

1
00:00:00,000 --> 00:01:09,222

2
00:01:09,222 --> 00:01:10,280
One second [INAUDIBLE].

3
00:01:10,280 --> 00:01:12,280
If we want to stop, do I
just give you a signal,

4
00:01:12,280 --> 00:01:13,600
or just stop, or just say stop?

5
00:01:13,600 --> 00:01:13,915
Any time.

6
00:01:13,915 --> 00:01:14,230
Any time.

7
00:01:14,230 --> 00:01:14,530
[INTERPOSING VOICES]

8
00:01:14,530 --> 00:01:15,730
In case I need drink of water.

9
00:01:15,730 --> 00:01:16,230
No problem.

10
00:01:16,230 --> 00:01:17,980
Well, you never know when.

11
00:01:17,980 --> 00:01:18,582
water.

12
00:01:18,582 --> 00:01:19,082
Sure.

13
00:01:19,082 --> 00:01:19,582
OK.

14

00:01:19,582 --> 00:01:21,340

That's good.

15

00:01:21,340 --> 00:01:23,620

OK, we can start any time.

16

00:01:23,620 --> 00:01:26,050

This is the Holocaust Oral
History Project interview

17

00:01:26,050 --> 00:01:29,740

of George Leitmann, taking place
in San Francisco, California,

18

00:01:29,740 --> 00:01:32,510

on May 1, 1993.

19

00:01:32,510 --> 00:01:34,980

My name is Sylvia Prozan and
assisting in the interview

20

00:01:34,980 --> 00:01:38,640

is Richard Kirschman.

21

00:01:38,640 --> 00:01:41,380

George, when and
where were you born?

22

00:01:41,380 --> 00:01:50,580

I was born in Vienna,
Austria, on May 24, 1925.

23

00:01:50,580 --> 00:01:52,010

You want to know
about my parents?

24

00:01:52,010 --> 00:01:52,510

Yes.

25

00:01:52,510 --> 00:01:53,510

Your father's name.

26

00:01:53,510 --> 00:01:58,950

My father's name was Josef,
and my mother's name is Stella.

27

00:01:58,950 --> 00:02:02,720

In fact, I just saw
her this morning.

28

00:02:02,720 --> 00:02:09,560

She is 91 and lives in
Berkeley, now in a nursing home.

29

00:02:09,560 --> 00:02:14,240

My grandparents on
my mother's side

30

00:02:14,240 --> 00:02:18,350

came from Hungary-- that
is my maternal grandfather

31

00:02:18,350 --> 00:02:22,400

came from Hungary and
my maternal grandmother

32

00:02:22,400 --> 00:02:24,980

from Bohemia.

33

00:02:24,980 --> 00:02:30,230

And on my father's side, my
grandfather and grandmother

34

00:02:30,230 --> 00:02:33,950

actually came from Austria.

35

00:02:33,950 --> 00:02:36,080

I'm not sure exactly
where they were born--

36

00:02:36,080 --> 00:02:37,460

not in Vienna I believe.

37

00:02:37,460 --> 00:02:40,280

38
00:02:40,280 --> 00:02:45,760
My father, after returning
from the First World War,

39
00:02:45,760 --> 00:02:48,980
went to a commercial
college and graduated

40
00:02:48,980 --> 00:02:52,340
as a certified
public accountant.

41
00:02:52,340 --> 00:02:56,423
He worked first for a
private firm in the '20s.

42
00:02:56,423 --> 00:02:57,840
Of course, I don't
remember this .

43
00:02:57,840 --> 00:03:01,991
This is only just what
I learned since then.

44
00:03:01,991 --> 00:03:07,190
Then for the Austrian
government. in what, I guess,

45
00:03:07,190 --> 00:03:12,110
corresponds to their
antitrust division,

46
00:03:12,110 --> 00:03:17,510
until about 1934-35, when
one of the electrical trusts

47
00:03:17,510 --> 00:03:20,120
was broken up and he bought
part of that and then

48
00:03:20,120 --> 00:03:32,440

had an electrical supply radio store in Vienna until 1938.

49

00:03:32,440 --> 00:03:38,500

I went to school in Vienna through grammar school.

50

00:03:38,500 --> 00:03:41,970

And then the first three years of gymnasium-- actually,

51

00:03:41,970 --> 00:03:45,340

real gymnasium, which is the technical part--

52

00:03:45,340 --> 00:03:52,480

till 19-- Oh, I guess, late '38 after the Anschluss.

53

00:03:52,480 --> 00:03:57,820

And then, Jews were not allowed to continue in this university

54

00:03:57,820 --> 00:04:02,170

preparatory school, and I transferred in my fourth year

55

00:04:02,170 --> 00:04:06,820

to what really was a terminal four-year program.

56

00:04:06,820 --> 00:04:10,420

But only for one semester, because we

57

00:04:10,420 --> 00:04:15,700

emigrated in the spring of '40 after the start of the war.

58

00:04:15,700 --> 00:04:18,230

So in '39 I went for one semester,

59

00:04:18,230 --> 00:04:20,500
and then I was thrown
out of that too.

60
00:04:20,500 --> 00:04:25,210

61
00:04:25,210 --> 00:04:31,990
My father stayed with
us until the spring

62
00:04:31,990 --> 00:04:40,450
of early April of '40, in 1940.

63
00:04:40,450 --> 00:04:45,250
In that interim period,
I lived with my parents,

64
00:04:45,250 --> 00:04:49,570
of course, in the 2nd district,
which is where most of the Jews

65
00:04:49,570 --> 00:04:50,500
lived--

66
00:04:50,500 --> 00:04:55,480
Leopoldstadt-- with my
maternal grandmother,

67
00:04:55,480 --> 00:04:57,640
who lived in the same
apartment and in fact

68
00:04:57,640 --> 00:05:00,850
owned the apartment house.

69
00:05:00,850 --> 00:05:06,500
My paternal grandmother
lived by herself--

70
00:05:06,500 --> 00:05:09,040
she was a widow by then--

71

00:05:09,040 --> 00:05:11,590
also in the second district.

72

00:05:11,590 --> 00:05:18,430
And in the spring of '39--

73

00:05:18,430 --> 00:05:21,430
so about a year
after the Anschluss--

74

00:05:21,430 --> 00:05:25,730
we were expelled
from our apartment

75

00:05:25,730 --> 00:05:31,270
and moved in with my
maternal grandmother.

76

00:05:31,270 --> 00:05:35,890
Then-- well, maybe I
should preface this

77

00:05:35,890 --> 00:05:37,630
by saying why we stayed so long.

78

00:05:37,630 --> 00:05:39,610
I guess that's because
most of our relatives--

79

00:05:39,610 --> 00:05:44,470
those who made it at
least-- had left by 1939.

80

00:05:44,470 --> 00:05:48,340
Some of them were very
bright and left immediately,

81

00:05:48,340 --> 00:05:52,540
both on my father's
and my mother's side.

82

00:05:52,540 --> 00:05:56,320

My grandfather-- my
paternal grandfather--

83
00:05:56,320 --> 00:06:00,160
had been a staff officer
in the Austrian army

84
00:06:00,160 --> 00:06:03,670
and for some time attached
to the military government

85
00:06:03,670 --> 00:06:06,790
of Poland before
the First World War.

86
00:06:06,790 --> 00:06:09,925
Most of Poland, part of it
belonged to Russia, part of it

87
00:06:09,925 --> 00:06:10,570
to Austria.

88
00:06:10,570 --> 00:06:13,810
It was essentially
a military zone,

89
00:06:13,810 --> 00:06:15,115
and he was stationed in Krak³w.

90
00:06:15,115 --> 00:06:17,800

91
00:06:17,800 --> 00:06:22,540
As a consequence, the children
were born in different places.

92
00:06:22,540 --> 00:06:26,650
My father had four sisters, one
with died in infancy and then

93
00:06:26,650 --> 00:06:31,810
three surviving sisters, all
of whom were born in Vienna.

94

00:06:31,810 --> 00:06:36,160

But my father was born
during my grandfather's stint

95

00:06:36,160 --> 00:06:40,030

in the army in Poland, and
so he was born in Poland.

96

00:06:40,030 --> 00:06:46,330

This had a very profound effect
on his life, really his death,

97

00:06:46,330 --> 00:06:48,955

because he fell under
the Polish quota.

98

00:06:48,955 --> 00:06:51,670

It didn't matter whether you
were an Austrian or a Pole,

99

00:06:51,670 --> 00:06:54,520

but what determined the
United States immigration

100

00:06:54,520 --> 00:06:58,060

quota was the place of birth.

101

00:06:58,060 --> 00:07:00,680

And since he had
been born in Poland,

102

00:07:00,680 --> 00:07:02,290

he fell under the
Polish quota, which

103

00:07:02,290 --> 00:07:05,370

was much smaller, or
maybe more crowded,

104

00:07:05,370 --> 00:07:06,490

than the Austrian quota.

105

00:07:06,490 --> 00:07:09,340

And so we had
decided not to leave

106

00:07:09,340 --> 00:07:13,580

until we knew that he was safe.

107

00:07:13,580 --> 00:07:16,930

He had served as a Lieutenant
in the Austrian army

108

00:07:16,930 --> 00:07:18,760

during the First World
War in the Balkans.

109

00:07:18,760 --> 00:07:21,670

110

00:07:21,670 --> 00:07:25,300

As a consequence, he spoke
all the local languages--

111

00:07:25,300 --> 00:07:28,210

Croatian, Serbian.

112

00:07:28,210 --> 00:07:33,880

And in addition, my
maternal grandmother--

113

00:07:33,880 --> 00:07:37,060

in other words, on
my mother's side--

114

00:07:37,060 --> 00:07:40,630

had relatives in
then Yugoslavia.

115

00:07:40,630 --> 00:07:44,080

So this is about 1939.

116

00:07:44,080 --> 00:07:46,210

And so we decided

that the best thing

117
00:07:46,210 --> 00:07:50,800
would be for my father to
try and get into Yugoslavia,

118
00:07:50,800 --> 00:07:53,830
illegally of course.

119
00:07:53,830 --> 00:08:00,220
He managed to do that in early
1940, the beginning of April.

120
00:08:00,220 --> 00:08:06,120
And in fact he led a group of
Jews across the Austrian border

121
00:08:06,120 --> 00:08:08,260
into Yugoslavia since
he know the countryside

122
00:08:08,260 --> 00:08:13,610
and spoke the local
languages, and was, in fact,

123
00:08:13,610 --> 00:08:19,000
able to join that part of my
mother's family in Yugoslavia.

124
00:08:19,000 --> 00:08:24,130
And we heard from him a
number of times thereafter.

125
00:08:24,130 --> 00:08:25,795
He was able to write to us.

126
00:08:25,795 --> 00:08:27,700
Of course there were
diplomatic relations

127
00:08:27,700 --> 00:08:31,310
between Yugoslavia and Germany.

128

00:08:31,310 --> 00:08:34,640

And so we knew he was safe,
and so we decided to leave.

129

00:08:34,640 --> 00:08:38,360

And we left at the
beginning of May--

130

00:08:38,360 --> 00:08:40,343

or maybe it was
actually late April,

131

00:08:40,343 --> 00:08:42,260

about a month after he
was able to cross over.

132

00:08:42,260 --> 00:08:45,270

So we thought he was safe.

133

00:08:45,270 --> 00:08:51,440

And so I left with my mother
and my two grandmothers.

134

00:08:51,440 --> 00:08:54,590

I was then 14.

135

00:08:54,590 --> 00:08:56,840

And we were able
to get tickets--

136

00:08:56,840 --> 00:09:00,590

my father had already arranged
that on the SS Eternia

137

00:09:00,590 --> 00:09:03,680

which was an Italian
line out of Trieste.

138

00:09:03,680 --> 00:09:06,590

And so we went from Austria
by train from Vienna

139

00:09:06,590 --> 00:09:11,540
to Trieste in Italy,
Northern Italy,

140
00:09:11,540 --> 00:09:18,430
and then departed
on the SS Eternia.

141
00:09:18,430 --> 00:09:21,910
The war, of course, had already
been on for about six months.

142
00:09:21,910 --> 00:09:24,670
It started, what, in
August '39, and this

143
00:09:24,670 --> 00:09:26,800
was late April-- so
more than six months.

144
00:09:26,800 --> 00:09:31,150
In fact, we were stopped
in the Mediterranean

145
00:09:31,150 --> 00:09:35,800
by a British submarine as
we approached Gibraltar,

146
00:09:35,800 --> 00:09:40,960
and they checked
the passenger list.

147
00:09:40,960 --> 00:09:46,390
Stopped on the way along the
Yugoslav coast, Dubrovnik,

148
00:09:46,390 --> 00:09:51,880
and I remember in Spoleto
or Split, down the Adriatic,

149
00:09:51,880 --> 00:09:53,580
and then out through
the Mediterranean,

150

00:09:53,580 --> 00:09:57,520

out through Gibraltar,
and arrived in New York

151

00:09:57,520 --> 00:10:00,190

in early May.

152

00:10:00,190 --> 00:10:04,260

We had quite a few relatives
in the United States.

153

00:10:04,260 --> 00:10:08,470

It's a very dispersed
family, the Leitmanns.

154

00:10:08,470 --> 00:10:13,690

We had American relatives, two
branches-- a California branch

155

00:10:13,690 --> 00:10:17,890

by marriage, who had come
to California in the 1850s

156

00:10:17,890 --> 00:10:22,240

and established the first
stagecoach stop in Bakersfield

157

00:10:22,240 --> 00:10:25,990

in 1852.

158

00:10:25,990 --> 00:10:28,470

In fact, the surviving
member of that family,

159

00:10:28,470 --> 00:10:32,890

a first cousin of mine,
just visited us last week.

160

00:10:32,890 --> 00:10:37,540

He's retired in Long
Beach, Al Kinspel.

161

00:10:37,540 --> 00:10:47,280
The Kinspels, who were cousins
of my father's generation,

162
00:10:47,280 --> 00:10:50,730
I guess, of my father's
and his sisters,

163
00:10:50,730 --> 00:10:54,310
had decided at the
turn of the century--

164
00:10:54,310 --> 00:10:56,370
they were older cousins--

165
00:10:56,370 --> 00:10:59,730
to come to Europe
and pick up brides.

166
00:10:59,730 --> 00:11:01,920
I guess I was habit
in those days,

167
00:11:01,920 --> 00:11:05,130
and they married
two first cousins.

168
00:11:05,130 --> 00:11:07,110
So two brothers of
the Kinspel family

169
00:11:07,110 --> 00:11:09,390
came and married two
Leitmann sisters--

170
00:11:09,390 --> 00:11:11,010
sisters of my father's.

171
00:11:11,010 --> 00:11:14,040

172
00:11:14,040 --> 00:11:19,740
And Adele, who survived

until the late '60s,

173

00:11:19,740 --> 00:11:21,000
lived in San Francisco.

174

00:11:21,000 --> 00:11:28,740
And the other Aunt,
whom I never met,

175

00:11:28,740 --> 00:11:32,640
who died before the First
World War, in fact very young,

176

00:11:32,640 --> 00:11:39,930
married to Uncle Manny, who,
when I met him and in the '50s,

177

00:11:39,930 --> 00:11:43,500
still carried her picture and
showed it to me many times.

178

00:11:43,500 --> 00:11:46,800
And she had been dead
for almost 50 years

179

00:11:46,800 --> 00:11:49,170
by then, over 40 years anyway.

180

00:11:49,170 --> 00:11:52,530

181

00:11:52,530 --> 00:11:54,150
So we arrived in New York.

182

00:11:54,150 --> 00:11:59,010
We also, on my father's side,
had relatives, the Greenspans.

183

00:11:59,010 --> 00:12:02,400
I'm not quite sure
how they were related.

184

00:12:02,400 --> 00:12:05,520

Those two sets of
relatives had in fact

185

00:12:05,520 --> 00:12:07,500

vouched for us,
signed affidavits,

186

00:12:07,500 --> 00:12:09,000

and that's how we
got to the States.

187

00:12:09,000 --> 00:12:12,240

The Kinspels in California,
the Greenspans in New York.

188

00:12:12,240 --> 00:12:16,810

The Greenspans were
extremely wealthy.

189

00:12:16,810 --> 00:12:19,590

In fact, I remember that
when my mother and I

190

00:12:19,590 --> 00:12:22,470

decided we had better go
and thank them after we'd

191

00:12:22,470 --> 00:12:24,210

been here a couple of months.

192

00:12:24,210 --> 00:12:29,430

They lived on Park
Avenue in a placed

193

00:12:29,430 --> 00:12:31,290

where each apartment
was just one floor.

194

00:12:31,290 --> 00:12:34,050

The elevator goes right
into the apartment,

195

00:12:34,050 --> 00:12:36,210
and their butler
greeted us at the door.

196
00:12:36,210 --> 00:12:38,320
It's the only contact
we had with them,

197
00:12:38,320 --> 00:12:39,630
in fact, that one visit.

198
00:12:39,630 --> 00:12:42,870
And Mrs. Greenspan
offered us sherry,

199
00:12:42,870 --> 00:12:45,550
and my mother doesn't
drink, and I was too young,

200
00:12:45,550 --> 00:12:48,300
and so she asked the Butler
report back into the bottle.

201
00:12:48,300 --> 00:12:51,270
That's my one remembrance
of the Greenspans,

202
00:12:51,270 --> 00:12:55,080
but of course we were very
thankful to them just the same.

203
00:12:55,080 --> 00:12:57,670

204
00:12:57,670 --> 00:13:03,540
So, in fact, the third
sister of my father's,

205
00:13:03,540 --> 00:13:06,870
who had been married
into California,

206
00:13:06,870 --> 00:13:10,260

had emigrated in '38 already
with her husband and children.

207
00:13:10,260 --> 00:13:12,450
And so they greeted us,
and we stayed with them

208
00:13:12,450 --> 00:13:13,230
for a few weeks.

209
00:13:13,230 --> 00:13:15,960

210
00:13:15,960 --> 00:13:21,750
My mother had two siblings,
a brother and sister.

211
00:13:21,750 --> 00:13:25,860
The sister-- well, both of
them also had emigrated in '38

212
00:13:25,860 --> 00:13:27,360
or maybe early '39.

213
00:13:27,360 --> 00:13:31,140
We were really
the lone holdouts.

214
00:13:31,140 --> 00:13:38,850
And my mother's older sister
had moved to California

215
00:13:38,850 --> 00:13:40,020
almost immediately.

216
00:13:40,020 --> 00:13:43,560
She had a daughter who was an
actress in fact with the Max

217
00:13:43,560 --> 00:13:48,780
Reinhardt company and
got a job in Hollywood

218

00:13:48,780 --> 00:13:49,590
almost immediately.

219

00:13:49,590 --> 00:13:55,350
She was maybe 20 years old
and my first cousin, Maria.

220

00:13:55,350 --> 00:13:59,520
And so the paupers--

221

00:13:59,520 --> 00:14:02,950
she had married an Austrian
cavalry officer in fact--

222

00:14:02,950 --> 00:14:05,490
had moved to California
with their daughters.

223

00:14:05,490 --> 00:14:10,170
And my father's
sister, the third one

224

00:14:10,170 --> 00:14:14,190
who had not married in
California, lived in New York

225

00:14:14,190 --> 00:14:15,250
with her family.

226

00:14:15,250 --> 00:14:18,270
And so we stayed with them,
as I said, for a few weeks

227

00:14:18,270 --> 00:14:25,620
after arrival and then moved
in with my mother's brother

228

00:14:25,620 --> 00:14:31,660
and family, who had also
emigrated in late '38

229

00:14:31,660 --> 00:14:35,685

or early '39 and who lived in
New York, actually in Elmhurst.

230
00:14:35,685 --> 00:14:38,440

231
00:14:38,440 --> 00:14:41,620
And we stayed with
them for a few months.

232
00:14:41,620 --> 00:14:48,940
I started high school
in Elmhurst, New York.

233
00:14:48,940 --> 00:14:52,780
I went to Newtown High
School, which was very

234
00:14:52,780 --> 00:14:55,630
close to where my uncle lived.

235
00:14:55,630 --> 00:14:57,520
And then very shortly
thereafter my mother

236
00:14:57,520 --> 00:14:58,700
got her own apartment.

237
00:14:58,700 --> 00:15:04,520
She got all kinds of sundry
jobs to put me through school,

238
00:15:04,520 --> 00:15:09,160
and I went to
school and graduated

239
00:15:09,160 --> 00:15:11,430
from Newtown High in 1944.

240
00:15:11,430 --> 00:15:13,390
So I actually lived--

241

00:15:13,390 --> 00:15:17,710
February '44, mid-semester.

242
00:15:17,710 --> 00:15:20,590

243
00:15:20,590 --> 00:15:24,110
So we lived in Queens, New
York, first in the Elmhurst,

244
00:15:24,110 --> 00:15:30,580
and then in Jackson Heights
for all these years.

245
00:15:30,580 --> 00:15:35,530
I am rambling, here
but I should say

246
00:15:35,530 --> 00:15:40,720
that, of course, the safety that
we had thought my father had

247
00:15:40,720 --> 00:15:43,150
gained by going to Yugoslavia
was clearly illusory,

248
00:15:43,150 --> 00:15:45,160
because the Germans
marched into Yugoslavia

249
00:15:45,160 --> 00:15:49,850
that very summer of 1940.

250
00:15:49,850 --> 00:15:56,320
And so he clearly
didn't gain safety.

251
00:15:56,320 --> 00:16:00,550
In fact, we still heard
from him for about another

252
00:16:00,550 --> 00:16:03,370
six months after we

had come to the States

253

00:16:03,370 --> 00:16:06,370
through the Red Cross.

254

00:16:06,370 --> 00:16:08,740
Apparently, because
of his knowledge

255

00:16:08,740 --> 00:16:12,550
of both the area
and the language,

256

00:16:12,550 --> 00:16:16,390
he worked for the Red
Cross as an interpreter,

257

00:16:16,390 --> 00:16:19,270
and I think I have a
number of the postcards

258

00:16:19,270 --> 00:16:24,290
that we got till
maybe late 1940--

259

00:16:24,290 --> 00:16:27,550
so for about six months
after we had come here.

260

00:16:27,550 --> 00:16:29,530
And then we never
heard from him again.

261

00:16:29,530 --> 00:16:33,392

262

00:16:33,392 --> 00:16:38,170
To jump back now, I guess,
I graduated from high school

263

00:16:38,170 --> 00:16:41,230
in the beginning of 1944.

264

00:16:41,230 --> 00:16:44,500

In the meantime, I had
volunteered for the United

265

00:16:44,500 --> 00:16:52,420

States Army for the V5 program,
which was an officer's training

266

00:16:52,420 --> 00:16:58,510

program mostly in the
sciences and engineering.

267

00:16:58,510 --> 00:17:03,220

I was inducted into the army in
fact on my mother's birthday,

268

00:17:03,220 --> 00:17:07,930

February 5, 1944.

269

00:17:07,930 --> 00:17:10,930

And because of my
interest in engineering,

270

00:17:10,930 --> 00:17:14,740

I was put in an
engineer battalion.

271

00:17:14,740 --> 00:17:18,920

286th Engineer Combat
Battalion in fact.

272

00:17:18,920 --> 00:17:26,619

I did my basic training in
Colorado at what I guess was

273

00:17:26,619 --> 00:17:29,080

Camp Carson-- it is
now Fort Carson--

274

00:17:29,080 --> 00:17:33,795

outside of Colorado
Springs in the Rockies.

