

1

00:00:00,000 --> 00:00:04,110

2

00:00:04,110 --> 00:00:08,070

This is tape two side A, and
you were talking about the fact

3

00:00:08,070 --> 00:00:11,850

that in 1932 too many
students were looking forward

4

00:00:11,850 --> 00:00:12,900

to going to university.

5

00:00:12,900 --> 00:00:15,510

I mean, it was
not just '32, '33,

6

00:00:15,510 --> 00:00:18,120

the Nazis picked up this idea.

7

00:00:18,120 --> 00:00:22,650

And as of 1934 they
instituted what in German

8

00:00:22,650 --> 00:00:27,030

was called the requirement of
Hochschulreife, high school

9

00:00:27,030 --> 00:00:32,220

maturity, which was something
to be awarded by the teaching

10

00:00:32,220 --> 00:00:34,320

body of the high schools.

11

00:00:34,320 --> 00:00:37,020

Even if you graduated
from high school

12

00:00:37,020 --> 00:00:39,960

you would not automatically
be admissible to university,

13

00:00:39,960 --> 00:00:46,320
but you needed this particular
certificate for admission

14

00:00:46,320 --> 00:00:48,630
to college.

15

00:00:48,630 --> 00:00:50,820
The regulations
pertaining to that

16

00:00:50,820 --> 00:00:55,240
said nothing about
Jews or non-Arians.

17

00:00:55,240 --> 00:00:57,010
This was left open.

18

00:00:57,010 --> 00:01:01,620
My closest friend in the
neighboring gymnasium

19

00:01:01,620 --> 00:01:05,370
was given it, and
subsequently it did indeed

20

00:01:05,370 --> 00:01:08,370
go to a technical university.

21

00:01:08,370 --> 00:01:13,245
I was not given it, and
it was since I was--

22

00:01:13,245 --> 00:01:15,770

23

00:01:15,770 --> 00:01:20,960
I think I was academically
the best in my class.

24

00:01:20,960 --> 00:01:25,730

But it's the parallel
class that was one or two

25

00:01:25,730 --> 00:01:29,540

fellows who were--

26

00:01:29,540 --> 00:01:33,080

for the graduating class as
a whole, the two sections

27

00:01:33,080 --> 00:01:35,870

together, I think I was
the second or the third.

28

00:01:35,870 --> 00:01:39,650

And it was clearly a
case of anti-Semitism.

29

00:01:39,650 --> 00:01:43,190

But we came into some very
interesting intelligence

30

00:01:43,190 --> 00:01:47,630

a few weeks later when the
mother-in-law of my grade

31

00:01:47,630 --> 00:01:49,590

school teacher-- as
I mentioned earlier,

32

00:01:49,590 --> 00:01:52,430

we remained friends
until his death,

33

00:01:52,430 --> 00:01:54,860

and were certainly in touch
with him in those years when

34

00:01:54,860 --> 00:01:57,630

my sisters were his students.

35

00:01:57,630 --> 00:02:01,850

His mother-in-law, an old
innocent looking woman

36

00:02:01,850 --> 00:02:06,650

who nobody paid any
attention to, sat on a bench

37

00:02:06,650 --> 00:02:10,699

at the edge of the
forest one evening,

38

00:02:10,699 --> 00:02:14,060

when two men sat
down next to her

39

00:02:14,060 --> 00:02:18,080

and started talking about
their experiences in awarding

40

00:02:18,080 --> 00:02:22,490

or not awarding Hochschulreife,
admission to university,

41

00:02:22,490 --> 00:02:24,600

to the graduating students.

42

00:02:24,600 --> 00:02:28,760

And one of the two men said,
oh, yes, we had in our class

43

00:02:28,760 --> 00:02:33,500

a Jewish fellow who was
academically really at the top,

44

00:02:33,500 --> 00:02:38,940

and academically he should have
been given the Hochschulreife.

45

00:02:38,940 --> 00:02:43,730

But he was so outspoken
in his Jewishness,

46

00:02:43,730 --> 00:02:47,680
and he just didn't
accept the new order

47
00:02:47,680 --> 00:02:49,730
of national socialism.

48
00:02:49,730 --> 00:02:54,830
And he frequently
contradicted the teachers

49
00:02:54,830 --> 00:02:58,040
and made his Jewish
views known, so we

50
00:02:58,040 --> 00:03:01,230
decided not to give it to him.

51
00:03:01,230 --> 00:03:02,060
And that was you?

52
00:03:02,060 --> 00:03:05,360
Obviously, because there
were only three or four

53
00:03:05,360 --> 00:03:06,480
in the whole city.

54
00:03:06,480 --> 00:03:09,710
So it had to be me.

55
00:03:09,710 --> 00:03:12,380
How painful was that for
you not to be awarded things

56
00:03:12,380 --> 00:03:13,550
that were due you?

57
00:03:13,550 --> 00:03:17,780
Well, I decided to
go into agriculture.

58

00:03:17,780 --> 00:03:19,970

Which, I mean, as
soon as the Nazi--

59

00:03:19,970 --> 00:03:21,810

I had wanted to become a lawyer.

60

00:03:21,810 --> 00:03:23,930

But when the Nazis
came to power I

61

00:03:23,930 --> 00:03:26,690

figured even if
I could study law

62

00:03:26,690 --> 00:03:31,590

that there is no use studying
law under this lawless regime.

63

00:03:31,590 --> 00:03:36,350

And I had developed an idea--

64

00:03:36,350 --> 00:03:39,540

which turned out to be
wrong in the long run--

65

00:03:39,540 --> 00:03:42,800

but I had developed
ideas that Jewish life

66

00:03:42,800 --> 00:03:45,830

could continue in Germany
based on agriculture.

67

00:03:45,830 --> 00:03:48,800

And for reasons
which I understood,

68

00:03:48,800 --> 00:03:51,740

even after emancipation
very, very few Jews

69

00:03:51,740 --> 00:03:53,150

had gone into farming.

70

00:03:53,150 --> 00:03:57,860

But I figured now is the
time to go into farming.

71

00:03:57,860 --> 00:04:04,250

And this may be one occupation
where the Nazis leave us alone.

72

00:04:04,250 --> 00:04:06,060

I should have known better.

73

00:04:06,060 --> 00:04:10,970

The Nazis as early
as 1934 enacted a law

74

00:04:10,970 --> 00:04:15,470

where they provided for
a special designation

75

00:04:15,470 --> 00:04:16,295

of certain farms.

76

00:04:16,295 --> 00:04:18,920

77

00:04:18,920 --> 00:04:23,120

And in order to be
a [NON-ENGLISH],,

78

00:04:23,120 --> 00:04:26,570

farmer in literal translation,
but this special kind of farmer

79

00:04:26,570 --> 00:04:29,540

under the provision
of this law of 1934,

80

00:04:29,540 --> 00:04:31,640

you had to be racially pure.

81

00:04:31,640 --> 00:04:35,690
Not only as had previously
been required for Civil

82
00:04:35,690 --> 00:04:38,450
Service, no Jewish
grandparents, but you

83
00:04:38,450 --> 00:04:43,460
had to prove that you were
of purely Aryan origin back

84
00:04:43,460 --> 00:04:47,060
to 1800.

85
00:04:47,060 --> 00:04:49,820
But many farmers
were very unhappy

86
00:04:49,820 --> 00:04:52,220
with the provision of
that law, because it

87
00:04:52,220 --> 00:04:54,800
provided for the
indivisibility of farms

88
00:04:54,800 --> 00:04:57,930
and created problems for
multiple children and so on.

89
00:04:57,930 --> 00:05:01,640
So in the rural
population people

90
00:05:01,640 --> 00:05:06,140
were by no means eager to bring
themselves under that law.

91
00:05:06,140 --> 00:05:09,620
And we again, didn't
take this very seriously.

92

00:05:09,620 --> 00:05:12,680
We figured one can go farming
and be farming in Germany

93
00:05:12,680 --> 00:05:15,950
without being a [GERMAN]
under this particular law,

94
00:05:15,950 --> 00:05:18,860
and so we are not [GERMAN].

95
00:05:18,860 --> 00:05:21,260
We are just ordinary farmers.

96
00:05:21,260 --> 00:05:27,290
But as things developed,
of course, well,

97
00:05:27,290 --> 00:05:33,860
the first time I lost a
job on a farm was in 1935.

98
00:05:33,860 --> 00:05:37,200
It became by 1937,
as I said earlier,

99
00:05:37,200 --> 00:05:41,210
it was quite obvious
that this didn't work.

100
00:05:41,210 --> 00:05:42,530
Do you remember when the--

101
00:05:42,530 --> 00:05:45,890
we're backing up again--

102
00:05:45,890 --> 00:05:47,810
when the German
Parliament was burned?

103
00:05:47,810 --> 00:05:49,820
Oh, yes, of course.

104

00:05:49,820 --> 00:05:54,770

I mean, to this day I am pretty convinced that the Nazis did

105

00:05:54,770 --> 00:05:56,390

it.

106

00:05:56,390 --> 00:05:59,240

And well, these were the events of February

107

00:05:59,240 --> 00:06:05,510

and March 1933, which for us culminated in Boycott Day the

108

00:06:05,510 --> 00:06:07,310

April 1, 1933.

109

00:06:07,310 --> 00:06:12,140

And then of course, a week later, my father was--

110

00:06:12,140 --> 00:06:16,100

111

00:06:16,100 --> 00:06:25,601

first, he was notified that he would be temporarily suspended.

112

00:06:25,601 --> 00:06:28,430

Suspended from--

113

00:06:28,430 --> 00:06:29,100

From his job.

114

00:06:29,100 --> 00:06:31,280

Now, we didn't talk about my father,

115

00:06:31,280 --> 00:06:35,630

except that I said when I was born, he was a city councilor.

116
00:06:35,630 --> 00:06:40,400
After World War I he
was offered a position

117
00:06:40,400 --> 00:06:42,890
in the State Ministry
of the Interior.

118
00:06:42,890 --> 00:06:44,900
So he changed from
city employment

119
00:06:44,900 --> 00:06:48,800
to state employment in 1919.

120
00:06:48,800 --> 00:06:54,890
And he had a very
distinguished career

121
00:06:54,890 --> 00:06:58,260
in the field of
making the Neckar

122
00:06:58,260 --> 00:07:01,190
Rivers the tributary
of the Rhine,

123
00:07:01,190 --> 00:07:05,750
which runs through the State
of Wurttemberg, navigable.

124
00:07:05,750 --> 00:07:10,010
His first activity
was in connection

125
00:07:10,010 --> 00:07:13,580
with the framing of
the German Constitution

126
00:07:13,580 --> 00:07:17,900
when the development
and administration

127
00:07:17,900 --> 00:07:21,740
of navigable rivers
was federalized.

128
00:07:21,740 --> 00:07:25,910
And he was called to
Weimar, and took a part

129
00:07:25,910 --> 00:07:30,410
in framing the Articles of
the German Constitution, which

130
00:07:30,410 --> 00:07:34,220
provided for the federalization
of the German waterways.

131
00:07:34,220 --> 00:07:35,720
Did he have a legal background?

132
00:07:35,720 --> 00:07:38,690
My father was a lawyer, yes.

133
00:07:38,690 --> 00:07:45,950
And then he, among
other things, worked

134
00:07:45,950 --> 00:07:54,320
on this project of making
the Neckar River navigable.

135
00:07:54,320 --> 00:08:00,230
And it was he who, in
1920, developed the idea

136
00:08:00,230 --> 00:08:03,290
that the project should
be made independent

137
00:08:03,290 --> 00:08:08,420
of the vagaries of
parliamentary appropriations.

138

00:08:08,420 --> 00:08:11,240

And for that purpose,
a corporation

139

00:08:11,240 --> 00:08:13,670

should be formed by
the federal government

140

00:08:13,670 --> 00:08:17,210

and the riparian states
would be shareholders.

141

00:08:17,210 --> 00:08:27,110

And he created the basic law for
the Neckar Corporation, which

142

00:08:27,110 --> 00:08:30,830

was finally chartered in 1921.

