

Amiel Tobler

Kindertuispoort

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correspondence]

201-9900

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House of Commons

BRITISH HELP FOR JEWISH REFUGEES

Our Full Share in International Effort

SURVEYS IN THE COLONIES

The following statement on refugees was made in the House of Commons yesterday by Mr. Chamberlain, the Prime Minister:

"In conformity with the recommendations of the Evian conference, the Government has had under constant examination the conditions in which it could make in respect of the United Kingdom and the colonies..."

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THE UNITED KINGDOM

"With regard to the United Kingdom, a number of refugees which Great Britain can accept..."

THE COLONIES

"As regards the colonial Empire, it must be remembered that although covering a great extent of territory, it does not necessarily absorb the immediate absorption of large numbers of refugees..."

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KENYA

"An initial experimental private scheme in Kenya devised by one of the Jewish organisations in London has been approved by the Governor..."

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THE FIGHTING IN PALESTINE

Room for 50,000

Mr. HAMMERSLEY (C. Willendorf) said that he had a motion men and women of the Jewish race were looking round for a home and appealing to the British Government to help.

Mr. MANDLER (L. Wolverhampton) said that he had a motion men and women of the Jewish race were looking round for a home and appealing to the British Government to help.

Mr. ARCHIBALD SOUTHWELL (C. Liverpool) said that he had a motion men and women of the Jewish race were looking round for a home and appealing to the British Government to help.

Mr. MAXTON (L.P. Glasgow) said that he had a motion men and women of the Jewish race were looking round for a home and appealing to the British Government to help.

THE DEBATE

Lady M. Noel-Baker (Lab.-Derby) said that she had a motion men and women of the Jewish race were looking round for a home and appealing to the British Government to help.

SIR S. HOARE

Motion Accepted

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House of Commons

SHARE-PUSHING BILL WELCOMED

Effort to Protect the Fool From His Folly

MR TOM JOHNSTON'S CRITICISMS

Homes for Children

"I had only this morning a very valuable discussion with Lord Samuel and other Jewish and religious workers who are co-operating in an attempt to mitigate the suffering of their co-religionists."

"It came to me with a very interesting proposal about non-Aryan children. They pointed to the experience during the war in which we gave homes here to many thousands of Belgian children. I believe we could find homes here for very large numbers of Jewish and non-Aryan children without any harm to our own population."

"The Co-ordinating Committee and the other organisations told me they would be prepared to bring over all the children whose maintenance could be guaranteed either by their funds or by generous individuals."

"All that would probably be necessary would be for the Home Office to give the necessary visas to facilitate their entry into this country. I told Lord Samuel without a moment's hesitation that the Home Office would certainly be prepared to provide facilities of that kind. (Cheers.) I commend this effort to my fellow-countrymen. Here is an opportunity of saving the younger generation of a great people."

"He could not help thinking what a terrible dilemma it was to the Jewish parents in Germany to have to choose between sending their children to which they were reduced in Germany. He had been told the Jewish parents were almost unanimous in favour of taking the risk of their children going to a foreign country. We would put no obstacle in the way of the children coming here."

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British troops carrying rooms in Jerusalem. In the distance is the Mount of Olives.

BELLIGERENT RIGHTS FOR GENERAL FRANCO

Unanswered Questions in Commons

In the House of Commons yesterday...

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LABOUR CRITICISMS

'Reckless' Statements

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MOST LAWLESS AGE

Prison Commissioner Says It Is

The most lawless age in this country since the days of the Roman Empire, said the Prison Commissioner...

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QUESTIONS IN COMMONS

THE VISIT TO PARIS

Premier Refuses to State the Subjects

Mr. Chamberlain (C. Devon) said that the general trend was towards the evacuation of the children...

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This side is reserved for official use  
 LEAVE TO LAND CHARTER AT HARWICH  
 THIS DAY OR EMPLOYER THAT THE HOLDER  
 DOES NOT ENTER ANY EMPLOYER  
 PAID OR UNPAID WHILE IN THE UNITED  
 KINGDOM



Registration Certificate  
 No 780,556, issued at  
 Southampton, Hamb.  
 16 March, 1938

11 DEC 1938  
 PRAGUE

LONDON & NORTH EASTERN RAILWAY.  
 Service Hook of Holland - HARWICH  
 DIENST HOEK VAN HOLLAND - HARWICH  
 Steamship Accommodation Reserved  
 Gereserveerde Bedden  
**FIRST CLASS**  
**EERSTE KLASSE**

Name of Passenger / Naam v/d Passagier } 11 DEC 1938  
 Date Sailing / Datum van Vertrek } PRAGUE  
 Name of Steamer / Naam v/d Schip }  
 DECK-DEK CABIN-HUT BERTH-BED  
 Promenade  
 A  
 B 342  
 C

To Pay } £ : s. d.  
 To Betalen Toeslag }  
 The Baggage Porter should be informed the number of the Cabin, and it will help if hand baggage bears a label showing name of passenger, name of steamer and number of Cabin.  
 Gelieve den drager van Uw bagage het nummer van label, aangevonden-naam van den passagier, het stoomschip en het nummer van de hut.

THE TIMES MONDAY DECEMBER 12 1938

**JEWISH CHILD REFUGEES FOR ENGLAND**

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT  
 VIENNA, DEC. 11

Six hundred Jewish children left Vienna last night for Holland and England. Five hundred of them are due to land at Harwich, while 100 will remain temporarily in Holland. The ages of these children range from 30 months to 18 years. Upon their arrival in England the young refugees will be cared for in camps and homes provided by the Society of Friends and other charitable and religious organizations.

Porter should be informed and it will help if hand baggage bears a label showing name of passenger, name of steamer and number of Cabin.

In deep gratitude  
 to the people and Parliament  
 of the United Kingdom  
 for saving the lives of  
**10,000 Jewish and other children**  
 who fled to this country  
 from Nazi persecution  
 on the Kindertransport  
 1938 - 1939

11 DEC 1938  
 PRAGUE

Registration Certificate  
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 Southampton, Hamb.  
 16 March, 1938







Fürsorge-Zentrale  
der isr. Kultusgemeinde Wien  
Abteilung Jugendfürsorge  
I. Seitenstätteng. 2

Wien, 8/12.1938

K i n d e r t r a n s p o r t  
nach England bzw. Holland.

- 1.) Die Abreise der Kinder erfolgt S a m s t a g, den 10. Dezember 1938 um 23.10 Uhr vom Bahnhof Hütteldorf-Hacking.

Es wird nochmals darauf aufmerksam gemacht, dass das Gepäck nichts enthalten darf als Gebrauchsgegenstände des Kindes und dass jedes Zuwiderhandeln zur Folge hätte, dass das Kind nicht mitgenommen werden könnte. Das Gepäck bleibt in Verwahrung des Zollamtes bis zum Abgang des Zuges.

Bei diesem Anlass wird auch darauf aufmerksam gemacht, dass den Kindern auf die Reise keinerlei Schmuck oder Wertgegenstand mitgegeben werden darf, ebenso ist das Mitnehmen von Musikinstrumenten und Fotoapparaten untersagt. Geld ist den Kindern gleichfalls nicht mitzugeben.

Der das Gepäck abliefernde Angehörige des Kindes erhält eine Nummer, die das Kind sichtbar bei der Abreise zu tragen hat.

- 2.) Die Kinder werden S a m s t a g, den 10. Dez. l. J. von bies e i n e m Familienangehörigen zum Platze vor der Reichsbahnstation Hütteldorf-Hacking (gegenüber Hotel Schneller) gebracht und zwar die Kinder, welche die

Nummern 1-300 haben, um 21. Uhr, die Kinder mit den Nummern von 301 aufwärts um 22 Uhr.

Die Begleitpersonen haben sich vor der Station von den Kindern zu verabschieden; das Betreten des Bahnhofgebäudes sowie des Bahnsteiges durch Begleitpersonen ist behördlicherseits ausnahmslos untersagt.

- 3.) Jedes Kind hat einen unzerbrechlichen Becher und Waschutensilien, ferner an Proviant ein Gabelfrühstück, ein Mittagessen, ein Nachtmahl auf die Reise mitzunehmen.

- 4.) Sollte ein Kind in der Zwischenzeit von der stattgehabten ärztlichen Untersuchung bis S a m s t a g erkranken, so ist dies s o f o r t der Jugendfürsorge, beziehungsweise der Reiseleitung bekanntzugeben.

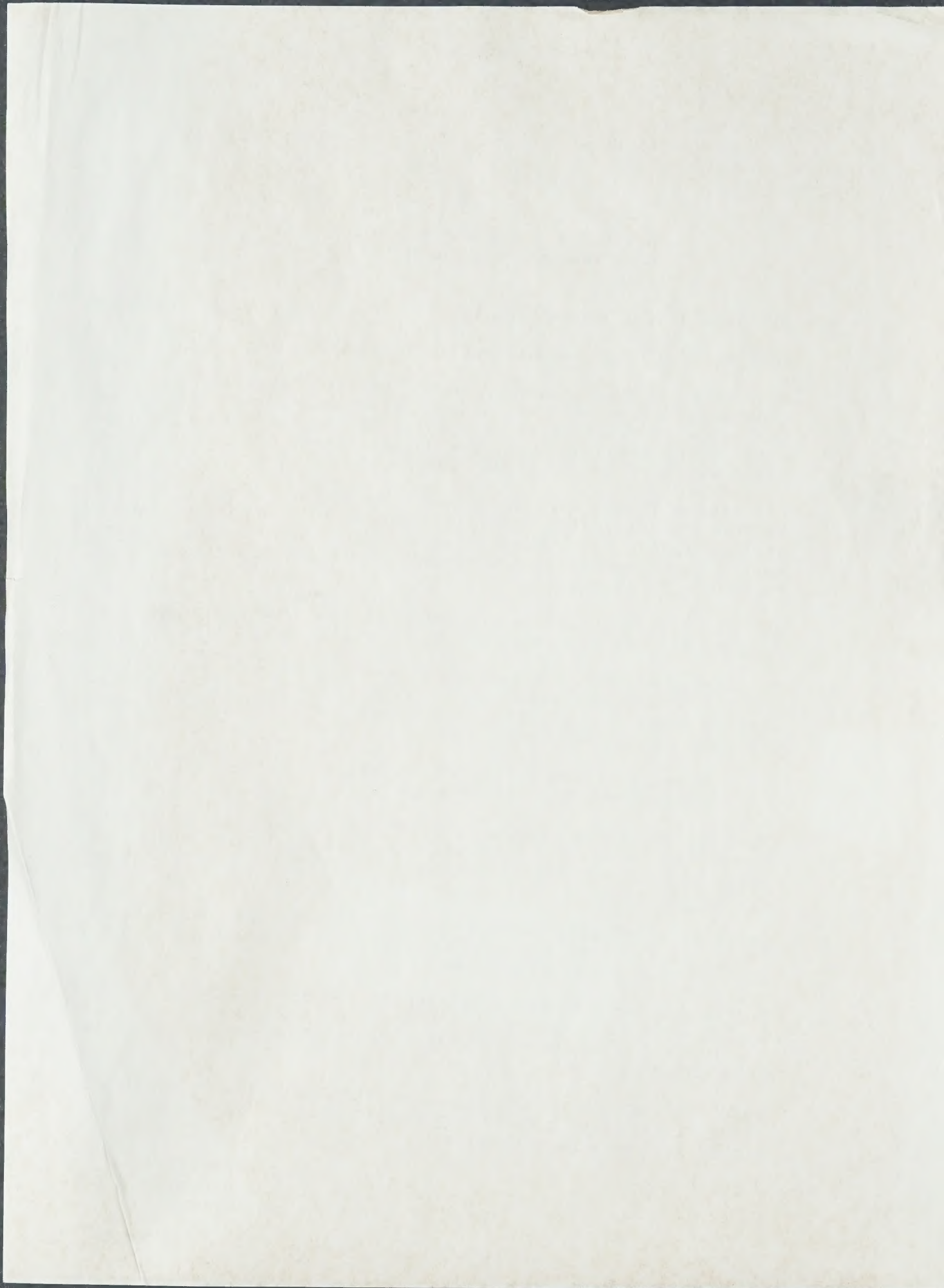
Durch den Arzt der Kultusgemeinde wird sodann nach erfolgter Untersuchung des Kindes festgestellt werden, ob dasselbe mitgenommen werden kann oder nicht.

Fürsorge-Zentrale  
der isr. Kultusgemeinde Wien  
Abt. Jugendfürsorge

Kuway

Eusey

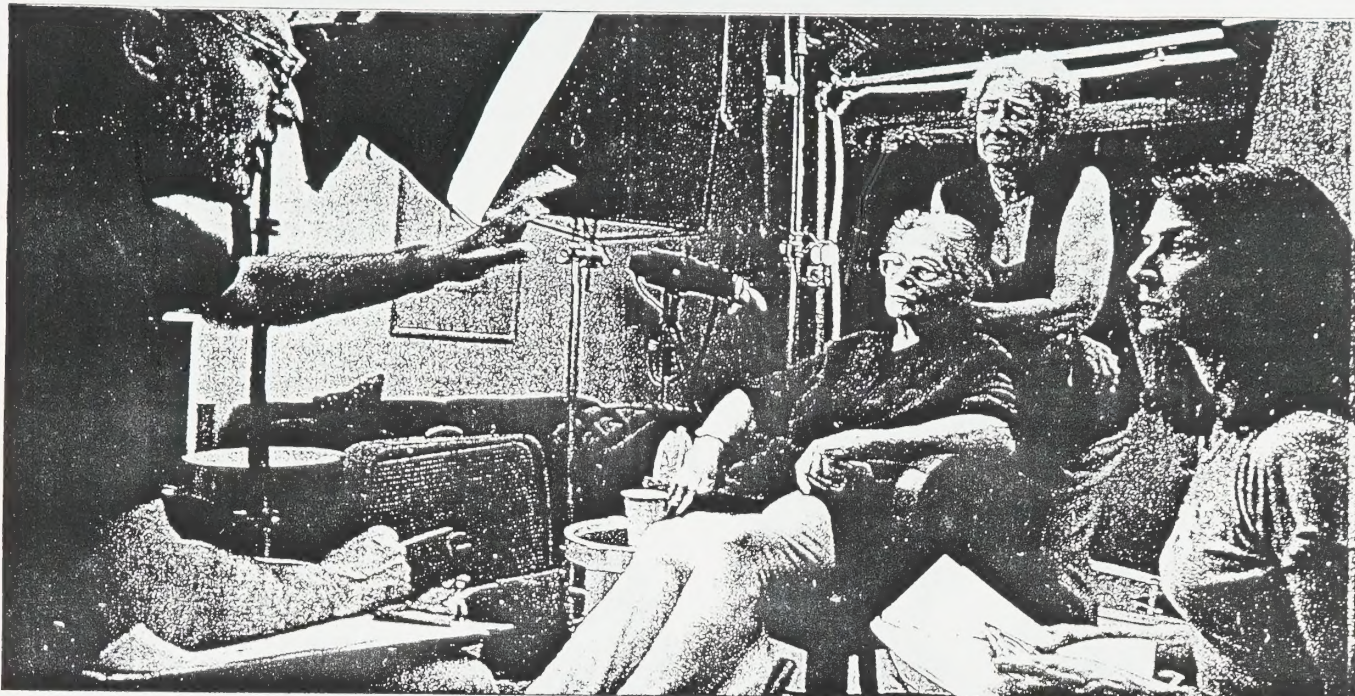






# Arts & Leisure

Sunday, October 24, 1999



Lore Segal stands behind her mother, Franzi Groszmann, during the filming of a documentary about the Kindertransport, a relief mission to save children during World War II. Mark Jonathan Harris, front left, is the director, and Deborah Oppenheimer, right, the producer.

## Their Mission In Hitler's Europe: Save the Children

By KRISTIN HOHENADEL

LONDON  
IN an airless room at the Royal National Hotel, Ursula Rosenfeld was summoning her ghosts. "I was just under 8 when Hitler came to power," Ms. Rosenfeld began, in the faint wisp that is her voice. The camera focused closely on her delicately drawn 74-year-old face as she remembered a childhood birthday party in Quakenbrueck, Germany: "The table was set, I was very excited. Nobody came. It sounds trivial, but it was the first comprehending for a child that you are ostracized, that there's something different about you."

After Kristallnacht, in November 1938, after the synagogue burned, after her school was closed, her family's bank account frozen and her father murdered, all thoughts led to escape. Ms. Rosenfeld was 14 when she boarded a train that was provided by the Kindertransport, an English rescue effort that over nine

*Kristin Hohenadel's most recent article for Arts and Leisure was about the actor Shawn Hatosy.*

months took some 9,300 unaccompanied, mostly Jewish children from Germany, Austria, Poland and Czechoslovakia to England to wait out the madness of World War II with strangers.

The youngest of the children didn't understand why they were being sent away. Others, like Ms. Rosenfeld, felt grateful for a reprieve from the harassment of teachers, classmates and neighbors. When those children packed their stamp collections and stuffed animals into tiny suitcases, they did not know that only one in 10

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**A film about the  
rescue of 9,300  
innocents became  
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would ever see their parents again. Placed on farms, in hostels, in grand homes as well as modest ones, they struggled with their English, learned to relate to new families, corresponded with their parents by mail. Mostly, they waited for a happy ending that would never come.

The Kindertransport relief mission has been the subject of several books and at least one documentary film, Melissa Hacker's "My Knees Were Jumping: Remembering the Kindertransports" (1995). A forthcoming documentary, whose working title is "Until We Meet Again: Stories of the Kindertransport," will focus on the rescue's emotional impact on the refugees, whose childhoods were pre-empted by Hitler. The film is planned for release sometime next year.

"It was very important to us not to make another Holocaust movie," said Deborah Oppenheimer, the film's producer. Ms. Oppenheimer's







mother, Sylva Sabine Avramovici, took a Kindertransport train at 11 and never saw her parents again. She talked little about her wartime experiences. Ms. Oppenheimer, who is in her 40's, said she was always curious about her mother's past. But she did not push her mother to relive painful memories.

"I always had it in my mind to do a Kindertransport documentary," said Ms. Oppenheimer, who is an executive producer of "The Drew Carey Show" and "Norm." "But I thought I'd do it after my television career was over." When her mother died in 1993, she realized there would be no survivors left by then. She persuaded colleagues at Warner Brothers to distribute the film and Mark Jonathan Harris to write and direct it, she had admired his work since seeing his Oscar-winning Holocaust documentary, "The Long Way Home."

Mr. Harris, 55, who is also a professor at the University of Southern California's film school, said it was the psychological approach to the subject that persuaded him to do another Holocaust film. "The Holocaust is the backdrop and background to this film," he said, "but it's more about children having to deal with the terrible trauma of being separated from their parents, forced by political and economic circumstances into adulthood at a very early age."

Mr. Harris has written five young-adult novels from a 12-year-old's perspective, an exercise that, he explained, was in part a way of coming to terms with his own difficulties at that age. "It's probably a period of arrested development in my life," he said.

The making of this film has clearly been an emotional journey for Ms. Oppenheimer, who, in the course of researching it, discovered a 74-year-old lost cousin and met a woman who had shared a bed with Ms. Oppenheimer's mother during her time in England. From her investigations, and from family letters recovered after her mother's death, Ms. Oppenheimer has been able to piece together portions of her mother's history. She now knows that her mother had been placed in a London hostel before being evacuated to Cockley Cley, a 5,000-acre estate near Norfolk, where she lived for two years after the onset of war. Ms. Oppenheimer believes that her mother was moved at least three more times during the war. At age 19, a few years after the war ended, she immigrated to New York.

But Ms. Oppenheimer stressed that the film is not about her. To represent a range of Kindertransport experiences, the filmmakers reviewed the testimony of hundreds of Holocaust survivors housed at the Shoah Visual History Foundation archives in Universal City, Calif. They received hundreds of old photographs, letters, journals, documents, artifacts and unpublished memoirs in response to a mailing by the Kindertransport Association.

The crew traveled to Berlin recently, to film the Kindertransport route via Holland and across the rough sea to Norwich, England. More than half of the 50 hours of filmed



Deborah Oppenheimer, Sabine Film

Sylva Sabine Avramovici, the producer Deborah Oppenheimer's mother, just before leaving Germany on the Kindertransport.

interviews were shot in England, where many of the Kindertransport survivors settled. Hundreds of hours of interviews and archival footage will be edited down to approximately 90 minutes. Ms. Oppenheimer said she hopes to house the uncut interviews at the Holocaust Museum in Washington, one of the institutions with which she has worked closely in making the film.

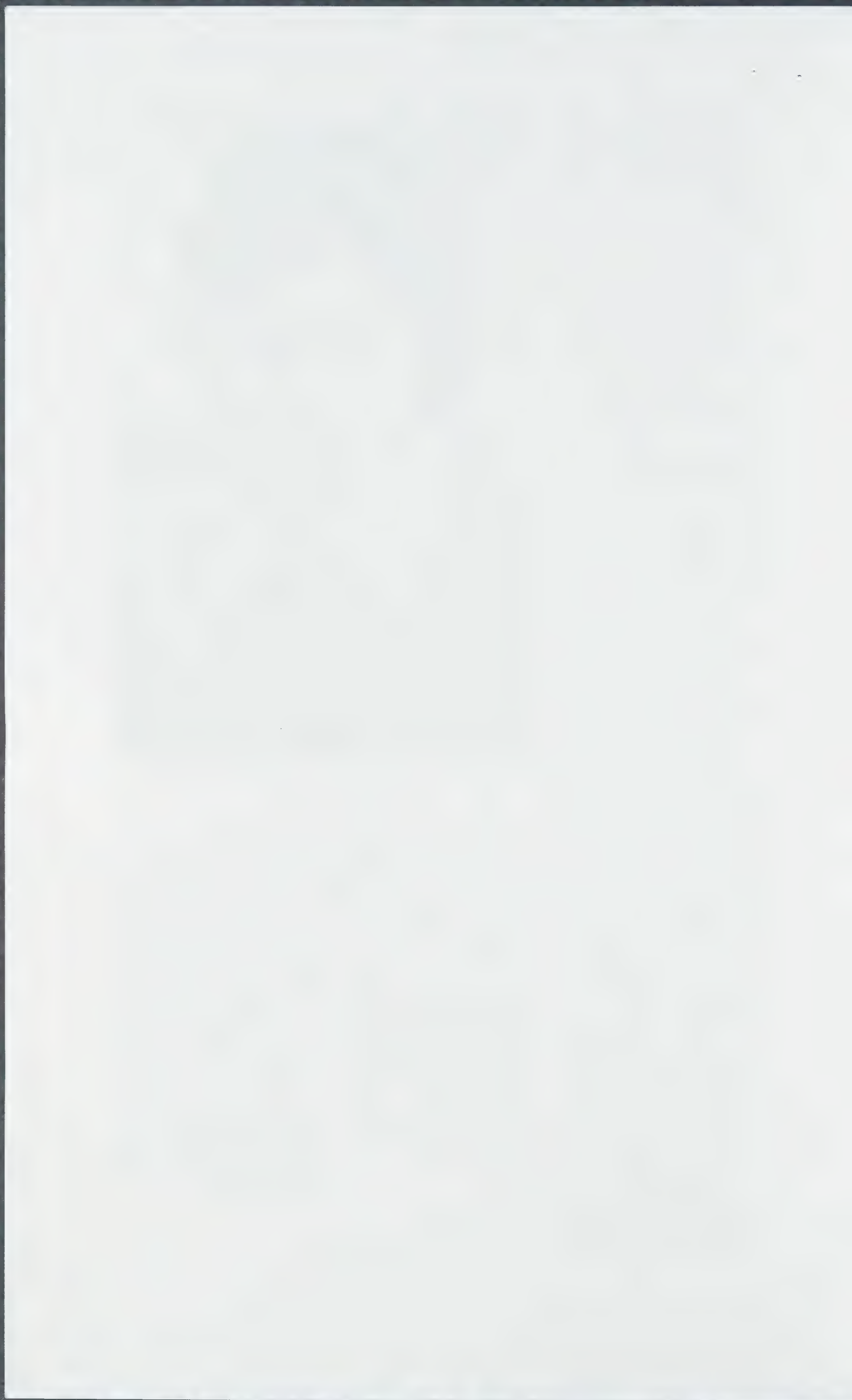
Those who participated in the Kindertransport belong to a generation for whom therapy was not the automatic response to trauma; like Ms. Oppenheimer's mother, many have never told their stories. But with the passage of time, a tremendous number have opened up, written memoirs, lectured in schools.

