

## **INDEX**

Academy of Labor (at the University of racial superiority of, in judicial Frankfurt), 44 systems, 16-18 accommodation and treatment, of assassination, 1, 2, 37, 136, 194-95 Jewish lawyers, in Nazi attorney-client Germany, 19-23 privilege, 64, 79, 80, 83, 84 under Law on Admission to the relations, 55, 64 Bar, 21 Augustine of Hippo, 143 liberal arguments for, flaws in, 21 Auschwitz, 141, 150 nationalist arguments for, flaws in, Austria, annexation of, Law on 21 - 22Admission to the Bar and, 36 public support for, 22-23 Bad Dürrenberg, 6, 44, 45-46 as for war veterans, 20-23 acquittals, of Fraenkel clients, 65, 68-69 Ball, Fritz, 19 Adams, James Luther, 126-27 Ball-Kaduri, Kurt Jacob, 21 Agricola, Anna, 85 bar associations Berlin Bar Association, 32 Agricola, Peter, 99 Agricola, Rudolf, 84-86 German Bar Association, 17-18 National Socialist, 91 Allen, William Sheridan, 110 Alsberg, Max, 10-11, 12, 19-20, 25, Reich Bar Association, 90 Barmen Declaration, 165 33, 113 Barth, Karl, 161 exile from Germany, 38 advice about, 149 Bavaria, Jewish lawyers in, 18-19 Litten and, 14 Behemoth (Neumann, F.), 40-41, 175, 178-79, 182-83, 184-86 public reputation of, 11, 53-54 in criminal law, 29 Behren, Irmgard, 162 Siegert and, 28-29 Bendix, Ludwig, 113 suicide of, 10 in concentration camps, 34 Angress, Werner T., 10-11 defense of German liberalism, 31-35 disbarment of, 31-32 annexation of Austria. See Austria Litten and, 34-35 anti-Semitism toward Fraenkel, 88-89 professional humiliation of, 32 Fraenkel on, 118, 141 Bendix, Reinhard, 32 in general, 18, 23, 29, 142, 161, Berlin, Isaiah, 31 162, 171 Bertholet, René, 52-53 arrests, of Jewish lawyers, in Nazi Best, Werner, 62, 157, 171 Bill of Rights, U.S., 113-15 Germany, 13-14, 15 Arvans Blau, Bruno, 19, 24, 25 Jewish people replaced by, 22-23 Böckenförde, Ernst-Wolfgang, 141



INDEX 273

Bolshevism, Bolsheviks and, 28, 39,	People's (Volksgemeinschaft), 138,	
75–76, 116, 133	164–65, 168–69	
Bonhoeffer, Dietrich, 161	concentration camps	
Brandes, Alwin, 50, 60, 95	Bendix, L., in, 34	
arrest of, 51, 70	Buchenwald, 147, 156, 173	
Brass, Otto, 148–49	Dachau, 35, 70–71	
Braun, Otto, 71	Lichtenburg, 33, 34, 147–48	
Breit, Thomas, 163	Litten's suicide at, 35–36	
Brill, Hermann, 7–8, 146–47, 148–49	Sachsenhausen, 162–63, 167	
Fraenkel compared to, 152–57	Confessing Church	
Neumann, F., and, 188–89	Gauger, M., and, 8, 50-51, 158-66	
underground writings of, 147-48,	legal representation for, 8, 50–51	
154, 155–56	confessions (in criminal cases), 56, 74,	
Burke, Edmund, 127	75, 80, 100	
	conscience	
Calvinism, 180–82	for Gauger, M., 172–73	
capitalism	in resistance movement, 138–41	
in Nazi ideology, 117, 121	morality and, 140-41	
socialism and, 117	Constitution of the Courts	
Central Organization for German	(Germany), 11	
Citizens of the Jewish	Construction Workers Union, 48	
Faith, 113	courts	
Churchill, Winston, 187	courthouses, 14, 15, 25	
Civil Procedure Code (Germany), 11	Courts of Appeal, 74	
Cold War, 189, 194, 198	district courts (Landgerichte or	
Columbia House (prison), 56	Landesgerichte), 218, 219,	
commercial law, 29	221, 222, 223	
communal natural law, 134-35	German Supreme Court	
communism	(Reichsgericht), 55, 205	
in The Dual State, 86-88	labor courts (Arbeitsgerichte)	
Fraenkel and, as legal counsel, 75–88	People's Court (Volksgericht),	
disbarment issues as result of, 76	107-8, 149, 204-6, 207	
under Law on Admission to the	Prussian High Court	
Bar, 75–76	(Kammergericht), 47-48,	
Pokornowski case, 76-81, 89	61, 65, 67, 89–90, 164,	
refusal of representation, 82	204, 207	
under "indirect communist danger"	special courts (Sondergerichte), 5,	
doctrine, 226	74–75, 204, 205	
Communist Party Germany –	Supreme Labor Court	
Opposition (Kommunistische	(Reichsarbeitsgericht), 48, 90,	
Partei Deutschlands –	95, 96–97	
Opposition or KPO), 50	covert activism, in The Dual State, 43	
under Eleventh Commandment, of	Criminal Code (Germany), 11	
Nazi Party, 81	criminal law, 29	
community, concepts of, 21–22, 28–29,	Jewish legal advisors and, in Nazi	
30, 120, 129	Germany, 64	
Aryan, 12, 23, 28–29, 102–3,	"Crystal Night," or "The Night of	
138–39, 160	Broken Glass." 36	



