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Karin Orth, *Die NS-Vertreibung der jüdischen Gelehrten. Die Politik der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft und die Reaktionen der Betroffenen*. Goettingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2016. Pp. 480. €44.00 (cloth). ISBN 978-3-8353-1863-2.

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Karin Orth first made herself known when she published on the organization and operation of the German concentration camps during the Nazi period, 1933–1945. This was quickly followed by a study on the social structure of SS (Protection Squadron) personnel.¹ Today, these works are considered seminal studies for the historiography on concentration camps. Since then, Orth has published two monographs on the German Research Council (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, DFG).² Now, in her latest book on the role of the DFG regarding the forced migration of its Jewish members, published in German, we see a successful approach to merging the history of an institution with individual biographical histories. *Die Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft 1920–1970* is the published version of her habilitation thesis at University Freiburg, Germany.

Orth poses and answers two major questions in this new volume: How many members were excluded from the DFG and the scientific community after 1933? And after the research council's reconstruction in 1949, did the DFG try to reintegrate those émigré scholars who were still alive, and how did they react? She divides her study in three parts. The first part gives an overview of the DFG's institutional history between 1920 and 1933. The second is dedicated to individual responses, personal escapes, and biographical tragedies of the targeted German scientists. In the third part, Orth returns to institutional history, when she analyses the post-war reaction of the newly re-established DFG to the suffering it had brought about during the National Socialist period, while keeping the focus on the reactions of the forcibly excluded members.

As is especially necessary in historical studies of National Socialism, Orth clearly defines her analytic terminology: *Vertreibung* (persecution) is seen as forced retirement from a position as well as forced migration from the German state and could occur for either racist or political reasons. Political motives, however, are hard to prove based on the documents assessed; she has focused on those targeted because the regime considered them "Jewish" or "non-Aryan" (19). The latter were categorized as Jews because of the many racist National Socialist blood laws, which under the Third Reich were based on ancestry and not on lived identity. She believes that science became a constitutive part of National Socialism and could not

¹ Karin Orth, *Die Konzentrationslager-SS: Sozialstrukturelle Analysen und biografische Studien* (Goettingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2004); Karin Orth, *Das System der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager* (Berlin: Pendo Verlag, 2002).

² Karin Orth, *Die Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft 1920–1970. Forschungsfoerderung im Spannungsfeld von Wissenschaft und Politik* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2010); Karin Orth, *Autonomie und Planung der Forschung: Foerderpolitische Strategien der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2011).

be separated out as an apolitical sphere (17). Orth further uses the term *Reichspogromnacht* (night of broken glass) instead of the euphemistic *Kristallnacht* ("crystal night"), underlining the horrible nature of the events of 9 November 1938 (190).

In her research, Orth relied heavily on the database she developed with historian Soeren Flachovsky (21). This allowed her to give precise numbers and explain her methodological approach well. She could show how the DFG transformed from a relatively open — even tolerant — and internationally renowned institution in the 1920s into a racist, anti-Semitic, and ostracizing one in the 1930s. The new National Socialist German state could hence rely on the complicity of the DFG to force the retirement of many scholarly members or deny funding to unwanted applicants.

Chapter 1 traces how chemist Fritz Haber (1868–1934), whose institute had developed the infamous poisonous gases during the First World War, and science administrator Friedrich Schmitt-Ott (1860–1956) fought for the establishment of a self-regulatory scientific organization. It was founded in 1920 and called *Notgemeinschaft der deutschen Wissenschaft* (emergency association of German science). Notably, science was understood particularly for its natural and technological meanings (36) and as a last remaining pillar of defeated Germany after the war (31). DFG president Schmitt-Ott led the association in an autocratic way (42); 95 percent of the members of a scientific DFG committee were tenured professors, and until 1945 all were men.

Chapter 2 focuses on latent or open anti-Semitism within the DFG. Schmitt-Ott, for example, avoiding funding anti-Semitic researchers in 1929, which drew heavy criticism from Julius Moses (1868–1942), an outspoken social democrat, who later became a DFG committee member but was eventually murdered in the Theresienstadt concentration camp in 1942. After an initial brief phase of insecurity in spring 1933 as to how to proceed with its Jewish members, many of whom had just been elected into the council's committees, the DFG took particular active stances. Before state laws required them, actions against Jewish members and applicants were taken in a spirit of "premature obedience" (*vorauseilender Gehorsam*). Most Jewish members were excluded through forced retirement, and others retired "voluntarily," which in some cases meant that they committed suicide.

Chapter 3 focuses on those individuals excluded from the DFG during the first years of the Nazi regime. Orth examines sixty-six persons — twenty members of a DFG committee and forty-six men who had applied for funding before 1933. For many, this exclusion meant the destruction of their academic careers. Thirty went on to emigrate and became dependent on the policies of the respective host countries. Success in exile, for them, depended on many factors: emigration taxes applied by Nazi Germany and diminishing financial means: their ability to find a job in their discipline; learning the language; and integrating into a new society and scientific culture (104). For some scientists, emigration was seen as a form of resistance against the Nazi state. Some tried to show their fundamental rejection of the new political order by resigning "voluntarily," before receiving DFG's official dismissal letters (111). In other cases, the loss of the job and recognition proved so disastrous that the ousted scientists and scholars died shortly after their dismissal (107–109). And for some, the forced dismissal was so devastating that they chose to commit suicide (129–132). The strength of this chapter is particularly its biographical character, which importantly elicits the story of exclusion and expulsion of DFG members.