"There were about 10,000 kids," Mr. Harris said. "I'm sure there are 10,000 stories." But the filmmakers narrowed the field to some two dozen men and women, ages 68 to 99.

Lorraine Allard told the filmmakers that she did not give up hope of seeing her beloved parents again, even after months of silence, until a letter came back stamped "Deported to Auschwitz." The writer Lore Segal described being reunited with her mother, Franzi Groszmann, after half a century; the two now have breakfast every morning in the New York apartment building where they both live. Kurt Fuchel recounted his boyhood reunion with his parents, and his discovery that he could no longer communicate with them in German and felt closer to his foster family. Lory Cahn remembered how her father pulled her out of the train window as the train was departing from the station, and told about how she survived a series of concentration camps. Norbert Wollheim revisited the pain of having organized the rescue effort out of Berlin that would save some 7,000 children, only to lose his wife and child in Auschwitz a few years later. He died five weeks after being interviewed.

Haewich









The passport of Ursula Rosenfeld with stamps from the Third Reich; she left home for safety at age 14 on a Kindertransport train.

"We want them to become characters, so you get invested in them and get to know them," Ms. Oppenheimer said. "Each one will tell a story that sets the stage, and then we will come back to them."

"We were looking for people who could tell their stories vividly and emotionally, as if they were still there," Mr. Harris said. "So even though they're in their 70's you still see the little kid in them."

To amplify those shifts between past and present, the film's director of photography, Don Lenzer, said that the interviews were shot in extreme close-up. "Since these are very intimate psychological interviews, you want to be able to see the flicker of an eye and what it might mean," he explained. "There's more subtlety in the faces of old people."

"People have often said that talking heads are not cinematic," Mr. Harris said. "But shooting close makes what they're saying very powerful, because the emotional conflicts are mirrored in the struggle to retell the story. I think that's why this kind of filmmaking can be riveting."

The filmmakers ended each interview by asking the subjects if they could ever imagine sending their own children away, or if they had ever considered taking in a child. "We want to leave those questions with the viewers," Mr. Harris said. "The loss of parents, the sense of

**'The loss of  
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abandonment, loneliness, is, I think, something everyone, whatever stage of life, can tap into."

But it seems that these now-grown children, whose lives were shaped, and saved, by the hard choices of their parents, are the last people who can speculate on such hypothetical questions. Ms. Rosenfeld, for one, seemed more concerned with managing the present and ordering the past.

During a break in her interview, she betrayed a flash of self-consciousness. "I don't like to talk about personal things," she volunteered to no one in particular while Mr. Lenzer changed film reels and someone opened a window. "It's such a self-indulgence."

"I get very emotional," Ms. Rosenfeld continued in the stillest voice imaginable. "I'm doing this for the sake of my family. I don't want the story to be forgotten." □

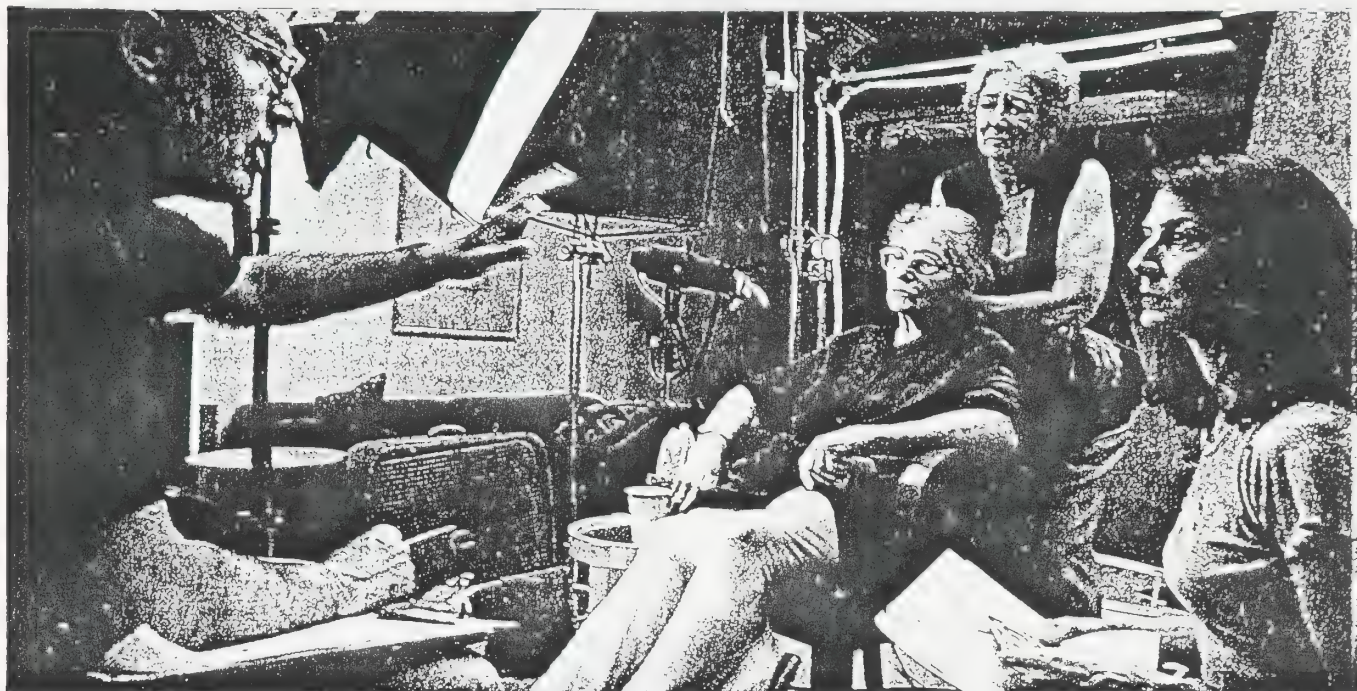






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Barbara Alper for The New York Times

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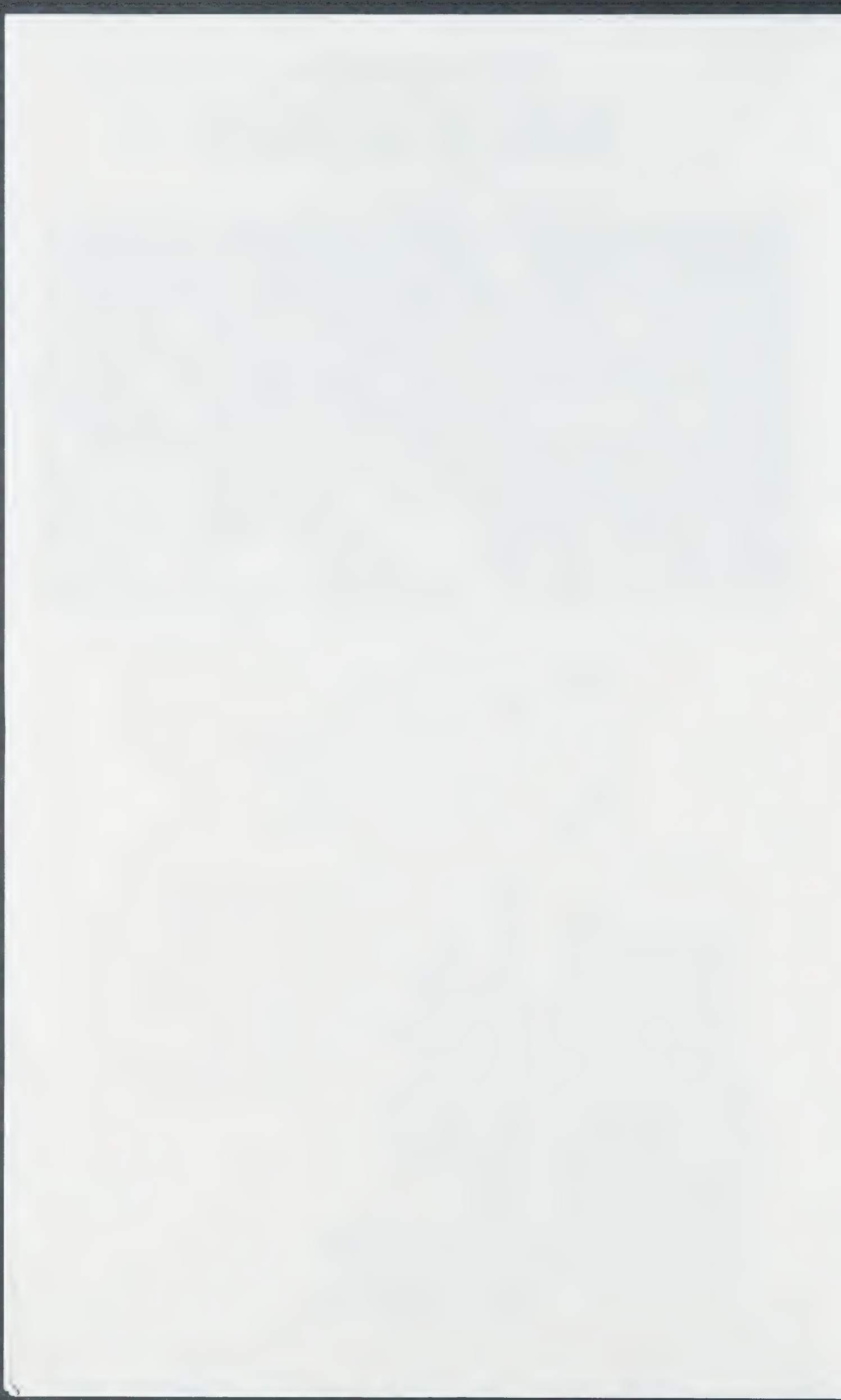
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Mr. Harris, 55, who is also a professor at the University of Southern California's film school, said it was the psychological approach to the subject that persuaded him to do another Holocaust film. "The Holocaust is the backdrop and background to this film," he said, "but it's more about children having to deal with the terrible trauma of being separated from their parents, forced by political and economic circumstances into adulthood at a very early age."

Mr. Harris has written five young-adult novels from a 12-year-old's perspective, an exercise that, he explained, was in part a way of coming to terms with his own difficulties at that age. "It's probably a period of arrested development in my life," he said.

The making of this film has clearly been an emotional journey for Ms. Oppenheimer, who, in the course of researching it, discovered a 74-year-old lost cousin and met a woman who had shared a bed with Ms. Oppenheimer's mother during her time in England. From her investigations, and from family letters recovered after her mother's death, Ms. Oppenheimer has been able to piece together portions of her mother's history. She now knows that her mother had been placed in a London hostel before being evacuated to Cockley Cley, a 5,000-acre estate near Norfolk, where she lived for two years after the onset of war. Ms. Oppenheimer believes that her mother was moved at least three more times during the war. At age 19, a few years after the war ended, she immigrated to New York.

But Ms. Oppenheimer stressed that the film is not about her. To represent a range of Kindertransport experiences, the filmmakers reviewed the testimony of hundreds of Holocaust survivors housed at the Shoah Visual History Foundation archives in Universal City, Calif.. They received hundreds of old photographs, letters, journals, documents, artifacts and unpublished memoirs in response to a mailing by the Kindertransport Association.

The crew traveled to Berlin recently, to film the Kindertransport route via Holland and across the rough sea to Norwich, England. More than half of the 50 hours of filmed



Deborah Oppenheimer Sabine Films

*Sylva Sabine Avramovici, the producer Deborah Oppenheimer's mother, just before leaving Germany on the Kindertransport.*

interviews were shot in England, where many of the Kindertransport survivors settled. Hundreds of hours of interviews and archival footage will be edited down to approximately 90 minutes. Ms. Oppenheimer said she hopes to house the uncut interviews at the Holocaust Museum in Washington, one of the institutions with which she has worked closely in making the film.

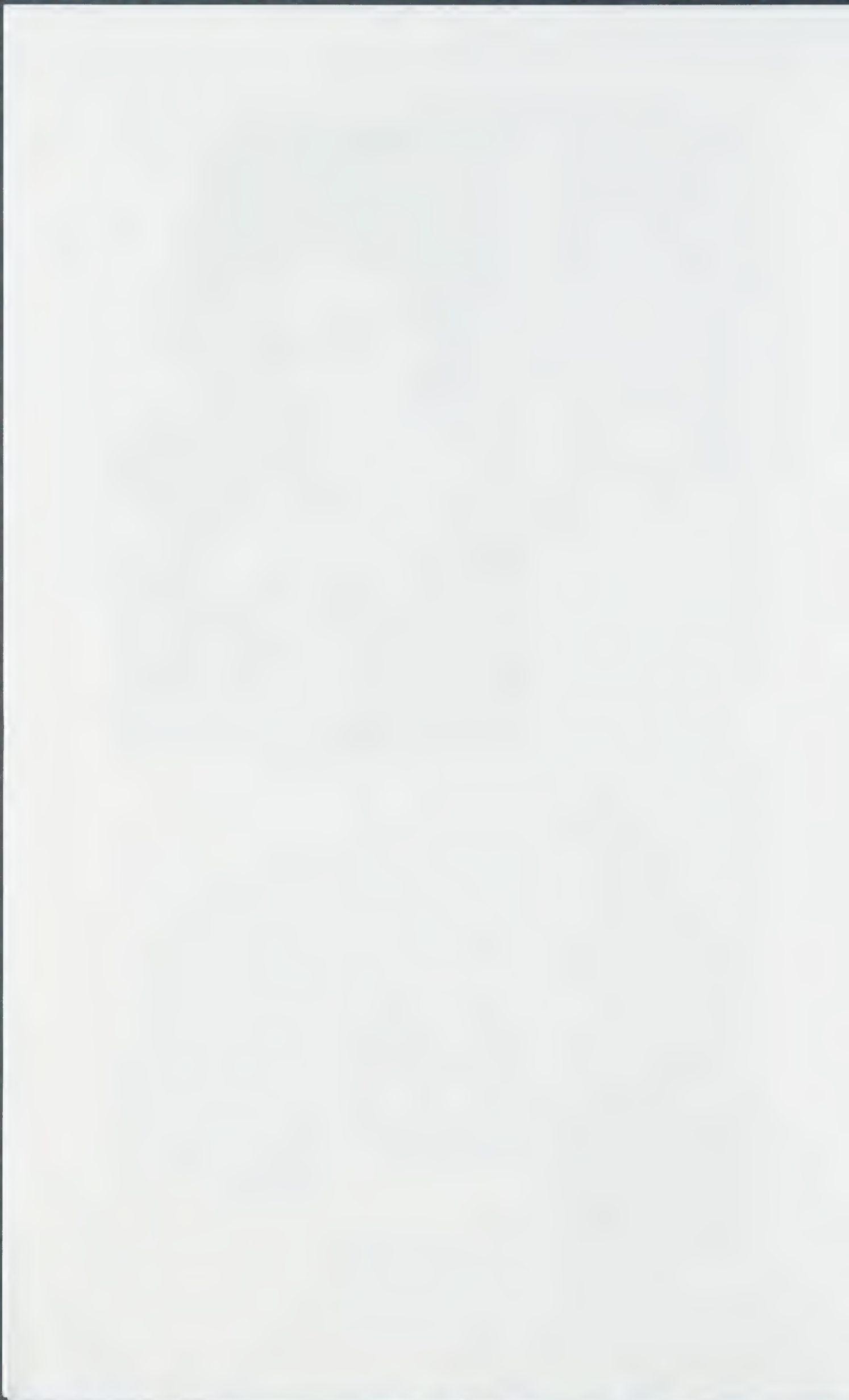
Those who participated in the Kindertransport belong to a generation for whom therapy was not the automatic response to trauma; like Ms. Oppenheimer's mother, many have never told their stories. But with the passage of time, a tremendous number have opened up, written memoirs, lectured in schools.

"There were about 10,000 kids," Mr. Harris said. "I'm sure there are 10,000 stories." But the filmmakers narrowed the field to some two dozen men and women, ages 68 to 99.

Lorraine Allard told the filmmakers that she did not give up hope of seeing her beloved parents again, even after months of silence, until a letter came back stamped "Deported to Auschwitz." The writer Lore Segal described being reunited with her mother, Franzl Groszmann, after half a century; the two now have breakfast every morning in the New York apartment building where they both live. Kurt Fuchel recounted his boyhood reunion with his parents, and his discovery that he could no longer communicate with them in German and felt closer to his foster family. Lory Cahn remembered how her father pulled her out of the train window as the train was departing from the station, and told about how she survived a series of concentration camps. Norbert Wollheim revisited the pain of having organized the rescue effort out of Berlin that would save some 7,000 children, only to lose his wife and child in Auschwitz a few years later. He died five weeks after being interviewed.

Harwich









Ursula Rosenfeld/Sabine Films

The passport of Ursula Rosenfeld with stamps from the Third Reich; she left home for safety at age 14 on a Kindertransport train.

"We want them to become characters, so you get invested in them and get to know them," Ms. Oppenheimer said. "Each one will tell a story that sets the stage, and then we will come back to them."

"We were looking for people who could tell their stories vividly and emotionally, as if they were still there," Mr. Harris said. "So even though they're in their 70's you still see the little kid in them."

To amplify those shifts between past and present, the film's director of photography, Don Lenzer, said that the interviews were shot in extreme close-up. "Since these are very intimate psychological interviews, you want to be able to see the flicker of an eye and what it might mean," he explained. "There's more subtlety in the faces of old people."

"People have often said that talking heads are not cinematic," Mr. Harris said. "But shooting close makes what they're saying very powerful, because the emotional conflicts are mirrored in the struggle to retell the story. I think that's why this kind of filmmaking can be riveting."

The filmmakers ended each interview by asking the subjects if they could ever imagine sending their own children away, or if they had ever considered taking in a child. "We want to leave those questions with the viewers," Mr. Harris said. "The loss of parents, the sense of

**'The loss of  
parents, the sense  
of abandonment,  
loneliness, is  
something everyone  
can tap into.'**

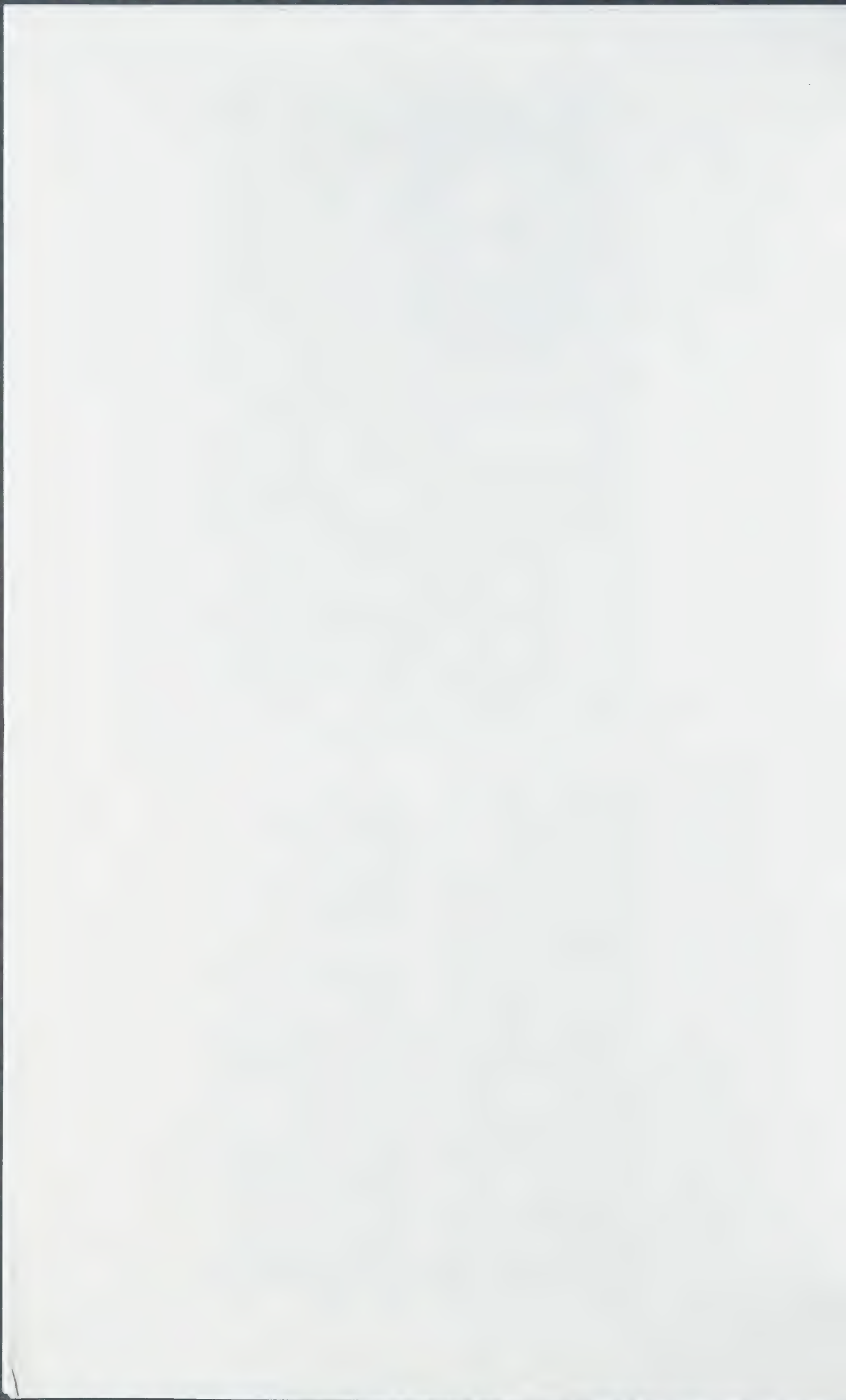
abandonment, loneliness, is, I think, something everyone, whatever stage of life, can tap into."

But it seems that these now-grown children, whose lives were shaped, and saved, by the hard choices of their parents, are the last people who can speculate on such hypothetical questions. Ms. Rosenfeld, for one, seemed more concerned with managing the present and ordering the past.

During a break in her interview, she betrayed a flash of self-consciousness. "I don't like to talk about personal things," she volunteered to no one in particular while Mr. Lenzer changed film reels and someone opened a window. "It's such a self-indulgence."

"I get very emotional," Ms. Rosenfeld continued in the stillest voice imaginable. "I'm doing this for the sake of my family. I don't want the story to be forgotten." □







## Searches

Would anyone knowing anything about Clive Graham, formerly Klaus Ludwig Grube, b. 25 Feb 1924 in Hamburg-Bergedorf / Hamburg-Wandsbeck either from his UK army service or his sponsor family, please contact his widow, Gertrud Graham-Burkm Waldstrasse 53, D-7793 Lahr-Sulz  
Tel: 07821 - 2 38 52

Dr. Christiane Kolbet is researching the fate of Franconian children. Can anyone help with details about Erna Fleischhauer, b. 24.9.1929 in Bamberg, later living in Adelsdorf last heard of leaving in May '39 for Holland. From there she was deported to Sobibor in 1943. Please write to Dr. Kolbet at Fohernweg 9, 91091 Grossenseebach.  
Tel: 09135 / 799 618

Egon Kornblum b.1918 in Rathenow emigrated to Shanghai in 1939 has asked Dr. Bettina Gotze, Director, Kreismuseum Rathenow, Rhinower Strasse 19d, 14712 Rathenow, Tel/Fax (03385) 512681 for information about Joachim and Ingeborg Danielsohn who came to England on a Kindertransport. Please contact her if you have any information.

Ruth Rose wants to hear from anyone who was with her at the Neu-Isenberg orphanage founded by Bertha Pappenheim. Ruth left on the Kindertransport of 7 July, 1939. Please contact her at 15 Fairlight Gardens, Fairlight, Hastings, E.Sussex TN35 4AY  
Tel: 01424-812425

These photos, which include my mother **Olga**, were probably taken between June 1939, when I left Vienna, & June 1942, when she was deported to IZBICA. Does anyone recognise them, or the ladies on them, or where or when they were taken? If so, please let me know (I can provide photocopied enlargements): **Peter Ostrolenk, 2 Crosby Gardens, Yateley, Hants. GU46 7RT. England.**





## Condolences

Ilse Ledermann (nee Kussel) former wife of Gerd and mother of Matthew and Irene Pruden, died in Buddha-Haus, Uttenbuhl, where she was the senior nun called Ayyakhema. Our condolences to her family.

Heartfelt condolences to husband and family of Ruth Tor, of Kibbutz Tirat Zvi.

Our deepest sympathy, too, to Toni Lewin on the death of her dear husband as well as to Golda Raveh (Redner) on the loss of her husband Bob, one of the founders of Kibbutz Lavi.

