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Contextual misreadings : the US reception of Heidegger's political thought.

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CONTEXTUAL MISREADINGS:
THE US RECEPTION OF HEIDEGGER'S POLITICAL THOUGHT

A Dissertation Presented

By

GEORGE R. LEAMAN

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

May 1991

Department of Philosophy

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ABSTRACT

CONTEXTUAL MISREADINGS:
THE US RECEPTION OF HEIDEGGER'S POLITICAL THOUGHT

MAY 1991

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The thesis of this dissertation is that the political dimension of Martin Heidegger's philosophical work has been widely misinterpreted in the United States, and that this misinterpretation has been caused by censorship, historical and political ignorance, and poor scholarship.

This study reveals the extent to which Heidegger engaged in politically motivated editing of his work after the war, and shows how such edited German editions were used as a basis for many English translations of his work. It also shows that Heidegger suppressed the publication of some politically sensitive texts while he was alive, and that archival materials in different parts of Germany have been manipulated so as to protect Heidegger from critical scrutiny. Such practices have also been employed by (or in the service of) other philosophers who worked in Germany at the time; the manipulation of post-war editions of

philosophical texts written in Germany between 1933–1945 seems to be a widespread phenomenon.

To improve the US reader's understanding of the historical context of Heidegger's political thought, this study also relates Heidegger's professional and political actions to those of all of the other 213 professors of philosophy who taught at a German university between 1933 and 1945. Heidegger's political arguments are compared to those of the other philosophers who, as university Rectors, were in similar positions of political responsibility as Heidegger. The presentation of this new information allows the US reader to understand better the development of philosophy in Germany, and reveals the uniqueness of Heidegger's philosophical commitment to a particular version of National Socialist ideology.

Finally, this study identifies the main sources of interpretive error in the US reception of Heidegger's political thought, and shows how philosophers can avoid such mistakes in the future.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this dissertation is to begin to correct a series of interpretive mistakes that have deformed the reception of the works of Martin Heidegger in the United States. This project was motivated by the 1987 publication of Victor Farias' Heidegger et le nazisme, which refocused the philosophical discussion of Heidegger's work all over the world. Farias has confronted his readers with an extensive documentary account of Heidegger's political commitments and the relationship of these commitments to his philosophy. Farias' book is flawed, in some passages deeply so. But to the extent that he has been able to shift the center of the philosophical discussion of the meaning of Heidegger's work, he has been successful. Heidegger's philosophical examination of the history of Being has itself been restored to its historical context; a close examination of this context has major implications not merely for our understanding of Heidegger, but for all philosophy produced in Germany during the twelve years of the Nazi dictatorship. What has come to be known as the 'Heidegger Controversy' has raised general methodological questions about our understanding of the history of recent German philosophy.

In the following pages I will argue that an accurate understanding of recent German philosophy cannot be had without an accurate understanding of recent German history. But to begin, let me say what I am not doing: I am not claiming that philosophical texts are mere products of their environments, with no lives of their own; nor am I arguing that a philosophical text exists independently of a context. I will argue, following Pierre Bourdieu, that to understand the history of philosophy one must also recognize that philosophy exists within history.¹ This is particularly important when reading texts that claim to address pre-social or "pre-historic" phenomena; the absence of context confirms the already implicit negation of history. And in twentieth-century Germany, the negation of history is equivalent to the acceptance of murder.

Of course, it is true that assumptions have already been made about the historical context of Heidegger's philosophy; my claim is that for several reasons many of these assumptions are inaccurate. First among these reasons is what I will call the Myth; it has been the foundation of much of what has been assumed about the historical context

¹ "Zurück zur Geschichte," in Die Heidegger Controverse, edited by Jürg Altwegg, (Frankfurt/M: Athenäum Verlag, 1988), pp.155-162. See also Pierre Bourdieu, Die politische Ontologie Martin Heideggers (Frankfurt/M: Suhrkamp, 1988), pp.16-54.

of all of recent German philosophy.² The Myth is that real philosophy in Germany died sometime after the Nazi accession to power on January 30, 1933. Real philosophers either left the country or went into something known as "inner emigration," withdrawing into the non-political security of philosophical scholarship. Philosophy became just another occupied territory, another victim, which did its best to protect itself from the ravages of events in which it had no part. There were a very few philosophers who became Nazis (or who had been philosophers before they became Nazis), but these people were not doing real philosophy; they were merely doing propaganda. Those other philosophers who joined Nazi organizations did so to protect themselves, their families, or their colleagues; they did so because they had to, not because they supported Hitler.³

Like all myths, this account is a useful fiction, a story whose value lies in its ability to relieve anxieties about unanswered questions. But unlike other myths, the questions it addresses are not unanswerable; they are unanswered because they have remained largely unasked.

² See Karl A. Moehling, Martin Heidegger and the Nazi Party, unpublished doctoral dissertation, (Northern Illinois University, 1972), pp.1-3; and Michael Zimmermann, "The Thorn in Heidegger's Side: The Question of National Socialism," in: The Philosophical Forum, Vol.XX, Nr.4 (Summer 1989), p.326.

³ Otto Friedrich Bollnow, letter to the author, Sept.30, 1990; Hans-Georg Gadamer, letter to the author, Oct.24, 1989.

Farias, and others such as Hugo Ott and Bernd Martin, have performed an invaluable service by drawing attention to a well-known author of the Myth and showing that it is not merely a fiction but a conscious deception, a lie.⁴ And a close examination of the historical record reveals the Myth to be the sum of hundreds of lies, told by hundreds of philosophers and other academics after the war. Despite some instances where the Myth seems to conform to reality (instances that must exist if the lie were to be plausible), its assumptions must be confronted and rejected.

In Chapter Two I will examine this historical record. The professional and political careers of all of the 214 philosophers who taught at the 23 universities inside the borders of 1937 will be examined. Specific information will be provided which reveals who was forced (or chose) to leave the country, who was promoted and when, who was politically active and how, and what kind of philosophical interests were being pursued. It will be discovered that academic philosophy did not come to an end in Germany in 1933. On the contrary, despite some dismissals, forced retirements, and emigrations, the profession continued to develop and prosper. It will be seen that, with the exception of Marxism, no philosophical school was banned from the German

⁴ Hugo Ott, Martin Heidegger - Unterwegs zu seiner Biographie (Frankfurt/M: Campus Verlag, 1988) and Bernd Martin, Martin Heidegger und das 'Dritte Reich' (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1989).

universities. Many philosophers were in fact energetic participants in efforts to reinterpret the philosophical tradition in ways intended to make it politically useful for racial imperialism.⁵ And most disturbing of all, some of these efforts were very sophisticated and were taken to be philosophically respectable. Heidegger's work belongs to this latter group. In the United States it has generally been assumed that no real intellectuals had anything to do with National Socialism; this assumption is false and serves to insulate politically committed philosophical work from critical scrutiny. Heidegger's work has been misunderstood in part because of this assumption.

But the absence of historical knowledge has not been the only barrier to an accurate understanding of the context and content of Heidegger's philosophy. Heidegger himself has been a source of the problem because he lied about the nature of his commitment to National Socialism (lies which have been thoroughly exposed by Farias, Ott, and Martin), and because he ordered the publication of essential philosophical writings to be delayed until years after his death. What has been described as his second major philosophical work, Beiträge zur Philosophie, written in 1936-38, was first published in Germany in 1989 and remains

⁵ The Amt Rosenberg's 1939 philosophy conference at Schloß Buderose is a well-documented example. See microfilm rolls MA 606 and MA 612 at the Institut für Zeitgeschichte.

unavailable in English.⁶ There are at least two other major works by Heidegger that remain unpublished.⁷ Also, Heidegger's posthumous papers are still not open for public inspection. It has long been thought that Heidegger's letters would shed light on the development of his thinking between 1933-45; most of these letters remain sealed for reasons known only to the executors of Heidegger's estate.

A related set of problems presents itself when one seeks to consult original archival materials. In some cases original manuscripts and documents (in separate archives) have been altered to disguise their original meaning; two particularly glaring examples of this are to be found at the Deutsches Literaturarchiv at Marbach⁸ and at the Generallandesarchiv in Karlsruhe.⁹ This scandalous practice, the true dimensions of which are not yet known, is complemented by the difficulties many scholars experience when trying to get access to university archives such as at Freiburg or Kiel. These problems amount to a de facto

⁶ See the editorial postscript to Beiträge zur Philosophie (Frankfurt/M: Klostermann, 1989), pp.511-513. Heidegger is by no means alone in this regard. See for example Alfred Baeumler's Der Kampf um das Eigentum at the Institut für Zeitgeschichte in Munich. This text, written in 1944, is sealed until the year 2003.

⁷ See Dieter Thomä, Die Zeit des Selbst und die Zeit danach (Frankfurt/M: Suhrkamp, 1990), pp.761-762.

⁸ See Thomas Sheehan, "Heidegger and the Nazis," in The New York Review of Books (June 16, 1988), p.43.

⁹ Martin, pp.213-219.

censorship, an intentional effort to obscure the content and context of controversial philosophical work.

These problems have hindered understanding of Heidegger's work, but they are general problems that need to be faced when we study the work of any philosopher who was working in Nazi Germany. The lies, the manipulation of historical evidence, and the editing and/or suppression of potentially embarrassing philosophical texts are widespread phenomena. Philosophers in the United States should be aware, particularly as texts written then are translated into English, that there are questions that need to be asked about the texts and their authors if they hope to convey responsible accounts of the meaning of such texts. These questions should not be asked against some standard of ideological acceptability; they should be asked so that philosophers do not become unwitting participants in someone else's political project. Correcting false assumptions about the context in which philosophical texts were produced should remove barriers to understanding, not reinforce the impulse to censor.

A detailed understanding of the historical context of the development of German philosophy between 1933–1945 may force the surrender of a deeply-held belief: that Nazism was not intellectually respectable. This belief may have to be surrendered in order to better understand Nazism. Unlike Marxism–Leninism, it was never perfected as an ideological

structure, and was never linked to a coherent political theory.¹⁰ There were always competing voices within the NSDAP who sought to define 'authentic' National Socialism; their struggles were never (and could never be) unequivocally resolved. The most well known of the different varieties was the version associated with Alfred Rosenberg, the chief ideologue of the NSDAP. Rosenberg was one of the leading anti-Semites of the Nazi movement, and he was completely committed to the idea that biology determines one's location on a racial hierarchy dominated by the Germanic peoples. According to him, Slavs, southern Europeans, Arabs, and Blacks existed only to provide labor for a political economy dominated by the "Aryans." At the bottom of this hierarchy were Jews, whom Rosenberg made responsible for everything from the crucifixion of Jesus to the Bolshevik revolution and Germany's defeat in the First World War. Following the theses contained in Die Geheimnisse der Weisen von Zion, Rosenberg believed that there was an international Jewish conspiracy to take over the world and to poison the genetic inheritance of the "Aryan" people. The only effective means of countering this conspiracy would be to identify and separate the Jews from the rest of the population. For Rosenberg, the identifying

¹⁰ Franz Neumann, Behemoth: The Structure and Practice of National Socialism 1933-1944 (New York: Octagon Books, 1983), p.467.

characteristics of "Jewishness," "Germanness," or "Slavicness" were biological, and individual expressions of opinion could have no impact on the determination of one's racial identity. Only ethnic Germans could really be German, regardless of one's cultural heritage or past political commitments.

This is what people in the United States often think when they think of Nazism. Since Heidegger did not endorse biology as the criterion for German citizenship, such people may easily assume that he was not a Nazi, an inference that will not sustain close examination. Rosenberg's was not the only version of Nazism that was in circulation at the time, and his version was never sanctioned as the official ideology of the Party.¹¹ Another version, which was endorsed by the philosopher Erich Rothacker,¹² agreed with Rosenberg about the existence of a racial hierarchy but offered a different means of identifying the members of different races. According to this version biology did not necessarily determine one's racial identity; the important

¹¹ See Reinhard Bollmus, Das Amt Rosenberg und seine Gegner (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1970), p.9: "Das Hauptwerk Alfred Rosenbergs, der Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts, wurde niemals partei-amtlich als grundlegende Darstellung des nationalsozialistischen Weltanschauung anerkannt."

¹² Habermas' dissertation director; see Thomas Weber, "Arbeit am Imaginären des Deutschen" in Deutsche Philosophen 1933, editor W.F.Haug (Hamburg: Argument Verlag, 1989), pp.125-158.

factor was the right combination of strength of *will* and a sense of spiritual mission.¹³ Race was thus understood as a culturally (rather than biologically) based category. This version had several advantages, not least of which was the ability to explain Germany's alliances with the Japanese, the Italians, the Spanish, and the Rumanians, none of whom fit into Rosenberg's understanding of "Aryan" man. Similar versions were articulated by the jurist Carl Schmitt and the sociologist Max Hildebert Boehm. All three of these men were attacked by supporters of the biological theory of race; but all three of these men supported (and worked for) the Nazi government.

In Chapter Three I will argue that Heidegger had his own version of National Socialism, one in which the borders of the German were defined by language rather than biology. The oft repeated claim of those seeking to defend Heidegger that he had his own brand of Nazism which had nothing to do with "real" Nazism will be shown to be trivial, since there was always a variety of different versions in circulation. For Heidegger the domination of other peoples was justified on the basis of an alleged affinity between German and ancient Greek, which gave Germans (or more precisely, some

¹³ See "Die Dienststelle des Außerordentlichen und Bevollmächtigten Botschafters des Deutschen Reiches, ihre Mitarbeiter und politischen Auswirkungen," in the file of SS officer Dr. Lothar Kuehne at the Berlin Document Center, pp.31-32.

German philosophers) a privileged position with respect to questions about truth. While Heidegger was in fact attacked by supporters of Rosenberg's interpretation of National Socialism, these attacks have led many philosophers to the mistaken conclusion that Heidegger was a victim of, and even offered resistance to Nazism. To use the language of the Church, Heidegger was at most a heretic, not an infidel; he was a believer and was not merely an opportunist. I will show that Heidegger did not object to Nazism as such, he objected to a particular version of it, a version which obscured its "inner truth and greatness."¹⁴ Many philosophers have confused Heidegger's opposition to the use of simple biological criteria to define the "Volk" with opposition to "völkisch" politics; this confusion has enabled some versions of Nazism to escape attention and pass into post-war intellectual life in the United States with virtually no comment or criticism. Heidegger has been misunderstood because Nazism has been misunderstood, and thinking about the latter needs to be reexamined to better understand the former. I will argue that the existing US literature on Heidegger's politics offers philosophers a choice between two equally unsatisfactory ways of

¹⁴ Martin Heidegger, An Introduction to Metaphysics, translated by Ralph Manheim (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959), p.199. This remark was made in a lecture during the summer semester of 1935; its context was altered by Heidegger before this text was first published in 1953. This will be discussed in Chapter Three.

interpreting his political engagement, and I will conclude by using the information presented in Chapter Two to propose an alternative. I will reject the notion that it is possible to understand the specificity of Heidegger's political engagement on the basis of a reading of his texts alone. I will then compare his actions and political arguments to those of the other philosophers who were university Rectors and show that (unlike the others) Heidegger did not merely accommodate himself to Nazism, but tried to forge a new version of it. While rejecting any necessary linkage between the project of fundamental ontology and the common version of Nazi ideology, I will argue that an examination of the historical context of Heidegger's work will provide a better understanding of his own claim that his political commitment was rooted in his philosophy.¹⁵

In Chapter Four, I will locate the argument advanced in Chapter Three within the US context. I will first identify and examine the principal causes of the inaccurate assumptions in the US literature about the historical context of Heidegger's philosophical work. I will then analyze texts recently published by US philosophers to show how the argument advanced in Chapter Three differs from the

¹⁵ See Karl Löwith, Mein Leben in Deutschland vor und nach 1933 (Frankfurt/M: Fischer Verlag, 1989), p.57; and Heidegger: Denker in Dürftiger Zeit (Frankfurt/M: Fischer Verlag, 1953), pp.43-72.

existing US literature on Heidegger's political engagement. I will conclude with an examination of the methodological issues raised in Chapters Two and Three, and argue that any philosophical text written in Germany between 1933–1945 must be first read in the original, in an original edition, to be certain that one has actually read the original text. Post-war editions must be compared word for word with original editions because in some instances their have been unacknowledged changes intended to accommodate the realities of post-war political life. Philosophy texts written then must also be carefully read in their historical context, because the manifold forms of political engagement do not exclude the use of philosophical arguments as foundations for specific political programs.

If, as Althusser says, philosophy is class-conflict in the realm of theory, then historical knowledge cannot be separated from the content of philosophical argument. But this is not to argue that the context and history of a text predetermine the possible reactions to it. If the reaction generated in the reader by a text is part of its meaning, then the existence of a multiplicity of reactions entails the rejection of any interpretive scheme that insists on uniformity. The intent of this study is to weed out interpretive error, but this is not equivalent to achieving interpretive certainty. A better understanding of the controversy surrounding Heidegger's political engagement

should help sort out the multiplicity in the US reception of Heidegger's work, and should improve the reader's ability to differentiate between those who believe philosophy and philosophers to be beyond good and evil (that is, beyond history) and those who believe them to be caught up in the same social and political struggles as everyone else.

CHAPTER 2

THE POLITICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL CONTEXT

The purpose of Chapter Two is to supply a context within which arguments about Heidegger's political engagement can be better understood. The discussion of this matter in the United States has suffered because there has been, until very recently, no general account of the development of philosophy in Germany between 1933 and 1945.¹ Despite a recent US attempt to fill this void, there remains no comprehensive discussion in English of the fate of philosophy at the German universities after the Nazi accession to power.² There has also yet to be an analysis of the careers of the other philosophers who were working in Germany at this time; in fact, until recently there has not even been a list available of those philosophers who were Heidegger's contemporaries and colleagues.³ Thus the recent

¹ Thomas Laugstien, Philosophieverhältnisse im deutschen Faschismus (Hamburg: Argument Verlag, 1990). I supplied much of the information for this text, which is the first broad survey of the development of professional philosophy in Nazi Germany.

² Hans Sluga, "Metadiscourse: German Philosophy and National Socialism" in Social Research, Vol.56, Nr.4 (Winter 1989), pp.795-818.

³ See Laugstien, p.205-207; my work represents the first attempt to give an account of each philosopher's professional and political actions during this period.

discussion of Heidegger's Nazism has taken place in a contextual vacuum, where little is known about the debates that were then current or those who were engaged in them. It will become clear that in this situation Myth has been substituting for history.

In this chapter, I will present the result of a systematic inquiry into the careers of each of the 214 philosophers who had a university position in Germany sometime between 1933-45.⁴ This information will dramatically improve the US reader's ability to do three things: 1) to make sense of Heidegger's actions as reported to us by Farias, Ott, and Martin; 2) to understand the meaning of texts Heidegger wrote during this time; and 3) to appreciate the depth of the support Nazism enjoyed within the German philosophical community. A close examination of the information presented here will confirm the results of an earlier study, which argued for the rejection of "one of the most commonly held theories of prejudice and fascism, namely, that they are supported out of simple stupidity, ignorance or confusion."⁵

⁴ I have had to restrict my analysis to those philosophers who had a position at one of the 23 universities inside the Reich borders of 1937. A list of these universities, as well as lists of the other German "Hochschulen," is given in Table 5.

⁵ T. W. Adorno, et.al., The Authoritarian Personality (New York: Norton, 1982), p.216.

It will be useful to begin with a broad overview of the political environment within Germany at the beginning of the Nazi dictatorship. The Nazis were brought into the government on January 30, 1933 by the German National People's Party (DNVP), and it is important to remember that this government was originally a coalition between the Nazi Party (NSDAP) and the DNVP. The DNVP was a conservative, anti-communist, and anti-parliamentarian political party that shared some of the political goals of the Nazis: the repeal of the Versailles Treaty, the rejection of the Weimar constitution, and the establishment of an authoritarian central government. It was a militantly nationalistic organization that, like the Nazis, believed that Germany had lost the First World War because it had been "stabbed in the back" by liberals, socialists, and Jews.⁶ During the winter and spring of 1933 the DNVP (along with the Zentrum or Catholic Center Party) helped the Nazis strip the parliament of virtually all legal authority, supported the establishment of concentration camps for domestic political opponents of the government, and supported legislation directed against German Jews.⁷ By early summer 1933, the

⁶ Gerhard Taddey, editor, Lexikon der deutschen Geschichte (Stuttgart: Kröner Verlag, 1983.), pp.263-264.

⁷ The DNVP, along with the Catholic Center Party, voted for the so-called "Enabling Act" on March 23, 1933, which gave Hitler dictatorial powers. The first concentration camp was set up for political opponents of the regime in March 1933 at Dachau. The BBG is described in Table 7.

Nazis had pushed the DNVP aside and forced its virtual dissolution, but the DNVP had played an essential role in facilitating Hitler's ascent to absolute power.

The ideological affinities between these parties need to be understood because many philosophers who were not Nazis were members or supporters of the DNVP or one of the many other right-wing political organizations that rejected the democratic foundations of the Weimar Republic. Radically conservative, anti-democratic, political views enjoyed wide support within the German universities; and among philosophers these views were the norm rather than the exception. Of the 180 professors of philosophy at the universities when the Nazis entered the government, only seven had some kind of known commitment to Socialist, Christian Socialist, or Social Democratic political organizations.⁸ In 1933 these seven were all dismissed, as were fifteen other philosophers who were either Jewish or in some other way politically undesirable.⁹ The dismissal of Jewish philosophers was largely accepted by the philosophical community, where it was widely believed that "International Jewry" would be able to arrange immediate

⁸ Theodor W. Adorno, Ernst von Aster, Hans Ehrenberg, Max Horkheimer, Siegfried Marck, Hans Reichenbach, and Paul Tillich.

⁹ See the text of the Civil Service Reform Law of 1933 in Table 7.

appointments for former colleagues in other countries.¹⁰ Acceptance of these dismissals was also made easier by the fact that the government exempted several groups of Jews from the first repressive measures; exempted were those who had served the country as combat soldiers during the First World War, those whose sons had been killed in action as soldiers, as well as those who were in office before the outbreak of war in 1919. These dismissals were viewed by Nazis and many other radical conservatives as necessary if the country was to be protected from those who had allegedly caused the defeat and collapse of the monarchy in 1918.

In addition to this government-sponsored repression directed at individuals, two schools of philosophical thought were prohibited or forced to disband: the Frankfurt School and the Vienna Circle. The Institute for Social Research was officially closed in 1933, its members driven into exile for being both Marxist and Jewish. Marx could still be discussed at the universities after 1933, but this could only take place from an anti-Marxist perspective.¹¹ The leading members of the Vienna Circle were slowly forced to leave the universities after Austrian fascists took over

¹⁰ See Karl Löwith, Mein Leben in Deutschland vor und nach 1933 (Frankfurt/M: Fischer, 1989), p.10.

¹¹ See for example the article by Alfred Baeumler, "Der Jude in der deutschen Geistesgeschichte: Karl Marx" in Weltkampf - Die Judenfrage in Geschichte und Gegenwart, Heft 2 (Mai-August 1944), pp.57-68.

the Austrian government in March 1933. The murder of Moritz Schlick by a student on the steps of the university on June 22, 1936 persuaded Karl Popper to leave, and by the time of the unification (Anschluß) with Germany in March 1938, the Vienna Circle had ceased to exist.¹² Positivism was viewed by both Austrian fascists and officials in the Amt Rosenberg as a Jewish and anti-German world view that had no place at a German university. But not all representatives of this kind of philosophy were driven out of the universities. Heinrich Scholz, the editor of Frege's posthumous works, kept his position at Münster by agreeing to be transferred from the philosophy to the mathematics department. He was also allowed to maintain contacts with Rudolf Carnap and Charles Morris at the University of Chicago and was invited by both to participate in the Third International Congress for the Unity of the Sciences in Paris in 1937. Unlike the repression of Marxism (embodied in the breakup of the Frankfurt School), the repression of positivism as a philosophical orientation at the German universities was not complete.¹³

No other school of philosophy was banned or prohibited from the German universities. It was not generally

¹² See Laugstien, pp.119-122.

¹³ Note that the Vienna Circle's journal (Erkenntnis) appeared in Germany until war broke out in 1939, despite the fact that its two editors had emigrated. See Laugstien, p.158.

considered acceptable to make positive mention of Jewish philosophers (such as Spinoza for example) but their work could be and was still studied, albeit discretely. The German philosophical tradition was privileged relative to others (as was everything German), but this did not prevent the teaching and publication of work on Greek, medieval, and modern philosophy. Plato, Aristotle, St. Augustine, Thomas Aquinas, Nicholas of Cusa, Descartes, Spinoza, Hobbes, Leibniz, Kant, John Stuart Mill, Hegel, Kierkegaard, Schopenhauer, Dilthey, and Nietzsche were all read and discussed by German philosophers at the time. Heidegger's work was also openly studied by several philosophers, both in Germany and in occupied Czechoslovakia.¹⁴ Even US philosophy could be and was openly studied.¹⁵

When asking about the significance of specific events in the careers of individual philosophers one must pay particular attention to the dates. An academic appointment or promotion in late 1944 occurs in a vastly different historical and moral context than does the same appointment ten years earlier. In order to better understand these different contexts, it might be useful to divide the twelve years of the Nazi dictatorship into three distinct

¹⁴ Among these were Otto Friedrich Bollnow, Ernesto Grassi, and Kurt Schilling.

¹⁵ See the biography of Eduard Baumgarten in Table 1.

periods.¹⁶ During the first period (roughly 1933-1937) the Nazi government consolidated its grip on power, and among philosophers one finds a high degree of ideological consensus about the course of political events. There was, of course, a flurry of resignations and dismissals in the first year and there was some turmoil in the wake of the June 30, 1934 purge of the leadership of the SA, but for philosophers the situation stabilized rather quickly. The number of emigrations of philosophers dropped from twenty-two in 1933, to four in 1934, and down to zero by 1936.¹⁷ Further evidence of this consensus is provided in the membership records of the Nietzsche Gesellschaft and the Schopenhauer Gesellschaft. Both philosophical societies experienced a wave of resignations between 1932-35, as anti-Nazi and Jewish philosophers were forced out of public life in Germany.¹⁸ But by 1936 the number of members of both organizations (which were then controlled by Nazis) was

¹⁶ I have constructed this scheme to facilitate careful differentiation in the evaluation of individuals' actions.

¹⁷ The names of these emigrants follow by year: 1933, Ernst von Aster, Ernst Cassirer, Jonas Cohn, Bernard Groethuysen, Fritz Heinemann, Dietrich von Hildebrand, Paul Honigsheim, Max Horkheimer, Raymond Klibansky, Julius Kraft, Paul L. Landsberg, Kurt Lewin, Arthur Liebert, Siegfried Marck, Hans Reichenbach, Balduin Schwarz, Erich Stern, William Stern, Paul Tillich, Emil Utitz, Max Wertheimer, and Edgar Wind. In 1934, Theodor W. Adorno, Moritz Geiger, Karl Löwith, and Helmuth Plessner. In 1935, David Baumgardt, Richard H. Goldschmidt, Wolfgang Köhler.

¹⁸ See the biographies of Arthur Hübscher and Friedrich Würzbach in Table 2.

stable, indicating a willingness by many philosophers to participate in the cultural-political activities of the Nazi state. It is important to note that the consensus described above did not translate into rigid intellectual uniformity; the government tolerated diversity at the universities (except for the dismissals already mentioned), and Catholic philosophers, different kinds of conservatives, and even some students of the liberal Max Weber were still allowed to teach.¹⁹ As we have seen, the vast majority of philosophers were political conservatives who supported the new government and thus were able to continue their work; most philosophers simply did not object to the creation of a fascist political order in Germany. And most philosophers agreed with Hitler's plans to change the political order in Europe and unify all ethnic Germans under the central control of one government.

The second period (roughly 1938-1942) witnessed the expansion of Nazi power into neighboring German speaking territories, and ultimately across Europe. It also includes the dramatic escalation of anti-Semitic repression that was the prelude to the Holocaust. This repression began to take on new dimensions with the so-called 'Reichskristallnacht' of November 9, 1938, when synagogues all over Germany were

¹⁹ The situation of Catholic philosophers is unique, since several universities were obliged to maintain Chairs of Catholic philosophy because of treaties between the Vatican and the Reich.

plundered and burned. The international crises in 1938, including the German takeover of both Austria and Czechoslovakia, raised the level of political tension in Europe to such an extent that war was finally recognized by many to be a real possibility. During this period one does not find the same degree of consensus among philosophers that was visible in the first. Emigrations, which had ceased by 1936, again began to occur; in 1939 six professors of philosophy left Germany, the highest number for a single year since 1933.²⁰ When German armies invaded Poland on September 1, 1939 the news was not generally welcomed by the German public.²¹ But the popular attitude toward the war shifted, particularly after the fall of France in June 1940. The conquest of Europe created new career opportunities for many German philosophers, who lectured in allied or occupied countries to show the cultured face of Hitler's New Order.²²

The third and last period (1943–1945) includes the decline and ultimate collapse of Nazi power. It begins in the first days 1943 with the meeting at Casablanca between

²⁰ In 1937 there was one emigration: Helmut Kuhn. In 1938, there were three: Fritz Kaufmann, Richard Kroner, and Kurt Riezler. In 1939, there were six: Hans Ehrenberg, Erich Frank, August Gallinger, Richard Hönigswald, Hans Liebeschütz, and Georg Misch. Hugo Fischer may have emigrated to England from Norway in 1940; see Table 1.

²¹ Gadamer, Philosophical Apprenticeships, pp.94–95.

²² Among the philosophers who were allowed to represent Germany abroad during the war were Hans Freyer, Hans-Georg Gadamer, and Nicolai Hartmann.

Churchill and Roosevelt, when the Allies first demanded Germany's unconditional surrender. Then came the defeats at Stalingrad and North Africa, which were recognized by many Germans to be a turning point in the war.²³ The Germans' experience of the war changed after Stalingrad when Germany's economy was, for the first time in the war, fully mobilized for military production.²⁴ Support for both the war and the government began to wane in Germany, as it became evident that Germany was not going to win. A very important date during this period is July 20, 1944, the day of an attempt by army officers to assassinate Hitler and overthrow the Nazi government. After this date the already formidable security measures at all levels of German society were increased; a philosopher receiving any kind of special treatment from the government or the university after July 20, 1944 did so in an atmosphere of increased political tension and suspicion, and can be assumed to have been worthy of a high degree of political trust.

It must be remembered that the restrictions and ultimate removal of all civil rights for Jews in Germany was something that happened slowly and in stages. The

²³ See Hans-Georg Gadamer, Philosophical Apprenticeships (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1985), p.98.

²⁴ See Joseph Goebbels' speech of February 18, 1943 calling for mobilization for "total war" in: Politische Reden in Deutschland, edited by Horst Grünert (Frankfurt/M: Moritz Diesterweg, 1976), pp.93-99.

government first had to establish reasonably clear criteria for determining an individual's "Jewishness." A "Jew," as defined by the state, was someone who could be placed into one of the three following categories: 1) "Volljude," someone whose parents were both Jewish; 2) "Mischling I. Grades," someone with one Jewish ("Volljude") parent; and 3) "Mischling II. Grades," someone with one Jewish ("Volljude") grandparent.²⁵ Thus, in the eyes of the state, the property of being Jewish was not a matter of faith but a matter of birth. In 1933 and in late 1935, all state employees (and all university professors were state employees) were required to fill out forms that asked questions about their religion and the religion of their spouse, parents, and grandparents.²⁶ The legal restriction varied according to the degree of one's legally defined "Jewishness"; thus members of the third category were considered three quarters

²⁵ Hermann Graml, "Mischlinge und Mischehen," in Gutachten des Instituts für Zeitgeschichte, pp.66-71.

²⁶ After passage of the first Civil Service Reform Law on April 7, 1933, civil servants were required to answer written questions about their religion and their record of military service. University professors had to fill out such forms before April 22, 1933, and submit them to the university administrations. Beginning in late 1934, civil servants were required to answer detailed written questions about their religious and political backgrounds, and the religious backgrounds of their parents, grandparents, and spouse. If they claimed to have no connection to Judaism or allegedly Jewish organizations, they were required to sign an extra document confirming this. Similar questionnaires were also required upon entering the Party or any organization controlled by the government. See examples of such questionnaires in Appendix B.

German and retained rights denied to someone who was a "Volljude."

So-called mixed-marriages ("Mischehen") between those defined as Jews and those defined as "Aryan" presented a special set of problems. According to the "Law to Reform the Bureaucracy" of June 30, 1933, any civil servant married to a Jew was to be dismissed;²⁷ thus, according to statute, any civil servant married to a Jew was required to divorce his or her spouse in order to retain a job with the government. In practice, however, this did not happen because the government treated "mixed marriages" differently, depending on whether the man or the woman was Jewish. If a Jewish man was married to a legally defined "Aryan" woman, the woman was subjected to virtually all of the same legal restrictions that applied to her husband.²⁸ In the reverse case, the "Aryan" man and his wife were generally not molested. Thus, in practice, the woman in a marriage was placed in the same racial category as her husband.²⁹ This apparent contradiction is to be explained by the sexism of much of the Nazi hierarchy, where it was believed that men were responsible for the creation of

²⁷ Hermann Graml, "Mischlinge und Mischehen," p.67.

²⁸ Ibid., p.66.

²⁹ Ibid., p.66.

culture, science, and the state.³⁰ And this distinction had real consequences for many of the professors of philosophy, all of whom were male. Thus, in practice, philosophers defined as Jews had to endure severe repression, whereas philosophers married to Jews were not treated as badly. But after the passage of the Nuremberg Race Laws in September 1935, all such mixed marriages were prohibited.³¹

Now that the political and historical context has been sketched out, it is appropriate to ask about the relationships that existed between philosophers and the Nazi Party itself. To begin, it was not the case that every philosopher (or other academic) was forced to join the Nazi Party. If one excludes the 39 emigrants, 175 philosophers held university positions between 1933-45.³² Of these, 79 (or 45%) were actually members of the NSDAP. Membership in the Party was not something that was granted automatically, nor was it available to all who wanted to join.³³ The Party

³⁰ Alfred Rosenberg, Der Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts (Munich: Hoheneichen Verlag, 1935), pp.482-485

³¹ Hermann Graml, "Die Behandlung der an Fällen von sogenannter Rassenschande beteiligten 'Deutschblütigen' Personen," in: Gutachten des Instituts für Zeitgeschichte, pp.72-76.

³² I am using professor to refer to those philosophers with the rank of Dozent or above; I am not including the Assistenten, except in cases of promotions from Assistent to Dozent. This number is restricted to those working at universities inside the Reich borders of 1937.

³³ See for example the case of Prof. Narziß Ach described in Table 1.

was aware that many Germans wanted to join for opportunistic reasons, and as will be discussed below, it tried to restrict membership to those who could be considered politically reliable. It also considered membership to be a privilege bestowed upon worthy individuals (rather than groups of individuals); hence it was virtually impossible for anyone to become a member without knowing it.³⁴ A further 43 philosophers were members of some university based Nazi organization; the membership policies of these organizations (such as the Teacher's Union) were not as restrictive as those of the Party, but membership was clearly a political gesture. This means that 122 (or approximately 70%) of the philosophers who did not emigrate were either Party members or members of Nazi organizations; it also means that 30% were not. And, of course, for purposes of political and moral evaluation one should add to these numbers those who tried to get into the Party and were rejected, as well as those who were members of some other militantly conservative and anti-democratic political organization.

Not much can be inferred about the political opinions and actions of those philosophers who did not join the

³⁴ Hans Buchheim, "Mitgliedschaft bei der NSDAP," in: Gutachten des Instituts für Zeitgeschichte, p.315. This is an important point, since after the war many people claimed that they had been enrolled into the Party without their prior knowledge or consent.

NSDAP. There were many people who supported Hitler's government, but who had never joined any political party and did not want to join the NSDAP. Some of the philosophers who were strong supporters of the Nazi government were not themselves Party members.³⁵ A further explanation of the information contained in this Chapter follows below.

Who Taught Philosophy at German Universities 1933-1945?

What follows in Table 1 is an alphabetical listing of all those professors who taught philosophy between 1933 and 1945 at one of the 23 universities inside the Reich borders of 1937. A brief biography is included beside each name, providing an overview of each professor's known political and professional activities between 1933-45. The birthdate of each philosopher is provided to prevent any uncertainty about mistaken identification. Unless otherwise noted, the first academic title listed is that which was held on January 30, 1933. Information about the military service records of these men was not always available, which accounts for the somewhat sporadic nature of these entries. "Religion" refers to professed religion; if different, the label used by the state is in parentheses. Unless otherwise noted, "Catholic" refers to Roman Catholic and "Protestant"

³⁵ See for example Hans Freyer, Hermann Glockner, Eugen Kühnemann, and Max Wundt.

refers to Lutheran. Summaries of each philosopher's main philosophical interests are based on their publications, self-descriptions, and the evaluations of colleagues. To facilitate further research I have, where possible, included the date and location of each philosopher's death.

The information about membership in the Nazi Party and its organizations needs further explanation. The dates listed as to when someone joined a Nazi organization refer to the date when that person was accepted into that organization; unless otherwise noted, the date on which someone applied for membership is not given because it was generally not available. These dates often varied widely because there were only certain dates when the Party would accept new members. For example, between May 1933 and May 1937, the Party was virtually closed to new members.³⁶ Thus, someone who is listed as having joined the Party in 1937 may actually have applied for membership years before. There are also a few examples of back-dated entries into the Party; this was sometimes done as a kind of reward, because the benefits of Party membership generally increased in proportion to the length of membership. Note that all those joining the NSDAP between January 30 and May 1, 1933 were

³⁶ Hans Buchheim, "Mitgliedschaft bei der NSDAP," p.316.

subject to a two-year period of probationary membership, during which their political commitment was tested.³⁷

Unless otherwise noted each person who joined a Nazi organization remained a dues-paying member in good standing until the Nazi government was crushed in May 1945. There is no known instance of a philosopher resigning his membership in the Party, and there are only two known instances where philosophers were expelled from the Party: Kurt Huber and Johann Baptist Rieffert. Resignation from Nazi organizations like the Teacher's Union (NSLB) did occur, and apparently without severe consequences.

It should be clearly understood that this is not intended to be a complete list of all professors who taught philosophy in Germany during this time; the Chairs of philosophy at the seven "Reichsuniversitäten," the fifteen "Technische Hochschulen," and the nine "Philosophisch-Theologische Hochschulen" are excluded (except in cases involving transfers). A list of all of these universities is included in Table 5.

This is also not intended to be a list of all members of the Philosophy Faculties. At the time the universities were divided into four faculties: theology, philosophy, law, and medicine. The faculty of philosophy was home to a variety of disciplines, including sociology, political

³⁷ Ibid., p.317.

science, psychology, pedagogy (education), and anthropology. Thus, many members of the Philosophy Faculties did not teach philosophy. This list includes those members of the faculties of philosophy who were appointed to teach philosophy, or who had joint appointments in philosophy and some other discipline.

Following this Table is a short list (Table 2) of particularly important academics and officials who worked in philosophy, as well as ten other Tables with information needed to understand these biographies. Included is a list and explanation of the abbreviations used, definitions of the various academic titles, a list of the major archival sources and reference materials consulted, explanations of petitions signed by academics in support of Hitler, texts of the relevant passages of laws used to exclude faculty from the universities, a list of cover names used, and lists of those philosophers who joined various Nazi organizations.

This information was gathered over a three-year period from the files of the NSDAP, its office of ideological affairs known as the Amt Rosenberg,³⁸ the Reich Education Ministry, the Nazi teachers union (the NS-Lehrerbund), the SS, and the Secret State Police (Gestapo). These records are in archives all over Germany, some of which are not open

³⁸ The official name was the "Dienststelle des Beauftragten des Führers für die Überwachung der gesamten geistigen und weltanschaulichen Schulung und Erziehung der NSDAP"; it was directed by Alfred Rosenberg.

to the general public. Note that the biographical summaries presented here do not rely on statements made after the war by philosophers (including Heidegger) about their actions. Farias, Ott, and Martin have made it clear that Heidegger's statements in this regard are not to be trusted, and this study demonstrates that Heidegger's deceptions are not exceptional. I have also not relied on the standard biographical reference works published since 1945, although they have been consulted. Reference works must be treated with the same caution used with individual testimonies; a combination of selective omissions and outright falsehoods have been used by many philosophers (and other academics) to stave off embarrassing questions about the past. These deceptions include the unacknowledged removal in post-war editions of philosophical texts written 1933-45 of compromising passages, a problem to be more thoroughly discussed in Chapter Four. The information presented here is not complete because the available records are themselves incomplete, and because other records (such as some university archives) are not yet open for public inspection. But every effort has been made to insure the accuracy of the information that was available. A summary of the major sources of the material used is given at the end of each entry.³⁹

³⁹ A complete list of the archival materials consulted is given in Appendix A.

Table 1 - Philosophers at the German Universities 1933-45

Narziß ACH - (b. Oct.29, 1871) - Dr.med., ordentl. Professor, Göttingen - Decorated veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Catholic. During W.W.I, Ach endorsed expansionist German war aims as a member of the Vaterlandspartei; in 1923 he joined the Deutsche Demokratische Partei. Nov.1933, Ach publicly endorsed Hitler's demand that Germany withdraw from the League of Nations. He applied to join the NSDAP in 1933, but was denied membership June 26, 1934 because his wife was not Aryan (her great-grandfather was Jewish). Ach's main interests were in philosophical psychology and the "Psychologie der Rasse"; he was also an M.D. He retired in 1937, and died in Munich on July 25, 1946. (BDC,BA,KGK)

Theodor Wiesengrund ADORNO - (b. Sept.11, 1903) - Privatdozent, Frankfurt; 1933, dismissed under paragraph 3, BBG - Religion: Baptized Catholic (his father was Jewish). In 1934, he emigrated to the UK, where he was an Instructor at Oxford. Feb.1935, he was denied a book dealer's permit by the Reich Chamber of Literature. 1938, he emigrated to the US and worked in New York as a member of the Institute for Social Research. Until 1941 he was also director of the music department of the Princeton Radio Research Project. In 1941, he moved to California with Max Horkheimer; there he worked as an Instructor at UC-Berkeley. In 1944-49 he was director of the Research Project on Social Discrimination in Los Angeles. Adorno was one of the handful of Marxists who had a position at a German university in 1933. Note that his work on Kierkegaard was reviewed in Kant-Studien by F. J. Brecht in 1935, and that he used a pseudonym (Hektor Rottweiler) when he published his essay "On Jazz" in 1936. He died in Frankfurt August 6, 1969. (BDC,KGK,IBD)

Ernst von ASTER - (b. Feb.18, 1880) - ordentl. Professor, Giessen - Religion: ? (not Jewish). Member of the SPD and the Weimar Circle of democratically-minded university professors. 1933, dismissed under paragraph 4, BBG and emigrated to Sweden the same year. In 1936 he moved to the University of Istanbul (Note that his REM file remained active until Oct.1936). Von Aster taught history of philosophy, systematic philosophy and philosophy of law; he attempted a revival of nominalism, on which his philosophy of nature was based. He also published work on the political ideas of the French Revolution, and on

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psychoanalysis. He was a member of the original executive board of Philosophia. Von Aster died in Stockholm on October 21, 1948. (BDC,ZStA,KGK,IBD)

Hermann R. BÄCKER - (b. April 23, 1900) - Privatdozent, Köln; simultaneously Professor at the Hochschule für Lehrerbildung, Dortmund - Religion: ? (not Jewish). July 1, 1932, he joined the NSDAP (Nr.1,188,753). March 1, 1933, he joined the SA and was promoted to "Truppführer" on May 1, 1934. He was one of 300 academics to sign a petition supporting Hitler's government that was printed in the Party's newspaper just before the March 5, 1933 Reichstag election. His main philosophical interests were in systematic philosophy and empiricism. He published a work on the origins of causality in 1924, and a study in systematic philosophy (Dasein als Dienst) in 1941. (BDC,KGK)

Alfred BAEUMLER - (b. Nov.19, 1887) - ordentl. Professor, T.H. Dresden; April 1933, transferred to Berlin and appointed Director of the Institute for Political Pedagogy - Decorated combat veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Catholic. In July 1932 he publicly endorsed the NSDAP before the parliamentary elections of 31.7.32. Never before a member of any political party, he joined the NSDAP May 1, 1933 (Nr.2,459,241). A member of Rosenberg's Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur since before 1933, he became a department head within Rosenberg's Foreign Policy Office (Außenpolitisches Amt). 1934-1941, he was Director of Amt Wissenschaft within the Amt Rosenberg (he was briefly replaced in this office by Heinrich Härtle;¹ Walther Groß became his permanent successor in 1942). Oct.1935, he was made an honorary member of the Reich Institute for the History of the New Germany (at the suggestion of Walter Frank). 1941-44, Director of the Organizational Office (Aufbauamt) of the NSDAP "Hohe Schule." Organizer of the convention at Schloß Buderosa in March 1939, Baeumler was probably the single most important philosopher in Germany 1933-45. He was best known for his work on Nietzsche, Kant, Bachofen, Hegel, the history of German philosophy, and political philosophy; Baeumler was one of the very first to take Nietzsche seriously as a philosopher. He was also editor of Internationale Zeitschrift für Erziehung und Weltanschauung und Schule. Note that after the war he used two pseudonyms: Johannes Lanz, Alfred Baumeister. He died in Eningen on March 19, 1968. (BDC,BA,IfZ,ZStA,KGK,PL)

¹ See Table 2.

Jakob BARION - (b. July 23, 1898) - Assistent, Bonn (under Prof. Adolf Dyroff); Dec.1933, Habilitation and appointed Universitätsdozent, Bonn; 1937, transferred to the Staatliche Akademie, Braunsberg as temporary replacement for Prof. Rosenmöller; in 1938 he was promoted to ordentl. Professor and appointed Rector at Braunsberg - Religion: Catholic. Although never a member of any political party, he joined the NSLB July 1, 1934 (Nr.295,259). His main philosophical interests were in neo-Platonism and Augustinianism; Barion also published work on "Philosophia perennis," as well as work on Albert the German. (BDC,BA,KGK)

Ernst BARTHEL - (b. Oct.17, 1890) - Privatdozent, Köln; Director of the Gesellschaft für Lebensphilosophie - Religion: Protestant. June 1, 1934, he joined the NSLB (Nr.290,856). Although never a member of a political party, Barthel openly expressed anti-Semitic and racist views. He was protected by important friends (e.g. Elizabeth Foerster-Nietzsche) from attacks from colleagues such as Heinz Heimsoeth. In Oct.1940 he was dismissed because of his continued advocacy of his "cosmology," which seemed to support Einstein's general theory of relativity. In 1942 he was reappointed as Privatdozent at Strasbourg (Barthel was a native of Alsace). His main philosophical interests were in philosophy of psychology, physics, cosmology, and mathematics. He died in Oberkirchen/Baden on February 16, 1953. (BDC,BA,KGK)

Bruno BAUCH - (b. Jan.19, 1877) - ordentl. Professor, Jena - Religion: Catholic. Never a member of any political party or organization. He was one of 300 academics to sign a petition supporting Hitler's government that was published in the Party's newspaper just before the March 5, 1933 Reichstag election. With Max Wundt he co-founded the Deutsche Philosophische Gesellschaft (German Philosophical Association) in 1917, and was a member of its executive board. 1934-1942 he was its director (replacing Felix Krueger). Committed since World War I to the development of philosophically "völkisch" thought, Bauch worked in systematic philosophy, ethics, and the philosophy of religion. He died February 27, 1942. (BDC,BA,KGK)

David BAUMGARDT - (b. April 20, 1890) - (n.b.) a.ordentl. Professor, Berlin; in 1935 he was suspended after expiration of the so-called "Frontkämpfer-Regelung" (see paragraph 3, BBG) - Decorated combat veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Jewish. Never a member of any political party. In 1935 he was invited to deliver the principal address at an 800th anniversary celebration of Moses Maimonides in Cordoba,

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Spain but was unable to participate due to delayed permission from the German government. He delivered this lecture the same year in Madrid and did not return to Germany. In 1935 he emigrated to the U.K., where he received an appointment from the Univ. Birmingham. In 1939 he emigrated to the U.S. His main philosophical interests were in the history of modern ethics, the history of mysticism, and the history of romanticism; he was also a member of the original executive board of Philosophia. He died in New York July 21, 1963. (BDC,BA,ZStA,KGK,PL,IBD)

Eduard BAUMGARTEN - (b. Aug.26, 1898) - April 21, 1933, appointed Lecturer in "Amerikakunde," Göttingen; 1937, Habilitation and appointment as Dozent; 1940, transferred to Königsberg and made Assistant Director of the Philosophische Seminar - Decorated combat veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Protestant. July 1, 1934 he joined the NSLB (Nr.294,404); after 1937 he was also a member of the NSD-Dozentenbund. May 1, 1937 he joined the NSDAP (Nr.4,494,575). March 1939, Baumgarten was an invited participant in the Amt Rosenberg's philosophy convention at Schloß Buderosa. Baumgarten was a specialist in American philosophy and had studied with John Dewey. He had been a visiting Fellow at Columbia (1924); at Chicago (1926); and was an Instructor and Assoc.Prof. at Univ. Wisconsin, Madison (1926/27). His dissertation was directed by his uncle Max Weber. Baumgarten had also wanted to study with Heidegger; on Dec.16, 1933 Heidegger sent a vicious condemnation of Baumgarten to Party officials at Göttingen, claiming that B.'s association with Jews and his "Americanization" gave reason to doubt his political judgment. Note that Baumgarten was responsible for the political supervision of foreign students within the "English-American Friendship Circle" at Göttingen. He died in Frankfurt on August 15, 1982. (BDC,BA,IfZ,KGK)

Matthias BAUMGARTNER - (b. Feb.20, 1865) - GRR, ordentl. Professor, Breslau - Religion: Catholic. Officially retired in 1924, he was denied permission to lecture in 1933. His main philosophical interests were in scholasticism and the history of medieval philosophy; he was also co-editor of Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters. He died in June 1933. (KGK,PL)

Ludwig BAUR - (b. April 9, 1871) - ordentl. Professor, Breslau - Decorated veteran of W.W.I (as Chaplain). Religion: Catholic. 1919-1925, Baur was a member of the Catholic Center Party (Zentrum) and was a member of the Württemberg Landtag (state legislature). He was a specialist in metaphysics and the history of scholasticism, publishing work on logic and theory of knowledge,

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psychology, and Nicolas of Cusa. Baur retired in September 1936 and was replaced by Bernhard Rosenmöller. He died on January 14, 1943. (BDC,BA,KGK)

Oskar BECKER - (b. Sept.5, 1889) - ordentl. Professor, Bonn - Decorated combat veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Protestant. July 20, 1933, he joined the NSLB (Nr.139,939); he was also a member of Rosenberg's National Socialist Cultural Society (NSKG) and the Reichsluftschutzbund (RLB). Becker was an anti-Communist nationalist; in 1920 he had been a volunteer in Leipzig in support of the Kapp-Putsch. His main philosophical interests were in the logical foundations and history of mathematics, phenomenology, and racial psychology; he published work on modal logic, Nietzsche's proof of the eternal return, and on "nordic metaphysics". He studied with Husserl and Heidegger at Freiburg and was co-editor of Husserl's Jahrbuch für Philosophie und phenomenologische Forschung. Becker died in Bonn on November 13, 1964. (BDC,BA,KGK,PL)

Siegfried BEHN - (b. June 3, 1884) - a.ordentl. Professor, Bonn; April 2, 1937, appointed ordentl. Professor at Bonn - Decorated combat veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Catholic. He joined the Catholic Center Party (Zentrum) in 1926 and remained a member until the party was dissolved in 1933. Behn's specialties were psychology and pedagogy. He was the Director of the Philosophisches Seminar at Bonn and was co-Director of the Institute for Psychology. Behn also occupied the Chair for Catholic Philosophy at Bonn until he was drafted into the army in 1941; there he worked in "Heerespsychologie" until this was dissolved two years later; he returned to his position at Bonn in 1943. He was replaced during this time by Vinzenz Rüfner. Behn died in Bonn-Bad Godesberg on December 27, 1970. (BDC,BA,KGK,PL)

Ernst BERGMANN - (b. Aug.7, 1881) - (n.b.) a.ordentl. Professor, Leipzig - Veteran of W.W.I (severely wounded). Religion: Protestant (he withdrew from the Lutheran Church on Dec.12, 1932; see BDC file and his letter of Jan.1, 1933: "I am not a Christian, but a German [...] Christianity is a Jewish creation"). On July 1, 1930 he joined the NSDAP (Nr.329,503); he joined the NSLB July 1, 1931 (Nr.1158). Although criticized by the Amt Rosenberg in 1935 for sowing "confusion" in matters pertaining to the German Church, Bergmann was protected by the SS from being treated as an enemy of the state. In 1938 the Party reported Bergmann to be "absolutely reliable" politically. Bergmann's main philosophical interests were in aesthetics, German idealism, and philosophy of religion. Note that in 1926 he was co-editor with Hans Leisegang of a two-volume work on

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Weltanschauung and philosophy. He died in Naumburg on April 16, 1945. (BDC,BA,KGK)

Franz BÖHM - (b. March 16, 1903) - Jan.1, 1934, appointed Assistent, Heidelberg; Oct.1937, appointed temporary replacement (probably for Jaspers); Aug.1938, appointed a.ordentl. Professor, Heidelberg; Oct.1941, transferred to Strasbourg; Feb.1942, promoted to ordentl. Professor - Combat veteran of W.W.II. Religion: Catholic. Dec.1, 1933 he joined the NSLB (Nr.268,219); May 1, 1937 he joined the NSDAP (Nr.4,354,266). His main philosophical interests were in history of German philosophy and ontology. A student of Heinrich Rickert, his orientation to philosophy was influenced in the years after 1933 by Ernst Krieck (anti-Hegel and anti-Descartes). Böhm died in a Moscow military hospital in 1945. (BDC,BA,KGK)

Otto Friedrich BOLLNOW - (b. March 14, 1903) - Privatdozent, Göttingen (also, a.pl. Assistent at the Pädagogisches Institut until June 30, 1933); May 15, 1938, transferred to Giessen as temporary replacement and appointed (n.b.) a.ordentl. Professor of Pedagogy; Oct.1939, appointed ordentl. Professor and became Director of the Institute for Psychology and Pedagogy at Giessen - Military service: Spring 1943-1944. Religion: Protestant. In June 1933 he joined Rosenberg's Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur (the mission of this organization was to protect German culture from "cultural Bolshevism"). Nov.1933, Bollnow publicly endorsed Hitler's demand that Germany withdraw from the League of Nations. July 1, 1934 he joined the NSLB (Nr.294,389); the same year he also joined the NSV. In 1938 he was regularly attending NSDAP-organized political meetings. June 1, 1940 he became a member of the NSDAP (Nr.7,653,342); note that his membership application is dated Jan.5, 1940. A student of Georg Misch, Bollnow's main philosophical interests were in Dilthey's historical relativism and in the existentialist elements of Heidegger's work. Note that Bollnow also had a Ph.D. in theoretical physics. He died in Tübingen on February 2, 1991. (BDC,BA,KGK)

