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Interview Transcript Title Page

Collection title:	AJR Refugee Voices Testimony Archive
Ref. no:	214

Interviewee Surname:	Bibring
Forename:	Harry
Interviewee Sex:	Male
Interviewee DOB:	26 December 1925
Interviewee POB:	Vienna, Austria

Date of Interview:	20 February 2018
Location of Interview:	Hertfordshire
Name of Interviewer:	Dr. Jana Buresova
Total Duration (HH:MM):	4 hours 26 minutes

REFUGEE VOICES

Interview No. RV214

NAME: Harry Bibring

DATE: 20th February 2018

LOCATION: Hertfordshire, UK

INTERVIEWER: Dr. Jana Buresova

[Part One]

[0:00:00]

This interview is with Harry Bibring, on the 20th of February 2018 and we are in Hertfordshire.

Mr. Harry Bibring, thank you very much indeed for kindly agreeing to be interviewed for the AJR Refugee Voices project.

It's my pleasure.

Thank you. May we start please by going back to your parents, their names, where they were born and how they eventually moved to Vienna? What took them there?

Yes. Well both my parents were born in Poland in the year of 1891, the same year. My father was born in a small city, then named Stanislau [then Austro-Hungarian empire, present- day Ivano-Frankivsk, Ukraine], but it's now been renamed to something else which I can't remember. And my mother was born round about thirty or forty kilometres, in a- literally a shtetl, a small village outside there. That's all I know about that side of it. And I do not know whether they met in Poland... bec- or in Vienna. What I do know is that they were married I Vienna. So, it's- In one way it's possible that they met there and got engaged, or something. That is a possibility, but I don't know how they met. And they in fact got to Vienna because

of course Vienna was then the capital of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. And that's where the things were happening. And of course, there were so many Jewish people who were just doing that. The population- Jewish population in Vienna, at the- my young time was in the order of 175,000 Jews out of a total city population of one-and-three-quarter million. So, they were a very large minority. I- all I know is that my mother came from a very orthodox Jewish religious family. And had a number of relatives in Poland, whom she used to go and visit... at different times. My father never went back to Poland, in fact he never travelled anywhere, because he was a workaholic, and he was in his business from eight a.m. to eight p.m., six days a week, fifty-two weeks a year... except for public holidays. So, he never travelled anywhere at all. And his family was not as orthodox as my mother. But as the woman rules the home, that's how the home was. When I was born in December 1925, my parents already had a- a child, which was my sister Gerti. She was actually named 'Gerta'. In Vienna she was called 'Gerti' by everybody. Later on in life, she didn't like that, and she reverted to her proper name of Gerta. So, it's often- mixed-up. We lived in a flat like the vast majority of Jewish people- of people did in Vienna and- and do today. It would be very rare you find somebody living in a house; that's very expensive. And we lived in a district that had a community of something in the order of about 200 families – 200 Jewish families... and one synagogue. So, it was very small part of the- the mass of the Jewish people in Vienna.

Sorry- which part of Vienna was it?

[0:03:59]

That's the 6th District. It's not a- it's not the outskirts but it's sort of half way between the outskirts and the centre. And it's an area where the living accommodation was a bit nicer than that which was then in- where the majority of the Jewish people lived which was the 2nd District, as indeed it still is today. Because the living accommodation is modernised. But then it was not very nice. And so, my parents were able to do that. Cause my dad owned a shop.

Which- which district?

The 6th District, called Mariahilf. And the road was Mariahilfer Strasse. Mariahilfer Straße. And I grew up as a- as a son from a middle-class family. I had- I had no want for anything. I just... I have to admit, I wasn't the nicest of childs- ... children. I was lazy. I was rude and ill-

behaved. And... when I speak in schools, I usually like to get it off my chest as quickly as possible saying that, "Harry Bibring was really bad news wherever he turned up." Anyway. So that- and I lived in this sort of mind of my- of my own. I was interested in two... things. One was ice-skating. I cannot remember being taught to ice-skate. I only remember being a fanatic about it and specialising in speed skating. And in the summer, I was fanatic about swimming. And I got the opportunity to do that in the lakes and rivers around- surrounding the city where we used to go for fairly long holidays with my mother, Gerti and me. And as I said before, we didn't go far so that father, who worked six days a week could come and visit us on Sunday.

Did you- were you ever requested or... told to help out in the shop or anything?

[0:06:20]

Not at all. No. No. They would- they would much prefer me to keep me out of the shop. No, I used to go there... and...I do remember playing around with a paper... punch. And a... funny incidence- incident that occurred I shall never forget. The porter in our block of flats used to clean the passages with sawdust. So, I thought, "That's a good idea." So, I got some paper - the confetti from the paper-punch - and spread it all around the carpet at home. And told my mother I was going to clean the carpet. So, it's just one of the mad things that sticks in my mind. I was forever up to something, and therefore a big disappointment to my parents, I would imagine. ...And so- and so we are now a long way from the Anschluss, but it came to the point when I had to make up my mind at the age of about ten, as to what I'm going to do about a particular exam that you needed, to get into a higher education place other than an ordinary secondary school. School-leaving in my time was fourteen, as it was in England as well at that time. I suddenly realised that if I don't pass this exam I'll have to go to work when I'm fourteen. And that sounded a most horrible sentence to me. So, I had to make special efforts, and my parents helped me tremendously. And of course, welcomed this sudden change of... study... and- and with the help of a private tutor, I got the exams done. And I went to this magnificent grammar school. It was magnificent for the simple way- reason that it was actually built as a palace and never as a school. And it's very rare that you find a palace turned into a school, but this was part of the Austrian history. It was it the 6th District about seven- five or seven minutes' walk from where we were. It was built by a guy named Esterhazy during the Austrian Hungarian Empire days. And Vienna- and of course

there are so many palaces in Vienna. But most of them are in the centre of the city. And after Austria became a small country and a republic, these palaces were turned into posh museums, into posh hotels or left as palaces for people to visit as- for tourist attractions. But this was out in the 6th District, which for that time was not close enough. Of course, today we wouldn't take any notice of the distance. But as- so they turned it into a school, because there was a shortage of schools. And that made me very happy, because of the size of the classrooms. They were palatial classrooms with painted ceilings, and stained-glass windows and marble staircases going all over the place. And we weren't like ninety percent of kids in Vienna at that time, in classrooms of- always about fifty students. In classrooms made for forty-five. And- and that was my primary school year experience as well. And here... everything was fine. And then the playground was of course the garden that the palace had, which was turned into a public park anyway, but- because there was nowhere else to have a playground. So, the school itself was fabulous. The facilities were fabulous. I wish I could say that it made me learn a bit more. But it didn't. I stayed for eight years there and thought 'why bother'. So that was a big disappointment. So that's my early life...

May I just ask- was it a specifically Jewish school, or...?

[0:10:27]

No. There were eleven other Jewish boys in the secondary school besides me. And because of course there was this small Jewish community. And that was naturally the best secondary education place for most people who lived in that district and surrounding districts. So that is really all that I have to- can remember that was in my life. Ice-skating was my big... did I mention that before? Yes, and swimming. I mentioned that before. Right. So- so this life came to a test, when we come to March 1938. And then that's of course the date of the Anschluss, when Austria became part of what was immediately called 'Greater Germany' and the Third Reich. And being what I was, I didn't really understand the meaning of that. But I did hear people talking that it doesn't seem to be a good thing for Jewish people. Other people, both at school and in my home, family and friends were talking about things like concentration camps. And when I found out these weren't holiday camps, but these were places where people were sent to work very hard and didn't get much to eat. I was a bit worried about that. And... I asked my mother and father - thinking about myself, of course. Very selfish individual - how this could affect me. My parents made light of it, as they did

really almost for the whole of the time after ...the Third Reich came into being. My father was a very soft man, and he didn't want anything to happen to his children, untoward. One of the reasons for example, that I was one of the few children living in the city of Vienna who never went on ski holidays. My father thought it was much too dangerous for anybody to go on skiing. And so, this kind of thing- very protective man. His children were gold to him.That's just one of the- anything that was danger, my father stopped us. So anyway, my parents said that, "You needn't concern yourself about that. Your problem is- are your school reports. They are disgusting... and you need to do something about those. And last Christmas the report was as bad as ever. And this year you'll- you'll get some more anti-Semitism than you've experienced before." And I said that carefully, because anti-Semitism was quite ripe in Austria after the right-wing government of Dollfuss was elected in 1936. But it wasn't- whilst Jews were in fact restricted from a number of things - they couldn't hold certain posts and they were already... treated slightly as second-class citizens - nobody was shut up into a jail or just... or harmed in any way that I know of... in those few four or five years before the Anschluss. And so, my parents told me, "You'll find some people now who will be anti-Semitic to you."

Did that make you anxious? Did you worry about that?

[0:14:23]

I... Well, it gave- it started a learning curve for me to grow up in a very short space of time: right on the following weekend, or the weekend following, because the Anschluss was on the 11th of March which was a Friday. On the 13th of March, the troops came in from Germany to take over everything. And they passed my block of flats and I saw all those... soldiers marching very prettily. It was all kinds of soldiers. Of course, there were the SS in brown shirts, and the- sorry, the SA in brown shirts and the SS in black leather uniforms. All the new kinds of uniforms. Lots of brass bands. A lot of flags. A twelve-year-old seeing that passing by- and... was privileged to see that remembering that of course if you didn't see it, you didn't see it. You didn't go home and put the television on and get [inaudible]...

No...

So, in the morning, next day on Friday I tried to tell my friends in my class in break-time what I saw. And they talk-walked away from me. They didn't want to know me. And I had one Jewish friend – all the rest were not Jewish. They were- the others were the boys at the bottom of the class. And... So, I came to my mother and asked her, "What on earth is going on?" And I recall her saying something of this order, obviously I don't remember exact, precise words. But she said that, "I have no idea why they suddenly deserted you, but... I can guess." So, I said, "Well, what guess? What have I done?" "No, it's nothing you've done. It's probably that they were sitting around with their parents at lunch yesterday and Sunday. And their parents probably told them that they should no longer mix with Jewish children. It's bad for them, it's bad for their family. They might get a reputation that they are Jew friends- and that is no good. And listen to their parents, like you do, it will last a couple of weeks and it will go away." And that was my first brick of my learning curve. Just because of being Jewish, these kids would no longer talk to me who were my friends for a year and a bit. It was the second year in this school. And I thought to myself, "Ok, I can cope with that. Got my pride." But the... next thing that happened, was about ...somewhere in early April, probably somewhere about four weeks after the Anschluss, when I turned up at my ice-rink and found that I was prohibited, although I had a season ticket, to enter the ice rink because I was a Jew. And I was absolutely- I- I can't really put a right word on it – 'distraught' I suppose is the right word. Because I couldn't understand what going ice-skating had- how going ice-skating had to do with us being Jewish. It was a sport. You don't ice skate in a Jewish way or something.

[0:17:49]

So, and... – So, I couldn't understand that at all. And again, I came home... and told my mother. And of course, she knew what this meant to me, because this was for me... a- a terrible thing. And they had no answers to my explanation, and that's actually the first time I started to think. Because if they can go as far as that, what else can they do? And then the next thing that happened, very early after that, and this time I've no doubt that the date was the 28th of April 1938. I was expelled from this - this lovely school that I loved so much because I was Jewish. And also, because Jews were no longer going to be allowed to go to... state – a state... grammar schools or any kind of state schools. In- certainly not grammar schools. They would be transferred to the secondary school which I wanted to avoid anyway for four years and then hopefully get- get rid of them. And that was really outrageous,

because I now realised that this government, this... awful... that they moved goalposts. There were- there was a rule: you passed the exam, you go, you don't if you don't pass the exam. Those were the rules and now they're not taking any notice of these rules. And I realised now that we're gonna be in trouble just for being Jewish. And- and I changed gradually. And with that of course came numerous other prohibitions. Too many to mention. We- you couldn't – parks were closed to Jews. As- a few parks were left open with benches marked where Jews could sit. Signs came up as to where you could shop. Shopping hours for Jews for normal things were restricted to certain hours. And all these prohibitions for Jews of course had long been established in Germany since the Nazi Party took power in 1933. But- so they were ready-made. And as this was going to be the same country, they were simply transferred. And as they went one by one... hitting us. Also, at the same- you had to have a – like my father was the proprietor of this rather large shop, which was doing very nicely, and they were going to do very well. He had now had to put a sign in all the shop windows that he had, stating that the shop was owned by a Jewish proprietor. And that is- the shop itself was in a different district. It was more in the outskirts of the city, which is called the 15th District or Fünfhaus. And... there was no Jewish community there, so my father had very few, if any, Jewish customers.

