



Carl August Krauspe (1895-1983)—Founder and honorary member of the “European Society of Pathology” and “politically reliable” National Socialist[☆]

Dominik Gross*, Christina Graef, Hendrik Uhrendahl, Mathias Schmidt, Jens Westemeier

Institute for History, Theory and Ethics of Medicine, Medical Faculty, RWTH Aachen University, Wendlingweg 2, 52074 Germany

ARTICLE INFO

Keywords:

Carl Krauspe
Pathology and national socialism
NSDAP
SA
Denazification
European Society of Pathology (ESP)

ABSTRACT

The name of the Hamburg pathologist Carl August Krauspe (1895–1983) is closely linked to the history of the “European Society of Pathology” (ESP) and the “German Pathological Society” (DGP): He was one of the founding fathers of the ESP, became its vice president, and was appointed an honorary member in 1983. From 1953–1962 he also served as secretary of the DGP and editor of the association's proceedings. In 1962/63 he finally held the chairmanship of the DGP.

Most of the publications about Carl Krauspe accordingly pay tribute to these professional functions and offices. Hardly mentioned – let alone critically discussed – is the fact that Krauspe joined the “Nazi Party” (NSDAP), the Storm Detachment (SA) and other Nazi organizations after Hitler's “seizure of power”. The content and tenor of Krauspe's reports on politically exposed colleagues have also hardly been examined.

With this in mind, the present study pursues the goal of exploring Krauspe's political role and his possible involvement in National Socialism. It is based on previously unexamined archival sources and a reanalysis of the relevant research literature.

The paper points out that Krauspe willingly served the Nazi regime during the Third Reich. Thanks to his “loyalty to the party” he was able to significantly advance his own career after 1933. In addition, individual examples show that Krauspe's “expert reports” on colleagues before 1945, but also in post-war Germany, were obviously ideologically influenced. After 1945 he failed to make a late personal contribution to the making of amends for Nazi injustice.

1. Introduction: the life and work of Carl Krauspe

Carl August Krauspe (Fig. 1) [1] was born on July 19, 1895 in Insterburg, East Prussia. He was the son of a local Protestant-Lutheran family doctor [2–8]. In Insterburg he attended elementary school and subsequently the Humanistische Gymnasium, which he left in March 1914 with the university entrance qualification (“Abitur”). He then studied medicine at the universities of Königsberg, Berlin and Greifswald, with interruptions due to the First World War (June 1915 to December 1918). During the war, Krauspe was employed in Russia and France as an assistant doctor (“Feldunterarzt”), being awarded the Iron Cross II Class. He passed the medical state examination at the end of 1920 and obtained his medical license with effect from February 1, 1921.

He then held an assistant position in the Pathological Institute of the University of Königsberg, close to his home, working with Carl Kaiserling [9]. He received his doctorate here in August 1921. In the winter semester of 1922 he was entrusted with his own lectures for the first time [2]. After a short intermezzo in the microbiological department of the University Institute of Hygiene in Königsberg, he moved to the University of Leipzig (1923). Here he worked under Werner Hueck (1882–1962) at the Institute of Pathology [10,11], where he headed the Microbiological-Serological Laboratory. In Leipzig he also married Ilse Loch, a physician's daughter, on September 3, 1925; with her he had two daughters [2,12]. On December 20, 1926, he completed his habilitation in general pathology and special pathological anatomy with Hueck, and at the end of 1931, he was appointed a titular professor in Leipzig [1,7].

[☆] This paper was produced as part of the DGP-funded research project on the “Role of Pathology and its Representatives in the Third Reich”. We would like to thank Michaela Thal for her librarian support.

* Corresponding author.

E-mail addresses: dgross@ukaachen.de (D. Gross), chgraef@ukaachen.de (C. Graef), huhrendahl@ukaachen.de (H. Uhrendahl), maschmidt@ukaachen.de (M. Schmidt), jwestemeier@ukaachen.de (J. Westemeier).

<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.prp.2018.12.001>

Received 4 December 2018; Accepted 5 December 2018

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Fig. 1. Portrait of Carl Krauspe [1].

Krauspe's career gained noticeable momentum during the "Third Reich". Krauspe took important career steps precisely during the period in which all his Jewish and politically unpopular colleagues were being dismissed from university service and deprived of their rights, forced into emigration, or even threatened with death: On April 1, 1934, he was appointed Director of the Pathological Institute of the Berlin-Moabit Municipal Hospital and, at the same time, associate professor ("Professor extraordinarius") at the University of Berlin [13]. One year later, he was called to the Chair of Pathology at the University of Königsberg – an event that he himself commented on as follows: "What could be more desirable for a man from East Prussia than this undeserved and responsible position?" (*Translation by D. Gross*) [7,14]. Krauspe was thus successful in becoming a full professor at the age of 39, and soon he was appointed dean of the medical faculty in Königsberg (summer 1938 to autumn 1940). He then also succeeded in obtaining the approval of those politically responsible for a new building for the institute, which was not, however, ultimately built due to the course of the war [15].

In the Second World War Krauspe was called up to the "Wehrmacht". He was appointed "Consultant Pathologist of the Army Medical Inspectorate", and was professionally responsible for the battle zones in Poland, France and Russia [7]. In this role he carried out clinical-scientific studies on "gas edemas" and "gas edema bacteria", which led to a number of publications. In 1943 he was awarded the "War Merit Cross I and II with swords" ("Kriegsverdienstkreuz I. und II. Klasse mit Schwertern").

