

Summary  
of the research commissioned by  
Heinrich Bauer Verlag limited partnership  
on the corporate history of  
Heinrich Bauer Verlag  
during the National Socialist era

*The following remarks summarise some of the findings of 'A reappraisal of the corporate history of the Bauer Media Group companies during the National Socialist era', a study conducted by Dr Claudia Bade, Dr Imke Johannsen, Dr Holger Martens, and Dr des. Christian Zech on behalf of the Historiker-Genossenschaft society.*

# Content

1. Land purchases and participation in a business takeover in the context of	
Aryanization .....	5
1933–1934 .....	7
1936 .....	8
1938–1939 .....	11
Restitution proceedings after 1945 .....	14
Jewish residents in the apartment blocks .....	15
Summary of key aspects of the topic .....	16
2. The magazine business and the development of ‘Funk-Wacht’ .....	16
Printing and publishing in the Weimar Republic .....	16
The successful establishment of a radio listings magazine (1926-1932) .....	17
‘ <i>Funk-Wacht</i> ’ magazine in 1933 .....	19
Publication of ‘ <i>Das Ende der Eisernen Mannen</i> ’ (The End of the Iron Men’) as a serialised novel from October 1933 .....	21
The magazine business 1934 to 1939 .....	22
Heinrich Bauer Verlag during the Second World War .....	24
Brief summary of key aspects of the topic .....	25
3. Housing of Italian military internees in the Heinrich Bauer building at	
Schützenpforte 11 from the end of 1943 .....	25
Brief summary of key aspects of the topic .....	27
4. Conclusion .....	27

The Bauer Media Group does not have a company archive. The company's documents date back to the 1950s and only proved to be relevant to the study in a few cases. Research done within the owning family into the legacy of this period in private ownership was also unsuccessful. Given the insufficient source material available, the Bauer Media Group commissioned a review of publicly accessible source material in 2021 and 2022. The *Historiker-Genossenschaft* society was able to draw on this compilation for the present study. Subsequent intensive research led to a considerable expansion of the source material. Several dozen holdings from the archives of the Hamburg Chamber of Commerce, the Federal Archives (Koblenz headquarters and Berlin-Lichterfelde office), the Schleswig-Holstein State Archives, the State Archives of the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg, and the Leipzig State Archives were researched for the study. In addition, numerous periodicals from Heinrich Bauer Verlag, which are kept in the Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky State and University Library, the library of the Topography of Terror Documentation Centre in Berlin, and the German National Library in Leipzig, among others, were collected and used for the research.

After reviewing the available material, three focal points emerged that were analysed in detail:

1. Land purchases and participation in a business takeover in the context of *Aryanization*
2. The magazine business and the development of the '*Funk-Wacht*'
3. The housing of Italian military internees in the Heinrich Bauer building at Schützenpforte 11 from the end of 1943

These three thematic focuses are briefly summarised below based on the findings to date.

# **1. Land purchases and participation in a business takeover in the context of Aryanization**

According to the research results, Heinrich Bauer and his son Alfred Bauer – as private individuals or as representatives of OHG Heinrich Bauer (Heinrich Bauer general partnership) – acquired ten properties between March 1933 and May 1939. Furthermore, OHG Heinrich Bauer participated in a business takeover. Such transfers of ownership in the referenced period raise the question of the extent to which the property purchases and the business takeover should be subsumed under the term *Aryanization*. This term refers to the transfer of non-Aryan-owned assets into the possession of *Aryans*.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> The term *Aryanization* is problematic. During the Nazi era, the term was primarily used to describe the transfer of commercial property. At the same time as dealing with the term as a ‚source concept‘, the word *Aryanization* has become a term of analysis in historical research. A further terminological problem resonates with the topic and concerns the word field Jew/ Jewish (person). In the sources, these words usually express what was understood by them according to National Socialist ideas and in the sense of the Nuremberg Laws, so that it should actually read ‘defined as a Jew’, ‘persecuted as a Jew’ or ‘so-called Jew according to the criteria of National Socialist racial theory’. These formulations are only omitted for reasons of better readability. Wherever the term ‘*Aryan*’ is used in the following, it is intended to explicitly refer to the unequal legal status of *non-Aryans* in sales transactions at the time. Section B.II.1. of the study as a whole discusses the terminology in detail

The ten property acquisitions and the participation in the business takeover refer to the following:

Property	Nature of the transfer of ownership	Date of the Purchase (p) or conveyance (c)	Seller	Buyer
<b>Königgrätz-strasse 5 (2 Plots)</b>	Real estate acquisition	Parcel 1: C: 23/03/1933 Parcel 2: C: 19/06/1934	Heirs of Nanny Conradine Goldschmidt (Adele Löwenstein and Hans-Manfred Goldschmidt)	Heinrich Bauer
<b>Löwenstrasse 24-26</b>	Real estate acquisition	P: 30 Jan 1936	Ernst Salis Fraenckel	Heinrich Bauer
<b>Löwenstrasse 28-30</b>	Real estate acquisition	P: 30 Jan 1936	Ernst Salis Fraenckel	Heinrich Bauer
<b>Alsterdorfer Straße 59-61/ Lattenkamp 2-6</b>	Real estate acquisition	C: 13 Mar 1936	Gustav Hermann Rocke	Heinrich Bauer
<b>Lattenkamp 8-10</b>	Real estate acquisition	C: 13 Mar 1936	Gustav Hermann Rocke	Heinrich Bauer
<b>Oben Borgfelde 59-60</b>	Real estate acquisition	P: 07 Sep 1936	Carl Johannes Ernst Wendt	Alfred Bauer, Frida Bauer, Dora Bauer
<b>Schützenpforte 9</b>	Real estate acquisition	Forced sale: 30 Jun 1938	E. & T. Braun Company (Carl W. E. A. Braun)	OHG Heinrich Bauer
<b>Hoheluft Department Store</b>	Participation in a business acquisition as a limited partner	P: 31 Oct 1938	Paul Dessauer	Limited partnership (OHG Heinrich Bauer + Walter Krentz)
<b>Hoheluft-chaussee 91/ Corner Of Eppendorfer Weg 221</b>	Real estate acquisition	P: 20 Dec 1938	Elfriede David, née Perutz, Else Leopold, née Perutz	OHG Heinrich Bauer
<b>Hoheluft-chaussee 93</b>	Real estate acquisition	P: 24 Dec 1938	Paul Dessauer	OHG Heinrich Bauer
<b>Schöne Aussicht 22</b>	Real estate acquisition	P: 09 May 1939	Heirs of Eduard Wolff (Emma M. E. Rafael)	Alfred Bauer

Heinrich and Alfred Bauer acquired five of these properties – Königgrätzstraße 5, Löwenstraße 24-26, Löwenstraße 26-28, Hoheluftchaussee 93, Hoheluftchaussee 91/Eppendorfer Weg 221 – from Jews. The previous owner of the property at Hoheluftchaussee 93 also owned the Hoheluft department store. In addition, there were the purchases of the properties Schützenpforte 9 and Schöne Aussicht 22, which – as will be explained in more detail later – also had ties to Jews. This means that the term *Aryanization* can be used for the question raised here in the form that it refers to

the transfer of Jewish-owned assets into the possession of *Aryans*.