Ruth Cooper (nee Weil) informs us of the sad passing of her dear husband Alfred Cooper (ne Cohen, Hamburg) who will be sadly missed by her, their son Peter and daughter Yvonne and family.

Margot Seewi, her children and grandchildren mourn the passing of their dear Abba David Seewi. His funeral took place in Cologne.

Herbert Gale has informed us of the death of his dear brother Frank (ne Groeschler). We wish him long life.

The sad news comes from Hilda Lowe that her husband Paul died 10 Feb and sadly his brother Hermann also died recently. Our condolences to Hilda.

It is sad to report that just after becoming a grandmother for the first time, Vera Baron died recently. Our heartfelt condolences to her husband Bob and family.

We sadly report the death of Sonya, dearest wife of Henry Alpern, after a long debilitating illness. Our condolences to Henry, his son Michael and Grandchildren. Henry was a great help to us during and after the first Reunion in 1989, printing all our newsletters and I used to meet Sonya, ever cheerful, though in a wheelchair, when I, (Bertha) came to collect them from their house.

We send our sincere condolences to Ursula Small (in Arizona), whose dear Husband has died recently.

To Toni Lewin, (Israel) on the death of her dear Husband

To Golda Raveh (Redner) who lost her husband Bob, A founder member of Kibbutz La Search

Any information to David Lewin, 156 Totteridge Lane, London N20 BJJ about Ernst Neustadter, who came to England, almost certainly from Bielefeld just before the war. In 1956 he married Beate Lux. A son Jeremy was born 1961.

## Letters      Points from letters

My sincere apologies for the long delay in returning the Memorial Questionnaire. Probably like most other ROK members, I found it extremely difficult to set the names down on paper, even though the knowledge of the fate of my loved ones has been ever present, for the last 53 years.

Many, many thanks for your very hard work, I am sure that you have brought some sense of "belonging" to many people like me. I must also thank you for bringing me in touch, in 1989, with Hana Bandler, a cousin-by-marriage. We met by chance during the reunion and have now become close friends.

With kind regards

Hana Kleiner

From Rudi Lowenstein Winnipeg, Canada

....Newsletter 57 reached me last week. As usual, I leave everything, except possible important letters aside and am engrossed in reading the newsletter from beginning to end. It is getting better and better and absorbs me. After all, the contents and purpose of the newsletter has become part of our life: its origin 59 years ago, the continuation of our lives in whatever shape it developed. I was able to reply and give information to Margot Howell and find out at the same time that she lives in Western Canada where 'Kinder' are very scarce to my knowledge.



## Letters

In a small community, near where I live there used to be a fairly large Jewish community and there still exists an old cemetery and synagogue (undestroyed, though "abused" by way of serving as a storage hall). In the nineteeneighties the community succeeded in moving out the "storage tenants" and have since started a "Förderverein" to have the synagogue's interior renovated. Also, each tombstone and grave has been registered, inscripts been translated from Hebrew into German, names, dates and family records - as far as could be established, - have been documented in a history book by the member of an old, famous Rabbinic family. This "Historiker" has since published seven books. The synagogue is now used for cultural purposes and much effort is put in to reconstruct it. The Förderverein is increasing its members as these are: Citizens of Lahr and the entire region, the deutsch-israelische Arbeitskreis and other individuals.

So in this connection I was able to meet "just the right kind persons" who assisted me greatly in my researches, - the results of which, of course, - revealed the assumed tragic truth.

You will be glad to hear that the kind lady, Mrs. Portia Clement, who gave me a home when I came on a Kindertransport on 27th June 1939, will be 92 in May. She is a wonderful person. We are in constant contact on the phone. When I can, I go to see her. Her children are just as wonderful. I shall never forget the kind words of her eldest daughter: when she was a little girl of seven and we were out for a walk together, she said to me: "Our mother said you are our sister". All four of Mrs. Clement's children and their husbands and wives are like real brothers and sisters to me. When at the end of last year I told Mrs. Clement (whom I call "Auntie") that the University had appointed me Honorary Fellow in the French Department, she was delighted and must have told the children immediately, for they all telephoned me to congratulate me. They are truly wonderful people: they not only saved my life by giving me a home, but made me one of their family for

Kindest regards, Fanni Bogdanow

I thought it might be of interest that I have just returned from Sarasota (Florida) and met Kirsten and Hanus Groz who are putting together the Kindertransport Quilts. They were both most hospitable and received my cousin and I with great charm. In fact, they had assembled a little party of ROK members and we all exchanged histories.

Kirsten has now pieced two quilts and they are most interesting, depicting various hostels, favourite toys left behind, even photos printed onto linen. Kirsten has some squares to start a third quilt, but not quite enough, so she is hoping for support from the British ROK. Is there any needlewoman out there who would be prepared to sew, paint, embroider, or appliqué a 10" square? I have all the (very simple) requirements and will pass them on. The idea is that the finished pieces will be brought to England at the Reunion and shown then. A lovely thing to do.

FROM: Zeev Noyman

Whilst reading the RoK newsletter of February, and leaving the newspaper for a later hour, I came across the name of a friend of mine of fifty years ago. We went to the same school in Altona, were transported to Poland and came to England via Otwock (children's home), and Gdynia, and subsequently arrived in Leeds. My friend now lives in Natanya, Israel.

From Sessi Jakobovits, Canada

...The little note about Rabbi Bernd Koshland had far-reaching results. I know about half the people in the picture... It was taken in Holland, of the first transport out of Germany, Nov. 29 1938 and appeared in a Dutch newspaper... (If anyone else recognises a face and knows the name, please tell us and we can pass it on to the Imperial War Museum. Eds.)

From Alice Boddy, USA

Can anyone remember the poem - I believe it was published in some Jewish paper in London in 1939/40 - that starts with:  
Ich bin ein German refugee  
There is no Fatherland for me  
That's why I came to Surrey  
Und, wenn ich English speaken könnt...

From Astrid Schlegel, Berlin

The „Kulturring in Berlin e. V.“ is an organisation researching the Jewish history in the area formally known as East-Berlin. In 1993 and 1995 the following books were published: „Jewish people in Treptow“ and „Jewish people in Lichtenberg“. As well there is also a manuscript being prepared about the „Jewish people in Friedrichshain“. Since October 1997 a research group has been working on an exhibition, the topic „Reichskristallnacht“ - The escalations against Jewish people in November 1938 in the area of Berlin-Mitte, Lichtenberg and Friedrichshain.

In conjunction with this exhibition we are looking for eyewitnesses and informations regarding the destruction of the Jewish Synagogues, stores, Jewish property and cemeteries in the areas of Berlin-Mitte, Friedrichshain and Lichtenberg, who are able to tell us about their experiences. Due to financial restrictions we are not able to travel abroad to collect this information. Therefore we would appreciate your help letter or telephone.

We are also extremely interested in any photos of Jewish monuments, stores, doctor and lawyer offices etc. pertaining to the areas Berlin-Mitte, Friedrichshain and Lichtenberg. We would be extremely happy when we could borrow these photos for reproduction, and return them to you directly thereafter.

The project members Thank You very much for your help. If you can assist us in any way please contact in Berlin/Germany Mrs. Kolberg or Mrs. Schlegel by telephone at 0049-30-2832842, by fax at 0049-30-2832843, email: kulturring @ berlin.snafu.de or by mail at following address:

Kulturring in Berlin e. V.  
Friedrichstraße 120  
10117 Berlin  
Germany

(P.S: We will return all calls to keep your expenses at a minimum)

We greatly appreciate your assistance, please help by distributing this letter throughout your organisation and we look forward to hearing from you in the next future.



## Articles

Mark Twain

Harper's magazine, September 1897

# About Jews

THE GUARDIAN 25.3.98

If the statistics are right, the Jews constitute but one quarter of one percent of the human race. It suggests a nebulous dim puff of stardust lost in the blaze of the Milky Way. Properly, the Jew ought hardly to be heard of; but he is heard of, has always been heard of. He is as prominent on the planet as any other people, and his importance is extravagantly out of proportion to the smallness of his bulk.

His contributions to the world's list of great names in literature, science, art, music, finance, medicine and abstruse learning are very out of proportion to the weakness of his numbers. He has made a marvelous fight in this world in all ages; and has done it with his hands tied behind him. He could be vain of himself and be excused for it. The Egyptians, the Babylonians and the Persians rose, filled the planet with sound and splendour; then faded to dream-stuff and passed away; the Greeks and the Romans followed and made a vast noise, and they are gone; other peoples have sprung up and held their torch high for a time but it burned out, and they sit in twilight now, or have vanished.

The Jew saw them all, survived them all, and is now what he always was, exhibiting no decadence, no infirmities of age, no weakening of his parts, no slowing of his energies, no dulling of his alert and aggressive mind. All things are mortal but the Jew; all other forces pass, but he remains. What is the secret of his immortality?

JEWISH CHRONICLE MARCH 13 1998

Kindertransporte rescue commemorated

## Thanks to the Irish for the refuge of Mill Isle farm

**Jewish Chronicle Reporter  
BELFAST**

In a moving ceremony in the Belfast Synagogue last week, a plaque was unveiled by the Chief Rabbi, Dr Jonathan Sacks, which records thanks to the Irish people, Jews and non-Jews from Ulster and Eire, for providing refuge for 150 children, aged between three and 17, brought to Britain with the Kindertransporte 60 years ago.

The plaque was donated by Walter Hirsch, of London, one of the children who found sanctuary and a new life on Mill Isle Farm, in County Down, about 20 miles from Belfast, between 1939 and 1946.

Ronnie Appleton, the president of the Belfast Synagogue, told the gathering that few people now remembered the rescue operation that was launched by a small committee of Belfast Jews in the spring of 1939.

"They acquired a suburban house, but that was soon full to overflowing.

But aside from accommodation, what was needed was a framework which could provide the little community with an income and give the older children an opportunity to acquire skills.

"In May, 1939, the Mill Isle Farm, a derelict property of 70 acres, was bought with money raised by the Belfast, Dublin and Cork Jewish communities, with help from the Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches, and the Quakers.

"It proved to be an ideal choice, as the majority of the children, from Germany and Austria, were members of the Zionist pioneering Bachad Fellowship, and intended to settle on the land in Palestine."

Mr Appleton said that using Belfast as a base, the children were bused to the farm and quickly made it habitable and arable. "Other buildings were put up as needed, and the farm turned into a profitable enterprise.

"At its peak, the farm boasted two horses, seven cows and 2,000 chick-

## Film recalls Briton's heroic rescue of Jewish children

Kate Connolly in Prague

A BRITISH man who saved hundreds of Czech child refugees in the run-up to the second world war has made his last journey to Prague to make a documentary film about the rescue operations he planned from Hampstead in London.

Nicholas Winton, aged 89, organised six transports in 1939 which took 664 mainly Jewish children to families in London and Stockholm. A final train that was due to leave Prague on September 1 never did after war broke out the same day. None of the 250 children survived.

Those who were saved included British film director Karel Reisz — he made the French Lieutenant's Woman — CBC correspondent Joe Schlesinger and Dagmar Simova, the cousin of the United States secretary of state, Madeleine Albright.

Mr Winton's work went unrecognised for half a century. He did not even tell his wife. About 10 years ago he met 140 of the children, living all over

the world, for the first time since they fled Prague.

The story of their rescue is to be told in a British-Czech television documentary, co-produced by Phil Jude and Matej Minac. It will be filmed in 10 countries and is to be released next year.

During six days in Prague, Mr Winton will help to reconstruct events including the departures from Wilsonova station as parents waved their children off for the last time. He will also help to recreate scenes at the hotel on Wenceslas Square where parents went to plead with him to take their children to safety.

Mr Winton, whose achievements have been compared with those of Oskar Schindler and Raoul Wallenberg who helped thousands of Jews escape from the Nazis, dismissed his actions as "a very small part of my life".

He said: "I am grateful and proud to have been a part of it and I am only sorry that we did not manage to get the last transport out," he told survivors at a reunion at the Jewish Centre.

"If you will it, it is no dream" - Britain, Zionism and British Jews

22 March - 21 June 1998

Opening hours : Sunday - Thursday 10 am - 4 pm.

THE JEWISH MUSEUM - Camden Town

129 - 131 Albert Street, London, NW1 7NI

Tel. 0171 284 1997

ens, with the land split between vegetable and cereal cultivation, which provided a respectable contribution to the war effort."

When the farm was sold in 1947, the residents dispersed. Many went to Israel, where some became founder members of Kibbutz Lavi. Others settled in Britain, and a few returned to the Continent.

Aside from Mr Hirsch, the only other former residents to attend the unveiling were David Hirst and Edith Kohner. Also present was Israel's Ambassador to Ireland, Zvi Gabay, and representatives of the Dublin community.

The unveiling was the finale of a pastoral visit to Belfast by the Chief Rabbi, which included a dinner with members of the synagogue's council and their wives on Friday night, and a kiddush and communal lunch following the Shabbat morning service.



It is the time of year again, when I renew my membership in the Kindertransport association. Living in Canada it understandably impossible to participate in your activities. Nevertheless having lived in England for ten years I feel a certain closeness with what is going on in your country. I find it hard to understand the amount of resentment so many children feel in the way they were treated during their early stay in the U.K. I was 14 when I landed in Harwich in January 1939 and have only the fondest memories and admiration of the English people. I did not receive much when I arrived nor did I expect much. I was self supporting from the age of 16 and served 3 1/2 years in the British Army. While I did not always agree with their foreign policy before and after World War II, I shall always be grateful for them saving my life and the life of ten thousand other Jewish children.

I enjoy reading the letters in your Newsletter. Some are interesting, some are funny and some are ridiculous. What concerns me is the tone some of the letters take when the writer disagrees with certain proposals made by others. There is a lack of tolerance, and I do not see the necessity to right away viciously try to destroy the author because one just does not agree with an idea. It smacks unfortunately too much of Israeli politics.

A membership check for 15 pounds is enclosed, and I hope by being late in my payment, I have not missed the February Newsletter. My best wishes for your continued success in running the ROK which is greatly appreciated by most members.

Henry Glatt  
Sincerely, 27 Nevada Avenue  
Willowdale, Ontario  
M2M 3N9

Dear Inge,

The item "Jawne Remembered" by Ralph Blumenau in the December '97 R.O.K. newsletter triggered a few very vague memories from my early days.

I spent my second, third and fourth school years in Cologne up to June 1939 at which time I was "Kindertransported" to England.

The school I attended was, I believe, the one in Lutzowstrasse mentioned in the article. I still have my school reports of those years from which I see that my class teacher's name was GRUNEBAUM and the school director's name was KAHN. I still have two class photos from two of those years.

For quite a while towards the end of that period circumstances did not permit me to live together with my parents and I stayed in the ABRAHAM FRANK Waisenhaus at 243 Aachener Strasse, Cologne. Today only a commemorative plaque remains on the front of the building located at that address; I think it is not the original building which I believe was destroyed in an air-raid.

Should anyone be interested I am ready to show/lend the photos and school report.

Your Newsletter is always most interesting and I look forward to getting the next one.

With very best wishes and greetings, J. ARETZ (ISRAEL)

7

Dear Bertha and Bea:

Thank you for putting out an interesting newsletter and for giving some of us the opportunity to learn about others.

Two years ago, I learned about the KTA through a friend in New York, whom I had not seen for 30 years. Through that contact I met a person I had known in Berlin when I was there as an interpreter from England, 50 years ago, who has, for 25 years, lived within 30 minutes drive from me. Then you send me a copy of your letter. Since I have lived in California for 50 years, I have not had any contact with refugees, nor have I known any, so it is with interest and amazement that I have learned from you how many people are still searching for loved ones or friends, since I have long ago given up the search for relatives or friends.

I came to England from Prague, but am the only one I know of, who had to walk across the border from Czechoslovakia to Katowice, Poland and am surprised to read that there actually was a Kindertransport from Prague. There were five of us who walked across the border. Our journey took us from Katowice to Gdynia, to Goteborg, to Southampton. I was in various hostels in England of which the only name I remember is Edmond Castle. Subsequently I was in a boarding school in Slough named "Long Dene" where I graduated.

In 1945 I went to Berlin and worked for the censorship division. In 1947 applied to study at the University of Berkeley in California and was accepted. I came to study for one year, and although, I wanted to return to England, I had no money for the return journey. I extended my visa, and so I remained in San Francisco.

The purpose of this brief bio is to ask if any member of ROK was on this journey with me or knows anyone who was or had the same experience.

Best regards, Miriam Darvas-Sagaser USA  
3125 Corina Street E-mail: gts@innercite.com  
Placerville CA 95667

Mrs Atkinson of Dorset

When I came England with one of the last Kindertransports on 10th-11th August 1939 to take up a free place at Durham School, the arrangements had been made by a Quaker lady, Frau Landmann, working from Berlin, in correspondence with an Anglican lady, Mrs A.N.H. Atkinson, of Holway, Cattistock, Dorchester, Dorset. I never met Mrs Atkinson, but I used to send her Christmas cards and always remembered her address.

Many years after the war, while driving through Dorset with my wife, I noticed and followed a signpost to Cattistock, a tiny village with just one shop-cum-post-office, and asked for Holway, which turned out to be an isolated farm two or three miles beyond the village. There Mrs Atkinson's elderly and slightly eccentric son (she having died fourteen years previously) showed us into a drawing-room full of dogs sitting on armchairs. During the war, he told us, these same armchairs had been occupied by as many Jewish children from Germany. Perhaps one of them is on your mailing list?

John D. Rayner  
(formerly Hans Rahmer)



## Israel 1948 -1998

As we celebrate the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the State of Israel, we hope it will be there for generations to come. This makes life for us completely different from those of our forefathers over the last 2000 years.

Driven from many countries throughout the ages, we had nowhere to turn to in time of danger. We were at the mercy of kings, churches and despotic rulers, who used our talents to enrich themselves whilst we were driven out, forced to convert, burnt at the stake and finally gassed. All countries closed their borders and we were trapped. They closed their eyes and ears to our cries. They decreased their entry quotas and with the exception of some humanitarian gestures, like the Kindertransport and a few thousand entry permits, the world watched as the Jews perished.

It is the small country of Israel, which was born with blood, sweat and tears like a miracle 50 years ago, that holds open its borders to all of us. It is not perfect. Show me a country that is. But it lets us Jews anywhere in the world walk tall and proud.

How sad that it is not the 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary that we are celebrating! Ten years are but a microsecond in the infinity of time. So many could have been saved had it been established in 1938 instead of 1948.

Bertha Leverton

Mrs. Batya Unterschatz of the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem heads the Missing Relatives Bureau and has been very successful in finding people in Israel and in reuniting family members. her address is: Jewish Agency, P.O.B. 92, Jerusalem. Tel: 02-6202652

Henry Foner (Jerusalem) tells us that one can have a special plaque placed in a memorial Hall in Yad Vashem to commemorate ones loved ones. Cost Shekel I,5000 aprox. £250.00

ISRAELI ANNUAL PICNIC will take place this year on TUESDAY, MAY 26th at our usual site at Ganei Yehoshua, Park Hayarkon, Tel Aviv, from 9.30 a.m. onwards. All overseas Kinder welcome. For further details please phone Fritzi Sessler: 04-8245-004; or Inge Sadan: 02-5634-978. (Israeli Kinder, please note: Fritzi is organising the Bring-and-Buy Sale being held at the Picnic, and hope you will all bring along items for the Sale, which is not only great fun but also helps to augment our Fund. ~~xxx~~ )

### News from other parts of the world

From Eddie Nussbaum, California

More than 40 Kinder, spouses and second-generation Kinder enjoyed a luncheon get-together at Santa Monica's Mosel Cellar on February 22. Organized by Eddie Nussbaum and Michelle Freiler, the event was a big success and hopefully will be the first of many more annual meetings in the future. Self-introductions by all the Kinder present helped to break the ice and renew friendships of many years' standing. There was much interest in THE BIG ONE in 1999, and among those present many Kinder are planning to come to London.

New Brunswick Internment Camp Museum, Minto, N.B. Canada

Mrs. Kelly McKay, the Curator/Administrator of this museum has told us that it opened in June 1997 and has already had thousands of visitors. In 1940-41 711 Jewish men and teenage boys were interned at the Camp. Some later returned to the UK to join the British army while others obtained a sponsor, which allowed them to stay in Canada or the USA. Their contributions to the war effort were immense, as were their contributions to the fields of medicine, the arts and business, some of which lead to international recognition. One name to note is Fritz Bender, an inventor who went to Ottawa where he furthered his work on waterproof plywood. He later developed the mosquito plane.

There is no admission charge. Tel no: 506 327 3573

From Margot Howell, British Columbia, Canada.

To all the people who took the time to respond to my request regarding Izbica. I wish to thank you very much. The letters and valuable information which was supplied is greatly appreciated.



## News

After about 18 months of 'Hin und Her', it has now been finalised: I'm off to the USA to give some lectures in San Francisco. My kind hostess there will be Alice Boddy, tel: 415 461 1734. The tour is planned to follow the big KTA Convention in Washington DC on the week-end of 5 - 7 June 1998 where I have been asked to give a talk on Friday evening. (For anyone interested, contact Helga Newman, 111 West Maple Street, New Hyde Park, NY 11040 or Kurt Goldberger, President KTA, tel: 001 516 938 6084.

Genya Markon of the Washington Holocaust Museum is organising a special tour for a limited number of 'Kinder' on Monday morning, 8 June.

My sister, Inge Sadan, representing her Israeli group, will travel with me and we are both very much looking forward to meeting KTA members.

1998.3.17.

Dear Mrs. Bea Green / Mrs. Bertha Leverton,

Thank you for your letter of 11 February. That helped me a lot. On the stage of "Kindertransport", "Eva" hangs her dog-tag with only her number on it. I contributed an essay about the history of Kindertransport to the brochure of the performance. I mentioned the Nobel prize which a "Kinder" won, and quoted the introduction about the play from Newsletter of Reunion of Kindertransport No.44.

In Kobe nearly 6000 people came to see the play. It started in Tokyo last Sunday.

The reason why I became interested in the history of Kindertransport is as follows. When I was studying modern european history in London 1990, I came to know an old kind lady, Mrs. Eve Webb, who had come to England by Kindertransport. At that time I lived quite near to her house and I often visited her to hear about her story. For a historian like me, Kindertransport was a quite interesting theme.

I suppose Mrs. Webb is a member of Reunion and she sent me the Newsletter of Reunion several times.

Yours Sincerely,

*Kazuko Kibata*

Kazuko Kibata  
4-14-202, Wakabadai  
Asahiku, Yokohama  
Japan 241-0801  
Tel/Fax 045-921-0480

One of the Japanese actresses appearing in the play 'Kindertransport' performed in distant Kobe.

エヴァ 宮本 裕子 Yuko Miyami



Sue Reed - the Director of our Kindertransport film in the making - is looking for anyone who is still alive of our parents' generation. Are there any parents, our parents, left alive? Sue will travel anywhere to interview and film.



## Books

Professor Peter Alter, former Deputy Director of the German Historical Institute, is the editor of a book called: Out of the Third Reich. This consists of autobiographical accounts of historians who came to this country either as children or already fully-fledged historians and includes people like Edgar Feuchtwanger and Arnold Paucker. Two of the contributors had come here on a Kindertransport. It is fascinating reading, but, as it costs £39.50, I suggest you borrow it from your Public Library.

BG

It is worth reading or re-reading George Elliot's Daniel Deronda. Jo Glanville, writing in the monthly magazine PROSPECT, suggests that Ben Yehuda's vision in the latter half of the nineteenth century, of reviving Hebrew as the vernacular of the Jewish people, was inspired by reading the Russian translation of DANIEL DERONDA. In his memoirs, Ben Yehuda wrote: "After I read the story a few times, I made up my mind and I acted."

BG

Hopefully in future News Letters we will print some extracts from a Booklet, as yet unpublished, I was privileged to receive from John Najman. "LETTERS TO A FRIEND". These are the factual and very moving letters he wrote as a young soldier, stationed with the American Army in Germany, where he found his Mother very ill, in a D.P. Camp. He was able to help improve the terrible conditions the camp survivors lived in. These Letters were written to his friend and business partner to be Fred Durst. Fred had kept these valuable letters without telling John and fifty years later presented them to him on his special Birthday.

### Bertha Pappenheim

Bertha Pappenheim opened her orphanage for Jewish children and mothers in Neu-Isenburg in 1907 and directed it until her death in 1936.