In 1945 Krauspe was taken prisoner of war for a short time by the British occupying forces in the Hamburg area; he had previously fled from Königsberg [3], which subsequently came under Soviet administration. After his release from prison he lived with relatives in Frankfurt am Main. After denazification, Krauspe became director of the Pathological-Bacteriological Institute of the Kassel Municipal Hospital (April 1947). Just one year later – on April 1, 1948 – he was appointed full professor and director of the Pathological University Institute in Hamburg, succeeding Theodor Fahr. Here he remained even after his retirement in 1965 [1,7,16,17].

Throughout his life Krauspe was successfully involved in professional and association politics. He had already joined the DGP in 1925. From 1953–1962 he then acted as secretary of the association and at the same time as editor of the association's journal. In 1962 he was finally elected President of the DGP and chaired the 47th Annual Conference in Basel [18,19]. He was also President of the "North German Society for Tuberculosis" ("Norddeutsche Gesellschaft für Tuberkulose") (1962/63).

Considering the political commitment outlined above, it is not surprising that Krauspe became one of the most powerful pathologists in post-war Germany. His academic students benefited from his influence: Krauspe's former Königsberg employee Walter Müller, for example, became professor in Essen (and was awarded the Rudolf Virchow Medal posthumously in 1983), and his Hamburg senior physician Günter Pliess became director of the Nuremberg Pathological Institute [7].

Krauspe's research interests included the pathology of infectious diseases (poliomyelitis, wound infections etc.), connective tissue and

bone systems and the gastrointestinal tract, but also paediatric pathology. He was also interested in the vital microscopy of tonsils (using fluorescence microscopy) and the mutation of bacteria caused by chemotherapeutic agents. Privately, Krauspe was an enthusiastic photographer whose pictures attracted attention [20].

Krauspe's oeuvre includes 157 publications [1], including short contributions, laudations and obituaries. However, there is only one English-language publication among them. In contrast, 150 publications are written in German. This finding shows that Krauspe was a scientist mainly working in the German-speaking area. As a professional representative, however, he was substantially involved at an international level. His role as the founding father of the "European Society of Pathology", constituted in 1963, is particularly noteworthy [21]. The other two founding members were Pierre Dustin (1914–1993) and Alfonso Giordano (1910–1990) [22–24]. In the early years of the ESP, Krauspe served as Vice-President and National Delegate. He was also one of the first pathologists to be appointed an honorary member of the ESP in 1983 [25,26]. In addition, he was the initiator of the "German-Italian Pathological Society". His activities in this field made him well known among Italian experts and led to an honorary doctorate from the University of Perugia (1961) and to honorary membership in the Accademia Medica Lombarda [1]. Krauspe also received the Silver Medal of the University of Helsinki [1,27].

2. Scientific questions

While Krauspe's professional work and his commitment to the ESP and DGP in Europe and Germany have been acknowledged in several publications, something of a blind spot seems to exist regarding his role in the "Third Reich". Prüll alone set a small footnote in which he addressed Krauspe's relationship to National Socialism – this is all the more remarkable because the actual focus of his substantial habilitation thesis was on the history of pathology [28]. As to the biographical contributions on Krauspe, he is euphemistically portrayed as a pawn in the turbulent political conditions of the time or as someone who suffered from the harsh consequences of war – and is thus almost given the status of a victim. This form of "historical glossing over" is particularly obvious in the case of Andrew Wilson, who sketched Krauspe in the new chronicle of ESP (2016) as follows [29]: "Krauspe [...] had seen more highs and lows than most. Born in East Prussia in 1895, he too came from a medical family and had a distinguished career, though it was interrupted not once but twice by war [...] Once peace came, he rapidly rose in academic pathology. At the age of 40 he had been appointed director of the Institute of Pathology at the 'Albertina' [...] which he headed until the end of Second World War approached. At that time Krauspe saw everything he had worked for come crashing down. Once again he served in the army as a doctor, a role he continued briefly as a prisoner of war when he was captured by British forces and interned in a prison camp. After his release, there was no going back to the Albertina: under the Potsdam Agreement the city of Königsberg was ceded to the USSR and renamed Kalingrad. The ruined city's German population was expelled and the 'Albertina' was closed. Krauspe started over again [...]."

Brausch's contribution on Krauspe, published in 1995, is similarly positivistic [27]. As early as 1984, Lindner drew an almost hagiographic picture of Krauspe in his emotive obituary, without mentioning Krauspe's political past in a single word [1]: "His family, his wife and his two daughters and finally his grandchildren gave him the warmth, the security, his beloved music = everything that gave this admirable man the strength to develop all of his outstanding qualities and abilities. With his family his friends, his pupils and his colleagues mourn for this great man. He gave them all a lot – he gave everything! So we can't and won't forget CARL(sic!) Krauspe" (*transl. DG*).

But was Krauspe really, as Wilson's emotive description in particular suggests, a *victim of his time*, who had to fight his way from darkness to light again and again? It is precisely this question that forms the

starting point of this paper, which pursues the overriding goal of re-appraising Krauspe's political role, his motives, and especially his relationship to National Socialism. The aim is to look beyond the period from 1933 to 1945 to post-war Germany.

3. Material and methods

The study is based on numerous archival sources on Carl Krauspe, some of which have been evaluated for the first time. They were found in the "Federal Archives" ("Bundesarchiv") in Berlin-Lichterfelde (BArch Berlin), the "Compensation Archives" ("Lastenausgleichsarchiv") of the Federal Archives in Bayreuth (BArch - LAA Bayreuth), in record of the former GDR (BStU Berlin), the University Archives of the Humboldt University in Berlin (HU/UA Berlin), the Medical History Museum at the University Hospital Hamburg-Eppendorf (A MMH), the University Archives of Hamburg (UA H) (partly transmitted by the State Archives Hamburg, StA HH) and the Hessian Main State Archives ("Hauptstaatsarchiv") in Wiesbaden (HHStAW).