> INDEX 274

Dahlem Synod, 161, 167 The Dual State (Fraenkel), 1, 13, 39-42 Debus, Oskar, 147, 148-49 decisionism, 178-79 de-emancipation, of Jewish lawyers, in Nazi Germany, 15-18. See also Law on Admission to the Bar under Kerrl Decree, 15-16 under Law on Restoration of the Professional Civil Service. 16 - 18defendants, 52-88 spouses of, 98, 99 women defendants, 67-68, 82-83, 101, 202 defense lawyers/defense counsel, 53-54, 66-67, 68, 89, 108-9. See also specific lawvers degradation, of Jewish lawyers, in Nazi Germany, 23-26 of economic interests, 25 through social exclusion and isolation, 25, 37 Delatowsky case, 94, 95-96, 97-99, 124 democracy. See also Social Democracy liberal democracy, 39 parliamentary democracy, 135 pluralistic democracy, 4, 189 in Weimar Republic, 54, 174, 178 Diederich, Ludwig, 148-49 "The Difference between the Nazi and Socialist Notions of Freedom" (Fraenkel), 113–17 Dimitroff, Georgi, 46, 85 disbarment of Bendix, L., 31-32 of Hirschberg, M., 75-76 of Jewish lawyers, 16. See also specific lawyers discrimination, against Jewish lawyers, 26 dismissal of Jewish judges, 16 divorce and marriage, 97, 98-99 divorce cases, 73, 94 Donne, John, 152

communism in Nazi Germany, legal response to, 86-88 covert activism in, 43 distribution of, 144 as form of political resistance, 143 - 46justification of political resistance in, 124 - 27in original draft version, 126-27, 179 socialism and, 125-26 legal practices as element in, 44 "mixed" marriages in, 97-98 mortality in, 200 natural law in. See natural law Nazi ideology in, 160 Nazification of legal state in, 90 personal inspiration for, 45, 93 public reception of, 40-41 racial ideology in, 118 sources for, 94 dual state theory, 4-5, 32 development of, 98-99 Nazi legal order and, 40-41, 74 normative state, 4-5, 40 development of, 40 political lawyers in, 93-104 prerogative state, 4-5, 40, 100 development of, 5, 40 legal system in, 40-41, 74 Nazi Germany as, 13-14 Reichstag fire emergency decree, 5 Dubnov, Simon, 146 Eberhard, Fritz, 50, 51, 55-56, 109, 112-13, 117, 122, 210 Eden Dance Palace trial, 13, 147 Emergency Decree, 102-3 emergency decrees, in Nazi Germany against Jewish lawyers, 12-14 Kerrl Decree, 15-16 Reichstag Fire Emergency Decree, 2-5, 47, 96crimes listed in, 74 against political parties, 102-3 England, Labour Party in, 214-15 Epstein, Joseph, 6

Dreher, Fritz, 109



INDEX 275

equality (under the law), 12, 38–39,		
81–82, 103, 186, 196, 209 exile		
Fraenkel in, 47, 146–51		
Hachenburg in, 38		
Hirschberg in, 38		
Neumann in, 153, 195		
SDP leadership in Prague, 51,		
53, 63, 70–71, 100, 101–2,		
111, 148		
Sinzheimer in, 38		
Fechner, Max, 53, 67		
Feilen, Hildegard, 46, 47, 56-57,		
59, 65		
Felseneck trial, 27, 226		
Fliess, Julius, 36		
Forck, Bernhard Heinrich, 158-59		
Fraenkel, Ernst, 38-42, 128, 129-30,		
133, 142-43. See also		
The Dual State; dual state		
theory; specific essays		
anti-Semitism toward, 88–89		
Brill and, 146–47		
comparisons between, 152–57		
on capitalism		
in Nazi ideology, 117, 121 in socialist ideology, 117		
career of, overview of, 199–246		
collected works of, 8–9		
Communist clients of, as defendants,		
75–88		
disbarment issues as result of, 76		
under Law on the Admission to		
the Bar, 75–76		
Pokornowski case, 76-81, 89		
refusal of representation of, 82		
Confessing Church and, 8		
cultivation of legal contacts, 43-47		
declining legal practice of, 88–93		
defense of liberalism, 31		
early adulthood, 6–7		
early home life, 6		
exile from Germany, 47, 146–51		
on freedom, as social concept		
invisible anonymity and, 115, 116 in Nazi ideology, 113–17		
under socialism, 113–17		
ander occidion, 110-17		