275

00:17:33,795 --> 00:17:36,100

a very interesting place,
because it was also

276

00:17:36,100 --> 00:17:41,050

a German prisoner of war
camp for the Afrika Korps,

277

00:17:41,050 --> 00:17:45,760

whom we used to see marching
along, singing their songs,

278

00:17:45,760 --> 00:17:49,750

going to the circus on Sunday
afternoon when we went out

279

00:17:49,750 --> 00:17:52,510

on maneuvers.

280

00:17:52,510 --> 00:17:54,820

And it was one of
the camps, in fact,

281

00:17:54,820 --> 00:17:58,133

where they hang
their own people.

282

00:17:58,133 --> 00:17:59,800

While we were there,
there were a number

283

00:17:59,800 --> 00:18:03,460

of incidents where Afrika
Korps soldiers were found

284

00:18:03,460 --> 00:18:05,380

hanging in the
barracks, apparently

285

00:18:05,380 --> 00:18:07,210

those who were thought
to be collaborators.

286

00:18:07,210 --> 00:18:09,970

287

00:18:09,970 --> 00:18:11,830

Then I did my advanced
basic training

288

00:18:11,830 --> 00:18:14,440

at Fort Leonard Wood
in Missouri and went

289

00:18:14,440 --> 00:18:20,830

overseas in the fall of 1944,
just after the invasion,

290

00:18:20,830 --> 00:18:24,220

but first to Great Britain.

291

00:18:24,220 --> 00:18:31,300

Spent 2 and 1/2 months
in England and then

292

00:18:31,300 --> 00:18:36,175

crossed the channel during
the Battle of the Bulge

293

00:18:36,175 --> 00:18:45,940

into France in early
December of '44.

294

00:18:45,940 --> 00:18:50,980

And we were in combat
then from that time

295

00:18:50,980 --> 00:18:52,900

until the end of the war.

296

00:18:52,900 --> 00:18:58,030

First attached after a quick
trip across southern France

297

00:18:58,030 --> 00:19:02,740

to the first French army,
General Lattre de Tassigny,

298
00:19:02,740 --> 00:19:06,640
and went up with the
first French army

299
00:19:06,640 --> 00:19:12,890
to the German border,
stopped at Sarreguemines--

300
00:19:12,890 --> 00:19:16,780
now Sarreguemines,
then Saargemund--

301
00:19:16,780 --> 00:19:23,200
in January I guess, and
then crossed into Germany

302
00:19:23,200 --> 00:19:26,320
through the Siegfried Line.

303
00:19:26,320 --> 00:19:29,080
I was attached to a
reconnaissance unit

304
00:19:29,080 --> 00:19:32,110
of that battalion,
again, partly because I

305
00:19:32,110 --> 00:19:35,770
guess of my language skills.

306
00:19:35,770 --> 00:19:40,050
I'd been sent ahead and to
Colmar, in Alsace, Lorraine,

307
00:19:40,050 --> 00:19:42,750
about three days before
the United States

308
00:19:42,750 --> 00:19:46,080
troops enter to reconnoiter

a route into Colmar.

309

00:19:46,080 --> 00:19:50,080

310

00:19:50,080 --> 00:19:58,660

And then brought the first
American convoy into Colmar.

311

00:19:58,660 --> 00:20:01,270

And that must have
been January I guess

312

00:20:01,270 --> 00:20:02,470

or maybe early February--

313

00:20:02,470 --> 00:20:05,050

I'm not quite sure--

314

00:20:05,050 --> 00:20:05,740

of '45.

315

00:20:05,740 --> 00:20:08,990

316

00:20:08,990 --> 00:20:14,800

And then we were transferred
from the first French army

317

00:20:14,800 --> 00:20:18,610

to the US Seventh Army
under General Patch.

318

00:20:18,610 --> 00:20:21,130

319

00:20:21,130 --> 00:20:28,750

I stayed with them with
the 286th Engineers till

320

00:20:28,750 --> 00:20:32,290

after VE Day.

321
00:20:32,290 --> 00:20:35,500
We came through very
much the same route

322
00:20:35,500 --> 00:20:39,070
as the Japanese regiment did.

323
00:20:39,070 --> 00:20:42,670
I looked at the map-- very
much in that very same area

324
00:20:42,670 --> 00:20:49,240
through Wurzburg and
Munich and then down

325
00:20:49,240 --> 00:20:50,800
into southern Austria.

326
00:20:50,800 --> 00:20:53,260
We were in Innsbruck or
very close to Innsbruck

327
00:20:53,260 --> 00:20:56,280
when the war ended.

328
00:20:56,280 --> 00:20:59,550
In fact, just as
an aside, since I'm

329
00:20:59,550 --> 00:21:03,120
rambling, since I was
in a reconnaissance,

330
00:21:03,120 --> 00:21:04,410
I was sent out--

331
00:21:04,410 --> 00:21:08,580
rumor had been going
around that Goering

332
00:21:08,580 --> 00:21:11,400

was hiding out near there.

333

00:21:11,400 --> 00:21:15,060

And so just two of us in a Jeep
took off to look for Goering

334

00:21:15,060 --> 00:21:19,380

and found him, because
we were suddenly

335

00:21:19,380 --> 00:21:24,840

surrounded by 100 German
paratroopers who turned out

336

00:21:24,840 --> 00:21:26,370

to be his personal bodyguard.

337

00:21:26,370 --> 00:21:32,102

Of course he had, by that time,
decided to surrender himself,

338

00:21:32,102 --> 00:21:33,310

although the war wasn't over.

339

00:21:33,310 --> 00:21:36,480

It was probably May 5
or something like that,

340

00:21:36,480 --> 00:21:39,600

but he'd clearly been in
touch with the United States

341

00:21:39,600 --> 00:21:40,290

authorities.

342

00:21:40,290 --> 00:21:45,060

And so when we said we would
be very happy to take him in,

343

00:21:45,060 --> 00:21:47,340

why, we were told that
that was quite unnecessary.

344

00:21:47,340 --> 00:21:49,710

In fact, he was having
dinner that evening

345

00:21:49,710 --> 00:21:52,760

with General Patton.

346

00:21:52,760 --> 00:21:53,510

So we departed.

347

00:21:53,510 --> 00:21:57,470

348

00:21:57,470 --> 00:22:07,241

Then we were pulled back into
Germany into one of the spas.

349

00:22:07,241 --> 00:22:12,900

350

00:22:12,900 --> 00:22:17,760

And since we had
enough combat units,

351

00:22:17,760 --> 00:22:19,705

we were going to be
demobilized and sent back

352

00:22:19,705 --> 00:22:20,580

to the United States.

353

00:22:20,580 --> 00:22:24,690

So we were convoyed down
to Marseilles for shipment

354

00:22:24,690 --> 00:22:27,940

back to the States
in the summer of '45.

355

00:22:27,940 --> 00:22:32,620

356

00:22:32,620 --> 00:22:36,450

And then they decided that
they had made a mistake

357

00:22:36,450 --> 00:22:40,350

and sent another
battalion home by mistake,

358

00:22:40,350 --> 00:22:41,640

and so they renamed us.

359

00:22:41,640 --> 00:22:43,410

I'm not quite sure
what the other one was,

360

00:22:43,410 --> 00:22:46,750

but one more morning we were
called in a typical Army snafu,

361

00:22:46,750 --> 00:22:48,810

and said, you are
no longer the 286,

362

00:22:48,810 --> 00:22:51,300

you are the 114th or something.

363

00:22:51,300 --> 00:22:53,280

And so you're going to Japan--

364

00:22:53,280 --> 00:22:56,230

you're not going home.

365

00:22:56,230 --> 00:23:02,040

And while we were waiting
to go aboard in Marseilles,

366

00:23:02,040 --> 00:23:04,960

the war ended in the Pacific.

367

00:23:04,960 --> 00:23:09,820

So it must have been
in August of '45.

368
00:23:09,820 --> 00:23:11,560
And so we all thought
we were going home.

369
00:23:11,560 --> 00:23:13,780
But it turned out
our kernel was very

370
00:23:13,780 --> 00:23:17,350
eager-- volunteered to
become Corps engineer

371
00:23:17,350 --> 00:23:18,715
for the occupying forces.

372
00:23:18,715 --> 00:23:20,590
And so we were shipped
right back to Germany.

373
00:23:20,590 --> 00:23:23,210

374
00:23:23,210 --> 00:23:25,250
So we convoyed back
up into Germany.

375
00:23:25,250 --> 00:23:28,030
By that time it was
early September,

376
00:23:28,030 --> 00:23:32,890
and I had been requested by the
CIC, the Counterintelligence

377
00:23:32,890 --> 00:23:35,680
Corps back even in
April before the war

378
00:23:35,680 --> 00:23:39,070
ended because of area
and language proficiency.

379

00:23:39,070 --> 00:23:44,320

And my commanding
officer nixed that

380

00:23:44,320 --> 00:23:48,460

by saying they couldn't
spare any engineers.

381

00:23:48,460 --> 00:23:54,580

And so now that we were really
no longer needed that badly,

382

00:23:54,580 --> 00:23:58,780

they did allow me to transfer,
and I transferred to a CIC unit

383

00:23:58,780 --> 00:24:00,340

in Wiesbaden.

384

00:24:00,340 --> 00:24:02,890

And that was probably
early October

385

00:24:02,890 --> 00:24:11,180

'45 and then spent the next
eight or nine months there

386

00:24:11,180 --> 00:24:17,240

till I was demobilized
in May of '46.

387

00:24:17,240 --> 00:24:20,420

Now, my only and
really very minor

388

00:24:20,420 --> 00:24:23,300

experience in liberating
a camp was with one

389

00:24:23,300 --> 00:24:24,470

of these peripheral camps.

390

00:24:24,470 --> 00:24:28,960
It was a camp called Landsberg.

391
00:24:28,960 --> 00:24:32,500
And I have some
photographs in my album.

392
00:24:32,500 --> 00:24:35,860

393
00:24:35,860 --> 00:24:41,870
It's the typical piles
of bodies photograph.

394
00:24:41,870 --> 00:24:46,880
So it's something that I'm sure
you've seen thousands of times.

395
00:24:46,880 --> 00:24:56,140
Anyway, the remaining time
during my army days in CIC I

396
00:24:56,140 --> 00:24:58,540
spent partly in Wiesbaden.

397
00:24:58,540 --> 00:25:01,810
In fact, I was in charge
of a prisoner of war camp

398
00:25:01,810 --> 00:25:07,660
for a while, interrogating
prisoners of war.

399
00:25:07,660 --> 00:25:13,150
We were involved in a number of
actions against what was then

400
00:25:13,150 --> 00:25:16,930
considered to be an incipient
Nazi movement, the Werewolves,

401
00:25:16,930 --> 00:25:22,030
and I have a number

of documents on that.

402

00:25:22,030 --> 00:25:23,890

And then in February,
I think, I was

403

00:25:23,890 --> 00:25:27,250

detached to the Nuremberg
Trials as an interrogator

404

00:25:27,250 --> 00:25:30,640

and spent about six weeks
there as an interrogator,

405

00:25:30,640 --> 00:25:32,980

between early
February and March.

406

00:25:32,980 --> 00:25:36,420

407

00:25:36,420 --> 00:25:41,660

It was during that period that
Goering committed suicide.

408

00:25:41,660 --> 00:25:46,960

So that sort of pins it
down in time I guess.

409

00:25:46,960 --> 00:25:52,630

My main function, as I say,
was to interrogate witnesses.

410

00:25:52,630 --> 00:25:57,490

I interrogated Field
Marshal Guderian,

411

00:25:57,490 --> 00:26:02,530

who at first refused to
talk to me because he

412

00:26:02,530 --> 00:26:04,157

couldn't ascertain my rank.

413
00:26:04,157 --> 00:26:05,740
First of all, he
thought I was clearly

414
00:26:05,740 --> 00:26:08,500
too junior to have any rank.

415
00:26:08,500 --> 00:26:13,840
CIC agents didn't
wear rank insignia--

416
00:26:13,840 --> 00:26:15,920
officers uniforms
with no rank insignia.

417
00:26:15,920 --> 00:26:19,990
Well, we could take on any
rank we pleased up to Colonel.

418
00:26:19,990 --> 00:26:22,450
So I showed up as a Lieutenant
Colonel in the Air Force

419
00:26:22,450 --> 00:26:23,200
the next morning.

420
00:26:23,200 --> 00:26:26,688
I figured he might believe that.

421
00:26:26,688 --> 00:26:27,730
And then he talked to me.

422
00:26:27,730 --> 00:26:31,840

423
00:26:31,840 --> 00:26:34,300
The only other people of
note that I interrogated

424
00:26:34,300 --> 00:26:37,120
were Mrs. Himmler

and her daughter,

425

00:26:37,120 --> 00:26:40,060

sort of a pathetic
pair as I remember it.

426

00:26:40,060 --> 00:26:44,560

Mrs. Himmler's main complaint
was her husband's infidelities.

427

00:26:44,560 --> 00:26:48,610

That's really all she
wanted to talk about.

428

00:26:48,610 --> 00:26:53,695

And then I had a group of female
concentration camp guards.

429

00:26:53,695 --> 00:26:56,550

430

00:26:56,550 --> 00:26:59,700

All the other people
were really minor people

431

00:26:59,700 --> 00:27:03,330

that I interrogated.

432

00:27:03,330 --> 00:27:06,310

It was an "interesting
experience," in quotation marks

433

00:27:06,310 --> 00:27:12,720

I guess, because I worked
very hard on keeping my cool.

434

00:27:12,720 --> 00:27:19,050

And I guess it's one of my few
talents I was able to do that,

435

00:27:19,050 --> 00:27:21,060

because I figured I'd
do a better job I guess,

436
00:27:21,060 --> 00:27:26,430
and not yell, and rant and
rave, which I didn't do.

437
00:27:26,430 --> 00:27:31,760
And then was sent
back to Wiesbaden

438
00:27:31,760 --> 00:27:34,490
and spent the rest of
the time on the team

439
00:27:34,490 --> 00:27:39,360
there and then left the
army in May as I said.

440
00:27:39,360 --> 00:27:44,630
All that time, I had high
hopes of finding my father.

441
00:27:44,630 --> 00:27:46,100
Talked to people.

442
00:27:46,100 --> 00:27:49,250
I knew the general
area that he'd last

443
00:27:49,250 --> 00:27:56,850
written from in Yugoslavia
at the end of 1940.

444
00:27:56,850 --> 00:28:02,325
And, of course, there
wasn't any news at all.

445
00:28:02,325 --> 00:28:09,200
The first news we had, as soon
as I returned home in '46,

446
00:28:09,200 --> 00:28:12,380
wrote to the American Red Cross.

447

00:28:12,380 --> 00:28:14,750

I have those documents.

448

00:28:14,750 --> 00:28:20,870

And they put me in touch with
the US embassy in Zagreb--

449

00:28:20,870 --> 00:28:25,070

it was Belgrade,
probably Belgrade--

450

00:28:25,070 --> 00:28:32,180

who then wrote my mother and
me, oh, probably late in '46,

451

00:28:32,180 --> 00:28:39,200

saying that they had
investigated the situation.

452

00:28:39,200 --> 00:28:43,100

And if my father
had in fact been

453

00:28:43,100 --> 00:28:46,040

where we thought he had
been, namely in a little town

454

00:28:46,040 --> 00:28:47,150

called Nis--

455

00:28:47,150 --> 00:28:50,630

N-I-S with a little
thing on top--

456

00:28:50,630 --> 00:28:57,950

then he was executed
along with all other Jews

457

00:28:57,950 --> 00:29:02,353

in the early spring of 1942.

458

00:29:02,353 --> 00:29:03,770

Because the Germans
were beginning

459
00:29:03,770 --> 00:29:06,335
to withdraw from that area
because of partisan pressure.

460
00:29:06,335 --> 00:29:09,330

461
00:29:09,330 --> 00:29:10,905
And the bodies had
all been cremated.

462
00:29:10,905 --> 00:29:13,910

463
00:29:13,910 --> 00:29:18,810
But the only news we had
and what we to this day

464
00:29:18,810 --> 00:29:21,740
assume in fact happened.

465
00:29:21,740 --> 00:29:25,460
There is an ironic
note, before I forget.

466
00:29:25,460 --> 00:29:28,790
When my mother moved a
little over two years ago

467
00:29:28,790 --> 00:29:31,700
to a retirement home
in Berkeley and I

468
00:29:31,700 --> 00:29:34,730
helped to clean out the
apartment where she had lived

469
00:29:34,730 --> 00:29:40,490
until then, she still had an
amazing number of documents

470
00:29:40,490 --> 00:29:44,810
with her, including my
father's military records,

471
00:29:44,810 --> 00:29:47,130
or at least some of them.

472
00:29:47,130 --> 00:29:53,210
And it turns out that my father,
who had been wounded twice

473
00:29:53,210 --> 00:29:59,420
during the First World
War in then Serbia,

474
00:29:59,420 --> 00:30:04,580
was in a military hospital
after his second wounding

475
00:30:04,580 --> 00:30:07,430
in the town of Nis.

476
00:30:07,430 --> 00:30:11,630
So he lay in a military
hospital in the First World War

477
00:30:11,630 --> 00:30:13,340
defending the
fatherland, and that's

478
00:30:13,340 --> 00:30:18,310
where he was killed in
the Second World War.

479
00:30:18,310 --> 00:30:21,590
I guess there are lots
of stories like that.

480
00:30:21,590 --> 00:30:25,360
Anyway, perhaps
this is a good time

481

00:30:25,360 --> 00:30:27,485

to stop and let you
ask some questions.

482

00:30:27,485 --> 00:30:29,470

I've been rambling.

483

00:30:29,470 --> 00:30:30,720

I'll take a drink of water.

484

00:30:30,720 --> 00:30:34,150

485

00:30:34,150 --> 00:30:36,210

I'm going to go back
to the beginning,

486

00:30:36,210 --> 00:30:39,950

starting with some name.

487

00:30:39,950 --> 00:30:42,140

Your father's father?

488

00:30:42,140 --> 00:30:43,415

Alexander.

489

00:30:43,415 --> 00:30:44,630

Leitmann?

490

00:30:44,630 --> 00:30:45,440

Right.

491

00:30:45,440 --> 00:30:47,325

And his wife?

492

00:30:47,325 --> 00:30:47,825

Cecilia.

493

00:30:47,825 --> 00:30:50,610

494

00:30:50,610 --> 00:30:56,340
And I don't remember her maiden
name, although I could probably

495

00:30:56,340 --> 00:30:58,990
find out.

496

00:30:58,990 --> 00:31:02,210
I know that he was in the
army, was that his career?

497

00:31:02,210 --> 00:31:03,030
Yes.

498

00:31:03,030 --> 00:31:05,070
Yes, he was a career officer.

499

00:31:05,070 --> 00:31:06,060
Right.

500

00:31:06,060 --> 00:31:07,743
So he must--

501

00:31:07,743 --> 00:31:09,660
I don't know how young
he was when he went in,

502

00:31:09,660 --> 00:31:12,390
but he went right up.

503

00:31:12,390 --> 00:31:13,550
So that was--

504

00:31:13,550 --> 00:31:15,150
Did you spend a lot
of time with him?

505

00:31:15,150 --> 00:31:16,980
Well, he died in 1929.

506

00:31:16,980 --> 00:31:20,500

So I only knew him for the
first three years of my life

507
00:31:20,500 --> 00:31:22,430
or so-- three-four
years of my life.

508
00:31:22,430 --> 00:31:26,320
I remember he was by
then retired of course.

509
00:31:26,320 --> 00:31:28,290
And so he was the
typical grandfather.

510
00:31:28,290 --> 00:31:34,800
A rather stern person, always
dressed to the nines, a suit,

511
00:31:34,800 --> 00:31:36,240
and a vest, and a tie.

512
00:31:36,240 --> 00:31:42,000
And I never saw him outside
of his formal attire.

513
00:31:42,000 --> 00:31:45,240

514
00:31:45,240 --> 00:31:48,990
My grandmother, his wife,
survived and emigrated.

515
00:31:48,990 --> 00:31:51,280
As I said, she was one
of the two grandmothers

516
00:31:51,280 --> 00:31:53,310
I brought along.

517
00:31:53,310 --> 00:31:56,970
First lived with the
daughter in New York,

518
00:31:56,970 --> 00:31:59,850
and then, later on,
sometime during the war when

519
00:31:59,850 --> 00:32:04,650
I wasn't around, moved
out to her surviving

520
00:32:04,650 --> 00:32:14,640
daughter in San Francisco and
died here in middle-late '40s.

521
00:32:14,640 --> 00:32:17,198
'46, something like that.

522
00:32:17,198 --> 00:32:18,990
Can you remember anything
about your visits

523
00:32:18,990 --> 00:32:20,910
to your father's father?

524
00:32:20,910 --> 00:32:22,500
Well, yes, I do.

525
00:32:22,500 --> 00:32:24,720
Because, it was, in
fact, the apartment

526
00:32:24,720 --> 00:32:29,850
that we had eventually moved
into after we were kicked out

527
00:32:29,850 --> 00:32:33,870
of our own apartment.

528
00:32:33,870 --> 00:32:37,890
It was, I guess, the sort of
typical bourgeois apartment,

529
00:32:37,890 --> 00:32:40,440

lots of overstuffed
furniture and lots

530
00:32:40,440 --> 00:32:44,400
of paintings on the wall.

531
00:32:44,400 --> 00:32:48,240
As I say, he was,
at least to my mind

532
00:32:48,240 --> 00:32:53,610
seemed, a very stern kind
of grandfatherly figure--

533
00:32:53,610 --> 00:32:55,980
not very relaxed.

534
00:32:55,980 --> 00:33:01,960
Probably a holdover
from his military days.

535
00:33:01,960 --> 00:33:05,430
On the other hand, I
have photographs of his

536
00:33:05,430 --> 00:33:09,100
with his grandchildren.

537
00:33:09,100 --> 00:33:12,060
He clearly enjoyed
his grandchildren

538
00:33:12,060 --> 00:33:15,910
and visited with them.

539
00:33:15,910 --> 00:33:17,670
Excuse me.

540
00:33:17,670 --> 00:33:22,770
My aunt's husband
had a candy store,

541

00:33:22,770 --> 00:33:25,470
I guess probably what you might
call it-- general refreshment

542
00:33:25,470 --> 00:33:29,520
candy place-- where
in the Prater,

543
00:33:29,520 --> 00:33:32,620
which was the amusement
park in Vienna.

544
00:33:32,620 --> 00:33:35,400
That was my favorite
place to visit of course.

545
00:33:35,400 --> 00:33:38,640
It was within walking distance
of where we lived-- probably

546
00:33:38,640 --> 00:33:40,380
a mile away.

547
00:33:40,380 --> 00:33:46,830
And I spent a lot of time
there, because my father also

548
00:33:46,830 --> 00:33:52,590
was a fairly stern person and
my mother was, and still is,

549
00:33:52,590 --> 00:33:56,010
very much a housekeeper.

550
00:33:56,010 --> 00:33:58,980
So I was always kept very clean.

551
00:33:58,980 --> 00:34:01,320
I was an only child.

552
00:34:01,320 --> 00:34:08,040
And in fact my cousins used to
call me Little Lord Fauntleroy.

553

00:34:08,040 --> 00:34:10,440

And so when I wanted
to escape that,

554

00:34:10,440 --> 00:34:12,389

my father would take
me down to the Prater,

555

00:34:12,389 --> 00:34:15,540

which, A, was an amusement
park, but, B, of course also,

556

00:34:15,540 --> 00:34:19,350

my cousins lived in a much
more relaxed atmosphere,

557

00:34:19,350 --> 00:34:22,290

and we were able to wander
around the amusement park,

558

00:34:22,290 --> 00:34:26,429

and also eat candy, and hot
dogs, and what have you.