In addition, a systematic re-analysis of the relevant research literature on the life and work of Carl Krauspe and other members of his professional network was carried out. Furthermore, publications on the history of pathology and the specialist societies ESP and DGP, on the history of the University of Hamburg and on medicine under National Socialism were evaluated – each with a specific focus on the aforementioned questions.

4. Results

Krauspe's role in the "Third Reich" and his activities in post-war Europe can be divided into three areas:

4.1. Krauspe's political networking and positioning during the Third Reich (1933–1945)

There is no doubt that Krauspe started serving the National Socialists very soon after Hitler's appointment as Reich Chancellor [3,30–35]. A questionnaire dated July 4, 1934, reveals that Krauspe had already joined the SA – the paramilitary Storm Detachment ("Sturmabteilung", May 1934) –, the "NS Teachers' Association" ("NS-Lehrerbund", July 1933) and the "National Socialist Company Cell Organization" ("Nationalsozialistischen Betriebszellenorganisation" [NSBO], April 1933) at that time [2,36]. The NSBO was a company-related organisational form of the NSDAP and merged into the "German Labor Front" ("Deutsche Arbeitsfront", DAF) in 1935. The latter formed the unified association of workers and employers during the National Socialist era [37].

Krauspe was a member of the NSDAP – the Nazi Party – from May 1937 [2,32]. Prüll gives April 1933 as Krauspe's date of joining the party [28]. However, this might be a reading error, because the quoted source states "N.S.B.O. d. N.S.D.A.P since 28.4.1933", which means "NSBO of the NSDAP" (not NSBO and NSDAP) [36]. In addition there were several other NS memberships, as a registration sheet from 1946 reveals [38]. In other words: after 1933, Krauspe committed himself to the ideology and political goals of National Socialism by joining various Nazi organizations – including the NSDAP and the SA.

Krauspe quickly succeeded in networking in Nazi circles. This was already evident at the beginning of 1935, when he was considered for two different career positions:

First, the Moabit Municipal Hospital, where Krauspe had been in charge of pathology since 1934, was to be expanded with the establishment of a large dissection department. Classified as "politically reliable", Krauspe was planned for this department. It was stated that the projected "rooms in Moabit [...] were perceived as adequate and Krauspe's personality was appreciated" (*Translation by D. Gross*) [28].

At that very time, however, Krauspe had also been proposed as successor to Kaiserling in Königsberg. In fact, he took over Kaiserling's

chair of pathology in the spring of 1935 [7,14,28]. Before that, several pathologists and NS figures had been asked for written assessments of Krauspe's political attitude, among them Martin Staemmler, Carl Kaiserling, Werner Hueck, Maximilian Borst, Herbert Siegmund and Georg Bessau. Most of the assessments had been requested by Werner Jansen (1890–1943) who was consultant in the university department of the Reich Ministry of Science, Education and People's Education [40]. The core statements of the aforementioned persons on Krauspe, and also their own relationship to National Socialism, will be discussed in the following in order to gain a better understanding of Krauspe's political position and network.

In February 1935, the pathologist Martin Staemmler (1890–1974) stated that Carl Krauspe had "already been present as a listener at the 1931 conference of the N.S. Medical Association, at which I spoke at that time, and in personal conversations he had always been positive about National Socialism" (*transl. DG*) [39]. Staemmler's assessment carried weight: He was the "leading pathologist of the NS era" [41], who presented himself as an authoritative medical propagandist of National Socialist "racial hygiene", and he had published a bestseller [42] on this topic in 1933. Schäfer et al. [43] characterized Staemmler as follows:

"As a measure of 'eradication', Staemmler vehemently advocated the introduction of the forced sterilisation of 'racially inferior' persons even before the introduction of the GzVeN [Law for the Prevention of Hereditary Diseases]. In addition, he also sought to extend the scope of forced sterilisation to 'habitual criminals', 'alcoholics' and other human 'ballast characters' [...] He called for German physicians to change "from [being] a 'doctor of the individual' to a 'doctor of the race'" [...] he welcomed not only the deprivation of civil rights by the 'Nuremberg Laws' but also the 'removal' of Jews from the social, economic, cultural and scientific life of Germany" (*transl. DG*).

Carl Kaiserling (1869–1942) [9] described Krauspe in February 1935 as "politically fully suitable" as "a scientist, as a teacher, as a human being" (*transl. DG*). He emphasized that he knew from personal conversations in the 1920s that Krauspe had been dissatisfied with the political conditions in the Weimar Republic. At that time they had "comforted each other, always in the hope that times would have to change for the better". Kaiserling summed up accordingly: "No wonder that Kr. joined the SA [...] as soon as it was possible on official business and is still active today. When I visited him last autumn in Moabit hospital, he was just trying to get the SA sports badge" (*transl. DG*) [44]. Carl Kaiserling was the father of the dedicated National Socialist and pathologist Helmut Kaiserling (1906–1989). In October 1942, the latter had received a research mandate from the "Army Weapons Office" ("Heereswaffenamt") concerning "Combat Gas in Connection with Radioactivity"; in 1943 Helmut Kaiserling became professor at the "NS Combat University" Strasbourg [45].