The review of these property transfers in the context of *Aryanization* poses a challenge given the difficult, incomplete source situation. Relevant questions include:

- What criteria did the Bauers apply in selecting the properties?
- What motives can be identified for the property purchases?
- Were Heinrich and Alfred Bauer guided by the National Socialist ideology expressed in the term Aryanization?
- Or did they focus purely on their own economic interests?
- What information did the Bauers have about the circumstances of the Jewish sellers?
- Did they themselves perceive their purchases as acts of Aryanization?
- What use did they intend to put the properties to?
- How did the contact between the sellers and buyers come about?
- How did the negotiation of the contract terms – especially the purchase price – proceed?

Because few or no sources have survived on these issues, a corpus of sources was used that consists mainly of the files of the Chief Finance President (*Oberfinanzpräsident*) and from restitution proceedings. The sources originate predominantly from a time of economic persecution of Jews and from the context of a later legal reappraisal of the property transfers, and thus reflect the corresponding perspectives.

## 1933–1934

The property acquisitions [during this period] show both similarities and differences and were interrelated in particular with the historical conditions that governed the economic displacement and persecution of Jews. The chronology of the acquisitions began in March 1933 and June 1934 with the purchase of two undeveloped plots of land, which together formed the property at Königgrätzstraße 5. Heinrich Bauer bought the plots as a private individual from Adele Löwenstein and Hans-Manfred Goldschmidt, the heirs of Nanny Conradine Goldschmidt. In the assertion of restitution claims by the Jewish Trust Corporation (JTC) in the early 1950s, the

appropriateness of the purchase price and the free availability of the sales proceeds were two key criteria for assessing the extent to which the sale had been forced:<sup>2</sup> the Goldschmidt heirs had already repeatedly sold off sections of the entire property beginning in the late 1920s via a lawyer and a brokerage firm, meaning that Heinrich Bauer's acquisition can be seen as part of a longer-term subdividing and sales sequence. The price paid per square metre was at the lower end of the typical price range at the time. Furthermore, the Goldschmidt heirs appear to have been able to freely dispose of the sales proceeds. The JTC's assessment of the available arguments led it to withdraw the application for restitution. In addition, the points raised – in particular the appropriateness of the price per square metre – served as a reference in restitution proceedings concerning other parcels of the Goldschmidt property that had been sold. A more in-depth quantifying investigation would be required to verify the reliability of the statement that the price per square metre was reasonable. In the absence of corresponding sources, the question also remains open as to the extent to which the Goldschmidt heirs had either perceived an anti-Semitic climate in 1933 and 1934 or were specifically exposed to anti-Semitic persecution measures that would have meant the sale of the plots at Königgrätzstraße 5 constituted a forced sale.

## 1936

In reviewing the purchase chronology, two years stand out: 1936 and 1938. Heinrich and Alfred Bauer purchased several properties during each of these years. The concentration of property purchases in these years corresponds with the increases in income reported on the denazification questionnaires. At the same time, there are discernible differences between the property transfers completed in 1936 and those completed in 1938.

In 1936, members of the Bauer family acquired a total of five properties from three sellers. According to sources consulted, one of the three sellers was Jewish: in January 1936, Heinrich Bauer bought the two adjoining properties at Löwenstraße 24-26 and Löwenstraße 28-30 from the Jewish entrepreneur Ernst Salis Fraenckel, followed by

---

<sup>2</sup> Cf. StAHH, 213-13, 14433.



the purchase of the properties at Alsterdorfer Straße 59-61/Lattenkamp 2-6 and Lattenkamp 8-10, which also formed a complex, by Heinrich Bauer in March 1936. The seller was the building contractor Gustav Hermann Rocke. In September 1936, Alfred Bauer and his sisters followed their father's lead and together acquired the property at Oben Borgfelde 59-60 from architect Carl Johannes Ernst Wendt, with whom the Heinrich Bauer company had previously worked. There was also some professional co-operation between Wendt and Rocke, so that the latter two purchases can also be traced back to personal relationships.

Two aspects of the property purchases in 1936 are conspicuous: The first concerns the characteristics of the properties purchased. The members of the Bauer family clearly focussed on apartment buildings or rental complexes in their selection of properties. The plots of land and the properties on them served as an investment, with the rents representing a further source of income alongside the magazine and printing business. Secondly, it is worth noting that there is no evidence of a targeted, exclusive acquisition of Jewish-owned properties in 1936.

Regardless of whether one uses the phrase 'illusion of a 'period of grace''<sup>3</sup> or 'creeping [] persecution of Jews'<sup>4</sup> to describe the period 1935/36: There was an increase in the number of emigrants among Jews in Germany at the time.<sup>5</sup> This was also true for Hamburg. Fraenckel's daughter Ingeborg emigrated on 28 May 1936. Ernst Salis Fraenckel, who was born in England, sold four properties at the beginning of 1936 – including the aforementioned properties at Löwenstraße 24-26 & Löwenstraße 28-30.

---

<sup>3</sup> Barkai, Avraham (1988): *Vom Boykott zur „Entjudung“* (From boycott to 'de-Judaisation'). The struggle for economic survival of Jews in the Third Reich 1933-1945. pp. 65-121, quote on p. 65.