[0:21:08]

And... virtually overnight from March, his trade disappeared. And obviously there were probably two reasons. One of two reasons, that people didn't come in. That those were convinced Nazis, and decided they're not going to shop in any Jewish shop. And any others who might not be so convinced, but probably scared to be seen to... go in their shop and be reported for doing so. So, the income dropped to... just above zero. And that put the day- put the idea of going on holiday that year out of the question. The swimming pools were closed so there was no swimming for me. And I stayed there, and everything became miserable. And as I say, by about the summer or late au- early autumn.... I was a different kid! I knew they were in trouble, and they could no longer hide from me that there's really things were going to happen. Of course, nobody in their right mind, expecting to... go through the stages that we later- or all of the country would experience later on, of actually getting rid of Jews. So that's the atmosphere... until the Kristallnacht, which is of course very famous.

[Sound break]

[0:22:54]

At that time... how did your parents react? And were your grandparents with you, or were they still in Poland?

Well, again, as I said before, that they didn't involve me. I cannot guarantee that they didn't involve Gerti a bit more, 'cause she was very different to me. She was a well-behaved child and a good student. And... everything was right about her that was wrong about me. But for example, many years after coming to England later on, I found out actually that there was an attempt - two attempts that I know of, where- I've picked up documents from the Austrian...National Archives, which showed there was an attempt to Aryanise my father's shop. And I've got about ten pages of this Aryanisation process that was going on, which is written by lawyers arguing the...price- I don't know how many people know about Aryanisation, but it was perfectly Ok, to try and obtain Jewish property and purchasing it at a peppercorn price. And here was- the main one that I have actually - documents which I picked up as I say, round about the 60s... or 70s in the Austrian- in the... National Archives, was of a man... was wishing to buy my father's shop for some 5,000 Reichsmark, which was in that time the equivalent of about a couple of hundred pounds, or something like that. And the argument was going on as to how much- much he really- my father should actually take. Because it was argued that my father's shop was in debt. Well, that wasn't surprising, 'cause he hasn't any customers for the last three or four months. And if it had happened, my whole life would have been different. Because my father would have lost his shop to these people. And then there was another one later on, from which I haven't got much detail. Only the request. There- there was actually a- the official sort of place in Vienna called the ...*Vermögensverkehrsstelle*. Which is translated somewhere as, 'Assets Distribution Centre'. And there a Nazi could go and say, "I'd like to buy a tailor's shop...", or, "I'd like to buy a flat...", or whatever. And they dealt with this. And I don't know why it didn't go through. If it had gone through, it would have survived- the shop would have survived the war, I would have come back- come back after the war, get my father's shop, and possibly live in Vienna. Become a ... follow in his footstops- steps. That's a possibility. But... But because it didn't happen, of course it was- here we come to the Kristallnacht. It was destroyed. So- and we had to move. And my parents told me nothing about that. And neither- Gerti said she couldn't remember this happening when I found these papers and went to talk to her about it. But she

wasn't sure, it rang a bell, but she couldn't remember the details, so she wasn't much help in sorting it out.

What were your experiences and your family, on Kristallnacht?

[0:26:53]

Well that of course was the... the point where everything changed. There was this shooting in Paris of a German diplomat, committed by a... a German- a young boy named Herschel Grynszpan, who only killed him because- well he didn't kill him immediately. It took [vom] Rath him two days to die of his wounds. But he shot him. And he sat down next to Rath, on a chair and wanted to be arrested - to be a martyr. And... The Nazis of course they found out. When I talk- when I go around the schools, a nail if I can to hang that coat on. Because for many, many years- we all know to be true now... the... eventual plan was to destroy or remove the Jews from Nazi Germany itself. And from Europe itself. Of course, the ambition was of course to take over the whole of Europe and just get rid of them. But that was going to take time, and they had to plans as to how to do it. But the... The shooting resulted in the Nazi government and Hitler to start saying to the world at large who was already getting, saying, "Well, what is going on here?" You know, and- today we talk about sanctions. I don't know whether they talked about that, but they- the world at large was not happy with what was going on. And they said they had- they had an answer now. That the Jews, they're going into embassies to shoot innocent diplomats. Who wants people like that? We don't. And so, they got going on the things that were already ready. I... I feel very... certain about this. Because the next day after the shooting, every advertising hoarding that you see in Vienna... was plastered with anti-Semitic posters. Now the question that I ask myself and everybody else. How can that be, in the days before computers? These posters were not printed overnight, as we could today. They were laying somewhere waiting to be used, and here was the opportunity. Because the, the time it took was not long enough for that, and the technology was not available in that time to produce them overnight. And then all the regulations that came- followed within two days, including setting all the synagogues on fire. How quickly could you organise to set- to set thirty-six synagogues on fire in Vienna in itself? And...

[Sound break]

[0:30:00]

Yes.... Yes, the question is, that I found no answers for, is how these things were organised to burn down thirty-six synagogues on the same night down to the ground and then destroy shops. That takes organising. And then the method of communications that were available in those times... It had to be planned previously and started off. I should mention my sister. My sister was the- a nice girl. She did- she was very studious. She had lots of friends including non-Jewish friends, which amazed me. For example, cinemas- cinemas were closed to Jews in- before Kristallnacht. Gerti thought she could continue to go to cinemas, because she had so many non-Jewish friends who buy her a ticket. And when my parents found out what she was doing, there was a big – unusual – scene in our living room. Gerti was in trouble and I was the onlooker. Because, they told both of us that if we're caught in- doing anything like that, that result would be we would be sent to a concentration camp. And my parents would be told- disappear off the face of the earth. So Gerti was- she was a very smart cookie for her age.

What was her age?

Her age?

Mnn.

She was two years, about, older than me. So, at that time she was- her birthday's in September, so in the summer of 1938 she was approaching her fifteenth birthday. Yeah. And...

So, she was well aware.

Pardon?

She was well aware of what was happening and the risk that she was taking.

I think so, yes. Yes, I'm pretty sure. In retrospect. At the time I didn't discuss things with her, cause the... Although later on, and particularly the cinema closing, that sticks in my mind.

Because I felt that I, I- it's so terrible for her. A fifteen-year-old girl with lots of friends, at that time, went to the- went to the cinema quite a lot, because it's only a few years earlier, that talkies came about, and all these romantic pictures came in from Hollywood, et cetera. And that was ideal for these- these kids. I talked to her about it, because I thought it was for her like my prohibition for ice-skating. Although Gerti did ice-skate as well. She did figure-skating and dancing on ice. Far too sissy for me, I had... nothing to do with that. But... she, she did that. And I don't think that was a big thing. And I sort of tried to ...commiserate with her.

Did that bring you closer together? And with your parents also...?

[0:33:05]

We were always close, although we were totally different. We had this love-hate relationship that you do often find with brother and sister. And I used to tease her. And she used to take the teasing. And she used to try to make fun of my misbehaviour amongst her friends and did all kinds of things with me to show me up and… When I interfered for example with her... boyfriends, and... Fifteen... So- so yes, there was sort of this ...I suppose it's the right term. Love-hate relationship. You often find that in... siblings... of opposite sexes.

What were communications like with grandparents in Poland?

None whatsoever. I- or, as I said, I know my mother- my mother used to travel prior to Austria becoming part of Germany to see her family in this village at least once a year. And I remember her packing. I remember some little things like she used to take lots of cotton wool. And used to tear the packets open. And I asked her "Why?" And she said, "Well, cotton wool is not seen much over there." I said, "Why are you tearing it open?" She said, "Well, if the border control see it, they'll charge me tax. But if the packet's torn, it's open, it's not a new one." [laughing] I remembered that for the rest of my life. Every time I smuggle something into the country [laughs]. And... yeah. And so, I remember that particular part. These little things however, stick- stick out. And my father of course, never contacted with his family, which wasn't as large nor as... big. If you wish me just to talk about who else was there. My mother had an aunt- a sister living in Vienna, who- who was married to a man named Sigmund Cormuss. So, she- and her name was Anna, so she was Aunt Anna. And they

were very- they were by our standards, pretty wealthy people. Largely because they owned three shops... which is quite big, for Vienna. All in the same busy street where we lived. Not in the outskirts like my father's. And they lived in a house, of all things. And they had a motorcar. But... And there was a... a, a feud between my father and his brother-in-law, which I never got to the bottom of what it was all about. And that feud seemed to disappear completely... round about the June- that's about three months after the Anschluss, when both families had troubles. And I remember suddenly my father... was talking to him and going to each other's houses... which was all very interesting as well.

So, did it- would you say that the Anschluss brought the Jewish community together...?

[0:36:36]

Certainly, in my family, and that was an incident that yes, that- and it was very noticeable. And prior to that, my mother used to take me to that house, and I used to sit in the car. And they had a maid, and she made- she was a very good cook. And she made chocolate cakes, and she used to give me the pots to... dig out. But I was strictly forbidden to tell my father that we went there. So, it- so the feud was pretty... bad. I understand now, that he was... not a- he was probably a Jew that the Nazis like to get hold of. Because I don't know what they accused him of or anything, I don't know. But... people say, have said to me during the years, who knew the situation, that he was not a- that he was a kind of Jew the Nazis could- said Jews- all the Jews were. And whether my father didn't like that or not, I really don't know. But anyway- but after the Anschluss it suddenly disappeared.

Did you go to synagogue?

What, on a regular basis?

Mnn.

Well, I- the school- it was a state school that I was at. And state schools were Monday to Saturday inclusive. So, before the Anschluss... I- and religion was required to be taught by law... in all schools. The government, prior to the- Hitler, was the opposite of church and- and state being separated. They were very much together; you paid a religious tax. And the

religious tax paid for the churches and synagogues to exist. So, children going to ordinary state schools could not go to a sabbath morning service. But there was a synagogue in our district, or the synagogue in our district, which laid on special afternoon services for children. Cause school was always in the morning only. And Saturday afternoons we were expected- well, I should said that I went- so- religion was a subject in school. And when the majority of children were taught by a priest or whatever, or maybe a religious teacher, the Jewish children went into separate rooms – into different classes. And a rabbi came there, and that's where I learned my *Aleph-Beit* to start with. But we only had this hour... a week or something like that. So, it was a very poor Jewish education... right up to... the Anschluss. Then of course we were stopped. But until then, you had to go there. And at each service - which was not a normal service. It was just a service laid on for the children - you were given a card, with the week's reading of the Torah like... like cigarette cards were here, something of that kind. And you had to show this to the rabbi when he came. And I remember that it was not too difficult to queue up twice or three times to get a card. So, I traded in those, for sweets, for people who didn't go. And that was one of the kind of things I got up to. Each card was worth quite a few sweets. And... Yeah. So... But of course, High Holy Days, certainly. We- we didn't go to school... or for that matter any Holy Days cause as I say, my mother was orthodox, so all the Holy Days we did not go to school. But my father's shop was open on all of them, albeit he wasn't there. And then actually we used to go to a much more orthodox synagogue, quite a walk away from our shop. And I don't know why that was. Because the synagogue we- where- was there, which was also burnt down of course – all of them were burnt down – the... wasn't good enough for my mother...for she needed an orthodox synagogue. So, it was quite a walk away.

After the Anschluss and Kristallnacht, after the synagogues had been burnt down, where did people go? Where did they congregate?