Franz Josef BRECHT - (b. March 16, 1899) - Privatdozent, Heidelberg; Sept.4, 1939, appointed Dozent, Heidelberg; June 21, 1941, appointed a.pl. Professor at Heidelberg - Veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Catholic. In December 1933 Brecht joined the NSLB (Nr.264,851). May 1, 1937 he joined the NSDAP (Nr.5,055,163). His main philosophical interest was in ancient philosophy; he also published work on Hegel and Kierkegaard, including a review in Kant-Studien of Adorno's book on Kierkegaard. (BDC,BA,KGK)

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Cay von BROCKDORFF - (b. April 17, 1874) - (n.b.) a.ordentl. Professor, Kiel - Veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Protestant. May 1, 1933 he joined the NSDAP (Nr.2,734,013); June 1, 1934 he joined the NSLB (Nr.291,704). In 1937 he was a member of the German delegation to the IX. International Philosophy Congress in Paris. An anti-Marxist and former member of the DNVP, von Brockdorff's main interests were in sociology, pedagogy, and the history of modern philosophy. He was vice-president of the Hobbes Society (becoming its president in 1936) and was editor of the Veröffentlichungen der Hobbes-Gesellschaft; he also published work on Kant's theology, Schopenhauer and Spinoza, Bergson, and Descartes. Note that he did not retire when he turned 65, as was usual; his contract was repeatedly renewed, allowing him to teach into 1944. He died in Kiel on January 29, 1946. (BDC,BA,ZStA,KGK)

Walter BRÖCKER - (b. July 17, 1902) - Nov.1933, appointed Assistent in Freiburg; April 1934, promoted to ordentl. Assistent; 1935, Habilitation; July 15, 1937, appointed Dozent at Freiburg; Oct.11, 1939, appointed Dozent n.O.; 1941, appointed ordentl. Professor at Univ. Rostock - Religion: Theist (non-Jewish). Nov.5, 1933 he joined the SA, remaining as an SA-Mann until his resignation from the SA on March 1, 1935. June 3, 1939 Bröcker applied for membership in the NSDAP and was accepted Jan.1, 1940 (Nr.8,367,438). His main philosophical interest was in ancient Greek philosophy; his book on Aristotle was published in 1935 after a positive letter of recommendation from Heidegger to the Reich Research Council (RFR), July 19, 1934. Note that Bröcker was Heidegger's Assistent at Freiburg. (BDC,BA,KGK)

Nikolai von BUBNOFF - (b. Jan.7, 1880) - a.ordentl. Professor, Heidelberg; Nov.28, 1939, appointed a.pl. Professor - Military service: April 1940- ? Religion: Greek Catholic. Jan.1, 1934 he joined the NSLB (Nr.285,126). In 1943 he was made a member of an academic examination committee at Heidelberg. His main philosophical interests were value theory, Nietzsche, and Russian intellectual history. Since 1931 he was Director of the Slavic Institute at the Univ. of Heidelberg, and Director of the Department of Slavic Languages at the School for Translators at Heidelberg. (BDC,BA,KGK)

Georg BURCKHARDT - (b. May 30, 1881) - (n.b.) a.ordentl. Professor, Frankfurt - Veteran of W.W.I.(March-August 1915). Religion: Protestant. June 1, 1934 he joined the NSLB (Nr.290,295). Although never a member of a political party,

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according to his REM file Burckhardt had been working since 1913 to develop the philosophical foundations of an essentially aristocratic socialism (following the line Plato -> Fichte -> Nietzsche) that could be used, in his words, "against Social-Democracy, Marxist Communism and conservative reaction." (BDC,BA,KGK)

Wilhelm BURKAMP - (b. Jan.20, 1879) - a.ordentl. Profesor, Rostock; May 1939, transferred to Königsberg - Decorated combat veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Protestant. Jan.1, 1934 he joined the NSLB (Nr.279,319). His main philosophical interests were in logic, philosophy of the natural sciences, and the history of modern philosophy since 1600. He died August 28, 1939. (BDC,BA,KGK,TL)

Ernst CASSIRER - (b. July 28, 1874) - ordentl. Professor, Hamburg; 1933, dismissed under paragraph 3, BBG while on sabbatical in Vienna - Religion: Jewish. Cassirer emigrated to Britain, becoming a visiting Professor at Oxford; he later emigrated to Sweden and the US. (His REM file remained active until April 1936.) In 1936 he joined the original executive board of Liebert's Philosophia. A student of Hermann Cohen and Paul Natorp, Cassirer was interested in the philosophy of mathematics and was a leading representative of the Neo-Kantism of the Marburg school. He taught at the University of Göteborg (Sweden), Yale, and Columbia before he died in Princeton on May 13, 1945. (BDC,ZStA,KGK,PL,IBD)

Jonas COHN - (b. Dec.2, 1869) - a.ordentl. Professor, Freiburg; August 21, 1933, dismissed under paragraph 3, BBG and emigrated to England the same year - Religion: Jewish. Cohn was interested in philosophy and pedagogy, specialized in modern education theory, and was involved in the Southwestern German school of Neo-Kantianism (with Wilhelm Windelband and Heinrich Rickert). He participated in the methodological development of experimental psychology along with Fechner, Wundt, Ebbinghaus, and Külpe. He died in Birmingham, England on January 12, 1947. (KGK,NBD,PL,IBD)

Hans CORNELIUS - (b. Sept.27, 1863) - ordentl. Professor, Frankfurt (officially retired) - Religion: he described himself as "Konfessionslos" (not Jewish). While he was never a member of any political party or organization, Cornelius was viewed with suspicion because his former wife was Jewish. 1939, his name was removed from the university's course catalogue. Also in 1939 he joined the Reich Chamber of Fine Arts; the necessary background checks removed any suspicions about his relations with Jews. Cornelius was a trained chemist, an artist, and a sculptor,

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with philosophical interests in Kant, psychology, and the philosophy of art. He died in Frankfurt on August 23, 1947.
(BDC,KGK,PL)

Wolfgang CRAMER - (b. Oct.18, 1901) - Assistent in the Mathematisches Seminar, Breslau; Nov.6, 1935, Habilitation; April 1, 1937, Lehrauftrag in mathematical logic; Oct.11, 1939, appointed Dozent, Breslau - Military service: 1921, active duty in the infantry in Silesia, and former member of the Freikorps. Religion: Protestant. May 1, 1932 he joined the NSDAP (Nr.1,196,889); July 1, 1934 he joined the NSLB (Nr.295,926). Cramer came to philosophy from mathematics. His main philosophical interests were in epistemology and the philosophical foundations of the exact sciences. He taught mathematical logic and the logic of the natural sciences. He died in Frankfurt on April 2, 1974.
(BDC,BA,KGK)

Alois DEMPFF - (b. Jan.2, 1891) - (n.b) a.ordentl. Professor, Bonn; 1937, transferred to Vienna and appointed ordentl. Professor (he was given the Chair formerly occupied by Moritz Schlick); in 1939 he was forced to retire after Germany took over Austria - Decorated combat veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Catholic. Never a member of any political party, Dempf was twice allowed to represent Germany abroad: in Paris in 1935 for the Descartes Congress, and in Spain to give a series of lectures the same year. His main philosophical interests were in medieval philosophy and ethics; he also produced work on Meister Eckhardt, Goerres, Kierkegaard, and the philosophy of religion. Note that he continued to publish until at least 1942. Dempf was later a recipient of the Bundesverdienstkreuz. (BDC,BA,KGK,TL)

Max DESSOIR - (b. Feb.8, 1887) - ordentl. Professor, Berlin - Religion: until Oct.15, 1933 Protestant (Jewish). April 1934, resigned his university position because it was determined that he was of "mixed race" (one of his grandfathers was Jewish). Despite this he was able to maintain an active public career for several years; he lectured in Vienna (1935), Bucharest (1935, 1936), and Prague (1936). In 1938 Dessoir's name was removed from the list of professors offering courses at the University in Berlin, he was no longer allowed to publish, and he was denied permission to have one of his books published in translation in Rumania the same year. Feb.1941, the Propaganda Ministry prohibited any further distribution of his work. He published work on aesthetics, philosophy of art, and the history of German psychology. Dessoir was also the founder and editor of the Zeitschrift für Aesthetik und

allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft. He died on July 19, 1947.
(BDC,BA,IfZ,KGK,PL)

Hugo DINGLER - (b. July 7, 1881) - ordentl. Professor, T.H. Darmstadt; 1934, retired under paragraph 6, BBG; Summer Semester 1935, he was given a teaching position (Lehrauftrag) in philosophy at Munich; in 1940 he was given a different Lehrauftrag (in the history of the natural sciences) - Decorated combat veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Protestant. Dingler was one of 300 academics who signed a petition supporting Hitler's government that was published in the Party's newspaper just before the March 5, 1933 Reichstag election. He applied for Party membership in April 1933, but was initially turned away because he had been a member of a Masonic Lodge between 1920-1923. He successfully petitioned Hitler for permission to join the Party despite his Masonic background; he entered the NSDAP April 1, 1940 (Nr.7,754,026). June 1, 1937 he joined the NSLB (Nr.353,165); he was also a member of the NSD-Dozentenbund, NSV, RLB, RKK (RSK Nr.A2594), Kolonialbund, and since 1933 was a member of the SS-Benevolent Association (FM-SS). In 1936 he joined the Deutsche Ahnenerbe (an SS-research institution). Dingler was a philosopher, mathematician, and physicist with special interest in the foundations of the exact sciences and theory of science. He authored vicious attacks on Einstein and Planck. He died in Munich on June 29, 1954. (BDC,BA,KGK)

Ottmar DITTRICH - (b. Nov.12, 1865) - a.ordentl. Professor, Leipzig; 1933, retired - Religion: Protestant (Catholic until 1907). In Nov.1933 Dittrich publicly endorsed Hitler's demand that Germany withdraw from the League of Nations. His main philosophical interests were in linguistics, linguistic psychology and the history of ethics. He also published works on Fichte, Luther, and university reform. He died in Marburg in 1951. (BDC,KGK,Wi)

Hans DRIESCH - (b. Oct.28, 1867) - ordentl. Professor, Leipzig, and Director of the Philosophisches Seminar - Religion: ? (not Jewish). During 1933 he was relieved of his duties at the university for political reasons. Regarded as "an exponent of the Weimar system" by the Amt Rosenberg, Driesch was officially prohibited from giving public lectures in Sept. 1935. He was a former president of the Society for Psychical Research in London (1926/27), and had been a guest lecturer in Aberdeen (1907/08); China (1922/23); Univ. of Wisconsin, Madison (1926/27); and Buenos Aires (1928). Driesch was interested in mathematics,

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theoretical physics, philosophy of mind, and parapsychology. He died in Leipzig on April 17, 1941. (BDC,IfZ,KGK,PL,TL)

Karlfried Graf von DÖRCKHEIM-MONTMARTIN - (b. Oct.24, 1896) - Professor at the Hochschule für Lehrerbildung and Privatdozent, Kiel; 1934-Oct.1942 he was placed on leave from the university because he was not racially "pure"; 1935 he began work for the Foreign Ministry at the request of von Ribbentrop - Decorated combat veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Protestant (his grandmother was Jewish). In 1930 he became president of the regional branch of the Fichte Society in Saxony-Thuringia. Oct.1, 1933 he joined the NSLB (Nr.229,796). Nov.1, 1933 he joined the Stahlhelm. Nov.1933 von Dörckheim publicly endorsed Hitler's demand that Germany withdraw from the League of Nations. April 1, 1934 he joined the SA; Nov.1934 he became a member of SA R I/187 (where he was made a "Sturmmann" on April 20, 1935). He was also a member of the Deutsche Akademie, on its Committee on Southern Africa. Note that his racial background did not end his career; he worked for two years in the England-Abteilung of the Foreign Ministry in Berlin and received a research contract for the Education Ministry (REM) in Japan (1937-1945). His main philosophical interests were in philosophical anthropology, political pedagogy, and psychology. From 1925-27 he was an Assistant at Felix Krueger's Psychologisches Institut. While at Leipzig he also worked with Hans Freyer. (BDC,BA,KGK)

Adolf DYROFF - (b. Feb.2, 1866) - GRR, ordentl. Professor, Bonn; April 1934, retired - No military service due to heart trouble. Religion: Catholic. Former member of the Vaterlandspartei and co-founder of the Bonn branch of the Deutsche Volkspartei. Although never a member of the NSDAP, Dyroff described himself to the Education Ministry as "a committed anti-Marxist, anti-liberal, nationalist." He was a member of the Goerres Society and was editor of the collected works of Joseph Goerres. His main philosophical interests were philosophy of religion, pedagogy, and psychology. He died in Bonn in July 1943. (BDC,BA,KGK)

Julius Ludwig EBBINGHAUS - (b. Nov.9, 1885) - ordentl. Professor, Rostock; Sept.1940, transferred to Marburg - Decorated combat veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Protestant. Until Sept.1930 he was a member of the DNVP. July 30, 1934 he joined the NSLB (Nr.310,220). He later joined the NS-Kriegerbund, and the NSD-Dozentenbund (Nr.7443). In 1939 he was drafted to work as an army psychologist. Ebbinghaus' philosophical interests included metaphysics and systematic philosophy; he began his philosophical career as an Hegelian, but later developed into a committed Kantian. He

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also published an article on the question of German war guilt. Note that he was the first Rector of Marburg after the war. He died in Marburg on June 16, 1981. (BDC,BA,KGK)

Hans EHRENBERG - (b. June 4, 1883) - a.ordentl. Professor, Heidelberg; April 1933 he resigned from the faculty - Decorated veteran of W.W.I. Religion: ordained as a Protestant minister in 1924 (Jewish). 1925-1937, minister in Bochum; 1937 he relinquished his pastorate and became active in the Confessional Church. In 1938 he was imprisoned in KZ-Sachsenhausen. In 1939 he emigrated to the U.K. One of the leading figures of the religious-socialist movement in the Weimar Republic, Ehrenberg was noted for his vision of a socialist ecumenical society in which Christianity represented the major integrating force. He rejected the theory of class struggle and advocated in its place a corporate state as a way of controlling and changing capitalism. He died in Heidelberg on March 31, 1958. (KGK,IBD)

Carl August EMGE - (b. April 21, 1886) - a.ordentl. Professor, Jena (in both law and philosophy); April 1933, promoted to ordentl. Professor; Nov.1934, transferred to Berlin - Religion: Protestant (Dutch Reformed). Beginning in 1931 he was Research Director of the Nietzsche Archive in Weimar. Dec.1, 1931 he joined the NSDAP (Nr.847,792); Sept.1, 1932 he joined the NSLB (Nr.8375). A member of Rosenberg's Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur since at least 1932, he was also a member of the NSD-Dozentenbund, NSV, the Akademie für deutsches Recht (he was its director), the Deutsche Akademie, and the national executive council of the BNSDJ. In Sept.1934 he led the German delegation to the VIII. International Philosophy Congress in Prague. He was the chairman of the Internationale Vereinigung für Rechts- und Sozialphilosophie, and was an active member of both the Herder-Gesellschaft in Riga and the Société d'Etudes philosophique in Marseilles. In 1935 he replaced Heinrich Hasse as the Amt Rosenberg's informer in the Schopenhauer Gesellschaft. Emge was one of the very first university professors (and the first philosopher) to sign public appeals for support for Hitler. (See the Völkische Beobachter of 6.4.32, 10/11.4.32, 30.4.32, 29.7.32, 6.11.32, and 3.3.33.) His main philosophical interests were in philosophy of law, German idealism, and the history of philosophy. Beginning in 1933 he was chief editor of the collected works of Nietzsche (Kritische Ausgabe); he was also editor of the Archiv für Rechts- und Sozialphilosophie. Note that he used the pseudonym "ab Insulis" in 1931. Emge died in Munich on January 20, 1970. (BDC,BA,IfZ,ZStA,KGK,PL)

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August FAUST - (b. July 24, 1895) - Lecturer at the Lehrerbildungsanstalt, Heidelberg; June 16, 1933, (n.b.) a.ordentl. Professor, Univ. Heidelberg; April 1, 1935, transferred to Tübingen; Nov.-Dec.1936, temporary replacement in Breslau; Jan.1937, appointed ordentl. Professor, Breslau (where he was described as being a mouthpiece for the Amt Rosenberg) - Decorated combat veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Protestant. Sept.15, 1933 he joined the Hitler Youth (Jungbann 2/110 in Heidelberg; later Bann 125 in Tübingen). July 19, 1934 he joined the NSLB (Nr.295,688). A member of the executive board of the NSD-Dozentenbund, he joined the NSDAP May 1, 1937 (Nr.4,015,685). Since 1940 he was a member of a committee dedicated to the "Kriegseinsatz der Philosophie." 1942-44, he was co-editor of Kant-Studien. A student of Heinrich Rickert, Faust's main philosophical interests were in the transcendental philosophy of Kant and Fichte, the history of philosophy, and political pedagogy. Note that in 1941 he edited Das Bild des Krieges im deutschen Denken, and also published a work on the philosophy of war in 1942. Faust committed suicide in 1945 after Breslau was occupied by Soviet troops. (BDC,BA,IfZ,ZStA,KGK,TL,PL)

Erich FELDMANN - (b. May 17, 1893) - Privatdozent, Bonn; WS 33/34, Lecturer at the Staatliche Akademie in Braunsberg; Sept.1934, forced to resign as Director of the Hessian State Institute for Pedagogy under paragraph 6, BBG; 1935, transferred back to Bonn; 1939, appointed Universitätsdozent, Bonn; 1940, he was promoted to a.pl. Professor, Bonn - Decorated combat veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Catholic. 1920-21, member of the Catholic Center Party (Zentrum). July 1, 1934 Feldmann joined the NSLB (Nr.295,297); he joined the NSDAP May 1, 1937 (Nr.4,389,221). He was also a member of the "Artillerie Verein Bonn" (Kyffhäuser Bund), later taken up into SA Reserve II. His main philosophical interests were in the history of modern philosophy, "national-political education," and military politics; he was also editor of Mainzer Abhandlungen zur Philosophie und Pädagogik, and Geschichtliche Forschungen zur Philosophie der Neuzeit. Note that his promotion to a.pl. Professor was delayed for four years because he had been a member of a Masonic Lodge. (BDC,BA,KGK,PL)

Aloys FISCHER - (b. April 10, 1880) - GRR, ordentl. Professor, Munich; Director of the Pedagogical Seminar and the Institute for Psychology - Religion: Catholic. Member of the RLB and NSV. He was forced to retire in 1937 under paragraph 6, BBG after it was determined that his wife was Jewish. His main philosophical interests were in

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pedagogical psychology, sociology, history of philosophy, and aesthetics; he was also editor of Philosophische und Pädagogische Arbeiten. He died in Munich on November 23, 1937. Note that his wife was murdered in 1944 at KZ-Theresienstadt. (BDC,KGK,PL)

Hugo FISCHER - (b. Oct.17, 1897) - Privatdozent, Leipzig; May 13, 1938, promoted to (n.b.) a.ordentl. Professor; Sept.2, 1939, promoted to a.pl. Professor - Decorated combat veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Protestant. August 1, 1933, he joined the NSLB (Nr.311,999); note that he resigned Aug.1, 1935. Never a member of any political party, he was described by the NSD-Dozentenbund in Nov.1937 as being completely apolitical. He was an active member of the German Philosophical Society and from 1926-1934 he was co-editor (with Gunther Ibsen) of its journal, the Blätter für deutsche Philosophie. Due to failing health, Fischer was given a paid leave of absence and allowed to move to Norway. He then worked at the Institute for Sociology and Labor Studies at the University of Oslo. Fischer left Norway for England in 1939 or 1940, but it is not clear that he went to England for political reasons. (He has not been counted as an emigrant in this study.) He worked under Felix Krueger, Hans Volkelt, and Hans Freyer while at Leipzig, and was a member of Ernst Jünger's national-revolutionary circle. His primary philosophical interests were in the history of German philosophy, psychology, metaphysics, and sociology. He died in Ohlstadt, Bavaria on May 11, 1975. (BDC,BA,KGK,IBD)

Helmut FOLWART - (born Folwartschny, Sept.16, 1902) - Nov.1934, Habilitation, Breslau; Nov.22, 1935, awarded Lehrauftrag in philosophy at Breslau; Aug.26, 1939, promoted to Dozent; Nov.24, 1942, promoted to a.pl. Professor - Religion: Protestant. July 4, 1933 he joined the SA (Sturm 7/11, Breslau) and became a Rottenführer; Oct.4, 1934 he joined the NSLB (Nr.322,123). May 1, 1937 he joined the NSDAP (Nr.4,998,458). Folwart's main philosophical interest was in German idealism; he published works on Schlegel, Jean Paul, and an analysis of Kant, Husserl, and Heidegger. (BDC,BA,KGK)

Erich FRANK - (b. June 6, 1883) - ordentl. Professor, Marburg (he was appointed as Heidegger's successor in 1928); in Nov.1935 he was forced to retire after expiration of the so-called "Frontkämpfer-Regelung" (see paragraph 3, BBG) - Decorated combat veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Catholic (Jewish). Winter Semester 1935/36, he was replaced by Hans-Georg Gadamer. Frank emigrated to the US in 1939. His main philosophical interests were in the history of Greek

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philosophy, the philosophy of history and religion, and metaphysics. (BDC,BA,KGK,IBD)

Hans FREYER - (b. July 31, 1887) - ordentl. Professor, Leipzig; 1933-1939, Director of the Institute for Culture and General History at Leipzig; 1938-1944, Univ. of Budapest; 1941-44, Director of German Scientific Institute in Budapest; March 1945, transferred back to Leipzig - Decorated combat veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Protestant. Nov.1933, Freyer publicly endorsed Hitler's demand that Germany withdraw from the League of Nations. Not a member of any political party, Freyer nevertheless supported the Nazi government (see Gadamer interview in Das Argument, Nr.182) and was allowed to represent the new Germany abroad. In 1933 he became "Führer" of the German Sociological Society. May 1934 he was appointed to an elite committee on the philosophy of law within the Akademie für Deutsches Recht. He was an advisor to the German Foreign Ministry and the German military authorities in Budapest. His main philosophical interests were in political philosophy, political science, and sociology. Freyer was on the governing board of the German Philosophical Society, and was co-editor of both the Zeitschrift für deutsche Kulturphilosophie and the series Neue deutsche Forschungen. Note that in the 1950's he worked for the West German Defense Ministry, giving political instruction about Marxism-Leninism to officers of the Bundeswehr. Freyer died in Wiesbaden on January 18, 1969. (BDC,BA,KGK,PL)

Hans FRIEDLANDER - (b. Aug.27, 1888) - Privatdozent, Berlin; Nov.1935, he was suspended after expiration of the so-called "Frontkämpfer-Regelung" (see paragraph 3, BBG) - Decorated combat veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Jewish. Apparently never a member of a political party. 1922-25 he worked for the army doing tests on the psychological effects of weapons. A student of Carl Stumpf and Benno Erdmann, his main philosophical interests were in psychology and logic. Note that he lost his position in 1935 even though his wife was not Jewish. (BDC,BA,KGK)

Hans-Georg GADAMER - (b. Feb.11, 1900) - Privatdozent, Marburg; May 1934-March 1935, replaced Richard Kroner at Kiel; Nov.1935-Oct.1936, replaced Erich Frank at Marburg; Fall 1936, volunteered for several weeks of political training in the Dozentenlager at Weichselmünde bei Danzig; April 4, 1937, promoted to (n.b.) a.ordentl. Professor, Marburg; March 1938, transferred to Leipzig as temporary replacement for Arnold Gehlen; 1939, promoted to ordentl. Professor; 1940, appointed Director of the Institute for Philosophy at Leipzig - No record of military service (due

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to polio). Religion: Protestant. A supporter of the DNVP, he joined the NSLB Aug.1, 1933 (Nr.254,387). Nov.1933 Gadamer publicly endorsed Hitler's demand that Germany withdraw from the League of Nations. Note that he was allowed to lecture abroad (in Florence, Dec.1939; in Paris, May 29, 1941; in Prague, June 1943; in Portugal, Feb.1944). He was a member of the university's examining committee for "Philosophie und Weltanschauung" from 1940-45. His philosophical interests included Greek philosophy, the history of philosophy, and hermeneutics. (BDC,BA,IfZ,KGK)

August GALLINGER - (b. Aug.11, 1871) - Dr.med., (n.pl.) a.ordentl. Professor, Munich; Oct.1935, suspended after expiration of the so-called "Frontkämpfer-Regelung" (see paragraph 3, BBG); Dec.1935, his permission to teach (Lehrbefugnis) was withdrawn - Decorated combat veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Jewish. A former member of the Konservative Volkspartei and the Hindenburg Committee, Gallinger emigrated to Sweden in 1939. He published work in ethics, philosophy of mind, and an analysis of crimes committed against German prisoners of war during W.W.I. He died in Munich on June 7, 1959. (BDC,BA,KGK,PL)

Arnold GEHLEN - (b. Jan.29, 1904) - Privatdozent, Leipzig; May 6, 1933, appointed temporary replacement for Paul Tillich at Frankfurt; WS 1933/34, appointed as temporary replacement in Leipzig, where he worked as an Assistant to Hans Freyer at the Institute for Political Science; April 1, 1934, temporary replacement for his former teacher Hans Driesch; Nov.1934, promoted to ordentl. Professor, Leipzig and appointed Director of the Philosophisches Institut; March 1938, transferred to Königsberg (as successor to Hans Heyse) and was appointed to the Kant Chair; 1940, transferred to Vienna as replacement for Robert Reininger, and charged by the REM with reorganizing the various institutes within the Philosophy Faculty; April 1940, appointed Director of the Psychologisches Institut; 1942 he was appointed Director of the Institute of Philosophy - Military service: Oct.1941-May 1942 in Prague, and June 1942- ? as military psychologist. Religion: Protestant. May 1, 1933 he joined the NSDAP (Nr.2,432,245) and was the "Zellenleiter" of Ortsgruppe Böhlitz-Ehrenberg. Aug.1, 1933 he joined the NSLB (Nr.312,004). Nov.1933 Gehlen publicly endorsed Hitler's demand that Germany withdraw from the League of Nations. Note that he was listed as a "Lecturer in the Cultivation of Literature" by the Amt Rosenberg. April 20, 1942 he became executive director of the German Philosophical Society, replacing Bruno Bauch. His main philosophical interests were in philosophical anthropology, German idealism, and political philosophy. It is worth

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mentioning that Gehlen's cousin was Reinhard Gehlen (chief of German counter-intelligence on the Eastern front, 1941-45, and later chief of the West German intelligence agency BND). Also note that in 1947 Gehlen was appointed to a Chair at the Höhere Verwaltungsakademie in Speyer, where he was Rector from 1951-53. He died in Hamburg on January 30, 1976. (BDC,BA,IfZ,KGK,TL)

Moritz GEIGER - (b. June 26, 1880) - ordentl. Professor, Göttingen; 1933, dismissed under paragraph 3, BBG - Religion: Jewish. Although he left Germany for the US in 1934, his REM file stayed active until 1939; this file also indicates that he was technically on leave from his position at Göttingen while he was in the US. He found a position at Vassar College, where he worked until his death. Geiger was a leading specialist in descriptive phenomenology. He was interested in its application to aesthetics and the philosophy of mathematics, and was also interested in the philosophical implications of the theory of relativity. Note that he was a member of the original executive board of Philosophia. He died in Poughkeepsie, New York on September 9, 1937. (BDC,KGK,NDB,ZStA,IBD)

Adhemar GELB - (b. Nov.18, 1887) - ordentl. Professor, Halle; 1933, he was forced to retire under paragraph 3, BBG - Religion: Protestant (his father was Jewish). Feb.-June 1935 he was guest lecturer at the University of Lund, Sweden. His main philosophical interest was in the analysis of impairments to sensory perception, language, and thought due to injuries to the brain. Gelb was a student of Carl Stumpf and had been co-editor of Psychologische Forschung. He returned to Germany in July 1935 because of illness and died on August 7, 1936 in Schömberg. (BDC,KGK,NDB)

Josef GEYSER - (b. March 16, 1869) - GRR, ordentl. Professor, Munich; March 31, 1935, retired and was replaced by his student Fritz-Joachim von Rintelen in 1936 - No military service. Religion: Catholic. Apparently not a member of any political party or organization, Geysler was an honorary member of both the Societas Philosophorum Hungarica and the Société Philosophique de Louvain. He was a representative of the so-called "Philosophie perennis" and published work on epistemology, the foundations of logic, phenomenology and the philosophy of religion, and psychology. He died in Munich on April 11, 1948. (BDC,BA,KGK,PL)

Hermann GLOCKNER - (b. July 23, 1896) - a.ordentl. Professor, Heidelberg; Nov.1933, promoted to ordentl. Professor and transferred to Giessen as successor to Ernst

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von Aster - Veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Catholic. July 1, 1934 he joined the NSLB (Nr.294,544). Since 1934, member of the editorial board of the Schopenhauer Gesellschaft and co-editor of the Zeitschrift für deutsche Kulturphilosophie (successor to Logos) with Karl Larenz.² While not a member of any political party, Glockner was sympathetic to National Socialism even before 1933 and was described as being politically reliable in internal party correspondence in Sept.1942. His philosophical interests began with the South German Neo-Kantianism of Heinrich Rickert, but he soon turned his attention to Hegel. Glockner believed that Hegel's dialectic was ill-conceived and a result of the influence of Spinoza. He authored a major study of Hegel and published an edition of Hegel's collected works. He died in Braunschweig on July 11, 1979. (BDC,BA,IfZ,KGK,TL)

Albert GOEDECKEMEYER - (b. Feb.2, 1873) - ordentl. Professor, Königsberg; 1938, retired - Religion: Protestant. Former member of the Staatspartei. In 1935 complaints were lodged against Goedeckemeyer to the University and the Education Ministry in Berlin because his wife was not "of aryan stock." There it was decided that he would simply retire after he reached the normal retirement age (65). His main philosophical interests included ancient Greek philosophy, the problem of free will, and Kant's notion of the state. (BDC,BA,KGK)

Albert GÖRLAND - (b. July 9, 1869) - a.ordentl. Professor, Hamburg - Religion: ? (not Jewish). March 1, 1935, he joined the NSLB (Nr.317,891); note that he resigned on Jan.1, 1937. In July 1935 he was relieved of his duties and retired. His main philosophical interests were in aesthetics, idealism, and ethics; he published work on Aristotle, Leibniz's conception of God, Rousseau, and he was also a member of the editorial board (led by Ernst Cassirer) that supervised the publication of Kant's collected works. Görland died on February 18, 1952. (BDC,BA,KGK)

Richard Hellmuth GOLDSCHMIDT - (b. July 25, 1883) - Dr.med., (n.b.) a.ordentl. Professor and Director of the Psychlog. Seminar, Münster; 1933, dismissed under paragraph 3, BBG; 1935, emigrated to the Netherlands - Veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Jewish. 1933-39, instructor at the Univ. of Amsterdam. Note that from March 1937-March 1938 he received financial support from the Education Ministry (REM). In 1940 he emigrated to the U.K. without his wife; she was not Jewish, and stayed in Germany. She received financial

² See Table 2.

support from the REM until the end of the war. Goldschmidt was interested in optics, philosophical psychology, and experimental psychology. Before 1933 he was co-editor of Psychologie und Medizin. He died in 1968. (BDC,KGK,IBD)

Ernesto GRASSI - (b. May 2, 1905) - Dozent, University at Milan and Lecturer in Italian at Freiburg; 1935, Habilitation in Rome, and appointed Professor at Pavia; WS 1935/36, Lecturer, Freiburg; Jan.10, 1938, given lectureship in Berlin; June 13, 1938, appointed Honorarprofessor in Berlin - Religion: Catholic. 1934, he was awarded the annual prize of the Accademia Italiana. Grassi was a "Fiduciario" of the Italian Fascist Party, an official in charge of a "Gruppo Regionale Fascista." His main philosophical interests were in Heidegger, Hegel, the political thought of the Italian renaissance, and the development of humanism. He was editor of 2 volumes of the series Geistige Überlieferung in 1940 and 1942. Note that in 1942 Grassi was named Director of the Institute "Studia Humanitatis" in Berlin. (BDC,BA,IfZ,KGK)

Wilhelm GREBE - (b. May 9, 1897) - StR, Privatdozent, Frankfurt; Sept.7, 1935, promoted to (n.b.) a.ordentl. Professor; March 1939, transferred to Tübingen; Oct.18, 1939, appointed a.pl. Professor - Veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Protestant. Until 1931 Grebe was a member of the Republikanische-Lehrerbund. May 1, 1933 he joined the NSDAP (Nr.2,665,486); June 1, 1934 he joined the NSLB (Nr.290,271). From Nov.4, 1933 until Jan.1, 1935, he was an SA-Mann in Sturm 16/166. Grebe was also a member of the NS-Cultural Society (NSKG), the NSV, and a lecturer at the "Reichsstelle zur Förderung des deutschen Schrifttums." Note that he participated in the Amt Rosenberg's philosophy convention in March 1939 at Schloß Buderosa. His main philosophical interests were in German idealism, the cultural and political foundations of the social sciences, and the philosophy of language. (BDC,BA,IfZ,KGK)

Bernhard GROETHUYSEN - (b. Jan.9, 1880) - (n.b.) a.ordentl. Professor, Berlin; 1933, resigned and emigrated to France - Religion: ? (not Jewish). April 9, 1938 the Reich Education Ministry revoked his permission to teach under paragraph 18, RHO. His main philosophical interest was French intellectual history of the 18th century, but he also published works on St. Augustine, Dilthey, Nietzsche, and philosophical anthropology. He died in Luxembourg on September 17, 1946. (BDC,KGK)

Helmut GROOS - (b. Dec.1. 1900) - Librarian at the Hamburg Public Library; Sept.1940, Habilitation, Jena; WS 1942-43,

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he was temporarily released from the military to replace Bruno Bauch at Jena; Oct.1944, appointed a.ordentl. Professor, Jena - Military service: June 1942-1944. Religion: Protestant. July 1, 1940 he joined the NSDAP (Nr.8,768,944); he was also a member of the NSV, RLB, DAF, and RKK (Schrifttumskammer). His philosophical interests included the problem of free will and determinism, and the relationship between Christianity and German idealism. Beginning in 1939 he was co-editor of Abhandlungen zur begründenden Philosophie together with Johannes Heyde and Paul Linke. Note that he was not related to his teacher Karl Groos. (BDC,BA,KGK)

Karl GROOS - (b. Dec.12, 1861) - ordentl. Professor, Tübingen (officially retired in 1929); - No military service. Religion: Protestant. Not a member of any political organization, Groos continued to play an active role on the Tübingen faculty. He published works on German systematic philosophy, philosophy of religion, and psychology. Note that he was not related to his student Helmut Groos. He died in Tübingen on March 27, 1946. (BDC,BA,KGK)

Hans Alfred GRUNSKY - (b. July 31, 1902) - Winter Semester 1935/36, appointed as temporary replacement for Alexander Pfänder, Munich; May 26, 1937, promoted to ordentl. Professor, Munich; Nov.1941, suspended and replaced by Kurt Schilling; May WS 1943/44, he returned to teaching - Never eligible for military service because of polio (he was confined to a wheel chair). Religion: Protestant. Never before a member of any political party; June 1, 1930 he joined the NSDAP (Nr.264,685). He was a member of the NSV, the Reich Institute for the History of the New Germany, and was "Hauptlektor für Philosophie" at the Amt Rosenberg. Note that the latter considered his work to be too crude, and that the Education Ministry (REM) considered him to be both a personal and professional failure. Nov.1941, he was suspended under paragraph 6, DBG for making public accusations about Prof. Herbert Cysarz, whose personnel file at the University of Munich he examined (and made public) without authority. On May 10, 1943 the Bavarian Kultusministerium informed the University that Grunsky had been reprimanded and also rescinded Grunsky's suspension. Note that Grunsky was probably behind an attempt to have Fritz-Joachim von Rintelen removed from the same university; von Rintelen's courses were over-enrolled while virtually all students avoided Grunsky. His main philosophical interests were in philosophy of science, aesthetics, and history of philosophy. An anti-Semitic nationalist, Grunsky attempted to articulate the "Germanic" in philosophy, and

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"expose" the influence of Jews and Judaism in the history of philosophy. He attacked Einstein and Spinoza, and wrote about the alleged relationship between the German soul and the state. Grunsky died in Sibichhausen, Bavaria on May 20, 1988. (BDC,BA,IfZ,KGK)

Romano GUARDINI - (b. Nov.17, 1885) - ordentl. Professor, Breslau and regular guest lecturer, Berlin; March 1939, retired (and was thanked for his services by both Hitler and Göring) - Veteran of W.W.I. (medical corps). Religion: Catholic. While not a member of any political party, he supported the Catholic Center (Zentrum). 1941 he was denied permission to join the RKK (Schrifttumskammer) and prohibited from publishing. In 1942 he was allowed to publish an essay in a collection edited by Ernesto Grassi after the Italian Ambassador intervened with the German Foreign Ministry, pointing out that Guardini was well-respected in Italy and that his brother was a member of the Italian Fascist Party. His main philosophical interests were in philosophy of religion and psychology, systematic theology, and questions relating to both theology and the social sciences. He died in Munich on October 1, 1968. (BDC,BA,IfZ,KGK)

Hans Richard Gerhard GÜNTHER - (b. July 20, 1898) - Privatdozent, Berlin; Oct.1, 1933-March 31, 1936, Oberassistent at the Philosophisches Seminar, Berlin; Feb.22, 1940, appointed Dozent n.O.; June 17, 1940, promoted to a.pl. Professor, Berlin; April 1941, transferred as substitute to Prague; Nov.1943, promoted to ordentl. Professor at Prague - Decorated combat veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Protestant. A conservative nationalist, he never joined any political party. Beginning in 1933 he was an acting executive board member of the German Philosophical Society. Nov.4, 1933 Günther joined the SA (SA R 75/30); note that he resigned from the SA on Sept.15, 1934. While he was in Berlin he was a "Blockwalterhelfer" in the NSV. In 1934 he was co-founder with Erich Rothacker of Neue deutsche Forschungen, and became editor of its philosophy division. Aug.1, 1936 he began work as a military psychologist for an Army agency which carried out psychological examinations. In April 1938 he was appointed by the Army to run their Agency for Psychology and Racial Science. Oct.1, 1938 Günther was appointed "Regierungsrat." Note that in 1943 he was awarded a medal by the Hungarian government. A student of Eduard Spranger, Günther published work on Ludwig Klages, Helmut von Moltke, the philosophy of "community," and on the talent and effectiveness of the German soldier. (BDC,BA,IfZ,ZStA,KGK,PL)

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Theodor HAERING - (b. April 22, 1884) - ordentl. Professor, Tübingen - No military service. Religion: Protestant. May 1, 1937 he joined the NSDAP (Nr.5,896,006). He was also a member of Rosenberg's Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur. Note that in 1942 he was awarded the War Merit Cross, 2nd Class. Primarily a Hegel scholar, Haering published work on Christoph Sigwart, Kant, Schelling, and Nicholas of Cusa. He also tried to articulate the "Germanic" elements within German philosophy; examples of this work are his edited collection Das Deutsche in der deutschen Philosophie (1941, a publication in the series devoted to the "Kriegseinsatz der Geisteswissenschaften"), and his text titled Die Schwaben in der Wissenschaft. He died in Tübingen on June 15, 1964. (BDC,BA,KGK)

Nicolai HARTMANN - (b. July 20, 1882) - ordentl. Professor, Berlin - Decorated combat veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Protestant. Not a member of any political party or party organization, Hartmann was a conservative, anti-Communist, nationalist. Aug.19, 1934 he publicly supported Hitler's assumption of the functions of Reich President after the death of President von Hindenburg. In Sept.1934 he was a member of the German delegation to the VIII. International Philosophy Congress in Prague. A member of the executive board of the German Philosophical Society, he was also a member of the Deutsche Akademie (appointed Senator Aug.1944). In May 1944, he was elected to be a corresponding member of the Akademie der Wissenschaften in Vienna. During the war he was allowed to lecture abroad (in Bucharest, Oct.1942), and he received a medal from the Rumanian government. His philosophical interests included ethics, philosophy of history, logic, metaphysics and epistemology, ontology, and the history of ancient philosophy. Hartmann did his doctoral work with Hermann Cohen and Paul Natorp at Marburg. Note that Hartmann was on the editorial board of Houston Stewart Chamberlain's journal Deutschlands Erneuerung. He died in Göttingen on October 9, 1950. (BDC,BA,IfZ,ZStA,KGK,PL)

Heinrich HASSE - (b. July 31, 1884) - (n.b.) a.ordentl. Professor, Frankfurt - Religion: ? (not Jewish). According to the records of the REM Hasse was a member of the NSDAP before Jan.30, 1933, although "he had not the least understanding" of the meaning of the National Socialist takeover and not much was expected of him, either academically or politically. He joined the NSLB June 1, 1934 (Nr.290,265). From Aug.1934 until his death he was an informer for the Amt Rosenberg within the Schopenhauer Society. Hasse published work on Hume and the history of epistemology, Schopenhauer's philosophy of religion, and

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Nietzsche's view of Socrates. He died February 19, 1935.
(BDC,BA,IfZ,KGK)

Martin HEIDEGGER - (b. Sept.26, 1889) - ordentl. Professor, Freiburg - Veteran of W.W.I.(as mail censor in Freiburg, and for two months as meteorological observer on the Western front in 1918). Religion: Catholic. In 1931 he was appointed to the research board supervising the Nietzsche Archiv's historical-critical edition of Nietzsche's work. April 21, 1933 he was elected Rector of the University. May 1, 1933 he joined the NSDAP (Nr.3,125,894). Aug.1933, offered professorship in Berlin (as replacement for Heinrich Maier); Oct.1933, offered professorship in Munich (as replacement for Richard Höningwald): he rejected both. Oct.1, 1933 he was named "Führer-Rektor" at Freiburg. Nov.11, 1933 Heidegger publicly spoke in support of Hitler's demand that Germany withdraw from the League of Nations. Dec.1, 1933 he joined the NSLB (Nr.285,217). April 23, 1934, he resigned the Rectorship (and was thanked for his service). May 1934, he was appointed to an elite committee on the philosophy of law within the Akademie für Deutsches Recht. Aug.19, 1934 he publicly supported Hitler's assumption of the functions of Reich President after the death of President von Hindenburg. Heidegger was allowed to represent the Reich abroad: he lectured in Zürich (1935-36), Vienna (1936), and attended a conference in Rome (1936). While in Rome he confirmed his continued support for Hitler's government (in conversation with Karl Löwith). During April-June, 1938 Heidegger was given paid leave to pursue his research. In 1940 Heidegger's work was the subject of a seminar taught by Kurt Schilling at the German university in occupied Prague (thus contradicting H's later claim that his name could not be mentioned in public after 1938). In July 1942, despite opposition from the Amt Rosenberg, an article by Heidegger was included in a journal edited by the fascist Ernesto Grassi (Jahrbuch für Geistige Überlieferung) at the insistence of Mussolini's government. For the Winter Semester 1943-44 Heidegger asked for and was given a semester of paid leave by the Education Ministry to work on the second volume of Being and Time. Heidegger publicly supported the war effort until at least 1943 and publicly praised the "inner truth and greatness" of National Socialism as late as 1953. Note that he used the pseudonym Martin Heide in 1915. He died in Freiburg on May 26, 1976.
(BDC,BA,IfZ,ZStA,KGK)

Heinz HEIMSOETH - (b. Aug.12, 1886) - ordentl. Professor, Köln; Winter Semester 1944/45, guest lecturer at Marburg - Veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Protestant. May 1, 1933 he joined the NSDAP (Nr.2,092,609), and also became a member of

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the NSD-Dozentenbund. During 1933 he participated in the political reorganization of the university (Gleichschaltung) that was instigated by the Party. June 1, 1934 he joined the NSLB (Nr.290,843); note that he resigned from the NSLB May 19, 1939. He was also a member of the executive committee of the German Philosophical Society, chairman of its local chapter in Köln, and in 1934 became editor of its publication Blätter für deutsche Philosophie. In 1935 he was allowed to travel to Paris for the Descartes Congress. According to Baeumler (letter of Sept.7, 1934), Heimsoeth did not support the use of race as a philosophical concept; similar complaints were expressed by the NSD-Dozentenbund in 1938. His main philosophical interest was history of philosophy; he published work on Descartes, Leibniz, Hegel, Fichte, Kant, and Nietzsche. He died in Köln on November 10, 1975. (BDC,BA,IfZ,ZStA,KGK)

Fritz HEINEMANN - (b. Feb.8, 1889) - a.ordentl. Professor, Frankfurt; 1933, dismissed under paragraph 3, BBG and emigrated to the Netherlands - Religion: Jewish. 1934 he emigrated to France; 1939, to the U.K. In 1940 after a brief internment, Heinemann was appointed lecturer at Oxford. A student of Hermann Cohen and Paul Natorp, he was a prominent interpreter and critic of existentialism. Note that it was Heinemann who in 1929 introduced the term "Existenzphilosophie" into the philosophical vocabulary. He also published works on Hume and Wilhelm von Humboldt's philosophical anthropology. Heinemann died in Oxford, England on December 28, 1969. (KGK,IBD)

Robert HEISS - (b. Jan.22, 1903) - Privatdozent, Köln; April 20, 1936, promoted to (n.b.) a.ordentl. Professor, Köln; Oct.28, 1939, promoted to a.pl. Professor, Köln; Sept.1, 1942, transferred to Freiburg; April 1, 1943, promoted to ordentl. Professor, Freiburg (replacing Martin Honecker) and appointed Director of the Philosophisches Seminar II - Military service: Aug.1919-Jan.1920, Volunteer in 41. Guard Regiment. Religion: Catholic. Since 1938 he was Director of the Institute for Experimental Psychology, Köln. Oct.1, 1940 he joined the NSDAP (Nr.8,200,529). 1939-42 Heiss worked as a military psychologist training other psychologists and developing new aptitude tests for the Air Ministry. Heiss was a student of Nicolai Hartmann; his main philosophical interests were in logic and epistemology, philosophy of science, and in experimental psychology. He died in Freiburg on February 21, 1974. (BDC,BA,KGK)

Eugen HERRIGEL - (b. March 20, 1884) - ordentl. Professor, Erlangen; (1924-29, visiting Professor at the Imperial Tohoku University at Sendai, Japan) - Decorated veteran of

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W.W.I. Religion: Protestant. May 1, 1933, he joined the NSLB (Nr.24,768). 1933, he also joined the Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur and remained a member after it was reorganized into the NS Cultural Society (NSKG) in 1934; Nov.1934 he was allowed to deliver a series of lectures in the Netherlands. May 1, 1937 he joined the NSDAP (Nr.5,499,332). 1937-1939 he was Dean of the University's Philosophy Faculty. 1938-1944, he served as University "Prorektor." Feb.1941 Herrigel was invited back to the Tohoku University for a further three years (he was unable to accept this invitation because of the war). March 20, 1943 he delivered a lecture to the "Führungskorp der NSDAP" in Nuremberg, at the invitation of the Party leadership in Gau Franken; he often gave public lectures at minor political events. Oct.1944 he was appointed Rector at Erlangen, an office he held from Nov.1944-April 1945. Jan.1945 he was awarded the War Merit Cross 2nd class. April 1945 Herrigel helped effect the surrender of Erlangen to the Americans without a fight. His main philosophical interests were in systematic philosophy, history of philosophy, mysticism, and Zen-Buddhism; he also wrote on the relationship between philosophy and the National Socialist state. He is best known as the author of Zen and the Art of Archery (1948). Note that by his own account (Sept.1943) he spoke very little Japanese and could not read the language. Herrigel died in Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Bavaria on April 18, 1955. (BDC,BA,KGK)

Johannes HESSEN - (b. Sept.14, 1889) - Dr.theol., (n.b.) a.ordentl. Professor, Köln; Jan.1940 he was denied an appointment to a.pl. Professor and lost his permission to teach; March 31, 1940 he was forced to end his university career - Veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Catholic. Hessen was a Catholic priest. June 1, 1934 he joined the NSLB (Nr.290,842). Dec.17, 1942 he was prohibited from public speaking anywhere inside the Reich by the RSHA (a level above the Gestapo), because of remarks that were "prejudicial to the interests of the State." Hessen's main philosophical interest was in philosophy of religion and Catholic theology; he published work on Augustine's metaphysics, Plato, and the Apostles. He died in Köln on September 2, 1971. (BDC,BA,KGK)

Johannes Erich HEYDE - (b. May 22, 1892) - Professor, Rostock (Pädagogische Akademie); 1942, appointed Lecturer in philosophie, Greifswald; 1943, appointed Lecturer in pedagogy, Univ. Rostock; August 1944, Habilitation, Innsbruck; March 26, 1945, appointed Dozent, Rostock - Decorated veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Protestant. Nov.1933 Heyde publicly endorsed Hitler's demand that Germany

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withdraw from the League of Nations. 1942 he was appointed member of the university examining committee for "Philosophie und Weltanschauung" at Greifswald. Heyde was considered to be an unpolitical nationalist (according to a Party evaluation of Jan.1945). He was a devoted student of Johannes Rehmke, with special interest in epistemology, psychology, and value theory; he was also chairman of the Johannes-Rehmke-Gesellschaft. Beginning in 1939 he was co-editor of Abhandlungen zur begründenden Philosophie together with Helmut Groos and Paul F. Linke. Heyde died in West Berlin on April 6, 1979. (BDC,BA,IfZ,KGK)

Hans HEYSE - (b. March 8, 1891) - ordentl. Professor, Königsberg; Oct.1933-March 31, 1935, Rector at University of Königsberg; Oct.1936, appointed ordentl. Professor and Director of the Philosophy Department at Göttingen (as replacement for Georg Misch) - Decorated combat veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Protestant. May 1, 1933 he joined the NSDAP (Nr.1,774,512); Jan.1, 1934 he joined the NSLB (Nr.277,435). Also a member of the NSD-Dozentenbund, NSV, and the RLB. 1935-37 he was chairman of the Kant Gesellschaft and supervised the "Gleichschaltung" of Kant-Studien. 1942-44 he was co-editor of Kant-Studien. April 1937 he founded the Academy of Sciences of the NSD-Dozentenbund at Göttingen. He lectured extensively abroad: Prague, Sept.1934 (he was a member of the German delegation to the VIII. International Philosophy Congress); Rome, 1935; the Netherlands, 1936; Paris, 1937 (he led the German delegation to the IX. International Philosophy Congress); Spain, 1941; Budapest, 1941. Heyse made what appears to be a unique attempt in 1943 to use a politically sympathetic captured French officer with philosophical training (Jean Guitton) in the philosophy department at Göttingen. Note that NSD-Dozentenbund considered Heyse's period as Rector at Königsberg to be politically unsuccessful (letter of 25.8.36), although Heyse personally was still considered to be absolutely reliable. Heyse's main philosophical interests were in German idealism, Kant, Nietzsche, and political philosophy. Note that in 1931 he was appointed to the research board supervising the Nietzsche Archiv's historical-critical edition of Nietzsche's work. He died in Göttingen on October 19, 1976. (BDC,BA,IfZ,ZStA,GStA,KGK)

Johannes HIELSCHER - (b. Oct.15, 1871) - (n.b.) a.ordentl. Professor, Münster; 1934, promoted to ordentl. pl. Professor (sic), Münster; Oct.1935, promoted to ordentl. Professor; March 31, 1937, retired - Veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Protestant. He joined the NSLB Nov.8, 1932 (Nr.69,159). Hielscher was one of 300 academics who signed a petition supporting Hitler's government that was printed in the

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Party's newspaper just before the March 5, 1933 Reichstag election. He joined the NSDAP May 1, 1933 (Nr.2,476,412). Also a member of the SS-Benevolent Association and the NSV; he was a recipient of the "Silberne SS Ehrennadel für Treue in der Kampfzeit." His main philosophical interests were history of philosophy, psychology, and German idealism. He was best known for his work on Fichte. (BDC,BA,KGK,NDB)

Dietrich von HILDEBRAND - (b. Oct.12, 1889) - a.ordentl. Professor, Munich; 1933, dismissed and emigrated to Austria; 1933-38, Hochschullehrer, Vienna; 1940, Professor at Fordham Univ., New York - Religion: Catholic (since 1914). 1933-38, editor of Der christliche Ständestaat, an austrofascist, anti-Nazi publication. A leading figure among Catholic academics in Germany, in 1938 he was again dismissed from his university position. He emigrated to Italy, where he found refuge in the Vatican (his German citizenship had been revoked in Dec.1936). In 1940 he was able to emigrate to the US. Hildebrand's main interests were in Catholic philosophy and theology; he published works on St.Benedict, St.Francis, Christian mental attitudes, and an analysis of Catholic purity and virginity. He died in New York on January 26, 1977. (BDC,KGK,PL)

Kurt HILDEBRANDT - (b. Dec.12, 1881) - Dr.med., Dozent, Berlin; 1934, appointed ordentl. Professor at Kiel (replacing Julius Stenzel); Jan.1945 he was transferred as temporary replacement to Munich - Decorated veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Protestant. Never before a member a member of any political party, Hildebrandt joined the NSDAP in April 1933 (Nr.3,471,682); he also joined the NSLB, NSV, and the Reich Chamber of Doctors (Reichsärztekammer). 1942 he was allowed to travel to Paris under the auspices of the Propaganda Ministry. Hildebrandt was a trained psychiatrist as well as a philosopher. His main philosophical interests included Plato, Kant, Schelling, Nietzsche, and eugenics; his work on Plato was particularly influential. Note that in 1931 he was appointed to the research board supervising the Nietzsche Archiv's historical-critical edition of Nietzsche's work. He died in Kiel on May 20, 1966. (BDC,BA,KGK)

Erich HOCHSTETTER - (b. Aug.14, 1888) - (n.b.) a.ordentl. Professor, Berlin; Aug.16, 1939, promoted to a.pl. Professor - Decorated combat veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Protestant. He joined the NSDAP April 1, 1941 (Nr.8,290,728); he was also a member of the NSD-Dozentenbund and the NSD-Frontkämpferbund (Stahlhelm). Oct.1942 he became an employee of the Amt Rosenberg. His main philosophical interest was medieval philosophy; he published work on

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Leibniz, scholastic ethics, William of Ockham, and Schopenhauer. He was a student of Benno Erdmann. Hochstetter died in Evenhausen, West Germany on June 16, 1968. (BDC,BA,IfZ,KGK,PL)