The pathologist Max Borst (1869–1946) expressed himself similarly positively about Krauspe on February 25, 1935. Borst had also become an established figure in Nazi medical circles without being a member of the NSDAP: from 1933 he chaired the "Reich Committee for Combating Cancer" ("Reichsausschuss für Krebsbekämpfung"). He belonged to several Nazi sub-organizations and acted as co-editor of the "Munich Medical Weekly" ("Münchener Medizinische Wochenschrift"), which was published by J.F. Lehmanns, a publishing house with a strict Nazi orientation [46–49]. Although Borst mentioned that Krauspe had not been very active politically before 1933, he hastened to add the following: "Of course, this does not rule out that Krauspe is willing to make himself fully available for today's state. Rather, it can be assumed that he will do so" (*transl. DG*) [50].

Krauspe's academic teacher Hueck also noted that Krauspe had not been involved in any political activities in the Weimar Republic, but "that he could guarantee for his enthusiasm for work and sacrifice for today's state" (*transl. DG*) [51].

In view of the abundance of positive evaluations, the medical consultant in charge, Werner Jansen, came to a clear final conclusion: "Politically, he is absolutely reliable" [40]. Krauspe was thus appointed

to the chair in Königsberg [52].

Positive comments on Krauspe by Nazi figures can also be found for the following years:

In 1942, for example, Georg Bessau (1884–1944) made a very favourable assessment of Krauspe. At that time, Bessau was working as a full professor at the Charité and was considered the "leading paediatrician of the NS era" [53]. In August 1942 Hitler appointed Bessau to the Scientific Senate of the Army Medical Service (with the status of an extraordinary member). Bessau was also a member of the "Scientific Advisory Board of the Plenipotentiary for Health Care under SS Senior Group Leader Karl Brandt". In addition, Bessau was involved in vaccination experiments on mentally and physically handicapped children at the University Children's Hospital in Breslau and at Berlin-Wittenau Hospital, where he tested an alleged new tuberculosis vaccine [53]. Bessau and Krauspe had probably met during their time together in Berlin. In any case Bessau was asked about Krauspe, and a personnel file on Krauspe not surprisingly states that "Bessau praises him very much". He considered Krauspe to be "personally very estimable" [54].

A year later, the Münster pathologist Herbert Siegmund (1892–1954) also made a statement on Krauspe, which is preserved as a short note in the Federal Archives in Berlin-Lichterfelde. Siegmund was another influential NS physician: In 1942 he participated in the conference "Distress at Sea and in Winter" ("Seenot und Winternot"), at which the human experiments on prisoners in Dachau concentration camp were presented. He had achieved a remarkable career in the "Third Reich", which would hardly have been conceivable without his special "loyalty to the party": in 1943 he became rector of the University of Münster, and in 1944 he was also appointed to Karl Brandt's Scientific Advisory Board. In addition, he was awarded the "Goethe Medal for Art and Science", with which Hitler only honoured a very small circle of faithful advocates [55]. Siegmund, for his part, praised Krauspe as "a very remarkable pathologist" in his statement of December 30, 1943 [54].

Krauspe obviously also had a trusting relationship with Paul Rostock (1892–1956), as can be seen from a petition to him from 1944. The Berlin university lecturer for surgery was one of the most powerful NS doctors [56]: In 1941, Rostock had been appointed a full professor at the University of Berlin on Hitler's orders, and from 1942 to 1945 he was dean of the Berlin Medical Faculty. Rostock was involved in the preparation and execution of various human experiments on concentration camp inmates and prisoners of war, including typhoid immunization experiments at the camp of Natzweiler-Struthof and seawater experiments at Dachau concentration camp. Since 1943 he had acted as the "Commissioner for Medical Science and Research under Karl Brandt", with whom he also had a long-standing personal friendship [57,58]. In March 1944, Krauspe addressed the following letter to him [15]:

"Dear Mr. Rostock! In the enclosure I send you in a hurry, shortly before my departure for the field troops, a short curriculum vitae with a list of important works, in which I have also included publications by my students which have been significantly influenced by me. I take this opportunity to inform you that the Pathological Institute Königsberg was in an incredible state at the time I took it over. A new building was approved shortly before the war. The institute is one of the worst in Europe, especially in terms of its structure. For these reasons, a comprehensive reorganisation was necessary, which prevented me from completing larger publications until the beginning of the war. During the war I dealt exclusively with a special commission from the medical inspector (work on the pathological anatomy of gas edemas), so that my other work, especially under the impact of the intense teaching activity, had to take a back seat. I am not writing this to you to apologize, but to interest you in the Königsberg Institute, the reorganisation of which will remain an urgent necessity after the end of the war, despite all other worries. With best regards and Heil Hitler! Krauspe" (*transl. DG*)

Apparently Krauspe regarded Rostock as a man who had the power to initiate the construction of the new institute.

In conclusion it can be said that Krauspe had a reputation as a loyal, reliable party member among several high-ranking Nazi physicians in the "Third Reich". Krauspe's supporters were, to put it succinctly, a kind of "Who's Who" of contemporary Nazi medicine. The basis for this support was successful networking on Krauspe's part, the result of which was an impressive personal career in pathology. While Krauspe obviously profited from the Nazi network, he himself did not strive for high offices within the party. Rather, he acted politically from the "second row" [28].

4.2. Captivity, denazification and career continuity in the postwar period (1945–1948)

Krauspe had hardly revealed himself publicly as a National Socialist in the "Third Reich". This was to his benefit after 1945, especially in the context of his denazification. In contrast to conventional court cases [59], the denazification proceedings were based on the inversion of the burden of proof, which meant that the persons accused had to refute the presumption of guilt (while conventionally the prosecution has to prove their guilt).

