

IMPORTANT

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Interview Transcript Title Page

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Interviewee Surname:	Paucker
Forename:	Dr. Arnold
Interviewee Sex:	Male
Interviewee DOB:	6 January 1921
Interviewee POB:	Berlin, Germany

Date of Interview:	5 July 2004
Location of Interview:	London
Name of Interviewer:	Dr. Anthony Grenville
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**REFUGEE VOICES:
THE AJR AUDIO-VISUAL TESTIMONY ARCHIVE**

INTERVIEW: 66

NAME: ARNOLD PAUCKER

DATE: 5 JULY 2004

LOCATION: LONDON

INTERVIEWER: ANTHONY GRENVILLE

TAPE 1

Tape 1: 0 minute 28 seconds

AG: First of all I'd like to thank you very much for agreeing to do the interview with us. I'd like to start by asking some straightforward formal questions. Could you just state your name at birth, please?

AP: My name at birth was Arnold Paucker.

AG: And where were you born?

AP: In Berlin.

AG: And the date?

AP: Berlin, Charlottenburg, which is important.

AG: We'll come on to that.

AP: It wasn't Berlin yet then.

AG: And what was your date of birth.

AP: The 6th January 1921.

AG: Perhaps I could start by asking you something about your family background? You said that your family lived in Charlottenburg. What sort of background did they come from? What sort of life did they lead?

AP: I can only say that my family were a very assimilated Jewish family, totally and absolutely and fairly well off as well; liberal both as regards to religious affiliation and as regards to German politics. Like most German Jews, voters of the German Democratic party.

AG: Did your father actually come from Berlin originally?

Tape 1: 1 minute 53 seconds

AP: No, I think the family moved from Frankfurt am Main before the First World War.

AG: And what was your father's name?

AP: Wilhelm.

AG: And when was he born?

AP: He was born in 1891.

AG: Could you say something about him? What sort of man was he?

AP: It's always very difficult to say something about your father. He was not an intellectual and I'm afraid not all that good a businessman either because actually the firm went bankrupt before Hitler came to power. It didn't need Hitler to do that. He was a very, very nice man with exquisite manners. My wife says I haven't exactly inherited that but then of course we were all emigrants. He was a gentleman.

AG: And what sort of business did he run before it went bust?

AP: He was a manufacturer on a not all that large scale of leather goods – Offenbacher Lederwaren, like my grandfather, like his father, and they sold their goods in a number of shops in central Berlin.

AG: Was it actually the Great Depression that caused him to go bust?

AP: Well, gradually, not entirely bust, I mean the shops did exist till 1932, but most of our wealth had gone and my mother's as well, but that's a different story.

AG: What about your mother? What was her name and her maiden name?

AP: Her name was Wolf and she comes from a very important German tobacco fortune, I would say. Löser [?] Wolf is very well known. She is one of the many Wolfs. I don't want to make her out to be an heiress. She was one of the tribe. But there was money and that money was lost in the inflation.

AG: And when was she born?

AP: She was born in 1889. She was almost three years older than my father.

AG: And where was her family from?

AP: I think part of the family was German and part of the family came from Czernowitz, as my wife pointed out, but I would say that it was German in the sense that German was her mother tongue, even the Czernowitz half only spoke German. In fact, till my mother had to leave and came to the United States after the war, her only language was German. I digress occasionally. Does that matter?

Tape 1: 4 minutes 58 seconds

AG: Not at all! Was your mother's side, coming more recently from Czernowitz, more religious, more obviously Jewish?

AP: Partly, it was a mixture, her father and mother, grandparents, partly an old German Jewish family, partly a Czernowitz family.

AG: Did you ever go yourself back to Czernowitz ?

AP: I've never been to Czernowitz and until a few years ago, I've never been to Romania, but I've now been a few times.

AG: And how observant was your family, if at all. Did they observe holidays?

AP: Not at all, not before Hitler came to power, not at all. But after 1933 my grandfather instituted a few things.

AG: That's interesting. Do you think that's because the Nazis came to power that they felt they were more consciously Jewish?

AP: Well, yes, it was generally the case that people who were very remote from any religious observation gradually, to some degree, returned to the fold. This is I think a general phenomenon. It didn't go very deep, I have to say.

AG: Could you tell me a bit about your family home, what sort of area Charlottenburg was and so on?

AP: We owned a house in Mommsenstrasse, it's parallel to Kurfürstendamm. Mommsenstrasse 1. A beautiful house! We only inhabited part of it. It still exists and it is frequently visited by my friends to look at it.

AG: I shall go and look at it when I'm next in Berlin.

AP: Yes, people even managed to go up. I didn't.

AG: Was it a large house?

AP: 4 or 5 floors, I think.

AG: And in this house obviously there lived your parents and yourself. And did you have brothers and sisters at all?

AP: I had only one brother.

AG: And what's his name?

AP: His name's Kurt or was Kurt.

AG: And was he older or younger than you?

Tape 1: 7 minutes 19 seconds

AP: He was 4 years younger. I just digress if you ask that later. He had quite a shattered history. That there is a life or was a life after the war is almost a miracle.

AG: I'll try and bring that out as we go along. What do you recall of life at home? How do you remember the house – the furniture, the things that were in the house.

AP: It was a very comfortable home, good bourgeois food, although I wasn't very interested in that as a boy, I'm afraid. But, as I say, it was comfortable, with engravings and the sort of limited library the Jewish middle classes had – Maierbach [?] Klassiker, from to Grillparzer to Goethe, but not book collecting, not like this.

AG: Did your parents have cultural interests or past-times?

AP: Yes, to some degree. They did occasionally go the opera or to concerts, but I wouldn't rate it very highly.

AG: And what about their social life? Did they have a circle of friends?

AP: Yes. As was usual in these times, most of their friends were Jewish middle class, but they also had quite a number of Gentile friends. In fact my mother's best friend was a Gentile, and they remained faithful as well. Our experiences are very good ones.

AG: And coming on to yourself now. Could you tell me a little about your education? What was the first school that you went to?

AP: I was sent to the equivalent of a Secondary Modern, a Volksschule – 19ter Volksschule in the Bleibtreustrasse. And at the age of, it must be 10, I went to the Kaiser Friedrich Realgymnasium, Savignyplatz, which was a corner of Knesebeck, which actually meant that I never had to cross a road to go to school one way or the other, as long as I was in German schools.

AG: And what were your memories of the first school, of the Volksschule? Were there other Jewish children there?

AP: Yes, it was a very Jewish neighbourhood. Although it was perhaps more noticeable later on in the grammar school, where half the boys must have been Jews. It was somewhat less in the Volksschule but it was a very Jewish neighbourhood.

AG: Were you a promising student at that stage?

AP: No! Let's put it like this: if you take the early years. I was only interested in German and in history and I was very good at German and history, and eventually I became a Germanist and a historian. But when it came to everything else, particularly languages or maths, I was really quite dreadful. I was also very idle.

AG: Do you remember your school days, let's say the first school, as happy?

Tape 1: 11 minutes 13 seconds

AP: Yes, I must say that school days were happy, both in the Volksschule and the early years in the Gymnasium. There are many reasons for it – one had many Gentile friends, particularly in the early years in the grammar school, who again remained faithful till they died some years ago. That is not everybody's experience, but it is certainly mine.

AG: It's nice to hear. Did you have friends also, did you make friends, at the Volksschule? Did you feel at home there?

AP: Yes, there was no problem. In fact, I will have to say later on that, politically, I was very precocious and the teachers in the Volksschule were usually Social Democrats and occasionally even Communists. One was aware of that, or at least I'm aware now I'm looking back, and that was not the case in the grammar school where the adults grammar school master was far more rightwing - not everyone either, my experience is mixed and one or two people in my grammar school behaved beautifully. I mean the ordinarius, the form master, Professor Schulz, and my Catholic French teacher, Dr. Ehler, never became Nazis and behaved very well till I left.

AG: When you were at your Volksschule, were you aware of tensions between Jews and Gentiles?

AP: Not then. After all, I left the Volksschule in 19-, let me see, 30, roughly, end of 1930 and I was more politically aware in the two years before Hitler came to power. At that time I was already a grammar school pupil.

AG: What were studies like in this Realgymnasium? It must have been, it was, a fairly prestigious institution.

AP: It was quite rigid. I don't think one was taught very well unless you had - and I went all my school life in Germany – if you had an inspiring teacher, and I had eventually a geology teacher who was absolutely superb, so of course I'm not really interested in science, but I got fascinated by geology.

AG: What was his name? Do you remember his name?

AP: It may come back to me later.

AG: It doesn't matter.

AP: I think his nickname was Rübchen. It was the form of his head. Rübchen, yes, definitely. He was superb but in general the teachers were not inspiring. The fact that I was good in German and in history was partly my own interest, my own reading.

AG: Were there things that you read outside school with particular interest, do you remember?

AP: No, outside school that was something quite different. Certainly I didn't pursue this interest, although I was always an avid reader from the beginning. Outside there was the Youth Movement and that's important of course.

Tape 1: 14 minutes 48 seconds

AG: Yes, please tell me about that!

AP: Because I'm old enough to have been in the German Youth Movement. I was in the Deutscher Republikanischer Pfadfinderbund. You would call that Boy Scouts, if you like, but certainly Republican, loyally Republican. In some of the Youth Movements, Jews were not desired; in others there was no problem. But for instance in the famous DJ111 – Deutsche Jugend 1911, there were quite a lot of Jews and it was a very fine movement, and in the Deutscher Republikanischer Pfadfinderbund every third member must have been Jewish, very strong.

AG: And where did they meet, the Pfadfinderbund? Where did you have your meetings?

AP: First of all, you were enrolled and that happened virtually at the beginning of my grammar school existence. I was a member for 2 years. And the meetings, well, the meetings of youth movements, that depends, that depends on the background. Actually, our so-called Führer, you know that's a terrible word but they were always called the leader, were very wealthy, it was very much a middle class family. Some were very wealthy. So, the group – it was always a group – met in parental homes, which were very posh. I remember later on in the Jewish Youth Movement, we met in a coal cellar. It just happened, we had one father, who was a shoemaker; he had a big coal cellar, we met there. That was later of course.

AG: Of these wealthy people, was there anybody particularly notable or anybody you remember particularly?

AP: I have two close friends from then who I also mentioned in my book of essays, in my life at the end, called Heinz or Heinfried Eberhard and Robert Heinzelman. They stuck to me and to my parents as long as we were in Germany and we met again after the war. In fact, they looked for me in Palestine but I had already left.

AG: What became of them in the post-war years?

AP: Well, they were of course conscripted into the army. One was taken prisoner by the Red Army and the other deserted eventually at the end of the war. Certainly politically they always remained all right. It is their background, in both cases staunch social democratic families. Robert Heinzelman's father became a senator, the finance senator, in the first Berlin administration after the war, under Reuter. Of course afterward, I called it a liberation and the Germans called it a catastrophe. But he was – whom I also met again after the war, ja? No, these were to some degree parental homes, as I say, staunch social democratic homes. I must though, again that is a digression, that almost all the people who worked for my father were either Social Democrats or Communists and they kept faith till the last. As I say, part of my family was saved by Communist activists during the war, hidden by them for 3 years, not my parents, they had left before, so when it comes to these groups, our , not my parents, they had left before, so when it comes to these groups, our experience was very good.

AG: Do you think that might be something that is rather particular to Berlin?

Tape 1: 18 minutes 48 seconds

AP: Yes, it is particular for two reasons. First of all, it is particular to Berlin and possibly also to Hamburg, particularly to Berlin, where after all we know that even in March 1933 Hitler did not get much of the votes. The Communist and Social Democrats together had more. That is obviously but there were other reasons – many Jewish employers, particularly small employers, small manufacturers, where relations with them and their employees were close, were very benign and very much loved by the people. I remember the cashier of our firm visited my parents till the day before they left Germany in 39.

AG: That's brave.

AP: Ja, I mean I know that experiences are mixed. It so happens that our family had very good experiences.

AG: Is there anything else that you'd like to tell me about this Republican Youth Movement, the German Youth Movement?

AP: Yes, well, it was not overtly political. These German youth movements are of course a German peculiarity as you know and it was a question of reading when you were very young Rilke and George and Hermann Hesse, what's called cult books today and all that, not political, there was no political indoctrination. I have written about this quite copiously. And I left it once briefly after a personal quarrel and joined the more proletarian organisations, like the Rote Falken. Although politically I agreed with them, personally I couldn't cope with the boys – they were largely working class. It's a horrible confession to make but it didn't work and so ruefully I returned to the movement. The movement was one of the first youth movements outlawed by the Nazis, that's rather important, in 1933, very quickly, 2 or 3 months before the rest was outlawed. However, it renamed itself, Jungenschaft Sankt Georg, which was a riot if you think that so many Jewish people were there. But that didn't last much longer and I remember still, again I've written about this, how in May 1933 most or all of the Jewish movements, being outlawed or about to be outlawed, burnt their flags in the Hasenheide, so that it should not fall into the hands of the Nazis. And then there were the obligatory Lagerfeuer, God knows how to translate that, you know Lagerfeuer?

