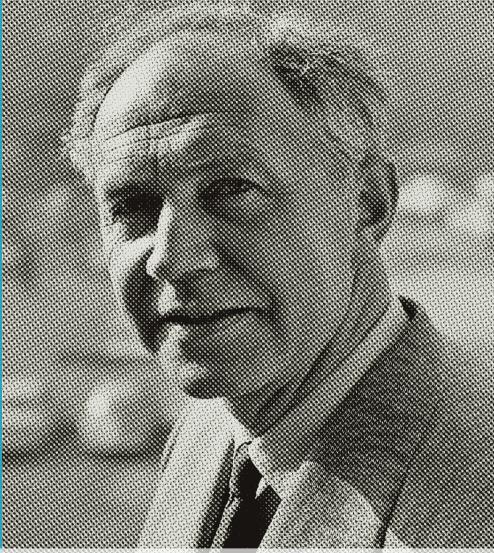
**SIEMENS** 



LIFELINES

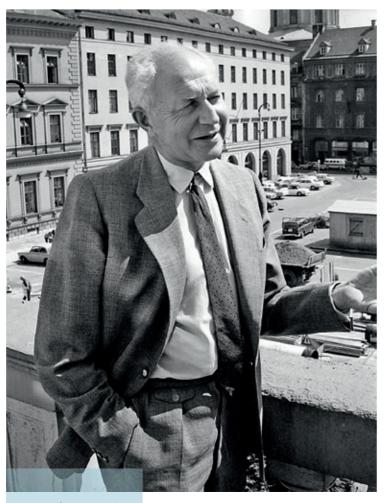
**Ernst von Siemens** 

Ernst von Siemens was a major figure in the history of the electrical engineering company, setting its strategic course in the decades of rebuilding following World War II. It was under his leadership that today's Siemens AG was organized. The grandson of company founder Werner von Siemens, he was also a man of wide-ranging interests and, in addition to his entrepreneurial activities, an important patron of the arts. Ernst von Siemens is remembered above all for the cultural foundations that he established.

The brochure is the fourth volume in the LIFE-LINES series, which is dedicated to introducing the men and women who have done the most to shape the history and development of Siemens. This group includes businessmen who led the company, members of the Managing Board, engineers, inventors and creative thinkers. A conscious effort has been made to include the lives and contributions of those individuals who are not always counted among the company's most prominent figures.



# Ernst von Siemens 9.4.1903-31.12.1990



Ernst von Siemens, 1966

### Introduction

Profiling Ernst von Siemens to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of his death on December 31, 2015, is a rewarding task. The youngest grandson of company founder Werner von Siemens – born April 9, 1903 – did, after all, play a critical role in charting the strategic course of the engineering giant as it rebuilt itself in the decades following World War II. This artistic and cultured family scion also achieved great things as a patron of the arts. His name lives on through two top-tier foundations that are very influential in promoting music and the arts. This breadth is reflected in the wide spectrum of topics associated with Ernst von Siemens.

Writing a living biography requires strong, reliable – ideally primary – sources. The diversity of these sources is critical to the vitality of such a work. The Siemens Historical Institute (SHI) provided meticulous records on the work of Ernst von Siemens. Former co-workers who were close to him and relatives were also eager to offer their insights. So much can be said about him but what about personal testimony? Unfortunately, Ernst von Siemens left behind very little in the way of autobiographical records. He spent his life talking with others and making decisions. His word carried weight - as Managing Board Chairman of both Siemens parent companies and as Supervisory Board Chairman of Siemens AG, whose founding he helped initiate in 1966. But he put very little into writing. Except for letters, he left behind almost no information about himself or his family. Gerd Tacke, CEO of Siemens from 1968 to 1971 and a close friend of Ernst von Siemens for many decades, got to the core of it with his remarks about the paucity of personal records: "Who ever heard of a warrior keeping notes?"1

Nevertheless, it is possible to describe the biographical development and personality of Ernst von Siemens using personal documents, speeches, reports, company records, and contemporary accounts. This LIFELINES portrait is an initial contribution to the biography of the man who guided the fate of Siemens as the last member of the family to head the global conglomerate. His years from 1903 to 1990 spanned tumultuous times, so it's not hard to imagine that, far from of the "dolce vita" of other wealthy heirs, he had to surmount a series of existential challenges in his time at the helm of the company. He overcame all the diverse hurdles of those years while never losing sight of himself and his personal interests. This distinguishes Ernst von Siemens from other influential business leaders in the first decades of postwar Germany.

His wealth of experience made him a unique eyewitness of the century – a man who grew up in the waning years of Germany under the Kaiser and watched from a position of prominence as Germany navigated between East and West right up to reunification of the two German states. In this first half of his life, the Siemens family still had considerable influence over the company. In the second half of his life, he saw this influence gradually fade. That's why the biography of Ernst von Siemens is linked so closely to his extraordinary personal achievements on behalf of the company and ultimately with his separation from his inheritance. This ambivalence gives a special poignancy to the life and work of our subject.

### Early years: growing and learning

The outstanding entrepreneurial and technological achievements of the brothers Werner, William, and Carl made the Siemens family name famous throughout Germany, England, Russia, and other European states in the second half of the nineteenth century. Their descendants not only faced the challenge of continuing to grow the company they had inherited and distinguishing themselves through their contributions – they also had to develop their own distinct characters through personal achievements and their own unique abilities. Living up to such expectations was no small task, to be sure. The members of the extended family and the public alike watched closely to see how the sons and grandsons of the various lines would develop. This was true of Ernst von Siemens as well.

His father Carl Friedrich von Siemens, born in 1872 as the third and last son of the company founder, moved to London in 1901 to manage the heavy current division of Siemens Brothers & Co. In the early years of the twentieth century, Carl Friedrich greatly expanded the company's long-standing business activities in England. He assumed responsibility for the Siemens Brothers Dynamo Works, established in the small village of Stafford in the English Midlands, and devoted himself to building a distribution network for Siemens products in England. Carl Friedrich lived with his wife Auguste (Tutty) from Berlin in Coombe House Kingston Hill, southwest of London. It was here that their first child was born on April 9, 1903, whom they christened Ernst Albrecht. Their

**1858** Siemens founds an English subsidiary under William Siemens' leadership. This company, which bore the name "Siemens Brothers & Co." from 1865 onward, primarily manufactured telegraph cables.



Ursula and Ernst von Siemens with their donkey, ca. 1909

daughter Ursula Margarethe followed three years later. The couple had no other children, which was atypical for the otherwise rather prolific lines of the industrialist family. In 1907, after several years in England, Carl Friedrich von Siemens gave up his position as Managing Director and returned to the company headquarters in Berlin, where he managed and fostered the newly formed Centralverwaltung Übersee (central overseas administration) in the following year.<sup>2</sup>

From that point forward, Ernst von Siemens spent his child-hood in Potsdam, the seat of the Kaiser's residence and garrison outside Berlin. In 1911, the family moved to an estate that defied comparison. "Heinenhof" was situated in a ten-hectare park with an old-growth grove of trees on the peninsula of Stinthorn

In the mid-18th century Potsdam is expanded to serve as the residence city of the Prussian kings. With Sanssouci Palace and the lakes, Potsdam is an attractive part of greater Berlin.

between the Krampnitzsee and Lehnitzsee lakes and offered every imaginable luxury of the grand bourgeois lifestyle. The manor house alone, designed in the style of an English country home, had nearly 1,400 square meters of living space featuring numerous salons and a dining room that could accommodate 75 guests. The small family of four, attended to by a large staff of servants, lived in this idyllic and very classic estate in the Neu Fahrland district of Potsdam.

The splendor of the Wilhelmine Monarchy ended in November 1918 with the defeat of the German empire in World War I and the abdication of Kaiser Wilhelm II. This was the end of Potsdam as a royal residence: From then on the industrialists, most of whom worked in Berlin, became the city's most prominent residents. Ernst von Siemens was 15 years old when Germany was forced to submit to its victors. Just a few months before, he had completed his schooling at Real-Gymnasium in Potsdam, where he was not at



Aerial view of Heinenhof, 1911

the top of his class: "Behavior: Good; Attention and Diligence: Satisfactory; pass to upper secondary level."<sup>3</sup>

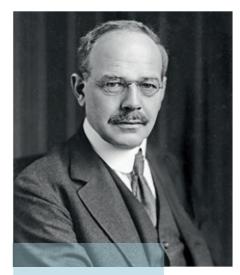
### Guided by a paternal role model

Carl Friedrich von Siemens stipulated that his son should go on to study "a technical field"<sup>4</sup>, and Munich was chosen as the site of the young man's higher education. This was no coincidence, because the family owned a residence in the Chiemgau Alps; Ernst's father had had a large hunting lodge built near Ruhpolding in 1911. Ernst had learned to love the mountainous, forested land-scape from his early childhood. He appreciated southern Germany and was acquainted with the Bavarian capital. And so it was that he enrolled at the Technical University of Munich in 1922 to study physics. His father, as it happens, had spent part of his university years there three decades earlier.

Ernst von Siemens had great respect for the achievements and success of his father, who in 1919, after the death of the brothers Arnold and Wilhelm von Siemens, assumed the position of Chairman of the Supervisory Boards of Siemens & Halske AG and Siemens-Schuckertwerke GmbH. As he explained in an interview with Bavarian Radio in 1965:

"... those who, like me, are born to their vocation look for role models close at hand. And I was fortunate enough to have a father who remained my role model for my entire life."5

Carl Friedrich von Siemens had taken the helm at an extremely critical juncture, with both Siemens parent companies in need of strategic realignment amid the drastic postwar conditions and increased international competition. The companies' position in the global electrical engineering market was greatly weakened,



Carl Friedrich von Siemens, 1924

through no fault of its own. Production facilities and export markets outside Germany and nearly all foreign patents – some 40 percent of the substance of the company – had been lost. These circumstances made 1919 the low point of the Siemens business. But the Head of the House was undeterred in driving the reorganization of the company forward, with the result that Siemens & Halske functioned more and more as a holding company, while the production companies, sales subsidiaries, and financing companies operated with broad autonomy. This strategy paid off within just a few years. By the mid-1920s, Siemens was once again among the top five global electrical engineering companies. Beyond his own company, Carl Friedrich von Siemens was involved in top industry associations, in Supervisory Boards like that of

**1866** King Ludwig II founds a "Polytechnical School", reorganized like a university. From the 1877/78 academic year onwards, it is designated as the "Technische Hochschule" (Technical University).