[0:41:24]

Well, immediately after, in my family, it was a question of actually being ...being arrested. My father suddenly disappeared and the, the...Kristallnacht was on the 9th to the 10th of November. On the 10th of November, the last employee that my father still had working for him- I daresay- was working for little or no wages. Because that man was a non-Jewish man, unmarried, and was working for my father since the day the shop ran, which I think was

round about 1918, -'19. And he was a friend of the family, used to come to dinner. And so, he was the only one still left working for my father, and he phoned up and said my father hadn't arrived at the shop. The shop was closed, and he hadn't arrived. So, we found out afterwards that my father was arrested... the day, on the 10th of November, before he set his foot out in the street from the block. And together with other men from our block, from surrounding blocks, they were all transported by a van to a jail, where they were locked up for about a week or ten days. In- twelve to a cell... Fed on bread and water under the cell flap. No exercise whatsoever, except to bring them out for the wardens of the... prison to amuse themselves and abuse them in various ways. And... we didn't know any of that. But on the 10th of November we were taken by the- Nazis came to our flat. And took my mother, Gerti and me, initially to the headquarters at the local...for the- for our district of the Nazi Party. And there were eventually about thirty or forty- no, about thirty women and children in this room. And we were then marched- marched through the streets... for about an hour-and-a-half as a column, guarded front, back and sideways with guards. And brought to a flat... in a- I have no idea where that was. Way out from where we were- we lived. A good hour-and-a-half's walk. And we were put into there... this woman's flat. It was a Jewish woman, living alone, in a large flat. She wasn't told we were coming. And we were told we had to stay there until further notice. And we were actually relieved a bit, because when this happened, I think all of us expected, although none of us said it, we thought we were being marched to a train station to go to a... concentration camp. This was happening all over the city... which we again, didn't know at that time. And we stayed there for some time...having to... find a way of getting some food, because we didn't know we weren't supposed to go out. And actually, eventually, Gerti was sent out to buy food, cause Gerti was very short. She was now turned fifteen- had now turned fifteen, and... she looked like - in height - about thirteen or fourteen, if that. And she was told where the local shops were. And she was taking all the money that was in that- the old woman had in the flat, money- and that other people had in their purses. And she came back with a load of vegetarian diet... which was clever because she'd worked out, she can't buy anything perishable. She can only buy... root vegetables. But it was every root vegetable that you could think of. And we were in this state. My father was there. And for some- I suppose it's not that strange, because, as I said before, this was all arranged beforehand. And I'm quite certain, and so on- nobody knows why, but after about a week to ten days, we were told- somebody came and told us to go home. And when we were going home, we met my father coming from this prison - which we didn't know he was in - from the opposite direction. We were reunited outside the front door. The scene is indescribable: a

happy and sad and... sort of scene. And my father told us what happened to him, and we told him what had happened to us. It was then that he cleaned himself up and went to the shop and found it was totally destroyed. There was not a pair of trousers left from his shop. And everything that was breakable was broken. It was also the point when... my father told us... that he was thinking of emigrating. Because now he can't earn any money. There's not much in the bank anymore. So... talk- started talking about emigrating.

How did your family - your mother, your sister - respond to that? What was your reaction?

[0:46:53]

Well... I can honestly say that by that time, I was quite a sensible kid. I knew what was going on. And I was scared. Obviously, I mean, the eastern concentration camps were- so many people had now been to these concentration camps. A few came back, including a member of our family. The son of this aunt – Anna, that I talked about. He was thrown in a concentration camp in April. Came back in June... on a proviso- provision that he would leave within twenty-four hours. Now he had no visas or documents to leave, so we had this... family farewell. And as I say, my father came to this, which in this- in this house. And it was- he was talking with his brother-in-law as though there's nothing going on. And complete different - whatever. The- the decision had to be made what he was going to do. And in his actual case... He was a- and his age at the time... was probably around about twenty-one, twenty-two. As I say, he was much older than Gerti and me. And that's why- I don't know why he was arrested in the first place, but he was. And... He decided that he would walk over the border into Holland. Because he had no permits to go, but he had to be- he would be thrown back in, and he was convinced they're going to check. So that was a farewell... dinner... whatever - gathering. And the next day he did exactly that. He somehow... contacted people in Holland. How he knew them, I have no idea. And they told him where he could walk through the border without being seen. And he survived the war and became quite successful in the United States. And eventually came back... for reopening his shops. Because his three shops of his parents they were Aryanised, so he could claim them back after the war. He lived back in Vienna subsequently, married ...had children there.

And what was the deciding factor, and how did it come about that you and was it also your sister came to Britain on the Kindertransport?

[0:49:41]

Ok. It was the second choice. The first choice after Kristallnacht was that we would all go to Shanghai. It appeared that the Shanghai... ...not Ambassador – Consul in- living- Shanghai was a separate country at that time; it wasn't part of China as it is today. And he watched all that was going on on Kristallnacht, and suddenly became a friend of the Jewish people. He was absolutely disgusted with what was going on. He felt himself he wasn't a pure white race, he was a Chinaman. And how long before it could happen there? Maybe that had an- anyway at once he became a friend. And it was announced through the grapevine that anyone who wanted a visa and tickets to get to Shanghai can have them without question. He was told to... stop immediately by his boss who was the Ambassador in Berlin. He refused to do so, and he was told by the Shanghai government to stop immediately, or else he'd get the sack. He still didn't care. And he was then- the Shanghai government arranged for a strong-arm gang to come into the- his office and drag him out and brought him back to Shanghai. And there is... quite some literature written about him in England. And he- nobody knows what happened to him afterwards. He has in fact got a- a tree in Yad Vashem, the... Holocaust Museum in Jerusalem, where there's an Avenue of the Righteous Gentiles. There's a tree for this Doctor [Feng-Shan] Ho, from Vienna which I saw once. So that fell through on that basis. And... No, it didn't- it didn't fall- so we went- and that was the plan. But I don't know, I'm afraid, exactly what happened. My parents told Gerti and me, that that's where we were going and that's what we're going to do. And I was very, very happy about this – away from this... And it sounded very romantic, very exciting. Long sea-journey across the seas, et cetera. Bound to be an ice-rink there. And... So, I was very happy. And- and...But my father said, "We can't do it immediately. I've got to raise some money, because we haven't got any left." And bank accounts were frozen. Jewish... bank accounts were frozen in... in the Holocaust, so what little was there... he couldn't get at. So, in order to pay for these tickets and visas he needed to sell everything that's valuable in the flat. Which took him some time. And when he finally got around to doing it, I remember that bit pretty clearly. He announced now he was going to do that, come back and tell us when we were going. And all I can tell you is... for certainty, that... he... left, and he came back and said he sold all the goodies. Got a very good price for them. Went on a tram to the offices of this... Consul. When he got there, his pockets were empty. And he would not tell Gerti and me another word about it. And, and...the- Neither of us had any knowledge as to why it really stopped. But I believe -

otherwise it makes no sense - that my father took so long to raise this money, that by the time he went there, he'd been dragged back... to Singapore- to Shanghai. And so that was a period of about two or three weeks which was all hope, because we were going to go to Shanghai. And then the next thing came about is that my parents... told us about this organisation in England that had arranged what now became known as the Kindertransport.

[0:54:26]

So, shall I tell you about that now? My parents told us that having failed to go to Shanghai, there is now only one option. And that was that we would take advantage of what he had been told about by other people, other children are doing- of sending children on this organisation which was org... ...initiated in the United Kingdom by what was then called the Central British Fund – CBF – and now very much still in existence under the title of World Jewish Relief. And this is an organisation that busies itself with... helping Jews in other countries from here. It existed then, and it exists now. And they had made a deal with the British Government. And actually, I think that this is one of the other miracles that went on. I'm going to come back to that, earlier. But the deal was, that the British would allow them to set up a... a way of bringing children under the age of seventeen into UK. Providing this committee would find... places where these children would go to live. The government was not going to finance this in any way whatsoever. And of course, the... CBF at the time, or perhaps I should go by today's title, World Jewish Relief said that there's no problem with that. The Jewish community in the UK will rise to this challenge and there will be no problems whatsoever. That was wishful thinking, of course. And one more - what's more, anybody who volunteered to take a child in, would have to pay the government a fee of fifty pounds – which in today's money is about a thousand pounds - to show they had the means to look after a child without help from the state. And that was the British side. So then that was put by the... by the... World Jewish Relief to the Nazis. And they also didn't think about it too long. And nobody has recorded that I know of, as to why the Nazis were suddenly so quick to let Jews out... children. But it was probably the theory that, 'Get rid of the youth, and you've got no more Jews to deal with subsequently.' And so, they were quite... happy to go along with it, but their conditions were quite serious. First of all, you could take nothing with you whatsoever, except a small suitcase... of prescribed size, into which you could put nothing of any value: clothes, papers, toys, food for the journey. That's all. And you would get no passports. Well that nearly scuppered the whole thing. Because once the British government

heard that the kids are now coming without passports, they said, “We’ve got to find some other solution.” So eventually an identity card was agreed to be a reasonable substitute, and the British government made it possible. And so, my father told us all about this. He said, he’d been to the centre, and he found... that some people actually who had- were agreed to take us in – by name.

This is in England?

[0:58:35]

In England, yes. And... I think actually there was some connection with these people. My father had quite a bit of heart trouble. And he used to go into sanatorium quite often for heart treatment – I can’t remember where - that existed. I don’t know where it was. And the story that I believe is- has something to do with this. This was a private hospital charging the earth. And there was an English lady there, who was being kept there simply because she was being paid for in pounds, which was like the dollar today. It was the international currency. And my father befriended her. And I know that bit happens- happened, but whether it was these people, I’m not all that sure. And he befriended her, and he wrote to her son. Got the address off her and said, “Take your mother home, for God sake’s, she’s being fleeced.” And... That was maybe 1935, ’36 – years before then. Whether it was that same family or not, I’m not sure about at all. But he- what he did say to us [inaudible], “We know where you’re going. You’re going to these people...” Because very few other people knew that. See, then so in retrospect, I was thinking, how did he know... where we were going? But he told us straight away, “I know the...the- I know where you’re going.”

[1:00:08]

“And as the day’s gone, next day we will go to the British Consulate in Vienna and tell them, “We have two children living in your country, being looked after by total strangers. They will not look after them forever. Eventually they will become a burden on your country unless you give us a visa to come to England.” So that’s what we’re going to do.” Well, I was happy; anything to get out of there was very nice. But not so romantic as Shanghai but... so be it. And... it’ll probably take two months. Now, I was made to swear - not literally on a stack of bibles, but - I keep my promises that I would, that A: I would behave myself. B: that

I would be Gerti be my boss. And I pointed out, Gerti would have to be my boss in this, ‘cause I can’t speak a single word of English! My school that I was at taught me Latin. That’s not going to be much good there. And the English that I took with me from Vienna, was “Mr. and Mrs.”, “yes and no”, “please and thank you” and other things that you pick up normally from a foreign language. Whereas Gerti, not only was she a great scholar, but English was on the curriculum. So, she had schoolgirl English! So, I said, “She can do all the talking and I’ll do as she does. And we’re out of here. [In] two months we’re going to be together. And...” - anything. So, I was very happy about the situation, other than the fact I couldn’t speak English. And, so that was- and these people will look after you. And... So, it happened! And it happened precisely one year after this parade that I was just talking about. The parade was on the 13th of March 1938, and we left Vienna on this train, on the 13th of March 1939. ...We were taken by our parents to the station, that is- was called- is still there today, the West Station where all the trains went westward. And the scene on the platform was indescribable. There were some two- or three hundred children saying goodbye to their parents, of all ages. Some were little toddlers with their sisters holding on to them and their brothers. And... I think everybody you tell that to, you can have their imagination. You see the parents probably had a much better idea, whatever excuse they gave to their children, that it may not happen. And I daresay, I mean my father was probably a bit optimistic in what he told us, that that was the plan.

Did you believe it at the time?

[1:03:14]

Oh, yes. Oh, yes: My father wouldn’t tell me lies! Of course, not... Yeah. And so... that was horrible. We got on this train... and of course it was the kind of train that was in use in those times with corridors and compartments leading off the compartments. So Gerti and I, with our suitcases, sat with six other kids or- four other kids. Four- four or six- I remember it was eight kids. I think it was eight kids to the compartment. I’m not sure. We sat there, and we talked to other kids, but I we- didn’t take their names, and I have no idea who they were, to this day. And the guards were constantly marching up and down the corridors to see that we don’t get up to...

Did that make you very nervous?

Pardon?

Did that make you feel very nervous?

It made me nervous because I'd had enough of seeing all these guns with swastikas and the rest of it. And it lasted twenty-four hours... before we crossed the border into Holland. At which point- I cannot tell you. But what I can tell you, it was the happiest day I had seen for many a time. Because whatever each village it was, that was the first time the train had stopped... other than to, of course being a steam train, had to stop periodically to take on coal and water. But not at a station. So here it was at a station, for the purposes of changing the German engine for a Dutch engine. And the platform was absolutely crowded with Dutch people who- in those days of course... the, the- the railway carriages had windows that you could drop up and down. And they threw us in sweets and toys and flags and reached out to us and we reached out to them. And it was the first time for a year that I'd seen friendly non-Jewish people. It was really remarkable. And it made us a little feel- a lot better – not just a little – a lot better. We were welcome... you know. The train then went on for the next part of the distance to the Hook of Holland... where we boarded a train- a ship, rather, to get across the North Sea to Harwich. And I still have the boarding pass for that ship. I haven't the foggiest idea why I've kept it all these years. Who keeps a boarding pass? But... I filed it away some years ago, and I dug it out and I've still got it. Maybe it's because it says on it, "First Class". Because of course the ship was occupied by everybody, so these boarding cards were dished out. So Gerti and I actually had the most fabulous crossing across the North Sea which lasted about eight hours, nine hours, in a First-Class cabin, which was very nice. I remember Gerti being seasick, which- so she didn't get the benefit out of it. But I, of course, examined every square inch of that cabin. And didn't get much sleep. When it docked in Harwich, we were put on a train... and came into Liverpool Street Station.