143

00:08:30,830 --> 00:08:36,350

And at first he had
no idea that he would

144

00:08:36,350 --> 00:08:39,530

be offered the job of director.

145

00:08:39,530 --> 00:08:41,720

And the details--

146

00:08:41,720 --> 00:08:44,300

I was five years
old at the time,

147

00:08:44,300 --> 00:08:47,540

and I don't remember these
details on my own, of course.

148

00:08:47,540 --> 00:08:50,810

But our dear friend, Franz
Wolf, whom I mentioned earlier,

149

00:08:50,810 --> 00:08:54,200

he was a young friend
of my father's.

150
00:08:54,200 --> 00:08:56,510
And he remembers all
of these developments,

151
00:08:56,510 --> 00:08:59,470
and fortunately told
us all about it.

152
00:08:59,470 --> 00:09:04,310
But anyway, father was,
somewhat to his surprise,

153
00:09:04,310 --> 00:09:07,850
offered the position
of being one

154
00:09:07,850 --> 00:09:10,820
of the three directors
of the new corporation--

155
00:09:10,820 --> 00:09:16,060
namely the one, the lawyer,
financial economic expert.

156
00:09:16,060 --> 00:09:21,170
The two co-directors, one
was the engineering expert

157
00:09:21,170 --> 00:09:25,220
who presided over the
actual canalization work.

158
00:09:25,220 --> 00:09:28,220
And the third one was
an electrical engineer

159
00:09:28,220 --> 00:09:32,960
who presided over the creation
of hydroelectric plants.

160

00:09:32,960 --> 00:09:39,890
So that became his position in
which he was extremely happy.

161
00:09:39,890 --> 00:09:45,650
And he repeatedly turned
down offers to go to Berlin

162
00:09:45,650 --> 00:09:47,750
to the seat of the
federal government,

163
00:09:47,750 --> 00:09:51,650
because he really wanted
to be [NON-ENGLISH]..

164
00:09:51,650 --> 00:09:58,370
And he felt ultimate
fulfillment in this project.

165
00:09:58,370 --> 00:10:00,050
Which, as I mentioned earlier--

166
00:10:00,050 --> 00:10:02,720
I forgot whether it
was on tape or not--

167
00:10:02,720 --> 00:10:04,970
can best be compared
with the Tennessee Valley

168
00:10:04,970 --> 00:10:06,260
Authority in this country.

169
00:10:06,260 --> 00:10:09,170
It was with some
legal differences,

170
00:10:09,170 --> 00:10:13,580
of course, a very similar scheme
to our United States Tennessee

171
00:10:13,580 --> 00:10:15,290

Valley Authority.

172

00:10:15,290 --> 00:10:21,050

Now, on April 7, 1933

he received a letter

173

00:10:21,050 --> 00:10:26,780

from the chairman of the board
of this Neckar Corporation.

174

00:10:26,780 --> 00:10:29,690

The chairman of the board
was an assistant secretary

175

00:10:29,690 --> 00:10:34,160

in the Federal Transportation
Ministry in Berlin.

176

00:10:34,160 --> 00:10:39,710

The letter said in effect that
the national reorder of Germany

177

00:10:39,710 --> 00:10:41,720

makes it necessary
that I ask you

178

00:10:41,720 --> 00:10:47,840

to request a temporary
transfer to inactive status.

179

00:10:47,840 --> 00:10:51,860

And father, under
the circumstances,

180

00:10:51,860 --> 00:10:53,990

felt he had to comply.

181

00:10:53,990 --> 00:10:57,650

However, two or
three days later,

182

00:10:57,650 --> 00:11:04,640

the Nazis published a law

in which they said generally

183

00:11:04,640 --> 00:11:07,610
speaking, Jews cannot
hold public office.

184

00:11:07,610 --> 00:11:10,190
However, anybody who
was in public service

185

00:11:10,190 --> 00:11:15,330
before August 1, 1914, the day
World War I broke out, or who

186

00:11:15,330 --> 00:11:18,600
was a World War I veteran,
will remain in office.

187

00:11:18,600 --> 00:11:22,930
Well, my father was publicly
employed as of August 1, 1914.

188

00:11:22,930 --> 00:11:25,020
So I remember my
father said, if I

189

00:11:25,020 --> 00:11:32,430
had known about this law I would
have refused to ask to be--

190

00:11:32,430 --> 00:11:37,600
to go on this position.

191

00:11:37,600 --> 00:11:39,780
Because I would have
said I was publicly

192

00:11:39,780 --> 00:11:42,660
employed August 1, 1914.

193

00:11:42,660 --> 00:11:45,880
The exclusion law
doesn't apply to me.

194
00:11:45,880 --> 00:11:49,620
But it became subsequently quite
obvious that law or no law,

195
00:11:49,620 --> 00:11:52,320
he would not have
lasted in this position.

196
00:11:52,320 --> 00:11:54,030
So he was not reinstated?

197
00:11:54,030 --> 00:11:55,320
He was not reinstated.

198
00:11:55,320 --> 00:11:56,850
Now, wait what's coming.

199
00:11:56,850 --> 00:12:00,660
He was never
reinstated, and later

200
00:12:00,660 --> 00:12:04,322
during the year 1933 in
the meantime, the chairman

201
00:12:04,322 --> 00:12:06,780
of the board, I don't know what
happened to him, whether he

202
00:12:06,780 --> 00:12:12,270
was retired, there was nothing
traumatic happened to him.

203
00:12:12,270 --> 00:12:17,040
But there was in the
Russian Ministry of Interior

204
00:12:17,040 --> 00:12:20,370
a man by the name
of Klausener, who

205

00:12:20,370 --> 00:12:24,210
was the National President of
Catholic Action, the largest

206
00:12:24,210 --> 00:12:27,180
German Catholic
layman's organization.

207
00:12:27,180 --> 00:12:32,040
And he was in charge
of the Prussian police.

208
00:12:32,040 --> 00:12:35,730
And the Nazis decided
that he knew too much

209
00:12:35,730 --> 00:12:38,220
about their crimes,
and had to be

210
00:12:38,220 --> 00:12:40,890
put into a less sensitive job.

211
00:12:40,890 --> 00:12:44,670
So he was transferred into the
Ministry of Transportation,

212
00:12:44,670 --> 00:12:47,460
and was made chairman
of-- among other duties--

213
00:12:47,460 --> 00:12:49,920
Chairman of the Board of
the Nacker Corporation.

214
00:12:49,920 --> 00:12:55,230
It fell to this gentleman,
much against his will,

215
00:12:55,230 --> 00:12:59,580
to retire my father
in late 1933.

216

00:12:59,580 --> 00:13:03,990
Father was 48 years old, but
he got some kind of retirement

217
00:13:03,990 --> 00:13:07,470
salary according to law.

218
00:13:07,470 --> 00:13:11,620
Well, this man lasted in his
office only a few months.

219
00:13:11,620 --> 00:13:16,770
And it is typical for
the crimes of the Nazis

220
00:13:16,770 --> 00:13:19,950
that the men who on behalf
of the German government

221
00:13:19,950 --> 00:13:23,370
had to retire my
father on June 30, 1934

222
00:13:23,370 --> 00:13:27,990
was murdered by the
Nazis in his office.

223
00:13:27,990 --> 00:13:33,510
And it is historically known
for that as of June 30, 1934,

224
00:13:33,510 --> 00:13:38,250
Hitler created a bloodbath
in which he had murdered

225
00:13:38,250 --> 00:13:40,260
some of his own people.

226
00:13:40,260 --> 00:13:43,800
And also his predecessor, a
retired German chancellor,

227
00:13:43,800 --> 00:13:45,540

Schleicher, and many others.

228

00:13:45,540 --> 00:13:49,700

And among those murdered
was this man Klausener.

229

00:13:49,700 --> 00:13:52,020

The body was burned, which
of course is strictly

230

00:13:52,020 --> 00:13:55,260

contrary to Catholic religion.

231

00:13:55,260 --> 00:13:58,260

And the ashes were
turned over to his widow.

232

00:13:58,260 --> 00:14:06,660

And while again, we didn't
think this would ultimately

233

00:14:06,660 --> 00:14:11,700

involve everybody,
from then on we

234

00:14:11,700 --> 00:14:17,760

realized the
bottomless devilishness

235

00:14:17,760 --> 00:14:19,530

of the Nazi regime.

236

00:14:19,530 --> 00:14:22,440

Where it was typical
that at first a man

237

00:14:22,440 --> 00:14:25,200

is compelled to do an act--

238

00:14:25,200 --> 00:14:28,030

in this case, the relatively
harmless and certainly

239

00:14:28,030 --> 00:14:30,570

bloodless act of
retiring an official.

240

00:14:30,570 --> 00:14:33,180

And a few months later,
he himself was murdered.

241

00:14:33,180 --> 00:14:36,120

Were you aware of the May
book burning in Berlin?

242

00:14:36,120 --> 00:14:37,140

Oh, of course.

243

00:14:37,140 --> 00:14:39,090

My goodness, yes.

244

00:14:39,090 --> 00:14:40,650

Oh my gosh.

245

00:14:40,650 --> 00:14:41,430

What a question.

246

00:14:41,430 --> 00:14:42,597

How could we not have been--

247

00:14:42,597 --> 00:14:43,590

What were your--

248

00:14:43,590 --> 00:14:46,320

I mean, the newspapers existed.

249

00:14:46,320 --> 00:14:51,480

And what were your thoughts
when you were aware of that?

250

00:14:51,480 --> 00:14:59,610

Well, I mean, we
knew that that we--

251

00:14:59,610 --> 00:15:02,330

252

00:15:02,330 --> 00:15:07,350
things were very, very extreme.

253

00:15:07,350 --> 00:15:12,360
But somehow naively,
we did not expect

254

00:15:12,360 --> 00:15:17,190
such a thing would make it
totally impossible for any Jew

255

00:15:17,190 --> 00:15:20,430
to live any kind of
existence in Germany.

256

00:15:20,430 --> 00:15:22,140
And we certainly at
that time did not

257

00:15:22,140 --> 00:15:24,960
think that it would
lead to a Holocaust

258

00:15:24,960 --> 00:15:27,780
or to the murder of everybody.

259

00:15:27,780 --> 00:15:29,520
Your sisters were
younger than you.

260

00:15:29,520 --> 00:15:30,030
Oh, yes.

261

00:15:30,030 --> 00:15:33,120
Did you talk over
with them-- were

262

00:15:33,120 --> 00:15:34,710
you close enough
to them growing up

263
00:15:34,710 --> 00:15:38,820
that you were able to talk over
very disturbing events that

264
00:15:38,820 --> 00:15:39,720
were happening?

265
00:15:39,720 --> 00:15:40,380
No, I mean--

266
00:15:40,380 --> 00:15:41,790
Did you have that kind of
relationship with them,

267
00:15:41,790 --> 00:15:42,960
or they were too young?

268
00:15:42,960 --> 00:15:44,850
Not-- I mean at
the family table,

269
00:15:44,850 --> 00:15:47,580
yes, I mean, we had
our meals together.

270
00:15:47,580 --> 00:15:53,340
But they were to this day
even, remarkably unpolitical.

271
00:15:53,340 --> 00:15:58,410
And sometimes when we
exchange experiences

272
00:15:58,410 --> 00:16:01,560
it seemed as if we did
not have the same parents.

273
00:16:01,560 --> 00:16:03,600
Different perspectives?

274
00:16:03,600 --> 00:16:09,570

They, for the time being,
continued in the school

275
00:16:09,570 --> 00:16:10,920
in Stuttgart.

276
00:16:10,920 --> 00:16:13,980
Now, my father
commuted to Berlin

277
00:16:13,980 --> 00:16:17,070
beginning in the fall of 1933.

278
00:16:17,070 --> 00:16:24,900
But for a two year period
he just had a room in Berlin

279
00:16:24,900 --> 00:16:27,690
and came home first
every weekend.