**Until 1914** German manufacturers account for nearly half of global trade in electrical equipment. Fifty percent of German electrotechnical products come from the Siemens factories.

Deutsche Bank, and in politics. He served in the German parliament from 1920 to 1924 as a member of the leftist liberal Deutsche Demokratische Partei, DDP (German Democratic Party). But balancing his career and other obligations brought him near the point of exhaustion. In November 1922, he suffered a heavy personal blow when his marriage to his wife Tutty ended in divorce after 25 years. Ernst von Siemens was studying in faraway Munich at the time of his parents' separation.

### **Studies in Munich**

Ernst von Siemens developed his great passion for mountaineering during his student days. Was the spark perhaps ignited at the hunting lodge in Chiemgau, with its stunning view of Hörndlwand mountain? The distinctive peak between the Bavarian towns of Ruhpolding and Reit im Winkl had inspired Ernst back in his youth. Now the inspiration developed into a passion. Honing his abilities with other climbers, experiencing nature in all its intensity, undertaking and sometimes leading ambitious group climbs: This is what excited the young student. And so he climbed peak after peak in his free time. From an early age, Ernst was endowed with strength, endurance, and courage – attributes essential for more than just Alpine climbs – as well as a sense of athletic teamwork. So he joined the Munich chapter of the Akademischer Alpenverein (Academic Alpine Club), where he soon became a valued member.

In 1927, while working on his dissertation on spectral measurements, Ernst von Siemens suddenly fell ill with poliomyelitis. For a time he was completely paralyzed and could have died, because there was no effective medication at that time. By great fortune, however, the 24-year-old survived the dangerous illness. After this

1925/27 As a mountaineer, Ernst von Siemens masters demanding first ascents of the rock faces in the Tannheim Mountains, part of the Allgäu Alps (Grade 6 on the Welzenbach scale for grading climbing routes).

life-threatening interruption, he found it extremely difficult to re-adjust to everyday life. With enormous discipline and arduous physical exercises, Ernst von Siemens managed to strengthen his muscles again. He fought stubbornly against the prospect of spending his life in a wheelchair, as his doctor had predicted. He made remarkable progress through his efforts, but the young man would have to live the rest of his life with a series of chronic illnesses that primarily affected his mobility, making skiing and mountaineering out of the question. As a result of the polio, for



Ursula and Ernst von Siemens, ca. 1926

many years he had no other choice than to find pleasure in simple walks through his beloved mountains.

Following this unplanned interlude, Ernst von Siemens resumed research on his doctoral dissertation. But fate was not on his side: His doctoral advisor, a leading international expert in the field of heat radiation, died in the summer of 1928. Wilhelm Wien had received the Nobel Prize for physics in 1911 for his research. The death of his professor led the newly rehabilitated doctoral student to put aside his unfinished dissertation. These unfortunate events in 1927/28 led Ernst to leave the Technical University of Munich without graduating. Earning a doctorate was not essential to ascending the career ladder at Siemens, in any case. Members of this family had to prove themselves in other ways. Only his future performance in the company could show whether the young man had what it took to be a manager or even to rise to the level of a respected personality in the far-flung family-owned business. To this point, the youngest grandson of the brilliant founder Werner von Siemens and son of the universally respected industrialist Carl Friedrich von Siemens was an unknown quantity.

At the age of 26, Ernst von Siemens returned to Berlin and took the first step in his professional life, beginning in 1929 as a trainee in the Sozialpolitische Abteilung (social policy department) of Siemens & Halske. For practical reasons, he occupied an apartment in Berlin-Charlottenburg, not far from Siemensstadt. He had grown apart from his parents' home life since he went away to study, and Heinenhof was also too far away from his work.

At that time, the business was doing well after a decade under the leadership of Carl Friedrich von Siemens: Revenues had risen sharply since 1919 to 820 million Reichsmarks, and the number of employees broke the 100,000 barrier for the first time in the



Ernst von Siemens, ca. 1930

company's 80-year history.<sup>6</sup> Obviously, the reorganization had paid off. But these achievements were soon undone by the global economic depression. In Germany, mass unemployment rose to unprecedented heights at the beginning of the 1930s. The crisis made itself felt in the electrical engineering market through a strong drop in demand. The collapse of public investments and private consumption was so severe that within just three years,

1920 As Germany's capital expands, the previously independent city of Charlottenburg is incorporated into Berlin, creating the present Berlin-Charlottenburg district.

1929 The collapse of the stock and financial markets as a result of the New York Stock Exchange crash of October 24, 1929, triggers a world economic crisis.

Siemens revenues fell 50 percent to 410 million Reichsmarks (1932).<sup>7</sup> At the very outset of his professional life, Ernst von Siemens witnessed this painful crash and the underemployment, wage cuts, and layoffs that went with it. One result of this catastrophic turn of events was that he had to indefinitely postpone his father's vision of a single Siemens company.

### First responsibilities in the company

German President Paul von Hindenburg had appointed Adolf Hitler as Chancellor on January 30, 1933, transferring power to the National Socialist German Workers' Party (Nazi Party) without a prior vote. The Nazi Party formed a governing coalition with right-wing conservatives, but before long, the Nazis managed to transform the republic into a dictatorship with an economy fueled by government work programs and large contracts. The electrical engineering industry soon benefited as well: Beginning in 1934/35, Siemens & Halske and Siemens-Schuckertwerke booked a large volume of new orders.8 The trend was unmistakably upward until the entire industry was working at absolute capacity starting in 1938, in part due to military contracts. One sign of the boom at Siemens during those years could be seen in the number of employees, which bottomed out at 57,500 in 1932 and had risen above 130,000 just six years later. Revenues also approached the one billion mark during this time.9

Meanwhile, Ernst von Siemens took his first career steps. In 1937, eight years after joining the company, he was already a manager at the Wernerwerk für Telegrafie und Fernsprechwesen, WWF (Wernerwerk for telegraphs and telephone networks). As director of the radios and small devices department, he was responsible for operations and management in a division generating some 38 million Reichsmarks annually. There was strong growth in the demand for radio production in Germany at that time. In addition, the government intervened in the business with a series of

1929–1932 According to the German association of electrical industry (ZVEI) in 1929 workers in the German electrical industry worked on an average of nearly eight hours a day. By 1932 the working time was reduced by two hours per day.

November 1932 In the Reichstag elections, the NSDAP (Nazi Party) win only 33.1 percent of the votes. Under irregular circumstances, this increases in March 1933 to 43.9 percent.

regulations. Even though these conditions restricted genuine entrepreneurship, Ernst von Siemens managed his responsibilities with great skill: Whether it was the simple "Volksempfänger" (people's receiver) or high-quality music cabinets, his interest extended to the technology and design of the radios, the sales markets both at home and abroad, pricing, expenses, and margins. Last but not least, he paid great attention to product marketing. Here he partnered with Hans Domizlaff, a dynamic specialist in marketing and design who served as an official marketing consultant to Siemens starting in 1934. A few years later, a "special office" was established for the external management consultant in the new Hauptwerbeabteilung (central advertising department) at Siemens. 11 During his tenure, Domizlaff developed the "Siemens style" of more uniform marketing and a more consistent public presentation of the company as a whole. This early form of corporate design was applied not only in the design and layout of promotional materials, brands, and logos - it was even used when designing individual products. A good example of this is the so-called Kammermusik-Gerät (chamber music console), which targeted sophisticated and well-heeled music lovers. Ernst von Siemens, who had a fine ear and a good sense of musicality, pushed the development of this device, which harnessed the full technological potential of musical reproduction at that time.

### Pressure to conform and room to maneuver in the Third Reich

Siemens experienced a tremendous boom starting in the mid-1930s. One reason for this was the government-controlled economy mentioned earlier. Another factor was the successive revival of foreign business, helped along greatly by joint ventures with foreign partners. A powerful manufacturing base had re-established itself, especially in Europe, with major factories springing up in Austria, Hungary, Italy, Switzerland, and Spain. This was complemented by a global network of foreign representations. Siemens was also setting new standards for technical innovation and high-quality products. The company was the top of the line – with a portfolio covering the spectrum from generators built for hydroelectric plants to small household appliances. Siemens had succeeded in compensating for the losses of World War I and was gaining more ground in international markets than ever before. This positive development stood in contrast to the tremendous



Kammermusik-Gerät, based on designs by Hans Domizlaff, 1937

1933 The Reich's head of propaganda, Joseph Goebbels, promotes the development of simple radios. The inexpensive "Volksempfänger" is sold in huge numbers and used by the government for propaganda purposes.

1925 The Irish Free State awards Siemens the contract for the electrification of the entire country. The core of this major project is the Ardnacrusha hydroelectric power plant on the Shannon.

pressure felt throughout the company to conform to the National Socialist regime. As a multinational technology giant with tens of thousands of employees in Germany alone, Siemens had achieved a stature that, along with the company's product portfolio, inevitably attracted the persistent attention of the Nazis.