She became involved with the Liberal Democrats and was connected with the movement for the well-being of Jewish women in Germany as well as for reforms for women both in married and professional life. During the First World War she was a welfare worker for East German Jewish women workers in ammunition factories in Frankfurt. From 1914 - 1924 she took part in international women's campaigns and frequently spoke on their behalf.

She ran her orphanage like a family with her as the mother, eating with the children, reading to them and celebrating religious festivals with them. After 1933 she helped other Jewish women, barred from political activities, by giving them jobs in her orphanage. Even when financial aid was reduced and more children and mothers needed her help, she fought on bravely to keep the orphanage going until she died.

### Not Kinder News, but something to make them smile.

A company chairman had been given tickets for a performance of Schubert's Unfinished Symphony. He was unable to attend, so passed the tickets to his Work Study Consultant. Next day the chairman asked him how he had enjoyed the performance, and was handed a memorandum, which read:

- A. For considerable periods the four oboe players had nothing to do. The number should be reduced and their work spread over the whole orchestra, thus eliminating peaks of activity.
- B. All the twelve violins were playing identical notes. This seems unnecessary duplication, and the staff of this section should be drastically cut. If a large volume of sound is really required, this could be obtained through an electronic amplifier.
- C. Much effort was absorbed in the playing of demi-semiquavers. This seems an excessive refinement and it is recommended that all notes should be rounded up to the nearest trainees and lower-grade operators. No useful purpose is served by repeating with horns the passages that have already been handled by the strings. If all such redundant passages were eliminated, the concert could be reduced from two hours to twenty minutes. If Schubert had attended to these matters, he would have been able to finish the symphony after all, .....



### I came from Hell into Hell

June 1939, the early hours of that morning we landed in England after leaving our families in Austria. We were bundled on to a train and arrived in London mid-morning. We were told to stay on the platform for someone would come and fetch us.

I was only 12 years old my sister 13 years. We spoke little to one another for we both wondered what was to happen, when suddenly someone came up to me and read my label and said something in English to me.

The man took hold of my hand and wanted to lead me away, I said no what about my sister, he called someone over that spoke German and the asked me what was wrong explained that we had promised papa we would look after each other and where not to be parted. The insistence was there for me to go but I would not. I was told I would be sorry and should be grateful for someone to take me home.

6pm that day we were still at the Railway station hungry and thirsty eventually all the children had gone and someone said to Alice and me we will have to put you with someone for tonight and to morrow you will both go to Alices convent.

Convent it was not it was a orphanage, way up the North, Bury in Lancashire. We travelled all day on the train with a couple of sandwiches each and arrived in the evening where a nun was waiting for us.

Come along where the first words spoken to us we must hurry, we got onto a bus to a village called Tottington when we got of the bus we had to walk up this long hill and carry our cases. We both felt very tired by then, hungry and thirsty but it would be some time before we were to eat. We arrived at these large doors and I looked at my sister and she looked at me and we both began to cry, for we had experienced this before when our selige mutter died.

So eventually we had a meal and were separated and again I started to cry and I was told not be so silly and asked what it was all about I tried to explain about Alice and myself and was told to go to this big room and go to bed. I awoke next morning in this big room and felt very frightened for when I woke up in the night I did not remember where I was and wanting to go to the toilet I could not find where to go and had urinated on the floor, when the Nun came in I was told of and eventually I was taken to meet Alice and we went for breakfast.

I said to Alice I think we are in hell and she told me not to be so silly explained to Alice what had happened I the night to me and of course when she tried to talk to the sister, it was a waist of time for she could not speak our language.

We eventually met a sister that spoke a bit of German and I was told I would only be at this convent for a short time and then send to Bournemouth.

I asked where that was, was it far? but I was told not to asked so many questions I would find out soon enough.

I did, a few days later a was put on a train in charge of this man he could not speak my language and I could not speak his. In London someone else came to meet me and again I was put on a train and eventually I finished of in Bournemouth.

Was met by this little priest with this tall lad and he spoke German I learned from him where we were going and he told me his name was Horst and he was 16 years old and he came from Germany.

I thought I might be OK now but o no it was hell from hell. I was made to go to church 3 times on a Sunday and every morning had to walk to school every day for a mile and I was beaten for the slightest thing. It was called punishment for being a boy took the blame for there nephew when he did anything wrong and was beaten with a

leather belt. Yes it was hell got away from the Nazis but what had happened to me. I run away several times but was always found and taken back till in the end I ran away and the police found me in the New Forrest and took me back I tried to explain in my broken English why I ran away but was told not to worry I would not be punished this time the had spoken to the Father and everything would be OK.

What a joke, us soon us the Police left the house I was ordered to my room and up came the little man with this big cane and I was beaten till I bled from my buttocks had nothing to eat so in the night I went downstairs to see what I could find, found the bag of dog biscuits and started eating these when down came the Priest with his Housekeeper I was hit by this women and told I am a thief and made to go to bed. I do not know what happened after this for 2 days later I was again placed on a train to London. I escaped from Hell again.

Extract from my book. Walter Richards (Rechnitzer, Vienna)

*Let me first congratulate you and your team on the tremendous amount of work you are putting in organising the 1999 reunion. I have only just managed to catch up with some recent issues of the RoK newsletters and I was interested to read:-*

- a) *The articles by Rabbi Harry Jacobi on Truus Wismuller and the last (?) ship with refugee children leaving Holland for England in May 1940.*
- b) *The letter from Ruth Meador regarding honouring Truus Wismuller Meyer at Yad Vashem.*

*Some years ago I had occasion to speak with Lady Simone Prendergrast, but as these events related back to her mothers day she had no specific details of how the last minute escape from Amsterdam was organised. I have also been back to what was before the war the Burgerweysheus, St Luciensteg, Amsterdam. Although the history of the building going back several centuries, has been well documented, no mention of its refuge for refugee children from the Nazi period is to be found. It appears as if a blanket of silence has been drawn over the building's use during the thirties and fourties.*

*I too came to England on the Bodegraven and there must be others who came to this country having possibly first been at Susterberg, which housed children in various out-buildings before transferring them to other destinations. Some were selected to go to England before September 1939. Others were fostered by Dutch families or transferred to various hostels of which the Burgerweysheus was one. How Truus Wismuller organised and co-ordinated the last minute rescue, in May 1940, I do not know.*

*My name is Eric Cohen. I would then have been Erich. I knew Rabbi Harry Jacobi, then Heinz Hirschberg, in Amsterdam and later at Heaton Road, Manchester, where some of the children who had come on the Bodegraven were given their first english home.*



## Notices

The Rabbi Dr. Solomon Schonfeld's Children's Transport Jubilee Committee are organising a celebratory dinner in London at the end of April to raise money for a scholarship Fund. For more information please contact Mr. I. Reich, 0181 202 4784.

### Czech Kinder Please Note:

Vera Gissing, 2 White Cottages, Upper Culham Lane, Wargrave, Reading RG10 8NP would be most grateful for contributions towards the costs of looking after Czech 'Kinder' members. Paying for postage, paper, telephone calls - all mount up and that is not even counting the time during which she could be gainfully employed!

ZDF (Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen) is planning a programme to be broadcast on 10th November 1998. The Director of this 30-minute feature film is Michael Heuer, Wiesenstrasse 56, 30 169 Hannover. The programme will include the memories of some of the Kindertransport participants. If you are interested in helping Mr. Heuer, please get in touch with him at the above address direct.

University of Sussex - German Research Colloquium - Summer Term. For details of programme of Tuesday 5.15 pm meetings please contact: Professor Ladislaus Löb, Tel: 01273 678702 or Diana Franklin, Tel/Fax: 0181 381 4721

Ruth Barnett has run several groups for former Kindertransportees that have turned out to be all women. She now has an application from a man who wants such a group and is planning to start an all men group for former Kindertransportees. The group would aim to facilitate the sharing of both past and current experiences in a relaxed and confidential setting that would be interesting and therapeutic for its members. Please pass this message on to anyone you think might be interested and/or ring Ruth Barnett on 0171 431 0837.

This can be read during the Seder  
before the paragraph beginning  
"In Every Generation - בכל דור ודור" in your Haggadah.

*In every generation - בכל דור ודור  
we feast on wine, matzot and bitter herbs  
recalling the journey from Egypt to the Land of Israel  
Exiled, we wandered from place to place  
We yearned for our land and prayed to return*

*In every generation - בכל דור ודור  
we are bound to relive our journey  
from bondage to freedom  
from sorrow to joy  
from mourning to celebration  
from darkness to light*

*In every generation - בכל דור ודור  
we shall remember those who came  
from the four corners of the earth  
by sea, by air and on foot  
to build our land  
to rekindle our faith  
to renew our nation*

*In every generation - בכל דור ודור  
we turn to You in hope and prayer for  
a land of justice  
a land of prosperity  
a land of peace  
As it is said: He who makes peace in high places  
may He make peace upon us and upon all Israel. Amen.*

*עשה שלום במרומי, הוא יעשה שלום  
עלינו ועל כל ישראל. ואמר, אמן.*





DAS CHAJESREALGYMNASIUM

IN WIEN 1919-1938

von

BINYAMIN SHIMRON

Anlässlich des 70. Jahrestags der Gründung und  
des 50. Jahrestags der Auflösung  
Herausgegeben von einer Gruppe ehemaliger Schüler

Tel-Aviv 5749 1989



MAGISTRIS

CONDISCIPULISQUE

VIVIS ATQUE DEFUNCTIS



## Vorwort

Absicht, Zweck und Ziel dieser Monographie sind in der Einleitung dargelegt, ebenso ihre wichtigeren Quellen. Es bleibt mir daher nur die angenehme Pflicht, allen denen zu danken, die mir bei ihrer Vorbereitung und Drucklegung geholfen haben. Es sind so viele, dass ich unmöglich alle nennen kann, die mir längere oder kürzere Mitteilungen und Informationen oder andere Hinweise zukommen liessen, oder die durch finanzielle Beiträge die Drucklegung ermöglicht haben; alle anderen Ausgaben sind von den Helfern und mir selbst getragen worden und wenn sich beim Vertrieb ein Überschuss ergeben sollte, so wird er einem öffentlichen Zweck zugeführt werden.

Ich kann jedoch nicht umhin, drei Freunde zu nennen, die besonders viel zum Erfolg beigetragen haben, jeder an seinem Platz und in seiner Art, es sind dies, nach dem Alphabet: Moshe Meisels in Tel Aviv, Uri Spielvogel in den Vereinigten Staaten und Eleasar Weissbrot in Jerusalem. Ihnen allen schulde ich herzlichsten Dank.

Meine Dankesschuld an öffentliche Stellen, wie z.B. die Archive, ist in der Einleitung und im Anhang verzeichnet.

Es ist ein Werk der Liebe, Dankbarkeit und Nostalgie, kurz vor Torschluss, damit, nachdem wir nicht mehr sind - und wie viele von uns sind nicht mehr! - diese unsere einzigartige Schule nicht ganz vergessen wird. Es enthält viel Gutes von all den vielen, die sich an meiner Suche nach der Jugend beteiligt haben; die Mängel und vor allem was immer fehlen mag, sind meine Schuld.

Und letztlich mag dieses Heft ein Gruss sein an alle früheren Lehrer und Schüler wo immer sie sein mögen, an Bekannte und Unbekannte.

Tel Aviv, Nissan 5749  
April 1989

Binyamin Shimron



## EINLEITUNG

Zwanzig Jahre hindurch bestand in Wien, fast unbemerkt von der Öffentlichkeit, auch von der, die es unmittelbar anging, eine Schule, die nach Ansicht wohl aller Beteiligten ihre Aufgabe der Lehre und Erziehung zur Gänze erfüllte und nur durch die Katastrophe des europäischen Judentums unterging. Das Jüdische Realgymnasium, nach dem Tode seines Gründers, des Oberrabbiners Zwi (Hersch) Perez Chajes, Chajesrealgymnasium genannt, war ein in Mitteleuropa einzigartiges Institut, dessen Besonderheit sich in drei Worten ausdrückte: jüdischnational, traditionsbewusst, humanistisch im besten Sinn dieses Wortes.

Im Jahre 1918, knapp vor dem Zusammenbruch der Österreichisch - Ungarischen Monarchie, wurde Chajes als Oberrabbiner nach Wien berufen. Das war geradezu ein kleines Wunder. Der in seiner grossen Mehrheit assimilatatorisch eingestellte Vorstand der Kultusgemeinde berief einen Ostjuden, den Sohn einer bekannten Gelehrtenfamilie aus Galizien; schlimmer noch - er war Zionist und betätigte sich als solcher öffentlich, ohne auf die damals im Wiener Judentum massgebende Schicht der reichen Juden Rücksicht zu nehmen; die Angehörigen dieser Schicht stammten meist aus Böhmen oder Mähren und zum Teil aus Ungarn.

Chajes' Vorgänger (auf dessen Empfehlung er berufen wurde), trat nach dem Erscheinen von Herzl's "Judenstaat" öffentlich gegen den Zionismus auf. Die Wiener Judenschaft war zur Zeit der Monarchie in ihrer grossen Mehrheit "liberal" (in Politik und Religion) mit der "Neuen Freien Presse" an der Spitze; eigentlich war der Wiener Liberalismus etwa seit der Jahrhundertwende faktisch jüdisch. Die liberalen Parteien waren zumindest in den deutschsprachigen Teilen Österreichs die Parteien des Grossbürgertums.

Nach der Einführung des allgemeinen Wahlrechts für Männer, teilweise 1897 und vollständig 1907, wurden die liberalen Gruppen praktisch aus der Politik ausgeschaltet und an ihre Stelle traten die neuen Massenparteien. Es waren drei "Lager" wie die etwas anrühige, pseudomilitärische Metapher lautet - das "nationale", das christlich - soziale und das sozialistische. "National" bei den Deutschen hiess damals "deutschnational" und blieb so in der ersten Republik. Diese Parteien stützten sich auf einen grossen Teil der Intelligenz und der Beamtenschaft sowie auf Teile des Mittel- und Kleinbürgertums, vor allem in der Provinz; sie waren offen rassenantisemitisch. Da ihre Hauptstärke in den Randgebieten der späteren Tschechoslowakei lag, waren sie in der Republik (als "Grossdeutsche") verhältnismässig schwach, besonders, da ihr "natürlicher" Nachwuchs mehr und mehr zu den Nationalsozialisten abwanderte; bekanntlich waren deren erste "Eroberungen" die Universitäten und die Mittelschulen.



Die zweite grosse Partei waren die Christlichsozialen, die zwischen 1920 - 1934 die Hauptregierungspartei waren (und aus der die herrschende Gruppe des "Ständestaats" hervorging). Sie waren ebenfalls offen antisemitisch; es machte für die Juden keinen Unterschied aus, dass es ein religiös fundierter katholischer Antisemitismus war, und dass einzelne getaufte Juden unter besondern Umständen sogar unter christlich - sozialer Herrschaft Karriere machen konnten. In der Monarchie waren beide Parteien auf den Strassen aggressiv, aber dieser Terror war sporadisch, nicht organisiert und flaute nach 1900 eher ab.

In der Republik lebte er erst wieder mit dem Auftreten der Nazis auf. Schlimmer und viel wirksamer war der wirtschaftliche und gesellschaftliche Antisemitismus. Während unter Franz Josef (die Wiener Juden waren wohl seine treuesten Anhänger...) noch manchmal Juden in den Staatsdienst und die Universitäten aufgenommen wurden (als Lehrer), hörte das seit 1920 fast vollständig auf. Nach dem Unsturz litt Österreich unter einer andauernden, strukturellen Wirtschaftskrise, die eine Massenarbeitslosigkeit hervorrief und in deren Gefolge grosse Schichten des Wiener Judentums verarmten: kleine und mittlere Geschäftsleute, Angestellte, gewisse Handwerke, Ärzte, Rechtsanwälte, Verkäufer und Vertreter - mit einem Worte die Schichten, aus denen das Kleinbürgertum bestand.

Man darf nicht vergessen, dass die gewaltige technologische Revolution unserer Tage noch in weiter Ferne lag; ihre ersten Erscheinungen, vor allem Auto- und Radiotechnik, schufen kaum "jüdische" Berufe. Unter der Krise litt ganz Österreich, aber für die Juden kam hinzu, dass sich allmählich die Parolen "kauft nicht bei Juden" und "Juden werden nicht angestellt" verbreiteten, anfänglich noch sozusagen privat, später aber öffentlich und wirksam. Die Hauptleidenden waren die armen und verarmten Juden, die zum grossen Teil aus Galizien und der Bukowina kamen; sie waren im Weltkrieg vor den Russen geflüchtet und konnten nach dem Zusammenbruch nicht mehr in ihre "Heimat" zurück, wo schon damals der Pogromantisemitismus polnischer und rumänischer Prägung herrschte. Viele von ihnen hatten infolge der Auflösung der Monarchie auch nicht das österreichische Bürgerrecht und waren daher noch mehr benachteiligt. Wie wir noch sehen werden, war das galizische Element der Hauptschulerhalter.

Die dritte grosse Partei, in Wien die herrschende, waren die Sozialdemokraten. Ihr Programm war streng internationalistisch und lehnte daher die Benachteiligung irgendeiner Gruppe strikt ab. Dennoch war auch die Sozialdemokratie eine negative Grösse für das Wiener Judentum. Zwar war sie in Wien nicht antisemitisch: mit einem Parteivorstand, in dem etwa die Hälfte der Mitglieder jüdisch oder jüdischer Abstammung waren, wäre das schwer möglich gewesen; auch unter den Redakteuren der Arbeiterzeitung waren unverhältnismässig viele Juden.



Die meisten von ihnen hatten zwar die Kultusgemeinde verlassen (Otto Bauer war eine der wenigen Ausnahmen) und versuchten ihr Judentum zu vergessen, was ihnen gelang, sowie es vergessen zu machen, was ihnen nicht gelang. Daher waren sie auch, wieder mit wenigen Ausnahmen, wie Max Adler, der aber vollkommen einflusslos war, Gegner jeder jüdischen Betätigung, vom Zionismus ganz zu schweigen. Schlimmer war, dass in den verschiedenen Organisationen der Partei ein sozusagen unterschwelliger anti-jüdischer Ton zu fühlen war. In Wien gab es in der Partei selbst wenig aktiven Antisemitismus, aber assserhalb Wiens brachen solche Stimmungen nicht selten hervor. Dennoch war die Sozialdemokratie die einzige Partei, die offiziell jüdische Stimmen suchte und auch erhielt.

Betroffen wurde das Wiener Judentum durch die allgemeine sozialdemokratische Politik. Da sie im Staat in der Opposition war, konnte sie auf die Wirtschaftspolitik kaum einwirken, aber als herrschende Partei in Wien führte sie eine konsequente antireligiöse Kulturpolitik, deren Hauptstück, vor allem nach der zum grossen Teil selbstverschuldeten Katastrophe des 15. Juli 1927, die Propaganda für den Kirchenaustritt war. Der Erfolg bei den Katholiken war nicht bedeutend, aber viele Juden traten aus der Kultusgemeinde aus und wurden "konfessionslos", teils aus Überzeugung, teils in Erwartung von ökonomischen Vorteilen, etwa eine Anstellung im sozialdemokratischen Herrschaftsbereich oder eine politische Karriere - die jedoch auch ihnen verschlossen war.

Damit verbunden war die allgemeine assimilatorische Tendenz des "Austromarxismus", der zwar aus nationalen Gründen den Anschluss an Deutschland (bis 1933) propagierte, aber jede jüdischnationale Anschauung von vornherein verwarf - "es gibt kein jüdisches Volk" - und die Lösung der Judenfrage in der völligen Assimilation der Juden erblickte. Ganz abgesehen davon, dass diese Lösung illusorisch war, was man auch damals schon sehen konnte, gab die Sozialdemokratie keine Antwort auf die Frage, was mit den Juden, die noch nicht assimiliert waren, bis dahin geschehen sollte. Sie wusste keine Antwort auf den erstarkenden Antisemitismus und suchte auch keine. Weder die jüdischen noch die nichtjüdischen Führer wollten als "Judenschutztruppe", ein beliebtes Argument der Antisemiten gegen die Sozialisten, betrachtet werden. Das ging so weit, dass der Bürgermeister von Wien, zugleich der Vorsitzende des Parteivorstandes Karl Seitz, sich weigerte den Zionistischen Kongress im Jahre 1925 zu begrüßen, da er solche konfessionelle Veranstaltungen nicht unterstützen könnte.

Die Reaktionen der jüdischen Kreise auf diese Entwicklung waren sehr verschieden. Die Orthodoxen, die sich ja von der Umwelt, auch von der nichtorthodoxen jüdischen, abschlossen, vertrauten wie immer auf die Hilfe des Himmels und suchten keine neue Lösung; sie waren ja nicht nur in Österreich die entschiedensten jüdischen Gegner der zionistischen Bewegung. Vielen anderen, vor allem der jüngeren

Generation, ging dieses Vertrauen verloren und ihre Bindung an die Religion wurde zusehends schwächer oder verschwand ganz; diese Entwicklung war natürlich nicht auf Juden beschränkt.

Seit dem 18. Jahrhundert verursachten oder auf jeden Fall beschleunigten die rationalistische Aufklärung, der Liberalismus und Nationalismus und der Sozialismus, vor allem der marxistischer Prägung, den Abfall von der Religion in Europa. Nach 1918 musste man sich in Wien nicht mehr taufen lassen, um die "Eintrittskarte" in die Gesellschaft zu erwerben und man begrüßte die Befreiung von der Notwendigkeit, einen Glauben vorgeben zu müssen. All das ist nicht neu; vieles davon stammt jedoch aus persönlichem Erlebnis und mag daher als Einleitung in ein persönliches Buch dienen.

Versteckter und offener Antisemitismus, die allgemeine und die besondere jüdische Wirtschaftskrise, das ständige Nachlassen der religiösen Bindungen und die damit verbundene, uneingestandene seelische Leere, der wachsende Einfluss des Marxismus, der als einzige geistige Strömung ein erstrebenswertes Ideal, in den Augen vieler eine Illusion, präsentierte, das war der Hintergrund für den Versuch, eine jüdisch-nationale, humanistisch und kulturell aufgeschlossene Schule zu errichten.

Als Chajes nach Wien kam, war es wohl jedem Klarsichtigen, zu denen allerdings die Habsburger und ihre Hofpolitiker im allgemeinen nicht gehörten, bewusst, dass das Ende des Krieges und damit der Monarchie unmittelbar bevorstand. Nach der Revolution in Russland, standen der Zerfall Österreichs (und Ungarns) sowie die schon lange erwartete Liquidierung des ottomanischen Reiches, was vor allem die Abtrennung der arabischen Gebiete von der Türkei hiess, auf der Tagesordnung. Am 2. November 1917 war die Balfourdeklaration erlassen worden, und wenn auch deren Tragweite infolge der Kriegsumstände in Mitteleuropa nicht klar war, so waren die zionistischen Kreise dennoch in freudiger Erwartung der Zukunft. Als dann der Zusammenbruch der Monarchie und mit ihm die Erfüllung der nationalen Aspirationen der Tschechen, Polen und vieler anderer Völker kamen (die neu entstandenen Krisenherde, z.B. in Polen oder in der Tschechoslowakei und anderswo wurden übersehen), verstärkten sich auch die nationalen Strömungen in der Judenheit; es wurde sogar ein "Jüdischer Nationalrat" in Wien gegründet, der allerdings nach kurzer Zeit wieder verschwand.

Aber die zionistische Bewegung, die bis dahin eher am Rande des jüdischen Lebens stand, erlebte nun einen grossen Aufschwung. Eines der Hauptziele der Bewegung war die Errichtung eines grossen, umfassenden jüdischem Schulwerks. Aus Gründen, die hier nicht behandelt werden können, flaute die jüdische nationale Bewegung nach dem ersten Aufschwung wieder ab; von allen den grossen Plänen und Anfängen der Umsturzjahre blieb fast nur das Jüdische Realgymnasium übrig.



Der Verfasser besuchte die Schule in den Jahren 1923 - 1931. Es besteht für mich kein Zweifel, dass sich mein Leben dadurch in eine bestimmte, positive Richtung entwickelt hat und ich bin sicher, dass ich ein Opfer des nationalsozialistischen Terrors geworden wäre, wenn mich die Erziehung in der Schule nicht zum Zionismus gebracht hätte. So wie viele andere verdanke ich der Schule mein Leben und in den folgenden Blättern will ich in unser aller Namen ihr durch die Errichtung eines bescheidenen Denkmals diesen Dank abstaten.

