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This is The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Volunteer Collection interview with Fritz Gluckstein conducted by Esther Finder on October 5th in the year 2000. This interview is part of the museum's project to interview Holocaust survivors and witnesses who are also volunteers with the Museum. This is a follow up interview that will focus on Fritz Gluckstein's post-Holocaust experiences.

In preparation for this interview, I listened to the interview conducted with the Survivors of the Shoah Visual History Foundation on March 10, 1997. I will not ask you to repeat everything you said in that interview. Instead, I will use this interview as an opportunity to follow-up on that interview and focus on your post-Holocaust experiences. This is tape number 1 side A.

OK. We're back after a brief interruption with a telephone. I'd like to start the interview by asking you to set the stage for me and describe the last few weeks and months of the war and what was happening in your life, including telling me how old you were at this time.

[INAUDIBLE] I was born in '27. And '27 until '45-- 18. Well, I would say the end of the war-- the beginning of the end was when we could hear the cannon fire in the distance. You got up in the morning, and then you heard a cannon. Went to work and we heard the cannon.

And it happened that my father and I worked at the same place, the cleaning up of the air raids. And my father came to me and said, you know what happened? The foreman, the overseer if you wish, just addressed me, your honor. My father was a judge.

It used to be, in the beginning, it was just Gluckstein. Well, then it was probably Herr or Mr. Gluckstein. And lo and behold, when the Russians came closer, then he remembered, ah, and said, Your Honor.

And they put us to work to build tank traps. And there's a story now. How long will it take the Russians to go to breach the tank traps? Well, exactly 31 minutes.

Why 31 minutes? Well, for 30 minutes, they laugh, and they're taking one minute to get through. That's exactly what happened by the way. Actually, pretty soon you could-- the shells fell into the city. And of course there was no water in the houses or apartments, and you had to go out. you had to grab the couple of buckets, and ran to the nearest pump.

Berlin at that time still had water pumps on the street. And filled up the buckets, and then you ran back. And suddenly, whee, and you just hit the ground and of course spilled all the water. And then I went back, and did it again, and filled up the buckets again. And if you were lucky, you got the buckets home. Otherwise, you can hit the ground and get three or four times, but finally you got it home.

And actually it was quite dangerous. I had a very narrow escape standing in the entrance to the house, waiting for a lull in the fighting to get some water. I was standing there with another fellow, and suddenly he falls down. He was hit by a piece of shrapnel. This was, I want to say, about less than a yard. It could have been me. I've always been very lucky.

And actually, some street fighting occurred. And I remember, it was a group of Russians, and I believe Ukrainians in German uniforms. And we said to each other, if they get caught by the Russians, they won't stay alive.

Actually, one thing I still remember, the last issue of a paper-- at that time they didn't-- some special issue, it was distributed, where Goebbels, and I quote, In front of the gates of Berlin, the Russians will meet their final defeat. And don't fear the Russians. They are inferior fighters. And this he wrote where he could hear the cannons and where the shells came in.

Well, actually, one of the reasons I always say I was lucky, Berlin was attacked from two sides, the East-- over the East came Marshall Zhukov and from the South came Marshall Konev. And Marshall Konev came in so fast, well, actually, I wonder what would happen to us hadn't he came in so fast. I remember where the Russians came in. And of course, first they didn't believe that we were Jews. All Jews are gone.

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But we persuaded them there were still a few alive. And then, of course, the shelling stopped, and we ventured out in the street. And actually, what you saw there was-- as you walk out, there were dead bodies, corpses, all along the street. And some sites were quite horrible. Bodies actually run over by tanks, flattened on the street.

And you went further and saw the devastation, and you realized how lucky you were that the house we stayed in-- this was a kind of apartment building with two other families-- only had minor damage. If we got hit, we wouldn't be alive.

Then of course a food shortage. However, we were lucky. In the house we lived, there was a horse butcher. At that time people ate horses. And of course there were some-- I remember, a Russian officer's mount was badly hurt and had to be butchered. And thanks to the butcher, we had some horse meat.

Of course, we did not-- horse meat, you would think-- but, well, if you have nothing else, you eat it. And actually you can't tell. Unless you know it, you wouldn't know it was horse meat.

And I still remember, my father and I ventured out for some reason to try to visit someone. I don't exactly recall why we did it. And lo and behold, there came a Russian soldier and shouted, "Voina kaputt!" Meaning the war was over because we had surrendered. I still remember distinctly.