280
00:16:27,690 --> 00:16:31,230
He remained president of the
Jewish community in Wurttemberg

281
00:16:31,230 --> 00:16:34,110
on a part-time basis.

282
00:16:34,110 --> 00:16:41,130
And then he resigned that
job the following year.

283
00:16:41,130 --> 00:16:45,340
But he still came home every
other week or every three weeks

284
00:16:45,340 --> 00:16:45,840
or so.

285
00:16:45,840 --> 00:16:48,450
But two years later
in the fall of '35

286

00:16:48,450 --> 00:16:53,160

it became clear that the
family had to move to Berlin.

287

00:16:53,160 --> 00:16:59,940

So my younger sister
went to Berlin

288

00:16:59,940 --> 00:17:05,250

and went to a private Jewish
school there immediately.

289

00:17:05,250 --> 00:17:09,359

Very interesting,
a woman founded

290

00:17:09,359 --> 00:17:11,640

a private Jewish school.

291

00:17:11,640 --> 00:17:15,750

And my older sister,
who was in the highest

292

00:17:15,750 --> 00:17:22,020

grade of this public but
unusual experimental school

293

00:17:22,020 --> 00:17:25,470

in Stuttgart, was permitted
to stay in Stuttgart.

294

00:17:25,470 --> 00:17:29,520

She lived with an uncle
and aunt and graduated

295

00:17:29,520 --> 00:17:31,170

from whatever grade she was in.

296

00:17:31,170 --> 00:17:33,330

It must have been eighth
grade by that time.

297

00:17:33,330 --> 00:17:36,900
And then came to Berlin, and
also went to the same school.

298
00:17:36,900 --> 00:17:41,490
And of course by that time
they knew what was going on.

299
00:17:41,490 --> 00:17:46,620
But they were much
less interested

300
00:17:46,620 --> 00:17:50,100
in the details of Jewish life.

301
00:17:50,100 --> 00:17:55,020
And my father shared
really everything that

302
00:17:55,020 --> 00:17:56,700
was not confidential with me.

303
00:17:56,700 --> 00:18:00,390
I was amazed how many
experiences he always

304
00:18:00,390 --> 00:18:01,500
shared with me.

305
00:18:01,500 --> 00:18:08,730
And I was very anxious
to listen to him.

306
00:18:08,730 --> 00:18:13,260
But my sisters' interests were--

307
00:18:13,260 --> 00:18:15,720
I mean, mealtimes we
were together, of course,

308
00:18:15,720 --> 00:18:18,670
but otherwise they
were so much younger.

309
00:18:18,670 --> 00:18:19,170
And--

310
00:18:19,170 --> 00:18:22,510
Right, it was a
difference in age.

311
00:18:22,510 --> 00:18:26,560
--and that was-- they
lived in a different world

312
00:18:26,560 --> 00:18:27,450
in that respect.

313
00:18:27,450 --> 00:18:29,510
Did you meet Rabbi Leo Baeck?

314
00:18:29,510 --> 00:18:30,180
Oh, yes.

315
00:18:30,180 --> 00:18:32,460
When did you first meet him?

316
00:18:32,460 --> 00:18:34,920
Well, I didn't meet much of him.

317
00:18:34,920 --> 00:18:39,390
Whenever he came to
Stuttgart I was not at home.

318
00:18:39,390 --> 00:18:43,770
And in Berlin, however, I
met him a number of times.

319
00:18:43,770 --> 00:18:48,780
And finally, I had an
unforgettable farewell visit

320
00:18:48,780 --> 00:18:53,730
with him in his home,
which was very touching.

321
00:18:53,730 --> 00:19:03,240
And also as a [INAUDIBLE] token,
my little traveling Tanakh

322
00:19:03,240 --> 00:19:05,820
was came through him.

323
00:19:05,820 --> 00:19:10,930
I wanted a small Tanakh
for travel purposes.

324
00:19:10,930 --> 00:19:14,220
And as I was working
on farms and had

325
00:19:14,220 --> 00:19:16,890
no direct access
to any bookstores

326
00:19:16,890 --> 00:19:18,990
I asked my father to get me one.

327
00:19:18,990 --> 00:19:22,530
And he asked Baeck, and my
Tanakh, which I have here.

328
00:19:22,530 --> 00:19:26,280
I've had it all lifelong,
came to me through

329
00:19:26,280 --> 00:19:29,580
the hands of Leo Baeck.

330
00:19:29,580 --> 00:19:31,170
You said you had decided--

331
00:19:31,170 --> 00:19:32,370
again, we're backing up.

332
00:19:32,370 --> 00:19:34,240
You decided to go

into agriculture.

333

00:19:34,240 --> 00:19:36,130

You thought that
would be an area.

334

00:19:36,130 --> 00:19:37,580

OK, so what did you do?

335

00:19:37,580 --> 00:19:38,790

How did you prepare yourself?

336

00:19:38,790 --> 00:19:39,240

Well--

337

00:19:39,240 --> 00:19:40,073

Or trained yourself?

338

00:19:40,073 --> 00:19:43,260

--I first went to
a small farmer--

339

00:19:43,260 --> 00:19:45,525

I was bicycling away from home--

340

00:19:45,525 --> 00:19:48,120

341

00:19:48,120 --> 00:19:48,870

who--

342

00:19:48,870 --> 00:19:49,860

This is Stuttgart?

343

00:19:49,860 --> 00:19:53,610

--a family farmer
for whom I worked

344

00:19:53,610 --> 00:19:58,110

for half a year from
April to October 1934,

345

00:19:58,110 --> 00:20:01,080
to learn sort of the basics.

346

00:20:01,080 --> 00:20:04,450
How to milk, and how to
clean the horses and cows,

347

00:20:04,450 --> 00:20:06,690
and how to feed them.

348

00:20:06,690 --> 00:20:14,970
And he didn't have enough
work in winter time, so my--

349

00:20:14,970 --> 00:20:15,832
for that winter--

350

00:20:15,832 --> 00:20:17,040
Was this a non-Jewish farmer?

351

00:20:17,040 --> 00:20:20,130
Oh, yes, oh, yes,
absolutely non-Jewish.

352

00:20:20,130 --> 00:20:23,490
Well, there we had an
interesting incident.

353

00:20:23,490 --> 00:20:26,310
I worked there, I think
my father actually

354

00:20:26,310 --> 00:20:30,150
paid the man a very
small amount for my

355

00:20:30,150 --> 00:20:33,900
keep, thinking that I would
essentially have to learn.

356

00:20:33,900 --> 00:20:36,090
But of course, I worked.

357

00:20:36,090 --> 00:20:38,400

And some of the
farmers there were

358

00:20:38,400 --> 00:20:40,770

very anxious to get
Jewish assistance

359

00:20:40,770 --> 00:20:43,950

like this, because they
got very cheap labor.

360

00:20:43,950 --> 00:20:46,450

And there were a
few more-- not many,

361

00:20:46,450 --> 00:20:49,090

but maybe a handful of Jewish--

362

00:20:49,090 --> 00:20:52,500

the others were
placed by [INAUDIBLE]

363

00:20:52,500 --> 00:20:56,550

for [HEBREW] purposes to
prepare to go to Palestine.

364

00:20:56,550 --> 00:21:00,300

And then the local
Nazi leader thought

365

00:21:00,300 --> 00:21:03,840

that was getting too much,
and he posted an order

366

00:21:03,840 --> 00:21:09,690

at the town hall saying that
no more Jews would be permitted

367

00:21:09,690 --> 00:21:14,640

to take up any apprentices
and apprenticeships

368
00:21:14,640 --> 00:21:15,990
in the municipality.

369
00:21:15,990 --> 00:21:21,390

370
00:21:21,390 --> 00:21:23,520
Then for the following
winter, as I said,

371
00:21:23,520 --> 00:21:26,170
this farmer had no more work.

372
00:21:26,170 --> 00:21:29,070
And the question was, what
would I do that winter.

373
00:21:29,070 --> 00:21:33,690
And my father said
I have always been

374
00:21:33,690 --> 00:21:36,420
not orthodox out of ignorance.

375
00:21:36,420 --> 00:21:39,000
I want my son either
to be orthodox

376
00:21:39,000 --> 00:21:42,030
or to know exactly why
he is not orthodox.

377
00:21:42,030 --> 00:21:44,505
Would you be willing to
go to yeshiva in Frankfurt

378
00:21:44,505 --> 00:21:47,970
for a winter, and either
turn orthodox or know

379
00:21:47,970 --> 00:21:49,920

why you are not orthodox?

380
00:21:49,920 --> 00:21:52,890
So I thought that was
an intriguing idea.

381
00:21:52,890 --> 00:21:56,220
And I went to the
Orthodox rabbi,

382
00:21:56,220 --> 00:21:57,750
who was a member
of the governing

383
00:21:57,750 --> 00:22:00,690
board of the Reichsvertretung
of my father's

384
00:22:00,690 --> 00:22:06,180
organization, arranged for me to
be a student at at his yeshiva.

385
00:22:06,180 --> 00:22:10,260
He was one of the leading
orthodox rabbis in Germany.

386
00:22:10,260 --> 00:22:11,830
And I tell you--

387
00:22:11,830 --> 00:22:12,330
His name?

388
00:22:12,330 --> 00:22:13,010
Pardon me?

389
00:22:13,010 --> 00:22:14,190
His name?

390
00:22:14,190 --> 00:22:15,840
Rabbi Jacob Hoffman.

391
00:22:15,840 --> 00:22:19,650

He later came to New York and
had a congregation in New York,

392
00:22:19,650 --> 00:22:22,980
and died in old age as
a rabbi in New York.

393
00:22:22,980 --> 00:22:28,380
And it didn't take
me very long to know

394
00:22:28,380 --> 00:22:29,910
that I would not be orthodox.

395
00:22:29,910 --> 00:22:33,390
As a matter of fact,
I found I mean--

396
00:22:33,390 --> 00:22:37,710
oh, the yeshiva had
younger teenagers,

397
00:22:37,710 --> 00:22:41,490
people typically two years
or so younger than I,

398
00:22:41,490 --> 00:22:43,140
living there in a dormitory.

399
00:22:43,140 --> 00:22:46,230
And it was realized right away
that this would not be for me.

400
00:22:46,230 --> 00:22:49,590
So I was quartered with
an orthodox family.

401
00:22:49,590 --> 00:22:56,160
And I agreed that I would
abide by their rules--

402
00:22:56,160 --> 00:22:59,460
eat kosher, and not write

on Shabbat, and so on.

403

00:22:59,460 --> 00:23:02,040

404

00:23:02,040 --> 00:23:05,460

But I pretty soon decided
tefillin was not for me.

405

00:23:05,460 --> 00:23:07,380

I had learned it
as a bar mitzvah,

406

00:23:07,380 --> 00:23:11,740

and now I would need
some assistance to do it.

407

00:23:11,740 --> 00:23:14,550

But at that time, I
still knew how to do it.

408

00:23:14,550 --> 00:23:18,990

And I did it a few times and
decided this was not for me.

409

00:23:18,990 --> 00:23:21,130

Did you feel safe on the
streets in Frankfurt?

410

00:23:21,130 --> 00:23:21,630

Oh, yes.

411

00:23:21,630 --> 00:23:22,380

This is 1934?

412

00:23:22,380 --> 00:23:24,180

'34.

413

00:23:24,180 --> 00:23:27,600

Into '34, '35, oh yes, oh, yes.

414

00:23:27,600 --> 00:23:34,200

And I lived there with
that family from November

415
00:23:34,200 --> 00:23:38,160
until February or March 1935.

416
00:23:38,160 --> 00:23:41,340
And pretty soon I felt
that I was changing

417
00:23:41,340 --> 00:23:44,325
my academic curriculum
from attending classes

418
00:23:44,325 --> 00:23:46,950
at the yeshiva to
attending classes

419
00:23:46,950 --> 00:23:49,700
at Martin Buber's Lehrhaus.