Richard HONIGSWALD - (b. July 18, 1875) - Dr.med, ordentl. Professor, Munich; Sept.1, 1933 he was dismissed under paragraph 3, BBG - Religion: Protestant (his family was Jewish). Nov.1938 he was interned at KZ-Dachau after the "Reichskristallnacht." Dec.1939 he emigrated to the US via Switzerland. Oct.1941 he was deprived of his German citizenship by the Nazi government. Hönigswald was influenced by both neo-Kantian epistemology and ontology; he sought to combine philosophy of thought with the psychology of language. He died in New Haven on July 11, 1947. (BDC,KGK,PL,IBD)

Ernst HOFFMANN - (b. Jan.13, 1880) - ordentl. Professor, Heidelberg; Nov.1935, forced to retire after the expiration of the so-called "Frontkämpfer-Regelung" (see paragraph 3, BBG) - Decorated combat veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Protestant ("nicht Arisch"). Former member of the Deutsche Demokratische Partei (1923). He was a full member of the Heidelberg Academy of Sciences and co-editor of Heidelberger Abhandlungen zur Philosophie und ihrer Geschichte. Note that he was still able to publish articles as late as Dec.1940. His main philosophical interest was in the influence of Plato and Aristotle on the history of philosophy. He also published work on Nicholas of Cusa and Pestalozzi's pedagogy. Hoffmann died in Heidelberg on January 28, 1952. (BDC,BA,KGK,PL,Wi)

Paul HOFMANN (b. Nov.26, 1880) - (n.b.) a.ordentl. Professor, Berlin - Religion: ? (one of his parents was Jewish). No record of involvement with any political party or organization. Feb.16, 1938 the Education Ministry revoked his permission to teach under paragraph 18, RHO. His main philosophical interests were in philosophy of mind, epistemology, and philosophy of religion; he also produced a work on Kant and a commentary on Heidegger's Being and Time. He died in Berlin on March 7, 1947. (BDC,KGK,PL,Wi)

Martin HONECKER - (b. June 9, 1888) - ordentl. Professor, Freiburg; Oct.1941 due to illness he was replaced by Robert Heiss - Decorated combat veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Catholic. Member of the Arbeitsgemeinschaft Katholischer Deutscher from Dec.1933 until its dissolution in Sept.1934. Aug.1934 he joined the Freiburg branch of the NSD-Frontkämpferbund (Stahlhelm). His main interests were in systematic philosophy and psychology; he published work on

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Thomas Aquinas, German romanticism, and several pieces on Nicholas of Cusa. He had been an active member of the Goerres-Gesellschaft and from 1925-29 was the editor of the Jahresbericht der Goerres-Gesellschaft. Honecker died in Freiburg on November 19, 1941. (BDC,BA,KGK)

Paul HONIGSHEIM - (b. March 28, 1885) - a.ordentl. Professor, Köln and Director of the Volkshochschule; 1933, dismissed under paragraph 4, BBG and emigrated to France - Veteran of W.W.I. (as translator in P.O.W. camp). Religion: Catholic. In Paris he became Director of a branch of the Geneva Institute for Social Research. In 1936 he emigrated to Panama and taught philosophy and sociology at the Univ. of Panama; he was also a guest lecturer at several South American universities. In 1938 he emigrated to the US; 1938-50 he was a professor at Michigan State University. A student of Max Weber, his main philosophical interests were in philosophical anthropology, social philosophy, and sociology. He died in East Lansing, Michigan on January 22, 1963. (KGK,Wi,IBD)

Max HORKHEIMER - (b. Feb.14, 1895) - ordentl. Professor, Frankfurt; 1933, dismissed under paragraph 3, BBG - Veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Jewish. A student of Hans Cornelius, co-founder (1924) of the Institute for Social Research, co-founder of the Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung (1932), and successor to Carl Grünberg as Director of the Institute, Horkheimer emigrated to Switzerland in 1933. He was one of the first sixteen professors to be dismissed by the Nazi government in 1933 (a published list of these professors appeared in the Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung Reichs-Ausgabe, April 14, 1933). May 1934 he emigrated to the US. Note that a work he edited, Studien über Autorität und Familie, was banned in Germany on Himmler's order in 1938. (BDC,IfZ,KGK,IBD)

Ernst HORNEFFER - (b. Sept.7, 1871) - apl. a.ordentl. Professor, Giessen - Religion: "Freireligiös" (non-Jewish). 1930-31 he was a member of the Wirtschaftspartei. Horneffer was a committed Free-Mason, which apparently was the cause of the revocation of his permission to teach in 1935; however, he remained on the faculty at Giessen and was still allowed to speak publicly as late as 1942. His main philosophical interests were in Nietzsche, ancient Greek philosophy, political philosophy, Oswald Spengler, and the philosophy of religion. He died in Iserlohn on November 5, 1954. (BDC,BA,KGK,PL)

Kurt HUBER - (b. Oct.24, 1893) - (n.b.) a.ordentl. Professor, Munich; 1937, transferred to State Institute for

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Research into German Music, Berlin; 1938, transferred back to Munich after his efforts to secure a position as professor of philosophy in Berlin were rejected; May 6, 1940, promoted to a.pl. Professor, Munich - Religion: Catholic. 1927-30, member of the Bayerische Volkspartei. A member of the NSV, he joined the NSDAP April 1, 1940 (Nr.8,282,981). Note that his promotion to a.pl. Professor occurred immediately after he joined the NSDAP. April 19, 1943 he was convicted of treason and sentenced to death for his participation in the anti-Nazi activities of the "White Rose"; he was executed July 13, 1943. He was interested in Catholic philosophy, experimental psychology (particularly in the use of music in psychology), and in the development of German folk music. (BDC,BA,KGK)

Edmund HUSSERL - (b. April 8, 1859) - GHR, ordentl. Professor, Freiburg (retired since 1928, but remained on the faculty); 1933, dismissed from the Univ. faculty; dismissal then canceled because his son was killed during W.W.I (see paragraph 3, BBG); Dec.31, 1935 he was again dismissed after expiration of the so-called "Frontkämpfer-Regelung" - Religion: Protestant since 1886 (born Jewish). His philosophical interests began in mathematics and descriptive psychology; he worked through neo-Kantianism to develop his theory of subjectivity and phenomenology. He was editor of the Jahrbuch für Philosophie und phänomenologische Forschung. Husserl died April 27, 1938. (BDC,GStA,KGK,NDB,PL)

Gunther IPSEN - (b. March 20, 1899) - (n.b.) a.ordentl. Professor, Leipzig; May 1933, appointed Director of the Seminar in Political Education; Oct.1933, promoted to ordentl. Professor and transferred to Königsberg; 1939, transferred to Vienna; Sept.1943, appointed Director of the Institute for Psychology, Vienna - Decorated combat veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Protestant. 1930-33, co-editor (with Hugo Fischer) of Blätter für deutsche Philosophie. Jan.1933-March 1934, member of the executive board of the Fichte Society. In 1933 he joined the SA and was appointed Truppführer; he joined the NSLB June 1, 1934 (Nr.289,155). Ipsen joined the NSDAP May 1, 1937 (Nr.5,089,913). His main philosophical interests were linguistics, philosophy of history, and "German" (i.e.Blut und Boden) sociology. He was identified by the Amt Rosenberg in 1944 as being a member of the circle around Hans Freyer at Leipzig. (BDC,BA,IfZ,KGK)

Günther JACOBY - (b. April 21, 1881) - ordentl. Professor, and Director of the Philosophy Department, Greifswald; 1937, dismissed under paragraph 6, BBG after the Reich Office for

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Geneological Research (Reichssippenamt) discovered that his grandfather was Jewish; 1944, his dismissal was officially changed to a retirement; 1945 he was re-appointed a.ordentl. Professor at Greifswald - Decorated combat veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Protestant. Although not a member of a political party, Jacoby was a conservative nationalist. 1918-19 he was a Freikorps volunteer in the Baltic region. In 1920 he was the commander of a volunteer company during the Kapp-Putsch. Jacoby began his philosophical career with work on Kant's aesthetics and Herder, then turned to ontology and logic. He also produced work on Bergson, Schopenhauer, and American philosophy. He died in Greifswald on January 4, 1969. (BDC,BA,KGK,PL)

Erich JAENSCH - (b. Feb.26, 1883) - ordentl. Professor, Marburg - No military service due to childhood illness. Religion: Protestant. According to the records of the Education Ministry (REM), Jaensch began "kulturpolitische" work for the NSDAP two years before the Nazis came to power. July 1932 he publicly endorsed the NSDAP before the Reichstag election of 31.7.32. Sept.1, 1932 he joined Rosenberg's Kampfbund für Deutsche Kultur (Nr.4029); Oct.9, 1932 he joined the SS-Benevolent Association (Nr.25,426). Jaensch was one of 300 academics who signed a petition supporting Hitler's government that was published in the Party's newspaper just before the March 5, 1933 Reichstag election. April 1, 1933, he joined the NSLB (Nr.71,223); he joined the NSDAP May 1, 1933 (Nr.2,828,444), although his political work for the Party began two years before. Nov.1933 Jaensch publicly endorsed Hitler's demand that Germany withdraw from the League of Nations. Aug.19, 1934 he publicly supported Hitler's assumption of the functions of Reich President after the death of President von Hindenburg. Note that in 1933 he founded and then directed the Institute for Psychological Anthropology at Marburg. In 1936 he became chairman of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Psychologie (replacing Felix Krueger). His main philosophical interests were psychological and psychophysical anthropology, systematic philosophy, and "Kulturphilosophie." Jaensch died in Marburg on January 12, 1940. (BDC,BA,KGK)

Karl JASPERS - (b. Feb.23, 1883) - Dr.med., ordentl. Professor, Heidelberg; 1937, retired according to paragraph 6, BBG (his wife was Jewish) - No military service. Religion: Protestant. 1919-22, member of the Deutsche Demokratische Partei. 1938 he was allowed to publish a book in Germany (Existenzphilosophie); this work was translated and printed in Italy in 1940. In 1939 Jaspers was allowed to lecture in Geneva; 1941 he was denied permission to teach

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at Basel. Feb.-March 1943, prohibited from publishing work on Nietzsche and Christianity by the Propaganda Ministry. In March 1943 his REM file was examined by Himmler and no action was taken. It should be noted that Jaspers did not use the "Deutscher Gruß" (Heil Hitler!) in his correspondence. He worked as a psychiatrist and as a philosopher, publishing work on psychopathology, Max Weber, Descartes, Nietzsche, and existentialism. It was Jaspers who recommended to the Univ.Freiburg in 1945 that Heidegger be allowed to continue his work, but that he be denied a Chair as ordentl.Professor in the philosophy department. He died in Basel on February 26, 1969. (BDC,BA,KGK)

Carl JESINGHAUS - (b. Feb.12, 1886) - Professor, Facultad de Filosofia y Letras, Buenos Aires; July 1, 1935, appointed ordentl. Professor at Würzburg, as replacement for Karl Marbe - Military service: 1914 (a few months in the infantry). Religion: Protestant. In 1934 he returned to Germany after 20 years in Argentina and joined the NSLB April 1, 1936 (Nr.336,173). He joined the NSDAP May 1, 1937 (Nr.5,431,225). His main philosophical interests included pure and applied psychology, history of philosophy, and aesthetics. Jesinghaus returned to Argentina after the war and died there November 19, 1948. (BDC,BA,KGK)

Hermann JOHANNSEN - (b. Oct.17, 1889) - (n.b.) a.ordentl. Professor, Jena; Oct.9, 1939, promoted to a.pl. Professor - Religion: ? (not Jewish). Jan.1, 1934 he joined the NSLB (Nr.311,650). His main philosophical interests were in pedagogy and youth psychology; he published several texts which focused on the methodological problems of education. (BDC,KGK,PL)

Willy KABITZ - (b. May 5, 1876) - ordentl. Professor, Münster; 1939, temporarily replaced by Bodo von Waltershausen due to illness; 1941, retired (65 years old) - Military service: 1904-05 (volunteer) and decorated combat veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Protestant. 1920, member of the DNVP. 1932, member of the "Hermann Bund Deutscher Nation"; also member of the NSD-Frontkämpferbund (Stahlhelm). He was a Leibniz scholar and a co-worker on the Prussian Academy of Sciences edition of Leibniz's collected works. Kabitz published a work on Leibniz and Berkeley, as well Vol.VI of the Prussian Academy's Leibniz edition. Kabitz died in July 1942. (BDC,BA,KGK)

Fritz KAUFMANN - (b. July 3, 1891) - Privatdozent, Freiburg (until 31.12.35); 1934-36, part-time Visiting Lecturer in Berlin; 1936-38, Visiting Professor at the Lehranstalt (Hochschule) für die Wissenschaft des Judentums, Berlin -

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Religion: Jewish. An Assistant to Husserl, Kaufmann maintained his home in Freiburg until 1938, when he and his family emigrated to the U.S. 1938-46, Lecturer at Northwestern Univ., Evanston. His initial philosophical interest was in the work of Husserl and Heidegger; he later turned to aesthetics. (KGK,IBD)

Walter KINKEL - (b. Dec.23, 1871) - ordentl. Honorarprofessor, Giessen - Religion: ? 1934, dismissed for reasons that are unclear. No known political activities. His main philosophical interests were in the history of philosophy, epistemology, and German idealism; he published works on ancient Greek philosophy, Kant, Hermann Cohen, and Johann Friedrich Herbart. He was a neo-Kantian and a student of Hermann Cohen. (KGK,PL)

Raymond KLIBANSKY - (b. Oct.15, 1905) - Dozent, Heidelberg; 1933, dismissed under paragraph 3, BBG - Religion: Jewish (orthodox). 1933, dismissed as chief editor of the writings of Meister Eckhardt and as research editor of the Jewish and Arabic roots of Eckhardt's work. 1933 he emigrated to the U.K. 1934-36, Lecturer in philosophy at King's College, London. 1936-48, Lecturer in philosophy at Oriel College, Oxford. 1941-46, chief intelligence officer, British Foreign Office. Klibansky was a specialist in the philosophy of history and metaphysics, with research interests extending from antiquity to the present. (IBD)

Wolfgang KÖHLER - (b. Jan.21, 1887) - ordentl. Professor, Berlin; Director of Institute of Psychology, Univ. Berlin; 1934-35, visiting Professor at Harvard; August 1935, he resigned his position in Berlin and emigrated to the U.S. - No record of military service. Religion: ? 1935-37, he was Professor of psychology at Swarthmore College in Pennsylvania. Before his emigration, Köhler worked with Kurt Lewin, Max Wertheimer, and others to found the Berlin School of Gestalt-psychology. Köhler did pioneering work as a brain physiologist in electroencephalography. He was also co-editor of Psychologischen Forschung. He died in New Hampshire on June 11, 1967. (KGK,IBD,PL)

Josef KÖNIG - (b. Feb.24, 1893) - July 22, 1935, appointed Dozent, Göttingen; Aug.21, 1941, promoted to a.pl. Professor, Göttingen - Decorated combat veteran of W.W.I and artillery officer 1939-43. Religion: Catholic. July 1, 1934 he joined the NSLB (Nr.294,367). Member of the NSV since 1937 and member of the NS-Fliegerkorps Benevolent Association since 1934. In Jan.1944 he was released from the Army so that he could resume his responsibilities at Göttingen. His philosophical interests included

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linguistics, ontology, and logic; he offered seminars on ancient Greek philosophy, Hegel, and John Dewey. He died in Göttingen on March 17, 1974. (BDC,BA,KGK)

Arnold KOWALEWSKI - (b. Nov.27, 1873) - (n.b.) a.ordentl. Professor, Königsberg - Veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Protestant. He claimed to have signed a declaration in support of Hitler's government shortly before the election of March 1933. July 1, 1933 he joined the NSLB (Nr.241,500); he resigned May 15, 1939. Since the end of 1933 he was a member of the "Bund Deutscher Osten." When he turned 65 in 1938 he was not forced to retire; his position at the University was repeatedly extended until the end of the war. A member of the editorial board of the Schopenhauer Society, Kowalewski's main philosophical interest was in the relationships between philosophy, sociology, and pedagogy. (BDC,BA,KGK)

Julius KRAFT - (b. Oct.23, 1898) - Privatdozent, Frankfurt; 1933, dismissed under paragraph 3, BBG and emigrated to the Netherlands - Decorated veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Jewish. 1933-39, Privatdozent, Univ. Utrecht. 1939, emigrated to the US while on lecture tour (his family was able to follow several months later). 1939-45, Lecturer in philosophy at the University of Rochester. His main philosophical interests were in social and political philosophy, including philosophy of law; note that he also had a law degree. Kraft also published (in 1932) a critique of the development of phenomenology from Husserl to Heidegger. He died on December 29, 1960. (KGK,PL,IBD)

Ernst KRIECK - (b. July 6, 1882) - Professor, Pädagogische Akademie, Frankfurt; May 1, 1933, appointed ordentl. Professor at University of Frankfurt; July 1933-1934, Rector at Frankfurt; 1934, transferred to Heidelberg as replacement for Heinrich Rickert; April 1, 1937-October 1, 1938, Rector at Heidelberg - Non-combat veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Protestant. Jan.1, 1932 he joined the NSDAP (Nr.710,670); on the same day he joined the NSLB (Nr.2,340). Kriek publicly endorsed the NSDAP before the Reichstag elections of 31.7.32 and 6.11.32. November 1934 he joined the SS ("beim Stab des SS-Reichsführers," according to the REM). He was also a member of the national leadership (Reichsführung) of the NSD-Dozentenbund. In 1942 he was awarded the "Goethe Medaille"; 1943 he was awarded the Golgen Party Badge (Goldene Parteiabzeichen) for extraordinary service to the Party. Jan.30, 1945 he was awarded the War Merit Cross 2nd class for his support of the war effort. Kriek tried to develop a specifically National Socialist education policy, which he hoped to see used as a

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blueprint for the reorganization of the German universities. He published works on "political anthropology," natural law and race, mythology, and educational reform. He was also editor of Volk im Werden. Kriek died March 19, 1947 in the American internment camp at Moosburg, Bavaria. (BDC,BA,IfZ,ZLV,KGK,NDB)

Franz KRÖNER - (b. Dec.12, 1889) - Oct.1939, Habilitation, Munich; July 15, 1940, appointed Dozent at Univ. Graz - Veteran of W.W.I. Religion: he described himself as "Gottgläubig" (not-Jewish). May 1, 1933 he joined the NSDAP (Nr.1,622,824); also a member of the SS-Benevolent Association (FM-SS). Kröner wrote his dissertation in Vienna during the 20's, but it was not possible for him to continue an academic career there because of differences with Moritz Schlick. Politics also became an obstacle to his career in Vienna after 1933, because it was known that he had joined the NSDAP. In 1935 Kröner received a research stipend from the Reich Research Council (RFR); this stipend was extended until 1939 with positive letters of recommendation from Baeumler, Rothacker, and Heyse. Kröner came to philosophy from physics and mathematics. His main philosophical interest was in the logical foundations of philosophy, but he rejected neo-positivism as a "radically anti-German political world view." He died in Innsbruck on April 24, 1958. (BDC,BA,IfZ,KGK)

Richard KRONER - (b. March 8, 1884) - ordentl. Professor, Kiel; March 1934, forcibly transferred to Frankfurt under paragraph 5, BBG; June 1935, he resigned (his file in the Education Ministry remained active until 1939) - Veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Protestant (Jewish). In 1938 he emigrated to the U.K. 1939-40 he worked as a lecturer in philosophy at Oxford and St.Andrew's. 1941 he emigrated to the U.S. Kroner founded Logos (predecessor to the Zeitschrift für deutsche Kulturphilosophie), and co-founded the Internationaler Hegelbund. His philosophical interests began in South German neo-Kantianism, turned to Hegel and later the philosophy of religion. Kroner died in 1974. (BDC,KGK,PL,IBD)

Felix KRUEGER - (b. Aug.10, 1874) - ordentl. Professor, Leipzig; Director of the Psychologisches Institut, Leipzig; March 1935-Oct.1936 he served as Rector at Leipzig; Oct. 1937 he was suspended due to suspicions that he had Jewish relatives, and was replaced by Philipp Lersch; March 31, 1938 he was allowed to retire; late 1944 or early 1945 Krueger was able to leave Germany for Switzerland - Decorated combat veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Protestant. Beginning in 1919 he was Vice-President of the Fichte

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Society. 1927-34 he was President of the Leipzig chapter of the German Philosophical Society. A member of the Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur since its founding in 1929, he was a signatory to one of its membership appeals in April 1932. (The mission of this organization was to protect German culture from "cultural Bolshevism.") April 1933, he was appointed President of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Psychologie; he resigned this position in Sept. 1936 and was replaced by Erich Jaensch. Nov. 1933 Krueger publicly endorsed Hitler's demand that Germany withdraw from the League of Nations. In 1934 he lectured abroad: in the Baltic states at Dorpat and Riga and in England at Kings College and at Cambridge. Note that in 1939 he asked the Reichsstelle für Sippenforschung to make a determination of his racial origins; in June 1940 Krueger's "Aryan" background was officially confirmed. His main philosophical interests were in psychology and philosophical psychology; he published works on acoustics, developmental psychology, and the psychology of communal life. From 1931-41, he was co-editor with Hans Volkelt of Neue psychologische Studien.³ He died in Basel on February 25, 1948. (BDC,BA,IfZ,KGK)

Gerhard KRÖGER - (b. Jan. 30, 1902) - Privatdozent, Marburg; Aug. 18, 1933, given Lehrauftrag for philosophy and theology at Frankfurt; Summer Semester 1934, temporary replacement in Frankfurt; Winter Semester 1934-35, returned to Marburg; Winter Semester 1935-36, temporary replacement in Göttingen; Sept. 15, 1938, promoted to (n.b.) a.ordentl. Professor at Marburg; Jan. 10, 1940, promoted to a.pl. Professor; Sept. 7, 1940, transferred as temporary replacement to Münster, and promoted to ordentl. Professor there the same year; 1942, temporary replacement in Posen; March 1944, the Rector at Münster asked that he be released from military service for the Summer Semester 1944 - Decorated combat veteran (Sept. 1939-Jan. 1940 and 1940-44). Religion: Protestant (he converted to Catholicism in 1950). He joined the NSLB August 1, 1933 (Nr. 254,100); he was also a member of NSV and RLB. His main philosophical interests were in history of philosophy, philosophy of history, theology, and metaphysics. He published works on Plato, Leibniz, Kant, and Hegel. Krüger died in Heidelberg on February 14, 1972. (BDC,BA,IfZ,KGK,PL)

Eugen KÖHNEMANN - (b. July 28, 1868) - GRR, ordentl. Professor, Breslau; 1935, retired - Decorated veteran of W.W.I. (from Sept. 1914 to May 1917 he worked for the German government in the USA). Religion: Protestant. Never a

³ See Table 2.

member of any political party, Kühnemann was a conservative nationalist who advocated a "Biologie des Geistes" as a foundation of science. Kühnemann welcomed Hitler's repopularization of German nationalism, and he was held in high esteem by Bernhard Rust (the Minister of REM). Since 1933 (sic) he was a member of the NS Cultural Society, and he remained a member of the RKK (Schrifttumskammer, membership Nr.1891) after his retirement. He had been the first Rector of the Academy at Posen after its founding in 1903; when the Academy was upgraded to a university in 1941, Kühnemann was one of the official speakers at the ceremonies. His main interests were in ancient Greek philosophy, German idealism, and German intellectual history; he also edited Volumes I, IV, and V of Herder's collected works. Note that Kühnemann published work supporting Germany's war aims during both W.W.I and W.W.II. He died in 1946. (BDC,BA,KGK,NDB,PL)

Helmut KUHN - (b. March 22, 1899) - Privatdozent, Berlin - Decorated combat veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Protestant (1955, converted to Catholicism). In 1937 he was allowed to lecture in the Netherlands as secretary of the Kant Society; while he was there he was accused of being anti-Nazi (his wife was Jewish). He emigrated to the United States the same year. 1938-47 he was a Visiting Fellow at U.N.C.-Chapel Hill. In 1944 he co-signed Paul Tillich's program for the Council for a Democratic Germany. His main philosophical interests were in ancient Greek philosophy, political philosophy, and aesthetics. (BDC,BA,ZStA,KGK,IBD)

Willi KUNZ - (b. Dec.6, 1913) - 1939, Habilitation, Heidelberg; 1940, appointed Dozent, Heidelberg; 1944, appointed a.ordentl. Professor (posthumously), as a means of increasing the death benefits to his family - Decorated combat veteran, 1940-43. Religion: ? (not Jewish). In 1933 he joined the SA. 1935-39 he was active as "Fähnleinführer" and as "Bannstellenleiter" in the HJ. 1933-38 he was a member of the NSD-Studentenbund. 1940 he joined the NSDAP. A student of Ernst Kriek, he published texts on Kriek and Goethe. He was killed at Stalingrad in January 1943. (BA)

Oskar KUTZNER - (b. Feb.7, 1882) - (n.b.) a.ordentl. Professor, Bonn; Nov.16, 1939, appointed a.pl. Professor - Decorated veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Protestant. In 1929 Kutzner joined the SPD, allegedly under pressure from the government. April 1, 1933 he joined the NSLB (Nr.16,226); May 1, 1933 he joined the NSDAP (Nr.2,028,224). April 1934 he became a member of SA Reserve II. His main philosophical

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interest was in pedagogy; he published work on the pedagogical importance of Fichte, the family, and tradition. Kutzner understood pedagogy to be the "technology of culture," and argued for empirically based pedagogical methodologies. (BDC,BA,NDB,KGK)

Reinhard KYNAST - (b. Feb.8, 1882) - StR, (n.b.) a.ordentl. Professor, Breslau; April 1932-April 1933, on leave from Breslau to teach philosophy at the Pädagogische Akademie in Halle; April 1933-May 1934, temporary retirement; June 1934 he was appointed Studienrat at the Realgymnasium in Ohlau; in 1937 he formally resigned his position at Breslau - Decorated veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Protestant. July 1, 1933 he joined the NSLB (Nr.109,337), and was also a member of the NSV and the RLB. Note that Kynast was a member of a faculty group working on problems of "Wissenschaft und Weltanschauung." His main philosophical interests were in epistemology, logic, and ontology; he also published work on Kant, metaphysics, and phenomenology. (BDC,BA,KGK)

Paul Ludwig LANDSBERG - (b. Dec.3, 1901) - Privatdozent, Bonn; 1933, dismissed under paragraph 3, BBG and emigrated to France - Religion: Protestant (Jewish). 1934-36, instructor at Univ. of Barcelona and Santander, Spain. 1936, returned to Paris at the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War. 1939-40, commentator for German broadcasts of Radio Paris. Spring 1940, after temporary internment, he fled to unoccupied France, living there under an assumed name (Paul Richert) until his arrest by the Gestapo in March 1943. Deported to KZ-Oranienburg, where he died on April 2, 1944. A student of Husserl and Max Scheler, Landsberg published work on philosophical anthropology, medieval philosophy, and Plato's Academy. (KGK,IBD)

Kurt LEESE - (b. July 6, 1887) - Privatdozent, Hamburg; 1935, promoted to a.ordentl. Professor; Jan.1940 he was denied an appointment to a.pl. Professor; 1940 he was dismissed (but still allowed to publish) - Decorated combat veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Protestant. Nov.1933 Leese publicly endorsed Hitler's demand that Germany withdraw from the League of Nations. Oct.2, 1934 he joined the NSLB (Nr.317,903); he also joined the NSV in 1934. A trained theologian and Lutheran Pastor, his main philosophical interest was philosophy of religion. Leese published work on anthroposophy, theosophy, Ludwig Feuerbach, Hegel's philosophy of history, and the question of race and religious ethics. In a letter dated 10.10.41, the SD considered his work to be opposed to that of Alfred Rosenberg. Leese died in Hamburg January 6, 1965. (BDC,BA,KGK)

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Gerhard LEHMANN - (b. July 10, 1900) - Feb.1939, Habilitation, Greifswald; Jan.22, 1940, appointed Dozent at Berlin - Religion: Protestant. Beginning in 1930, Lehmann was a staff member of the Prussian Academy of Sciences. He also worked for the Institute for Political Pedagogy (under Baeumler) and the Amt Rosenberg. In 1936 he became a member of the RKK (Schrifttumskammer, Nr.A490). In 1937 he was a member of the German delegation to the IX. International Philosophy Congress in Paris. Feb.1940 he was assigned to do political work at the Deutsche Informationsstelle. Lehmann's philosophical interests included Kant, Nietzsche, modern philosophy, and applied sociology; he was also the editor of Vol.XX, XXI, and XXII of the Prussian Akademie der Wissenschaften edition of Kant's collected works. Lehmann published an important survey of German philosophy, Die deutsche Philosophie der Gegenwart, in 1943. (BDC,BA,KGK,PL)

Hans LEISEGANG - (b. March 13, 1890) - ordentl.Professor, Jena; 1934, dismissed under paragraph 4, BBG after he made public comments critical of Hitler after the death of von Hindenburg - Combat veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Protestant. 1934, sentenced to 6 months in prison for "Beschimpfung des Reiches" (sentence suspended). In 1934 he began the study of physics; in 1935 he was allowed to lecture abroad (in Vienna, Graz, and Innsbruck). Aug.1940 he was given permission to publish. In 1942 he was awarded the PhD in physics and began research work on guided bombs for the Luftwaffe at the "Deutsche Forschungsanstalt für Segelflug Ernst Udet." Leisegang co-edited a 2 volume work on "Weltanschauung" and philosophy with Ernst Bergmann in 1926. His main philosophical interests were in ancient Greek philosophy and the philosophy of religion. From 1929-34 he was the editor of Philosophie und Schule. He died in Berlin on April 5, 1951. (BDC,BA,KGK,TL,NDB)

Philipp LERSCH - (b. April 4, 1898) - Privatdozent and (from 1930-36) Assistent at the Institut für Philosophie und Psychologie, T.H. Dresden; April 20, 1936, appointed (n.b.) a.ordentl. Professor; April 1937, promoted to ordentl. Professor and transferred to Breslau; 1939, transferred to Leipzig (as replacement for Felix Krueger); Oct.1942, appointed ordentl. Professor for psychology and pedagogy at Munich (as replacement for Oswald Kroh) - Decorated combat veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Catholic. From 1925-33 he worked as a military psychologist, helping the army establish its program in "Heerespsychologie." Oct.1, 1933 he joined the NSLB (Nr.198,220); Nov.1933 Lersch publicly endorsed Hitler's demand that Germany withdraw from the

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League of Nations. Sometime after April 30, 1937 he joined the NSDAP (according to H. G. Gadamer in a letter to the author, Dec.5, 1989). In 1940 he was appointed to the University examining committee for "Philosophie und Weltanschauung" at Leipzig. Lersch's main interests were in philosophical psychology and applied psychology. He was also editor of the Zeitschrift für angewandte Psychologie und Charakterkunde. He died in Munich on March 15, 1972. (BDC,BA,IfZ,KGK,PL)

Hermann LESER - (b. June 1, 1873) - ordentl. Professor, Erlangen - Veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Protestant. A member of SA Reserve I, he described his political views to the Education Ministry as follows: "Bis 1923 in der deutsch-nationalen Richtung, seitdem für Hitler." His main philosophical interests were in epistemology, German idealism, and pedagogy. Leser also published work on Nietzsche, Johann H. Pestalozzi, and contemporary intellectual history. He also edited an edition of Fichte's Reden an die deutsche Nation. He died May 16, 1937. (BDC,BA,KGK)

Kurt LEWIN - (b. Sept.9, 1890) - a.ordentl. Professor, Berlin; 1933, he resigned his position upon return to Berlin from a year at Stanford Univ. - Decorated combat veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Jewish. Aug.1933 he emigrated to the U.S. 1933-35 he was acting Professor of psychology at Cornell Univ. In 1935 he made a brief visit to Palestine where he solicited support for a psychological institute at Hebrew University. 1935-44 professor at the Child Welfare Research Station, Univ. of Iowa. 1938-39, 1939-40, Visiting Professor at Harvard Univ. Summer 1939, Visiting Professor at U.C. Berkeley. 1944-45, advisor to O.S.S., Office of Naval Research and U.S. Public Health Service. 1944-47, founded and directed Research Center for Group Dynamics, M.I.T. A student of Carl Stumpf, Lewin was the most important innovator in the fields of social, developmental, and experimental psychology among emigres of the 1930's in the U.S. He died in Newton, Massachusetts on February 12, 1947. (KGK,PL,IBD)

Arthur LIEBERT - (born Levy, Nov.10, 1878) - a.ordentl. Professor, Berlin; 1933, dismissed under paragraph 3, BBG and emigrated to Yugoslavia; 1933-39, ordentl. Professor, Univ. of Belgrade - Religion: Protestant since 1905 (Jewish). 1927-1933, he was managing director of the Kant-Society and co-editor of Kant-Studien. 1936, helped organize Philosophia, an anti-Nazi philosophy society in Belgrade. 1936-38, edited an anti-Nazi philosophy journal of the same name (also in Belgrade). 1939, emigrated to

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Birmingham, U.K. A student of Wilhelm Dilthey and Georg Simmel, Liebert was strongly influenced by Hermann Cohen and the Marburg School of neo-Kantians. Politically, he was a committed liberal; he sought to use the idealist tradition as a foundation for the establishment of a humanistic world order. He specialized in transcendental logic and the theoretical foundations of natural science methodology. Liebert returned to Berlin after the war and was the first Dean of the reorganized Pädagogisches Fakultät at the Univ. Berlin. He died there on November 5, 1946.
(BDC,ZStA,KGK,NDB,IBD)

Hans LIEBESCHÖTZ - (b. Dec.3, 1893) - Privatdozent, Hamburg; 1934, dismissed - Decorated combat veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Jewish. 1922, founded Nehemia Nobel Lodge of B'nai B'rith, and was its president from 1935-38. 1929-34, history teacher at Lichtwarkschule, Hamburg. 1934-38, organized and taught at the "jüdisches Lehrhaus" in Hamburg. 1936-38, lectured in classics and medieval history at the Lehranstalt (Hochschule) für die Wissenschaft des Judentums, Berlin. 1938, twice arrested; interned for one month at Fuhlsbüttel and KZ-Sachsenhausen. March 1939, emigrated to U.K. May-Oct.1940, internment in U.K. 1942-44, taught classics at Lymm Grammar School. 1944-45, taught at King Henry VIII School in Coventry. His main philosophical interests were in the classical tradition in medieval Latin literature and the intellectual history of Germans and Jews of the 19th century. He died in Liverpool, England in 1978.
(BDC,TL,IBD)

Bruno LIEBRUCKS - (b. Oct.12, 1911) - May 1, 1933, appointed Assistent to Hans Heyse at Königsberg; Sept.20, 1943, Habilitation in Berlin; May 22, 1944, appointed Dozent at Berlin - Military service: Oct.1936-Oct.1937 and Aug.1939-May 1944. Religion: ? (not Jewish). As a student and later as an Assistent, he participated in activities organized by the Nazi student union (NSD-Studentenbund. March 2, 1933 he was awarded the Kant Prize by the city of Königsberg. June 28, 1933 he joined the SA. Note that Liebrucks was suspended from the SA for three months for having signed an open letter of support for Prof. Paul Hankamer at Königsberg in January 1936 (Hankamer was part Jewish and was the object of attacks by the NSD-Studentenbund). But this incident did not permanently affect Liebrucks' career. May 1, 1937 he became a member of the NSDAP (Nr.4,860,585). March 1939, he was an invited participant in the Amt Rosenberg's philosophy convention at Schloß Buderose. Liebrucks' main philosophical interests were in Greek philosophy, Nietzsche, Hölderlin, and the "Greek-Nordic consciousness of reality." (BDC,BA,IfZ,KGK)

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Paul Ferdinand LINKE - (b. March 15, 1876) - a.ordentl. Professor, Jena - Religion: ? (not Jewish). No known political activities. His main philosophical interests were in experimental psychology, philosophical psychology, phenomenology, and the philosophical implications of relativism. He also published a book on Hume's theory of knowledge. Beginning in 1939 he was co-editor of the Abhandlungen zur begründenden Philosophie, together with Helmut Groos and Johannes Heyde. Linke died in Bavaria on June 19, 1955. (BDC,KGK,PL)

Hans LIPPS - (b. Nov.22, 1889) - Dr.med., (n.b.) a.ordentl. Professor, Göttingen (Math.Fakultät) and Lecturer at the T.H. Hannover; Dec.1934, transfer into the Philos.Fakultät at Göttingen; 1935, transferred to Frankfurt (as replacement for Ernst Kriek); Sept.29, 1939, promoted to ordentl. Professor at Frankfurt; 1942, replaced by Ferdinand Weinhandl - Military service: Decorated combat veteran of W.W.I.; participant in Wehrmacht maneuvers, 1935, 1937, 1938; 1939-41, active military service, participated in invasions of France and USSR. Religion: Protestant. Never a member of any political party. June 15, 1933 he joined the Stahlhelm. Nov.1933 Lipps publicly endorsed Hitler's demand that Germany withdraw from the League of Nations. Nov.30, 1933 he left the Stahlhelm and joined the SA (as a doctor in Sturmbann 2/82). July 1, 1934 he joined the NSLB (Nr.294,392). Nov.1934 he became a candidate member (Anwärter) of the SS. During 1934-37 he was a doctor in the I. Sturmbann of the 51. SS-Standarte; Aug.1937, he was transferred to the II. Sturmbann of the 2. SS-Standarte. His main philosophical interests were philosophy of law and ethics, the phenomenology of knowledge, hermeneutical logic and metaphor; note that he taught a seminar on Being and Time in 1937. He was killed in fighting outside Leningrad on September 10, 1941. (BDC,BA,KGK)

Friedrich LIPSIUS - (b. Oct.3, 1873) - a.ordentl. Professor, Leipzig - Religion: ? (not Jewish). Feb.1, 1932 he joined the NSDAP (Nr.905,753). Nov.1933 Lipsius publicly endorsed Hitler's demand that Germany withdraw from the League of Nations. A trained theologian, his main philosophical interests were in philosophy of religion, systematic theology, and philosophy of science. Lipsius was also an editorial advisor to and member of the Schopenhauer Gesellschaft. He died in September 1934. (BDC,KGK,TL)

Theodor LITT - (b. Dec.27, 1880) - ordentl. Professor, Leipzig; July 1937, Litt resigned and was allowed to retire under paragraph 6, BBG - Veteran of W.W.I. Religion:

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Protestant. Not a member of any political party or party organization, he was considered an exponent of "liberalism" by the Leipzig office of the NS-Dozentenschaft (June 1935). Yet he was allowed to lecture in Austria in 1933, 1935, 1936. Nov.1933 Litt publicly endorsed Hitler's demand that Germany withdraw from the League of Nations. Litt opposed the use of biology as a foundation for racial thought; in 1941 he was no longer permitted to lecture in public (Redeverbot). But he was allowed to publish as late as 1943. His main philosophical interests were in German idealism, philosophy of religion, and political philosophy. From 1926-37 he was co-editor with Eduard Spranger of Die Erziehung. Note that in the 1950's he worked for the West German Defense Ministry, giving political instruction about Marxism-Leninism to officers of the Bundeswehr. He died in Bonn on July 16, 1962. (BDC,BA,IfZ,KGK)

Karl LOWITH - (b. Jan.9, 1897) - Privatdozent, Marburg; Feb. 1935, suspended (probably under paragraph 18, RHO); Nov. 1935, dismissed after expiration of the so-called "Frontkämpfer-Regelung" (see paragraph 3, BBG) - Decorated combat veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Protestant (legally Jewish). 1934, emigrated to Italy. 1934-36, Rockefeller Scholar at University of Rome. 1936, emigrated to Japan; 1936-41, Visiting Professor at Imperial University at Sendai, Japan. Summer 1941 he emigrated to U.S. because of Japanese military alliance with Germany. 1941-52, Professor of history of religion at Hartford Theological Seminary. 1949, Professor of philosophy at the New School for Social Research. A student of Husserl and Heidegger, his main philosophical interests were in Nietzsche, 19th-century philosophy, and the philosophy of religion. Note that he also published a critique of Carl Schmitt's political decisionism in 1935 under the pseudonym Hugo Fiala. He died in Heidelberg on May 24, 1973. (BDC,BA,KGK,IBD)

Heinrich LÖTZELER - (b. Jan.27, 1902) - Privatdozent, Bonn; April 1935, appointed Lecturer in the Bonn program of "the German Department of the University of Cambridge"; Feb.1940, prohibited from teaching - No record of military service. Religion: Catholic. 1930-31 he was a member of the Catholic Center Party (Zentrum). July 31, 1933 he joined the NSLB (Nr.295,273); note that he resigned from the NSLB in 1940 after he changed professions. In 1942 the Party Chancellory objected to his application for membership in the RSK (RKK). His main philosophical interests were in art and aesthetics. (BDC,BA,KGK,PL)

Günther LUTZ - (b. Aug.5, 1910) - July 25, 1936, awarded Ph.D. at Greifswald and was later Assistent at Greifswald;

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1937, Lecturer at the SD-Hauptamt in Berlin (Security Service Headquarters); April 1, 1938, appointed Universitätsdozent, Greifswald; 1942, transferred to Amt Rosenberg, Berlin - Religion: Protestant. A member of the Hitler-Jugend since Nov.1, 1927 (and recipient of the HJ-Goldenes Ehrenzeichen, Nr.34,639); 1929, founder and member of the NS-Schülerbund in Stettin. April 1, 1931 he joined the NSDAP (Nr.516,786); April-Nov.1931, member of the SA (as SA-Mann in Sturm 12, Stettin); March 13, 1933 he joined the SS (Nr.107,464). Also member of the NSD-Dozentenbund, the NSV, the SS-Lebensborn organization, and the German Philosophical Society. During 1937-38 Lutz was an advisor to the leadership of the SS in matters pertaining to science, philosophy, and "Weltanschauung." During 1939-43 he worked for the Propaganda Ministry. Beginning Oct.1942 he was an employee of the Amt Rosenberg, Berlin. 1942-44, Lutz was co-editor of Kant-Studien. His main philosophical interests were in the philosophical consideration of "community" and the experience of war, military science, and the theory of biological types. (BDC,KGK)

Dietrich MAHNKE - (b. Oct.17, 1884) - ordentl. Professor, Marburg - Decorated combat veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Protestant. Since 1921 he was a member of the Alliance of Officers of the 75th Reserve Infantry Regiment. Nov.1933 Mahnke publicly endorsed Hitler's demand that Germany withdraw from the League of Nations. In 1934 he became a member of SA Reserve II. During 1935 he was allowed to lecture in Denmark. His main philosophical interest was the history of philosophy and science (particularly the history of German philosophy and mathematics). Most of his published work dealt with Leibniz's philosophy and mathematics. Mahnke died on July 25, 1939. (BDC,BA,KGK)

Karl MARBE - (b. Aug.31, 1869) - GRR, ordentl. Professor, Würzburg; 1935, he retired and was replaced by Carl Jesinghaus - Military veteran (1888-89). Religion: he described himself as "Konfessionslos" (not Jewish, but his wife was Jewish). Member of the NSV. His main philosophical interests were in statistics, probability theory, and applied psychology. Note that in 1934 he was made an honorary member of the National Institute of Industrial Psychology in London. He died in Würzburg on January 2, 1953. (BDC,BA,KGK)

Siegfried MARCK - (b. March 9, 1889) - ordentl. Professor, Breslau; 1933, dismissed under paragraph 4, BBG - No military service. Religion: ? (his wife was Jewish). A member of the SPD, he emigrated to France in 1933. He was one of the first sixteen professors to be dismissed by the

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Nazi government in 1933 (a list of their names appeared in the Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, Reichs-Ausgabe, April 14, 1933). 1934-39, he was guest professor at the Univ. Dijon. Marck was an active member of the SPD in exile and a supporter of the Popular Front. While in France he worked for Neuer Vorwärts and Deutsche Freiheit; he also wrote for the Zeitschrift für Freie Deutsche Forschung, an anti-Nazi journal published in Paris 1938-39. In 1939 he emigrated to the US. 1940-45 he taught philosophy at the Central YMCA in Chicago. In 1944 he was one of the original founders of the Council for a Democratic Germany. His main philosophical interests were in political philosophy, Plato, and Hegel; he also published works on Kant, Marx, and the German Social Democratic movement. Marck died in Chicago on February 16, 1957. (KGK,TL,IBD)

Rudolf MENSE - (b. Sept.24, 1882) - 1934, Habilitation, and given a temporary appointed as Lehrbeauftragter, Bonn; 1936, denied a permanent position as Dozent because he had been a Free-Mason (although he was allowed to continue teaching until 1938) - Veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Catholic. Beginning in 1927, Mense publicly supported the NSDAP in both popular and academic lecturers. Feb.8, 1931 he endorsed the Party's platform in a lecture to the Bonn branch of the Kant Society. May 1931 he applied for membership in the NSDAP; this application was subsequently withdrawn for "propaganda-tactical" reasons. April 1, 1933 he finally did become a member of the Party (Nr.1,634,043). Oct.7, 1933 he participated in the "Stunde der SA" at Rheine i.W. Mense was also a member of the BNSDJ. His main philosophical interest was in the "relation between Weltanschauung and the political arrangement of Bio-, Geo-, and military politics"; his specialty was "National Socialist constitutional law." (BDC,BA)

Paul MENZER - (b. March 3, 1873) - ordentl. Professor, Halle; 1938, retired - Military veteran (1891-2). Religion: Protestant. A conservative nationalist, he was an active member of the "Einwohnerwehr Halle-Nord gegen den Kommunistenaufbruch in Mitteldeutschland." His main philosophical interests were in metaphysics and German idealism. Menzer worked with Wilhelm Dilthey, Max Dessoir, and Carl Stumpf in Berlin, and spent 25 years working on the Prussian Akademie der Wissenschaften edition of Kant's collected works. Menzer was chairman of the Kant Society until 1934 and co-editor of Kant-Studien. He died in Halle on May 21, 1960. (BDC,BA,KGK,PL)

August MESSER - (b. Feb.11, 1867) - ordentl. Professor, Giessen 1933, dismissed under paragraph 4, BBG. Religion:

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Catholic (he left the Church in 1910). Pseudonym: A. Friedwalt. A member of the "Deutsche Gesellschaft für ethische Kultur," Messer became its President in 1933. During 1925-33 he was also editor of the journal Philosophie und Leben; in this journal he argued for a limited role for the state (1932), and that the merits of different political ideas should be openly discussed (1933). These opinions probably cost him his position at Giessen. Messer's interests ranged across the history of philosophy, introductory psychology, and the philosophical foundations of pedagogy. He produced texts on Fichte, Nietzsche, Hobbes, Kant, Lessing, Max Wundt, and Oswald Spengler. He died July 11, 1937. (BDC,KGK,Wi,TL,PL)

Erwin METZKE - (b. July 3, 1906) - July 1934, a.pl. Assistent, Köln; Aug.1934, Habilitation; April 1937, appointed pl. Assistent; 1938, he became a member of the University Senate; Nov.4, 1939, appointed Dozent n.O.; Oct.1, 1940, promoted to a.pl. Professor, Köln; Dec.8, 1944, appointed a.ordentl. Professor, Heidelberg (as successor to Franz Böhm) - Military service: March 7, 1940-June 1944 (decorated veteran). Religion: Protestant. Aug.1, 1933 he joined the NSLB (Nr.171,717). A member of the SA since 1933, he became a "Scharführer" (sic) in Sturm 12/136. May 1, 1937 he joined the NSDAP (Nr.3,944,682); in Dec.1937 he began working in the press office of the NSD-Dozentenbund in Köln. He was also an invited participant in the Amt Rosenberg's philosophy convention at Schloß Buderosa in March 1939, and was one of only four philosophers released from military service by order of the Party in 1944. His main philosophical interest was the history of German philosophy; he published work on Johann Georg Hamann, Luther research of the 18th century, and Paracelsus. Note that in 1933 Metzke received a prize from the Königsberger Gelehrten-Gesellschaft for his work on Johann G. Hamann. He died in Tübingen on July 3, 1956. (BDC,BA,IfZ,KGK)

Hans MEYER - (b. Dec.18, 1884) - ordentl. Professor, Würzburg - No record of military service. Religion: Catholic. He was a member of the Bayerische Volkspartei from its founding in 1918 to its dissolution in 1933. He joined the NSLB, and since 1934 was also a member of SA Reserve I. Note that in 1939 one of his works was presented to Mussolini as a gift. His main philosophical interests were in scholasticism, ancient Greek philosophy, logic, epistemology, and psychology; he also published two works on Thomas Aquinas. Note that Meyer was (with Rudolf Zocher) one of only two philosophers at the Bavarian universities who occupied the same position after 1945 that he held in

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1933. Meyer died in Frontenhausen on April 30, 1966.
(BDC,BA,KGK,PL)

Georg MISCH - (b. April 5, 1878) - ordentl. Professor, Göttingen; Sept.1935 he was forced to retire and was replaced by Hans Heyse a year later - Decorated veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Protestant (Jewish). In 1938 he was expelled from the Göttingen Academy of Sciences. In 1939 he emigrated to the U.K.; note that Misch continued to receive his pension from the REM until Oct.1943. Misch was Dilthey's student and son-in-law, and his main philosophical interests were in "Lebensphilosophie," systematic philosophy, and the philosophy of history. Note that from 1914-32 he was the editor of Dilthey's collected works. He died in Göttingen on June 10, 1965. (BDC,BA,KGK,IBD,PL)

Otto MOST - (b. Nov.19, 1904) - Privatdozent, Breslau; 1939, he was transferred to Berlin to work for the army - Religion: Catholic. Aug.1, 1933 he joined the NSLB (Nr.227,885). Nov.1,1933-Sept.13,1934 he was in the SS (Sturm 7 R 11); he resigned voluntarily and without penalty, and became a member of the SS-Benevolent Association (FM-SS). April 1, 1942 he joined the NSDAP (Nr.8,981,507). His main philosophical interests were in ethics and value theory. (BDC,BA,KGK)

Aloys MÖLLER - (b. July 11, 1879) - (n.b.) a.ordentl. Professor, Bonn; April 21, 1939, suspended from the University for reasons that remain unclear; Nov.13, 1939 he was denied an appointment to a.pl. Professor by the REM - No record of military service. Religion: Catholic. Müller was a Catholic priest and was never a member of a political party. His main philosophical interests were in psychology and philosophy of science; he published several works on the meaning of Einstein's theory of relativity for philosophy and mathematics. Müller died in Buschdorff, near Bonn, on December 4, 1952. (BDC,BA,KGK,PL)

Max MÖLLER - (b. Sept.6, 1906) - Universitätsassistent, Freiburg; 1936, Habilitation (under the supervision of Heidegger and Martin Honecker); March 1938, acting Dozent; Nov.1938, final approval for appointment as Dozent was rejected after Himmler raised objections - Religion: Catholic. Nov.1933 he joined the SA; since Fall 1936, Müller was Rottenführer in Sturm 2/113 in Freiburg. May 20, 1937 he applied for membership in the Party; Jan.1, 1940 Müller was accepted into the NSDAP (Nr.8,367,007). After being removed from the University in 1938, he was given a position by the Catholic Church at the "Collegium Borromaeum" in Freiburg. During the first years of the war

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he worked as a military psychologist in Stuttgart. 1942-43 he was a department head at the Employment Office (Arbeitsamt) in Ulm. In 1943 Müller was briefly held in custody due to suspicions that he was involved with the "White Rose" resistance group; he was released after the Gestapo was satisfied that he was not involved. 1943-45 Müller was director of personnel for an industrial firm. His main philosophical interests were in phenomenology and existentialism; he was also editor of Werkhefte, a publication of the Catholic organization "Bund Neudeutschland." (BDC, IBA)

Hermann NOACK - (b. Feb.23, 1895) - (n.b.) a.ordentl. Professor, Hamburg; 1937, promoted to a.ordentl. Professor - Decorated combat veteran of W.W.I; 1939-44, further military service. Religion: ? (not Jewish). May 1, 1933 he joined the NSLB (Nr.46,966); Nov.1933 he became a candidate member (Anwärter) of the SA, in Sturm 3/R 76. Also in Nov.1933 he publicly endorsed Hitler's demand that Germany withdraw from the League of Nations. June 1935 he began working at the Gauführerschule III in Altona-Rissen. May 1, 1937 he joined the NSDAP (Nr.5,404,810). In 1942 he was transferred to the "Einsatzstab Reichsführer Rosenberg." Note that in 1944 he was one of only four philosophers excused from military service by order of the Party. (He probably also worked for the Amt Rosenberg in 1944; see "Die Reichsidee" in: Rednerdienst, Nr.3, Feb.1, 1944.) His main philosophical interests were in systematic philosophy, philosophy of science, and German idealism. In 1928 he was co-editor (with Ernst Cassirer and Albert Görland) of a neo-Kantian history of philosophy, and at one time was Cassirer's Assistent. (BDC, BA, IfZ, KGK, PL)

Herman NOHL - (b. Oct.7, 1879) - ordentl. Professor and Director of the Institute for Pedagogy, Göttingen; March 30, 1937 he was dismissed under paragraph 4, BBG because he was believed to be a former supporter of the KPD - Decorated veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Protestant. Never a member of any political party, he was a member of the SS-Benevolent Association (FM-SS). In 1941 he was denied permission to work as a teacher for the Reich Labor Service (RAD) because his wife was suspected of being Jewish. Note that in Nov.1944 the local Party office in Göttingen reported to the SS security service that Nohl was politically reliable. A student of Dilthey, his main philosophical interests were in Socratic ethics, pedagogy, and aesthetics. He died in Göttingen on September 27, 1960. (BDC, BA, KGK, PL)

Rudolf ODEBRECHT - (b. March 9, 1883) - StR, Privatdozent, Berlin; April 17, 1939, promoted to a.pl. Professor -

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Religion: Protestant. April 1, 1933 he joined the NSDAP (Nr.1,668,090); May 1, 1933 he joined the NSLB (Nr.96,599). He was also a member of the NSD-Dozentenbund, NSV, RLB, and the VDA. His primary philosophical interest was in aesthetics; he also published work on Kant, Schleiermacher, Nicholas of Cusa, and Hermann Cohen's philosophy of mathematics. Note that from 1929-32 Odebrecht was co-editor (with Hans Leisegang) of Philosophie und Schule. He died in Berlin on May 31, 1945. (BDC,BA,KGK)

Richard OEHLER - (b. Feb.27, 1878) - Director of the city and university libraries and Honorarprofessor, Frankfurt - Decorated combat veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Protestant. May 1, 1933 he joined the NSDAP and was a cultural official (Kulturwart) in the Party's local office in Frankfurt-Altstadt. He was also a member of Rosenberg's Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur (Nr.37,963), the SS-Benevolent Association (FM-SS), and the NSV. In 1934 he became a member of the editorial board of the Schopenhauer Gesellschaft in Frankfurt. Oehler's main philosophical interests were in modern philosophy and Nietzsche; in 1934 he was made co-editor of the Nietzsche Archive's critical edition of N.'s collected works. Note that Oehler was Nietzsche's cousin. (BDC,BA,IfZ,KGK,TL)

Traugott Konstantin OESTERREICH - (b. Sept.15, 1880) - a.ordentl. Professor, Tübingen; 1933, dismissed under paragraph 4, BBG - Religion: Catholic. His main philosophical interests were in philosophical psychology and the philosophy of religion. He also published works on Kant, German philosophy of the latter half of the 19th century, parapsychology, and the occult. Oesterreich died July 28, 1949. (KGK,PL,TL)

Richard PAULI - (b. May 12, 1886) - n.pl. a.ordentl. Professor and Curator of the Institute of Psychology, Univ. of Munich; Feb.12, 1940, promoted to a.pl.Professor - Religion: ? (not Jewish). A member of the SPD until 1932, Pauli was also a member of the republican militia "Reichsbanner Schwarz-Rot-Gold." In 1933 he joined the SS-Benevolent Association (FM-SS). In 1940 he joined the NSDAP (given Pauli's past membership in the SPD, it is reasonable to assume that his promotion to a.pl. Professor depended on his joining the NSDAP). His main philosophical interests were in philosophy of religion and experimental psychology; he also published a work on Fichte's political thought. Pauli died in Munich on March 22, 1951. (BDC,KGK,PL)

Alexander PFÄNDER - (b. Feb.7, 1870) - ordentl. Professor, Munich; March 31, 1935, retired - No military service.