Chapter 4 analyses those who were able to emigrate early, that is, before November 1938. Here, the Zurich *Notgemeinschaft* (emergency committee), founded by Hungarian-Jewish pathologist Philipp Schwartz (1894–1977) after he was expelled from Frankfurt University, became crucial in helping more than 200 scientists find refuge at the University of Istanbul. The Zurich *Notgemeinschaft* existed until 1936 and its successor later merged in 1940 with the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning (SPSL) in London,

England.³ Turkey was an ambivalent place of exile, and Orth gives a historiographically useful overview of current research.

Chapter 5 focuses on 1938 and 1939, which witnessed another level of radicalization and violence. Orth characterizes this time period through the insidious behaviour of German officials and non-Jewish civilians, which oscillated unpredictably between radicalization and tolerance (187). Until 1938, forty-one of the sixty men in Orth's sample remained in Germany because they either did not see the need to emigrate or did not have the financial means to do so. After the *Reichspogromnacht* and the *Anschluss* (annexation) of Austria, many scientists and scholars became increasingly afraid about their lives in the Nazi state. Out of Orth's sample, in this second phase of emigration after 1938 only one of those who managed to emigrate went to Palestine; none went to Turkey. The others went to the Netherlands, Switzerland, Sweden, Great Britain, France, and the United States (212–221).

Chapter 6 analyses the fate of those who were deported and killed. It is probably the most important chapter of the whole book for its commemorative character. Orth starts with a summary of those measures that led up to the so-called "final solution." It becomes clear that with the beginning of the Second World War the possibilities to emigrate declined sharply for the twenty-seven remaining men and became non-existent after October 1941 (when the mass deportations began). Apart from the commemorative biographical sketches, in this chapter Orth offers the biography of the geographer Alfred Philipson (1864–1953), who could survive because of the help from colleagues, who were well aware of his deportation. She uses Philipson's story to allude to the role of writing as a means of survival and self-assurance.

Chapter 7 analyses the life stories of those who managed to stay in Germany. Fourteen of the dismissed scientists in Orth's sample belong to this group: either they were considered *Mischlinge* ("mixed-blood") by the regime, or they were "Aryan" with a "non-Aryan" spouse. Some of them worked for private businesses; some could even participate in the war effort, as did physicist Erich Regener (1881–1955), who saw himself as loyal to his country, but also used all options to protect his "Jewish" wife (308, 313). Again, this chapter shows that a good portion of the general population knew about the deportations (297).

Chapters 8 to 10 focus on the post-war history of the DFG. Out of Orth's sample, thirty did not survive the Shoah (Holocaust). She analyses whether and how the DFG thought about its own moral responsibility regarding the compensation appeals (*Wiedergutmachung*). After the war, the DFG was re-established in 1949 in Cologne. There existed two rival organizations: the emergency association in East Berlin (*Notgemeinschaft in Ost-Berlin*) and the German Research Council (*Deutscher Forschungsrat*, DFR) (322). The contradicting opinions circled around basic questions: What was the purpose of research, and could or must research be planned or managed (323)?

Chapter 9 paints the rather disappointing albeit not surprising picture of a silent association, which did not actively contact its former members (328). Nonetheless, the DFG was the only scientific institution in Germany that founded a commission for responsibility in the sciences (*Verantwortung der Wissenschaft*), recognizing issues that no one other than exiled physicist Lise Meitner (1878–1968) had put on the agenda (342). During the 1950s and 1960s, the DFG chose an ostentatiously "neutral" standpoint by acknowledging Jewish researchers. It determinedly tried not to repeat the same mistake of stigmatizing and to focus on the scientific work alone. For the few ousted researchers who did get symbolic recognition, like the lawyer Martin Wolff (1872–1953), this was highly important (363).

Chapter 10 examines how those scientists who re-migrated to Germany perceived their return to their former home country. They experienced anything from a deep feeling of loyalty, a disconnect with German society, or ongoing struggles for recognition of their lifetime achievements (383–401).

³ Aleksandra Loewenau, "Between Resentment and Aid: German and Austrian Psychiatrist and Neurologist Refugees in Great Britain since 1933," *Journal of the History of the Neurosciences* 25 (2016): 348–362.

This study has a few shortcomings: First, it does not provide short introductions or conclusions for each chapter. One exception is the beginning of subchapter 2.5, where Orth nicely summarizes her findings regarding Schmitt-Ott's positions (95). A more substantial point of critique is missing indices for names, places, and general keywords. As readers will likely use this book to look up specific historical actors, a more detailed index would have been helpful.

As in her previous studies, Orth displays a remarkable human warmth, for example: "The second part of the study examines the human fates behind the meagre social statistical data [presented in the first part]" (*"Welche Schicksale sich hinter diesen dürren sozial-statistischen Daten verbergen, wird im zweiten Teil dieser Studie exemplarisch untersucht."*) (72). She guides the reader well and uses a tremendous amount of archival material. This study is very useful, important, and both a substantial introduction for newcomers to the scholarship on forced migration and a resource for specialists in this growing trans-Atlantic research field.⁴

⁴ See, for example, the ongoing research project at the University of Calgary, Vincent von Hoeckendorf and Paula Larsson, "Great Minds in Despair — The Forced Migration of German-Speaking Neuroscientists to North America, 1933–1963." *The History of the Forced-Migration of German-Speaking Neuroscientists and Biomedical Researchers*, accessed 3 December 2017, <http://emigreucalgary.blogspot.ca>