<sup>4</sup> Genschel, Helmut (1966): *Die Verdrängung der Juden aus der Wirtschaft im Dritten Reich* (The elimination of Jews from the economy in the Third Reich). pp. 60-138, quote *passim*.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Zürn, Gaby (1991): *Forcierte Auswanderung und Enteignung 1933 bis 1941. Beispiele Hamburger Juden* (Forced emigration and dispossession 1933 to 1941. Examples of Hamburg Jews). In: Herzig, Arno (ed.) in co-operation with Saskia Rohde (1991): *Die Juden in Hamburg 1590 bis 1990* (Die Juden in Hamburg from 1590 bis 1990). Scientific contributions of the University of Hamburg to the exhibition 'Vierhundert Jahre Juden in Hamburg' (Four hundred years of Jews in Hamburg). pp. 487-497.

Fraenckel used the proceeds from these sales as a gift to his daughter, who used some of this money to pay the Reich Flight Tax<sup>6</sup> (RM 231,742) assessed against her. So the systematic economic plundering of Jewish emigrants by the tax authorities formed the socio-political background for the sale of the properties. This situation in turn gave Heinrich Bauer the opportunity to acquire properties that might otherwise not have been for sale at all, or not at that asking price. In January 1936, no security order had yet been issued against Fraenckel himself<sup>7</sup>, which meant that the proceeds from the sale did not flow into a blocked account. Heinrich Bauer paid RM 100,000 of the RM 160,000 purchase price for the two properties in Löwenstraße in cash to Fraenckel's authorised representative Gustav Adolf Rudolf Weihe. It is not known how the contact between the two business parties came about and how the price negotiations took place.

---

<sup>6</sup> The Reich Flight Tax was enacted on 8 December 1931 as part of the 'Fourth [Emergency] Decree of the Reich President to safeguard the economy and finances and to protect domestic peace' and sought to counteract capital flight abroad. The Nazi regime used this tax, among other things, to plunder Jews intending to emigrate. Cf. Mußnug, Dorothee (1993): *Die Reichsfluchtsteuer 1931-1953* (The Reich Flight Tax 1931-1953); Friedenberger, Martin (2002): *Die Rolle der Finanzverwaltung bei der Vertreibung, Verfolgung und Vernichtung der deutschen Juden* (The role of the financial administration in the expulsion, persecution, and extermination of German Jews). In: Friedenberger, M. / Gössel, K.-D. / Schönknecht, E. (eds.) (2002): *Die Reichsfinanzverwaltung im Nationalsozialismus* (The Reich Finance Administration under National Socialism). Presentation and documents. S. 10-94.

<sup>7</sup> If the foreign exchange offices or customs investigators under the Nazi regime suspected that Jews were planning to emigrate, they could issue a security order on the basis of the foreign exchange legislation from 1935. This was a further instrument for controlling and freezing Jewish assets. As a result of the security order, Jews had to provide comprehensive information about their assets. Furthermore, they could no longer freely dispose of their assets – apart from a fixed allowance for living expenses. They needed authorisation for every expenditure or financial transaction beyond the exempt amount.

## 1938–1939

In 1938 – in a space of six months – there was a second spate of property purchases. On 30 June 1938, Heinrich Bauer, as representative of OHG Heinrich Bauer, purchased the property at Schützenpforte 9 in the course of a forced auction. The Bauer family was obviously very interested in integrating the property adjoining the company headquarters into the company. From the surviving documents relating to the Schützenpforte 9 property, it isn't clear to what extent the decision-makers at OHG Heinrich Bauer were aware of the background to the forced sale in June 1938. The creditor of two mortgages on the property at Schützenpforte 9 was Max Carl Nathan, a Jew. After his death, the administrator of his estate sent a reminder to Carl Braun<sup>8</sup> – the non-Jewish owner of the company E. & T. Braun, in whose name the property at Schützenpforte 9 was entered in the land register – to settle the mortgage claims, which Braun was unable to do. This ultimately led to the forced sale of the property.

Alfred Bauer was the main actor at OHG Heinrich Bauer in the further transfers of ownership in 1938. For one transfer, the OHG merged with the merchant Walter Krentz to form a limited partnership, with the OHG taking on the role of limited partner. At the end of October, this limited partnership bought the trading business of Paul Dessauer, a Jew. This business was entered in the commercial register as 'Kaufhaus Hoheluft, Dessauer & Co.' The limited partnership simultaneously acquired the department store's clientele and the right to continue the company name. From 17 November 1938, the department stores' bore the name 'Kaufhaus Hoheluft Walter Krentz K. G.'. The retail shop was located at Hoheluftchaussee 91, and the net purchase price was 78,072.43 RM. On 16 December 1938, a provisional security order<sup>9</sup> was issued over Paul Dessauer's assets, meaning that the Jewish businessman could no longer freely dispose of his assets. This also applied to the proceeds from the sale of the department store. Dessauer had not only owned the Hoheluft department store, but

---

<sup>8</sup> Carl Braun had been a member of the NSDAP from 1 May 1933 to 28 November 1938 and 'was then expelled from his position as a local political group and propaganda leader [...] for tax favouritism towards a Jew'. StAHH, 351-11, 12974, p. 16.

<sup>9</sup> This security order was confirmed on 17 January 1939.

also the neighbouring property at Hoheluftchaussee 93. On 24 December 1938, Alfred Bauer acquired this property from Dessauer in his capacity as the sole authorised co-owner of OHG Heinrich Bauer. The purchase price was RM 90,000, of which RM 55,000 was assumed in the form of mortgages and RM 35,000 was to be transferred to the blocked account subject to the security order upon conveyance. In the end, only RM 28,575 was paid: part of the difference – RM 2,425 – had been withheld to pay taxes and fees. The remaining RM 4,000 was improperly declared as a ‘waiver sum in favour of the buyer, which the buyer paid in, as a donation, to the social fund of the Reich Governor at the Hamburgische Grundstücks-Verwaltungs-Gesellschaft<sup>10</sup>

Four days before the purchase of the property at Hoheluftchaussee 93, Alfred Bauer – also as the sole authorised co-owner of OHG Heinrich Bauer – had purchased the property at Hoheluftchaussee 91/Eppendorfer Weg 221 from the sisters Elfriede David and Else Leopold for 195,000 RM.<sup>11</sup> The sellers were Jewish. The new owner, OHG Heinrich Bauer, took over mortgages totalling RM 22,000. Of the remaining RM 173,000, RM 65,000 was paid into each of the two sisters’ blocked accounts. A partial amount of RM 29,000 was used for notary costs, taxes, fees and to finance monthly bequests. The remaining RM 14,000 was levied as an ‘equalisation levy’ due to the ‘Jewish race’ of the sellers.<sup>12</sup> Like Fraenckel, the married couples Elfriede and Bernhard David and Else and Lambert Friedrich Leopold used part of the proceeds from the sale to enable their children to emigrate. As the money was held in blocked accounts, they had to obtain authorisation from the Chief Finance President to finance their children’s emigration.

