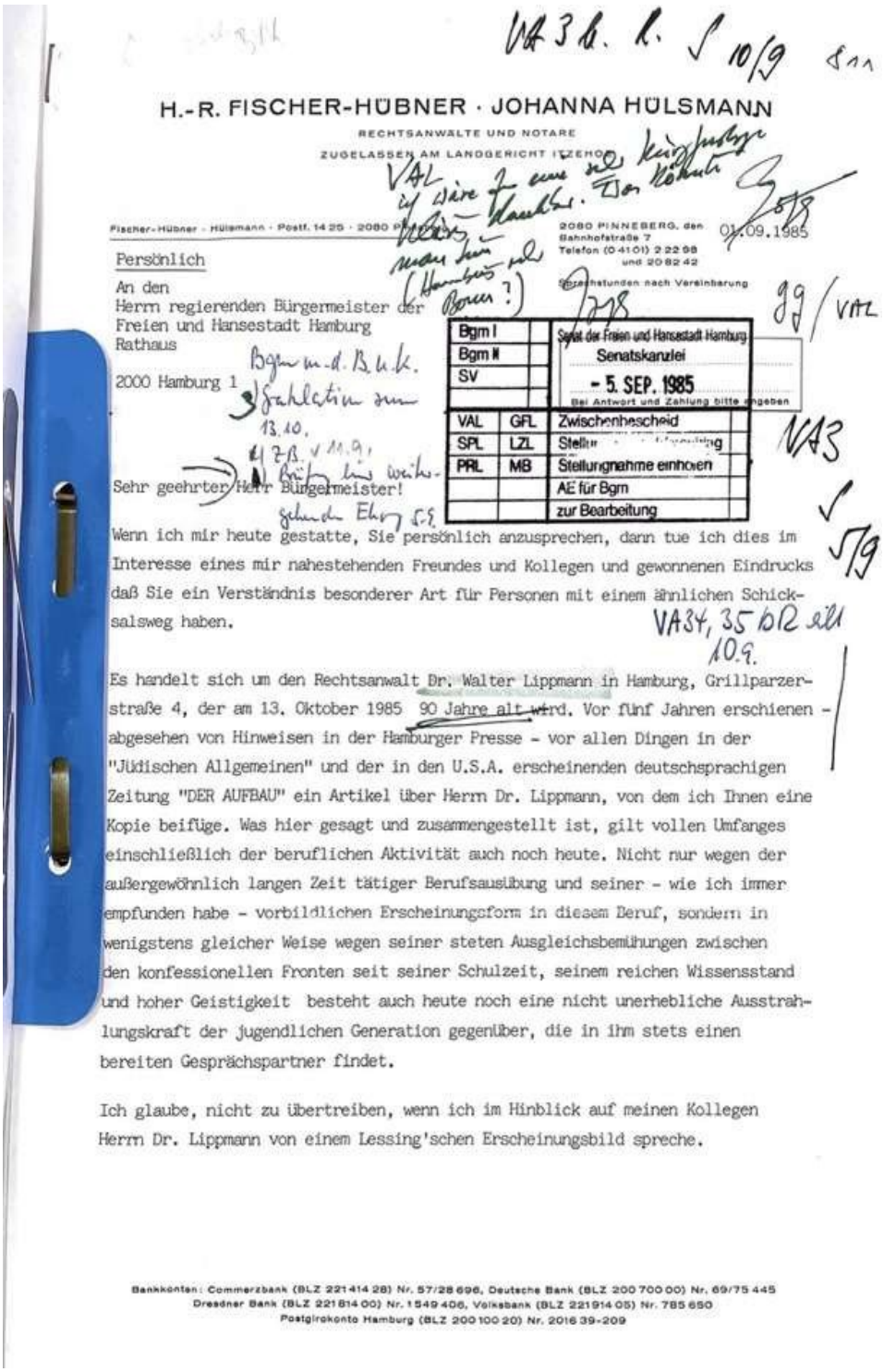
21.11.1985 Federal Cross of Merit

I learnt from the Hamburg Senate Chancellery that the documents relating to the proposals for the award of the Federal Cross of Merit are held in the Hamburg State Archives. The file essentially

consisted only of the list of nominations to the Order Chancellery of the Office of the Federal President in Berlin. From there I was referred to the Federal Archives, where I was able to inspect the file and copy some newspaper articles.

In a letter dated 1 September 1985[1447],the lawyer Hermann Fischer-Hübner suggested to the then First Mayor Dr Klaus von Dohnanyi[1448] that Dr Lippmann's life's work should be honoured with the Federal Cross of Merit. Dr Klaus von Dohnanyi's father was Hans von Dohnanyi, a resistance fighter who was murdered in Sachsenhausen concentration camp on 5 April 1943.

One week after his 90th birthday, Senator for Justice Eva Leithäuser presented Dr Lippmann with the Cross of Merit on the Ribbon of the Order of Merit of the Federal Republic of Germany. The German newspapers "Die Welt" of 22 November 1985 and the "Hamburger Abendblatt" of 28 December 1985 eported on the award.



H.-R. FISCHER-HÜBNER · JOHANNA HÜLSMANN

RECHTSANWÄLTE UND NOTARE

ZUGELASSEN AM LANDGERICHT ITZEHOE

Fischer-Hübner · Hülsmann · Postf. 14 25 · 2080 Pinneberg

2080 PINNEBERG, den 01.09.1985
Bahnhofstraße 7
Telefon (0 41 01) 2 22 98
und 20 82 42
Sprechstunden nach Vereinbarung

Persönlich

An den
Herrn regierenden Bürgermeister der
Freien und Hansestadt Hamburg
Rathaus

2000 Hamburg 1

Bgm I | Bgm II | SV

Senat der Freien und Hansestadt Hamburg
Senatskanzlei
– 5. SEP. 1985
Bei Antwort und Zahlung bitte angeben

VAL	GFL	Zwischenbescheid
SPL	LZL	Stellu...
PRL	MB	Stellungnahme einholen
		AE für Bgm
		zur Bearbeitung

Sehr geehrter Herr Bürgermeister!

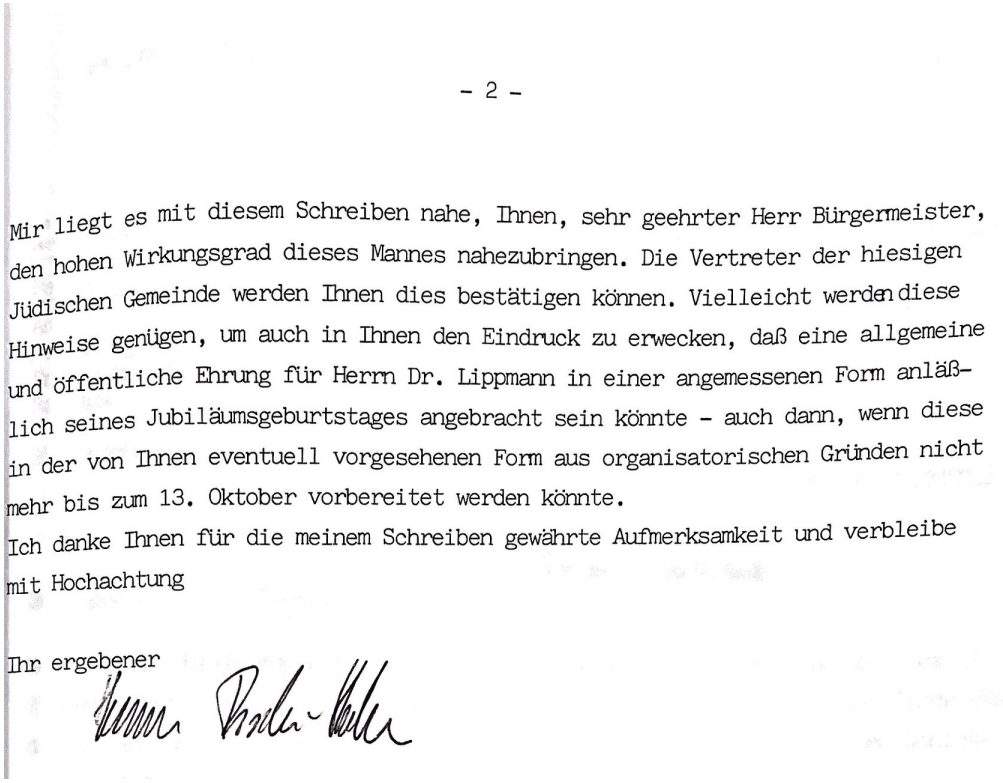
Wenn ich mir heute gestatte, Sie persönlich anzusprechen, dann tue ich dies im Interesse eines mir nahestehenden Freundes und Kollegen und gewonnenen Eindrucks daß Sie ein Verständnis besonderer Art für Personen mit einem ähnlichen Schicksalsweg haben.

Es handelt sich um den Rechtsanwalt Dr. Walter Lippmann in Hamburg, Grillparzerstraße 4, der am 13. Oktober 1985 90 Jahre alt wird. Vor fünf Jahren erschienen – abgesehen von Hinweisen in der Hamburger Presse – vor allen Dingen in der "Jüdischen Allgemeinen" und der in den U.S.A. erscheinenden deutschsprachigen Zeitung "DER AUFBAU" ein Artikel über Herrn Dr. Lippmann, von dem ich Ihnen eine Kopie beifüge. Was hier gesagt und zusammengestellt ist, gilt vollen Umfanges einschließlich der beruflichen Aktivität auch noch heute. Nicht nur wegen der außergewöhnlich langen Zeit tätiger Berufsausübung und seiner – wie ich immer empfunden habe – vorbildlichen Erscheinungsform in diesem Beruf, sondern in wenigstens gleicher Weise wegen seiner steten Ausgleichsbemühungen zwischen den konfessionellen Fronten seit seiner Schulzeit, seinem reichen Wissensstand und hoher Geistigkeit besteht auch heute noch eine nicht unerhebliche Ausstrahlungskraft der jugendlichen Generation gegenüber, die in ihm stets einen bereiten Gesprächspartner findet.

Ich glaube, nicht zu übertreiben, wenn ich im Hinblick auf meinen Kollegen Herrn Dr. Lippmann von einem Lessing'schen Erscheinungsbild spreche.

Bankkonten: Commerzbank (BLZ 221 414 28) Nr. 57/28 696, Deutsche Bank (BLZ 200 700 00) Nr. 69/75 445
Dresdner Bank (BLZ 221 814 00) Nr. 1 549 406, Volksbank (BLZ 221 914 05) Nr. 785 650
Postgirokonto Hamburg (BLZ 200 100 20) Nr. 2016 39-209

Figure 33 Letter from H.-R. Fischer-Hübner, dated 1 September 1985



- 2 -

Mir liegt es mit diesem Schreiben nahe, Ihnen, sehr geehrter Herr Bürgermeister, den hohen Wirkungsgrad dieses Mannes nahezubringen. Die Vertreter der hiesigen Jüdischen Gemeinde werden Ihnen dies bestätigen können. Vielleicht werden diese Hinweise genügen, um auch in Ihnen den Eindruck zu erwecken, daß eine allgemeine und öffentliche Ehrung für Herrn Dr. Lippmann in einer angemessenen Form anläßlich seines Jubiläumsgeburtstages angebracht sein könnte - auch dann, wenn diese in der von Ihnen eventuell vorgesehenen Form aus organisatorischen Gründen nicht mehr bis zum 13. Oktober vorbereitet werden könnte.
Ich danke Ihnen für die meinem Schreiben gewährte Aufmerksamkeit und verbleibe mit Hochachtung

Ihr ergebener

Figure 34 Letter from H.-R. Fischer-Hübner, dated 1 September 1985- 2. page

This is my translation of this letter.

"Dear Mayor

If I take the liberty of addressing you personally today, then I am doing so in the interest of a friend and colleague who is close to me and who has given me the impression that you have a special kind of understanding for people who endured a similar fate.

I am referring to the lawyer Dr Walter Lippmann in Hamburg, Grillparzerstrasse 4, who will be 90 years old on 13 October 1985. Five years ago, along with references in the Hamburg press, an article was published about Dr Lippmann, a copy of which I enclose - in the 'Jüdische Allgemeine' and the German-language newspaper 'DER AUFBAU' published in the USA.

What is said and summarised here still applies in full today, including his professional activities. Not only because of his extraordinarily long period of professional activity and his - as I have always felt - exemplary bearing in this profession, but no less because of his constant efforts to find a balance between denominational fronts ever since his school days, his wealth of knowledge and high spirituality and his not inconsiderable charisma for the younger generation today, who always find him a willing dialogue partner.

I believe I am not exaggerating when I speak of seeing a great similarity to Lessing when I think of my colleague Dr Lippmann.

With this letter, I would like to convey to you, Mr Mayor, the great impact of this man. The representatives of the local Jewish community will be able to confirm this to you. Perhaps this information will be enough to convince you that a general and public tribute to Dr Lippmann in an appropriate form on the occasion of his anniversary would be appropriate - even if, for organisational reasons, it could not be prepared in the normal way by 13 October.

I would like to thank you for your attention to my letter and remain yours sincerely,
H.-R. Fischer-Hübner"

Aussöhnung zwischen Juden und Deutschen vorgelebt

„Es soll ein Zeichen sein, daß Sie bei uns ihre Heimat haben und behalten." Mit diesen Worten überreichte gestern Justizsenatorin Eva Leithäuser das Verdienstkreuz am Bande des Verdienstordens der Bundesrepublik Deutschland an Walter Lippmann. Seit dreißig Jahren hat sich der Rechtsanwalt, der am 13. Oktober seinen 90. Geburtstag feierte, für die Aussöhnung zwischen Juden und Deutschen eingesetzt.

Er habe seine berufliche Tätigkeit vor sechzig Jahren begonnen, die Kaiserzeit erlebt, die Weimarer Republik und die schreckliche Naziherrschaft, sei selbst bedroht und ins Konzentrationslager gebracht worden, zur Auswanderung gezwungen und dennoch zurückgekehrt, sagte Eva Leithäuser. Und stets sei er tolerant und hilfsbereit gewesen, habe seinen Mitbürgern vorgelebt, wie man zu sein habe. Die Auszeichnung solle eine bescheidene Anerkennung dafür sein.

„Sehr gerührt und geehrt" nahm der Anwalt den Orden entgegen. Walter Lippmann wurde 1895 in Leipzig geboren, als Soldat im Ersten Weltkrieg ausgezeichnet und 1924 als Anwalt zugelassen. Bis 1938 durfte er wegen seiner Verdienste als Anwalt weiterarbeiten, obwohl seit 1933 das Berufsverbot der Nationalsozialisten galt. Danach war er als sogenannter Konsulent tätig, bis ihm auch das verboten war. Mehrfach wurde er verhaftet, 1938 in das Konzentrationslager Buchenwald gebracht und wieder entlassen; er half danach als ehrenamtlicher Mitarbeiter der Jewish Agency in Berlin vielen verfolgten Juden. 1941 gelang Lippmann selbst die Flucht nach Amerika. Der Sohn war bereits mit einem Kindertransport nach England gebracht worden.