420
00:23:49,700 --> 00:23:51,500
Martin Buber was
still teaching there,

421
00:23:51,500 --> 00:23:54,660
and there were a number of
very distinguished teachers

422
00:23:54,660 --> 00:23:56,100
at the Lehrhaus.

423
00:23:56,100 --> 00:24:01,830
And I retained only one
quarter at the yeshiva,

424
00:24:01,830 --> 00:24:06,240
and otherwise spent my
time taking as many courses

425
00:24:06,240 --> 00:24:09,300
as I could at the Lehrhaus.

426

00:24:09,300 --> 00:24:15,030

And then I found a new
job on a farm in Bavaria,

427

00:24:15,030 --> 00:24:16,380

east of Munich.

428

00:24:16,380 --> 00:24:21,930

Farm was owned by a
Stuttgart family who

429

00:24:21,930 --> 00:24:25,890

had a very flourishing
retail store in Stuttgart

430

00:24:25,890 --> 00:24:28,890

and had acquired said farm
as an investment many years

431

00:24:28,890 --> 00:24:31,500

earlier, absentee landlords.

432

00:24:31,500 --> 00:24:35,400

And there were two of us there.

433

00:24:35,400 --> 00:24:41,070

A man slightly older than I who
had already had some university

434

00:24:41,070 --> 00:24:43,470

education, and after
the Nazis came to power

435

00:24:43,470 --> 00:24:46,350

decided to go into
farming, and I.

436

00:24:46,350 --> 00:24:51,160

And we worked there
and learned the ropes.

437

00:24:51,160 --> 00:24:57,060

However, the farm was
sold into public ownership

438
00:24:57,060 --> 00:25:01,230
in the fall of 1935.

439
00:25:01,230 --> 00:25:05,390
And they immediately
decided the idea

440
00:25:05,390 --> 00:25:11,120
was the farm would be broken
down into family sized plots.

441
00:25:11,120 --> 00:25:13,880
But before they did anything,
the first step they took

442
00:25:13,880 --> 00:25:17,120
was to dismiss the Jews.

443
00:25:17,120 --> 00:25:25,100
So before I was given
notice as of December 30th,

444
00:25:25,100 --> 00:25:28,190
and very conveniently
three weeks earlier I

445
00:25:28,190 --> 00:25:31,820
developed appendicitis and had
to go to the Jewish hospital

446
00:25:31,820 --> 00:25:33,590
in Munich for an appendectomy.

447
00:25:33,590 --> 00:25:38,050

448
00:25:38,050 --> 00:25:42,070
So your experiences
up to that point--

449

00:25:42,070 --> 00:25:45,460

negative experiences--
were in school previously,

450

00:25:45,460 --> 00:25:51,010

and then losing your
job on the farm?

451

00:25:51,010 --> 00:25:55,030

Yeah, I mean, the negative
experiences pervaded life.

452

00:25:55,030 --> 00:25:57,970

I mean, the fact of what
happened to my father

453

00:25:57,970 --> 00:25:59,500

and to the boycott
and everything.

454

00:25:59,500 --> 00:26:01,390

Right.

455

00:26:01,390 --> 00:26:03,100

It was all pervasive.

456

00:26:03,100 --> 00:26:03,777

This was not a--

457

00:26:03,777 --> 00:26:05,610

But I meant to you
individually, rather than

458

00:26:05,610 --> 00:26:06,443

the [BOTH TALKING]--

459

00:26:06,443 --> 00:26:10,000

I mean, you learned
how to live with it.

460

00:26:10,000 --> 00:26:11,088

But on the other hand--

461
00:26:11,088 --> 00:26:12,630
How do you learn
how to live with it?

462
00:26:12,630 --> 00:26:15,230

463
00:26:15,230 --> 00:26:16,910
Well, I mean, we--

464
00:26:16,910 --> 00:26:20,000
it was extremely painful.

465
00:26:20,000 --> 00:26:23,430
It required a total
rethinking of history.

466
00:26:23,430 --> 00:26:28,040
We had interpreted
Jewish history in Germany

467
00:26:28,040 --> 00:26:35,240
as a period of something like
1800 years of persecution,

468
00:26:35,240 --> 00:26:36,620
but then emancipation.

469
00:26:36,620 --> 00:26:38,870
And beginning already
in the 18th century

470
00:26:38,870 --> 00:26:41,480
and into our time things
were getting better.

471
00:26:41,480 --> 00:26:44,960
And whatever bad happened
was just a relapse.

472
00:26:44,960 --> 00:26:45,740

But things--

473

00:26:45,740 --> 00:26:47,690

So you were
predominantly optimistic?

474

00:26:47,690 --> 00:26:48,620

Oh, yes.

475

00:26:48,620 --> 00:26:54,080

And then, of course, we
realized that this was

476

00:26:54,080 --> 00:26:57,890

a relapse of the worst kind.

477

00:26:57,890 --> 00:26:58,910

But very temporary?

478

00:26:58,910 --> 00:27:04,130

That could last long, but it
certainly would not wipe out

479

00:27:04,130 --> 00:27:05,570

Jewish life in Germany.

480

00:27:05,570 --> 00:27:10,370

That was absolutely unthinkable
for us at that time.

481

00:27:10,370 --> 00:27:12,740

You said you went to
Martin Buber's Lehrhaus Did

482

00:27:12,740 --> 00:27:15,250

you meet with him?

483

00:27:15,250 --> 00:27:19,370

By that time, Martin Buber had
been a friend of many years.

484

00:27:19,370 --> 00:27:25,070

Martin Buber and
my father and a man

485
00:27:25,070 --> 00:27:29,400
by the name of
Leopold Marks, also

486
00:27:29,400 --> 00:27:35,150
a very successful
industrialist in Stuttgart,

487
00:27:35,150 --> 00:27:37,970
who however had very--

488
00:27:37,970 --> 00:27:43,190
was a poet and had very strong
ideas about Jewish education

489
00:27:43,190 --> 00:27:45,850
and Jewish study--

490
00:27:45,850 --> 00:27:49,670
these two men were
the primary founders

491
00:27:49,670 --> 00:27:52,730
of the Lehrhaus
of the Foundation

492
00:27:52,730 --> 00:28:00,140
for Jewish Studies in Stuttgart
in 1926, in February 1926.

493
00:28:00,140 --> 00:28:03,890
And they were definitely
under the influence of Buber.

494
00:28:03,890 --> 00:28:07,280
And beginning with the founding
of the Stuttgart Lehrhaus,

495
00:28:07,280 --> 00:28:09,680
Buber came to

Stuttgart every year.

496

00:28:09,680 --> 00:28:11,840

And typically he
was our house guest,

497

00:28:11,840 --> 00:28:13,730

and typically he
slept in my room

498

00:28:13,730 --> 00:28:17,150

and I went upstairs
or somewhere else.

499

00:28:17,150 --> 00:28:23,840

And in those years
the typical program

500

00:28:23,840 --> 00:28:27,920

for Buber's visit to
Stuttgart was a dialogue

501

00:28:27,920 --> 00:28:33,230

with a Christian theologian.

502

00:28:33,230 --> 00:28:38,870

And in the early years I was
considered too young to attend.

503

00:28:38,870 --> 00:28:42,380

I was only attending
the last of these,

504

00:28:42,380 --> 00:28:48,380

which was just in January
1933, a few days before Hitler

505

00:28:48,380 --> 00:28:50,240

was appointed chancellor.

506

00:28:50,240 --> 00:28:53,360

And this was absolutely
unforgettable,

507
00:28:53,360 --> 00:28:57,800
because it was
unusually acrimonious.

508
00:28:57,800 --> 00:29:00,770

509
00:29:00,770 --> 00:29:07,490
Buber was matched with a
leading Lutheran theologian, man

510
00:29:07,490 --> 00:29:09,410
by the name of [PERSONAL NAME].

511
00:29:09,410 --> 00:29:11,240
Excuse me, Schmidt, Schmidt.

512
00:29:11,240 --> 00:29:13,010
I'm mixing up two theologians.

513
00:29:13,010 --> 00:29:18,830
Schmidt was the man's name, who
later on had to flee himself.

514
00:29:18,830 --> 00:29:22,730
And I think as I recall
he went to Switzerland.

515
00:29:22,730 --> 00:29:30,740
But he abused the
hospitality of the Lehrhaus

516
00:29:30,740 --> 00:29:33,770
to tell his audience
that we were all

517
00:29:33,770 --> 00:29:37,010
condemned unless we
accepted Christianity,

518
00:29:37,010 --> 00:29:45,740

and salvation was only possible
through faith in Jesus Christ.

519

00:29:45,740 --> 00:29:49,670
And Buber sat there on the stage
and listened to all of that.

520

00:29:49,670 --> 00:29:52,940
And then came his
turn, and he said,

521

00:29:52,940 --> 00:29:55,730
as you know I live
in Heppenheim, which

522

00:29:55,730 --> 00:29:58,190
is not very far from Worms.

523

00:29:58,190 --> 00:30:01,910
And once in a while
I go over there just

524

00:30:01,910 --> 00:30:04,850
to visit the old cemetery.

525

00:30:04,850 --> 00:30:09,380
And from the cemetery you look
at this grandeur of the dome,

526

00:30:09,380 --> 00:30:11,570
the beautiful architecture.

527

00:30:11,570 --> 00:30:15,230
But I know God is
at the cemetery.

528

00:30:15,230 --> 00:30:18,970
And nobody can tell
me that he's not.

529

00:30:18,970 --> 00:30:21,170
And later on he was published.

530

00:30:21,170 --> 00:30:28,000

[CRYING] That was part of my
very interesting experiences.

531

00:30:28,000 --> 00:30:33,900

532

00:30:33,900 --> 00:30:45,030

So I mean, my father and
Buber were very close friends.

533

00:30:45,030 --> 00:30:49,790

At one time I took a
bicycle trip the 80 miles

534

00:30:49,790 --> 00:30:53,940

from Stuttgart to Heppenheim
visit him in his home.

535

00:30:53,940 --> 00:30:55,520

By the way, this
was the only time

536

00:30:55,520 --> 00:30:59,430

I ever was in Buber's
house in Heppenheim.

537

00:30:59,430 --> 00:31:03,660

And last June, just a year
ago, almost to the day,

538

00:31:03,660 --> 00:31:06,230

I visited the Buber house again.

539

00:31:06,230 --> 00:31:10,400

This was a very, very
interesting experience

540

00:31:10,400 --> 00:31:12,170

coming back to
that house where I

541

00:31:12,170 --> 00:31:17,015
had come as a young bicyclist
many decades before.

542
00:31:17,015 --> 00:31:27,010

543
00:31:27,010 --> 00:31:28,840
This is tape two,
side B. And you

544
00:31:28,840 --> 00:31:30,700
were talking about
your relationship

545
00:31:30,700 --> 00:31:33,820
and your experiences
with Martin Buber.

546
00:31:33,820 --> 00:31:40,990
Did you talk over the
Nazi situation with him?

547
00:31:40,990 --> 00:31:42,070
No.

548
00:31:42,070 --> 00:31:44,270
On a one-to-one basis did you--

549
00:31:44,270 --> 00:31:44,770
No.

550
00:31:44,770 --> 00:31:46,300
--have opportunity to do that?

551
00:31:46,300 --> 00:31:52,660
I mean, what happened, Buber,
of course, rather early in 1934

552
00:31:52,660 --> 00:31:58,630
my father initiated
steps to appoint

553

00:31:58,630 --> 00:32:02,900

Buber as director of Jewish
Adult Education in Germany.

554

00:32:02,900 --> 00:32:07,390

And he submitted this proposal
to the governing board,

555

00:32:07,390 --> 00:32:09,190

and everybody, of
course, accepted.

556

00:32:09,190 --> 00:32:14,590

And Buber was very
eager to do with this,

557

00:32:14,590 --> 00:32:20,860

and he did a marvelous job
in strengthening Jewish

558

00:32:20,860 --> 00:32:25,120

consciousness and
Jewish spirituality

559

00:32:25,120 --> 00:32:28,150

and Jewish response to Naziism.