U.S. Bill of Rights as influence on, 113-15 Gauger, M., compared to, 152, 157 - 73German Freethinkers Alliance case, 95-96 German People's Front and, 148-50 Hachenburg and, 38 income of, 48, 92-93 Iewish identity for, 142 on Jewish Property Tax, 150-51 Kirchheimer and, 41 as labor law advocate, 38-40, 95-97 labor unions and, 65, 95-97 German Metal Workers Union, 4, 38-40, 44under Law on Admission to the Bar, exemption for, 48 as lawyer, for political defendants, 52 - 65acquittals as result of, 65, 68-69 counsel fees, 59 after Night of the Long Knives, 61-62 no denunciations by clients, 58-59 "Old Cheese" case, 69-71, 79-80 in Prussian High Court, 67-70 publicity for, 53-54 in trials, 65-75 methodological approach to works of, 46-47 on natural law. See natural law Neumann, F., and, 48, 173-98 as opposition lawyer. See also lawyers as subversive behavior, 49-52 personal bravery of, 1 political investigation of, 63-64 on political science, as pioneer in, 4 private practice of, 49 pseudonyms used by, 51, 106, 118, 202-3, 214-15 Radbruch and, 210 on Rechtsstaat doctrine, 130 Reinefeld mentored by, 91-92 revocation of citizenship, during Nazi regime, 151 as Social Democrat, 2, 7 socialist identity of, 142



276 INDEX

Fraenkel, Ernst (cont.) Gauger, Joseph, 161-62 socialist student movement and, 44 Gauger, Martin, 7-8, 125-26, 129, 138 as subversive, under Nazi rule, 47-52 Best, W., and, 157 as opposition lawyer, 49-52 Christian faith for, 157-58 taxes imposed on, 150 Confessing Church and, 8, 50–51, teaching skills of, 43-44 158 - 72underground writing of, 43, 105-6, conscience for, 172-73 214-15. See also "The Point of death of, 158 Illegal Work" Fraenkel compared to, 152, "The Difference between the Nazi 157 - 73and Socialist Notions of legal career of, 158-66 Freedom," 113-17 Luther Council and, 166-72 "In the Machine of Political during "Night of the Long Knives," 158 Criminal Justice of the Third on personal as political, 170-71 Reich," 106-9, 117 on "personal bearing," 167 "Press Reform?," 117, 118, on self-defense, 168-69 119-20, 141 theory of resistance of, failure of, "Revolution in Criminal Law!," 169 - 70106, 108-9, 117 underground writing of, 162-63, 165 "The Third Reich as a Dual State," Gellately, Robert, 58 92, 102, 118, 155, 231-32 German Academy of Politics (Deutsche in Weimar Republic Hochschule für Politik, or DHP), 44, 50, 71 early career of, 6 German Freethinkers Alliance as lawyer during, 4 on workers' rights, 4 (Deutsches Fraenkel, Hanna née Pickel Freidenkerverband), 95-96 German Metal Workers Union (wife of Ernst Fraenkel), 6, Fraenkel as lawyer for, 4, 38-40, 44 97, 118 at German Metal Workers Union. Pickel at, 45-46 German People's Front, 147, 148–50 45 - 46Fraenkel, Marta, 6, 93, 97 German Social Democratic Party Frank, Hans, 26-27 (Sozialistische Partei Siegert on, 29-30 Deutschlands, or SPD), 49, Frank, Karl, 208 50, 64, 71, 81, 89, 197 freedom, as social concept, Germany, pre-Nazi rule. See also Nazi Fraenkel on Germany; Weimar Republic Civil Procedure Code, 11 invisible anonymity and, 115, 116 Constitution of the Courts, 11 in Nazi ideology, 113-17 under socialism, 113-17 Criminal Code in, 11 U.S. Bill of Rights as influence on, Jewish judges in, 11-12 113-15 Lawyers' Statute, 11 Freiberg, Emanuel, 77, 82, 83 liberal law in, 11 Freisler, Roland, 32, 205 reversal of, 12 Frey, Erich, 53-54 Penal Code of 1871, 11 Frick, Wilhelm, 5, 146-47 Gestapo (police force) Friedlaender, Max, 17 interrogations by, 56, 57-58, 59, 84, Friedlander, Henry, 26 207, 208 Fuchs, Emil, 66-67 as political tool, of Nazi regime, 5