Now, the soldiers, I believe he was in the army, the front line soldiers, very decent behaved quite well. Well, they had to fight, they had to face death every minute, and they behaved OK. But later on, the people that brought up the supplies, and there came the Kommissar and so on, they did not always behave very well, and some plunder. But there too, actually lucky again. Nothing much happened to us.

And I must say that the Russian authority at that time did their best to prevent plundering and harassment of the population. I must say that. They tried their very best.

Now, it's all over. What do you do? I remember at one time, that just wait. When the war is over, I will get him, and I will get hurt. And just wait what I will do to them. Revenge. Did we do it? No.

Before I let you continue, I have a few questions that I would like with respect to the very end of the war. How many Jews were with you at the end of the war?

Right close by in the same apartment?

With you when you were working, when the Russians came in.

Oh. I would say-- of course, once the Russians came close, we just stopped working, because we couldn't-- no public conveyances, and we simply couldn't get to our workplace or we just stayed home. I would say 20, 30, 40. There were groups all over Berlin. At that time were mostly mixed marriages. Most of the other Jews either had been deported or-- well, some were in hiding.

But I would say groups varied. What happened, sometimes 50, then they were taken away-- 10 taken away to another place and so. That's where I met my father. I used to work in one group and my father another. And one day I see a group coming, my father was among the group. And from there on, we worked together-- it was just by chance in the same group.

But there were about 30, 40 or so. We did various things, cleaning up. I remember the last job was cleaning up-- it was a cold storage house and apartment houses or whatever had to be done. Or they put us to work to build those Panzer tank traps.

You mentioned that you were living in a house, a building. Can you describe your living conditions at the end of the war?

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Yes. We had been bombed out twice. And, of course, when we were bombed out, we have to-- the second time were bombed out-- we stayed actually at the Jewish hospital. And then we found some kind of apartment-- meaning an apartment that we shared with two other families. I remember, there were my parents, I, and two couples-- two tailors.

Well, at that time we all lived in one apartment. And I still remember, at that time you don't have bed sheets. You just put a blanket on a bed, and there you stayed. Usually, pretty often, you didn't even undress because of alarms or shelling or something. But we were fortunate too that the house wasn't hit. It was an apartment-- an older apartment house. And there we lived.

You mentioned shelling. Do you remember the birthday present that the Russians gave to Hitler in April of 1940?

Actually, I would say the entire-- let's speak about the birthday present. It's getting worse and worse. I wouldn't even say it started there. It ended. Shelling, bombing, everything else. And then, of course, you had small arms fire heard too. But of course some say, thank goodness the Russians took Berlin. Had the Americans Berlin, they probably would have pulled back the troops, no street fighting, and would have completely bombed Berlin into submission.

When did you learn about Hitler's death?

Actually, I didn't learn details. We actually didn't learn for quite some time. We know the shelling stopped and the Russians were there. And we were so busy trying to get something to eat, and board up the windows, and so on, we really didn't-- there were no papers.

We had a radio. When we had electricity, we heard a little bit on shortwave. But actually, the death of Hitler, I don't recall. Eventually, it came-- we realized it. But was there a consequence? We weren't quite sure. We didn't even know that the government probably had left Berlin. I don't recall exactly the exact time when we learned about Hitler.

We learned about the capitulation. It actually was, if I recall, done first in the West . And then it was done. Yes. Part of the Germany army capitulated to the Western powers and part of the Russians, and then they came over to Berlin in order to have them all together. I recall that.

What was the state of your health at the end of the war?

I would say quite good. Yes. there was never much to eat, and in fact we spent very often-- while working, I remember particularly the older men designed menus what they would eat when the war was over. Of course, we didn't go-- what did we know about menus. It was OK. But there too I was fortunate that particularly my aunt, my mother's sister, did her very best to give us some food.

I still remember when they met her on the street. Of course they couldn't go to her apartment. And she gave me a parcel. And lo and behold, who came around the corner? One of the biggest Nazi women in the district, and said, ah, good evening Mrs. So-and-so. He's helping me carrying some stuff. We had to do this.

But it was very-- well, let's say I was hungry, but not starved. Other people had it much worse. I can't-- really can't complain. It was all right.

Did you have much contact regularly during the war with your relatives that were not Jewish?