---

<sup>10</sup> StAHH, 314-15, R 1938/3623, p. 69.

<sup>11</sup> The Jewish estate agent Carl Norden appears to have played a rather significant role in organising the transfer of ownership of the Hoheluftchaussee properties. Norden was the executor of the will of Hermann Perutz, the father of Elfriede David and Else Leopold, as well as the agent for the sale of the Hoheluft department store.

<sup>12</sup> StAHH, 213-13, 6811, Bl. 3. On the ‘equalisation levy’ see Bajohr, Frank (1997): „*Arisierung*“ in Hamburg. *Die Verdrängung der jüdischen Unternehmer* (‘Aryanization’ in Hamburg. The forced displacement of Jewish entrepreneurs) 1933-1945. p. 279f.

Compared to the property purchases in 1936, it can be stated that on the one hand the properties at Hoheluftchaussee 91/Eppendorfer Weg 221 and Hoheluftchaussee 93 once again showed that Bauer's interest centred on apartment buildings. On the other hand, there is the difference that in 1938 Heinrich or Alfred Bauer were no longer buying as private individuals, but were acting as representatives of OHG Heinrich Bauer. Another striking difference is that in 1938, OHG Heinrich Bauer predominantly acquired properties from Jews.

In 1938, and particularly in the last quarter of the year, the social and economic persecution of Jews had taken on uninhibitedly hostile and even life-threatening proportions. Unlike the documents relating to the other property transactions, the contracts for the three Hoheluft property transfers have been handed down. It was clear to contemporaries from these documents that Jews and *Aryans* were not equal parties in legal transactions. For example, the contract for the purchase of the Hoheluft department store was concluded "subject to the condition precedent that the necessary approvals be granted in accordance with the law for the protection of the retail trade and the order based on the decree on the registration of Jewish assets of 26 April 1938."<sup>13</sup> The contracts for the properties at Hoheluftchaussee 91 and Hoheluftchaussee 93 stipulated that the sellers were Jewish and the buyer was of *Aryan* descent.<sup>14</sup> The term '*Aryanization*' was specifically reflected in these clauses.

The contractual declaration as to whether a Jewish person was involved in a legal transaction was of particular relevance in the last transfer of ownership. At the beginning of May 1939, Alfred Bauer acquired the Schöne Aussicht 22 property as a private individual. There are no central sources for this legal transaction. As with the property at Königgrätzstraße 5, the JTC initially filed an application for restitution, but later withdrew it. The restitution centred on the question of whether the person selling the property was Jewish, which the estate agent involved denied. The Schöne Aussicht 22 property had previously belonged to Eduard Wolff, a Jew, who had committed

---

<sup>13</sup> StAHH, 221-11, C (R) 254.

<sup>14</sup> StAHH, 314-15, R 1938/3623, p. 38; StAHH, 314-15, R 1938/2466, p. 43.

suicide.<sup>15</sup> He had appointed his adopted son as his universal heir, but the latter died in a car accident three months after Wolff's death. Due to a formal error, the inheritance went to the adopted son's mother. According to the latest research, the person who ultimately sold the property was not Jewish.

### Restitution proceedings after 1945

Restitution claims were made for all of the properties. As a result, legal disputes took place in all cases towards the end of the 1940s and in the first half of the 1950s. Two of the proceedings ended with the restitution claims being withdrawn. For all other properties and in the case of the department store, agreements were reached that the properties would remain in the possession of OHG Heinrich Bauer or the Bauer family in return for the payment of sums of money. These agreements, through which all claims were henceforth deemed to have been settled, were reached through out-of-court settlements and in one case through a proposal in the course of conciliation negotiations. With regard to the amounts of money to be paid, some of the sums suggest that former downgrades of assets were to be approximately compensated for.<sup>16</sup> The case of the property at Schützenpforte 9 also deserves special attention. According to Dr Ernst Feld, the lawyer who represented OHG Heinrich Bauer in most cases in the restitution proceedings, the payment made was based not on a legally established legitimacy of the claims, but solely on OHG Heinrich Bauer's desire/wish to finally conclude the restitution proceedings.<sup>17</sup> Due to the incomplete source situation, it is difficult to assess the extent to which this endeavour to settle the restitution cases as quickly as possible was also decisive in the outcome of the other negotiations.

---

<sup>15</sup> For the background to his suicide, see section B.II.7.

<sup>16</sup> This concerned, for example, the warehouse of the Hoheluft department store, whose assessed value was reduced by RM 40,000 by an expert. Cf. StAHH, 213-13, 2982, 2nd supplementary file, sheet 16.

<sup>17</sup> See section B.II.4.

## Jewish residents in the apartment blocks

Finally, there is another aspect to the issue of property transfer. If the Bauers preferably acquired apartment buildings, the question arises as to whether there were Jewish residents in these houses and, if so, what their fates were.

The apartment blocks at Löwenstraße 30, Hoheluftchaussee 91, Hoheluftchaussee 93, Lattenkamp 8-10 and Alsterdorfer Straße 59-61 were home to Jewish people, among others. Many of them only lived at the above addresses temporarily as tenants or subtenants. There were only a few long-term tenants. The fates of the Jewish residents varied: they ranged from successful emigration and, as a result, survival, to deportation and murder.<sup>18</sup> The researched source material provides no evidence that could shed light on the Bauers' view or actions towards the Jewish residents. The same applies to the house and mortgage broker Albert Schwarke & Sohn, who was responsible for managing the apartment blocks. On his denazification questionnaire, Albert Schwarke stated that all company documents had been 'burnt' in the offices at Speersort 8 in 1943.<sup>19</sup> It is difficult to adequately assess the finding that no evidence exists or could be found, as a basic source-critical problem of historical scholarship comes into play here: such a finding depends largely on the transmission, which 'in its wilfulness' 'provides one thing and withholds the other'.<sup>20</sup> Expressly subject to this outlined source problem of *argumentum ex silentio*, the long-term tenants Josephi, Ahrens and Feibel tend to favour the view that no systematic anti-Semitic displacement measures were undertaken by the Bauer family following their acquisition of the tenements.