560

00:32:28,150 --> 00:32:31,810

So much so that the
Nazis caught on to it

561

00:32:31,810 --> 00:32:36,760

and gave Buber a speaking--

562

00:32:36,760 --> 00:32:38,560

prohibited from speaking.

563

00:32:38,560 --> 00:32:41,890

Now, I forgot when
exactly that took place.

564

00:32:41,890 --> 00:32:46,150

It's reflected in his letters,
which I have on my bookshelf.

565

00:32:46,150 --> 00:32:52,960
But somewhere in '37 or so Buber
was prohibited from speaking.

566

00:32:52,960 --> 00:32:58,780
And then he made
arrangements for his aliyah

567

00:32:58,780 --> 00:33:00,970
and he was reinstated.

568

00:33:00,970 --> 00:33:02,530
This ban was temporary.

569

00:33:02,530 --> 00:33:06,910
As I recall, at the time when
Buber left Germany in-- now

570

00:33:06,910 --> 00:33:08,380
wait a second.

571

00:33:08,380 --> 00:33:15,920
I said '38, but it was in '37
when this ban had been removed.

572

00:33:15,920 --> 00:33:21,400
However, in May 1937
Buber made aliyah.

573

00:33:21,400 --> 00:33:23,500
And by strange
coincidence I happened

574

00:33:23,500 --> 00:33:26,320
to be in Jerusalem on
the day when he arrived.

575

00:33:26,320 --> 00:33:29,410
So I was invited as
his luncheon guest.

576
00:33:29,410 --> 00:33:31,600
I mean, he fell into--

577
00:33:31,600 --> 00:33:35,140
everything was prepared by his
children, who the daughter was

578
00:33:35,140 --> 00:33:39,230
in in Jerusalem, the son was
elsewhere in the country.

579
00:33:39,230 --> 00:33:41,800
And they lovingly prepared
everything for their parents.

580
00:33:41,800 --> 00:33:43,510
There was a beautiful apartment.

581
00:33:43,510 --> 00:33:46,360
And they arrived.

582
00:33:46,360 --> 00:33:49,300
And by very strange
and happy coincidence

583
00:33:49,300 --> 00:33:53,770
I was a lunch guest
on the day of arrival.

584
00:33:53,770 --> 00:33:57,400
If we can back up a little bit,
you were released from the farm

585
00:33:57,400 --> 00:34:00,310
because the rule came
out that they could not

586
00:34:00,310 --> 00:34:02,050
have Jewish farm workers.

587
00:34:02,050 --> 00:34:03,270

We're backing up 1930--

588

00:34:03,270 --> 00:34:05,800

And then while I was
recuperating from my--

589

00:34:05,800 --> 00:34:06,312

Appendix.

590

00:34:06,312 --> 00:34:06,895

Appendectomy--

591

00:34:06,895 --> 00:34:07,690

Right.

592

00:34:07,690 --> 00:34:12,300

I was discovering
another Jewish farmer

593

00:34:12,300 --> 00:34:15,460

in the Munich area,
this one west of Munich

594

00:34:15,460 --> 00:34:17,980

with a very
interesting operation.

595

00:34:17,980 --> 00:34:24,550

He employed and one of
the outstanding sheep

596

00:34:24,550 --> 00:34:26,260

breeders of Germany.

597

00:34:26,260 --> 00:34:36,159

And I was offered a job there
as sort of an apprentice.

598

00:34:36,159 --> 00:34:40,960

And I roomed with another
Jewish man who was-- oh, that

599

00:34:40,960 --> 00:34:42,530
was in the brewery.

600
00:34:42,530 --> 00:34:47,409
The man who owned that farm
was the owner of the Lowenbrau

601
00:34:47,409 --> 00:34:48,880
Brewery--

602
00:34:48,880 --> 00:34:56,020
everybody knows Loewnbrau-- an
exceedingly smart businessmen

603
00:34:56,020 --> 00:35:03,970
who responded to the Nazi
threat by some intricate deal,

604
00:35:03,970 --> 00:35:07,580
whereby he exchanged shares
with a Japanese brewery

605
00:35:07,580 --> 00:35:11,710
so that the Nazis couldn't
touch his property.

606
00:35:11,710 --> 00:35:16,060
And for retirement
purposes he had

607
00:35:16,060 --> 00:35:18,490
bought a small
brewery independent

608
00:35:18,490 --> 00:35:21,250
of the big Lowenbrau in Munich.

609
00:35:21,250 --> 00:35:26,020
Just as a country seed some
40 miles west of Munich,

610
00:35:26,020 --> 00:35:28,720
which had a big and

very successful,

611

00:35:28,720 --> 00:35:34,280

very interesting farming
enterprise connected with it.

612

00:35:34,280 --> 00:35:35,950

I mentioned the sheep.

613

00:35:35,950 --> 00:35:40,150

He had some distance
from the principal farm

614

00:35:40,150 --> 00:35:42,850

he had some land
which was in peat.

615

00:35:42,850 --> 00:35:45,730

And on the one hand, there
was some peat mining,

616

00:35:45,730 --> 00:35:48,790

and the peat was used
as fuel for the brewery.

617

00:35:48,790 --> 00:35:53,210

And on the other hand,
this peat land was farmed.

618

00:35:53,210 --> 00:35:55,340

And this was very,
very interesting,

619

00:35:55,340 --> 00:35:58,450

because this was soil
which was rich in hydrogen

620

00:35:58,450 --> 00:35:59,740

and had no minerals.

621

00:35:59,740 --> 00:36:03,220

And you had to follow a very,
very intricate fertilization

622
00:36:03,220 --> 00:36:06,820
program, and a very intricate
crop rotation program.

623
00:36:06,820 --> 00:36:09,100
It was absolutely fascinating.

624
00:36:09,100 --> 00:36:12,370
And next to this
outlying piece was

625
00:36:12,370 --> 00:36:15,220
one of the largest
monasteries of Germany.

626
00:36:15,220 --> 00:36:18,560
And they had an agricultural
school connected with it.

627
00:36:18,560 --> 00:36:21,940
And they invited me to
attend the evening sessions.

628
00:36:21,940 --> 00:36:23,050
Knowing you were Jewish?

629
00:36:23,050 --> 00:36:24,100
Oh, yes, oh, yes.

630
00:36:24,100 --> 00:36:28,265
I mean, they were proud to have
a Jew attend their sessions.

631
00:36:28,265 --> 00:36:31,830

632
00:36:31,830 --> 00:36:36,720
They made it clear that
they were anti-Nazi.

633
00:36:36,720 --> 00:36:39,870

Now you are 18 now, are you not?

634
00:36:39,870 --> 00:36:40,370
19--

635
00:36:40,370 --> 00:36:41,241
19?

636
00:36:41,241 --> 00:36:41,741
--36.

637
00:36:41,741 --> 00:36:42,690
So you're--

638
00:36:42,690 --> 00:36:43,945
I was going on 18.

639
00:36:43,945 --> 00:36:46,450
Yeah, that's right.

640
00:36:46,450 --> 00:36:50,490
And that was a
fascinating period.

641
00:36:50,490 --> 00:36:51,690
Now--

642
00:36:51,690 --> 00:36:52,440
We're at 1936 now?

643
00:36:52,440 --> 00:36:53,357
Is that what you said?

644
00:36:53,357 --> 00:36:53,870
Yeah, 1936.

645
00:36:53,870 --> 00:36:54,860
So you were 20?

646
00:36:54,860 --> 00:36:56,310
20, excuse me.

647
00:36:56,310 --> 00:36:56,970
I said 19.

648
00:36:56,970 --> 00:37:00,240
I meant to say 20,
I made a mistake.

649
00:37:00,240 --> 00:37:01,090
And--

650
00:37:01,090 --> 00:37:02,820
And what kind of
communication did you

651
00:37:02,820 --> 00:37:05,280
have with your parents while
you were out in the country?

652
00:37:05,280 --> 00:37:08,730
Well, I mean, did
a lot of writing.

653
00:37:08,730 --> 00:37:11,190
In those days you didn't
use the telephone in the way

654
00:37:11,190 --> 00:37:12,730
you use it now.

655
00:37:12,730 --> 00:37:16,380
A lot of writing,
rare telephoning.

656
00:37:16,380 --> 00:37:19,840
But also an awful
lot of traveling.

657
00:37:19,840 --> 00:37:23,310
And I mean, my father
of course, ex officio,

658

00:37:23,310 --> 00:37:25,890
even after the parents
had moved to Berlin,

659
00:37:25,890 --> 00:37:29,880
he was on the road particularly
to Stuttgart and Munich

660
00:37:29,880 --> 00:37:32,280
and so on very, very often.

661
00:37:32,280 --> 00:37:35,280
And, of course, he
also traveled abroad.

662
00:37:35,280 --> 00:37:37,590
My father did an awful
lot of traveling.

663
00:37:37,590 --> 00:37:38,550
He was in--

664
00:37:38,550 --> 00:37:39,900
To raise funds?

665
00:37:39,900 --> 00:37:42,990
To New York to raise funds,
to London to coordinate

666
00:37:42,990 --> 00:37:46,440
foreign relief for German Jews.

667
00:37:46,440 --> 00:37:49,960
In those years the parents
also were in Palestine.

668
00:37:49,960 --> 00:37:52,150
I mean, my father
traveled an awful lot.

669
00:37:52,150 --> 00:37:55,920
And I traveled a
number of times.

670
00:37:55,920 --> 00:37:59,370
I was still active in the
German Jewish Youth Movement.

671
00:37:59,370 --> 00:38:02,430
Oh, we were talking about
when I was a teenager how

672
00:38:02,430 --> 00:38:05,250
I was in this group,
which was hiking

673
00:38:05,250 --> 00:38:08,820
and what was part of the
German Jewish Youth Movement.

674
00:38:08,820 --> 00:38:09,360
I must--

675
00:38:09,360 --> 00:38:10,530
Did that have a name?

676
00:38:10,530 --> 00:38:13,530
Kameraden, Comrades
in translated title.

677
00:38:13,530 --> 00:38:16,920
And very interestingly
that organization

678
00:38:16,920 --> 00:38:22,050
broke apart before
the Nazis in 1932.

679
00:38:22,050 --> 00:38:26,950
That was one largest
component which had--

680
00:38:26,950 --> 00:38:31,170
they had become
Zionist Socialists.

681

00:38:31,170 --> 00:38:35,880
And Zionism meant going on
[HEBREW],, going to Palestine.

682

00:38:35,880 --> 00:38:41,040
And there was another
component, which

683

00:38:41,040 --> 00:38:47,550
had developed into a pretty
severe German nationalists.

684

00:38:47,550 --> 00:38:51,003
Who said, well, if
anybody wants to be Jewish

685

00:38:51,003 --> 00:38:52,170
that's his private business.

686

00:38:52,170 --> 00:38:54,360
We respect that,
but as a group we

687

00:38:54,360 --> 00:39:01,710
just want to be German Boy
Scouts and German hikers

688

00:39:01,710 --> 00:39:05,580
and that sort of thing.

689

00:39:05,580 --> 00:39:08,920
And then there was
a small component--

690

00:39:08,920 --> 00:39:10,410
very small
component-- who wanted

691

00:39:10,410 --> 00:39:13,140
to be to serve the
Jewish population

692

00:39:13,140 --> 00:39:16,215
or to be dissolved into
German working society.

693
00:39:16,215 --> 00:39:20,613
We are Socialists, but we
don't want to have anything

694
00:39:20,613 --> 00:39:21,405
to do with Judaism.

695
00:39:21,405 --> 00:39:25,200
Well, the Stuttgart group,
except for my own group,

696
00:39:25,200 --> 00:39:32,340
about 90 people or so were all
part of the Zionist Socialist

697
00:39:32,340 --> 00:39:33,060
group.

698
00:39:33,060 --> 00:39:36,750
And only my own very
small group of handful

699
00:39:36,750 --> 00:39:40,890
of people-- five, six, seven, or
eight, we refused to go along.

700
00:39:40,890 --> 00:39:46,200
And for a year or so we operated
as a small independent group.