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Religion: Protestant. Never a member of any political party or organization. His main philosophical interests were in Husserl's phenomenology and psychology, and he did work on character analysis and the analysis of motivation. He also produced work on Nietzsche, logic, epistemology, and ethics. Pfänder was co-editor of Husserl's Jahrbuch für Philosophie und phenomenologische Forschung. He died on March 18, 1941. (BDC,KGK,PL)

Hans PFEIL - (b. March 26, 1903) - Privatdozent, Würzburg; Summer Semester 1936, temporary (one semester) replacement at Theologische Hochschule, Regensburg; 1938, awarded Dr.theol.; June 16, 1938, received one semester Lehrauftrag in the Theology Faculty, Würzburg; May 13, 1939, promoted to a.pl. Professor; 1940, transferred as Lehrbeauftragter to Münster; 1942, transferred to Theology Faculty at Münster - No military service. Religion: Catholic. Ordained as a Catholic priest in 1929, Pfeil was never a member of any political party. April 1, 1934, he joined the NSLB (Nr.336,176); also member of the RLB, and the NSV since July 4, 1939. A student of Josef Geysler, he was interested in scholasticism and Catholic theology. He also published work on "Lebensphilosophie" and British empiricism. (BDC,BA,KGK)

Hans PICHLER - (b. Feb.26, 1882) - ordentl. Professor, Greifswald - Decorated combat veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Catholic ("nicht-arisch"). Apparently not a member of any political party or organization. His main philosophical interests were in ontology, German idealism, epistemology, and political philosophy; he also published work in ethics as well as 2 volumes on Leibniz. Pichler died in Alt-Reddewitz/Rg. on November 10, 1958. (BDC,BA,KGK,PL)

Helmuth PLESSNER - (b. Sept.4, 1892) - a.ordentl. Professor, Köln; 1933, dismissed under paragraph 3, BBG - No military service. Religion: Protestant. In 1934 he emigrated to the Netherlands. 1934, Lecturer at Univ. of Groningen; 1939, Professor of sociology at Groningen. 1940-43, ? (Note that in 1941 he was allowed to publish Lachen und Weinen in Arnheim, Holland.) 1943-45, barred from teaching by the German occupation authorities. His main philosophical interest was in philosophical anthropology; he also did work in social philosophy and the philosophical treatment of biology. Before 1933 he was editor of the Philosophische Anzeiger. Plessner died in Göttingen on June 12, 1985. (KGK,IBD,PL)

Günther RALFS - (b. July 17, 1899) - Summer 1935, Habilitation, Hamburg; Oct.22, 1936, appointed

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Universitätsdozent; Oct.2, 1939, appointed Dozent n.O.; March 17, 1942, appointed a.pl. Professor - Decorated combat veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Protestant. 1933, joined the NS-Opferring in Braunschweig (Nr.305). 1934, as a member of the "Kyffhäuserbund" he automatically became a member of SA R II. In 1937 he joined the NSDAP. A student of Heinrich Rickert, Ralfs main philosophical interests were in logic, epistemology, and German intellectual history; he also published work on Schopenhauer and Heinrich von Stein. He died in Rhodes, Greece on April 19, 1960. (BDC,BA,KGK)

Hans REICHENBACH - (b. Sept.26, 1891) - a.ordentl. Professor, Berlin; 1933, dismissed under paragraph 3, BBG and emigrated to Turkey - Veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Protestant (his father was Jewish). After W.W.I he was a leader in a socialist student organization in Berlin. 1933-38 he was Professor of philosophy at the Univ. Istanbul. In 1938 he emigrated to the U.S. 1938-53, Professor of philosophy of science at U.C.L.A. Reichenbach was a leading proponent of logical empiricism; he was noted for his contributions to probability theory, inductive theory, as well as to the theories of relativity and quantum mechanics. From 1930-37 he was co-editor with Rudolf Carnap of Erkenntnis (Annalen der Philosophie), and in 1936 he was a member of the original executive board of Philosophia. He died in Los Angeles on April 9, 1953. (ZStA,KGK,IBD,TL)

Hans REINER - (b. Nov.19, 1896) - Privatdozent, Halle; Aug.25, 1939, appointed a.pl. Professor; 1941-42, temporary replacement in Freiburg - Decorated combat veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Catholic. 1919-1921 he was a member of the "Einwohnerwehr" in Freiburg. 1924-27 he was a member of the SPD militia "Reichsbanner Schwarz-Rot Gold." Nov.1933 he joined the DNVP militia "Stahlhelm"; Jan.1934, he became a Sturmmann in the SA after the Stahlhelm was absorbed into SA Reserve I. June 1, 1933 he became a member of the NSLB (Nr.292,135); he joined the NSDAP on May 1, 1937 (Nr.4,345,279). A student of Husserl, Reiner's main philosophical interests were in phenomenology, philosophy of science, and Kantian ethics. Note that the Halle office of the NSLB published an article Reiner wrote on the political application of Kant's ethics; see "Kants Ethik im Licht des Ehrgedankens" in Erzieher im Braunhemd (Gaublatt des NSLB im Gau Halle-Merseburg), Heft 12 (Juni 1939), pp.278-282 and Heft 13 (August 1939), pp.306-308. (BDC,BA,IfZ,KGK)

Heinrich RICKERT - (b. May 25, 1863) - GHofR, ordentl. Professor, Heidelberg; 1933, retired (replaced by Ernst Kriek) - Religion: Catholic. A member of the German Philosophical Society, he received the "Goethe Medaille" in

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1933. Jan.1, 1934 he joined the NSLB (Nr.285,332). Rickert was a conservative nationalist and a member of the executive board of the Kant Society. He was one of the key representatives of the Southwest School of Neo-Kantianism; his main philosophical efforts were devoted to the study of the logical and epistemological foundations of both the natural sciences and the historical disciplines. He died in Heidelberg on July 25, 1936. (BDC,BA,KGK,PL,EP)

Johann Baptist RIEFFERT - (b. Oct.5, 1883) - (n.b.)
 a.ordentl. Professor, Berlin; Oct.1934, promoted to ordentl. Professor; 1935, appointed acting director of the Institute for Psychology, Berlin, (as replacement for Wolfgang Köhler) with responsibility for racial-psychological research on Jews; in 1937 he was dismissed after disciplinary proceedings (he had not reported his previous membership in the SPD) - Decorated veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Catholic. 1925-31 he was Director of Psychology for the Reichswehr. A member of the DNVP until 1926, Rieffert was a member of the SPD from 1931-32. March 4, 1933 he joined the NSDAP (Nr.1,867,767), and was expelled from the Party on Nov.21, 1938. July 1, 1933 he joined the NSLB (Nr.193,332). July 9, 1933 he joined the SA (Sturm 1/R 29); and was also a member of the NSV and the Kolonialbund. In 1934 Rieffert was placed in charge (Reichssachbearbeiter) for "Philosophie, Psychologie, und Pädagogik" inside Section I (Reichsfachschaft I) of the NSLB. In 1937 he began working part-time for Borsig, and became a full-time employee there in 1940. His main philosophical interests were in empirical psychology, the history of logic, and Schopenhauer; he also wrote a history of the "Aryan" conception of God. During the 1920's Rieffert worked for the Army as a military psychologist, developing "character" tests for officer candidates. He died in Süderburg, West Germany on July 9, 1956. (BDC,BA,IfZ,KGK)

Kurt RIEZLER - (b. Feb.11, 1882) - ordentl. Professor h.c., Frankfurt; Jan.1934, dismissed under paragraph 6, BBG - During W.W.I Riezler was a close advisor to Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg and a leading defender of German war aims. In 1917 he was instrumental in permitting Lenin and other revolutionaries to cross German territory. In 1918 he was a Counselor at the German embassy in Moscow. In 1920 he was appointed head of the Office of the Reich President with the rank of Ambassador. 1928-34, Chairman of the Board of Trustees and Honorary Professor at Frankfurt. In 1938 he emigrated to the U.S. 1938-52, Professor of philosophy on the graduate faculty of the New School for Social Research, New York. Riezler's main philosophical interests were in political philosophy, ancient Greek philosophy, and

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aesthetics. Note that in 1913 he used the pseudonym J. J. Ruedorffer. He died in Munich on September 5, 1955. (KGK,IBD,PL)

Fritz-Joachim von RINTELEN - (b. May 16, 1898) - Privatdozent, Munich; Summer Semester, 1934, transferred as temporary replacement to the Philosoph. Theolog. Hochschule at Braunsberg; Nov.1934, appointed ordentl. Professor and Director of the Philosophisches Seminar, Bonn; Sept.1936, transferred back to Munich as replacement for Josef Geysler; 1941, suspended by order of the Bavarian government; July 1942, the Education Ministry ordered the reversal of this suspension (internal Party conflicts prevented his return to the University before it was closed) - Veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Catholic. A former supporter of the Catholic Center Party (Zentrum). Aug.1, 1933 he joined the NSLB (Nr.56,035); July 1, 1941 von Rintelen joined the NSDAP (Nr.8,801,145). In 1941 the Gauleiter of Munich tried to remove von Rintelen from the university, probably because of complaints from Hans A. Grunsky; von Rintelen's interest in scholasticism and his Catholicism were offered as evidence of "political Catholicism." The REM (Education Ministry) decided that the real reason was that Grunsky resented the fact that von Rintelen's seminars were over enrolled while his own were sometimes empty. In Dec.1942 Hitler's personal adjutant, SS-Brigadeführer Albrecht, confirmed to the REM that von Rintelen's membership in the Party should have allowed the matter to be put to rest. Note that von Rintelen's brother was a high official in the Foreign Ministry. Von Rintelen's main philosophical interests were philosophy of religion, medieval philosophy, and value theory; he also published works on Fichte, Schleiermacher, and Alfred the German. Von Rintelen died in Munich on February 23, 1979. (BDC,BA,KGK)

Constantin RITTER - (b. April 8, 1859) - GP, a.ordentl. Professor, Tübingen - Military veteran (1877-78). Religion: Protestant. Ritter was a member of the Nationalliberalen Partei from 1903 until its dissolution in 1918; after this he was for several years a member of the Deutsche Demokratische Partei (and was for a short time in the Vaterlandspartei). For several years he was then politically inactive, until Nov.5, 1933, when he joined the Stahlhelm. For a brief time he was in the SA (Sturm 1/R 125); he left the SA in June 1934 and joined the NSD-Frontkämpferbund. He was also a member of the Deutscher Kolonialbund and the VDA. His main philosophical interest was in Plato and Platonism; among other publications, he co-edited an edition of the collected dialogues with Kurt

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Hildebrandt and Gustav Schneider. He died in April 1936.
(BDC,BA,KGK,PL)

Joachim RITTER - (b. April 3, 1903) - Universitätsdozent, Hamburg; Nov.4, 1939, appointed Dozent n.O.; July 16, 1941, promoted to a.pl. Professor; 1943, promoted to ordentl. Professor and transferred to Kiel (as replacement for Ferdinand Weinhandl) - Military service: 1935, 1936, and Jan.1940-May 1943. Religion: Protestant. Nov.9, 1933 he joined the NSLB (Nr.276,764); he was also a member of the NSV and the NS-Studentenkampfhilfe. Nov.1933 Ritter publicly endorsed Hitler's demand that Germany withdraw from the League of Nations. May 1, 1937 he joined the NSDAP (Nr.5,582,213). In 1938 the Hamburg office of the NSD-Dozentenbund expressed concern and suspicion about Ritter's reasons for joining the NSDAP. They alleged that before 1933 Ritter had been a liberal, with connections to "the far left." They also alleged that he had not yet comprehended the importance of "racial thought"; Ritter had been a student and Assistent of Ernst Cassirer and Ritter's first wife (who died in 1928) was related to Cassirer and was also Jewish. The Dozentenbund wanted Ritter kept under close observation to make sure that he had not joined the Party for opportunistic reasons (they described him as being enormously ambitious). These suspicions were either put to rest or not shared by others in the Party. Ritter was an invited participant in the Amt Rosenberg's philosophy conference at Schloß Buderosa in March 1939, and he was one of only four philosophers excused from military service by order of the Party in 1944. His main philosophical interests were in history of philosophy, particularly ancient Greek philosophy and medieval philosophy. From 1947-69 he was ordentl. Professor at Münster and editor of the Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie. He died in Münster on August 3, 1974. (BDC,BA,IfZ,KGK)

Bernhard ROSENMÖLLER - (b. April 17, 1883) - (n.b.) a.ordentl. Professor, Münster; Nov.1934, appointed ordentl. Professor, Staatliche Akademie at Braunsberg; March 1937, transferred to Breslau as replacement for Ludwig Baur; he was also named Chairman of the philosophy department at Breslau - Decorated combat veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Catholic. 1918-19, member of the Catholic Center Party (Zentrum). From 1925-33 Rosenmüller was editor of the Vierteljahrsschrift für wissenschaftliche Pädagogik. July 1, 1934 he joined the NSLB (Nr.293,152); he resigned 5 months later on Dec.1, 1934. Rosenmüller was transferred to Breslau because of dissatisfaction expressed by the Rector at Braunsberg (the NSD-Dozentenbund at Breslau approved his transfer because they believed him to be basically

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apolitical and easy to manipulate). His main philosophical interests were in philosophy of religion, Catholic philosophy, and the history of medieval philosophy. He died in Münster on March 19, 1974. (BDC,BA,KGK)

Erich ROTHACKER - (b. March 12, 1888) - ordentl. Professor, Bonn; Oct.1933, appointed Dean of the Philosophy Faculty - Veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Protestant. A member of the Deutsche Volkspartei from 1919-28, he signed the July 1932 appeal of university teachers in support of Hitler; he joined the NSLB Nov.12, 1932 (Nr.9,905). Rothacker was also one of 300 academics who signed a petition supporting Hitler's government that was published in the Party's newspaper just before the March 5, 1933 Reichstag election. May 1, 1933 he joined the NSDAP (Nr.2,081,851). In 1933 he briefly worked for the Propaganda Ministry as director of department for "Volksbildung," and served as the Ministry's liason to the student-organized "Campaign Against the non-German Spirit" (Aktion wider den undeutschen Geist). May 1934 he was appointed to an elite committee on the philosophy of law within the Akademie für Deutsches Recht. 1937, Rothacker was suspected by the Security Service of the SS (SS-Sicherheitsdienst) of having misunderstood "racial thought" because he argued that individual will played a role in the determination of racial identity. Despite these suspicions he was allowed to teach and publish until the end of the war. His main philosophical interests were in philosophical anthropology, intellectual history, and "Volkssoziologie"; in 1944 he published a work on the importance of philosophy for the war effort. Note that in 1931 he was appointed to the research board supervising the Nietzsche Archiv's historical-critical edition of Nietzsche's work; he was also co-editor of the philosophy section of Neue deutsche Forschungen. After the war Rothacker directed the dissertations of several important West German intellectuals, including Jürgen Habermas, Otto Pöggeler, and Karl-Otto Apel. He died in Bonn on August 11, 1965. (BDC,BA,KGK,PL)

Vinzenz RÖFNER - (b. Sept.17, 1899) - Privatdozent, Würzburg; Winter Semester 1936-37, temporary replacement at the Philos.-Theol. Hochschule, Bamberg; June 29, 1937, appointed a.ordentl. Professor at Bamberg; April 1, 1941-March 31, 1943 he replaced Siegfried Behn at Univ. of Bonn; Winter Semester 1943-44, transferred to Freiburg with Lehrauftrag in philosophy within the Theology Faculty - Veteran of W.W.I (he was seriously wounded when his unit was in action against striking workers 1918-19). Religion: Catholic. April 1, 1934 he joined the NSLB (Nr.336,178). Also a member of the NSV and SA Reserve II since 1933, he

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joined the NSDAP on May 1, 1937 (Nr.4,401,685). Rűfner was a student of Hans Meyer and was strongly influenced by Catholic thought. His main philosophical interests were in metaphysics, philosophy of science, and social philosophy. He published work on Vico, Darwinism and ethics, the metaphysics of German idealism, and on the community and the state. Rűfner died in Bonn-Bad Godesberg on May 29, 1976. (BDC,BA,KGK)

Hans RUPP - (b. Feb.26, 1880) - a.ordentl. Professor, Berlin; Oct.26, 1939, appointed a.pl. Professor and Director of the Department of Applied Psychology at the Institute for Psychology, Berlin; in 1944 he was given the additional responsibility of teaching psychology at the business school in Berlin - Veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Catholic. In 1933 he became a member of Rosenberg's Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur; 1936 he was allowed to lecture abroad (in Bucharest). Jan.1, 1940 he joined the NSDAP (Nr.7,910,449). His main philosophical interests were in experimental psychology (particularly labor psychology) and experimental pedagogy. Note that he was the founder and editor of the Psychotechnischen Zeitschrift. Rupp died in Aachen May 15, 1954. (BDC,BA,KGK,PL)

Heinrich SAUER - (b. Oct.17, 1891) - (n.b.) a.ordentl. Professor, Hamburg; July 19, 1939 he was appointed a.pl. Professor - No military service. Religion: Protestant. Nov.1933, Sauer publicly endorsed Hitler's demand that Germany withdraw from the League of Nations. Feb.2, 1934 he joined the NSLB (Nr.276,395), and resigned May 31, 1938. He joined the NSDAP May 1, 1937 (Nr.5,269,169). His main philosophical interests were in philosophy of mathematics and philosophy of science; he also did research on Kant and Nietzsche. Sauer died in Hamburg on October 10, 1952. (BDC,BA,KGK)

Helmut SCHELSKY - (b. Oct.14, 1912) - Dec.1935, received PhD from Univ. Leipzig; March 1, 1937-Oct.31, 1938, a.pl. Assistent, Leipzig; Feb.22, 1939, Habilitation, Königsberg; Nov.1, 1939, appointed Dozent at Königsberg; 1942-43, temporary replacement in Leipzig; 1943, transferred to Strasbourg and appointed a.ordentl. Professor - Decorated combat veteran of W.W.II (Sept.1,1939-Oct.31,1942). Religion: Protestant. 1932-35 he was a local and a regional political leader of the NSD-Studentenbund. 1932-34 he was in the SA (as SA-Mann in Sturm 11/107 Leipzig); 1934-36 he was a member of the Hitler Jugend. Beginning in 1933, Schelsky worked for the Amt Rosenberg and was a Dozent in the foreign policy school of the NSDAP. He also participated in the Nuremberg rallies of 1933, 1934, and

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1935. He finally joined the NSDAP on May 1, 1937 (Nr.4,529,255); he joined the NSLB Feb.1, 1938. Jan.15, 1943 Schelsky was made an honorary SA-Sturmführer. His main philosophical interests were in political philosophy and sociology; he did work on Fichte's natural law, Christian metaphysics, liberalism as an opponent of the National Socialist world view, and Thomas Hobbes. He was later a well-known Hobbes scholar; his work on Hobbes grew out of his encounters with Carl Schmitt and Hans Freyer. (BDC,BA,KGK)

Walther Malmsten SCHERING - (b. June 8, 1883) - July 31, 1934, appointed Privatdozent, Berlin; May 1, 1935, he was assigned by REM to lecture in "Kriegsphilosophie" and "Kriegssoziologie" at Berlin; Nov.1938, he was appointed (n.b.) a.ordentl. Professor; 1938-42, he was Co-Director of the Institute for Psychology, Berlin; March 1943, appointed ordentl. Professor - Decorated combat veteran of W.W.I. (officer on active duty 1901-21). Religion: Protestant. He joined the NSDAP sometime before 1937, and was the Party's Dozentenführer at the Univ. Berlin. His main philosophical interests were in psychology, sociology, and political philosophy; he also published several texts on the "philosophy of war." (BDC,BA,KGK)

Kurt SCHILLING - (b. Oct.17, 1899) - Privatdozent, Munich (his first attempt at Habilitation was in Berlin in 1928, and he failed there because of differences with Eduard Spranger); March 28, 1938, appointed (n.b.) a.ordentl. Professor; Nov.11, 1939, appointed a.pl. Professor and transferred as temporary replacement to Prague; March 1940, his position in Prague was renewed; 1942, transferred back to Munich as replacement for Hans Alfred Grunsky; Sept.1944, appointed Acting Director of the Philosophy Seminar I at Munich - Decorated combat veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Protestant. He joined the NSDAP May 1, 1933 (Nr.3,214,331); since Sept.1933 he was a "Scharführer" in the NSKK; since Feb.1, 1937 he was a member of the NSV (Nr.7,216,561). He was also an active member of the NSD-Dozentenbund, and was also in the NSLB and RLB. In 1939 he was charged by the SS-Ahnenerbe with the organization of a philosophical teaching and research center. His main philosophical interests were in political philosophy, logic and epistemology, history of philosophy, and aesthetics. Note that in 1940, he gave lectures on Heidegger's work at the German university in occupied Prague. Schilling died in Kreuth (a.Tegernsee) on February 11, 1977. (BDC,BA,KGK)

Werner SCHINGNITZ - (b. Sept.22, 1899) - Privatdozent, Leipzig - Decorated combat veteran of W.W.I. Religion:

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Protestant. Schingnitz was one of 300 academics who signed a petition supporting Hitler's government that was printed in the Party's newspaper just before the March 5, 1933 Reichstag election. He joined the NSDAP May 1, 1933 (Nr.2,383,074), and became an official in charge of "Philosophie und Weltanschauung" in the Leipzig branch of the Party's cultural politics department. Nov.1933 Schingnitz publicly endorsed Hitler's demand that Germany withdraw from the League of Nations. Beginning in July 1933, he worked as a "Stabsleiter" in the NSLB regional office in Saxony; Aug.1, 1934 he joined the NSLB (Nr.311,787). Note that he resigned from the NSLB Aug.31, 1935, because he had over-extended himself with too many political commitments. His main philosophical interest was in the history of German philosophy: he published work on logic, the spiritual values of the Germans, and on the psychological aspects of philosophy and Weltanschauung. He was a student of Johannes Volkelt (the elder) and Hans Driesch, and specialized in "Philosophie der Gegenwart" at Leipzig. (BDC,BA,IfZ,KGK,PL)

Karl SCHLECHTA - (b. Jan.23, 1904) - Official in charge of the Cultural Office (Kulturamt) of the city of Frankfurt; March 1936-March 1937, Lecturer at Jena; 1939, appointed Universitätsdozent at Frankfurt - Wehrmacht veteran. Religion: Protestant. May 1, 1933 he joined the NSDAP (Nr.2,292,735). From 1933-1957 he was editor of the Nietzsche Archive's critical edition of Nietzsche's collected works. Oct.1934-Oct.1938 he received a monthly stipend from the Reich Research Council (RFR) in support of his work on Nietzsche. Schlechta continued to receive funds from the RFR, as an assistant to Nietzsche's cousin, Prof. Richard Oehler. March 1939 Schlechta was a participant in the Amt Rosenberg's philosophy convention at Schloß Buderosa. Note that he was one of only four philosophers excused from military duties by order of the Party in 1944; this was done because the Amt Rosenberg wanted Schlechta to continue his work on Nietzsche. Schlechta's main philosophical interests were in Nietzsche, Goethe, and Aristotle. (BDC,BA,IfZ,KGK)

August SCHMEKEL - (b. Oct.29, 1857) - GRR, ordentl. Professor, Greifswald (officially retired) - Religion: ? No known political activities. His main philosophical interests were in history of philosophy, particularly ancient Greek philosophy; he also wrote a history of positivism. Note that he helped Ernst von Aster produce the two-volume survey Grosse Denker. He died in July 1934. (KGK,PL)

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Wilhelm SCHMIDT-JAPING - (b. March 13, 1886) - Lic.theol. and (n.b.) a.ordentl. Professor, Bonn; 1935, appointed ordentl. Professor - Decorated combat veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Protestant. 1919-20, Party Secretary of the DNVP; since then not a member of any party. In 1931 he received an honorary doctorate in theology from Tübingen. June 1933 he became a member of the SA Reserve I. A member of both the Philosophy and Theology Faculties at Bonn, he was interested in systematic theology, philosophy of religion, and social ethics. He published work on the meaning of Luther, Kant, and Schleiermacher for Protestantism; in 1930 he was the editor of Kirche and Wirklichkeit. (BDC,BA,KGK,PL)

Walther SCHMIED-KOWARZIK - (b. May 22, 1885) - April 1933, appointed Privatdozent, Giessen; 1939, he was transferred to Vienna as Universitätsdozent. 1942, promoted to a.pl. Professor and immediately dismissed (S-K's final promotion was a planned part of his dismissal; this was probably a means of granting him a higher pension) - Decorated veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Protestant. April 1, 1933 he joined the NSDAP (Nr.1,767,151), and was a local Party official in charge of popular education. May 1, 1933 he joined the NSLB (Nr.113,740). Nov.1933 he joined the SA as Sturmmann and became "Sturmbannschulungsleiter" in SA R XI/116. Oct.-Nov.1934 he attended the Party's regional leadership school (Gauführerschule) in Frankfurt. His main philosophical interests were in pedagogy, Gestalt psychology, and Protestant ethics; he also published work on "völkisch" idealism. From 1918-35 he was a member of the editorial advisory board of the Blätter für deutsche Philosophie. He died in Mödling, near Vienna, on July 24, 1958. (BDC,BA,KGK,PL)

Arthur SCHNEIDER - (b. Nov.15, 1876) - ordentl. Professor, Köln; March 1942, retired - No military service. Religion: Catholic. Never a member of any political party, he claimed to have consistently presented nationalist and anti-Marxist views to his students. July 1, 1933 he joined the NSLB (Nr.187,701); 1933-34 Schneider was head of the Party's Office of Education. He was also a member of the NSV. The Amt Rosenberg was hostile to Schneider, viewing him as a representative of the confessional "philosophia perennis." When a decision had to be made about Schneider's retirement (after he reached 65), the Amt Rosenberg vetoed a proposed extension of his contract made by the head of his department, Heimsoeth, because it wanted to rid the universities of Catholic philosophy. His main philosophical interests were in medieval philosophy, scholasticism, and the relevance of philosophy for pedagogy; note that he had

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been Heidegger's dissertation director at Freiburg before W.W.I. (BDC,BA,IfZ,KGK,PL)

Hermann SCHNEIDER - (b. April 29, 1874) - Dr.med., a.ordentl. Professor, Leipzig; Aug.1939, retired - Veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Protestant. A public supporter of the NSDAP since late 1932, he joined the Party May 1, 1933 (Nr.2,984,631). He joined the NSLB Aug.1, 1933 (Nr.312,223). In Nov.1933 Schneider publicly endorsed Hitler's demand that Germany withdraw from the League of Nations. His main philosophical interests were in logic, pedagogy, the history of philosophy, logic, and philosophy of religion. He died in Delmenhorst on October 17, 1953. (BDC,BA,KGK,PL)

Heinrich SCHOLZ - (b. Dec.17, 1884) - Dr.theol. (h.c.), ordentl. Professor, Münster; 1943, founded the Institute for Mathematical Logic and Basic Research and transferred to the Faculty of Mathematics, Münster - No military service (due to chronic ulcers). Religion: Protestant. Although Scholz does not appear to have been politically active, he was allowed to travel abroad to conferences before the war. In 1936, the Reich Research Council (RFR) supported Scholz's preparation of Frege's Nachlass for publication. 1934-37, 1937-?, he was editor of Forschungen zur Logistik und zur Grundlegung der exakten Wissenschaften. The Amt Rosenberg thought Scholz's work to be too formal and without substance; but he was allowed to teach and to publish until the end of the war. Scholz was the preeminent logician in Germany during this time; he was a Platonist and believed mathematical logic to be a foundation of universal knowledge. Scholz was a student of Aloys Riehl and Carl von Harnack. He was a trained theologian, and began his career in philosophy of religion and systematic theology. He died on December 30, 1956. (BDC,BA,IfZ,ZStA,KGK,PL)

Günther SCHULEMANN - (b. Aug.26, 1889) - (n.b.) a.ordentl. Professor, Breslau - Combat veteran of W.W.I. (former Guards officer). Religion: Catholic (1918, ordained as Priest). July 1, 1933 he joined the NSLB (Nr.227,890). His main philosophical interests were in scholasticism, aesthetics, and oriental philosophy; he published work on the history of the Dalai Lama, Thomas Aquinas' principle of causality, scholastic transcendentals, and the teachings of Buddha. (BDC,BA,KGK,PL)

Wolfgang SCHULTZ - (b. June 28, 1881) - Privatgelehrter (private tutor) until May 1934; June 8, 1934, appointed Honorarprofessor, Munich (as replacement for Richard Höningwald); Nov.1, 1934, appointed ordentl. Professor at

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Munich - Decorated combat veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Protestant (previously Catholic). May 1, 1932 he joined the NSDAP (Nr.1,075,591). Schultz was an informant for the Amt Rosenberg at the Univ. of Munich; in Jan.1936 he was appointed head of Rosenberg's department for "Arische Weltanschauung und Volkskunde" (a department that existed only on paper). His main philosophical interests were in ancient Greek philosophy, mysticism and mythology, Zoroastrianism, and Persian studies. Schultz was an adherent of Rosenberg's view of the racial foundation of "Aryan" thought, and he wrote several articles for Rosenberg's Nationalsozialistische Monatshefte. He was also editor of Mitra (Monatschrift für vegl. Mythenforschung). Schultz died September 24, 1936. (BDC,BA,KGK,PL)

Otto SCHULTZE - (b. Oct.9, 1872) - Dr.med., ordentl. Professor, Königsberg; 1934-35, temporary replacement in Halle (for Adhemar Gelb); April 1935, transferred back to Königsberg and retired - Religion: Protestant. July 1, 1934 he joined the NSLB (Nr.297,513); he resigned Jan.14, 1939. His main philosophical interests were in psychology, experimental psychology, and pedagogy. He died on January 11, 1950. (BDC,KGK)

Walther SCHULZE-SOELDE - (b. April 26, 1888) - (n.b.) a.ordentl. Professor, Greifswald; March 1939, transferred as temporary replacement to Innsbruck; Nov.4, 1939, appointed ordentl. Professor at Innsbruck; Nov.6, 1941, appointed Director of Institute of Philosophy, Innsbruck - Veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Protestant. May 1, 1933 he joined the NSDAP (Nr.2,147,331); since the winter 1933-34 he was a "Zellenleiter" within the Party Organization, and was a member of the Party's Educational Staff. He also was a member of the NSLB (Nr.248,546). While he was in Greifswald, Schulze-Soelde directed the local Party office in charge of geneological research (Ahnenforschung). His main philosophical interests were in political philosophy and the history of philosophy. He published work on Hans Driesch, Spinoza and Kant, the philosophy of history, the metaphysics and epistemology of Aristotle, Meister Eckhart's ethics, and the question of war guilt. He died in 1984. (BDC,BA,KGK,PL)

Balduin SCHWARZ - (b. March 23, 1902) - Privatdozent, Münster; 1933, dismissed under paragraph 4, BBG - Religion: Catholic. A member of the Catholic Academicians' Union, he reportedly resisted the "Gleichschaltung" of the Univ. Münster. In 1933 he emigrated to Switzerland with his wife and son (his wife's family was Jewish); their German citizenship was revoked in 1938. 1933-38 he worked as

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Dozent at the Univ. Fribourg; concurrently (1934-35) he was a Visiting Professor at the Catholic Theology Faculty at Innsbruck. In 1938 he emigrated to France after expiration of his Swiss residence permit; there he worked as a lycee teacher in Limoges. After war broke out he was briefly interned, then Dec.1939-July 1940 he served in the French army. Spring 1941 he emigrated to the US after intervention of the Rockefeller Foundation. 1941-45, Assistant, then Associate Professor, Manhattan College of the Sacred Heart, New York. He was a student of Dietrich von Hildebrand, and his main interests were in Catholic philosophy and phenomenology. He also wrote for Der Christliche Ständestaat (an anti-Nazi, Austrofascist journal edited by D. von Hildebrand), under the pseudonym Johannes Ilen. (IBD)

Hermann SCHWARZ - (b. Dec.22, 1864) - GRR, ordentl. Professor, Greifswald; April 1933, retired; Summer Semester 1933, Lecturer at Greifswald; Winter Semester, Lecturer at Frankfurt (his name remained on the list of faculty at Frankfurt until Feb.1944); Oct.1934, granted permission to lecture at T.H. Darmstadt - Military service: 1889. Religion: Protestant. 1923-24 Schwarz was a member of the NSDAP, but resigned because he disagreed with Ludendorff's plans for the Party's future in the aftermath of the "Beer Hall Putsch." He remained in contact with the Party and in 1929 he was granted an honorary membership. A member of Rosenberg's Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur since it was first organized in 1929, he was a signatory to one of its membership appeals in April 1932. (The mission of the Kampfbund was to protect German culture from "cultural Bolshevism.") He was one of 300 academics who signed a petition supporting Hitler's government, which was published in the Party's newspaper just before the March 5, 1933 election. Nov.1933 he publicly supported Hitler's demand that Germany withdraw from the League of Nations. In Dec.1939, the Party approved Schwarz's receipt of the "Goethe Medaille." His main philosophical interests were in philosophy of religion, the history of German philosophy, and political philosophy. He published many works on National Socialism and its philosophical foundations, and he defended Rosenberg's work and the use of race as a philosophical category. (BDC,BA,KGK,PL)

Eduard SPRANGER - (b. June 27, 1882) - ordentl. Professor, Berlin - No military service. Religion: Protestant. Never a member of any political party, Spranger had been a member of the Stahlhelm and the VDA; he later joined the NSV. He welcomed Hitler's coming to power in 1933 (see his letter of 30.4.33 to Vice-Chancellor von Papen). 1934-37, member of

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the executive board of the Kant-Gesellschaft. He was Director of both the Philosophisches Seminar and the Pädagogisches Seminar in Berlin, and was a member of the Prussian Academy of Sciences. He was allowed to travel extensively: in 1935 he was awarded an honorary doctorate in Budapest and lectured in Prague; in 1936, he lectured in Vienna; 1936-37 he was Director of the German-Japan Institute in Tokyo; in 1938 he was awarded an honorary doctorate in Athens. In April 1941 he was given a medal by the Japanese (the Order of the Sacred Treasure, 2nd Class). He was arrested and held for 7 weeks (Sept.-Nov., 1944) by the Gestapo in the aftermath of July 20; note however that he was allowed to publish as late as 1944. His main philosophical interests were in pedagogy, philosophical psychology, university reform, political philosophy, and the methodology of the social sciences. He was an editor of the philosophy section of Neue deutsche Forschungen, and editor of Die Erziehung; he was also the editor of the collected works of Pestalozzi. Spranger died in Tübingen September 17, 1963. (BDC,BA,IfZ,KGK,PL)

Heinrich SPRINGMEYER - (b. May 27, 1898) - 1931-36, Assistent under Nicolai Hartmann, Berlin; Dec. 7, 1933, appointed Privatdozent, Berlin; 1938, temporary replacement in Halle; June 1, 1939, with the support of the Amt Rosenberg, appointed a.ordentl. Professor, Halle; March 1942, promoted to ordentl. Professor - Religion: Protestant. In 1936 he joined the NSLB and the NSD-Dozentenbund; he became a "Vertrauensmann" (informant) for the Dozentenbund (which means that he reported to the Party on the activities of his colleagues). He was also placed in charge of the Dozentenbund's "Amt Wissenschaft" at Halle. May 1, 1937 he joined the NSDAP (Nr.5,711,616). In March 1939 he participated in the Amt Rosenberg's philosophy convention at Schloß Buderosa, where he gave two lectures. He was excused from military service by the Party in 1942, and worked with the Amt Rosenberg. His main philosophical interests were in philosophical anthropology and the history of modern philosophy; he produced work on Herder and Kant, as well as a critique of Descartes for the Amt Rosenberg. He died in Marburg on June 27, 1971. (BDC,BA,IfZ,KGK)

Gerhard STAMMLER - (b. May 3, 1898) - Privatdozent, Halle; March 25, 1938, promoted to (n.b.) a.ordentl. Professor; Dec.21, 1939, appointed a.pl. Professor - No military service (he had only one eye). Religion: Protestant. May 1, 1933 he joined the NSDAP (Nr.2,255,456); since Sept.1934 he was a "Politischer Leiter" in the Party. He was also a member of the NSD-Dozentendund, the NSLB and the NSV. Note that in 1937 Stammer was active on behalf of the

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"bekennende Kirche" (Confessional Church); despite this, he was given an positive political evaluation by the Party in 1938. His main philosophical interests were in 18th-century philosophy, the history of logic, and the philosophy of mathematics. He published work on Berkeley, Leibniz, and the relationship between science and God. Note that he was allowed to publish as late as 1944. (BDC,BA,KGK,PL)

Wolfram STEINBECK - (b. March 14, 1905) - 1938, Habilitation at Berlin; August 14, 1939, appointed Dozent at Berlin; April 3, 1940, transferred to Graz; 1944, promoted to a.ordentl. Professor - Religion: ? (not Jewish). March 1, 1933 he joined the NSDAP; he also was a member of the SA, NSDDB, and the NSLB. An employee of the Amt Rosenberg, Steinbeck participated in its philosophy convention at Schloß Buderose in March 1939. His main philosophical interests were in Fichte, Kant, and political philosophy. (BDC,BA,IfZ,KGK)

Theodor STEINBÜCHEL - (b. June 16, 1888) - a.ordentl. Professor, Giessen; Nov.1, 1935, appointed ordentl. Professor for moral theology, Munich; April 1, 1941, transferred to Tübingen - No military service (he was a priest), although he supported the war effort. Religion: Catholic. Formerly a member of the Catholic Center (Zentrum), he does not appear to have joined any NS-organization. His main philosophical interests were in German idealism, moral theology, and social philosophy; he published work on Thomas Aquinas, Kant, Hegel, Nietzsche, and the Christian conception of socialism. Steinbüchel died in Tübingen on February 11, 1949. (BDC,BA,KGK,PL)

Julius STENZEL - (b. Feb.9, 1883) - ordentl. Professor, Kiel; 1933, transferred under paragraph 5, BBG to Halle - Religion: ? (not Jewish). Apparently not involved in any political party or organization. His main philosophical interest was in ancient Greek philosophy; he also published work on Dilthey and the philosophy of language, and was co-editor of Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Mathematik. He died November 26, 1935. (BDC,KGK,PL)

Erich STERN - (b. Oct.30, 1889) - Dr.med., a.ordentl. Professor, Giessen; 1933, dismissed under paragraph 3, BBG and emigrated to France - Religion: Jewish. 1934-40 he worked at Children's Neuropsychiatry Clinic, Univ. Paris School of Medicine; appointed Assistent there in 1934. In 1938 he became a French citizen. 1940-44 Stern worked with the Resistance; he remained in France after the war. His main philosophical interests were in applied psychology,

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pedagogy, and social philosophy. He died in Paris on January 20, 1959. (K GK, PL, IBD)

William STERN - (b. April 29, 1871) - ordentl. Professor, Hamburg (in both psychology and philosophy); 1933, dismissed under paragraph 3, BBG and emigrated to the Netherlands - No military service. Religion: Jewish. In 1934 he emigrated to the US. Stern was co-founder and Director of the Institute for Psychology at Hamburg. 1931-33 he was President of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Psychologie. 1935-38, Stern was a Professor of psychology at Duke Univ., in Durham, N.C.; he was also a Visiting Professor at Harvard, Columbia, and Brown. His main philosophical interests were in "differential" (or individual) psychology and value theory. Until 1933 he was co-editor of both the Zeitschrift für angewandte Psychologie and the Zeitschrift für pädagogische Psychologie. He died in Poughkeepsie, New York on March 27, 1938. (K GK, PL, IBD)

Georg STIELER - (b. Jan. 28, 1884) - n.pl., a.ordentl. Professor, Freiburg; Oct. 1, 1934, appointed pl. a.ordentl. Professor (with the title and rights of an ordentl. Prof.); June 7, 1944, awarded life-long position as civil servant (Beamter) - Combat veteran of W.W.I (naval officer 1905-1918). Religion: Catholic. Previously a member of the DNVP and the Stahlhelm, he joined the NSDAP May 1, 1933 (Nr. 2,910,169). He joined the NSLB Dec. 1, 1933 (Nr. 285,042). Until May 1, 1937 he was in the SA, as "Obertruppführer" in Sturm R 1/113. His main philosophical interests were in Leibniz and pedagogy; he also published work on Malebranche, racial psychology, Fichte as a political teacher, and the task of contemporary German education. He died in Freiburg on March 14, 1959. (BDC, BA, K GK, PL)

Gustav STÖRRING - (b. Aug. 24, 1860) - GRR, Dr.med., ordentl. Professor, Bonn (officially retired in 1927) - No military service. Religion: Protestant. Never a member of any political party, Störning was a member of the "Kyffhäuserbund. Note that in 1937 he was allowed to spend 6 months in Italy. He was a trained psychiatrist, and his main philosophical interests were in experimental psychology, epistemology, and moral philosophy. Stoerring also published work on the relation between psychology and philosophical ethics. (BDC, K GK, PL)

Carl STUMPF - (b. April 21, 1848) - GRR, Dr.med. (honorary), ordentl. Professor, Berlin - No military service. Religion: originally Catholic, he became a Dissenter (an English Protestant). He was a member of the NSLB, the Deutsche

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Akademie in Munich, the National Academy of Sciences in Washington, and the Prussian Academy of Sciences. His main philosophical interests were in psychology and epistemology; he also did work on the methodological foundations of philosophy. Stumpf believed that physics was the ideal inductive science and provided a model for philosophical research. He died in Berlin on December 25, 1936. (BDC,BA,KGK,PL)

Johannes THYSSEN - (b. Aug.22, 1892) - (n.b.) a.ordentl. Professor, Bonn; Nov.17, 1939, promoted to a.pl. Professor; Summer Semester 1944, transferred as temporary replacement to Münster - Decorated combat veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Protestant. Thyssen was briefly a member of the Deutsche Demokratische Partei in 1919. July 1, 1934 he joined the NSLB (Nr.295,271); he was also a member of the Prussian Academy of Sciences. His main philosophical interests were in philosophy of history and logic; he also published several works on philosophical relativism. He died in Bonn on September 25, 1968. (BDC,BA,KGK)

Paul TILLICH - (b. Aug.20, 1886) - ordentl. Professor, Frankfurt (he succeeded Max Scheler in 1929); 1933, he was dismissed under paragraph 4, BBG and was replaced first by Arnold Gehlen, then by Ernst Krieck - Decorated combat veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Protestant. 1929-33 he was a member of the SPD. Tillich was one of the first sixteen professors to be dismissed by the Nazi government in 1933 (a list of their names appeared in the Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, Reichs-Ausgabe, April 14, 1933). He emigrated to the US in 1933 and found a position (through Reinhold Niebuhr) at Union Theological Seminary. In 1940 he became a US citizen. Beginning in 1942, Tillich gave lectures on the German service of Voice of America. In 1944 he was a member of the organizing committee of the Council for a Democratic Germany. His main philosophical interests were in philosophy of religion, systematic theology, and Christian socialism. Until June 1933, he was editor of Neue Blätter für den Sozialismus; in 1936 he was a member of the original executive board of Philosophia. Tillich died in Chicago on October 22, 1965. (BDC,KGK,IBD)

Emil UTITZ - (b. March 27, 1883) - ordentl. Professor, Halle; 1933, dismissed under paragraph 3, BBG and emigrated to Czechoslovakia; 1934-38, ordentl. Professor at the German University in Prague; in 1938 he fled Czechoslovakia in advance of the German takeover - No military service. Religion: Jewish. Utitz's main philosophical intertests were in aesthetics, philosophy of art, and "characterology." He was editor of the Jahrbuch der Charakterologie; he was

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also a member of the original executive board of Philosophia. He died in Jena on November 2, 1956.
(K GK, PL, IBD)

Johannes Maria VERWEYEN - (b. May 11, 1883) - (n.b.)
a.ordentl. Professor, Bonn; 1934, dismissed under paragraph 6, BBG - Combat veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Catholic. Although never a member of any political party, in 1920-21 he briefly worked (as a lecturer) for the SPD. 1921-33 he was a member of a Masonic Lodge. In 1935 his passport was confiscated. He joined the NSLB July 1, 1933 (Nr.127,924), but was expelled Jan.1, 1935. June 1936 he joined the Reich Chamber of Literature (RSK, Nr.A12,765) and was expelled Feb.4, 1938. In 1937 at least one of his books was banned by the Propaganda Ministry. His main philosophical interests were in medieval philosophy, philosophy of religion, mysticism, and the occult. He wrote articles for several publications, including Seele (in June 1937), a self-described Christian monthly. He died at KZ-Belsen in March 1945. (BDC, BA, K GK, PL)

Alfred VIERKANDT - (b. June 4, 1867) - Dr.jur. (h.c.), ordentl. Professor, Berlin - No military service. Religion: Protestant. March 31, 1935, retired (he was over 65). 1918-19 he was involved in the "Bund für Vaterland und Freiheit." His main philosophical interests were in sociology, developmental and social psychology, ethics, and "Weltanschauung" questions. Vierkandt died in Berlin on April 24, 1953. (BDC, BA, K GK, PL)

Bodo Sartorius Freiherr von WALTERSHAUSEN - (b. Sept.4, 1900) - Privatdozent, Köln; April 21, 1938, promoted to (n.b.) a.ordentl. Professor; Oct.30, 1938, appointed a.pl. Professor; 1939, temporary replacement for Willy Kabitz in Münster; 1942, transferred to Göttingen - Military service: Wehrmacht veteran, 1943-45. Religion: Protestant. Aug.1, 1933 he joined the NSLB (Nr.171,726); he joined the NSDAP May 1, 1937 (Nr.4,066,484). Note that he resigned from the NSLB April 17, 1939. He was also a member of the NSV. A trained lawyer and political economist, his main philosophical interests were in German philosophy of the Reformation (Melancthon and Paracelsus), pedagogy, and Wilhelm Dilthey. (BDC, K GK)

Oswald WEIDENBACH - (b. March 4, 1876) - a.ordentl. Professor, Giessen; Sept.23, 1939, appointed a.plm. Professor; Dec.6, 1941, dismissed under paragraph 61, DBG - Veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Protestant. Apparently not a member of any political party or political organization. Despite his dismissal, the REM granted him permission (on

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March 11, 1942) to use the title "Professor a.D." His main philosophical interests were in epistemology, Kant, and German idealism. (BDC,BA,KGK,PL)

Hermann WEIN - (b. May 20, 1912) - July 28, 1942, Habilitation in Berlin; March 19, 1943, appointed Dozent at Berlin - Military service: ? (released from military service in Jan.1943). Religion: ? (not Jewish). May 1, 1937 he joined the NSDAP (Nr.5,979,787). His main philosophical interests were in philosophy of science, epistemology, and the history of modern philosophy. (BDC,KGK)

Ferdinand WEINHANDL - (b. Jan.31, 1896) - (n.b.) a.ordentl. Professor, Kiel; Aug.20, 1935, appointed ordentl. Professor, Kiel; he was also Director of the Philosophisches Seminar and Research Director of the Scientific Academy of the NSDAP at Kiel; 1942, transferred to Frankfurt as replacement for Hans Lipps; 1944, transferred to Graz (as replacement for Ernst Mally), and appointed Director of the Philosophisches Seminar - Decorated combat veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Protestant (Catholic until Sept.1928). May 1, 1933, he joined the NSDAP (Nr.2,730,351); he joined the NSLB Aug.1, 1933 (229,800). Nov.5, 1933 he joined the SA; Aug.8, 1934, he joined SA Reserve I. Until 1942 Weinhandl was the research director of the NS-Dozentenakademie in Kiel. Note that he was commissioned by Alfred Rosenberg to give a series of lectures in occupied Latvia and Lithuania in Feb.1943; he was also commissioned by the REM to give a series of lectures in Croatia immediately after that. Weinhandl was director of the "Gruppe Philosophie" inside the "Task Force on the Military Use of the Social Sciences" (Arbeitsgemeinschaft für den Kriegseinsatz der Geisteswissenschaften). In 1944 he was "Dozentenschaftsleiter" at Univ. Frankfurt. His main philosophical interests were in the history of German philosophy, Gestalt analysis, and Goethe. He also published work on Meister Eckhart, myth, "Nordic" thought in German philosophy, and the use of philosophy as a weapon. 1942-44 he was co-editor of Kant-Studien. Note that in 1966 he was awarded the Austrian Cross of Honor for Science and Art, 1st class (Ehrenkreuz für Wissenschaft und Kunst, I.Klasse). (BDC,BA,KGK,PL)

Hans WENKE - (b. April 22, 1903) - July 12, 1938, Habilitation, Frankfurt; Jan.19, 1939, appointed Dozent, Erlangen; Feb.7, 1941, promoted to a.ordentl. Professor; April 19, 1943, promoted to ordentl. Professor - Religion: ? (not Jewish). A member of the NSD-Dozentenbund and the NSLB, Wenke was Director of the Pedagogical and

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Psychological Seminar at Erlangen. He was editor in charge of pedagogy for Neue deutsche Forschungen and (1937-43) was co-editor with Eduard Spranger of Die Erziehung. His main philosophical interests were in German idealism (particularly Hegel), pedagogy, and political philosophy; he also wrote several articles on philosophy and war. Wenke died in Hamburg on February 27, 1971. (BDC,IfZ,KGK,PL)

Max WENTSCHER - (b. May 12, 1862) - ordentl. Professor, Bonn; 1933, retired (he was over 65) - Military veteran (1882-83). Religion: Protestant. He was a former member of the Deutsche Volkspartei. His main philosophical interests were in history of philosophy, pedagogy, and the work of Hermann Lotze; he also published works on the history of ethics and renaissance humanism. He died in October 1942. (BDC,BA,KGK)

Aloys WENZL - (b. Jan.25, 1887) - StR, Privatdozent, Munich; 1933, promoted to (n.b.) a.ordentl. Professor; Nov.22, 1938 he was dismissed by the Education Ministry (under paragraph 18, RHO) after complaints lodged against him by the NSD-Dozentenbund; 1938-40 he taught at a high school in Munich (he was forced out of this job after the Bavarian Ministry of Culture found out about his past in the SPD); Oct.1941-March 1942 he worked in Cracow, teaching typing and stenography; in April 1942 he began working as a teacher at an Oberschule in Ingolstadt - Combat veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Catholic. Nov.1918-March 1933 he was a member of the SPD; since 1923 he was also a member of "Bund der Freunde des Stahlhelms" and the VDA. March 1, 1936 he joined the NSLB (Nr.334,372) and was expelled Oct.21, 1940. His main philosophical interests were in philosophy of science and the philosophical consequences of modern physics; he also published work on philosophical psychology and the metaphysics of biology. Note that he was allowed to publish as late as 1943. Wenzl died in Munich on July 20, 1967. (BDC,BA,KGK,PL)

Max WERTHEIMER - (b. April 15, 1880) - ordentl. Professor, Frankfurt; Director of both the Philosophy Seminar and the Institute for Psychology; in 1933 he was dismissed under paragraph 3, BBG and emigrated to Czechoslovakia, then to the US - Veteran of W.W.I. (he helped develop submarine listening devices). Religion: Jewish. In 1939 he became a US citizen. 1933-43 he was Professor of philosophy and psychology at the New School for Social Research, New York. Wertheimer established the Gestalt school of psychology in the US, along with Wolfgang Köhler and Kurt Koffka. His main philosophical interests were in experimental and philosophical psychology; he published several works on

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Gestalt psychology and had been co-editor of the Zeitschrift für Psychologische Forschung. He died in New York on October 12, 1943. (BDC,KGK,PL,IBD)

Ottomar WICHMANN - (b. May 13, 1890) - (n.b.) a.ordentl. Professor, Berlin; May 1939, temporary replacement in Vienna; Oct.24, 1939, appointed a.ordentl. Professor in Vienna - Decorated combat veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Protestant. Nov.1, 1933 he joined the NSLB (Nr.193,777). Jan.1934, he joined the SA. May 1, 1937 he joined the NSDAP (Nr.4,636,219). Wichmann probably worked for the Amt Rosenberg in 1944; see "Offizier und Nationalsozialismus" in Rednerdienst, Nr.3 (Feb.1, 1944). His main philosophical interests were in social and political philosophy, pedagogy, and classical philology. He also published work on Plato and Kant, and scholasticism. He died in Calcutta, India on October 23, 1973. (BDC,BA,KGK,PL)

Paul WILPERT - (b. April 26, 1906) - Studienassessor at the Humanist. Gymnasium in Munich; 1937, Habilitation, Munich; April 20, 1937, Dozent at Munich; Oct.1937, transferred to the Phil. Theol. Hochschule in Passau; Feb.14, 1938, promoted to a.ordentl. Professor, Passau - Religion: Catholic. March 1, 1936 he joined the NSLB (Nr.334,371); he joined the NSDAP in May 1937 (Nr.3,994,859). Note that he was also an officer (Obertruppenführer) in the SA. His main philosophical interests were in systematic philosophy and the history of ancient and medieval philosophy; he published several works on Thomas Aquinas, Aristotle, and scholasticism. Wilpert died in Köln on January 1, 1967. (BDC,BA,KGK)

Edgar WIND - (b. May 14, 1900) - Privatdozent, Hamburg; 1933, dismissed under paragraph 3, BBG and emigrated to the U.K. - Religion: Jewish. 1934-42, Deputy Director of Warburg Institute, London and Honorary Lecturer in philosophy, University College, London. 1940-42, Visiting Lecturer at Institute of Fine Arts of New York University and at Pierpont Morgan Library. 1942-44, Professor of art, University of Chicago. From 1944-55 he was on the faculty at Smith College, Northampton, Mass. His main philosophical interests were in art history and aesthetics. He died in Oxford in 1971. (KGK,IBD)

Wilhelm WIRTH - (b. July 26, 1876) - a.ordentl. Professor, Leipzig; 1944, retired (he was over 65) - Military veteran (1898-99). Religion: Protestant. Nov.1933 Wirth publicly endorsed Hitler's demand that Germany withdraw from the League of Nations. Aug.1, 1933 he joined the NSLB (Nr.312,268); note that he resigned from the NSLB Aug.1,

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1935. Jan.1, 1940 he joined the NSDAP (Nr.7,883,937); he was also a member of the NS-Opferring in Leipzig (Nr.1170). Wirth was given research money in 1935 and 1937 for his work on improving the aiming and firing of hand-held weapons. In 1937 he was awarded honorary doctorate from the Univ. of Athens. His main philosophical interests were philosophical and experimental psychology, particularly in what he called "psychophysics." Beginning in 1917 he was director of the Psychophysischen Seminar at Leipzig. Wirth died in Amberg on July 13, 1952. (BDC,BA,KGK,PL)

Johannes WITTMANN - (b. March 3, 1885) - (n.b.) a.ordentl. Professor, Kiel; April 1, 1935, appointed pl. a.ordentl. Professor - Veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Protestant. May 1, 1933 he joined the NSDAP (Nr.2,729,706); he joined the NSLB Nov.11, 1933 (Nr.229,793). Wittmann was a "Politischer Leiter" of the Party since Nov.1933. Director of the Institute for Psychology at Kiel, his main philosophical interests were in philosophical psychology and pedagogy. He was also co-editor of the Archiv für gesamte Psychologie. He died in 1960. (BDC,BA,KGK)

Max WUNDT - (b. Jan.29, 1879) - ordentl. Professor, Tübingen - Decorated combat veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Protestant. A member of Rosenberg's Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur since 1929 (Nr.416), Wundt was a former member of the "Deutscher Offizierbund" and was a member of SA Reserve II. He was a co-founder (in 1917 with Bruno Bauch) of the German Philosophical Society and was a member of its Executive Board. During the 1920's he was (with Nicolai Hartmann) on the editorial board of Houston Stewart Chamberlain's radically right-wing newspaper Deutschlands Erneuerung; he was also became co-editor of the philosophy division of Neue deutsche Forschungen. Although not a member of the NSDAP (or any other political party), Wundt described himself to the Education Ministry as being a long-time opponent of "democratic Marxism and cultural Bolshevism." His main philosophical interests were in the history of German philosophy (particularly German idealism), ancient Greek philosophy, and political philosophy. He was viciously anti-Semitic and published work on the destructive influence of Jews in philosophy; see for example his work Die Wurzeln der deutschen Philosophie in Stamm und Rasse, 1944. He died in Tübingen on October 31, 1963. (BDC,BA,KGK)

Peter WUST - (b. Aug.28, 1884) - ordentl. Professor, Münster - No military service. Religion: Catholic. Apparently not a member of any political party or organization, Wust stopped teaching in 1939 due to illness. His main philosophical interests were in metaphysics and philosophy

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of religion; he also published a work on John Stuart Mill's understanding of the foundation of the social sciences. He died on April 3, 1940. (BDC,BA,KGK,PL)

Theodor ZIEHEN - (b. Nov.12, 1862) - Dr.med., GMedR, ordentl. Professor, Halle; Sept.1930, officially retired - Veteran of W.W.I. (he was a member of the German civil occupation authority in Belgium). Religion: Protestant. Never a member of any political party. His main philosophical interests were in psychiatry, philosophical psychology, and the anatomy of the brain; he also published work on the foundation of the natural sciences, philosophy of religion, aesthetics, and the physiological foundations of epistemology. Ziehen was a trained psychiatrist and a bitter opponent of psychoanalysis. He died in Wiesbaden on December 29, 1950. (BDC,BA,KGK,PL)

Rudolf ZOCHER - (b. July 7, 1887) - Privatdozent, Erlangen; Jan.3, 1934, promoted to (n.b.) a.ordentl. Professor, Erlangen; Sept.14, 1936, given a Lehrauftrag for logic and epistemology; Sept.2, 1939, promoted to a.pl. Professor - No record of military service. Religion: Protestant. Zocher does not appear to have been politically active in any way. His main philosophical interests were in logic and epistemology; he published work on the relationship between Husserl's phenomenology and Schuppe's logic, on logic and methodological pluralism, and on Rickert's philosophical development. Note that Zocher was (with Hans Meyer) one of only two philosophers at the Bavarian universities who occupied the same position after 1945 that he held in 1933. Zocher died in Erlangen on June 30, 1967. (BDC,BA,KGK,PL)

Table 2 - Officials and Academics who worked in Philosophy
(not included in statistical summary)

Julius BINDER - (b. May 12, 1870) - ordentl. Professor of Law, Göttingen; March 31, 1936, retired - Decorated combat veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Protestant. A member of the Nationalliberale Partei from 1916 to its dissolution in Dec.1918, Binder was a member of the DNVP from 1919-1931. He was also a member of the DNVP militia, the Stahlhelm. April 1, 1933 he joined the NSDAP (Nr.3,551,565); he also joined the NSD-Dozentenbund, NSLB, NSV, NS-Rechtswahrerbund, NS-Altherrenbund d. deutschen Studenten, and the Akademie für Deutsches Recht. In May 1934 he was appointed to an elite committee on the philosophy of law within the Akademie für Deutsches Recht. His main philosophical interests were in Hegel, political philosophy, and German idealism. 1930-1937 he was vice-president of the Internationaler Hegelbund and a member of the executive board of the German Philosophical Society. Note that Binder contributed to several philosophy journals, including the Blätter für deutsche Philosophie, Zeitschrift für deutsche Kulturphilosophie, and the Archiv für Rechts- und Sozialphilosophie. He died in Gauting bei München on August 30, 1939. (BDC,BA,KGK)

Wolfgang ERXLEBEN - (b. Feb.6, 1911) - 1939-45, Referent in Amt Wissenschaft (Amt Rosenberg) responsible for philosophy - Military service: Feb.1945, drafted into the Volkssturm. Religion: Protestant. In 1929 he joined the NSD-Studentenbund (Nazi student organization). May 1, 1933 he joined the NSDAP (Nr.3,017,562); he was also in the SA and the NSV. April 1934 he was made a member of the national leadership of the NSDStB (Stellv. Referent für Lehrerbildung); he resigned from this office in Dec.1935. Oct.1937-May 1939, on the recommendation of Hans Heyse,¹ he received a research stipend from the RFR to work on the influence of Spinoza on Wilhelm von Humboldt. March 1939 Erxleben was an invited participant in the Amt Rosenberg's philosophy conference at Schloß Buderosa. June 1939 he began working for the Amt Rosenberg in its Amt Wissenschaft as the Referent für Philosophie. Note that Erxleben's published a study on the historical importance of Wilhelm Dilthey in 1937. (BDC,BA,IfZ,ZStA)

¹ See Table 1.