Therefore, the majority of those accused presented testimonies (affidavits) by character witnesses that were intended to "clear" them of allegations of political entanglement and thus pave the way for the issuing of corresponding "clearance certificates". In the end, the accused were classified into one of five categories (major offenders, offenders, lesser offenders, followers, persons exonerated). In fact, contrary to the original intention, the proceedings ended with the systematic clearing of wrongdoing and the acquittal of many former perpetrators [60]. In the end, only about 1.4 percent of those affected were attributed to the first two categories – the great majority of the National Socialists were ultimately classified as "followers" [61].

Krauspe, too, succeeded in "clearing himself" during his denazification process thanks to several witness statements – and thanks to a successful argumentation strategy. He was subjected to denazification proceedings by the Legal Tribunal ("Spruchkammer") No. 129 in Frankfurt in 1946. In the summer of 1946, he submitted an eight-page, polished letter of defence to the chamber. He could not help but admit that he had joined a number of Nazi organisations: he had not only been a member of the NSDAP, the NSBO and the "NS Teachers' Association" ("NS-Lehrerbund", later on: "NS-Dozentenbund"), but had also held a kind of officer's rank in the SA, being a "Storm Leader" ("Sturmführer"). Moreover, he had joined the "NS Medical Association" ("NS-Ärztebund"), the "NS Senior Men's Association" ("NS Altherrenbund"), the "National Socialist People's Welfare" ("Nationalsozialistische Volkswohlfahrt" NSV) and the "NS Air-raid Protection Association" ("NS-Luftschutzbund") [38]. Krauspe's argumentation – which was quite common at the time but was nevertheless euphemistic and inaccurate – was that he had been "forced" to join the SA as a result of a denunciation and that all further memberships – including the NSDAP membership – had ultimately resulted from this (Fig. 2) [62]. In addition, he described himself as a "superplus" ("überzähliger") SA storm leader – which was euphemistic too. Krauspe's argumentation also appears inconsistent in the sense that he also stated that he wanted to change the political situation for the better by joining the party. Thus he explained in his letter of defense [63]: "Moreover, the party was also respected abroad at the time [...] and the general view among the young lecturers was that one had to participate in order to bring deliberate elements into the party. In particular [sic!] we were still hoping for an improvement of the Jewish question and general social reforms" (*transl. DG*).

The aforementioned argumentation contradicts the claim that his party membership had been "automatic" – which is in any case a common false statement, because NSDAP membership had to be applied for demonstrably and actively with one's own signature.

In his letter, Krauspe presented himself as anti-nationalist and democratic. He included statements from about a dozen character witnesses who confirmed his core statements. Among these witnesses were

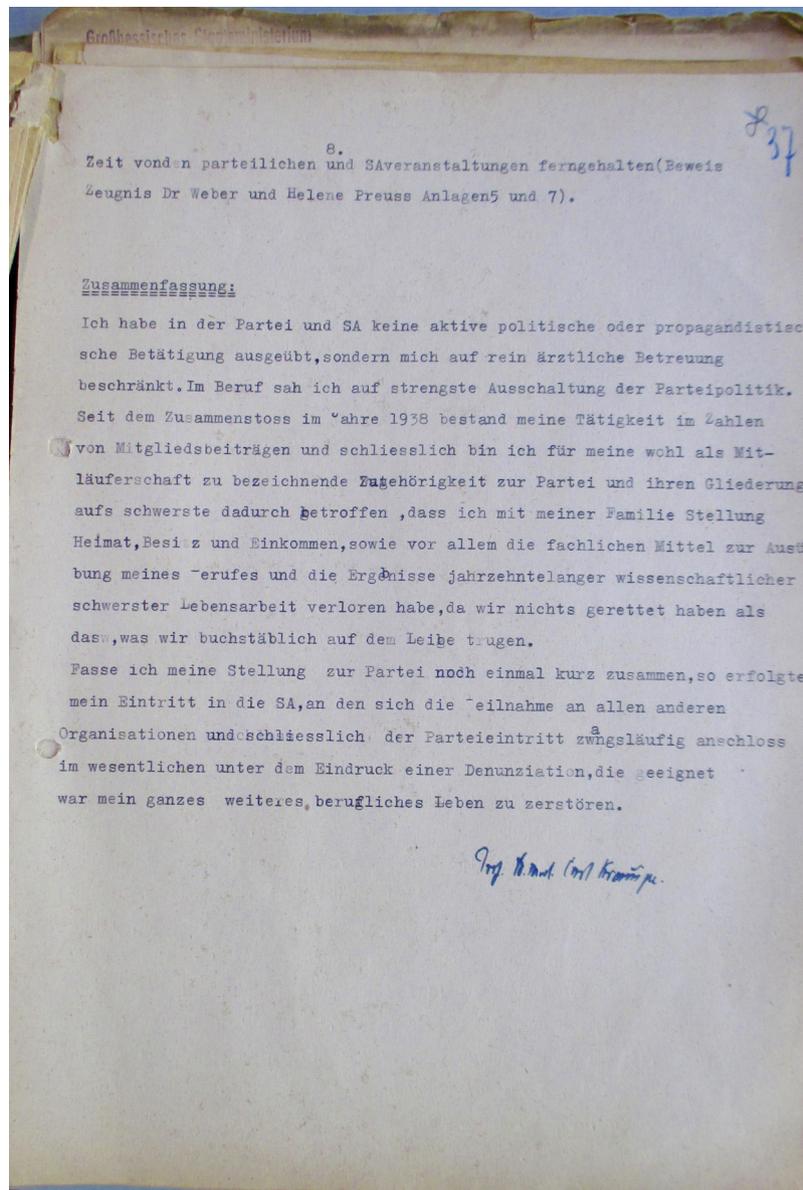


Fig. 2. Carl Krauspe's letter of defence from summer 1946 in the context of the first conciliation proceedings (excerpt) [62].

some university lecturers, such as his former mentor Werner Hueck, his academic student Walter Müller, and the professors Wilhelm von Drigalski (bacteriology), Paul Willy Siegel (gynaecology) and Artur Blohmke (ENT).