701
00:39:46,200 --> 00:39:50,970
And in the summer of 1933,
a year after the break up,

702
00:39:50,970 --> 00:39:53,940
we figured we cannot continue
to exist independently.

703
00:39:53,940 --> 00:39:55,500

We have to affiliate
with some kind

704
00:39:55,500 --> 00:39:56,370
of a national organization--

705
00:39:56,370 --> 00:39:58,710
In other words, you didn't
consider yourself a Zionist?

706
00:39:58,710 --> 00:39:59,280
We were not.

707
00:39:59,280 --> 00:40:00,060
You were not.

708
00:40:00,060 --> 00:40:01,530
Right, OK.

709
00:40:01,530 --> 00:40:09,480
And so I went to Berlin and
found an organization there,

710
00:40:09,480 --> 00:40:14,760
which was just the right
thing for us, and with a very

711
00:40:14,760 --> 00:40:21,780
dynamic leader, who recently
died in Miami in his 80s.

712
00:40:21,780 --> 00:40:24,630
And we affiliated
with that group,

713
00:40:24,630 --> 00:40:28,080
and it was not very long
until all German Jewish--

714
00:40:28,080 --> 00:40:30,450
and that means the
non-Zionist youth groups--

715

00:40:30,450 --> 00:40:32,190

there were quite
a number of them--

716

00:40:32,190 --> 00:40:33,210

united.

717

00:40:33,210 --> 00:40:39,010

And as of late 1933, we
formed one United Nation

718

00:40:39,010 --> 00:40:43,450

by a German Jewish Organization,
which was headed, by the way,

719

00:40:43,450 --> 00:40:45,990

by a man who lives just
a few miles from here,

720

00:40:45,990 --> 00:40:46,830

Henry Kellerman.

721

00:40:46,830 --> 00:40:48,720

I don't know whether
you recognize the name.

722

00:40:48,720 --> 00:40:53,310

He has been active at the
Washington Hebrew Congregation.

723

00:40:53,310 --> 00:41:01,680

And so we then figured we
have to get young people

724

00:41:01,680 --> 00:41:03,780

and have to establish ourselves.

725

00:41:03,780 --> 00:41:08,130

And we established groups in
Wurttemberg, the most important

726

00:41:08,130 --> 00:41:08,880

one in Stuttgart.

727

00:41:08,880 --> 00:41:10,830

We had about 100 members.

728

00:41:10,830 --> 00:41:15,630

And I became the
leader of Wurttemberh,

729

00:41:15,630 --> 00:41:18,690

and a friend of mine was the
leader in Stuttgart, and so on.

730

00:41:18,690 --> 00:41:21,360

And then of course,
when I was farming,

731

00:41:21,360 --> 00:41:24,480

I would do rather
little for that.

732

00:41:24,480 --> 00:41:29,770

But I still whenever
I could I associated,

733

00:41:29,770 --> 00:41:34,030

and I did a lot of
traveling in those years.

734

00:41:34,030 --> 00:41:37,233

And you were able to do this,
even with the rise of Nazism?

735

00:41:37,233 --> 00:41:37,900

You were still--

736

00:41:37,900 --> 00:41:38,290

Yeah, well, see--

737

00:41:38,290 --> 00:41:39,850

--able to be a
part of this group

738

00:41:39,850 --> 00:41:43,390
and travel for its purposes?

739

00:41:43,390 --> 00:41:51,610
The Nazi youth leader who--

740

00:41:51,610 --> 00:41:54,620
I think he was
prosecuted in Nuremberg,

741

00:41:54,620 --> 00:41:57,190
he was one of the
criminals in Nuremberg.

742

00:41:57,190 --> 00:42:01,870
But he either was acquitted
or got a very light sentence.

743

00:42:01,870 --> 00:42:02,590
He--

744

00:42:02,590 --> 00:42:03,580
His name?

745

00:42:03,580 --> 00:42:05,710
Baldur von Schirach.

746

00:42:05,710 --> 00:42:10,300
He had some kind of an idea that
Jews should just be separated,

747

00:42:10,300 --> 00:42:12,610
but should be
permitted to exist.

748

00:42:12,610 --> 00:42:17,890
And in quite for
a number of years,

749

00:42:17,890 --> 00:42:20,920
and quite successful
manipulation

750
00:42:20,920 --> 00:42:27,160
between German Jewish
leaders and getting

751
00:42:27,160 --> 00:42:32,770
into to the network
of this Nazi youth

752
00:42:32,770 --> 00:42:34,540
leader against the Gestapo.

753
00:42:34,540 --> 00:42:40,060
And we continued to be quite
privileged for a number

754
00:42:40,060 --> 00:42:45,790
of years as a recognized
Jewish organization.

755
00:42:45,790 --> 00:42:48,250
I mean, that took some
very intricate doing,

756
00:42:48,250 --> 00:42:51,010
but it was playing the
Nazi Youth Organization

757
00:42:51,010 --> 00:42:52,480
against the Gestapo.

758
00:42:52,480 --> 00:42:54,670
And that succeeded
for a limited time.

759
00:42:54,670 --> 00:42:55,660
Did you wear uniforms?

760
00:42:55,660 --> 00:42:58,480
We were even--
originally we were even

761

00:42:58,480 --> 00:42:59,947
permitted to be in uniform.

762
00:42:59,947 --> 00:43:01,280
What did your uniform look like?

763
00:43:01,280 --> 00:43:05,960
Well, just white shirts
and black shorts.

764
00:43:05,960 --> 00:43:09,030
And then that was prohibited.

765
00:43:09,030 --> 00:43:13,070
And then they caught
on to the fact

766
00:43:13,070 --> 00:43:16,040
that the German Jewish
Youth movement, contrast

767
00:43:16,040 --> 00:43:18,810
to the Zionist
movement, was teaching

768
00:43:18,810 --> 00:43:21,530
that there ought
to be a continued

769
00:43:21,530 --> 00:43:23,390
Jewish life in Germany.

770
00:43:23,390 --> 00:43:27,500
And on that basis
we are outlawed

771
00:43:27,500 --> 00:43:34,990
I think on December
30, 1936, as I recall.

772
00:43:34,990 --> 00:43:37,390
I had asked you
earlier about your--

773
00:43:37,390 --> 00:43:39,100
did you feel very German?

774
00:43:39,100 --> 00:43:40,750
And you said you did.

775
00:43:40,750 --> 00:43:43,780
And even now at this
point, with what

776
00:43:43,780 --> 00:43:48,250
was happening to you as
a Jew, did that influence

777
00:43:48,250 --> 00:43:51,310
you in any way of your
feelings of being German?

778
00:43:51,310 --> 00:43:53,500
No, I mean not in those days.

779
00:43:53,500 --> 00:43:57,170
You didn't see any conflict in
being German and being Jewish?

780
00:43:57,170 --> 00:43:57,698
No.

781
00:43:57,698 --> 00:43:59,240
Considering what
was happening with--

782
00:43:59,240 --> 00:44:01,494
Not in those days.

783
00:44:01,494 --> 00:44:03,340
And that, by the way was--

784
00:44:03,340 --> 00:44:06,070
I mean, my wife five
years younger than I

785
00:44:06,070 --> 00:44:09,460
and growing up in Nuremberg,
where things were more vicious

786
00:44:09,460 --> 00:44:13,690
from the beginning,
Lanie had already

787
00:44:13,690 --> 00:44:16,780
as a child, very
understandably, developed

788
00:44:16,780 --> 00:44:20,470
a very anti-German attitude.

789
00:44:20,470 --> 00:44:25,760
And I could not
cure her of this.

790
00:44:25,760 --> 00:44:27,820
I mean, she went
along with the idea

791
00:44:27,820 --> 00:44:30,280
of going to Germany for
genealogical research

792
00:44:30,280 --> 00:44:33,610
and so on, but--

793
00:44:33,610 --> 00:44:37,640
well the one thing which
is worthwhile in this taped

794
00:44:37,640 --> 00:44:46,870
program to relate is experience
we had only in the 1980s.

795
00:44:46,870 --> 00:44:51,960
I have a friend and colleague
in the agriculture department,

796

00:44:51,960 --> 00:44:57,940

now also retired, who
was posted to Stuttgart

797

00:44:57,940 --> 00:45:02,560

as an American military
government officer in charge

798

00:45:02,560 --> 00:45:04,870

of food and agriculture.

799

00:45:04,870 --> 00:45:08,440

He's a wine connoisseur
and wine expert.

800

00:45:08,440 --> 00:45:11,670

And he developed
friendships over there.

801

00:45:11,670 --> 00:45:14,680

And some 15 years ago,
it was in the early '80s,

802

00:45:14,680 --> 00:45:18,370

he went over there to
enjoy some home hospitality

803

00:45:18,370 --> 00:45:24,700

during the vintage season and
came back very enthusiastic

804

00:45:24,700 --> 00:45:29,510

about his experiences and
gave a detailed report.

805

00:45:29,510 --> 00:45:34,390

And then in the course of
his report he said to me,

806

00:45:34,390 --> 00:45:40,600

"And then we visited Grand
Old Man [? Grimeger." ?]

807

00:45:40,600 --> 00:45:45,010

And I had never heard the
name, in my ignorance.

808

00:45:45,010 --> 00:45:48,910

And I said, and what did--

809

00:45:48,910 --> 00:45:51,250

sarcastically I
said to my friend,

810

00:45:51,250 --> 00:45:53,440

"What did Grand Old
Man [? Grimeger ?] do

811

00:45:53,440 --> 00:45:55,420

during the Nazi period?"

812

00:45:55,420 --> 00:45:58,870

And my friend said,
"Don't you know?"

813

00:45:58,870 --> 00:46:00,760

So I said, "If I knew
I wouldn't ask you.

814

00:46:00,760 --> 00:46:03,700

I've never heard the name
other than on your lips."

815

00:46:03,700 --> 00:46:06,460

So he said, "My gosh.

816

00:46:06,460 --> 00:46:10,420

When we marched into Stuttgart
he was just on the way

817

00:46:10,420 --> 00:46:14,050

to be guillotined for
anti-Nazi activities.

818

00:46:14,050 --> 00:46:18,070

We literally freed
this man from execution

819
00:46:18,070 --> 00:46:21,790
and immediately made him
state agriculture minister

820
00:46:21,790 --> 00:46:24,730
under American
military government."

821
00:46:24,730 --> 00:46:33,070
And I told that story to Lanie
to acquaint her with the idea

822
00:46:33,070 --> 00:46:39,170
that not all Germans were Nazis.

823
00:46:39,170 --> 00:46:43,370
So for you, at that time, it was
not-- these two identifications

824
00:46:43,370 --> 00:46:45,470
were not in conflict.

825
00:46:45,470 --> 00:46:49,295
Are you now in the monastery
studying agriculture?

826
00:46:49,295 --> 00:46:50,210
Yeah, right.

827
00:46:50,210 --> 00:46:51,950
What was that like to be there?

828
00:46:51,950 --> 00:46:54,500
Well, I had--

829
00:46:54,500 --> 00:46:59,750
I felt-- see, there was a very
interesting religious problem.

830

00:46:59,750 --> 00:47:05,720

When they invited me they
said, at the end of our lecture

831

00:47:05,720 --> 00:47:08,600

period we pray and we kneel.

832

00:47:08,600 --> 00:47:13,040

And we don't want to
create any kind of problems

833

00:47:13,040 --> 00:47:15,770

for you being in the middle
of there and not kneeling,

834

00:47:15,770 --> 00:47:17,300

and we don't want you to kneel.

835

00:47:17,300 --> 00:47:20,510

So we are asking you always
to take your seat in the back

836

00:47:20,510 --> 00:47:24,120

where you cannot be
seen not kneeling.

837

00:47:24,120 --> 00:47:26,480

And on the one hand
that was very tactful,

838

00:47:26,480 --> 00:47:30,050

and on the other hand, it made
me a little bit uncomfortable.