The government used various channels - including the Deutsche Arbeitsfront, DAF (German Labor Front) within the company itself - to exercise political and ideological influence. Carl Friedrich von Siemens, a well known democrat, was a DDP member of the German parliament until 1924 and supported Chancellor Heinrich Brüning in 1932.<sup>13</sup> After the Nazis came to power, the Siemens boss avoided further political activities. He was repulsed by the economic policies of the National Socialists, the murder of SA14 leader Ernst Röhm ordered by Hitler in the summer of 1934, and the gradual rearmament of Germany, recalled his son Ernst in July 1946. 15 To avoid potentially compromising himself, Carl Friedrich decided to give up a series of executive positions, including his position as president of the poard of directors of the German railway. From that point forward, he devoted himself entirely to running the company. He saw unifying Siemens as his most important objective. He could see that the size and complexity of the business required more than just adjustments to the organizational structure. The leadership felt that to effectively and efficiently manage the ever-growing enterprise, a change in corporate structure was inevitable.

Almost everyone in the Siemens family was far removed, on ideological grounds alone, from joining the Nazi Party. Only Robert von Siemens became a member. The others – especially those family members who held leadership positions in the company and might have considered joining the party for opportunistic reasons – kept their distance. Over the years, however, the Siemens



Carl Köttgen and Hermann and Carl Friedrich von Siemens at the dedication of a memorial to the fallen soldiers of World War I in Berlin-Siemensstadt, 1934 (second to fourth from the left)

management boards and lower-level management eventually included a number of Nazi followers, as did the workforce in general, of course. Among the peak number of 30 management board members of the various Siemens companies, four can be identified as early members of the party. The top men at Siemens & Halske and Siemens-Schuckertwerke – Heinrich von Buol, Carl Köttgen, and Rudolf Bingel – did not, however, belong to the Nazi Party. Over the course of time, the Wehrmacht high command named over 20 managers "Wehrwirtschaftsführer" (wartime economic leaders) for their importance in the business community, a position that conferred closer ties to the regime. This status was even more prominent for Bingel, who moved in an exclusive circle

<sup>1934</sup> The entire leadership of the SA (Storm Detachment) is murdered by SS (Protection Squadron) units. The last Reich Chancellor of the Weimar Republic, General Kurt von Schleicher, is a further victim.

<sup>1933</sup> After the consolidation of the Hitler regime, millions of Germans apply to join the NSDAP. On May 1, the party stops accepting new members to avoid being flooded by opportunists.

25.Juli 46.

Ihrem Tunsche entsprechend, habe ich in den nachfolgenden Zeilen versucht, zur Frage dr Mitschuld der deutschen Großindustrie am Kriege Stellung zu nehmen.

Wie schon in unserer Unterhaltung betome ich, daß ich dies nicht zur Großindustrie im allgemeinen kann. Ich beschränke mich auch hier darauf, das widerzugeben, was mir aus persönlicher Kenntnis meiner Tätigkeit im Hause Siemens darüber bekannt ist, wie diese "Großfirma" zum National-

Bozialismus sich einstellte.

Um die Richtlinien für die Führung des Hauses zu ergründen, muß man die Einstellung meines Vaters, CFvS, kennen, der bis zu seinem 1941 erfolgten Tode das Haus leitete und seine Führung fest in der Hand hatte. Als alter Demokrat – er war mehrere Jahre demokratischer Reichstagsabgeordneter – stand er von jeher dem Nationalsozialismus skeptisch gegenüber, nicht zuletzt, da die völlig verworrenen Wirtschaftsideen, die von Gottfried Feder, Bernhard Köhler und anderen nationalsozialistischen Wirtschaftsen verföchten wurden, ihn abstießen. Hierzu kam, daß er von Hiter selbst auch persönlich einen shr ungünstigen Eindruck gewann, als er (nicht allzu lange vor der Machtergreifung) einsal mit ihm zusammentraf. Selbstverständlich mer er dem R e g i e ru n g s c h e f Hitler gegenüber zunächst us eine loyale Einstellung bemüht, doch wurde er zusehends stärkor durch die beginnende Willkür der Amtsführung abgestoßen und nach dem 30.3umi 1934, der ihn in seinem Rechtsempfinden auf das tiefste verletzte, wandte er sich entsetzt innerlich völlig von Nationalsozialismus ab.

at.

R. 18ste sich Schritt für Schritt aus seinen offiziellen Amtern, insbesondere von der Führung der Reichsbahm, die er seit Gründung der "Deutschen Reichsbahmgesellschaft" (1925) inne hatte und zog sich im Laufe der Zeit ganz auf seine Tätigkeit als Leiter des Hauses Siemens zurück. Besonders bedrückte ihm, daß er schon nach kaum 3 jähriger Arbeitszeit Hitlers fest davon überzeugt war, daß die Nazistische Politik unbedingt über kurz oder lang zum Krieg führen misse. An DIE Theorie des "nur gerüstet sein wollens" glaubte er nicht, da er der Meinung war, daß die Regierung nur durch den Krieg in der Lage sein würde, von ihren heraufdämmernden Wirtschaftschaos absulenken. (Und schließlich verhieß ja auch "Mein Kampf" in der Richtung nicht allzuviel Gutes). Als der Polenkrieg ausbrach, zweifelbe er keinen Augenblick daran, daß dies der Ausbruch eines neuen Weltbrandes war. Andererseits war er schon vor dem Eriegsbeginn der Meinung, daß die Partei so fest in Sattel saß, daß Deutschland aus sich selbst heraus nicht mehr in der Lage sei, sich ihrer zu entledigen. Insofern erschien ihm der Krieg, an dessen ungünstigen Ausgang er keinen Augenblick zweifelte, allerdings auch aus innerpolitischen Gründen, unvermeidlich. Als ich ihm wenige Tage vor seines Tode die Nachricht überbrachte, daß nun auch der Krieg zegen Rußland ausgebochen sel, Susserte er zu mir: Denke daran, das ist das Ende Deutschlands. Ich habe diese Stellungnahme meines Vaters zum Nationalsozialismus bewußt vorangestellt, denn nur aus ihr heraus ist die Grundeinstellung des Hauses zu erkähren. Als solche galt als oberstes Gesetz, soweit als möglich die eigene Handlungsfreiheit zu bewahren. Selbstverständlich war dies unmöglich, ohne zahlreiche Konzessionen. Hätte das Haus offen gegen die nationalsdzialistischen Forderungen Front genaucht, würe ohne jeden Zweifel ein Vorwand gesucht und gefunden worden, die leitenden Herren abzuberufer oder unschädlich von den modernen Wirtschaftstheorien aufgeschlossen geführt worden.

So behielten wir bis zuletzt die wirkliche Personalhoheit. Weder mein Vater, noch mein Vetter Hermann, der nach ihm Vorsitzender beider Aufsichtsräte wurde, waren Parteimitglieder. Ebenso wenig Dr.v.Buol und Dr. Köttgen bezw. Dr.Bingel, die Worsitzenden des Vorstandes von Säh und SSW. Ebenso wenig gehörte der größere Teil der Vorstandemitglieder der Partei an und das färbt wie stets in solchen Fragen auch sehr weitgehend auf die

Ernst von Siemens, statement on the role of Siemens in National Socialism, July 25, 1946

of regime-friendly business representatives as a member of "Freundeskreis Himmler" (Himmler's Circle of Friends). What can be said with certainty is that Siemens included committed Nazis, upwardly mobile climbers with a party membership, and many fellow travelers. The Democrats, on the other hand, found it necessary to keep to the background to avoid becoming the subject of attacks. This behavior became widespread in the German economy and in the society as a whole beginning in 1933. As in other large corporations, the employees of Germany's most important engineering company adapted to circumstances.

In 1946, Ernst von Siemens stated that the company had had to make "numerous concessions" during the Third Reich. 19 It was necessary to conform in order to retain independence in personnel matters, for example. This conformity included repeated and significant contributions to fundraising campaigns that benefited Nazi institutions. Siemens lost its autonomy when it came to Jewish employees, because the National Socialist racism was relentless when it came to "non-Aryans": Employees classified as "full" or "three-quarter Jews" under the Nuremberg Laws of 1935 had to leave the company. Ernst von Siemens experienced the increasingly intense paternalism very acutely, as is clear from his statement of 1946. He stated that the company had at least been able to keep "half Jews" in its workforce until the fall of 1944 in the face of the regime's anti-Semitic policy of displacement.<sup>20</sup> This undoubtedly deserves some acknowledgment, but the overall record from those years is very bitter.

September 15, 1935 The "Nuremberg Laws" are passed. These form the legal basis for systematic discrimination and persecution directed against Germany's Jewish population.

### Entrepreneurship under the constraints of a wartime economy

When the war began in September 1939, Siemens – along with the entire German industry - was drawn further into the wartime economy. Production for military purposes had been concentrated for several years in separate companies such as Siemens Apparate & Maschinen GmbH (SAM) and Brandenburgischen Motorenwerke GmbH (BRAMO). SAM produced light-current technology and precision products for the army, navy, and air force. BRAMO, which primarily built airplane engines, became part of BMW in 1939. Aerospace manufacturer Luftfahrtgerätewerk Hakenfelde in northwest Berlin, spun off from SAM in 1940, was greatly expanded and primarily served the needs of the air force. Meanwhile, Siemens continued with its core business operations, having grown to become the largest electronics manufacturer in the world with nearly 130,000 employees and revenues of 1.18 billion Reichsmarks (1939).<sup>21</sup> This included exports and foreign business to the extent that was possible under wartime conditions.

Carl Friedrich von Siemens died in July 1941 at the age of 70. He had successfully led the company for more than 20 years. Funeral services befitting his importance were held in the Hall of Honor of the administration building in Siemensstadt. In addition to family members, hundreds of mourners from the workforce, industry, and society attended the services. No official government representatives were on hand to pay their final respects to the deceased – either at the ceremony or at the family tomb at Stahnsdorf cemetery in the south of Berlin. Apparently, the Nazis



Radio production in Arnstadt, ca. 1940

still remembered all too well how Carl Friedrich had rejected the regime.