Verdienstkreuzträger Rechtsanwalt Walter Lippmann (90) im Gespräch mit Justizsenatorin Eva Leithäuser, die den Orden überreichte FOTO: WOLFGANG KÖHLER

In den Vereinigten Staaten arbeitete Lippmann als Lehrling in einem Drugstore, studierte Mathematik, war in einer Werbefirma tätig und kehrte dann 1955, auf Einladung einer Tante, nach Deutschland zurück, damals bereits 60 Jahre alt. In Hamburg nahm er seine anwaltliche Tätigkeit wieder auf. Der erste Mitarbeiter in der Kanzlei war übrigens Claus von Amsberg, der dann die damalige niederländische Kronprinzessin, die heutige Königin Beatrix, heiratete.

Menschlichkeit, Sinn für Gerechtigkeit und Erbarmen mit den Schwächen seiner Mitmenschen nennen Lippmanns Freunde als seine herausragenden Eigenschaften und als Begründung für sein Engagement im Sinne der Aussöhnung. Seine Frau Barbara (50) sagt schlicht, „sein Charakter ist versöhnlich".

Sinnbildlich für den Versuch, mit Menschen verschiedener Gesinnung ins Gespräch zu kommen, ist wohl auch Lippmanns Zugehörigkeit zur Esperanto-Akademie, über die er Kontakte in alle Welt hält. In Israel, dessen Politik er auch kritisch sieht, besitzt der Anwalt eine Plantage bei Meged. In Hamburg ist er Mitglied der jüdischen Gemeinde, widmet sich der Philatelie, seiner Bibliothek, und darin vor allem neben Klassikern wie Goethe oder Shakespeare der biographischen und der biblischen Literatur. gs

Figure 35 Die Welt dated 22 November 1985

"This is to commemorate that you have and continue to keep your home with us." With these words, Justice Senator Eva Leithäuser presented Walter Lippmann with the Cross of Merit on Ribbon of the Federal Republic of Germany yesterday. The lawyer, who celebrated his 90th birthday on 13 October, has been committed to reconciliation between Jews and Germans for 30 years.

He began his professional career 60 years ago, experienced the imperial era, the Weimar Republic and the terrible Nazi regime, was himself threatened and sent to a concentration camp, forced to emigrate and yet returned, said Eva Leithäuser. And he had always been tolerant and helpful, setting an example to his fellow citizens of how to be. The award is intended as a modest recognition of this.

'Very touched and honoured' was how the lawyer accepted the medal. Walter Lippmann was born in Leipzig in 1895, decorated as a soldier in the First World War and admitted to the bar in 1924. He was allowed to continue working as a lawyer until 1938 due to his merits, although the National Socialists had banned Jews from practising law since 1933. He then worked as a so-called consultant until this was also banned. He was arrested several times, taken to Buchenwald concentration camp in 1938 and released again; he then helped many persecuted Jews as a volunteer for the Jewish Agency in Berlin.

In 1941, he managed to escape to America himself. His son had already been sent to England on a Kindertransport. In the United States, Lippmann worked as an apprentice in a drugstore, studied maths, worked for an advertising company and returned to Germany in 1955 at the invitation of an aunt, who was already 60 years old at the time.

He resumed his work as a lawyer in Hamburg. Incidentally, the first employee at the law firm was Claus von Amsberg, who went on to marry the then Dutch Crown Princess, now Queen Beatrix.

Lippmann's friends cite his humanity, sense of justice and compassion for the weaknesses of his fellow human beings as his outstanding qualities and the reason for his commitment to reconciliation. His wife Barbara (50) says simply, 'His character is conciliatory',

Lippmann's membership of the Esperanto Academy, through which he maintains contacts all over the world, is probably also symbolic of his attempt to enter into dialogue with people of different opinions. In Isarel, whose politics he also takes a critical view of, the lawyer owns a plantation near Meged.

In Hamburg, he is a member of the Jewish community and devotes himself to philately; his library is devoted to biographical and biblical literature, in addition to classics such as Goethe and Shakespeare."



Er widmete sein Leben der deutsch-jüdischen Aussöhnung

Für seine Verdienste um Verständigung zwischen Juden und Deutschen erhielt Dr. Walter Lippmann das Bundesverdienstkreuz. Senatorin Eva Leithäuser sagte: „Sie haben den Deutschen vorgelebt, wie man leben sollte"

Zu Beginn des Ersten Weltkrieges: Walter Lippmann, gerade zum Doktor der Rechte promoviert, in der Uniform des Kaisers

Soeben dem Nazi-Terror entronnen: Lippmann wird 1941 als Ehrenmitglied vom New Yorker Esperanto-Klub empfangen

Ein Orden für den Hamburger, bei dem einst Prinz Claus lernte

In einem Punkt stimmt Dr. Walter Lippmann (90) mit Prinz Claus (59) der Niederlande, seinem früheren Mitarbeiter, nicht überein: Lippmann hofft optimistisch, daß Esperanto zur Weltsprache wird. Prinz Claus dagegen in einem Brief an Lippmann: „Persönlich glaube ich, daß dem Esperanto keine große Zukunft beschieden ist."

Walter Lippmann, gestern von Justizsenatorin Eva Leithäuser mit dem Bundesverdienstkreuz am Bande ausgezeichnet, verdankt amerikanischen Esperanto-Freunden sein Leben: Sie brachten die Dollars auf, damit er 1941 in die USA fliehen konnte.

Mit Esperanto fühlt sich Lippmann seit Kindertagen verbunden, er besitzt eine umfangreiche Übersetzungssammlung. Die Verbindung zum niederländischen Prinzgemahl besteht seit Jahrzehnten: Der geborene Claus von Amsberg war erster juristischer Mitarbeiter von Dr. Lippmann, der 1955 nach der Rückkehr aus Amerika in Hamburg als Anwalt praktizierte. Lippmann über Prinz Claus: „Untadelige Gesinnung und hervorragende Fähigkeiten." Prinz Claus in seinem Glückwunschbrief an Lippmann: „Ich bin nicht sehr lange bei Ihnen gewesen, aber habe doch viel gelernt. Die Wiedergutmachungsfälle (eigentlich ist ‚Wiedergutmachung' ein unmögliches Wort) haben mir die Möglichkeit gegeben, aus Einzelschicksalen Erfahrungen und Wissen zu sammeln, die jeder Deutsche heute haben sollte."

Walter Lippmann, geboren am 13. Oktober 1985 in Leipzig als Sohn eines jüdisches Arztes, blickt auf ein bewegtes Leben zurück – so reich, aber auch so erbärmlich, wie es in Deutschland in den vergangenen neun Jahrzehnten nur sein konnte:

Im Ersten Weltkrieg Meldereiter, ausgezeichnet mit dem Eisernen Kreuz. 1935 – im Jahr der Rassengesetze – von Adolf Hitler wegen seiner Verdienste im Ersten Weltkrieg mit dem „Frontkämpfer-Orden" geehrt. Lippmann: „Das kriegte man mit der Post, einige meiner Freunde sogar nach Amerika." Lippmann: „Ich glaubte zunächst, daß die braune Macht schnell verschwinden würde."

1938 – im Jahr der „Kristallnacht" – wurde Lippmann, Rechtsanwalt seit 1924, die Zulassung entzogen, weil er Jude war. Vielen jüdischen Mitbürgern half er 1940 und 1941 als Mitarbeiter des Palästina-Büros in Berlin, bis ihn selbst der Bannstrahl des Nazi-Regimes traf. Er wurde nach Buchenwald deportiert. Heute fühlt sich Lippmann dem Altbundespräsidenten Karl Carstens „kongenial" verbunden. Wie dieser ist auch er Wanderer seit vielen Jahrzehnten: „Jedes Wochenende sind wir in der Umgebung von Hamburg unterwegs. Eine Landkarte brauche ich nicht, meine Frau kennt sich viel besser aus."

Lippmann zieht Lebensbilanz: „Besonderer Verdienste bin ich mir nicht bewußt. Alles in allem habe ich gern den Menschen geholfen." Und der Rat des 90jährigen an den 18jährigen, der wissen will, wie man sein Leben leben sollte: „Anständig und gut sein zu jedermann". Walter Lippmann schränkt mit einem kleinen Lächeln ein: „Bis sich das Gegenteil herausstellt." dr.

Prinz Claus der Niederlande schaut gern mal herein

Wenn ich einmal wieder in Hamburg bin, was leider sehr selten ist, werde ich mir erlauben bei Ihnen hereinzuschauen. Ich rufe vorher an.

Mit meinen herzlichen Grüssen und Wünschen bin ich

Ihr sehr ergebener,

Claus

(Prinz Claus der Niederlande)

Figure 36 Hamburger Abendblatt daten 28 December 1985

"A medal for the man from Hamburg from whom Prince Claus once learnt Esperanto:

Doctor Walter Lippmann (90) disagrees with Prince Claus (59) of the Netherlands, his former assessor, on one point: Lippmann optimistically hopes that Esperanto will become the world language. Prince Claus, however, in a letter to Lippmann: 'Personally, I don't think Esperanto has much of a future.'

Walter Lippmann, honoured yesterday by Justice Senator Eva Leithäuser with the Federal Cross of Merit on Ribbon, owes his life to American Esperanto friends: they raised the dollars so that he could escape to the USA in 1941.

Lippmann has felt a connection with Esperanto since childhood and owns an extensive collection of translations. The connection to the Dutch prince consort has existed for decades:

Born Claus von Amsberg, he was the first legal assistant to Dr Lippmann, who practised as a lawyer in Hamburg after returning from America in 1955. Lippmann said of Prince Claus: 'impeccable character and outstanding abilities'. Prince Claus in his congratulatory letter to Lipmann wrote: "I was not with you for very long, but I learnt a lot. The restitution cases (actually, restitution is an impossible word) gave me the opportunity to gain experience and knowledge about the fates of individuals that every German should aquire."

Walter Lippmann, born on 13 October 1895 in Leipzig as the son of a Jewish doctor, looks back on an eventful life - as rich, but also as miserable as it could have been in Germany over the past nine decades. In the First World War, he served as a dispatch rider and was awarded the Iron Cross. In 1935 - the year of the Racial Laws - Adolf Hitler honoured him with the Front Fighter Order for his services in the First World War. Lippmann: 'You got it in the post, even some of my friends living in America got it.' Lippmann: 'I initially believed that the "Brown Power" would disappear quickly.'

In 1938 - the year of Kristallnacht - Lippmann, a lawyer since 1924, was disbarred because he was Jewish. He helped many Jewish citizens in 1940 and 1941 as an employee of the Palestine office in Berlin until he came under the scrutiny of the Nazis. He was deported to Buchenwald. Today, Lippmann feels a 'congenial' bond with former Federal President Karl Carstens. Like him, he has also been a hiker for many decades: "Every weekend we go hiking in the Hamburg area. I don't need a map, my wife knows her way around much better."

Lippmann's life balance: "I'm not aware of any particular personal merits. All in all, I've enjoyed helping people." And the advice from the 90-year-old to an 18-year-old wondering how to live their life:

"Be decent and kind to everyone."

Walter Lippmann adds with a small smile:

"Until they prove they deserve otherwise."

In the *Allgemeine Jüdische Wochenzeitung*, dated 13 October 1985, the predecessor of today's *Jüdische Allgemeine*, Arie Goral published an article titled *Walter Lippmann zum 90. Geburtstag*.

"**Walter Lippmann on his 90th Birthday**

Dr Walter Lippmann, who celebrates his 90th birthday on 13 October, belongs to the generation of German Jews that could be said to still be part of the old, intact era—whether that era was as good as generally claimed remains debatable. There are not many left who, as German citizens of the Jewish faith, lived through the Kaiser's time, the Weimar Republic and its decline, the rise of National Socialism with its antisemitism, and the march into catastrophe.

We must say *consciously lived through it*, for he was—and remains even at 90—a keen observer. As a jurist, he never shied away from confronting the realities of his time, though he never openly engaged in politics. His commitment was more towards social issues, the tasks of the life reform movement, and land reform—essentially forward-thinking and progressive. In his early years, he was actively involved in Jewish youth movements, serving as a leader in the Wandering Club *Blau-Weiß*. Later, he became a member of the Social Committee of the Israelite Community and president of the Leipzig *B'nai B'rith* Lodge.

During the perilous time of the Nazi regime, he worked as a volunteer at the *Palestine Office* of the *Jewish Agency* in Berlin, assisting wherever possible. He was not spared from persecution and arrest. In June 1941, when the situation for Jews in Germany became hopeless, he emigrated to the United States.

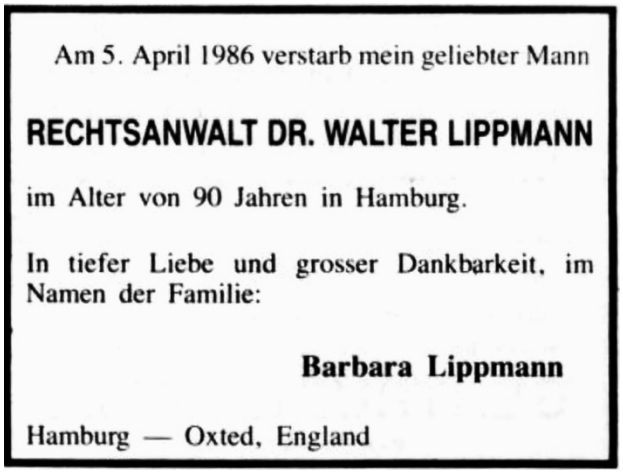
Having become acutely aware of his Jewish identity as a child due to an intolerant remark from his class teacher, Lippmann sought throughout his life to reconcile his Jewishness and German heritage in a meaningful symbiosis. Even today, he remains critically observant and actively engaged with both identities. His wife, a devoted companion, supports him in this. Ultimately, however, Dr Walter Lippmann sees himself as a cosmopolitan, a fact reflected in his extensive library. With care, he presents bibliophilic treasures—one memorable item being a volume from Johann David Michaelis' 1793 three-part work „*On the Oldest History of Horses and Horse Breeding in Palestine and the Neighbouring Countries, especially Egypt and Arabia*".

He has a particular passion for Hebrew grammar and keenly follows international Jewish affairs, reading numerous publications from around the world. He is also deeply immersed in the philological study of Esperanto, the universal auxiliary language, whose intellectual father was the Polish-born Jew Ludwig Lazarus Zamenhof. Dr Lippmann owns a significant collection of world literature in Esperanto translations, including „*La Rabeno de Baharah"*, or „*The Rabbi of Bacharach"* by Heinrich Heine.

May this gracious old gentleman, together with his wife, be granted many more years of his characteristic intellectual vitality—though perhaps not the legendary 120 years often invoked. Regardless, the Jewish community of Hamburg extends its warmest congratulations and wishes him continued active contemplation and robust health."

05.04.1986 Death of Walter Lippmann

Barbara Lippmann announced her husband's death on behalf of the family in the Hamburger Abendblatt on 9 April 1986[1449], and in the magazine „Der Aufbau",[1450] which was published in the USA.



Am 5. April 1986 verstarb mein geliebter Mann

RECHTSANWALT DR. WALTER LIPPMANN

im Alter von 90 Jahren in Hamburg.