Krauspe's comprehensive efforts did not fail: Despite the undeniable memberships and the contradictions in his argumentation, he was not classified into Group II (offenders) or Group III (lesser offenders), but into Group IV (followers) (October 25, 1946). On October 28, 1946, however, the public prosecutor appealed against this favourable exonerating decision in the name of the "Minister for Reconstruction and Political Liberation", "since the issuance of the verdict is contrary to the provisions of Art. 33, para. 4, which in this case requires the filing of an action pursuant to Group II or III" (*transl. DG*) (Fig. 3), [64]. On December 4, 1946, Krauspe was therefore served with a new charge, which was based on this objection. Krauspe immediately tried to avert the feared revision proceedings by referring to their alleged illegality – but he failed. Finally, thanks to the intervention of the government director Dr. Weissstein on February 6, 1947 (Fig. 4), he achieved a prompt renegotiation, with "consideration for the fact that the person concerned, who is a destitute East refugee, will have a new position in

the near future [...]" (*transl. DG*) [65]. Krauspe was summoned again to the Spruchkammer Frankfurt on April 23, 1947. In the course of these appeal proceedings, seven witnesses supporting Krauspe's exonerating appeal appeared again – successfully, because in the end the Chamber confirmed the first judgment [66].

Thanks to this lenient outcome Krauspe was able to continue his scientific career: he immediately became director in Kassel. Only one year later, he was appointed a full professor in Hamburg [16,17].

4.3. The role of Krauspe as a reviewer of colleagues: the cases of Neumann (1941) and Kimmelstiel (1961)

In order to shed further light on Krauspe's personality, it is helpful to consider his work as a reviewer of politically exposed colleagues. Two such expert reports will be outlined as examples in the following: The first statement concerns a highly implicated NS offender, namely the pathologist and SS physician Robert Neumann, and was written during the "Third Reich" (1941). The second report refers to the Jewish pathologist Paul Kimmelstiel and thus to a political victim of National Socialism; it is from the year 1961 – and thus from the time of the

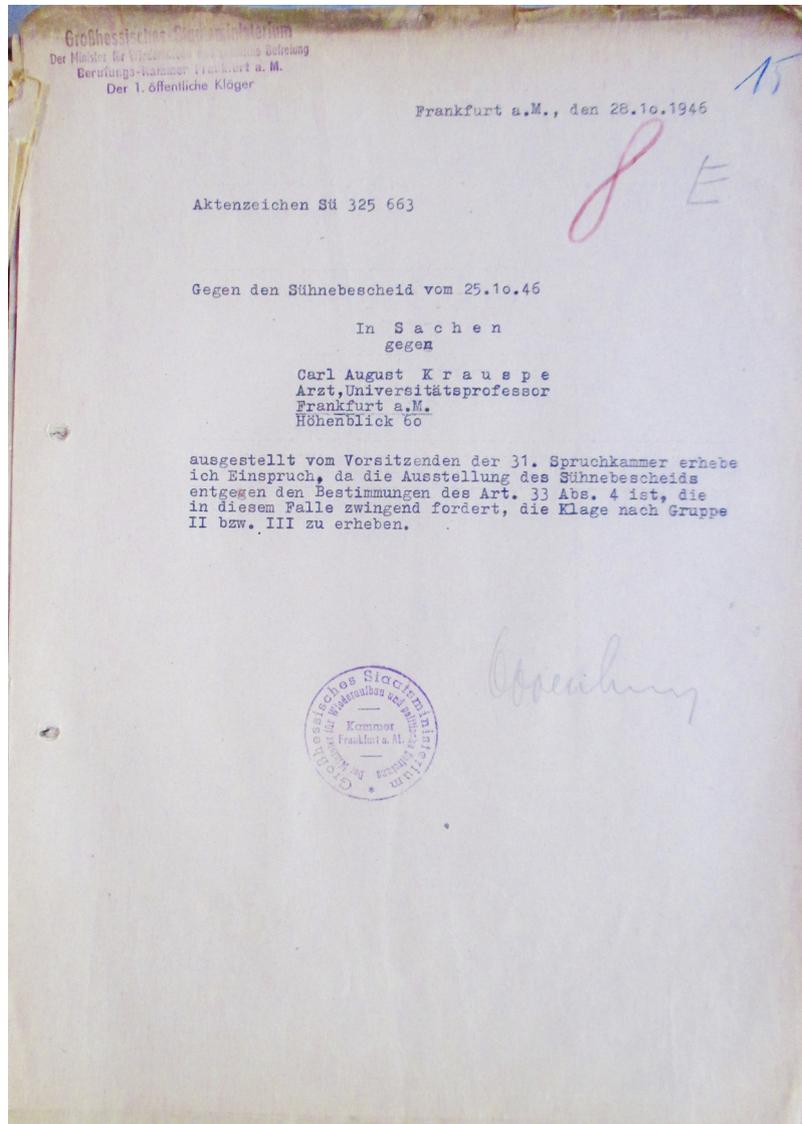


Fig. 3. Appeal of the 1st public prosecutor of October 28, 1946 against the atonement decision in the Carl Krauspe case [64].