Ernst von Siemens and his sister Ursula, who had married Hubert Blücher, Count of Wahlstatt in 1931, inherited a substantial fortune that included not only Siemens shares but also the Heinenhof estate. Since neither sibling had any use for the palatial country residence, Ernst sold the property to Siemens & Halske in 1944 in his capacity as executor. Separating from his childhood home showed his ability to act pragmatically and "let go" – an at-

1939–1945 The state intervenes to reduce the production of domestic appliances and civilian consumer goods on a massive scale or prohibit it altogether. The requirements of the military have priority.

1909 The present-day cemetery Südwestkirchhof Stahnsdorf is laid out south-west of Berlin. Over the years, numerous well-known figures from the areas of culture, science, business and politics are buried here.



Robert, Hermann, Carl Friedrich, and Ernst von Siemens in front of a portrait of the company founder, 1935 (left to right)

titude that was part of his character and also evident in his business dealings.

Following the death of the head of the company, Hermann von Siemens took on the position of Supervisory Board Chairman of Siemens & Halske and Siemens-Schuckertwerke in July 1941. The grandson of the company founder had earlier joined the Managing Board of the two parent companies around the end of World War I. Unlike his uncle Carl Friedrich, he attached little importance to involvements in industry associations and committees. His personal interest lay more in research and scientific endeavors. Even during wartime, there was a certain leeway to pursue such fields, which suited the new boss. Continuing an independent business strategy akin to that of his predecessor, however, was unthinkable under the conditions of a command economy devoted almost entirely to military needs.

August 9, 1885 Hermann von Siemens, a grandson of Werner von Siemens and the German physicist Hermann von Helmholtz, is born in Berlin.

Siemens & Halske was reorganized in 1941. During this process, Ernst von Siemens rose to become General Manager of the company and Director of the newly formed Wernerwerk für Rundfunkgeräte und Bauelemente, WWR (Wernerwerk for radio equipment and components), with some 8,500 employees. Two years later, he took on the leadership role in the centralized international division. That same year, he took a much bigger step forward: In late February 1943, the now 40-year-old was named a deputy member of the Managing Board of Siemens & Halske. Despite holding various leadership positions, Ernst von Siemens had until then still been an apprentice in the strict sense of the word, following predetermined paths. These limitations prevented him from truly making his mark. Even on the Managing Board his options were very limited, as the economic constraints imposed by the war became more and more rigid. Ernst von Siemens played his role from behind his desk in Siemensstadt, not in the military. His bout of polio in 1927 had left him with a limp, so he was classified as "unsuited" and his severe handicap protected him from induction.

Siemens was regarded as "essential to the war effort" in the language of the National Socialist regime. This classification meant that over the course of World War II, tens of thousands of foreign workers were assigned to the company. In the various plants throughout Germany and the areas it occupied, a total of at least 80,000 people were used for forced labor through 1945. This included skilled labor, unskilled labor, prisoners of war from Eastern and Western Europe, and concentration camp inmates. This labor was intended to fill the gap left by German employees who had been drafted into military service. In addition, forced labor was used to fuel the expanded production of arms ordered by the regime.

1941 The telecommunications business of Siemens & Halske is split between seven so-called Wernerwerke. Over 41,500 employees are working here in March 1942.

The mass deployment of prisoners of war and civilian forced laborers was characteristic of the economy of the Third Reich during the second half of the war. Experts estimate that 7.6 million people were forced into labor in and for Germany. Government agencies determined the details of their compensation, care, food rations, housing, and even their protection during air raids. The individual companies themselves were responsible for decisions regarding their work conditions. In the case of Siemens, it should be noted that forced labor in the electrical engineering industry was generally more tolerable and less dangerous than in other industries. But here, too, there were sadistic foremen who severely mistreated the forced laborers, and there were managers in Siemens facilities who tolerated such attacks.<sup>23</sup>

Siemens began employing concentration camp inmates in 1942. Thousands of prisoners from Ravensbrück, Buchenwald, Flossenbürg, Mauthausen, Groß-Rosen, and Auschwitz worked for Siemens between 1942 and 1945. Production facilities were maintained in direct proximity to the major concentration camps for this purpose. Prisoners from these and other camps were also deployed in separate plants and smaller outposts in rural areas that were built or expanded to escape the bombing in industrial areas. In a Wernerwerk facility in Ravensbrück, hundreds of women worked for Siemens & Halske in barracks adjacent to the concentration camp, producing microphones for the air force or telephones on a piecemeal basis.<sup>24</sup>

### Representing Siemens in southern Germany

Minister of Propaganda Joseph Goebbels had invoked the idea of "total war" in a fanatical speech in February 1943. The supremacy of the Allies, especially in the realm of air power, led to the widespread devastation of both military and civilian infrastructure in Germany and to the substantial destruction of the industrial base. With the combined forces of Allied ground troops advancing from the east, south, and - after June 1944 - the west as well, military defeat seemed to be only a question of time. The "Big Three" - Joseph Stalin, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Winston Churchill – had formed plans for the division and occupation of a vanquished Germany and Berlin as early as the end of 1943. The plans were public knowledge outside of Germany, and Gerd Tacke, a manager at Siemens & Halske, learned of the Allied plans in late 1944 during a business trip to Sweden. This alerted the Siemens Managing Board that a good portion of its plants would eventually end up in the Russian sphere of influence. The headquarters and the key Berlin plants in and around Siemensstadt were in serious danger.

Facing this precarious situation, the members of the Managing Boards and Supervisory Boards of the Siemens parent companies passed a resolution of great consequence: To ensure that the company would be able to continue functioning, some 20 managers in western Germany were given the power to act independently on behalf of the company if the Berlin headquarters was no longer free to do so. This involved forming the so-called Group Direc-

From 1941 Germany can only continue the war in Europe by economically exploiting the occupied countries and using millions of forced laborers.

1943 At the conference of Tehran, the Soviet Union, the U.S. and Great Britain agree to divide Germany into various occupation zones following its defeat.

Z	Z-RUNDSCHREIBEN NR. 337	Berlin-Slemensstadt, den 19,2,1945
	Verteiler siche letzte Seite!	
Vertraulich	BELLEVIE	
	Land Land	
enith: Schaffung v	on "Gruppenleitungen" außerhalb Berlin	für SAH und SSW

Die Kriegslage erfordert, auf alle Fälle die Leitung, die Fabrikation und den Vertrieb unserer Werke in dem von Feisde unbesetzten Gebiet mit allen Mitteln aufrecht zu erhalten und die Leistungs- und Lieferfähigkeit im Interesse der Landesverteidigung zu sichern.

Die immer schwieriger werdenden Verkehraverhältnisse (Post, Eisenbahn, Kraftwagen) zwingen uns schon jetzt Vorsorge zu treffen für den Fall, daß die zentrule Leitung des Hauses auf auswürtige Werke und Geschäftsstellen von uns vom Berlin aus nicht mehr genügend einwirken kunn.

Fur diese Gebiete wird in Einvernehmen mit Herrn Dr. Hermann von Siemenn folgendes bestimmt:

#### S & H

Herr Direktor Ernst von Siemens übernimmt die Oberleitung der dort gelegenen Betriebe und monstigen S&H-Dienstatellen.

Die Funktionen der Fabriken-Oberleitung serden Herrn Direktor Storch Übertragen, der gleichzeitig für alle Fragen der Tochnik verantwortlich sein wird.

#### S 3 W

sowie

Aus den dortigen Werken und Vertriebsstellen der SSW werden drei Gruppen gebildet, nämlich

die Gruppe West, die Gruppe Süd und Mitte, die Gruppe Südost,

Die Festlegung der geographischen Abgrenzung dieser Grappen erfolgt zu einem späteren Zeitpunkt. Die Leitung der Grappe West übernimmt Herr Direktor Bauer. Die Leitung der Grappe

Corporate circular no. 337, February 19, 1945

This circular notified Siemens managers about the formation of Group Directorates

torates. The local management of Siemens-Schuckertwerke was initially relocated to Hof, then in the summer of 1945 to Erlangen, which had escaped destruction and where production of medical technology had been concentrated at Siemens-Reiniger-Werke since the 1930s. Another Group Directorate was based in Mülheim an der Ruhr, where Siemens had bought a steam turbine factory in 1927 that survived the war largely unscathed. The Group Directorate of Siemens & Halske, headed by Ernst von Siemens, occupied a telephone equipment factory in Hofmannstrasse in Munich. In addition to the business in communications equipment, the 42-year-old managed the joint departments of the two parent companies. He was also authorized to act as trustee for the overall interests of the company, including its domestic and foreign subsidiaries.<sup>25</sup>

Considerable thought went into the plan to give Ernst von Siemens this kind of power. For one thing, there was reason to fear that Hermann von Siemens might be arrested as a result of his prominent position as Head of the House. In addition, it was hoped that a younger member of the family would be more respected in the part of Germany soon to be occupied by the Americans and British than the long-serving managers – and would therefore have more leeway to act.

In late February 1945, the Group Directorates, each consisting of three Directors, took the most important business documents and drove to western and southern Germany; the Managing Board Chairmen and some Managing Board members remained in Berlin. Because the Russians continued their tenacious advance on the German capital, Hermann von Siemens departed for Bavaria in early April. Ernst von Siemens considered returning, as no member of the family working for the company remained in Berlin except for Supervisory Board member Friedrich Carl Siemens.

1945 With gasoline unavailable, Siemens managers use cars with engines fuelled by gas generated by burning wood to get from Berlin to the west and south parts of Germany.



Production facility for heavy-current cable in the Berlin Gartenfeld cable factory after dismantling, July 1945

Siemens & Halske Managing Board Chairman Heinrich von Buol strongly urged him not to go through with this plan: "Stay in Munich – you may rest assured that we here in Berlin will not forget the tradition of the family." <sup>26</sup>

Russian troops reached Siemensstadt on April 25, 1945, and occupied the plants. Initially there was rampant looting before the plants were systematically confiscated and dismantled. Until the British military entered the western area of Berlin in late June 1945, the Russians had a free hand: They not only requisitioned finished products, semi-finished products, raw materials, documents, equipment, and vehicles – they even seized bank accounts and securities. Key employees were also arrested and sent east.