AG: Yes, it's like a sort of campfire.

AP: There was singing and we were singing, 'Wenn alle untreu werden, dann bleiben wir doch treu'. That actually comes from the Wars of Liberation of 1812 but it's interesting. And that was the end and then all the Gentile boys, of course boys and girls were not together in movements at that time, were absorbed by the Hitler Jugend and the Jewish boys went into Jewish youth movements.

AG: Which Jewish youth movement were you in?

AP: I chose the Werkleute, I always call it mildly Zionist, I suppose it was Zionist – Socialist, and I always add that somehow I preferred the Zionist-Socialist Youth Movement with a German name and Werkleute was the only one, all the others had Hebrew names. One was very assimilated still.

AG: So your sense of your own identity, well, I won't say more German than Jewish but...

Tape 1: 22 minutes 59 seconds

AP: Well, it certainly was till 1933 or 1934. Things then changed.

AG: Did you have any incidents even before Hitler came to power, say at school or with teachers?

AP: It was very rare. Oddly enough – you played in the streets, everybody did, you played marbles or you had a gang, that sort of thing – and there were very few incidents and once or twice when there was something, I was defended by my Christian friends, who were physically stronger as well and that didn't happen very often, so actually there wasn't a lot of that. Not even after 1933, not really. I mean obviously part of the Gentile boys at the grammar school were Nazis, but they left me alone; we even talked to one another. Things changed later, I know that, but we're talking here about an earlier period.

AG: What about the teachers?

AP: Right, after 1933, I think many teachers were Zentrum or Deutschnational, some of course appeared almost immediately in Nazi uniforms; that was quite common.

AG: How did you feel about that?

AP: On the whole, they left me alone. I had to leave school - I was as I say politically very precocious and I allowed myself various things before I left Germany – and in my school where half the pupils were either Jewish or not Nazi, we used to play a game when there were the school meetings. You had to sing 'Deutschland, Deutschland über alles' and 'die Fahne hoch' and we had a trick by shouting 'Deutschland, Deutschland über alles' in such a way that the Nazi anthem sounded rather feeble afterwards. And I have been one of the people who organised that and that was actually one of the reasons why I was removed from school even earlier than I had to go. I think it was intimated to my father that he had best remove me but eventually everybody went.

AG: Do you actually remember the day of Hitler's assumption of power?

AP: Oh, I remember it very, very well. You couldn't help remembering it because the Torch Light Parade went from all over Berlin to the Reichskanzlei and of course being a parallel street to Kurfürstendamm, I remember the SA marching troop after troop. But of course I also remember from the year before Communist and Socialist demonstrations. Often the police pushed them into Mommsenstrasse running parallel and the trucks were sometimes, I remember trucks with Communist activists directly outside our balcony, even what they shouted.

AG: How did your family, how did your parents react to the takeover of power by the Nazis?

AP: Well, it was the usual dismay coupled with the hope that it may not last. I must say though, when I say that, I became very early a convinced anti-fascist, even still in Germany, and I may have to say something about that. But it was interesting that my father, who, as I say, was not politically minded, had only one name for this lot. He called them 'diese Verbrecher', these criminals.

Tape 1: 27 minutes 11 seconds

AP: And that shows me today when I look back that he was more astute than I thought because they really were criminals, so he was right! I'm very pleased that he said that all the time.

AG: Were your parents affected by measures that the Nazis took?

AP: No, obviously there were economic difficulties, partly resulting from before and partly aggravated by the fact that they were Jewish now, but they were not public employees, not civil servants. It did not affect them greatly, I would say. It wasn't much of a change. I have only found out now, looking through – I've got here oodles of correspondence – and looking through a number of old letters, that my father, who from 34 to 36 was positively unemployed - well, that I remember very well, we were really very badly off - from 1936 to 1938 became a commercial traveller for a firm called Gewürz, because I'm looking at his papers and I didn't know that. In other words, after I had left Germany for two years, he worked again.

AG: Was this a Jewish firm?

AP: I don't even know what it was, must have been Konfektion, probably it was. Something with leather goods, could have been, I don't know. It doesn't say, it's just a certificate – 'We hereby etc.'

AG: Was your brother's education also affected? He'd be a bit younger than you.

AP: I should say shortly, first of all he was 4 years younger and so he never managed a grammar school in Germany and he was sent by my parents, I can do this very briefly, he was sent by my parents to France, in the Spring of 1939, to a Jewish school, which was attached to a grammar school and gave a good grammar school education. The school was evacuated in 1940, end of 40, beginning of 1941, to the south of France, to the unoccupied zone, and the school was deported to Auschwitz, I believe, in October 1942. Now, education-wise, by that time my brother was bilingual and had a good three years' education in France. My brother is the only survivor of the school.

AG: Goodness!

AP: Because he was rather tall unlike me and the teachers told him to run away, so he ran away together with a French boy. Well, I'll spare you the details, it was quite an affair.

AG: What was the school called? Do you remember the name?

AP: Unfortunately...Pauline knows, you will have to ask afterwards because she took a lot of details from my brother. Anyway that was the end of the school. My brother went to the Maquis. He was too young to fight and so they sent him with a group of German-Jewish, mainly refugees, German, Austrian - Jewish, women and children, across the Swiss border. Somehow he even managed to shepherd them, they nearly didn't allow them in, to shepherd them in. He was briefly interned, but we have a lot of family in Zurich and the Zurich Pauckers got him out after two weeks and, four weeks after he escaped death, he was already a schoolboy in Switzerland, going to the Minerva Gymnasium. Crazy, but this is the way things are if you are in a new country.

Tape 1: 31 minutes 24 seconds

And by the time, well, I will say something when I come to military service, I met my brother again a few days after the liberation, he was already a student at Zurich University. He didn't lose any time at all. He became a world-famous virologist in the United States but unfortunately died very young. But he is quite well known in connection with Interferon and things like that. So his early death is lamentable, but when it came to education he had hardly lost. He must have had his PhD before I even went up to university. Well, I was five years in the army. So that was Germany and my brother.

AG: Yes, going back to you, could you tell me something about these Jewish youth movements that you joined after you left the Republicans.

AP: Well, I was only a member of one Jewish youth movement, called the Werkleute, till the end of 1936, which was a curious combination of Jewish culture and also Zionism and some socialism and occasionally some anti-fascism. It depended entirely who were your group leaders in a way. It was culturally still very German. Whatever the Werkleute will tell you in Israel today, I can assure you how German it was. It was inevitable, most of the people who joined the Werkleute after 1933 came directly from German youth movements. Of course it resulted from a split in the Kameraden between Zionists, assimilationists if you like the word, and Communists, in 32. So the older boys and the group leaders had been members before Hitler came to power but the massive influx afterwards was of course people who would not have joined a Jewish youth movement if Hitler had not come to power. And I was a member of that movement till the end of 36, well, till October, as I say, 19th October 1936, I left with a group of the Werkleute for Palestine. Politically, I only in the last few months came under the influence of anti-fascists, who had infiltrated the various Jewish youth movements, and I've actually been - I don't want to make too much of it because one isn't a great hero, one is rather foolish and doesn't realise how one endangers one's parents at that age - but I was twice involved in a leaflet distribution action, just before I left Germany. And I still remember with great pride one of them, which asked for German working class social solidarity, was the fight for freedom of the Spanish people against fascism. I'm very proud of that.

AG: Where were these leaflets distributed?

AP: Well, mainly in working class districts. You put them under the door. One wasn't afraid either because one didn't realise the danger; you don't when you are a boy. Some of my friends, some of the boys and girls I knew, were executed later in Germany. It's all very well to say it's nothing. It became very serious once war was declared. I knew two girls, who were later in the Baumgruppe, who were executed and there were others executed as well, not just the Baumgruppe, but in 1936, you didn't have that feeling. We did wonderful things, absolutely clever, incredible what people did, you wouldn't believe it what people did in 1935-36. Somebody invented a machine where you put a lot of anti-Nazi leaflets - I don't understand, I'm rather cack-handed myself - it's a sort of water-scale, where if you weigh it on one side and then leave. We put it on top of the KDW in Berlin and after 20 minutes it moves over and it scattered leaflets all over Taentziehenstrasse and by that time we had left a long time ago. Very clever, that! I didn't do things like this. Some people were very daring.

AG: Very dangerous.

Tape 1: 36 minutes 23 seconds

AP: Also at night, at night during, what do you call that? Air raid exercises. So Berlin was dark, it was announced before. You can do anything you like in the dark. There were quite a lot of Jewish boys and girls who did. I don't want to exaggerate, it was a small minority, but they did exist.

AG: It's very interesting, yes. Did you have people who led these actions? Do you remember any of the people who organised it? Or did you help organise these?

AP: No, no, I was nothing. I was organised by somebody. I often have given names even in my writings, but I never gave his name because the last time I met him he was an officer-pilot in the South African Air Force and therefore I thought unless, and I don't know whether he is still alive, he would give me permission to release his name, I've never released his name. He was three or four years older than I am and he organised, not just me. But one mustn't make too much of it. This was a very brief episode. We weren't supposed to do it though. I mean I was strictly enjoined by – I think it was called the Reichsjugendbund – we should not do anything against the state because it would endanger the organisations and the Jewish community and of course it was quite right. I can see both sides today. I still think we were right to do it, but I can understand their point of view very well.

AG: At what stage did your parents start making preparations for you to leave Germany and go to Palestine?

AP: Let's put it like this, despite the fact that my parents never thought that what eventually happened would happen, but then of course they were as naïve as everybody else, they said our children have no future in this country and that of course is a normal reaction. They sent me to Palestine, well, they didn't, they simply gave permission. I didn't ask them really. I didn't have much of a future there either. And they sent my brother to France and we are both lucky in that sense. But that was it. They themselves stayed behind but they left Germany a week before the outbreak of the war.

AG: And they went to the States?

AP: No, unfortunately not, they had nowhere to go and they went to Shanghai. It's quite a story.

AG: Goodness!

AP: And they spent ten years there, nobody wanted them afterwards till eventually they could leave.

AG: Then they went to the States?

AP: Well, not even directly, but eventually and then by that time my brother had a chair in Philadelphia and so eventually a parental home was re-established in the United States, in Philadelphia. It is curious to think that the day came where the family was in a sense, well, I only came on annual visits from England, but the family was together again. I think roughly from 1960 it became a normal bourgeois existence in the United States.

Tape 1: 39 minutes 57 seconds

AG: Going back to yourself, did you do any preparation to go to Palestine?

AP: No, nothing whatsoever, beyond the fact that, first of all, you were indoctrinated, it was a Zionist Youth Movement. Obviously, indoctrination meant Jewish history, Zionism, Palestine and all that. And groups were formed for what was called Aliyah and so I voiced my will to go and they sent you to what was called, 6 weeks, it was called Vorbereitungslager, and I don't think that there's a German word for that, where they selected who was to go. And you know youth Aliyah groups used to go to a Kibbutz. Well, I didn't. Why? Because this particular group, which perhaps changed all my life in a certain sense, was sent to a very, very famous school. Once a year one group went there and it was usually a Werkleute group. My group wasn't only Werkleute but largely Werkleute went to Ben Shemen in Palestine, which was a very, very famous co-educational boarding school, agricultural school, but also free discipline a la Cortan [?] and Neil and all that. It was very, very interesting. So your life takes off in a curious way. While otherwise I don't know what would have happened. I would have gone to a Kibbutz, perhaps stayed there but I don't know.

AG: Didn't the Werkleute have a Kibbutz, the Hachsharah ?

AP: The Werkleute had a Kibbutz. The idea was by the end of 1938, beginning of '39, that your group would join a Kibbutz, but I must say that only half of us went. Some people left Palestine again; some had parents in the United States, so they simply went there; others went to Tel Aviv or Jerusalem. I didn't want to go to a Kibbutz. The truth is that by the end of '38, beginning of '39, I had ceased to be a Zionist, so my idea was only how to get back to Europe eventually.

AG: Just going back to leaving Germany, did you have any difficulty getting the sort of documentation?

AP: No, none whatsoever. Once you got what was called a certificate for Palestine.

AG: Was that difficult to get?

AP: No, it wasn't difficult. I mean there weren't enough of course. Palestine was only one country. Other countries also didn't take enough or couldn't take enough. But for that particular group, there were no problems, because, let's put it, the Jewish agency had so and so many certificates for young people in these years, from 1933 till 1938, and they were distributed, and in this case 30 of these went to a group of Werkleute who went to Ben Shemen. It was not a problem. There must have been some sort of visa or something in my passport, or whatever travel document I had then, but that was fixed by the Jewish agency. I don't think we had anything to do with that at all.