Eine Institution besteht aus Menschen, in diesem Fall aus den Lehrern und Schülern. Schätzungsweise gingen etwa fünfzehnhundert junge Menschen durch die Schule, viele davon nur einige Jahre; genaue Zahlen sind unerreichbar. Sehr vielen gelang die Flucht vor dem Naziterror. Die Überlebenden sind in der Welt zerstreut, zwei bis dreihundert leben in Israel.

Viele sind zu einflussreichen Stellungen im wissenschaftlichen oder Wirtschaftsleben gelangt. In Israel haben nicht wenige eine erfolgreiche militärische oder wissenschaftliche, aber nur wenige eine politische Karriere gemacht. Von ihnen kann ich nicht sprechen, aber ich will versuchen die Erinnerung an manche Lehrer zu bewahren, und vor allem natürlich an den "Direx", den Direktor der Schule von ihrem ersten Tag bis fast an ihr Ende, Dr. Viktor Kellner. Was immer seine Kollegen und Schüler über ihn gedacht haben und noch denken, in einem Punkt gibt es unter uns keinerlei Meinungsverschiedenheiten: Viktor Kellner war die Schule, ohne ihn wäre sie schon nach wenigen Jahren zu Grunde gegangen, nur er hat sie in der langen Zeit der schweren Wirtschaftskrise am Leben erhalten. "Wo viel Licht ist, ist starker Schatten" - aber oft erinnert man sich nur an den Schatten, wenn die Lichtquelle erloschen ist. Eines meiner Ziele ist es, dieses Licht, wenn auch nur sozusagen reflektiert, wieder aufleuchten zu lassen.

Geschichte wird auf Grund von Zeugnissen aller Art geschrieben. Ich habe eine Reihe von Erinnerungen (auf Tonband und in Briefen) gesammelt, darunter auch von ehemaligen Lehrern, die glücklicherweise noch unter uns weilen. (Wer das letzte Jahr der Schule, 1938-1939 in der ersten Klasse erlebt hat, ist heute an die sechzig).

Im österreichischen allgemeinen Verwaltungsarchiv habe ich den kompletten "Akt" des Unterrichtsministeriums über die Schule gefunden. Einige ergänzende Dokumente fanden sich im Archiv des Wiener Stadtschulrats dank der Hilfe von Oberrat Dr. O. Schneider; anderes im Zentralarchiv für die Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes und im Zionistischen Zentralarchiv (Faszikel Z. P. Chajes), beide in Jerusalem. Hingegen ist das Archiv der Schule verloren. Trotz dieses

... die Geschichte der Schule in grossen Zügen  
... wenn auch manche Fragen nicht mehr beantwortet werden  
können.

Ein noch ein schweres Wort: Nach langer Seelenforschung habe ich  
im Jahre 1938 abzubrechen. In ihrem letzten Jahre konnte  
ich nicht mehr erziehen, kaum lehren, und nur manchmal trösten.  
Ich war nicht dabei, und habe auch persönlich nur wenig von der  
Schule erlebt, so dass ich dieses Kapitel jemand anderem  
überlassen muss. Vergessen habe ich es nicht.

Anmerkung: Nach der ersten Erwähnung eines Namens verwende ich  
... unter der der Lehrer oder Schüler in der Schule bekannt  
... Mein Name war Wilhelm Schönthal.



## EINE JÜDISCHE SCHULE - ODER EIN GHETTO

"Zunächst einmal möchte ich mich aber mit Ihnen über die Einwände auseinandersetzen, die gegen die Errichtung der jüdischen Schule im Westen vorgebracht werden. Vor allem sagt man uns: Wozu braucht man jüdische Schulen? Die Generation, die jetzt mit uns lebt, die ist im grossen und ganzen in nichtjüdischen Schulen auferzogen worden, und trotzdem ist sie gut jüdisch. Ich will die Frage jetzt nicht untersuchen, ob die Generation..., die jetzt im öffentlichen und privaten Leben steht..., tatsächlich eine gut jüdische ist. Aber wäre sie es auch, dann würde es nichts gegen uns beweisen. Die Älteren... sind in einem jüdischen Milieu aufgewachsen. ... die Eindrücke der Jugend und Erziehung, die sie im Elternhaus und in der Kehilla empfangen, verschwinden nicht ganz.

Wie steht es aber mit der heranwachsenden Jugend? Grosseenteils, grösstenteils hat sie kein jüdisches Milieu, weder in der Umgebung, noch im Haus. Diese Jugend können wir nicht retten, wenn wir sie nicht durch die jüdische Erziehung in der Schule an uns fesseln. Die jüdische Schule muss vielfach das Haus ersetzen. Wenn wir die jüdische Jugend harmonisch und innerlich fest gestalten wollen, so müssen wir dieser Jugend ein jüdisches Milieu schaffen.(-)

Ein weiterer Einwand gegen die jüdische Schule ist: Ihr wollt die Kinder wieder in das Ghetto bringen. Ihr wollt zerstören, was wir in einem Jahrhundert erkämpft und erworben haben.

Sagen Sie, was heisst Ghetto? Verstehen sie unter Ghetto einen innigen, intimen Zusammenhang mit dem Judentum... die Erhaltung unserer Eigenart, der Gaben der Seele und des Geistes, so sage ich offen: Ja, ein solches Ghetto wollen wir errichten.

Verstehen Sie unter Ghetto, was vor einigen Jahrzehnten die Methode in den jüdischen Schulen war, das Nichtjüdische als etwas Belangloses hinzustellen und nur Jüdisches zu lehren, so sage ich: Ein solches Ghetto wollen wir nicht schaffen. Nichts, was den Menschen von den Errungenschaften der Gegenwart loslöst.

Was wir wollen und jetzt schon tun, ist folgendes: Den Kindern in der Schule, und zwar in der Landessprache, alles vermitteln, was sie in irgendeiner Mittelschule lernen: und ich sage Ihnen, noch besser werden wir es machen. Warum? Weil wir Juden sind... Was unsere Generation zugrunde gerichtet hat, war der Geschichtsunterricht, der Schlachtfelder und Heerführer als das Grösste hingestellt hat. Wenn wir die jüdische Geschichte in die Hand nehmen, erzählt sie uns von moralischen Siegen, von Siegen in der Gelehrtenstube und in den Laboratorien.(-)

wir müssen unsere Seele kennen, die Kräfte, die seit Jahrtausenden in uns leben. Das können wir nur erreichen, wenn wir unsere Kinder in einem jüdischen Milieu harmonisch zu Juden heranbilden; wenn sie wissen, was es heisst, Jude zu sein, und warum man es sein muss. Dass sie wissen, warum es sich lohnt, zu kämpfen, warum es sich lohnt, zu leiden".

Mit diesen und ähnlichen Worten (aus einer Rede im März 1920) umriss Z. P. Chajes die grundsätzlichen Aufgaben der jüdischen Schulen, die kurz vorher unter seiner Ägide gegründet worden waren, das jüdische Realgymnasium und eine Volksschule, die aber nach einigen Jahren aus finanziellen Gründen geschlossen werden musste. Die Ziele waren hochgesteckt: jüdische Jungen und Mädchen - die Schule war vom Anfang an koedukativ - zu "geraden, aufrechten harmonischen Menschen zu machen" (aus derselben Rede), jedoch nicht, wie solche Ziele bis dahin erstrebt wurden, durch Akkulturation und Assimilation, wobei das Jüdische immer mehr zusammenschumpfte, bis es ganz verschwand, sondern auf einer festen Basis - der jüdischen Kultur mit ihren generationenlangen Traditionen und ihrer Erneuerung unter dem Einfluss des Wiederauflebens der hebräischen Sprache als Kulturträger, der modernen kulturellen Strömungen und der jüdischnationalen und zionistischen Bewegung.

Diese Ziele entsprachen in Chajes' Augen dem "Interesse des Staates", welcher ja will, "dass ganze, innerlich gekräftigte, harmonische Bürger erstehen." Es entsprach aber auch dem Interesse der Menschheit, die jüdische Jugend "zu geraden, aufrechten harmonischen Menschen zu erziehen".

Diese letzten Bemerkungen klingen wie ein Nachhall der Hoffnungen, die die Juden Mitteleuropas an die Emanzipation im 19. Jahrhundert knüpften und der damit verbundenen Ideologien, oder Illusionen, von der "Mission" des Judentums unter den Völkern und der Integration der "Israeliten" als deutsche etc. Bürger "**mosaischer**" Religion, wie sie etwa von ihnen in Frankreich im Jahre 1791 als Bedingung der **Gleichberechtigung** gefordert wurde. Es kam nirgends dazu; mag sein, dass der Umsturz von 1918 solche Hoffnungen wieder aufleben liess. Wenn das so war, wurden die Träger dieser Hoffnungen sehr schnell eines Besseren belehrt. Nach derselben Rede gehörte Chajes nicht zu ihnen. Der Anlass zu seinen Äusserungen war wohl ein anderer. Formell war die Schule eine private Lehranstalt; um zu bestehen, musste sie das "Öffentlichkeitsrecht" bewilligt bekommen; ohne dieses hätten ihre Zeugnisse keinen Wert (z.B. für die Aufnahme an die Universität) gehabt.

Für den Staat war das jüdische Realgymnasium eine religiöse Schule wie etwa das katholische "Schotten" gymnasium, welches wie andere katholische Anstalten zu den besten und angesehensten Schulen gehörte. Die jüdische Schule unterschied sich jedoch von diesen



Institutionen (die nebenbei auch nicht wenige jüdische Schüler hatten) dadurch, dass sie eine besondere kulturelle Richtung einschlug. Wie wir noch sehen werden, verursachte die zusätzliche "Belastung" der Schüler durch die jüdischen Lehrziele, besonders natürlich durch den Hebräischunterricht, viel Kopfzerbrechen bei den staatlichen Stellen, die mit der "Aufsicht" über die Schule betraut waren, dem Wiener Stadtschulrat und dem Unterrichtsministerium. Es ist anzunehmen, dass Chajes Hindernisse solcher Art aus dem Weg räumen wollte.

Wie dem auch sei, in seiner Rede - sowie in vielen anderen - brachte Chajes die Grundprobleme zum Ausdruck, vor denen eine bewusst jüdische Schule stand, die kein geistiges oder kulturelles Ghetto sein wollte. Es war nicht leicht, die Ziele der Schule in die Praxis zu übersetzen und wie alle Kompromisse führte auch dieses zu manchen Reibungen, wenn auch zu überraschend wenigen. Die grundsätzlichen Entscheidungen, die Chajes und unter seiner geistigen Leitung der Lehrkörper mit dem Direktor an der Spitze treffen mussten, galten zunächst und vor allem dem Verhältnis zwischen der religiösen Tradition, der speziellen jüdischen Kultur und der allgemeinen humanistischen Weltanschauung; um Missverständnissen vorzubeugen: für Chajes ging es um den wirklichen Humanismus, etwa eines Lessings oder Mendelssohns und nicht um den notdürftig als Humanismus verkleideten deutschen Nationalismus, wie seine Bemerkung über den Unterricht der Geschichte zeigt.

Damit verbunden war das Problem, wie die österreichische staatsbürgerliche Erziehung, die vom Staate gefordert wurde, mit dem zionistischen Ideal, des Wesens der Schule, zu verbinden wäre. Weder im alten Österreich noch in der Republik gab es eine besondere jüdische Nationalität. Die nationale Zugehörigkeit wurde faktisch durch die Muttersprache bestimmt; jiddisch, das meistens als "Jargon" verächtlich gemacht wurde, galt als verdorbenes Deutsch, und Hebräisch als eine tote Sprache, trotz der Anerkennung (im Jahre 1920) als eine der Landessprachen im damaligen Palästina durch den Völkerbund und die englische Mandatsmacht. Hinzu kam noch, dass die grosse Mehrheit der Eltern und Schüler dem Staat, jedem Staat misstrauisch gegenüberstand. Sie kamen aus Galizien, das von einem längst vergessenen Autor "Halbasien" genannt wurde. Schon in der Monarchie führte die polnische Aristokratie in Galizien die unbeschränkte Herrschaft und nützte sie bedenkenlos aus; ein Mittel dazu war die Ablenkung der Unzufriedenheit der unterdrückten polnischen Bauern, Ukrainer und anderer auf die Juden; aggressiver Antisemitismus, etwas gemildert durch Korruption, war nicht geeignet Vertrauen zum Staat zu erwecken.

In Österreich verhielten sich die Behörden im allgemeinen korrekt, aber der Staatsapparat war antisemitisch verseucht. Ausserdem war die Republik Österreich ein "Staat wider Willen" und einer, "den keiner wollte"; die Christlichsozialen wollten die Monarchie, die Grossdeutschen und Sozialdemokraten den Anschluss. Staatsbürgerliche Erziehung in einer jüdischen Schule glich unter solchen Umständen der Quadratur des Zirkels.

richtigt, da die anderen Privatschulen ausser  
den katholischen oft dazu dienten, Schülern, die den Anforderungen der  
staatlichen Mittelschulen nicht entsprachen, irgendwie zur Matura zu  
erheifen. Um es gleich zu sagen, diese Aufgabe hat die Schule zur  
Zufriedenheit aller Beteiligten gelöst, wie wir sehen werden, so  
da einzelne dieser Aufgaben mochte wohl einen ganzen Menschen  
erfordern. Hiezu kommt aber noch, dass die Schule durch die ganze  
Zeit ihres Bestandes unter grossen finanziellen Schwierigkeiten zu  
kämpfen hatte und mehr als einmal unmittelbar vor der Schliessung,  
sogar mitten im Schuljahr, stand. All das stellte die Leitung der  
Schule vor unlösbare Probleme: Ihre Geschichte besteht wesentlich in  
der Lösung - anfangs noch unter Führung von Z.P. Chajes, später  
aus eigener Kraft - durch Viktor Kellner.





DIE SCHULE

Am 1. Oktober 1919 wurde das "Jüdische Privatrealgymnasium", wie es von den Behörden genannt wurde, in völlig unzulänglichen Räumen in einer Handelsschule, die in einem hohen Bürogebäude im 1. Bezirk, Drahtgasse 4, untergebracht war, eröffnet. Um die Ecke stand und steht der "Judenplatz", im Mittelalter das Ghetto. Auf ihrem Schulweg konnten die Schüler eine Gedenktafel zur Erinnerung an die Verbrennung der Wiener Juden - Hebraeum canum - am 12. März 1421 bewundern. Auch der offizielle Name der Anstalt zeigte deren ungewöhnliche Situation. Privatschulen wurden aus pädagogischen und anderen Gründen nicht ganz für voll genommen, wie wir schon angedeutet haben und die Schulleitung wollte vermeiden, mit ihnen in einen Topf geworfen zu werden. Schon darum war ihr die Bezeichnung als "Privatrealgymnasium" unangenehm; der Hauptgrund für den Widerstand gegen diese Bezeichnung war jedoch zweifellos grundsätzlich: die Schule war und wollte eine öffentliche Institution der jüdischen Gemeinschaft sein, wurde aber aus formellen Gründen nur als Privatschule bestätigt. Die Gründung wurde nur unter der ausdrücklichen Bedingung bewilligt, dass keinerlei finanzielle Anforderungen an den Staat gestellt würden.

Wir werden noch sehen, dass auch den Schulbehörden der grosse Unterschied zwischen dem jüdischem "Privat"realgymnasium und anderen Privatschulen (die Klosterschulen immer ausgenommen), die meistens zu Gewinnzwecken bestanden, völlig klar war.

Wie üblich, wuchsen die Bäume in den Himmel. Man dachte daran, gleichzeitig drei Jahrgänge zu eröffnen und sogar an einen vierten wurde gedacht. Die Wirklichkeit war bescheidener. Es wurde nur die erste Klasse in drei Parallelabteilungen mit 122 Schülern eröffnet - 27 von ihnen beendeten die Schule bei der ersten Matura im Jahre 1927. Ein Grund für den Verzicht auf die höheren Jahrgänge war der Raummangel; ein anderer war, was zur ständigen Plage werden sollte - der Geldmangel. Die einzige öffentliche Stelle, die die Schule unterstützte, war die Israelitische Kultusgemeinde; weder der Staat noch die Gemeinde Wien waren bereit, Beiträge zu leisten, obwohl jeder Schüler, der österreichischer Bürger war, eine Ersparnis für sie bedeutete; die öffentlichen Schulen wurden zur Gänze aus Steuermitteln erhalten (das Schulgeld war minimal) und Kinder österreichischer Bürger mussten aufgenommen werden; wie Chajes in einem Briefe aus dem Jahre 1924 bemerkt, wurde die Schule vor allem von ostjüdischen "Ausländern" besucht, die nicht in die öffentlichen Schulen gelangen konnten (obwohl sehr viele von ihnen im Kriege als Flüchtlinge vor den Russen nach Wien gekommen waren, jedoch durch die Abtrennung Galiziens von Österreich zu Ausländern wurden). Die Schule wurde zum grössten Teil von den Schulgeldern und von der unzureichenden Subvention der jüdischen Gemeinde erhalten; das ständige Defizit wurde mühsam aus Spenden verschiedenster Art gedeckt.

Die Eintreibung des Schulgelds (dieses Wort ist bestimmt keine Übertreibung) und die Aufbringung der Spenden waren die aufreibendste Aufgabe für den Direktor der Schule; vor allem hatte er wortwörtlich einen täglichen Kampf um die Bezahlung des Schulgeldes mit den Eltern zu führen, von denen sehr viele in äusserst schweren ökonomischen Umständen waren und oft trotz der zahlreichen und weitgehenden Befreiungen einfach nicht zahlen konnten. Die Mittel, deren er sich manchmal bediente, trugen viel zu seiner Unbeliebtheit bei.

Nur wenige ausserhalb der Schule unterstützten ihn in seinen Anstrengungen, abgesehen von Chajes; einer der wenigen zionistischen Führer, der seine Kinder in die Schule schickte, war Robert Stricker, fast der einzige "Westjude" unter den bekannten Zionisten. Man kann mit Recht sagen, wie es die Sekretärin der Schule, Olly Portheim, die ihn tagtäglich aus nächster Nähe sah, bestätigt: "it was Dr. Kellner's school" nicht zuletzt in finanzieller Hinsicht. Er allein erhielt die Schule. Nach seinen eigenen Worten wurde sie von der Kultusgemeinde und der galizischen Judenheit in Wien getragen; er war mit veränderter Metapher der Motor, der sie antrieb, und nur ein Mann, wie wir ihn kennen lernen werden, war dazu imstande.

Es war eine grosse Leistung, aber sie war natürlich doch nur die unerlässliche Voraussetzung für die Erfüllung der Aufgaben, die Chajes in seiner vorhin zitierten Rede der Schule gestellt hatte. Wie verwirklichten V. Kellner und der von ihm geleitete Lehrkörper in ihrer täglichen Arbeit Chajes' Grundsätze so, dass ihr Einfluss bis heute noch bei allen, die die Schule erlebt haben, fühlbar ist und für viele von ihnen der bestimmende Einfluss auf ihr Leben war?

Welchen Platz hatte die Religion und die traditionelle jüdische Erziehung im Programm und in der Praxis einzunehmen? Von der Lösung dieses Problems hing es ab, welche Art von "Ghetto" - in Chajes' Antithese - die Schule bilden würde. Eine starke Betonung der Religion hätte manche Eltern und noch mehr viele Kinder abgeschreckt; eine irreligiöse oder gar antireligiöse Einstellung hätte den Grossteil der Eltern davon abgehalten, ihre Kinder in die Schule zu schicken. Auch so zogen manche Orthodoxen die Staatsschulen vor, um den angeblich antireligiösen zionistischen Einfluss auf ihre Söhne auszuschalten.

Jüdische Kinder waren in den allgemeinen Schulen am Samstag vom Schreiben befreit; was den sogenannten "Religionsunterricht" betraf, so war er irrelevant. Chajes nannte ihn (im Konzept für den ersten Jahresbericht der Schule) einen "völlig unzulänglichen, alles etwa noch vorhandene Interesse für jüdische Dinge ertötenden" Unterricht; er war für Kinder aus auch nur halbwegs religiösen Häusern einfach lächerlich und die areligiösen gingen nicht hin oder machten in der "Religionsstunde" die Mathematikaufgaben. Erst in den Dreissigerjahren erschienen in den Mittelschulen Religionslehrer von einem neuen Typus, aber das fällt aus dem Rahmen unseres Themas.



Die Schule löste das Problem auf die einzig mögliche Art. Die religiösen Vorschriften, soweit sie anwendbar waren, wurden peinlichst eingehalten; vor allem wurde am Sonntag statt am Samstag unterrichtet und die jüdischen Feiertage waren frei, was zu Schwierigkeiten führte. Die zwei staatlich vorgeschriebenen "Religionsstunden" wurden mit den vier Wochenstunden für Hebräisch integriert und dienten zur Vermittlung von jüdischen Kulturwerten. Deren Inhalt war den Lehrern überlassen; keiner von ihnen verletzte aber, was immer seine persönlichen Ansichten sein mochten, die Sentimente seiner Schüler.

Im übrigen mischte sich die Schule nicht in die persönlichen Umstände der Schüler ein. Eines ist jedoch klar; jede Neutralität begünstigt den Angreifer, und in den Zwischenkriegsjahren waren das irreligiöse Ideologien wie der Marxismus oder der sozialistische Zionismus (und die unter dessen Einfluss stehenden Jugendbewegungen); dazu kam natürlich der Einfluss der Grosstadt (in seiner Rede spricht Chajes auch darüber) und der unlösbare Widerspruch zwischen moderner "Wissenschaft" und Religion, zwischen dem ersten Kapitel des Buches B'reschith und der Geologie. So manches Kind aus religiösem Haus verlor in seinen Schuljahren den traditionellen Glauben; aber Chajes - der persönlich strenggläubig war - sah voraus, dass diese Tendenzen, die nicht neu waren, unter den durch den Zusammenbruch der alten Gesellschaftsordnung veränderten kulturellen Umständen viel wirksamer sein würden und wollte dem durch eine gleichzeitig moderne und vollinhaltlich jüdische Erziehung, die zum Herzen der jüdischen Jugend sprechen würde, entgegenwirken. Sein Konzept der Verbindung von jüdischnationalem und humanistischem Inhalt - "Ausbreite (jaft) Gott den Jafet, er wohne in den Zelten Schems" (nach Buber-Rosenzweig, B'reschith 9.27) in modernem Gewande - wie es unter Viktor Kellners Leitung verwirklicht wurde, bewährte sich vollkommen. Es gab kaum Konflikte auf diesem Gebiet; als einmal, noch in den ersten Jahren der Schule, ein extrakurrikulärer Bibelkurs wegen seines kritischen Anflugs bei einigen Eltern Anstoss erregte, wurde er eingestellt, aber jüdische Geschichte, zum Beispiel, wurde säkular unterrichtet, und die Bibel als Literatur gelesen.

Wir werden auf diesen Problembereich noch im Zusammenhang mit dem Hebräischunterricht zurückkommen, abschliessend kann jedoch schon hier eines festgestellt werden: bei aller Hochachtung vor der Religion wurde die Schule nicht konfessionell, sondern - auch dies im Einklang mit Chajes' ausdrücklichem Vorsatz - jüdisch-kulturell geführt.