559

00:34:26,429 --> 00:34:29,460

560

00:34:29,460 --> 00:34:35,670

So that's really all I remember
about my paternal grandfather.

561

00:34:35,670 --> 00:34:38,850

Because, as I say, I probably
have a year or two of memory.

562

00:34:38,850 --> 00:34:41,820

563

00:34:41,820 --> 00:34:44,340

Now, my grandmother I
remember for much longer,

564

00:34:44,340 --> 00:34:48,780

because my father used
to visit her every day,

565

00:34:48,780 --> 00:34:53,699

and he used to take
me along quite often.

566

00:34:53,699 --> 00:34:56,250

He had a routine.

567

00:34:56,250 --> 00:35:01,655

On his way to either the
office or later on the company

568

00:35:01,655 --> 00:35:05,430

he owned, he would stop
off in the morning,

569

00:35:05,430 --> 00:35:09,870

and have a cup of coffee with
her, and then go to the office.

570

00:35:09,870 --> 00:35:15,960

And it's a habit that I
took up when my mother moved

571

00:35:15,960 --> 00:35:18,210

to California in 1970.

572

00:35:18,210 --> 00:35:20,580

That was when she retired.

573

00:35:20,580 --> 00:35:23,580

And she had her own apartment
till two years ago in Berkeley,

574

00:35:23,580 --> 00:35:26,520

and almost every
day I would stop off

575

00:35:26,520 --> 00:35:28,140

for coffee in the
morning before going

576
00:35:28,140 --> 00:35:31,170
to the office at the University.

577
00:35:31,170 --> 00:35:37,320
And it's one of the
things I feel sort of ties

578
00:35:37,320 --> 00:35:41,430
me to my father, whom
I really only knew

579
00:35:41,430 --> 00:35:44,820
for a very small
portion of my life,

580
00:35:44,820 --> 00:35:50,250
since I saw him
last when I was 14.

581
00:35:50,250 --> 00:35:55,660
And that's well
over 50 years ago--

582
00:35:55,660 --> 00:35:58,680
it seems hard to believe.

583
00:35:58,680 --> 00:36:04,350
On my mother's side, I
never knew my grandfather.

584
00:36:04,350 --> 00:36:06,600
He had died before I was born.

585
00:36:06,600 --> 00:36:07,350
What was his name?

586
00:36:07,350 --> 00:36:14,860
His name-- that's
terrible, because I don't--

587

00:36:14,860 --> 00:36:18,570
oh, I'm going to have to look
on the records or ask my mother.

588

00:36:18,570 --> 00:36:25,220

589

00:36:25,220 --> 00:36:29,787
My grandmother's
name was Fannie,

590

00:36:29,787 --> 00:36:31,370
which is probably
short for something,

591

00:36:31,370 --> 00:36:32,780
but that's what we called her.

592

00:36:32,780 --> 00:36:35,900
And she lived with
us, because she

593

00:36:35,900 --> 00:36:42,050
had been a widow for all these
years from before I was born.

594

00:36:42,050 --> 00:36:45,800
And she also came.

595

00:36:45,800 --> 00:36:47,390
She was the other
grandmother whom

596

00:36:47,390 --> 00:36:50,120
I brought along to the States.

597

00:36:50,120 --> 00:36:52,640
She lived with us then
again in New York,

598

00:36:52,640 --> 00:36:59,480
with my mother and me,

until she died in 1947.

599

00:36:59,480 --> 00:37:07,510

She was-- I guess the
whole family was stern

600

00:37:07,510 --> 00:37:10,010

Or maybe I just
recall it that way.

601

00:37:10,010 --> 00:37:13,590

They took very good care of me.

602

00:37:13,590 --> 00:37:17,010

She had her own part
of the apartment.

603

00:37:17,010 --> 00:37:18,620

It was very large apartments.

604

00:37:18,620 --> 00:37:20,540

I think I said before,
she owned the apartment

605

00:37:20,540 --> 00:37:25,850

house we lived in, so we had
sort of a double apartment.

606

00:37:25,850 --> 00:37:30,020

I took piano lessons in
the dining room, which

607

00:37:30,020 --> 00:37:31,640

was never used
for a dining room,

608

00:37:31,640 --> 00:37:33,290

I guess except for parties.

609

00:37:33,290 --> 00:37:34,850

But it had the
grand piano in it,

610

00:37:34,850 --> 00:37:38,090

and her room was off of the
grand dining room, which

611

00:37:38,090 --> 00:37:44,850

was one of these Victorian
places with a chandelier

612

00:37:44,850 --> 00:37:50,990

with God knows how many lights,
and a grand piano, and a couch,

613

00:37:50,990 --> 00:37:53,660

and a fireplace,
and two side boards,

614

00:37:53,660 --> 00:38:00,830

and sort of the formal
part of the apartment.

615

00:38:00,830 --> 00:38:06,620

And then we had a little house
in the country, right outside

616

00:38:06,620 --> 00:38:09,900

of Vienna, called
the old Danube Lake,

617

00:38:09,900 --> 00:38:17,660

subsidiary arm of the Danube,
where we spend our Summers.

618

00:38:17,660 --> 00:38:19,730

It was a place
that was eventually

619

00:38:19,730 --> 00:38:24,860

taken over by the mayor of
Vienna when we were kicked out.

620

00:38:24,860 --> 00:38:30,240

And both grandmothers spent
the Summers with us there.

621
00:38:30,240 --> 00:38:33,260
So they were both
really a very close part

622
00:38:33,260 --> 00:38:34,220
of the family always.

623
00:38:34,220 --> 00:38:36,530
Although my paternal
grandmother lived by herself

624
00:38:36,530 --> 00:38:41,930
but not too far away, they
did spend the Summers with us

625
00:38:41,930 --> 00:38:43,340
out at the lake.

626
00:38:43,340 --> 00:38:46,250
And my father
commuted, because it

627
00:38:46,250 --> 00:38:49,070
was within commuting
distance of the city.

628
00:38:49,070 --> 00:38:53,090

629
00:38:53,090 --> 00:38:56,300
Now, I do remember, my
grandmother's maiden name

630
00:38:56,300 --> 00:38:58,730
was Hauser.

631
00:38:58,730 --> 00:39:03,410
And as I say, her father
came from Hungary,

632
00:39:03,410 --> 00:39:11,750

and her mother
came from Bohemia.

633
00:39:11,750 --> 00:39:23,650
I have family portraits of my
maternal grandmother's parents,

634
00:39:23,650 --> 00:39:28,840
which I found in my mother's
closet about 15 years ago

635
00:39:28,840 --> 00:39:29,943
rolled up.

636
00:39:29,943 --> 00:39:31,360
She had cut them
out of the frames

637
00:39:31,360 --> 00:39:33,130
and brought them with her.

638
00:39:33,130 --> 00:39:35,530
And I had them restored.

639
00:39:35,530 --> 00:39:39,130
And I did then
find in the files,

640
00:39:39,130 --> 00:39:45,550
in fact, the daguerreotype
photographs of that family,

641
00:39:45,550 --> 00:39:48,830
and they hang in my
place in Berkeley.

642
00:39:48,830 --> 00:39:50,080
What did they do for a living?

643
00:39:50,080 --> 00:39:53,440

644

00:39:53,440 --> 00:39:55,000

As I say, my
paternal grandfather

645

00:39:55,000 --> 00:39:57,070

was an officer in
the Austrian army.

646

00:39:57,070 --> 00:39:59,851

My-- I'm going to sneeze.

647

00:39:59,851 --> 00:40:04,090

648

00:40:04,090 --> 00:40:10,600

My maternal grandfather
owned a dry goods store,

649

00:40:10,600 --> 00:40:14,080

I guess, in the apartment
house that my grandmother then

650

00:40:14,080 --> 00:40:20,300

owned in the second
district in Vienna.

651

00:40:20,300 --> 00:40:24,620

I had an uncle who
was an opera singer.

652

00:40:24,620 --> 00:40:26,180

What was his name?

653

00:40:26,180 --> 00:40:27,170

His name was Fischer.

654

00:40:27,170 --> 00:40:32,720

My grandmother's married
name was Fischer.

655

00:40:32,720 --> 00:40:36,170

So her family, her maiden
name was Hauser, then

656
00:40:36,170 --> 00:40:38,690
she married into the Fischer.

657
00:40:38,690 --> 00:40:40,690
Family.

658
00:40:40,690 --> 00:40:43,496
And I will have to remember my--

659
00:40:43,496 --> 00:40:45,330
What did he sing?

660
00:40:45,330 --> 00:40:50,300
He sang in the opera
in Vienna, La Scala.

661
00:40:50,300 --> 00:40:54,470
In fact, at La Scala he very
often appeared on the program

662
00:40:54,470 --> 00:40:59,510
as Ernesto Piscator, because
his name was Ernst Fischer.

663
00:40:59,510 --> 00:41:04,760
And he converted to Roman
Catholicism in the early '30s.

664
00:41:04,760 --> 00:41:07,670
And it was not a
scandal in the family--

665
00:41:07,670 --> 00:41:08,670
that wasn't the problem.

666
00:41:08,670 --> 00:41:12,140
It was a scandal only because he
wanted the archbishop cardinal

667
00:41:12,140 --> 00:41:14,930
of Vienna, whose

name was Innitzer,

668

00:41:14,930 --> 00:41:18,050
to officiate at the wedding,
and Cardinal Innitzer

669

00:41:18,050 --> 00:41:21,005
declined for obvious reasons.

670

00:41:21,005 --> 00:41:24,690

671

00:41:24,690 --> 00:41:31,820
So that was really a
cousin of my mother's.

672

00:41:31,820 --> 00:41:34,490
Her brother-- as I said, she
had a sister and a brother,

673

00:41:34,490 --> 00:41:36,440
an older sister and
an older brother,

674

00:41:36,440 --> 00:41:38,990
she was she was
the youngest one--

675

00:41:38,990 --> 00:41:43,220

676

00:41:43,220 --> 00:41:48,110
uncle Paul, was really
my favorite uncle.

677

00:41:48,110 --> 00:41:50,000
Although I didn't know
him for very long,

678

00:41:50,000 --> 00:41:57,470
because he had been an artillery
officer in the First World War,

679

00:41:57,470 --> 00:42:00,740
and was captured by the
Russians during the first year

680

00:42:00,740 --> 00:42:07,250
of the war on the Eastern
Front, and didn't come back

681

00:42:07,250 --> 00:42:10,560
at the end of the war,
and was given up for dead.

682

00:42:10,560 --> 00:42:15,020
And then one day in 1920
walked in the door, two years

683

00:42:15,020 --> 00:42:16,570
after the end of
the First World War.

684

00:42:16,570 --> 00:42:21,020
It turned out that he had been
eventually sent off to Siberia,

685

00:42:21,020 --> 00:42:23,720
and then fought his way
back during the revolution

686

00:42:23,720 --> 00:42:29,330
with a Czech brigade, and
then in 1920 showed up.

687

00:42:29,330 --> 00:42:32,600
Of course spoke fluent
Russian by then.

688

00:42:32,600 --> 00:42:37,550
And the economic situation, I
guess, was very bad in Austria

689

00:42:37,550 --> 00:42:38,690
during the '20s.

690

00:42:38,690 --> 00:42:41,270

And in the late '20s--

691

00:42:41,270 --> 00:42:45,720

he had a degree in
chemical engineering--

692

00:42:45,720 --> 00:42:51,350

he decided to take a
job in the Soviet Union.

693

00:42:51,350 --> 00:42:54,800

They were looking for foreign
engineers in the late '20s

694

00:42:54,800 --> 00:42:56,830

to build up their
industry, particularly

695

00:42:56,830 --> 00:42:57,830

their chemical industry.

696

00:42:57,830 --> 00:43:02,210

And so he left his family--
had a wife and a daughter--

697

00:43:02,210 --> 00:43:06,500

in Vienna and went
off, got a job.

698

00:43:06,500 --> 00:43:09,620

First in Sverdlovsk,
now, again, Ekaterinburg,

699

00:43:09,620 --> 00:43:12,110

I guess, in the Urals.

700

00:43:12,110 --> 00:43:15,950

And then when he was transferred
in the middle '30s, 36

701

00:43:15,950 --> 00:43:19,490

or thereabouts, to Moscow--

702

00:43:19,490 --> 00:43:23,620

earlier, maybe '34-- he
brought his family, his wife

703

00:43:23,620 --> 00:43:24,620

and daughter, to Moscow.

704

00:43:24,620 --> 00:43:27,800

705

00:43:27,800 --> 00:43:31,550

They stayed till 1937, when
he was given the choice--

706

00:43:31,550 --> 00:43:35,090

become a Soviet
citizen or leave.

707

00:43:35,090 --> 00:43:37,430

And decided to leave.

708

00:43:37,430 --> 00:43:39,110

Came back to Vienna,
which was really

709

00:43:39,110 --> 00:43:42,410

the first time I met
him in 1937, just a year

710

00:43:42,410 --> 00:43:43,430

before the Anschluss.

711

00:43:43,430 --> 00:43:45,680

It was a bad choice I
guess, or maybe it wasn't--

712

00:43:45,680 --> 00:43:47,780

I don't know.

713

00:43:47,780 --> 00:43:52,490

But he did become
my favorite uncle,

714
00:43:52,490 --> 00:43:58,460
and partly because his
interests were akin to mine.

715
00:43:58,460 --> 00:44:01,650
I was always interested in
science, and, of course,

716
00:44:01,650 --> 00:44:02,960
he was an engineer.

717
00:44:02,960 --> 00:44:08,120
And partly because, of course,
once I was in the States,

718
00:44:08,120 --> 00:44:10,610
he really became
a father figure,

719
00:44:10,610 --> 00:44:14,220
because I never saw
my father again.

720
00:44:14,220 --> 00:44:14,930
He survived.

721
00:44:14,930 --> 00:44:22,940
He died in 1954 I
think in New York.

722
00:44:22,940 --> 00:44:24,245
So he was in his early 60s.

723
00:44:24,245 --> 00:44:28,070

724
00:44:28,070 --> 00:44:34,430
I was very glad to remember him.

725

00:44:34,430 --> 00:44:41,950

In 1988 the Technical
University of Vienna--

726

00:44:41,950 --> 00:44:46,640

it was the 50th anniversary
of the Anschluss--

727

00:44:46,640 --> 00:44:50,390

gave me an honorary doctorate,
and I dedicated it to him

728

00:44:50,390 --> 00:44:53,170

in my acceptance speech.

729

00:44:53,170 --> 00:44:56,620

Which, I guess, the only two
notable things about that event

730

00:44:56,620 --> 00:45:01,600

were, A, that in Austria the
president of the Republic

731

00:45:01,600 --> 00:45:05,020

usually is present at the
bestowal of honorary degrees,

732

00:45:05,020 --> 00:45:08,260

because they don't give very
many-- it's a small country.

733

00:45:08,260 --> 00:45:11,590

And I accepted on the condition
that Mr. Waldheim would not

734

00:45:11,590 --> 00:45:15,880

be present, and they
were very pleased to use

735

00:45:15,880 --> 00:45:18,280

that as an excuse not
to have him present.

736

00:45:18,280 --> 00:45:22,530

737

00:45:22,530 --> 00:45:26,310

So I really was able
to do two things.

738

00:45:26,310 --> 00:45:35,490

And the dean of the faculty,
who is a very nice man

739

00:45:35,490 --> 00:45:41,280

by the name of Hans Troger,
gave a wonderful speech,

740

00:45:41,280 --> 00:45:44,970

a very political speech
in fact, pointing out

741

00:45:44,970 --> 00:45:48,990

the sins of the
prior generations

742

00:45:48,990 --> 00:45:51,450

and the history of
antisemitism in Austria.

743

00:45:51,450 --> 00:45:55,480

And I have a copy of that.

744

00:45:55,480 --> 00:45:57,660

It's in German of course,
but we can probably

745

00:45:57,660 --> 00:46:00,210

make a copy of
that for the files.

746

00:46:00,210 --> 00:46:02,610

In fact, his speech
was so strong

747

00:46:02,610 --> 00:46:05,140

that the rector, in
his speech, said,

748
00:46:05,140 --> 00:46:09,330
well, no, this is a very
important political occasion

749
00:46:09,330 --> 00:46:11,370
of course, being the
50th of the Anschluss,

750
00:46:11,370 --> 00:46:13,510
but this is really
an academic occasion,

751
00:46:13,510 --> 00:46:16,750
and so I think it's better
not to say any more about it.

752
00:46:16,750 --> 00:46:22,230
So I think he was a little
embarrassed by Troger's--

753
00:46:22,230 --> 00:46:24,900
I guess honesty is what
you have to call it.

754
00:46:24,900 --> 00:46:31,770
And it really points
up that I don't

755
00:46:31,770 --> 00:46:35,760
visit the sins of the fathers
on to the next generation.

756
00:46:35,760 --> 00:46:38,550
I have some very good
and close friends

757
00:46:38,550 --> 00:46:41,070
of that generation of
Germans and Austrians.

758

00:46:41,070 --> 00:46:45,150

I still find it very
difficult to communicate

759

00:46:45,150 --> 00:46:50,010

with my own
generation, but people

760

00:46:50,010 --> 00:46:53,160

who were either
small children when

761

00:46:53,160 --> 00:46:57,090

the war ended or were born after
the war I have no problem with.

762

00:46:57,090 --> 00:47:02,050

And Hans Troger is
one of these people.

763

00:47:02,050 --> 00:47:04,320

In fact, it's sort of ironic.

764

00:47:04,320 --> 00:47:06,840

His own father served in the
Austrian army, of course,

765

00:47:06,840 --> 00:47:11,760

during the Second World
War on the Eastern Front,

766

00:47:11,760 --> 00:47:14,160

fleeing before the
oncoming Russians

767

00:47:14,160 --> 00:47:19,420

in, I guess April
or early May of just

768

00:47:19,420 --> 00:47:24,170

before the end of the
war, crossed the Danube

769

00:47:24,170 --> 00:47:28,150
on a small boat with a number of
other Austrian soldiers fleeing

770
00:47:28,150 --> 00:47:29,580
from the advancing Russian.

771
00:47:29,580 --> 00:47:32,260
And an artillery shell
hit the boat just a day

772
00:47:32,260 --> 00:47:34,240
before the war ended
and killed him.

773
00:47:34,240 --> 00:47:41,473
So that just shows that
there's tragedy everywhere.

774
00:47:41,473 --> 00:47:44,320

775
00:47:44,320 --> 00:47:46,780
Again, it's a good time
to let you stop me.

776
00:47:46,780 --> 00:47:47,280
OK.

777
00:47:47,280 --> 00:47:51,670

778
00:47:51,670 --> 00:47:58,280
Your mother's brother was Paul,
and her sis sister was who?

779
00:47:58,280 --> 00:48:00,320
Elizabeth.

780
00:48:00,320 --> 00:48:00,830
Elizabeth.

781

00:48:00,830 --> 00:48:04,490
And they actually changed
their name after they emigrated

782
00:48:04,490 --> 00:48:08,690
to the States from Popper,
P-O-P-P-E-R, to Palmer.

783
00:48:08,690 --> 00:48:14,090
So my cousin's stage name was
Maria Palmer in the States.

784
00:48:14,090 --> 00:48:18,590
And she was sort of
a starlet I guess

785
00:48:18,590 --> 00:48:23,420
is what the phrase is,
a minor movie actress,

786
00:48:23,420 --> 00:48:26,510
until she retired
from the stage.

787
00:48:26,510 --> 00:48:29,570
She was also on Broadway
in a number of plays

788
00:48:29,570 --> 00:48:31,580
and then in leading roles.

789
00:48:31,580 --> 00:48:39,600
And then wrote for
TV and the movies,

790
00:48:39,600 --> 00:48:44,610
but was a very heavy smoker
and died in her early 60s

791
00:48:44,610 --> 00:48:46,410
of lung cancer.

792
00:48:46,410 --> 00:48:50,820

Her mother survived until
two and a half years ago

793
00:48:50,820 --> 00:48:54,270
and died at the age of
94, buried in Forest Lawn.

794
00:48:54,270 --> 00:48:58,800

795
00:48:58,800 --> 00:49:02,100
What was the first
school you went to like,

796
00:49:02,100 --> 00:49:04,950
and how far away from your home?

797
00:49:04,950 --> 00:49:07,560
It was within walking distance.

798
00:49:07,560 --> 00:49:10,620
In fact, when I went back--

799
00:49:10,620 --> 00:49:14,250
well, I went back
right after the war

800
00:49:14,250 --> 00:49:17,070
ended in January
of '46, which was

801
00:49:17,070 --> 00:49:21,190
the first time that Americans
could get into Vienna.

802
00:49:21,190 --> 00:49:24,930
Until that time it was
occupied by Soviet troops,

803
00:49:24,930 --> 00:49:28,200
and then it became a
jointly occupied city.

804

00:49:28,200 --> 00:49:33,630

So I flew into Vienna
at the beginning of '46

805

00:49:33,630 --> 00:49:36,240

and walked those
distances and realized

806

00:49:36,240 --> 00:49:38,940

that they were much shorter
than I had to remember.

807

00:49:38,940 --> 00:49:42,625

I guess to a child these
distances seem much longer.

808

00:49:42,625 --> 00:49:44,250

And then, since then,
I've gone-- well,

809

00:49:44,250 --> 00:49:48,000

I didn't go back there until
actually the early '60s.

810

00:49:48,000 --> 00:49:50,490

So for almost 20 years,
I didn't go back.

811

00:49:50,490 --> 00:49:53,020

812

00:49:53,020 --> 00:49:56,340

Just as an aside, my
mother has never gone back

813

00:49:56,340 --> 00:50:01,200

and never expressed a desire
or even a yearning to go back.

814

00:50:01,200 --> 00:50:03,540

I've offered it to
her quite a few times,

815

00:50:03,540 --> 00:50:04,650
and she said, what for?

816

00:50:04,650 --> 00:50:08,160

817

00:50:08,160 --> 00:50:13,980
So I lived within walking
distance of my school, which

818

00:50:13,980 --> 00:50:15,000
was called--

819

00:50:15,000 --> 00:50:16,830
well, first of
all, grammar school

820

00:50:16,830 --> 00:50:19,050
was really within walking
distance, probably four

821

00:50:19,050 --> 00:50:22,320
or five blocks.

822

00:50:22,320 --> 00:50:30,250
Once I went to gymnasium,
it was Archduke Rainer,

823

00:50:30,250 --> 00:50:31,480
real gymnasium--

824

00:50:31,480 --> 00:50:35,290

825

00:50:35,290 --> 00:50:39,100
I guess R-A-I-N-E-R. It
was an all boys' school.

826

00:50:39,100 --> 00:50:42,190

827

00:50:42,190 --> 00:50:45,920

And it turns out that,
again, as an aside,

828

00:50:45,920 --> 00:50:49,960

one of my colleagues at Berkeley
was about five years older,

829

00:50:49,960 --> 00:50:53,350

four years older, than I am.

830

00:50:53,350 --> 00:50:55,600

When I went for my
PhD at Berkeley,

831

00:50:55,600 --> 00:50:58,720

gave me one of the two
required language exams

832

00:50:58,720 --> 00:51:02,320

and he gave me my German exam,
and he was very surprised

833

00:51:02,320 --> 00:51:06,670

that I finished it in 15
minutes without any mistakes.