AG: And do you remember leaving Germany and saying goodbye to your parents and your brother?

AP: Yes, you know if you are only 16, you don't realise how serious it all is and how sad and how sad it is for the older people but we were quite oblivious. My grandparents I never saw again, you see, although they were not killed by the Nazis either. That's a different story, but my parents, of course, they realised they wouldn't see us for years.

Tape 1: 44 minutes 32 seconds

AP: But we were very lively. I remember when we crossed the border from Germany into Austria, many of us got up and sang the International and the leaders of the groups shut us up immediately, said 'You're crazy'. I just show you how foolish one was.

AG: You went by train presumably?

AP: Yes, oh yes, I remember as if it were yesterday. The train went, must have been from the Anhalter Bahnhof I think, and it went to, the station I'm not sure, I think it was the Anhalter, that I wouldn't swear to. Anyway, it went via Munich, was two hours in Munich, which gave us enough time to look at the centre, at the Frauenkirche. I've seen the Frauenkirche many times since but then. Then back to the train to Trieste. I have very vivid memory because, as I say, some of us were politically very precocious, and we went, you know the train from Germany goes probably a bit via Yugoslavia as well for 10 minutes, and Trieste, and you take the boat from Trieste. So you have a day in Trieste and I remember some of us walking about late at night whistling 'Avanti Populo' and some people whistled back. And I've never forgotten that either. There must have been a fair number of anti-fascists left. I have plenty of experience from the war about that but I'm talking here about 1936.

AG: The International is very left wing.

AP: Well, first of all young people know no fear. The fear comes later when you realise how foolish you are. But you could do that and there were in northern Italy plenty of people who opposed Mussolini.

AG: And then you went by boat from Trieste to Tel Aviv?

AP: Yes, there were two boats, the Galilea, I suppose my memory's not too bad! The Jerusalem, the Galilea, I've been on them more than once because I also made a trip later on, but I think it must have been the Galilea. It's a five days trip. Food was wonderful. It was an Italian boat, I've never forgotten that. I never liked eating much at home but it was the first time in my life when I realised what food can be like. That was splendid. I'm not the only one. Certainly much, much better than what I got later in Palestine, I can assure you. Even the school wasn't too bad, but a boat like that!

AG: And where did you dock in Palestine?

AP: Haifa, 5 days later. In fact, if I left Germany on 19th, I arrived on 26th October 1936 in Haifa and, after a night there, next morning we went to Ben Shemen by bus, arriving on 27th.

AG: And where exactly is Ben Shemen?

AP: Ben Shemen is perhaps 20 miles from Tel Aviv and very near to places like Lod and Ramallah. It was surrounded by other villages, it was pretty isolated in that sense.

AG: What was life like at Ben Shemen?

Tape 1: 47 minutes 50 seconds

AP: Well, that's difficult to say. First of all, it was an agricultural school and if you aren't very good at this and weren't very interested, well! Then, you worked 4 hours and you had 4 hours lessons. Again, I pointed it out before, although I must have become very diligent when I was much older in England, but I was certainly very idle and I didn't like lessons and I think I created a course of my own reading. I did my work because you had to work 4 hours, naturally. But when it came to lessons, I wasn't a very good pupil. But it was an interesting school, partly because of its director, Dr. Siegfried Lehmann, who was a friend of Martin Buber and it was a school which preached socialism and other Jewish understanding. Very important that, it influences you politically later on as well. So in many ways it was a very fine school. Today I look back at it with some nostalgia. I don't think I did the school enough justice in a sense. It certainly influenced me and made me become very, very left eventually. That was not exactly the idea of its director but, as I say, Jewish-Arab understanding was very, very important. They were all members of the Brit Shalom, not the boys of course. The boys were Werkleute. [...] of course were very left-wing then. It is not like today.

AG: What were relations like, as far as you could judge, with the Arabs who were around, the Arab villages?

AP: Well, this was all theory, ja? I'm afraid, after all this was a time of what was called in Hebrew the Miraot [?], 'die Unruhen', or what is it? The Troubles, if you like, between 36 and 39. In fact, the school being fairly isolated, it was a very large place, there wasn't just a school, there was a Moshav, but the area was always under fire. Nothing much happened but at night, from the forests far away people were shooting. Shooting is something you get so used to, every day. No, relations, I can't say. Certainly not in Ben Shemen itself. I mean I had very good relations with Arabs in Jerusalem before I joined the army. That's different. Jerusalem was a very interesting city altogether but we are talking about Ben Shemen though. The postman was called Ali and he was an Arab from Lod, I think he came daily with the post, very nice chap actually. There were some relations but, no, I wouldn't say there were any.

AG: What were conditions like in Palestine in the mid-1930s when you came? How did you find it as compared to Berlin?

AP: First of all, the population was largely labour and largely Ashkenaz. It was very important, whatever your politics were, you did feel a certain affinity to a country of, what was it? 500 - 600 000 people, who had a similar background if they were from Western Europe and to some degree also if they were of Russian or Polish origin. It was quite cohesive. That I thought was very important, that is the social background. It was of course a country where most people, the majority led very frugal lives, in the Kibbutzim, which were then very hospitable, so that you could go in your holidays from one Kibbutz to the other, everybody would put you up. It was very much a communal spirit. And, as I say, politically it was largely, I would call it, moderate Social Democratic labour Mapai, with a fairly large, but much smaller in comparison, left wing Hashomer Hazair [...] and all that, the Communists at the other end, but they were not very large, certainly not then. But it was largely a labour Palestine, you could say that, but again, of course there must have been a small Rightwing,. Of course they did exist, but something like Sharon or whatever and so on, if he was alive then, they were regarded as fascists and that's what we called them.

Tape 1: 53 minutes 15 seconds

AG: What about the British Mandatory Authorities? You must have been aware of them?

AP: I had some contact eventually but not very much. They were very much apart. They preferred the Arabs to a large degree I would say and I do understand why also. For them, the middle class European Jewish intellectuals, really the English didn't know what to do with them. The Palestine police, that's a different chapter, they aren't very nice; they never were very nice. But the administration, they were of course different, but on the whole there was no contact. It was an administration. My contacts came later but certainly not when you were a boy at school, never met anyone.

AG: And were you able to remain in contact with your parents in Berlin?

AP: Well, first of all, up to the outbreak of war, you could write a letter every week and you wrote a letter every week. Then I actually met my parents in Port Said a week before the war broke out because I had some contacts, which enabled me to get an Egyptian visa and for that you need to know English people in the Administration because I would have never got it otherwise. It was very difficult for a Jew to get a visa to Egypt. My passport's lying there. It's quite interesting. Obviously I kept it. And so I met my parents for a few hours on the boat at the Suez Canal before the boat went on. And the war broke out by the time they had reached Aden.

AG: Was this when they were going to Shanghai?

AP: Well, they couldn't go directly because people didn't know whether Mussolini would come in at the side of Hitler and so all the Italian boats, after all these boats, it was always Trieste and they were all Italian boats. The *Biancha Mano* [?] was a boat for the Far East. They were directed to neutral ground - Indonesia wasn't in the war, Dutch. The funny thing is that my parents really were last minute refugees and the – what was it called? Certain second class were sold out. Somehow the people who arranged that via my cousin in London got them first class tickets because that was all that was available. My parents had become very poor. They had become very poor, but what they had kept was their attire and there my parents gave me breakfast in the First Class and my father said, 'You wouldn't believe it', he said, 'Cigars and Cognac are included'. After all, the fate in the end was so harsh and what we all experienced was so terrible that it needs occasionally a little light relief and this little episode was light relief, for once. And they said: 'in the evening in the First Class, we dress up', and of course my father had a *Frack*, black tie, it was no problem for him. And yet they were poor and what they experienced in Shanghai, ten years, was really terrible, but they survived.

AG: How long did you stay at the school at Ben Shemen?

AP: Between 2 and 3 years.

AG: And did you then get qualifications?

AP: I didn't know what to do with myself. I didn't want to go to a Kibbutz. As I say, I went to Jerusalem and did all sorts of odd jobs because one had no education and no profession.

Tape 1: 57 minutes 16 seconds

At the same time, I inscribed at the Hebrew University and I attended Buber's seminar in Sociology, amongst others, but nothing counted because I had no Baccalaureate. I had no formal education. It was quite interesting to do that. I've never forgotten it in a sense but I and some of my friends who went there just benefited from it otherwise. And we stayed till the end of 1941. And then sooner or later all of us joined the British Army and that was it.

AG: I think that's a point where we can break and change the tape.

Tape 1: 58 minutes 0 second**END OF TAPE 1****TAPE 2****Tape 2: 0 minute 6 seconds**

AG: When we broke to change the tape, you were just going to start telling me about Jerusalem, when you came to Jerusalem after, you said you had some odd jobs and inscribed at the Hebrew University.

AP: Odd jobs, if you have no profession, any odd jobs you take, which is reasonable, like working in a Bezalel Museum or something, but nothing particular because obviously you weren't qualified. Also I had some relatives, I had some Christian relatives in Jerusalem. After all many Christians lived there. I think they were originally converts. So that meant that I met Arabs and English people, who were Christians. Otherwise I wouldn't, it was very unusual. The Yishuv very much kept aloof from both, particularly from English people; Arabs, that depended of course where you were. Some Kibbutzim had very good relations with the Arabs in the surrounding villages. It isn't quite like that but it depended. But English people, not really! But this, as I say, enabled me, I must have moved to Jerusalem in the spring of '39, roughly, and that enabled me to get the Egyptian visa, as I explained before. Without their help, there would have been no chance whatsoever. And I lived there till the end of 41. Apart from the university and so, I haven't really much to say. Politically I had become very leftwing.

AG: So what sort of political party or political organisation?

AP: Well, I never belonged to any party. I was briefly a member of the Young Communist League, which wasn't so unusual at that time, but didn't last that long either. But briefly, before the Hashomer Hazair, and to tell you the truth, after the war, I never belonged to a political party ever. I know what I vote for but that is neither here nor there really. I think after the war I began to be interested in book collecting. That absorbed my time.

AG: What sort of place was Jerusalem under the Mandate?

AP: Well, it was intellectually very lively and, how shall I put it? You gravitated to Tel Aviv if you were more interested in having a good time or whatever. But Jerusalem had the name of being an intellectual city.

Tape 2: 3 minutes 10 seconds

Of course it was the only city with a university at that time, so one very much wanted to live there. And it was true, a lot of very interesting people, so from that point of view it was quite nice, but of course it didn't offer anyone a future. If you have no proper professional qualifications, there's really not much you can do.

AG: Where did you live in Jerusalem?

AP: I think some of the time, in the end I know I lived in Bet Hakerem, I think, and that was a suburb, in an old Arab house actually but it was inhabited by Jews that was at the end. I must have lived somewhere else before, more in town, but I don't really recollect it very much.

AG: What about the outbreak of war? Did that affect you?

AP: Well, obviously there it was. I became afraid that in the early stages of the war it wasn't taken all that seriously. I found a great deal of naïveté, which I probably shared as well. After all, I remember in Jerusalem when the Nazis virtually [...] up to Paris and Denmark and Norway and Belgium and Holland etcetera, etcetera, and I do not think we really realised what was going to befall us. I think you can say that for most people. I wouldn't say that for all people, some people were quite sapient but it took some time for things to sink in. And that also takes you to the question of joining the army. Now, the group in then Palestine that comes out best was the equivalent of the AJR. That is an absolute truth. I say that today because of course I was very left then and had a very different attitude. I'm quite ashamed of it today. It was the Irgun Olai Merkaz Europa, the liberal Jews, who were 100% behind the British war effort and the younger people joined the British army at a time when most of the Yishuv would not want to join the British Army for a variety of reasons. The Left, and by no means only the Communists, Hashomer Hazair, Polaei Zion and more regarded it as a second Imperialist War, as you know, that kind of nonsense. Well, I shared it to some degree and my wife still berates me about that now, after 60 years, and she's quite right too, but the Yishuv as such was not enthusiastic about joining the army for a variety of reasons. Many didn't want to join the British Army and many didn't want to join at all. I would say that the great change came at the end of '41, after the attack on the Soviet Union, obviously the entire real Left in Palestine joined because of the Soviet Union, and then gradually one realised what was happening altogether and then the mass mobilisation began, '42, particularly '42, was the year of mass mobilisation where we all went.

AG: Could you tell me about your own experiences – how you joined up and where and when?