Über das Problem der sogenannten staatsbürgerlichen Erziehung haben wir schon im allgemeinen oben gesprochen; auch dabei gab es eine Reihe von schwierigen Teilfragen. Die grosse Mehrzahl der Kinder kam wie gesagt aus ostjüdischen Häusern; viele von ihnen, besonders in den ersten Jahrgängen, waren noch einige Jahre durch die traditionelle religiöse Erziehung in Galizien, in der Bukowina oder auch in Wien

weiterhin Jiddisch sprach, während die Kinder Deutsch sprechen mussten und begannen, sich des Jiddischen zu schämen. Sein Einfluss bestand jedoch bestehen, zumindest in der Intonation und Akzentuation, aber auch in Feinheiten der Grammatik und des Satzbau. Er führte einen unerbittlichen Kampf gegen die deutsche Sprache, in späteren Jahren auch mit zunehmender

Zug verbunden mit diesem Problem war das der Akkulturation in Assimilation. Sie war nicht nur ein religiöses Phänomen, sondern auch ein kulturelles Lebens. Was Chajes den Einfluss der jüdischen Kultur in alle Sphären des traditionellen Lebens, in die äußeren Lebensformen, wie Kleidung und Haartracht, die Regeln des Benehmens in der Öffentlichkeit und anderes mehr. In der traditionellen jüdischen Gesellschaft herrschte eine religiös-moralisch begründete strenge Trennung der Geschlechter, und die Mädchen wurden in ihren Häusern gehalten, wo sie nur eine sehr beschränkte Erziehung erhielten. In Wien unterlagen sie der allgemeinen Schulpflicht bis zum vierzehnten Lebensjahr und die Isolierung der Mädchen konnte einfach aufrechterhalten werden, besonders da immer mehr von ihnen

Im einen Augenblick lang zur Religion zurückzukehren: wie erwähnt war die Schule koedukativ, was ohne Zweifel eine Verletzung der strikten Gebote darstellte und ein weiterer Grund für die Orthodoxen war, sie abzulehnen und ihre Kinder nicht hinschicken; die meisten Staatsschulen waren nicht koedukativ. In diesem Punkt konnte eine zionistische Schule, die auf dem Boden der Gleichberechtigung der Geschlechter stand, kein Kompromiss schliessen. Aber all das und noch manche anderen Umstände erzeugten eine gewisse Unsicherheit; zusammen mit der Neutralität der Schule in religiösen Dingen und der oft besseren Allgemeinbildung der Schüler im Vergleich mit ihren Eltern begann eine mehr oder weniger starke Entfremdung zwischen den Generationen, was natürlich auf die Erziehungsergebnisse der Schule und der Familie einwirkte.

Die Hauptaufgabe einer jeden Schule ist jedoch die Lehre. Nur wenn sie diese Aufgabe gemäss den Erwartungen der Gesellschaft, der sie dient und der Generation für die sie besteht, erfüllt, kann sie wirklich erzieherisch wirken, und in einer demokratischen Gesellschaft heisst das nicht gehorsame Untertanen, sondern kritische und tolerante Bürger zu erziehen. In diesem Zusammenhang lassen wir dahingestellt, wie weit die Gesellschaft in Österreich in der Zwischenkriegszeit demokratisch war - die jüdische Gemeinschaft in Wien war es schon deshalb, weil sie über keine anderen Bildungsmittel verfügte.



Aber die Schule hatte im Rahmen der Gesetze zu wirken, und diese Gesetze stammten aus dem 19. Jahrhundert, zum Teil noch aus den ersten Jahren der Reaktion nach 1848. In den Volksschulen hatte zwar eine Schulreformbewegung begonnen, aber die österreichischen Mittelschulen basierten nach wie vor auf zwei Grundsätzen: sie waren elitistisch und Erziehung und Lehre waren autoritär. Nur langsam und gegen äusserst starke Widerstände fanden neue Gedanken Eingang. Der Elitismus war sowohl sozial wie intellektuell; die Erhaltung der Kinder während der Schulzeit war Sache der Eltern mit dem Ergebnis, dass faktisch nur Kinder aus den Mittelschichten (und natürlich die reicher Eltern) die Mittelschule besuchen konnten. Die Anforderungen an die Fähigkeiten der Schüler waren hoch und unelastisch; Versagen - "nicht genügend" - in einem Gegenstand verhinderte den Aufstieg in die nächsthöhere Klasse und beendete nicht selten das Mittelschulstudium überhaupt.

All das traf auch auf das Chajesrealgymnasium zu, wobei jedoch zu betonen ist, dass V. Kellner alles was in seiner Macht lag tat, um zumindest die ökonomische negative Auslese der Schüler zu vermindern; aber auch er konnte nicht gegen die chronische Wirtschaftskrise ankämpfen.

Hingegen erfüllte die Schule ihre Aufgabe auf dem Gebiete der Lehre vollständig. Man darf nicht vergessen, dass die traditionelle jüdische Erziehung im besten Sinne des Wortes autoritär war: ihr Ziel war die bestmögliche Erkenntnis und das tiefstmögliche Verständnis der Thora, des unverrückbaren Wortes Gottes. Das Ziel stand fest, aber das Studium förderte in allen seinen Stadien das selbstständige Denken und hielt den Schüler dazu an, Fragen zu stellen und die Antwort durch eigene Arbeit zu finden.

Auch von der Schule erwarteten sowohl Eltern wie Schüler die Vermittlung des "Stoffes" durch Anregung der selbstständigen geistigen Tätigkeit. Wie St. Klein-Löw in einem Kapitel ihrer "Erinnerungen", mit dem wir uns noch - leider polemisch - auseinandersetzen müssen, vollkommen richtig feststellt, wurden jüdische Kinder von früh auf zum "Lernen" erzogen und es wurde ihnen ununterbrochen eingeprägt, dass sie als Juden, um in der im besten Fall unfreundlichen Umwelt weiter zu kommen, mehr können, besser sein müssten als die anderen.

Die Schule war aus vielen Gründen, wie wir sofort sehen werden, schwerer als andere vergleichbare Anstalten, aber der Leistungsdruck wurde kaum als solcher empfunden; allerdings fand neben der sozialen auch eine starke intellektuelle Auswahl statt; in meiner Klasse z.B. begannen ungefähr achtzig Kinder; acht Jahre später traten 37 zur Matura an. Die Autorität der Schule wurde kaum als Zwang empfunden - die Schüler wollten Erfolg haben. Ich kann nicht umhin hinzuzufügen, dass all dies nicht bestimmt ist Propaganda für "die gute alte Zeit" zu machen, sondern zu zeigen was war.

Es waren aber auch andere Gründe, die die Schule - Lehrer und Schüler - zu einem hohen Lehr- und Lernniveau verpflichteten. Sowohl

als Privatschule im allgemeinen wie auch als jüdische Schule mit ihren besonderen nationalen und kulturellen Bestrebungen musste sie wohl auch besondere Anstrengungen machen, um den vom Staat gestellten Anforderungen voll zu entsprechen. Es zeugt von der vom Anfang an äusserst starken seelischen Verbindung der Schüler mit der Schule, dass einer der Absolventen der ersten Jahrgänge - heute ein Professor emeritus der Hebräischen Universität in Jerusalem - rückblickend sagen kann: "wir waren nicht nur Schüler, sondern auch Kämpfer" für das Bestehen der jungen Schule: Schüler und Lehrer, aber auch, wie wir sofort sehen werden, die Behörden, waren sich vollkommen bewusst, dass hier etwas ganz Besonderes geschaffen wurde, das allem Überkommenen widersprach, und dessen Gelingen von jedem einzelnen abhing. Nicht nur der einzelne Schüler (und Lehrer), sondern auch die Schule musste besser sein als andere.

Der Kampf ging vor allem um das "Öffentlichkeitsrecht und das Recht staatsgiltige Prüfungen abzuhalten", das heisst Zeugnisse zu verleihen, die von allen staatlichen und privaten Stellen, vor allem von den Universitäten akzeptiert werden mussten. Ohne dieses Recht hätten die Schüler die Prüfungen, vor allem die Reifeprüfung, vor fremden Lehrern ablegen müssen; es ist unnötig darzulegen, was das für sie bedeutet hätte. Ohne Öffentlichkeitsrecht hätte niemand diese Schule besucht. Viktor Kellner war von vornherein ein Mensch, der von sich selbst und von seinen Schülern und Lehrern das Höchste forderte und weder Schwäche noch Nachlässigkeit duldete. Die Notwendigkeit, unter allen Umständen das Öffentlichkeitsrecht zu erhalten und zu bewahren, rechtfertigte die Politik, die später von einem Inspektor so definiert wurde: "An Auswahlstrenge lässt ja die Anstalt nichts zu wünschen übrig". Das Niveau war so hoch, dass, wie St. Klein schreibt, "schlechte" Schüler des Chajesrealgymnasiums an anderen Schulen beachtliche Erfolge erzielen konnten.

Eines der Probleme, weswegen sich die Inspektoren und der Stadtschulrat mit der Schule schwer taten, war die angebliche oder wirkliche "Überlastung" der Schüler durch den Hebräischunterricht. Eine solche Befürchtung war nicht grundlos. In einem Realgymnasium wurden zwei Fremdsprachen gelehrt: Latein von der ersten Klasse an und Englisch (oder Französisch) von der dritten. Das Hebräische war also eine dritte Fremdsprache im Lehrplan; für den Unterricht wurden fünf (später vier) zusätzliche Stunden in der Woche bestimmt; in den ersten zwei oder drei Jahren der Schule war der Unterricht obligat. Diese sehr bedeutenden Abweichungen vom gesetzlichen Normallehrplan konnten natürlich von der Bürokratie nicht geduldet werden, aber es kamen wohl noch andere Motive hinzu, die verschiedene Behörden veranlassten, den Hebräischunterricht (der, was immer zu bedenken ist, literarisch und kulturell, nicht religiös war) einschränken zu wollen, im Laufe der Jahre mit teilweisem Erfolg.

Der Hauptkämpfer gegen das Hebräische war die direkt vorgesetzte Behörde, der Wiener Stadtschulrat, der jedoch keine grundsätzlichen



Entscheidungen treffen konnte, welche dem Ministerium für Unterricht (und Kultus, d.h. Religion) vorbehalten waren. An der Spitze des Stadtschulrats stand Otto Glöckel, der wichtigste Erziehungsfachmann der Sozialdemokratie und der Initiator und die treibende Kraft der von der sozialdemokratischen Stadtverwaltung in Angriff genommenen Schulreform, die neben eingreifenden pädagogischen und didaktischen Neuerungen auch den Inhalt des Unterrichts ändern wollte: an Stelle der religiösen sollte weltliche Erziehung treten; an Stelle der Erziehung zum Gehorsam die zur Freiheit, statt der monarchistischen Gesinnung sollte die republikanische und demokratische gefördert werden und dergleichen mehr. Daher war den sozialistischen Erziehern eine "konfessionelle" Schule von vornherein ein Dorn im Auge.

Eine offen und betont jüdische nationale Schule widersprach aber durch ihr ganzes Wesen den sozialistischen Auffassungen, wie wir in der Einleitung kurz dargelegt haben. Es gibt kein Dokument, mit dem das Folgende belegt werden könnte, aber wer die österreichische Sozialdemokratie persönlich gekannt oder als Historiker kennen gelernt hat, wird es wohl für möglich halten, dass gerade der sozialistische Stadtschulrat durch die wirklichen oder vermeintlichen Argumente gegen das Hebräische sich beeinflussen liess, während im christlichsozialen oder auch deutschnationalen Ministerium die Vertreter der Schule mehr Gehör fanden, auch das wohl nicht immer aus rein sachlichen Gründen.

Das Hauptargument des Stadtschulrats und eigentlich sein einziges gegen den vielstündigen Hebräischunterricht war die angebliche oder tatsächliche Belastung der Schüler und die Tendenz der Schulreform, gerade den fremdsprachlichen Unterricht in allen Schulen möglichst zu beschränken. Es half nichts, dass schon im Jahre 1923 ein Inspektor des Stadtschulrats selbst auf einer Seite seines Berichts alle Argumente für den Hebräischunterricht ausgezeichnet zusammengefasst hatte. Der Unterricht war nicht verbindlich, so dass die Eltern entscheiden können, ob sie ihren Kindern die zusätzliche Belastung zumuten wollen; der Inspektor betont jedoch, dass alle Schüler den Unterricht besuchen und dass die Eltern sie vor allem gerade wegen des ausreichenden Hebräischunterrichts in die Schule schicken; auch die Erfolge des Unterrichts sind sehr gut; die Hebräischkenntnisse werden vorteilhaft auch in anderen Gegenständen verwendet - alles das machte auf den Stadtschulrat kaum einen Eindruck.

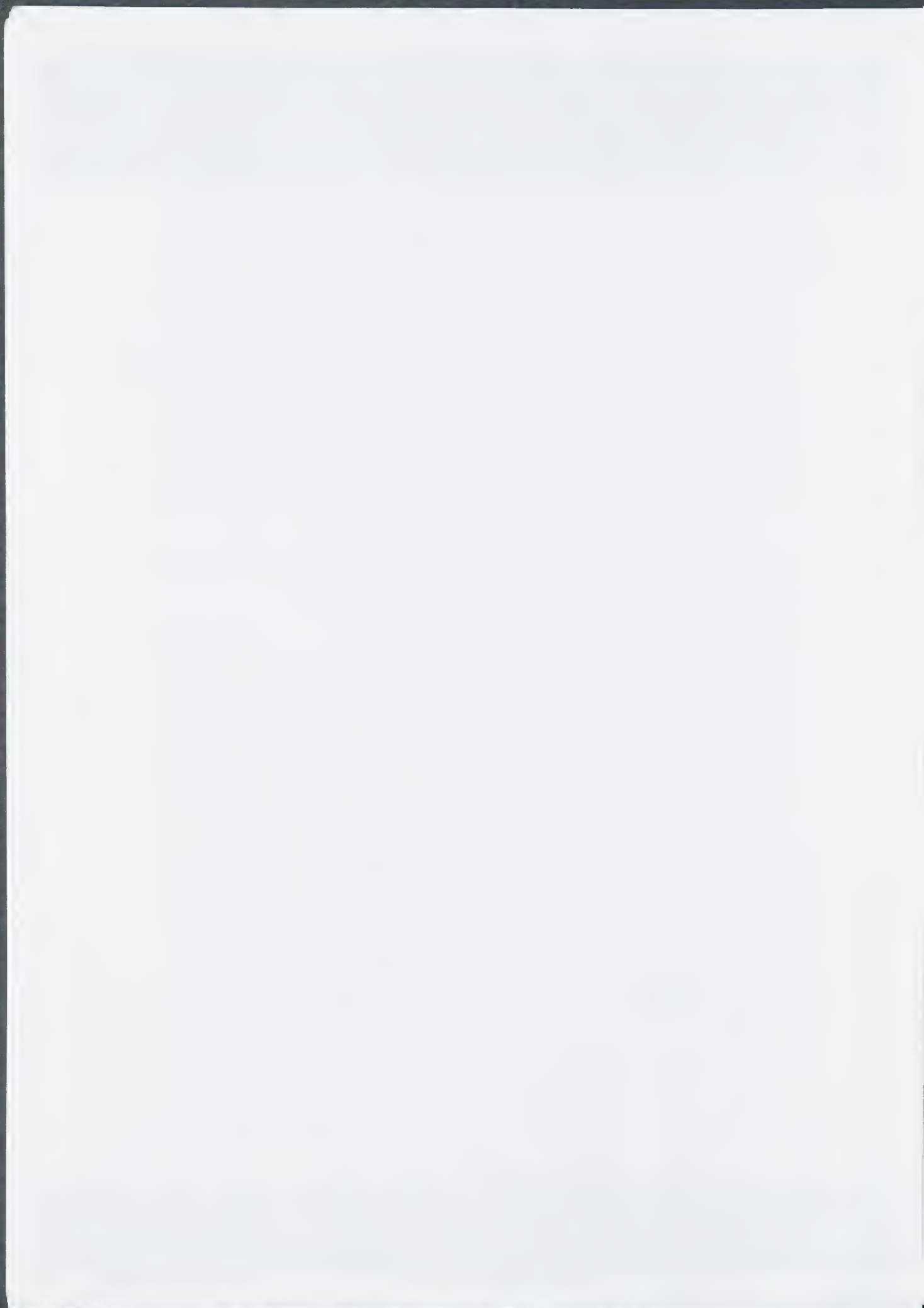
Im Jahre 1927 wurde das Mittelschulgesetz geändert. Nachdem schon im Jahre 1923 die Schule gezwungen war, das Hebräische als einen sogenannten "relativ-obligaten" Gegenstand weiterzuführen, das heisst dass die Schüler sich verpflichten mussten, ihn mindestens jeweils zwei Jahre lang zu lernen, hatte der Stadtschulrat nun eine neue Handhabe, um dem Hebräischen auf den Leib zu rücken. In Zukunft sollte es nur mehr Freigegegenstände von höchstens je zwei Stunden in der Woche geben. V. Kellner schlug vor, wöchentlich in zwei Stunden "Hebräische Sprache" und in zwei "Jüdische Geschichte und Kulturgeschichte" zu unterrichten. Nolens volens stimmte der Stadtschulrat dem ersten zu,

lehnte aber das zweite "mit Rücksicht auf die Mehrbelastung der Schüler(innen) durch die dritte Fremdsprache" grundsätzlich ab.

Im Ministerium fand V. Kellner mehr Gehör. Dort verstand man, dass der jüdisch-kulturelle Unterricht das Lebenselixier der Schule war, und dass sie ohne ihn keine Lebensberechtigung gehabt hätte, sowie dass sie nicht nur "dem nationalen Interesse einer allerdings verschwindenden Minderheit der Bevölkerung Wiens" entsprach, wie der Stadtschulrat im Jahre 1922 behauptet hatte. Was die Überlastung betraf, so verstand man dort, dass die meisten Schüler schon von zuhause gewisse Kenntnisse mitbrachten - viele gingen nachmittags in Schulen aller Arten, wo sie traditionellen Unterricht erhielten, oder lernten das Schrifttum mit ihren Vätern oder Grossvätern. So gelang es V. Kellner, den Hebräischunterricht fast im vollen Umfang aufrecht zu erhalten. Zusammen mit den zwei Religionsstunden lernten wir acht Jahre hindurch wöchentlich sechs Stunden - mehr als Latein, das Rückgrat des humanistischen Unterrichts - Hebräische Sprache und Literatur, Bibel und jüdische Geschichte und überlebten es.

Dieses Problem war das wichtigste und das entscheidende, das V. Kellner auf dem Wege zur vollen Anerkennung durch die massgebenden Stellen zu lösen hatte, aber es war bei weitem nicht das einzige. Wie schon bemerkt, waren Privatschulen nicht sehr angesehen und er musste daher vom ersten Augenblick an für ein hohes Niveau der Schule sorgen. Für die jüdischen Fächer gab es unter den "Flüchtlingen" aus Galizien viele Männer (Frauen erhielten damals in Osteuropa kaum eine jüdische Bildung), die je nach ihrem Verständnis jüdische Gelehrte waren. Es fehlte ihnen zwar im allgemeinen die formale Ausbildung als Lehrer, aber hier war die Behörde willig, ein Auge zuzudrücken, teils aus Mangel an Interesse, teils weil es qualifizierte Lehrkräfte, die auch österreichische Bürger waren, nicht gab. Hingegen zog Kellner für die allgemeinen Fächer "west"jüdische Lehrer vor; dass hiess solche, die aus böhmischen oder mährischen Familien stammten wie er selbst oder geborene Wiener waren. Zumindest ein Grund hierfür war die mangelhafte Beherrschung des Deutschen durch die meisten Juden aus Osteuropa, denn richtiges und akzentfreies Deutsch war eine selbstverständliche Vorbedingung für die amtliche Lehrbefugnis; ausserdem hatte die Schule gegen den starken Einfluss des Jiddischen anzukämpfen. Es gelang dem Direktor, im allgemeinen sehr gute und manchmal hervorragende Lehrer zu finden, was oft von den Inspektoren festgestellt wird, besonders vom Landesschulinspektor Oskar Benda, der die Schule fast durch die ganze Zeit ihres Bestandes mit wohlwollender Kritik begleitete und schon in den ersten Jahren fast erstaunt bemerkte, "dass die Anstalt.. in den humanistischen Fächern den Durchschnitt der Bundesmittelschulen ... vielfach nicht unbeträchtlich übersteigt und... einen Eindruck hinterlässt, den man an Privatmittelschulen zu begegnen nicht gewohnt ist", und er stellt fest, "zu diesem günstigen Ergebnis trägt viel der Umstand bei, dass der Direktor und die Mehrzahl des Lehrkörpers ihr Erziehungs- und Unterrichtswerk als eine Art nationaler und kultureller Sendung auffassen", welche Idee die Konzentration des





# THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

The history of the United States is a complex and multifaceted story that spans centuries. It begins with the early Native American civilizations, such as the Mayans, Aztecs, and Incas, who built sophisticated societies in the Americas. The arrival of European explorers in the late 15th and early 16th centuries marked the beginning of a new era of discovery and colonization. The United States was founded in 1776, and its history is characterized by a series of events, including the American Revolution, the Civil War, and the rise of the industrial revolution. The country has grown from a small, sparsely populated nation to a global superpower, and its history continues to shape the world today.



Unterrichts sehr fördert. Obwohl manchmal nach seiner Ansicht die jüdische Einstellung stärker als angebracht unterstrichen wird, so beobachtet er doch keine Unduldsamkeit, sondern eine freie und weitherzige Auffassung - all das von einem, nach verlässlichen Nachrichten, nichtjüdischen Sozialdemokraten.

Die Schule kämpfte noch mit anderen Schwierigkeiten; die störendste war der Nachmittagsunterricht. Aus Raummangel hatten (bis zur Übersiedlung in die Staudingergasse) alle Klassen einmal in der Woche, manche auch zweimal, Unterricht am Nachmittag, was natürlich für Lehrer und Schüler eine besondere Belastung bedeutete. Bis gegen Ende 1935 hatte die Schule keinen eigenen Turnsaal; daher mussten die Schüler zu den Turnstunden nachmittags in andere Schulen kommen, eine zusätzliche Belastung für alle Beteiligten. Wegen der jüdischen Feiertage hatte die Schule eine besondere Ferienordnung, ganz vom Sonntagsunterricht abgesehen, und anderes mehr.

Trotz aller dieser Schwierigkeiten erhielt die Schule schon im Jahre 1921 das begehrte Öffentlichkeitsrecht und nach den vorliegenden Dokumenten stand es anscheinend auch nie wirklich in Frage. Das Hebräische war dem Stadtschulrat aus den erwähnten Gründen ein Dorn im Auge und er versuchte immer wieder es mit der Drohung des Entzugs des Öffentlichkeitsrechtes so zu reduzieren, dass es praktisch wert- und sinnlos geworden wäre, aber aus sozusagen entgegengesetzten Gründen gelang es V. Kellner mit Hilfe des Ministeriums - wenn auch unter Schwierigkeiten - es zu retten. Die entscheidenden Faktoren im Ministerium waren entweder christlichsozial oder deutschnational und - milde ausgedrückt - widerstrebten der Assimilation der Juden; sie förderten daher jede Tätigkeit, die ihr entgegen wirkte, besonders da es in diesem Fall auf ausdrücklichen Wunsch der beteiligten Juden geschah. Die vier Hebräischstunden (abgesehen von den zwei "obligaten" Religionsstunden) galten nach 1929 als Freigegegenstände, d.h. dass die Schüler nicht verpflichtet waren sie zu lernen. Es war jedoch allen Beteiligten klar, das faktisch kein Unterschied zwischen Hebräisch und den andern Fächern bestand; man konnte zwar in "Hebräisch" nicht "durchfallen", aber von diesem Umstand wurde kein Aufhebens gemacht und die meisten Schüler bemühten sich auch darin Erfolg zu haben. In derselben Richtung wirkte die unlösbare Verbindung mit dem Lehrfach Religion, dessen Note zu einer Wiederholung der Klasse führen konnte, und bei der Aufstellung des Stundenplans wurde keinerlei Rücksicht auf die Möglichkeit genommen, dass sich jemand von den Hebräischstunden ausschliessen würde. Im letzten vorhandenen Inspektionsbericht vom 16. Mai 1935 stellt Benda fest: "Es muss...betont werden, ... dass der Hebräischunterricht und die (zur Tarnung sogenannten B.S.) hebräischen Lektüre- bzw. Kulturgeschichtskurse, die auf dem Papier unobligat, in Wahrheit aber für sämtliche Schüler verbindlich sind, ... mit dem Religionsunterricht zu einem 6-stündigen fremdsprachlichen Block vereinigt werden", und daher fällt die Anstalt aus dem gesetzlichen Rahmen. Er anerkennt die Leistung von V. Kellner und des Lehrkörpers, die "taktvoll" die Schüler "einerseits zu den spezifisch jüdischen

Kulturwerten erziehen und sie andererseits in die österreichische Umwelt und staatliche Gemeinschaft einordnen", aber er zieht aus alldem den Schluss, dass das Öffentlichkeitsrecht doch nicht auf unbeschränkte Dauer verliehen werden solle, "da der Besitz des dauernden Öffentlichkeitsrechtes bei der ausgeprägten Eigenwilligkeit des ansonst ausserordentlich tüchtigen Direktors leicht den Anreiz zu einer immer stärkeren Betonung der Sonderstellung der Anstalt bieten könnte".

Ein höheres Lob für die Verwaltung seines Vermächnisses hätte Chajes selbst nicht spenden können.