834

00:51:06,670 --> 00:51:10,330

But I didn't really enlighten
him until a year later.

835

00:51:10,330 --> 00:51:11,830

And he had gone to
the same school--

836

00:51:11,830 --> 00:51:13,510

that's what brought it up--

837

00:51:13,510 --> 00:51:15,590

about three or four
years before me.

838

00:51:15,590 --> 00:51:18,580

So we didn't know each other.

839

00:51:18,580 --> 00:51:20,610

But we very often have
lunch together now.

840

00:51:20,610 --> 00:51:21,910

What's his name?

841

00:51:21,910 --> 00:51:27,510

His name is Joe

Frisch, and he retired,

842

00:51:27,510 --> 00:51:30,960

oh, five-six years ago.

843

00:51:30,960 --> 00:51:36,150

But I went for three years

to gymnasium, and, as I say,

844

00:51:36,150 --> 00:51:37,200

then had to leave.

845

00:51:37,200 --> 00:51:39,180

Jews weren't allowed

to go to gymnasium,

846

00:51:39,180 --> 00:51:44,670

since that's a preparatory

school for university.

847

00:51:44,670 --> 00:51:48,840

I have no recollection one

semester at the other school

848

00:51:48,840 --> 00:51:49,560

that I went to.

849

00:51:49,560 --> 00:51:52,590

Maybe it wasn't even

the full semester.

850

00:51:52,590 --> 00:51:54,930
You know, for my fourth
year, in the first part

851
00:51:54,930 --> 00:51:56,370
of my fourth year
I went to there.

852
00:51:56,370 --> 00:51:58,140
There were gymnasium
and then there

853
00:51:58,140 --> 00:52:01,290
were the four-year schools for
people who went into a trade,

854
00:52:01,290 --> 00:52:03,390
and then had to go
to one of those,

855
00:52:03,390 --> 00:52:06,420
but I think only
for a few months.

856
00:52:06,420 --> 00:52:08,730
Was your grammar school coed?

857
00:52:08,730 --> 00:52:11,610
Grammar school was coed, yes.

858
00:52:11,610 --> 00:52:12,780
But the gymnasium was not.

859
00:52:12,780 --> 00:52:14,917
But there was a girls'
school across the courtyard,

860
00:52:14,917 --> 00:52:16,500
and that got us into
a lot of trouble,

861
00:52:16,500 --> 00:52:18,330
because always

trying to peer over

862
00:52:18,330 --> 00:52:22,710
into their part
of the territory,

863
00:52:22,710 --> 00:52:27,210
standing on ledges
trying to look over.

864
00:52:27,210 --> 00:52:28,630
Were you successful?

865
00:52:28,630 --> 00:52:29,130
Yes.

866
00:52:29,130 --> 00:52:31,950
In fact, my whole form was
kicked out for a whole semester

867
00:52:31,950 --> 00:52:35,070
for doing that.

868
00:52:35,070 --> 00:52:37,890
We were all allowed back,
but we had private tutors

869
00:52:37,890 --> 00:52:40,650
for a semester I remember.

870
00:52:40,650 --> 00:52:41,900
That must have been a scandal.

871
00:52:41,900 --> 00:52:42,400
Yes.

872
00:52:42,400 --> 00:52:45,810
In fact, one of my
few recollections

873
00:52:45,810 --> 00:52:48,030
is being called to

the principal's office

874

00:52:48,030 --> 00:52:50,550

and seeing my father
sitting there.

875

00:52:50,550 --> 00:52:54,810

And I knew I had done something
bad, but I didn't know what.

876

00:52:54,810 --> 00:52:57,610

I think it must have been the
second year I was in school.

877

00:52:57,610 --> 00:53:00,310

So I was probably 11 or 12--

878

00:53:00,310 --> 00:53:03,420

a very curious age.

879

00:53:03,420 --> 00:53:05,790

How did your father react?

880

00:53:05,790 --> 00:53:08,310

Well, actually, he was
quite understanding.

881

00:53:08,310 --> 00:53:12,360

Parents got me a
tutor, and actually I

882

00:53:12,360 --> 00:53:15,120

think my grades were better
after that semester off

883

00:53:15,120 --> 00:53:18,330

than they had been before that.

884

00:53:18,330 --> 00:53:20,280

But, you know, I got
a good talking too.

885

00:53:20,280 --> 00:53:25,340

But I think they understood
what hormonal drives were

886

00:53:25,340 --> 00:53:26,740

at that time.

887

00:53:26,740 --> 00:53:27,990

Anyway, I wasn't the only one.

888

00:53:27,990 --> 00:53:29,725

The whole form got kicked out.

889

00:53:29,725 --> 00:53:31,150

How many would that be?

890

00:53:31,150 --> 00:53:35,100

Oh, there must have
been about 20 of us.

891

00:53:35,100 --> 00:53:36,860

Did you have to wear
a uniform to school.

892

00:53:36,860 --> 00:53:37,640

No.

893

00:53:37,640 --> 00:53:39,110

No, there were no uniforms.

894

00:53:39,110 --> 00:53:42,410

No, we did have sort of
paramilitary training however.

895

00:53:42,410 --> 00:53:44,090

I remember we were
throwing things.

896

00:53:44,090 --> 00:53:46,970

There were mock grenades
and stuff like that.

897

00:53:46,970 --> 00:53:51,680

We had an obstacle
course and what have you.

898

00:53:51,680 --> 00:53:54,200

Was that a usual
course of training?

899

00:53:54,200 --> 00:53:56,690

No, it was a regular--
now, the real gymnasium

900

00:53:56,690 --> 00:53:59,210

is the technical.

901

00:53:59,210 --> 00:54:00,860

There are two
kinds of gymnasium.

902

00:54:00,860 --> 00:54:04,580

One is a humanistic one where
you take Greek, and Latin,

903

00:54:04,580 --> 00:54:06,830

and a lot of literature,
and stuff to prepare you

904

00:54:06,830 --> 00:54:07,910

more for the humanities.

905

00:54:07,910 --> 00:54:09,868

And then the real gymnasium,
which prepares you

906

00:54:09,868 --> 00:54:12,530

for science and engineering.

907

00:54:12,530 --> 00:54:17,790

So I went to that one,
and Latin was required.

908

00:54:17,790 --> 00:54:19,160

In fact, eight years of Latin.

909
00:54:19,160 --> 00:54:20,180
I only had three.

910
00:54:20,180 --> 00:54:23,240

911
00:54:23,240 --> 00:54:30,925
And then you could choose
a modern foreign language.

912
00:54:30,925 --> 00:54:32,300
I never got to
that, because that

913
00:54:32,300 --> 00:54:35,150
was done in the fourth year.

914
00:54:35,150 --> 00:54:39,530
So the English that I
learned, my parents, again,

915
00:54:39,530 --> 00:54:41,550
hired an English
teacher once, of course,

916
00:54:41,550 --> 00:54:42,675
we know we had to emigrate.

917
00:54:42,675 --> 00:54:48,530
So in '38 and '39 I took
private English lessons.

918
00:54:48,530 --> 00:54:53,690
In fact, it was on my way
home from an English lesson

919
00:54:53,690 --> 00:54:58,460
on the afternoon
of Kristallnacht,

920
00:54:58,460 --> 00:55:03,470

that I was walking back
from my English teachers,

921
00:55:03,470 --> 00:55:09,650
that I arrived in
at our apartment.

922
00:55:09,650 --> 00:55:13,700
And I knew something was going
on, but I didn't know what.

923
00:55:13,700 --> 00:55:17,480

924
00:55:17,480 --> 00:55:20,840
I got to our
apartment, and there

925
00:55:20,840 --> 00:55:24,485
were stormtroopers and other
people carrying things out,

926
00:55:24,485 --> 00:55:27,560
sort of helping
themselves to the things.

927
00:55:27,560 --> 00:55:30,860
Fortunately, my father
had been warned and stayed

928
00:55:30,860 --> 00:55:34,190
in the office.

929
00:55:34,190 --> 00:55:36,740
This, of course,
was, what, late '38.

930
00:55:36,740 --> 00:55:40,100
He was still involved
with his business that

931
00:55:40,100 --> 00:55:45,740
had been placed in

charge of commissar,

932

00:55:45,740 --> 00:55:50,210

and he had to train

the persons who were

933

00:55:50,210 --> 00:55:54,560

aryanizing the establishment.

934

00:55:54,560 --> 00:55:56,120

So he was in the

office, and I guess

935

00:55:56,120 --> 00:55:57,710

somebody had called

and said there was

936

00:55:57,710 --> 00:55:58,940

trouble-- stay in the office.

937

00:55:58,940 --> 00:56:01,970

So he didn't come home.

938

00:56:01,970 --> 00:56:04,820

But my mother and grandmother,

of course, were home.

939

00:56:04,820 --> 00:56:08,550

And the main thing

that happened was

940

00:56:08,550 --> 00:56:10,490

that people just came

in and broke in and just

941

00:56:10,490 --> 00:56:12,320

Stole stuff as I remember.

942

00:56:12,320 --> 00:56:14,150

Were you there

when they broke in?

943

00:56:14,150 --> 00:56:17,720
Well, when I came home
they were still doing it.

944
00:56:17,720 --> 00:56:18,560
Yeah, right.

945
00:56:18,560 --> 00:56:21,410

946
00:56:21,410 --> 00:56:23,030
So, you know.

947
00:56:23,030 --> 00:56:24,810
What did they take?

948
00:56:24,810 --> 00:56:26,570
Well, they took
paintings off the wall.

949
00:56:26,570 --> 00:56:28,460
They took my father's
stamp collection.

950
00:56:28,460 --> 00:56:29,990
He was an avid stamp collector.

951
00:56:29,990 --> 00:56:32,780
They took things like radios,
and phonographs, and sort

952
00:56:32,780 --> 00:56:35,900
of the normal kind of thing.

953
00:56:35,900 --> 00:56:38,840

954
00:56:38,840 --> 00:56:41,210
But you know.

955
00:56:41,210 --> 00:56:44,990
How were your mother and

grandmother reacting?

956

00:56:44,990 --> 00:56:48,980

They, by that time, had
learned to stay out of the way.

957

00:56:48,980 --> 00:56:52,430

So they just withdrew
to a room back

958

00:56:52,430 --> 00:56:54,440

and let people do what
they wanted to do.

959

00:56:54,440 --> 00:56:55,880

There was really nothing
that could be done.

960

00:56:55,880 --> 00:56:56,963

We had learned our lesson.

961

00:56:56,963 --> 00:56:59,520

Because right after the
Anschluss-- in fact,

962

00:56:59,520 --> 00:57:01,730

starting on the day
of the Anschluss--

963

00:57:01,730 --> 00:57:04,010

people were taken
out, scrubbed streets,

964

00:57:04,010 --> 00:57:09,880

and of course beaten up
and that kind of thing.

965

00:57:09,880 --> 00:57:14,930

So this was, what, five, six
months after the Anschluss,

966

00:57:14,930 --> 00:57:22,040

and by that time people had

learned not to resist or make

967
00:57:22,040 --> 00:57:23,480
a fuss.

968
00:57:23,480 --> 00:57:27,440
And so they just--

969
00:57:27,440 --> 00:57:30,140
I guess they were happy enough
that my father wasn't there.

970
00:57:30,140 --> 00:57:32,580
Because people were
being taken away.

971
00:57:32,580 --> 00:57:35,270
Now, there was still
no real inkling

972
00:57:35,270 --> 00:57:39,515
of the magnitude of, of
course, the disaster.

973
00:57:39,515 --> 00:57:42,200

974
00:57:42,200 --> 00:57:43,340
People were taken away.

975
00:57:43,340 --> 00:57:45,410
Some came back, some
didn't come back.

976
00:57:45,410 --> 00:57:48,620

977
00:57:48,620 --> 00:57:51,440
I think it wasn't really
until about a year later

978
00:57:51,440 --> 00:57:54,230

that there was some
realization that things

979
00:57:54,230 --> 00:57:57,660
were very serious in
terms of being taken away

980
00:57:57,660 --> 00:57:59,112
and not coming back.

981
00:57:59,112 --> 00:58:00,320
I mean, we knew about Dachau.

982
00:58:00,320 --> 00:58:02,330
Dachau was about the
only concentration

983
00:58:02,330 --> 00:58:06,410
camp that was known
almost from the outset,

984
00:58:06,410 --> 00:58:08,300
but it was really
more considered to be

985
00:58:08,300 --> 00:58:13,010
where political prisoners were
taken-- socialists, communists,

986
00:58:13,010 --> 00:58:16,670
Jews, but really not in
terms of being exterminated,

987
00:58:16,670 --> 00:58:18,320
but as a detention camp.

988
00:58:18,320 --> 00:58:23,690
That's really what-- there
was every indication that

989
00:58:23,690 --> 00:58:30,890
the virulence of the reaction
towards Jews and other people

990

00:58:30,890 --> 00:58:36,550

that got it in the neck really
didn't become serious in terms

991

00:58:36,550 --> 00:58:43,210

of magnitude until probably
'39-40, probably '40.

992

00:58:43,210 --> 00:58:49,090

Everyone knew that
people were being

993

00:58:49,090 --> 00:58:53,710

maltreated, put into
concentration camps in Germany.

994

00:58:53,710 --> 00:58:57,730

But I suspect, even talking to
some of my German colleagues,

995

00:58:57,730 --> 00:59:07,780

that the amount of ill treatment
was much smaller in Germany.

996

00:59:07,780 --> 00:59:10,690

And I think, to some
extent, the Austrians

997

00:59:10,690 --> 00:59:14,314

were worse than the Germans.

998

00:59:14,314 --> 00:59:16,257

Why?

999

00:59:16,257 --> 00:59:17,840

Well, you know, it's
very interesting.

1000

00:59:17,840 --> 00:59:23,680

The Austrians, to this day, at
least the right-wing Austrians

1001

00:59:23,680 --> 00:59:26,860
and that generation
of those who survived,

1002

00:59:26,860 --> 00:59:31,120
want you to believe that
Beethoven was an Austrian

1003

00:59:31,120 --> 00:59:33,670
but Hitler was a German.

1004

00:59:33,670 --> 00:59:35,360
It's that kind of thing.

1005

00:59:35,360 --> 00:59:43,600
It's a typical, I think, one
way of absolving yourself

1006

00:59:43,600 --> 00:59:48,670
of guilt I suppose, also making
the best of a bad situation.

1007

00:59:48,670 --> 00:59:53,860
But it's very interesting,
because the Austrians, or many

1008

00:59:53,860 --> 00:59:57,310
of them, wanted you
to believe that they

1009

00:59:57,310 --> 01:00:01,960
were one of the first victims.

1010

01:00:01,960 --> 01:00:04,270
And one of the
things I do remember,

1011

01:00:04,270 --> 01:00:07,030
because of the great
excitement of the period,

1012

01:00:07,030 --> 01:00:09,730

was that I went out--

1013

01:00:09,730 --> 01:00:11,460

first of all, just
before the Anschluss,

1014

01:00:11,460 --> 01:00:13,910

when there were lots of
demonstrations on the street,

1015

01:00:13,910 --> 01:00:16,870

both by Nazis, and
anti-Nazis, and so on--

1016

01:00:16,870 --> 01:00:18,820

I roamed the streets.

1017

01:00:18,820 --> 01:00:23,320

For a 13-year-old, a 12-year-old
really, it was very exciting.

1018

01:00:23,320 --> 01:00:27,430

And I'm still surprised that
my parents let me do it,

1019

01:00:27,430 --> 01:00:30,950

but I think they had no inkling
what was really going on.

1020

01:00:30,950 --> 01:00:32,560

And then, on the day
of the Anschluss,

1021

01:00:32,560 --> 01:00:37,090

I actually was in the crowd that
saw Hitler March into Vienna.

1022

01:00:37,090 --> 01:00:40,000

And so I know that there
were over a million people

1023

01:00:40,000 --> 01:00:43,030

out there, because you

couldn't see the end of them.

1024

01:00:43,030 --> 01:00:45,713

And so they weren't bussed
out there to greet him.

1025

01:00:45,713 --> 01:00:47,380

I mean, they went out
there because they

1026

01:00:47,380 --> 01:00:48,370

wanted to greet him.

1027

01:00:48,370 --> 01:00:50,590

Please describe that day.

1028

01:00:50,590 --> 01:00:54,490

Well, as I say, I was 12 years
old or a little over 12 years

1029

01:00:54,490 --> 01:00:55,870

old, so it's a long time ago.

1030

01:00:55,870 --> 01:00:59,290

But all I remember is
this terrible excitement.

1031

01:00:59,290 --> 01:01:04,960

And it's really, as I have
thought about it many times

1032

01:01:04,960 --> 01:01:08,680

since then, something
that brings home

1033

01:01:08,680 --> 01:01:18,460

the fact that that kind
of demagoguery and I

1034

01:01:18,460 --> 01:01:20,590

guess you'd have
to call it theater

1035

01:01:20,590 --> 01:01:22,960

is terribly appealing
to most of us.

1036

01:01:22,960 --> 01:01:26,920

I think one of my true
regrets for a 12-year-old

1037

01:01:26,920 --> 01:01:28,690

was that I couldn't
participate once I

1038

01:01:28,690 --> 01:01:31,420

realized that I was excluded.

1039

01:01:31,420 --> 01:01:34,690

I would have been a
Hitler Youth for sure

1040

01:01:34,690 --> 01:01:37,130

until I became old
enough to think about it.

1041

01:01:37,130 --> 01:01:42,310

But as a 12-year-old, that whole
hysteria, and the excitement,

1042

01:01:42,310 --> 01:01:45,940

and the marching around,
and beating the drums,

1043

01:01:45,940 --> 01:01:49,180

and all that kind of stuff,
it's a tremendously appealing.

1044

01:01:49,180 --> 01:01:55,060

We always think of human
beings being rational.

1045

01:01:55,060 --> 01:01:57,520

First of all, kids
are not rational,

1046

01:01:57,520 --> 01:02:00,190
and they're very easy to catch.

1047

01:02:00,190 --> 01:02:03,430
So I think very hard
when I condemn people,

1048

01:02:03,430 --> 01:02:05,140
until they can think.

1049

01:02:05,140 --> 01:02:08,910

1050

01:02:08,910 --> 01:02:12,150
That particular day did
you know Hitler was coming?

1051

01:02:12,150 --> 01:02:12,720
Oh, yes.

1052

01:02:12,720 --> 01:02:13,830
Of course.

1053

01:02:13,830 --> 01:02:20,970
Because there have been a
plebiscite, and the Nazis

1054

01:02:20,970 --> 01:02:24,630
lost that plebiscite.

1055

01:02:24,630 --> 01:02:28,470
Now, the predecessor,
the Austrian Chancellor,

1056

01:02:28,470 --> 01:02:32,820
Kurt Schuschnigg, who
later on became a professor

1057

01:02:32,820 --> 01:02:39,390
at Toledo, University of Toledo
or something, in history,

1058

01:02:39,390 --> 01:02:40,740

wasn't any great shakes either.

1059

01:02:40,740 --> 01:02:43,770

Because Austria,
since early 1934,

1060

01:02:43,770 --> 01:02:45,450

really had a fascist government.

1061

01:02:45,450 --> 01:02:49,410

1062

01:02:49,410 --> 01:02:50,820

The chancellor in '34--

1063

01:02:50,820 --> 01:02:53,850

this is another one of
the reminiscences that

1064

01:02:53,850 --> 01:02:56,970

are reasonably clear
in my mind-- in 1934,

1065

01:02:56,970 --> 01:03:01,140

I guess in the early spring, is
when there was a Nazi uprising.

1066

01:03:01,140 --> 01:03:03,330

Well, no, it was later.

1067

01:03:03,330 --> 01:03:04,740

It was the summer of '34.

1068

01:03:04,740 --> 01:03:08,670

In the spring of '34 there
was a socialist uprising,

1069

01:03:08,670 --> 01:03:11,940

because the fascists had
taken over the government.

1070

01:03:11,940 --> 01:03:14,370

Vienna was always
traditionally red,

1071

01:03:14,370 --> 01:03:17,520

and the countryside was
black as a political party.

1072

01:03:17,520 --> 01:03:24,900

The countryside was essentially
conservative and very much

1073

01:03:24,900 --> 01:03:26,760

dominated by the
Catholic Church,

1074

01:03:26,760 --> 01:03:28,410

so the peasants
in the countryside

1075

01:03:28,410 --> 01:03:30,270

where the conservative
element. and Vienna

1076

01:03:30,270 --> 01:03:33,720

was sort of a
citadel of socialism,

1077

01:03:33,720 --> 01:03:38,190

and social Democrats were
very strong in Vienna.

1078

01:03:38,190 --> 01:03:41,070

Of course, the Jews had played
a very large role in the Social

1079

01:03:41,070 --> 01:03:43,170

Democratic movement early on--

1080

01:03:43,170 --> 01:03:50,430

Adler and people of that
type in the early 1900s.

1081

01:03:50,430 --> 01:03:53,700

So there was that enmity
between countryside and the city

1082

01:03:53,700 --> 01:03:58,290

and between what were
considered the intellectuals

1083

01:03:58,290 --> 01:04:00,540

and the peasants.

1084

01:04:00,540 --> 01:04:03,630

And the Jews were
always strong of course

1085

01:04:03,630 --> 01:04:06,870

in Vienna, both in terms
of numbers and influence,

1086

01:04:06,870 --> 01:04:10,980

and fairly negligible
in the countryside.

1087

01:04:10,980 --> 01:04:14,460

And so they were
very largely involved

1088

01:04:14,460 --> 01:04:17,095

in the Social Democratic
Party and the movement.

1089

01:04:17,095 --> 01:04:21,450

And even though my grandfather
had been a general officer

1090

01:04:21,450 --> 01:04:26,610

and all my relatives
have been in the army--

1091

01:04:26,610 --> 01:04:29,850

I know that my parents
voted socialist.

1092

01:04:29,850 --> 01:04:31,560

Now, I don't know
about my grandparents,

1093

01:04:31,560 --> 01:04:33,120

but my father my
mother certainly

1094

01:04:33,120 --> 01:04:37,020

voted for the Social
Democratic Party.

1095

01:04:37,020 --> 01:04:41,490

They, of course, were
socialists in the mildest way.

1096

01:04:41,490 --> 01:04:47,430

They're sort of
Swedish-Scandinavian model.

1097

01:04:47,430 --> 01:04:51,273

And it was the second
international as opposed

1098

01:04:51,273 --> 01:04:52,440

to the third and the fourth.

1099

01:04:52,440 --> 01:04:56,450

1100

01:04:56,450 --> 01:04:59,120

Well, to come back to this
day we're talking about,

1101

01:04:59,120 --> 01:05:02,840

the Anschluss day, I think
that the first reaction really

1102

01:05:02,840 --> 01:05:05,907

was one of strict excitement.

1103

01:05:05,907 --> 01:05:07,490

Of course, we knew
from before, and we

1104
01:05:07,490 --> 01:05:10,880
had listened to Hitler's
speeches on the radio,

1105
01:05:10,880 --> 01:05:13,400
before they had taken over
Austria, we could get,

1106
01:05:13,400 --> 01:05:16,400
of course, German radio,
we knew exactly how

1107
01:05:16,400 --> 01:05:17,570
he felt about the Jews.

1108
01:05:17,570 --> 01:05:20,360
But it was still very
much in the abstract,

1109
01:05:20,360 --> 01:05:23,450
and it was really
only the people

1110
01:05:23,450 --> 01:05:26,270
who maybe were more
sophisticated and maybe

1111
01:05:26,270 --> 01:05:29,000
less trusting and felt
less assimilated, I guess,

1112
01:05:29,000 --> 01:05:36,710
maybe than we did, who took the
hint and took off right away.