839

00:47:30,050 --> 00:47:33,900

But I went there, and I
enjoyed learning whatever they

840

00:47:33,900 --> 00:47:38,280

had to teach about agriculture.

841

00:47:38,280 --> 00:47:39,180

And for how long?

842
00:47:39,180 --> 00:47:39,840
Not long.

843
00:47:39,840 --> 00:47:42,720
I mean, it was a
rather limited period.

844
00:47:42,720 --> 00:47:45,810
I didn't start early
during my service.

845
00:47:45,810 --> 00:47:50,265
And it was a limited period, but
it was an enjoyable experience.

846
00:47:50,265 --> 00:47:51,530
You mean a matter of months?

847
00:47:51,530 --> 00:47:53,550
Yeah.

848
00:47:53,550 --> 00:47:55,170
And then?

849
00:47:55,170 --> 00:48:05,280
Well, while I was working there,
with the help of my father's

850
00:48:05,280 --> 00:48:09,300
organization, a Jewish
immigrant's training farm

851
00:48:09,300 --> 00:48:15,000
was set up in that part of
Germany, which is now Poland.

852
00:48:15,000 --> 00:48:19,840
And this was-- there had been
lots of [HEBREW] interests.

853
00:48:19,840 --> 00:48:23,400

But the need was filled
for a training farm,

854
00:48:23,400 --> 00:48:27,750
particularly for
teenagers to immigrate

855
00:48:27,750 --> 00:48:32,340
not to Palestine, but
elsewhere, maybe as a group.

856
00:48:32,340 --> 00:48:39,720
And they sort of expected
me to come there as a--

857
00:48:39,720 --> 00:48:41,960
on the one hand in
a student capacity.

858
00:48:41,960 --> 00:48:44,430
But in a more mature
capacity, accepting

859
00:48:44,430 --> 00:48:47,880
some kind of a leadership role.

860
00:48:47,880 --> 00:48:54,840
And I agreed with
that in principle.

861
00:48:54,840 --> 00:48:57,630
And also, I should
have mentioned

862
00:48:57,630 --> 00:49:07,880
that first, we are now talking
about the winter of '36, '37.

863
00:49:07,880 --> 00:49:12,990

864
00:49:12,990 --> 00:49:13,820
Just a moment.

865
00:49:13,820 --> 00:49:16,880
Let me get my [INAUDIBLE].

866
00:49:16,880 --> 00:49:17,890
OK.

867
00:49:17,890 --> 00:49:20,670
We were now talking
about my working

868
00:49:20,670 --> 00:49:24,420
at this farm, which of course,
connected with the brewery.

869
00:49:24,420 --> 00:49:29,180
And this brewery
rather recently--

870
00:49:29,180 --> 00:49:30,780
it was in the '70s or '80s--

871
00:49:30,780 --> 00:49:32,190
And the name of the town?

872
00:49:32,190 --> 00:49:37,050
Kaltenberg-- became somewhat
famous in this country,

873
00:49:37,050 --> 00:49:40,630
temporarily, because the
Jewish owner, of course,

874
00:49:40,630 --> 00:49:42,960
could not continue to own it.

875
00:49:42,960 --> 00:49:46,710
He was forced to sell it,
but he very cleverly sold it

876
00:49:46,710 --> 00:49:50,770
to the Bavarian royal line.

877
00:49:50,770 --> 00:49:54,660
The new owners
became some prince

878
00:49:54,660 --> 00:49:57,540
who, if it had not been for
the abolition of monarchy,

879
00:49:57,540 --> 00:50:00,120
would be now king of Bavaria.

880
00:50:00,120 --> 00:50:05,580
And in the '70s or
'80s, they decided

881
00:50:05,580 --> 00:50:08,490
they ought to export
to the United States,

882
00:50:08,490 --> 00:50:12,600
and created a merger with
a small brewery somewhere

883
00:50:12,600 --> 00:50:16,320
in this country, and started
an advertising campaign.

884
00:50:16,320 --> 00:50:20,190
And for a few years
this Kaltenberg beer

885
00:50:20,190 --> 00:50:24,150
was available as an export
beer at certain outlets here.

886
00:50:24,150 --> 00:50:28,170
And there were some TV
advertising and so on,

887
00:50:28,170 --> 00:50:29,370
but it fizzled.

888

00:50:29,370 --> 00:50:33,660

But for beer drinkers
and for informed people,

889

00:50:33,660 --> 00:50:36,510

Kaltenberg meant something
for a limited period

890

00:50:36,510 --> 00:50:37,620

here in this country.

891

00:50:37,620 --> 00:50:40,727

But anyway, that was the farm.

892

00:50:40,727 --> 00:50:42,810

You were talking about how
they wanted you to come

893

00:50:42,810 --> 00:50:44,980

to this [HEBEW] settlement?

894

00:50:44,980 --> 00:50:45,660

And I--

895

00:50:45,660 --> 00:50:48,380

And teach and to be a student?

896

00:50:48,380 --> 00:50:57,090

In the fall of '36, I took leave
there with the understanding

897

00:50:57,090 --> 00:51:00,650

that I would return, and
went to Gross Breesen

898

00:51:00,650 --> 00:51:05,400

the Jewish immigrants training
farm North of Breslau,

899

00:51:05,400 --> 00:51:06,992

in what is now Poland.

900

00:51:06,992 --> 00:51:07,950

What was at that time--

901

00:51:07,950 --> 00:51:09,650

The name of the town was what?

902

00:51:09,650 --> 00:51:11,268

Well, Breslau was
the nearest town.

903

00:51:11,268 --> 00:51:12,060

It was one of the--

904

00:51:12,060 --> 00:51:13,350

Yeah, no, but the other name?

905

00:51:13,350 --> 00:51:15,900

And the name of that
village was Gross Breesen.

906

00:51:15,900 --> 00:51:18,640

907

00:51:18,640 --> 00:51:26,970

I went there for the fall
of 1936 and worked there.

908

00:51:26,970 --> 00:51:33,630

And then in the winter I
returned during the lambing

909

00:51:33,630 --> 00:51:40,320

season, I was back in Kaltenberg
for a few more months.

910

00:51:40,320 --> 00:51:45,030

But then my-- next
idea of my father's

911

00:51:45,030 --> 00:51:51,090

was it became somewhat
evident that I had to think

912
00:51:51,090 --> 00:51:52,420
in terms of emigration.

913
00:51:52,420 --> 00:51:55,830
Although, I--

914
00:51:55,830 --> 00:51:59,560
But again, you felt rather safe
in this agricultural life--

915
00:51:59,560 --> 00:52:00,060
I did.

916
00:52:00,060 --> 00:52:01,060
--that you were leading?

917
00:52:01,060 --> 00:52:08,790
And I was-- as of early 1937,
I wasn't as emigration minded

918
00:52:08,790 --> 00:52:12,160
as my father already had
some foresight at that time.

919
00:52:12,160 --> 00:52:13,230
But anyway--

920
00:52:13,230 --> 00:52:14,970
Talking about your
father, did you

921
00:52:14,970 --> 00:52:16,780
have a very close
relationship with him?

922
00:52:16,780 --> 00:52:17,280
Yes.

923
00:52:17,280 --> 00:52:18,850
Was he a very warm, open man?

924

00:52:18,850 --> 00:52:19,350

Yes.

925

00:52:19,350 --> 00:52:23,440

Oh, yes, I had a very close relationship with my father.

926

00:52:23,440 --> 00:52:27,300

And I revered him.

927

00:52:27,300 --> 00:52:33,960

I mean, I was so close that long after his death my--

928

00:52:33,960 --> 00:52:36,900

the older of my two sisters sort of criticized me,

929

00:52:36,900 --> 00:52:41,520

said by being so close to father you sort of interfered

930

00:52:41,520 --> 00:52:44,165

with my relationship with father.

931

00:52:44,165 --> 00:52:46,290

Were you closer to your father than to your mother?

932

00:52:46,290 --> 00:52:48,450

Much closer.

933

00:52:48,450 --> 00:52:50,020

Was he a strict disciplinarian?

934

00:52:50,020 --> 00:52:50,520

No.

935

00:52:50,520 --> 00:52:59,130

936

00:52:59,130 --> 00:53:00,385

So--

937

00:53:00,385 --> 00:53:04,170

So he talked to you about
thinking of leaving?

938

00:53:04,170 --> 00:53:07,800

He said he wanted me
to go to Palestine,

939

00:53:07,800 --> 00:53:09,990

and look things over.

940

00:53:09,990 --> 00:53:19,180

So in March 1937, I
went to Palestine.

941

00:53:19,180 --> 00:53:20,350

And this was--

942

00:53:20,350 --> 00:53:22,080

What was the trip over like?

943

00:53:22,080 --> 00:53:22,580

It was--

944

00:53:22,580 --> 00:53:24,080

What do you remember
about the trip?

945

00:53:24,080 --> 00:53:25,280

Oh, it was very interesting.

946

00:53:25,280 --> 00:53:29,290

I mean, I-- there were all
kinds of acquaintances,

947

00:53:29,290 --> 00:53:33,700

and I had all kinds of very
interesting experiences.

948

00:53:33,700 --> 00:53:36,700

I don't think I should burden
this interview with it,

949

00:53:36,700 --> 00:53:41,170

because there was--

950

00:53:41,170 --> 00:53:44,200

There was no problem
leaving Germany?

951

00:53:44,200 --> 00:53:46,420

I was extremely lucky.

952

00:53:46,420 --> 00:53:50,260

I didn't mention that earlier.

953

00:53:50,260 --> 00:53:55,900

I had intended to go on
this trip a year earlier.

954

00:53:55,900 --> 00:53:58,570

And you needed a
passport, obviously,

955

00:53:58,570 --> 00:54:03,100

and you got your passport
at the police headquarters.

956

00:54:03,100 --> 00:54:05,230

And the police
headquarters in Stuttgart

957

00:54:05,230 --> 00:54:08,230

denied me a passport in 1936.

958

00:54:08,230 --> 00:54:09,880

And I couldn't go to Palestine.

959

00:54:09,880 --> 00:54:10,880

Because you were Jewish?

960

00:54:10,880 --> 00:54:12,270

Oh, yes, oh, yes.

961

00:54:12,270 --> 00:54:12,770

Jewish--

962

00:54:12,770 --> 00:54:15,724

Did they come out and
say that to you or--

963

00:54:15,724 --> 00:54:21,130

No, no, they simply said the
passport application denied.

964

00:54:21,130 --> 00:54:24,680

Did you have papers
then, ID papers?

965

00:54:24,680 --> 00:54:27,955

The German ID papers with
any markings on them?

966

00:54:27,955 --> 00:54:31,750

Oh, no, there were no
markings in those days.

967

00:54:31,750 --> 00:54:34,420

I am trying to figure out--

968

00:54:34,420 --> 00:54:37,030

969

00:54:37,030 --> 00:54:40,020

I obviously didn't
have a passport.

970

00:54:40,020 --> 00:54:40,910

Because--

971

00:54:40,910 --> 00:54:42,120

Right, no, but--

972
00:54:42,120 --> 00:54:42,480
--the passport's denied--

973
00:54:42,480 --> 00:54:43,270
--did you just have general ID
papers, identification papers?

974
00:54:43,270 --> 00:54:45,240
And I'm just trying to
figure out, well, I had

975
00:54:45,240 --> 00:54:47,070
a driver's license at the time.

976
00:54:47,070 --> 00:54:50,430

977
00:54:50,430 --> 00:54:51,760
That was about it.

978
00:54:51,760 --> 00:54:52,560
OK.

979
00:54:52,560 --> 00:54:55,200
Anyway--

980
00:54:55,200 --> 00:54:56,640
So you try again a year later?

981
00:54:56,640 --> 00:54:58,390
No, no, no, it
wasn't that simple.

982
00:54:58,390 --> 00:55:01,230

983
00:55:01,230 --> 00:55:04,890
In Germany you have to
register with police,

984
00:55:04,890 --> 00:55:08,430

either as a resident, or
even if you go to a hotel,

985
00:55:08,430 --> 00:55:10,160
the hotel people register you.