April 20, 1945 Work in Siemens' Berlin factories is stopped. The Soviet army subsequently takes away 22,700 of the 23,100 serviceable machines.

### Key player in the reconstruction

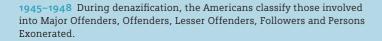
After Hitler's suicide and the unconditional surrender of Germany on May 8, 1945, the Nazi dictatorship was finished. Broad sectors of the German population welcomed this outcome. But it was impossible to foresee what the military defeat and the occupation of the Allied powers would mean for the country and its citizens. At Siemens, the plants stood idle for the time being. Employees were instead involved in the restoration of urban infrastructure, the removal of debris, and – when instructed by the occupiers – demolition.

One month after the end of the war, the Americans arrested Hermann von Siemens in Coburg. The formal grounds for his detention were likely his position on the Supervisory Board of Deutsche Bank. The businessman passed through a number of camps and prisons in the American occupation zone. His odyssey led him to Dachau, where the Americans ran an internment camp in the former concentration camp. The Siemens boss was interrogated, including as a witness in war crimes trials, but he was never charged. He was simply sidelined for an indefinite period of time. As a result, it fell to his younger cousin to get the company up and running again along with the other Group Directors and the remaining Managing Board members. Because Berlin and eastern Germany were under Russian sovereignty, the headquarters in Siemensstadt was effectively unable to manage the company. For Ernst von Siemens, this situation was both an immense burden and an opportunity: He had to fill the leadership vacuum and

1945–1949 In the Nuremberg trials, industrialists like Alfried Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach and Friedrich Flick are summoned to appear before U.S. military courts.

fight to preserve Siemens when it was on its knees. The company had lost securities and bank accounts, numerous production facilities, naming rights in 40 countries, and its distribution networks. It also had to write off some 25,000 foreign patents. All told, this came to four-fifths of the company's wealth, or 2.58 billion Reichsmarks. In the shadow of these catastrophic war losses, the goal now was to build up peacetime production.

The idea of establishing decentralized Group Directorates was undoubtedly wise. But it wasn't the managers living in western and southern Germany who were calling the shots, it was the Allied military authorities. They issued strict guidelines that determined how Siemens operated. So what could Ernst von Siemens actually achieve with his workgroup, especially now that the British and Americans had begun the process of denazification? Anyone who was a member of the Nazi Party, the SA - or worse yet, the SS – was prohibited from holding any administrative or leadership position, whether in government service, public offices, or the business sector. Applicants had to fill out long questionnaires to determine their level of wartime involvement. The military authorities then checked the accuracy of the information. After a long process of investigation, they determined whether an individual was tainted or merely a harmless hanger-on. Ernst von Siemens and his management team, on the orders of the Americans, spent a good deal of time cooperating with the denazification process within their sphere of influence. But as his private letters reveal, Ernst von Siemens was guietly critical of the approach of the Allies, who seemed concerned with the sole criterion of membership in the Nazi Party.<sup>27</sup> He himself passed the review with no objections in July 1945. Lieutenant Colonel Germain, the communications officer of the Third Army, advised him to "clean up your house and keep it clean".28





Emergency production of bicycle tires in the Berlin cable plant, ca. 1946

35

Ernst von Siemens was dogged in his efforts, even though resources were initially very limited in every respect. This was true of his personal living conditions in Munich as well: The American occupiers had banned the population from riding bicycles. Ernst's living quarters were eleven kilometers from his Hofmannstrasse offices. In the absence of public transportation, he had to walk this distance twice daily, several times a week. This was a hard-ship for someone still disabled from polio. Ernst von Siemens had remained a bachelor, so he lacked a family of his own to support

September 1945 Over 1,650 persons are working for Siemens & Halske in the Hofmannstraße location in Munich. Within four years, this number rises to just under 4,000.

or motivate him during this difficult period. His sister Ursula Blücher, Countess of Wahlstatt, played an important role. The siblings had not always had a harmonious relationship in their younger years, but now Ursula invited her brother to live with her and her three children in Niederpöcking at Lake Starnberg. Her Art Nouveau house had been seized by the Americans, forcing her to move into an adjacent apartment. Because the small town was only one hour from Munich, which had been heavily damaged in the war, Ernst gladly accepted the offer. Her sister managed to lend him support time and time again in the years that followed. This was certainly helpful, for otherwise, the burden of his many responsibilities may have been too much for him. Ursula's willingness to care for her brother was perhaps due in part to the fact that she had recently been widowed. Her husband was murdered months after the end of the war near his home town of Troppau.

### "Creating something new from the spirit of the old"29

In the immediate aftermath of the war, Ernst von Siemens was in frequent correspondence with his extended family, Siemens managers and Supervisory Board members, and various Allied authorities and local administrators. What were these letters about? To resume even a very rudimentary production, it was necessary to obtain licenses, certificates, ration coupons, bank loans, and much more. Confiscation and socialization was pushed in the Russian-occupied parts of Germany, and this required reorganizing production. Up to that time, after all, many plants in the east had supplied components or semi-finished products to Siemens plants in Berlin and in western and southern Germany.

In November 1946, Ernst provided his uncle Friedrich Carl, who had chaired the Supervisory Board of both Siemens & Halske and Siemens-Schuckertwerke, with an overview of the reconstruction status quo: The reorganization of parts of the company and production facilities of the two parent companies and their subsidiaries was underway and in some cases already complete, he reported. They were essentially finished restoring the buildings, production had been converted, and they were making progress training or retraining the employees. Overall, this had "actually yielded something that, under tolerable living conditions, would be capable of sustaining itself". He expressed confidence that it should be possible to "preserve at least the core of the company". He urged pragmatism when it came to the future location of the company headquarters:

"The interests of the overall company alone must decide [...] and misguided tradition must be set aside."30

This statement alludes to the most important strategic challenge the young industrialist had to cope with in the postwar years: moving the company headquarters to Munich and realigning the sales focus to the west. There was tremendous resistance to these plans among the Managing Board and Supervisory Board members who had remained in Berlin. Wouldn't it be better to stick with Berlin? After all, no one could say for sure how long the occupation would last. This position was represented most prominently by Friedrich Carl Siemens and Wolf-Dietrich von Witzleben, who had served as Managing Board Chairman of Siemens & Halske and Siemens-Schuckertwerke since May 1945.

The question "Berlin or Munich?" was debated back and forth, a cultural rift between two generations. Ernst von Siemens was distressed by the total lack of unity on this issue. Almost clair-

1946 Postal services are severely limited. Letters between Berlin and Munich take two to three weeks, which considerably restricts business and private communication.

1945–1948 Bavaria profits as a business location from the partition of Germany: many industrial enterprises relocate their headquarters and factories from the east to the south of the country.

voyantly, he had early on accepted the fact of what he saw as the tragic "decline of the German empire".<sup>31</sup> It was only when the Russians blockaded the German capital for more than ten months starting in June of 1948 that the Berlin faction conceded that times had changed. For the population, the Berlin Airlift organized by the western Allied powers was a spectacular lifeline in their hour of need. For an export-driven enterprise like Siemens that relied on raw materials and supply deliveries, the Berlin blockade was a disaster. Despite this, the Berlin-based Supervisory Board and Managing Board members did everything in their power that summer to invalidate the power of attorney granted to the various Group Directors in 1945.<sup>32</sup>

The arguments were not settled until March 1949. A key factor in the resolution was the decision of Hermann von Siemens – following his release after more than 30 months in detention – to take an office in Munich in January 1948. Under the guidance of the Supervisory Board Chairman, the Managing Board was reshuffled: His nephew Ernst von Siemens became Managing Board Chairman of Siemens & Halske, while Günther Scharowsky took on a parallel position at Siemens-Schuckertwerke. Even more significant, however, was that effective April 1, 1949, the headquarters of the two companies were moved to Munich and Erlangen, respectively. Berlin remained the second headquarters, but the gravitational center of Siemens from that point forward was unmistakably in southern Germany. This decision provided the power and flexibility that Ernst now could leverage from his seat at the helm.

In the postwar period, the Allies – especially the Americans – targeted large German corporations in their effort to break up cartels. This mostly affected heavy industries and the chemical sector, but also technology companies. Attention was also drawn

Ernst von Siemens and Gisbert Kley, deputy member of the Managing Board, in front of the Wandberg House in the Chiemgau Alps, 1960

to Siemens: The electrical engineering giant was considered too large. This presented one more challenge for the new Siemens management team, which sought to prevent the breakup of the various associated companies at any cost because they supplied one another and collaborated in research. Regardless of how weak the position of the individual companies might be, they had to be kept under one roof.

1948/49 During the Berlin blockade, the Americans and the British supply the city from the air. Around 200,000 flights are organized to fly food supplies and coal to the over two million population.

1947 The Americans work on the reconstruction of Germany at virtually the same time as the decartelization. The central instrument for economic recovery is the Marshall Plan announced in June 1947.

The development of the various divisions only took off with the introduction of the deutschmark under the currency reform and with the founding of the Federal Republic of Germany. The plants in the Sowjetische Besatzungszone (Soviet occupation zone, which became the German Democratic Republic) had been seized without compensation and were lost, but Siemensstadt in West Berlin was a fixture in the reorganized company. Its most important locations were now in Munich, Erlangen, and Nuremberg as well as in the Ruhr District and northern Germany. Siemens had moved away from its old ambition of providing everything in the world of electrical engineering, but it remained active in the core segments of communications and power engineering. Siemens had decades of expertise in these areas, and its products and solutions were in demand in domestic and foreign markets.