1113
01:05:36,710 --> 01:05:42,110
I mean, we could have
gone through Yugoslavia

1114
01:05:42,110 --> 01:05:43,900

right then and there.

1115

01:05:43,900 --> 01:05:49,430

It didn't take a visa as it took
to come to the United States.

1116

01:05:49,430 --> 01:05:52,820

1117

01:05:52,820 --> 01:05:55,460

There was a certain feeling I
know on the part of my father

1118

01:05:55,460 --> 01:05:58,380

that his father had
been a staff officer.

1119

01:05:58,380 --> 01:06:00,830

He had served as an
officer and been wounded.

1120

01:06:00,830 --> 01:06:03,020

My uncle had been an officer.

1121

01:06:03,020 --> 01:06:07,560

His brother-in-law--
on both sides,

1122

01:06:07,560 --> 01:06:09,860

in fact, the cavalry
officer who married

1123

01:06:09,860 --> 01:06:12,890

my mother's sister and
my mother's brother

1124

01:06:12,890 --> 01:06:14,720

had been officers.

1125

01:06:14,720 --> 01:06:17,780

And so he felt that there
really nothing that could

1126

01:06:17,780 --> 01:06:18,680
happen to him--

1127

01:06:18,680 --> 01:06:20,180
nothing serious.

1128

01:06:20,180 --> 01:06:22,460
It'd be another one of
these antisemitic episodes

1129

01:06:22,460 --> 01:06:26,660
of which there'd been so
many that he knew about.

1130

01:06:26,660 --> 01:06:32,240
He had never, of course, really
experienced one personally.

1131

01:06:32,240 --> 01:06:36,500
He was a reserve officer
in the Austrian army.

1132

01:06:36,500 --> 01:06:39,350
He had his pistol
at home, until they

1133

01:06:39,350 --> 01:06:44,580
came very early after the
Anschluss and collected it.

1134

01:06:44,580 --> 01:06:49,490
And I think that I rather
have a feeling that it

1135

01:06:49,490 --> 01:06:52,400
was until almost
the very end that he

1136

01:06:52,400 --> 01:06:55,130
didn't believe in this outcome.

1137

01:06:55,130 --> 01:06:56,900

And I try to
reconstruct myself--

1138
01:06:56,900 --> 01:07:01,302
I wake up at night sometimes
trying to put myself--

1139
01:07:01,302 --> 01:07:03,260
of course, impossible to
do that-- in his shoes

1140
01:07:03,260 --> 01:07:05,900
in his last moments, when
the people were taken out

1141
01:07:05,900 --> 01:07:08,660
to be shot, just what
he must have thought.

1142
01:07:08,660 --> 01:07:13,730
And it's very hard
to imagine that.

1143
01:07:13,730 --> 01:07:17,750
But it haunts me after
all these years, you know?

1144
01:07:17,750 --> 01:07:19,700
It's 52 years since
I saw him last,

1145
01:07:19,700 --> 01:07:27,410
so it's ancient history, but--

1146
01:07:27,410 --> 01:07:30,620
It haunts you that
he didn't leave or?

1147
01:07:30,620 --> 01:07:34,010
Well, it haunts me that he
was in a sense naive, yes.

1148
01:07:34,010 --> 01:07:36,590

Then, of course, the whole
thing haunts, the mere fact

1149
01:07:36,590 --> 01:07:40,520
that I try to imagine
the kind of terror

1150
01:07:40,520 --> 01:07:43,550
that he must have felt,
that all these people must

1151
01:07:43,550 --> 01:07:44,690
have felt at the very end.

1152
01:07:44,690 --> 01:07:46,610
Because by that
time, of course, he

1153
01:07:46,610 --> 01:07:48,500
must have known exactly
what was going on.

1154
01:07:48,500 --> 01:07:51,150

1155
01:07:51,150 --> 01:07:55,010
But I think he fooled himself
until almost the very end.

1156
01:07:55,010 --> 01:07:57,560
Because even when he
left, I still remember,

1157
01:07:57,560 --> 01:08:02,130
he left very early in the
morning on early April of 1940.

1158
01:08:02,130 --> 01:08:06,080
and we said goodbye to him, with
every hope and understanding

1159
01:08:06,080 --> 01:08:10,130
that we would see each other

very soon, as soon as his US

1160

01:08:10,130 --> 01:08:13,850

quota came and his
visa came through.

1161

01:08:13,850 --> 01:08:16,939

In the meantime he would be with
our relatives in Yugoslavia.

1162

01:08:16,939 --> 01:08:19,100

So there was really no problem.

1163

01:08:19,100 --> 01:08:22,760

And then once we knew he was
safely across the border,

1164

01:08:22,760 --> 01:08:27,470

then we really had no
qualms about leaving.

1165

01:08:27,470 --> 01:08:31,010

And yet in historical
terms you see that all this

1166

01:08:31,010 --> 01:08:32,960

was a pure delusion.

1167

01:08:32,960 --> 01:08:35,689

You know, the Germans marched
into Yugoslavia that summer.

1168

01:08:35,689 --> 01:08:37,700

They also attacked
France that summer.

1169

01:08:37,700 --> 01:08:41,270

1170

01:08:41,270 --> 01:08:46,970

It really-- well, it
was naive, you know?

1171

01:08:46,970 --> 01:08:49,640

Of course, it's very
difficult to leave a place

1172

01:08:49,640 --> 01:08:55,310

where you've grown up,
where you've felt at home.

1173

01:08:55,310 --> 01:08:57,680

I understand that too.

1174

01:08:57,680 --> 01:08:59,630

I think it's much
easier for us now,

1175

01:08:59,630 --> 01:09:02,870

knowing all these things
in retrospect, to say,

1176

01:09:02,870 --> 01:09:05,960

when it gets bad,
we better leave.

1177

01:09:05,960 --> 01:09:07,970

And people have learned
their lesson and people

1178

01:09:07,970 --> 01:09:10,274

leave much more readily
now and become refugees.

1179

01:09:10,274 --> 01:09:12,649

But in those days, that was
really a very difficult thing

1180

01:09:12,649 --> 01:09:15,680

to do psychologically.

1181

01:09:15,680 --> 01:09:18,260

And we had explored a number
of ways of emigrating.

1182

01:09:18,260 --> 01:09:19,850
We thought of
going to Australia,

1183
01:09:19,850 --> 01:09:24,740
I remember, to
Israel, Palestine.

1184
01:09:24,740 --> 01:09:27,050
I even learned Hebrew.

1185
01:09:27,050 --> 01:09:31,640
I remember that I went into a--

1186
01:09:31,640 --> 01:09:35,090
for a very short period of
time, I was bar-mitzvahed,

1187
01:09:35,090 --> 01:09:40,279
and I became very religious
for about six months.

1188
01:09:40,279 --> 01:09:44,390
Then I became a Zionist,
and I went to a Zionist camp

1189
01:09:44,390 --> 01:09:45,260
and learned Hebrew.

1190
01:09:45,260 --> 01:09:53,180
I went to a course and learned
to become a locksmith at 13,

1191
01:09:53,180 --> 01:09:56,440
because we could no
longer go to gymnasium.

1192
01:09:56,440 --> 01:10:01,480
And so that was one avenue.

1193
01:10:01,480 --> 01:10:04,570
We thought maybe we go to
Palestine or Australia.

1194
01:10:04,570 --> 01:10:06,223
People are talking
about Madagascar.

1195
01:10:06,223 --> 01:10:08,140
I remember, at the time,
there was some notion

1196
01:10:08,140 --> 01:10:10,240
that the Germans--
in fact, the Nazis

1197
01:10:10,240 --> 01:10:12,400
were touting that as an
idea, settling the Jews

1198
01:10:12,400 --> 01:10:14,380
in Madagascar.

1199
01:10:14,380 --> 01:10:18,460
So there was still that illusion
that what they really wanted--

1200
01:10:18,460 --> 01:10:20,050
they wanted you
out of their hair,

1201
01:10:20,050 --> 01:10:23,800
but they wanted to
somehow help you do that.

1202
01:10:23,800 --> 01:10:26,470
And so they actually
fostered this notion

1203
01:10:26,470 --> 01:10:28,360
of going to a Zionist camp.

1204
01:10:28,360 --> 01:10:31,490
They were not interfering
with that kind of thing,

1205

01:10:31,490 --> 01:10:34,330
certainly not in '38-39.

1206

01:10:34,330 --> 01:10:37,107
I think by '40 things
had changed completely.

1207

01:10:37,107 --> 01:10:39,970

1208

01:10:39,970 --> 01:10:45,270
So I do remember that the
winter of 1939 was very bad.

1209

01:10:45,270 --> 01:10:49,260
We had, by that time, been
kicked out of our apartment

1210

01:10:49,260 --> 01:10:50,510
and lived with my grandmother.

1211

01:10:50,510 --> 01:10:51,890
It was a very cold winter.

1212

01:10:51,890 --> 01:10:56,260
The winter of '39 I'm sure
must have been a record cold.

1213

01:10:56,260 --> 01:11:01,420
Because I remember the Jews
were allowed gleanings of coal.

1214

01:11:01,420 --> 01:11:06,010
Coal was sold in basements
and sort of places

1215

01:11:06,010 --> 01:11:09,130
where they sold fuel of
all kinds, wood, and coal,

1216

01:11:09,130 --> 01:11:10,640
and stuff like that.

1217
01:11:10,640 --> 01:11:13,630
And they had a
special section where

1218
01:11:13,630 --> 01:11:15,580
the little pieces of
coal that dropped off

1219
01:11:15,580 --> 01:11:17,213
and things, slate
and stuff, were kept,

1220
01:11:17,213 --> 01:11:18,880
and the Jews were
allowed to go in there

1221
01:11:18,880 --> 01:11:21,530
and get a bag of the
stuff and drag it home.

1222
01:11:21,530 --> 01:11:24,940
And I remember dragging one of
these bags of little gleanings

1223
01:11:24,940 --> 01:11:29,140
of coal for 12 or 13 blocks,
because my grandmother lived

1224
01:11:29,140 --> 01:11:31,750
near the Danube canal
near the first district,

1225
01:11:31,750 --> 01:11:35,290
and that was a fair distance
from where we had lived.

1226
01:11:35,290 --> 01:11:37,210
But I guess they
made you go back

1227
01:11:37,210 --> 01:11:38,980
to where you had

actually been registered

1228
01:11:38,980 --> 01:11:40,940
to live to get this stuff.

1229
01:11:40,940 --> 01:11:44,140
And I remember dragging this
over the frozen streets.

1230
01:11:44,140 --> 01:11:47,200
And I think by that time
the lesson was beginning

1231
01:11:47,200 --> 01:11:54,340
to sink in, but it took that
kind of really physical abuse

1232
01:11:54,340 --> 01:11:55,030
to realize.

1233
01:11:55,030 --> 01:11:56,890
And I was never--

1234
01:11:56,890 --> 01:12:03,040
I was physically abused in
a sort of more pragish way.

1235
01:12:03,040 --> 01:12:08,230
Other kids, non Jewish kids,
would yell things at us

1236
01:12:08,230 --> 01:12:09,100
once in a while.

1237
01:12:09,100 --> 01:12:13,450
They'd pinch us-- you
know, that kind of stuff.

1238
01:12:13,450 --> 01:12:20,020
But it really was it was
more humiliation than being

1239

01:12:20,020 --> 01:12:22,360
threatened by something
that you thought

1240
01:12:22,360 --> 01:12:24,460
would deprive you of your life.

1241
01:12:24,460 --> 01:12:26,320
It was a terrible
humiliation, of course.

1242
01:12:26,320 --> 01:12:28,487
Because here were these
kids who had gone to school,

1243
01:12:28,487 --> 01:12:32,110
and suddenly you
were an outsider.

1244
01:12:32,110 --> 01:12:33,520
Kids don't want to be outsiders.

1245
01:12:33,520 --> 01:12:35,770
I mean, that's the worst
thing that can happen to you.

1246
01:12:35,770 --> 01:12:39,463

1247
01:12:39,463 --> 01:12:41,380
Then there was, of course,
this whole business

1248
01:12:41,380 --> 01:12:42,590
of just trying to survive.

1249
01:12:42,590 --> 01:12:45,160
Then the war started.

1250
01:12:45,160 --> 01:12:48,350
Jewish people got smaller
rations than other people.

1251

01:12:48,350 --> 01:12:51,832

They got special
ration booklets that

1252

01:12:51,832 --> 01:12:53,290

were different from
other people's,

1253

01:12:53,290 --> 01:12:54,670

had a J stamped in them.

1254

01:12:54,670 --> 01:12:57,265

Then of course we all
got middle names suddenly

1255

01:12:57,265 --> 01:12:59,150

that distinguished us.

1256

01:12:59,150 --> 01:13:01,030

So my middle name became Israel.

1257

01:13:01,030 --> 01:13:02,920

My mother's middle
name became Sarah.

1258

01:13:02,920 --> 01:13:05,980

I still have the
passports, because we

1259

01:13:05,980 --> 01:13:07,490

had German passports of course.

1260

01:13:07,490 --> 01:13:13,100

They're stamped with a J and
then also the middle names.

1261

01:13:13,100 --> 01:13:17,420

All our documents from then
on had the middle name.

1262

01:13:17,420 --> 01:13:23,030

But I did leave before the

yellow star was mandated.

1263

01:13:23,030 --> 01:13:26,650

That must have been maybe
late in '40 or even later.

1264

01:13:26,650 --> 01:13:29,210

1265

01:13:29,210 --> 01:13:35,550

So you could still in a
way pass, which was really,

1266

01:13:35,550 --> 01:13:40,360

to a pre-teenager, well,
beginning teenager,

1267

01:13:40,360 --> 01:13:42,900

a very important thing to do--

1268

01:13:42,900 --> 01:13:45,580

not to be picked out.

1269

01:13:45,580 --> 01:13:49,680

And I remember--
it's not something

1270

01:13:49,680 --> 01:13:51,780

I can be terribly proud
of, but it's a fact--

1271

01:13:51,780 --> 01:13:53,730

that I think that
not only I, but

1272

01:13:53,730 --> 01:13:57,150

a lot of the other Jewish kids
that I knew, tried very hard

1273

01:13:57,150 --> 01:14:01,200

not to be Jewish
kids on the street.

1274

01:14:01,200 --> 01:14:02,640
How would you accomplish that?

1275

01:14:02,640 --> 01:14:07,170
Well, by simply not
making waves, by not--

1276

01:14:07,170 --> 01:14:11,400
there was no physical way of
identifying Jews until they

1277

01:14:11,400 --> 01:14:12,930
made you wear the star.

1278

01:14:12,930 --> 01:14:14,640
We were very careful
not to sit down

1279

01:14:14,640 --> 01:14:17,220
on benches that said
no Jews allowed,

1280

01:14:17,220 --> 01:14:19,260
because almost all the
park benches by that time

1281

01:14:19,260 --> 01:14:22,863
had been stenciled saying no
Jews were allowed to sit there

1282

01:14:22,863 --> 01:14:24,030
and have that kind of thing.

1283

01:14:24,030 --> 01:14:27,270
We knew enough not
to be challenged.

1284

01:14:27,270 --> 01:14:30,960
So not being challenged
allowed you to pass in a way.

1285

01:14:30,960 --> 01:14:33,360

But then, when you
had to go to a store

1286
01:14:33,360 --> 01:14:36,415
and get your ration
of whatever bread

1287
01:14:36,415 --> 01:14:37,790
or something,
then, of course, it

1288
01:14:37,790 --> 01:14:40,770
was not avoidable,
because your ration

1289
01:14:40,770 --> 01:14:43,550
tickets were different
or stamped or whatever.

1290
01:14:43,550 --> 01:14:47,460

1291
01:14:47,460 --> 01:14:50,045
But it was really during
that period that I had this--

1292
01:14:50,045 --> 01:14:52,560

1293
01:14:52,560 --> 01:14:57,900
and as I say, I was
bar-mitzvahed just right after

1294
01:14:57,900 --> 01:15:04,830
the Anschluss in fact in the
synagogue that my maternal

1295
01:15:04,830 --> 01:15:06,810
grandfather, whom I had
never known-- in fact,

1296
01:15:06,810 --> 01:15:09,000
I had been an elder, a

church elder, I guess,

1297

01:15:09,000 --> 01:15:10,950

is what they call it here--

1298

01:15:10,950 --> 01:15:13,200

that was a synagogue

that was burned down

1299

01:15:13,200 --> 01:15:15,650

with the rabbi in

it on Kristallnacht.

1300

01:15:15,650 --> 01:15:19,620

1301

01:15:19,620 --> 01:15:26,670

So I think that was the first

really traumatic experience.

1302

01:15:26,670 --> 01:15:31,360

But it was, in a sense, a

singular one and very cleverly

1303

01:15:31,360 --> 01:15:31,860

done.

1304

01:15:31,860 --> 01:15:37,140

Because you remember

that at least ostensibly

1305

01:15:37,140 --> 01:15:41,820

the reason for it

was the assassination

1306

01:15:41,820 --> 01:15:47,310

of this German diplomat

in Paris by a Jew.

1307

01:15:47,310 --> 01:15:52,320

And so it was all portrayed

as popular outrage.

1308

01:15:52,320 --> 01:15:57,840

And at least, even if
you were the victim,

1309

01:15:57,840 --> 01:16:00,060

it gave you some kind
of rational explanation

1310

01:16:00,060 --> 01:16:01,020

why this happened.

1311

01:16:01,020 --> 01:16:04,750

This co religionist of yours
did this terrible thing,

1312

01:16:04,750 --> 01:16:08,520

and so a lot of
people just went wild,

1313

01:16:08,520 --> 01:16:11,070

and you have to understand
how this happens.

1314

01:16:11,070 --> 01:16:13,340

So it was portrayed that way.

1315

01:16:13,340 --> 01:16:19,170

And so there were a lot of Jews
who, although they were clearly

1316

01:16:19,170 --> 01:16:22,530

hurt by this, in a
way felt, well, this

1317

01:16:22,530 --> 01:16:26,280

is I guess what happens
when you get involved.

1318

01:16:26,280 --> 01:16:29,880

It time and time again
brings home to me

1319

01:16:29,880 --> 01:16:32,280
that there are very few heroes.

1320
01:16:32,280 --> 01:16:41,100
And people who resist or somehow
make themselves conspicuous

1321
01:16:41,100 --> 01:16:45,210
are really true heroes, that the
majority of people on all sides

1322
01:16:45,210 --> 01:16:50,820
try to just do the minimal
thing just to survive.

1323
01:16:50,820 --> 01:16:55,350
And the only people that you
can really condemn heartily

1324
01:16:55,350 --> 01:16:59,160
are the people who actively
cooperate with evil

1325
01:16:59,160 --> 01:17:00,090
on both sides.

1326
01:17:00,090 --> 01:17:03,660
I mean, there were
Jews who cooperated.

1327
01:17:03,660 --> 01:17:07,890
There were the active Nazis.

1328
01:17:07,890 --> 01:17:11,520
But then there
were the people who

1329
01:17:11,520 --> 01:17:15,300
tried to help their Jewish
friends but up to a point.

1330
01:17:15,300 --> 01:17:18,810
The ones who at their own

risk went out of the way

1331

01:17:18,810 --> 01:17:24,540
to do that were not many, but
they to me were true heroes.

1332

01:17:24,540 --> 01:17:31,420
And that's something
that really stands out.

1333

01:17:31,420 --> 01:17:36,220
But the majority
of people, I think,

1334

01:17:36,220 --> 01:17:38,470
cannot expect it to be heroes.

1335

01:17:38,470 --> 01:17:40,760
It would be nice if it were
different, but it isn't.

1336

01:17:40,760 --> 01:17:43,232

1337

01:17:43,232 --> 01:17:44,690
What about the Jews
who cooperated?

1338

01:17:44,690 --> 01:17:46,740
Did you know any?

1339

01:17:46,740 --> 01:17:48,130
No.

1340

01:17:48,130 --> 01:17:48,630
No.

1341

01:17:48,630 --> 01:17:53,430
I think all that knowledge
came later through reading,

1342

01:17:53,430 --> 01:17:57,380

both in concentration camps
where they were, I guess,

1343
01:17:57,380 --> 01:18:00,350
trustees and other places.

1344
01:18:00,350 --> 01:18:04,370
No, I never knew anybody
who cooperated or even heard

1345
01:18:04,370 --> 01:18:08,610
of anybody in the circle
of people that we knew.

1346
01:18:08,610 --> 01:18:10,920
Let's go back to
that 12-year-old boy

1347
01:18:10,920 --> 01:18:14,190
on the day he was going
to see Hitler coming in.

1348
01:18:14,190 --> 01:18:16,020
Your parents knew
where you were going?

1349
01:18:16,020 --> 01:18:21,510
Well, they knew I was out
wandering around, yeah.

1350
01:18:21,510 --> 01:18:23,485
You went with the
specific intention--

1351
01:18:23,485 --> 01:18:25,860
Well, I went there just to
see where everybody was going.

1352
01:18:25,860 --> 01:18:28,930
There were people marching
around and going off

1353
01:18:28,930 --> 01:18:32,760

into the inner city, which
was within walking distance.

1354
01:18:32,760 --> 01:18:40,457
And it was just this general air
of tremendous excitement, which

1355
01:18:40,457 --> 01:18:41,790
I think you can feel in the air.

1356
01:18:41,790 --> 01:18:43,770
I mean, it isn't
something that--

1357
01:18:43,770 --> 01:18:46,620
and I think kids
are very prone to be

1358
01:18:46,620 --> 01:18:48,150
drawn by that kind of thing.

1359
01:18:48,150 --> 01:18:51,310
I saw it later on
in many other ways.

1360
01:18:51,310 --> 01:18:55,030
And I was just curious.

1361
01:18:55,030 --> 01:18:57,150
I was curious to see
a crowd like that.

1362
01:18:57,150 --> 01:19:00,780
I've never seen anything
like it before, you know?

1363
01:19:00,780 --> 01:19:03,210
I've been to military
parades and things like that,

1364
01:19:03,210 --> 01:19:05,720
but I've never seen
any crowd like that.

1365
01:19:05,720 --> 01:19:08,490
And then, of course,
the army came in,

1366
01:19:08,490 --> 01:19:11,390
which was terribly
exciting to a kid

1367
01:19:11,390 --> 01:19:13,290
to see all these
tanks and stuff.

1368
01:19:13,290 --> 01:19:14,430
So all that was--

1369
01:19:14,430 --> 01:19:16,290
it really brings home the--

1370
01:19:16,290 --> 01:19:19,380

1371
01:19:19,380 --> 01:19:21,540
later, of course,
when I had a chance

1372
01:19:21,540 --> 01:19:26,520
to see film of the
Nuremberg rallies,

1373
01:19:26,520 --> 01:19:29,640
they were really masters at
that kind of thing, absolutely

1374
01:19:29,640 --> 01:19:30,420
masters.

1375
01:19:30,420 --> 01:19:34,650
They involved people to get them
excited, to get them involved.

1376
01:19:34,650 --> 01:19:38,110

In a sense, when
I became rational,

1377
01:19:38,110 --> 01:19:44,490
it began to instill in me
a great fear of the mob.

1378
01:19:44,490 --> 01:19:46,770
Because I saw it
in a very minor way

1379
01:19:46,770 --> 01:19:52,440
later on during the '60s when
people were yelling in unison.