In tiefer Liebe und grosser Dankbarkeit, im Namen der Familie:

Barbara Lippmann

Hamburg — Oxted, England

Figure 37 Obituary in Der Aufbau

Dr Walter Lippmann died on 5 April 1984. Four days later, the law firm Tidemann Ulrich Lemberg und Partner, Lilienstrasse 36 in 2000 Hamburg 1, notified the state justice administration of Dr Lippmann's death. The Hanseatic Bar Association removed Dr Lippmann from the list of lawyers admitted to the bar on 14 April 1986.

As agreed with the widow Barbara Lippmann, the lawyer Ulrich Lemberg applied for the appointment as practice liquidator. The appointment by the judicial authorities[1451] took place on 2 May 1986 and was limited in time until 4 November 1986.

In the cancellation certificate from the local court, the last telephone number for the law firm in Grillparzer Strasse is 040-225258. This is my telephone number today.

Walter Jaques Lippmann was laid to eternal rest on 10 April 1986 in the Jewish Cemetery of Hamburg-Ohlsdorf, Ihlandkoppel 68.



Figure 38 Dr Walter Lippmanns grave on the Jewish cemetery in Ohlsdorf

11.09.1988 Hamburg Foundation for Aid to Victims of Nazi Persecution

I think it would be in the spirit of Dr Lippmann and this biography would not be complete if I did not also report on the work of the "Hamburger Stiftung Hilfe für NS-Verfolgte" (Hamburg Foundation for Aid to Victims of Nazi-Persecution), which was established on 11 September 1988. Unfortunately, Dr Lippmann did not live to see the establishment of the foundation.

The "Hamburger Stiftung Hilfe für NS-Verfolgte". was integrated into the "Stiftung Hamburger Gedenkstätten und Lernorte zur Erinnerung an die Opfer der NS-Verbrechen"[1452] (Foundation of Hamburg Memorials and Learning Centres in Remembrance of the Victims of Nazi Crimes).

The foundation maintains several memorials and centres of learning in Hamburg, including the Neuengamme Concentration Camp Memorial,[1453] the Bullenhuser Damm Memorial[1454] and the "denk.mal" Hannoverscher Bahnhof Documentation Centre.[1455] Their aim is to preserve, impart and expand knowledge about the National Socialist era and to critically reflect on how society deals with history.

For 30 years until his death, Dr Lippmann campaigned for reparation, compensation and restitution claims under the Federal Compensation Act (BEG). He advised "entitled persons" under the BEG and represented their claims for restitution in court. Unfortunately, he also had to learn that he was unable to help many victims of National Socialism because they were not "entitled" to it.

On 11 September 1988, the Hamburg Parliament decided to establish the "Hamburg Foundation for Aid to Victims of Nazi-Persecution". This happened 43 years after the end of the Second World War

- a long wait for many victims of Nazi persecution who had hoped for recognition of their suffering, losses and damages. They had not yet received any compensation under the Federal Compensation Act[1456] (BEG) because they did not fall within the definition of those entitled to compensation.

According to Section 1 of the BEG, financial compensation is only available to individuals who were persecuted on political, racial, religious or ideological grounds between 30 January 1933 and 8 May 1945, and who suffered harm as a result.

This means that people who do not fit within this legal definition cannot claim compensation.

Anyone who belongs to the "entitled" group of people can apply for compensation for damage to life, body, health, freedom, property or assets as well as to their professional or economic advancement.

The list of grounds for persecution set out in Section 1 of the BEG is exhaustive; in other words, the responsible administrative authorities and courts had no margin of discretion to rule generously on the recognition of losses, the restoration of human dignity or financial compensation for the harm suffered.

The key question under the BEG was not whether a person had been in a concentration camp, but 'why' they were there. This criterion meant that certain groups of Nazi victims were excluded from receiving reparations, further complicating the issue of recognition and compensation for many of those affected. Those not eligible under Section 1 of the BEG included Roma and Sinti, communists, members of the 'Swing' youth movement, children in care, victims of forced sterilisation, spouses of persecuted individuals, homosexuals, and forced labourers.

By 31.12.2024, German compensation payments to victims of National Socialism totalled over 85 billion euros,[1457] more than half of which was paid under the BEG.

The Federal Compensation Act is a central element of Germany's post-war reparation policy. The compensation payments under the Federal Compensation Act differ from the reparation payments[1458] made by Germany to states that were overrun by the German Reich or whose territories were occupied by the Wehrmacht.

Stefan Romey[1459] was Chairman of the Hamburg Foundation for Aid to Victims of Nazi-Persecution in 2018.

In the 30 years of his voluntary work, he and his colleagues and employees of the foundation have helped more than 2,000 victims of Nazi persecution and their relatives in Hamburg with one-off or ongoing donations. With great commitment and sincerity in their many personal contacts, they have succeeded in mediating with those affected:

> "You suffered grave injustice as a victim of Nazi persecution.
> We have not forgotten you."[1460]

In the following, I draw on the very detailed documentation on the 30th anniversary of the foundation, which Stefan Romey wrote under the title "Nobody is forgotten. 30 Years of Hamburg Foundation Aid for Victims of Nazi Persecution". In his book, he describes the fates of the victims of National Socialism and the efforts to compensate them. He vividly and knowledgeably documents an important chapter of German reparation policy.

Stefan Romey describes in detail the development of compensation policy in Germany from 1945 to 2018. The declared aim was to return assets as far as possible after the war. The Federal Compensation Act (BEG) granted compensation for damage to life, limb and health. From the 1970s onwards, compensation payments were extended, and Nazi unjust judgements were overturned. With the establishment of the Hamburg Foundation for Aid to Victims of Nazi-Persecution in 1988, previously "overlooked" victims of National Socialism were finally able to receive compensation.

Since 11.09.1988 Case studies

Stefan Romey describes around 100 cases that the foundation was able to help. They all belonged to one or other of the groups of cases to which the foundation was able to dedicate itself in accordance with its statutes:

Childrens' Homes
Conscientious objectors
Deserters
Euthanasia-murder
Forced labourers
Forced sterilisation
Homosexuals
Insidiousness law
Jewish quota refugees
Living in hiding
People persecuted as "antisocial" or "alien to the community"
People, who missed deadlines
Persecution of Chinese
Prisoner of War Italian internees
Rejected health damage pensions
Roma and Sinti
Spouses and children of persecuted persons
Swing Youth
Territorial principle
Unworthy of compensation

A central purpose of the BEG was to deny compensation as "unworthy" to former members of the NSDAP and its affiliated organisations, as well as to perpetrators, accomplices and supporters of the National Socialist regime. The Hamburg Foundation for the Victims of Nazi Persecution adopted this guiding principle, while reserving the right to apply a particularly strict standard when considering exceptions to this rule.

The foundation also provided support to Chinese nationals who had been persecuted in the German Reich; to critics of the Nazi regime who had been convicted under the 1934 Treachery Act[1461]; to individuals who had missed BEG deadlines due to ignorance; and to individuals who were no longer resident within the BEG's territorial scope (territorial principle).

For over 30 years, the Foundation's volunteers have, in an admirable way, devoted themselves to understanding these victims of National Socialism and their individual life stories. It is almost

impossible to imagine the atrocities they endured and the accounts the staff had to listen to whilst processing the applications.

The extent of the inhumane acts and later the ruthlessness of society, politics and the judiciary in the post-war period is almost incomprehensible today. Sure, everyone had to reorient themselves in the post-war period, but shouldn't we have expected a little more compassion for the victims of National Socialism?

The realisation that there are hundreds of thousands behind each individual case described below makes my heart heavy.

For more than six months now, I have been studying Dr Lippmann's story every day and reading about the inconceivable atrocities committed by the Nazis and the indescribable suffering of their victims.

In fact, while writing this part of the biography, I repeatedly felt sharp emotional pangs - like side stitches in my soul. So, it's important to clear my head and heart with a meditation session, a concert, a walk along the Alster or a bag of cherries to pamper myself. Such moments of relaxation are important to recharge my batteries and continue working with renewed vigour.

In the following examples, it is important to note that these people were NOT previously recognised as victims of National Socialism and did not receive any state support until 1988.

The situation was different for former children in care. Immediately after coming to power in 1933, the Nazis began systematically removing children from families that the regime deemed "undesirable", "anti-social", "politically unreliable" or "racially inferior". This meant that they were a significantly younger group of claimants in 1988.

In order not to exceed the scope of this biography, I will only briefly describe a few cases of victims that Stefan Romey has described in detail in his book[1462].

Forced sterilisation:

The 1934 "Law for the Prevention of Hereditary Diseases" required doctors in sanatoriums to report individuals with so-called hereditary conditions—including homosexuality, "feeble-mindedness", and other so-called "ballast existences", meaning those deemed burdensome to society due to their perceived lack of usefulness to the community. By 1945, at least 400,000 people had been forcibly sterilised.[1463] This corresponded to around 1% of the German population capable of reproducing.

In the case of women with hereditary diseases, abortions up to the sixth month with subsequent forced sterilisation were the rule.

In the late 1940s one "racial hygienist" of the Nazi era was Hans Harmsen.[1464] As the head of the Academy for State Medicine in Hamburg, he advocated for a revision and new edition of the Nazi sterilisation law.

Later, as a co-founder, he became - it is hard to believe - honorary chairman of Pro Familia[1465]. The German Association for Family Planning, Sex Education and Sexual Counselling (Pro Familia) is a nationwide network of counselling centres. Its services are aimed primarily at young people, parents and schools.

The Berlin Main Committee "Victims of Fascism" dealt with the question of whether forced sterilisation was a crime committed by the Nazi regime. In the medical report, Karl Bonhoeffer[1466] took the view that sterilisations under the Hereditary Health Act did not constitute persecution in the sense of National Socialist persecution. In October 1946, the court ruled that the medical interventions were political measures and that those affected should be regarded as victims of fascism. Nevertheless, the victims were not recognised as such and remained excluded for reparation under the Federal Compensation Act. The doctors and judges involved went unpunished, and these acts played no role in denazification.

The women affected felt throughout their lives like humiliated victims who received no compensation until 1988. Most of them were of advanced retirement age.

The aforementioned Karl Bonhoeffer[1467] was the father of the theologians Dietrich Bonhoeffer[1468] and Klaus Bonhoeffer.[1469] Dietrich and Klaus were hanged together with their brothers-in-law Rüdiger Schleicher[1470] and Hans von Dohnanyi,[1471] the father of the later mayor of Hamburg Klaus von Dohnanyi,[1472] along with eight other resistance fighters shortly before the end of the war on 9 April 1945. They were involved in the assassination and subversion plans of 20 July 1944.[1473] Their biographies are worthy of note and well worth reading.

The "Hamburger Stiftung Hilfe für NS-Verfolgte" was established in 1988 during the term of office of Mayor Klaus von Dohnanyi from 1981 to 1988.

At this point in history, is it any wonder that it was not the victims and their representatives who were invited to a hearing before the Restitution Committee of the German Bundestag on the BEG Final Act in 1961, but instead the "racial hygienists" of the Nazi regime, such as Professors Werner Villinger,[1474] Helmut Ehrhardt[1475] and Hans Nachtsheim?[1476]

These "experts" supported the rejectionist stance of the Federal Ministry of Finance and warned of "compensation neuroses".[1477] According to their perfidious argument, these would be caused by the victims' pensions, which would constantly remind the victims of their suffering.

Obviously, however, these gentlemen had no qualms about the "perpetrator neuroses" that reminded convicted Nazi criminals of their own deeds and could possibly lead them to questionable beliefs and actions. The "brown" experts had made astonishing careers after the end of the war.

It seems that the three experts were in favour of the forced sterilisation of 400,000 people and the selection of 70,000 people for the T4 euthanasia programme.[1478] It is actually unimaginable, that the many victims of these actions were not covered by the Federal Compensation Act!

In 1986, the Federal Government produced a report on the status of the Roma, Sinti and related groups, including the forcibly sterilised. It was argued that compensation could only be paid from the hardship fund of the General War Consequences Act (AKG), as otherwise other victims of Nazi persecution would be disadvantaged.

Furthermore, a general pension payment to people who had been forcibly sterilised, irrespective of the degree of damage, would not be compatible with the principles of current compensation law and previous compensation practice.

It would apparently have been an unjustified advantage for the large number of persecuted persons

who received neither pensions nor capital compensation for health damage under the BEG because their reduction in earning capacity (MdE) was below 25% (§ 31 para. 1, § 36 BEG), as well as for many thousands of persecuted persons, especially Jews, who were unable to meet the requirements of the statutory provisions because of the cut-off date and place of residence. Despite severe health impairments caused by their imprisonment in concentration camps, they received only DM 5,000 as a standard benefit under the BEG.

In other words, "because we compensate some unfairly, we don't want to compensate others fairly."

The purchasing power[1479] of the lump-sum compensation of DM 5,000 in 1986 corresponds to the value of EUR 5,250 in 2024, adjusted for inflation.

It was not until 1988 that an additional ongoing monthly payment of DM 100 was made possible under the General War Consequences Act. The monthly pension was increased in the following years and at the time of payment in December 2016 (71 years after the end of the war!), it will be EUR 352 - for those still alive. How many people will have lived to see this?

In April 1937, an 18-year-old woman who was considered suicidal was admitted to the Finkenau Women's Hospital and forcibly sterilised. She later worked as a nurse. Her application for compensation under the Federal Equality Act (BEG) was rejected due to missing the deadlines, and the allegation was raised that the sterilisation had not been preceded by an official procedure under the Hereditary Health Act

She was thus "punished" for the fact that the authorities had mistakenly failed to carry out the official procedure. Twenty years later, she received DM 5,000 from the AKG hardship fund and, from July 1990, a monthly pension of DM 100. The Hardship Fund, established under the General War Consequences Act (AKG) of 1957, was a state compensation fund designed to address cases of hardship that were not covered by standard compensation schemes under the Federal Compensation Act (BEG) or other reparations legislation.

The compensation proceedings for the forgotten victims of Nazi persecution took a very long time. No one received any immediate, early support.

Conscientious objectors and deserters

The German Reich's military justice system sentenced 20,000 of 35,000 "deserters" and 5,000 of 30,000 "draft resisters" to death. It is known that they were treated particularly badly in the concentration camps as "traitors to the fatherland". As they were not considered victims of Nazi persecution, their wives and children did not receive survivors' pensions under the BEG.

Homosexual men

"Kann denn Liebe Sünde sein?" (Can Love be a Sin?)[1480] asked Zarah Leander[1481] in the 1938 film „Der Blaufuchs",[1482] in which she sang the song with lyrics by Bruno Balz.[1483]

"Every little philistine makes my life a misery,
because all he ever talks about is morality."

In the summer of 1941, Bruno Balz,[1484] who was responsible for the lyrics to over a thousand popular hits, was arrested a second time by the Gestapo under Section 175 StGB, the paragraph against male homosexuality, and tortured for three weeks in solitary confinement. It was only through the courageous intervention of the successful composer Michael Jary[1485] supported by the famous singer Zarah Leander, who declared that he could not write the songs that Joseph Goebbels, the Reich Minister of Propaganda demanded as a "contribution to the war effort" without the help of his musical partner Bruno Balz.

It is incredible, but true, that within 24 hours of his release, Bruno Balz - who had narrowly escaped being placed in protective custody in a concentration camp - wrote two of his greatest hits, which are still well known today: "Davon geht die Welt nicht unter" (The World won't End because of This) and "Ich weiß, es wird einmal ein Wunder gescheh'n" (I Know, One Day a Miracle will Happen).[1486]

Whenever I hear these two songs, I am reminded of their genesis. It also makes me think of the "unconditional yes to life" that Viktor E. Frankl talks about.