In an extensive 1985 television interview as part of the series Zeugen des Jahrhunderts (Eyewitnesses of the Century), Ernst von Siemens remarked that he knows the value that mountaineers place on their rope team: On expeditions, everyone relies heavily on the skills of the team and the sense of responsibility of each individual. This experience carries over to other aspects of life as well:

"... we need people with skills that we can count on [...] especially after the war, when we were rebuilding, there was a certain importance in that." 33

The people at the Siemens headquarters at Wittelsbacherplatz that he could count on included the Head of Finance, Adolf Lohse, and Gerd Tacke, whom we've already mentioned. The latter oversaw the rebuilding of the foreign business, which was able to resume in 1946 after the Allies allowed Germany to begin exporting again. The slow pace of this new beginning is evident in export

revenues, which accounted for only 78 million Deutschmarks in fiscal year 1949/50. After a lean period of several years, Siemens began to pick up speed. Whether the company produced clock systems or electrical control technology, the international demand was there – and that's what counted.<sup>34</sup> Ultimately, foreign markets were the key to growth at Siemens.

1948 As part of the currency reform, the Deutschmark replaces the Reichsmark in the western occupied zones. The black market disappears and price fixing is dropped.

 ${\bf 1950s}\,$  At great expense, Siemens reacquires companies in other countries that have been confiscated and secures trademark rights.

### From operations to Supervisory Board Chairman

Just shy of his fifty-third birthday, Ernst von Siemens left the Managing Board in February 1956 to assume the position of Supervisory Board Chairman of Siemens & Halske and Siemens-Schuckertwerke. By this time, exports had expanded to the extent that Siemens generated one-quarter of its revenues abroad, making it Germany's number one exporter of electrical engineering products. For Munich, Erlangen, Nuremberg, and the other Bavarian sites that were quickly added, Siemens was a welcome guest both as an employer and as a taxpayer. The engineering company also provided strong momentum for development in Bavaria, so it was not surprising that Ernst von Siemens received a variety of honors. His former university, now the Technical University of Munich, conferred an honorary Doctorate of Engineering on him in 1954. This was preceded by appointments as an honorary senator of the university and of the Technical University of Karlsruhe (today the Karlsruher Institute of Technology). But Ernst was also acknowledged for his merit and integrity beyond academic circles. In 1956 he was appointed to the Supervisory Board of Allianz-Versicherungs AG, one year later to the Supervisory Board of the reformed Deutsche Bank, and in 1961 to the Chairman's Committee of the Federation of German Industries. In this way he was not unlike his father – integrated into the German economy at a number of levels. Ernst was in close contact with representatives of the industry and banking sectors but not with politicians. He tended to regard government with suspicion, especially in the way



Ernst von Siemens meeting with Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, 1956

it handled taxpayer funds. Such feelings notwithstanding, Ernst von Siemens accepted the Bavarian Order of Merit in 1959.

### Resurgence as a global enterprise

By the early 1960s, Siemens had achieved prominence both at home in Germany and internationally. With some 240,000 employees and revenues of 5.4 billion Deutschmarks (1962), the company had risen to ninth place among electrical engineering companies worldwide<sup>35</sup> – and second place in Europe, behind Philips. The company had long since been looking beyond the markets of Germany and its European neighbors. By 1962, Siemens had

1947/48 In the western occupied zones, the Deutsche Bank is divided up into several branches each restricted to a particular region. The bank is not allowed to operate under its old name until 1957.

1950s Siemens' successful export operations also play a part in the German "economic miracle". They contribute to the Federal Republic's achievement of a positive external trade balance by 1952.

established 30 companies or representations abroad, with a focus on western and southern Europe and South America. These regions were seen not only as sales markets but also as potential production sites. This paved the way for future expansion. The company enjoyed a good reputation abroad for its diversified product portfolio. This esteem was underscored by direct meetings between company representatives and the United Nations, the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, the World Bank, and heads of state around the world.<sup>36</sup>

International business was critical to the company's success, so great efforts were made to penetrate markets, win customers, and present an image of integrity. In the early 1960s, the company management grappled with its legacy of using forced labor during the war. The catalyst had been reparation claims brought by the Jewish Claims Conference (JCC) on behalf of Jews who had been forced into labor. The claims sought lump-sum payments that the JCC intended to pass along to Jewish beneficiaries. The JCC had negotiated the first agreement of this type in 1957 with the chemical company IG Farben, which was in liquidation. Four years later, they turned their attention to Siemens. The JCC knew of at least 3,900 Jewish concentration camp prisoners who had worked for the company during World War II, and veteran Siemens managers knew the extent to which foreigners, prisoners of war, and Jews had been forced into labor. This complicity in the exploitative system of forced labor is probably the darkest chapter in the company's history. In May of 1962 an agreement was signed under which 2,203 beneficiaries identified in 28 countries received initially five million Deutschmarks, averaging about 2,300 Deutschmarks per recipient.

The sources do not document the extent to which Ernst von Siemens was involved in the negotiations with the Jewish Claims



Ernst von Siemens (third from left) during a visit to the component factory in Heidenheim, 1960

Conference. But it can be assumed that the head of the company approved of the accord; it could hardly have been signed without his vote. And so in conjunction with JCC, in 1962 Siemens reached a settlement with a large group of Jewish forced laborers. Whether any amount of money could properly compensate those forced into labor – that's another question. The payments had symbolic power that resonated on both an ethical and economic-operational level: Siemens confronted the subject of forced labor and assumed responsibility. Ultimately, German industry had to admit its complicity in the suffering and exploitation of forced

1951 The Jewish Claims Conference is founded, with headquarters in New York. It works to secure compensation for Jewish victims of National Socialism and Holocaust survivors.

April 1967 Based on the number of applicants, Siemens increases the amount placed at the disposal of the Jewish Claims Conference to a total of 7.2 million Deutschmarks.

laborers and do something about it. Very few companies, however, were ready to do so in the 1960s. The reparations that Siemens paid to Jewish survivors in 1962 stood out as an exception.

The comprehensive reorganization of Siemens and the reinvigoration of research and development at an internationally competitive level had required a huge infusion of capital during reconstruction. Not surprisingly, this phase spanning more than a decade was accompanied by high losses. But the company's managers were convinced that these investments would pay off over the long term. One of the company's objectives after 1945 was to focus on the most important and, at the same time, most promising fields of electrical engineering. This led Siemens to participate in the development of innovative technologies and drive into new business segments like data processing, semiconductor technology, and the use of nuclear fission for energy production.

After re-establishing Siemens in international markets, the next objective was to reorganize the company in keeping with the times: The parallel structures of Siemens & Halske, Siemens-Schuckertwerke, and Siemens-Reiniger-Werke were outdated, especially in light of technological developments and structural changes in the global electrical engineering marketplace. Changes to German corporate law required action to avoid excessive administrative and fiscal burdens. The founding of Siemens AG on October 1, 1966, was a positive step on several fronts. The main benefit that Ernst von Siemens had promoted a few months earlier to the Managing Boards and General Managers of the three merged parent companies was the protection of the "unity and continuity of management". He also saw greater potential for employees to identify with the company, because they would now all belong to a single entity.<sup>37</sup> The unified Managing Board was headed by a three-member Presidential Committee. Ernst von Siemens, the former head

of the company, chaired the 21-member Supervisory Board until 1971. The 1966 reorganization achieved what Carl Friedrich von Siemens had intended more than three decades earlier. His son shared this conviction, giving the company an "organizational structure that better suits the incessantly growing and structurally evolving business".<sup>38</sup>

1954 Siemens enters the data processing market dominated by the U.S. company IBM. In 1957 the first series-produced, fully transistorized computer in the world is presented.

**September 1966** The news magazine *Der Spiegel* describes the newly founded Siemens AG as an "unchained giant".

### Ernst von Siemens as a private citizen

Ernst von Siemens was a great lover of music who welcomed the opportunity to attend concerts and operas while traveling on business. He pursued these same inclinations in his free time in Munich, Salzburg, and Vienna, cultivating broad tastes that included light fare such as Cosi fan tutte and Don Giovanni, weightier works like those of Antonín Dvořák, and large masterpieces like Verdi's Requiem.<sup>39</sup> Because Deutsche Grammophon GmbH was part of the Siemens empire, Ernst von Siemens in his capacity as Supervisory Board Chairman was in close contact with leading figures in the world of music, including Wilhelm Furtwängler, Herbert von Karajan, Yehudi Menuhin, and Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau.

Ernst von Siemens held a special regard for the conductor Herbert von Karajan, whom he persuaded in 1963 to record the nine Beethoven symphonies with the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra. Through his personal contact with the businessman, von Karajan recognized that Ernst was driven by more than just business interests. He thanked him "for what you have achieved through your enthusiasm for your life's work and in particular for our music". Von Karajan appreciated how Ernst was driven by the "joyful confidence of a lifelong challenge to be solved", and that he had unshakable faith in his convictions. The conductor found in his counterpart an enthusiasm that he felt almost everyone else had lost. These words give some sense of how Ernst von Siemens was able to handle everything that needed to be done for the company, applying his genuine Prussian sense of responsibility



Ernst von Siemens presenting Herbert von Karajan with the Ernst von Siemens Music Prize, 1977

and a strong inherent idealism. But he found beauty, joy, and unmitigated delight in art, aesthetic objects, and above all music. Heinz Friedrich, then Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Ernst von Siemens Music Foundation, put it this way in 1994:

"Throughout his life, music was at the center of the artistic existence of Ernst von Siemens. He drew power from it. It inspired him, it lent color to his objective nature and the self-discipline he had cultivated." 41

When looking at Ernst von Siemens' personal interests, one is impressed by the sheer spectrum: In addition to music, he had a passion for sports and nature, predominantly botany. In southern

**<sup>1898</sup>** The Deutsche Grammophon Gesellschaft is founded in Hanover. In 1941, Siemens & Halske acquires one hundred percent of the traditional record label.

<sup>1987</sup> The publisher and author Heinz Friedrich, President of the Bavarian Academy of Fine Arts since 1983, becomes chairman of the Ernst von Siemens Foundation's Board of Trustees.