Heinrich HARTLE - (b. Feb.24, 1909) - 1941, Provisional Director of the Amt Wissenschaft inside the Amt Rosenberg, temporary successor to Alfred Baeumler; 1942, deputy to Walther Groß - Military Service: Jan.1941-Jul.1941, "Fronteinsatz." Religion: "Gottglaubig" (baptized Catholic). In 1926 he joined the Freikorps Oberland; in 1927 he entered the SA (Sturm 56-Holzkirchen) with the other members of his Freikorps. April 26, 1927, he joined the NSDAP (Nr.60,393 - Goldenes Ehrenzeichen); Sept.1927, he joined the SS. In 1927 and 1929 he participated in the Nuremberg rallies; 1931 he participated in the SA parade in Braunschweig. 1931, he joined the NSBO (NS-Betriebszellen-Organisation). Until 1936 Härtle was a member of the NSD-Studentenbund. 1936-1939 he was a department head within the Educational Office of the DAF (Deutsche Arbeitsfront). 1939, as a co-worker of Alfred Baeumler,² he helped organize the Amt Rosenberg's philosophy convention at Schloß Buderosa; he also helped plan a second meeting of the Buderosa group for Oct.1939 (which was cancelled because of the outbreak of war). In 1941, after Baeumler was put in charge of the organization of the Party's new Hohe Schule, Härtle became Provisional Director of the Amt Wissenschaft within the Amt Rosenberg, with special responsibility for the Geisteswissenschaften. In 1942, he became deputy to the new director of the Amt Wissenschaft, Walther Groß. Nov. 1942, he became an honorary member of the department responsible for education and leadership training within the SA.

Härtle had very little academic training; originally trained to be a bank clerk, he attended a community college (Volkshochschule) and spent 4 semesters at the Deutsche Hochschule für Politik in Berlin. There he studied political philosophy and "Kulturphilosophie." His main philosophical interest was in Nietzsche, and in 1939 he supervised Karl Schlechta's editing and publication of Nietzsche's correspondence with Lou Salome. He also reviewed Christoph Steding's interpretation of Nietzsche for the Nationalsozialistische Monatshefte. After the war Härtle published Alfred Rosenberg's critique of "Hitlerism," a work on German intellectual history, work on the question of Allied war guilt, and a work exonerating the conduct of the German soldier during W.W.II. (BDC,IfZ)

David HILBERT - (b. Jan.23, 1862) - GRR, retired ordentl. Professor, Faculty of Mathematics, Göttingen - No military service. Religion: ? (not Jewish). Never a member of any political party. Sometime after 1933 he joined the NSV; note that Hilbert was also a member of the SS-Benevolent

² See Table 1.

Association (FM-SS). In May 1938 the local Party office in Göttingen gave a qualified endorsement to Hilbert's political reliability. His main philosophical interest were in the foundations of mathematics, proof theory, and the problems of consistency. He died in Göttingen on February 14, 1943. (BDC,BA,KGK)

Arthur HÜBSCHER - (b. Jan.3, 1897) - Editor of the Süddeutsche Monatshefte in Munich; 1935, he was appointed Director of the Schopenhauer Gesellschaft (replacing Dr. Hans Zint), Frankfurt and was editor of the Jahrbuch der Schopenhauer Gesellschaft until 1944, when the war prevented further publication - Decorated combat veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Protestant. March 1, 1935 Hübscher joined the NSV; Feb.3, 1937 he became a member of the RKK (Schrifttumskammer, Nr.J 33). May 1, 1937 he joined the NSDAP (Nr.5,095,098). He was also a member of the "Reichspressekammer," and was a member of the "Landesverband Bayern im Reichsverband der deutschen Presse" (Nr.4867).

Hübscher's file in the BDC contains a report dated Oct.1, 1938 listing the racial composition of the membership of the Schopenhauer Gesellschaft, 1932-1938. This report shows that the number of "Aryan" members remained essentially stable after 1935; the remaining "non-Aryan" members were thought to be outside of Germany.

Membership on April 1, 1932:	555,	of these 63 "non-Aryan"
.....1933:	529,	.....60
.....1934:	457,	.....49
.....1935:	429,	.....42
.....1936:	412,	.....39
.....1937:	403,	.....25
.....1938:	406,	.....12

In 1940 Hübscher was cultural editor of the Münchener Neuesten Nachrichten. (BDC,IfZ,TL)

Werner JAEGER - (b. July 30, 1888) - ordentl. Professor, Berlin; 1936, transferred to University of Chicago (in June 1936 he was thanked by Göring for his services); 1939, transferred to Harvard - No record of military service. Religion: Protestant. Never a member of any political party, Jaeger was a supporter of the DNVP and was sympathetic to the Nazi accession to power. In 1933 he contributed an article to Ernst Kriek's journal Volk im Werden ("Die Erziehung des politischen Menschen," Heft 3, pp.43-49). Jaeger was not an emigrant in the usual sense of the term; his move to Chicago was not forced upon him, and his departure was viewed as a loss by officers of the SS educational establishment. (See letter of 29.3.40 from Dr.K. to SS-Obersturmführer Walther Wüst in Jaeger's file at BDC: "Jaeger ist nicht in dem landläufigen Sinne dieses Wortes

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emigriert, sondern hat aus freien Schüssen und ohne Zwang seinen Wohnsitz nach Amerika verlegt. Er ist also weder geflüchtet, noch zur Auswanderung gezwungen worden.") In 1936 he was awarded an honorary doctorate from Harvard. Note that Jaeger's file at the REM remained active until November 1941. Jaeger was a classical philologist and his work on Plato and Aristotle had a profound impact on many philosophers, including Hans-Georg Gadamer and Kurt Hildebrandt.³ He died in Boston on October 19, 1961. (BDC,BA,KGK,IBD)

Karl LARENZ - (b. April 23, 1903) - Privatdozent, Göttingen; Oct.1933, appointed ordentl. Professor, Kiel; Sept.-Dec.1939, transferred as temporary replacement to Leipzig; 1943, transferred as temporary replacement to Greifswald - No record of military service. Religion: Protestant. Since 1934, co-editor of Zeitschrift für deutsche Kulturphilosophie (successor to 'Logos') with Hermann Glockner.⁴ He joined the NSDAP May 1, 1937 (Nr.5,041,008). Member of the NS-Juristenbund (lawyer's guild) and a member of the SS-Benevolent Association. In 1942 he was awarded the War Merit Cross 2nd Class. Larenz was a professor of civil law and was interested in philosophy of law; he was also the leading representative of the Kiel School of Nazi jurists. Note that he published work on "völkisch" political philosophy and on Hegel's conception of the Prussian state. (BDC,BA,KGK,PL)

Hans Joachim METTE - (b. April 29, 1906) - January 1, 1932-Sept.30, 1936, he held a research stipend for work on Nietzsche's philosophical Nachlass at the Nietzsche Archive in Weimar; Summer Semester 1934, Lehrbeauftragter for Latin and Greek at Univ. Bonn; August 1935, Habilitation in classical philology at Bonn; Feb.12, 1943, appointed Universitätsdozent - Military service: August 1937-Feb.1943 (combat veteran). Religion: Protestant. A public supporter of the Party since the summer of 1931, Mette became a member of the NSDAP on May 1, 1933 (Nr.2,197,652). From March 26-April 21, 1934 and Aug.1-Sept.14, 1934 he served in the Reich Labor Service (RAD). In March 1937 Mette's appointment as Dozent in Bonn was postponed for a year because of his "slimy soft" affect (see REM Aktennotiz dated Feb.3,1943 in Mette's BDC file). In 1937 Mette was denied an appointment to Dozent, both at Bonn and at Giessen, because he was suspected of being a homosexual (a violation

³ See Table 1.

⁴ See Table 1.

of §175 of the German criminal code). Sept.1937-March 1938 an investigation by the Gestapo, requested by Mette, turned up no evidence to support this suspicion. His main philosophical interests were in Nietzsche and ancient Greek philosophy. (BDC,BA)

Karl Justus OBENAUER - (b. Feb.29, 1888) - (n.b.) a.ordentl. Professor of German literature, Leipzig; 1935, appointed ordentl. Professor and transferred to Bonn - Veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Protestant. May 1, 1933 he joined the NSDAP (Nr.1,961,821); Aug.1, 1933 he joined the NSLB (Nr.311,878). Nov.1933 he publicly endorsed Hitler's demand that Germany withdraw from the League of Nations. Obenauer was also a member of the SS (Nr.107,281). Note that in 1934 he did political work for the Sicherheitsdienst (SD). His main philosophical interests were in Nietzsche and German romanticism; he also published several works on Goethe and recent interpretations of Goethe. (BDC,BA,KGK)

Carl SCHMITT - (b. July 11, 1888) - ordentl. Professor in Public Law, Jurisprudence, and International Law at the Handelshochschule in Berlin; April 1, 1933, appointed ordentl. Professor at the Univ. Köln; Oct.1, 1933, appointed ordentl. Professor at the Univ. Berlin - Decorated veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Catholic. An anti-liberal and anti-Marxist conservative, Schmitt first opposed National Socialism. But after the passage of the "Enabling Act" of 24.3.33, he declared his support for the NSDAP. May 1, 1933 he joined the NSDAP (Nr.2,098,860) and the NSLB (Nr.2086). He also joined the Akademie für deutsches Recht and the NS-Rechtswahrerbund. July 1933 he was appointed by Göring to the Prussian State Council (Preußischer Staatsrat) and remained a member until 1945. June 1, 1934 he was appointed editor of the Deutsche Juristen-Zeitung (DJZ) by Hans Frank (who was later head of the Nazi puppet government in Poland); Schmitt's appointment brought this publication under the control of the BNSDJ. Schmitt's political views can be seen in the following articles in the DJZ: "Der Führer schützt das Recht," 39.Jg. (1.8.1934); "Die Verfassung der Freiheit," 40.Jg. (1.10.1935); "Die geschichtliche Lage der deutschen Rechtswissenschaft," 41.Jg. (1.1.1936); and "Die deutsche Rechtswissenschaft im Kampf gegen den jüdischen Geist," 41.Jg. (15.10.1936). Schmitt was forced to resign as editor of the DJZ after he was attacked in two issues of the SS-weekly Das Schwarze Korps (Dec.3 and Dec.10, 1936) as an agent of "political Catholicism." He was also forced to resign his position as "Reichsgruppenwart" in the NS-Rechtswahrerbund. But note that Schmitt also had very powerful friends. On Dec.21, 1936 Hermann Göring wrote a letter to the editors of Das

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Schwarze Korps telling them to stop their attacks on Schmitt. Schmitt was also publicly thanked for his services by Hans Frank on Dec.15, 1936 in the last edition of the DJZ ("Die große Leistung Carl Schmitts für die Erneuerung des deutschen Rechts wird für alle Zeiten ein stolzes Zeugnis deutscher geistiger Führung sein," p.1452). The attacks in Das Schwarze Korps did not mean an end to Schmitt's public career. On March 15, 1937 Schmitt was appointed to the Reich Justizprüfungsamt; he also continued to publish until at least 1941. His main philosophical interests were in Hobbes, political philosophy, and the philosophy of law. Note that Schmitt's doctrine of political "decisionism" was attacked by Karl Löwith in 1935 under the pseudonym Hugo Fiala. Schmitt was the only professor of international law to be considered for prosecution at Nuremberg; he was imprisoned for 20 months and then released. He was also a consummate opportunist, having offered his services to the Weimar authorities, the Nazi government, the Soviet military authorities, the American military authorities, and the new West German Government. He died on April 9, 1985. (BDC,BA,IfZ,ZLV)

Johannes (Hans) VOLKELT - (b. June 4, 1886) - a.ordentl. Professor, Leipzig; 1933-36, Acting Director of the Leipzig Pedagogical Institute; 1939-45, Director of the Institute of Psychology and Pedagogy, Leipzig - Veteran of W.W.I. Religion: Protestant. 1917-18, member of the Deutsche Vaterlandspartei. March 1, 1932 Volkelt joined the NSDAP (Nr.1,007,278); Jan.1, 1933 he joined the NSLB (Nr.224,042). He was an "Ortsgruppenschulungsleiter" in the Party, and a "Reichsfachschaftsleiter" in the NSLB. He was one of 300 academics who signed a petition supporting Hitler's government that was published in the Party's newspaper just before the March 5, 1933 Reichstag election. June-July 1933 he received training from the SA. Nov.1933 Volkelt publicly endorsed Hitler's demand that Germany withdraw from the League of Nations. Beginning in 1934, he worked primarily in developmental psychology and political pedagogy. Note that in 1937 he was a member of the German delegation to the IX. International Philosophy Congress in Paris. He published several works on holistic psychology, as well as work on social pedagogy and the goals of education in the National Socialist state. From 1931-41 he was co-editor, with Felix Krueger,⁵ of Neue psychologische Studien. He died in Göppingen, West Germany on January 18, 1964. (BDC,BA,IfZ,KGK,PL)

⁵ See Table 1.

Friedrich WÜRZBACH - (b. June 15, 1886) - Dr.phil.nat., President of the Nietzsche-Gesellschaft, Munich - No record of military service. Religion: Protestant (Jewish). Never a member of any political party, Würzbach was an enthusiastic supporter of Nazism (see political evaluation of Oct.10, 1939); yet his political conviction was not sufficient to protect him once it was discovered that he was a "Mischling I. Grades." April 1, 1933 he was appointed head of the Literature Department at Radio Germany (Deutschlandsender). July 1, 1933 he was transferred to Radio Munich as head of the "Vortrags-Abteilung." Nov. 1, 1933 he was appointed head of the "Abteilung Weltanschauung" at Radio Munich; in 1940 he was forced to resign this position after it was discovered that his mother was Jewish. Dec.15, 1933 he joined the RSK (Nr. A 6004); Aug.1936 he resigned because he was also a member of the "Reichsrundfunkgesellschaft" and membership in more than one section of the RKK was normally not permitted. In 1936 he joined the NSV. Oct.15, 1938, as president of the Nietzsche-Gesellschaft, he again joined the RSK (Nr. IV/79); Nov.21, 1942 his membership was officially revoked due to his "racial background." March 19, 1943 the Nietzsche-Gesellschaft was closed, its property confiscated and transferred to the Nietzsche-Archive in Weimar. May 15, 1943 Würzbach received a special permit from the Reichskulturkammer (RKK) that allowed him to continue to publish; Sept.1, 1944 this permit was revoked.

Würzbach's file in the BDC contains a report dated Sept.10, 1938 listing the racial composition of the membership of the Nietzsche-Gesellschaft, 1932-1938. The report shows that the number of "Aryan" members remained stable after 1934.

Membership on April 1, 1932:	180,	of these 19 "non Aryan"
.....1933:	159,	.....15
.....1934:	140,	.....8
.....1935:	129,	.....0
.....1936:	121,	.....0
.....1937:	121,	.....0
.....1938:	122,	.....0

Würzbach's main philosophical interest was in Nietzsche, and he published several books on Nietzsche including an edition of Nietzsche's work (1920-28) and an edition of his posthumous papers (1934). Between 1933-38 Würzbach delivered lectures on Nietzsche at the University of Freiburg, Munich, Berlin, and Köln. Note that between 1934-37 he published approximately ten articles in the Party newspaper, the Völkischer Beobachter. (BDC,KGK)

Table 3 - Abbreviations of Organizations and Titles

- BNSDJ** - Bund Nationalsozialistische-Deutscher Juristen
(Union of National Socialist German Lawyers)
- DNVP** - Deutschnationale Volkspartei (German National People's Party) The political party that brought the Nazis into the government as a coalition partner on January 30, 1933.
- FM-SS** - Förderndes Mitglied der SS (Member of the SS Benevolent Association)
- GHR** - Geheimer Hofrat
- GMR** - Geheimer Medizinrat
- CP** - Gymnasial-Professor
- GRR** - Geheimer Regierungsrat
- HJ** - Hitler Jugend (Hitler Youth)
- KfdK** - Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur (Action League for German Culture) The first Nazi cultural organization, dedicated to protecting Germany from "cultural Bolshevism". The name was changed when it was reorganized in 1934 to NSKG.
- KPD** - Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands (Communist Party of Germany)
- NSDAP** - Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiter Partei
(National Socialist German Workers Party)
- NSDDB** - Nationalsozialistischer Deutsche Dozentenbund
(National Socialist German Union of University Lecturers) Created in July 1935 as the university level branch of the Party organization, its members were intended to be the NSDAP's ideological vanguard at the universities. All Party members holding university positions were automatically members; membership was also open to non-Party members. Working with the NSDStB, the NSDDB tried to influence appointments and promotions of university faculty. Beginning in 1935, the head of the NSDDB was at the same time head of the NSLB's Section I-University Teachers.

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- NSDStB** - Nationalsozialistischer Deutsche Studentenbund
(National Socialist German Student Union)
- NSKG** - Nationalsozialistische-Kulturgemeinde (National
Socialist Cultural Society) The name of the KfdK after
its reorganization in 1934.
- NSKK** - Nationalsozialistisches Kraftfahrer Korps (National
Socialist Truck drivers corps)
- NSLB** - Nationalsozialistischer Lehrerbund (National
Socialist Teachers Association) Founded in 1929, it
was open to politically sympathetic teachers of all
levels. This Nazi-affiliated organization was not part
of the Party organization itself but was controlled
directly by the Party's Office of Education. The NSLB
was divided into seven Sections and the philosophers in
Tables 1 and 2 who were members of the NSLB were all in
its Section I-University Teachers.
- NSV** - Nationalsozialistische Volkswohlfahrt (National
Socialist Public Assistance) A political charity.
- RAD** - Reichsarbeitsdienst (Reich Labor Service)
- REM** - Reichsministerium für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und
Volksbildung, also known simply as the
Reichserziehungsministerium (Reich Education Ministry)
- RFR** - Reichsforschungsrat (Reich Research Council)
- RKK** - Reichskulturkammer (Reich Chamber of Culture)
- RSHA** - Reichssicherheits Hauptamt (HQ of the SS security
service)
- RSK** - Reichsschrifttumskammer (Reich Chamber of Literature)
This was a department within the RKK.
- SA** - Sturm Abteilung der NSDAP (Brown Shirts)
- SPD** - Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (Social
Democratic Party of Germany)
- StR** - Studienrat
- VDA** - Volksbund für das Deutschtum in Ausland (Popular Union
for Germany Abroad) A pre-Nazi organization, it was
taken over by the NSDAP in 1930.

Table 4 - Academic Titles¹

ordentl. Professor - ordentlicher Professor: These were Professors who occupied Chairs, which meant that they controlled the department's budget, and were eligible to be members of university committees. They were normally life-long civil servants.

a.ordentl. Professor - außerordentlicher Professor: Roughly equivalent to an Associate Professor in the US, they were normally in line to occupy a Chair and could temporarily assume the duties of a Professor. They did not possess the same rights as an ordentl. Professor, but were also life-long civil servants.

a.pl. Professor - außerplanmäßiger Professor: This was a title bestowed by the Education Ministry (REM) on those Dozenten who were in line for promotion; after a couple of years they were allowed to use the title of Professor, whether they had received a promotion or not. They continued to have the rights and salary of a Dozent.

(n.b.) a.o. Professor - nicht beamteter, außerordentlicher Professor: This was an honorary title given to Dozenten who had proven themselves (through their research or their teaching) to be of exceptional ability; legally they remained Dozenten.

Lehrbeauftragter - Someone employed to offer particular courses, who was paid per course taught; a temporary position.

Honorarprofessor - Someone employed to offer classes on a particular topic, whose salary depended on the number of students taught; a temporary position.

Privatdozent - Until Dec.31, 1934 an Instructor; a Ph.D. with Habilitation, and capable of being promoted to a more senior position.

Universitätsdozent - (Dozent) After Dec.31, 1934 this title was substituted by the REM for Privatdozent.

¹ Special thanks to Thomas Laugstien for his help in deciphering these titles.

Dozent n.O. - Dozent neuer Ordnung: After March 5, 1939 this title was given to those Dozenten who were made civil servants under paragraph 61, DBG.

Assistent - This title referred to graduate students or recent Ph.D.'s who were allowed to teach, but only under the supervision of a professor. In cases where a university wanted to provide financial support for junior faculty, even a Privatdozent could be an Assistent. The Assistenten have not been counted as philosophers in this study, except in cases involving promotions.

All professors were state employees, who (beginning in 1934) had to swear an oath of allegiance to Hitler and the Nazi government. Note that the Nazis did away with tenure.² Any professor or instructor could lose his position, as well as his pension, at any time. See paragraph 6, BBG and paragraph 61, DBG.

² Fritz Ringer, The Decline of the German Mandarins: The German Academic Community, 1890-1933 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969), p.440.

Table 5 - German Universities

Universities inside borders of 1937
(name and year founded)

Berlin: Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität (1809)

Bonn: Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms Universität (1811)

Breslau: Schlesische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität (1818)

Erlangen: Friedrich-Alexander-Universität (1743)

Frankfurt/M: Johann-Wolfgang-Goethe-Universität (1914)

Freiburg i.B.: Albert-Ludwigs-Universität (1457)

Giessen: Hessische Ludwigs-Universität (1607)

Göttingen: Georg-August-Universität (1737)

Greifswald: Ernst-Moritz-Arndt-Universität (1456)

Halle: Martin-Luther-Universität, Halle-Wittenberg (1694)

Hamburg: Hamburgische Universität (1919)

Heidelberg: Badische Ruprecht-Karls-Universität (1386)

Jena: Friedrich-Schiller-Universität (1558)

Kiel: Christian-Albrechts-Universität (1665)

Köln: Universität Köln (1388-1798, 1919)

Königsberg: Albertus-Universität (1544)

Leipzig: Universität Leipzig (1409)

Marburg: Philipps-Universität (1527)

München: Bayerische Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität (1472)

Münster: Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität (1780-1818, 1902)

Rostock: Universität Rostock (1419)

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Tübingen: Eberhard-Karls-Universität (1477)

Würzburg: Julius-Maximilians-Universität (1402, 1582)

Reichsuniversitäten
(in territory annexed after 1937)

Cracow, Graz, Innsbruck, Posen, Prague, Strasbourg, Vienna

Technische Hochschulen
(within the Greater Reich)

Aachen, Berlin, Braunschweig, Breslau, Brünn, Danzig,
Darmstadt, Dresden, Graz, Hannover, Karlsruhe, Linz, Prague,
Strasbourg, Vienna

Philosophisch-Theologische Hochschulen
(within the borders of 1937)

Bamberg, Braunsberg, Dillingen, Eichstätt, Freising,
Münster, Paderborn, Passau, Regensburg

Table 6 - Sources of Biographical Information

- Archives and References -

- BA - Bundesarchiv, Koblenz
 BDC - Berlin Document Center
 GStA - Geheimes Staatsarchiv, Berlin
 IfZ - Institut für Zeitgeschichte, Munich
 ZLV - Zentrale Stelle der Landesjustizverwaltungen
 ZStA - Zentrales Staatsarchiv der DDR, Potsdam
- EP - *Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, 1967.
 IBA - *Internationales Biographisches Archiv*
 IBD - *International Biographical Dictionary of Central European Emigres 1933-1945*
 KGK - *Kürschners Deutscher Gelehrten-Kalender*, 1931, 1935, 1940-41, 1950, 1954, 1961, 1966.
 NBD - *Neue Deutsche Biographie*
 PL - *Philosophen Lexikon*, 1949-50.
 RG - *Reichshandbuch der Deutschen Gesellschaft*, 1931.
 TL - *Philosophieverhältnisse im deutschen Faschismus*
 Wi - *Degeners Wer ist's*, 1928, 1935.

- Statements and Petitions -

"An die deutschen Universitäten und Hochschulen!," in: Völkische Beobachter (30.4.1932). An appeal from the Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur, signed by 43 professors.

"Die deutsche Geisteswelt für Liste 1 - Erklärung von 300 deutschen Universitäts- und Hochschullehren," in: Völkischer Beobachter (3.3.1933), Beiblatt. A statement signed by 300 academics who supported Hitler's government in the March 5, 1933 Reichstag election.

Bekanntnis der Professoren an den deutschen Universitäten und Hochschulen zu Adolf Hitler und dem nationalsozialistischen Staat (Dresden: NS-Lehrerbund), 1933. This text contains the speeches given at a rally at the Alberthalle in Leipzig, Nov.11,1933, in support of Hitler's government and his demand that Germany withdraw from the League of Nations. It also contains an eight-page list of names of university professors who endorsed this demand.

"Deutsche Wissenschaftler hinter Adolf Hitler", in: Völkischer Beobachter, Berlin ed. (Aug.19-20, 1934). A statement endorsing Hitler's assumption of the powers of Reich President after the death of President von Hindenburg.

Table 7 - Legal References

Berufsbeamtengesetz (BBG) - Civil Service Reform Law of 1933. Known officially as the "Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums" of April 7, 1933, this law was repealed by the Allied Control Council, Law No. 1, September 20, 1945. The relevant paragraphs are:

.....**paragraph 3** - "Beamte, nicht arischer Abstammung, sind in den Ruhestand zu versetzen..."

(Jewish civil servants were to be pensioned off, unless they were in office before Aug. 1, 1914; or if they fought on the front during the war for Germany or a German ally; or if a son or father was killed in the war. These last two sets of exceptions, collectively known as the "Frontkämpfer-Regelung," expired in 1935.)

.....**paragraph 4** - "Beamte, die nach ihrer bisherigen politischen Betätigung nicht die Gewähr dafür bieten, daß sie jederzeit rückhaltslos für den nationalen Staat eintreten, können aus dem Dienst entlassen werden."

(Civil servants could be dismissed if their previous political activities indicated that they would not give unconditional support to the Nazi government.)

Officials affected by paragraphs 3 and 4 lost their pensions, unless they had served longer than ten years in office.

.....**paragraph 5** - "Jeder Beamte muß sich die Versetzung in ein anderes Amt derselben oder einer gleichwertigen Laufbahn, auch in ein solches von geringerem Rang und planmäßigem Dienstehnkommen...gefallen lassen, wenn es das dienstliche Bedürfnis erfordert."

(Every civil servant had to accept transfer into an equivalent position, or a lower-ranking position with a lower salary, if this was determined to be necessary.)

.....**paragraph 6** - "Zur Vereinfachung der Verwaltung können Beamte in den Ruhestand versetzt werden, auch wenn sie noch nicht dienstunfähig sind. Wenn Beamte aus diesem Grunde in den Ruhestand versetzt werden, so dürfen ihre Stellen nicht mehr besetzt werden."

(Officially intended to "simplify the bureaucracy," this measure allowed the Education Ministry to dismiss specific professors while allowing them to keep their pensions.)

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Reichs-Habilitations-Ordnung (RHO) - from January 1935, the relevant paragraph reads as follows:

.....**paragraph 18** - "Der Reichswissenschaftsminister kann die Lehrbefugnis entziehen oder einschränken, wenn es im Universitätsinteresse geboten ist."

(The Minister of Education can remove or restrict the right of a professor to teach, if it be deemed that such action is in the interest of the university.)

Deutsches Beamtengesetz (DBG) - from January 27, 1937, the relevant passages read as follows:

.....**paragraph 6** - "Der Beamte hat sich jeder amtlichen Tätigkeit zu enthalten, wenn ihm die Führung seiner Dienstgeschäfte von der obersten Dienstbehörde oder der von ihr bestimmten Behörde verboten wird. Ein solches Verbot soll nur bis zur Dauer von drei Monaten aufrechterhalten werden."

(Any civil servant must desist from the exercise of his official duties, if the exercise of said duties is prohibited by higher authorities. Such prohibitions shall last up to three months.)

.....**paragraph 61** - "Der Beamte auf Widerruf kann jederzeit entlassen werden; nach Erreichung der Altersgrenze (§ 68) ist er zu entlassen."

(Civil servants without life-long appointments can be dismissed at any time; such civil servants are to be dismissed when they reach age 65.)

Under this law, all civil servants had to swear an oath of allegiance to Hitler, were expected to give unreserved support to the National Socialist state, and were expected to recognize the "indivisible bond" between the Nazi Party and the German people.

Table 8 - Pseudonyms, Cover Names, and Name Changes
(and dates used)

Theodor Wiesengrund Adorno - Hektor Rottweiler (1936)
 Alfred Baeumler - Johannes Lanz, Alfred Baumeister
 (post 1945)
 Carl August Emge - ab Insulis (1931)
 Helmut Folwart - born: Folwartschny (Czech)
 Martin Heidegger - Martin Heide (1915)
 Paul Ludwig Landsberg - Paul Richert (1940-43)
 Arthur Liebert - born: Levy (changed in 1905)
 Karl Löwith - Hugo Fiala (1935)
 August Messer - A. Friedwalt (1930's)
 Kurt Riezler - J. J. Ruedorffe (1913)
 Balduin Schwarz - Johannes Ilen (1930's)

Pseudonyms used by Philosophers not covered in Chapter 2

Max Bense - Dr. Carl Zink (1941)
 Ernst Forsthoff - Dr. Friedrich Grüter (1932)
 Edgar Zilsel - R. Richter (1933)

Table 9 - Philosophers in the NSDAP

Joined the NSDAP before January 30, 1933 (30.1.1933):

Hermann Bäcker - 1.7.1932
 Ernst Bergmann - 1.7.1930
 Wolfgang Cramer - 1.5.1932
 Carl A. Emge - 1.12.1931
 Hans A. Grunsky - 1.6.1930
 Heinrich Hasse - ? (before 30.1.1933)
 Ernst Kriek - 1.1.1932
 Friedrich Lipsius - 1.2.1932
 Günther Lutz - 1.4.1931
 Wolfgang Schultz - 1.5.1932
 Hermann Schwarz - 1923

Joined the NSDAP between January 30 and May 1, 1933:

Alfred Baeumler - 1.5.1933
 Cay von Brockdorff - 1.5.33
 Arnold Gehlen - 1.5.1933
 Wilhelm Grebe - 1.5.1933
 Martin Heidegger - 1.5.1933
 Heinz Heimsoeth - 1.5.1933
 Hans Heyse - 1.5.1933
 Johannes Hielscher - 1.5.1933
 Kurt Hildebrandt - April 1933
 Erich Jaensch - 1.5.1933
 Franz Kröner - 1.5.1933
 Oskar Kutzner - 1.5.1933
 Rudolf Mense - 1.4.1933
 Rudolf Odebrecht - 1.5.1933
 Richard Oehler - 1.5.1933
 Johann B. Rieffert - 4.3.1933 * (expelled Nov.1938)
 Erich Rothacker - 1.5.1933
 Kurt Schilling - 1.5.1933
 Werner Schingnitz - 1.5.1933
 Karl Schlechta - 1.5.1933
 Walther Schmied-Kowarzik - 1.4.1933
 Hermann Schneider - 1.5.1933
 Walther Schulze-Soelde - 1.5.1933
 Gerhard Stammer - 1.5.1933
 Wolfram Steinbeck - 1.3.1933
 Georg Stieler - 1.5.1933
 Ferdinand Weinhandl - 1.5.1933
 Johannes Wittmann - 1.5.1933

Walter M. Schering joined sometime before May 1, 1937.

Continued, next page

Joined the NSDAP on May 1, 1937:

Eduard Baumgarten
 Franz Böhm
 Franz Josef Brecht
 August Faust
 Erich Feldmann
 Helmut Folwart
 Theodor Haering
 Eugen Herrigel
 Gunther Ibsen
 Carl Jesinghaus
 Bruno Liebrucks
 Erwin Metzke
 Hermann Noack
 Günther Ralfs
 Hans Reiner
 Joachim Ritter
 Vinzenz Rüfner
 Heinrich Sauer
 Helmut Schelsky
 Heinrich Springmeyer
 Bodo von Waltershausen
 Hermann Wein
 Ottomar Wichmann
 Paul Wilpert

Joined the NSDAP on or after January 1, 1940:

Otto F. Bollnow - 1.6.1940
 Walter Bröcker - 1.1.1940
 Hugo Dingler - 1.4.1940
 Helmut Groos - 1.7.1940
 Robert Heiss - 1.10.1940
 Erich Hochstetter - 1.4.1941
 Kurt Huber - 1.4.1940 * (executed in July 1943)
 Willi Kunz - ? (sometime in 1940)
 Otto Most - 1.4.1942
 Max Müller - 1.1.1940
 Richard Pauli - ? (sometime in 1940)
 Fritz J. von Rintelen - 1.7.1941
 Hans Rupp - 1.1.1940
 Wilhelm Wirth - 1.1.1940

Philipp Lersch joined sometime after April 30, 1937.

Unless otherwise noted (*), each philosopher remained a member of the NSDAP until the end of the war in May 1945.

Table 10 - Philosophers in the NSLB
(with date of entry)

Jakob Barion - 1.7.1934
 Ernst Barthel - 1.6.1934
 Eduard Baumgarten - 1.7.1934
 Ernst Bergmann - 1.7.1931
 Franz Böhm - 1.12.1933
 Otto Friedrich Bollnow - 1.7.1934
 Franz Josef Brecht - Dec.1933
 Cay von Brockdorff - 1.6.1934
 Nikolai von Bubnoff - 1.1.1934
 Georg Burckhardt - 1.6.1934
 Wilhelm Burkamp - 1.1.1934
 Wolfgang Cramer - 1.7.1934
 Hugo Dingler - 1.6.1937
 Karlfried von Dürckheim-Montmartin - 1.10.1933
 Julius Ebbinghaus - 30.7.1934
 Carl August Emge - 1.9.1932
 August Faust - 19.7.1934
 Erich Feldmann - 1.7.1934
 Hugo Fischer - 1.8.1933 (resigned 1.8.1935)
 Helmut Folwart - 4.10.1934
 Hans-Georg Gadamer - 1.8.1933
 Arnold Gehlen - 1.8.1933
 Hermann Glockner - 1.7.1934
 Albert Görland - 1.3.1935 (resigned 1.1.1937)
 Wilhelm Grebe - 1.6.1934
 Heinrich Hasse - 1.6.1934
 Martin Heidegger - 1.12.1933
 Heinz Heimsoeth - 1.6.1934
 Eugen Herrigel - 1.5.1933
 Johannes Hessen - 1.6.1934
 Hans Heyse - 1.1.1934
 Johannes Hielscher - 8.11.1932
 Kurt Hildebrandt - ?
 Gunther Ipsen - 1.6.1934
 Erich Jaensch - 1.4.1933
 Carl Jesinghaus - 1.4.1936
 Hermann Johannsen - 1.1.1934
 Josek König - 1.7.1934
 Arnold Kowalewski - 1.7.1933
 Ernst Kriek - 1.1.1932
 Gerhard Krüger - 1.8.1933
 Oskar Kutzner - 1.4.1933
 Reinhard Kynast - 1.7.1933
 Kurt Leese - 2.10.1934
 Philipp Lersch - 1.10.1933

Continued, next page

Hans Lipps - 1.7.1934
 Heinrich Lützeler - 31.7.1933 (resigned in 1940)
 Erwin Metzke - 1.8.1933
 Hans Meyer - ?
 Otto Most - 1.8.1933
 Rudolf Odebrecht - 1.5.1933
 Hans Pfeil - 1.4.1934
 Hans Reiner - 1.6.1934
 Heinrich Rickert - 1.1.1934
 Johann Baptist Rieffert - 1.7.1933
 Franz-Joachim von Rintelen - 1.8.1933
 Joachim Ritter - 9.11.1933
 Bernard Rosenmöller - 1.7.1934 (resigned 1.12.1934)
 Erich Rothacker - 12.11.1932
 Vincenz Rüfner - 1.4.1934
 Heinrich Sauer - 2.2.1934 (resigned 31.5.1938)
 Helmut Schelsky - 1.2.1938
 Kurt Schilling - ?
 Werner Schingnitz - 1.8.1934 (resigned 31.8.1935)
 Walther Schmied-Kowarzik - 1.5.1933
 Arthur Schneider - 1.7.1933
 Hermann Schneider - 1.8.1933
 Günther Schulemann - 1.7.1933
 Otto Schultze - 1.7.1934 (resigned 14.1.1939)
 Walther Schulze-Soelde - ?
 Heinrich Springmeyer - 1936
 Gerhard Stammer - ?
 Wolfram Steinbeck - ?
 Georg Stieler - 1.12.1933
 Carl Stumpf - ?
 Johannes Thyssen - 1.7.1934
 Johannes Maria Verweyen - 1.7.1933 (expelled 1.1.1935)
 Bodo von Walthershausen - 1.8.1933 (resigned 17.4.1933)
 Ferdinand Weinhandl - 1.8.1933
 Hans Wenke - ?
 Aloys Wenzl - 1.3.1936 (expelled 21.10.1940)
 Ottomar Wichmann - 1.11.1933
 Paul Wilpert - 1.3.1936
 Wilhelm Wirth - 1.8.1933 (resigned 1.8.1935)
 Johannes Wittmann - 11.11.1933

Unless otherwise noted, each philosopher remained a member in good standing until the NSLB was disbanded by the Allies in 1945.

Table 11 - Philosophers in the SA and the SS
 (with date of entry and unit)

SA

Hermann R. Bäcker - (March 1, 1933, SA)
 Walter Bröcker - (Nov.5, 1933, SA; resigned March 1, 1935)
 Karlfried von Dürckheim-Montmartin - (April 1, 1934, SA;
 Nov.1934,SA R I/187)
 Erich Feldmann - (SA R II)
 Helmut Folwart - (July 4, 1933, Sturm 7/11 in Breslau)
 Wilhelm Grebe - (Nov.4, 1933, Sturm 16/166; resigned Jan.1, 1935)
 Hans R. G. Günther - (Nov.4, 1933, SA R 75/30; resigned Sept.15, 1934)
 Gunther Ipsen - (1933, SA)
 Willi Kunz - (1933, SA)
 Oskar Kutzner - (April 1934, SA R II)
 Hermann Leser - (? , SA R I)
 Bruno Liebrucks - (June 28, 1933, Sturm 2/82 in Göttingen)
 Hans Lipps - (Nov.30, 1933, Sturmbann 2/82; resigned Nov.1934 to join the SS)
 Günther Lutz - (April 1931, Sturm 12 in Stettin: resigned Nov.1931)
 Dietrich Mahnke - (1934, SA R II)
 Erwin Metzke - (1933, Sturm 12/136)
 Hans Meyer - (1934, SA R I)
 Max Müller - (Nov.1933, Sturm 2/113 in Freiburg)
 Hermann Noack - (Nov.1933, Anwärter in Sturm 3/R 76)
 Günther Ralfs - (1934, SA R II)
 Hans Reiner - (Jan.1934, SA R I)
 Johann Baptist Rieffert - (July 9, 1933, Sturm 1/R 29)

Continued, next page

Constantin Ritter - (1934, Sturm 1/R 125; resigned June 1934)

Vinzenz RUFner - (1933, SA R II)

Helmut Schelsky - (1932-34, Sturm 11/107, Leipzig;
Jan.1943, awarded honorary membership)

Wilhelm Schmidt-Japing - (June 1933, SA R I)

Walther Schmied-Kowarzik - (Nov.1933, SA R XI/116)

Wolfram Steinbeck - (? , SA)

Georg Stieler - (? , Sturm R 1/113; resigned May 1, 1937)

Ferdinand Weinhandl - (Nov.5, 1933, SA; Aug.8, 1934, SA R I)

Ottomar Wichmann - (Jan.1934, SA)

Paul Wilpert - (? , SA)

Max Wundt - (? , SA R II)

SS

Ernst Kriek - (Nov.1934, Oberabschnitt Südwest der Reichsführung SS)

Hans Lipps - (Nov.1934, Anwärter in I. Sturmbann, 51. SS Standarte;
Aug.1937, transferred to II. Sturmbann, 2. SS Standarte)

Günther Lutz - (March 13, 1933, SS Oberabschnitt Nord;
later in SD-Hauptamt, Berlin)

Otto Most - (Nov.1, 1933, SS Sturm 7 R 11; Sept.13, 1934, resigned without
penalty)

Table 12 - Statistical Summary of Available Information

Number of professors of philosophy at the 23 universities,
January 30, 1933: 180

Number of professors of philosophy at the 23 universities,
January 30, 1933 - May 8, 1945: 214

Number of philosophers in the NSDAP: 79
(Note that at least one philosopher, Narziß Ach, tried
unsuccessfully to get into the Party; this effort
should not be ignored, but it is not included here.)

Number of philosophers not in the NSDAP, but members of
university-based NS-organizations (NSLB or NSDDB): 43

Percentage of philosophers who were in the NSDAP: 45%
(Assumes the exclusion of the 39 emigrants.)

Percentage of philosophers who were members of either the
Party or some university-based NS-organization: 70%
(Assumes the exclusion of the 39 emigrants.)

Number of philosophers in the Italian Fascist Party: 1
(Ernesto Grassi)

Philosophers not in the NSDAP who were leading activists on
the Party's behalf within the universities: 4
(H. Freyer, H. Glockner, E. Kühnemann, M. Wundt)

Known number of philosophers who were combat veterans: 62

Known number who served other functions in the military: 58

Known number with no military experience of any sort: 30

Known number who were members of the SA: 33 ...the SS: 4

Known number who were members or employees of a Rosenberg
organization (KfdK, NSKG, Amt Rosenberg): 26

Number of philosophers who had some sort of socialist
political commitments: 7

Number of philosophers who emigrated, 1933-1939: 39

Number of emigrations per year:	1933 - 22	1937 - 1
	1934 - 4	1938 - 3
	1935 - 3	1939 - 6
	1936 - 0	

CHAPTER 3

UNDERSTANDING HEIDEGGER'S POLITICAL THOUGHT

The purpose of Chapter Three is to provide an explanation of the political dimension of Heidegger's thought. I will first examine Heidegger's political engagement within the context provided by Chapter Two, and demonstrate that he was a committed Nazi whose particular vision of National Socialism was based on a philosophical (rather than biological) racism.¹ Second, I will argue that the existing literature on Heidegger's politics has presented philosophers with only two basic interpretive schemes for understanding the relationship between his politics and his philosophy, and that both of these schemes are inadequate. Third, I will use the historical context supplied in Chapter Two to suggest a more fruitful alternative.

To begin, it must be explained what is meant when someone is described as having been a "Nazi." This term can be used in two ways: it can refer to those individuals who were actually members of the NSDAP, and it can refer to those individuals whose actual political beliefs corresponded in some significant way with beliefs expounded

¹ see Rainer Marten, "Groß denken, groß irren?" in: Badische Zeitung (Jan.27, 1988).

by that organization. The first usage has the obvious advantage of permitting unambiguous identification of members through the Party's (incomplete) records. But according to this definition all Nazis ceased to be Nazis when the Party was disbanded by the Allies in 1945. The second definition is more substantive, because it focuses on the content of political beliefs, and it can be used to refer to individuals who were not Party members. Heidegger was a Nazi in both senses of the term, and persuasive evidence of his political conviction is available under either definition.

The mere fact of membership in the NSDAP does not appear to permit one to draw conclusions about the motives of those who joined. But a close reading of Chapter Two demonstrates that it is possible to make reasonable inferences about their motives based upon the date of their entry into the Party; the earlier one joined the Party the more likely it is that Party membership was an actual expression of political conviction. It is now known that there were four sets of philosophers who were members of the NSDAP: those who joined before January 30, 1933; those who (like Heidegger) joined between January 30 and May 1, 1933; those who joined on May 1, 1937; and those who joined after January 1, 1940. Those who joined before January 30, 1933 did so before the Party was in the government, and generally took some professional risk by being openly affiliated with

it. Those who joined after Hitler was appointed Chancellor but before the Party closed its ranks to new members on May 1, 1933 were subject to a two-year period of probationary membership to make certain that they were not joining for opportunistic reasons. On May 1, 1937 the Party accepted into its ranks those philosophers who had applied and who satisfied the conditions set forth in the membership application; new members were no longer subject to any period of probationary membership. Those who entered the Party after January 1, 1940 did so during the war, when the Party was concerned to mobilize as much support for the war-effort as possible. The rigorous standards imposed in 1933 were slowly relaxed; by 1944 even young Germans under the age of eighteen could become full members of the Party.² There is no evidence that any members of the first two groups joined the Party for reasons other than personal conviction, whereas there is some evidence that members of the last group joined to further their careers.³

While Heidegger officially became a Nazi on May 1, 1933, his ties to the Party predated his actual membership. During a private meeting in Freiburg with pro-Nazi

² For example, Hermann Lübke (b. Dec.31, 1926 - later ordentl. Professor of political philosophy at Zürich) was able to apply for membership in the NSDAP on March 9, 1944 and was accepted on April 20, 1944 (Nr.9,952,954).

³ Examples might be Kurt Huber and Richard Pauli; see their biographies in Chapter Two.

colleagues and a Nazi official from the state Interior Ministry on April 9, 1933, Heidegger confirmed his support for the NSDAP and explained that he did yet not want to join the Party so he could maximize the propaganda value of discussions with colleagues who were either politically uncommitted or hostile to Hitler's government.⁴ Thus, contrary to claims he was later to make,⁵ Heidegger was doing political work for the Party before April 21, 1933, when he was elected by the Faculty Senate at Freiburg to replace Professor Wilhelm von Möllendorf as Rector of the university. There is also other evidence⁶ that Heidegger

⁴ "Herr Kollege Heidegger ist nicht Parteimitglied und hält es im Augenblick nicht für praktisch, dies zu werden, um den anderen Kollegen gegenüber, deren Stellung noch ungeklärt oder gar feindlich ist, freiere Hand zu haben. Er ist jedoch erbötig, sich zum Eintritt zu melden, wenn dies aus anderen Gründen für zweckmäßig erachtet würde." Quoted from a report of this meeting in Ott, p.141. Other academics also delayed entry into the Party for tactical reasons; see the biography of Rudolf Mense in Table 1.

⁵ In his posthumously published interview with editors of Der Spiegel, Heidegger claimed that he did not engage in any kind of political activity before he became Rector: "Aber zunächst muß ich sagen, daß ich mich politisch vor meinem Rektorat in keiner Weise betätigt habe." See Der Spiegel (May 31, 1976), p.195.

⁶ On May 3, 1933, the Nazi paper Der Alemanne described Heidegger as a long-time supporter of the NSDAP: "We know that Martin Heidegger, ...in his concern for the destiny and future of the German people, stands in the midst of our glorious movement. We know, too, ...that for years he has supported the party of Adolf Hitler..., that he was always ready to bring a sacrifice to Germany's holy altar, and that no National Socialist ever knocked in vain at his door." Translated by D. D. Runes in: German Existentialism (New York: 1965), p.13.

was involved with the Party before this time. In any case, prior to his official entry into the NSDAP, he tried to persuade colleagues (both at Freiburg and at other universities) to support and/or join the Party.⁷ The historical evidence does not support the notion that Heidegger joined the Party for opportunistic reasons; he was one of twenty-seven philosophy professors known to have joined the NSDAP between January 30 and May 1, 1933, and there is no evidence that any of these men joined for reasons other than personal conviction.⁸ It should also be noted that the NSDAP thought Heidegger was a convinced Nazi. His Party membership record was "clean," which meant that he always paid his dues on time and that he was never subject to any kind of disciplinary proceedings by the Party courts.⁹

⁷ A particularly significant example of Heidegger's attempts to influence the political beliefs of other academics occurred on April 22, 1933, when he wrote to Carl Schmitt, asking for his political collaboration. See Joseph Bendersky, Carl Schmitt: Theorist for the Reich (Princeton, 1983), p.203. Heidegger's political influence on his colleagues was also recently confirmed by Gadamer. When asked about the politics of a group of classical philologists, including Wolfgang Schadewaldt, Gadamer responded: "Kein Zweifel, daß Schadewaldt durch Heidegger Nazi war..." In: Das Argument, Nr.182, p.548.

⁸ Although J. B. Rieffert was expelled from the Party in 1938 for lying about his previous membership in the SPD, he was clearly a convinced Nazi; see Table 1. All of the others remained members of the NSDAP until May 1945.

⁹ In Nazi vernacular, Heidegger had a "saubere Mitgliedschaft"; the Party did not record any problems with his membership of either a personal or a political nature.