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Bisher haben wir die Schule sozusagen von aussen betrachtet, und es ist an der Zeit zu versuchen in ihr Inneres einzudringen. Aus vielen Gründen ist dies eine schwere, beinahe unlösbare Aufgabe. Da ist zunächst der schon erwähnte Verlust des Schularchivs. Aber auch die Dokumente, die aus der Schule stammen und sich in den offiziellen "Akten" finden, sind sehr lückenhaft. So zum Beispiel existieren eine ganze Reihe von "Jahreshauptberichten", vor allem aus den früheren Jahren der Schule, aber was da ist, handelt auch fast nur von den äusseren Umständen, wie etwa Listen der Lehrer, Stundenplänen, Themen für Schularbeiten und dergleichen. Es mag interessant sein zu hören, dass in den deutschen Schularbeiten der Oberklassen die Zahl der jüdischen Themen verhältnismässig gering ist. Was eine tiefergehende Untersuchung des Lebens der Schule ermöglichen würde, wie etwa eine Analyse der Erfolge oder Misserfolge, die Schülerstatistik, (z.B. Vergleiche zwischen den Zahlen der Schüler am Beginn und Ende jedes Jahrgangs), Sitzungsprotokolle, Beurteilungen der Lehrer und vieles andere - alles das war in den "Beilagen" zu den Berichten, die offenbar an den Stadtschulrat oder an die Schule zurückgegeben wurden. Dennoch sind einige Blicke möglich. So zum Beispiel berichtet der Direktor fast jedes Jahr über Stipendien, die bedürftigen Schülern gegeben wurden, aber leider nicht über deren Zahl; die Gesamtsumme(!) ist in einem Jahr 300, in einem anderen 230 Schilling; wenn man bedenkt, dass diese Summen mehreren Schülern zu Gute kamen und dankend empfangen wurden, kann man sich gut die materielle Not der Familien vorstellen. In den ersten Jahren beteiligte sich die Schule an Ferienkolonien; vom Jahre 1929 führte sie in Kärnten ein Sommerlager unter der Leitung Viktor Löwenfelds und - in den meisten Jahren bis 1937 - Olly Portheims; auch andere Lehrer waren manchmal beteiligt. Jährlich wurden einige Schulfeiern abgehalten; die Republikfeier am 12. November war wohl mehr eine äusserliche Angelegenheit (in vielen Staatsschulen diente sie zur Propaganda für den Anschluss an das Deutsche Reich und oft zur Hetze gegen die Republik). Aber Chanukka und Purim waren Herzensangelegenheiten. Oft wurden dabei passende Gelegenheitsstücke auf Deutsch oder in Jona Gelernters Übersetzung aus dem Jiddischen - etwa ein Stück von Scholem Aleichem - auf Hebräisch aufgeführt. Manchen Schülern ist noch die Beethovenfeier zu seinem



100. Todestag in 1927 in Erinnerung. Dies war ein Weg zur Förderung der Selbstständigkeit und schöpferischen Fähigkeiten der Schüler. Denselben Zwecken dienten die Schulgemeinde und die Klassengemeinden, die - zum Unterschied von vielen Staatsschulen - sehr gefördert wurden und oft sehr lebhaft waren. Sie veranstalteten Heimabende, Aussprachen über Schulprobleme, Diskussionszirkel; sie versuchten auch, manchmal mit Erfolg, in schwierige Disziplinarfälle einzugreifen; wirklich schwere Vergehen gegen die Schule waren jedoch sehr selten. Die äussere "Zucht" war gut, jedoch klagt der Direktor in seinen Berichten Jahr für Jahr vor allem über das unausrottbatre Zuspätkommen - wer wurde nicht mindestens einmal vom lieben Schulwart (damals hiess es noch Schuldiener) Tumkowitsch oder vom Direktor selbst erwischt und in die Kanzlei geschickt? Das und dergleichen kann man aus den wenigen Dokumenten herauslesen, aber auch das bleibt noch an der Oberfläche. Um tiefer einzudringen, sind wir abhängig von Erinnerungen an Dinge von vor sechzig oder siebzig Jahren, die sehr oft mehr Stimmungsbilder anstelle von konkreten Erinnerungen sind, und über Allen schwebt die grosse Gefahr der nostalgischen Verklärung und, wie wir sehen werden, auch die des nostalgischen Missverständnisses.

Im Vorhergehenden haben wir vor allem von dem gesprochen, was die Schule sein sollte und wollte. Wie setzten der Direktor, die Lehrer und nicht zuletzt die Schüler das Programm, das Chajes aufgestellt hatte und das Kellner täglich verkündete, in die Tat um? Als Ausgangspunkt für die Beantwortung dieser Frage wollen wir das erwähnte Kapitel in den Erinnerungen von Stella Klein-Löw verwenden; oft ist es leichter durch den Widerspruch gegen eine nach unserer Meinung irrtümliche Beurteilung zu einer positiven Einschätzung zu kommen.\*

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\*An dieser Stelle fühle ich mich zu einer persönlichen Erklärung verpflichtet. Das erwähnte Buch, mit dem wir uns auch im nächsten Kapitel auseinandersetzen müssen, ist - mit einer Ausnahme - die einzige mir bekannte Veröffentlichung über die Schule. Nun enthält das einschlägige Kapitel - S.103-117 - einige faktische Irrtümer, wie aus Dokumenten und Erinnerungen der Beteiligten hervorgeht; wir beziehen uns nur auf für unser Thema relevante Dinge. Wichtiger ist jedoch die Diskrepanz zwischen dem Wesen der Schule und Klein-Löws Verständnis von ihr. Seitdem das Obige geschrieben wurde, ist Stella Klein leider im hohen Alter, kurz nach dem Ableben ihres Mannes, verschieden. Ich schickte ihr einige Zeit vorher eine kurze Zusammenfassung der Ergebnisse dieser Arbeit, erhielt aber keine Stellungnahme dazu. Es tat mir leid, ihr - im Inhalt - scharf widersprechen zu müssen, aber bei aller Hochachtung vor einer grossen Persönlichkeit - und ihrem Andenken - steht die historische Wahrheit höher. Die zweite mir bekannte Veröffentlichung (J. Lind, Counting my Steps S. 42-48) ist für die Geschichte der Schule wertlos; so gut wie alle "Fakten" sind einfach falsch. Seine Auslassungen im angeblichen Zusammenhang mit seinem Eintritt in die erste Klasse als zehnjähriger halte ich für Unsinn, aber das gehört nicht zum Thema.

Stella Klein, wie sie damals hiess, war die Tochter einer liberalen jüdischen Familie und seit ihrer Gymnasialzeit politisch tätig; sie kam sehr früh zur Sozialdemokratie, der sie unwandelbar treu blieb. Sie studierte Alte Sprachen und Deutsch und absolvierte ihr Probejahr als Mittelschullehrerin vorzüglich. Als es jedoch dazu kam, eine Stelle zu finden, begannen für sie die Probleme, wie sie selbst schreibt, als "Jüdin und Sozialistin". Der Stadtschulrat war nicht imstande, sie an einer staatlichen Schule unterzubringen; Lehrer wurden auf Grund von "Dreiervorschlägen" der Direktionen angestellt, und in die Lehrkörper und Direktionen fast ausnahmslos antisemitisch und christlichsozial oder deutschnational waren, erschien ihr Name immer an zweiter Stelle; es war unverrückbare Regel, den an erster Stelle vorgeschlagenen zu engagieren.

Als V. Kellner im Jahre 1933 für einige Wochen nach dem damaligen Palästina auf Urlaub fuhr, wurde St. Klein vom Stadtschulrat als seine Vertreterin (als Lehrerin) vorgeschlagen und als solche aufgenommen, und sie blieb an der Schule bis zu ihrer Flucht vor den Nazis. Über die Umstände ihrer Aufnahme sprechen wir im nächsten Kapitel, aber eine Bemerkung kann ich mir hier nicht versagen. Was wäre wohl aus Dr. Stella Klein geworden, wenn der sozialistische Stadtschulrat keine jüdische - und zionistische! - Schule zur Verfügung gehabt hätte, die zu einer Bewegung gehörte, welche der Bürgermeister und als solcher formell der Präsident des Stadtschulrats nicht unterstützen "konnte", weil sie konfessionell war? Dies ist keineswegs ein Vorwurf für Stella Klein: sie hat vom ersten Augenblick ihres Erscheinens in der Schule nie ihre Ansichten verleugnet oder verschwiegen und keinerlei Kompromisse geschlossen. Es mag ihr nicht leicht gefallen sein. Ihre "Erinnerungen" befassen sich fast nur mit Lehrern - von denen einige der wichtigsten nicht erwähnt werden - und Schülern, kaum mit der Schule als solcher. Wer nur ihre Seiten liest, kann nicht wissen, dass es sich um eine Anstalt besonderer Art handelt und muss ihren Lebenszweck missverstehen.

Die Schule, schreibt St. Klein, "nannte sich Chajesrealgymnasium", "eine(r) einmalige(n) Schule" (S.103), "Aber welche eine Schule, welche Schüler" (105); warum die Schule besonderer Art war, lernen wir auf S. 110: jüdische Kinder wollten (betont von St. K.) lernen, weil sie als Juden lernen mussten - schön und richtig, aber was war das Besondere der Schule? Dieses: "Der Schulgeist war ein guter. Alles klappte. Das war kein Wunder. Das war das Werk der Partnerschaft von Administration und pädagogischem Bewusstsein, die von der 'Administrativen Hilfskraft' zum Sekretariat, von da in das Lehrerzimmer, von dort in die Klassen ging, den Schularzt ebenso einschliessend wie das Schulwartehepaar". Wenn uns hier jemand oder etwas fehlt, so hören wir noch, dass die administrative Arbeit in den Händen Gabes und der Sekretärin lag. Der Direktor hingegen war ein "elender Leiter" (105) und man fragt sich erstaunt, wie denn die Schule, als St. Klein kam, schon vierzehn Jahre unter demselben Leiter bestehen konnte, besonders da Gabe und Portheim erst um 1927 an die Schule kamen.



Das ist aber der springende Punkt. Was St. Klein den "Schulgeist" nennt, was "klappte", war die gute Organisation der Schule, die Tatsache, dass der Unterricht um 8 Uhr begann, dass die Stundenpläne eingehalten, Schularbeiten zur Zeit gegeben und zurückgegeben wurden etc.etc. Das sind Dinge, die in jeder grösseren Schule in den Händen eines Direktorstellvertreters liegen, ob er nun so heisst oder nicht. Nach anderen Informationen lag die tagtägliche administrative Arbeit in den Händen Gabes und des Chemielehrers Bunem Aschkenazy, den Klein nicht nennt. Aber wenn das alles wäre, so wäre die Schule schon längst ein Ding der Vergangenheit gewesen. Es ist merkwürdig, dass die Verfasserin, in ihrem Buch zumindest, so gar kein Interesse für die Geschichte der Schule zeigt. Sie schrieb ja doch für ihre Gegenwart - wer in Wien mit seinen etwa zehntausend Juden statt der fast 200.000 vor 1938 - weiss, kann heute wissen, warum die Schule ihren Namen führte? Aber dieser Name war doch ihr Programm und ihre Aufgabe! Als sie sich vorstellte, wusste sie, dass sie an eine zionistische Schule kam, aber in ihren "Erinnerungen" hat St. Klein das vergessen oder verdrängt. Die Schule war oft besser als die staatlichen, wie wir gesehen haben und während der fünfzehn Jahre ihrer Tätigkeit trug St. Klein das Ihrige dazu bei; ihre pädagogischen Fähigkeiten standen niemals in Zweifel. Aber mit allem Respekt - sie war nicht die einzige. Wichtiger ist jedoch das Folgende: aus ihrem Buch bekommt man den Eindruck, dass hier eine gute Schule für begabte jüdische Schüler - aber warum eigentlich nur für diese? - bestand, die unter anderem St. Klein die Gelegenheit gab zu lehren und erziehen und insbesondere armen Kindern den Lebensweg zu bahnen. Kein Wort von der besonderen jüdisch-kulturellen Aufgabe der Schule, ohne die sie kein Lebensrecht hatte. Kein Wort von den schier unlösbaren materiellen Problemen, die die Schule manchmal an den Rand der Schliessung brachten und immer den Hintergrund des Dramas bildeten - nie war es möglich die Gehälter "am Ersten" zu bezahlen. Kein Wort der Anerkennung für den Mann, der allein die Schule am Leben erhielt. St. Klein scheint nicht einmal zu wissen, dass viele von "ihren" Schülern ohne diese jüdische Schule überhaupt keine Mittelschulbildung bekommen hätten, da sie als "Ausländer" nicht in die Staatsschulen aufgenommen wurden. Sie versteht sehr gut die besondere Lernmotivation jüdischer Kinder zum Unterschied von ihren "andersgläubigen Altersgenossen" (110), sieht aber nicht das Lehr- und Erziehungsziel der Schule. Sie spricht viel von einzelnen Schülern, weiss aber anscheinend nicht, dass ganze Klassen in zionistischen - vor allem zionistisch-sozialistischen - Jugendbewegungen organisiert waren und in der Schule vor allem die Vorbereitung für das volle jüdische Leben im zukünftigen Israel suchten und fanden.

"Dann kam Hitler...Im Juni 1938 begann die schwerste Zeit. Wir bekamen Zuwachs" (110), nämlich die Juden aus allen anderen Schulen und unter ihnen "christliche" Juden, manche schon der dritten Generation - aber nicht einmal die Katastrophe veranlasst St. Klein zu einem ausgewogenen Urteil über die Schule. "Wir sind Juden - sie (die neuen Schüler) sind keine Juden" zitiert sie einen Klassensprecher,

aber auch diese lapidare Feststellung bringt sie nicht dazu, die wirkliche Problematik der Schule und die ihrer eigenen Einstellung zur "Judenfrage" zu überdenken.

Es ist kein Wunder. "Die Religionsprofessoren spielten in einer so stark konfessionell geprägten Schule natürlich eine grosse Rolle". Ein ärgeres Missverständnis ist kaum denkbar. Es folgt direkt aus der Ideologie, der St. Klein zeitlebens verhaftet war - buchstäblich: als kleines Mädchen sass sie auf den Knien Viktor Adlers. Wie erwähnt, stand die Sozialdemokratie ratlos vor der Phänomen des Antisemitismus, der gegen alle Vernunft nicht verschwinden wollte, sondern immer stärker wurde, auch in der Sozialdemokratie selbst. Otto Bauer schrieb in seinem Buch "Die Nationalitätenfrage und die Sozialdemokratie" vor dem ersten Weltkrieg, die "Judenfrage" würde "durch junger Männer Liebeswerben, junger Frauen Liebeswahl" gelöst werden - wenn ein Marxist poetisch wird, zeigt das nur, dass er keine Antwort auf ein Problem hat. Er übertrug einfach die Verhältnisse in der kleinen Gruppe reicher böhmischer Juden, aus der er selbst stammte und die er als einzige kannte, auf die gesamte Judenheit. Aber das Millennium verzögerte sich. Eingesponnen in dieser Auffassung konnte St. Klein weder damals noch auch im Rückblick nach vierzig Jahren verstehen, dass die Schule ausdrücklich und bewusst nicht konfessionell war, sowohl in der Öffentlichkeit als auch den Behörden gegenüber, wie aus vielen Inspektionsberichten und anderen Dokumenten klar hervorgeht. Sie weiss, dass die "Religionsprofessoren" Religion und Hebräisch unterrichteten; für St. Klein waren das "zwei Gegenstände, die einander ergänzten" - für alle anderen Beteiligten war es das Lebenselixier der Schule, das nur aus formellen Gründen und nicht zuletzt wegen der nur mangelhaft verhüllten Gegnerschaft des Stadtschulrats in zwei "Fächer"

geteilt war. Die "Religionsprofessoren" waren jüdische Gelehrte, die je nach ihren Anschauungen jüdische Kulturwerte - auch religiöse natürlich - vermitteln; was ihre Schüler daraus machten, war deren Angelegenheit.

Es ist kaum möglich, dieses Nicht-sehen zu verstehen, auch nicht im Licht der Ideologie. Vielleicht ist es erlaubt, einen persönlichen Grund zu vermuten. Bei ihrer Vorstellung (wir kommen noch auf sie zurück) entpann sich folgender Wortwechsel: "...ich nehme Sie nur, weil mich der Stadtschulrat dazu zwingt. ...Sie sind, ich weiss es, keine Zionistin...". "...lassen Sie sich vom Stadtschulrat nicht zwingen!...". Daraus geht hervor, dass V. Kellner die zugewiesene Lehrerin aufnehmen musste und sie nachher gegen seinen Willen behielt; warum, werden wir im nächsten Kapitel untersuchen. Aber wenn sich St. Klein der jüdischnationalen Schule, die sie nur verneinen konnte, aufgedrängt fühlte, so mag das zum Teil ihr Nicht-sehen, das wohl auch ein unbewusstes Nicht-sehen-wollen war und blieb, erklären.



Noch ein letztes schwerstes Wort zu diesem schmerzlichen Thema. St. Klein überschreibt ihre "Erinnerungen" an das Chajesrealgymnasium mit den Worten "Meine Schule und meine Schüler". Alle, Schüler, Lehrer, die Sekretärin, die das lasen, waren zutiefst betroffen. Ihre Schüler - gewiss, wenn auch vielleicht nicht ganz so wie sie es meint. Aber "Meine Schule"? Wir bemühen uns, zu verstehen, aber wir massen uns nicht an zu "vergeben" - die Gegensätze sind hiezu viel zu scharf. Aber in ihrem Munde ist "meine Schule" unrichtig und unberechtigt nach Ansicht aller, auch solcher, die sie lobt und sozusagen für ihre Auffassungen in Anspruch nimmt. Es ist unannehmbar; im Andenken an eine grosse Persönlichkeit muss das das letzte Wort sein.

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In den zwanzig Jahren des Bestehens der Anstalt gelangten zwölf Jahrgänge (1927-1938) zur Matura - auch hier sind die genauen Zahlen unerreichbar; es mögen 300-350 Absolventen gewesen sein. Wie schon bemerkt, mag die Gesamtzahl der Schüler etwa 1500 betragen.

Wenn wir mit einem Wort umfassen wollen, was die Schule für sie bedeutete, so ist das wohl: Wir waren unter uns. Wir mussten und wollten besser sein als die anderen, und nicht zuletzt infolge der strikten intellektuellen Auslese waren wir es auch. Wir litten nicht unter dem Antisemitismus der Staatsschulen und wir brauchten uns nicht gegen Unrecht zu verteidigen. Ebenso wichtig aber war ein zweites: Ausländer wurden an Staatsschulen nicht aufgenommen und jüdische Lehrer prinzipiell nicht angestellt - Juden an den Staatsschulen waren entweder Religionslehrer oder Überbleibsel aus der Monarchie. Daher waren die Schüler und Lehrer auf einander angewiesen: ohne Schule keine Stelle und ohne jüdisch-bewusste Lehrer keine Schule. Diese Schicksalsverbundenheit, sozusagen eine spezielle Art des allgemeinen jüdischen Schicksals und der vielberufenen jüdischen Solidarität, schuf von vornherein, zusammen mit allen anderen Gegebenheiten eine besondere Atmosphäre in der Schule, die viel zu ihrem Erfolg beitrug. Die Staatsschulen waren nicht nur für Juden ein schlechter Nährboden. Das strikt autoritäre System, die unüberbrückbare Distanz zwischen Lehrern und Schülern, mangelndes Interesse der Lehrer für die schweren materiellen und seelischen Probleme ihrer Schüler, sexuelle Feigheit oder Verlogenheit, die de facto absolute Herrschaft des Direktors und seines "Lehrkörpers" und die unvermeidlichen Folgen, Unterdrückung und Unrecht - all das machte die öffentliche Schule zum Feind des Schülers und die Erziehungsergebnisse waren danach.

Vieles davon gab es natürlich auch bei uns, denn die Schule musste in den Grenzen des Systems bleiben, aber es wurde menschlicher angewendet. So wirkte zum Beispiel die Koedukation beruhigend, obwohl sexuelle Themen, dem "Zeitgeist" entsprechend, selten berührt wurden. Viele, obwohl nicht alle Lehrer hatten offene Augen und Ohren für die Probleme ihrer Schüler; dies gilt vor allem für St. Klein. Was sie über ihre Tätigkeit auf diesem Gebiet in ihrem Buche erzählt, wird von anderen voll bestätigt. Besonders verstand sie Zugang zu den jüngeren

Schülern zu finden; vermutlich wirkte in den höheren Klassen der weltanschauliche Unterschied trennend. Auch im Chajesrealgymnasium war der Direktor der Herrscher und V. Kellner war zweifellos autoritär veranlagt, aber seine Situation war anders als die des Direktors einer Staatsschule. Ein solcher, wie jeder Lehrer, war ein "Beamter" und daher ein Vertreter der Staatsgewalt, die in Konflikten fast immer auf seiner Seite stand und deren Hauptanliegen die "Wahrung der Autorität" war; ein beinahe komisches Beispiel erzählen wir im nächsten Kapitel. Auch über Kellner und den anderen Lehrern schwebte das Prestige der Behörde, aber die Privatschule war dennoch mehr von den Eltern und den Schulerhaltern, vor allen vom "Verein Jüdisches Realgymnasium" und der Kultusgemeinde, abhängig; es gab eine Beteiligung der Öffentlichkeit am Leben der Schule. So wollte einmal ein erboster Gönner seine Spende streichen, weil er zufällig sah, dass man Hebräisch ohne Kopfbedeckung lernte; dem Vater eines Schülers, an den sich Kellner um Hilfe wandte, gelang es, dem Gönner den Unterschied zwischen religiöser und weltlicher Literatur klarzumachen. Aber Konflikte zwischen Lehrern und Schülern waren äusserst selten, gerade weil das Verhältnis zwischen ihnen natürlicher und freier war. Ein Beispiel bringt St. Klein auf S. 115, ein anderes folgt: nach einer Stunde kam ein Schüler der fünften oder sechsten Klasse zum Lehrer auf den "Kathedr" und klopfte ihm auf die Schulter mit der Bemerkung, "bleiben Sie sitzen, Herr Professor, ich hab' mit Ihnen zu reden". In einer staatlichen Schule hätte das den sofortigen Hinauswurf und wahrscheinlich den Ausschluss von allen Staatsschulen bedeutet; niemand, bestimmt kein jüdischer Schüler, hätte so etwas gewagt.

Mit einem Wort, es bestand keine Feindschaft zwischen der Institution und ihren Schülern. Die wenigen nichtjüdischen Lehrer verhielten sich absolut korrekt, sogar der langjährige Turnlehrer Weichhahn, der sich nach dem Anschluss als SS-Mann entpuppte; der ebenso langjährige Englischlehrer Hassfurter, der als Sozialdemokrat galt, verliess hingegen die Schule sechs Wochen vor der Matura seiner Klasse, wie S. Wachstein (St. Kleins Bemerkung korrigierend) erzählt.

Auch der Umstand, dass viele, besonders jüngere Lehrer (ausser in den jüdischen Fächern) "Westjuden" waren, störte nur wenig. Sonja Wachstein, z.B., spürte den "Druck von unten" sich mehr mit jüdischen Problemen zu befassen; sie "wollte wissen, um was es sich handelt". V. Kellner hielt für die Sprachlehrer einen von Wachstein sehr hoch bewerteten Hebräischkurs ab, um durch vergleichenden Unterricht das Sprachverständnis der Schüler zu erweitern, was in den Berichten der Inspektoren lobend erwähnt wird. Auch von den westjüdischen Lehrern waren manche Zionisten oder an jüdischen Problemen interessiert; andere allerdings sahen in der Schule nur den zufälligen Arbeitsplatz und waren dementsprechend unbeliebt.

S. Wachstein spricht von einem beinahe zärtlichen Gefühl für das Chajesrealgymnasium, ihre erste Lehrstelle; mag dabei auch Nostalgie mitspielen, so ist es dieselbe, die auch die Exschüler aller Jahrgänge fühlen. Aber ihre Nostalgie wird von Tatsachen unterstützt. Sie



einnert sich schauernd an die Schule, die ihr Bruder in Hitzing besuchte. Ganz abgesehen von dem in Hitzing besonders starken Antisemitismus ist sie noch heute entsetzt über die dort herrschenden Ungerechtigkeiten und das Unverständnis der Schule und der einzelnen Lehrer für ihre Schüler. Man interessierte sich einfach nicht für das, was sich ausserhalb der Schule und des Unterrichts im engsten Sinn abspielte. Das Chajesrealgymnasium war tägliche Drohung, tägliche Herausforderung und tägliches Erlebnis. Drohung war es wohl nur für die junge Anfängerin, aber Herausforderung und Erlebnis war es auch für die Schüler, deren Wissensdurst und Bildungstreben von Sonja Wachstein betont werden und denen die originelle Schule entgegen kam. Originelle Geister wurden, wie auch von Schülern bestätigt wird, gefördert, soweit es eben möglich war.