Though this tale found its happy ending, most were not so lucky. Homosexuality was a "typical National Socialist crime". More than 50,000 men were interned because of their homosexuality under special Section 175 action.[1487] Those affected were stigmatised as "pests of the people" and "aliens to the community" and imprisoned in concentration camps based on pink lists and denunciations.

The homosexual men were threatened with severe punishments such as prison, forced labour, castration or even the death penalty. Cruel medical experiments were carried out on them in Buchenwald concentration camp. They were promised that they would be released if they were castrated. The forced consent to castration was later used against them in a perfidious manner when they filed claims for compensation. Their claims for compensation were rejected because they had consented to the castration.

In the area of homosexuality, too, it took a very long time for a change in thinking to begin. It was not until 2002 (57 years after the end of the war!), that all court martial judgements against deserters and judgements under Section 175 against homosexuals were repealed by law.

Until then, the judgements were still recorded in police clearance certificates and made both social life and professional advancement more difficult for those affected. However, the cancellation of the sentences did not automatically lead to an entitlement to benefits under the Federal Compensation Act (BEG).

The Spiegel Affair in 1962,[1488] was a political scandal in the Federal Republic of Germany, triggered by a critical Der Spiegel article on defence policy. On 26 October 1962, acting on a treason complaint and at the request of the federal prosecutors, the Bundesgerichtshof ordered the search of the Spiegel offices and the private homes of its staff; several journalists were arrested, among them publisher Rudolf Augstein, who was held in pre-trial detention for over three months. Franz Josef Strauß, then Minister of Defence and a CSU politician with a National Socialist past, was the driving force behind the action and personally had journalist Conrad Ahlers arrested in Spain — a move even the Interior Minister, Hermann Höcherl, later admitted lay 'somewhat outside legality'. No evidence of treason was

ever found, and no trial was opened against the journalists. The affair sparked widespread protest, forced Strauß's resignation, and is regarded as a milestone for press freedom in the young Federal Republic.

In another 'Spiegel' (German: mirror) affair,[1489] which began on 2 July 1980, Corny Littmann[1490] smashed one-way mirrors in public toilets with a hammer. These mirrors had been installed years earlier under Helmut Schmidt,[1491] then Senator for the Interior and later Federal Chancellor. Police officers had been stationed behind these mirrors to monitor gay men, continuing the Nazis' 'Pink Lists'.[1492] Littmann's action brought this practice to light, and "Der Spiegel" exposed the scandal, turning it into a matter of public interest.

It was not until 1994 that Section 175 of the German Criminal Code (StGB) was repealed[1493] without replacement. This paragraph had previously criminalised sexual acts between persons of the male sex and thus enabled the persecution of homosexuals in Germany. The abolition of Section 175 StGB was an important milestone in the emancipation of homosexuals, which began in 1969 with the Stonewall Uprising in New York.

Twenty years later, in 2015, the Federal Council passed measures to rehabilitate and compensate men convicted of homosexuality. In 2017, the sentences under Section 175 StGB were repealed with the "Act on the Criminal Rehabilitation of Those Convicted under Section 175 StGB". 70 years after the end of the war, only a few of the men affected lived to experience this justice. For most men, the law came too late!

Swing Youth

The persecuted Swing Youth[1494] also received no compensation for the suffering inflicted on them. In the Hitler Youth, young people were given paramilitary training and prepared for military service. In opposition to this were young people who favoured listening to American swing music on records or, illegally, on foreign or enemy radio stations[1495] and dancing to it. They rejected the uniform of the Hitler Youth and dressed in "jazzy" clothes.

The Nazis had an aversion to so-called "Negro music", which was played in the Alsterpavillon[1496] on Jungfernstieg, for example. During a raid on the Curio-Haus[1497] on Rothenbaumchaussee in 1940, the personal details of 400 swing girls and boys were taken. As part of the "Immediate Action against the Swing Youth",[1498] several hundred young people were taken to the Gestapo prison in Hamburg on 18 August 1941 and sent to the Youth Concentration Camp for Boys in Moringen[1499] and the Uckermark Concentration Camp for Girls[1500] or Neuengamme Concentration Camp.[1501] Their resistance against the Hitler Youth was later not considered politically motivated, so they were not considered "politically persecuted persons" within the definition of Section 1 BEG and therefore could not receive compensation.

The house at Rothenbaumchaussee 26 is opposite the Curio House. A clarinet was found here during renovation work, which gave Michael Batz the idea of researching the owner. The result was the fantastic book "The House of Paul Levy",[1502] which tells the story of the residents of this house, the Jewish, upper middle-class home that was built in 1922. This book was the inspiration for my search for Dr Lippmann.

The so-called British military Curio House trials[1503] for Nazi crimes and war crimes of the were held in the Curio House. These included the Neuengamme main trial[1504] and seven Ravensbrück trials[1505]

against members of the SS who were responsible for crimes in these concentration camps (including the numerous sub-camps). 102 death sentences were handed down in this venue, which is nowadays often the scene of light-hearted celebrations.

Children in Childrens' Homes

For the post-war authorities, children in homes were not victims of National Socialism, but rather "difficult to educate persons". The experts in the compensation proceedings were once again the same people who had placed them in the homes. The "principles of völkisch education"[1506] continued to be practised in most of these homes even after the war and were thus passed on to these children and the next generation of educators.

Children who grew up in orphanages during the Nazi era fared no better. Children who were non-conformist or somehow different, or whose parents were considered opponents of the regime, were kept there. They were labelled "asocial" or "pests of the people" and were given a "völkisch upbringing". Children of such parents were considered to be "genetically defective" or "hereditarily damaged" from the outset, which quickly led to the judgement of "unworthy of life", with the consequence that they were forcibly sterilised or murdered in euthanasia programs.

Is it necessary to mention that the Nazis brutally exploited the labour of children and young people during their detention?

Between 2012 and 2018, the Federal Government, the Länder and the churches established two "Institutional Care Funds"[1507]: the fund for the Federal Republic of Germany (1949–1975), with a volume of €120 million, and the fund for the GDR (1949–1990), whose volume was increased in 2015 to up to €364 million. In total, more than 40,000 former children placed in institutional care received support amounting to around €485 million.

Pay attention! To this day, 18 March 2024, there is no compensation or support under the BEG for children who were placed in homes during the Nazi era! To date, the Hamburg Foundation for Aid to Victims of Nazi-Persecution is the only institution that can do something for them.

A 14-year-old girl was denounced by her neighbours for listening to foreign radio. Her mother was sent to the Fuhlsbüttel concentration camp[1508] for six months for this offence. She herself was initially sent to Pomerania for a year, where she was educated in an educational centre according to National Socialist rules and ideals. At the age of 16, she fled from the girls' home at Tarpenbekstrasse 107 (Anscharhöhe) in Hamburg. After several attempts to escape from various reformatories, she herself was threatened with being sent to the Neuengamme concentration camp.

During a bombing raid, she managed to escape to her mother. She was soon discovered there. Her mother was imprisoned for three months. The daughter was sent to the "transit home for young women at risk" at Schwanewik 38.[1509] This reformatory with a fine view of the Outer Alster continued to exist until 1985, when it was returned to the expropriated owners. The next chapter in the building's eventful history began in 1987, when it was opened to the public as a Literaturhaus (literature house).

The now 19-year-old's father had died in the meantime. In August 1944, she lived in the "Farmsen Workhouse" and performed forced labour there as "discipline."

> In February 1945, at the age of 20, she escaped from the Finkenau Women's

Hospital[1510], where she had been forcibly admitted because she was two months pregnant. Fearing an ordered abortion and forced sterilisation, she fled and went into hiding. Her daughter was born on 2 August 1945, only three months after the end of the war.

Her fate did not entitle her to compensation or support under the Federal Compensation Act. However, due to her lifelong traumatic anxiety, she received a monthly pension of 200 DM from the Hamburg Foundation for Aid to Victims of Nazi-Persecution, starting in May 1989, which was incrementally increased. She was not compensated for the forced labour she had performed.

Italian prisoners of war

This was also the fate of the Italian prisoners of war[1511]. Sicily was occupied by the Allies in July 1943. Italy concluded an armistice with the Allies and terminated its alliance with the German Reich on 8 September 1943. The German Wehrmacht then occupied northern Italy with its industrialised areas and turned around 650,000 Italian soldiers who had previously fought on the German side into prisoners of war.

Under international law, prisoners of war are entitled to a certain degree of protection from violence, hunger and cold, but the Nazi regime denied them this. Exposed to the harsh conditions of captivity without protection, 40,000 of them died in the German Reich or in the German-occupied territories to which they had been deported.

A "performance diet" was introduced for the Italian forced labourers.[1512] There was only enough to eat if the group achieved maximum performance. The evaluation of labour performance was at the arbitrary discretion of the commandant. In autumn 1944, the war internees were transferred to civilian status and assigned to the factories as forced labourers[1513] or used to clear rubble in bombed-out German cities.

After the war, neither Germany nor Italy compensated them for their forced labour. In June 2004, the Federal Constitutional Court ruled (2 BvR 1379/01) that "having been a prisoner of war does not entitle the person to benefits under Section 11 of the Foundation Act "Remembrance, Responsibility and Future".[1514] This refers to the so-called Forced Labour Foundation.[1515]

The few Italian forced labourers still alive in 2004, all at least 77 years old, have to this day (2026) received no compensation from Germany. Only in 2022 did Italy itself establish a 'Fondo per il ristoro dei danni subiti dalle vittime delle stragi naziste', funded from its own state budget: Euro 20 million for 2023, followed by roughly Euro 11.8–13.7 million annually thereafter (2024–2026).

The other affected groups fared no better. For those who survived the suffering inflicted on them by the National Socialists, the postwar period must have seemed like the continuation of a Kafkaesque nightmare.

Transgenerational transmission

Like their tormentors, most of the victims of National Socialism have since died. But their suffering has not been buried or forgotten. It is unfortunately a fact that parents' traumas can be passed on to

their children and even grandchildren. The phenomena of transgenerationality[1516] and epigenetics[1517] have been the subject of scientific research since the 1960s.

In the first years after the war, everyone was preoccupied and busy with the economy, housing and infrastructure. Most people went to work on foot and worked six days a week.

Between 1944/45 and 1950, some 12 to 14 million Germans and ethnic Germans from various, now lost, territories were affected by flight and expulsion, and they all had to make a new home for themselves. Everyone looked for their own little fortune. In most families, people talked about the good old days in their "homeland", but not or only rarely about the war and the flight. They kept quiet, suppressing the nightmare they had lived through as best they could.

It may have been a similar experience for most Holocaust survivors, victims of Nazi persecution.

There are no winners at the end of a war. There are casualties on both sides and the human and material losses are great. The scars heal only slowly. The social development of society is set back for decades. As we have seen, the fear of war and the enemy is passed down through generations.

That is why war must never be a political tool. Good politics must seek to balance the interests within a society and between nations and strive for sustainable, equitable solutions. The historical truth must not be written by the victors alone but must be researched and presented impartially by qualified academics from all sides to draw the right conclusions for confidence-building measures in the future.

But how can there be peace if not through a consistent reappraisal of history, the admission of one's own guilt in the sense of Karl Jaspers, the sincere request for forgiveness and the attempt to make amends? Only in this way is reconciliation and the healing of wounds possible.

After the end of apartheid in South Africa, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission[1518] was established in 1994. Its aim was to come to terms with the crimes and human rights violations committed during apartheid. The Commission did not impose any penalties but granted amnesty to those who had confessed their offences and shown remorse. The aim was to bring the truth to light and promote reconciliation between the different population groups. Recommendations were also made to compensate the victims. This approach to reconciliation is promising and could be further optimised for similar cases.

The idea of a united Europe is based on shared values such as peace, democracy, human rights and the rule of law. A forum that promotes the exchange of experiences and best practices in the field of conflict management and reconciliation could help different countries in the EU and the world to learn from each other and work together towards a more just and peaceful future. Dealing with historical injustices helps to learn from history and strengthen trust between member states.

Even if Europe is not yet perfect, the idea of united, peaceful, and solidaristic societies must never be forsaken – no matter the cost.

11.04.1991 Death of Alec Venture – Bernhard's "English Father"



Figure 39 Alec Eleazer Venture

The dream of a Europe united in freedom without borders is very similar to the dream of a universal language such as Esperanto. It can be assumed that both Dr Walter Lippmann and Alec Venture would have welcomed the Schengen Agreement,[1519] the European agreement that provides for the lifting of internal border controls between the participating states and enables the creation of a common travel area, in the hope that a standardised language would eventually be established.

Unfortunately, the two gentlemen did not live to see the ratification of the Schengen Agreement in 1995. What would Dr Lippmann have said about the fact that it is possible to travel without checks at the European borders?

The British economy was not in the best shape in 1939. Unemployment, housing shortage and the threat of war from Nazi Germany was of great concern to the British. In this context, taking in 10,000 Jewish children seems an extraordinary and generous act on the part of British families who had no state support. One of these families was that of Alec Ventura, an Esperantist with whom Dr Lippmann was in contact.

Both in my personal research and on the Internet, I kept coming across helpful people. Sometimes the correspondence even developed into a friendly contact. Tim Owen in England and Brandon Sowers in the USA opened their archives to me. Among other things, they gave me access to two obituaries for Alec Venture in Esperanto.

Mr W. G. Atkinson's obituary shows great respect for Alec Venture and Bernhard's obituary[1520] shows great and deep affection for his English father.

With the help of Google, I have translated the following two obituaries from Esperanto.

This is the obituary for Alec Venture by W.G. Atkinson:

> "Alec Venture died on 11 April 1991 at the age of 81. He was an active Esperantist who made an outstanding contribution to the Esperanto movement at home and abroad for more than 60 years. Because of his versatile work, the London Esperanto

Club elected him Honorary Vice-President in 1980 and the Universal Esperanto Association made him an Honorary Member in 1989. He continued his work for Esperanto until a few weeks before his death.

He was born on 24 March 1910 and joined the London Esperanto Club in 1929. He soon became an active member and took part in the World Congress in Oxford in 1930. He was particularly interested in Esperanto literature, on which he frequently lectured. He always endeavoured to improve the standard of spoken and written Esperanto.

In 1960, he initiated a training course for club members, which he successfully ran for 20 years. He also regularly taught Esperanto in his home to anyone who wanted to learn it. During his long life's work in Esperanto, he worked for the BEA (later EAB) in many ways, especially in examinations and correspondence courses. He was a member of the advisory board and treasurer of the BEA from 1946 to 1955.

At the UEA he was a member of the jury for art competitions (1965-74) and later its secretary (1974-1985). Until his death he was an effective delegate as Language Services Officer (from 1969) and Treasurer of the Esperanto Language Writers Association (EVA). He was a SAT examiner and worked actively for SAT in the UK in the field of language control.