INDEX 277

Red Shock Troop Party members arrested by, 55 Goebbels, Joseph, 110, 118 Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von, 114 The Governance of the Rule of Law (Neumann, F.), 174-75 Gramsci, Antonio, 133 Grauert, Ludwig, 88 Greenberg, Udi, 232-33 Grotius, Hugo, 132 Grüber, Heinrich, 169 Hachenburg, Max, 23-24, 28, 33, 113 exile from Germany, 38 on Law on Admission to the Bar, 23 public reputation of, in commercial law, 29 publicity for, 53-54 Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich, 127 heroism, 1-2, 3, 35, 147, 209-10 Hett, Benjamin, 12 Hildenbrand, Karl, 53, 65 Hiller, Kurt, 35 Himmler, Heinrich, 5, 208 Hindenburg, Paul von, 20, 71, 146 Hirschberg, Max, 18-19 arrest of, 20 disbarment of, 75-76 exile from Germany, 38 Hitler, Adolf, 117. See also Nazi Germany elimination of Jewish lawyers under, 36-38 Hindenburg and, 20 Jewish lawyers' loyalty to, 22, 23 Litten and, 13 Mein Kampf, 116 "Hitler and His Labour Party" (Fraenkel), 214-15 Hockenos, Matthew, 161, 165 Hodapp, Ludwig, 56, 89 Hölscher, Heinrich, 89 honor missionary, 119-20, 122, 123, 126, 155 natural law and, 127-28 in Nazi ideology, 121-22

ideology. See Nazi ideology illegal pamphlets and literature, 64, 67, 149 "In the Machine of Political Criminal *Iustice of the Third Reich*" (Fraenkel), 106-9, 117 "indirect communist danger" doctrine, 226 inner immigration individualism, natural law and, 190-91 International Metal Workers Union, 51 International Socialist Combat League (Internationale Sozialistische Kampfbund, or ISK) (Nazi Germany), 50, 51 irrational natural law. See communal natural law ISK. See International Socialist Combat League Jacoby, Henry, 54, 56, 58-59 Jauer case, 73, 76-77, 82, 94, 99, 100, 103 - 4Jehovah's Witnesses, 98, 125, 131, 179, 180, 189 Jewish Classical Writers in German *Jurisprudence* (Sinzheimer), 29,30-31Jewish judges disbarment of, 16 under Kerrl Decree, 15-16 Nazi Germany judicial system influenced by, 23-24 before Nazi rule, 11-12 Jewish lawyers. See also specific lawvers before Nazi rule, 10-15 demographics of, by city and region, 11-12 emancipation of, 12 public prominence of, 12 in Weimar Republic, 12, 24-25 Jewish lawyers, in Nazi Germany, 7. See also specific persons accommodation and treatment of, 19 - 23under Law on Admission to the Bar, 21

in Weimar Republic, 127–28

Höppner, Wally, 105



278 INDEX

Jewish lawyers (cont.) liberal arguments for, flaws in, 21 nationalist arguments for, flaws in, 21 - 22public support for, 22-23 as for war veterans, 20–23 arrests of, 13-14, 15 in Bavaria, 18-19 Central Organization for German Citizens of the Jewish Faith, 113 courthouse attacks against, 14-15 decline of, 17-18, 35-36 de-emancipation of, 15-18. See also Law on Admission to the Bar under Kerrl Decree, 15-16 under Law on Restoration of the Professional Civil Service, 16 - 18degradation of, 23-26 of economic interests, 25 through social exclusion and isolation, 25, 37 disbarment of, 16 discrimination against, 26 emergency decrees against, 12-14 exodus of, 19 Hitler and, loyalty to, 22, 23 under "indirect communist danger" doctrine, 226 as legal advisors, downgrading of, 36 - 37liberalism of, 24-25 under Nazi law, 36-38. See also specific laws as negative influence on judicial system, 27-30 under Nuremberg Laws, 26-29, racism against, through legal channels, 16-17 regime attacks against, 12-15 Reichstag fire, 12-14, 19 salary decreases for, 92-93 Siegert on, 27-30 as war veterans accommodation of, 20-23

under Law on Admission to the Bar, 21 nationalist arguments for, 21-22 political arguments for, 20 public support for, 22-23 Jewish Property Tax, in Nazi Germany, 150 - 51judges, Nazi-era, 14-15, 16-17, 28, 39, 65, 107-8, 127-28, 176-77, 179, 202, 205. See also Jewish judges judicial review, 13-14, 176-77, 189-90, 231 - 32judicial system, in Nazi Germany German Bar Association, 17-18 Jewish judges as influence on, 23-24 political control of, 16 racial superiority principles as influence on, 16-18 reduction of Jewish lawyers in, 17-18 Siegert on, Jewish influence on, 27-30 Justice Ministry, 47-49, 61-62, 150, 158, 170-71