1380
01:19:52,440 --> 01:19:56,430
It always bothers me,
even at conventions, even

1381
01:19:56,430 --> 01:19:58,650
a Democratic or
Republican convention,

1382
01:19:58,650 --> 01:20:02,190
I get very upset when people
start yelling slogans.

1383
01:20:02,190 --> 01:20:05,850
Because I say to myself, you
give up your individuality

1384
01:20:05,850 --> 01:20:08,580
and you become part of a mob.

1385
01:20:08,580 --> 01:20:12,960
And it's really when people
no longer feel responsible,

1386
01:20:12,960 --> 01:20:14,670
because they're
not an individual,

1387
01:20:14,670 --> 01:20:17,130

they're part of a group,
that they do terrible things

1388
01:20:17,130 --> 01:20:19,260
that they wouldn't think
of doing as individuals.

1389
01:20:19,260 --> 01:20:20,790
And I saw it later
on in the army.

1390
01:20:20,790 --> 01:20:24,720

1391
01:20:24,720 --> 01:20:27,790
Again, it's a matter of
degree, but just to digress,

1392
01:20:27,790 --> 01:20:32,370
I was with the first troops
that crossed the Rhine at Worms,

1393
01:20:32,370 --> 01:20:34,380
because we were
ferrying infantry

1394
01:20:34,380 --> 01:20:37,440
across in pontoon boats.

1395
01:20:37,440 --> 01:20:41,130
And when we got
to the other side,

1396
01:20:41,130 --> 01:20:45,060
the place was littered
with German dead of course

1397
01:20:45,060 --> 01:20:47,310
had been lying in the
sun for a couple of days

1398
01:20:47,310 --> 01:20:49,980
and were bloated and stuff.

1399

01:20:49,980 --> 01:20:52,230

People would be driving
by, Americans in trucks,

1400

01:20:52,230 --> 01:20:54,660

and Jeeps, and taking
potshots at these bodies

1401

01:20:54,660 --> 01:20:57,330

and see the gas escape-- you
know, that kind of thing.

1402

01:20:57,330 --> 01:20:59,550

Well, it's the kind of thing
that you wouldn't think

1403

01:20:59,550 --> 01:21:01,230

of doing as an
individual, but this

1404

01:21:01,230 --> 01:21:05,160

was all part of
this mob hysteria,

1405

01:21:05,160 --> 01:21:10,170

and you just get it everywhere.

1406

01:21:10,170 --> 01:21:14,310

Nazis were particularly good at
exploiting that kind of thing.

1407

01:21:14,310 --> 01:21:18,260

When you went to this parade
or this welcome for Hitler,

1408

01:21:18,260 --> 01:21:20,253

were you sort of
in front section

1409

01:21:20,253 --> 01:21:21,780

where you had a good view.

1410

01:21:21,780 --> 01:21:24,720

Well, I did see him drive by.

1411

01:21:24,720 --> 01:21:26,840

Kids, of course, can
snake themselves in.

1412

01:21:26,840 --> 01:21:28,560

What did you see?

1413

01:21:28,560 --> 01:21:33,630

Just saw a guy standing
there going like this.

1414

01:21:33,630 --> 01:21:40,530

And I saw him once more later on
during a much smaller occasion

1415

01:21:40,530 --> 01:21:44,640

in the sense of the
number of people involved.

1416

01:21:44,640 --> 01:21:47,340

It must have been in
'39 when Mussolini

1417

01:21:47,340 --> 01:21:49,420

came to Vienna to meet Hitler.

1418

01:21:49,420 --> 01:21:52,290

I went out to look
at him both too.

1419

01:21:52,290 --> 01:21:56,700

So I saw Hitler and Mussolini.

1420

01:21:56,700 --> 01:21:57,215

Together?

1421

01:21:57,215 --> 01:21:57,840

Together, yeah.

1422

01:21:57,840 --> 01:21:59,790

What did they look like.

1423

01:21:59,790 --> 01:22:03,810

Just like their pictures
in the newsreels.

1424

01:22:03,810 --> 01:22:04,620

Same height?

1425

01:22:04,620 --> 01:22:05,640

Same--

1426

01:22:05,640 --> 01:22:09,480

Oh, well, Mussolini was, as I
remember it, a little heavier.

1427

01:22:09,480 --> 01:22:13,050

But they were in limousines, and
it was a little bit difficult

1428

01:22:13,050 --> 01:22:15,270

to see.

1429

01:22:15,270 --> 01:22:17,820

They were a fair distance
away, because people

1430

01:22:17,820 --> 01:22:19,050

weren't allowed that close.

1431

01:22:19,050 --> 01:22:21,960

1432

01:22:21,960 --> 01:22:28,230

It was on the Ringstrasse,
which is sort of the main parade

1433

01:22:28,230 --> 01:22:29,470

ground for things.

1434

01:22:29,470 --> 01:22:33,450
And that's a wide Boulevard,
and people usually get back

1435
01:22:33,450 --> 01:22:36,300
on the sidewalk to see that.

1436
01:22:36,300 --> 01:22:43,440
But it's something
that somehow drew me

1437
01:22:43,440 --> 01:22:45,718
and a lot of other kids.

1438
01:22:45,718 --> 01:22:47,760
I just wanted to see what
all the excitement was.

1439
01:22:47,760 --> 01:22:49,860
And was everybody
didn't heil Hitler?

1440
01:22:49,860 --> 01:22:50,370
Oh, yeah.

1441
01:22:50,370 --> 01:22:51,140
Sure.

1442
01:22:51,140 --> 01:22:52,140
What about you?

1443
01:22:52,140 --> 01:22:52,740
Oh, no.

1444
01:22:52,740 --> 01:22:53,240
No.

1445
01:22:53,240 --> 01:22:55,110
I mean, I knew
enough about that.

1446
01:22:55,110 --> 01:22:59,370

No, that I knew not to do.

1447

01:22:59,370 --> 01:23:01,620

Because by that
time, of course, it

1448

01:23:01,620 --> 01:23:03,360

was very clear that
I was different-- not

1449

01:23:03,360 --> 01:23:06,150

part of that group.

1450

01:23:06,150 --> 01:23:11,750

But I'm not at all sure, other
than my parental influence,

1451

01:23:11,750 --> 01:23:13,400

I suppose, would
have kept me from it,

1452

01:23:13,400 --> 01:23:15,475

just how far I would have gone.

1453

01:23:15,475 --> 01:23:17,600

You know, it's frightening
when you think about it.

1454

01:23:17,600 --> 01:23:19,670

If you get drawn into
this kind of thing

1455

01:23:19,670 --> 01:23:26,320

early enough until you have the
ability to think for yourself,

1456

01:23:26,320 --> 01:23:28,280

you're liable to
do almost anything.

1457

01:23:28,280 --> 01:23:33,260

And it's just a very
cleverly done thing,

1458

01:23:33,260 --> 01:23:36,665
marching kids around with drums,
and singing, and campfires,

1459

01:23:36,665 --> 01:23:37,790
and all that kind of stuff.

1460

01:23:37,790 --> 01:23:42,550
It's a glorified Boy Scouts.

1461

01:23:42,550 --> 01:23:50,920
And it's a problem of
exploiting human psychology,

1462

01:23:50,920 --> 01:23:52,840
and they were masters at that.

1463

01:23:52,840 --> 01:23:55,570
They weren't the only ones,
but they certainly were.

1464

01:23:55,570 --> 01:23:57,940
At the end of that first
day, when we Hitler,

1465

01:23:57,940 --> 01:24:00,040
did you tell your parents?

1466

01:24:00,040 --> 01:24:01,370
I don't remember.

1467

01:24:01,370 --> 01:24:03,780
I really don't.

1468

01:24:03,780 --> 01:24:05,930
Do you have a
feeling of elation?

1469

01:24:05,930 --> 01:24:06,870
No, no.

1470

01:24:06,870 --> 01:24:09,410

A feeling of excitement
only, because it was

1471

01:24:09,410 --> 01:24:10,730

all the excitement going on.

1472

01:24:10,730 --> 01:24:12,647

And there was a certain
amount of fear mingled

1473

01:24:12,647 --> 01:24:14,780

with that I'm sure,
because I knew I really

1474

01:24:14,780 --> 01:24:16,850

wasn't supposed to
be there, which was

1475

01:24:16,850 --> 01:24:19,430

another reason for doing it.

1476

01:24:19,430 --> 01:24:22,460

I remember, just
before the Anschluss,

1477

01:24:22,460 --> 01:24:24,590

when there were all
these demonstrations

1478

01:24:24,590 --> 01:24:29,330

and counter
demonstrations going on,

1479

01:24:29,330 --> 01:24:32,660

that I remember being
in one near the opera.

1480

01:24:32,660 --> 01:24:34,550

It's one of the few
specific instances

1481

01:24:34,550 --> 01:24:37,220
that I remember people
yelling at each other,

1482
01:24:37,220 --> 01:24:41,300
and carrying flags and banners,
and that kind of thing.

1483
01:24:41,300 --> 01:24:45,570
It was-- and, of
course, at that time,

1484
01:24:45,570 --> 01:24:49,910
I felt as a very patriotic
Austrian against the Nazis,

1485
01:24:49,910 --> 01:24:54,920
because the Austrian
government did of course

1486
01:24:54,920 --> 01:24:59,400
oppose the taking over.

1487
01:24:59,400 --> 01:25:02,205
Remember that Hitler called
Schuschnigg to Berchtesgaden

1488
01:25:02,205 --> 01:25:05,570
and scared the hell out of
him, but he did stand up

1489
01:25:05,570 --> 01:25:07,490
to him surprisingly enough.

1490
01:25:07,490 --> 01:25:10,310
And, of course, he was
disposed of very quickly

1491
01:25:10,310 --> 01:25:15,110
and did go to Dachau, but
survived, and then become,

1492
01:25:15,110 --> 01:25:16,940

as I say, a professor.

1493

01:25:16,940 --> 01:25:22,760

But no, I think that

I could have easily

1494

01:25:22,760 --> 01:25:24,360

been part of that

crowd that yelled

1495

01:25:24,360 --> 01:25:31,210

heil Hitler at that time,

yeah, in retrospect.

1496

01:25:31,210 --> 01:25:34,590

What do you remember

about the Anschluss?

1497

01:25:34,590 --> 01:25:37,500

Well, I remember the

planes flying overhead

1498

01:25:37,500 --> 01:25:39,360

and the paratroopers

coming down.

1499

01:25:39,360 --> 01:25:41,220

I remember that.

1500

01:25:41,220 --> 01:25:45,900

I think the first

real exposure to

1501

01:25:45,900 --> 01:25:48,360

or an inkling of what it was

going to be like for Jews

1502

01:25:48,360 --> 01:25:52,560

came almost the same day,

when people were hauled out

1503

01:25:52,560 --> 01:25:54,480

to start scrubbing the streets.

1504
01:25:54,480 --> 01:25:57,450
Because slogans had been
painted on the streets.

1505
01:25:57,450 --> 01:26:04,620
And I don't remember,
frankly, whether any

1506
01:26:04,620 --> 01:26:08,340
of my immediate relatives,
my mother or my father,

1507
01:26:08,340 --> 01:26:11,340
were pulled out to do that.

1508
01:26:11,340 --> 01:26:14,010
But I do remember
walking on the street

1509
01:26:14,010 --> 01:26:17,518
and seeing people that I knew,
older people, on their hands

1510
01:26:17,518 --> 01:26:18,810
and knees scrubbing the street.

1511
01:26:18,810 --> 01:26:21,870

1512
01:26:21,870 --> 01:26:25,260
And so that, I think,
made it very clear to me

1513
01:26:25,260 --> 01:26:27,405
that we were not
part of the crowd.

1514
01:26:27,405 --> 01:26:31,080

1515
01:26:31,080 --> 01:26:34,940

And then, of course, when we
were kicked out of school.

1516
01:26:34,940 --> 01:26:38,620
First of all, suddenly, a lot
of the kids didn't know me.

1517
01:26:38,620 --> 01:26:41,350
I guess their parents told them.

1518
01:26:41,350 --> 01:26:44,980
I really don't remember
any kids that defied that.

1519
01:26:44,980 --> 01:26:48,211

1520
01:26:48,211 --> 01:26:53,110
There were people
that stayed friendly,

1521
01:26:53,110 --> 01:26:55,270
people that tried to
help in minor ways

1522
01:26:55,270 --> 01:26:59,050
by either sneaking us food,
or, later on, particularly

1523
01:26:59,050 --> 01:27:01,150
after the rations
became very strict

1524
01:27:01,150 --> 01:27:04,560
and we got less
than other people.

1525
01:27:04,560 --> 01:27:10,780
I remember my father coming home
with a piece of smoked meat--

1526
01:27:10,780 --> 01:27:15,850
this was already after we had

moved in with his mother--

1527

01:27:15,850 --> 01:27:17,410

very proud of himself
that he'd been

1528

01:27:17,410 --> 01:27:19,690

able to buy that somewhere
on the black market.

1529

01:27:19,690 --> 01:27:23,562

And it later on turned
out to be a cat.

1530

01:27:23,562 --> 01:27:25,930

Was it good?

1531

01:27:25,930 --> 01:27:27,130

I don't remember.

1532

01:27:27,130 --> 01:27:28,010

I don't remember.

1533

01:27:28,010 --> 01:27:31,250

But my mother became very
adept at non-meat dishes.

1534

01:27:31,250 --> 01:27:37,930

She made wonderful hamburgers
out of cauliflower I remember.

1535

01:27:37,930 --> 01:27:42,160

But that really wasn't
such a terrible problem.

1536

01:27:42,160 --> 01:27:44,800

I think that the
situation really

1537

01:27:44,800 --> 01:27:50,170

didn't become desperate
until much later.

1538

01:27:50,170 --> 01:27:53,080

Probably we didn't
have as much to eat

1539

01:27:53,080 --> 01:27:55,450

as we did before, and certainly
not the things we liked,

1540

01:27:55,450 --> 01:27:57,610

but there certainly
wasn't any starvation.

1541

01:27:57,610 --> 01:28:01,680

1542

01:28:01,680 --> 01:28:05,790

And the war has only been
on 6, 7, 8 months, something

1543

01:28:05,790 --> 01:28:06,940

like that, when we left.

1544

01:28:06,940 --> 01:28:11,075

So it really wasn't that
bad yet for anybody.

1545

01:28:11,075 --> 01:28:15,630

1546

01:28:15,630 --> 01:28:19,877

How were you told that
you had to leave school?

1547

01:28:19,877 --> 01:28:20,960

Oh, I think the teachers--

1548

01:28:20,960 --> 01:28:21,793

[INTERPOSING VOICES]

1549

01:28:21,793 --> 01:28:23,300

No, no the teachers
just told us.

1550

01:28:23,300 --> 01:28:24,600

Through a general announcement?

1551

01:28:24,600 --> 01:28:26,180

Yeah, it was a

general announcement.

1552

01:28:26,180 --> 01:28:29,240

Everybody knew who who, because
there was religious instruction

1553

01:28:29,240 --> 01:28:31,760

in school.

1554

01:28:31,760 --> 01:28:33,620

What was your
religious instruction?

1555

01:28:33,620 --> 01:28:38,390

Well, Jews could go
to Hebrew school,

1556

01:28:38,390 --> 01:28:40,070

and I think that
was once a week.

1557

01:28:40,070 --> 01:28:46,220

1558

01:28:46,220 --> 01:28:49,080

Of course, everybody knew
everybody's religion,

1559

01:28:49,080 --> 01:28:50,240

so there wasn't any--

1560

01:28:50,240 --> 01:28:55,610

it was very clear who had
to leave and who didn't.

1561

01:28:55,610 --> 01:28:57,650

The other thing is
that many of my friends

1562
01:28:57,650 --> 01:28:59,720
who had gone to school
with me were emigrating.

1563
01:28:59,720 --> 01:29:02,600
So I was really one
of the few leftovers.

1564
01:29:02,600 --> 01:29:06,560
Most of the kids that
I'd gone to school with

1565
01:29:06,560 --> 01:29:11,580
emigrated in '38 and
certainly by early '39.

1566
01:29:11,580 --> 01:29:14,630
So by mid-'39, I don't remember
really having any Jewish

1567
01:29:14,630 --> 01:29:17,120
friends anymore.

1568
01:29:17,120 --> 01:29:19,610
But you weren't the only one
who had to leave that school?

1569
01:29:19,610 --> 01:29:20,390
Oh, no, no.

1570
01:29:20,390 --> 01:29:25,370
But I mean, as I say, most of
the other kids, by that time,

1571
01:29:25,370 --> 01:29:26,910
left all together.

1572
01:29:26,910 --> 01:29:30,740
And so it wasn't as if--

1573

01:29:30,740 --> 01:29:34,200

for a while there, in
late '38 and early '39--

1574

01:29:34,200 --> 01:29:35,810

I don't remember
the exact span--

1575

01:29:35,810 --> 01:29:37,610

I get involved in
the Zionist group,

1576

01:29:37,610 --> 01:29:40,760

and we studied Hebrew
together, and agriculture,

1577

01:29:40,760 --> 01:29:44,372

and planted potatoes
I remember, and stuff

1578

01:29:44,372 --> 01:29:45,455

like that in the backyard.

1579

01:29:45,455 --> 01:29:48,140

1580

01:29:48,140 --> 01:29:52,700

There was a certain
enthusiasm for emigrating

1581

01:29:52,700 --> 01:29:55,910

to Palestine and that kind of
thing among the young people.

1582

01:29:55,910 --> 01:29:59,870

I think the older people didn't
view it with such fervor,

1583

01:29:59,870 --> 01:30:04,760

because they wanted to go to
a more pleasant place I guess.

1584

01:30:04,760 --> 01:30:08,800
Did any of your friends
emigrate to Palestine?

1585
01:30:08,800 --> 01:30:12,130
I think I had one school
friend, but we never

1586
01:30:12,130 --> 01:30:13,920
stayed in touch, who
went to Palestine.

1587
01:30:13,920 --> 01:30:15,140
I never kept up with him.

1588
01:30:15,140 --> 01:30:17,230
In fact, you know, it's
a very interesting thing.

1589
01:30:17,230 --> 01:30:20,440
There may be a psychological
reason for that.

1590
01:30:20,440 --> 01:30:25,630
Except for little
individual pieces of memory,

1591
01:30:25,630 --> 01:30:28,510
that period is almost
wiped out in my mind.

1592
01:30:28,510 --> 01:30:31,180
For example, I don't remember,
except for one or two kids that

1593
01:30:31,180 --> 01:30:34,270
emigrated to the States, that
I was then in touch with,

1594
01:30:34,270 --> 01:30:38,110
including my really oldest
friend, because we paramulated

1595

01:30:38,110 --> 01:30:39,970
around together, who
lives now-- well,

1596
01:30:39,970 --> 01:30:43,445
who's a retired postal
inspector that lives in Florida.

1597
01:30:43,445 --> 01:30:46,960

1598
01:30:46,960 --> 01:30:49,003
So those are the
people I met again when

1599
01:30:49,003 --> 01:30:50,170
I came to the United States.

1600
01:30:50,170 --> 01:30:52,972
I don't remember
anybody's names.

1601
01:30:52,972 --> 01:30:55,910
You remember any
teacher's names.

1602
01:30:55,910 --> 01:30:58,550
I remember my Latin
teacher in the gymnasium.

1603
01:30:58,550 --> 01:30:59,570
His name was Epstein.

1604
01:30:59,570 --> 01:31:01,670
And he did emigrate--

1605
01:31:01,670 --> 01:31:04,100
came to the States.

1606
01:31:04,100 --> 01:31:05,960
He was a Bachelor.

1607

01:31:05,960 --> 01:31:09,365
And in fact he tutored me Latin
during that expulsion period.

1608
01:31:09,365 --> 01:31:12,830

1609
01:31:12,830 --> 01:31:15,060
Beyond that, not really.

1610
01:31:15,060 --> 01:31:19,260
I remember a grammar
school teacher,

1611
01:31:19,260 --> 01:31:20,470
and I remember his name.

1612
01:31:20,470 --> 01:31:25,370
His name was Immervoll,
"always full."

1613
01:31:25,370 --> 01:31:28,970
Beyond that, really, no.

1614
01:31:28,970 --> 01:31:31,550
So whether I've
done it consciously,

1615
01:31:31,550 --> 01:31:32,972
wiped it out, or whatever.

1616
01:31:32,972 --> 01:31:37,580
But there are these singular
events that I remember.

1617
01:31:37,580 --> 01:31:41,306
But beyond that, sort of as
a period, it's really gone.

1618
01:31:41,306 --> 01:31:44,750
A favorite subject
of yours in school?

1619

01:31:44,750 --> 01:31:47,640

Favorite subject in school?

1620

01:31:47,640 --> 01:31:52,330

Well, I liked history,
and I still do,

1621

01:31:52,330 --> 01:31:54,050

and I was pretty
good at mathematics.

1622

01:31:54,050 --> 01:31:57,530

1623

01:31:57,530 --> 01:32:00,320

Beyond that, school,
particularly gymnasium,

1624

01:32:00,320 --> 01:32:06,140

was a warfare between the
students and the teachers.

1625

01:32:06,140 --> 01:32:09,050

The more pranks you could play
on the teacher, the better off.

1626

01:32:09,050 --> 01:32:15,590

It was truly an adversarial kind
of thing between the students

1627

01:32:15,590 --> 01:32:16,370

and the teachers.

1628

01:32:16,370 --> 01:32:18,710

I mean, there were
a few teachers

1629

01:32:18,710 --> 01:32:20,420

that we didn't hate
with a passion,

1630

01:32:20,420 --> 01:32:23,930

but generally they were
a well-hated bunch.

1631
01:32:23,930 --> 01:32:27,270
The school system
was very strict.

1632
01:32:27,270 --> 01:32:28,820
Besides, they worked
your fanny off.

1633
01:32:28,820 --> 01:32:32,960
It was six days
a week, including

1634
01:32:32,960 --> 01:32:37,910
Saturday, probably till 4
o'clock every afternoon,

1635
01:32:37,910 --> 01:32:42,620
an 8:30 to 4:00 kind of
thing with a lot of homework.

1636
01:32:42,620 --> 01:32:53,450
And it wasn't all pleasure, but
I was interested-- for example,

1637
01:32:53,450 --> 01:32:54,650
I was in the theater group.

1638
01:32:54,650 --> 01:33:01,280
I remember, my first roles was
the second citizen in Faust,

1639
01:33:01,280 --> 01:33:06,110
Goethe's Faust, when I was
maybe 10, 11 years old,

1640
01:33:06,110 --> 01:33:07,990
just after I started.

1641
01:33:07,990 --> 01:33:12,650
You start gymnasium at 10,

and you are dressed as Mister

1642
01:33:12,650 --> 01:33:15,080
from that day on.

1643
01:33:15,080 --> 01:33:20,060
So you really are considered
essentially a grown-up

1644
01:33:20,060 --> 01:33:23,300
when you get to be 10
years old in that system.

1645
01:33:23,300 --> 01:33:30,320
And beyond that, as I
say, the singular events,

1646
01:33:30,320 --> 01:33:35,340
like being kicked out for one
semester and things like that.

1647
01:33:35,340 --> 01:33:38,060
I really have very
little recollection.

1648
01:33:38,060 --> 01:33:39,015
It's surprising.

1649
01:33:39,015 --> 01:33:40,890
It always surprises me
when I think about it.

1650
01:33:40,890 --> 01:33:42,740
And I try to reconstruct
it, and I can't.