His works include collaboration on "Facila Legolibro" (1932) and "Enciklopedio de Esperanto" (1933), "Radio Terminaro" (1943), prose translations in "English Anthology", Vol. I (1957) and Vol. 2 (1987), collaboration on the 1st International Business Dictionary in National Languages" (1974), a long series of articles in BE "Lauokaza Lingva Notos", later published as a book (1977), and a translation of "Erevon" (1974). International Business Dictionary in National Languages" (1974), a long series of articles in BE "Lauokaza Lingva Notos", which was later published as a book (1977), and a translation of "Erevon" by Samuel Butler (1978).

Alec was always inspired by the humanitarian ideals traditionally associated with Esperanto, and he did not hesitate to put them into practice in his life.

In 1939, he and his wife Ethel took in the 13-year-old Bernhard, son of the well-known German Esperanto grammarian Walter Lippmann, as a refugee and looked after the boy until after the war.

Alec's many friends locally and around the world, as well as his family, will miss him greatly, but are happy that they were able to get to know him. Our special sympathy goes to his son Ian, who was a great support to him, especially in the last years of his life."

Obituary by Bernhard Lippmann:

"We are here to say goodbye to Alec Venture, who passed away on 11 April 1991, less than three weeks after his eighty-first birthday.

Alec was the only child of Samuel Venture and his beautiful wife Lily. Samuel died in

1911, when Alec was only a year old, leaving Lily unprepared for the problems of being a widow with a young child.

After some time, Lily remarried and had two daughters and a son. In 1925, when Alec was 15 years old, his stepfather died. Alec, who was a gifted scholar at grammar school and aspired to go to university, had to leave school immediately and go to work to help his mother support the young family. Alec became the breadwinner of the family and was like a father to his little sisters and brother for the next ten years. He continued to support his mother afterwards.

Joseph Owen, a successful building contractor and local philanthropist, gave the bright young man a job in his company - a job that would last 65 years. Alec started as an office assistant in the busy construction company - running errands, counting bricks... all sorts of things. But Alec had the will to develop and learn. He learnt all about the construction industry through distance learning and thanks to his skills and diligence, he rose through the ranks to become company secretary and later managing director. He continued to work diligently for the Owen family businesses until his death.

When Alec heard about Esperanto as a teenager, he was attracted to the concept of a universal language that would allow people from all countries to communicate easily with each other. He learnt the language, soon mastered it and joined the London Esperanto Club at the age of 19. Throughout his life, he worked tirelessly for the Esperanto movement.

He taught Esperanto in evening and correspondence courses, was an examiner for fifty years and for twenty years a member of the jury and then secretary of the literary competition of the Universal Esperanto Association. He was a board member and honorary vice-president of the London Esperanto Club, a board member and treasurer of the British Esperanto Association and treasurer of the Esperantist Writers' Association.

Alec gave lectures and wrote articles in Esperanto, some of which were later published in an anthology, and translated the satirical novel “Erewhon” by Samuel Butler into Esperanto. He also collaborated on a number of Esperanto books, such as Facila Legolibro (Easy Reader), Radioterminaro (Radio Vocabulary), an economic and ecological dictionary and various literary publications.

When Alec was made an honorary member of the World Esperanto Association a year and a half ago, his decades of consistent, reliable and creative work were emphasised in the laudation.

Esperanto was important to Alec not only because it gave him a lifelong interest and a cause. He met a young Esperantist, Ethel Bottle, at the London Esperanto Club. She became his wife in 1937, and they remained happily married until Ethel's death on 27 October 1984.

In 1939, the young couple took in the thirteen-year-old son of an Esperantist family who had sent him to safety from the Nazi persecution of Jews in Germany. The boy's parents, Walter and Elise Lippmann, were stuck in Germany when the war broke out,

and Alec and Ethel Venture looked after the boy until after the war. In recent years, Alec supported a child in Egypt.

From his youth, Alec knew first-hand the hardships of ordinary working-class families affected by illness or death, and he dedicated his life to providing practical and political help to these people. For many years in the thirties and forties he was treasurer of the Slate Club of the North Mitcham Improvement Association - a demanding task in his spare time. He was a member of the Labour Party for many years and organised weekly meetings of the local group at his home.

Despite his busy life, family commitments and activities in Esperanto and socialism, Alec had a great thirst for knowledge and a strong drive to improve himself through learning. He continued his studies in the evenings and at weekends, gaining a Chartered Secretary and Incorporated Accountant degree and a B.Sc. degree in Property Management. In between the major annual examinations for these degrees, he sat the City and Guilds' Institute examination in Builders' Pricing and won the coveted silver medal for the best paper.

Alec's interests were wide-ranging and were not limited to academic or literary subjects: After Ethel's death (3 October1903 – 27 October 1984), he learnt the art of cooking and prepared excellent Chinese and Indonesian dishes for his family and friends. Alec was an excellent linguist.

Bernhard Lippmann 22 April 1991"

Alec Venture grew up in poor circumstances. According to the National Probate Registry of England and Wales,[1521] he left a fortune of £ 198,565. This corresponds to a purchasing power of around 629,308 euros in 2025.

July 1999 Tracing report for missing people

In the MB-Mitteilungsblatt des Irgun Olei Merkas Europa[1522] March-April 1999 the following entry can be found in the search notes:

"Gisela Dulon, Heidhofsweg 17a, 22589 Hamburg, seeks information from descendants or acquaintances about:
Julius Asch, born 30 August 1875 in Rawitsch/Poland and wife Erna, née Basse (1890-6/1969). The above had lived in Hamburg since 1899, in Blankenese since 1919. Co-owner of the company Chs. Lavy & Co. at Bleichenbrücke 25 in Hamburg.
Then owner of the Hartenhöhe estate [meaning the Marienhöhe estate] in Blankenese, pheasant enclosure and farm, children's holiday camp in summer. Suicide in the Elbe on 02.01.1939. Also address of their nephew in Israel: Dr Walter Lippmann. Lawyer, formerly Leipzig, Petersstrasse 15, wanted."

In the earlier issues of this and other Jewish newspapers there were many such wanted adverts. In 1999 there were only very few. The search for missing persons must have been very difficult as the archives not yet been digitised. Today the search is easier. However, the amount of data found is so large that it is easy to lose track. For example, in one archive, entering the search term "Walter Lippmann" alone

quickly brings up 335 documents, but these belong to at least three different people with the same name. In other archives, you will find thousands of documents.

As a result of her research, Gisela Dulon wrote a biography about Julius Asch entitled „verschweig uns nicht"[1523] (Do Not be Silent About Us). The biography, which is well worth reading, also includes photos of Bernhard Lippmann as a child, and the Julius Asch biography of the Stolperstein[1524] is also worth reading.

06.12.2011 Death of Bernhard Lippmann

Bernhard Lippmann died at the age of 85 in Streatham near London. He left behind two children and grandchildren.[1525]

I was able to correct the date of death using the death register. Other documents stated the date of death as June 12, 2011. This may be due to the different representation of dates in Europe compared to the USA.

01.03.2020 Death of Barbara Lippmann

Walter's wife Barbara Lippmann, née Walbaum, divorced name Mohr, died on 1 March 2020 and left behind two daughters from her first marriage.

09.03.2024 Stumble stone for Walter Lippmann

> "The horror did not begin in Auschwitz, Treblinka or other camps,
> it began in our neighbourhoods, in our homes, on our doorstep!"

The Hamburg Stumble Stones website[1526], which has been collecting biographies of victims of Nazi tyranny since 1995, begins with this brief statement.

The idea of the Stolpersteine came from the artist Günther Demnig.[1527] Since 1992, he has been laying small brass memorial stones in the ground in front of the last freely chosen homes of the victims of National Socialism to their memory. The special thing about the Stolpersteine is that they are not an act of state or a prescribed act of remembrance. Through the private commitment of the local population and personal research into the life stories of the victims, a deep connection to the past is created. Anyone who has read the Stolperstein stories on site will see the house with different eyes in future. By June 2026, the laying of Stolpersteine in Hamburg alone had reached 7,524.

Nazi victims often lived next door to Nazi criminals and their many helpers. This can be seen in the database of "ones who have been there".[1528] This is a survey of Nazi perpetrators, beneficiaries, informers, followers and bystanders in Hamburg.

Today, on 9 March 2024, the stumble stone for Dr Lippmann will be laid. Unfortunately, I can't be there because I have retired to Sicily for 6 weeks to finish the first draft of the manuscript for this documentary.

“Tikkun Olam” is a term from the Jewish tradition and means “world improvement” or “repair of the world”.

A person who dedicates his or her life to positive change and the well-being of others, as Dr Walter Jaques Lippmann did, working to heal and uplift the world for the greater good, embodies the spirit of Tikkun Olam.“

26.09.2025 Handing over the nameplate to the Lippmann family

Today is a very special day. Exactly 724 days ago, on the 3rd of October 2023, I started researching the life of Dr Walter Lippmann, who had lived in my flat until his death. What started with a simple nameplate developed into a passion of its own: for two years, I spent more than eight hours a day, almost every day, searching through archives and libraries for traces of this man. The result is the work presented here. Shortly before completing this project, I also finished translating it into English.

I sent a copy to the descendants living in London, along with a request to return the nameplate that had marked the beginning of this chapter of my life. We met for Afternoon Tea at the Clermont Hotel near Victoria Station, where we talked for hours. In the end, I placed the nameplate in the family’s hands – returning it to where it belongs.



Figure 40 Handing over the nameplate to the Lippmann family

The return of the nameplate made a dream come true. What happiness! I am relieved to have achieved my goal. Perhaps I feel ten centimetres taller, too.

I have often taken on projects without knowing what work would be involved or how much would be required of me. Often, I was pushed to my limits, yet the joy of reaching the goal was boundless every time.

Perhaps it is a good thing that, at the dawn of a new venture, one only feels the 'magic of beginnings', as Hermann Hesse calls it. The joy of creation and achieving something through one's own efforts

helps one to overcome problems and maintain routines. Having patience and the ability to wait for rewards increases the likelihood of persevering when tired, stuck or when technology fails.

Ultimately, the happiness of realising one's own idea is what matters. I have learnt how to work in archives, how to organise vast amounts of information and how to shape them into substantial texts — right through to the finished book manuscript. Beyond that, I have had the pleasure of many wonderful human encounters, for which I am deeply grateful.

And to answer a question that comes up rather frequently:
Yes, I would do it again, without hesitation, for exactly these reasons.

Clermont Hotel, London, 26 September 2025

Brief summary of Walter Lippmann's curriculum vitae

1895 - 1914:	Walter Lippmann was born in Leipzig on 13 October 1895. His youth in Leipzig was very enjoyable for the son of a doctor, who enjoys learning. Many people remember this time as the "good old days".
1914 - 1918:	Participation as a soldier in the First World War was the first dystrophy that Dr Lippmann experienced. He saw destruction and suffering as the consequences of the First World War. It can be assumed that these impressions strengthened his compassion, his sense of justice and his humanistic and enlightened attitude.
1918 - 1933:	He worked determinedly towards a doctorate in law, wrote a grammar for Esperanto, started a family and became involved in Zionist projects.
1934 - 1941:	The dark years of National Socialism reached their lowest point for him with his imprisonment in Buchenwald concentration camp and ended with his escape to America.
1941 - 1955:	He worked his way up from his first temporary jobs to become the comptroller of an advertising agency.
1955 – 1986:	Return to Hamburg and active as a lawyer in compensation and restitution proceedings. He died on 5 April 1986.

Afterword / Postscript

I thank the staff of the various libraries, archives and institutions for their support and advice. And I would like to thank the many unknown individuals who digitised the archived documents.

As a dwarf[1529], I thank all the giants on whose shoulders I stand: all those who make their valuable and in-depth knowledge available to the public free of charge on the websites listed. My thanks also goes to the authors listed in the bibliography, for without their careful treatment of a wide variety of topics, it would not have been possible for me to write this book.

I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to my mother, Birgit Stratmann, Carola Roloff, Christof Spitz, Elke Weiland, Petra Barkhausen, Erika Günzel Spadaro and Erika Bergert for their patience and for listening to my daily research findings with such generosity. I promise to broaden my thematic focus in the future. ;-) Special thanks to Penny Linemann for her invaluable support with the English translation.

Since 3 October 2023, I have essentially been working on this project every day. Over a period of more than two years, I have spent around 40 hours a week researching and writing – not out of a sense of duty, but because I was completely captivated by the wealth of sources and the significance of the subject. I have worked my way through hundreds of old newspaper articles, around 1,500 websites and numerous books. In the process, I have also come across more recent research findings and have updated my knowledge accordingly.

The Nazis' fascism began small and slow, somewhat ridiculed, but quickly gained strength and expansion because most people didn't take it seriously. Those who fled in time survived, while others remained behind and were deported to concentration camps. The Lippmann family escaped this fate literally at the last minute. But the many other biographies discussed here often had a less happy ending.

The Germans who didn't take fascism seriously also paid a bitter price for it.

When working with individual biographies, it becomes clear that many people suffered under the various facets of the National Socialist ideology of exclusion and annihilation. As early as February 1933, political opponents from the KPD, SPD and the trade unions were arrested. The masses remained silent. From the spring of 1933, the systematic exclusion of Jewish men and women began. The masses remained silent. Shortly afterwards, Sinti and Roma, "asocials", and homeless people were registered and arrested. The masses remained silent – because they were once again not affected. Even when people with disabilities were forcibly sterilised and homosexual men were persecuted, the majority remained silent. From 1937 onwards, Jehovah's Witnesses and so-called "professional criminals" were also imprisoned.

The masses remained silent because, once again, they did not consider themselves to be among the persecuted. It was only when the knock came at their own door that many realised there was no one left to stand by them.

Women were also subjected to severe discrimination under National Socialism, primarily through state-mandated subordination that controlled their rights, bodies, professional opportunities, and life paths. This discrimination was rooted in Nazi ideology, which reduced women to their 'biological duty' as

mothers, denied them political and professional participation, and denigrated female self-determination as 'un-German'.

Everyone could find out what was happening in the German Reich, because it was literally printed in the newspapers — the very papers that today lie in archives but were then sold on the street. The information about everyday discrimination and harassment was documented above all in the press and took place directly within people's immediate neighbourhoods.

Perhaps the worst could have been prevented if at least those affected had shown solidarity and taken joint action against the discrimination at an early stage. A united front might have helped raise awareness of the injustices and result in effective action.

We must be very vigilant today and resolutely oppose the current nationalism and chauvinism, because they seek to change democratic and pluralistic civil society. Everyone has the right to express their opinion. But hatred is NOT an opinion!

Hatred, like shame, is an emotion that cannot be argued against. That is why Hannah Arendt's and Sebastian Haffner's analysis of the roots of totalitarianism is as insightful as it is true:

> "The humiliation of losing the First World War and the reparation payments made the Germans ready for Hitler [hitlerfähig]."

Balancing different interests and emotions is a central task of good politics. Weighing up factual arguments and engaging in open dialogue about the emotional needs of citizens aims to achieve the best possible compromise, providing a sustainable solution that meets the complex requirements of a pluralistic society.

This dialogue is sometimes laborious and lengthy, but certainly less painful than healing the wounds of a misguided policy that has failed.

Addressing past failures, such as those of the Nazi era and the reparation policy, demonstrates how challenging it can be to learn from history and restore justice.

The responsibility for this task lies in the hands of politicians and a committed civil society. Only open dialogue and the recognition of historical facts can build trust – in politics and in society.