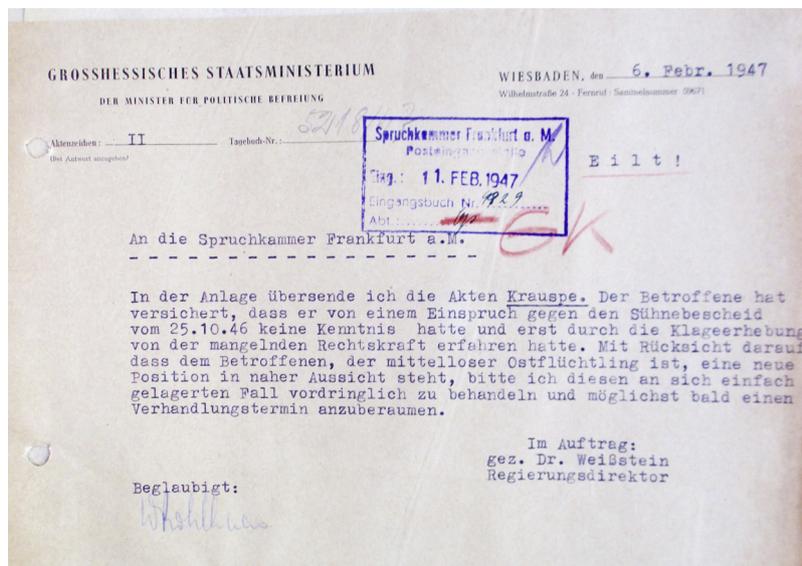


Fig. 4. Letter of February 6, 1947 from the Government Director Dr. Weißstein to the Spruchkammer Frankfurt am Main in the Carl Krauspe case [65].

young Federal Republic of Germany.

The pathologist Robert Neumann (1902–1962) had already joined the SS in 1933. In October 1939, he also became a member of the "Armed SS" ("Waffen SS") [67–69]. The Waffen SS – the most radical Nazi group – saw itself as an elite club among the National Socialist organisations [70]. Its members were particularly feared for their propensity to violence, both in the military and civilian context [71]. Neumann was no exception: The SS doctor was responsible for human experiments and the deaths of prisoners in several concentration camps [67,72]. In 1936, despite only having quite a small publication list, he passed his habilitation in Berlin under the protection of his mentor Robert Rössle (1876–1956) [73]. Rössle praised the fact that Neumann had established a research focus in the field of genetics and race studies. Indeed, Neumann had conducted twin research in cooperation with Rössle [28]. It is also undisputed that Neumann was classified at an early stage as an active National Socialist with a high sense of mission who was loyal to the party [74]. In 1935, even before completing his habilitation, he was appointed director of the Moabit dissection department – the very position that Krauspe had held before moving to Königsberg (1935). In October 1940, Neumann was offered the directorate of the Pathological Institute of the "German Medical Academy" in Shanghai; this "mission" – a political initiative of the National Socialists – was sweetened by an exceptional appointment as a titular professor at the University of Berlin, which was initiated at the end of 1940 [28,72]. Shanghai was to be an intermediate step on the way to a university chair in Germany. De facto, Neumann's scientific achievements had lagged far behind the usual professional standards. In 1940, despite many years of university work, he had just 13 papers to his name [28]. The evaluation of Neumann's achievements by some of his colleagues was correspondingly "mixed" [72]. Four professors of pathology in particular expressed professional and/or personal reservations about Neumann: Paul Schürmann (1895–1941) from Berlin, Werner Hueck (1882–1962) from Leipzig, Erich Letterer (1895–1982) from Tübingen and Franz Büchner (1895–1991) from Freiburg. Schürmann, who was himself aligned to National Socialism [75], clearly questioned Neumann's scientific qualification, at the same time criticizing his unreflected "obedience to orders" and thus his personality [28,76]:

"He has solved all the tasks he has ever been assigned, like a soldier who only knows his command and does not see right and left [...]. His talent as a scientist is not above average. Above all, he is not a problematist, and he lacks a broader perspective on things" (*transl. DG*).

Erich Letterer [77], Werner Hueck [10] and Franz Büchner [78] also had reservations [79–81]. Letterer was not exactly critical of the regime: Since 1935 he had been "medical officer of the new Wehrmacht", since 1939 "advising army pathologist" and since 1943 a military district pathologist and senior field physician [82]. Franz Büchner's relationship to National Socialism was extremely complex and is still the subject of discussion: although he expressed clear criticism of euthanasia, he served the Nazi regime in many respects [78,83].

This was not the end of the list of Neumann critics: when the National Socialists wanted to have Neumann appointed a full professor by the University of Berlin on the basis of his "cultural-political achievements in Shanghai", the Berlin scholars resisted with the argument that there were "scientifically much more significant candidates" than Neumann [72]. The human experiments that Neumann had carried out before his time in Shanghai were also addressed critically, albeit between the lines. In fact, Neumann had by no means concealed his experiments, but had even boasted about them [72]. Incidentally, Neumann's medical colleague in Shanghai, Walter Daust, also turned his back on him and denied him access to dissections within the scope of his capabilities [72]. In 1945, Neumann was interned by the Allies as a member of the SS; after his release, he worked as a scientist at the pharmaceutical company STADA and as a clinic manager in Reutlingen, respectively [72].

Neumann thus had a large number of professional critics – even among pathologists close to the Nazi regime. It is therefore all the more

remarkable that Krauspe wrote a positive report on his party colleague, even as late as 1941 [28]. The statement in question is dated February 3, 1941. The report was demonstrably available in Neumann's personal file at the "Reichsministerium für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung" (old reference number: BArch Berlin, holdings BDC, R 2 pers, Neumann, Robert, REM 8000001026, A 47); unfortunately, as things stand at present, it is no longer kept there – possibly because the relevant archival document collection has been repeatedly re-catalogued in recent decades (current reference number [74]:) and has also changed location. However, Prüll was able to see Krauspe's assessment on Neumann in the context of his habilitation studies – at that time the file containing the document had the aforementioned old number – and referred to its positive character [28].