[1:06:42]

I'd like to if I may, insert something here, that I think has been said before many times, but...it never, I feel is... said too often. This was some kind of miracle! Because the W- ...the CBF, whichever title you want to use, only thought of doing this the day after Kristallnacht.

They want to rescue children. That means it was thought of on the 11th- if we take it literally, on the 11th of March 1938. The first Kindert- sorry?

Kristallnacht was November...

Kristallnacht on the 9th to the 10th... right...

...of November.

1938. And they got into action the next day and approached the British government. And- so we're talking about probably somewhere about the 11th or 12th of March [November] 1938. The first Kindertransport – nothing to do with me – the first Kindertransport train that pulled into Liverpool Street Station, pulled in on the 2nd of December 1938.

Sorry, did you mean 1939?

No, no. '38.

'38?

Yes. 1938. Now the... Sorry, you're correct. Sorry, yes. 1939. I beg your pardon, yes.

You're thinking of- cause you're thinking of the Anschluss...

No, no. Wait a minute. No, this is '38. The Kristallnacht was on the 10th of November 1938. So, this was '38. I came in '39, in March.

Yes.

[1:08:37]

But the first train that pulled in - I don't know from which city - came in on the 2nd of December. So, in those... six weeks - is it? - they managed to get the government to agree this, get the Nazis to agree it and, I understand, an Act of Parliament went through the House

of Commons to allow this to happen. Because this was something different. People were coming in without passports - just identity cards. And I often think when we talk today about 'Something's got to happen': "Well, it will take an Act of Parliament... it's got to go through the Lords... It's got to..." You know, if you get something nice through in six months you have done a miracle anyway. But this was in six weeks. So... As I say, it's been said before and I do mention it as often as I can, because I'm very proud of the British government of that day, to have acted so rapidly, when it was needed to act rapidly. ...Right, so, back to us. Do you want me to just continue with what happened or do you...?

If you could please describe how you were met, who you met you, and where you went?

[1:09:49]

Right. Well, we arrived at the station, and from the station – Liverpool Street - were taken with buses to a building which was then called Woburn House in... Woburn Place in- no, no, in... Bloomsbury.

It's near […] Square, Bloomsbury.

Somewhere in Bloomsbury. Yeah. We were taken there and because we had people to go to, we were easily processed. We were- they- person- people who said they'd come and pick us up by car from there. And we left everybody else behind, to be settled out. Many of them... had people coming up to sort out and said, "I'll take this one and that one" and so on. We didn't go through that... process. And he brought us to his house. We were given immediately a paper to write a letter home, that we arrived safely. And we were given tea... English tea. Which had food on it I had never seen before. Specifically, white bread. Because bread should be brown or black. And I had to ask Gerti what this stuff was laying on the table. Cucumber sandwiches, which I thought, "Who on earth can get any food- any joy out of these? Couple of pieces bread with a slice of cucumber in the middle?" And... Gerti explained this all to me very silently, in German, what I wanted to know. But the shock came when it was all over. The tea was over, and they told us that, "We are so happy that we are able look after you for the two months until your parents..." Of course, they were also told – somewhere. They were also talking about 'two months'; whether it was a conspiracy or not, I don't know. But they were talking about 'two months'. "Unfortunately... we can't keep you

together in our one house, because we only have one spare room. And that spare room Gerti, you, can have. But it's only spare because we sacked our maid... a couple of days ago. So Gerti..." - aged fifteen – "you will have that room. But you will look after our seven-month-old baby and clean the house." Well, that was a shake-up, because first of all- we- I- that's only in retrospect that I realised that the- on the back of this identity card it said we are "allowed to come to this country provided we do no work paid or unpaid." I didn't even know that, but... anyway. Gerti was shocked; she'd never looked after a baby in her life. But she was a quick learner, as you already heard. She could do anything. "And you Harry. We have an enormous family. We've got on...." - and the man was speaking – "On my side alone I have one brother, two sisters. That's a start. And then we have- my wife's also got some sisters and brothers. We won't even talk about them. Then I have my- my parents. Then I've got uncles and aunts. They have all agreed to look after you for a week, and you can go there, and then come back here once a week, to be with Gerti on Sundays." So, I wasn't so much worried about Gerti working and... looking after the baby. What I was worried about is I had nobody to A: ask questions or speak at all. Cause I couldn't speak a word. I'd always had it translated to me by Gerti. And I said to Gerti, "What am I going to do about speaking?" She said, "I don't know, Harry. You know, I can't help you. I know Mum and Dad said I should look after you, but I can't tell these people we're not gonna do it. What should we do?"
So, I slept on the couch for that night. And we were both quite unhappy about the scene. Gerti was worried about me, and I was worried about myself. How could I ask for food... or anything?

[1:14:27]

Well, it turned out very interestingly, because on that first day, I have some wonderful memories. I was taken by car from the district of Willesden, to the district of Walthamstow. I don't know what street. And that was to his sister. And she lived in a house- that was the other thing, people lived in houses. How about that? That was fantastic! Yeah, not flats. Houses. Really great. So, I went to- went to her house... and she had no children. Her husband was at work, but that did not mean that the house was empty. She came out as soon as the car drove up and embraced me and kissed me and started talking. And... it all went over my head and I was still thinking, "What's she saying? Obviously, she is welcoming me and that..." But I couldn't respond. But his house wasn't empty by any means. It was in the days when neighbours were interested in what was going on in the street. And so of course

the house was packed with neighbours - when I say packed, maybe ten or twenty - who wanted to see this kid that was arriving, 'cause she knew I was coming. And they were talking, and they were talking to me and I must have looked most stupid, cause...[half-laughs] I knew 'Yes' and 'No' you see. So, I probably said, 'Yes', at the wrong time and 'No', at the wrong time.

Did you feel frightened?

Pardon?

Did you feel frightened?

[1:16:00]

Well, I'm still wondering how this is going to end. And I got a- after the first couple of hours, she came in with a glass of water in her hand. And she said to me, "Harry, would you like a glass of water?" And I pricked up my ears, because that was most amazing. She said my name and she said "glass of water" with this thing in her hand. The German word for glass is '*Glas'*, and the German word for water is '*Wasser'*. I looked at "*Ein Glas Wasser*". And she'd just called it "a glass of water", and I said in the back of my mind, "who says it's so difficult? It's the same words..." So, I changed my attitude... and started to listen. When these people came throughout the week...this was happening, people coming, talking to me. And I was watching very carefully if they were touching anything, what they were saying, and decided that certain words were the English words for certain objects. And I came back to Gerti after a week of this and I rattled off – I can't remember exactly, but probably something of about sixty - English words I'd decided were the names of certain objects. Broadly speaking, a third of them were totally rubbish, a third of them were close and Gerti corrected it. And a third of them were like the '*Glas*', because there- there- quite a number of things – 'hand' – '*Hand*' - not much different. As I say, I'll just take that- I'm not saying that was an example. The example I can only remember what started me off on this route was the glass of water. And then I went to another sister, and I went to another sister. And ...I remember one particular occasion. I went to one sister. She lived in Golder's Green. And... she had young children, younger than me who were at school most of the time I was there. And I'd nothing to do and it was a nice house in Golders Green with a garage. And it was a nice day in March.

And I looked in the garage and I saw bicycles laying there. Well, I'd never, ever set foot on a bicycle, right? So, with nothing better to do, I picked up a bicycle and I got on it, and I started to ride it in the drive. And said, "Hey, I can do this!" And then I went out of the drive and there was a... slight hill. And I went down the hill, came up again, and as I came up, she came down furious. She said, "Harry! You mustn't ride a bicycle in the street!" I heard it, but I didn't know what she meant. 'Street' must be the road. 'Must not' – Well, I knew 'must', but that is that you have to do something. And 'not' is 'not'. So, I think what she said, in my thinking all this, "I don't have to... ride a bicycle in the street." So, I replied, "Yes, I must not, but I want to." Which was of course the worst thing I could have said. And she got very...very upset with me about me saying this. This went on backwards and forwards and she finally gave up on me, took the bicycle away and then I got the message. So that was the way of learning. And then I realised that 'must not' actually means 'You are prohibited' or 'You're not allowed to'. And I remember that because it hurt so much. I couldn't ride the bicycle anymore.

Was it a Jewish family?

[1:20:10]

Yes indeed. Yes indeed. It was a Jewish family. He- the man who was responsible overall was by coincidence, in the same business as my father. My father sold readymade menswear in one shop. Except he was ten- eight times as large. He had eight shops selling menswear, ladieswear…made-to-measure and ready-mades. The whole range. He had eight shops over London and I think I didn't know that till much later. And yes, so they were Jewish people... indeed.

And were they religious?

Pardon?

Were they religious?

They were about as religious as we were at home as well. We made Friday night... candles and so on, but not... ultra-orthodox in any way. No.

So, I practiced then this method of learning English, for about probably six weeks. And I got to the stage... when - I can't say I spoke English, but - I can say that I understood far more than was said to me than before. And I could say things to other people as well, but with numerous mistakes. And they suddenly realised I was breaking the law. Because I was thirteen years old... and you've got to be in school until you're fourteen. So, they changed their... plans of sending me from family to family. Found an aunt in Stoke Newington, who had three children, one of whom was my own age, Gerald. And their name was Cooklin. And that was a salvation. A, I had the boy to talk to. And we- I went to school. I found teachers were actually interested in me, and I was interested in the teachers. And my life changed completely. And my English developed then pretty rapidly. So that was then the end of my worries as far as I personally was concerned, whilst Gerti was continuing to clean the house and look after this baby. So that was one stage of our arrival. I will tell you later on about my parents, because that's of course equally important as to... what happened there.

Would you like to stop? Would it be good moment in that case...?

[Sound break]

[In the recording, this section is repeated to page 34, timing below]

[1:22:49] and [1:53:20]

So, coming back then to my parents. We, as I mentioned in the beginning- not- a few minutes ago, that they gave us paper to write letters home. And we received letters two or three times a week. Each letter said, "We'll be together in two months." But the two months was a stick-stickler. It came in March, April, May, June and July. And we were still talking about "two months". So, we started to think of course, Gerti and I, that this is not happening very-quickly enough. But it was still peace in Europe. And I remember one letter coming which shook us rigidly. And it was a- must have been- but I don't know when, 'cause I haven't got it. But I remember Gerti and I being very upset... that my parents told us the Nazis came, and told my parents to get out of the flat. And confiscated the flat or 'Aryanised' the flat to the new owner who was waiting actually to move in there and then. And they had to get out in the street and find somewhere to live. And of course, because they didn't have any money, they had to rent a room... with friends. So, they were still in the same area. But that's- was such a terrible shock. And we under- said to each other also at the time that, "It's very

difficult for Mum and Dad to operate from there and to come, and you know, it's not so easy." Now we knew they had very little money. You see, there were- all kinds of... suppositions that I've made through my life. The question going back to Shanghai. What really happened to the money? I don't know. But if my father didn't go, and he did go and sell it, there was some money. Right? And I can only imagine that that was seeing them through, because he certainly couldn't earn any. Right? But he had to of course live very ...sparingly, because this was a limited sum. So that's why they... rented a room with friends. I think. That's supposition. But it's hard to know, because my parents wouldn't have done anything that's bad. Except that they had to write- we had to write to a new address, so they had to write and tell us that this has happened. So that happened in the spring some time, in 1939. And the correspondence then went on in normal ways, till the outbreak of World War Two in September 1939. After that, normal postal services between England and Germany were obviously closed. But we had a number of addresses, of friends from Vienna... who had emigrated to the United States. And of course, the United States didn't come- enter the war until Pearl Harbour in 1941 - December 1941. So, between the outbreak of war here, September 1939 and December 1941, we used to send letters to these people in America. They sent them to my parents and vice versa. The letters- I did- I didn't know that any of these letters that came back by that route existed still in my sister's hands. And it was absolutely quite amazing to me, it was in the year 2001 – 2001, yes. Yeah. My sister- I'll come back to that later, but she spent most of her life in the United States. She married, and they moved to the States. And we used to visit. And in the year 2000 my late wife and I went to- it was either 2000 or 2001; I'm not absolutely certain. My late wife and I went for a usual visit, by that time initially once every four years. Now it was practically every other year or even more, 'cause we could afford things. And... Gerti had lost her husband. He died in 1980-something. I don't know the exact date. She was alone in, in, in the city there. She had four children, so she wasn't alone in that respect. But she decided now to do what all good Jewish people do in America who get to a certain age - they go to Florida. But she resisted it. All her friends however had already gone. And so, she was now downsizing. And during that visit she had this in her hands. She said, "I'm gonna throw these away. Do you want these?" I said, "What is it?"