The circumstances of Heidegger's entry into the Party, the fact that he was accepted as a regular member after the two years of probationary membership, and the length of his membership (12 years) provide substantial support for the inference that Heidegger was a convinced Nazi rather than an opportunist. Contrary to his later claims, there is no evidence that he was in any way pressured to join, or that he was coerced into making public statements in support of the Party.¹⁰

Under the second definition any individual with the appropriate political beliefs can be considered a Nazi, regardless of party membership or historical circumstance; this understanding of the term remains a part of the contemporary political vocabulary. There are several examples of such people presented in Chapter Two, philosophers who were committed to some version of National Socialism but who were not members of the Party.¹¹ In many cases their political beliefs survived the war, and it has been argued that these men were morally more reprehensible

¹⁰ In 1950 Heidegger claimed that he had been pressured into joining the Party: "I myself unfortunately allowed myself in early summer 1933, as Rector of the University of Freiburg...to be pressured into joining the Party..." See, "On My Relation to National Socialism," in: semiotexte, Vol. IV, Nr.2 (1982), pp.253-254.

¹¹ See, for example, the biographies of Oskar Becker, Hans Freyer, Hermann Glockner, and Max Wundt in Table 1.

than some of their colleagues who were "Parteigenossen."¹² A careful examination of Heidegger's political beliefs will confirm the inference drawn above, namely that Heidegger was a convinced Nazi. It will become evident that Heidegger was committed to a particular understanding of National Socialism, one based on a philosophical racism. It will also become evident that he maintained this commitment to his version of Nazism after the war.

Heidegger made his political beliefs known in private conversations and correspondence, in political speeches during his tenure as Rector, in his lectures before, during, and after the war, and in his philosophical writings. It will be useful to begin by examining his private utterances, as these provide the background for his public statements and actions. In many letters and private conversations, Heidegger revealed himself to be an anti-Semitic, anti-Communist nationalist, who was convinced that Hitler was the right leader for the country. Although it is true, as he was later to claim),¹³ that Heidegger offered a critique of National Socialism, it will be seen that this criticism was

¹² "Wer in die Partei gegangen ist, um sich in seiner Position zu halten oder eine zu gewinnen, und dann als Lehrer der Philosophie vernünftige Philosophie betrieben hat, ist mir zehnmal lieber als etwa Leute wie [Oskar] Becker oder [Hans] Freyer, die nicht in der Partei waren, aber wie Nazis geredet haben." See the interview with Hans-Georg Gadamer, in: Das Argument, Nr.182, p.551.

¹³ As, for example, in the interview with the editors of Der Spiegel; see p.204.

directed only at those versions with which he did not agree.¹⁴

Heidegger expressed a sympathy for Nazi opinions years before the Nazis took over the government. As early as 1929 he was concerned about the contaminating influence of Jews on German intellectual life. A recently published letter from Heidegger to Victor Schwoerer, the Vice-President of the Co-operative Aid Association for German Science (Notgemeinschaft der deutschen Wissenschaft), makes this shockingly clear; because of its importance I will quote the entire letter in English translation.

Dear Herr Geheimrat! Freiburg i.B., Oct.2, 1929

Currently Herr Dr. [Eduard] Baumgarten¹⁵ is applying for a stipend from the Notgemeinschaft.

In addition to my letter of recommendation, honored Herr Geheimrat, I would like to add my personal request that you give this application special attention.

What I could only indirectly state in my letter of recommendation, I would like to more clearly state here: the issue is nothing less than the immediate recognition that we are confronted with the choice, either to support German intellectual life (Geistesleben) with genuinely native potencies (bodenständige Kräfte) and educators, or to totally

¹⁴ This critique is explained in his letter to the Rector of the University of Freiburg of Nov.4, 1945, in which he explains his opposition to Rosenberg's "Weltanschauungslehre" and the NS-Studentenschaft's "politische Wissenschaftsidee." The letter is reproduced in Karl Moehling's dissertation, Martin Heidegger and the Nazi Party: An Examination (N.Illinois Univ.: Dept. of History, 1972), pp.264-268. The same argument appears in his letter to the Chair of the political "Bereinigungsausschuß" of Dec.15, 1945, quoted by Martin in: Martin Heidegger und das 'Dritte Reich', pp.207-212.

¹⁵ See Table 1.

accept its ever growing Jewification in both the broad and narrow sense (wachsenden Verjudung im weiteren u. engeren Sinne). We will only be able to find our way back if we are able, without slanderous agitation or unfruitful confrontation, to help fresh forces to develop.

With this important goal in mind, I would be particularly grateful if Herr Baumgarten (who I have chosen to be my Assistent) could be supported with a stipend.

We are enjoying the most beautiful days of fall in our new house, and every day I am pleased to grow ever more deeply rooted (verwachsen) to my home (Heimat) through my work.

With Sincerere Repect, I greet you,
Highly Esteemed Geheimrat

Yours Very Truly,

Martin Heidegger¹⁶

This letter is very revealing and needs to be considered in some detail. What is Heidegger referring to when he writes of the "Jewification" of the German "Geistesleben" in both the broad and narrow sense? I want to suggest that this distinction is a central feature of Heidegger's racism. For him it was the "Jewish" that represented a threat to German intellectual life, rather

¹⁶ This letter first appeared in Die Zeit (Dec.22, 1989), p.50; the translation is mine. Heidegger and Baumgarten worked together from 1929-31, during which time their philosophical disagreements (over B.'s interest in Dewey and pragmatism) led to a permanent rupture in their personal relationship. Heidegger was characteristically unforgiving. In Dec.1933 he denounced Baumgarten in a letter to the NSD-Dozentenbund in Göttingen as being politically unreliable because of his "Americanization" and because he had consorted with Jews. Heidegger pursued this vendetta after the war; in a letter to a member of a search committee at Tübingen dated July 20, 1945, he wrote, "I would like to expressly warn you against Ed. Baumgarten..." See the English edition of Farias, pp.209-210 and p.281.

than particular Jewish individuals. For Heidegger the "Jew" was a carrier of a non-German tradition from which the German needed to be protected if it were to maintain its particular identity. German intellectual life is, in this case, to be protected by furthering the career of someone rooted in the native German tradition. Heidegger believed that each nation has its own spiritual and intellectual world (*geistige Welt*), and that the strength of each nation is determined by its spiritual (*geistige*) strength.¹⁷ He rejected the idea that the "geistige Welt" was an expression of the biological characteristics of a specific race. For Heidegger "Geist" referred to "primordially attuned, knowing resolve towards the essence of being"; it was not exuded from the physical properties of particular people.¹⁸ Heidegger thus supports the notion that Jews are not real Germans, but he distinguishes between the "Jew" and the "Jewish" and this distinction later allowed him to help

¹⁷ "Eine geistige Welt allein verbürgt dem Volke die Größe." in: Die Selbstbehauptung der deutschen Universität (Frankfurt/M: Klostermann, 1983), p.14. See also Heidegger's lecture Schelling Vom Wesen der Menschlichen Freiheit, in the Gesamtausgabe, Vol.42., p.3: "der Geist ist das Schicksal und Schicksal ist der Geist."

¹⁸ "Geist ist ursprünglich gestimmte, wissende Entschlossenheit zum Wesen des Seins," in: Ibid., p.14 (translation by Karsten Harries). He also explained his rejection of biology as a foundation for Geist in a letter to the Rector dated Nov.4, 1945 (quoted by Moehling, p.265).

individual Jews even as he was endorsing their exclusion from public life.

In the conclusion of this letter Heidegger affirms the inextricable ties between his philosophical work and his sense of place; he says that his attachment to his home (Heimat) grows through and is intertwined with his work. This and similar statements make clear what Heidegger understood to be a central feature of the genuinely Germanic; being tied to and rooted in their native soil, real Germans were "bodenständig."¹⁹ In the late 1920's this emphasis on place, on home (Heimat) rooted in German soil (Boden), also had a political meaning. It was a device used to separate the Germanic from the non-Germanic, the Aryan from the Jewish. According to both Hitler and Alfred Rosenberg, Jews were parasites (Schmarotzer) who lived off of host nations. They believed that a central feature of the Jewish identity was the alleged ability of Jews to latch onto and invade a host culture and poison it from within.²⁰ Because they were not rooted in any one place, they were

¹⁹ Ott examines the "Gefüge von Denken und Heimat" in the early years of Heidegger's career. Note that in a letter dated May 30, 1928 Heidegger affirms that the direction of his studies was rooted in his native soil ("mit dem heimatlichen Boden verwachsen"). See Ott, pp.54-56.

²⁰ Hitler claimed that the Jew is "always only a parasite in the body of other peoples." See Mein Kampf (New York Reynal & Hitchcock, 1940), pp.419-420. Rosenberg made the same claim in Der Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts, pp.459-466.

able to move from one body politic to another; thus anything that smacked of "internationalism" was also considered by many Nazis to be a tool of "international Jewry." Heidegger seems to have accepted this element of the Nazi "Blut und Boden" ideology, even as he rejected a simple biological definition of Jewishness.²¹ Heidegger's emphasis on the importance of "rootedness" was complemented by his rejection of internationalism; in fact the first Heideggerian text to be translated into English was a speech he gave at a rally in November 1933 advocating Germany's withdrawal from the League of Nations.²²

In a private conversation with Jaspers in May 1933, just after his entry into the NSDAP, Heidegger affirmed his belief in a dangerous international Jewish conspiracy. Jaspers (whose wife was Jewish) asked Heidegger how he could endorse the vicious nonsense contained in the Protocols of the Elders of Zion and Heidegger responded: "Es gibt doch

²¹ This phrase was used in Nazi propaganda to emphasize the interdependence of one's life with one's native soil. For a relevant discussion of this see Adorno's The Jargon of Authenticity, pp.54-55.

²² This speech was published in English in the collection of speeches: Bekenntnis der Professoren an der deutschen Universitäten und Hochschulen zu Adolf Hitler und dem nationalsozialistischen Staat, Dec.1933, pp.36-37. Note that Heidegger played a role in collecting the eight pages of endorsing signatures that appear at the end of this volume; see Martin, Martin Heidegger und ..., pp.184-185.

eine gefährliche internationale Verbindung der Juden."²³ During this conversation Heidegger also revealed the depth of his support for Hitler's leadership. Jaspers asked Heidegger how he thought such an uneducated man as Hitler could rule the country. Heidegger dismissed the question with a reference to the beauty of Hitler's hands: "Bildung ist ganz gleichgültig, sehen Sie nur seine wunderbaren Hände an!"²⁴ Jaspers was shocked by this conversation and did not allow his record of it to be published until after his death. Before this conversation took place Hitler had already acquired dictatorial powers and had ordered the disbanding of opposition political parties, established the first concentration camps for political opponents, and had begun the removal of "leftists" and Jews from the bureaucracy.²⁵ There is no evidence that Heidegger found any of these widely-known actions objectionable.²⁶

Further evidence of Heidegger's political conviction is available from a recently published letter written by

²³ Karl Jaspers, Philosophische Autobiographie (Munich: Piper Verlag, 1977), p.101.

²⁴ Ibid., p.101.

²⁵ As was explained in Chapter Two, Hitler was given dictatorial powers on March 24, 1933. The first of the concentration camps was set up at Dachau in the last week of March. Excerpts from the text of the Nazi civil service "reform," enacted in April 1933, are provided in Table 7.

²⁶ For a discussion of the Nazi-takeover in Freiburg and Baden, see Farias, pp.134-136 (German edition).

Heidegger's teacher Edmund Husserl to Dietrich Mahnke.²⁷

Dated May 4, 1933, this letter characterizes the development of Heidegger's relationship to Husserl. I have translated the following excerpts:

[...] at my advanced age, I have to experience that which I never thought possible: the establishing of an intellectual ghetto into which I and my genuinely remarkable and high-minded children (and all of their descendents) will be put. Henceforth, according to State Law, we may no longer call ourselves Germans and our intellectual work will no longer be considered a part of German intellectual history. Only bearing the stigma "Jewish" - intended by the new authorities as a mark of contempt - can our work find a place, as a poison from which the German spirit needs to be protected and which must be eradicated.

[...]personal friendships remain with a group of these students, despite the fact that I could not accept their philosophical views [...] But with others, I've had to endure very bad personal experiences - the most painful of which has been Heidegger: the most painful because I had confidence not merely in his talent, but in his character (something which is now hard for me to understand). The perfect ending to this supposed philosophical friendship (*philosophische Seelenfreundschaft*) was Heidegger's theatrical and public entry into the National Socialist Party on May 1. His break with me (which began almost immediately after his appointment) [to Freiburg in 1928, G.L.] has deepened, as has the anti-Semitism which in recent years has found ever more frequent expression - including remarks to his group of devoted Jewish students and the philosophy faculty.²⁸

Husserl's letter provides further confirmation of the analysis presented above. Heidegger was known to have anti-Semitic opinions years before the Nazis came to power; he endorsed and was a long time participant in efforts to

²⁷ See Mahnke's biography in Table 1.

²⁸ The letter is quoted by Martin in: Martin Heidegger und ..., pp.148-149.

"protect" German intellectual life from the alleged dangers of Jewish influence; he endorsed Hitler's leadership as well as important elements of the Party's platform; and he confirmed this support of the NSDAP by voluntarily joining its ranks. Heidegger ended his relationship with Husserl by turning his back on his former teacher, refusing to attend his funeral in 1938, and in the fifth edition of Being and Time he removed the dedication to Husserl that appeared in the first four editions ("Edmund Husserl: in Verehrung und Freundschaft zugeignet").²⁹

Heidegger's racism did not, as has already been explained, prevent him from having friendships (even love affairs) with individual Jews.³⁰ After he became Rector of the University, however, he distanced himself from all of his Jewish colleagues and students. In the spring of 1933 he refused to continue directing the dissertations of those

²⁹ The fifth edition was published in 1941, during the war, when censorship of anything considered remotely anti-Nazi had been in place for years. Publishing was considered a privilege, and receiving this privilege during the war undermines Heidegger's own claim that he was persecuted by the authorities after he resigned his Rectorship in 1934.

³⁰ Heidegger apparently had affairs with at least two Jewish students, Hannah Arendt and Elisabeth Blochmann. See Elisabeth Young-Bruehl, Hannah Arendt. For Love of the World (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982) and Joachim Storck, editor, Martin Heidegger/Elisabeth Blochmann: Briefwechsel 1918-1969 (Marbach: Deutsche Schillergesellschaft, 1989).

Jewish students who had already begun their work with him.³¹ He did not prevent them from finishing their work, he just made certain that they worked with someone else.³² In one case he was even willing to write a letter on behalf of one of his Jewish students who had applied for a position at Cambridge.³³ He thus made a distinction in his personal life between Jews who were a danger and "noble" or "quality" Jews (edle Juden), for whose character he could testify.³⁴

One of these "noble" Jews was Karl Löwith, the first and only one of Heidegger's students at Marburg to complete the Habilitation process (in 1928). Löwith left Germany in 1934, forced to emigrate because he was considered to be a Jew by the Nazi government and because his wife was Jewish. He traveled first to Rome (see Chapter Two), and there he saw Heidegger for the last time in 1936. Heidegger had travelled to Rome to deliver a lecture (on Hölderlin) at the

³¹ "Aber von dem Moment an, als Heidegger Rektor wurde, hatte er keinen jüdischen Schüler, der bei ihm eine Doktorarbeit angefangen hatte, mehr promoviert." Quoted from "Ein Gespräch mit Max Müller," in: Martin, Martin Heidegger und..., p.106.

³² "Heidegger wollte, daß seine jüdischen Schüler auch nach 1933 noch promovierten, aber nicht mehr bei ihm." Ibid., p.106. Heidegger persuaded his colleague Martin Honecker to serve in his stead as director of these dissertations.

³³ The student in question was Werner Brock.

³⁴ See Ott pp.198-199 for a description of a letter Heidegger wrote July 12, 1933 on behalf of Georg von Hevesy, a Professor of chemistry at Freiburg, attesting to his good character.

Italian-German Cultural Institute, and they were able to spend time together. Löwith asked Heidegger (who during his entire stay in Rome wore a Nazi party pin) about the origin of his commitment to National Socialism, arguing that it lay in the essence of his philosophy. To this Heidegger readily agreed, explaining that his concept of "historicality" was at the root of his political engagement.³⁵ (This will be discussed in more detail below.) Heidegger also left no doubt about his continued faith in Hitler. The Führer had made only two mistakes: he had underestimated both the vitality of the Churches and the obstacles in the way of union (Anschluß) with Austria.³⁶ Despite this, Heidegger remained convinced that National Socialism was the chosen path for Germany. His only criticism was of the "endless organizing at the expense of the vital forces" (lebendige Kräfte); one had only to hold out long enough for this to be overcome.³⁷ This account directly contradicts Heidegger's later claims that he withdrew his support for the regime in 1934.³⁸

³⁵ Karl Löwith, Mein Leben in Deutschland vor und nach 1933, p.57.

³⁶ Ibid., p.57.

³⁷ Idem., p.57.

³⁸ See the 1966 interview in Der Spiegel, pp.203-204; also Heidegger's Das Rektorat 1933/34, p.41.

Heidegger's support for the Nazi government did not end in 1936. According to Jaspers' post-war notes, Heidegger continued to use the Nazi greeting "Heil Hitler!" with his students until at least 1937 (when Jaspers was forced to retire), and "decisively" rejected Nazism only near the end of the war, when the impending German defeat made this a practical necessity.³⁹ After the war, Heidegger never distanced himself from the horrors of National Socialism, refusing to acknowledge any particularity in the mass extermination of Jews by the Nazi government. In a letter to Herbert Marcuse dated Jan.20, 1948, Heidegger compared the fate of the Jews under the Nazis to the fate of Germans under Soviet occupation in the eastern part of the country:

I can only add that instead of the "Jews" one should put the "East Germans", and then the exact same thing applies to one of the Allied Powers, with the difference that everything that happened since 1945 is known to the world, while the bloody terror of the Nazis was in fact kept secret from the German people.⁴⁰

From this simple moral equivalence, drawn between the Nazi death-camps and the forced resettlement of Germans in Eastern Europe, one can reasonably infer that for Heidegger the only unique failure in Germany's conduct of the war was

³⁹ Karl Jaspers, Notizen zu Heidegger (Munich: Piper Verlag, 1978), p.50.

⁴⁰ Quoted in Farias (German edition), pp.374-5; the translation is mine. This letter is incorrectly translated in the English edition of Farias' book, and problems with translation are to be found throughout the text.

that it lost. In this same letter he refers to anti-Communist convictions to explain his entry into the NSDAP:

I expected from National Socialism a spiritual rejuvenation of all life, a reconciliation of social antagonisms, and the rescue of Western existence (abendländischen Daseins) from the dangers of Communism.⁴¹

Heidegger seems to have used "Marxism," "Communism," and "Bolshevism" interchangeably, and it will become evident that his hostility to these concepts did not end with the war in 1945. His understanding of resolution of "social antagonism" (class-conflict) will be discussed in more detail below.

Heidegger continued to express anti-Semitic opinions long after the demise of Nazism. During the late 1950's, in a conversation with his student Rainer Marten, Heidegger expressed concern about the restoration of Jewish influence within German philosophy. Marten recalls that Heidegger "counted on his fingers the number of Chairs in philosophy that had already been reoccupied by Jews." Heidegger thus maintained both his deep concern (first expressed in the late 1920's) for the "rootedness" (Verwurzelung) of the German "Geist" and his hostility toward the "rootless" spirit (bodenlose Geist) of international Jewry. Marten, a

⁴¹ Farias (English edition), p.284. I have only used this translation after comparison with the German edition.

student of Heidegger's, believes that Heidegger never rejected this aspect of Nazi ideology.⁴²

The most well-known evidence of Heidegger's political convictions remains the political speeches he gave in 1933-1934 while Rector of the University of Freiburg. These speeches should still be accepted as evidence of his political conviction because he never repudiated them, even after he was asked to do so.⁴³ In these speeches Heidegger makes clear his commitment to the National Socialist revolution, a revolution which had been made possible by Hitler's accession to power but which had yet to take place at the universities. For example, in a speech to the Heidelberg Student Association on June 30, 1933, Heidegger argued for the extension of the National Socialist political struggle into the universities.

We have the new Reich and the university that is to receive its tasks from the Reich's will to existence. There is a revolution in Germany, and we must ask ourselves: Is there revolution at the university as well? No. The battle still consists of skirmishes [...] [The university] must, however, be integrated again into the "Volksgemeinschaft" and be joined together with the State. The university must again become an educational force that draws on knowledge to educate the State's leaders to knowledge. [...] University study must again become a risk, not a refuge for the cowardly. Whoever does not survive the battle, lies where he falls. The new courage must accustom itself to steadfastness, for the battle for

⁴² Rainer Marten, "Heideggers Geist" in: Die Heidegger Kontroverse (Frankfurt/M: Athenäum, 1988), p.232.

⁴³ Marcuse wrote Heidegger on Aug.28, 1947, and asked Heidegger to repudiate these speeches. Quoted in Martin, Martin Heidegger und..., pp.155-156. Heidegger refused.

the institutions where our leaders are educated will continue for a long time. It will be fought out of the strengths of the new Reich that Volks-Chancellor Hitler will bring to reality. A hard race with no thought of self must fight this battle, a race that lives from constant testing and that remains directed toward the goal to which it has committed itself. It is a battle to determine who shall be the teachers and leaders at the university (ein Kampf um die Gestalt des Lehrers und des Führers an der Universität).⁴⁴

In this same speech he argues that humanistic, Christian ideas must be prevented from suffocating the National Socialist spirit at the universities; he also argues that genuine research is something that "emerges, interlocked with the whole through its rootedness in the 'Volk' and its bond to the State."⁴⁵ Significantly, Heidegger explicitly rejects the concept of political science (politische Wissenschaft) that was being discussed at several universities at the time, because it was "nothing more than the old one with a slight anthropological underpinning."⁴⁶ What was Heidegger referring to when he spoke of a revolution at the universities, a revolution of the kind that was already taking place in the country at large? This revolution was a rejection of the "idle talk"

⁴⁴ Quotes from "The University in the New Reich," in: New German Critique, Nr.45 (Fall 1988), pp.99-101. English translations of Heidegger's speeches first appeared in German Existentialism (1965), edited by D. D. Runes.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 101.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p.100. Heidegger did not endorse attempts to judge particular disciplines simply on the basis of the "race" (religion) of their members.

of participatory self-government in favor of structures governed by the "Führerprinzip," the absolute subordination of the lower ranks to a superior authority. Heidegger repeatedly told students not to let "propositions and 'ideas' be the rules of your Being (Sein). The Führer alone is the presiding and future German reality and its law."⁴⁷ Heidegger saw his own role in this revolution as the "Führer" of the university, responsible for its integration into the "Volksgemeinschaft" (the community of genuine or authentic Germans) and its joining together with the State. Heidegger did not intend to minimize the university's role in the revolution with this move; on the contrary, he believed he could expand the influence of "the institutions where our leaders are educated." As leader of the University of Freiburg, he thus wanted to be the "Führer des Führers," or the leader of the leader. This desire makes perfect sense if one remembers his belief, explained above, that the strength of a nation is determined, ultimately, by its intellectual and spiritual (geistige) strength.⁴⁸ For

⁴⁷ Quoted from "German Students" (a speech given by Heidegger Nov.3, 1933), in: New German Critique, Nr.45 (Fall 1988), p.102

⁴⁸ This interpretation is confirmed by the diary of the University's Prorektor Sauer. In May 1933, after a conversation with Prof. Walter Eucken, Sauer wrote: "Heidegger mache den Eindruck, als ob er ganz für sich nach dem Prinzip des Führersystems fuhrwerken wolle. Er fühle sich offenbar als der geborene Philosoph und geistige Führer der neuen Bewegung, als der einzige große und überragende Denker seit Heraklit." See Ott, pp.164-5. Heidegger's resignation as Rector is to be explained by his recognition

Heidegger, the strength of the Reich and the strength of the Führer depended, ultimately, on the strength of the universities and their ability "to bring the State's leaders to knowledge." To help the University of Freiburg fulfill this role, Heidegger introduced new regulations in August 1933 that stripped the faculty of any meaningful voice in the University's affairs and which explicitly referred to the Rector as "Führer" of the University.⁴⁹ On October 1, 1933, Heidegger was appointed the first "Führer-Rektor" of the University of Freiburg.

On November 30, 1933, Heidegger gave a speech in Tübingen at an event organized by the local Party authorities, in which he again argued for an extension into the universities of the revolution that had transformed the State. By this time the Nazis had outlawed all political opposition, and Hitler was trying to consolidate his grip on the country. But for Heidegger, as for many other Nazis, the National Socialist revolution had not gone far enough.

In the meantime, the revolution has taken place in our country. The State has been transformed. This was not a revolution achieved by a power already existing in the State or by a political party. The National Socialist revolution meant rather the radical upheaval of the whole German existence (Dasein), which also touched the university. [...] But what ought it still to bring us? According to the very words of the Führer, the revolution has reached its end and has become evolution. Evolution is to replace revolution.

that he would not be able to play this role.

⁴⁹ The text of this so-called "Führerverfassung" appears in Martin, Martin Heidegger und ..., pp.173-176.

Yet, at the university, *not only has the revolution failed to attain its goal, but in fact it has not really even begun.* And if, in the meaning the Führer has given it, we are at the stage of evolution, this evolution can be accomplished only by means of the struggle within the struggle. Revolution in German universities has nothing to do with shifts on the surface. The National Socialist revolution is and will become the complete remaking of men, students, and young teachers of tomorrow. This cannot happen outside the new reality, but only if we are immersed in this reality, only if we live it. The only ones able to live it are those whose spirit is disposed to receive it; not the simple spectators, who perhaps are content to read National Socialist literature to find out about new ways of speaking, but only the active participants, for revolutionary reality is not something already extant [Vorhandenes]; by its essence it is something still developing, still gestating.⁵⁰

Heidegger was not content to have absolute bureaucratic control over the University; he wanted to thoroughly reorganize the university system so that it could remake man in the National Socialist image. This is not the voice of an opportunist, pressured to participate in the Party to protect his career; nor is this the voice of someone trying to protect the University from the Nazi government. He was by his own description an "active participant," committed to the radical transformation of the German university, and his commitment to the National Socialist revolution continued even after Hitler himself had announced that "the revolution has reached its end and has become evolution." As will be discussed below, Heidegger's belief in the need for

⁵⁰ "The University in the National Socialist State", quoted by Farias (English edition), pp.142-143. I have slightly improved this translation; the emphasis is mine.

revolutionary change at the universities extends all the way back to 1919, and he believed that Hitler's revolution provided the transformation of the intellect and the spirit (Geist) necessary for any authentic revolutionary change. He thus identified with a faction of the Party that pursued an as yet unrealized revolutionary social reality; he was a political agitator who advocated a conception of the National Socialist revolution that was too radical even for many other Nazis.⁵¹ These Nazis (grouped mainly in the SA) began to lose influence within the Party just after Hitler took control of the government.⁵² For Hitler, the revolution was over and the task was now to consolidate power. (Those elements within the Party who wanted a social revolution were pushed out of the way for good on the night of June 30, 1934, when Hitler's few remaining political rivals were murdered.)

In January 1934, Heidegger reasserted his belief in the foundational nature of "Geist" for German existence

⁵¹ See for example the report written by Prof. Erich Jaensch in Feb. 1934, which warns of the danger of Heidegger's "revolutionary ardor." "Well-informed sources say that he fears the day when revolution among us would cease. I am certain that this 'pure revolutionary' would then no longer be on our side [...]." Quoted in Farias (English edition), p.204.

⁵² For a discussion of Heidegger's identification with this faction, see Farias (English edition), pp.98-112.

(Dasein).⁵³ He explained that work, all work, was essentially intellectual and spiritual (geistig) in nature, that all Germans were united by the experience of labor, and that this "estate of labor" (or working class) was to be molded in the image of the NSDAP.

Only then will we learn that, as work, all work is spiritual (geistig). Animals and all beings that merely exist cannot work. They lack the basic experience that work requires: the decisive commitment to a task, the capacity for resoluteness and steadfastness in an assignment they have accepted. In short, they lack freedom, that is: spirit (Geist).

So called 'intellectual work' (geistige Arbeit) is [...] spiritual (geistig) because, as work, it reaches back more deeply into the afflictions (Not) that are part of a people's historical existence (Dasein) and because it is more directly – because more knowingly – beset by the hardness and danger of human existence (Dasein).

There is only one single German "estate" (Lebenstand). That is the estate of labor (Arbeitstand) which is rooted in and borne by the 'Volk' and which has freely submitted to the historical will of the State. The character of this estate is being pre-formed in the National Socialist German *Worker's Party* movement.

A call to the Labor Service is being sounded. [...] Those who are strong and unbroken are proud that extreme demands are being made of them: for that is the moment when they rise up to the hardest tasks, those for which there is neither pay nor praise, but only the "reward" of sacrifice and service in the area of the innermost necessities of German Being (deutsches Sein).

While all work shares the same spiritual nature, Heidegger privileges intellectual work over other forms (thus privileging himself) because of its alleged deeper understanding of both the "hardness and danger" of human

⁵³ "The Call to the Labor Service, (January 23, 1934)," in: New German Critique, Nr.45 (Fall 1988), pp.108–110.

existence and the historical circumstances of the Volk. He resolves the political tensions between different classes in Germany by defining the problem away; there is, he argues, only one German estate (or class), which has voluntarily submitted itself to the will of the State, directed by the NSDAP. That estate is "rooted in and borne by the Volk," thus making the unity of the Volk primary to any possible social divisions.⁵⁴ Work is performed not for financial gain, indeed not for any instrumental reason at all, but for the satisfaction of the desire to serve (and sacrifice for) the "innermost necessities of German Being." This last point will be discussed in more detail below.

In another speech that month, Heidegger further explained his understanding of the "classless" National Socialist community. Again he emphasized the intellectual and spiritual (geistige) essence of all different kinds of work, arguing that "knowledge" and "work" were inextricably bound to one another, that all work is "founded in authentic knowledge."⁵⁵ The old understandings of knowledge and work have been transformed, and are now to be understood

⁵⁴ Volk means people or nation, and it is so widely used in the English literature that for the rest of this study I will not treat it as a foreign term.

⁵⁵ "National Socialist Wissenschaft" (Jan. 22, 1934) in: New German Critique, Nr. 45 (Fall 1988) pp. 110-114. For Heidegger, knowledge means "to know one's way around in the world, as a community and as individuals" and "to be master of the situation into which we are placed."

primarily in their relation to the Volk.⁵⁶ The National Socialist understanding of these terms does not, according to Heidegger, "divide into classes, but binds and unites *Volksgenossen* and social and occupational groups (*Stände*) in the one great will of the State." The ethnic unity of the Volk is thus affirmed under the guidance of the State, whose goal is to allow each German "a fully valid existence as a *Volksgenosse* in the German *Volksgemeinschaft*." To achieve this goal it is necessary, among other things, for the entire German Volk to be united together within the borders of the Reich. Heidegger argued that each German must understand "what the future recovery of the body of the Volk (*Volkskörper*) means" and must "know what is entailed in the fact that eighteen million Germans belong to the Volk but, because they are living outside the borders of the Reich, do not yet belong to the Reich."⁵⁷ Heidegger thus endorsed the virulent pan-Germanic chauvinism that was one of the central

⁵⁶ "The 'worker' is not, as Marxism claimed, a mere object of exploitation. The 'workers' (*Arbeiterstand*) are not the class of the disinherited who are rallying for the general class struggle [...] 'work' is the title of every well-ordered action that is borne by the responsibility of the individual, the group, and the State and which is thus of service to the *Volk*." *Ibid.*, p.113.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p.111. In this speech Heidegger also argues for the recognition of the evils of urbanization, proposing that Germans be "returned to the soil and the country through resettlement." This rejection of the city in favor of rural German "*Boden*" did not become a central feature of Nazi politics, but the radicalness of this anti-modern attitude was subsequently made clear in Cambodia.

causes of the Second World War. The State does not have obligations to citizens in this schema; it has obligations to all members of a particular tribe (the Volk), regardless of existing international boundaries. The Nazi government will make it possible, according to Heidegger, to bridge the gaps between all members of this tribe, whoever and wherever they are, uniting them all as "Volksgenossen." This is possible "because the whole of our German reality has been changed by the National Socialist State," and this change will bring forth new ways of thinking and understanding. It will permit the awakening of the knowledge needed for all members of the Volk to become "clear and resolute Germans." Heidegger claimed that the German Volk could thank "the towering will of our Führer" for this opportunity to regain its "organic unity," and he ended this speech by exclaiming: "To this man of this unprecedented will, to our Führer Adolf Hitler - a threefold 'Sieg Heil!'"⁵⁸

As was previously mentioned, Heidegger never repudiated these speeches. They offer a portrait of a committed Nazi activist, one who endorsed the racial imperialism at the core of Nazi policy, and whose plans for a continuation of the National Socialist "revolution" within the German university system placed him in the ranks of the Party's radical left-wing. He clearly advocated an anti-Marxist,

⁵⁸ Ibid., p.114.

"völkisch" nationalism during his tenure as Rector at Freiburg, endorsed the "Führerprinzip" as the appropriate organizational structure for both the national government and the University's administration, and eagerly supported Hitler's leadership of the country. Heidegger made these pronouncements during the months when the Nazi government had begun to institutionalize a variety of repressive measures as part of its effort to consolidate power, and his political activism can only be understood as an endorsement of both the tactics and the goals of this government. It should be remembered that Nazi repression had, as we have seen, an immediate effect within professional philosophy: during 1933 twenty-two professors of philosophy were forced to emigrate, including one of Heidegger's colleagues at Freiburg.⁵⁹

Did Heidegger offer any evidence of his political commitments in the classroom? A careful examination of the texts of Heidegger's "Vorlesungen" reveals a long-term concern with the political themes discussed above. He first discussed the need for change at the University in his lectures immediately after the collapse of the monarchy, during the so-called "Kriegsnotsemester" of 1919.

Die vielberedete Universitätsreform ist gänzlich mißleitet und eine totale Verkennung aller echten Revolutionierung des Geistes, wenn sie sich jetzt ausweitete in Aufrufen, Protestversammlungen,

⁵⁹ Prof. Jonas Cohn; see Table 1.

Programmen, Orden, und Bünden: geisteswidrige Mittel im Dienst ephemerer Zwecke.

Zu *echten* Reformen im Bereich der Universität sind wir heute nicht reif. Und das Reifwerden hierfür ist Sache einer *ganzen Generation*. Erneuerung der Universität bedeutet Wiedergeburt des wissenschaftlichen Bewußtseins und Lebenszusammenhanges.⁶⁰

Heidegger thus rejected the reforms of the University introduced by the German government in the aftermath of the collapse of the monarchy in November 1918; that is, he rejected the reforms introduced by the then governing Social Democrats. For Heidegger genuine revolution depended on a revolutionization of the spirit (Geist), for which he argues, "we are not yet mature." This revolution of the spirit, of the "Geist," was not to be accomplished by vulgar political means but (as was seen above) by means of the intellectual work of those able to reach back "more deeply into the afflictions that are part of a people's historical existence" and those who are "more directly - because more knowingly - beset by the hardness and danger of human existence."⁶¹ That is to say, it would be accomplished by philosophy and (some) philosophers. For Heidegger, philosophy was a kind of political therapy; curing the world of metaphysical error would create the possibility for

⁶⁰ Zur Bestimmung der Philosophie, in: Gesamtausgabe, Vol.56/57, pp.4-5. Emphasis added by Heidegger.

⁶¹ "The Call to Labor Service," Jan.23, 1934.

spiritual, and thus political, renewal.⁶² At the university this renewal would mean a rebirth of "the scientific consciousness and the continuity of life," made possible by this revolution of the spirit. The general political direction of this spiritual revolution is already visible: it is anti-materialistic (genuine revolution depends on a revolution of the spirit) and anti-democratic (the philosopher alone determines when "we" are ready for genuine change). And, of course, not all philosophers were equally capable of providing the leadership necessary for genuine spiritual renewal. As he later said, only those few who had "the strength to walk alone" could lead in a genuinely revolutionary struggle.⁶³

The inherently hierarchical nature of Heidegger's understanding of "Geist" was explicitly confirmed in his lectures on Aristotle in 1931. Here he defended the

⁶² In a letter to Jaspers dated April 3, 1933, Heidegger confirmed this view of the central role played by philosophy in the shaping of political reality: "So dunkel und fragwürdig Vieles ist, so spüre ich immer mehr, daß wir in eine neue Wirklichkeit hineinwachsen und daß eine Zeit alt geworden ist. *Alles hängt davon ab, ob wir der Philosophie die rechte Einsatzstelle vorbereiten und ihr zum Werk verhelfen.*" (Quoted in Ott, p.139; emphasis added.) One is left wondering to whom this "we" is supposed to refer; was Heidegger trying to win Jaspers for the National Socialist revolution?

⁶³ Die Selbstbehauptung der deutschen Universität, p.14: "das Entscheidende im Führer ist nicht das bloße Vorgehen, sondern die Kraft zum Alleingehenkönnen, nicht aus Eigensinn und Herrschgelüste, sondern kraft einer tiefsten Bestimmung und weitesten Verpflichtung."

legitimacy of an intellectual and spiritual elite (Aristokratie des Geistes) and ridiculed those weak academics "die weder eine Witterung haben für das Höchste des Geistes – was der Kampf ist – noch die innere Macht, es zur Herrschaft zu bringen."⁶⁴ This elite is created not by right of birth or by social station but by struggle (Kampf), and only a few have the inner strength necessary to bring the spirit (Geist) to power (Herrschaft). This is a kind of Darwinism of the "Geist," a struggle in which only the strongest reach the upper heights of the spiritual and realize its revolutionary potential. Note that while Heidegger's understanding of this hierarchy of the spirit (Geist) is anti-democratic in its assumptions, it is not conservative; for Heidegger, the genuine philosopher is not merely an aristocrat but a revolutionary and the philosophical tradition is not something to be conserved.⁶⁵

The political significance of this point was made clearly in notes added to his 1932 lectures on Plato's Theaetetus. There Heidegger examined Plato's theory of knowledge (Ideenlehre) and argued that modern ideologies

⁶⁴ Aristoteles: Metaphysik IX, in: Gesamtausgabe, Volume 33, p.82; this discussion is taken from Nicolas Tertulian's fine article "Seinsgeschichte als Legitimation der Politik," in: Lettre (Spring 1990), pp.86-89.

⁶⁵ "das 'Konservative' bleibt im Historischen stecken; nur das Revolutionäre erreicht den Tiefgang der Geschichte," in: Grundfragen der Philosophie, Gesamtausgabe, Vol. 45, p.41; quoted in Tertulian, p.86.

were simply deformations of Plato's construct. Heidegger explicitly referred to Marxism as an example of this deformity, portraying it as a problem to be solved by way of overcoming Plato's theory of knowledge.

Ideenlehre Voraussetzung für Marxismus und die Ideologienlehre. 'Weltanschauung' als Ideologie, Abstraktum, Überbau der gesellschaftlichen Produktionsverhältnisse. Überwindung des Marxismus?!⁶⁶

According to Heidegger, Marxism was at the end of a philosophical chain that began with Plato's theory of knowledge and continued in Christianity, modern rationalism, and the Hegelian system. Only by surrendering modern assumptions about the rationality and the transcendence of man would it be possible to again ask the basic philosophical questions about human Being that had been avoided since Plato.⁶⁷ It was from this position that Heidegger repeatedly claimed that Christianity, Marxism, and liberalism were all metaphysically the same; they shared the same metaphysical foundations in Plato and like Plato were problems to be overcome. Thus, like Alfred Rosenberg, Heidegger argued that these egalitarian and universalist ideologies posed a threat to the German "Geist," but unlike

⁶⁶ Vom Wesen der Wahrheit. Zu Platons Höhlengleichnis und Theätet, in: Gesamtausgabe, Volume 34, p.325. Note the reference to Marx's The Poverty of Philosophy, which had been published the same year in Germany by Siegfried Landshut. Tertulian was the first to discuss both the context and the political significance of these lectures.

⁶⁷ Being and Time, H.48-49.

Rosenberg he did not make Jews and Judaism responsible for that threat.⁶⁸ For Heidegger, the source of the problem was to be found in the metaphysical foundations of Western philosophy, not biology. Jews may have been bearers of a non-German culture, as was seen above, but they were not the source of the essential philosophical problems confronting modern man.

In his lectures on Nietzsche during the Winter Semester of 1936-37, Heidegger re-affirmed his belief that only an elite few were capable of experiencing the "heights of the spirit" (Höchste des Geistes), and endorsed Nietzsche's view that democratic egalitarianism was a product of the slave-morality of Christianity. Using Nietzsche's understanding of nihilism as a mouthpiece, Heidegger gave free reign to his anti-democratic and anti-Communist opinions.

Es gehört ein tiefes Wissen und ein noch tieferer Ernst dazu, um das zu begreifen, was Nietzsche mit Nihilismus bezeichnet. Für Nietzsche ist das Christentum ebenso nihilistisch wie der Bolschewismus und daher ebenso wie der bloße Sozialismus.⁶⁹

In these lectures Heidegger gives Nietzschean nihilism a multi-faceted political form and provides names for the

⁶⁸ Alfred Rosenberg, Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts, p.204.

⁶⁹ Nietzsche: Der Wille zur Macht als Kunst, in: Gesamtausgabe, Volume 43, pp.30-31. Note that when Heidegger's two volume work on Nietzsche was first published in 1961, this passage was removed. The original text was published as Volume 43 of the Collected Works in 1985 (after Heidegger's death). See Tertulian for an excellent discussion of this passage.

three greatest enemies of the "highest values." Note that only "mere" socialism is rejected here, allowing a space for the appearance and affirmation of National Socialism.

Nietzsche's opposition to nihilistic values has even become a commitment to anti-Bolshevism, an interpretive move demanding no small amount of imagination since Nietzsche died before "Bolshevism" came into existence. The political activity of 1933-34 has thus not ceased; it has merely been redeployed to a different front (Einsatzstelle).

Heidegger's continuing hostility to egalitarian and democratic ideas is also visible in another passage from these lectures, where he openly rejects democracy as a political option for modern Europe.

Europa will sich immer noch an die 'Demokratie' klammern und will nicht sehen lernen, daß diese sein geschichtlicher Tod würde. Denn die Demokratie ist, wie Nietzsche klar sah, nur eine Abart des Nihilismus, d.h. der Entwertung oberster Werte, derart, daß sie eben nur noch 'Werte' und keine gestaltgebenden Kräfte mehr sind.⁷⁰

Democracy is a kind of nihilism for Heidegger, a devaluation of the highest values and a threat to Europe's historical existence. The egalitarian leveling implied by democracy would reduce all values to the same plane, thus robbing them of their creative strength. Heidegger believed that Nietzsche had recognized this and that Nietzsche's

⁷⁰ Ibid., p.193. This passage was also removed from the 1961-edition of Heidegger's work on Nietzsche; see the previous footnote.

thought represented the foundation of a countermove against the continued decline of Europe's highest values. During his lectures on Schelling in 1936, Heidegger claimed that the political embodiment of this countermove was to be found in Fascism and Nazism, and the two political leaders who best understood the current situation were Mussolini and Hitler.

Es ist überdies bekannt, daß die beiden Männer, die in Europa von der politischen Gestaltung der Nation bzw. des Volkes her – und zwar in je verschiedener Weise – Gegenbewegungen eingeleitet haben, daß sowohl Mussolini wie Hitler von Nietzsche wiederum in verschiedener Hinsicht wesentlich bestimmt sind und dieses, ohne daß dabei der eigentliche metaphysische Bereich des Nietzschen Denkens unmittelbar zur Geltung käme.⁷¹

Although they had not addressed the metaphysical foundations of Nietzsche's thought, the two dictators had (according to Heidegger) been influenced by Nietzsche and were doing what they could to counter the dangers posed by nihilism to the "highest values" (oberste Werte). Heidegger believed that both Mussolini and Hitler shared his view that Europe's highest values were threatened by Marxism, liberalism, and internationalism, and believed that the two

⁷¹ Schelling. Vom Wesen menschlicher Freiheit, 1809, in: Gesamtausgabe, Volume 42, pp.40-41. When Heidegger's lectures on Schelling were first published in 1971, this passage was removed; it was restored to the version published in the Collected Works in 1988. See Tertulian, p.86, for an excellent discussion of this passage.

leaders represented a bulwark against these forces of nihilism.⁷²

Heidegger's resistance to "nihilism" extended to other forms of egalitarian and universalist thought. During his lectures on Hölderlin in the Summer Semester of 1942, Heidegger voiced contempt for the Enlightenment and for Free Masonry, as he characterized the philosophical values he believed to be common to both.

Aber wenn wir vom 'Wahren', 'Guten' und 'Schönen' reden, dann bewegen wir uns, *ob wir es wissen oder nicht*, im neuzeitlich aufklärerischen, freimaurerischen Bereich.⁷³

Philosophical talk about truth, the good, and beauty means, for Heidegger, that one is speaking from the realm of "masonic Enlightenment," a space not rooted in the German tradition (the Enlightenment) and prohibited under German law (Free Masonry). Most significantly, one is speaking from this place *whether one knows it or not*, which means that no amount of argument can change that fact; one must simply stop talking this way when so ordered. This particular political utterance places Heidegger in lock-step

⁷² See Adolf Hitler, Mein Kampf (New York: Reynak & Hitchcock, 1940), p.986: "What will rank Mussolini among the great of this earth is the determination not to share Italy with Marxism, but to save it by dooming internationalism to annihilation."

⁷³ Hölderlins Hymne 'Der Ister', in: Gesamtausgabe, Volume 52, p.33; emphasis added. See Tertulian for an excellent discussion of this passage.

with Rosenberg and other Nazi ideologues, who viewed Free Masonry and the universalist ideals of the Enlightenment as weapons of the international Jewish conspiracy.⁷⁴

In these same lectures Heidegger contemptuously dismissed the entry of the United States into the war, describing it as "the last American act of America's historylessness and self destruction. This act is the renunciation of the Origin. It is a decision for lack-of-Origin."⁷⁵ "Americanism" was, for Heidegger, one of the worst forms of the modern spirit (Geist) threatening Germany's unique identity; it was a kind of cultural rootlessness capable of spreading into other cultures. In another segment of these lectures, he warned his students about the destructive influence of the country without culture or history.

Die Preisgabe des deutschen Wesens an den Amerikanismus geht zu seinem eigenen Unheil bisweilen schon so weit, daß Deutsche sich dessen schämen, daß ihr Volk einmal 'das Volk der Dichter und Denker' genannt worden.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ "Die neue Lehre der Humanität war die 'Religion' der Freimaurer. Diese hat bis auf heute die geistigen Grundlagen einer universalistisch=abstrakten Bildung abgegeben, den Ausgangspunkt aller ichsüchtigen Glückseligkeitspredigten, sie hat (bereits um 1740) auch das politische Schlagwort der letzten 150 Jahre 'Freiheit, Gleichheit, Brüderlichkeit' geprägt und die chaotische, völkerzersetzende 'humane' Demokratie geboren." Alfred Rosenberg, pp.200-201. See also Mein Kampf, p.433.

⁷⁵ Quoted by Thomas Sheehan, "Heidegger and the Nazis," in: The New York Review of Books (June 16, 1988), p.44.

⁷⁶ Hölderlins Hymne "Der Ister", p.108.

Heidegger thus adopted and endorsed one of the central planks of German propaganda during the war. According to Goebbels, Germany faced four major enemies who had resolved to fight her to the death: world Jewry, Bolshevism, Plutocracy, and Americanism.⁷⁷ The term "Americanism" did not have a specific definition and was used in Nazi propaganda to refer to everything from "race mixing" to degenerate art and the absence of culture. Heidegger believed that American culture was a mixture of Christianity and "demokratische Bürgerlichkeit," two things which Germany needed to overcome. By claiming that the German essence (Wesen) had surrendered to these ideas to the extent that some Germans were even ashamed to refer to themselves as "das Volk der Dichter und Denker," Heidegger was breathing life into the language of Nazi propaganda and was supporting the war effort. Again, the political commitment of 1933-34 has not ceased, it has merely been redeployed to a different front (Einsatzstelle).

Heidegger thus offered support for key elements of Nazi propaganda in his lectures, using the classroom as a platform from which to express his political opinions. But it is also true, as Heidegger himself was later to emphasize, that he challenged aspects of Rosenberg's

⁷⁷ See Goebbels' speech of Oct.12, 1942; reported in Archiv der Gegenwart (Siegler-Verlag: Wien, 1942), p.5675.

"Weltanschauung" in his lectures.⁷⁸ In so doing he was being perfectly consistent with both his political and his philosophical commitments. For example, during his lectures on Heraclitus' logic in the Summer Semester of 1944 Heidegger rejected Rosenberg's understanding of philosophy, while remaining both a loyal Party member and a supporter of the war effort.

Man redet von 'Begriffsdichtung' und 'Dichterphilosophen'. Die Philosophie gilt als eine Art von Glaubensbekenntnis oder als 'Weltanschauung'. Es ist eine heillose und schwer faßliche Angst in der Welt, die Philosophie nur als Philosophie zu denken und diesem Denken zu folgen, wo es und insofern es Not ist.⁷⁹

Speaking not directly to Rosenberg, but to an impersonal subject, Heidegger rejected the notion that philosophy is a world view (Weltanschauung) or an expression of faith or allegiance. For Heidegger, philosophy was at the center of *all* knowledge, and knowledge was not merely a characteristic of a particular race. That Heidegger had Rosenberg's understanding of philosophy in mind is confirmed by a close reading of Rosenberg's Mythos des 20.

Jahrhunderts:

Letzten Endes ist denn auch jede über eine formale Vernunftkritik hinausgehende Philosophie weniger eine Erkenntnis als ein Bekenntnis; ein seelisches und

⁷⁸ As for example in the famous interview with Der Spiegel (May 31, 1976), pp.203-204.

⁷⁹ Heraklits Lehre vom Logos, GA, Volume 55, p.228.

rassisches Bekenntnis, ein Bekenntnis zu
Charakterwerten.⁸⁰

For Rosenberg, philosophy had less to do with knowledge than loyalty; it was a creed to which people of a particular race and with values of character owed allegiance. Unlike some other philosophers, Heidegger never even pretended to accept this.

Heidegger was engaged in a polemical confrontation with Rosenberg but not because he was opposed to Nazism. Rather, Heidegger wanted to improve National Socialism, to make better philosophical sense of it. To do so, he thought, one had to reject the implicitly universalistic language of values (Werte); the "inner truth and greatness" of National Socialism could not be understood by reference to any such Platonically based category, whether it be the values of "masonic Enlightenment" or the values of character alluded to by Rosenberg. Heidegger made this point in his lectures on metaphysics during the Summer Semester of 1935, when he expressed his irritation with the literature that (in his estimation) inadequately represented the philosophical foundations of National Socialism.

The works that are being peddled about nowadays as the philosophy of National Socialism but have nothing whatever to do with the inner truth and greatness of National Socialism - have all been written by men

⁸⁰ See Rosenberg, p.118.

fishing in the troubled waters of 'values' and 'totalities.'⁸¹

After the war Heidegger's political engagement took a different form, but one that was entirely consistent with his previous commitments. As in his letter to Herbert Marcuse, Heidegger attempted to relativize the crimes of Nazi Germany by equating them with actions of the victorious Allies. For example, during a lecture in December 1949, Heidegger gave the following analysis of the moral significance of Auschwitz:

Agriculture is now a motorized food-industry - in essence, the same as the manufacture of corpses in gas chambers and extermination camps, the same as the blockading and starving of nations, the same as the manufacture of hydrogen bombs.⁸²

⁸¹ While these lectures were being prepared for publication in 1953, two of Heidegger's students asked him to remove this passage from the manuscript. Instead, Heidegger struck out the second mention of National Socialism, substituted the term Movement (Bewegung) and added an explanation in parentheses that did not appear in the original text: "namely the encounter between global technology and modern man" (nämlich mit der Begegnung der planetarisch bestimmten Technik und des neuzeitlichen Menschen). Heidegger thus sought to put a philosophical gloss on this declaration of support for Nazism that did not appear in the original text. This was recently revealed by Rainer Marten, one of the two students in question. See his article, "Ein rassistisches Konzept von Humanität," in: Badische Zeitung (Dec.19/20, 1987), p.14. Compare this to the standard English version in: An Introduction to Metaphysics, trans. Ralph Manheim. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959), p.199.

⁸² This passage was first discussed by Thomas Sheehan on pp.40-41 of his article "Heidegger and the Nazis." Heidegger made these remarks in a lecture entitled "Das Gestell," which was later published as "The Question Concerning Technology." All but the first five words of this passage were removed from several German editions of this text (1954, 1962, and 1967); the sanitized version

Thus are the unique horrors of the Nazi occupation of Europe equated with actions taken by the Soviet Union (the Berlin blockade) and the United States (the development of the hydrogen bomb). The actions of the victor and the vanquished are seen to be "in essence the same," and that essence can be (and is) described in non-political terms. Modern agriculture, that is modern technology, is the "essence" of the matter for Heidegger. This move allowed Heidegger to maintain his anti-democratic and anti-Communist political commitment, and turn any questions about his involvement with Nazism into larger questions about the general metaphysical problems confronting modern man. In so doing he was both insulating himself from criticism and protecting his future position; if the German disaster was the result of a philosophical problem, then Germany would need the philosopher who best understood that problem. Heidegger began to articulate this position immediately after the German collapse; in an attempt to explain and justify his actions as Rector of the University of Freiburg in 1945, Heidegger wrote the following:

Was Ernst Jünger in den Gedanken von Herrschaft und Gestalt des Arbeiters denkt und im Lichte dieses Gedankens sieht, ist die universale Herrschaft des Willens zur Macht innerhalb der planetarisch gesehenen Geschichte. In dieser Wirklichkeit steht heute Alles,

appears on p.296 of the collection edited by David Farrell Krell, Martin Heidegger: Basic Writings (New York: Harper and Row, 1977).

mag es Kommunismus heißen oder Faschismus oder Weltdemokratie.⁸³

Heidegger also gave evidence of his political commitments in his philosophical texts. The first place to look is in Section 74 of Being and Time ("The Basic Constitution of Historicality"), because Heidegger himself said that his concept of "historicality" was the foundation of his political engagement.⁸⁴ In this section Heidegger explains the historical character of Dasein.⁸⁵ Dasein becomes historical when it recognizes its own Being-towards-death and freely accepts the particular circumstances of its own finitude. This "anticipatory resoluteness" of Being-towards-death is the necessary precondition for authentic existence; this resoluteness opens the way for the realization of one's "fate."

Only by the anticipation of death is every accident and 'provisional' possibility driven out. Only Being-free for death, gives Dasein its goal outright and pushes existence into its finitude. Once one has grasped the finitude of one's existence, it snatches one back from the endless multiplicity of possibilities which offer themselves as closest to one - those of

⁸³ Das Rektorat 1933/34: Tatsachen und Gedanken (Frankfurt: Klostermann, 1983), pp.24-25. Note that Heidegger refers to Fascism, not National Socialism. In the same text he criticizes the Nazi "Weltanschauung" (p.38), but as has been explained this was merely criticism of a particular version of Nazism.