That this is a good, perhaps even the best, path is demonstrated not only by parliamentary democracies, but also by international organizations such as the European Union and the United Nations. They are not (yet) perfect, but they represent the best we have achieved so far. I firmly believe that every effort to protect, support, and continually improve these organizations is worthwhile.

In this book, I have introduced some of my philosophical and moral guiding stars: Siddhartha Gautama (the Buddha), Immanuel Kant, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, Martin Luther King Jr, Martin Buber, Karl Jaspers, Viktor Emil Frankl, Hannah Arendt, Gustav Radbruch, and as a special source of my ethical and spiritual inspiration, the 14th Dalai Lama, Tenzin Gyatso. Despite their diverse cultural and historical backgrounds, what they have in common is that they speak of universal values that are still relevant and provide guidance today.

Over the course of my life, I have developed a keen interest in classical and popular art. When I began my work, I intended to incorporate elements such as music, sculpture, film, and literature to bring the period in which this biography is set to life. I would have greatly enjoyed making contemporary references and thus creating a broader context. However, during my research, I discovered so many fascinating stories and aspects within the biography that I was ultimately unable to pursue this original idea. Given the wealth of material, I have therefore had to limit myself to a few brief remarks.

This project, the research and writing, took me far out of my comfort zone. There were content-related, emotional, and technical challenges, which I mastered as best I could. The book is finished, and I'm very satisfied. I hope that reading this book has also made it clear how fascinated, emotionally touched, and intellectually enriched I was by this work, and how grateful I am to have uncovered and written down Dr Lippmann's life story.

I am pleased that I was able to honour not only Dr Lippmann, but also many other "Mentshen" in the spirit of the Jewish proverb:

"As long as we remember the names of the dead, they will not be forgotten."

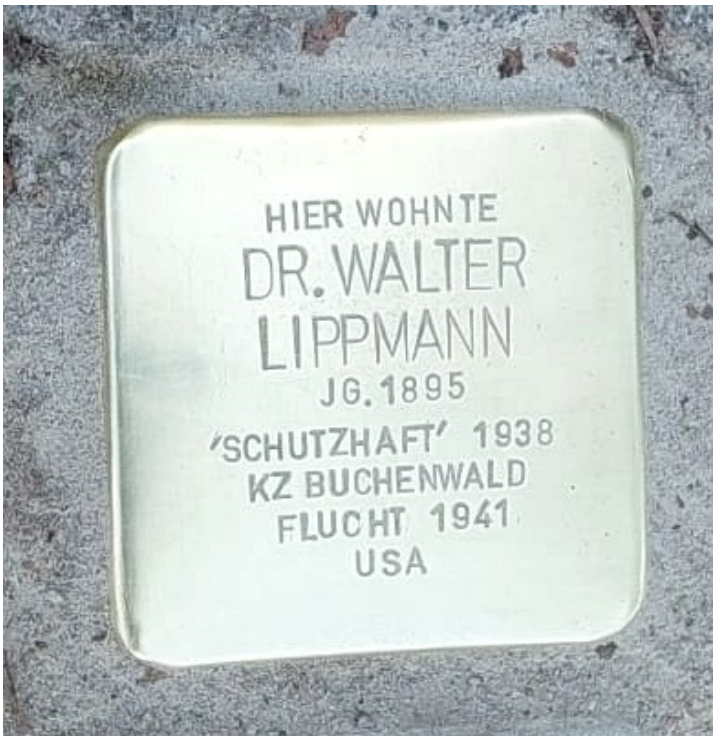


Figure 41 Stumbling Stone for Dr Walter Lippmann

After Editorial Deadline

Today is 1 May 2025 and I consider my work as researcher, author and editor of the biography to be complete.

Work on the English translation was interrupted by an unexpected incident that forced me to spend eleven days in intensive care at Eppendorf University Hospital. During this critical phase, I was able to experience the extraordinary commitment and outstanding expertise of the staff and doctors on site.

I would like to express my heartfelt thanks for their tireless support and loving care. My special thanks go to Dr Sophie Warther, Dr Andrea Gödde, Dr Ulrike Schnoor and Prof. Dr Christian Krebs – they, along with all the other medical staff, saved my life and are contributing significantly to my recovery. Their dedication, knowledge and compassion are a gift that I will never forget.

Many of the people who helped me were not born in Germany. It is very important to me that they feel safe, welcome and valued here. Their efforts deserve the highest recognition and respect.

I would also like to thank all the unnamed blood donors whose generous donations enabled me to receive a total of 140 blood plasma donations. I would also like to thank my health insurance company, which covers all the costs.

They are all what Tikkun Olam means: people who make the world a little more whole.

Late discoveries

Research into the biography of Dr Lippmann has proved extraordinarily fruitful and captivating. Even after the editorial deadline several weeks ago, new traces and clues continued to emerge, further completing the portrait of his life. As recently as 13 June 2025, a fresh check of Ancestry.de yielded two surprising messages that immediately thrust me back into research mode.

The fascination of the search, the joy of each new discovery, and the ambition to draw as complete a portrait as possible of this person and his circumstances remain undiminished – though the enthusiasm for the laborious work of layout and print preparation certainly does not.

Integrating the new data into the already completed text would have caused the layout to burst at the seams. Simply ignoring the new findings seemed scientifically unethical and unsporting to me, as the manuscripts have not yet been published. I therefore decided to document everything that was still to come as addenda and to incorporate brief references to these addenda into the biography.

The following addenda document chronologically those findings which still found their way into the book in time.

25.10.1938 Wolfgang Brendler – between Jewish and Christian Identity (Addendum)

Wolfgang Julius Paul Brendler, born on 31 July 1903, was the illegitimate son of Julius Asch. I once worked in the immediate vicinity of "Ernst Brendler – Marine Uniforms – Tropical Outfitters" and took the opportunity to visit the current managing director, Mrs Osthues.

How This Story Came About:
My research was actually finished, but curiosity wouldn't let me rest. After reading Wolfgang's file in the State Archive, I continued searching for traces. Following my conversation with Wolfgang's niece Ingrid Osthues, who today runs the family business at the town hall and through whom I was better able to understand the family tree, I continued my research. I am pleased to present the results to Mrs Osthues and her family.

Where the Information Comes From:
I was able to piece together the story of Wolfgang Julius Paul Brendler (1903-1969) from various sources: File No.11839/47 from the Restitution Authority in Hamburg State Archive, old telephone directories, a protocol from 15 December 1947, and the aforementioned conversation with Ingrid Osthues. These initially incomplete but meaningful sources allow us to show by example how some people lived who were classified by the Nazis as "Mischlinge of the first degree" (first-degree mixed race).

The individual case cannot be generalised but clearly shows what was possible. In this instance, the story of one person gives us insights into the daily effects of Nazi racial policy and shows that discrimination continued even after the war. Wolfgang Brendler's life represents the estimated 72,000 "Mischlinge of the first degree" in the German Reich around 1939.

The Brendler Merchant Family:
Petro Fernando Brendler (born 26 May 1877 in Lübeck, died 1902) came from a Christian, Hanseatic merchant family. His father Carl Ernst Brendler and his mother Doris Elise Auguste Hellwig belonged to the established North German bourgeoisie of the Imperial era.

In the "notice of marriage"[1530] section of the Hamburgischer Correspondent,[1531] the first regularly published daily newspaper since 1731 in Hamburg, Petro's banns were published on 16 March 1911. When the 34-year-old Petro married the 29-year-old Jewish Caroline Else Gottheiner (born 27 March 1882) on 16 April 1911, she brought her 8-year-old illegitimately born son Wolfgang into the marriage.

Those familiar with Thomas Manns Buddenbrooks might suspect that such a marriage would have been considered unusual in conservative circles. However, the publicly announced banns in the Hamburgischer Correspondent suggest a certain social acceptance. It also points to the extensive integration of the Jewish upper class into German economic and social life of that time.

Petro and Caroline had two children together: Vera Brendler and Karl Gerhard Ernst Brendler, born 29 January 1918 in Hamburg. Karl was 15 years younger than his half-brother Wolfgang.

The business "Ernst Brendler – Naval Uniforms and Tropical Equipment" at Admiralitätsstraße 31 supplied, amongst others, the Imperial Navy. A passenger list from 1932 shows that the family travelled first class to Norway – Petro and Caroline Brendler as well as their 14-year-old son Karl Gerhard Ernst Brendler on the steamship Kong Sigurd from Hamburg to Larvik. This was an indication of their commercial success.

The Biological Father Julius Asch:

Julius Asch (1875-1939) was a successful German-Jewish businessman around 1900. He made his career at Charles Lavy & Co.: he started as an apprentice in 1899, became a partner in 1914, and from 1916 led the company. This shows what opportunities for advancement the Jewish middle class had before 1933. With his subsidiary company Laco, he even developed a well-known brand of silk scarves and ties, which are still traded today

Julius Asch was a member of the High German Israelite Community in Hamburg and, like Caroline Gottheiner, came from a large liberal Jewish family. At Wolfgang's birth in 1903, Julius was 28 and Caroline was 21 years old and not yet married. How the two met and why they didn't marry after she became pregnant is not known.

The fact that Julius Asch didn't marry the Christian Erna Basse, his estate manager's daughter, until 11 December 1933, was perhaps a protective strategy in the early Nazi period. "Mixed marriages" initially offered some protection from persecution, as research has shown.

The Adoption of 1927:
Wolfgang was born on 31 July 1903 in Berlin – Caroline had apparently gone to the capital for the birth to avoid damaging the family reputation. Considering the social conventions as described by Thomas Mann in Buddenbrooks, this is not surprising. It can be assumed that Caroline Gottheiner went "into hiding" with Berlin relatives.

In my further search for traces in the Berlin telephone directory of 1902[1532] telephone directory of 1931[1533] and in the Berlin address book of 1903,[1534] I came across many Gottheiners, including four famous ones:

- Paul Gottheiner (1838 Naumburg – 1919 Berlin)[1535] worked as a "Privy Building Councillor" for the city.
- Albert Gottheiner (1878 Berlin - 1947 Stockholm)[1536] was an architect and engineer.
- Georg Gottheiner (1879 Berlin – 1956 Maringa, Brazil)[1537] was an administrative lawyer and, despite his Jewish ancestry, a politician of the national-conservative, antisemitic DNVP. He was the brother of
- Elisabeth Altmann-Gottheiner[1538] who in 1908 was one of the first German female university lecturers and women's rights activists. The University of Mannheim has awarded the Elisabeth-Altmann-Gottheiner Prize[1539] annually since 1996.

Whether Caroline was related to them or stayed with them during her pregnancy is not known, but possible.

The history of the Gottheiner family also shows the tragic turns of the 20th century. On the Plötzensee Memorial website[1540] I found the biography of Max Gottheiner (1920 – 1943)[1541] and his short life. He went underground in Berlin after his Jewish parents were deported.

With two "colleagues," he posed as a criminal investigator, searched flats, and confiscated valuables from Jews until they were caught in December 1942 and sentenced to death by a special court on 14 May 1943. According to the prisoner records[1542], the three men were beheaded on 8 July 1943 in Plötzensee Prison. The story shows how extreme and desperate some people's survival strategies were and how tragic their end was.

It wasn't until 1927 that the already 24-year-old Wolfgang Gottheiner received the name "Brendler" – a late adoption according to the then Civil Code (§ 1706). This can be seen as a reaction to the growing antisemitism in the Weimar Republic. Hamburg had about 19,000 Jewish inhabitants (2% of Hamburg's city population)[1543] and was a centre of Jewish life, but also a scene of antisemitic agitation, particularly by the DNVP[1544] and NSDAP.[1545]

With the "Christian" family name Brendler, Wolfgang acquired a kind of camouflaged identity that seemed quite sensible in times of increasing antisemitic propaganda.

The Gift of 1938:
On 25 October 1938, Julius Asch applied to the tax office to give his "natural" son Wolfgang Brendler 27,000 Reichsmarks (approximately €130,000 in today's value). The timing could not have been worse: just two weeks before Kristallnacht, this transaction made Wolfgang's Jewish ancestry known to the authorities.

Why Julius Asch took this seemingly unreasonable step remains unclear. Perhaps he underestimated the danger, or perhaps his desire was greater to give his illegitimate son, who had no legal claim to inheritance, part of his estate through the gift. In any case, it shows that he had a relationship with his adult son.

Life Under Racial Laws - Systematic Disadvantage, Professional Discrimination and Economic Exclusion:

The "Laws for the Protection of German Blood and German Honour" of 15 September 1935 created a complicated racial hierarchy. "Mischlinge of the first degree"[1546] – people with one Jewish parent – found themselves in a legal grey area between "Aryans," "full Jews," and "half Jews."

Wolfgang lost his customs licence after 1933, which greatly weakened his position in the import-export business. His later testimony documents the systematic disadvantage: "Professionally, I therefore could not develop as would have been necessary in the interests of the business, since everything depended on party membership." This matter-of-fact statement shows the everyday discrimination that shaped the professional life of "Mischlinge" and threatened their economic existence.

The Marriage Ban of 1935:
Wolfgang was particularly hard hit by § 1 of the Nuremberg Laws, which prohibited marriages between "Jews" and "citizens of German or kindred blood." In 1935, Wolfgang had to "refrain from" his planned marriage to a Christian woman as a result of the Nuremberg Laws.

This personal drama shows the totalitarian dimension of Nazi racial policy, which exercised state control even over the most intimate areas of life. Research has shown that such intrusions into private life were among the most traumatic experiences for those affected.

The Father Sees Suicide as the Last Resort:
Julius Asch's suicide is exemplary of the despair of Jewish businessmen faced with systematic expropriation and humiliation. Wolfgang's brief account – "Due to the constant Gestapo interrogations and expropriations, my father then took his own life in a fit of melancholy" – refers to a widespread phenomenon in the Jewish community.

Research shows a marked increase in suicides among German Jews between 1933 and 1945, particularly after intensified persecution measures. Asch's death meant for Wolfgang not only an emotional loss but also the end of his hoped-for financial security.

Survival in the Grey Zone:
Wolfgang Brendler survived the Nazi period probably through a combination of favourable circumstances: his position in the "Aryan" family business, his classification as a "Mischling of the first degree," and possibly personal relationships. However, the compulsory service at the "Clearance Office" in March 1945 shows that even he was not completely protected from coercive measures – presumably he was to help with the construction of defensive fortifications or debris clearance.

The rescue by the "befriended Major Hönk" and the tumultuous events of the war's end show how accidental survival was in the final months of the war.

Post-War Problems - Bureaucratic Hurdles in Divided Germany:
Wolfgang's second planned marriage in 1947 shows how quickly German division affected private destinies. His fiancée Elly (?) apparently lived in the Soviet sector, which already created bureaucratic obstacles at this early stage.

The required documents – "letter of recommendation to the Mayor of the Town Hall on the Saale," "permanent residence permit" – show the transition from initially cooperative Four-Power administration to a system of administrative separation, but also that regardless of how destroyed Germany was at this time, bureaucracy always had yet another form ready.

The wish to bring Elly's furniture and household items remaining in the Russian sector to Hamburg became an almost unsolvable problem.