At the end of the war, no. But actually, I remember I would say too, at the end of the war when the Russian bombardment started, actually there was no contact whatsoever. Before that, yes, to a certain degree, particularly with my aunt. In fact, whatever she could give us, she gave us, I'm quite sure. But I would say we never lost contact.

You talked about the invasion of the Russians, but I'd like to ask you what were your thoughts, what was going through your head, given the situation that you had been in during the war, what was this experience like for you?

So actually I would say you were almost numb. You were concerned would you survive and not get hit by a shell. And

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of course you hoped too that you don't get some fanatic Nazis would come after us of course, which some instances happened in the North of Berlin. But thanks to Marshall Konev coming in so far to the South, nothing happened to us.

And perhaps if we ever think about it, would the Russians recognize us as Jews? Actually, we didn't think about it. When they came, what are you doing here? Look, a young fellow, sitting here-- is he a deserter? What is he doing here?

Well, we explained to them. But thinking back, was there a sudden sigh of relief? No. It slowly dawned on us, you know, now it is over. We are still in one piece. Wonderful. Thank God.

When you realized that it was over and you were in one piece, what steps did you take to start a new life again?

Well, the beginning, actually, you were busy cleaning up in the neighborhood. Rubble everywhere. In fact, you couldn't even enter the house. That was number one. And then, of course, you tried to have better living conditions and more room. It was quite crowded in that apartment actually.

But what did you do? At the beginning there was no public transportation. And again, the food situation. Well, actually, we tried to go toward the suburbs-- less devastation in the suburbs-- to find something there. In fact, we found something.

Now, of course, at that time there was actually a change, a condition change, when the Americans, the British, and French arrived. We took a hand to begin once-- you had to walk an awful lot. Actually, we walked. Occasionally, we jumped in a truck. Somebody came by, go a direction, and we went to the suburbs.

They found something. Actually, it was a house. It may have belonged to a former Nazi. And well, we moved in there and moved some of our stuff. There wasn't much left. There was no furniture actually. The only furniture we had left was our beds and all the other stuff.

We moved the beds, I remember, and the home was furnished. And it was the suburbs. And we had a garden, which was very important. Because, what did you do for food? Well, we grew tomatoes, and potatoes, and beans right in the front yard and the backyard. We had to do it for food.

And I remember it was my mother and I went to another suburb to get some apples and fruit. And what did we do? The bridge across a canal had been demolished, and we walked across the canal on a big sewer pipe. Thinking of it, what was in our mind? We could have fallen, but we walked right across.

Food was very important. Actually, we moved to that house. I don't exactly know why this particular house. But my father in some some way-- probably we found it empty. And at that time, the Russians were still out there in that suburb, and looking how to get in there.

Now, the Americans came in. And lo and behold, pretty soon, they started out to requisition some of the houses for the military staff. And I still remember, we were there. Came the American Jeep, stopped at almost every other house. I saw a young man, a young officer, sitting in the-- looking in the house, stopped, went inside, probably requisitioned. And the people who lived had to leave.

Lo and behold, I went out there and I tried to explain. My English, well, it was passable. I tried to explain I'm Jewish. And he said, number one, you didn't have to talk English-- fluent German. Probably [INAUDIBLE] and he said, I see you looking at that-- I wouldn't worry. I don't think I'll need your house. And we could stay.

And again and again food. Actually, in the beginning, the Russians, before the Americans came, tried their very best. I remember what they did. At the cemeteries they had greenhouses. Well, they said, no more flowers. Now we will grow tomatoes and vegetables. And those quite good.

Then the Western powers came and they took turns. Actually the Americans and the Russians took turns supplying food for Berlin. One month the Russians, meaning usually dark bread and potatoes. And then one month the American, that

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meant white bread. It was quite something-- white bread was a delicacy. In fact Jews didn't get it at all.

But I still remember, after the end of the month, people said, enough of the white breath. They look forward to the dark bread of the Russians. It worked fairly well. They tried. I think it worked out OK. Organization was quite good.

You said the Jews didn't get white bread at all.

No.

This is after the war.

During the war you see ration cards. Jews essentially got no white bread.

But after the war they got white bread.

Oh, yes.

I just wanted to clarify.

Yes. It was quite-- and then the first packages, the first food arrived, I remember, with the Joint. And I remember going to the place which distributed the food, and someone goofed very badly. What had happened, someone got the idea that the food was only for the Jews part of the mixed marriage. The non-Jewish part wouldn't get it.