986
00:55:10,160 --> 00:55:13,920
When you register a hotel a
copy of your registration gets

987
00:55:13,920 --> 00:55:15,210
deposited with police.

988
00:55:15,210 --> 00:55:20,220
I mean, in Germany everybody
is registered all the time.

989
00:55:20,220 --> 00:55:27,270
And it was possible under German
law to be double registered.

990
00:55:27,270 --> 00:55:30,630
In other words, I was registered
at the various farms where

991
00:55:30,630 --> 00:55:33,420
I typically, physically
worked and was,

992
00:55:33,420 --> 00:55:36,810
but I could retain my
registration in Stuttgart.

993
00:55:36,810 --> 00:55:39,450
And I was extremely
anxious to do that,

994
00:55:39,450 --> 00:55:42,340
because although
on the one hand,

995
00:55:42,340 --> 00:55:45,210
I felt that I could

continue to live and to work

996

00:55:45,210 --> 00:55:48,330

in Germany as a
farmer, I was afraid

997

00:55:48,330 --> 00:55:51,510

that if I would quit my
registration in Stuttgart one

998

00:55:51,510 --> 00:55:57,960

day the police in Stuttgart
would say we prohibit Jews

999

00:55:57,960 --> 00:55:59,970

from moving to Stuttgart.

1000

00:55:59,970 --> 00:56:01,950

We don't give a damn
that you were born here,

1001

00:56:01,950 --> 00:56:03,780

you are not registered here.

1002

00:56:03,780 --> 00:56:05,550

You lost your registration.

1003

00:56:05,550 --> 00:56:07,440

We are not going to
permit you to live here.

1004

00:56:07,440 --> 00:56:10,290

So I was in all these,
during those years,

1005

00:56:10,290 --> 00:56:15,570

I very carefully maintained
what was called double domicile,

1006

00:56:15,570 --> 00:56:18,120

where I actually was
and in Stuttgart.

1007

00:56:18,120 --> 00:56:22,350

But I was, of course,
registered on that farm

1008

00:56:22,350 --> 00:56:25,260

west of Munich, Kaltenberg
of which I was talking.

1009

00:56:25,260 --> 00:56:29,400

And the county
seat of that place

1010

00:56:29,400 --> 00:56:33,240

was Lechbruck, the town where
Hitler had been in penitentiary

1011

00:56:33,240 --> 00:56:36,270

when he had first
plotted to overthrow

1012

00:56:36,270 --> 00:56:39,360

the German Republic in 1923.

1013

00:56:39,360 --> 00:56:42,900

And the people there were
as anti-Nazi as anybody

1014

00:56:42,900 --> 00:56:43,830

in Germany.

1015

00:56:43,830 --> 00:56:47,190

There was no love for
Hitler in that area.

1016

00:56:47,190 --> 00:56:52,140

And I figured that's where
I'll apply for a passport.

1017

00:56:52,140 --> 00:56:55,380

And it was sort of unusual, I
mean, in these rural places,

1018

00:56:55,380 --> 00:56:57,360
people didn't do much traveling.

1019
00:56:57,360 --> 00:57:00,870
And I walked in there and filled
out my passport application.

1020
00:57:00,870 --> 00:57:03,480
I still have my passport,
and I could look it up,

1021
00:57:03,480 --> 00:57:05,280
but from memory I
think my passport

1022
00:57:05,280 --> 00:57:10,410
is number one in that county.

1023
00:57:10,410 --> 00:57:18,960
And that passport
was issued in 1937,

1024
00:57:18,960 --> 00:57:21,750
and was the passport with
which I later emigrated.

1025
00:57:21,750 --> 00:57:22,880
And I still have it.

1026
00:57:22,880 --> 00:57:25,420
[LAUGHS]

1027
00:57:25,420 --> 00:57:27,740
So you then soon
left for Palestine?

1028
00:57:27,740 --> 00:57:29,130
Then I went to Palestine.

1029
00:57:29,130 --> 00:57:30,133
How did you do that?

1030

00:57:30,133 --> 00:57:31,050
How did you get there?

1031
00:57:31,050 --> 00:57:33,420
Well, by boat.

1032
00:57:33,420 --> 00:57:35,140
And I had--

1033
00:57:35,140 --> 00:57:35,640
From?

1034
00:57:35,640 --> 00:57:38,460

1035
00:57:38,460 --> 00:57:42,570
Oh, well, I mean, now
I guess I digress,

1036
00:57:42,570 --> 00:57:46,170
and this was a real fun affair.

1037
00:57:46,170 --> 00:57:54,900
I went by train to Venice, and
had an absolutely wonderful

1038
00:57:54,900 --> 00:57:57,240
three or five days in Venice.

1039
00:57:57,240 --> 00:58:02,130
I mean, after all of the
cultural deprivations

1040
00:58:02,130 --> 00:58:03,900
I had suffered, and
all the things, this

1041
00:58:03,900 --> 00:58:08,730
was absolutely wonderful touring
Venice, and touring the museums

1042
00:58:08,730 --> 00:58:11,370

and the churches of Venice.

1043

00:58:11,370 --> 00:58:16,320

And then I went to Trieste,
and went on my boat.

1044

00:58:16,320 --> 00:58:17,675

And to my very--

1045

00:58:17,675 --> 00:58:19,260

You didn't know Italian?

1046

00:58:19,260 --> 00:58:19,760

No.

1047

00:58:19,760 --> 00:58:20,260

No.

1048

00:58:20,260 --> 00:58:21,180

No.

1049

00:58:21,180 --> 00:58:26,880

To my very great delight
my father's successor

1050

00:58:26,880 --> 00:58:30,400

as president of the High
Council of the Jewish Community

1051

00:58:30,400 --> 00:58:33,570

in Wurttemberg was
my fellow traveler.

1052

00:58:33,570 --> 00:58:39,780

He was a lawyer who was
trained in philosophy

1053

00:58:39,780 --> 00:58:42,570

and was a specialist in Spinoza.

1054

00:58:42,570 --> 00:58:45,750

And to make that

voyage with that man

1055
00:58:45,750 --> 00:58:48,360
was absolutely fabulous.

1056
00:58:48,360 --> 00:58:49,530
His name?

1057
00:58:49,530 --> 00:58:50,400
Gumbel.

1058
00:58:50,400 --> 00:58:53,820
He had a son who
was already living

1059
00:58:53,820 --> 00:58:56,800
as a psychiatrist in Jerusalem.

1060
00:58:56,800 --> 00:58:59,160
And he was visiting his son--

1061
00:58:59,160 --> 00:59:00,180
Siegfried Gumbel.

1062
00:59:00,180 --> 00:59:04,770

1063
00:59:04,770 --> 00:59:11,480
He later was taken to
the concentration camp

1064
00:59:11,480 --> 00:59:12,810
by the Nazis.

1065
00:59:12,810 --> 00:59:16,860
And I forgot now whether he
died in concentration camp

1066
00:59:16,860 --> 00:59:21,840
or whether he was released just
before his death incurably ill

1067

00:59:21,840 --> 00:59:27,810
and died immediately after his
release and nominal freedom.

1068

00:59:27,810 --> 00:59:32,940
But that was after my
father's death, but at a time

1069

00:59:32,940 --> 00:59:35,130
when my mother was still alive.

1070

00:59:35,130 --> 00:59:38,970
And his death touched
us doubly, not only

1071

00:59:38,970 --> 00:59:44,070
because we respected him
and felt friendship for him,

1072

00:59:44,070 --> 00:59:48,570
but we also figured that maybe
even if father had remained

1073

00:59:48,570 --> 00:59:50,250
in Stuttgart and
had not accepted

1074

00:59:50,250 --> 00:59:55,310
that national assignment he
might have had a similar fate.

1075

00:59:55,310 --> 00:59:59,640
We were very deeply shaken
up by the death of that man.

1076

00:59:59,640 --> 01:00:04,890
But that was after Pearl
Harbor even, that was in 1942.

1077

01:00:04,890 --> 01:00:09,690
But in 1937 we
traveled together.

1078

01:00:09,690 --> 01:00:11,280

And--

1079

01:00:11,280 --> 01:00:13,080

What month in '37

are we talking about?

1080

01:00:13,080 --> 01:00:13,580

March.

1081

01:00:13,580 --> 01:00:14,610

March.

1082

01:00:14,610 --> 01:00:20,280

We went on Lent, that was one
very amusing experience which

1083

01:00:20,280 --> 01:00:22,260

is too good not to be told.

1084

01:00:22,260 --> 01:00:26,820

We went on Lent in
Cyprus for a short walk.

1085

01:00:26,820 --> 01:00:28,650

We had just a few hours.

1086

01:00:28,650 --> 01:00:34,350

And a prospective guide was very
anxious to sell his services

1087

01:00:34,350 --> 01:00:35,610

to us.

1088

01:00:35,610 --> 01:00:41,100

And the both of us were
trained in ancient Greek,

1089

01:00:41,100 --> 01:00:45,120

but didn't quite know modern
Greek or modern pronunciation.

1090

01:00:45,120 --> 01:00:48,600

And we tried in ancient Greek
to make clear to that fellow

1091

01:00:48,600 --> 01:00:52,230

that we didn't
want his services,

1092

01:00:52,230 --> 01:00:53,820

and he didn't understand us.

1093

01:00:53,820 --> 01:00:57,750

And he followed us.

1094

01:00:57,750 --> 01:01:01,770

And finally, in
utter desperation,

1095

01:01:01,770 --> 01:01:06,630

I yelled at him [GERMAN],,
which freely translated

1096

01:01:06,630 --> 01:01:08,370

means, "Go to the devil."

1097

01:01:08,370 --> 01:01:10,500

And he left, he understood it.

1098

01:01:10,500 --> 01:01:13,740

And I wondered for years
why he understood this.

1099

01:01:13,740 --> 01:01:16,560

Until years later
when I did take

1100

01:01:16,560 --> 01:01:19,290

some training in modern
Greek, I found out

1101

01:01:19,290 --> 01:01:23,490

that by very strange coincidence

these particular words

1102
01:01:23,490 --> 01:01:26,520
are pronounced the same
way in ancient Greek we had

1103
01:01:26,520 --> 01:01:28,660
studied than in modern Greek.

1104
01:01:28,660 --> 01:01:31,890
Stood you in good sted.

1105
01:01:31,890 --> 01:01:36,930
So in Palestine I did
a lot of traveling,

1106
01:01:36,930 --> 01:01:39,900
but I also had
arranged-- or rather,

1107
01:01:39,900 --> 01:01:42,090
with the help of my father--

1108
01:01:42,090 --> 01:01:47,740
had arranged to work in
three different places.

1109
01:01:47,740 --> 01:01:53,950
One was a moshav, a completely
private farming village,

1110
01:01:53,950 --> 01:01:56,970
where the people were just
linked through cooperatives

1111
01:01:56,970 --> 01:01:58,830
selling and cooperative buying.

1112
01:01:58,830 --> 01:02:04,770
But it's farming independently
for truck farming.

1113

01:02:04,770 --> 01:02:07,620

And my host was one
of the closest friends

1114

01:02:07,620 --> 01:02:15,780

of my parents, a ophthalmologist
who had been an old Zionist,

1115

01:02:15,780 --> 01:02:19,800

and had really always
wanted to make aliyah,

1116

01:02:19,800 --> 01:02:21,930

but somehow never
did because they

1117

01:02:21,930 --> 01:02:25,410

were such a successful
ophthalmologist in Germany.

1118

01:02:25,410 --> 01:02:28,410

But when the Nazis came
to power he immediately

1119

01:02:28,410 --> 01:02:30,750

made arrangements
to go in aliyah,

1120

01:02:30,750 --> 01:02:34,620

and that was '33 or '34.

1121

01:02:34,620 --> 01:02:38,400

And I came in '37 he was well
established in the [INAUDIBLE]..

1122

01:02:38,400 --> 01:02:40,500

He spent--

1123

01:02:40,500 --> 01:02:41,000