Bavaria, where he lived without interruption from the end of the war until his death in December 1990, he was able to pursue his hobbies in a wonderful synthesis. For two decades, he lived with his sister in the Art Nouveau house in Niederpöcking at Lake Starnberg. In the late 1960s, the siblings moved to a new house built on a flat hilltop near Eurasburg. The "Oberhof" residence is situated in the midst of an isolated green island surrounded by an old-growth grove of trees. The low-rise building, designed by the architects Roth and Bader, evokes an homage to the "Kaufmann Desert House" that architect Richard Neutra built in 1947 for the businessman Edgar J. Kaufmann in Palm Springs, California. The interior decorations in Oberhof, featuring works of art and a mixture of modern and traditional furniture, were largely due to the influence of Ursula von Blücher. Her brother, for his part, devoted a great deal of energy to planting and caring for the expansive gardens, which - with its rhododendrons and conifers - bore a certain resemblance to the family estate outside Potsdam. The man of the house also planted rosebushes, rare shrubs, and trees. As a memorial to times past, Ernst planted and cared for a small espalier rosebush that he transplanted from Heinenhof. He also planted an alpine garden and built greenhouses for orchids. The businessman loved to garden in shorts and kneepads. When he had finished his labor outdoors, he often swapped his gardening clothes for a tuxedo and had his chauffeur drive him to Salzburg to enjoy an evening of music and the society there.<sup>42</sup>

The spacious house outside Eurasburg was designed with two people in mind. Ernst's sister, now over 60 years old, regarded it as her private refuge; guests and relatives were seldom invited. Because Ernst von Siemens still used his father's hunting lodge near Ruhpolding, the company patriarch could "hold court" there and receive Siemens managers and friends whenever necessary.

With 13 bedrooms, the house offered more than enough space and comfort for a long guest list.

Ursula von Blücher died in 1980. After the loss of his closest kin, Ernst von Siemens did not want to spend his remaining years in isolation, so the 77-year-old moved into a top-floor penthouse in the Bayerischer Hof hotel in Munich. The central location meant that he was close to everything he held dear: concert halls, museums, the botanical garden, and last but not least, the Siemens headquarters at Wittelsbacherplatz. From that point on, he was rarely absent when a new opera premiered in Munich. He frequently dined in the hotel's Palais Keller restaurant, where he could easily receive visitors. His penthouse offered a stunning view of Munich's Frauenkirche cathedral and enough space for a selection of paintings from his collection, which included pieces by Renoir and Monet. Oberhof remained in the family's possession and was maintained in its former grandeur, especially the expansive gardens.

1971/72 Instigated and financially supported by Ernst von Siemens, a glass-house for alpine plants is built in the Botanical Gardens in Nymphenburg, Munich (today the Alpinen-Schauhaus (Alpine Display House)).

1956 On the initiative of Ernst von Siemens, the Gesellschaft der Freunde des Botanischen Gartens München e.V. (Friends of the Botanical Garden Munich) is founded. On the occasion of its 40th anniversary, the society donates the Ernst von Siemens medal.

### Assessing the life and work of Ernst von Siemens

When Ernst was studying physics in Munich in the mid-1920s, his father viewed his son's extracurricular activities with skepticism: Was he too interested in music and mountaineering, with his academic ambitions taking a back seat? This critical view of a child's student life, typical of so many parents, may have been somewhat justified in Ernst's case. And yet the young man had developed a series of important character traits during his studies: He valued precision to the point of fastidiousness, he was educated in science and trained in analysis, and he was able to admit mistakes, turn things around, and find pragmatic solutions. All of these qualities would prove helpful to him in his professional life.

Ernst von Siemens experienced major turning points roughly every 20 years throughout his life: The first was his life-threatening illness in 1927. The second was the end of World War II, where outside forces threatened the continued existence of the company. The third such event came from changes within the company – when Siemens was consolidated into Siemens AG in 1966. The two watershed moments in the company's history defined the importance of this industrialist born in 1903: Saving and rebuilding the company through the early 1960s was his greatest entrepreneurial achievement. The subsequent merging of the parent companies into a single corporation was much more than a reorganization of the corporate structure: It paved the way for Siemens'

global expansion. The head of the company played the role of visionary – uniting the architects, employees, and lenders around a shared objective and leading the way to success through his perseverance. This above all has earned Ernst von Siemens a name in the family and corporate history as someone who "exerted an influence through the power of his personality and charisma".<sup>43</sup>

His professional biography included long periods of difficulties and challenges. "If it hadn't been for that damn Hitler, I would have been nothing but an epigone!" said Ernst to his greatnephew Lukas Blücher, Count of Wahlstatt, in summarizing his career.<sup>44</sup> The industrialist was certainly aware of the ambiguity of this statement, which he never uttered in public. Hard times called for hard effort, and Ernst had found himself in a position in 1945 to show what he was capable of. He had the disposition of a fighter and an "extremely vertical" nature.<sup>45</sup> This helped him to not only manage the diverse challenges he faced but also to assert a definitive influence on the company. The unrelenting pressure may be the reason that Ernst von Siemens was perceived by his employees and contemporaries as rather strict, businesslike, and sometimes unapproachable.

In most cases, extraordinary managers and successful entrepreneurs owe their status to a powerful team. They need agile and highly qualified people at their side who are prepared to sacrifice and who can hold up under stress, think strategically, and consistently recognize what is most important. Gerd Tacke was part of Ernst von Siemens' innermost circle. The two men were almost the same age and worked alongside each other at Siemens for decades. When Tacke celebrated his eightieth birthday in 1986, Ernst delivered a birthday speech worthy of publication in which he not only emphasized what they had accomplished together but also conceded his own shortcomings and praised Tacke's wisdom:

<sup>1945</sup> At the end of World War II, all the material assets of Siemens worldwide are confiscated and all trademark and patent rights are rescinded.

<sup>1952</sup> Gerd Tacke becomes head of the company's Zentralverwaltung Ausland (central foreign administration). In this function he is instrumental in helping Ernst von Siemens to revive international business.

"In the end, our actions – now part of history – were indeed accompanied by success. I know that in several (or more precisely: many!) respects, my record would never have turned out so well without your partnership. You not only recognized my weaknesses, you also pointed them out – at least when you felt it was important. And so – since I was not always unreasonable – we avoided many a slip 'into the red.'"<sup>46</sup> With these words, Ernst von Siemens highlighted something about his own character: He listened to advice and did not want to repeat past mistakes.

Very few members of the Siemens family, whether by blood or marriage, worked in the company during the 1950s and 1960s. Lukas Blücher, Count of Wahlstatt, said that Ernst von Siemens maintained an invisible separation between the family and the company because he wanted to avoid the impression of nepotism at all costs. The large Siemens clan did not lack for up-and-coming young men who could have taken on leadership positions. But almost none of them found Ernst's support, because he recognized only those who showed outstanding qualities. Like his father, he set virtually impossible standards. He frequently quoted the words of his father:

"I welcome every member of the family who joins the company. But I expect him to perform above average." 47

Dozens of descendants of the Siemens family who hold shares in the company meet for regular family gatherings with various events. At these meetings, which brought together relatives from Europe and as far as Australia, Ernst enjoyed a special undisputed status: He was recognized as an authority and figurehead not only in deference to his age but above all because he had made the company great again after the devastation of World War II. Everyone in attendance felt his gravitas. They were also aware, however,

1950 In Hanover, members of the Siemens family meet for a so-called family day. From then on, the meeting takes place every year on the day of the Annual Shareholders' Meeting in Munich.



Ernst von Siemens and Gerd Tacke at the airport in Los Angeles, 1961

that this energy would disappear after his death. In the interests of the family, therefore, they felt an urgent need to encourage the company to recruit appropriately qualified family members, especially since the share capital held by the family had been greatly reduced as a result of repeated capital increases over the years. The family share had been nearly 15 percent in 1967 but was poised to fall into the single digits. <sup>48</sup> This also diluted the family's say in how the company was run. The fact that Peter von Siemens had served as Supervisory Board Chairman for a decade, from 1971 to 1981, and shown great integrative talent in this position did nothing to offset this trend.

1956–1971 During Ernst von Siemens' period of office as Chairman of the Supervisory Board of the two parent companies and Siemens AG, respectively, the company implements more than ten capital increases.



Hermann, Peter, and Ernst von Siemens, 1978 (left to right)

As the most recent head of the company and grandson of the founder, Ernst held a position of great symbolic importance, and he lived up to the challenges of this role with distinction. But despite his great appreciation for family tradition, he did not manage to bind the Siemens generations that followed him to Siemens AG. Ultimately, this may have been an expression of his pragmatism and his self-assured strictness.

Ernst von Siemens as a benefactor

Ernst von Siemens established three charitable foundations. The first was the Carl Friedrich von Siemens Foundation, established in 1958 in honor of his father, which promotes the sciences through seminars, fellowships, publications, donations to university libraries, and other initiatives. This program was expanded in 2006 to include the Carl Friedrich von Siemens endowed professorship and again in 2010 with the addition of a science prize for mathematics.

The Ernst von Siemens Music Foundation followed in 1972, dedicated to the promotion of music. Creating a foundation means parting with your money for altruistic motives and putting it to work for the common good. Ernst did this naturally, just as he gave his music foundation the freedom to choose what to support. Modern compositions like those of Benjamin Britten or Pierre Boulez did not appeal to him personally, but he deferred to the Board of Trustees' independent panel of experts, which is why these two musicians were the first recipients of the generously endowed Ernst von Siemens Music Prize. He always avoided exerting any direct influence on the foundation's decisions, even though friends sometimes encouraged him to do so.49

When Ernst von Siemens traveled by car from Berlin to Munich with two colleagues in late February 1945, he had more than just business documents with him. He also carried a van Gogh and three other paintings, unframed and wrapped in simple packing paper. His aunt Hertha Harries, a great lover of art, had introduced

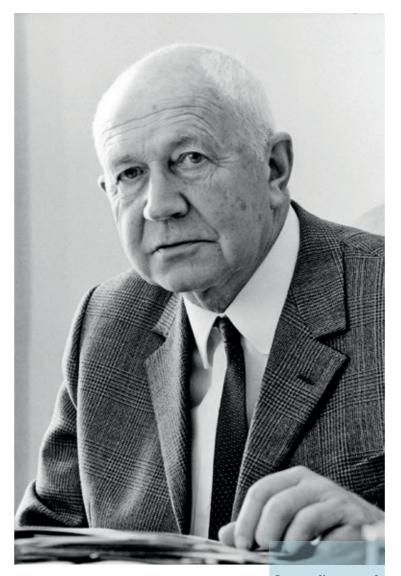
<sup>1981</sup> Bernhard Plettner is appointed Chairman of the Supervisory Board of Siemens AG. He is the first manager in this office who isn't a member of the Siemens family.