AP: Well, it was very simple. Once I decided that the time had come, I simply went to a mobilisation office, a British office, and like many others, and said you want to volunteer. So they said, 'Well', you could volunteer for any branch of the services, because we were British subjects, third class passport brown. It wasn't like the Pioneers, you didn't have to join the Pioneers, perhaps the 1940s, certainly not when I joined. They asked me which branch I preferred. It wasn't all that easy to join the Royal Air Force and particularly it was very difficult to join the Navy, but you could do that as well. Anyway I was asked and I didn't know. They asked me what I had done before and I had actually forgotten that in the last six or eight months I had a flourishing book and newspaper agency in Jerusalem. Now why flourishing?

Tape 2: 8 minutes 18 seconds

I had an older friend who horribly exploited me and let me do all the work and gave me ten shillings or something. Otherwise, he was a very nice chap and he unfortunately drowned off Haifa six months before I joined the army. You asked about Arabs, well, the main agency came via Cairo and was in Arab hands in the old city and the Arab two brothers who ran it said, 'Well, it's a shame but why don't you take over', so I took over, which means I collected my stat books and newspapers every morning in Arab Jerusalem and I had the distribution for Jewish Jerusalem and I then began to realise how horribly exploited I had been because I did rather well. So for six months I did and I mentioned that when I joined the army, so they said, 'Well, paper, we'll send you to the Royal Engineers'. The Royal Engineers consisted a) of sappers, well, we were all sappers, but on the other hand, also of survey units, map depots, things like that. So, they said paper, well, I was completely ignorant. So I joined, I think I joined at the very end of '41 and was only transferred really to Egypt, to Ishmalia, for the usual two months of square bashing, which I rather enjoyed. It's curious! Well, I liked the army altogether. Anyway, that's a terrible confession to make. Many people don't like it. Well, it was our war, if I can put it like that. And then I was transferred to a survey company of the Royal Engineers, 524 Survey Company, I stayed with them well over three years. Well, the British Army at that time! I mean, you could be in units where the commanding officer was a German Communist and the Second in Command an Austrian Catholic. Well, you know lots of people joined the army, not just in Palestine. You could join the army in Cyprus, in Kenya. It was astonishing what the British Army consisted of. Anyway, I was the reproduction clerk for three years. It was very interesting because the unit didn't only do survey, it also produced maps for the bombing of Germany and Italy. We always knew they were highly secret jobs. I always knew a day before. My job was to roll our copies up and put them, store them. I knew perfectly well which town in Germany or in Italy was in for it, I mean, for that part of the Air Force, stationed close to Italy, let's say, or so. There isn't really much to say. For three years, I did that and my only real political activity, which wasn't really political because political activities of course are frowned on in the army – I was the regional secretary for Mr. Churchill's League to aid of the Red Army front, I don't know exactly, 'League for Russia' it was called, collecting money for medical supplies, and my only recollection of this is that it was an enormous amount of money we got together. There wasn't virtually anyone who wouldn't give. My own experience, I mean we used to be in railway stations in Cairo, you see, there wasn't one who would refuse. All right, black Americans gave more than white Americans and black South Africans gave more than white South Africans, but people were very generous. Well, it was very important. We really felt that army bore the brunt and we wanted to do something. I must have collected thousands and thousands and thousands of pounds, you see. Well, it was a central place. Anyway, with Mr Churchill in charge, it was a most respectable activity. And that's it till the invasion of Italy.

AG: But your unit was part of the 8th Army?

AP: Yes, but survey units and map depots of the Royal Engineers are not fighting units and you always come a little late, so that wherever, I mean first of all there was the desert war, then via Tunisia into Sicily, but always days later.

AG: What about your relations with other members of the unit? How did you get on with them? What sort of people were they?

Tape 2: 13 minutes 18 seconds

AP: Well, the 524 when I joined it, and that is typical for many units, a unit where all the officers and NCOs were British and all the other ranks were Palestinians and gradually that changed, so that eventually after three or four years from the commanding officer down it was a Jewish unit. But I think at that very last stage I was no longer there. My life changed a little in the army. I would say this, the relations with the English officers, one could say British officers, though I think most of them were English, and the NCOs, were excellent. The NCOs were usually printers and photographers from the London area. They always reminded me of good German Social Democrats. They were wonderful people.

AG: In what way?

AP: Well, they were simply nice. How shall I say? They were reasonably well educated because obviously these are elite trade unions, printers. They were people who read. This was a citizens' army, these were not ordinary soldiers, and they impressed me very, very much. I have always felt that this type was very close to the kind of Social Democratic workers I remember, exactly as later on when I met many of the former members of the International Brigades in Spain. I thought the type of German and the type of Englishman in these brigades, apart from the many Jews there, were very, very similar. Now they are almost gone but ten or fifteen years ago when they were in their late sixties, they all looked alike. Very nice type of person, the survivors of that, so that kind of impressed me. As I say, I had no problem in the army at all and so eventually came away. I mean about the desert war and about Cairo, there is very little to say, except there was the famous Soldiers' Parliament, as you may have heard about that, but Good Lord, this is a question of age, isn't it? We created a Soldiers' Parliament in Cairo and this was my first introduction to English parliamentary life of which I knew nothing because there was His Majesty's government and His Majesty's opposition. The government was of course Labour and a lot of Communists must have been behind that. His Majesty's opposition, what was it called? Acland's party?

AG: The Commonwealth.

AP: The Commonwealth Party. Nobody voted at all. It was mainly soldiers. Eventually the army stopped it. That was after they left Cairo. It was really interesting for me. We nationalised everything. There wasn't a thing that we left alone. But, you see, for me, the people say 'My Honourable Friend' and so. You have to understand, Palestinians knew nothing about English life and so. So that is my one vivid experience in there, yes? Then we left via, there's not much to say about the desert because it didn't last long. What is more impressive is of course the Italian Campaign in which I participated always later, but moved up from Palermo to Como, over close to two years, stage by stage, and everything I liberated, I liberated three days late because it had already been liberated. It was for me in many ways a great experience, first of all culturally – I'd never been to the opera before and the first time I ever went to the opera was to Rigoletto in San Carlo.

AG: Where's that?

AP: In Napoli, Naples, a week after the liberation. And so on. Then such a beautiful country! I'd never been to Italy before. It was almost a revelation. If you're not in a fighting unit and you're behind the lines and you visit all these wonderful places. It was a wonderful introduction to Italy.

Tape 2: 18 minutes 18 seconds

AG: What about the invasion of Sicily?

AP: Well, there I didn't experience anything. We moved very, very quickly across to Bari and Taranto and to Maddaloni near Naples, after the liberation. This is all still in 1943 and in Maddaloni we stayed for many, many months, which is really outside Naples. Naples I remember really very well. Of course it was terrible, terrible poverty and starvation. They really deserved better. It was quite terrible. We moved in a few days after. The town was actually liberated, large parts of it, by the Italians themselves in what the Italians call the 'Quattro Giornate', the Great Four Days, where mainly the working class rose against the fascists and against the Nazi occupation. Many people died as well. Very, very brave. This is really a digression – my wife probably was going to celebrate her 75th birthday in Naples and there would have been a lot of people and we had two speeches, and I would have mentioned this, but unfortunately nothing came of it because she fell ill. So that was Naples. Then we moved up. Then Rome fell, so three days later we marched into Rome but, as I say, it was always afterwards, and we came to be stationed in the neighbourhood of Sienna in 1944-45. The Front was just above Florence, unfortunately. It was of course a great disaster and altogether if you think today that fifty miles away from you up north the Jews were deported. It was really terrible! Of course we didn't know, we didn't know anything, not that we were that close. But Florence was liberated. I was in on that a few days later again. There I stayed till April 1945 and I would say it was uneventful otherwise – if you're not in a fighting unit and so on. And then to the dismay of the Commanding Officer whose cherished export clerk – the Austrian Catholic had by that time become the Commanding Officer – he had a wonderful accent, well, so have I! But he always used to say to me, 'Paucker, you trag me dies [in German 'carry this for me]' and things like that. The British Army?

AG: Do you remember his name?

AP: Yes, very much so – Johann Theodor Ferdinand Schmutzer.

AG: Gosh!

AP: Schmutzer! He's no longer alive. Oh yes, we met him in England later and in Vienna, visited him.

AG: What rank was he? He was the Commanding Officer, you say?

AP: He was an Austrian Catholic; he was an anti-Nazi, naturally

AG: What rank was he?

AP: Well, eventually he was a Major but when I met him he was already an officer because he joined the British Army in Cairo because he had a very famous printing firm before emigration and he had something like this in Cairo and the army simply wanted him, so they said, 'We recruit you in the rank of Officer' and so I came to him. But, as I said, to his dismay, and to my dismay, I was moved to a newly formed map depot in Rome. That must have been roughly the 15th April. I was very unhappy but I was very lucky.

Tape 2: 22 minutes 12 seconds

The unit was sent back to Maddaloni near Naples a week or two later and our map depot was sent up north and that is how I was in northern Italy during liberation, which was of course – I always say, it depends partly on politics and partly being Jewish. The great formative experiences of my life were a) the Spanish Civil War, for my whole generation – I don't have to explain that – this was so typical for so many of us and the liberation of northern Italy, which was really a wonderful experience. It is really very difficult to convey. Must have been like the French Revolution. I've never ever experienced anything like this in my life before or after. It was a real - it was almost an insurrection to some degree. On 25th April – Bologna was actually liberated and again not by us on the 22nd – but the 25th April of course is the great day; that's the day when the German army capitulated, so the Ventecinqe d'Aprile is the Day of National Liberation, which is of course celebrated today in Italy. On that day I was in Bologna on the Piazza Maggiore. It was a wonderful experience.

AG: Could you describe the scenes?

AP: Well, I mean partisan brigade after partisan brigade with red flags marched along. Everywhere people were singing the International in every language – in German, in Hebrew. It was very left wing. You have to know that Emilia Romagna is the red belt of Italy and it took Mussolini several years to subdue them, and a lot of people don't realise a lot of people were killed by the fascists. People always think that it was just, what is it called? That stuff people give you?

AG: Castor oil.

AP: Castor oil, wasn't it? It was more than castor oil in Emilia Romagna. It was quite noticeable. It was, apart from Piedmonte, the strongest partisan region, and the partisan brigades formed already the end of '43 and many were sons of people who had been murdered by the fascists before. It was quite different in other parts of Italy. It depends where you were. And there you really felt that people had risen. Also, I always point out, for me as a Jew, I felt that we had not been alone. It's a very important feeling. So, that was this. And I remained, I think it must have been till January 1947. There were fourteen of the map depot Royal Engineers on occupation duty and I had nowhere to go, absolutely not and so it was quite a good idea to stay there. Now I come to the fact that I have an Italian branch of the family, very, very distant. They had left Bavaria in the late nineteenth century, moved to Prato, it's a textile centre, and had a large textile factory. They were Jewish but very assimilated, very mixed to some degree, but, at the end of '43, either they were with the Partisans or all the people were hidden because obviously they would have been deported otherwise. They were very wealthy and somehow I had their address, and I met them again after the liberation of Florence, and they said I should come and live with them after my demobilisation because I honestly didn't know what to do with myself. I was no longer Zionist. I didn't want to go to Palestine. I had no home. So I stayed with them for almost a year and a half and this is rather important because I wouldn't be here without them. I will explain this in a minute but this is why I am here in a sense. So, I lived with them and in the summer I joined a three month seminar at Florence University and Pauline, who was then 18, also had family in Italy, much closer family – her two cousins were famous Italian painters, actually of Spanish origin; we are a very mixed family; she's partly Jewish and partly not and the Jewish

part married again with Spanish Catholics and so on; they are half Jewish and half Spanish and they were well known painters in Florence.

Tape 2: 27 minutes 4 seconds

So, there was a family reunion but Pauline remained behind, so we met at the university, which I tend to think is romantic, but Pauline doesn't think so because she has worked out that 7% of all English women meet their future husbands in Florence, which is probably a right percentage. Anyway, what is important is that we married two years later. And there I'm very different to almost everybody else whom you interview – I came to this country as a husband of a British subject by birth, who was a child of British subjects by birth and it had to be two generations and, as I say, we didn't know that, but we simply said, 'Here we come!' We had been briefly in America, married there and then back on the Queen Elisabeth. I remember all my travel documents were removed from me immediately. Not that I was a suspicious character but I had a visitor's visa. And we landed and a week later I went to the Aliens Police in Birmingham, Pauline is a Birmingham girl, and I said, 'I would like to stay' and they said, 'Welcome to us' and I said, 'Surely, I always understood you can't just stay in any country. I have to go to the Aliens Police and have permission'; they said, 'Well have you looked at your travel documents?' Well, I hadn't looked at it – it said: Landed without Condition. They had already established on the boat husband of, of, of and they knew they had to admit me; that was the law then. They said, 'You can do what you want, you can work, you can study' etcetera. Look, I've lived almost all my life in England. I was still in my twenties, but this is the way I came.

AG: I was just going to take you back and ask you two questions. The first is when did you become aware of what was actually happening to the Jews who were under Nazi control, about the Holocaust?