[1:28:25]

She said, “They’re old letters from our parents.” And I said, “What? Throw away...?” So, she gave me this bundle of letters. And I was amazed. And I had no idea they existed until then. I brought them home very carefully... and translated them and put them in a file which I can show you later on. Now, the earliest letter Gerti saved- and then she died. So, I couldn’t discuss it with her, when I started looking at these letters. I translated them into English and talked about them with my wife Muriel. And... The puzzle is, why did she start saving her- the first letter dated 9th of August 1939? That’s the first one that’s in there. And I have no answer to that... except that there are- there is one sentence in there. The “two months” wasn’t mentioned. And it has a sentence that’s there that my mother- each letter had a piece from my mother... and a piece from my father. And the- in that letter, there was a sentence, “I’m beginning to think we Jews now belong at the bottom of the Danube and have no further right to live in this world.” That was the translation of that sentence. Whether that shook Gerti so much at the time when it was received, I cannot tell you. I cannot remember receiving that letter. I only remember the one, very clearly, when my parents were thrown out of the flat. And then she had saved- and there are about forty of these letters. And as we go through them, they go through various... uninteresting things of still trying to get to England. But when the war broke out, and as I say then these same letters had to go via the United States, they spoke about how they can now manage that, even if they get a visa, which they still haven’t got. They would have to get a visa to go to Lisbon... which was not in the war. And then would have to get a much longer ride- journey by ship to England. And... money was going to be a problem as well. So, they were getting more and more despondent at that. And then if you look at one of these letters... which came around about November 1940, a year or so later than the very first one. It’s so different to the others, that you wouldn’t think it’s from the same person.

In what way?

[1:31:31]

Pardon? In their handwriting to start with. The very first from the 9th of August is two pages long. Beautiful German graphic script. Two-thirds from my mother, a third from my father. All kinds of things. “Harry...” – always came in with - “Harry, behave yourself. Hope you’re learning English...” - and so on. That kind of thing. But this one came; it was about that big. It’s a scribble; you can hardly read it. And has a sentence in it, “Daddy can’t write to this- on

this letter. He's not at home." So Gerti and I were by that time- I was now fifteen and Gerti was seventeen, so we didn't take that... for truth, because... wait till he's home. Then the other one she had in there done on a typewriter. And there's a similar piece of nonsense in there, so it's a bit easier to read. But a similar sentence in there, "Daddy can't add to this letter. He's not at home and I want the letter to catch the midday post." Well, Gerti knew something had happened to my father but we hadn't a clue what it was. And then in January, a letter came which I do remember. But it's not in amongst those my sister saved, which is very odd, which had one sentence at the top, it said, "My darling children, I finally have to pluck up courage to tell you your father is dead." And then went on to describe the funeral. Then she sent another one to describe the funeral. And we asked, "How did he die?" in our letters. Nothing from my mother telling us how he died. Well... after the war I established how he died. And what actually happened... that my father was now in November 1940 arrested by the... Nazis from the rooms that they were living in, in this new- oh, no. There was one in between I should tell-that makes sense of it. After having been- gone to rooms, there is a letter- came and said, "We shall have to... move." Actually, it was the same letter as "We Jews belong at the bottom of the Danube." The same letter also says in there, "We shall have to move out of these rooms, because they are in the 6th District with our friends So-and-So, and the 6th and 7th Districts have been declared 'Jew-free zones'. So, we'll have to move out of the 6th and 7th Districts, and we'll move to the 9th, which is- still allowed to live", and where they took rooms with- I don't know whom. And... Oh, yes. The rooms were with her sister, my aunt. So, she was the 9th District. So, whilst they were in the 9th District by then in... in December 1940, my father was collected from there. Somebody must have told them there was a Jew living there. And he was taken in a van, with the intention of taking him to concentration camp. We're still a little way before the... 1941-42 when the extermination camps were built. So... to go to a concentration camp- I found this out after the war from the porter who was in that block of flats. Our first visit after the war, he told us that- what happened. And he told us that he was taken away, but brought back very quickly, in that van. He died in the van. Whether he was abused or not, I can't tell you. But I wouldn't- I'm not surprised that much, because my father had this weak heart that I told you about. So now... envisage a man whose children he hasn't seen now for a long time. He doesn't know when or if he's ever going to see them before. And he's so- a protective man. So, he must have been in a terrible state. So, he probably had a heart attack...in that van. But nobody knows how he died. He may have died from abuse. But I really don't think so. I think that he had a heart attack. And so, he was the lucky one of the two, because he brought a body back for my

mother. He lies in a proper grave, in Vienna, in a proper cemetery as... a human being should do. And that left my mother... staying in that flat with her sister, my aunt, as I said before. And they went out together. And the correspondence went on this way... until Pearl Harbour in December 1941. Then it was no longer- able to write letters.

That's so distressing for you...

Pardon?

So distressing for you.

[1:36:51]

Very distressing. But the Red Cross came to our aid. We found out that- and we were in-constantly with people- company who were in the same boat as we were, here. So, we- things went around very quickly. The Red Cross provided a service for people in our situation, that they provided a piece of paper about A5 size, which we were allowed to pick up from our local Citizen Advice Bureau. We were entitled to take one - receive-take one - one a month. And one for Gerti and one for me. So, we did it- Gerti did it in the beginning of the month; I did it in the middle of the month. And- but we were only allowed to write twenty-five words on the front of this piece of paper. And then it was transmitted not by post, but by Red Cross couriers. And they took them through Switzerland and God knows what other things. Because each of them- I'll come back to it in a minute- they took three months, broadly speaking, in each case, to reach my mother. And the courier, when arriving at my mother – the address of course is also on this paper - my mother was allowed to turn it over and write twenty-five words on the back. And the courier then took it back from her, and it took about another three months to reach us. So, it was six-month turnaround on these letters. They- I have five of them in my possession, which I've saved and- from- without Gerti's help. And- and they're here for- which I can show you later on. The letter we sent by this route on the 11th of June 1942... was the last one that came back. I've actually a list of the dates that I kept at that time: 'Sent', 'Arrived Vienna', 'Came back'. And from that date onwards, I've only got on my list the dates we sent them. And they never came back. And so Gerti and I concluded that my mother must be in a concentration camp. Because we knew nothing about extermination camps as ordinary citizens in this country. The... Churchill government

decided that... people have enough on their plates with the war itself. They don't need to know about what was going on in Germany and Poland with Jews are being gassed and burnt. Some people in higher positions knew, but certainly we didn't. And so, we thought it was a concentration camp. And of course, we found out after the war, that was of course when the extermination camps started operating.

[1:39:56]

And once more, after the war, I established when again- I used- from 1951 onwards I went frequently to Vienna and went to all kinds of offices and... people like the archives and got information bit by bit. Well, it appears my mother and her sister, my aunt, were arrested in June 1942. They were transported to a... a camp, which is very rarely spoken about called Izbica. Izbica is a village in Poland. And it is a short distance... from the extermination camp of Sobibor. And... I- and the- I found out quite recently why there was a camp where they went to before they went to Sobibor. Because Sobibor was like Auschwitz, with the difference that it had no bunks for people to stay there and sorted some work, some get burnt. Sobibor, if you arrived in Sobibor you were dead in two hours. And there was no accommodation. So, these were feeding camps for Sobibor. And people keep on saying that the Jews were murdered on an industrial scale. And this is of course absolutely true. It's just like a... machine with a hopper on it...feeding human beings into So- Sobibor. That was the only one, as I understand it, that was of that kind. Others were- like we all know- about Auschwitz where the Jews came up to the... sorting centre, and those who could work, would work for a period when they couldn't work anymore. Then they were gassed. But that didn't exist in Sobibor. And this information has got to me- I mean actually... that my mother went to Sobibor from Izbica, I only concluded from information I got in the late 90s. Because before that, I- when I knew she was there, and when I knew this wasn't a… an extermination camp, so I looked at a map. And near Majdanek, there was another extermination camp – again, which not many people have heard about - called Majdanek. And I assumed my mother and her sister died there. And in 1995 actually my late wife and I went on a tour of Poland- of Holocaust sites. And we visited Majdanek. And I broke down there, because the paths are ash, of the people who were burnt- and it is totally genuine. And Auschwitz- of course, I don't want to put Auschwitz down by any means, but some of it has been rebuilt. Because the Nazis destroyed it before they went. But [inaudible] much original stuff there, but some of it had to be rebuilt when they started opening it up. But Majdanek, to my wife

and I- it looked to me like you could throw a switch and operate it tomorrow morning. Because- everything intact, including the ashes still sprinkled on the paths. I broke down there really seriously. But we were in the company of a large group. Lots of Israeli young people... and they were really wonderful to me, I must admit. So ...that is, was, the end of my parents.

[1:43:57]

And your grandparents?

Pardon?

Your grandparents?

My grandparents... I have no idea when or how they died. All I know is, they weren't there. Because you see I don't know- and I don't think- I know very little of my father's grandparents. I only knew... They- they disappeared, and I have no knowledge. The family itself, in Vienna: my father had a sister living in Vienna. And my mother had this sister that I spoke about earlier. Oh, and my mother also had a brother. A brother and a sister. The brother had a son and his wife was divorced prior to the Anschluss. So, he took himself to what was then Palestine.

What were their names?

Schneider. He was Moritz Schneider. That was my mother's maiden name. And his... sister was married to a... ...God, what was her surname? It will come to her later, I'm afraid. My memory's blocked at the moment. She was married to a man who had two sons who were very strong Zionists long before the Anschluss. They went to Israel or, Palestine. And one of them founded a kibbutz with some friends. And actually, sent for his parents before the war started. So, they survived. Other, outside that... I don't know what happened to anybody else. Geller! Of course, it happens. Right...Other's- my memory goes to the... Yes, she was Aunt Geller. And... he changed his name when he got to Israel. But his name in, in- in Vienna was 'Geller'.

This must have torn your heart apart.

[1:46:20]

Well - yes it had. And of course, it's something that I learnt to live with throughout my life. And as we'll discuss later, that I try to... get over to young children by going to schools and telling this story... in a way that they can understand it. With slides and a Power Point presentation. And two-hour slot. And I do this all over the United Kingdom. When people ask me 'Where have you been?" I say, "Anywhere between Inverness and Ramsgate, Fort William and Exeter... not to forget the Isle of Man." And I've also given talks in Vienna on twelve occasions, in schools, which was again, important for me. And one in the USA... because my sister lived there, and we went there for a Bar Mitzvah. And she wanted me to do it in her school, so I did it there. So, yeah, and well- we'll perhaps talk about that separately. Next?

I'd just like, before we finish for a break, to ask- how much time and energy you spent trying to find out what happened to your family?

Well not as much as I would have liked, you see. But after all, I had to work – you know. And I was a Chartered Engineer eventually and so on and so I had to work during the day. And I could only do this on holiday. And 1951 was the first trip I made back to Vienna with my wife who then was my bride for four years. And we had no children yet. And with a couple of other friends. And there I discovered a number of things... I also found that- I mentioned that my cousin got his shop back. Right? He only ran one. He sold the other two. And on that particular trip there was a very strange but wonderful event. And that was- we wrote to him we were coming. And so- we were only five days in Vienna, then we were going to Italy... by train. And we arrived there in his shop. And this- there was a woman in there came running towards me. Said, "Harry!" ...Well, I looked at the woman. I didn't know her from Adam. She said, "You don't know me?" All in German. I said, "You have to forgive me, no, I can't remember you." "You don't remember me taking you across the road?" Ah - My primary school was on the other side of this road called Mariahilfer Straße. A very busy str- street. A car came every twenty minutes - guaranteed. [both laugh] By that standards a very busy road. And so was Gerti, she also went to the same primary school. And my mother worked in the shop as a- looked after the books and stuff like that. So, she took us

to school, crossing this road and into the school. But school finished at twelve o'clock, and mother mostly wasn't home yet. So, we were- we were forbidden to cross that road on penalty of death. So, we had to go in there and one of the assistants took us across the road. And she did that for us... during my years at primary school. So, it's a bit much to remember who she was, when the last time she did it when I was ten. And now here I am with my wife, a married man. So, I said, [laughing] "You'll have to excuse me. I remember somebody doing this, but I can't remember who you are." So, she said to me, "How long are you in Vienna for?" So, I said, "Five days." "Please come back here tomorrow. I've got some stuff that your mother left with me. It's in my fa-home. I didn't know that you were coming here today." Apparently, my cousin didn't tell her. And my- "Your mother left with me, and asked me to look after it, in the event I ever see you again." So, my wife and I looked at each other. How weird is that? And we came. And she came back- you won't believe what I- what we had. She brought cartons, which were about a metre of square, with all kinds of material stuff in it. Amongst it, some of my father's underwear. Curtains. My mother was a great croch- crochet woman. She had part-finished crochet work in it. Some- so in other words, some was worth a looking at, the other one – totally useless. So, we had a couple of these boxes. We're on a train. So, we had to take it in the shop and sort it. But most amazingly as well, she came- then gave us a little box. A small box. And there was some valuable jewellery in it that she saved, including my father's pocket watch... and my mother's... I think it's diamond and sapphire brooch. Now the question arises now, why didn't my father sell these? I can't tell. And, again- bits of other things... Neck chains and less important- a ring of my father's. But these two items in particular are valuable. I've got the watch. My wife had a- wore this brooch with great pride throughout her life. And now my daughter-in-law's got it. She's not much wearing that kind of jewellery, but she's looking after it.