Well, I believe at lasted a day and half. The person who had that brilliant idea was never heard of again. (CHUCKLES) No, I must say they really-- actually, there was trouble too, since I'm right here, later on clothing came, and for some reason you see many people from the East, refugees, they were housed in the camps.

The closest was one in Duppel. [INAUDIBLE] It was exhibit at the Holocaust Museum, and they stayed there. In order to keep them busy, some of the people were asked to help out with distribution. Some of them were really misbehaved. Well, they had, you were sitting here all the time, we're in camps, and made remarks-- well, you married non-Jews, and so on, and actually tried to revolt from it. That didn't last very long either.

I must say anyone who did that-- not everyone did, but some did it-- they were immediately revealed. They were very careful and very sensitive at the time that, the Joint. I must say that.

By the way it wasn't-- I said good luck. It was lucky we wound up in one of the Western sectors. If you wound up in the Russian sector it was much more difficult to emigrate. They didn't let you out. And the say it took a year or two years longer for those living in the East sector to even be considered for emigration. Good luck again.

I'd like to ask you, when did you come to realize the extent of the genocide during the war?

We knew that people were deported-- or as we called it evakuiert. Evacuated. In fact, we expected it too. We already had rucksacks and suitcases ready in case that would happen. We knew if you were sent-- I remember Litzmannstadt. In fact, we had some friends-- LÃ³dz it used to be. We actually sent postcards and got postcards back. And we actually send food packages to LÃ³dz, even to Theresienstadt.

We knew something was happening. Some letters-- when that card came back no longer there or something. But well-- we are not fully aware of what actually happened. We knew something was happening. But the full what happened in Auschwitz, the gas chambers and so on, the death marches, we didn't find out until-- well, after the war, finally we realized what was happening.

But it did not-- suddenly, you realized. We suspected something. And some people knew about it. Others didn't. Then, of course, you heard rumors. All you can say, there was no sudden awakening to the fact what had happened. Soon we learned about it, and then the pieces fit together.

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In fact, what happened too, at that time there was a transport coming back from Theresienstadt with survivors. And I remember going to the station, or what was left of the station, in order to welcome it. Because they came by train and then were brought actually to the Jewish hospital. And I still see the little old lady getting out of the train and asking me-- tell me, are there cabs in front of the station? I said, no. They didn't go by cab to the hospital. They had to be helped on a truck to get there.

We have to pause so I can change the tape. Just one moment.

This is a continuation of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Volunteer Collection interview with Fritz Gluckstein. This is tape number 2 side A. And you had been telling me about people who had survived who had come home. You were in the process of telling me how you slowly learned about the genocide. I wanted to ask you about your Jewish side of your family, your father's family. What happened to your Jewish relatives during the war?

There was only one close relative, my father's first cousin. He went immigrated to Shanghai. His mother, my father's aunt, died in an old people's home, I would say, before the end of the war.

And there were some very distant relatives. One couple, I remember, the Lippman's had a little boy. And they decided to send the little boy to England. He was two years old. Imagine sending a two-year-old little boy boy to England. Well, he survived. I lost contact with him, but the parents perished-- both perished. And some other distant relatives died before the end of the war.

When you said you were slowly learning about the genocide, how did you learn? Did you learn through the media or through word of mouth? Or was there some other method?

Both. Word of mouth from people who actually came back and then the media-- the public media. And then, of course, the Jewish congregation was established. Again, my father took a major part in it. And in fact it would come slowly back. We heard about it and we pieced things together and realized what has happened.

In fact this was a major point the re-establishment of the Jewish congregation. People realized the congregations in Germany were quite different from here. There was one congregation, and we had the conservative part. We had the liberal part, which stands between reform and conservative. And we also had reform. Only the ultra orthodox, while they were still part of the so-called congregation, they kept-- that's right. And it was established again.

Well, I believed-- it reminds me of a young rabbi-- he wasn't quite the rabbi-- he hadn't finished his study when he was a student. And of course they abolished the rabbinical college, but he took over after the war. And I remember there was something he didn't like. He got up to the pulpit, I see, and he says well, the President and Vice President, and actually it was a council of Representatives the Jewish congregation, he said, he had a lack of responsibility.

And I remember my father called him in and said, you can differ with us, and you can voice a different opinion, but never will you say that we and my colleagues lack responsibility. I remember this. I remember what happen. I don't know what happened to him, His services started and actually were quite attended by some usually [INAUDIBLE].