1651
01:33:42,740 --> 01:33:45,790

1652
01:33:45,790 --> 01:33:48,160
What did you think
you were going to do

1653

01:33:48,160 --> 01:33:51,330
when you became older before--

1654

01:33:51,330 --> 01:33:52,482
A fireman

1655

01:33:52,482 --> 01:33:54,290
Fireman.

1656

01:33:54,290 --> 01:33:56,330
For a long time I
wanted to be a fireman.

1657

01:33:56,330 --> 01:33:57,260
Really.

1658

01:33:57,260 --> 01:34:00,050
I was really, in a
sense, not very advanced.

1659

01:34:00,050 --> 01:34:02,810

1660

01:34:02,810 --> 01:34:06,050
I wasn't going to be a Nobel
Prize winner, or scientist,

1661

01:34:06,050 --> 01:34:07,570
or anything like that.

1662

01:34:07,570 --> 01:34:10,820
That started very soon
after I came to the States.

1663

01:34:10,820 --> 01:34:15,740
I became interested in
science almost immediately.

1664

01:34:15,740 --> 01:34:23,630
But as long as I remember back
in Vienna, which was really

1665

01:34:23,630 --> 01:34:29,210
only through the age of 13, I
didn't have any high ambitions.

1666

01:34:29,210 --> 01:34:34,770

1667

01:34:34,770 --> 01:34:39,340
Where did you get the
training for your bar mitzvah?

1668

01:34:39,340 --> 01:34:42,580
From the local
rabbi in the temple

1669

01:34:42,580 --> 01:34:46,820
that was burned down-- with him.

1670

01:34:46,820 --> 01:34:48,230
And I worked very hard at that.

1671

01:34:48,230 --> 01:34:50,600
And then, as I say, just
following my bar mitzvah,

1672

01:34:50,600 --> 01:34:55,190
which was in May of '38--

1673

01:34:55,190 --> 01:34:58,690
so just a couple of months
after the Anschluss--

1674

01:34:58,690 --> 01:35:02,800
I did have a short period
of religious fervor.

1675

01:35:02,800 --> 01:35:06,140
I put on tefillin and
all that kind of stuff.

1676

01:35:06,140 --> 01:35:11,290
Yeah, every morning I prayed,

and then came the Zionist phase

1677

01:35:11,290 --> 01:35:12,690
for a few months.

1678

01:35:12,690 --> 01:35:18,730
Stopped doing that, which
was more politicized I guess.

1679

01:35:18,730 --> 01:35:20,050
And all that stopped.

1680

01:35:20,050 --> 01:35:22,540
Once almost all the
Jewish kids were gone,

1681

01:35:22,540 --> 01:35:26,180
there was really no longer any
contact with other Jewish kids.

1682

01:35:26,180 --> 01:35:27,567
So then it became
an adult world.

1683

01:35:27,567 --> 01:35:30,025
It became really a world of
just sort of trying to survive,

1684

01:35:30,025 --> 01:35:34,180
and gathering coal, and trying
to stand in line for food--

1685

01:35:34,180 --> 01:35:35,900
that kind of thing.

1686

01:35:35,900 --> 01:35:40,680
So it really wasn't, as I
say-- and I took that course

1687

01:35:40,680 --> 01:35:42,310
to learn how to
become a locksmith,

1688

01:35:42,310 --> 01:35:45,370
and I learned welding.

1689

01:35:45,370 --> 01:35:47,590
I still have, I think,
a picture somewhere

1690

01:35:47,590 --> 01:35:49,000
of me in that locksmith shop.

1691

01:35:49,000 --> 01:35:52,570
It was a Jewish locksmith
who had a little class

1692

01:35:52,570 --> 01:35:56,370
and taught kids how
to become a locksmith.

1693

01:35:56,370 --> 01:36:02,635
And he did have a little
course in welding.

1694

01:36:02,635 --> 01:36:06,340
So I learned how to weld.

1695

01:36:06,340 --> 01:36:10,810
But all that was sort of in
a vague way in preparation

1696

01:36:10,810 --> 01:36:13,360
of maybe having to earn
a living pretty soon

1697

01:36:13,360 --> 01:36:14,620
in a foreign country--

1698

01:36:14,620 --> 01:36:17,050
that kind of thing.

1699

01:36:17,050 --> 01:36:21,913
What do you remember about your
bar mitzvah itself, that day?

1700
01:36:21,913 --> 01:36:22,705
What do I remember?

1701
01:36:22,705 --> 01:36:25,720

1702
01:36:25,720 --> 01:36:27,280
I think they're
always in a haze.

1703
01:36:27,280 --> 01:36:29,363
Because I've talked to
other people who've had bar

1704
01:36:29,363 --> 01:36:31,160
mitzvahs under
normal circumstances,

1705
01:36:31,160 --> 01:36:34,210
and it's very hazy.

1706
01:36:34,210 --> 01:36:39,063
But it was still close
enough to normal times--

1707
01:36:39,063 --> 01:36:41,230
it was only a couple of
months after the Anschluss--

1708
01:36:41,230 --> 01:36:44,350
so there was a party.

1709
01:36:44,350 --> 01:36:48,160
We of course were allowed to do
it, and it was in the temple.

1710
01:36:48,160 --> 01:36:51,010
I worked really hard,
because I started already

1711
01:36:51,010 --> 01:36:53,420

before the Anschluss
studying for that.

1712
01:36:53,420 --> 01:36:55,600
It takes almost a year.

1713
01:36:55,600 --> 01:37:00,670
And I went through the whole
thing, learned all by rote,

1714
01:37:00,670 --> 01:37:02,260
I think.

1715
01:37:02,260 --> 01:37:05,160
I didn't really learn
Hebrew enough to consider it

1716
01:37:05,160 --> 01:37:08,890
as a spoken language, and
I've all forgotten it by now,

1717
01:37:08,890 --> 01:37:12,760
until that little
Zionist period, where

1718
01:37:12,760 --> 01:37:14,290
I felt I had to learn it.

1719
01:37:14,290 --> 01:37:17,290
And it was modern Hebrew, Ivrit.

1720
01:37:17,290 --> 01:37:22,640
But it's very interesting.

1721
01:37:22,640 --> 01:37:24,890
I have my watch.

1722
01:37:24,890 --> 01:37:26,180
I got a gold watch.

1723
01:37:26,180 --> 01:37:31,370
My father gave me a

watch, which I still have.

1724

01:37:31,370 --> 01:37:32,420

I have his watch.

1725

01:37:32,420 --> 01:37:35,760

1726

01:37:35,760 --> 01:37:37,760

It's one of the things
he collected was watches.

1727

01:37:37,760 --> 01:37:41,720

My father was an inveterate
collector of antiquities.

1728

01:37:41,720 --> 01:37:45,540

He was a frustrated
archaeologist I think.

1729

01:37:45,540 --> 01:37:50,640

I do remember
that, first of all,

1730

01:37:50,640 --> 01:37:52,190

we used to go to
the movies together,

1731

01:37:52,190 --> 01:37:53,480

just he and I sometimes.

1732

01:37:53,480 --> 01:37:56,690

We had-- see,
things do come back.

1733

01:37:56,690 --> 01:37:59,635

1734

01:37:59,635 --> 01:38:01,100

In Vienna there
was a place called

1735

01:38:01,100 --> 01:38:06,650
Urania, which was a little
bit like a cultural center.

1736
01:38:06,650 --> 01:38:11,900
Primarily it showed sort
of National Geographic type

1737
01:38:11,900 --> 01:38:14,000
of movies, and
they had lectures,

1738
01:38:14,000 --> 01:38:15,050
and that kind of thing.

1739
01:38:15,050 --> 01:38:17,750
We used to go to that a lot,
because he was fascinated

1740
01:38:17,750 --> 01:38:19,950
by expeditions of all kinds.

1741
01:38:19,950 --> 01:38:22,400
One of his heroes
was Sven Hedin,

1742
01:38:22,400 --> 01:38:28,830
who was a Norwegian Explorer
in the late 19th century who

1743
01:38:28,830 --> 01:38:31,340
used to go on expeditions
in Afghanistan

1744
01:38:31,340 --> 01:38:32,450
and places like that.

1745
01:38:32,450 --> 01:38:35,660
And he had people
that he corresponded

1746
01:38:35,660 --> 01:38:39,000
with in other

countries quite a bit,

1747

01:38:39,000 --> 01:38:41,210

and he had sort of
outrageous friends.

1748

01:38:41,210 --> 01:38:47,670

There was an Austrian count
that he used to pal around.

1749

01:38:47,670 --> 01:38:50,640

With they went to
lectures and things.

1750

01:38:50,640 --> 01:38:54,660

1751

01:38:54,660 --> 01:38:56,400

So I know that he
was very interested

1752

01:38:56,400 --> 01:39:00,300

in that kind of thing, and
I found that interesting too

1753

01:39:00,300 --> 01:39:01,080

of course.

1754

01:39:01,080 --> 01:39:05,010

Maybe only because he did.

1755

01:39:05,010 --> 01:39:11,060

He did go one year, maybe
even before he was married,

1756

01:39:11,060 --> 01:39:15,750

on a dig somewhere in
Greece with somebody.

1757

01:39:15,750 --> 01:39:18,150

But he did collect.

1758

01:39:18,150 --> 01:39:23,580
He had a fair collection of
Etruscan artifacts in fact

1759
01:39:23,580 --> 01:39:26,430
that my mother sold for
a song in the early '50s,

1760
01:39:26,430 --> 01:39:29,890
because she needed money and
didn't know what she was doing.

1761
01:39:29,890 --> 01:39:35,180
And I think that
that's certainly

1762
01:39:35,180 --> 01:39:38,710
one of my distinct memories
of my father's, his interest

1763
01:39:38,710 --> 01:39:43,400
in esoteric places.

1764
01:39:43,400 --> 01:39:48,560
He collected books or read
books on foreign lands.

1765
01:39:48,560 --> 01:39:50,840
I remember that-- I even
brought some with me--

1766
01:39:50,840 --> 01:39:54,230

1767
01:39:54,230 --> 01:39:58,370
South America fascinated him.

1768
01:39:58,370 --> 01:40:02,030
His favorite foreign song--

1769
01:40:02,030 --> 01:40:06,500
he had quite a large
record collection--

1770
01:40:06,500 --> 01:40:08,810
was "Get Along Little Doggy."

1771
01:40:08,810 --> 01:40:13,070

1772
01:40:13,070 --> 01:40:14,900
He had a record of
cowboy songs that he

1773
01:40:14,900 --> 01:40:18,280
used to play for us
and things like that.

1774
01:40:18,280 --> 01:40:21,860
He was certainly
fascinated by travel.

1775
01:40:21,860 --> 01:40:25,520
He was also a soccer
fan, and he and my uncle,

1776
01:40:25,520 --> 01:40:30,860
his brother-in-law, went to
London in early 1933 or '34

1777
01:40:30,860 --> 01:40:31,640
to the World Cup.

1778
01:40:31,640 --> 01:40:35,600
I remember it was a big deal,
and he brought me back one

1779
01:40:35,600 --> 01:40:37,850
of these airplanes with a
rubber band that you wind up

1780
01:40:37,850 --> 01:40:39,950
and it flew around the
place, from London.

1781

01:40:39,950 --> 01:40:41,810
I remember that.

1782
01:40:41,810 --> 01:40:47,310
So I must have been maybe
seven, eight years old.

1783
01:40:47,310 --> 01:40:49,500
He was an avid fisherman.

1784
01:40:49,500 --> 01:40:54,480
And it's one of the reasons why
I've never gone into fishing,

1785
01:40:54,480 --> 01:40:57,690
because he used to wake me up
at 4 o'clock in the morning,

1786
01:40:57,690 --> 01:41:02,550
and I had to row his boat
partly on the lake where

1787
01:41:02,550 --> 01:41:03,300
we had our house.

1788
01:41:03,300 --> 01:41:08,070
But before that, we used to go
on vacation in upper Austria

1789
01:41:08,070 --> 01:41:13,230
to a place in the country
that had a trout stream.

1790
01:41:13,230 --> 01:41:17,220
Used to go out and
fish, and I could never

1791
01:41:17,220 --> 01:41:19,650
see removing the hooks.

1792
01:41:19,650 --> 01:41:21,290
It still turns me off.

1793

01:41:21,290 --> 01:41:26,450

But really that was
his number one sport.

1794

01:41:26,450 --> 01:41:28,640

He really loved fishing.

1795

01:41:28,640 --> 01:41:30,200

And I still have
some of his tackle.

1796

01:41:30,200 --> 01:41:32,120

I brought it with me.

1797

01:41:32,120 --> 01:41:33,600

I have it in my storeroom.

1798

01:41:33,600 --> 01:41:36,830

1799

01:41:36,830 --> 01:41:40,500

And he loved to eat fish,
and my mother won't eat fish.

1800

01:41:40,500 --> 01:41:44,765

So she was very,
very good about that.

1801

01:41:44,765 --> 01:41:47,925

He used to bring live fish home
and put them in the bathtub.

1802

01:41:47,925 --> 01:41:50,670

1803

01:41:50,670 --> 01:41:53,100

Keep them alive until
they could be cooked.

1804

01:41:53,100 --> 01:41:56,034

[LAUGHTER]

1805

01:41:56,034 --> 01:42:00,540

1806

01:42:00,540 --> 01:42:04,260

Let's see, trying to remember
where we were exactly.

1807

01:42:04,260 --> 01:42:05,480

You did ask me a question.

1808

01:42:05,480 --> 01:42:07,740

You were going to the
movies with your father.

1809

01:42:07,740 --> 01:42:11,760

So we used to go to these
National Geographic-type

1810

01:42:11,760 --> 01:42:13,170

of lectures and movies.

1811

01:42:13,170 --> 01:42:16,590

And the other type used to
take me to were cowboy movies.

1812

01:42:16,590 --> 01:42:18,780

You know, American movies.

1813

01:42:18,780 --> 01:42:23,370

So he was certainly
fascinated by foreign places,

1814

01:42:23,370 --> 01:42:25,650

by faraway countries.

1815

01:42:25,650 --> 01:42:30,030

I'm sure he would have
loved to come to the States.

1816

01:42:30,030 --> 01:42:34,230

I know that's a terrible thing
that he never was able to do.

1817
01:42:34,230 --> 01:42:36,120
And then, of course,
he had relatives here.

1818
01:42:36,120 --> 01:42:39,180
So I guess they wrote
to him what it was like.

1819
01:42:39,180 --> 01:42:40,950
As far away as California--

1820
01:42:40,950 --> 01:42:44,820
California was pretty far
out in those days, you know?

1821
01:42:44,820 --> 01:42:50,940
I remember my aunt used to send
me birthday presents from San

1822
01:42:50,940 --> 01:42:52,800
Francisco.

1823
01:42:52,800 --> 01:42:56,970
Every year I'd get a
five \$5 gold piece.

1824
01:42:56,970 --> 01:42:59,410

1825
01:42:59,410 --> 01:43:01,410
I don't know what happened
to those gold pieces,

1826
01:43:01,410 --> 01:43:03,780
but every year, at least
for a number of years

1827
01:43:03,780 --> 01:43:06,420
in the early '30s, she used
to send a \$5 gold piece

1828

01:43:06,420 --> 01:43:10,590
and also made me a member of the
American Red Cross I remember.

1829
01:43:10,590 --> 01:43:12,390
She sent me a little
membership card.

1830
01:43:12,390 --> 01:43:14,817
She had contributed in
my name to the Red Cross

1831
01:43:14,817 --> 01:43:16,650
and I was a member of
the American Red Cross

1832
01:43:16,650 --> 01:43:18,750
when I was six, seven years old.

1833
01:43:18,750 --> 01:43:23,550

1834
01:43:23,550 --> 01:43:26,730
After the family had
moved from Bakersfield

1835
01:43:26,730 --> 01:43:30,600
to Fresno, the California
branch of the family

1836
01:43:30,600 --> 01:43:33,870
since we're off on them,
they lived in Fresno

1837
01:43:33,870 --> 01:43:36,750
until the early '30s.

1838
01:43:36,750 --> 01:43:41,890
They had vineyards there and
then later on leased the land

1839
01:43:41,890 --> 01:43:44,610
out to an oil company.

1840
01:43:44,610 --> 01:43:49,950
Then they moved
to San Francisco.

1841
01:43:49,950 --> 01:43:53,310
The brother, my Uncle
Manny, had already moved--

1842
01:43:53,310 --> 01:43:56,470
badly planned-- before the
earthquake in San Francisco.

1843
01:43:56,470 --> 01:44:00,810
But then his brother
and my surviving aunt

1844
01:44:00,810 --> 01:44:04,140
didn't move until
the '30s I think.

1845
01:44:04,140 --> 01:44:06,690
And my aunt died
in the late '60s.

1846
01:44:06,690 --> 01:44:11,550
And in fact my two cousins,
Charlie, her youngest son,

1847
01:44:11,550 --> 01:44:13,560
who was a Bachelor,
never married,

1848
01:44:13,560 --> 01:44:18,960
and my cousin Al, the one who
just visited us last week,

1849
01:44:18,960 --> 01:44:23,370
they lived first somewhere
downtown, Bush and Pine

1850
01:44:23,370 --> 01:44:27,150
I think, and then

out on 36th Avenue

1851

01:44:27,150 --> 01:44:30,840

right off the park,
right on the first block.

1852

01:44:30,840 --> 01:44:35,610

And that house actually
wasn't given away, in fact,

1853

01:44:35,610 --> 01:44:36,660

until this year.

1854

01:44:36,660 --> 01:44:39,480

My cousin Al gave it to
a friend of Charlie's who

1855

01:44:39,480 --> 01:44:40,590

sort of took care of him.

1856

01:44:40,590 --> 01:44:43,800

1857

01:44:43,800 --> 01:44:50,100

And we were fairly close
to that part of the family

1858

01:44:50,100 --> 01:44:53,790

after I moved to California,
which was in 1950.

1859

01:44:53,790 --> 01:44:56,250

They were very
good to me, as was

1860

01:44:56,250 --> 01:45:00,660

my mother's sister,
and my cousin,

1861

01:45:00,660 --> 01:45:03,450

and her father in Hollywood.

1862

01:45:03,450 --> 01:45:07,140
So when I moved in 1950,
I was footloose bachelor,

1863
01:45:07,140 --> 01:45:11,340
and I had a very good time
for those first few years,

1864
01:45:11,340 --> 01:45:13,050
because they took
such good care of me.

1865
01:45:13,050 --> 01:45:16,260

1866
01:45:16,260 --> 01:45:26,550
Then I worked for the United
States government at a rocket

1867
01:45:26,550 --> 01:45:30,660
test station in the Mojave
Desert for seven years

1868
01:45:30,660 --> 01:45:36,450
nominally, from '50 to '57
and met my wife to be there.

1869
01:45:36,450 --> 01:45:39,480
She was visiting people there.

1870
01:45:39,480 --> 01:45:40,290
She's not Jewish.

1871
01:45:40,290 --> 01:45:46,230
She's of Welsh descent, one
of the ubiquitous Lloyd's

1872
01:45:46,230 --> 01:45:49,650
born in Pennsylvania.

1873
01:45:49,650 --> 01:45:51,610
And was in fact--

1874

01:45:51,610 --> 01:45:54,630

she was going to convert,
probably more to please

1875

01:45:54,630 --> 01:45:56,220

my mother than anything else.

1876

01:45:56,220 --> 01:45:58,590

She wasn't religious.

1877

01:45:58,590 --> 01:46:03,020

But interesting-- and we
were married by a rabbi.

1878

01:46:03,020 --> 01:46:06,040

It was the temple on
California Street.

1879

01:46:06,040 --> 01:46:08,290

I don't remember the name
of the temple anymore.

1880

01:46:08,290 --> 01:46:09,630

[INAUDIBLE]

1881

01:46:09,630 --> 01:46:13,390

Anyway, it's right
up on California.

1882

01:46:13,390 --> 01:46:18,150

In a private ceremony, because
it was just my relatives here.

1883

01:46:18,150 --> 01:46:22,620

And my mother who lived then
in New York came out for it.

1884

01:46:22,620 --> 01:46:30,210

The rabbi at Hillel--

1885

01:46:30,210 --> 01:46:33,300

I was a graduate student

out at Berkeley--

1886

01:46:33,300 --> 01:46:35,376

talked my wife out of it.

1887

01:46:35,376 --> 01:46:36,998

He said to her,

you're just doing

1888

01:46:36,998 --> 01:46:38,790

it to please your

mother-in-law, and that's

1889

01:46:38,790 --> 01:46:39,665

no reason to convert.

1890

01:46:39,665 --> 01:46:42,140

1891

01:46:42,140 --> 01:46:44,845

So she said, OK.

1892

01:46:44,845 --> 01:46:45,470

You're a rabbi.

1893

01:46:45,470 --> 01:46:47,330

You know best.

1894

01:46:47,330 --> 01:46:52,685

And that's fine It's

never been a problem.

1895

01:46:52,685 --> 01:46:55,880

1896

01:46:55,880 --> 01:46:58,670

It's interesting, because we

have a daughter and a son.

1897

01:46:58,670 --> 01:47:01,065

The son was born in '57 first.

1898

01:47:01,065 --> 01:47:04,370

1899

01:47:04,370 --> 01:47:13,010

It's interesting, because,
again, I think the breaking up

1900

01:47:13,010 --> 01:47:15,830

I guess of what might
be a Jewish family,

1901

01:47:15,830 --> 01:47:17,360

you can see when that happens.

1902

01:47:17,360 --> 01:47:21,620

Because both of our
children married non-Jews.

1903

01:47:21,620 --> 01:47:24,220

Our daughter married first,
married a fellow student

1904

01:47:24,220 --> 01:47:31,160

Davis whose father
was a Marine Colonel.

1905

01:47:31,160 --> 01:47:34,640

1906

01:47:34,640 --> 01:47:36,170

Well, he's retired.

1907

01:47:36,170 --> 01:47:40,610

And our son just got married
last year, late in life,

1908

01:47:40,610 --> 01:47:43,100

to a Japanese girl.

1909

01:47:43,100 --> 01:47:46,190

They met as graduate
students at Berkeley.

1910
01:47:46,190 --> 01:47:52,220
And a lovely girl, Reiko.

1911
01:47:52,220 --> 01:47:54,110
So now we're partly Japanese.

1912
01:47:54,110 --> 01:47:56,660
And I think maybe that's the
only hope mankind has any way,

1913
01:47:56,660 --> 01:47:57,770
to do that kind of thing.

1914
01:47:57,770 --> 01:48:01,170

1915
01:48:01,170 --> 01:48:04,910
On the other hand, if you ask
our son, if somebody says,

1916
01:48:04,910 --> 01:48:05,460
what are you?

1917
01:48:05,460 --> 01:48:08,300
He'll say he's Jewish,
which is interesting,

1918
01:48:08,300 --> 01:48:09,800
although he's not
at all religious.

1919
01:48:09,800 --> 01:48:13,050

1920
01:48:13,050 --> 01:48:19,590
So I think it's probably
a culture that hangs

1921
01:48:19,590 --> 01:48:23,700
on longer than many others.

1922

01:48:23,700 --> 01:48:25,380

And I think it's also
partly because he

1923

01:48:25,380 --> 01:48:27,620

feels that maybe to
say something else

1924

01:48:27,620 --> 01:48:29,690

would be denying
something that he doesn't

1925

01:48:29,690 --> 01:48:34,430

want to deny, in the sense that
he knows the history of course.

1926

01:48:34,430 --> 01:48:37,730

And so I think it's
also partly that.