Kahn-Freund, Otto, 43-44 Kant, Immanuel, 129-30 Kaufmann, Erich, 128 Kelsen, Hans, 197 Kerrl, Hanns, 15-16, 47, 167 Kerrl Decree de-emancipation of Jewish lawyers under, 15-16 Jewish judges under, 15-16 Kirchheimer, Otto, 41 Klausener, Erich, 61-62 Klemperer, Klemens von, 140 Klühs, Franz, 53, 55, 57-58, 75 Komm, Herbert, 47, 109 Konsulenten (legal advisors), 36 Köpenick Blood Week, 57, 60, 149 Kreisau Circle, 137, 169, 195, 200-1 Krieger, Leonard, 114 Kühne, Thomas, 138 Küstermeier, Elisabeth, 71-72 Küstermeier, Rudolf, 53, 71-72, 84, 98-99, 202



INDEX 279

labor law
Fraenkel as advocate for, 38–40, 95–97
Sinzheimer on, 29
labor unions
Construction Workers Union, 48
Fraenkel as advocate for, 65,
95–97
German Metal Workers Union, 4, 38–40, 44
German Metal Workers Union
Fraenkel as lawyer for, 4, 38-40, 44
Pickel at, 45–46
International Metal Workers
Union, 51
in Nazi Germany, 49
Labour Party (England), 214–15
Ladwig-Winters, Simone, 4
Laski, Harold, 174–75, 214–15
Lassalle, Ferdinand, 39
law. See Nazi law; specific topics
Law on Admission to the Bar (Nazi
Germany), 16–18
accommodation of Jewish lawyers
under, 21
annexation of Austria and, 36
exemptions under, 16
for Fraenkel, 48
for war veterans, 21
Hachenburg on, 23
lawyers for communist clients under
75–76
numerus clausus and, 17–18
political principles of, 16–17
purpose of, decrease in number of
lawyers as, 17–18
racist principles of, 16–17
Law on Restoration of the
Professional Civil Service
(Nazi Germany), 16–18
exemptions under, 16
political principles of, 16–17
racist principles of, 16–17
Law on the Protection against Abuses
in the Field of Legal
Consultations, 90–91
lawyers. See Jewish lawyers; non-Jewish
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
lawyers

lawyers, in Nazi Germany, as official designation ambiguous role of, 54-55 counsel fees for, 59 in criminal cases, 64 Fraenkel as. See Fraenkel, Ernst Jewish lawyers downgraded to Konsulenten, 36-37 limitations on defense strategy for, 54 no denunciations by, 58-59 political activity of, as legal risk, 59-61 publicity for, 53-54 Lawyers' Statute (Germany), 11 League of National-German Jews, 21 - 22"legal guardians," non-Jewish lawyers as, 90-91 Lenhard, Philipp, 184 liberal law, in pre-Nazi Germany, 11 liberalism Bendix, L., on, 31-35 Fraenkel defense of, 31 of Jewish lawyers, in Nazi Germany, 24-25 natural law in conflict with, 176-87 Sinzheimer on, 29-35 Liebmann, Otto, 28 Litten, Hans, 13, 14, 19, 27 Bendix, L., and, 34-35 death at concentration camp, 35-36, 38 exclusion from Felseneck trial, 226 publicity for, 53-54 Siegert on, 27-28 Loewenfeld, Philipp, 18–19, 25, 149 Loewenstein, Karl, 136 Löwenstein, Siegfried, 28 Lubbe, Marinus van der, 65-66, 204-5 Luther, Martin, 180 Luther Council, 166-72 Lutheran Church, 159, 160, 169, 172 Lutheran doctrine, 165, 180 Lutheranism, 130, 166 Machiavelli, Nicolo, 127 Mannheim, Karl, 12



Mansfeld, Werner, 88

280 INDEX

Marahrens, Bishop August, 161, 171 Markwitz, Alfred, 53, 57-58, 65, 67, 89, 91 Marxism, Marxists and, 62, 76, 96, 125, 132-34, 135, 136, 137-38, 174, 177 Meierhenrich, Jens, 4, 54 Mein Kampf (Hitler), 116 Meiser, Bishop Hans, 161, 171, 172 Meissinger, Hermann, 95 The Merchant of Venice (Shakespeare), 87 Merkle, Werner, 57 Metal Workers Union. See German Metal Workers Union; International Metal Workers Union Meyer, Julius, 36-37 "mixed" marriages, in Nazi Germany, 97-98 Moabit, 56, 57-58, 60, 71, 77, 105 Moltke, Helmuth von, 169 Montesquieu, Baron de, 185 morality, conscience and, 140-41 Müller, Auguste, 77, 82, 83 Müller, Ella, 49 Müller, Ingo, 74 Müller, Ludmilla, 209 Müller, Ludwig, 159 Mussolini, Benito, 133 National Socialism, 27–28 National Socialist German Lawyers' Association, 26–27 nationalism, of Jewish lawyers, 21-22 natural law, 127-43