⁸⁴ Löwith, Mein Leben in Deutschland..., p.57.

⁸⁵ "Dasein, man's Being, is 'defined' [...] as that living thing whose Being is essentially determined by the potentiality for discourse." Being and Time, H.25.

comfortableness, shirking, and taking things lightly - and brings Dasein into the simplicity of its *fate*.⁸⁶

Fate is the acceptance of that possibility which has been individually "inherited and yet chosen," but for Heidegger it is not something experienced by isolated individuals.

But if fateful Dasein, as Being-in-the-world, exists essentially in Being-with-Others, its historicizing is a co-historicizing and is determinative for it as *destiny*. This is how we designate the historicizing of the community [Gemeinschaft], of a people [Volk]. Destiny is not something that puts itself together out of individual fates, any more than Being-with-one-another can be conceived as the occurring together of several Subjects. Our fates have already been guided in advance, in our Being with one another in the same world and in our resoluteness for definite possibilities. Only in communicating and in struggle does the power of destiny become free. Dasein's fateful destiny in and with its 'generation' goes to make up the full authentic historicizing of Dasein.⁸⁷

Without referring to any particular social or political body, Heidegger argues that authentic existence is something that can only be realized in and through an historical community and an historical people. They share a common destiny, bound together by language and struggle, and above all a common future. For Heidegger,

history has its essential importance neither in what is past nor in the 'today' and its 'connection' with what is past, but in that authentic historicizing of existence which arises from Dasein's *future*.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ Being and Time, H.384.

⁸⁷ Ibid., H.384-385.

⁸⁸ Ibid., H.386. Emphasis in original.

This privileging of the future over the past and the present is not the result of a desire to make a better future (if "better" is to be understood within the confines of traditional ethical values); it is the result of a desire to realize the possibility of a more authentic existence. For Heidegger the past is not a guide to the future, and to this extent his concept of "historicality" is ahistorical. But the past can hand down possibilities, and a resolute decision to submit to one of them can create the conditions necessary for a different future.

The authentic repetition of a possibility of existence that has been - the possibility that Dasein may choose its hero - is ground existentially in anticipatory resoluteness; for it is in resoluteness that one first chooses the footsteps of that which can be repeated.⁸⁹

The possibility of a different future resides in the individual resolutely anticipating his own Being-toward-death, and thus confronting his own "fate"; that fate is not solitary, but is shared in the destiny of the historical people to whom he is bound by language and struggle. This is a fracture in the radical individualism of Being and Time; the possibility of "authentic Being" depends both on the resoluteness of the individual and the individual's location within an historical community, an historical Volk. And what constitutes this historical Volk? Is there more than one of them? The analysis of Being and Time does not

⁸⁹ Ibid., H.385.

answer these questions, but it does pose a problem which Heidegger was later to solve by integrating the individual Dasein into the "Dasein des Volkes."⁹⁰ Heidegger thus developed in Being and Time a position that will later bind the possibility of authentic Being to the destiny of a particular people and a particular community: the German Volk and the Nazi State.

The suggestive but ambiguous understanding of the importance of the Volk found in Section 74 of Being and Time was more precisely articulated by Heidegger in the formal address he gave at his ceremonial inauguration as Rector of the University of Freiburg. In this text, which was later published under the title Die Selbstbehauptung der deutschen Universität, Heidegger gives this concept an essential role in the determination of the possibility of authentic Being.⁹¹ "Resoluteness" remains a necessary precondition of the possibility of authentic existence, but it is qualified: resolve "is still understood as man's affirmation

⁹⁰ "Die These zu Heideggers Wendung zur Gemeinschaft läßt sich an seinen Texten bestätigen – und zwar genauer an einer Verschiebung am Begriff des "Volkes". Während es nämlich in Sein und Zeit noch eine Instanz ist, zu der das einzelne Dasein sich verhält, zu der es Zugang gewinnen will, ergibt sich nun als "Dasein des Volkes" eine Einheit, in die der Einzelne schon selbstverständlich integriert ist – und die als solche Einheit bestimmt werden kann." See Dieter Thomä's excellent work, Die Zeit des Selbst und die Zeit danach (Frankfurt/M: Suhrkamp, 1990), p.545.

⁹¹ An influential text, it went through three editions during the period of Nazi rule: 1933, 1934, and 1937.

of himself in his entirety, but Heidegger now insists that such affirmation is possible only when man opens himself to forces which transcend him."⁹² These forces are found in the spiritual world of a Volk, "which most deeply preserves the forces stemming from earth and blood as the power which most deeply moves and profoundly shakes our being."⁹³ The spiritual world of a Volk is rooted in that which is common to all of its individual members ("seiner erd- und bluthaften Kräfte"), and it is this "geistige Welt" which alone determines the greatness of a Volk. Heidegger thus clarifies the ambiguous relationship between the fate of the individual and the destiny of the community by removing all distinctions between individuals within a particular community; out of the "Gemeinschaft" mentioned in Being and Time has grown the "Volksgemeinschaft" mentioned in the inaugural address.⁹⁴ The individual must still resolve to face his own finitude, his own Being-towards-death, but he must do so in the recognition of the transcendent destiny of his community, as determined by the spiritual world (geistige Welt) of his people.

⁹² Karsten Harries, "Heidegger as a Political Thinker," in: Heidegger and Modern Philosophy (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), pp.315-316.

⁹³ Die Selbstbehauptung der deutschen Universität, p.14; translation appears in Harries, p.315.

⁹⁴ Die Selbstbehauptung..., p.15.

This new emphasis on the role of these "transcendent forces" in the resoluteness of Being and Time is clearly not a retreat onto the universalist terrain of Platonic, Christian, and Kantian philosophy (Heidegger's philosophical targets). Rather, it is a development of the position advanced in Being and Time that people must authentically be themselves before they can share an authentic life with others.⁹⁵ This means that one must recognize one's identity within a Volk that shares a common destiny, a destiny whose power can only be realized "in communicating and in struggling." In the inaugural address Heidegger builds on this framework by explaining the source of the strength necessary for this struggling to set free the power of destiny; a spiritual world and its "erd- und bluthaften Kräfte als Macht der innersten Erregung und weitesten Erschütterung seines Daseins."⁹⁶ Heidegger is referring to forces deep within the German Volk and that Volk's place; while this language parallels Rosenberg's "Blut und Boden" vocabulary, Heidegger is not offering a straightforward endorsement of biological racism. His reference to "erdhaft" is consistent with other references to the earth

⁹⁵ "Only by authentically Being-their-Selves in resoluteness can people authentically be with one another - not by ambiguous and jealous stipulations and talkative fraternizing in the 'they' and in what 'they' want to undertake." Being and Time, H.298.

⁹⁶ Die Selbstbehauptung..., p.14.

(Boden) previously discussed, and is also consistent with the importance he attached to the language of "rootedness." But his use of "bluthaft" does not support the conventional Nazi usage of race because for Heidegger only a spiritual world determines a people's destiny; while that spiritual world is "rooted" in the Volk, it is not innate and is not reducible to a set of biological characteristics.⁹⁷

Heidegger's understanding of this spiritual world requires that there be spiritual leadership (Führung) of the Volk, by those who understand (and who are themselves led by) the spiritual mission which compels the German Volk to realize its historical destiny.⁹⁸ This is different from Rosenberg's conception of the Volk as an organic community whose destiny is determined by the physical characteristics of an innately superior race.

In assuming the position of Rector, Heidegger is also assuming this mantle of spiritual leadership. He has taken charge of the institution whose essence is realized in the

⁹⁷ "Der streng biologistische Begriff der 'Rasse' ist mit Heideggers Konzeption 1933 deshalb unverträglich, weil er den Menschen nun nicht allein aus sich selbst heraus bestimmen will [...] Das 'Volk' bildet sich, anders gesagt, nicht aus einer bestimmten isolierbaren 'Art' von Menschen, sondern aus der Bindung an die 'Erde'. Ihr folgend soll das deutsche Volk sein Schicksal annehmen." Thomä, p.587.

⁹⁸ "...die Führer selbst Geführte sind - geführte von der Unerbittlichkeit jenes geistigen Auftrags, der das Schicksal des deutschen Volkes in das Gepräge seiner Geschichte zwingt." Die Selbstbehauptung..., p.9.

creation of systematic knowledge (Wissenschaft)⁹⁹ to educate and guide the leaders and guardians of the destiny of the German Volk.¹⁰⁰ He argues for the "self-assertion" (Selbstbehauptung) of the essence of the German university, claiming that the will to this "essence" is also the will to Wissenschaft. The power of both Wissenschaft and German destiny can only be realized in the will to the "historical-spiritual mission of the German Volk that knows itself in its State." This can happen if, and only if, university teachers and students understand the internal necessity of Wissenschaft and stand fast in the face of the extreme emergency confronting Germany's destiny. The assertion of the "essence" of the German university thus involves both a philosophical and a political commitment.

Der Wille zum Wesen der deutschen Universität ist der Wille zur Wissenschaft als Wille zum geschichtlichen geistigen Auftrag des deutschen Volkes als eines in seinem Staat sich selbst wissenden Volkes. Wissenschaft und deutsches Schicksal müssen *zumal* im Wesenswillen zur Macht kommen. Und sie werden es dann und *nur* dann, wenn wir - Lehrerschaft und Schülerschaft - *einmal* die Wissenschaft ihrer innersten Notwendigkeit aussetzen und wenn wir zum *anderen* dem deutschen Schicksal in seiner äußersten Not standhalten.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ Wissenschaft is also widely translated as science, and is so widely used in the English literature that for the rest of this text I will not use a translation.

¹⁰⁰ "Die deutsche Universität gilt uns als die hohe Schule, die aus Wissenschaft und durch Wissenschaft die Führer und Hüter des Schicksals des deutschen Volkes in die Erziehung und Zucht nimmt." Ibid., p.10.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., p.10; emphasis in original.

For Heidegger genuine Wissenschaft is to be understood as knowledge that comes to be through and for the Volk, when teachers and students place themselves in the power of the origin of their spiritual-historical existence; that is to say, when they place themselves in the power of the first awakenings (Aufbruch) of Greek philosophy.¹⁰² According to Heidegger the Greeks were the first people who, out of the particular strengths of their language, posed the question of Being; an understanding of this original questioning can return Wissenschaft (and thus the German university) to its essence. Heidegger thus locates in the beginnings of Greek philosophy the beginnings of all Wissenschaft: "Alle Wissenschaft ist Philosophie, mag sie es wissen und wollen - oder nicht. Alle Wissenschaft bleibt jenem Anfang der Philosophie verhaftet."¹⁰³ Unlike Alfred Rosenberg, Heidegger understood Wissenschaft to be philosophically (rather than biologically) determined.¹⁰⁴ A recovery of the "essence" of Wissenschaft for Heidegger means a recovery of the original questions of Greek philosophy, and a recovery of the possibility of overcoming both the influence of 2000 years of Christian theology and the influence of modern mathematical-technical thought. This is the "internal

¹⁰² Ibid., p.10-11.

¹⁰³ Ibid., p.11.

¹⁰⁴ "Aber auch die 'Wissenschaft' ist eine Folge des Blutes." Rosenberg, p.120.

necessity" Heidegger referred to above; the essence of Wissenschaft is a philosophical problem that can be best understood when one examines its origins. In so doing one is reminded that Wissenschaft (and philosophy) are not merely a tool, "sondern die innerst bestimmende Mitte des ganzen volklich-staatlichen Daseins".¹⁰⁵

The political commitment involved in this "self-assertion" of the essence of the German university is readily apparent. While the existence of more than one Volk is acknowledged (as in Being and Time), the German Volk is privileged over all others. Only the destiny of the German Volk is said to face an "extreme emergency" and only the German Volk is described as standing before the greatness of a new beginning (Anfang). The structure of this beginning is explained in detail in the inaugural address; the "Volksgemeinschaft" (composed of the German Volk) realizes its destiny through its State in fulfillment of its unique spiritual mission (geistigen Auftrag). For the university, the self-assertion of its "essence" means its submission to the Volk and the National Socialist State; students and teachers will work together as a "Kampfgemeinschaft" in the service of the Volk, providing the spiritual leadership necessary for Germany to realize its historical destiny. The university thus submits to that destiny, but this

¹⁰⁵ Die Selbstbehauptung..., p.12.

submission is not understood to be a loss of freedom; it is rather its redefinition.

Die vielbesungene 'akademische Freiheit' wird aus der deutschen Universität verstoßen; denn diese Freiheit war unecht, weil nur verneinend. Sie bedeutete vorwiegend Unbekümmertheit, Beliebigkeit der Absichten und Neigungen, Ungebundenheit im Tun und Lassen. Der Begriff der Freiheit des deutschen Studenten wird jetzt zu seiner Wahrheit zurückgebracht.¹⁰⁶

Under the spiritual leadership of Rector Heidegger, the university is to become in essence a political institution, guiding "die Führer und Hüter des Schicksals des deutschen Volkes." The privileging of the future over the past that was articulated in Being and Time remains in the inaugural address, with the inclusion of specific political tasks to be accomplished in anticipation of the fulfillment of the "geistigen Auftrag des deutschen Volkes."¹⁰⁷ University students are to be prepared for submission to each part of the trinity outlined above (Volksgemeinschaft, State, and spiritual mission) by three kinds of political service, each viewed by Heidegger as equally necessary and of equal status.

Die drei Bindungen - *durch* das Volk *an* das Geschick des Staates *im* geistigen Auftrag - sind dem deutschen Wesen *gleichursprünglich*. Die drei von da entspringenden Dienste - Arbeitsdienst, Wehrdienst, und Wissensdienst - sind gleichnotwendig und gleichen Ranges.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ Die Selbstbehauptung..., p.15.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., p.15.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., p.16; emphasis in original.

In his inaugural address Heidegger is clearly offering a philosophical justification for the political mobilization of the university in support of the National Socialist project (as he understood it). The most distinctive feature of Heidegger's interpretation of National Socialism was his elevation of the importance of the philosopher (i.e. himself) for the future of the nation's destiny.

In later philosophical writings, as in his lectures, Heidegger maintained the political commitments outlined above, while engaging in a polemical confrontation with "vulgar" conceptions of National Socialism. He continued to reject both the racist anthropology of Rosenberg's version of the National Socialism "Weltanschauung" and the equation of the threat to the German "Geist" allegedly posed by the universalist ideologies of Germany's enemies with Jews and Jewishness. In fact, he claimed that the Rosenberg's simple racism was no different in its metaphysical foundation than these ideologies. In his recently published Beiträge zur Philosophie, Heidegger explains:

Daß man heute noch und sogar wieder die 'Anthropologie' zum Mittelpunkt der Weltanschauungsscholastik macht, zeigt eindringlicher als jede historische Nachweisung von Abhängigkeiten, daß man sich noch einmal anschickt, ganz auf dem Boden von Descartes sich zurückzustellen. Welche Frisur dabei die Anthropologie trägt, ob eine aufklärerisch-moralische, ob eine psychologisch-naturwissenschaftliche, ob eine geisteswissenschaftlich-personalistische, ob eine christliche oder eine politisch völkische, ist für die entscheidende Frage völlig gleichgültig: die Frage nämlich, ob die Neuzeit als ein Ende begriffen und ein anderer Anfang erfragt ist, oder ob man sich auf die

Verewigung eines seit Plato währenden Verfalls versteift, was man schließlich nur dann noch kann, wenn man sich seine Ahnungslosigkeit als Überwindung der Überlieferung einredet.¹⁰⁹

Heidegger opposed Rosenberg's völkisch anthropology because it did not address what he took to be the key philosophical question: would a different beginning be pursued at the end of the metaphysics of the modern era or would the "decay" that began with Plato be perpetuated? Heidegger believed that Rosenberg's understanding of the Volk, like virtually all other anthropologies, remained trapped on the rationalist terrain of Descartes; that is, it remained trapped in the same metaphysical mistakes repeated in Western philosophy ever since Plato. "'Weltanschauung' ist ebenso wie die Herrschaft von 'Weltbildern' ein Gewächs der Neuzeit, eine *Folge* der neuzeitlichen Metaphysik."¹¹⁰ Rosenberg's mistake was his belief that the essence of the Volk was something that could be rationally determined, by means of an objective analysis of an individual's geneology. As was seen above, Heidegger's understanding of the Volk was rooted in his understanding of "Geist," not in biology.

In this same work, Heidegger addresses the problem of the Volk by posing the question "wer sind wir?" (who are

¹⁰⁹ Beiträge zur Philosophie, (Frankfurt/M: Klostermann, 1989), p.134; this text was written between 1936-38, and it was first published on the centenary of Heidegger's birth. It remains unavailable in English.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., p.38; emphasis in the original.

we). He makes clear that this is a dangerous question (both philosophically and politically), upon whose answer much depends; but he does so in a way that endorses the "will power" of the new Germany.

Aber die Gefährlichkeit der Frage, wer wir sind, ist zugleich, wenn Gefahr das Höchste ernötigen kann, der einzige Weg, um zu uns selbst zu kommen und damit die ursprüngliche Rettung, d.h. Rechtfertigung des Abendlandes aus seiner Geschichte anzubahnen.

Die Gefährlichkeit dieser Frage ist so wesentlich in sich für uns, daß sie den Anschein der Gegnerschaft zum neuen deutschen Willen verliert.¹¹¹

As was seen above, the essence of the Volk lies in a set of philosophical problems that are rooted in the origins of Western philosophy. But Heidegger does not pose the question "who are we?" as an introduction to a justification of the tradition of the "Abendland," but as an introduction to the possibility of overcoming that tradition. This goal remains completely compatible with his own version of Nazism and the radically conservative, anti-liberal, and anti-Communist political preferences expressed during the 1920's and 1930's. Liberalism is again explicitly dismissed in the Beiträge zur Philosophie, characterized as a kind of "slavery of the coincidental."

Denn selbst in der 'liberalen' Weltanschauung steckt noch dieses Rechthaberische in dem Sinn, daß sie fordert, jedem

¹¹¹ Ibid., p.54. See Tertullian p.88, for an excellent discussion of this passage.

seine Meinung zu lassen. Die Beliebigkeit aber ist die Sklaverei des 'Zufälligen'.¹¹²

Marxism is again equated with Bolshevism, which is again condemned as a kind of "vulgar nihilism."¹¹³

Thus Heidegger continued to object to versions of National Socialism that did not, in his view, express its "inner truth and greatness," even as he maintained his basic political commitments. His criticism of Rosenberg's "Weltanschauungslehre" in no way meant that he had lost confidence in Hitler's leadership of the country, or even that he was offering resistance to Nazism, as his son later claimed.¹¹⁴ And as was seen in his lectures, there is every evidence that Heidegger maintained his basic political commitments through the war and supported the war effort long after a prudent opportunist would have charted another course. In a postscript to the 1943 edition of his text Was ist Metaphysik? (published after the disaster at Stalingrad), Heidegger gave a politically useful explanation of the essence of "sacrifice."

Das Opfer ist heimisch im Wesen des Ereignisses, als welches das Sein den Menschen für die Wahrheit des

¹¹² Beiträge zur Philosophie, p.38. As a rejection of "arbitrariness," this is arguably a rejection of both liberalism and the economics of the invisible hand. This position is also consistent with the inaugural address: "Wir wählen den wissenden Kampf der Fragenden und bekennen mit Carl Clausewitz: 'Ich sage mich los von der leichtsinnigen Hoffnung einer Errettung durch die Hand des Zufalls.'" p.18.

¹¹³ Ibid., pp.54 and 140.

¹¹⁴ See the "Vorwort" to Die Selbstbehauptung..., p.5.

Seins in den Anspruch nimmt. Deshalb duldet das Opfer keine Berechnung, durch die es jedesmal nur auf einen Nutzen oder eine Nutzlosigkeit verrechnet wird, mögen die Zwecke niedrig gesetzt oder hoch gestellt sein. Solches Verrechnen verunstaltet das Wesen des Opfers. *Die Sucht nach Zwecken verwirrt die Klarheit der angstbereiten Scheu des Opfermutes, der sich die Nachbarschaft zum Unzerstörbaren zugemutet hat.*¹¹⁵

For Heidegger, the essence of sacrifice is not something that can be understood by means of a calculation or a cost/benefit analysis. In fact, any questions about the aim or purpose of a sacrifice are considered illegitimate, as they merely confuse and discourage the willingness to sacrifice. Such reasoning would have been particularly welcomed by the Nazi regime in 1943, when the country was mobilized for "total war" and Germans were called upon to make sacrifices hitherto not required of them. Heidegger's understanding of the essence of sacrifice also prevented one from asking what all the sacrifices were for, a question that had had such an explosive political impact in Germany at the end of the First World War.¹¹⁶ The Nazi government was clearly pleased with Heidegger's criticism of metaphysics; during the Winter Semester of 1943/44 he was

¹¹⁵ Was ist Metaphysik (1986), pp.50-51. Emphasis added.

¹¹⁶ "In vain all the sacrifices and deprivations [...] Would not the graves of all the hundreds of thousands open up, the graves of those who once had marched out with faith in the fatherland, never to return? [...] Was that the meaning of the sacrifice which the German mother brought to the fatherland when in those days, with an aching heart, she let her most beloved boys go away, never to see them return?" Adolf Hitler, Mein Kampf, pp.267-268.

given a paid leave of absence from the University for the express purpose of preparing the second volume of Being and Time.¹¹⁷

There is thus overwhelming evidence that Heidegger was a convinced Nazi and not merely a fellow traveler. Having established this, the most important question remains unanswered. What is the connection between Heidegger's politics and his philosophy? The existing US literature on this question (which is substantial) provides only two possible answers: 1) there is some intrinsic connection between Heidegger's politics and his philosophy; and 2) there is no such connection. In order to reach one of these conclusions, all of the existing literature on Heidegger's politics proceeds from the same methodological premise, namely that it is possible to understand the relationship between Heidegger's politics and philosophy after having read Heidegger's work in the absence of any larger historical context. But the historical context supplied in the previous chapter suggests questions about the particularity of Heidegger's commitment to Nazism: In what ways was his decision to embrace National Socialism similar to or distinct from the decisions made by dozens of other philosopher-Nazis? Were his political pronouncements merely

¹¹⁷ See Heidegger's letter dated July 17, 1943 to Prof. Dr. Schuchardt, the Dean of the Philosophy Faculty at Freiburg, in Heidegger's file at the BDC.

formal concessions to the demands of the State, or were they part of a self-defined project? I want to suggest that the connection between Heidegger's politics and philosophy cannot be understood simply by reading Heidegger by himself, and that to understand the political content of his philosophical work fully one must compare it to that of other philosophers who were entrusted with similar political responsibilities. I am thus rejecting the traditional choices and methodology mentioned above in favor of a contextual analysis, one where the context is supplied by the writings of the four other philosophers who were chosen to be Rector of a university at some point during the years of the Nazi dictatorship.¹¹⁸ Such a comparison will reveal that, unlike the others, Heidegger drew a distinction between common or vulgar National Socialism (as embodied in the writings of Alfred Rosenberg) and "genuine" Nazism. This distinction allowed Heidegger to continue to refer to the "inner truth and greatness" of Nazism long after other Nazi philosophers had adopted the liberal ideological postures of the West German republic, and it allowed him to separate this alleged "inner truth" from the political practice of National Socialism.

In this context, an examination of the works of these philosophers should begin with a comparison of the one text

¹¹⁸ These five were: Heidegger, Eugen Herrigel, Hans Heyse, Ernst Krieck, and Felix Krueger.

they each had to compose for the same occasion, the innagural address. Upon assuming the Rectorship, each new Rector had to address the university community and explain his intentions for the future of the university, a tradition which continues today.¹¹⁹ These texts were not and are not intended to be mere ceremonial homilies of the kind so often presented at universities in the United States; they were supposed to be academically respectable texts that reflected the professional capability and orientation of the speaker. But in Nazi Germany these addresses were also staged political events, and the newly appointed philosopher-Rectors were expected to use their philosophical skills in support of the authority that had put them in positions of responsibility. In thoses cases where I have not been able to locate a Rector's innaugural address, I have relied on other texts written at the time to characterize his philosophical orientation.

The first of the other philosopher-Rectors to be considered is Hans Heyse, who was Rector at Königsberg from October 1933 to March 1935. Heyse was an early supporter of National Socialism, and joined the Party in the Spring of 1933 after carefully discussing the matter with

¹¹⁹ Note that in Germany university Rectors are chosen from the faculty; they are not professional bureaucrats as is so often the case in the United States.

Heidegger.¹²⁰ Heyse's inaugural address, later published under the title "Die Idee der Wissenschaft und die deutsche Universität,"¹²¹ bears striking similarities to Heidegger's own address (and thus provides a further indication of the influence of that address within the philosophical community).¹²² It was one of the many arguments put forward at the time on the need for university reform, and was one of the few that was considered by the Nazi student organization to have any merit.¹²³ Like Heidegger, Heyse used an existential-ontological language to argue for the

¹²⁰ In a statement written in 1945, Heyse described his entry into the NSDAP as follows. "National Socialism came to power in 1933 as a not yet clearly defined movement with much promise. In long friendly conversations with Professor Dr. Martin Heidegger in the Spring of 1933, we concluded that this movement would in some way be a destiny for Germany and that everything depended on creating an intellectual and moral core for it." Translated and quoted by Hans Sluga, "Metadiscourse: German Philosophy and National Socialism," in: Social Research, Vol.56, Nr.4 (Winter 1989), p.802.

¹²¹ Die Idee der Wissenschaft und die deutsche Universität (Königsberg, 1933).

¹²² In 1945 Heidegger claimed that no one had paid any attention to his inaugural address. "Die Rektoratsrede war in den Wind gesprochen und nach dem Tag der Rektoratsfeier vergessen [...]" Das Rektorat 1933/34, p.34.

¹²³ "The official newspaper of the National Socialist students remarked that of all the numerous writings on that subject only the speeches of Heidegger and the works of Adolf Rein and Hans Heyse were worth mentioning." Farias, p.109. Texts advancing arguments for the need for university reform in the "new" Germany were also published at the time by Alfred Baeumler, Ernst Krieck, Hans Freyer, Erich Rothacker, Hermann Scharz, Hermann Glockner, Otto Friedrich Bollnow, and Erich Jaensch; see Laugstien, p.68.

reform or "renewal" of the German university. This had become possible because "new forces" had presented themselves, placing both the nation and the university at "a fateful turning point."¹²⁴ In order for the university to take advantage of these new forces, the idea of Wissenschaft had to be renewed and Wissenschaft itself had to "become free to its innermost meaning through the essential law of our historical life." According to Heyse these tasks were only possible if the modern understanding of Wissenschaft was rejected in favor of a different one, one already suggested by the ancient Greek understanding of Wissenschaft. The Greeks had, according to Heyse, understood it to be "that deeper consciousness of the eternal order of being and life in which humans stand and through whose affirmations they persist - a consciousness which can be obtained only through the valor of existence." Heyse argued that the modern conception of Wissenschaft, "that expression of a broken existence," needed to be overcome through a Nietzschean reevaluation of all values in favor of a different and deeper concept suggested by the Greeks.¹²⁵ This conception located scientific (wissenschaftlich) knowledge within the context of a specific historical community and envisioned an essential

¹²⁴ Translated quotations taken from Sluga, p.812.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

unity between the individual and the community; it thus pointed to something beyond the 19th-century conception of "objective" Wissenschaft that separated knowledge from its particular social context. Wissenschaft, for Heyse, could only be understood as part of the "eternal order" of a particular community.

Heyse, like Heidegger, looked to the Greeks for answers to his questions about the university's (and Germany's) future direction, and identified philosophy as the core of any discussion about Wissenschaft. But unlike Heidegger, Heyse wanted to preserve a redefined set of core values (Werte) as the foundation for the new German reality. The position sketched out above was more thoroughly developed in Idee und Existenz, a text published shortly after his inaugural address. In this text he more clearly explained his understanding of the relevance of Greek thought for contemporary German problems. He argued for "ein neues Verhältnis zum Griechentum, zu diesem uns natur- und wahlverwandten Volke, zu seinem höchsten Repräsentanten, zu Platon."¹²⁶ He considered Platonic philosophy to be the original form of all philosophy and Wissenschaft, and because its searches for foundational truths and values were always connected to the Polis (der Staat) it was in essence

¹²⁶ Idee und Existenz (Hamburg: Hanseatische Verlag, 1935), p.296.

political. Heise thought this political essence bore valuable lessons for contemporary Germany.

Wie Platons Philosophie ausgeht von den Grundwerten des griechischen Daseins und gipfelt im Staat, damit zugleich das Urbild der Philosophie und Wissenschaft schaffend: so geht unsere Philosophie und Wissenschaft aus von den Grundwerten unseres germanisch-deutschen Daseins und Lebens, um ihren höchsten Rang und Wert zu gewinnen in der Idee und Wirklichkeit des Neuen Reichs.¹²⁷

The value of the Platonic example lay in its affirmation of the unique values that find their highest expression in the State. Heise thus uses Plato to root philosophy and science in a particular culture, rejects as "abstract" the notion that knowledge is not tied to a particular community, and defends the existence of the State as the concrete embodiment of the highest values of that culture. Thus philosophy is always political, as it cannot be separated from the life of a particular community or the destiny of particular kinds of people.

Philosophie und Leben sind von der Wurzel her vereinigt. Philosophie in diesem strengsten Sinne ist nun aber [...] nicht ein 'allgemeinmenschliches' Problem, sondern sie ist die Wesensform und die Werthaltung eines höchsten, durch Geburt und Erbe, Zucht und Züchtung, Geschichte und Schicksal, bestimmten Typus Mensch. Weil jenes tiefste Wesen der Philosophie und Wissenschaft, die ursprüngliche und wurzelhafte Einheit von Logos and Bios, Idee und Existenz verloren gegangen ist, sind Philosophie und Wissenschaft 'allgemein', das ist lebensfremd und abstrakt geworden.¹²⁸

¹²⁷ Ibid., p.297.

¹²⁸ Ibid., p.14.

This exposition makes clear what Heyse had in mind when he spoke of the "renewal" of the idea of Wissenschaft at the university in his inaugural address; he was referring to the rediscovery of the "unity" between philosophy and life, between Logos and Bios. It also clearly reveals the two essential differences between his position and Heidegger's construct. First, Heidegger thought that Plato was the beginning of the problem in Western philosophy and not the source of some "renewed" notion of Wissenschaft; Plato's theory of knowledge was something that had to be overcome, if such social ills as Bolshevism were to be overcome. And second, Heidegger was interested neither in Logos nor Bios as a foundation for the identity of community; for Heidegger both of these concepts are rooted in the same tradition of metaphysical thought that began with Plato. Instead (after specifically rejecting the language of biological anthropology), Heidegger argues for a particular conception of "Geist" as the distinguishing characteristic of the members of his "Volksgemeinschaft."

Heyse was thus trying to combine Platonic metaphysics with a biologicistic racial chauvinism, and his efforts were perceived by his colleagues as a nuanced endorsement of Rosenberg's version of Nazism.¹²⁹ This endorsement was also

¹²⁹ "An der Göttinger Universität, die ihn 1936 holt, führt Heyse wegen eines etwas gewaltsamen Vorgehen auf seinem Feld der klassischen Philosophie den Spitznamen »Parteigenosse Platon«." Laugstien, p.98.

recognized by Rosenberg himself, who published an article Heyse wrote on the Greek world-view in the Party's cultural journal.¹³⁰ And by 1943 Heyse was described in a survey of contemporary German philosophy as one of the four political philosophers (along with Rosenberg, Baeumler, and Krieck) who were helping to shape the future of German political thought.¹³¹ The characterization of Heyse's work offered in this text is particularly relevant for an understanding of the contrast with Heidegger's project.

Im politischen Denken der Gegenwart kommt der Umsetzung und Aufnahme existenzialistischer und existentialogischer Sachproblematik in eine völkische Weltanschauung bzw. in das weltanschauliche Gefüge des Nationalsozialismus eine nicht bloß paradigmatische, sondern abschließende und damit zugleich neue Wege des Philosophierens erschließende Bedeutung zu.¹³²

Thus Heidegger was not unique in posing existential and ontological questions in a "völkisch" context, and in the same text both philosophers are credited with giving philosophy a new direction and a new meaning. But Heyse's work was given a particular importance in the construction (Aufbau) of the new German political philosophy because of his nuanced acceptance of race as a philosophical category. Heyse was able to accept enough of Rosenberg's semi-official

¹³⁰ Hans Heyse, "Vom Weltbild der Griechen," in: Nationalsozialistische Monatshefte (Hrsg. Alfred Rosenberg) (Sept./Oct. 1943), pp.441-449.

¹³¹ Gerhard Lehmann, Die deutsche Philosophie der Gegenwart (Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner Verlag, 1943).

¹³² Ibid., p.539.

version of Nazism for Rosenberg to accept Heyse, and because of this Heyse continued to be assigned delicate tasks well into the war years.¹³³ And herein lies the essential difference between Heidegger and the other philosopher-Rectors: while Heyse and the others either believed in or accommodated themselves to Rosenberg's racial theories, Heidegger did not. He consistently resisted the biological racism of Rosenberg and the others, but (as was seen above) this was not because he was anti-Nazi. Rather, Heidegger tried to redefine National Socialism so as to provide it with a more sound philosophical foundation. In so doing he was placing his professional abilities at the service of the Nazi regime in a manner unmatched by any of his colleagues; he seems to have been the only one of the philosopher-Rectors to have taken his commitment to Nazism seriously as *a philosopher*.

There were three other philosophers who were appointed Rector of a university: Ernst Krieck at Frankfurt am Main and Heidelberg, Eugen Herrigel at Erlangen, and Felix Krueger at Leipzig. Unlike Heidegger, each of these men defended some nuanced version of National Socialism within which race was a central category; in fact, two of them were

¹³³ For example, in 1935 (beginning with Vol.40), Heyse became editor of Kant-Studien and was responsible for its "Gleichschaltung"; in 1937 he led the German delegation to the IX. International Philosophy Congress in Paris; and in 1941 he was charged with recruiting captured French philosophers out of POW camps for propaganda purposes.

members of Rosenberg's "Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur."¹³⁴ While not a part of a Rosenberg organization, Ernst Kriek was nevertheless an energetic defender of the qualified application of "racial hygiene" for the construction of his version of the "völkische Gemeinschaft." In his major work, Völkisch-politische Anthropologie, he argued that the "finest" elements of a race could be identified as the standard for a völkisch community.

Durch Zucht, Auslese und Hygiene kann die Rasse zwar in sich selbst keine Steigerung erfahren: man kann durch planmäßige Maßnahmen die Rasse nicht in sich selbst, in ihrem Sinn verwandeln und 'verbessern', man kann sie nicht steigern, nicht auf andere Ziele und Gestaltungsgesetze umbiegen. Aber es können in der völkischen Gemeinschaft die edlen Rassezüge ausgelesen, quantitativ gestärkt, von Hemmungen und Schädlingen befreit, entmischt und zur Herrschaft gebracht werden. Ihr Gesetz (Wertordnung, Sinnrichtung) wird dann maßgebend für die gesamte völkische Lebensrichtung.¹³⁵

Kriek believed that both race and "proper" education (Erziehung) were essential constitutive features of the Volk. For him, the Nazi revolution meant the end of philosophy in its traditional form; philosophy would have to be redefined as an educational tool in light of the new German reality. Although Heidegger also argued for an end to traditional philosophy, he did so because he believed that philosophical thinking determined the construction of

¹³⁴ Eugen Herrigel and Felix Krueger; this organization was, among other things, dedicated to protecting Germany from "cultural Bolshevism."

¹³⁵ Völkisch-politische Anthropologie, Band I, (Leipzig, 1938), p.76.

social reality and not vice versa. Krieck's acceptance of key tenets of the received Nazism outlined above is also evident in the fact that he was one of the few philosophers to join the Party before the Nazis came to power and that he was one of only four philosophers mentioned in Table 1 known to have joined the SS.¹³⁶

Herrigel was also one of those philosophers who, unlike Heidegger, sought to redefine the task of philosophy so as to make it more compatible with the new political realities.¹³⁷ He was also an early supporter of the Party (although he did not actually join until 1937), and claimed that the political changes wrought by the Nazis after 1933 caused him no philosophical difficulties since he already endorsed an organic view of the state in which race was an essential category.

Für mich deckt sich Philosophie mit Welt- und Lebensanschauungen. Ich vertrete dabei, schon seit meinen ersten Schriften, eine organische Weltanschauung, die, wie mir scheint, den Forderungen nahekommt, die E. Krieck in seiner 'Nationalpolitischen Erziehung' erhebt. Ich muß daher philosophisch nicht erst umlernen, sondern glaube vielmehr in innigsten Bezug zu dem treten zu können, was das neueste

¹³⁶ They were: Hans Lipps, Ernst Krieck, Günther Lutz, and Otto Most. Of the four, Krieck held the highest rank.

¹³⁷ See Herrigel's "Die Aufgabe der Philosophie im neuen Reich", in 'Pfälzische Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaft', 1934, P.26-32. See also Claudia Schorcht, Philosophie an den bayerischen Universitäten 1933-1945, (Erlangen: Harald Fischer Verlag, 1990), p.90-95.

Deutschland im Innersten bewegt. Wenn jemals, dann habe ich jetzt Aussicht, gehört zu werden.¹³⁸

Felix Krueger never did join the Party, although he joined Rosenberg's cultural organization the year it was founded (in 1929). He was a political conservative, of the kind that did not join any political party regardless of personal sympathies. But he was committed to the realization of a racially based "Volksgemeinschaft," and in 1933 he supported the National Socialist revolution as the champion of both Germany and "white humanity."¹³⁹ He had not changed his views when he was appointed Rector of the University of Leipzig in March 1935; during his inaugural address he reminded his listeners that "the struggle for truth always has racial and 'völkisch' roots."¹⁴⁰ As was noted in Chapter Two, Krueger himself was later victimized by the kind of biological racism which he himself expounded; in October 1936 he was forced to resign as Rector and in

¹³⁸ From a report written by Herrigel to the Bavarian Ministry of Culture (received there in October 1933); quoted by Schorcht, p.93.

¹³⁹ "Hierbei geht es nicht nur um die deutsche Zukunft. Die Gesittung und mit ihr das Leben der weißen Menschheit steht auf dem Spiel." Quoted from Krueger's address "Die Lage der Seelenwissenschaft in der deutschen Gegenwart," in: Bericht über den XIII. Kongress der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Psychologie in Leipzig von 16.-19. Oktober 1933, ed. by Otto Klemm (Jena: Gustav Fischer Verlag, 1934), p.35.

¹⁴⁰ Quoted and translated by Jerry Muller in: The Other God that Failed (Princeton: University Press, 1987), p.283.

1937 he was forced into early retirement because of suspicions that he was not "pure blooded."

As was explained above Heidegger never accepted the National Socialist "Weltanschauungslehre," and attacked it both in his lectures and in his philosophical writings. But this is not the same as saying that Heidegger was not a racist. He clearly held anti-Semitic views and believed other cultures to be qualitatively inferior to his own. What is being said here is that Heidegger did not rely on a biological conception of race as a means of defining the Volk because he wanted to provide a more solid philosophical foundation for his exclusionary "Volksgemeinschaft." He was thus not by any means being disloyal by refusing to accept the popular version of Nazism propagated by so many other academics. As has been demonstrated, Heidegger was an enthusiastic supporter of Hitler's revolution, and I am arguing that he was so "in a manner more radical than (Ernst) Krieck or (Alfred) Rosenberg."¹⁴¹

But by having distanced himself from the racist anthropology outlined above, Heidegger's political views have largely escaped philosophical scrutiny. That he sought to avoid such scrutiny seems obvious in light of what is now known about his suppression and manipulation of texts during

¹⁴¹ Karl Löwith, "The Political Implications of Heidegger's Existentialism," in: New German Critique, Nr.45 (Fall 1988), p.133.

his lifetime. What has been overlooked is what Rainer Marten has called his "philosophical racism," that is, the implications of the claim that a special relationship exists between the philosophy of the Germans and the Greeks (a relationship embodied in language) that places the former in a privileged position to overcome the problems caused by the metaphysical mistakes of the latter. For Heidegger it is this relationship that places German culture, or more precisely German philosophy, in the position from which it can rescue the West from the dangers of "nihilism."

Heideggers philosophischer Geist ist, wie er ihn selber deutet, anfänglich der griechische. Der sei der einzigartig große gewesen: groß durch seine Verwurzelung in einer höchst vermögenden Sprache und einem höchst vermögenden Volkstum, groß in der dichterischen und philosophischen Erfüllung seiner geschichtlichen Bestimmung, groß und geradezu überwältigend in seinem geschichtlichen Auftrag an die Deutschen: an ihre Sprache und an ihr Volkstum – beides von deutschen Dichtern und Denkern verwahrt. Ein ganzes Volk wird demnach beerbt – und dies auf rein geistige Weise: Volkstum dem Volkstum, Sprache der Sprache, Wesen dem Wesen. Das ist der abwegige Gedanke der Einheit von Volksgeschichte und Geistesgeschichte in seinem Ursprung, der den Keim des Rassismus in sich trägt, freilich den eines aberwitzig gedachten: Die Reinerhaltung des rassistischen Erbgutes des großen griechischen Wesens werde vom deutschen Wesen veranstaltet. Anders als Griechen und Römer, Griechen und Angelsachsen, werden Griechen und Deutsche *einer* geistigen Rasse zugerechnet: Sie träfen sich im völkisch und sprachlich gegründeten geschichtlichen Wesen. In Heideggers geschichtlicher Sicht und Stunde ist der griechische Geist einzig und allein im deutschen Blut und auf der deutschen Erde daheim.¹⁴²

¹⁴² "Heideggers Geist" in: Die Heidegger Kontroverse (Frankfurt/M: Athenäum, 1988), pp.227-228. See also "Groß Denken, groß irren?"

Heidegger maintained this belief in a unique German "mission" and a privileged German cultural identity throughout his career. He denigrated other philosophical traditions, and ultimately even claimed that genuine thought could only be done in German.

I'm thinking of the special inner relationship between the German language and the language and thought of the Greeks. The French confirm this repeatedly to me now. When they begin to think they speak German; they assure me that they could not manage with their own language.¹⁴³

For Heidegger, as for Hitler, "authentic Being" was and remained a uniquely German matter.

¹⁴³ "Only a God Can Save Us Now," in: The Graduation Faculty Journal (New School for Social Research), Vol.6, Nr.1, p.24; I have improved the translation. This interview was given in 1966, but Heidegger requested that it not be published until after his death.

CHAPTER 4

HEIDEGGER'S POLITICAL THOUGHT IN THE US

The purpose of Chapter Four is to locate the analysis of Heidegger's political engagement presented above within the US context. I will begin by examining the sources of the mistaken historical assumptions that have deformed much of the US reception of Heidegger's work. I will then examine some recent US philosophical works that address Heidegger's politics and discuss the interpretive weaknesses that have characterized the US literature on this subject. I will then examine the wider relevance of the "Heidegger Controversy" for US philosophy, and conclude by providing some necessary interpretive guidelines for the reader of any philosophical text produced in Germany between 1933 and 1945.

In the United States the widespread misunderstanding of Heidegger's political engagement is traceable to three main sources. The first, of course, is Heidegger himself. As was explained in Chapter Three, Heidegger altered or suppressed politically incriminating texts while he was alive. This manipulation of philosophical texts (combined with his false and disingenuous accounts of his support for and involvement with National Socialism) has misled even the best-informed students of Heidegger's work. For example,

Hannah Arendt, in her well-known essay "Martin Heidegger at Eighty," quoted a passage from Heidegger's Introduction to Metaphysics to illustrate what she took to be the confusion underlying his political "error." She did not know that the very passage she quoted had been altered by Heidegger before the first post-war edition was published in 1953.¹ Other texts altered by Heidegger include the first German edition of his Nietzsche lectures (1961), several German editions of "Die Frage nach der Technik" (1954, 1962, 1967), and the first German edition of his lectures on Schelling (1971). English translations based on these German editions have presented the US reader with sanitized versions of these text, and have thus facilitated the misapprehension of the extent of Heidegger's political commitment. Contributing to this problem is the fact that Heidegger simply withheld some manuscripts from publication. For example, his Beiträge zur Philosophie, which provides crucial insight into Heidegger's relationship to National Socialism, was published for the first time in 1989, fifty years after it was written and thirteen years after Heidegger's death. And as was

¹ The Introduction to Metaphysics was originally given as a set of lectures in 1935, and the text was altered before its publication in 1953 at Heidegger's express instruction. See Footnote 80 in Chapter Three. See also Hannah Arendt's essay in: Heidegger and Modern Philosophy, ed. Michael Murray (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978), p.302.

explained in Chapter One, there are at least two other major manuscripts still to be published.

The second source of this misunderstanding is Jean-Paul Sartre, who was largely responsible for generating interest in Heidegger in the United States after 1945.² Sartre believed that his own work on existentialism had been decisively influenced by Heidegger, and it was Sartre who was to set the stage for a depoliticized reception of Heidegger's work in the United States.³ Sartre argued that it was possible to separate Heidegger's philosophy clearly from his support for Hitler because, he claimed, Heidegger had never used his philosophical writings as a political forum. In Search for a Method (which appeared in English

² "Even in Germany it was he [Sartre] who redirected attention to Heidegger; and in the United States and elsewhere the sudden interest in the so-called existentialists was created largely by Sartre's works." Walter Kaufmann, "The Reception of Existentialism in the United States" in: The Legacy of the German Refugee Intellectuals, ed. by Robert Boyers, (New York, 1972), p.76.

³ Although that influence seems to have been based on Sartre's misinterpretation of Being and Time. "Es ist nicht übertrieben zu sagen, daß der Sartresche Existentialismus auf der Fehldeutung seiner Heidegger-Lektüre fußen wird. Sartre verliert sich leicht in dem »Seinsphänomen« oder »Phänomen des Seins«, übersetzt Dasein mit *existence* und die Heideggersche Behauptung, »das Wesen des Dasein gründet auf seine ekstatische Macht«, dessen Fähigkeit zur Seinsfrage, wird bei Sartre zu: »das Wesen der Existenz liegt in der Existenz.« So entstand der »existentialistische Heidegger«." Jean-Michel Palmier, "Wege und Wirken Heideggers in Frankreich," in: Die Heidegger Kontroverse, ed. Jürg Altwegg, (Frankfurt/M, 1988) p.53. See also Heidegger's Über den Humanismus (p.20), in which he explicitly distances himself from Sartre's existentialism.

one year after the publication of the first English translation of Being and Time), Sartre confidently declared that Heidegger had "never been an 'activist' – at least not as he has expressed himself in his philosophical works."⁴ As was seen in Chapter Three, this statement is false; Heidegger had indeed been such an activist, expressing political opinions in lectures and texts that were consistent with his understanding of National Socialism. Sartre made this statement in ignorance, not knowing the extent to which Heidegger's philosophical writings had been manipulated. But the falseness of his claim did not lessen its impact. Coming as it did from a prominent French intellectual who was both a Marxist and a former member of the Resistance, Sartre's claim had a certain moral authority that was influential and difficult to challenge.⁵ He defended his judgment about the political content of Heidegger's philosophical works with a sweeping dismissal of those who disagreed with him, claiming that they had not

⁴ In Search for a Method, translated by Hazel Barnes, (New York: Random House, 1968), p.38. The first English edition was published in 1963 by Alfred Knopf. Sartre's text was originally published in 1960 as "Question de Méthode" in: Critique de la Raison, Vol.I.

⁵ The influence of Sartre's interest in Heidegger was also known to the French occupation authorities in Germany, and may in fact have helped prevent the confiscation of Heidegger's personal library. See Franz Josef Schöningh's letter of Sept.6, 1947 to the French officer in charge of cultural affairs in Baden, General Raymond Schmittlein, quoted in Ott, p.325.

actually read Heidegger.⁶ This polemical move (i.e. the claim that critics of Heidegger had not read his texts) was to be repeated by others, most recently by Philippe Lacoue-Labarthe and Jacques Derrida.⁷ Given what is now known about Heidegger's censorship of his texts, it is no longer possible to accept Sartre's claim as plausible. But that claim now confronts those who themselves have used it to deflect criticism away from Heidegger's philosophical work.

The third source of the US misunderstanding of Heidegger's political engagement is a study written by Karl Moehling titled Martin Heidegger and the Nazi Party: An Examination. This text was submitted as Moehling's doctoral dissertation in History at Northern Illinois University in 1972 and it is, quite simply, a disaster. It is riddled with false claims made without evidential support, and offers the specious conclusion that Heidegger became an

⁶ See Search for a Method, p.38. He was responding to Georg Lukács' Existentialisme ou Marxisme?

⁷ "Farias quite simply does not read Heidegger's text." Philippe Lacoue-Labarthe, Heidegger, Art and Politics, (Oxford, 1990), p.134. Derrida carries this move even further in: "How to Concede, with Reasons?" in: diacritics, Vol.19, Nr.3-4 (fall-winter 1989), p.4. "Who would prohibit us, henceforth, from reading Heidegger? Who, therefore, claims to have already read him?"

anti-Nazi in 1934.⁸ As was explained in Chapter Three, Heidegger was an enthusiastic Nazi whose plans for the university were too radical even for members of the Nazi educational establishment. He continued to support Hitler for years after he resigned as Rector and he continued to affirm the "inner truth and greatness" of National Socialism even after the war. Unfortunately, Moehling's work was widely quoted and endorsed by several philosophers in the United States who were interested in Heidegger's involvement with National Socialism.⁹ For example in 1979 Thomas Sheehan (who was later to write an outstanding review of Farias' book for The New York Review of Books) approvingly referred to Moehling's work as the "best historical study of this topic."¹⁰ Two years later Michael Zimmerman wrote that Moehling's "remarkable" dissertation provided "insightful analyses of Heidegger's relationship to National

⁸ For example, Moehling claimed that Heidegger was basically an "unpolitical" intellectual, who became a Nazi to protect the University from the Party, and who resigned from the NSDAP in 1934. All of these claims are false, and Moehling had enough information available in 1972 to know better.

⁹ This apparently began in 1977, after Moehling published an article summarizing the results of his dissertation; see "Heidegger and the Nazis," in: Listening, Nr.12 (1977), pp.92-105.

¹⁰ "Philosophy and Propaganda: Response to Professor Bronner," in: Salmagundi, Nr.43 (Winter 1979), pp.173.

Socialism."¹¹ What Moehling's work does provide is an understanding of the level at which the discussion of Heidegger's political engagement in the United States before the publication of the works of Victor Farias and Hugo Ott.¹²

Although much of the US literature on Heidegger simply ignores political questions altogether (following Sartre in separating the philosophical from the political), there have been some attempts by philosophers in the United States to address the questions raised by Heidegger's commitment to National Socialism. These can broadly be divided into two categories: those that deny any intrinsic connection between Heidegger's philosophical work and his politics, and those that make such a connection. The former seek to rescue Heidegger's philosophical work from any association with Nazism, while the latter generally use Heidegger's Nazism as a means to attack his philosophy. I will provide recent examples of both kinds of texts, and show that they share some interpretive weaknesses that ultimately obscure the political dimensions of Heidegger's thought.

Representative examples of the first category of texts are provided by Michael Zimmerman, who for ten years has been publishing work on Heidegger and his relationship to

¹¹ Eclipse of the Self (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1981), p.289, n.1.

¹² This point is made by Dieter Thomä, p.476.

National Socialism. In that he has not taken the path offered by Sartre, Zimmerman has recognized that there is a political dimension to Heidegger's thought that needs to be understood philosophically. He begins with the assumption that "philosophical theory cannot be divorced from the practice of human life," an assumption which seems to rule out any simple division between Heidegger's philosophy and his politics.¹³ But he also begins with the assumption that Heidegger's work is absolutely essential for an understanding of the modern world, which means that his conclusion must allow him to continue to make use of Heidegger's work. The result is an analysis that separates the philosophical from the political in Heidegger, in a manner that both affirms Heidegger's thought and depoliticizes National Socialism. For Zimmerman, Heidegger's commitment to Nazism was essentially a moral failure, a "succumbing to temptation" that deserves our careful attention.¹⁴ Because of this moral failure, he did not recognize "the *undeniable* presence of evil in every day life."¹⁵ This moral failure was complemented by political

¹³ Eclipse of the Self, p.xxvii.

¹⁴ "The Thorn in Heidegger's Side: The Question of National Socialism," in: The Philosophical Forum, Vol.XX, Nr.4 (Summer 1989), p.326.

¹⁵ "The Limitations of Heidegger's Ontological Aestheticism," in: The Southern Journal of Philosophy, Vol.XXVIII, Supplement (1989), p.183. *Emphasis added.*

ignorance. Heidegger, we are told, was "guilty of *hubris* in presuming he had enough political knowledge to speak out" in 1933.¹⁶ He did not understand that "there are political perils associated with attempts to found a post-technological world."¹⁷ Zimmerman locates the source of Heidegger's political ignorance in the fact that he (like some other German conservatives) did not appreciate "the genuine political achievements of the Enlightenment in France, Britain, and the United States."¹⁸ Zimmerman thus argues that Heidegger's support for Nazism was a mistake, an error, something he would not have done if only he had had more character and more political skill. He "regretfully" describes Heidegger as a "one-sided genius"¹⁹ who was blind to "the dark side of National Socialism"²⁰ and who was in some ways trapped by his own historical circumstances.²¹

Zimmerman does not believe that there are analogous failures in Heidegger's philosophical work. He does acknowledge that Heidegger used his philosophical vocabulary

¹⁶ Ibid., p.169.

¹⁷ Heidegger's Confrontation with Modernity (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), p.274.

¹⁸ "The Limitations of Heidegger's Ontological Aestheticism," pp.185-186.

¹⁹ Ibid., p.186.

²⁰ "The Thorn in Heidegger's Side," p.326.

²¹ Heidegger's Confrontation with Modernity, p.xvi.

in his political speeches,²² and he concedes that recent investigations have convinced him that Heidegger's work can be read from a "political perspective."²³ But, he argues, Heidegger's philosophy can be read in other ways as well, which means that it is not "intrinsically Fascist."²⁴ This means that Heidegger's work should not be ignored or dismissed; instead, "we must learn to read Heidegger with a deeper concern about how his thought may be appropriated and applied politically."²⁵ Once aware of Heidegger's "shortcomings," the reader is free to "preserve what remains valid" in his thought.²⁶ Zimmerman thus rescues Heidegger's philosophy from the moral condemnation "reluctantly" meted out to Heidegger the man, condemnation that Zimmerman ultimately believes to be inappropriate because each of us might have made the same mistakes as Heidegger.

Unfortunately, Heidegger the man did compromise himself and his philosophy by supporting an evil means for an allegedly higher end – saving Germany and the West from technological nihilism. But rather than damning Heidegger the man, we would do better to ask ourselves what stance each of *us* has taken in a world threatened

²² Ibid., p.37.

²³ "L'affaire Heidegger," in: The Times Literary Supplement (Oct.7-13, 1988), p.1116.

²⁴ "The Thorn...", p.327.