---

<sup>18</sup> See section B.III.

<sup>19</sup> StAHH, 221-11, Z 8584.

<sup>20</sup> Esch, Arnold (1994): *Überlieferungs-Chance und Überlieferungs-Zufall als methodisches Problem des Historikers* (Chance of transmission and coincidence of transmission as a methodological problem for historians). In: Esch, Arnold (1994): *Zeitalter und Menschenalter. Der Historiker und die Erfahrung vergangener Gegenwart* (Bygone Ages and Ages of Man. Historians and the experience of the bygone present.) pp. 39-69, here p. 68.

## Summary of key aspects of the topic

With regard to the property transfers, it can be stated that it is indisputably necessary to place Heinrich and Alfred Bauer's property acquisitions and business takeover in the context of *Aryanization* and to investigate them in more detail from this perspective. The research does indeed provide a nuanced picture of the property transfers. Essentially, an interplay becomes discernible: In particular, the persecution measures by the financial authorities created conditions that resulted in favourable opportunities for *Aryans*. Heinrich and Alfred Bauer, both as private individuals and as representatives of OHG Heinrich Bauer, benefited from the expulsion of Jews from social and economic life by being able to acquire properties and a department store that under other circumstances would probably not have been sold at all or not at that asking price. Heinrich and Alfred Bauer's motives for buying seem to have been primarily economic. Based on the sources reviewed, it is not possible to reliably determine whether or to what extent the Nazi ideology behind the term *Aryanization* was a driving force behind their opportunistic actions.

## **2. The magazine business and the development of 'Funk-Wacht'**

*This section addresses the question of whether Heinrich Bauer Verlag and its publications supported the Nazi movement before 1933, to what extent they benefited from the dictatorship, and to what extent they participated in the dissemination of National Socialist ideology and propaganda. The focus is on the 'Funk-Wacht', a weekly magazine listing radio programs that was popular at the time.*

### Printing and publishing in the Weimar Republic

Heinrich Bauer Verlag (HBV) had many years of experience in the production and publication of periodical print products. After the First World War, the company intensified its involvement in this line of business. For example, it printed '*Der Kauz*', a 'humorous, satirical weekly magazine', and '*Die Laterne*', which was close to the left-liberal German Democratic Party in its political orientation. Other publications included the weekly magazines '*Das Extrablatt am Montag*', '*Das Sportextrablatt am Sonnabend*' and '*Das Sportextrablatt*'. While HBV also assumed responsibility as publisher or editor for some of the aforementioned periodicals, it was only responsible



for printing others. These included the *‘Sport-Chronik’*, the *‘Sport-Chronik am Sonnabend’* and the supplement *‘Norddeutscher Sport-Spiegel’*. As business documents from this period are not available, HBV’s involvement can only be reconstructed in fragments. According to newspaper reports, the print shop also produced postcards featuring a ‘Hindenburg Anthem’ by the poet Hans Curt Dreyer in a print run of 100,000 copies. In 1929, the publisher also briefly printed the *‘Norddeutsche Tribüne’* for Benno Dohrn, its editor and a member of the KPD (Communist party).

### The successful establishment of a radio listings magazine (1926-1932)

The magazines listed did not enjoy any great journalistic success. In contrast, HBV’s involvement in the radio listings press proved to be extremely successful. The establishment of the new mass medium of radio also opened up a new market for magazines: On 24 September 1926, the publishing house made its first appearance on this market with *‘Rundfunk-Kritik’*.<sup>21</sup> A major reorganisation took place in the second half of 1928: from October of that year, the magazine appeared in a new layout, in a different format, and with an illustrated cover [page]. Its page count was significantly increased, its content considerably expanded, and its visual design as well as literary and entertaining aspects were given a stronger emphasis. The magazine was given a new title to reflect the changes in content, with a greater emphasis on nationwide topics and radio stations in view of the improvements in transmission and reception technology. The name *‘Funk-Woche’* was chosen. However, because a paper with this name already existed in Berlin, the name had to be changed again within a few weeks. At the end of November 1928, the magazine was first published as *‘Funk-Wacht’*.

---

<sup>21</sup> This was published as a weekly magazine with the subtitle ‘The independent weekly magazine for all radio enthusiasts in praise of the good [,] for the elimination of deficiencies [, and] for the expansion of technology’. In addition to improving the content of the (regional) radio programme and the technical conditions for reception, the editorial team initially saw its task as improving the reputation of radio dealers and acting as a mouthpiece for the radio audience. Soon the focus of reporting shifted to the content-related discussion of programmes, formats and programme design. At the same time, the topic area of ‘radio technology’ was expanded.

The rationale behind this redesign into a radio magazine with an extensive entertainment section was to increase circulation. Despite the incipient economic downturn and growing competition in the magazine market, the project proved successful. According to various sources, HBV printed an average of between 40,000 and 48,500 copies per issue in 1930.<sup>22</sup> The magazine's circulation soon exceeded that of the 'official' organ of the local radio station, '*Die Norag*'. With 48 pages a week, '*Funk-Wacht*' now presented itself as a 'home and family magazine for everyone'. In 1932, its circulation reached 140,000 copies. With the number of radio listeners on the increase, this trend could be expected to continue.

Little is known about the workings of the editorial, publishing and printing departments. The position of editor-in-chief was held by various people before Dr Louis Freise took over editorial responsibility in 1928 as part of the restructuring process.<sup>23</sup> He was assisted by Walter Pilkuhn as the contact person for technology and advice.<sup>24</sup> Heinrich Bauer was also listed in the publication's masthead as the person responsible for printing and publishing. Soon thereafter, Alfred Bauer was also given mention as the person responsible for advertising. Despite in-depth research, it has only been possible to identify a few people who worked for HBV in the 1920s or 1930s beyond the group of people listed above. The available documents indicate that the editorial staff remained surprisingly small. Most of the articles and content appears to have come from freelancers, agencies and press and correspondence services, or were supplied by the broadcasting companies along with their programme line-ups. The proportion of those employed in the commercial sector or entrusted with the technical production of the print run, design and typesetting was probably much larger.

---

<sup>22</sup> Seasonal fluctuations can be assumed. The editorial team reported around 85,000 copies in October 1930.

<sup>23</sup> Freise was preceded by Johannes Bucke, Julius Selig, Alfred Bauer, and Hugo R. Bartels. Erwin Ibing was occasionally named as a deputy.