And then came the time to go back to school again. There were special courses. It was very important for us. And actually it was in paper and even radio-- there's going to be a meeting to set up special course for all those for some reason had to interrupt their education. And they start, I remember, with a meeting, and yes, they're found. They were for Jewish students and German students who had finished the study or had taken the Abitur. That's your final examination in high school there.

They passed a so-called emergency Abiturjahr. And after a certain date, that was no longer recognized-- that if you took this after a certain date, it's void. And you have to go back to school.

I remember the first time, the first few days, one side of the room or the hall were the student and the other side the German students. Well. But after a while, the Germans realized the Jews are quite ordinary people-- not at all what they

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told us they were. And we realized that not all Germans are SS or Gestapo. And we got along quite well.

Young people thus had to serve there. And they had no-- frankly, they were not even anti-Semitic. And there was one instance, one of the students, he was actually from a mixed marriage and was raised Catholic. I remember, on one day, it was Winter, and he comes to school, and as a scarf he had a tallit. And you can imagine, it was highly offensive.

What are you going to do about it? Someone offered in, well, if you do this, I'll get you a scarf. Nothing doing. Well, he said, what are we going to do? Start--

And I said, wait a minute. I had an idea. I knew he was Catholic and that once or twice a week a priest came to conduct services. Let's talk to the priest. Well, the priest told him. That was it. And tallit no longer appeared. I remember distinctly.

And then of course the teachers. What the Nazi teachers? It was quite difficult to find a teacher. And it happened at the time some teacher came, and after a week or so he disappeared. Because you found out that the good man was an active Nazi.

Then the opposite too. For instance, history was quite a very sensitive subject to get a history teacher. There they got a teacher and must give his name. His name was Birkler. He did not go long. I guess they put him along to a little in the boondocks, and he did not join the party, and he really did the very best to oppose immediately. And they got him in, and he was our history teacher.

There were still teachers who did not go along, I remember distinctly. I remember the music teacher. And I remember-- we didn't know too much about him. But lo and behold here was a test. And one of our Jewish students got a poor grade and said, wait a minute. Now, I'm going to tell that the guy was a Nazi and did so and so and so.

And we said, other Jews, you are not. You should have done it before. Not now after he gave you a bad grade. That is out. He was a music teacher. Not a great Nazi, but he was a Nazi. But he stayed there.

And well, I mentioned something else what happened with the studying. Then came the time when there was quite-- I still remember distinctly-- a very, very tough winter. Well, it was no heat, little electricity. We rationed electricity. You actually had to go to the meter and see, well, I may use so much kilowatts, then I have to shut it off or something. Or suddenly you sitting there and the light went out.

Silly story. Whether it really happened, I don't know. People sit, have a party and someone had nice cake, probably sent from the United State. Lo and behold, one piece left. I can eat the last piece. Light went out. Suddenly, all of us screamed. And now there are two versions-- one version is everybody grabbed with a hand and one with a fork, and the other version is everybody grabbed with a fork and one with their bare head. But you never know what happened.

But it was unbelievably cold. I remember and I went to bed fully clothed in an overcoat. We had gotten some potatoes. The potatoes were out in a kind of veranda. They froze. But it was no plumbing now. People don't realize what that means if you have no plumbing-- no sanitary facilities.

Well, there you could see. It was wintertime. It was bad. Women, very nice in fur coat. There's little packages. You can't imagine what they contained. We couldn't use the toilet. We were-- we went furtively through either-- well, on someone's lawn, or went to the park, or even the side, which in wintertime there was snow. But you can imagine when the that set in what happened. It wasn't funny particularly. Look, if you lived out we lived with a yard at least.

But what did you do if you have an apartment? Well, you had to empty the stuff someplace. You emptied it in places you shouldn't have. It was quite a bit.

And now what to do? I had to study school. No heat and no light. Well, I picked up my books, went to the subway, and spent the evening driving in the subway across Berlin.

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Let's take a quick pause. We have a minor problem here. We are back now after a minor break. Would you please continue what you were telling me about the subway.

I took my books and I studied in the subway, going cross-cross Berlin. Only had to watch out at the end of a line that you got off. But otherwise, I would say, more to three or four days a week, every evening, 4, 5, 6 o'clock to 9 o'clock I was sitting in the subway. Difficult to write at times if you had to do something, but it worked.