füller, Ingo, 74
füller, Ludmilla, 209
füller, Ludwig, 159
fussolini, Benito, 133
ational Socialism, 27–28
ational Socialist German Lawyers'
Association, 26–27
ationalism, of Jewish lawyers, 21–22
atural law, 127–43
honor and, 127–28
in Nazi Germany, 127
Nazi ideology and
as communal natural law, 134–35
under rational natural law,
129–30, 133–34
Neumann, F., on, 174–97
American constitutionalism as
influence on, 189–90
Calvinism and, 180–82
decisionism and, 178–79

democratic foundations of, 187-97 democratic liberalism in conflict with, 176-87 Rechtsstaat doctrine as influence on, 177-78, 196 in "The Point of Illegal Work," 137 as political matter, 135-43 positivism and, 127-28 rational, 129, 232-33 Marxism and, 133 Nazi ideology in conflict with, 129-30, 133-34 religious freedom and, 131-35 unity in, 137-38 social, 136 social resistance and, as source for, 127 - 31Western individualism and, 190-91 Naumann, Max, 21-23 Nazi Germany. See also emergency decrees; Jewish lawyers, in Nazi Germany Aryans and, Jewish people replaced by, 22–23 Communist Party Germany -Opposition (Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands - Opposition or KPO) in, 50 "Crystal Night," 36 Eleventh Commandment, 81 emergency decrees, 12-14 Gestapo as political tool in, 5 political party members arrested by, 55 "indirect communist danger" doctrine, 226 International Socialist Combat League (ISK) in, 50, 51 Jewish Property Tax in, 150-51 judicial system in German Bar Association, 17–18 Jewish judges as influence on, 23 - 24political control of, 16 racial superiority principles as influence on, 16-18



INDEX 281

Jewish lawyers under, 36-38. See also reduction of Jewish lawyers in, 17 - 18emergency decrees labor unions in, 49 Jewish Property Tax, 150-51 "legal guardians" in, 90-91 Law on Restoration of the legal issues of Jews in, legal advisors Professional Civil Service. created for, 36-37 16 - 18National Socialism in, 27-28 exemptions under, 16 natural law in, 127 political principles of, 16–17 racist principles of, 16-17 New Beginning Party in, 50, 51, 75 Night of the Long Knives, 61–62 Law on the Protection against Abuses in the Field of Legal as prerogative state, 13-14 Protestant Church in, 8 Consultations, 90-91 "mixed" marriages under, 97-98 Red Shock Troop Party in, 50, 51, 71 Nuremberg Laws, 26-29, 90 Gestapo arrests of, 55 resistance movement in, 2-5 Rechtsstaat doctrine, 130 challenges of, 3 natural law influenced by, members of, 2, 4 177-78, 196 revocation of Fraenkel rule of law and, 103 Neubecker, Fritz, 53, 55, 65 citizenship, 151 rule of law in, 103 Neumann, Franz, 7-8, 40-41, 97, 105, "servants of the law" in, 90-91 214 - 15Social Democratic Party in, 49, 50 on anti-Nazi resistance, justification Socialist Workers Party, 50 of, 197-98 Weimar Republic transition to, Behemoth, 175, 178-79, 182-83, 12 - 13184 - 86Young Socialist Workers Party in, Brill and, 188-89 Construction Workers Union 67 - 68Nazi ideology and, 48 capitalism in, 117 exile from Germany, 153, 195 in The Dual State, 160 Fraenkel and, 48, 173-98 freedom in, 113-17 The Governance of the Rule of Law, honor in, 121-22 174 - 75natural law and as intellectual equals, 174 as communal, 134-35 on natural law. See natural law under rational natural law, on parliamentary supremacy, 183-84 129-30, 133-34 on Thomist doctrine, 185-87 rational natural law as foil to, 129-30 "The Types of Natural Law," 193-94 Nazi law. See also Law on Admission to underground writings of, 176-77, the Bar 180 - 81in The Dual State, development in Weimar Republic, 174-75, 176-77 of, 90 Neumann, Gertrud, 105 emergency decrees New Beginning Party (Neu Beginnen) against Jewish lawyers, 2-5, 12-14, (Nazi Germany), 50, 51, 75 15-16, 47, 74, 96 newspapers and journals Kerrl Decree, 15-16 Deutsche Juristenzeitung (German Jurists' Newspaper), 23, against political parties, 102-3 Reichstag Fire Emergency Decree, 28, 38 2-5, 47, 74, 96 Justiz (Justice), 38, 114