[Sound break?]
[1:53:02]

Yes, so it's a big puzzle again, you see, that A, she didn't know I'd survive. A very honest woman. So, there were some... who were different.

On that positive note perhaps....

[1:53:20]

[2:23:54]

Harry, could you tell us something please about your professional work and how you first started out after leaving school, and improving on your English?

Ok. Well, we- I last spoke to you about the school I was sent to in Stoke Newington where I was very happy. The first wonderful thing that happened to me, the house that this family lived in, was virtually opposite the headquarters of what was then the Jewish Lads' Brigade. Now it's called the Jewish Girls' and Lads' Brigade, but it was then the Jewish Lads' Brigade. And this son of theirs, Gerald, who I befriended- you know, we saw each other night and day. He was a member there, and he took me in there. And they had wonderful facilities of the kind I'd never even seen before. And I enrolled. And- of course I didn't have any money. I was given pocket money of a shilling a week or something very little from this guy who was looking after us for a month. And the rest was down to his mother who was paid by the man who said he was going to look after us. And then one day there, they- just after when it came towards end of school, the- they all had ranks in the Jewish Lads' Brigade: Sergeant... And a Captain came over to me and said, "Are you coming to camp with us in the summer?" So, I said, "No, I have no money." He said, "I didn't ask you about your money. I asked you are you coming to camp?" I said, "I'd very much like to, but who's going to pay?" "That's not your business." He said, "You're coming to camp." And so, I had a wonderful week under canvas, where I mixed with so many boys. And we did all the things that boys do and played and whatever. And that was an introduction to Je- Jewish life sort of thing, or Jewish – whatever – children's life. We went back to school, in September 1939. And before school actually got going, it was decided that schools in London had to be evacuated because of the imminent war. Everybody expected war, so all schools in London were evacuated to different parts of the country. Because everybody thought as soon as the war starts, London will get bombed to bits.

[2:26:40]

And my school was taken to a small flat – a small village called Fletton, just outside Peterborough. And there I had really a great fortune, because I was billeted with the headmaster of the local grammar school. And he was a very strict disciplinarian as well as a

very devout Christian. And... every Sunday, they, they and their family went to church. They had a son and a daugh - a young daughter. She was about five, the son was about seventeen. And we spent the Sunday afternoons partly Bible reading, which I was introduced to, but he insisted that so long as I'm billeted with him, we would only deal with the Old Testament and my- which I thought was fantastic. And when I did that, and when they used to read out aloud, he constantly interrupted me and constantly corrected my English. Particularly pronunciation and accent. And he managed to get the usual accent that German speakers have when they li-live in England – and many almost always take it to the end of their lives. He drove that out of me in the four months from the 1st of September 1939 until my birthday, when I was fourteen on the 26th of December that year. Which was of course the end of my schools, because I'm now fourteen. So, I had to come back to London with the school. And this family that was looking after us now felt that they were lumbered. They were going to look after us for two months and now it's... nearly nine. And there's no sign of anything happening. So, they told me that... they will employ me as a- in their business, and I'll become a businessman in London. That didn't attract me very much, because since I was about six or seven years old, I wanted to be an engineer. I- in my very young days, I never connected with the fact of wanting to be an engineer and having to learn at school, because the two things didn't go together. But I just wanted to be. But it wasn't a question of what I wanted, it was a question of what had to be. And... so I started working for him. And the- initially I spent several weeks just dusting suits and clothing from the hanger, with a brush. But then, very shortly after I started there, round about March 1940, there was a serious problem for him, in that his eight shops that he had, had a van to move the stuff around from shop to shop and to the factory to be made into stuff. But the amount of his petrol ration, which was severely rationed, wasn't big enough. And so, I started carrying parcels around from shop to shop. There were eight in all parts of London: Tooting, Peckham, Stoke Newington, Tottenham, you name it. Well, there were eight. And all of them in different places. And... I was very unhappy, because I was neither earning- learning engineering, nor was I learning anything else other than how to get around London. And if I'd had any ambitions to become a tourist guide, that might have been a good job. And I was very unhappy about this.

[2:30:50]

At the same time, Gerti got fed up with cleaning a house...and looking after the baby. So Gerti, in 1940 – yeah – yes, 1940...1940 or 1941. 1940. Now being seventeen, ran out one day and got herself a job in a factory that pro- manufactured stuff for the- for the war. War effort. It was actually aircraft parts. And she felt she was now going to do- doing something that helps the war along. And she came back, and she told me she made a nice speech to them. And she found herself a boarding house, where she could get a room and food for less than she was going to earn there. So, she had a little bit over. So... I thought, that's a great idea. And so, I visited her there and I saw there was another empty room there. And I said to to Gerti– "I'm going to do the same thing." And both made a nice speech thanking them for saving our lives, because that's what they have done. We would be in real- severe trouble because of what we read in the newspapers about concentration camps, etcetera. But... they didn't stand in our way. And so, I started work as an apprentice in engineering, which I wanted to do. It didn't take me long to realise that apart from doing an apprenticeship, you needed a technical education. And there was no way I was going to be able to go to a college or university, because I had to earn the money to pay the landlord. So, I started night school in September 1942. Three nights a week, three hours each night, to get some qualifications. Well, doing it that way was not the best way of doing this kind of thing, which I always tell the students when I speak to them. It took fourteen years before I got the qualifications I wanted – needed. And so I became a Chartered Engineer. And as soon as I was fully qualified, I was working in different factories at the lowest grade job. But I was then able to get a management job in a factory... with a company. And... I worked in that company for twenty-odd years. Twenty- no. Fourteen years. Fourteen years.

Which company was that?

[2:33:40]

The company was called... Arrow Electrics, which is A double-R O W Electric Switches. They were an American-owned company, but I was concerned with the tool-making and the mechanical side- the manufacturing side that enabled the stuff to be made. And... Because I went to night school for fourteen years, the last year I went to night school... and I only had one- just had one evening to get just a few more credits. The- I was so well known there like a part of the furniture. The Head of the department said to me, said, "Well, you've been used to coming three nights a week. Why don't you start teaching in the evening instead of

learning in the evening to the lower levels?" Well, I thought that was a wonderful way of earning some money which I certainly... could do with. And so, I started going there both to teach and to learn. And when the first year was up, I found I liked this. And I developed going there about two or three nights... teaching, which went on for about ten years, like that. And then- and in different colleges, because my name was...be-be-becoming to be known amongst that fraternity. And there was a particular school in Hendon which- where I had been to in- gone to from 1962-'64. And they told me then that they would like me to be a full-time lecturer in the college. I don't need an interview. There's a vacancy, but they have used as an interview, my two years as a partner. So, I took that opportunity, largely on the influence of my late wife. She was very excited about us doing this, because it's gonna mean long holidays. But of course, it never did in that position. I, I, I didn't take the whole holidays. Anyway, be that as it may, I really enjoyed my job now. And I was teaching manufacturing engineering in this college, which turned out to be- it was initially known as Hendon College of Technology. It became part of the Middlesex Polytechnic when it was formed during my tenure there. And then it became Middlesex University in my last years' being there. And so, I had this teaching career, and the indust- industrial career, both of them lasting about twenty years. In 1984 there was an offer for me to retire made by Margaret Thatcher, that I couldn't refuse. It was really- because she was cutting down on everything. So, I took that, and I opened a consultancy practise...which I ran in 1993. And did all sorts of... direct work that- with people, contacts that I had made over the years, as well as some teaching as well. And in 1993 I completely retired from remunerative work.

[2:37:11]

And by then, got caught up with this... speaking in schools. And the idea of speaking to schools came about for the first time because I was then living in this area, in Bushey. And my rabbi visited a local school to talk about Judaism. And he said, "Come along and give them a short-potted version of what happened to you for that." And I did that, and I thought it was quite nice to do. And then I felt that- in fact there were two main... organisations which sent speakers to schools. One was the very young Holocaust Educational Trust – HET. And the other one was a longer-established organisation called the London Jewish Cultural Centre. And... they took me on- didn't take me on, I didn't work for them, but- they got my name on their register and started sending me to school- schools to speak. That, we- my wife and I, did together. My wife had also retired from her job which was a secretary. And we

always went everywhere together. And we did that until she sadly died in 2009 of cancer. After which I was devastated, because it was a sixty-one-and-a-half-year happy, loving marriage. And I didn't know which way to turn. And I told these organisations that I would like to do more schools to occupy my time. Which they gave me. And I now...since 2009, do something between forty and sixty schools in any one school year. And... I've done over 600 now... at this point of speaking. In the meantime, as a young man, in the- in my teens… I was very keen on... the music of the day. Swing and Jazz. And I loved to hear it, but unfortunately the records, as we called them then, discs as people talk about. And the record player, even more so, were out of my reach, as far as spare money was concerned. So, I decided I would go to dances where this music is being played and enjoyed it that way. But even those dances cost a significant part of my small income. And I heard one band which I thought was really terrific. And I thought I'd like to hear them whenever they played. I went up to the band leader, his name was Sidney Gold. And I said, "Mr Gold I think your band is fantastic. I'd like to hear it as often as possible." I gave him a very brief summary of who I was and where I came from. "But I just haven't got any money and the entrance fees are ex- not cheap but although I can afford them, often enough. How about- and I can't play an instrument. I can't even read music for that matter. But if I were to carry your stands and your music from one gig- one job to another, would you get me in for nothing wherever you play?" Well, he was very sympathetic and said, "Certainly." He was only a year older than me. That's all. And we became very firm friends... in very short time. After we were friends for about three months, not much more than that, he said, "Come to my house-" which was quite near where I was living anyway. "And I have a quarter-size billiard table. We'll play a game of billiards." So, I said, "Thank you very much." And I came. And when we finished playing, he shouted towards the kitchen, "Can we have two cups of coffee please?" Because in those days, boys didn't go in the kitchen. That was girls' work. And the boys- never- have seen the kitchen. And in came a girl, with two cups of coffee. And I looked at her and she looked at me. And I asked her if she was available this weekend for going to the theatre. And- because we had a conversation, she told me she liked the theatre. So... I stuck my, my, my neck out and said, "I'll get some tickets." I got the cheapest tickets possible. She didn't know that's going to be the case. But anyway, we hit it off and... long story short we fell in love and got married. And we were engaged in the following year and married in 1947. And her name is- was Muriel. We had a son, born in 1955. And he had two children, a boy and a girl, named Lee and Nicky. And they married in the year- a couple of years after Muriel died in 2009, which I think I mentioned before, died of cancer in the year 2009. And so, she's never seen the

pleasure of seeing them married and having children. So- but I'm now the proud grandfather of my married grand- grandchildren. But I'm also a great-grandfather of three boys from my grandson, and one from my granddaughter. So, I've got four great-grandsons. So, all I've done in my life was... good. I... I had a wonder- nice career, I had a lovely marriage and lovely children. So, I have no problems after that. It was a really- a fantastic life. And it's going on thank God until this- until this moment. So that was life after... Germany.

[2:44:06]

And you have also been honoured?

Oh, yes. This year New Year's Honours List I was awarded a British Empire Medal, BEM, for services to Holocaust Education, which was a very nice and pleasant shock.

Your family must feel so proud of that achievement.

I guess they are. They support me in every way. We meet frequently. We live very close to each other. My son lives several hundred yards from here. My two grand-children live in- both in Mill Hill, which is about five miles from here. And of course, there we get together, particularly on Friday nights to... and so that's when I see my great-grandchildren, which- The eldest is six, the youngest is six months. Yeah.

Do they share, do your children and perhaps your grandchildren - though they're very young - do they share an interest in the Holocaust and...

Very much so...

Your family background?