AP: I know it's a question one always has to ask and of course the experiences are different and knowledge is different. Now I would say this: that it took some time to know in the army that horrible things were happening; the extent of it became known to us only after the end of the war. It was better now what we knew, that there were massacres, gradually, but not to the degree. What you call the Holocaust, for that the war had to end and I think this is the experience of most people who were in the army. We weren't exactly fed with such information either. How would you have known? But you had a hunch that things were very bad. But you knew immediately, the moment the war was over, even before, through the lines, and then a stream of survivors moved into Italy. Well, it didn't take you long to know what was what. Quite terrible, I remember that.

AG: You encountered camp survivors?

AP: A lot, ja, a lot. And of course the Zionists immediately organised illegal transportation of these people to Palestine and, although I was no longer a Zionist, I did help to some degree because we really didn't know what to do with the people. I mean, we have to look at it like that. Nobody wanted them anywhere, so I thought that was quite right. But that was a brief period. So that's my answer. Eventually I knew by 1946 what has happened.

AG: The other question was a more personal one. That is, what contact did you first of all have with your parents and what happened to them? How did they get on?

Tape 2: 31 minutes 10 seconds

AP: It's quite simple. Again, I've written about it in another book on Shanghai. We had a family post office in Zurich, in neutral Switzerland where we could all correspond with one another up to a certain degree.

AP: In the army later on, I could only send twenty five words; it cost letters,. But. otherwise, so if my mother wanted to write to her sister in Nazi Germany, she wrote to Zurich and a letter from Zurich was sent to Potsdam and that went on for two years. I've got it all here and suddenly there is a letter which came back to Zurich. It said 'Unbekannt verzogen'. My mother couldn't understand what happened to her sister. Well, you know that she was deported to her death but we didn't know that. I have all this here. It's not very nice to see that. But the post office worked. So everybody knew everything. My parents knew that I was serving in northern Italy. I haven't come to my brother yet, which is really a very moving story. We all knew from each other, that my parents had survived in Shanghai. We knew that everybody had survived.

AG: How did they get on in Shanghai?

AP: It was bad but it was not bad as for most because my mother, for some reason, is a very skilled seamstress. Now, when we were very poor in Nazi Germany, together with the mother of one of my best friends, I already mentioned him, Heinz Eberhard, they worked together and made dresses and eventually it was Frau Eberhard who sold them because, well, I don't have to explain. But she was a wonderful woman. And that went on for two years. There's a story when my parents were moved to special housing in Berlin.

AG: Where was that?

AP: That must have been in '39. I think it was near Unter den Linden oddly enough, Oberwaldstrasse. But that I can't be absolutely sure, but I think so. Her friend, Käthe Eberhard, was seen crying in the street because my mother had left without leaving an address. She did not wish to endanger her further. We came back together again after the war but, as I said, a wonderful woman. Anyway, so my mother did sailor hats and sailor uniforms for the children of the Japanese Army. Japan, you know, were in Shanghai, and my mother looks a bit Japanese as well; she even in a key moment managed to get outside sometimes. Anyway, so she earned some money, not a lot. Their housing conditions were terrible. Usually two couples had one room, all these years. But at least you earned extra money and you could go to a café house. Shanghai in a way was a European city in many ways and so on but it was pretty bad. But they survived.

AG: They were in this ghetto area?

AP: Well, it was eventually a ghetto, Hongkou , I think it was called. So they survived and as I say everybody knew where everybody was. So I talk about Bologna but a few days later I moved up to Milano. Pauline's [...] they call it Mailand, in an essay I'm just writing now because I encountered a lot of interesting people then. I encountered a number of Germans who fought with the partisans, deserters from the Wehrmacht; they were usually Communists, also Social Democrats and also people who'd been in the International Brigades and also fought with the partisans.

Tape 2: 35 minutes 20 seconds

We opened a branch of the map depot there and I went up to, it was really a few days after; it was after the end of the war. The 25th April was the Italian Liberation, but the war ended only on 7th May. On 8th or 9th May I went up to Como Chiasso. I reported to the Americans and asked for permission to telephone Zurich. That was granted and I rang my brother and he was just in town somewhere and an hour later he rang back and he said, 'Well, I'm coming down immediately'. I remember the American Major was a bit annoyed with me. He said, 'I allowed you to phone your brother, not to meet him'.

Well, I had to abase myself a little. And then my brother. It was very, very moving of course; we hadn't seen one another for so many years, I didn't even recognise him. So we sat all night long in a jeep between the Swiss, what do you call it? I don't know. Switzerland is here and Italy is here and so we sat just about here and talked. Later of course the British Army twice allowed him to visit me in Bologna. He came twice in '46. That is Italy.

AG: We got a little bit further. Perhaps we could just fill in some details? Could you tell me a little bit about your wife? First of all, what was her maiden name?

AP: A very English name – Pond. Partly an old English military family to some degree, very English, but her mother was Jewish and her father was a Methodist. He converted actually. It didn't mean anything really. Her background is, she studied art history and is an art historian, but when I met her at 18 she was still at college and a minor and we had to wait for parental permission and all that. It's ridiculous. You can't marry a penniless refugee who doesn't know where he will be tomorrow.

AG: Which college was she studying at?

AP: It was the Birmingham School of Art.

AG: And did you say you actually married...?

AP: I went briefly to America and Pauline came out to marry me and we went back.

AG: So you married in the States?

AP: We married in Cleveland, Ohio. But we were there very briefly. There isn't really much to say except it's a terrible town. It is generally agreed amongst Americans, so I'm not particularly anti-American if I mention that. It's not like Boston or New York, particularly New York or Boston, San Francisco. I mean Cleveland! Never mind!

AG: Why did you go to America? Was that for jobs?

AP: Well, I had to go somewhere. It was very difficult. I couldn't go on living on my family and in America anyone could get a job and there was no problem getting there. America is a topic I don't like to touch on because obviously I earned some money but it wasn't very nice for me. And Pauline took one look at it and said, 'Back home!' So, we went back on one of the Queens...

Tape 2: 38 minutes 58 seconds

AG: That must have been nice on the Queen Elisabeth?

AP: Well, yes, it was quite jolly. Well, yes, at that time you didn't fly. So, there we were in Birmingham in 1950 and that was 54 years ago or more.

AG: What were your impressions of England? I mean you'd never been to England before. Obviously you knew a lot of English people but you hadn't been here.

AP: Of course the army helps.

AG: Yes.

AP: I always sort of digress and then I'll tell you what my impressions were.

AG: Please, yes.

AP: The digression is simply this, that many, many years later, with angina, I was in the National Heart Hospital, and almost everybody on my ward was my age and everybody was ex-army, whether it was Royal Engineers or R.E.M.E. or whatever you want and I really felt it was my group. I really felt that is the group I belong to. So, I say this now, though we are talking about 1985, when I had an angioplasty at the National Heart Hospital. But the way we got on, it was really my group. I've always had this experience. But coming back, sorry, why did I digress? There must have been a reason.

AG: I just asked you what your first impressions of England were?

AP: The army helps. You are five years in the army. Also I was the greater part of my time in a Jewish unit but not all the time and I got on very well in the army and I liked that and I met many English people. Also, if you marry an English girl and all her friends become your friends and they are all English, you are very quickly at home. I've got absolutely no problem. I mean obviously I prefer London to Birmingham but I would say that after several months in Birmingham I felt absolutely at home. When I came first to England, it looked all rather small in a way, coming from America. The houses all seemed much smaller. You have this impression even when you come... First of all, when I went to America, I also went via London and Birmingham and then embarked... The trains seemed smaller. The smallness! But I thought it was a delightful country. I was very happy. As I say, I had no qualifications whatsoever and I worked for three years in the James Cycle Company in Birmingham as an export clerk, exporting spare parts of motorcycles - I don't even know how a motorcycle works because I'm a total non-driver - to all parts of the world. God knows what I did with all these things, what I muddled. And the GCE ordinary and advanced level in the evening. After all, if you want to go to university! I must say Pauline insisted that I go to university. I always say that the only argument we ever had, and I said, 'I am torn' and she said, 'You bloody well go to university or else!' So I went to university! But as I say, I needed that. By that time it was 1953 and that was 8 years after the war and I was already 32 and all my fellow students were 18 or 19. They must have regarded me as a grandfather. I'm still in touch with quite a few of them. Now it's different because they are also no longer all that young but at that time it was ridiculous. For 18, I must have been like a father figure to them.

Tape 2: 43 minutes 5 seconds

AG: Which university?

AP: I went to Birmingham University, where I took my first degree.

AG: What did you study?

AP: I deliberately studied German with some history because, well, obviously, if you start that late, you use what you know and don't try to study something where you have to start from scratch.

AG: I believe it was a very strong German Department?

AP: It was after Cambridge the best German Department in the country and Roy Pascal was certainly the leading Germanist in the United Kingdom and a great influence on me as well, which also has something to do with my later research. I was actually very happy there except that I knew I had to get a First Class Honours. Why? In fact, I was told again, you don't come home without a First Class Honours! The whole point is that it was absolutely essential because if you want to do research at the age of 35 for a PhD, you really have to... Otherwise they do prefer to give the grants to younger people. That was quite clear.

AG: So were you too late to get the... Because ex-servicemen were allowed to go to university...

AP: Yes, I was too late but there was no problem at all because Pauline said, 'I will see you through university'. I even paid my first fee, which I think was £15 per year then. Roy Pascal immediately asked me what my position was and he said, 'Well, that's ridiculous. You go straight to Birmingham City Council and say I sent you' and they asked me, 'What did you do during the war?' I said, 'Royal Engineers'. They said, 'Say no more'. Full grant and they kept me for six years.

AG: And could you tell me a bit about what it was like studying at Birmingham?

AP: Well, I mean the books, the literature was absolutely known to me and every set book I must have read three times before I ever went up to university. On the other hand, I was not used to the treadmill. It's all very well to say you know German better than the others. The others were groomed to pass exams. Perhaps a little different now but at that time it was a mill. But it was alright, very nice, very good relations, excellent department.

AG: Anybody else you remember particularly?

AP: I remember them all and again I have written about them. There was Hinton-Thomas, who later became the founder German Department man in Warwick. That's Hinton. There was Lockwood, who's still alive and must be over 90, had written the Yiddish Grammar, who knew 50 languages or 60 or whatever. Good Lord! Lockwood must be, well, he was in his 80s at least. And Siegbert Praver.

AG: Yes.

Tape 2: 46 minutes 22 seconds

AP: I always say everybody was a Communist in the German Department with the exception of the Jew, who was not. That's the funny thing about it. Pascal, Thomas and Lockwood were. Everybody knows that. It's not a secret. But Siegbert, definitely not! Wasn't exactly right wing but wouldn't have dreamt of being that. But they were odd from my point of view. But anyway that's nothing to do with me really. But it was a very, very good department. It was excellent because it was the first department of German, which taught also history and sociology. Today they do these things but it was an innovation under Pascal. So, these were three happy years. I can't say anything. I was very, very fortunate to be able to study at that age. You appreciate it. And I was particularly interested in Reformation literature and the early Yiddish novel. So when I was looking for a thesis after I had my BA, I said, 'What are you going to do?' And I found out that in the 16th to 18th century Jewish scribes, publishers, printers, had transferred the German Volksbücher, chat books, into Yiddish for the ghettos. So I said, 'Well, why not do a comparative study?' And I did it for three happy years. Now just imagine from the age of 35 to 38, at the expense of the British taxpayer, you sit in the Bodleian Library and in the British Museum. I always say this country has been very good to me in the end, very good. I can't really say anything else. I always say, well, I feel very indebted to England. I remember ten years ago we had in Cambridge a great conference and [...] from the floor people congratulated me and Pauline for organising the conference. That was the conference on second chance and so all these Nobel Prize winners and so on stood up and Pauline and I remained seated. So, I was very deeply moved and I thought how good this country has been to me. Pauline thought it was like a mixture between the Rotary Club and a Jewish wedding. But I thought this country has been very good to me. There's no question about it. Anyway that I did for three happy years and this is probably, you see all this, England, Leo Baeck Institute, these things are connected. Why? I really was outside the fold in a sense. I'm a non-believer and all that. But the fact that I choose such a subject and I chose the subject simply because I liked the German literature and I had a certain knowledge of Yiddish and Hebrew because all the texts are in Hebrew letters and that's something unusual. There was virtually no-one in England who could do a piece of research like that. I was the only one. My mentor, by the way, was Solomon Birnbaum, the son of Nathan Birnbaum, the great founder of Yiddish studies, who was an absolute darling by the way, wonderful man, who helped me a great deal I must say. I must say it wasn't always easy. I could always come to him. He was fascinated by the subject as well.

AG: Which university were you at?