Wolfgang's planned journey to the Russian sector at the beginning of January 1948 was still possible and exit from the Soviet-occupied zone was still unregulated. But from 1951 onwards, there were the first legal restrictions: anyone wanting to move to the West had to deregister and surrender their identity card. This development heralded the later complete division of Germany.

Historical Context:
Brendler's story illuminates the special situation of "Mischlinge of the first degree",[1547] who made up about 0.2% of the German population. They found themselves in a legal and social intermediate position characterised by constant uncertainty. While they were not subject to systematic extermination like "full Jews," they nevertheless experienced considerable discrimination and lived in permanent fear of legal tightening.

Research has shown that Nazi leadership acted inconsistently on the "Mischling question." Radical forces pushed for equality with "full Jews," while practical considerations – such as consideration for "Aryan" relatives – had a moderating effect.

Wolfgang's post-war problems show that exclusion did not end in 1945. Although the racial laws were formally abolished, social and bureaucratic barriers remained. German division created new forms of disadvantage that affected private life plans.

Wolfgang Brendler's life story shows the contradictions of German-Jewish existence in the 20th century. As the illegitimate son of an assimilated Jewish entrepreneur and a Christian mother, he embodied that border existence which Nazi ideology found particularly problematic.

His story shows the limits of adaptation strategies: neither adoption into a Christian family nor professional integration into an "Aryan" enterprise could protect him from discrimination. At the same time, his survival illustrates the importance of social networks and favourable circumstances.

The modest nature of his restitution applications – Wolfgang Brendler waived financial compensation and only asked for bureaucratic help – speaks of a person who had learned to adapt his expectations to circumstances. However, this restraint could also be an expression of deeper traumatisation that made it difficult for survivors to assert their rights. Whether he received the bureaucratic help does not emerge from the file.

The history of the Brendler family also reflects the continuity of the German bourgeoisie. From the Lübeck merchant family of the 19th century through the Hamburg businesspeople of the Weimar Republic to today's owner of the traditional business – here we see how family enterprises can survive wars and political upheavals. The business "Ernst Brendler" is today continued by Ingrid Osthues, the daughter of Karl and Gisela Brendler. She is Wolfgang's niece.

The parallel story of Max Gottheiner illustrates the different fates that awaited people of Jewish origin in Nazi Germany. While Wolfgang survived through good fortune, Max's survival strategy led to criminality and ultimately to death. Both stories show the extreme range of human reactions to systematic persecution.

Wolfgang's story reminds us of the "small" victims of great political upheavals. Behind the numbers of persecution stand individual destinies of people who were ground down between political systems and whose dignity must be preserved. At a time when the last witnesses are dying, documents like these become valuable testimonies to a complex and painful past that we must not forget.

03.11.1938 Sale of Elbchaussee 30 (Addendum)

The contract of 3 November 1938 between Julius Asch and John Essberger settled the sale of the house at Elbchaussee 30 with the associated 16,476 square metre country house plot for a price of 105,000 Reichsmarks. Since the purchase price lay far below the true value, John Essberger demanded the difference on 13 August 1945. Due to his leading position as a National Socialist, the English occupation forces had taken him into protective custody and blocked his assets.

The regional court director appears somewhat helpless in his letter of 17 August 1945 with the question of what in the opinion of solicitor Dr Paul Mendel should happen with Erna Asch's application, and whether the restitution application should be served on Mrs Essberger. On 28 August 1945, the regional court director wrote that he doubted whether the military government would release John Essberger from custody for a settlement hearing or release the compensation sum from the blocked account. The regional court director's remarks seem like defensive assertions for the Nazi profiteer Essberger.

This seems to have been a defensive assertion for John Essberger, since the British Military Government had established a statutory restitution claim with Military Government Law No.59[1548] on 12 May 1949.

15.11.1938 Sale of Gut Marienhöhe (Addendum)

The purchase contract of 15 November 1938 between Julius Asch and Gustav Scipio from Bremen, represented by the chartered accountant Tidemann Ulrich Lemberg from Trostbrücke 4 in Hamburg, encompassed various plots of the country house colony Gut Marienhöhe GmbH with an area of 51.76 hectares. This corresponds to a square metre price of approximately 0.61 Reichsmarks.

Interesting is the reference to the family vault in § 5 of the contract. It was agreed that this would be removed at the buyer's request and the seller would bear the costs for the plot and reconstruction in the Jewish cemetery in Ohlsdorf[1549] up to a sum of 12,000 Reichsmarks. This arrangement was to apply until 30 June 1939; thereafter, only the costs for transferring the urns were to be paid.

The family vault does not appear to have been rebuilt, since only a gravestone commemorates Julius and Erna Asch.

In § 9 of the purchase contract for the predominantly agriculturally used plot Gut Marienhöhe, reference is made to the decision H/11-946/38 issued four months earlier on 11 July 1938 and various laws relating to the development of residential settlement areas under the Reich Settlement Law. The contract was not legally effective until examination by the Price Control Office.

In the file lies the report of 25 April 1941 regarding the purchase contract between Gustav Wolrad Oskar Scipio from Osterdeich 31 in Bremen, represented by his representative Charles Friedrich Johannes Fischer, and the Hanseatic City of Hamburg, represented by Hugo Hinrichsen. Mr Scipio sold various plots with approximately 47.57 hectares of area that had belonged to Gut Marienhöhe to the City of Hamburg as the initial purchaser. The purchase price was 1.10 Reichsmarks per square metre for building land, which explains the price increase. This corresponds to an annual interest rate of 24.86% or a value increase of 80.3% over 2.5 years.

On 26 April 1950, Dr Seidl submitted the power of attorney and Mrs Asch's certificate of inheritance to Hamburg Regional Court in the restitution matter of Dr Walter Bartram.

On 21 February 1950, Karl Ludwig Grütz from Rissenerlandstraße 68 informed the Restitution Office at Hamburg Regional Court that he had received the plot on 13 May 1947 in exchange for his plot in Warburgstraße 19 from the Hanseatic City of Hamburg and had meanwhile built upon it. Furthermore, he pointed out that he had already registered a claim for damages with the Hanseatic City of Hamburg in case of return.

On 5 September 1950, Dr Hans Seidl pointed out to Hamburg Regional Court that the restitution cases of Karl Ludwig Grütz and the Gustav Scipio heirs should also be heard in the proceedings against the Hanseatic City of Hamburg (WI K 552 to 535/50).

From a file note of 23 January 1962, I learned that Erna Asch was in the USA at that time and would not return until March. Whether this journey was connected to the search enquiry from Ildefons Auerbach, 5151 N. Rexford Drive, Beverly Hills, California, I cannot say.

Very noteworthy, however, is that the firm Auerbach[1550] then, as today, operates its studio and shop for fine silk accessories in the Hackeschen Höfe, amongst other places. Apparently, Ildefons Auerbach was a relative of Erna[1551] and business associate of Julius Asch, born 1 June 1884 in Krotoschin[1552] in German Posen, who contacted the central missing persons search office UNRRA in Arolsen on 13 July 1946. He was subsequently informed on 9 November 1946 that Erna's state of health was good and her living conditions tolerable, and that she lived in Blankenese at Kösterbergstraße 4. He did not receive the reply.[1553]

According to Ancestry.de, Ildefons Auerbach[1554] died on 10 September 1946 in Beverly Hills, aged 62. On 22 August 1939, he and his wife Charlotte, born 3 June 1901 in Landsberg, arrived in New York from Southampton aboard the SS Statendam to visit his brother M. Auerbach. On the passenger list, he gave his occupation as "industrialist" and his home address as Leipziger Str. 58 in Berlin. His nationality and race are recorded as: Ildefons "German, Jewish", Charlotte "stateless, German". The couple stayed at the well-known hotel Barbizon 63[1555] on E 63rd Street in New York. In 1941, Ildefons Auerbach submitted a naturalisation application[1556] in California, stating that their last place of residence before arriving in New York had been France.

Three of Ildefons Auerbach's siblings[1557] were murdered in the concentration camps: Paul (1885-1942 Auschwitz), Käthe (1894-1943 Sobibor), and Irma (1882-1943 Sobibor).

It is easy to understand that after the Holocaust one's own identity was shattered, and rediscovering relatives and friends helped to process and document one's own history. To mourn, or to rebuild life—whether in exile or the homeland—one needed certainty about the fate of relatives and companions, be they lost or miraculously found again.

Whilst updating the index, I find myself stumbling not merely over terms—but over stories that seem to weave themselves into a web of their own accord. Take, for instance, Dr Lippmann, a devotee of Goethe, whose life's path appears to intersect with the poet's in the most curious ways. Goethe sets his "Faust" in a famous theatrical scene at Leipzig's Auerbach's Cellar—a venue whose name later connects with one of Lippmann's friends: Ildefons Auerbach. Whether this man bore any familial connection to the historical innkeeper remains unclear. Yet the fact that Dr Lippmann himself resided in Hamburg's Grillparzerstraße, which was once called Goethestrasse, adds another link to the chain.

Is it not remarkable how these threads intertwine? This chain of names, places, and relationships feels rather like a silent choreography of chance - or as Carl Gustav Jung[1558] termed it: a synchronicity, a meaningful coincidence. Not causal, yet somehow significant. As though history itself was leaving little footnotes, simply waiting to be discovered.

12.01.1939 Death of Julius Asch (Addendum)

Yesterday, on 3 August 2025, I came across another restitution file for Erna Asch in the State Archives. It contains documents previously unknown to me with new information, which I summarise below in this addendum.

In the file I found a copy of Julius Asch's death certificate, which had been issued on 16 September 1949. It is presumably in the nature of bureaucracy that a copy must correspond to the original in detail, which is why his name is also given here as "Julius Israel Asch". The death certificate records

that he was found dead on 12 January 1939 at 14:45 in Hamburg-Blankenese. The cause of death is recorded as: suicide by drowning.

In the State Archives I found the missing person report in the police file "Unnatural Deaths". The police noted on 3 January 1939 the supposition that a nervous breakdown was the reason for his disappearance. Julius Asch had left the house on Monday, 2 January 1939, at about 10 o'clock. The file also records that Julius was of "Mosaic faith" and lived under favourable circumstances. The search warrant to all police stations contained a precise description of the person and his clothing, which according to the "Report on Discovery of a Corpse" matched Julius Asch exactly.

> The worker Karl Wilke from Am Eiland 3 had found the body on 12 January 1939 at about 14:45 in Blankenese in front of Strandweg No. 4 – where a stumble stone lies today – lying between the ice floes. In Mrs Dulon's biography[1559] it is erroneously stated that children found the corpse. Two letters, three pocket books, a watch with chain, a penknife, a wedding ring, cash amounting to 11.65 Reichsmarks, a fountain pen, and a pocket mirror with comb were found on Julius Asch. Erna Asch received these items on 12 January 1939, presumably after she had identified her husband.

What happened to the two letters? Were they farewell letters with clues to the true circumstances of his death?

> The body had been brought from the beach to the harbour hospital; the transport costs were apparently charged to Erna Asch. There is written confirmation that Dr Otto Israel Mendelsson[1560] from Nassauische Straße 16 in Berlin-Wilmersdorf clearly identified the body of Julius.

Dr Otto Mendelsson was murdered in May 1944 in Auschwitz concentration camp and his 17-year-old son Wolfgang A. Mendelsson[1561] was murdered in March 1943 in Theresienstadt concentration camp. Two stumble stones in Berlin commemorate them. When reading their biographies, I discover that Jenny Auerbach was their grandmother.

On 13 January 1939, Erna Asch gave a statement to the 3rd Police Station – deviating from the report of 3 January 1939 – that her husband had not left until 18 o'clock:

> "Furthermore, it seems that my husband took with him a large bottle of Nervophyll. This is a nerve sedative, to be taken in small doses. My husband will have taken a larger dose with intent. He may also have already taken off his coat beforehand, to freeze more quickly in an drugged state. It may now be possible that the coat and hat later fell into the water during the thaw. Without question, my husband intended to commit deliberate suicide."

Why did Erna Asch contradict her own first statement about the time of Julius's disappearance? First she says 10:00, then 18:00. Can this be explained solely by her being traumatised, or did she want to protect someone?

From the pathology report of the harbour hospital it can be seen that Julius Asch was 168 cm tall and weighed only 60 kg, which indicated a reduced nutritional state. His suicide had occurred by drowning.

18.07.1939 Kindertransport for son Bernhard Lippmann (Addendum)

The other surprising message came from Andrew, another family researcher at Ancestry.com. A lot of family trees are publicly available, and he had noticed that I was interested in the lives of Alec and Ian Venture.

His request to share information was 6 weeks old and coincided with the time I was in hospital. From the first email alone, I was able to glean new information:

Lily Miriam Strauss and Samuel Ventura gave their son the first name Eleazer, later named Alec Venture. Please note: The different endings of the surnames (Ventura/Venture) make it difficult to trace. I have suggested to Andrew that we meet online to share our findings. I'm looking forward to more details.

Ancestry.com regularly uploads new documents with astonishing details. On 18 July 2025, I came across the marriage register of England and Wales.[1562] Curiously, the typed entry shows that Miss Bottle married both Eleazer Ventura and Alec Venture under the same registration number. The reason for the name change remains unknown.

08.05.1946 Bernhard Lippmann in New York (Addendum)

The first new information[1563] concerns a previously passenger list of the SS Marine Falcon. The ship came from New York and arrived in Southampton, England, on 7 June 1947. 21-year-old Ludwig Raphael Lippmann is listed there as passenger no.86 in 3rd class. He states that he works as a surveyor and lives at 60 Lilian Road, Streatham, London SW16.

Why he decided not to use the name Bernhard remains unclear.

He arrived in New York on 8 May 1946. As it is unlikely that he crossed the ocean twice in a short space of time, it is safe to assume that he spent 13 months in New York. I do not (yet) know what he did there.

09.07.1946 Restitution for Erna Asch (Addendum)

Accompanying the application of 9 July 1946 to the Special Aid Committee is a letter from Erna Asch dated 21 June 1946, with the following content:

> "My husband Julius Asch, formerly co-owner of the firm Chs. Lavy & Co. in Hamburg, was arrested along with others during the Jewish pogrom in November 1938. He was released after two days, but suffered so severely psychologically from his stay in the camp and the many subsequent interrogations by the Gestapo that he committed suicide in January 1939. After my husband's death, the full Jewish atonement payment was imposed upon me. Furthermore, many difficulties were created for me regarding loss of with my Jewish relatives. Of these relatives, who were sent to Theresienstadt in 1943, nine did not return."

> I myself am Aryan, but belong to the Jewish community. On the basis of the aforementioned facts, I request approval of the enclosed application."

It may be assumed that Julius Asch was imprisoned in Police Prison Fuhlsbüttel[1564]. Unfortunately, I have not yet been able to discover who the nine murdered relatives were.

On 14 May 1962, Erna Asch received notification of the statutory pension increase under the Federal Compensation Law. From 1 July 1962, she received a widow's pension of 311 DM monthly.

Interesting is her classification in the "higher service" of the 4th age group. This categorisation referred to persons in public service – civil servants or senior employees – but also to private individuals in non-independent professions, that is, employees and workers in the private sector. This procedure did not apply to the self-employed, such as Dr Lippmann as a lawyer. Professional injury widow's pensions were paid for life or until any remarriage. In the case of an overlap between a professional injury pension and survivor's pension, the higher was granted at 100%, the other only at 25%. The cumulation regulation furthermore ignored that both pension entitlements were based on different legal foundations – one on employment, the other on war damages.