²⁵ Heidegger's Confrontation..., p.38. See also, "The Thorn...", p.358: "We should continue to read Heidegger, but with care."

²⁶ "The Limitations...", p.188.

by technological catastrophe and bereft of consensus about the meaning of human history.²⁷

Zimmerman understands Heidegger's support for Nazism as a well-intentioned moral failure of the kind any of us might have made had we been in Heidegger's circumstances. According to this view, Heidegger did not consciously endorse the politics of National Socialism; he simply did not recognize its "evil" until it was too late. There are several problems with this account. First of all, Zimmerman's use of this moral language prohibits a detailed consideration of the matter. Since there is a broad popular consensus that Nazism was abhorrent, Zimmerman can criticize Heidegger for not recognizing its "evil" without then having to provide further analysis of the meaning of Heidegger's political engagement. The language of "good" versus "evil" does not demand historical specificity, and its use serves to depoliticize the discussion. This moral language is also extremely biased because he uses his own political experience as a guide when defining its essential terms; for Zimmerman, it is the political achievements of the Enlightenment, embodied in the political experience of the West (i.e. France, Britain, and the United States), that enable him to distinguish between good and evil in politics. He believes that "the National Socialist 'revolution' became a violent overturning of traditional norms" because it

²⁷ "*L'affaire Heidegger*," p.1117.

lacked the "constraints imposed by the West's religious and political heritage."²⁸ Zimmerman thus understands Nazism to be an aberration in European history, an exception that would not have been possible under "traditional" (i.e. US) norms. Zimmerman does not advance any arguments in support of his views about "evil," the Enlightenment, or Nazism, and seems to assume that his normative vocabulary rests on self-evident and eternal truths.

Zimmerman also does not seem to be troubled by the fact that the language and arguments he uses to separate Heidegger's politics from his philosophy would have been decisively rejected by Heidegger himself. Heidegger was not interested in reinvigorating the traditional language of morality, nor did he accept the Enlightenment as a standard with which to measure political progress, nor did he believe his support for (his version of) National Socialism to have been a mistake. Zimmerman simply assumes that Heidegger was making an error in supporting Hitler, but he is not able to explain this in terms that Heidegger would have found acceptable. Instead, he finds his explanation in the claim that Heidegger was trapped within "the limits imposed by his own historical circumstances."²⁹ But Zimmerman does not then provide a detailed account of those circumstances that

²⁸ "The Limitations...", p.188.

²⁹ Heidegger's Confrontation..., p.xvi.

would allow him to make such an argument. He does offer a general account of the views of some of Heidegger's contemporaries, but without any explanation of the alleged connection to Heidegger's thought. He also does not feel it necessary to give an account of the relationship between Heidegger's professional and political actions and those of his colleagues. His reference to Heidegger's "historical circumstances" thus serves the same function as his reference to "evil": it allows him to move the discussion to a level of generality at which it loses all meaning. Like other works of this kind, Zimmerman's analysis of Heidegger's political engagement rests on unsupported assumptions that can only seem plausible if the detail and historical context of Heidegger's political engagement are ignored or suppressed.³⁰

Of the texts that attempt to establish a link between Heidegger's philosophical work and his politics, the best (and most recent) US example is Richard Wolin's The Politics of Being.³¹ Wolin has also published several articles that give US readers access to some recent German research into Heidegger's past, and he has helped translate an important

³⁰ See, for example, William Spanos "Heidegger, Nazism, and the Repressive Hypothesis: the American Appropriation of the Question," in: boundary 2, Vol.17, Nr.2 (summer 1990), pp.199-280.

³¹ The Politics of Being (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990).

essay by Karl Löwith on the political implications of Heidegger's thought.³² Wolin understands his text to be a response to the largely depoliticized US literature on Heidegger's work. He gives an explicitly political account of Heidegger's philosophical development that (unlike Zimmerman) pays careful attention to historical detail, and provides an excellent summary of the available information on Heidegger's political engagement. Wolin begins his analysis with an announcement of its limited purpose. His focal point is, he says, "the political philosophy implicit in Martin Heidegger's thought, not his philosophy *per se*."³³ While he argues that Heidegger's political thought cannot be totally separated from his philosophy, he also says it would be "premature" to conclude from his study that "because Heidegger's *political thought* is critically flawed, the same judgement would hold true for his philosophy as a whole."³⁴ The task he sets for himself is not to indict Heidegger's philosophy, but to understand how this heir to the Western intellectual tradition "could deliberately place his

³² Karl Löwith, "The Political Implications of Heidegger's Existentialism," in: New German Critique, Nr.45 (Fall 1988), pp.117-134.

³³ The Politics of Being, p.15.

³⁴ Ibid., p.15. Emphasis in the original.

philosophical talents at the disposal of a tyrannical power that represented that tradition's absolute negation."³⁵

But Wolin clearly has more on his agenda, and he reveals this at the beginning of his text. He argues that neither of the two facets of Heidegger's life - philosophy and politics - can be understood without recourse to the other, and that Heidegger's "philosophical doctrine must be understood as a conceptual fundament that, in the last analysis, bears responsibility for its political 'effects.'"³⁶ Wolin believes that Heidegger's philosophical work provided ideological support for the Nazi state (which he describes as the "most barbarous political regime the world has known"), and that his philosophical work bears some responsibility for this. Thus, despite his initial disclaimer, Wolin sets out on an interpretive mission whose conclusion has been determined in advance: the rejection of "Heideggerianism" as a kind of "secularized mystical fatalism" that is "morally bankrupt."³⁷

Wolin analyzes Heidegger's philosophical work and finds a "normative impoverishment" in his conceptual vocabulary that prevents him from making "rational sociohistorical

³⁵ The Politics of Being, p.15.

³⁶ Ibid., p.9.

³⁷ Ibid., p.43, 147, 168.

judgements."³⁸ The emptiness of the category of "resolve" in Being and Time, for example, means that there is no normative orientation to serve as a guide to action. "Without any material criteria for decision, it becomes impossible to distinguish an authentic from an inauthentic decision, responsible from irresponsible action."³⁹ The absence of any specific criteria means that Heidegger's resolute decisions must provide their own justification; decisiveness thus becomes an end in itself, to be more highly valued than any particular decision. Thus devoid of "intrinsic orientational precepts," Heideggerian resolve survives "parasitically by feeding off whatever choices happen to be served up by the contemporary historical hour."⁴⁰ This structure is, according to Wolin, both unprincipled and opportunistic and provides no conceptual barriers to someone unable to make "irrational" sociohistorical judgments.⁴¹

Wolin believes this emptiness at the heart of Heidegger's language to be the source of his inability to comprehend "the essential facts of twentieth-century

³⁸ The Politics of Being, pp.52 and 168.

³⁹ Ibid., p.52.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p.64.

⁴¹ Ibid., p.65.

political life."⁴² Heidegger sometimes spoke in tones "more worthy of Muammar Qadaffi than the greatest German philosopher since Hegel," and this was possible because of the distortions rooted in his conceptual vocabulary.⁴³ Heidegger's capacity for political judgment was also, Wolin argues, seriously impaired by his insistence on the "rarified, postmetaphysical standpoint" from which he viewed the events of world history.⁴⁴ A different philosophical starting point would perhaps have prevented both his "blind [...] devotion to the Nazi cause" and his "myopic failure to understand the true nature of the contemporary world-political situation."⁴⁵ Indeed, this "rarified standpoint" impairs Heidegger's entire understanding of modern history. Thus, because of this "theoretically conditioned insensitivity to the concrete specifics of the phenomena of contemporary historical life," Heidegger was unable to voice any sympathy for the suffering of the victims of Nazism after the war.⁴⁶ This "insensitivity" is, for Wolin, the

⁴² The Politics of Being, p.143.

⁴³ "Recent Revelation Concerning Martin Heidegger and National Socialism," in: Theory, Culture & Society, Vol.7 (1990), p.83.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p.143.

⁴⁵ "Martin Heidegger and Politics," in: New German Critique, Nr.45 (Fall 1988), p.94.

⁴⁶ The Politics..., p.168. A similar position is argued by William Spanos, pp.206-7: "Heidegger was indeed guilty of a remarkable lapse in human sensitivity [...]."

"ultimate proof" of Heidegger's "fundamental incapacity for both moral and theoretical discernment." His inability to condemn the Holocaust means that Heidegger regresses "behind the received standards of twentieth-century morality."

Wolin concludes his text with a summary judgment of Heidegger's philosophy of the kind he initially had said he would avoid: if theories can be judged by their structural relation to possible emancipation, then, says Wolin, "the philosophy of Martin Heidegger must be judged profoundly wanting."⁴⁷

There are several problems with Wolin's argument, the most important of which is the moral judgment he shares with Zimmerman that Heidegger's support for Nazism was some kind of mistake. Unlike Zimmerman, Wolin does not locate the source of this mistake in an individual failure of character. Rather, he presents Heidegger's politics as a "theoretically conditioned" failure, rooted in the abstraction and moral emptiness of his thought. Wolin argues that Heidegger's philosophical assumptions led to his being politically "blind," "insensitive," and "opportunistic." Heidegger's "irrational sociopolitical judgement" is traceable back to his philosophical work, and ultimately both are unequivocally condemned. The problem is that Wolin's analysis (like Zimmerman's) depends on the

⁴⁷ The Politics of Being, p.169.

simplicity provided by the widely shared belief that Nazism was morally abhorrent; what is missing from both is an awareness of the ideological complexity within Nazism. It will not do simply to condemn Heidegger the man (as Zimmerman does) or to condemn both Heidegger and his thought (as Wolin does); neither approach actually provides a philosophical explanation of the location of Heidegger's political project within the expanse of Nazi ideologies. The argument presented in Chapter Three suggests that Heidegger's support for National Socialism was part of a unique, self-defined, philosophical project that is only fully comprehensible when Heidegger's actions and arguments are compared to those of his colleagues. The political content of that project is not readily apparent when Heidegger is read alone; it only becomes clear when Heidegger's work is compared with that of the other philosophers who had similar political responsibilities. Wolin and Zimmerman thus overlook a key element of the context and both of their interpretations suffer for the lack of it. Wolin rightly condemns Heidegger, and he is right to locate Heidegger's support for Nazism in his philosophical thought, but his over eager moral judgments and his lack of the wider context supplied in Chapters Two and Three prevent him from seeing both the depth and the uniqueness of Heidegger's political commitment. In defending his own version of National Socialism, Heidegger

was neither "blind," "insensitive," "irrational," nor "opportunistic." In fact, he displayed an almost heroic commitment to his version of National Socialism, a commitment from which he never retreated and for which he never apologized. Although Heidegger's support for both Hitler and the NSDAP were by no means unique within his profession, his seems to have been one of the few serious attempts to establish a sound philosophical foundation for the ideology of what Wolin has rightly described as "the most barbarous regime the world has known."⁴⁸

This fact has gone unrecognized in the US literature because philosophers in the United States have for too long been content to read a "rootless" Heidegger, taken out of context by censorship, historical and political ignorance, and poor scholarship.⁴⁹ This study has attempted to provide a corrective response to each of these problems, in the hope that the US reader will come away with a better understanding of both the political dimension of Heidegger's thought and the meaning of his political engagement. What remains unclear at this point is the extent of these problems. Have other German philosophers been similarly misunderstood in the United States? Is it perhaps possible

⁴⁸ The Politics of Being, p.15.

⁴⁹ Reference is being made here to the three main sources of the historical misinterpretation in the US literature of Heidegger's political engagement: Heidegger himself, Jean-Paul Sartre, and Karl Moehling.

that others have intentionally altered or suppressed their philosophical texts written between 1933 and 1945? If so, how can US readers be certain that they have been presented with unadulterated editions of such texts? Has the absence of a detailed historical context contributed to the misinterpretation of philosophical arguments by new generations of US students? The answers to these questions are of particular importance for those students of German philosophy who lack a reading knowledge of German, and who are thus dependent on translations for access to the philosophical literature.

The evidence suggests that Heidegger was not the only philosopher who obscured his past relationship to National Socialism and that his were not the only methods employed to achieve this end. In fact, a recent biography of the philosopher and sociologist Hans Freyer (see Table 1) argues that most intellectuals who had been prominent supporters of the Nazi regime tried after the war to wipe away all memory of their involvement.⁵⁰ In Freyer's case politically embarrassing texts were not altered; they simply vanished from public view. He saw to it that "biographical entries in reference works were rewritten to omit his more compromising works, such as Revolution von rechts, Das

⁵⁰ Jerry Z. Muller, The Other God that Failed (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), p.367.

politische Semester, or Pallas Athene."⁵¹ Thus, in the years after the war it became necessary to consult texts published before 1945 in order to construct a complete bibliography of his work. Freyer was also able to improve his public reputation in the years after the war with the help of former colleagues in similar situations. "Friends who were in a position to know better used the columns of major newspapers to burnish one another's image through misrepresentation of past writings and actions."⁵² And of course, the most obvious method for disguising his past commitments was also the easiest means of reaching an accommodation with the post-war political reality; Freyer simply changed the tone and political content of his work. That he had been an ardent supporter of National Socialism and that he had actually served the regime abroad - "none of this could be gleaned from Freyer's writings after 1945."⁵³

Another example of a philosopher engaged in the intentional manipulation of his work for political purposes is provided by Arnold Gehlen (see Table 1). Gehlen carefully re-edited his major work Der Mensch (1940) before the appearance of its first post-war edition in 1950, removing the positive references to both National Socialism

⁵¹ The Other God that Failed, p.367.

⁵² Ibid., p.367.

⁵³ Ibid., p.365.

and Alfred Rosenberg that had been in the original.⁵⁴ While many of Gehlen's pre-1945 texts were republished without any changes, particularly embarrassing texts, such as his Der Staat und die Philosophie (1935), were not reprinted because there was no politically useful way of disguising the manifestly fascist and racist character of the text.⁵⁵ Thus, a contemporary reader interested in Gehlen would be well advised to consult both the original editions of his texts and his pre-1945 bibliographies before making any definitive judgments about the meaning of his work.

This kind of political tampering with post-1945 editions of philosophical texts was thus not a practice unique to Heidegger. In fact, this practice has not even been limited to changes made by philosophers themselves; there have also been instances in libraries and archives where individual books and other documents have been altered to disguise political content.⁵⁶ Ulfried Geuter has discovered that different copies of Felix Krueger's 1933 address "Die Lage der Seelenwissenschaften in der deutschen Gegenwart" in different Berlin libraries contain different

⁵⁴ See Gerwin Klinger's analysis, "Freiheit als »freiwillige Aufgabe der Freiheit«, " in: Deutsche Philosophen 1933 (Hamburg: Argument Verlag, 1989), p.191. Gehlen's editing is also discussed by Muller, p.379.

⁵⁵ Klinger, "Freiheit als...", p.191.

⁵⁶ I owe this reference to Ingo Nentwig and Prof. W. F. Haug's summer seminar "Philosophie im deutschen Faschismus," July 1986 at the Institut für Philosophie in West Berlin.

texts.⁵⁷ Thin strips of white paper have been carefully pasted over politically embarrassing passages of some copies, making an uncensored reading of Krueger's text possible only if one both suspects that there is something to hide and has access to an unadulterated copy.⁵⁸ One might think that this was a unique incident, but the historian Bernd Martin has examined documents at the Generallandesarchiv in Karlsruhe which pertain to Heidegger's relationship to the NSDAP in 1933 and found that one had been altered in the same fashion.⁵⁹ Martin explains that the altered text was used by Heidegger's last private secretary to prove that the philosopher had resisted involvement with National Socialism.⁶⁰ But, as Martin explains, the original text (exposed at his request by the archive's conservators) shows the exact opposite.⁶¹ Besides revealing that individuals other than the authors have been motivated to engage in this practice, such political editing should raise more questions

⁵⁷ "Institutionelle und professionelle Schranken der Nachkriegsauseinandersetzung über die Psychologie im Nationalsozialismus," in: Psychologie und Gesellschaftskritik, Nr.13/14 (März 1980), pp.5-39.

⁵⁸ Krueger's address is contained in: Bericht über den XIII. Kongress der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Psychologie in Leipzig von 16.-19. Oktober 1933, pp.9-36.

⁵⁹ This was mentioned in Chapter One; see Martin, "Martin Heidegger und . . .," pp.213-219.

⁶⁰ The person in question is Hartmut Tietjens, who is also one of those supervising Heidegger's Nachlaß.

⁶¹ Martin, p.217.

in the minds of US readers about the source and integrity of the German editions from which English translations are made.

As ever more German philosophy texts are translated into English, the US reader must be aware that after 1945 politically motivated changes were made in both philosophical texts and relevant documentary materials. Such changes have been made in different ways by the philosophers themselves (such as Heidegger, Freyer, and Gehlen), their publishers, and friends and/or politically sympathetic strangers (as was apparently the case with Krueger). Although the extent of this problem remains unclear, it is clear that questions need to be asked whenever philosophical texts produced during the years of the Nazi dictatorship are published. Unfortunately, such questions can only be answered with a great deal of effort. The only way for the reader to be certain that the meaning of a post-war edition of a philosophy text has not been altered for political reasons is to compare pre- and post-1945 editions sentence for sentence, word for word, to see what (if any) changes have been made. This should be done before a text is translated into English, so the US reader can know that the English version has been taken from an unadulterated version of the text. The analysis of Heidegger's work presented above has shown that US readers have for years been reading censored editions of some of his

texts (e.g. The Question Concerning Technology, Introduction to Metaphysics). The other instances of political editing cited suggest that the US reader must consider this to be a general problem, something which has already been recognized in some German philosophy seminars⁶² and which has long been known to philosophers who worked in Germany before 1945. This was recently confirmed to me in a letter from Otto Friedrich Bollnow:

As for additional changes made in post-war editions of books by German philosophers, in which they have removed traces of a susceptibility to National Socialist ideas: such changes have been made. To investigate this one would, in every individual instance, have to make a comparison of the different editions. [...] I know of no discussion of this matter.⁶³

My purpose here is not to argue that every change made in a philosophy text after 1945 is evidence of some malicious intent; certainly some authors have altered and improved their philosophical texts as they have time to reflect on their arguments. The point is that attention needs to be focused on those texts that have been altered

⁶² Wolfgang F. Haug's seminars on philosophy and German fascism at the Institut für Philosophie in Berlin have started this work, and have shown that such comparisons must become a basic part of philosophical scholarship.

⁶³ "Noch zu nachträglichen Veränderungen in nach dem Krieg erschienen Neuauflagen von Büchern deutscher Philosophen, in denen diese Spuren einer Anfälligkeit für nationalsozialistische Gedanken nachträglich getilgt haben: Diese gibt es. Das wäre in jedem einzelnen Fall durch Vergleich der Auflagen zu untersuchen. [...] Von einer diesbezüglichen Diskussion weiß ich nichts." Otto Friedrich Bollnow, letter to the author dated September 30, 1990.

for political reasons, by philosophers (like Heidegger) who have a political past that they need to suppress. The historical information presented in Chapter Two demonstrates that Heidegger was by no means the only philosopher in this situation, and the information presented above shows that other philosophers also engaged in unacknowledged political editing of their works. Hence, the care that US readers must now take with English translations of some of Heidegger's texts should be extended to the works of other German philosophers as well. The US reader can no longer simply assume that English translations of German philosophy texts are (or will be) based on original versions of the German text, which means that the US reader must know more about their historical context. The US reader must also be able to make political judgments about the changes that are made, particularly given the complexity of many philosophers' involvement with National Socialism. The inability to make such judgments places US readers in the awkward position of having to accept the interpretative judgments of individuals who themselves may have had something to hide. The persistent misinterpretation in the US literature of Heidegger's political engagement is a clear illustration of the mistakes that can be made by philosophers who use their own social and political assumptions to fill in the gaps created by historical ignorance.

In addressing the changes made in philosophical texts after 1945, Hans-Georg Gadamer recently explained his view that such "de-Nazification" was entirely appropriate in some circumstances but not in others.

It is true that some authors [...] later made slight changes, so to speak 'denazifying' their writings. [...] Whoever is curious [about this] could and can determine what changes have been made by comparing different editions. It depends entirely on what has been erased, whether it was merely formal concessions or a serious scholarly error, or whether it was something of the most detestable sort.⁶⁴

This study has demonstrated that US readers must be in a position to make these determinations for themselves.

⁶⁴ "Es ist richtig, das manche Autoren [...] später ihre Schriften leicht verändert, sozusagen entnazifiziert haben [...] Wer neugierig ist, konnte und kann ja durch Vergleichen die Veränderungen feststellen. Da kommt es doch ganz darauf an, was da ausradiert worden ist, ob das formelle Anpassung war oder ernsthafte wissenschaftliche Verirrung, oder ob es auf die ganz üble Kategorie gehört." Hans-Georg Gadamer, letter to the author, dated May 2, 1990.

APPENDIX A

ARCHIVAL MATERIALS CONSULTED

Berlin Document Center

Files in the Document Center are organized by name; the birthdate of the individual is required to assure positive identification. Files on the following 281 individuals were consulted between December 1987 and December 1990:

Narziß Ach - 29.10.71
Hans Adler - 7.4.91
Theodor Wiesengrund Adorno - 11.9.03
Ernst von Aster - 18.2.80
Hermann R. Bäcker - 28.4.00
Alfred Baeumler - 19.11.87
Jakob Barion - 23.7.98
Ernst Barthel - 17.10.90
Bruno Bauch - 19.1.77
Karl Heinrich Bauer - 26.9.90
David Baumgardt - 20.4.90
Eduard Baumgarten - 26.8.98
Ludwig Baur - 9.4.71
Oskar Becker - 5.9.89
Siegfried Behn - 3.6.84
Walter Benjamin - 15.7.92
Max Bense - 7.2.10
Ernst Bergmann - 7.8.81
Julius Binder - 12.5.70
Ernst Bloch - 8.7.85
Franz Böhm - 16.3.03
Max Hildebert Boehm - 16.3.91
Otto Friedrich Bollnow - 14.3.03
Paul Bommersheim - 5.10.93
Franz-Josef Brecht - 16.3.99
Cay von Brockdorff - 17.4.74
Walter Bröcker - 19.7.02
Martin Buber - 8.2.78
Nicholai von Bubnoff - 7.1.80
Rudolf Bultmann - 20.8.84
Georg Burckhardt - 30.5.81
Wilhelm Burkamp - 20.1.79
Ernst Cassirer - 28.7.74
Hans Cornelius - 27.9.63
Wolfgang Cramer - 18.10.01
Herbert Cysarz - 29.1.96
Heinz Dähnhardt - 14.7.97
Gisela Deesz - 21.3.02

Walter del-Negro - 1.8.98
Alois Dempf - 2.1.91
Max Dessoir - 8.2.87
Otto Dietrich - 31.8.97
Hugo Dingler - 7.7.81
Ottmar Dittrich - 12.11.65
Hans Driesch - 28.10.67
Karlfried Graf von Dürckheim-Montmartin - 24.10.96
Adolf Dyroff - 2.2.66
Karl Julius Ebbinghaus - 9.11.85
Carl August Emge - 21.4.86
Karl Epting - 17.5.05
Wolfgang Erxleben - 6.2.11
August Faust - 24.7.95
Erich Feldmann - 17.5.93
Aloys Fischer - 10.4.80
Hugo Fischer - 17.10.97
Helmut Folwart - 16.9.02
Ernst Foradori - 6.6.05
Ernst Forsthoff - 13.9.02
Erich Frank - 6.6.83
Sigmund Freud - 6.5.56
Gottfried Julius Frey - 23.7.71
Hans Freyer - 31.7.87
Hans Friedländer - 27.8.88
Hans-Georg Gadamer - 11.2.00
August Gallinger - 11.8.71
Arnold Gehlen - 29.1.04
Hans Geiger - 30.9.82
Moritz Geiger - 26.6.80
Adhemar Gelb - 18.11.87
Josef Geyser - 16.3.69
Hermann Glockner - 23.7.96
Albert Goedeckemeyer - 2.2.73
Kurt Gödel - 28.4.06
Matthias H. Göring - 5.4.79
Albert Görland - 9.7.69
Friedrich Gogarten - 13.1.87
Richard Hellmuth Goldschmidt - 25.7.83
Ernesto Grassi - 2.5.02
Wilhelm Grebe - 9.5.97
Bernard Groethuysen - 9.1.80
Helmut Groos - 1.12.00
Karl Groos - 10.12.61
Hans Alfred Grunsky - 31.7.02
Karl Grunsky - 5.3.71
Romano Guardini - 17.11.85
Hans F. K. Günther - 16.2.91
Hans R. G. Günther - 20.7.98
Theodor Haering - 22.4.84
Heinrich Härtle - 24.2.09
Heinrich Harmjanz - 22.5.04

Nicolai Hartmann - 20.7.82
Heinrich Hasse - 31.7.84
Martin Heidegger - 26.9.89
Heinz Heimsoeth - 12.8.86
Gustav W. Heinemann - 23.7.99
Robert Heiß - 22.1.03
Eugen Herrigel - 20.3.84
Johannes Hessen - 14.9.89
Johannes Heyde - 22.5.92
Hans Heyse - 8.3.91
Johannes Hielscher - 15.10.71
David Hilbert - 23.1.62
Dietrich von Hildebrand - 12.10.89
Kurt Hildebrandt - 12.12.81
Erich Hochstetter - 14.8.88
Richard Hönigswald - 18.7.75
Ernst Hoffmann - 13.1.80
Paul Hofmann - 26.11.80
Josef Hofmiller - ?
Jakob Hommes - 12.10.98
Martin Honecker - 9.6.88
Max Horkheimer - 14.2.95
Ernst Horneffer - 7.9.71
Reinhold Horneffer - 14.7.02
Kurt Huber - 24.10.93
Arthur Hübscher - 3.1.97
Edmund Husserl - 8.4.59
Gunther Ibsen - 20.3.99
Günther Jacoby - 21.4.81
Werner Jaeger - 30.7.88
Erich Jaensch - 26.2.83
Karl Jaspers - 23.2.83
Hans Robert Jauss - 12.12.21
Carl Jesinghaus - 12.2.86
Hermann Johannsen - 17.10.89
Pascual Jordan - 18.11.02
Willy Kabitz - 5.5.76
Hermann Graf Keyserling - 20.7.80
Ludwig Klages - 10.12.72
Karl Klee - 1.3.76
Alfred Klemmt - 10.3.95
Hans Köhler - 5.7.11
Josef König - 24.2.93
René Koenig - 5.7.06
Arnold Kowalewski - 27.11.73
Julius Kraft - 23.10.98
Walter Krickeberg - 27.6.85
Ernst Kriek - 6.7.82
Franz Kröner - 12.12.89
Richard Kroner - 8.3.84
Felix Krueger - 10.8.74
Gerhard Krüger - 30.1.02

Eugen Kühnemann - 28.7.68
Helmut Kuhn - 22.3.99
Oskar Kutzner - 7.2.82
Reinhold Kynast - 8.2.82
Karl Larenz - 23.4.03
Kurt Leese - 6.7.87
Gerhard Lehmann - 10.7.00
Hans Leisegang - 31.3.90
Philipp Lersch - 4.4.98
Hermann Leser - 1.6.73
Arthur Liebert - 10.11.78
Hans Liebeschütz - 3.10.93
Bruno Liebrucks - 12.10.11
Paul Ferdinand Linke - 15.3.76
Hans Lipps - 22.11.89
Friedrich Lipsius - 3.10.73
Theodor Litt - 27.12.80
Martin Löpelmann - 6.4.91
Karl Löwith - 9.1.97
Hermann Lübbe - 31.12.26
Heinrich Lützeler - 27.1.02
Georg Lukács - 13.4.85
Günther Lutz - 5.8.10
Dietrich Mahnke - 17.10.84
Ernst Mally - 11.10.79
Karl Mannheim - 27.3.93
Karl Marbe - 31.8.69
Eugen Mattiat - 28.4.01
Theodor Maunz - 1.9.01
Rudolf Mense - 24.9.82
Paul Menzer - 3.3.73
August Messer - 11.2.67
Alexander Mette - 15.1.97
Hans Joachim Mette - 29.4.06
Erwin Metzke - 3.7.06
Hans Meyer - 18.7.84
Georg Misch - 5.4.78
Otto Most - 19.11.04
Aloys Müller - 11.7.79
Karl Valentin Müller - 26.3.96
Max Müller - 6.9.06
Martin Niemöller - 14.1.92
Hermann Noack - 23.2.95
Herman Nohl - 7.10.79
Wolfgang Nufer - 31.10.02
Karl Justus Obenauer - 29.2.88
Theodor Oberländer - 1.5.05
Rudolf Odebrecht - 9.3.83
Richard Oehler - 27.2.78
Walter Otto - 22.6.74
Richard Pauli - 12.5.86
Robert Petsch - 4.6.74

Alexander Pfänder - 7.2.70
Hans Pfeil - 26.3.03
Hans Pichler - 26.2.82
Wilhelm Pinder - 25.6.78
Max Planck - 23.4.58
Helmuth Plessner - 4.9.92
Günther Ralfs - 17.7.99
Hans Reichenbach - 26.9.91
Hans Reiner - 19.11.96
Heinrich Rickert - 25.5.63
Johann Baptist Rieffert - 5.10.83
Kurt Riezler - 11.2.82
Fritz-Joachim von Rintelen - 16.5.98
Constantin Ritter - 8.4.59
Joachim Ritter - 3.4.03
Alfred Rosenberg - 12.1.93
Bernhard Rosenmüller - 17.4.83
Erich Rothacker - 12.3.88
Hans Rothfels - 12.4.91
Vinzenz Rűfner - 17.9.99
Hans Rupp - 26.2.80
Bernhard Rust - 30.9.83
Bodo Sartorius Freiherr von Waltershausen - 4.9.00
Heinrich Sauer - 17.10.91
Wilhelm Sauer - 24.6.79
Wilhelm Saure - 25.9.99
Helmut Schelsky - 14.10.12
Hans Schemm - 6.10.91
Walther Malmsten Schering - 25.11.80
Kurt Schilling - 17.10.99
Werner Schingnitz - 22.9.99
Karl Schlechta - 23.1.04
Ferdinand Schmidt - 20.12.60
Wilhelm Schmidt-Japing - 13.3.86
Walther Schmied-Kowarzik - 22.5.85
Carl Schmitt - 11.7.88
Paul Schmitthenner - 2.12.84
Artur Schneider - 15.11.76
Hermann Schneider - 29.4.74
Heinrich Scholz - 17.12.84
Günther Schulemann - 26.8.89
Wolfgang Schultz - 28.6.81
Otto Schultze - 9.10.72
Walther Schulze-Soelde - 26.4.88
Hermann Schwarz - 22.12.64
Lutz Graf Schwerin von Krosigk - 22.8.87
Wolfgang Siebert - 11.4.05
Eduard Spranger - 27.6.82
Heinrich Springmeyer - 27.5.98
Gerhard Stammler - 3.5.98
Christoph Steding - 11.2.03
Wolfram Steinbeck - 14.3.05

Theodor Steinbüchel - 15.6.88
 Julius Stenzel - 9.2.83
 Georg Stieler - 28.1.84
 Gustav Störing - 24.8.60
 Julius Streicher - 12.2.85
 Carl Stumpf - 21.4.48
 Paul Tillich - 20.8.86
 Johannes Thyssen - 22.8.92
 Friedrich Traub - 19.4.60
 Theodor Vahlen - 30.6.69
 Johannes Maria Verweyen - 11.5.83
 Alfred Vierkandt - 4.5.67
 Johannes (Hans) Volkeit - 4.6.86
 Alfred Weber - 30.7.68
 Oswald Weidenbach - 4.3.76
 Hermann Wein - 20.5.12
 Ferdinand Weinhandl - 31.1.96
 Hans Wenke - 22.4.03
 Max Wentscher - 12.5.62
 Aloys Wenzl - 25.1.87
 William Henry Werkmeister - ? (visiting Prof.in Berlin 1937)
 Max Wertheimer - 12.5.62
 Carl Wesle - 26.1.90
 Hermann Weyl - 9.11.85
 Ottomar Wichmann - 13.5.90
 Paul Wilpert - 26.4.06
 Wilhelm Wirth - 26.7.76
 Johannes Wittmann - 3.3.85
 Friedrich Würzbach - 15.6.86
 Walter Wüst - 7.5.01
 Max Wundt - 29.1.79
 Peter Wust - 28.8.84
 Theodor Ziehen - 12.11.62
 Rudolf Zoher - 7.7.97
 Werner Zschintsch - 26.1.88

I also requested information on the following 55 individuals and was told that there was nothing available:

Max Apel - 16.5.69
 Hannah Arendt - 14.10.06
 Marianne Baeumler - born 1922
 Matthias Baumgartner - 20.2.65
 Walter Biemel - 19.2.18
 Franz Boas - 9.7.58
 Rudolf Carnap - 18.5.91
 Jonas Cohn - 2.12.69
 Paul Adolph Michel Deman (or de Man) - 6.12.19
 Arthur Drews - 1.11.65
 Hans Ehrenberg - 4.6.83
 Max Eitington - 26.6.81

Mircea Eliade - 9.3.07
 (I did find an exchange of letters between Eliade and
 Carl Schmitt in Schmitt's BDC file.)
 Ida Maria Eucken - ?
 Eugen Fink - 11.12.05
 Friedrich A. von Hayek - 8.5.99
 Fritz Heinemann - 8.2.89
 Carl Hempel - 8.1.05
 Hermann Hesse - 2.7.77
 Paul Honigsheim - 28.3.85
 Ernst Jünger - 29.3.95
 Carl Gustav Jung - 26.7.75
 (I did find positive mention of Jung in the file of M.
 H: Göring.)
 Pierre Kaan - ? (French philosopher; died at Buchenwald)
 Fritz Kaufmann - 3.7.91
 Walter Kinkel - 23.12.71
 Raymond Klibansky - 15.10.05
 Wolfgang Köhler - 27.12.70
 Viktor Kraft - 4.7.80
 Karl Kraus - 28.4.74
 Fritz Künkel - 6.9.89
 Paul L. Landsberg - 3.12.01
 Kurt Lewin - 9.9.90
 Hermann Maier - 5.2.67
 Siegfried Marck - 9.3.89
 Werner Marx - 19.9.10
 Friedrich Niebergall - 20.3.66
 Traugott Konstantin Oesterreich - 15.9.80
 José Ortega y Gasset - 9.5.83
 Franz von Papen - 29.10.79
 Erich F. Podach - 22.11.94
 Otto Pöggeler - 12.12.28
 Karl Popper - 28.7.02
 Ezra Pound - 30.10.85
 Max Scheler - 22.8.74
 August Schmekel - 29.10.57
 Balduin Schwarz - 23.3.03
 Albert Schweitzer - 14.1.75
 Oswald Spengler - 29.5.80
 Erich Stern - 30.10.89
 William Stern - 29.4.71
 Dolf Sternberger - 28.7.07
 Leo Strauß - 20.9.99
 Ernst Troeltsch - 17.2.65
 Emil Utitz - 27.3.83
 Edgar Wind - 14.5.00

Bundesarchiv in Koblenz

The following files were examined January–February 1989 and January 1990:

Signatur NL 182 – (Nachlaß Eduard Spranger)

File Numbers: 27, 28, 255

Signatur NS 12 – (Hauptamt für Erziehung – NSLB)

Introduction to Findbuch

Signatur NS 15 – (Amt Rosenberg)

File Numbers: 36, 37, 41, 88, 120, 121, 123, 138a,
177, 191–233, 291–293, 312, 315

Signatur R 21 – (Reichserziehungsministerium)

File Numbers: 336, 614, 721, 767, 801, 838, 10185,
10217, 10225, 10327, 10795, 10800, 10811

Signatur R 21 Anhänge – (Reichserziehungsministerium)

File Numbers: Personalunterlagen 10000–10023 and
Personenbezogen Restunterlagen 10032,
10034, 10036, 10039–52, 10054–58, 10061–
10065, 10068, 10070, 10074, 10075, 10094

Signatur R 26 III – (Reichsforschungsrat)

File number: 8

Signatur R 31 – (Kurator der Deutschen Wissenschaftlichen
Hochschulen in Prag)

File Numbers: 552, 650, 661

Signatur R 76 – (Reichsuniversität Straßburg)

File Numbers: 12, 13, 19

Geheimes Staatsarchiv, Preußischer Kulturbesitz (Berlin)

The following files were consulted in April 1988:

File Number: I. HA, Rep. 76, X.52, Band 1-2
(Philosoph. Seminar Göttingen)

Institut für Zeitgeschichte in Munich

The following rolls of microfilm were examined in August 1988 and February 1989:

MA 116 (rolls 1-18)
MA 129/8
MA 129/9
MA 141 (rolls 1-11)
MA 205
MA 228
MA 252
MA 257
MA 306
MA 528
MA 595
MA 603
MA 607
MA 609
MA 611
MA 612
MA 798

The following files were consulted in August 1988:

Fa 503(1-2) - (SD-HA Akte Carl Schmitt)
Db 32 - (NS Lehrerbund + Hauptamt für Erziehung)

The following manuscripts were consulted in August 1989:

ED-318 Sammlung Alfred Baeumler, Mappe 1-7

Zentrale Staatsarchiv der DDR in Potsdam

The following files were examined in May 1989:

Signatur 49.01 - (Reichserziehungsministerium)

File numbers: 2607, 2608, 2611, 2641, 2940, 2941

The following files were examined in June 1990:

Signatur 62 Di 1 - (Dienststelle Rosenberg)

Files listed under headings 2.2.3.3. - 2.2.3.6. of the guide to this collection.

Zentrale Stelle der Landesjustizverwaltungen in Ludwigsburg

Files on the following individuals were consulted in January 1990:

Ernst KriECK and Carl Schmitt

APPENDIX B

DOCUMENTS

The purpose of this appendix is to provide examples of some of the questionnaires filled out by university faculty at the request of different bureaucracies within the Nazi government. The documents presented here come from the files of different individuals because the contents of many files were lost during the war, but all civil servants were required at different times to fill out the first three sets of questionnaires. The fourth questionnaire presented was only filled out by those applying for membership in the Nazi Party. A brief explanation of each follows below.

Documents Nr. 6582, 6581, and 6580

From the Berlin Document Center file of Ferdinand Weinhandl, this questionnaire was required of all civil servants, including university faculty, as a consequence of the Civil Service Reform Law of 1933 (see Table 7). If the official in question met the conditions for continued employment set forth in this law, an administrative order was issued (Nr.6580) protecting that individual from any punitive action.

Documents Nr. 6575-6578

Also from Weinhandl's file at the Document Center, this questionnaire was (beginning in 1934) required of all civil servants, including university faculty. It provided the government with detailed information about their religious and political backgrounds. Married civil servants were also required to fill out a second form (Nr. 6577-6578), giving detailed information about the religious background of the spouse's parents and grandparents.

Document Nr. 1620

From the Document Center file on Martin Heidegger, this questionnaire and declaration was required of all civil servants, including university faculty, to clarify any past involvement with Masonic organizations and to insure that neither they, their spouse, parents, or grandparents were, or had ever been, Jewish.

Document Nr. 7653342

From the Document Center file on Otto Friedrich Bollnow, this questionnaire was required of all who applied for membership in the NSDAP. Applicants were required to acknowledge any past association with Masonic organizations and their spouses were expected to be free of any strains of the "Jewish" or "colored" races. These applications had to be signed by the applicant, which means that it was not possible (as has sometimes been claimed) that someone was registered as a member of the NSDAP without their knowledge or approval.

6581
Kurator der Universität
Kiel, 19. APR. 1933

- 1) Name: *Münzweil*
- 2) Vorname: *Erwin*
- 3) Geburtsdatum und Ort: *31. Januar 1896, Jüdelubitz, Hainowen*
- 4) Staatsangehörigkeit: *Österreichisch*
 a) heute: *Österreichisch*
 b) bei der Geburt: *Österreichisch*
- 5) Datum der Habilitation: *1. März 1922, Pöchlitz, Schriftk. Lehrg. 2. März 1923*
- 6) Datum der Ernennung zum planmäßigen Assistenten, Lektor, ao. oder o. Professor: *1. o. Professor am 19. September 1927*
- 7) Teilnahme am Weltkriege: *an der Front für das Deutsche Reich oder seinen Verbündeten*
 a) von *6. Juli 1916* bis *12. August 1918*, *III. Bataillon, 1. Infanterie-Regiment, 1. Armee*
 b) Truppenteil: *1. Bataillon, 1. Infanterie-Regiment, 1. Armee*
 c) Dienstgrad: *Leutnant*
 d) Auszeichnungen: *Preuß. Infanterie-Kriegsdenkmal, Eisenerz-Kriegsdenkmal, Eisenerz-Kriegsdenkmal, Eisenerz-Kriegsdenkmal*
- 8) Rassezugehörigkeit der 4 Großeltern: *deutsch-polnisch*
- 9) Sind Vater oder Söhne im Weltkrieg gefallen? *nein*

Daß die Angaben nach bestem Wissen und Gewissen gemacht sind, versichere ich hierdurch pflichtgemäß

..... *Dine*, den 19 April 1933.

Prof. Münzweil

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Berlin den

1933.

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H. p. Ludwig
H. p.
H. p. Schellbach

- 1. Vermerk:
Hinsichtlich des Prof. eingendl
ist nach den beigefügten Unterlagen auf Grund des
Gesetzes vom 7. 4. 1933 nichts zu veranlassen.
- 2. Herrn Amtsrat Schellbach zum Vermerk.
- 3. ZdA.

Der Minister usw.
I.A.

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Formblatt 1

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Fragebogen.

1. Name Weinhandl
 Vorname Wolfgang
 Wohnort und Wohnung Land, Hüllb. Str. 43
 Geburtsort, -tag, -monat und -jahr Industrieviertel 31.
 Konfession (auch frühere Konfession) röm.-kath. (Baptismus)

2. a) Haben Sie der kommunistischen Partei oder kommunistischen Hilfs- oder Organisationsorganisationen (einschl. der sogenannten national-kommunistischen Bewegung "Schwarze Front" -) angehört, falls ja, von wann bis wann?
 b) Haben Sie der Sozialdemokratischen Partei, dem Reichsbanner Schwarz-Rot-Gold, der Eisernen Front oder sonstigen sozialdemokratischen oder republikanischen Hilfs- und Nebenorganisationen sowie der Deutschen Friedensgesellschaft, der Liga für Menschenrechte, der Friedensliga und anderen internationalen oder politischen Verbänden, Vereinen oder Zusammenschlüssen angehört, falls ja, von wann bis wann? Waren Sie gewerkschaftlich organisiert?
 c) Welchen politischen Parteien haben Sie sonst bisher angehört?
 Sind oder waren Sie Mitglied der NSDAP, der SA, der SS, des St., der Technischen Wehrmacht oder sonstiger hinter der Regierung oder nationalen Erhebung stehender Verbände, falls ja, von wann bis wann? (durch Vorlegung geeigneter Bescheinigungen glaubhaft zu machen)
 d) Welchen politischen Vereinen sowie Logen, Orden u. a. haben Sie sonst bisher angehört oder gehören Sie an, falls ja, von wann bis wann?

nein
nein
nein
 Mitglied der NSDAP seit 1. März 1933 (Aufh. 23. März 1933)
 Mitglied der SA: 5. November 1933.
nein

3. a) Stammen Sie von nichtarischen, insbesondere jüdischen Eltern oder Großeltern ab?

Nähere Angaben über die Abstammung:
 Eltern:
 Name des Vaters
 Vorname
 Stand und Beruf
 Geburtsort, -tag, -monat und -jahr
 Sterbort, -tag, -monat und -jahr
 Konfession (auch frühere Konfession)
 verheiratet
 verheiratet mit
 verheiratet seit
 verheiratet mit
 verheiratet seit

nein
nein
 Ministerpräsident
 Provinzialrat
 Schulrat
 Industrieviertel 31 (SHS) 1.1.1960
nein
nein
 seit 1.1.1995

II Nr. 64. Nachweis der arischen Abstammung des Beamten. (Bund 1934.)

insbesondere dem Republikanischen Lehrerbund der Arbeitsgemeinschaft sozialistischer Lehrer der freien Lehrgewerkschaft dem Internationalen sozialistischen Kampfbund der freien Schulschülergesellschaften Deutschlands der Sozialistischen Arbeiterjugend den Roten Falken dem Sozialistischen Schülerbund dem Sozialistischen Studentenbund sowie

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Geburtsname der Mutter.....
 Vornamen.....
 Geburtsort, -tag, -monat und -jahr.....
 Sterbeort, -tag, -monat und -jahr.....
 Konfession (auch frühere Konfession).....

Morizine
 Lucie
 Korywinitz u. Paltrow 14.12.1869.
 röm.-kath.

Großeltern:

Name des Großvaters (väterlicherseits).....
 Vornamen.....
 Stand und Beruf.....
 Geburtsort, -tag, -monat und -jahr.....
 Sterbeort, -tag, -monat und -jahr.....
 Konfession (auch frühere Konfession).....

Morizowicz
 Jakobowicz
 (Kaufmann, Buchhändler)
 Wohnung: Korywinitz u. Paltrow (Stammort) 25.5.1829.
 Paltrow 14. Nov. 1900
 röm.-kath.

Geburtsname der Großmutter (mütterlicherseits).....
 Vornamen.....
 Geburtsort, -tag, -monat und -jahr.....
 Sterbeort, -tag, -monat und -jahr.....
 Konfession (auch frühere Konfession).....

Sionkingel
 Sidronoff
 Wohnung: Korywinitz u. Paltrow (Stammort) 11.11.1810.
 Korywinitz (Stammort) 9.3.1872
 röm.-kath.

Name des Großvaters (mütterlicherseits).....
 Vornamen.....
 Stand und Beruf.....
 Geburtsort, -tag, -monat und -jahr.....
 Sterbeort, -tag, -monat und -jahr.....
 Konfession (auch frühere Konfession).....

Morizine
 Fawicz
 Sohn, Kaufmann u. Fabrikant, Zingawitz u. Paltrow
 Korywinitz u. Paltrow, 12.9.1835
 Paltrow 22. März 1900
 röm.-kath.

Geburtsname der Großmutter (mütterlicherseits).....
 Vornamen.....
 Geburtsort, -tag, -monat und -jahr.....
 Sterbeort, -tag, -monat und -jahr.....
 Konfession (auch frühere Konfession).....

Jolitta
 Morizine
 Korywinitz u. Paltrow 27.4.1835
 Paltrow 2.5.1913
 röm.-kath.

b) Sind Sie verheiratet?*)

ja

Ich versichere, daß ich die vorstehenden Angaben nach bestem Wissen gemacht habe. Ich weis, daß ich bei unrichtig falschen Angaben die fruchtlose Entlassung, die Anfechtung der Anstellung oder ein Dienststrafverfahren mit dem Ziele der Dienstentlassung zu gewartigen habe.

Dies, den 1. August 1935.

Morizowicz
 (Unterschrift)

*) Verheiratete haben auch das Formblatt 2 auszufüllen.

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Formblatt 2

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Anzeige über Verheiratung.

Am 5. August 1919 habe ich mit der Luise Marie Luise Luise

geborenen Glaußhainz

geborenen Glaußhainz Konfession

die Ehe geschlossen

Nähere Angaben über die Abstammung meiner Ehefrau

Eltern:

Name des Vaters

Vornamen

Stand und Beruf

Geburtsort, -tag, -monat und -jahr

STERBEORT, -tag, -monat und -jahr

Konfession (auch frühere Konfession)

verheiratet in am

Geburtsname der Mutter

Vornamen

Geburtsort, -tag, -monat und -jahr

STERBEORT, -tag, -monat und -jahr

Konfession (auch frühere Konfession)

Großeltern:

Name des Großvaters (väterlicherseits)

Vornamen

Stand und Beruf

Geburtsort, -tag, -monat und -jahr

STERBEORT, -tag, -monat und -jahr

Konfession (auch frühere Konfession)

Geburtsname der Großmutter (väterlicherseits)

Vornamen

Geburtsort, -tag, -monat und -jahr

STERBEORT, -tag, -monat und -jahr

Konfession (auch frühere Konfession)

II Nr. 66. Anzeige über die Verheiratung eines Beamten. (Berlin 1934.)

COPY HAS

Glaußhainz
Luise Marie
Kaufmann
Königsberg (Preußen) 27. 1. 1840.
Mödingen 15. März 1907.
evangelisch (lutherisch - luth.)
Königsberg (Preußen)
2. 5. 1873

Luisen
Luise
Königsberg 27. 1. 1854
evangelisch (lutherisch - luth.)

Glaußhainz
Luise
Kaufmann
Königsberg (Preußen) 17. 12. 1879
Königsberg (Preußen) 1875
evangelisch

Luisen
Luise
Königsberg 8. 1. 1812.
Königsberg (Preußen) 1876
evangelisch

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Name des Großvaters (mutterlicherseits)

Vornamen

Stand und Beruf

Geburtsort, -tag, -monat und -jahr

Sterbeort, -tag, -monat und -jahr

Konfession (auch frühere Konfession)

Geburtsname der Großmutter (mutterlicherseits)

Vornamen

Geburtsort, -tag, -monat und -jahr

Sterbeort, -tag, -monat und -jahr

Konfession (auch frühere Konfession)

Lohmann
 Ludwig
 P. P. Bauernwart
 Großhans (Hühlf. Hofmann) 26.12.1814
 Jans 5.2.1886
 neu - evtl.
 Hebing
 Emilia
 Kirsbaum (Körbner) 26.3.1825
 Jans 20.3.1897
 neu - evtl.

Ich versichere, daß ich die vorstehenden Angaben nach bestem Wissen gemacht habe. Ich weiß, daß ich bei willkürlich falschen Angaben die fruchtlose Entlassung, die Anrechnung der Anstellung oder ein Dienststrafverfahren mit dem Ziele der Dienstentlassung zu erwarten habe.

Dies, den 1. August 1935.

Miniswald
 (Unterschrift)

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THE
Erklärung.

.....
Eing. - 7. FEB. 1936
J. Nr.

I. Ich erkläre hiermit ~~an Eides Statt~~ ¹⁾ daß ich einer Loge, logenähnlichen Organisationen oder der Erfahrgeneration einer solchen niemals angehört habe. -

~~- der Loge - logenähnlichen Organisationen - Erfahrgeneration~~

.....
vom bis
angehört habe.

~~Ich habe bei dieser Organisation kein Amt - ein Amt - einen Hochgrad oder eine sonstige~~
~~Stellung etc~~

.....
vom bis
Stellen. Ich habe nicht folgenden Grad innegehabt:

.....
~~Ich bin aus der Organisation ausgeschieden durch (genau Form des Ausscheidens) - D.~~
~~(Streichung "Ausschluß" usw.)~~

II. Außerdem erkläre ich hiermit ~~an Eides Statt~~ ¹⁾ unter meinem Dienst:

Mir sind trotz sorgfältigster Prüfung keine Umstände bekannt, welche die Annahme rechtfertigen könnten, daß ich - und meine Frau von nichtarischen Eltern oder Großeltern abstamme - n - insbesondere hat keiner meiner - und meiner Frau - Elternteile oder Großeltern zu irgend einer Zeit der jüdischen Religion angehört.

Freiburg i. B. den

6. März 1936

(Vor- und Zuname)

Herdegger

(Amtsbezeichnung)

* ord. Postf. Nr.

H. 480 ?

1) Nichtzutreffendes ist durchzustreichen.
2) Hier ist der Name der Loge usw. anzugeben.
3) Anzugeben (sämtliche Ämter (Ehrenämter und Hochgrade).

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Herdegger

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Fragebogen

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(Anlage zum Antrag auf Aufnahme in die Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei)

A

Vor- und Zuname (bei Frauen auch Mädchenname) Otto Friedrich Bollnow
 Beruf oder Art der Tätigkeit: Professor
 Wohnort: Glessen Wohnung: Friedrich Straße nr. 57
 Geburtsort: Stettin Geburtszeit: (Tag, Monat, Jahr) 14. 2. 1910
 Staatsangehörigkeit: deutsch

Vor- und Zuname des Vaters: Otto Bollnow
 Geburtsort des Vaters: Latzow Geburtszeit des Vaters: (Tag, Monat, Jahr) 18. 6. 1877
Krs. Greifswald

Vor- und Zuname der Mutter: (Mädchenname!) Friedchen Ewert
 Geburtsort der Mutter: Barth Geburtszeit der Mutter: (Tag, Monat, Jahr) 10. 9. 1883

B

Familienstand: (ledig, verheiratet, verwitwet, geschieden) verheiratet
 Vor- und Zuname des Ehegatten: (bei Frauen Mädchenname!) Ortrud geb. Bürger
 Geburtsort des Ehegatten: Köln Geburtszeit des Ehegatten: (Tag, Monat, Jahr) 22. 7. 1910
 Ist der Ehegatte frei von jüdischem oder farbigem Rasseinschlag? ja
 Waren Sie früher mit einem nichtarischen Ehegatten verheiratet? nein
 Wodurch ist diese Ehe beendet worden? (Tod oder Scheidung) entfällt
 Wann? entfällt Bei Scheidung, durch welches Gericht? entfällt
 Sind Kinder aus dieser Ehe vorhanden? entfällt Wie viele? entfällt

C

Haben Sie früher einer Freimaurerloge angehört? nein Welcher? entfällt
 Tag des Eintritts? entfällt Tag des Austritts? entfällt
 Welches Amt und welchen Grad haben Sie in der Loge bekleidet? entfällt
 Haben Sie früher einer logenähnlichen Vereinigung (Schlaraffia, Druiden-Orden usw.) oder einem Geheimbund angehört? nein Welcher oder welchem? entfällt

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Tag des Eintritts? entfällt Tag des Austritts? entfällt
 Welches Amt und welchen Grad haben Sie bekleidet? entfällt

D

Waren Sie schon einmal Mitglied der NSDAP, nach deren Neugründung am 27. 2. 1925?
 Mitglieds-Nummer? entfällt Zeit und Grund des Auscheidens? entfällt

E

Vorstrafen keine

Zeitpunkt der Verurteilung	durch welches Gericht	Strafe	strafbare Handlung	Strafe verbüßt, bedingt erlassen, amnestiert, wann:
/				

F

Besondere Bemerkungen:

Ich versichere, sämtliche vorstehenden Angaben nach bestem Wissen und Gewissen vollständig und richtig gemacht zu haben.

Giessen, den 5.1.1940
 Ort und Datum

Ans Friedrich Breuer
 Eigenhändige Unterschrift

- 1) Genaue Angabe des Berufs oder der Art der Tätigkeit, nicht Kaufmann, sondern Handelsvertreter, Versicherungsagent, Maschinist n/w, nicht Beamter, sondern Volkspolizeiter, Landgerichtsrat n/w.
- 2) Es ist der Wohnort, nicht der Ort der Geschäfts- oder Berufsausübung anzugeben.
- 3) Es sind sämtliche Vorstrafen vollständig anzugeben, auch soweit sie amnestiert, im Strafregister gelöscht sind, oder nur noch der beschränkten Auskunft unterliegen.

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