AP: That was done from Nottingham in connection with London. So I did that and, as I say, if you do a topic like this, you need some background history, like 16th to 18th century Jewish history. After all, the people who wrote these books didn't do it in the air. These were ghetto inhabitants. So I knew a reasonable amount. So now we come to the end of it that one day Roy Pascal met me in the corridor, well, I did part of my research in Birmingham because I lived in Birmingham, I only went to Nottingham for the odd day or two, and he said, 'Have you already got a job?' And I said, 'I can't say I have' and Roy said, 'Well, have you ever heard about the Leo Beck Institute?' So I said, 'I can't say I have'. 'Well', he said, 'Well, there's a chap called Ezra Bennathan, a lecturer in Economics, he's looking for a director of this institute in London and he wants somebody with a British university education and a German Jewish background.'

Tape 2: 51 minutes 45 seconds

AP: There aren't all that many, well, there are, but anyway I met him and he sent me to London where I was interviewed by a group of very famous men really, in a sense, all this old group.

AG: Who interviewed you?

AP: There was Robert Welch, after all the legendary Chief Editor and Chief of the Jüdische Rundschau; there was Jakob Jakobson, who was the director of the Gesamtarchiv der deutschen Juden; Eduard Rosenbaum, who used to be the director of the Kommerzbibliothek in Hamburg and later was in the LSE; Hans Liebeschütz, a medieval historian; Hans Reichmann, one of the leading Zentralverein. I think that was it. This was the executive there. They were quite amused about these Yiddish Volksbücher because you know what German Jews thought about Yiddish altogether.

AG: For the interview, tell us!

AP: Yiddish, maulsche Deutsch or whatever. It always enraged Solomon Birnbaum. For him it was a fully fledged language, called Western Yiddish. Anyway, so they offered me the job now and that takes us to the year 1959. The interview was '58/'59 but I was still a student, so I joined the institute I think in May or June '59.

AG: Could I just ask you, before we come down to London, where you were living in Birmingham?

AP: Well, very modestly, despite the fact of Pauline being a grammar school mistress and I having full grant and in such a situation, you don't pay any income tax.

AG: What part of the city did you live in?

AP: We lived in Edgbaston, which is a nice part of Birmingham, but we had a very modest existence in a room or later two rooms. We lived that but the first thing which interested me were books. I never had any books. We came to Birmingham without books. Well, she may have had a few books. And I suddenly began to realise that you could collect beautifully bound books for very little and, as we weren't all that poor, we could manage to buy every week a few.

AG: And how was your reception in Birmingham? People must have been aware that you were not English.

AP: Now today people sometimes ask me things and I say I have never ever, in the British Army or in England, encountered any anti-Semitism at all, personally. Of course, one knows that things are written. That's different but I mean, never. I can't remember. I think somebody once at the university made a silly remark, but I'm not even sure about that. But of course for three years I worked at the James Cycles and neither on the top floor nor the workforce have I ever encountered anything at all.

Tape 2: 55 minutes 0 second

Obviously the clerical staff was up somewhere in the building and then there was the factory. But the export clerk had to collect the stuff from the factory and I had a very good relationship with the workforce as well, in the sense that, as I say, I never encountered anything. The other reason of course is that all the people I knew, a lot of friends were almost all non-Jews, were all educated middle class and this is precisely the group that is the least anti-Semitic in this country, as we all know. So it is quite simple! When you go high up, it's quite different and lower down perhaps as well, but the educated middle class, it's unusual. Anyway, they were all friends.

AG: You never encountered any problems because you have a German-sounding accent? I suppose you could say you served in the army and that took care of that.

AP: No, no, no, certainly not in academic life, you don't. No, obviously the accent was there. The fact that I was a British ex-serviceman was very, very important. It's a question of integration. You have so much in common even in speech, in language. You may express yourself with a foreign accent but the things you say are like an old soldier. I had no problem at all. I don't think I exaggerate in any way at all. The years in Birmingham weren't bad and then of course, once you end that academic life, six years, and then the Leo Baeck Institute, well, where do you expect to find it?

AG: One other question, you came here; you were admitted because your wife was of British birth. When did you yourself acquire British citizenship? Did this come automatically or how did this work?

AP: No, it did not come automatically at that time. The law in this country changes all the time, every two years, five years or whatever. I got it earlier, not because of that, although not all that much earlier. I didn't have to wait five years. I made a special application and I pointed out the army service. I was eight weeks short of five years and so I got it a year earlier, because I wanted to go to Italy in 1954 and I preferred a British passport. But even so, I think instead of 5, I think it was 4. Even so, it didn't mean much in the beginning because I wasn't going to travel and I hadn't any money to travel. And once I started to travel, the first year we went abroad, it wasn't all that easy. Well, it was but you needed visas on the travel document, so by '54, when first we went back to Italy together, I already was a British subject.

AG: Right, we'd better break there because the tape's about to come to an end.

Tape 2: 58 minutes 3 seconds

END OF TAPE 2

TAPE 3

Tape 3: 0 minute 7 second

AG: We were just going to come on to the Leo Baeck Institute. You mentioned that you'd had this interview with this august panel. Were you actually the only candidate, do you know? Were there other candidates?

Tape 3: 0 minute 18 seconds

AP: Well, at that time, probably, but what is really very interesting is this: we are now writing, it's now the end, but then we go back to the beginning, we are writing now the history of the Leo Baeck Institute because its Fiftieth Anniversary will be celebrated next year and I'm the only survivor of the original apparatus. And so the ten people who write the history met in Tutzing at the Evangelische Akademie near Munich in February and we went there in a snowstorm. It was absolutely wonderful! Being snowed in for three days! And, in connection with that, I learnt quite a lot because obviously they were very good and I really think it is going to be a good book and the people did their homework and we opened all the archives, so I learnt a few things about me, which I never knew! But, on the other hand, occasionally I had to say it wasn't quite like that. I didn't overdo it but it had to be done. Now, one of the things we found out, when we looked through the files, endless files, which I am actually preparing to send to the main archives of the Leo Baeck Institute in New York, was a large file with God knows how many, I haven't counted them, I sometimes say 200 but probably not so, but a lot, a lot of applications in answer to two TLS advertisements. I think they were either in '57 or '58 or both in '58. And a lot of people answered or at least enquired. Not everybody applied. They wanted further details but quite a lot of people applied and it is interesting to look through them because they gave you a whole sociology of German Jewry or other Jewries perhaps as well, but to a large degree. And of course the applicants were anything from, in my opinion, highly suitable, to absolutely impossible people, some people were not quite normal even. Everything! But there were suitable people. I, as everybody is dead, and I cannot find out anything else, and I see no further files, something didn't come of it. I suppose they interviewed only very few and, well, now we come to that. The problem is that the London Leo Baeck Institute always had a problem with the Jerusalem Leo Baeck Institute and its president because this lot here were a bag of assimilationists and Zentralverein and the President of the Leo Baeck Institute was Siegfried Moses, former President of the Zionist Federation of Germany and Israeli Minister and very narrow-minded when it came to that and I understand that he vetoed the few people they considered. He always put his foot down. And luckily, for some reason he always interfered and he was always there, but when I was interviewed there was no Moses. I'm not even sure I would sit here otherwise today because I never really got on with him. But he wasn't there and they had me and that was that. If I'm to classify myself, I was then something like an erstwhile Red assimilationist, who had become a British assimilationist and that's not exactly what Moses would have wanted. But that was that, so I started and of course you do have some problems. There are two problems, quite obvious ones. The first problem – you had to assert yourself against a rather benevolent group of much older people who had often played important roles in Germany in Jewish or German life, whether it was a Staatssekretär or Ministerialrat or a leader of a Jewish party, people like that, and that isn't very easy for a younger man. It isn't as it is today where my successor has the enthusiastic, full backing of an executive of five people, who let him be and don't interfere and support him in every way. I don't want to go too far but I can later explain where my problems were. But to some degree it is understandable because in a way I was a greenhorn. These people knew a lot about Jewish life, which I did not know. On the other hand, it was in my favour that I came from the Jewish Youth Movement, so I wasn't exactly ignorant. I had a German-Jewish background, coming from Nazi Germany, so that certainly helped, apart from the fact that I had other things to offer. Every generation has a different approach. My approach to Jewish history was quite a different one. First of all, I'm not a Judaist and I was interested above all in political history and of course I had my own hobbyhorses later on but in the beginning it was a question of, you looked at things differently and it did take a number of years.

Tape 3: 6 minutes 24 seconds

On the other hand, to the dismay of Siegfried Moses and others in Israel, when we embarked on a number of symposium volumes, which actually the first ones were under the main directive of Werner Mosse. I mean later on it was more joint but the initial ideas were his. That started virtually when I joined the institute, from 1960. In connection with that, it became quite obvious that you could not restrict volumes like this to Zionism and so, in a way, I was asked already in 1960 by Robert Welch and Werner Mosse whether I would undertake the part on the Zentralverein, of an organisation I knew very little about and which I regarded with typical youthful impertinence as bourgeois and God knows what else, etcetera, from a leftwing point of view and all that. I changed my mind about that a great deal when I started working on it. So I worked on it from the beginning and that was my main chance of doing a piece of research. The institute was much smaller then; they gave you more scope for research than later on when there was much more work. That of course was not greeted with great enthusiasm in Israel. I have to add though that all these things have changed very much. By now the history of the Zentralverein has been written by a Zionist Socialist, Abraham Bacchai. People complain, we talked about this at great length now in Tutzing and all the Israelis were of course very amused because we all realised that the attitude of the old generation had disappeared completely. Today we have a different attitude to diaspora, what they call diaspora, but at that time - the people who write the history of the Leo Beck Institute found letters in which Robert Welch told Siegfried Moses that I wasn't a Zentralvereiner. Now, how could I have been one? I was a child in the Weimar Republic. Anyway, that's it. But I would say that that sort of thing, there was no problem because it was my first main subject, my first hobbyhorse was what I call Jewish defence in Germany. From that point of view, there was no problem at all in this respect, for a very simple reason, that after all most of the people who run the Leo Baeck Institute in London really came from the ranks of the Zentralverein, so they were very helpful. Perhaps I looked at it in a different way but there was no problem. There were other problems later.

AG: Could you say something about the state of the Leo Baeck Institute when you came as director? I mean you must have built it up?

AP: It hardly existed but that was nobody's fault. When the Leo Baeck Institute was founded, Robert Welch was already in London and was correspondent of their *Alibris* and it was agreed that he should be the editor of the Yearbook of the Leo Baeck Institute and this was the only thing that was done here then. Everything else started roughly when I came but that's obvious because Robert Welch had other things to do. Of course, he did the yearbook very well but otherwise there was very little but they looked for somebody who became a driving force in London. Now I don't claim to have been a driving force immediately because I wasn't. It took me some years to find my feet but, academically speaking, we began other work, and here Werner Mosse was the driving force in the early years, immediately. It became really an academic success story in as much that the sort of thing we did in London, political history of German Jewry, is the sort of thing which goes down in Germany and internationally. When it comes to Judaism, well, alright, but other people do that as well. And also it doesn't interest the multitudes. You wouldn't expect that. And so when our first Symposium volumes came out, we really successfully put the institute on the map. Today these books in all the German universities are now on the reading lists and they have always been.

Tape 3: 11 minutes 50 seconds

AG: Which was the first one?