[2:45:27]

The London Jewish Cultural Centre which no longer exists, but just before it merged with what is now the JW3. The... centre on Finchley Road. Just before that, they put on a program for second generation speakers, for the days when we are no longer here. And my son

enrolled with that, and he got- took all my artefacts that I take around the schools. And he set up a program and recorded it. And... hopefully when he retires – he's a very hard-working man, at the moment – but when he retires, he might take up where I left off. And his first- I went to one talk he gave, just to people as a sort of exercise as to what it was like. He was very, very good and two weeks ago – two or three weeks ago he gave his first talk to a group of school children- while I was - which he did here in Bushey, whilst I was in Manchester. So, now this– I didn't hear him, but there's been some wonderful records. And the kids are very proud of – of me, I must say. And I have had the honour of meeting His Royal Highness Prince Charles three times. Once with... the Duchess of Cornwall. I was taken actually to Vienna. They were visiting Vienna, and I and another survivor were there to greet them at the Jewish Museum in Vienna. And we had already previously met there. And also, I get tremendous satisfaction from these schools, I really do. There are some wonderful gifts I sometimes get, related to that. Not talking about a bottle of wine or a box of chocolates, which is quite often the case. But- I have at least two items which are very memorable. One is a pen sketch of my face done by a child who was twelve years old, which she made before I got there. She made it from a photograph of me, which is absolutely quite remarkable. And another one was a... a, a place- a school in Scotland, which produced a whole album of the whole day that they devoted to ...the... in honour of the Holocaust. And also sent me – that was about two years ago. And only this year, sent me a photograph which hangs in- in my hall, on canvas, of with one of the artefacts they made for that. And so, these are sort of two particular unusual gifts I went away with... from schools. They - for amusement perhaps- I don't know whether this is of interest to anybody else, but it was very funny. I went to a school in Scotland for the first time. And... of course I flew up and back the same day. And as I left, I finished around about three-thirty or something like that, they gave me a present which was a little box, gift wrapped. And it was very near the time that the taxi was going to take me to the airport. And so, I thanked them very much. And I thought it was a box of chocolates- it looked like the shape of a box of *After Eights*, which I assumed it was. And when we went through security at the airport, having been asked whether I had any liquids in my case, and having said, "No", he picked this up and he said, "What's in here?" I said, "I don't know." I told him briefly how I got it. And he said, "May I open it?" I said, "Of course." And it turned out to be a 25cl of single blend-blend scotch. And says he, "You can't take this through here." I said, "No, I'm sorry I didn't know what it was." He said, "Well you can check it in downstairs. It will cost you twenty-five pounds for checking in, or else I'll have to confiscate it." So, I gave it a moment's thought. And I said, "No, I think it's too much

to pay that. But before you confiscate it, can you let me have it?" So, he said, "Yes." I opened it up, I took a swig from the bottle. And this is of course very condensed. There were a lot of people gathering around the back of me, and I passed the bottle around and then gave him back the empty bottle to confiscate. So, there are these lighter moments that occur which... are memorable.

Would you like to show your Holocaust badge?

[2:50:46]

This is the Holocaust badge of this year's Holocaust Memorial Day. The... the, the motto of this of the 2017- 2018 Holocaust Memorial Day is "The Power of Words". And... I've been to a number of functions where this was interpreted in all kinds of ways. And of course, it is too true that we- what I do is words. I talk to people. And that's so much better than reading all the experience I've had out of a textbook. And that's in fact so very apt. The Holocaust Memorial- this is a different organisation. It's called the Holocaust Memorial Day Foundation. And their main work is from year to year to work on the commemoration of Holocaust Memorial Day on the 27th of January each year, which is- has been put in by law. It's now a fixed day. I've had the... privilege of meeting the Prime Minister, Mr. Cameron, in his day. So, I get as much out of this as I put into it, really. So, it's very nice indeed.

Indeed. The power of words... is very important.

Yes indeed.

You speak now to school children right across the country. But were you always able to speak about your experiences, or did you hide them away internally?

[2:52:31]

I don't think either of these are really true, to be honest. I did- told my wife everything that happened. I didn't see any need to tell anybody else, unless somebody specifically asked me. And there was no reason why specifically asked me. And in fact, I often think back to my twenty years at Middlesex. I don't think, unless I'm kidding myself, that any of my

colleagues of whom there were many, and it was a fantastic fraternity in that- in the academic world, where you had lots of contacts with your colleagues. I don't think any of them had any thought that I wasn't born in England. You don't go around telling people, "Would you like to know where I was born?" They had no real reason to ask me where I was born, because I'm told – and I'm sure this must be about right - that I have very little, if any, accent. So, nobody would suspect I wasn't born anywhere other than here. And the conversation never came up. If there had been or it had been, I suppose I would have told them. But I didn't- and also in the- this is academic career was from 1964 to '84. Nobody spoke about it yet for the simple reason - it wasn't history yet. It was- had happened just a few years ago. Now we are at the stage where it is history. And it's taught as a history- a part of the history curriculum for year nines in particular. That's where it is. So, the vast majority of my talks are to pupils in year nine. But there are instances that I sometimes go to a university. Manchester was one case last- a couple of weeks ago. And, or- and sometimes I get invited to adult... cultural groups. I give schools priority, and therefore try to confine that to the periods when schools are closed in the summer or the- the vacation periods.

[2:54:50]

Because in my view, and I finish my school talks with these words: "It is always true that nobody has had either the courage, or the thought of being rude and asking me "Why are you doing this?" And so, I'll tell you why I do, even if you don't ask. And the simple reason why I'm doing this, is because my generation in the 20th century has learned absolutely nothing from this biggest disaster in humanity. Not just in this century; not in this millennium – or in the last millennium. It is- there is no parallel to the number of people killed - outside people fighting a war - as casualties. Where not just six million Jews, that's bad enough, of which we have many records thanks to the hard work of the Yad Vashem Museum in Israel, who has now something in the order of around 5,500 names- [correcting himself] 5,500,000 of these names and some backgrounds. Not all of them, but they're getting there still. But... That is a number we know. But the Nazi government was also anti-many other groups that didn't fit in with their plans. In particular, disabled people who were in a wheelchair. They couldn't do anything for the- Germany; they could be murdered. Homosexuals, gypsies or Romani people, they- Salvation Army ...not Salvation Army...

Oh... The Jehovah Witness?

[2:56:46]

Jehovah Witnesses. Thank you very much. Yes, Jehovah Witnesses were also to be wiped out. And when you add all those together, albeit that their records are not as clear, I think you come to around about 18,000,000, thereabouts. Give or take 2,000,000 one way or the other. And when you come to those kind of numbers it really doesn't matter whether it's 18,000,000 – 16,000,000 or 20,000,000 - it is a disaster. Unparalleled. And that has gone on. And so, you would expect there would be no more genocides after this one. Unfortunately, we can point our finger to genocide after genocide that took place in the 20th century, in places like Rwanda, Cambodia... in Bosnia, in... numerous places. There are at least eight occasions which would classify as being genocides, but not necessarily – but certainly not - of that size. But I don't think anything matters about size when we're talking about genocides. The whole principle of hatred exists. And what they all have in common, that there are a group of people that can't...can't get on with groups of other people cause they're different. And we have it going on at the moment in Syria, and blood is being spilt day by day. So, my audience, I guess, and you will hopefully have learned from this that this is not the way the world should live. And I now ask you to pay me. You thought it was all for free- a free talk. No, there's nothing free in this world. I now want to be paid, but not in money. I want to be paid by your thinking about what I said. And then give me a promise, that you will never, ever yourselves engage in discrimination because of prejudice which leads to genocides in the long run. Nor will you be a bystander and watch other people do it. And I want you to think about this; it's not automatic. And as I say, it's a payment. So please raise your hands if you will stick to this perhaps as a result of my talk, or even before I started." And of course, I get a high proportion of kids putting their arms up. And I say, "Right. Now you've made a solemn promise, and I do hope you will keep it. And I'm afraid I can't promise you that you will get to a genocide-free period, but your children might, if you teach them that way. And your grandchildren might. And then we have this- have a world where we all live peacefully on this planet." I tell you [them] that, "You never heard me use the word 'racism'. I don't use it, because in my book... there's only one race on this planet called the 'human race'. And apart from the human race what else is on this planet? Animals. And if you'd like to take that word to include fish and birds and everything that lives and breathes... as a general term. And then there are plants, which can't do anything themselves. So...That's it! That's what's on this planet. And we're supposed to be above the animals. We're supposed to have... developed

from the animals originally. There's theories about this; I don't want to go into that side of it. Whatever it is, we are an animal. The animals themselves are also animals. And we're the human race of the animal world. And that is how I would like to leave you." And then I say goodbye. And it often has the right... effect.

That must be very gratifying.

[3:00:54]

It is, it is – it is, yes. I introduced that sort of little thought speech only about two years ago. Because ...I wondered if they really knew, is this just a day of sitting, you know in a corner and listening off... or is it a lesson? Well it is a lesson but not a lesson in any- any other subject. Not a maths lesson. Not a... There is something that they should take away from this. And they are mostly thirteen to fourteen years old. And as I can remember so much when I was thirteen and fourteen years old, it has a good chance that they will remember it in their adult lives. Good chance is all I can say.

Have you yourself, in this country, experienced a great deal of anti-Semitism?

Not personally, no. I've- I have seen some. I have certainly seen some disastrous destruction of gravestones in Jewish cemeteries... which I have to visit for various reasons at various times. Particularly old ancient cemeteries where the stones have been run over. And of course, I read in the paper what happens. I have never had an attack on me or anything like that. And I've never been insulted for being Jewish. But I know – of course we all know – what I read in the papers. So personally no, I've have not what I consider any incident in my life so far, that I have experienced as... I go to football matches. And I belong to a team that- I support a team which has a reputation of anti-Semitism, which is Tottenham Hotspur. But it is being very much controlled. And actually, I think they invent - exaggerate some of the chants, that it's, it's not- I don't think, myself, maybe it's because I'm a supporter of the team. But I don't think it's meant to be nasty. It's just that that has established over centuries- not- a century - plus. And it's an area that has had a high Jewish population there, and a lot of members are Jewish. So - I don't take that as seriously as some people do. I take much more seriously when people go around with knives and paint and... that which we see. And of

course, sadly, with guns. Albeit far less in this country than the United States. But we have had that in this country as well.

Do you have any personal regrets about your life and the way it's gone?

[3:04:05]

Yes, I have. That my parents didn't live to see that I made... a person of myself. When I left Vienna at the age of thirteen, I wasn't the greatest of kids. I had got better, much better, in a year, under Nazism. So, they must have been happy with that side of it. But their main memory must be me of – wherever they might be - of being not a very nice child as I started at the beginning of this interview. And it would have been nice that they would have seen that the worm turned. And I- I must say modestly I'm respected by people and... enjoy a lot of honours which I've mentioned actually in talking. Which, I make my son very proud, so how much prouder would it make my parents if they had lived to see all that? But then again, if they had lived to see all that, there wouldn't have been a problem. So, it's... That is my biggest regret, that... they never saw this. People of course tell me that if you are a believer, that they are watching you. [inaudible] I have to think about that one. And it'd be nicer if they were here to see it or at least the beginning of it. That I was capable of... education.

And that they would have been proud of you.

Yes, of course they would. As I'm proud of my son. My son is fantastic. He went to... London School of Economics. He's got a First Class Honours degree in Law. My two grandchildren all got degrees at university. I'm very proud of all that they've done. And my granddaughter... has a total abomination of hurting anything that lives. That includes a fly. She doesn't want a fly swatter. A mosquito she will not kill – she doesn't want to kill. She's over the top [laughing] in my view, in that respect. And she will always get them out of the room, but she will not kill anything. That's maybe her- the way her parents brought her up I don't know, but... so that's it. She's as kind as can be. My grandson is... normal about these matters.

Did your children miss having grandparents when they were in school?

[3:06:52]

Well, I guess they must have done, because they were the only ones who didn't in their classes and so on. And everybody talked about grandparents. Of course... they had a grandmother, which was... my wife, my wife - the younger ones. And ...and my son had a mother, much older- he had one grandmother. But of course, from the from the partners' side they had grand- grandparents. So... I was just the, the one from my- from the Bibring side. And I've discovered actually in some years that there is actually a very large Bibring clan on this planet, which I didn't know about when I was a child. It appears that my mother came from a very large family. I think it was twelve children. Four of them died at childbirth or – or in, in infancy. And the name Bibring, actually, should not be mine. Because she was the daughter of a Bibring, and although she married twice, it was never recorded in civil marriages. And so, she was known as Bibring, whereas she should have been really known by her husband's name. As Bibring is a much nicer sounding name than the other two, I'm very happy [laughs]. Yes. So that is actually the family tree. And... I came across, or he came across me, some twenty-five years ago, probably. I- somebody contacted me from the United States, whose great-grandmother was a Bibring. And he was a very keen genealogist, and he made a family...