<sup>24</sup> Pilkuhn succeeded Dr Karl Mühlbrett and Albert Neiss in this role. However, this seems to have been a task that Pilkuhn carried out alongside his work as a self-employed electronics and radio retailer and repairer.

### *‘Funk-Wacht’* magazine in 1933

Political debates and controversial topics were largely omitted from the articles in *‘Funk-Wacht’* – apart from matters of broadcasting policy and programme design. The reporting was mostly shallow entertainment with ‘popular’, supposedly non-political topics. Despite this, it is clear from the cover pictures alone how unquestioningly the publication took up and reproduced contemporary everyday racism and sexism. Before 1933, however, it is not possible to identify any substantive proximity of *‘Funk-Wacht’* [content] to the National Socialist movement. There was virtually no mention of Nazi protagonists and the aggressive anti-Semitism and anti-communism did not initially catch on here either. Overlaps with Nazi ideology could be identified primarily through positive references to *‘Volkstümlichkeit’* – in the sense of attachment to the homeland. Here, *‘Funk-Wacht’* acted in complete harmony with Hamburg’s regional broadcasting organisation, ‘Norag’.

In the first three months of 1933, its reporting hardly changed and the magazine’s attitude towards the Nazi movement appeared to be one of indifference. *‘Funk-Wacht’* reported with extreme restraint on the changes taking place in broadcasting as part of the Nazi policy of ‘Gleichschaltung’. A text by the anti-fascist Heinz Liepmann, who had already been defamed and threatened as a Jew by the National Socialists before 1933, was published at the beginning of March.<sup>25</sup> However, this image would change within a few issues. In the course of the National Socialist assertion and consolidation of power, a fundamental reorganisation of radio and the press was announced, which would inevitably affect the radio press as well. Those responsible in the *‘Funk-Wacht’* editorial office responded to this challenge with a strategy of adaptation and a willingness to align their content with the ideological premises of the country’s new

---

<sup>25</sup> In addition, a statement by regular freelancer Konrad Tegtmeier has survived, according to which a Nazi representative complained about him to the publisher, among others. While he was initially excluded from further work at the radio station, texts by Tegtmeier continued to appear in *‘Funk-Wacht’*.

rulers.<sup>26</sup> The intention to emphasise its own importance and role as an organ of radio criticism for future development is clearly evident here.

The magazine's future initially appeared uncertain. In May 1933, its executives felt compelled to counter the rumour that '*Funk-Wacht*' was 'Jewish-Marxist and would therefore be banned shortly'. The publisher and editors vehemently countered this claim, emphasising that they were 'national and German'. This did not imply a direct pledge of allegiance to National Socialism. However, pro-Nazi reporting now dominated: exuberant reports were written about Nazi functionaries and the Hitler Youth, and homage was paid to Albert Leo Schlageter, a Nazi martyr. Articles on 'racial research in northern Germany', the *Luftschutz* air-raid defence organisation, the German navy, and the 'fate and plight of Danzig' were devoted to nationalist-revisionist topics and deliberately emphasised the magazine's proximity to National Socialist ideology. The intertwining of programme coverage, shallow entertainment, and National Socialist propaganda and indoctrination became increasingly clear. In this sense, '*Funk-Wacht*' acted as an instrument of National Socialist propaganda from the spring of 1933 until it was discontinued in 1941.

The adaptation of '*Funk-Wacht*' content, which was probably motivated less by ideological than by tactical considerations, proved successful from a business point of view. In the first quarter of 1934, the magazine's weekly circulation soared to over 200,000 copies. The publishing and editorial team benefited from three developments: First, the National Socialists accelerated the expansion of radio broadcasting, increasing the potential target group of radio listeners. Second, a temporary ban on new publications was imposed in December 1933 which, given the

---

26 From April 1933, they themselves were regularly featured in '*Funk-Wacht*'. In the first half of April, for example, a speech by Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels on broadcasting policy was reprinted. A short time later, the editorial team referred to it favourably, but at the same time spoke out against 'economic acrobats' who were chumming up to the new regime. The editorial team now increasingly referred to the National Socialist reorganisation in positive terms and reported on 'the cultivation of national identity (*Volkstum*)'.

Nazi repression measures, reduced the number of competitors in the medium term.<sup>27</sup> Third, in the second half of 1933, HBV was given the opportunity to take over the competing programme magazine 'Die Norag'. The former 'official' organ of the Hamburg broadcaster had been struggling with losses and declining circulation since 1930. When its shares were sold, HBV seized the opportunity and 'merged' the magazine with '*Funk-Wacht*', which effectively meant shutting down the rival publication. Earlier, the publishing house and its editorial management had already made intensive efforts to increase readership and had also added a features editor, Heinrich Heise, to its staff. The literary desk in particular was to be expanded.

### Publication of '*Das Ende der Eisernen Mannen*' (The End of the Iron Men') as a serialised novel from October 1933

Since the end of 1926, '*Funk-Wacht*' had published serialised novels with various thematic focuses – mostly adventure, crime, and romance novels with light-hearted, humorous, and exotic-seeming narrative strands, often in a colonial-romantic or metropolitan setting. From October 1933, Ernst Johannsen's '*Das Ende der Eisernen Mannen*' was the first novel to be published that explicitly dealt with contemporary political developments.<sup>28</sup> In its 15 episodes, various prominent figures from the democratic Weimar parties – in particular members of the Altona SPD – were viciously vilified. Fictional passages, rumours, half-truths, and facts were amalgamated into a biting ironic narrative about the end of the SPD in the first half of 1933 while commenting on the National Socialist takeover in benevolent terms. Numerous references were made to local circumstances, events, and people who could be clearly identified despite fictitious names. When Heinrich Bauer applied for a licence to re-establish '*Funk-Wacht*' at the end of the 1940s, this novel was cited as evidence that he and the paper had 'adapted to the new regime beyond the unavoidable'. In the course

---

27 In contrast to other magazine sectors and the daily press, the number of discontinuations of periodicals in the radio press sector was initially low. But here too, many journalists had to flee or were forced to give up their profession.