282

INDEX

newspapers and journals (cont.) Licht und Leben (Light and Life), 161-62, 163, 170-71 Sozialistische Warte (The Socialist Call), 43, 51, 109, 114, 118, 214 - 15Der Stürmer (The Stormer), 33, 70 Vorwärts (Forward), 53 Die Welt (The World), 53, 71-72 Die Woche (The Week), 70 newspapers and journals, underground, 42, 43, 105, 149 Niemöller, Martin, 161, 167 "Night of Broken Glass" or "Crystal Night," 36 "Night of the Long Knives" (Röhm Putsch), 61-62, 158 Noack, Erwin, 37 non-Jewish lawyers, in Nazi Germany, 90 - 91normative state, in dual state theory, 4-5, 40development of, 40 numerus clausus, 17-18 Nuremberg Laws, 26-29, 90 Oegg, Friedrich, 88 Oeynhausen Synod, 161 Offe, Claus, 196 Office of Strategic Services (OSS), 191 "Old Cheese" case, 69-71 Pokornowski case and, 79-80 Olden, Rudolf, 19 On the Sociology of Class Justice (Fraenkel), 128, 129-30, 133, 142 - 43OSS. See Office of Strategic Services Ossietzky, Carl von, 19 parliamentary systems, supremacy of, 183 - 84Penal Code of 1871 (Germany), 11

"The Point of Illegal Work" (Fraenkel), 35, 101-2, 109-13, 117, 118-19, 122-23 as defiance of mortality, 199-200 legacy of, 202-4 natural law in, 137 socialist resistance in as moral force, 139 validity of, 125-26, 135-36 Pokornowski, Leo Valentin, 76-81 Fraenkel and, withdrawal from case, 89 "Old Cheese" case and, 79-80 political science, Fraenkel as pioneer in, 4 positivism, natural law and, 127-28 Potempa, 51 prerogative state, in dual state theory, 4-5, 40, 100 development of, 5, 40 legal system in, 74 Nazi Germany as, 13-14 Reichstag Fire Emergency Decree and, 5, 47 "Press Reform?" (Fraenkel), 117, 118, 119-20, 141 Pressel, Bishop Wilhelm, 166-67 Prison Notebooks (Gramsci), 133 prisons and jails Alexanderplatz, 56, 57, 58 Brandenburg, 31–32, 71 Columbia House, 56 Jauer, 82, 99, 100, 104 Luckau, 71 Moabit, 56, 57-58, 60, 71, 77, 105 Tegel, 50, 75 proletariat, workers and, 110, 119, 123, 126, 128-29, 202 prosecutors, 63-64, 74, 108-9 protective custody, 13-14, 33, 57-58, 61-62, 70-71, 105, 107, 158, 170, 205, 206 Protestant Church, in Nazi Germany, 8 Prussian High Court, 67-70 Pünder, Werner, 61-62 punishment and sentences, 79, 97, 106, 108-9, 114-15, 158, 203

perjury, 80, 202

Plato, 117, 191, 200

Philippson, Julius, 149-50

Poelchau, Harald, 50-51,

125-26, 138



INDEX 283

racism	socialism
Aryans and, superiority of, 16-18	theory of, for
against Jewish lawyers, through legal	resistance mov
channels, 16–17	Gern
under Law on Admission to the Bar,	Fraer
16–17	challenges of
of Law on Restoration of the	conscience a
Professional Civil Service,	morality a
16–17	members of,
Radbruch, Gustav, 93, 189, 190, 210	natural law a
rational natural law, 129, 232–33	socialist, vali
Marxism and, 133	"Revolution in
Nazi ideology in conflict with,	(Frae
129–30, 133–34	Rheinstein, Ma
religious freedom and, 131–35	Ribbentrop, Joa
Rätzke, Erich, 58, 85–86	Richter, Otto, 4
Rechtsstaat doctrine, 130. See also rule	Rienefeld, Heir
of law	Riesman, David
natural law influenced by,	rights
177–78, 196	individual, 1
Red Shock Troop Party (Der Rote	189,
Stosstrupp) (Nazi Germany),	minority, 18
50, 51, 71	Rinner, Erich,
Gestapo arrests of members, 55	Röhm Putsch.
Reichstag fire, 12–14, 19	Knive
Litten and, 13	Roosevelt, Fran
Reichstag Fire Emergency Decree, 2–5,	Rosenfeld, Kur
47, 96	Rothschild, Red
crimes listed in, 74	Rousseau, Jean
Reichwein, Adolf, 125–26, 200–1	Ruete, Matthia
Reinefeld, Heinrich, 46, 54–55, 57,	rule of law, in l
68-69, 71	
exclusion from legal practice, 89-90	SAJ. See Young
Feilen and, 46, 47, 56–57, 59	Worl
Fraenkel as mentor, 91–92	Schmitt, Carl, 2
political activity of, 59-60	Siegert on, 2
religious freedom. See also specific	Schulz, Gerhar
religions	Schulze, Oskar,
Barmen Declaration and, 165	Schwarz, Karl,
rational natural law and, 131–35	Schwarz, Willi,
Republican Judges' Association	self-defense, 16
(Republikanischer	"servants of the
Richterbund), 38	lawye
resistance, political	Seydewitz, Max
definitions of, 2	Shakespeare, W
in The Dual State, 124–27	shame, 81, 138