AP: The first one, we went backwards you see, we suddenly had, it was my idea, with either Robert Welch or Werner Mosse, *Entscheidungsjahr 1932*. Well, *Entscheidungsjahr 1932*, it was a hit, I mean, two large editions immediately. Never in the history of the institute had we ever had a success like that. And then we went and did the others and did three first ones where, let me say, Werner was the main and I was the under-editor, but I must say the next generation doesn't accept that. Today when the books are quoted, it says Mosse-Paucker, not with the *Mitwirkung* and so because they don't like it. It seems unfair. Actually, the first one or two, later we stopped it anyway, wasn't so unjust, because I always say here was Werner Mosse, a university professor, a well-established historian. I wasn't a historian at all. Eventually I got a history doctorate as well but that was years and years later. But it is not unfair at the beginning. He was a wonderful editor. I'm afraid not enough was said about him in Tutzing now and I kind of made a point of it and I said to the group we talk all the time about Fred Grubel in New York because he got a lot of money for the Leo Beck Institute. I said the institute owes an enormous debt to Werner Mosse. I mean George may have been a greater historian. But Werner Mosse gave so much of his life to the institute, book after book, one symposium volume, till his death. Even after his death, there was a conference which he had inspired. Mustn't be forgotten. He was an excellent editor and a mine of information and full of ideas. I mean, sometimes they were completely crazy because if you have an idea every five minutes. Sometimes we had to say, 'Look, Werner, that is absolutely impossible' but, on the other hand, wonderful, wonderful ideas, a mine. And the institute really, I mean obviously without Robert Welch there would not have been the yearbook. I obviously have to say that. Admittedly, I come to that in a minute. Something had to change eventually but without him there wouldn't have been. Without Werner Mosse, there wouldn't have been this initial great symposium volume, which put us internationally on the map and made the institute known, I don't know, from San Francisco to Tel Aviv. It's true and it mustn't be forgotten. One gets old and one has to emphasise these things, so young people do know what's what. So these were the early years. Then, well, Robert Welch wasn't young when I came and by 1970 he had enough and transferred it to me. However, that isn't simple as that because there's an unwritten law in the Leo Baeck Institute that the Yearbook of the Leo Baeck Institute belongs to the three institutes, well, that anyway, but you cannot appoint an editor without the agreement of the President of the Institute and the three institutes. And it's fair enough and I think we've done this wrongly every time. When Robert Welch interviews me as the next editor of the Yearbook, there was an outcry. It happened in Jerusalem. It was led by Moses, seconded by Scholem, who always hated me as an assimilationist and God knows what, so eventually they agreed that I should become a sort of managing editor, so Robert Welch said, and they even suggested that I submit a table of contents to them every year, so Robert Welch took me aside and in German he said, 'Lass sie reden', ja? Let them talk, you can do what you like. I became the de facto editor of the yearbook in 1970 and I must say I owe it in some degree to Robert Welch who backed me and didn't take any notice of anyone at all. And I must say I made the same mistake in 1992 when I introduced in New York John Grenville as my successor and there was another outcry because of course it was equally illegal. I just repeated the whole adventure. In fact, a collegium of three wise men were chosen, Jakob Katz, Julius Carlebach and Michael Meyer. And Jakob Katz was of course the main opponent, with whom I also had my problems, but they decided that John would do.

Tape 3: 17 minutes 4 seconds

But it was wrong. In a way, I see that and there has to be this kind of agreement, except there was really no choice in 1970. In 1992, the Yearbook was such a well established publication that there may have been a choice but in 1970 it was London and we didn't have anybody else and I already had done one or two with Robert Welch and even alone and so we would have collapsed. That's the first point and the other point is of course the time had come to transform this into an academic publication written by younger historians, established historians, also older ones, but an academic publication, not written by survivors and Jewish representatives etc.; otherwise it would have died. And we were very successful in it. Well, I am always credited with this success but the truth of course is that I had enormous support by the middle generation, well, all these people like George Mosse and Herbert Strauss and I can name endless names, who were so important from the beginning and helped me to transform this into what it is today; otherwise we would have died in a few years. So, that's one thing. Now, there are other things of course. As I say, my two problems were, internationally, the issue of self-defence, because Jewish self-defence in the so-called diaspora is assimilationist to a large degree and here I had a problem not only with the Israelis, with the exception of the wonderful Adler Rudel, who was absolutely one of the most wonderful people I ever met. He was an Eastern Jew who fell in love with German Jewry. He was also rather Left, he was Koalitionsschule. We both being rather Left, we got on extremely well and he also defended me against Moses all the time. I told them all that and it will probably be in the history of the institute to some degree. I don't know what they take in but beyond that there was a problem. But here I had so much backing internationally and in London that we simply succeeded in that and sooner or later it stopped. The older generation also disappeared. Because what we had really done is that we rehabilitated the largest and most important German-Jewish organisation historically. Today you don't have to do it any more because people in America and Israel and everywhere, particularly in Israel, that's done, but it was the beginning. But that was in London not so difficult. The next problem was resistance. Here, I must say, I almost encountered at the beginning a united opposition. I introduced resistance, German-Jewish resistance historiography, together with Helmut Eschwege, who was then in the German Democratic Republic, so it was called a sort of West-Östliche Divan. Well, it was in a way. But he lived in the German Democratic Republic; he had to stick his neck out all the time because in the German Democratic Republic there was only anti-fascist resistance. Jews shouldn't be singled out especially. You know all that! All right! So, in that respect, he was very good and very brave and we started introducing it in my very first yearbook. Well, that's the point of course. In 1970 almost the whole yearbook consists of resistance and Yiddish. On the one hand, people said it's not our business; on the other one, they said Yiddish is also not our business. It's very interesting to look at this particular yearbook. This is the first one where nobody has had a hand in at all. Now the attitude simply was, and that was by no means restricted in any way to Israel, probably less so there, the attitude was if a Jewish Communist fights in the underground against the Nazis, that has nothing to do with the Jewish people or Jewish history. Now, in my opinion, that is utter rot and anyway we won the argument long ago. I mean, this is now old hat. But it was not easy and not easy in London either. When the yearbook 1970 appeared, in the next meeting of the international executive I was almost shouted down by everybody. I went on with it and eventually people also, well, the truth is that by 1978 there was nobody left and the next generation either supported it or people like Werner Mosse, who weren't all that interested, said, 'Well, let him do what he likes'.

Tape 3: 22 minutes 41 seconds

And then of course he said, 'My father', well, his father was murdered by the Nazis and tried to organise illegal [...] after the Machtübernahme, so you see he changed his mind as well. Eventually there was no problem but in the early years it was very much so and I don't think I would even go into this problem because in my opinion we have today accepted in Jewish historiography a much broader definition of Jewish and it doesn't matter whether you are an atheist or an Orthodox Jew or whether you no longer think you belong to the Jewish community. I think it's ridiculous. Jewish participation in the German Resistance was very strong, out of all proportion to the number of Jews, which was dwindling all the time. The Communists were by far the greatest contingent and they regarded themselves as part of the German working class and the German underground movement and so on, but there were others, I mean there was even Hashomer Hazair [?], there was a Bauerhof Jugendgruppe. It isn't quite like that. Besides Jewish consciousness is something that changes and it changed in my generation. I know it from myself. Under the impact of the Holocaust, this became more important, even for Communists, but it wasn't the case in the beginning. But I think the argument we won in every way and in fact the truth is today even Israeli historiography takes great pride in the Jews who fought against the Nazis, regardless of their political affiliation, which is very, very noticeable in the work of Yehuda Bauer, Dan Michman, [...] There is really nothing to say, ja? You could almost go too far but it wasn't the case thirty years ago. Anyway I must say I'm only concerned really with German, and to some degree Austrian, resistance, except that of course German Jews were quite strongly represented in all the underground movements and partisan organisations of Europe, to a large degree. There were a great many. In many cases, you had no choice – if you are on the run, where do you go? You save your life. Many were Communists or Socialists and, out of their conviction, the others, there's no question about that, and so, particularly in the Maquis. Well, obviously, but this, to that degree, this has been written down, and even I am virtually, I'm just writing something. This is the last and that's it. Really we have exhausted the subject except that the Gedenkstätte Deutscher Widerstand asked me last week to try to get an estimate for translating my very last brochure, that one, which is almost 70 pages I believe, into English. It will cost a bomb but they want to translate it. To some degree, the Germans want to translate these things and diffuse them in the United States to show that there were in Germany Germans and Jews and so on. We have to understand that. There's an interest, so perhaps they'll find the money. I'm aghast when I think how much it costs. Anyway, that has nothing to do with the interview. Well, the brochure perhaps but not the financial problems.

AG: After 1970, you'd established yourself effectively.

AP: Well, I actually did it before but in effect, the whole thing that after 1970 you became more or less independent and after 1978 you became totally independent because there was nobody to interfere with you and, from then onwards, the institute was run by the Mosse-Pulzer-Carlbach-Grenville group. Now, we are all friends and we, more or less, we may differ in our opinion, one is Orthodox Jewish, probably no-one is quite as Left as I am, that's not the point, but we agree what counts is academic excellence and nothing else. I really have to emphasise this in the interview, that from 1978 working with the executive of the London Leo Baeck Institute was one great pleasure, really no other word.

AG: And when did you start scaling down your involvement with the Leo Baeck Institute?

Tape 3: 27 minutes 46 seconds

AP: Well, scaling down, well, you know we had a problem to start with, that we had no money for a director. Now, in the early years we managed quite well; in the later years, it became a bit more difficult, but by the time we reached 1990, when life had also become rather expensive in London, we had to offer a director a decent wage, which is not really a personal question, this is a general problem for the institute. We really didn't know where to find the money and, by that time, I was 70, must have been, 70 or 69 and I had a pension and so I offered to work for ten years, well, not ten years. I offered to work for as long as is necessary without a salary. So there wasn't a question of scaling down my work. It was a question of not receiving emoluments but that didn't matter really because, if you have a professional pension, you can manage on a modicum of expenses, if I put it like this, which obviously you do need. So that worked. It took us a great many years till we found a source for a salary and, in fact, I have really been instrumental of getting that as well. It doesn't come out of my pocket! I found eventually one or two people who were very, very generous and were willing to put the money up. Also, personal friends, one of them in particular, wanted me to retire eventually. They said, 'You can't work till 100'? So, the switch came three years ago, as you remember from that time, and that was a good solution and I think we found a good solution. I mean scaling down, I would say perhaps the last 10 years as director I did not work quite as much and the reason is quite simple: I had found in 92, in John Grenville, an excellent editor. The way I edited the yearbook, by turning every line upside down three times, that kind of editor you'll never find again and we haven't got one now, that's not a secret, and it is perhaps also not necessary. But the way I worked, I couldn't have gone on and so, when John Grenville took over the yearbook, I had far more time for writing myself and I used that and so there was a certain scaling down of my activity in the Leo Baeck Institute, in favour of writing, but the writing was also published to a large degree under the auspices of the Leo Baeck Institute, not entirely though – I did also for others. That I could not have done before. And of course, once I had a successor, it was scaled down to the Treasuryship. I've also been, five or six years ago, I was nominated international Vice President of the institute. I said I would do it for a few years, well, I'm still willing to do it for another two or so and then eventually they will have to find somebody else. That creates a little work but not a lot. Now we have a very able President and the major role is that.

AG: And, turning for a moment to your personal circumstances in London, when you were appointed as director of the LBI, did you come and move straight here to Camden town?

AP: No, well, that was the point; it first of all took us a whole year to find anywhere to live. We really couldn't. It was very difficult. Obviously, salaries were much lower then. We found an enormous flat, way beyond Crystal Palace. It was quite a wrench every morning, particularly in the winter, but it was a beautiful flat and it was actually bigger than this house, enormous rooms, our living room must have been three times as big as that, we would have fitted all our 8000 books alone, so you see, we came down in the world. But eventually these big houses were sold and broken up. We had to move and, in 1965, we came here. I realise today that I really couldn't have got along, working till 80, if I had still have had that kind of commuting and I don't want a car and anyway you can't park a car. It would have been impossible. So, this is our life in London. It was very nice out there and the air was much better, beautiful views and all that, but in your 60s and 70s, still with these enormous journeys, it wouldn't have done, so actually it was very good to find a house which is so near the Leo Baeck Institute, that you could give parties for the Leo Baeck Institute and all.

Tape 3: 33 minutes 30 seconds

I mean, when the international meetings of the Leo Baeck Institute took place in London every two to three years, it was in September, we could have them all on the roof, with their wives and children and whoever else came, all that sort of thing and to be that near that you could virtually...If you were a typical German Jew, you could come home for Mittagessen. But I'm not a typical German Jew and I don't need Mittagessen. But it was very nice to be that near. Also, it helped me to some degree in those years where I had a lot of work in the Leo Baeck Institute and yet wrote a lot for the Leo Baeck Institute and, being that near, you had the keys, you could go to the Wiener Library. In the 60s, I was alone in the building. I know I remember working on Wilhelminian Germany up, a very large contribution. I could only do it there. I didn't have any books here either and I just worked there during the day. I was alone in the building. I don't think anybody would like this today and Pauline wouldn't like it either and there are other reasons today, people are very worried. But at that time, it was a time when the question of security didn't come in and nobody minded. Well, we had another key, so if you got stuck, you would have phoned, I mean, in the lift or with books or whatever.

AG: And you and your wife have both taken to life in London?