Then, of course, came the first care packages. And the first the care packages were actually care rations. Actually, it was a big package which contained one day provisions for four or five men. Everything from bread and usually crackers, and coffee, and cans, and napkins, and whatever-- your toilet paper everything. And something else-- cigarettes. Now, cigarettes had become the currency. And what did you do? You got a package and you never knew what brand it was, because that was important.

I still remember, to this day, the value. On top with Camel, followed by Lucky Strike and there was one brand-- I forget-- Chesterton?

Chesterfield.

Chesterfield. Then came Pall Mall. Then came Phillip Morris. Then came Old Gold. And the bottom was Raleigh. You never knew what you had. Of course, we had some difficulties.

My father at the time was reinstated. And we used to get some food. But my father mustn't know about it, you see? We kept it all from him. I think he knew, but we tried not to embarrass him and tell him. But cigarettes, it was absolutely everything.

And remember, at the time, it was-- interest in music started again-- concerts and opera. And I remember, at that time, I took the first. Sundays, they sold tickets for the following week. And you had to stand in line to get the cheaper tickets. And I took Sunday, the first train running again at least to center of Berlin, and then walked to the opera house. It was a temporary quarters in the theater, and you stood in line for the tickets.

And even there one time, with a ticket, a cigarette. I didn't smoke, but I had cigarettes. And we bartered cigarettes for tickets. We went to a store or something-- don't have any! You want a cigarette? Ah. I'll come back to this later, to the cigarettes as a currency.

But the care packages were wonderful. And I remember, the first time we had instant coffee. Never had instant coffee before. It was in a little can, you open it up. And of course, what you usually did with coffee, you used it once and then kept the ground for a second and third time. But lo and behold, there wasn't left over. And I still remember what happened-- instant.

At that time too, I remembered coffee, a GI named Rosenberg, he visited us and brought as a present a pound of coffee. I remember it distinctly. It was quite something. And I remember at that time other packages came on the regular. The army, after they have used up all the army care packages then came packages of actually care packages and such, that had Crisco and various foods there.

What we did, we ate what with spread on bread? You ever try it? Not very good, but we did it. And we also had, it was a food package. And there was also blanket packages. And what usually happened, you got a little note in the mail-- a are package has been purchased for you by so-and-so, and would you please pick it up. And I remember, once you went there-- we didn't know what it was-- and we got two or three blanket packages. Well, very nice, but food would have been more welcome.

We come back, and the mail had come, and lo and behold, there were two or three food packages. And we went back and got the real packages. Real-- well, the food package. And at that time the chaplain center opened. There were two chaplains, army chaplains in Berlin. At the time, one was Rabbi Zhukov, a conservative from Boston, and Rabbi Friedman, who is still alive, Denver.

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What they do, every Friday night we went there to the [INAUDIBLE] and for the first time gefilte fish. That was quite something. We had known it too, but what we had known, the real gefilte fish, you actually had a pike, and then you filled that fish with pike-- this what we have here, we'd never seen. It was quite something.

And there was a service. And also the chaplain regularly got letters from the United States. Can you find out what happened to my cousin so-and-so? Last seen here. Or what happened to our friend so-and-so? And there the rabbi was sitting there. Here is a letter addressed to so-and-so. Anybody? No.

Well, for instance, I said, I go to school and the address given is close by. I will stop in Bavaria, there where the house is still standing. Well, someone there said, yes, I know. I will take the letter. I will tell them that the letter is there.

Lo and behold, one night, our name was called. And we got two letters. One for very good friends, the Aarons in Pasadena, and then a letter for Ginzberg, Louis Ginzberg the Talmud scholar. His wife was the sister of my father's best friend. And they too asked us, what have you-- you know what happened to them.

Well, we got their letters, we wrote them, and then they sent off packages directly I remember. But many times-- well, what do you know about Cohens or the Davies or the Friedlanders or so. Well, we'll take a look. And we went to the place, and either the building had been destroyed or nobody knew about them. Or some neighbor said, yes, he had been deported or so.

And what happened, there was a curfew. Everyone had to be home at a certain time, at 8 or 0 o'clock. But the services in the chaplain center lasted long. Well, what happened? An army truck came afterwards and we all went in the army truck. And the army truck went around to the various addresses and dropped us off. And the driver and his assistant, he waited until we were inside so that we are not picked up by a patrol.