28 The historian Karl Christian Führer describes the publication as a 'special form of ingratiation with the new rulers' (Medienmetropole Hamburg. Mediale Öffentlichkeiten 1930-1960, p. 198).

of extensive proceedings, he was finally granted the licence but subject to conditions – a few weeks before the end of the licensing obligation.<sup>29</sup>

### The magazine business 1934 to 1939

After the takeover of Norag's magazine, '*Funk-Wacht*'s' circulation continued to increase rapidly. In spring 1935, over 400,000 copies were printed each week, published in a 'Reich edition' and several regional versions.<sup>30</sup> The Berlin '*Lesepause*', a romance digest that the publishing house acquired at the end of 1935, had a significantly smaller circulation in the low five-digit range.<sup>31</sup>

Meanwhile, the conditions for magazine production were changing significantly as a result of the Nazi policy of seizing power and enforcing conformity.<sup>32</sup> The '*Schriftleitergesetz*' (Editors Act) soon also applied for radio programmes as well: The

---

29 He was refused an individual licence. Heinrich Bauer only received the licence on the condition that other licence holders were involved. His proposals to this effect were rejected several times due to disagreements regarding the form of financial participation. Disagreements had already arisen earlier because the publishing and advertising manager he had originally proposed had concealed his NSDAP past. There were also delays in the process because the texts of the novel could not be found. The licensing procedure is also noteworthy in light of the fact that both some of the defamed individuals (Mayor Max Brauer, who formally granted the licence, and August Kirch, member of the magazine sub-committee) and at least one direct competitor (Axel Springer as a member of the Advisory Committee for the Press and Chairman of the magazine sub-committee) were directly involved. Alfred and Heinrich Bauer as well as Louis Freise and August Kirch were heard by the committee. The text's author Ernst Johannsen, a former Social Democrat who had emigrated to London in 1939 and was still living there, was questioned in writing. According to his testimony, he had written the novel out of bitterness over the lack of social democratic resistance to National Socialism.

30 The average figures for the previous quarter were now published in the masthead.

31 The predecessor of '*Lesepause*' was the magazine '*Kurze Pause!*', which was initially published as a supplement to the regime-critical magazine '*Blick in die Zeit*' from 1934. From 1935, '*Kurze Pause!*', which was renamed '*Lesepause*' when it was taken over by Heinrich Bauer Verlag, was published independently.

32 The radio press had a special status, as various players in the Nazi press and radio control exercised influence here and jurisdictions were not always clearly regulated.

relationship of dependence between editors and publishers became less important.<sup>33</sup> Loyalty was demanded first and foremost towards the National Socialist state. The scope for editorial design at *'Funk-Wacht'* was increasingly restricted, and divergent behaviour was penalised. For example, in March 1935, Freise as the general editor and Heise as the responsible party were charged with *'nationale Würdelosigkeit'* ('national indignity') in a court of honour because of an article.<sup>34</sup> However, Heise was also responsible for articles in which he made effusive positive references to the Nazi movement. His role was ambivalent in that he was also married to the Bauhaus artist Dörte Helm-Heise, who was herself affected by Nazi persecution.<sup>35</sup> Freise for his part joined the NSDAP with effect from 1 May 1933. During his denazification proceedings, he declared in 1949 that he had become a party member at the time in order to ensure 'the timely safeguarding of *Funk-Wacht* in the Heinrich Bauer publishing house'. The publisher Bauer 'flatly rejected' such steps for himself, so as the general editor he saw no other option. However, Louis Freise was not the only NSDAP member associated with the magazine. Walter Pilkuhn had been a member of the party since 1 March 1932. Heinrich Bauer was never an NSDAP member. His son Alfred joined the party in 1940. According to his own later statement, this was to prevent the publishing house being shut down.

The *Fachverband der Rundfunkpresse* was the authoritative institution for the publishing house's management, while the German Labour Front, which oversaw labour relations with regard to collective bargaining and company regulations, was

---

33 However, one contributor complained to the *Reichsschrifttumskammer* in 1937 that there was no 'separation of the main editorial office and the publishing house in accordance with the Editors' Act' at HBV.

34 In essence, this concerned the design of a *'Funk-Wacht'* back cover on the occasion of Hero Remembrance Day, which – so the accusation went – appeared designed to 'weaken German defence'. Both were acquitted. According to a statement by Freise, the accusation was initiated by the competing radio magazine *'NS-Funk'*.

35 Her mother was baptised a Protestant, but came from a Jewish family.

responsible for operational procedures.<sup>36</sup> In his denazification proceedings, Alfred Bauer cited repeated summonses from Nazi authorities, including threats to take over the publishing house. According to consistent statements by several involved parties, which differed only in the dates, HBV was visited by the Reich Trustee of Labour from Berlin with an entourage at the end of 1936 or the end of 1937. After lengthy discussions, Heinrich Bauer felt compelled to hand over the management of the company to his son Alfred. According to the statements/testimony, far-reaching conditions were imposed on HBV. Among other things, several publishing house employees had to be dismissed in the ensuing period.

### Heinrich Bauer Verlag during the Second World War

From mid-1935, the circulation of *'Funk-Wacht'* stagnated well below the 500,000 mark. Nevertheless, the magazine continued to generate high profits in the following years. Despite this, the pressure on private publishers that were not directly controlled by the NSDAP or the state increased steadily. During the Second World War, the concentration of the magazine sector accelerated. Paper quotas led to drastic cutbacks in the very first weeks of the war. *'Funk-Wacht'* now had just twelve pages and dispensed with the publication of regional editions. When a standardised radio programme was introduced in mid-1940, the listings magazines became even less important. Their content was now dominated by propagandistic topics on the course of the war, the situation at the front, and efforts on the home front.<sup>37</sup> In addition, there was an emphasis on entertaining aspects, which further increased the importance of serialised novels. This could also explain why HBV took over the Viennese novella magazine *'Die Welt von heute'* at the end of 1940, which was then printed in Hamburg

---

<sup>36</sup> At the same time, the National Socialist Works Cell Organisation (NSBO) existed until 1935. An active faction of NSBO members was organised within HBV. In his denazification proceedings, Alfred Bauer mentioned that he had been briefly arrested by the Gestapo in mid-1934 following a complaint by the works cell chairman. The activities of this group corresponded with this incident, but the exact circumstances could not be clarified.

<sup>37</sup> Among other things, readers were asked to send the *'Funk-Wacht'* 'into the field' after reading it.



until 1943.<sup>38</sup> When, despite all the war propaganda, ‘*Funk-Wacht*’ had to be discontinued in mid-1941 in its 16<sup>th</sup> year, the publisher concentrated on publishing the [recently acquired] title.