One could assume that Krauspe was by nature one of those generous experts who deliberately emphasize positive qualities in their statements and see themselves more as "facilitators" than "preventers". But this assumption cannot be upheld after analysis of the second expert report mentioned here:

About 20 years after his assessment on Neumann, Krauspe was also asked for a statement in the reparation proceedings of his Jewish colleague Paul Kimmelstiel: In contrast to Neumann, Kimmelstiel enjoyed an excellent reputation throughout the professional world; he was also widely known as the eponym of diabetic glomerulosclerosis ("Kimmelstiel-Wilson syndrome"). As a German Jew, he had been dismissed from university service in Hamburg in 1933 as a result of Nazi legislation, deprived of his rights and forced to emigrate. In the following years, he had achieved an impressive academic career in the USA. In 1961, Kimmelstiel filed an application for legal restitution and reparation in the Federal Republic of Germany [84]. The legal reference point was a law intended to grant dismissed employees the presumed professional academic position they had could have been expected to attain were it not for Nazi injustice (and corresponding financial claims) [85]. Kimmelstiel's attorneys therefore applied for his subsequent classification as a full professor and provided sound justification for this: "Dr. Kimmelstiel managed to become a professor even under the difficult circumstances of emigration; it can therefore be assumed all the more that he would have achieved this goal in Germany" [86]. In contrast to the Neumann case, Krauspe's expert opinion on Kimmelstiel's application turned out to be very restrictive – not to say small-minded [84,87]:

"So, if legal reparation is to be considered, one will never be able to prove with the necessary probability that Mr. Kimmelstiel would have attained an *ordinariate (full professorship, DG)* in Germany. In order to act in the sense of reparation, I would therefore believe that he should be placed in the grade H 2 of an extraordinary professor (*associate professorship, DG*) in recognition of his scientific achievements. Doing so would accommodate him to quite a large extent [...]" (*transl. DG*).

In his statement, Krauspe not only ignored the fact that Kimmelstiel had achieved professional success in the USA under the most adverse circumstances, but also compared the reputation of the private Marquette University, where Kimmelstiel taught, with the universities of Harvard and Stanford, remarking that Marquette could not compete with the Harvard or Stanford. However, Krauspe did not mention that his own University of Hamburg could not compete with Harvard either [87]. Due to Krauspe's restrictive expert report, the NS victim Kimmelstiel was only granted the legal status of an extraordinary professor [84].

5. Discussion

It can be demonstrated from the evaluated archival sources that the former DGP president Carl Krauspe served the Nazi regime. He clearly did not belong to the convinced National Socialists of the first hour, but to the group of opportunists who joined the Nazi movement in 1933. In so doing, he managed a political balancing act: On the one hand, he quickly penetrated the circle of the most influential Nazi physicians and

succeeded in being perceived there as a guarantor loyal to the party line. On the other hand, he avoided public offices that would have documented his proximity to the party or would have proven him to be a favorite of the National Socialists. In other words: he acted from the "second row", as it were. In this way, he benefited from his influential Nazi network and was nevertheless not perceived as an "active National Socialist" after 1945.

This strategy paid off in the denazification process at the latest: the court hearings ultimately ended in 1948 with a mild classification as a "follower" – a judgement that enabled him to return to a chair and even expand his scientific career. In the post-war period, Krauspe once again proved to be an excellent networker: he was able to occupy important positions in both the ESP and DGP, thus gaining considerable influence in post-war Europe.

At no point in his career did he belong to the select group of German-speaking pathologists who achieved worldwide recognition, such as Hans Popper, Paul Kimmelstiel, or Carl Julius Rothberger. Krauspe's influence in post-war Germany was not affected by this: This became especially clear when he was requested to provide an expert report in 1961 as part of the reparation proceedings of his Jewish colleague and Nazi victim Kimmelstiel. By denying Kimmelstiel's application for subsequent classification as a full professor, he failed to make use of the opportunity to make a late personal contribution to the making of amends for Nazi injustice.

Krauspe succeeded in presenting himself as a just, thoughtful pathologist who had to cope with many personal difficulties – an image that still worked after his death and shaped his posthumous reputation. The fact that Krauspe is still stylized in current specialist literature as a pawn of hostile political powers shows how lasting this "iconization" was – and continues to be: Wilson leaves Krauspe's National Socialist past completely unmentioned in his current ESP chronicle and sketches him as a war victim who lost everything and was finally expelled from the university of Königsberg by the wartime enemies [29]. Wilson thus furthers the "formation of legends" about Krauspe that had already been laid down by the German Johannes Lindner after the death of his academic teacher. He had described Krauspe as the embodiment of humanism and virtue in an obituary in 1984: "He emphasized [...] the clever weighing and combining of opposing opinions, contents and forms, not only as an essential characteristic of Erasmic Humanism, but as the maxim of an (and his!) ideal of life." Furthermore, Lindner appreciated Krauspe's "accuracy and self-criticism, his efforts for the truth of scientific research, the examination of the works of his time" as well as "respect for the views of others" (*transl. DG*) [1].

During the Nazi period and later in the Kimmelstiel case, the humanistic qualities attributed to Krauspe did not come into play. All the more questionable – from today's point of view – was Krauspe's appointment as an "honorary member" of the ESP (1983).

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