AP: Yes, well, I think it's the most wonderful place. As far as I'm concerned, I wouldn't like to live anywhere else in the world. I mean there are disadvantages. Life has become terribly expensive, which I really don't know how many people manage, if you have to pay rent and all that. Culturally, of course, when it comes to music and the theatre, there's really nowhere else. I mean, I can't really think. We've been about quite a lot and we've travelled a great deal but who offers that? Not New York, to that degree. I mean, it's absolutely wonderful. Music, opera and theatre – theatre, well, I don't think there's anywhere else in the world where there's theatre like that. The English people seem particularly gifted. So we took to it very much. In fact, we're very lucky, because I would probably have become a university lecturer somewhere eventually with the expansion of the universities after 1959. I don't think it would have been in London. That's extremely unlikely. The reason is also a question of age. Had I been younger, yes, but if you apply for your first assistant lectureship at the age of 38 or 40 or 41, you end up in Newcastle or I don't know where. Well, there's nothing wrong perhaps with Newcastle, not that I've never been there. So, it was very, very fortunate and I think we were very, very lucky. As I say, the whole thing, if you go back, stage by stage, if you try to find a unity, then there's one fluke after the other. When I've tried to find a unity or a disunity, it's very, very odd for me. And I always say this at the end because also when I wrote about myself, well, I won't write about myself again. But this is also the end of the book in German, that I say that I find that, on the one hand, I had a lot of prejudices which I discarded as I became older but, on the other hand, there are some things I firmly believed in, like my belief in socialism, which has never changed, so some you retain and in other ways you change. You see, I always felt that. To some degree, I owe an apology to the generation of my father's because I used to make fun of the liberal German Jewish community with their Zentralverein and all that and I really think it was wrong and I still have some leftwing friends, who don't like what I say now, but I think I'm right. We did them an injustice. So I learnt quite a lot about the merit of this history, which to some degree of course I have written. On the other hand, certainly, obviously, I remain an antifascist, that has never changed either.

AG: And in terms of your sense of your identity generally, how would you describe yourself? English? British? German Jewish?

Tape 3: 38 minutes 48 seconds

AP: No, I mean, if you look back, you can say your roots are there, your roots are here, but I do feel very British really, I really think. I mean, culturally speaking, while once German culture was closest, that was obvious, I think it is no longer the case. I identify myself far more with British history and far more with English culture and English literature. It means far more to me than anything else, which is perhaps not so surprising because, after all, I did live all my life, almost all my life, in this country, all my mature life, and also I had all my education in this country. I had no education whatsoever in Germany. It doesn't mean that I can't, when I'm in the mood, recite Italian or German poetry. It isn't quite like that. By the way, Werner Mosse is the only one I know who could declaim the whole of Faust, Part 1, from "Von Zeit zur Zeit sehe ich den Alten gern" bis zu "Sie ist gerettet". Incredible! I wouldn't say this about Faust, Part 2, because I defy anybody to remember that by heart. Do you know we used to sing? Well, all right, the students were certainly not Communists in Birmingham, unlike their teachers, and we used to sing 'We'll make Professor Pascal read the whole of Faust, Part 2, when the Red Revolution comes'!

AG: Very nice!

AP: I'm very fortunate to have been in Birmingham. If I look at all the departments, even the Deutscher Republikanischer Pfadfinderbund and the Werkleute and Ben Shemen and the army, it all sort of fitted in quite well, you see? One seems to have been somehow in the right places and organisations.

AG: Just going back very briefly to one thing you very briefly mentioned in the army, what was this about a 150 German prisoners of war? I was fascinated by that or intrigued by it.

AP: You see, I've written several pages you'll want to perhaps read, about the question about the languages of the British Army. What are the languages? Well, I mean, the British Army was in part colonial troops. There are often two languages. There was the Cypriot division where there was English and Greek etc. etc., ja? Now you had all these German Jews and Austrian and Czech Jews, particularly in the British Army. Now many of them had come to the country very recently, had not mastered Hebrew, or not much; English to some degree but to some degree it was rudimentary. There was one language which half of them spoke; it was German - all the Austrian, all the German Jews, all the Czech Jews, the Hungarian Jews, those who didn't know Yiddish. So obviously it became the lingua franca of thousands and thousands of soldiers in British uniforms and I already mentioned not everybody liked that but there really was no other way. I mean, sometimes I had arguments with Italians, so I told them, I said Hebreo Antifascista, ja? Hebreo Tedesco Antifascista. That was acceptable because the Germans fought with the Partisans but they didn't like it. Now the map depot was not a very big one. By the way, I have to explain that most of my army existence I was an ordinary private soldier or sapper. The point is this that I had nowhere to go and everybody wandered home to his wife and family and, as people were demobbed, I used to move up all the time because, including the Commanding Officer, by July '46 they all had decamped. Anyway in that summer I had 150 German officers and prisoners of war working.

AG: What rank were you?

Tape 3: 43 minutes 25 seconds

AP: Well, that's another point. I was briefly Quartermaster Sergeant and I put in for a commission but by that time there was a problem about the King David's Hotel and gradually Jews were demobilised. I'm very glad that did not come about because I probably would not have found myself in Florence the next year, so I think it's all for the good. Anyway there were about 150 of them. Now, you imagine the map depot, that was before most of them had left, another month or two I think the language was really English. So you imagine from the officer down, or whatever, the sergeants, the corporals, everybody shouting, it was not a very big unit, 25 people, shouting 'Mensch, wo bleibst du denn?' and so, and all in British uniforms. Now, the Germans were bewildered. The big POW. We treated them well, I mean obviously, we just treated them as a labour force and they worked very hard. And they couldn't understand it. I remember once two officers approached us and said, 'Das verstehen wir nicht', 'We don't understand that everybody speaks German here'. Now we had this chap from Königsberg who was a wit and he said, 'I can explain that to you. I am from Königsberg and one day Hitler came and one of us had to go. To your misfortune, I went'. Wonderful! I would not have thought of this. It's a wonderful anecdote. Very, very funny chap altogether! They had to take it. There were some idiots, who said, 'Da haben Sie doch gegen Ihr Vaterland gekämpft'. Well, I told them what Vaterland was what. You could shut them up because they can't really say anything. That's I think in my book when I said, 'Well, alright, you fought for the Germany of Auschwitz and Sachsenhausen. I fought for the Germany of Goethe and Schiller', which of course is true. That doesn't really need any mention, except that we didn't really fight for Germany. There were German Jews occasionally who really fought because they wanted to liberate their country from Nazism. There weren't many. I think there were about a thousand German Communists, Social Democrats, Liberals, who joined the British Army. I think it was 10% of the people who joined who were not Jewish and they really fought for the liberation of Germany. I wouldn't say this about the 6000 German Jews and the 3000 Austrian Jews, with very few exceptions. Not then. It was quite clear what we fought for. Suddenly I stopped regarding myself as a German Jew very quickly. Well, that is relevant, ja? Of German Jewish origin but if you leave as a relative youngster, you don't regard yourself any longer as a German Jew.

AG: I don't know if there's anything else that you would like to add?

AP: I don't know. Well, obviously, one had endless recollection, but you will soon get tired of me. The point is people ask questions, things suddenly come to the surface and one remembers other things. One point, of course, is my great love of Italy, that is for many, many reasons. One of the reasons is first of all if you a) as a soldier spend three and half years from '43 to the beginning of '47, then you live there for a year and a half, then both of us have relatives and friends and I teach there, or taught there, occasionally as well, and you know the language reasonably well. It's a real affinity. We've been every year. I mean, I've spent so many years of my life in Italy, so I feel it is, apart from England, Italy is number two, very much so, also its language and its literature. I took it by the way as a second subject at university, obviously you have to have a second one, so I took Italian. But Pauline's Italian is much better than mine. I mean, this happens to us all the time, which is really very unfortunate, we sit in a taxi and we speak, the driver will say to me, 'Ma, lui e Tedesco' and then he looks on and says, 'Ma, la señora e Italiana. Si, sente immediatamente'. But the señora no e italiana. It's a very good idiomatic, Italian, it's very, very nice. Pauline's obviously more gifted in languages than I am.

Tape 3: 48 minutes 47 seconds

AG: I notice you put Italy at number two, ahead then of Germany.

AP: Yes, very much so. Remember, culturally of course, it is not so. I mean, I have obviously a considerable knowledge of German literature and language, which goes way beyond my knowledge of Italian literature; obviously it's a more recent acquisition. But it's a thing that's closer to my heart. My favourite poets are Leopardi and Rilke, so one of them Italian and one is a German. When it comes to poetry, well, we've got an enormous amount here but it's not quite as close, I think the English novel is the most wonderful thing. Not a country which has created such an avalanche from the nineteenth century and so many women writers. Incredible! There just isn't anything in any other country. Well, I don't know anything about Spanish literature but certainly not in Italian and not in German, in no way whatsoever. The novelists are the most unusual English accomplishment. I can read them non-stop, again and again.

AG: Well, I wonder if this isn't a moment to actually call the interview to an end, as I said, unless there's anything else that you would like to tell me about.

AP: Well, I was just thinking of something else but there are many things I've also written again and again. There's the name Paucker, well, that is also very interesting, because there are two Paucker tribes, the one with 'c' and the one without. I belong to the one with 'c' but the more famous one in history are the Paukers without 'c'. Now I remember, well, it's the sort of thing you did celebrate in the war, near Sienna in November 1944 at a large celebration of the, must have been, wait a moment, 7th Anniversary of the October Revolution, that sort of thing after of course the liberation had been celebrated, not just by communists. Lots of us from my unit were invited and then people asked me, I speak Italian reasonably well, so they asked me what my name was, so I said, 'Paucker', so they meant, 'Anna Pauker'. Now Anna Pauker is not really a Pauker because Marcel Pauker is the Pauker and he's a very, very distant cousin, 4th or 5th time removed. But the people crowded round me and asked me. Now my Italian is limited, so it came out like a cousin or an aunt, which is not quite correct. I was celebrated like a hero. The Pauker family in Romania likes that. I told them, I told Anna Pauker's daughter. I was astonished. I wrote to my oldest Italian friend, with whom I studied at Bonn University in 1955, about Bonn I never even began to talk, there is quite a lot to say, you see if you begin to dig it out, I won't stop. Anyway I wrote to him and I said I was astonished then that ordinary peasants and workers, after over twenty years of fascism, knew Anna Pauker, Pauker Brigade in Spain, and he wrote back and said that is not surprising. He is years younger than I am. 'As a youngster, I knew people in [...], his family is [...], 'who were anti-fascists and knew perfectly well who the Pasionaria was in Spain, who knew who Anna Pauker was, for them they were heroines'. So, he must know what he was talking about. I wasn't in Italy then. The truth is that under Mussolini there was always a fair, obviously it would be wrong to exaggerate it. So that is Paucker, so with Paucker there is a lot to be said. The other point of course is that my family seems to have founded most of the European leftwing parties, well, I exaggerate, but certainly the Spanish socialist party was founded by Pauline's great uncle by marriage, Edwino, the father of the painters. Justiza and Liberta in Italy, the Democratic Socialist movement there, was founded to some degree by my ancestors, my family, not the family I lived with in Florence but their parents, not the main leaders. Jewish intellectuals were the main leaders of Justizia and Liberta, so it's not surprising, so they are there. And then of course Anna and Marcel Pauker were co-founders of the Communist Party but I think that's the only Communist Party my family is part of.

Tape 3: 54 minutes 27 seconds

The others were democratic socialists. But it's interesting. And of course I, again, another episode. Because of that I had the great privilege, after the war, in the house of my Italian cousins, to meet most, not all, but most of the leaders of the Italian Resistance. It was wonderful except that Italian intellectuals talk like machine guns and they have no patience with the halting Italian of somebody like myself. But I met there the leaders of Giustizia, Liberta, anyway. My family was very non-Communist, I would say, if not anti, so Giustizia, Liberta, that was it mainly. But I also met Saragat and Nenni, the leaders of the Socialist Party, and [...], who is of course Jewish, the only Communist leader, apart from Togliatti's second wife, who was Italy's most beautiful partisan. She only died very recently. She was the most beautiful woman I perhaps ever met and certainly the most beautiful partisan I've ever seen. She died two years ago. She must have been, well, she was younger than Togliatti, she was my age, she must have been 80, 83. She was a feminist, what you call a Frauenrechtlerin. She was so beloved in Italy that from the Right to the Left they all mourned her when she died, although she was a Communist and remained one all her life. It was very interesting. [...] What I mainly met of course was the friends of my cousins, like Levi, not Primo Levi, Primo Levi of course is something quite different, with whom I never had anything to do with, unfortunately, because for me he was by far the greatest. But Carl Levi, that is a very close friend of my family with whom I met more than once. He had painted my cousin's parents. The painting is in the living room. So I had also a lot of privileges of that kind, which I've never forgotten. But, as I say, again to some degree, I mention things, which I've tried to pack into the thirty pages of the final German version, which is the book. And then again Reinhard Rürup has also adapted it, put also some extra things in which I didn't have. He writes actually quite a lot at the beginning. So, from my point of view, in an interview you can extend and extend and we talked about many things, which I've never talked about before. But if you write a brief life of yourself, then I think you need the essence and I didn't want more. I don't like people writing these long memoirs. I don't approve of it. I know all my friends write them now, but I think there's a lot of petty stuff in them and many can't even write. Thirty pages is quite enough.

AG: Well, on that note and seeing as the tape is about to come to an end, I'll say thank you very much.

AP: Well, I'm very glad. As far as I'm concerned, I was free. I would have dedicated a day anyway to it and it gives one great pleasure as well. Of course old men try to talk about their lives.

Tape 3: 58 minutes 20 seconds**END OF TAPE 3 AND END OF INTERVIEW**