### Brief summary of key aspects of the topic

With regard to HBV’s publications, including ‘*Funk-Wacht*’, there is no evidence of support for the Nazi movement prior to 1933. Political debates and controversial topics were largely absent from the reporting. Content was dominated by shallow entertainment until the beginning of 1933. From the spring of 1933, the National Socialist assertion and consolidation of power and the accompanying fundamental reorganisation of radio and the press inevitably had an impact on HBV’s publications. This affected the content as well as the conditions governing magazine production in the publishing and editorial departments. Those responsible in the ‘*Funk-Wacht*’ editorial team responded to this challenge with a strategy of adaptation and a willingness to align their content with the ideological premises of the new rulers. In this sense, ‘*Funk-Wacht*’ functioned as an instrument of National Socialist propaganda from the spring of 1933 until it was discontinued in 1941. Initially, the publisher benefited from this development: the circulation figures for ‘*Funk-Wacht*’ had gradually increased since the end of the 1920s. This trend continued in the first half of the 1930s. Against this backdrop, the adaptation of ‘*Funk-Wacht*’s’ content appears to have been motivated less by ideology than by tactical and economic considerations.

## **3. Housing of Italian military internees in the Heinrich Bauer building at Schützenpforte 11 from the end of 1943**

*The following section addresses the question of how forced labourers came to be housed in the Heinrich Bauer Verlag publishing building, to what extent Heinrich and Alfred Bauer actively participated in this, and whether or to what extent they*

---

<sup>38</sup> In addition, HBV was able to achieve a publishing success with ‘*Der Werder und seine Geheimnisse*’ by the popular animal writer and regular contributor Otto Boris.

*benefited from it.*

At the end of 1943, the publishing house at Schützenpforte 11 became a forced labour camp for Italian ‘military internees’. Over the course of the war, more and more foreign labourers were brought into the German Reich and forced to work in order to maintain the National Socialist war economy. At the same time, as more and more living and economic space in the cities was destroyed by the bombing campaign, government agencies tried to find replacement space and create accommodation for the forced labourers. In Hamburg, from 1941, the *Amt für kriegs-wichtigen Einsatz* (AkE; Office of Strategic Mobilisation) was responsible for requisitioning rooms of all kinds in which people could be accommodated. The legal basis for the use of suitable premises was the *Reichsleistungsgesetz* (National Service Act) of 1939.<sup>39</sup> This gave the Wehrmacht and the Nazi state access to objects and buildings that they deemed necessary for the conduct of the war and the functioning of the economy. It expressly provided for the confiscation of rooms and buildings. According to the law, the owners were entitled to compensation or ongoing rent payments, but there was no way to object to a confiscation. After Italy withdrew from the alliance with Nazi Germany in September 1943, around 650,000 Italians were deported to the German Reich and interned in prisoner of war camps. By the end of 1943, 450,000 Italian soldiers and non-commissioned officers were already performing forced labour for the German armaments, mining, and construction industries as military internees. Of these, some 12,500 were living in Hamburg in November 1943, distributed among various labour detachments.<sup>40</sup> They were housed in ‘communal camps’. According to statistics from the end of October 1943, the largest of these camps in Hamburg was located at Dessauer Ufer on Kleiner Grasbrook.<sup>41</sup> The Heinrich Bauer building does not appear

---

<sup>39</sup> Law on benefits in kind for Reich tasks (*Reichsleistungsgesetz* - Reich Services Act) of 1 September 1939, RGL. I 1939, pp. 1645-1654.

<sup>40</sup> See Friederike Littmann, *Ausländische Zwangsarbeiter in der Hamburger Kriegswirtschaft 1939-1945* (Foreign forced labourers in Hamburg’s wartime economy 1939-1945), Hamburg 2006, p. 581.

<sup>41</sup> List of camps for army labourers, domestic and foreign workers and prisoners of war employed in the AkE work area, as of 30 October 1943 (StAHH, 322-3, B 22, unfol.)

in these statistics until the end of November 1943: It had already been confiscated for accommodation purposes, but was not yet occupied.<sup>42</sup> Accommodations were planned for 250 internees, the first of whom were transported to the building at the end of December 1943. According to the house registration file<sup>43</sup>, more than 400 Italians were still living in the Bauer building in May 1945; over the entire period of the camp's existence, a total of at least 700 people were housed there.

Warehouses such as the Heinrich Bauer building and other production facilities or warehouses near the harbour and in the Kontorhaus district were ideal for housing forced labourers because they were centrally located and required relatively little retrofitting. Heinrich Bauer did benefit from the rent payments for the confiscated premises, as this was a source of income for him. However, he was not the beneficiary of forced labour, as according to current knowledge the Italians were used for forced labour in other companies.

### Brief summary of key aspects of the topic

The Wehrmacht and the Nazi state seized control of properties and buildings by confiscating them under the 1939 *Reichsleistungsgesetz* (National Service Act). The Heinrich Bauer building is first listed as confiscated accommodation at the end of November 1943 – the first Italian military internees were transported to the accommodation at the end of December 1943. It should be noted that Heinrich Bauer received the rental income to which he was entitled, but according to what is known so far, he was not a beneficiary of forced labour.

## 4. Conclusion

The history of Heinrich Bauer Verlag during the National Socialist era raises questions about a private company's relationship to the Nazi regime, which were examined in detail in a comprehensive study based on the three aspects of 'Property purchases and investments', 'Publishing company and magazine business' and 'Housing of Italian

---

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> House registration file for Schützenpforte 11 (StAHH, 332-8, Registration No. A 51/1).

military internees'. The present summary provides an insight into the area of tension between business-publishing continuities, entrepreneurial self-interest, strategic decisions and scope for manoeuvre, political adaptation, and participation in the dissemination of ideological propaganda against the backdrop of changing legal, economic and political conditions.

In conclusion, it should be noted that despite the difficult source situation, it was possible to evaluate numerous documents relating to the history of Heinrich Bauer Verlag and its owners, especially in state archives. It was established that Heinrich and Alfred Bauer, as entrepreneurs, adapted to the political conditions in the years 1933 to 1945 in order to continue their business activities, benefited from them economically, and participated in the dissemination of Nazi ideology through publishing. There is no evidence of active support for the Nazi movement before 1933. Their behaviour after 1933 appears to have been primarily motivated by economic considerations according to the sources researched and the current state of knowledge.