ocialism and, 125-26 ory of, for Gauger, M., 169-70 nce movement, in Nazi Germany, 2-5. See also Fraenkel, Ernst llenges of, 3 science as element of, 138-41 norality and, 140-41 nbers of, 2, 4 aral law as source of, 127-31 alist, validity of, 125-26, 135-36 ution in Criminal Law!" (Fraenkel), 106, 108-9, 117 stein, Max, 43-44, 94-95 ntrop, Joachim von, 13 r, Otto, 44 feld, Heinrich, 46 an, David, Jr., 144 vidual, 12, 28, 30, 184, 189, 193 ority, 182-83, 187 r, Erich, 101-2 Putsch. See "Night of the Long Knives" velt, Franklin Delano, 187 feld, Kurt, 46, 84 child, Recha, 56, 68-69 eau, Jean-Jacques, 193 Matthias, 186-87 f law, in Nazi Germany, 103 ee Young Socialist Workers Party tt, Carl, 26, 27, 133, 182-83 ert on, 29–30 , Gerhard, 45 e, Oskar, 52, 106–9 rz, Karl, 53, 65 rz, Willi, 56-57 efense, 168–69 nts of the law," non-Jewish lawyers as, 90-91 witz, Max, 84 speare, William, 87

Siegel, Karl, 226

Siegel, Michael, 14, 33

in original draft version,

126-27, 179



284

Cambridge University Press 978-1-108-83500-8 — Legal Sabotage Douglas Morris Index More Information

> Siegert, Karl Tillich, Paul, 126-27 on Alsberg, 28-29 Tobias, Fritz, 65-66 on Frank, 29-30 torture, 51, 56, 74, 75, 100, on Jewish impact on judicial system, 150, 205 27 - 30treason on Litten, 27-28 attempted treason, 71, 84, 89-90 on Schmitt, 29-30 diplomatic treason (Landesverrat), Sinzheimer, Hugo, 29, 30-31 72 - 73defense of liberalism, 29-35 high treason (Hochverrat), 52, exile of, 38 60, 61, 62–63, 67, 70, 77, on Iewish influence on 89-90, 105, 106-7, 146, 149, German judicial system, 205, 207 29 - 35Treaty of Versailles, 121, 128, on labor law, 29 162, 182 in Weimar Republic, 38 Troeltsch, Ernst, 130-31 Smith, Adam, 115 Trogisch, Gerhard, 72-73, 98-99 Social Democracy, Fraenkel and, 2, 7 Trotha, Carl-Dietrich von, 169 social natural law, 136 Trotsky, Leon, 136 socialism. See also National Socialism "The Types of Natural Law" (Neumann, capitalism and, 117 F.), 193-94 freedom as concept under, 113-17 socialist resistance movement, in Nazi Urban, Wilhelm, 147, 148-49, 208 Germany, 125-26, 135-36 U.S. Bill of Rights, 113-15 socialist student movement, 44 war veterans, Jewish lawyers as Socialist Workers Party (Sozialistische Arbeiterpartei or SAP) (Nazi accommodation of, 20-23 under Law on Admission to the Bar, Germany), 50 Socrates, 191, 200 exemptions under, 21 Sollmann, Wilhelm, 66 nationalist arguments for, 21-22 Sonnenstein (killing institution), 158 political arguments for, 20 Sorel, Georges, 133 public support for, 22-23 Weber, Max, 119, 121 Soviet Union, 70, 183-84, 189 Wedell, Erich, 61-62 SPD. See German Social Democratic Weimar Republic. See also Nazi Party Germany Stöhr, Hermann, 169 Stone, I. F., 156 Fraenkel in Strote, Noah, 103, 190, 232 early career of, 6 Suhr, Otto, 143 as lawyer during, 4 suicide, 11, 23-24, 38, 93, 158, 173, 200 honor in, 127-28 Jewish lawyers in, 7, 24-25 Tannhäuser, August, 60 Neumann, F., in, 174-75, Tannhäuser, Klara, 60 176 - 77Tegel, 50, 75 Sinzheimer in, 38 Thape, Ernst, 147 transition to Nazi Germany, 12-13 "The Third Reich as a Dual State" Weinberg, Georg, 89-90, 205 (Fraenkel), 92, 102, 118, 155, Weischedel, Wilhelm, 169 231 - 32Weissler, Friedrich, 167 Thomist doctrine, 185-87 Wiechert, Theodor, 67-68

INDEX



INDEX 285

Wille, Gerhard, 85–86, 89–90
Wille, Werner, 46, 57, 68–69, 85, 89, 210
exclusion from legal practice, 89–90
exile from Germany, 47
investigation of, 62–63
political activity of, 60–61
Wolff, Ernst, 28

Wollstein, Max, 57–58, 70 workers' rights, Fraenkel on, 4 Wurm, Bishop Theophil, 161, 172

Young Socialist Workers Party (Sozialistische Arbeiterjugend or SAJ) (Nazi Germany), 67–68