Whilst war victims and their survivors were confronted with drastic cuts and complicated offset procedures, the reintegration of former Nazi civil servants via the law in Article 131 of the Basic Law was considerably more generous. These often received their full pension entitlements back without similar restrictive cumulation rules being applied. Whilst the precarious situation of the young Federal Republic was real, the selective application of austerity measures shows that it was less about objective necessities than about political prioritisation. This makes the restitution and pension policy of that time not only unjust, but also morally questionable.

Anno 1947 Bernhard Lippmann marries (Addendum)

What I do know for certain is that Bernhard married Joyce I. Kendall in the second quarter of 1947, immediately after his return to England. The exact date of the wedding is not recorded in the register. I assume that she was waiting for him in England, as I have not found her in the passenger lists. They lived in the home of Joyce's parents, Betty I. and Frank H.-J. Kendall, according to the 1958 Oxted electoral roll[1565].

14.12.1938 Jewish Assets Levy (Addendum)

The original payment demand on 14 December 1938 for the "Jewish atonement payment for 21 November 1938" was also in the file. Erna Asch was obliged, according to a letter from the Chief Finance President dated 18 April 1940, to pay the final instalment as well, even though she was Aryan and her Jewish husband had already departed from life. This demonstrates the arbitrariness and radicalism of Nazi persecution.

In the restitution file there is a letter from solicitor Dr Paul Mendel dated 20 July 1945, in which he declared on behalf of his client Erna Asch that she had paid the Jewish assets levy in full to a total of 390,000 Reichsmarks plus 4% interest. On 8 August 1945, Dr Mendel replied to the Restitution Office:

> "Regarding the matter itself, I may point out that I have submitted the demands from the tax office dated 14 December 1938 and 7 December 1939. This surely proves payment sufficiently, since I should like to see the Jew who would not have paid upon demand. He himself would have inevitably ended up in a concentration camp. His assets would have been taken from him by force.
>
> Furthermore, may I draw the attention of the advisory office to the following: The documentation for the Jewish assets levy appears to have been burned by the tax offices "on higher orders" shortly before the British invasion. Through such deliberate measures of evidence destruction by a criminal government, the victims must by no means suffer, and even mere indications must serve as fully valid evidence."

The 5th Civil Senate of the Hanseatic Higher Regional Court decided in the restitution matter Erna Asch versus the German Reich, represented by the Hanseatic City of Hamburg, on 25. April 1951, that it was to be regarded as fact that the Jewish assets levy had been paid.

11.04.1961 Beginning of the Eichmann-Trial (Addendum)

Since I have now added a chapter entitled "Addenda" to the book, and feel that I have not yet sufficiently acknowledged Fritz Bauer's life and his role in bringing about the Eichmann trial, I would like to make up for this in the following lines.

Dr Fritz Bauer was – as described in detail above – an exceptional and deeply principled man who devoted his life to the struggle for justice and enlightenment. As Attorney General of Hesse, he initiated the Frankfurt Auschwitz trials (1963–1965) and played a central role in passing on the information about Adolf Eichmann's whereabouts to the Israeli intelligence service.

His biography is not only historically significant but also moving on a human level. He lived the principle of Tikkun Olam - to heal and improve the world - in the deepest sense.

At a time when silence was the most comfortable option, he raised his voice for the victims and for a better future. His legacy reminds us to be vigilant.

The task of a constitutional state is to uphold the law, not just to be right.

This principle was severely tested in the postwar period, as Germany was forced to confront its past. Dr Bauer understood that resistance to injustice is a moral duty: "You should have said no!" – to those who hid behind obedience to orders. "You shall obey God rather than men" refers to a higher morality that transcends legal regulations.

When law and morality drift apart, Radbruch's formula applies: Extreme injustice cannot be law.

The Nazis mobilised people's "absolute stupidity" to encourage them to abandon their moral judgement in favour of a criminal ideology. In the process, responsibility, conscience and humanity were suppressed in favour of a perverse community mentality and fascist Nazi ideology.

The legal reappraisal of these crimes reveals a shameful chapter of German history after 1945:

- On 1 October 1968, a change in the law came into force that treated complicity in Nazi crimes as having already become time-barred in 1960 – only those who had demonstrably committed murder themselves or acted out of base motives could still be prosecuted.

- The "statute of limitations scandal"[1566] led to numerous cases being dropped or suspended.

- Today, it is incomprehensible why the extension of the statute of limitations for manslaughter was not more strongly demanded socially and politically.

This way of dealing with the past is in stark contrast to the financial generosity towards former Nazi functionaries. Franz Schlegelberger, a convicted Nazi offender and provisional Minister of Justice, received a pension that far exceeded the net salary of a public prosecutor in 1965 of DM 1,300. It would appear that the financial favouring of offenders over those responsible for their prosecution reflected the priorities of the young Federal Republic.

Dr Bauer, in his role as Hessian Attorney General, demonstrated what a German prosecutor was capable of – if only he had the will. At the Nuremberg trials, he had learnt to turn 'the courtroom into the nation's classroom'. His primary goal was not punishment - for what punishment could atone for such inhumane acts? - but social enlightenment.

These trials set milestones in international criminal law and laid the foundations for the prosecution of war crimes and crimes against humanity.

Dr Bauer's work was hampered by massive institutional resistance. He fought against a deeply rooted network of former NSDAP members in the judiciary. He described his situation as follows: "When I leave my office, I enter hostile territory." He even had to inform the Israeli secret service of Eichmann's whereabouts, as he was afraid that his German colleagues might warn Eichmann.

The judiciary was burdened by judges and public prosecutors who had made a career during National Socialism. At the same time, Jewish lawyers such as Dr Fritz Bauer were accused of lacking objectivity due to their "emotional bias" - a perfidious reversal of the roles of perpetrator and victim.

The Allies also contributed to this situation by being reluctant to appoint Jewish civil servants or politicians to public office in order to avoid mistrust on the part of the German population, which led to many Jews going into "hiding" again. They labelled themselves as non-believers or Protestants to be able to at least participate in the establishment of democracy at all.

In addition to the trials he initiated, Dr Bauer's legacy lies in his unshakeable belief in the ability of the constitutional state to renew itself. He understood that the legal reappraisal of the crimes not only served justice for the victims, but also the democratic future of Germany.

History has proved Dr Bauer right. His work contributed significantly to making Germany a functioning constitutional state that is aware of its historical responsibility. Dealing with the Nazi past has shaped German society and contributed to a legal culture that places human dignity at the centre.

The lesson is clear: a constitutional state must not limit itself to formal legality but must always keep the higher moral principles in mind. The task of every citizen, and especially of the judiciary, is to recognise injustice and oppose it, even if it is clothed in the guise of law.

Fritz Bauer's cautionary words have lost none of their topicality:

> "Nothing belongs to the past, everything still is in the present and may become the future again."

03.08.1969 Death of Erna Asch (Addendum)

Whilst I am still working on the correction of the English translation of the manuscript, I pursue every new lead. Following my conversation with Ingrid Osthues, I visited the Hamburg State Archives once more, where on 1 August 2025 I was able to examine various files, such as Erna Asch's restitution file.

On Ancestry.com I came across three passenger lists bearing the name Erna Asch, which challenged my detective instincts. On the passenger list of the SS Bremen,[1567] which reached New York from Bremen on 17 November 1923, the name Erna Asch appears. I assume that this was not the later wife of Julius Asch, since the two only married in 1933 and Erna was still called Erna Basse until then.

The name Erna Asch also appears on a second-class passenger list of the M/V Montan,[1568] which left Bremen on 15 June 1957 and reached New York on 25 June 1957. She may have been visiting Elise, the wife of her nephew Walter Lippmann.

She seems to have enjoyed travelling. Another entry by the San Francisco Immigration Service from 31 October 1961[1569] shows that Erna flew with Lufthansa flight 450 from Frankfurt via Paris to San Francisco, from where she travelled to 20335 Blauer Drive in Saratoga, California.[1570] The name of her contact person is not given. The flight price was approximately 5,000 DM at the time.

It is always astonishing what can be found between old file covers in the Hamburg State Archives. Thus I discovered an extract from Erna Asch's criminal record, which she had to submit on 11 April 1956 in addition to her restitution application from 30 March 1954. According to this, she had been sentenced on 8 April 1948 to a fine of 2,000 DM for breach of pledge and black-market trading in coal. The conviction suggests an extreme state of hardship. Despite her former wealth, was she completely destitute after the war's end, or had the criminal offence already occurred in the winter of 1946/1947, known as the "Hunger Winter 1946/1947"[1571] and considered one of the coldest and most severe winters of the 20th century?

07.12.1970 Willy Brandt kneels in Warshaw (Addendum)

Willy Brandt fled into exile in Norway in 1933 after the Nazis came to power, where he remained politically active under the name Willy Brandt (born Herbert Ernst Karl Frahm) and was involved in the resistance against the Nazi regime. In exile in Norway, he worked as a journalist and remained politically active. He did not meet his future wife, Rut Brandt, until after the war – they married in 1948. Brandt's commitment is a timeless example of moral courage and democratic engagement. His experiences can serve as a moral compass in dealing with current anti-democratic tendencies.

Willy Brandt's spontaneous gesture – kneeling at the Monument to the Heroes of the Warsaw Ghetto[1572] on 7 December 1970 – sparked controversial reactions. According to a survey by the Allensbach Institute for Public Opinion Research, 48% of Germans considered the gesture excessive, while 41% considered it appropriate.

Right-wing circles accused Brandt of 'treason' – an accusation he had already faced since fleeing the Nazis. Many Germans felt the gesture was too humiliating, while others appreciated it as an important sign of reconciliation. Today, the kneeling is considered a milestone in German remembrance culture and a strong sign of international reconciliation. The international press was impressed by this emotional gesture, only the GDR did not report on it.

Willy Brandt's legacy shows how important personal courage and standing up for democratic values are – both during his time in exile and later as Federal Chancellor. His experiences remind us that democracy cannot be taken for granted and must be actively defended.

In view of current political developments, it is important to resolutely oppose all anti-democratic forces. The defence of democratic principles must be understood as a collective responsibility – taking a stand is particularly important right now to ensure that "never again" becomes a reality.

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Archive directory

This work addresses many topics that cannot be dealt with in detail here. For this reason, the numerous links — there are almost 1,500 of them — direct you to websites with more in-depth information. Some links also lead to archived documents, allowing you to experience history first-hand. The archives I came across during my research are inexhaustible sources of knowledge and information.

Academia.edu: Research paper archive
After the Shoah: Jewish Displaced Persons Camps in West Germany
Akademio de Esperanto
Ancestry: Genealogical website providing a vast array of historical documents for family research
Arolsen Archives: International Centre on Nazi Persecution
Association of Jewish Refugees
Atomic Archive
Bundeszentralkartei - Dezernat 15
Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung
Library of the University of Hamburg
Britannica: Encyclopedia
Das Jüdische Hamburg
Central Welfare Organisation of Jews in Germany e. V.
Claims Conference Democracy Stories
German Digital Library: German Newspaper Portal
German Bundestag: Archive of the Research Service
German Historical Museum
German National Library
Digital German Women's Archive
EHRI Portal: European Holocaust Research Portal
Esperanto-USA Archive: La bulteno de Esperanto-USA. Magazines in Esperanto
Federal Archives: Newsreels in the Filmothek
Film portal: History of the German newsreel
Fritz Bauer Institute Archive German Resistance Memorial Centre
Goethe University Frankfurt am Main: Judaica - Compact Memory
HaGalil: Jewish life online
Hamburg History Book
Hannah Arendt Institute
Haus der Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland

International Criminal Court: ICC
Internet Archive: probably the largest Internet archive worldwide
Institute for the History of German Jews
Israel Magazine
Joint Distribution Committee JDC Jewish Museum Berlin
Jewish Museum Berlin
Karl Jaspers Foundation: Karl Jaspers in Image and Sound
Arts in Exile
Hesse State Archives
Living Museum Online
Leo Baeck Institute: Posts from Past - 1938 Project
National Archives: British National Archives
National Archives: US-American National Archives
Saxon State Library - Dresden State and University Library
Saxon State Archives
Key documents: Institute for the History of German Jews
State Archives of the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg
Statista
Federal Statistical Office
Statue of Liberty: Ellis Island Immigration Records Search
The Jewish Museum
Transmigration Bureau
United States Census Bureau
United States Holocaust Memorial Museum
Universala Esperanto-Ascosio: Archive of texts in Esperanto
University of Leipzig: Archive
Varian Fry Institute
Constitutions of the world: current and historical, national and international constitutions
Visual History: online reference work for historical image research
Wollheim Memorial: many interviews with survivors
World Jewish Congress
Yad Vashem: International Holocaust Memorial

Weblinks

With almost 1,500 links to external websites, I would like to achieve various goals:

Fact check: The links lead to websites that are intended to provide context. The websites of institutions such as Yad Vashem and the Arolsen Archive contain a lot of scientifically sound information and documentation for those interested. Some links lead to documents that I have found, allowing you to experience the events first-hand. You will become an eyewitness.

Footnotes: I have provided the full Internet address in the footnotes so that you can recognise which external Internet pages the respective link leads to. Depending on your reading device, you can access the relevant pages by clicking on the hyperlinks, i.e. the underlined words in the text. Another option is to copy the Internet address from the footnotes and paste it into the search bar of the browser.

Entertainment: There are numerous links lead to Wikipedia. The biographies of the extraordinary people mentioned in this book are well worth reading.

In-depth: In the context of this paper, I can often only refer to topics such as hyperinflation in one or two sentences. Detailed explanations can be found on the linked websites such as the "LEMO" Living Museum Online, which is operated by the House of History of the Federal Republic of Germany, the German Historical Museum and the Federal Archives.

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Blurb: Who was Walter Lippmann?

This question arose for the author when he discovered an enamelled nameplate on his attic door and learnt from neighbours that a Jewish solicitor had once lived in his flat.
What began as coincidence became a captivating search for clues through archives and documents. Armed with nothing but a computer, an internet connection and insatiable curiosity, he set about his research like a detective, delving deep into the past. Piece by piece, he reconstructed the moving life story of the Lippmann family.
Dr Walter Lippmann was a successful barrister in Leipzig until 1938. Like countless others, he was forced to flee from National Socialist persecution. Whilst their son reached England in 1939 on a Kindertransport, the parents only managed to escape to the USA in 1941.
In 1955, Dr Lippmann returned to Germany and worked as a solicitor in restitution proceedings until 1986— a lifetime's achievement dedicated to the principle of Tikkun Olam and recognised with the Federal Cross of Merit.

Over 1,400 internet links lead directly to archived documents and historical sources. They make readers into eyewitnesses and invite them to conduct their own fact-checking. Supplementary websites explain the historical context as well as the scandalous restitution policy of the young Federal Republic.
The book tells of the fascination of discovering documents and rescuing a person and their life's journey from oblivion—a research journey that helped to better understand the present.
I invite you to accompany me on this thrilling journey of discovery through time. Perhaps I shall succeed in awakening your curiosity and inspiring you to embark on your own search for clues.

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