It was tough at the time. And sometimes we went to the opera and came back late. I had a nightstick just in case something happened. There were some elements who tried to rob people. But well, actually, nothing happened to me.

And at that time we had the first seder too. A seder in the courthouse in Schulenburg. In fact it was the same place, the same quarter from which Kennedy went, Ich-- I am a Berliner. There was quite-- the British, American, and French commandant came. The Russian didn't come when we had been our first seder. It was quite something.

There was something else-- there was an anecdote. Well, of course, people came back and somebody-- one more. It's a number of restaurants of teahouses in London. I think they're still there. And the host Gluckstein. Well, why don't you go over there, to London? You are a poor cousin there who survived. And you want some handouts. Even if you're not related, you can be absolutely sure they will give you something, because it would be bad for business if somebody would find out that the Gluckstein teahouses-- I guess t 4 or 5 or 6 are still there in London-- don't help one of their cousins.

No, they are not relatives. Because I know for sure that the name Gluckstein, actually none of them are relatives. My grandfather came from Russia and took the name. Well, I didn't know it. But still, unfortunately, I might as well mention here, some people came back and claimed to have had property which they didn't really have.

The said that-- hoped that the records had burned. Well, nobody could prove it-- Say, come and look here, that was my house. But people came back, and my father at that time was reinstated, and he was involved in this. It was embarrassing, of course. They came and said, look, there's my house, and they have found the records. Well, you lived there, but it wasn't your house. But that was on;y far and inbetween. Otherwise, it didn't happen.

And actually, my father was invited to visit the Nuremberg Trial for a couple of days. It was a very interesting [INAUDIBLE].

Can you elaborate on the Nuremberg Trails.

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Well, actually, some of the Jewish jurists were given the opportunity to go there. There was a special train, interzone train, and they took the train and spent some time there. Just observers-- just to see how things are going on.

Had you been following the preparations for the trial and then the actual trials themselves?

Only to a limited degree. Yes, I know what's going on, read occasionally. But at the time, I was busy with school. Don't forget you had to go back to school, and it wasn't-- going back to school after there was still quite difficult. And we knew what would happen.

In fact, I had the opportunity-- right now, things come back to me-- to do some translations at the Nuremberg Trial. Nobody knew what was going on. But not that I followed it every day.

I had two questions for you. My first one was, after the war was over, and the Soviets had come, and everything was opened up, did you ever go back to your home from before the war?

Not directly. We had some friends, non-Jewish friends that actually lived close to where we lived. But you didn't go back. That was over.

In fact, I can tell you, the last time I went there two years ago, and I took Marin. I wanted to see what happened in Berlin where I came from. And I went back there and went to the court there. That was the last time. And I was so surprised how small it was, how narrow everything was. I had forgotten.

No, I didn't go back there. The neighborhood, yes. But not with the purpose of going back to the old home, no.

You were in your late teens when the war was over. Did you have any kind of social life and did you have friends?

Yes, I had friends. Actually friends still-- high school friends. But they emigrated too. The are now here in the States-- Minneapolis, Jersey, California. I had some friends.

Actually, social life, yes. But primarily with Jewish friends. Made some new friends at school. Even went for dance class. Didn't do any good.

[LAUGHING]

But yes, I had some social life. But still it took time to-- we lived in the suburbs. The school, the special courses, were the suburbs on the other side of town. And it took a long time to get there. And then, of course, studying, and then you still had to scrounge for food. And social life slowly started-- movies. Actually, the only thing, I became a complete opera nut.

But this was, yes, some social life. But then the friends left one after another. And yes.

When you started studying again, and you became a student again after the war, what goals or plans did you have for yourself for your future?

Actually, I planned to leave Germany, because it was quite clear-- my father, he encouraged me to go. He told me, if I were 10 years younger, I would go with you. But as a lawyer-- over there, law is based on the old English law, and here Germany is based on Roman law. The philosophy is different, and there are only so many spots for consultants of international law in the States.

I expected to emigrate. But on the other hand, you didn't want to sit around. You wanted to continue studying, complete your education, regardless of whether you would leave or whether you would go on to University there. It was quite important.

But what would happen-- well, one thing. I knew my father told me, I wish you would not become a lawyer. I was

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raised by a lawyer. Nothing or anything is wrong with lawyers. But he said, look, I wish you would take a profession that is not limited to one country. Look what happened to me.

We're going to pause so I can change tapes.

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