1927

01:48:37,730 --> 01:48:39,190

He's a very rational person.

1928

01:48:39,190 --> 01:48:44,160

1929

01:48:44,160 --> 01:48:46,212

I think that's interesting too.

1930

01:48:46,212 --> 01:48:47,950

I'll let you ask
a question again.

1931

01:48:47,950 --> 01:48:52,200

1932

01:48:52,200 --> 01:48:54,415

Do you recall any
specific conversations

1933

01:48:54,415 --> 01:48:57,700

that your father had

when you were present,

1934

01:48:57,700 --> 01:49:00,960

he was talking to you or
talking to your mother about,

1935

01:49:00,960 --> 01:49:02,860

shall we go to
the United States?

1936

01:49:02,860 --> 01:49:04,060

Shall we go to Australia?

1937

01:49:04,060 --> 01:49:06,460

Did he ever talk
about it with you?

1938

01:49:06,460 --> 01:49:06,960

Well, no.

1939

01:49:06,960 --> 01:49:08,963

There were certainly
discussions,

1940

01:49:08,963 --> 01:49:11,130

and there was a certain
amount of training for that.

1941

01:49:11,130 --> 01:49:13,350

For example, my getting
English lessons almost

1942

01:49:13,350 --> 01:49:18,000

from the outset I think
were indicative of the fact

1943

01:49:18,000 --> 01:49:21,510

that there was certainly,
first of all, every intention

1944

01:49:21,510 --> 01:49:22,740

to emigrate.

1945

01:49:22,740 --> 01:49:30,060

I think what was not present
was this terrible imminence that

1946

01:49:30,060 --> 01:49:32,040

they should have
felt but didn't.

1947

01:49:32,040 --> 01:49:37,800

In other words, it was a process
that one could plan and not

1948

01:49:37,800 --> 01:49:44,880

have to rush about, at least
not for the first year or so.

1949

01:49:44,880 --> 01:49:51,930

And there were a number of
alternatives considered.

1950

01:49:51,930 --> 01:49:54,510

I think the United States
was probably always

1951

01:49:54,510 --> 01:49:57,510

the number one goal,
partly because we

1952

01:49:57,510 --> 01:50:02,490

had lots of relatives here,
and that's where most of them

1953

01:50:02,490 --> 01:50:04,890

had gone.

1954

01:50:04,890 --> 01:50:09,450

Now, the family that he fled
to in Yugoslavia, all of them

1955

01:50:09,450 --> 01:50:10,470

were wiped out too.

1956

01:50:10,470 --> 01:50:13,200
Not one of those survived.

1957
01:50:13,200 --> 01:50:18,600
We had other parts of the
family that even left earlier.

1958
01:50:18,600 --> 01:50:24,450
My mother had a cousin who
emigrated from Austria to South

1959
01:50:24,450 --> 01:50:26,640
Africa in the early '30s.

1960
01:50:26,640 --> 01:50:29,310
She was a nurse, and she
married a doctor in South Africa

1961
01:50:29,310 --> 01:50:32,160
in Johannesburg.

1962
01:50:32,160 --> 01:50:37,260
We had relatives who went to
Palestine in the early '30s,

1963
01:50:37,260 --> 01:50:41,850
before it was even necessary
to do so, at least in Austria.

1964
01:50:41,850 --> 01:50:45,300

1965
01:50:45,300 --> 01:50:54,660
Indeed, the brother of my
mother's sister-in-law--

1966
01:50:54,660 --> 01:50:57,570
complicated,
anyway-- the brother

1967
01:50:57,570 --> 01:51:00,900
of the wife of my
favorite uncle Paul,

1968

01:51:00,900 --> 01:51:04,950
had a brother who had emigrated
to Palestine in the '20s, who

1969

01:51:04,950 --> 01:51:08,400
was an architect in Tel Aviv.

1970

01:51:08,400 --> 01:51:10,040
And I have a number
of his drawings.

1971

01:51:10,040 --> 01:51:11,970
He was very, very good
at sketching things

1972

01:51:11,970 --> 01:51:14,580
from that period--

1973

01:51:14,580 --> 01:51:16,950
I think he lived in
Haifa first, and I

1974

01:51:16,950 --> 01:51:26,040
have a number of his drawings of
Haifa from the 1920s, pastels.

1975

01:51:26,040 --> 01:51:30,090
So there was a certain amount of
dispersal going on quite early.

1976

01:51:30,090 --> 01:51:32,470
We also had, by the way, a
British branch of my family.

1977

01:51:32,470 --> 01:51:36,000
And I'm not quite
sure when they left.

1978

01:51:36,000 --> 01:51:37,860
It was in the 19th century.

1979

01:51:37,860 --> 01:51:40,740
Because in my grandfather's
memorial album, which

1980
01:51:40,740 --> 01:51:44,070
I can bring along some time--

1981
01:51:44,070 --> 01:51:47,670
after he died the family
put together a Memorial

1982
01:51:47,670 --> 01:51:55,920
album, the army person--

1983
01:51:55,920 --> 01:51:58,350
at the end of the album,
there are photographs

1984
01:51:58,350 --> 01:52:04,260
of both people and family
graves in London of Leitmanns

1985
01:52:04,260 --> 01:52:09,840
who had changed their
name from Leit to Light.

1986
01:52:09,840 --> 01:52:12,900
But some of the gravestones
have both names.

1987
01:52:12,900 --> 01:52:15,180
They'll have Leitmann--
L-E-I-T-M-A-N-N--

1988
01:52:15,180 --> 01:52:19,680
in parentheses under
the anglicized name.

1989
01:52:19,680 --> 01:52:21,610
And so there was even
a British branch.

1990
01:52:21,610 --> 01:52:24,180

And I'm not really sure just
how all this dispersal came

1991
01:52:24,180 --> 01:52:26,830
about even in the 19th century.

1992
01:52:26,830 --> 01:52:31,200
And there were never
any Leitmanns in Vienna,

1993
01:52:31,200 --> 01:52:33,240
except for us.

1994
01:52:33,240 --> 01:52:35,760
I mean, you could look
in a telephone book--

1995
01:52:35,760 --> 01:52:36,660
there were no others.

1996
01:52:36,660 --> 01:52:42,270
The only time we ever ran into
other Leitmanns, I remember,

1997
01:52:42,270 --> 01:52:46,560
was in the middle '30s, before,
of course, the Anschluss, when

1998
01:52:46,560 --> 01:52:51,660
the circus came through
town, and the trapeze artists

1999
01:52:51,660 --> 01:52:53,250
were Leitmanns.

2000
01:52:53,250 --> 01:52:56,670
And I've since then learned that
in fact it's not very common,

2001
01:52:56,670 --> 01:53:00,120
but it's at least a more
common name in Munich.

2002

01:53:00,120 --> 01:53:04,950

In fact, when I went back in the
middle '60s for the first time,

2003

01:53:04,950 --> 01:53:07,380

first of all, I
spent the first day

2004

01:53:07,380 --> 01:53:09,630

at the central cemetery
looking for graves.

2005

01:53:09,630 --> 01:53:12,720

2006

01:53:12,720 --> 01:53:14,670

I did find my
grandfather's grave.

2007

01:53:14,670 --> 01:53:17,400

2008

01:53:17,400 --> 01:53:19,980

I looked in the telephone
book and there was a Leitmann

2009

01:53:19,980 --> 01:53:22,080

in the telephone book.

2010

01:53:22,080 --> 01:53:25,920

He turned out to have been a
butcher from Munich who had

2011

01:53:25,920 --> 01:53:28,600

moved to Vienna during the war.

2012

01:53:28,600 --> 01:53:31,560

So he was not one of us I guess.

2013

01:53:31,560 --> 01:53:33,600

So it's a somewhat
singular name.

2014
01:53:33,600 --> 01:53:36,030
And there are a few
Leitmanns in the States.

2015
01:53:36,030 --> 01:53:40,990
There is still a
well known Leitmann--

2016
01:53:40,990 --> 01:53:43,110
I've tried not to bother him--

2017
01:53:43,110 --> 01:53:45,210
whether in fact he's a
member of the family,

2018
01:53:45,210 --> 01:53:48,420
I suppose so, in London
with the unchanged name,

2019
01:53:48,420 --> 01:53:51,180
but with one N only, who is
a very famous art dealer.

2020
01:53:51,180 --> 01:53:55,500

2021
01:53:55,500 --> 01:54:02,870
And there is a Leitman at
Brown University with one N.

2022
01:54:02,870 --> 01:54:04,840
But other than that,
there's certainly

2023
01:54:04,840 --> 01:54:08,830
none in the San
Francisco telephone book.

2024
01:54:08,830 --> 01:54:11,110
And I have looked into the
New York telephone book,

2025

01:54:11,110 --> 01:54:13,250

and I haven't been
able to find one.

2026

01:54:13,250 --> 01:54:16,330

So it's not a very common name.

2027

01:54:16,330 --> 01:54:25,680

2028

01:54:25,680 --> 01:54:29,710

When was the decision made that
you would go the United States

2029

01:54:29,710 --> 01:54:32,580

and your father would
go to Yugoslavia?

2030

01:54:32,580 --> 01:54:38,280

Well, I think there was talk
about that probably from

2031

01:54:38,280 --> 01:54:39,770

mid-'39 onwards.

2032

01:54:39,770 --> 01:54:42,840

So probably almost a
year before he did it.

2033

01:54:42,840 --> 01:54:45,930

There was a fair amount
of preparation involved

2034

01:54:45,930 --> 01:54:49,590

in planning his escape, in
the sense that he of course

2035

01:54:49,590 --> 01:54:54,930

crossed the border from Austria
into Yugoslavia illegally--

2036

01:54:54,930 --> 01:54:57,090

I think from both
sides illegally--

2037
01:54:57,090 --> 01:54:59,610
and that he led a
number of other people--

2038
01:54:59,610 --> 01:55:02,800
took a number of
other people with him.

2039
01:55:02,800 --> 01:55:07,620
And so I really wasn't
privy to the preparations.

2040
01:55:07,620 --> 01:55:09,840
So I couldn't give
you any details,

2041
01:55:09,840 --> 01:55:14,580
but I know there was a lot
of preparation involved.

2042
01:55:14,580 --> 01:55:17,010
There were a lot of sort
of coded messages going

2043
01:55:17,010 --> 01:55:20,070
to our relatives on my
mother's side in Yugoslavia,

2044
01:55:20,070 --> 01:55:21,600
sort of alerting
them to the fact

2045
01:55:21,600 --> 01:55:23,760
that my father
would be showing up.

2046
01:55:23,760 --> 01:55:25,935
They used to send us food
on occasion I remember.

2047

01:55:25,935 --> 01:55:27,360
What food?

2048
01:55:27,360 --> 01:55:33,360
Oh, they sent-- some
kind of smoked meat

2049
01:55:33,360 --> 01:55:36,480
came through the mail once
in a while from Yugoslavia,

2050
01:55:36,480 --> 01:55:45,165
particularly in '39, maybe even
early '40 when rationing began.

2051
01:55:45,165 --> 01:55:48,430

2052
01:55:48,430 --> 01:55:53,250
So I think they certainly
knew my father was coming.

2053
01:55:53,250 --> 01:55:58,470
And all that was very
short-lived of course,

2054
01:55:58,470 --> 01:56:01,380
because he went
there in April '40,

2055
01:56:01,380 --> 01:56:04,560
and I think the Germans
marched in June or July of '40.

2056
01:56:04,560 --> 01:56:08,410
So the whole thing
was only a few months.

2057
01:56:08,410 --> 01:56:11,260
One day your parents came
to you and said, pack up,

2058
01:56:11,260 --> 01:56:12,560

we're leaving soon?

2059

01:56:12,560 --> 01:56:13,060

Oh, no.

2060

01:56:13,060 --> 01:56:14,860

There was a fair
amount of preparation.

2061

01:56:14,860 --> 01:56:21,850

Because we were able to do
a reasonably organized move,

2062

01:56:21,850 --> 01:56:25,450

in the sense that we were able
to get a moving company who

2063

01:56:25,450 --> 01:56:27,200

packed things for us in vans.

2064

01:56:27,200 --> 01:56:30,340

2065

01:56:30,340 --> 01:56:32,710

My father, who as I
mentioned before was

2066

01:56:32,710 --> 01:56:37,600

a collector of all kinds
of things, antiques,

2067

01:56:37,600 --> 01:56:43,000

he had a very large
collection of coins, watches,

2068

01:56:43,000 --> 01:56:49,060

antique watches, all
kinds of other things,

2069

01:56:49,060 --> 01:56:52,940

I remember tried to get some of
that stuff out of the country

2070

01:56:52,940 --> 01:56:55,050

so that we would have
something to start with.

2071

01:56:55,050 --> 01:56:57,550

So the notion that we
would emigrate certainly

2072

01:56:57,550 --> 01:56:59,590

was a settled thing.

2073

01:56:59,590 --> 01:57:02,920

The question was how to do it
in the most rational way, which

2074

01:57:02,920 --> 01:57:05,030

turned out to be
very irrational,

2075

01:57:05,030 --> 01:57:08,180

and how to prepare for it.

2076

01:57:08,180 --> 01:57:12,050

And so, I remember that
in fact the man who

2077

01:57:12,050 --> 01:57:17,680

became the commissar of the
company that my father owned,

2078

01:57:17,680 --> 01:57:23,860

who was in charge of aryanizing
it, became a captain in the SS,

2079

01:57:23,860 --> 01:57:29,350

and said to my father,
of course, I'll help you,

2080

01:57:29,350 --> 01:57:34,150

and volunteered to take some
of the antiques and stuff

2081

01:57:34,150 --> 01:57:37,930
to Switzerland and put
them in a safe deposit box,

2082
01:57:37,930 --> 01:57:39,190
including our silver.

2083
01:57:39,190 --> 01:57:43,060
We had lots of menorahs,
and candelabra,

2084
01:57:43,060 --> 01:57:45,340
and all kinds of things.

2085
01:57:45,340 --> 01:57:49,060
I remember one thing, after
this went on for a while,

2086
01:57:49,060 --> 01:57:51,910
once my father followed
him after he had gone off

2087
01:57:51,910 --> 01:57:55,420
with a large load of
silver and found out

2088
01:57:55,420 --> 01:57:56,640
that he had a whole basement.

2089
01:57:56,640 --> 01:57:59,650
He'd gone and followed him
down into this basement,

2090
01:57:59,650 --> 01:58:01,980
and this man had a
basement full of silver.

2091
01:58:01,980 --> 01:58:04,930
I guess he did this for lots
of Jewish acquaintances,

2092
01:58:04,930 --> 01:58:06,760
but, of course,

without any intention

2093

01:58:06,760 --> 01:58:09,280
of doing anything about it.

2094

01:58:09,280 --> 01:58:11,440
But he did get some stuff out.

2095

01:58:11,440 --> 01:58:15,460
Because after the
war, I guess he

2096

01:58:15,460 --> 01:58:20,080
had given my father the number
of a bank and the safe deposit

2097

01:58:20,080 --> 01:58:22,430
box in Zurich.

2098

01:58:22,430 --> 01:58:25,480
And we had friends of ours who
were in Zurich at the time--

2099

01:58:25,480 --> 01:58:28,900
this must have been in the
late '40s, after the war--

2100

01:58:28,900 --> 01:58:30,980
go to the bank.

2101

01:58:30,980 --> 01:58:32,410
And there were
some of the watches

2102

01:58:32,410 --> 01:58:34,120
from my father's watch
collection there,

2103

01:58:34,120 --> 01:58:36,100
which I still have.

2104

01:58:36,100 --> 01:58:41,030

My father had maybe 150
watches and maybe 30 survived,

2105
01:58:41,030 --> 01:58:43,430
including some pretty good ones.

2106
01:58:43,430 --> 01:58:46,270
And so it's very interesting.

2107
01:58:46,270 --> 01:58:52,930
When you think about it, he
could have stolen it all.

2108
01:58:52,930 --> 01:58:57,730
My father couldn't-- so these
people really were sort of two

2109
01:58:57,730 --> 01:58:58,630
minds on.

2110
01:58:58,630 --> 01:59:00,672
The one hand, it's OK
to rob these people.

2111
01:59:00,672 --> 01:59:03,130
On the other hand, you want to
help them a little bit so it

2112
01:59:03,130 --> 01:59:04,240
isn't quite so bad.

2113
01:59:04,240 --> 01:59:08,020
You know, it's hard to tell
just exactly how people

2114
01:59:08,020 --> 01:59:10,240
think when they're
on the other side

2115
01:59:10,240 --> 01:59:12,190
and suddenly are sort
of the conquerors.

2116

01:59:12,190 --> 01:59:17,590

And so, I guess what it proves
is that these people weren't

2117

01:59:17,590 --> 01:59:20,080

entirely evil.

2118

01:59:20,080 --> 01:59:24,077

Because they could have,
A, not volunteered to help.

2119

01:59:24,077 --> 01:59:26,410

Of course they volunteered
to help to enrich themselves.

2120

01:59:26,410 --> 01:59:28,970

But on the other hand, they
did help to some extent.

2121

01:59:28,970 --> 01:59:35,530

So it's the kinds of
situations where everything's

2122

01:59:35,530 --> 01:59:38,500

completely black or
completely white are really

2123

01:59:38,500 --> 01:59:40,270

the exceptions.

2124

01:59:40,270 --> 01:59:43,660

There were these
gray areas where

2125

01:59:43,660 --> 01:59:46,060

either people helped a
little bit or at least

2126

01:59:46,060 --> 01:59:48,430

they didn't hurt you.

2127

01:59:48,430 --> 01:59:51,340

It's very interesting
in retrospect

2128
01:59:51,340 --> 01:59:53,890
to think about these things.

2129
01:59:53,890 --> 02:00:00,370
And the really terrible
things, the extermination,

2130
02:00:00,370 --> 02:00:01,995
even there, when
you read about it,

2131
02:00:01,995 --> 02:00:03,370
you see that the
number of people

2132
02:00:03,370 --> 02:00:05,650
who were actively
involved were really not

2133
02:00:05,650 --> 02:00:07,160
very large in number.

2134
02:00:07,160 --> 02:00:10,420
And I remember that from the
Nuremberg trials, the number

2135
02:00:10,420 --> 02:00:16,840
of concentration camp guards or
the number of execution squads,

2136
02:00:16,840 --> 02:00:19,360
those were really
a small percentage

2137
02:00:19,360 --> 02:00:27,640
of the army or the
paramilitary or whatever.

2138
02:00:27,640 --> 02:00:30,700
I think what to me is really

a much more of an indictment

2139

02:00:30,700 --> 02:00:37,630

of humanity is the fact that
I remember reading about

2140

02:00:37,630 --> 02:00:41,890

the meeting on the final
solution and of the 30-odd

2141

02:00:41,890 --> 02:00:45,190

people who participated
in that meeting,

2142

02:00:45,190 --> 02:00:47,530

with Eichmann and
all these people--

2143

02:00:47,530 --> 02:00:51,340

30 of them had
doctorates in philosophy,

2144

02:00:51,340 --> 02:00:54,550

in law, in medicine.

2145

02:00:54,550 --> 02:00:56,680

So you suddenly say to
yourself, is that really

2146

02:00:56,680 --> 02:00:58,540

proof against inhumanity?

2147

02:00:58,540 --> 02:00:59,470

And it really isn't.

2148

02:00:59,470 --> 02:01:01,970

It's got nothing to do with it.

2149

02:01:01,970 --> 02:01:04,450

And then the real heroes
were, I don't know,

2150

02:01:04,450 --> 02:01:08,930
the people in that
Huguenot village in France.

2151
02:01:08,930 --> 02:01:11,840
Or maybe some nuns in Belgium.

2152
02:01:11,840 --> 02:01:17,590

2153
02:01:17,590 --> 02:01:20,060
The most disappointing
thing to me as an educator

2154
02:01:20,060 --> 02:01:23,330
is the fact that you always
try to fool yourself and say,

2155
02:01:23,330 --> 02:01:26,360
if people were
only educated, they

2156
02:01:26,360 --> 02:01:27,750
wouldn't do terrible things.

2157
02:01:27,750 --> 02:01:29,240
That's got nothing
to do with it.

2158
02:01:29,240 --> 02:01:30,650
Absolutely nothing.

2159
02:01:30,650 --> 02:01:36,232
So I guess that's a very
disillusioning thing, but I--

2160
02:01:36,232 --> 02:01:39,167
What makes the difference then?

2161
02:01:39,167 --> 02:01:40,250
What makes the difference?

2162

02:01:40,250 --> 02:01:45,320
I'm sure that much of it has
to do with early training,

2163
02:01:45,320 --> 02:01:49,910
the way a family
approaches things.

2164
02:01:49,910 --> 02:01:52,490
What your parents teach
you I'm sure has a lot more

2165
02:01:52,490 --> 02:01:56,800
to do with it than anything
else, by example primarily.

2166
02:01:56,800 --> 02:01:59,660

2167
02:01:59,660 --> 02:02:04,100
I'll always come back to
that small Huguenot village

2168
02:02:04,100 --> 02:02:06,725
in France, where they
saved as many Jews is there

2169
02:02:06,725 --> 02:02:07,850
were people in the village.

2170
02:02:07,850 --> 02:02:11,270
I think everybody in the village
was hiding one or two Jews,

2171
02:02:11,270 --> 02:02:14,580
clearly knowing what the
consequences would be.

2172
02:02:14,580 --> 02:02:20,060
And obviously, French peasants,
people who surely didn't have

2173
02:02:20,060 --> 02:02:21,920

an education in
any sense of what

2174
02:02:21,920 --> 02:02:25,740
we consider to be an education.

2175
02:02:25,740 --> 02:02:28,850
But I think, who, maybe
because of their own history

2176
02:02:28,850 --> 02:02:32,250
of persecution, had things
handed down to them--

2177
02:02:32,250 --> 02:02:34,677
I don't know what it is.

2178
02:02:34,677 --> 02:02:36,260
But it certainly
doesn't have anything

2179
02:02:36,260 --> 02:02:43,200
to do with being educated
in the normal way.

2180
02:02:43,200 --> 02:02:47,036
I don't think that's
proof against anything.

2181
02:02:47,036 --> 02:02:50,280
It's a lesson that I guess
I learned the hard way.

2182
02:02:50,280 --> 02:02:54,850

2183
02:02:54,850 --> 02:02:56,710
It's very interesting.

2184
02:02:56,710 --> 02:03:01,990
Because nowadays
there's all this stuff

2185

02:03:01,990 --> 02:03:03,320
going on all over the world.

2186

02:03:03,320 --> 02:03:11,160
And you say to yourself, can you
do anything about these things,

2187

02:03:11,160 --> 02:03:14,890
or is it time to just
throw up your hands?

2188

02:03:14,890 --> 02:03:16,660
And then you have
to say to yourself,

2189

02:03:16,660 --> 02:03:17,740
you do the best you can.

2190

02:03:17,740 --> 02:03:19,990
But on the other hand, it's
very difficult to do that,

2191

02:03:19,990 --> 02:03:23,410
because we're so involved
in everyday things

2192

02:03:23,410 --> 02:03:24,142
in our own lives.

2193

02:03:24,142 --> 02:03:25,600
And then you say
to yourself, well,

2194

02:03:25,600 --> 02:03:27,433
that's probably what's
true for those people

2195

02:03:27,433 --> 02:03:31,830
too, that sort of just try to
get along and not make waves.

2196

02:03:31,830 --> 02:03:33,014

Contact reference@ushmm.org for further information about this collection