[3:08:55]
[sound break – interruption]

Well, this genealogist- it was- not professionally. But he- he was an amateur genealogist and he was absolutely amazing in the detail. And he finished his own family, and now started to work on the- his grandmother's name of Bibring. So, it's his grandmother. And... has produced a family tree all about Bibrings, which is eighty-three pages long in very small... type. And he's- he put everything in that I knew. But- and there are so many different branches, that there has been a difficulty in connecting them. Unfortunately, the man died to my knowledge a year ago from now. I sent him the news of my latest great-grandson, and his wife answered and said that he had died a year ago... which was most horrible, because he went to bed with an apple and choked to death on this apple. Anyway, this was quite horrible. But- but he- and I have this tree and often look at it. Because it just hasn't got names. Every person he's got, he's got the... the- what do you call? The...

The descendants?

[3:55:29]

...degrees north and fifty degrees west of this. As I mentioned to you my mother was born in Sambor; he's got the position of that. And backgrounds to practically everyone in that. That's what takes up the eighty-three pages. So... it is really amazing. But unfortunately, that's now frozen, because I don't think anyone – although he's got six children – I don't think anybody is going to pick it up- do it with such detail. It really was a hobby.

But do you have a copy of it?

Yes, I have it.

But you could add to that.

Well, I can add to my copy, but obviously he's got it on his computer, and it won't get added to his original. Because... Nobody's dealing with it. His wife isn't, and she told me he died, and nobody's touched this thing since he died. Of course, the children are now grown up. Although he died very young. I mean his children are still of an age where they're not necessarily interested in that particular... hobby. It was a hobby. A, a - a maniacal hobby.

You spoke earlier about speaking in the schools and your contribution as a survivor. Is there anything else that you would like to add, or, that has been discussed earlier and that you'd like to add to? Or... a special message for anybody – including your family members – who might in the future be watching the DVD of this interview?

[3:57:16]

Well, I don't think so. I think the message at the end of the given talk applies to everybody; it doesn't necessarily apply just to school children. Some grownups need to come to grips with that idea. And the whole object of that is like we said, "The Power of Words" is such a wonderful phrase for this year. And "The Power of Words" should tell people to watch out...

that we don't repeat it any more often! People say, "Do Not Repeat It". It has been repeated – about six or eight times, depending on what you want to put in that category. But certainly, what they all have in common is hatred and... and prejudice... leading to hatred. And that is really what we need to... get out to our young people. That they should really use the word 'hate' other than they hate spinach, perhaps. That's about it. It should not be in their vocabulary. And... Pipe- pipedream maybe, but that's what I'd like to see, people not to talk about that. I mean I often get asked the question from my children. And ask me, "Do you hate the Germans?" And I say, "What kind of hypocrite would I be, if said- I turn around and, "I hate the Germans."?" What have the Germans who are living today done to me? Yes, if they're older than me, and by God that's old- yes, if you catch any of them still at this stage, hold them to account. But that's gone. We're talking about four generations down the road. Their parents certainly had nothing to do with it. And grandparents have to be older than me, and so you don't find people much older than me around. And so- it's ended! The Germans are very much pro-Euro- European. And it's such a shame that we're going to leave this... organisation of brotherhood. We can look back, since 1945, which was the end of the Second World War. That as a result, I believe strongly of the European Union. It's the longest period in Europe there haven't been any wars against- one country against another. There have been revolutions, yes. In- what was Yugoslavia. But it was also driven by the same...by the same motto. It was again, a- groups of people hating other groups of people in their own country. And that comes into my category. But as far as war is concerned, the French against the Spaniards. And the Spaniards against anybody else, that hasn't happened for over a century now. And I am convinced that it's not- not that much- there is an input from that, from the European Union... because we help them. We are in a union. And I'm very sad that we are likely to be mo- leaving that. I still would like to see thinking about this more deeply. But... I don't think it's going to happen.

How did you feel returning to Vienna after the war?

[4:00:44]

The very first time, I was very scared. Because it was 1951, and I was... a young man of... twenty-six. And... And...'51- yeah. Yeah. And I got on a tram in Vienna... and looked at a man across the seat, and... was he the man that shoved my mother into the... gas oven? That can no longer happen. So, it has changed, and I love to go to Vienna now. It is a beautiful

city. It is very- it has re-re-revived its traditions of music and culture that everybody knows...who has been in Austria. For that matter, it's a German feature, but is certainly very strong in Vienna. And you can't go ten yards in Vienna somewhere where you don't hear music. And their culture is very high in schools. Their children speak English very well, so it's... I, as I say, over the years... it has changed dramatically. They were suffering – 1951 they- Austria was still a divided land. It was occupied by the four major countries that won the war: France, Soviet Union, America and England. And the country was divided into four sections. And Vienna itself was also divided into four sections. And there was this animosity going on. In the city itself, there was a Soviet centre, there was a French centre, there was... And- but I mean in part the- the French and American and English sectors were living like friendly neighbours. But the Soviet centre had a border! And... So, looking back at those times, and what- looking how Vienna lives today, there is absolutely no comparison at all. As I think- I don't know if I mentioned this earlier, but- it is only since the mid-1990s – 1980s, '90s- I can't remember now the actual year - that the Austrians stopped calling themselves victims of, of – of Communism- of Nazism. Before that, they said to everybody, they were actual victims, they were overrun. Which was rubbish, because they were- welcomed the Nazi ideology with open arms. And there were good exceptions like the one I quoted- I experienced. But by and large, the whole Austrian population was as guilty as the German population for what had happened. Maybe it's just as bystanders, and which I've said before, is... something that we must not abide. And so there was a particular Chancellor. His name was... it escapes my mind. And he made a speech once and said he's - I'll think of his name perhaps before we finish. But he said he was born after the war broke out- "We've got to stop calling ourselves victims of Nazism. We were perpetrators."

[4:04:23]

That's a brave statement.

Pardon?

A brave statement.

Yes, very brave. What's his name? ...I'm afraid my memory- Not- my memory of names is not good. My memory of things that happened is OK.

It's been tremendous.

Yeah.

Is there anything else before we end that you'd like to add or to mention?

No, I think I've- no, I think that's just about as much as I can... leave behind me. It's actually my hope that people learn to live with each other. If I look down from somewhere and see what's going on, after my time has come, I'll then- I'll watch out and see how much of that has improved. But it will take generations. It will take generations. I have no illusions about that. But I'm very worried that my great-grandchildren might grow up into a world that is not as pleasant as the one that we live in. And it's possible, unless we get this under control. Thank you very much.

Thank you very much indeed. Greatly appreciated. It's a tremendous contribution. Thank you.

Thank you.

[End of interview]
[4:05:48]

[4:06:09]
[Start of photographs and documents]

Photo 1
This picture is of my mother, taken in 1922. That was the year my parents married, in Vienna.

Photo 2
This is a picture of my father Michael Bibring, also in the year of their wedding, 1922. Clearly not their wedding picture, you don't get married in raincoats but that's... my father.

Photo 3

This is a picture of me taken in 1926. I'm sitting up, so it is probably a picture of my first birthday, in December. So purely by the fact that I'm sitting up, I must be getting up to being around one year old.

Photo 4

This is a picture of the family of four. Again it's 1927, but I don't know the part of the year. Gerti is- would be four years old in September of 1927. It strikes me that that might have been taken for that occasion. Because I'm still in a sort of a contraption that holds me, and also, I can't quite stand yet. So that would- because I would probably be not quite two yet. So, that's my guess. Around about the autumn of 1927. My father and mother Michael Bibring and my mother Lea Bibring. Although she was known as, her nickname was 'Duna'.

Photo 5

This picture is of my uncle and aunt. They- that's Anna Cormuss, was my mother's sister and her husband was Sigmund Cormuss. Taken in 1939. Once more, I do not know what part of 1939, but I rather imagine it was before I left Vienna, because after I did, it would have been very difficult to send this kind of picture through the post. It may have been otherwise my mother's sister Anna with her husband Sigmund Cormuss. Anna Cormuss, Sigmund Cormuss.

[4:08:34]

Photo 6

This- these two pictures, firstly the top one is actually taken on a season ticket for the transport tram-work... tram in Vienna. And it is a picture of Walter Cormuss, the youngest son of the picture of Anna and Sigmund was seen previously. I'll say it again? OK.

This picture is of Walter Cormuss, son of Anna and Sigmund Cormuss, taken in 1934. It's on a season ticket for the trams.

Photo 7

This is a picture of my father's shop, taken clearly before Kristallnacht when it was destroyed. I don't know when. Probably a couple of years before that, with the technology of the day, which was a box camera. And I actually took this personally.

Photo 8
And this is a picture of me in a garden. I can't remember which garden. It's 1940, so I'm just fourteen- I'm fourteen years of age.

Photo 9
This is a picture of my sister Gerta, or Gerti, as I always called her. I believe this picture is taken on her honeymoon in Princes Risborough in 1942.

[4:10:09]

Photo 10
This is a picture of Sidney Gold, leader of the- 'Sidney Gold and his Music' who befriended me, and I befriended him. Who introduced me to his sister, who, sometime later than this picture was taken, became my wife.

Photo 11
This is a picture of my wedding to Muriel Gold on the 3rd of August 1947 in the- at the Willesden Synagogue in London.

Photo 12
This group picture is from my wedding again, on the 3rd of August 1947. To my left stands my- Muriel's mother. The- her widowed mother, Sarah Gold. And to Muriel's right, stands the best man, Kurt Weiss, with his wife.

Photo 13
This is the grave of my father to refer to in the *Zentralfriedhof* – Central Cemetery in Vienna. The inscription in the English words, are: "Lea Minna Bibring aus Stanislau", which was my father's mother. Died on the 26th of December 1929 – my fourth birthday, but it says here "On her 68th- in her 68th year". *"Die Mutter war's. Was braucht's der Worte mehr?"* "She was a mother. What else is need to be said? And it is a custom in Vienna to bury people on

top of each other. So, my father lies on top there. And it reads on top of his mother and it reads: "Michael Bibring, born 4th of July 1991 [1891]. Died 26th of November 194-1940." And below that I had the inscription put on to remember my mother. It says, "Lea Esther Bibring. Born- born Schneider. Deported in 1942."

And the inscription?
I can't read that.

Photo 14
This is the shop that was my father's, renovated and completely rebuilt by the shop that used to be next door which was a flower shop, and which is now a very large flower shop. And it looks exactly like that today. ...That's the last.
We'll just do the first and last...

OK... ok...

[4:12:58]
[Long audio break, some brief conversation while technical needs are sorted]

[4:20:40]

We're nearing the end, Harry.

Ok, I'm not bothered. I'm not going anywhere.

[4:22:00]

Document 1
This is the last form of correspondence that my sister and I were able to have with my mother, after my father died. And the Americans were now in the war. So, it was a form issued by the Red Cross on which we were allowed to write twenty-five words. And it was delivered to my mother about three months later by a Red Cross courier. My mother was then allowed to per-write twenty-five words on the back of it, which came back to us. And that's why they- I have them. It's full of stamps from the officials.

Document 1-reverse side.

This is the reverse side of that Red Cross letter, which my mother replied on while the courier was waiting. She writes, “Dearest children, since January this is the fifth letter I’ve replied - indeed by this route. I’m pleased to hear that you are in good health. Live well, Good Luck for your life, and I kiss you and hold you against my heart. Mother.” And it’s dated 1st of June 1942. The last of these letters that came back was dated the 11th of June 1942. And although we kept on writing them after that, none came back because my mother was deported by then.

Document 2

This is one of my most prized possessions from visits to schools in England and Scotland and Ireland, where a twelve-year-old child named Ellie Wareham made this sketch of me at the age of twelve before she actually met me. She took the- took the- made this from a photograph before I arrived the school. It’s a unique piece of artwork, I think.

Document 3

This is a coffee-table book that- produced by the teacher at Firrhill High School in Scotland, where my visit was only a part of what she called a ‘Diversity Day’. And inside there are comments from all the people who participated on this full day dedicated to the Holocaust. There are most amazing contributions by a number of people including me, inside.

Photo 15

This is a picture of celebrating our Golden wedding Anniversary on the 3rd of August 1997. In our home.

Photo 16

This is a picture of my wife and I celebrating our 61st wedding anniversary on Loch Lomond in Scotland. Sadly, she died the following February. This is 3rd of August 2008. And she died on the 20th of February 2009.

Photo 17

Right, this is a very- fairly recent picture of almost my whole family. Reading- on the back row reading from left to right is the wife of my grandson. Next to her stands my granddaughter. Next to her stands my daughter-in-law holding my great-grandson. Ray - Rafi. Then there next to her is my son. Below in the front row, is my granddaughter's husband, Ray Bloom. Myself and my grandson on the right in the front.

[End of photographs and documents]
[4:26:34]