June 7, 1974 The English composer and conductor Benjamin Britten receives the inaugural Ernst von Siemens Music Prize in connection with the Aldeburgh Festival he founded.

him to the fine arts, and he always surrounded himself with select works. The private collection of the wealthy industrialist showed taste and breadth of scope. He established the Ernst von Siemens Art Foundation in 1983 on the occasion of his eightieth birthday. Heribald Närger, then Head of Corporate Finance for Siemens AG, was instrumental in establishing the foundation. Both gentlemen shared an appreciation for art and a general interest in German cultural history. From these shared passions arose a lively dialog that led to the creation of a third charitable foundation that has had a truly singular impact in Germany.<sup>50</sup> Its primary mission is to promote the fine arts, and it does this by funding the acquisition of works of art and through permanent loans to museums. The foundation's Board of Trustees includes members of the family and managers of Siemens AG, thereby strengthening the ties between the family and the company through the foundation's efforts on behalf of the arts.

The motive for establishing the two art-promoting foundations originated in the patron's passion for music and the arts. Ernst von Siemens was aware that his fortune gave him the opportunity to make a difference in the fields that meant so much to him personally. But his lack of children was also a motivating factor. He had been asking himself since the 1950s who should inherit his wealth one day. He established the science foundation in 1958 so that in the event of his death there would be an institution that could inherit his estate without the shrinking of assets that an individual would experience as a result of inheritance taxes. Ultimately, the plan was that the foundations would maintain a long-term link to Siemens through shares in the company. Among family members, Ernst occasionally referred to the foundations as "his children". He felt assured that these "offspring" would grow and have the kind of impact he intended. These intentions

1990 Ernst von Siemens leaves an art collection to the art foundation named after him and also financially supports this successful funding institution.



Ernst von Siemens, 1978

were fulfilled in a remarkable manner: Today the name "Ernst von Siemens" lives on primarily through these foundations.

Ernst von Siemens remained Honorary Chairman of the Supervisory Board of Siemens AG until his death. Managers such as Heinrich von Pierer, Hermann Franz, and Heribald Närger kept in touch with him and visited him at the Bayerischer Hof. Ernst von Siemens died alone in his penthouse on the last day of 1990, a year that – after the fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989 – had seen the reunification of Germany. It is not known how the former Siemens sovereign felt about this epochal event, and whether he would have wanted to cast his eye once more on his childhood home of Heinenhof outside Potsdam, which had been converted to a sanitarium. He had long since made his peace with his life there: Upper Bavaria and above all Munich had become his home. And so it was fitting that Ernst von Siemens found his final place of repose not in the big family plot in Berlin-Stahnsdorf but in the churchyard of Eurasburg, close to Lake Starnberg.

March 16, 1978 Ernst von Siemens is appointed Honorary Chairman of the Supervisory Board of Siemens AG.

### **Notes**

- 1 Nina Grunenberg, Die Wundertäter. Netzwerke der deutschen Wirtschaft 1942–1966, Munich 2006, 258–59.
- 2 Wilfried Feldenkirchen, Siemens. From Workshop to Global Player, Munich 2000, 98.
- 3 Siemens Corporate Archives SAA 4.Lf 762, Carl Friedrich von Siemens, private papers.
- 4 SAA V 1625, Ernst von Siemens in TV interview ("Zeugen des Jahrhunderts"), August 13, 1985.
- 5 SAA F 333, Ernst von Siemens in radio interview ("Porträtstudie eines Industriellen"), June 1, 1965.
- 6 Wilfried Feldenkirchen, Siemens 1918–1945. Columbus 1999, 386, tables 22, 23.
- 7 Ibid, table 23
- 8 Feldenkirchen, Workshop Global Player, 166–68.
- **9** Feldenkirchen, *Siemens* 1918–1945, 386, tables 22, 23.
- 10 SAA 15.Lc 816, Jahresbericht WWF 1937/38.
- 11 SAA 6926, Rundfunkgeräteprogramm 1938/39; SAA 20653, S&H Direktionsverfügung Nr. 80 betr. Werbewesen, February 19, 1934; SAA 20656, Carl Köttgen, SSW Z an die Mitglieder des Vorstands betr. Werbeberatung, February 8, 1938.
- **12** Feldenkirchen, Workshop Global Player, 205.
- **13** Feldenkirchen, *Siemens 1918–1945*, 582.
- 14 The SA (Sturmabteilung, literally "Storm Detachment") functioned as the original paramilitary wing of the Nazi Party. It played a key role in Adolf Hitler's rise to power in the 1920s and 1930s. During the 1930s it was replaced by the SS (Schutzstaffel, literally "Protection Squadron").
- 15 SAA 18583, Stellungnahme von Ernst von Siemens über die Rolle von

- Siemens im Dritten Reich, July 25, 1946.
- **16** Feldenkirchen, *Siemens 1918–1945*, 583, note 170.
- **17** SAA 18583, Stellungnahme, July 25, 1946.
- 18 Feldenkirchen, Siemens 1918-1945, 176.
- 19 Ibid.
- **20** SAA 18583, Stellungnahme, July 25, 1946.
- **21** Feldenkirchen, *Siemens* 1918–1945, 386, tables 22, 23.
- 22 SAA 18642. The Siemens Corporate Archives estimates that at least 80,000 individuals were forced into labor for Siemens. These workers were often moved after a few weeks to another location or company. As a result, precise numbers are not available, only snapshots of specific moments in time. In 1943, for example, 45,306 foreign workers and forced laborers were assigned to Siemens.
- 23 Feldenkirchen, Siemens 1918–1945, 176; SAA 18528, Fundstellen zu Siemens aus Akten des Nürnberger IMT-Prozesses, June 1945, January 1946, etc.
- 24 SAA 18528, Akten zur Beschäftigung von Zwangsarbeitern und KZ-Häftlingen. For the larger context of forced labor, see Feldenkirchen, *Siemens* 1918–1945, 573–582.
- 25 SAA 17917, Vollmacht, February 2, 1945.
- **26** SAA 9933, Heinrich von Buol to Ernst von Siemens, April 6, 1945.
- 27 SAA 11-75.1, Gerd Tacke, private papers: Ernst von Siemens to Friedrich Carl von Siemens, November 13, 1945.
- **28** SAA 18584, Entnazifizierung, note of July 9, 1945.
- 29 Study of Ernst von Siemens from March 20, 1978, cf. Wilfried Feldenkirchen and Eberhard Posner, eds., The Siemens-Entrepreneurs. Continuity and Change 1847–2005. Ten Portraits, Munich 2005, 133.

- 30 SAA 11-75.1, Gerd Tacke, private papers: Ernst von Siemens to Friedrich Carl von Siemens, November 9, 1946.
- **31** SAA 8175, Ernst von Siemens to Hans Domizlaff, December 20, 1946.
- **32** Feldenkirchen, Workshop Global Player. 261.
- 33 SAA V 1625, Ernst von Siemens in TV interview, August 13, 1985.
- 34 Gerd Tacke, Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Siemens AG. Der Weg zum Weltunternehmen, Munich 1976, 11–14.
- **35** Siemens Annual Report 1961/62, 13 and 16.
- **36** SAA 23518, Gerd Tacke to Ernst von Siemens, September 4, 1989.
- 37 SAA 4.Lr 302, Rede Ernst von Siemens vor den Vorständen und Generalbevollmächtigen von Siemens, February 1, 1966.
- **38** Ibid.
- **39** SAA 11-75.5, Gerd Tacke, private papers: Briefe von Ernst von Siemens 1950/51 zu Berliner Kulturleben und zu den Salzburger Festspielen (invitation to W. Furtwängler).
- **40** SAA 8175, Deutsche Grammophon, Herbert von Karajan to Ernst von

- Siemens, undated [ca. end of October 1963].
- 41 Heinz Friedrich, "Ernst von Siemens. Unternehmer. Stifter. Mäzen", in Die Musik und ihr Preis. Die internationale Ernst von Siemens Stiftung. Eine Dokumentation über 20 Jahre Ernst von Siemens Musikpreis (1973–1993), ed. Rüdiger von Canal and Günther Weiss, Regensburg 1994, 13.
- **42** Karl-Ludwig Falkenhagen in discussion with the author, April 17, 2015.
- 43 Heinz Friedrich, Ernst von Siemens, 12.
- **44** Ibid.
- **45** Ibid.
- **46** SAA 23518, biographical information on Gerd Tacke.
- 47 Quoted from SAA WP Siemens family.
- **48** SAA 68.Ls 682, Unterlagen der Siemens Vermögensverwaltung.
- **49** Karl-Ludwig Falkenhagen in discussion with the author, April 17, 2015.
- 50 Ernst von Siemens Kunststiftung, ed., Tätigkeitsbericht der Ernst von Siemens Kunststiftung 2003–2008, Munich 2009, 8–11.

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### Interviews

Karl-Ludwig Falkenhagen, interview by Erik Lindner, April 17, 2015.

Lukas Blücher, Count of Wahlstatt, interview by Erik Lindner, May 18, 2015.

Marc-Aurel von Dewitz, interview by Erik Lindner, June 24, 2015.

Ulrike Drewitz, interview by Erik Lindner, April 16, 2015.

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