Diese Einschränkung bringt uns zu dem Zentralproblem der Erziehung in der Schule. Nach dem Umsturz von 1918 war die Luft voll von Reformplänen. In Wien waren sie sozialdemokratisch inspiriert und stiessen daher von Anfang an auf den Widerstand der Kirche, des Staatsapparats (der fast unverändert von der Monarchie übernommen worden war) und aller nicht- oder antisozialistischen Kreise, mit wenigen Ausnahmen. Das Ziel der Schulreform war eine "demokratische" Schule im Rahmen der erstrebten demokratischen Gesamterziehung vom Kindergarten bis zur Universität, in der der junge Mensch durch die freie Entfaltung seiner Persönlichkeit zu selbstständigem Schaffen herangebildet werden sollte. An Stelle von Untertanen sollten freie Staatsbürger heranwachsen, an Stelle von "totem und untätigem Wissen" sollte schöpferisches Denken treten und zu diesem Zwecke das ganze Unterrichtssystem umgestaltet werden. In der Volksschule - und fast nur in Wien! - wurden reale Ergebnisse in dieser Richtung erzielt, aber auf die Mittelschulen hatten die Sozialdemokraten wenig Einfluss (auch nichtjüdische Sozialisten wurden selten angestellt). Vor allem war die Mittelschule zur Vorbereitung für das Hochschulstudium bestimmt und ihr Lehrplan war daraufhin angelegt; das war der wesentliche Zweck der "Reifeprüfung", wenn diese auch den Weg zu gewissen Funktionen im Staats- und Wirtschaftsapparat öffnete. Eine Schule, die bestehen wollte, hatte sich dem anzupassen.

Daher waren die Möglichkeiten für die Förderung der Fähigkeiten origineller Schüler für das Chajesrealgymnasium beschränkt. Soweit von seiten einiger früherer Lehrer Kritik an der fehlenden Förderung der schöpferischen Kräfte geübt wird, übersehen diese Kritiker die bemerkenswerte Tatsache, dass die Schule ihr Hauptziel erreichte: die Vermittlung einer erstklassigen humanistischen Bildung auf jüdischer Basis. Wenige von denen, die die Schule durchliefen, vergassen ihre Botschaft.

Hier ist der Platz, einige Lehrer zu erwähnen. St. Klein nennt einige, nicht alle wichtigen und manchmal auch solche, die eher marginale Stellungen hatten. So mag zum Beispiel Samuel Gabe die (nach Wachstein "kleine") administrative Arbeit gemacht haben, aber er hat

kaum der Schule seinen Stempel aufgedrückt, obwohl er zweifellos ein guter Lehrer war. "Er administrierte lieber als er unterrichtete" schreibt St. Klein - vielleicht war das ein Grund dafür. Ihm zur Seite stand Bunem Aschkenazy, ein äusserst lieber Mensch, aber ein etwas weicher Lehrer; in Israel war er zuletzt Direktor einer Mittelschule.

Die Lehrer für hebräische Kultur sind von St. Klein nicht schlecht charakterisiert, abgesehen von der drolligen Bezeichnung als "Religionsprofessoren", doch fehlt einer der wichtigsten, Schlomo Horowitz. Er war ein sehr guter Lehrer, der vor allem etwas hatte, was manchen anderen fehlte - ausgezeichnete Disziplin im guten Sinne. Er kann als Beispiel für die Versuche des Stadtschulrats dienen, den Hebräischunterricht zu beeinträchtigen. Da er nicht österreichischer Staatsbürger war und es als "Galizianer" trotz wiederholter Versuche nicht werden konnte, bedurfte er einer besonderen Bewilligung, um unterrichten zu dürfen. Für 1929/30 bekam er sie ausnahmsweise, weil es keine Staatsbürger für die hebräischen Fächer gab, aber für das nächste Jahr wurde sie verweigert; das Ministerium gab dem "Rekurs" der Schule statt und dieses Spiel wiederholte sich.

Wihelm Stein war einer der Gründer der Schule, begann aber erst zu unterrichten, als sie die Oberstufe erreichte. Seine Stunden waren immer interessant und oft fesselnd, wenn sie auch manchmal auf einem etwas zu hohen Niveau standen. Auf die Bitte der 7. Klasse im Jahre 1934 - Klassensprecher Eleazar (Lala) Weissbrot - das Niveau ein wenig zu senken, fragte er, ob er nun etwa so unterrichten solle wie im staatlichen Realgymnasium im 19. Bezirk (wo er seine Hauptstelle hatte) und schlug als Thema für den nächsten Aufsatz vor: Göthe und das Wasser, eine Anspielung darauf, dass ein Schüler dieser Anstalt Meister im Kurzstreckenschwimmen war und seine Mitschüler zu mehr nicht im Stande waren.

Eine liebe Frau, die sehr viel für bedürftige Schüler tat, aber eine etwas mittelmässige Lehrerin für Biologie war Dora Singer.

Josef Kofler, der vom Anfang der Schule an Geschichte und Geographie unterrichtete, war ein gebildeter und kenntnisreicher, aber oft uninteressierter Lehrer. Seine Stunden konnten fesseln, taten es aber nicht immer. Er war jedoch gefürchtet; wenn er sein schwarzes Notizbuch herauszog, konnte man die sprichwörtliche Stecknadel fallen hören.

Jedem Schüler, der ihnen auch nur für kurze Zeit begegnete, unvergessen sind Viktor (Vickerl) und Grete (die Gret'l) Löwenfeld. Er war Lehrer für Kunsterziehung und Zeichnen und hatte besonders auf die künstlerisch Veranlagten grossen Einfluss. Er war selbst ausübender Künstler; seinen Namen schaffte er sich mit seinen Arbeiten über Blindenplastiken, die er in Wien begann und in Amerika mit grossem Erfolg fortsetzte. Seine Frau war die Turnlehrerin für Mädchen, die sie abgöttisch liebten.



V. Löwenfeld leitete auch von 1929 bis 1937 das Sommerlager der Schule am Keutschachersee in Kärnten (im ersten Jahr am Wörthersee). Bis zur Geburt ihres Sohnes beteiligte sich an der Leitung seine Frau und mit ihnen O. Portheim. Für sehr viele Schüler war dies der einzige Sommerurlaub, den sie erhoffen konnten; auch hiefür wusste V. Kellner das Geld aufzubringen.

Unvergessen sind auch Jona Gelernter und Israel Kestenbaum, beide Lehrer für Hebräisch. Gelernter, ein Mann von weiten literarischen Interessen, verfasste oder übersetzte ins Hebräische zur Aufführung bei Schulfeiern passende Stücke.. Da er nicht genügende Disziplin halten konnte, waren seine Lehrerfolge eher mittelmässig. Auch bei Kestenbaum war die Disziplin nicht musterhaft, aber er übte auf seine Schüler einen starken Einfluss aus und war einer von denen, die den Geist der Schule schufen; er war auch extrakurrikulär tätig.

Martha Hoffmann war Lehrerin für Deutsch und Latein. Sie war Schriftstellerin und hatte eine führende Stellung in der Wizo, der zionistischen Frauenorganisation. Im Jahre 1928 verlor sie bei einem Unfall in Palästina den rechten Arm. Sie rettete sich vor den Nazis, aber nach dem Weltkrieg ging sie nach Wien zurück, da ihr niemand im Lande half, sich eine Position zu schaffen.

Ich kann nur solche nennen, die ich persönlich gekannt habe und muss das Unrecht, das ich anderen tue, auf mich nehmen. Im Anhang folgt eine notgedrungen unvollständige Liste. Aber erwähnenswert ist Schloma (sic) Weich, der Mathematiklehrer der ersten Jahrgänge, von dem seine Schüler mit grosser Achtung sprechen; er war der erste Lehrer, der im Jahre 1926 nach Palästina ging.

Alle diese und viele andere bauten die Schule unter äusserst schweren Bedingungen. Die ersten Jahre arbeitete man im 4. Stock eines Bürohauses in der Drahtgasse, wo es für 10-13jährige Kinder keine Bewegungsmöglichkeiten gab und wo man "Stiegendisziplin" halten musste, um nicht die Nachbarn zu stören. Noch nach sechzig Jahren fragt sich einer der Betroffenen, "wir war's möglich?". Im Jahre 1923 erhielt die Schule das "Ritter Pollak von Rudinsche Stiftungshaus" im zweiten Bezirk, Castellezgasse 35, das an den Augarten grenzte (in diesem Hause wurde im Jahre 1984 die neue Chajesgesamtschule - vom Kindergarten bis zur Matura - in Gegenwart der Spitzen der Behörden eröffnet). Auch dieses Haus genügte nicht den Ansprüchen; es hatte keinen Turnsaal und auch der Aufbau eines Stockwerkes beseitigte nicht den schwersten Übelstand, den Nachmittagsunterricht. Im Jahre 1935 bekam V. Kellner von der Gemeinde Wien ein Schulgebäude in der Staudingergasse, auf der anderen Seite des Augartens, wo für die letzten drei Jahre Raum zur Entfaltung war - Euphorie vor dem Ende.

Zur Vervollständigung des Bildes fehlen noch zwei wesentliche Details, die Schulgemeinde und der koedukative Unterricht. Es waren dies die Eigenschaften, die die Schule dem Stadtschulrat noch erträglich machten.

Die Schulgemeinde wurde an den Staatsschulen oft sabotiert, teils weil sie so gar nicht in das System passten, teils weil die Schüler uninteressiert waren, öfters auch, weil sie keine gesellschaftlichen Beziehungen zu ihren jüdischen Mitschülern wollten. Diese Hindernisse fielen im Chajesrealgymnasium weg und daher bestanden lebhaftere Klassengemeinden und eine Schulgemeinde; natürlich hing viel von den "Klassenvorständen" ab, aber die Eigentätigkeit der Schüler war sehr stark und bildete einen wichtigen Weg zur Förderung ihrer Initiative.

Zu den extrakurrikulären Tätigkeiten gehörten die im Lehrplan vorgeschriebenen Ausflüge im Wienerwald, verschiedene sportliche Veranstaltungen und Feiern wie Chanukka oder Purim und anderes mehr. Vom Sommerlager war schon die Rede. Grete Löwenfeld führte jeden Winter Skikurse für Mädchen und Weichhahn für die Jungen.

Die Koedukation war dem christlichsozialen Ministerium ein Dorn im Auge. Sogar die Volksschulen waren, zumindest in den grösseren Orten, nach Geschlechtern getrennt. Das Chajesrealgymnasium war vom ersten Tag an koedukativ, aus prinzipiellen und praktischen Gründen. Es wäre unmöglich gewesen, getrennte Mädchenklassen zu führen; eine einzige Ausnahme bestand im Jahre 1934/5. Die Mädchen machten etwa ein Drittel der Schülerzahl aus. Inspektor Benda betont in seinem Bericht vom Jahre 1926/7, "die Koedukation...bewährt sich nach Mitteilungen des Direktors bestens; ich selbst konnte bisher keinerlei abträgliche Folgen wahrnehmen."

Wie er im selben Satz bemerkt, brachte der koedukative Unterricht auch die Vewendung von weiblichen Lehrkräften mit sich, was in Schulen für Knaben etwas Unerhörtes war. Auch das bewirkte im allgemeinen keine Schwierigkeiten; Ausnahmen waren gering und gingen rasch vorüber.

Als jedoch der "Ständestaat" kam, wurde auch für die Sittlichkeit gesorgt. Im Jahre 1937 erhob sich das Problem des Unterrichts der menschlichen Anatomie in der Oberstufe. Zum Pech war er in den Händen einer Frau und es gab in der Schule überhaupt keinen männlichen Lehrer für dieses Fach.

Nun durften aber nach einem Erlass des Unterrichtsministeriums, der sich natürlich auf alle Schulen bezog, in "gemischten Klassen der Oberstufe nur Männer unterrichten". Es gelang zwar V. Kellner aus verschiedenen Gründen (jüdische männliche Lehrkräfte standen nicht zur Verfügung, entlassene Frauen würden kaum eine Anstellung finden u.a.) zunächst durchzusetzen, dass die Durchführung des Erlasses in seiner Schule aufgeschoben wurde, jedoch wurde die sofortige Übertragung des Anatomieunterrichts an einen Mann verlangt. Auch das konnte der Direktor mit Rücksicht auf das fortgeschrittene Schuljahr abwehren (inzwischen war es November geworden).



Hiezu ist als pikantes Detail zu vermerken, dass auf den Bildern, die die menschliche Anatomie veanschaulichten, die Geschlechtsmerkmale einfach weggelassen wurden. Soche Krüppel wurden Jungen und Mädchen vorgesetzt, deren sexuelle "Aufklärung" zumeist mit dem zwölften Lebensjahr abgeschlossen war und die viel früher als sichs die Erwachsenen träumen liessen, sexuelle Erlebnisse hatten.

Ein Argument Kellners war, dass eine Entfernung der Lehrerin kurz vor der Matura ihr beruflich schaden und missdeutet werden könnte, "da die Darlegung der Gründe, die die Behörde zu ihrer grundsätzlichen Einstellung veranlasst haben, bei der Eigenheit der Materie untunlich erscheint". Das Problem löste sich mit dem Anschluss; den Nazis lag wenig an der Sittlichkeit.

\* \* \* \* \*

Was machte also die Schule zu einer Erscheinung sui generis? Was bewirkte, dass ihre Absolventen mit Wehmut auf sie zurückblicken - mit weit mehr Wehmut als mit der normalen Nostalgie alter und alternder Menschen erklärbar ist? Wie erklärt man die von R. Glückselig und B. Moritz betonte Tatsache, dass nicht wenige Kinder und Enkel - auch die von B. Moritz - durch den Geist der Schule, vermittelt von Eltern und Grosseitern, zum Zionismus und zur Aliyah, zur Einwanderung nach Israel gebracht wurden?

Die Antwort ist: wir wuchsen auf im Bewusstsein der jüdischen Nationalität, und diese wurde, um ein vielberufenes Wort zu verwenden, zu einem Teil des Unterbewusstseins. Wie Chajes gesagt hatte, man wusste, und fühlte, wofür man litt und kämpfte.

Aber, und vielleicht ist das das Wesentliche, durch V. Kellners kulturelle Offenheit wurden wir vor jeder Engstirnigkeit bewahrt. Er, und unter seiner Inspiration die Schule, verstanden es den jungen Menschen, die zum grössten Teil aus dem ostjüdischen Milieu kamen, das Beste der westlichen Kultur zu vermitteln, ohne das Jüdische zu beeinträchtigen. Sowohl "einen innigen, intimen Zusammenhang mit dem Judentum" zu schaffen, aber auch nicht "das Nichtjüdische als etwas Belangloses hinzustellen" und vor allem "unsere Jugend zu geraden, aufrechten, harmonischen Menschen zu machen" hatte Chajes verlangt und seine Schule verwirklichte es. Was er nicht voraussehen konnte, war, dass im 20. Jahrhundert der westlichen Kultur das 12. wiedererwachte.

Der Direktor

Wenn je eine Institution und ein Mensch identisch sein könnten, so wäre das Chajesrealgymnasium eine solche gewesen. Es ist unmöglich auch nur fünf Minuten mit einem ehemaligen Lehrer oder Schüler zu sprechen, ohne dass V. Kellners Name fällt, und von da an spricht man nur noch von ihm, so sehr waren er und die Schule eins. Ohne Chajes wäre sie nicht geworden, ohne Kellner hätte sie keinen Bestand gehabt - das ist die einhellige Meinung aller, aber auch aller Beteiligten.

Wir schreiben keine Biographie, die wahrscheinlich nicht mehr geschrieben werden kann. Sie ist auch unnötig. Die ersten dreissig Jahre von Kellners Leben waren, im Rückblick, die Vorbereitung für sein Lebenswerk. Er ging in der Schule auf; sie war sein Leben, und als er sie nach zwanzig Jahren verlassen musste, war er auf der Höhe seiner Kraft und reich an Erfolgen. Danach kamen zweiunddreissig Jahre von Enttäuschung, Misserfolg und Leere.

In seiner Persönlichkeit stehen Licht und Schatten ohne Übergänge in schroffem Gegensatz. Zu seinem Unglück mussten die Eigenschaften, die ihn in Wien so erfolgreich gemacht hatten, in Palästina-Israel notwendigerweise, beinahe wie in einer griechischen Tragödie, zu seinem Scheitern führen. Er war nicht der Einzige.

Beobachtungen, Einschätzungen und Beurteilungen Kellners gibt es von vier Seiten: von der "vorgestzten Behörde", von einigen Förderern oder Funktionären des Vereins "Jüdisches Realgymnasium", der formell der Schulerhalter war, von Le'rern, die täglich mit ihm in Berührung kamen und - nicht zuletzt - von den Schülern, für die er wirkte.

Wir hatten schon Gelegenheit, die Meinung der Inspektoren von V. Kellner zu hören, aber sie geben nicht das volle Bild der Beziehungen zwischen einem Gymnasialdirektor und den ihm vorgesetzten Behörden. Es ist heute schwer, sich die damals herrschenden Auffassungen vom Verhältnis zwischen dem einzelnen Staatsbürger und dem Staatsapparat vorzustellen. Die Auffassungen stammten noch aus dem 19. Jahrhundert, als jeder Beamte ein "Vorgesetzter" war, der die Staatsgewalt vertrat und dessen Wort oder das seines Übergeordneten meistens entscheidend war. Die Behörde war die Obrigkeit, die nicht Bürgern diente, sondern über Untertanen herrschte. Ein Schuldirektor war ein Beamter, ein Glied in der Herrschaftskette. Jede kleinste Veränderung in der Schule musste von "oben" bestätigt werden, und Privatschulen wurden besonders scharf beobachtet. Manchmal wurde es Ernst.

Zum Folgenden ist zu bemerken, dass am 1. Dezember 1934 V. Kellner Staatsbeamter wurde. Auf diese Weise subventionierte der Staat manche Privatschulen, vor allem natürlich die Klosterschulen.



Ein Lateinlehrer namens Gedalje Berger hatte schon seit der Gründung der Schule in einer Klasse Latein unterrichtet; das bedeutete für ihn eine zusätzliche Einnahme von etwa einem Drittel seines Gehaltes. Im Jahre 1935 beschloss der (nun christlich-deutsche) Stadtschulrat, vermutlich um das Gehalt des Direktors zu kompensieren, Berger dem Chajesrealgymnasium "im Ausmass von fünf Wochenstunden" und "gegen Ersatz der Kosten" zuzuweisen. Dadurch verlor er einen Teil seines Einkommens, aber für die Schule war dies keine Änderung.

V. Kellner fürchtete jedoch, dass sich dieses Spiel wiederholen könnte; es gab noch genug jüdische Lehrer an Bundesschulen, die man auf diese elegante Art nach und nach loswerden konnte, die aber gesinnungsmässig keineswegs in die Schule passten; wenn er sich gezwungen fühlte, St. Klein, die ja auch von oben geschickt wurde, zu behalten, da ja gegen ihren Unterricht nichts einzuwenden war, musste er die Zuweisung Bergers als Warnung auffassen.

Er schrieb daher in seiner Antwort auf die amtliche Mitteilung, er glaube "nicht fehlzugehen in der Annahme, dass eine Zuweisung von Lehrern...nur nach vorherigem Einvernehmen mit der Direktion erfolgen würde. Ein anderer Vorgang wäre für die Schule nicht tragbar" wegen ihrer "besonderen kulturellen und erzieherischen Bestrebungen" und wegen der Stellung der in Betracht kommenden Lehrpersonen "zum Judentum und zu seinen traditionellen kulturellen Werte(n)".

Die Antwort war eine eiskalte Dusche. "Die... Eingabe hat.... befremdet. Der behelrende Ton wird....als ungehörig ausgestellt"; von ihm als Bundeslehrer darf "eine die Unterordnung respektierende Zurückhaltung" erwartet werden. Und V. Kellner entschuldigt sich: eine behelrende Absicht lag vollkommen fern; die Direktion gibt ihrem Bedauern Ausdruck und bittet um Entschuldigung. Anscheinend erreichte er jedoch seinen Zweck; in den verbleibenden zwei Jahren bis zum Anschluss war kein weiterer solcher Fall.

Das war jedoch nur ein Ausrutschen aus Unvorsichtigkeit. Die Inspektorenberichte zeichnen ein anderes Bild; betrachtet man es aber genauer, so findet man denselben Kämpfer für das in seinem Lebenswerk sich verwirklichende Ideal. Schon zu Beginn seiner Laufbahn zeigte er grossen Mut, wie seine beste Freundin Lise Kaznelson (die einzige, die seine Stenographie lesen konnte) in ihrem Nachruf erzählt: im Jahre 1910 wurde er in Prag zum Doktor promoviert und seine "zionistische Promotionsrede, die erste...die je bei einem solchen Anlass gehört worden war und zu der ein ziemlicher Mut gehörte, erregte grosses - und in deutschen und gewissen deutschassimilierten jüdischen Kreisen unliebsames - Aufsehen". In diesen Zusammenhang gehört auch eine Bemerkung des Inspektors Benda in einem oben zitierten Bericht (S.22), in dem er von "der ausgeprägten Eigenwilligkeit des ansonsten äusserst tüchtigen Direktors" spricht und anderes auch.

Am Schulleiter Kellner hingegen hatten die Inspektoren nichts auszusetzen: "Dr. Viktor Kellner leitet die Anstalt nach durchdachten Grundsätzen" (1926/7); wir haben schon mehrmals derartige Äusserungen zitiert. Er war vom Standpunkt der damals geltenden Erziehungs- und Unterrichtsmethoden ein geradezu idealer Leiter: die Erfolge der Schule waren sehr gute, es gab kaum Probleme, die Lehrer waren gut ausgewählt und gaben ihr Bestes - mit einem Wort, es gab einfach nichts auszusetzen, und wenn er kein Jude gewesen wäre, so hätte er eine glänzende Karriere gemacht.

Auch die Sekretärin der Schule von 1927- 1938, O. Portheim (Mrs. C. Norton) achtete und achtet ihn noch heute sehr hoch. Sie schreibt: "Dr. Kellner war ein leidenschaftlicher Zionist, der sein Leben rückhaltlos der Sache widmete. Er war das Chajesrealgymnasium, ging hinaus und hielt Vorträge und fand das ständig fehlende Geld zur Bezahlung der Gehälter. Er war auch ein guter Administrator...Ich hatte grossen Respekt für diesen Mann, seine Fähigkeiten und seine vollständige Hingabe an die Schule und an den Zionismus..." (aus dem Englischen) - "it was Dr. Kellner's school"; all das uneingeschränkt von der Kronzeugin, die elf Jahre lang tagtäglich mit V. Kellner im engsten Kontakt stand und ihn aus nächster Nähe beobachtete.

Damit kommen wir zu denen, die mit V. Kellner nicht in der Schule, aber im Zusammenhang mit ihr in Berührung kamen, vor allem natürlich die verhältnismässig wenigen Persönlichkeiten im jüdischen Leben Wiens, die sich für die Schule bemühten, um das ständige Defizit durch Aufbringung von Spenden zu decken, eine Sisyphusarbeit, wenn es je eine gab. Schulamit Landau, besser bekannt als Lama Bauer erzählt, dass ihre Mutter, Frau Malka Bauer, Mitglied des Kuratoriums der Schule, an V. Kellner den "Meister des Schnorrrens" schätzte. Sie bestätigt nur, was allbekannt war - er fand immer, oft im letzten Augenblick, Geld, um die augenblickliche Krise zu überwinden; wäre er kein Meister gewesen, so hätte es kein Geld gegeben.

Warum Z.P. Chajes gerade V. Kellner zum Direktor wählte, ist nicht festzustellen. Vermutlich wirkten mehrere Umstände mit: seine "westjüdische" Abkunft und Bildung (und seine österreichische Staatsbürgerschaft - andere die vielleicht in Betracht kamen, hatten sie im allgemeinen nicht und konnten sie nicht bekommen); aber vor allem entschied wohl seine jüdisch-nationale Einstellung, die er durch seine vierjährige Tätigkeit als Lehrer (1910-1914) im neugegründeten Tel-Aviv bewiesen hatte; die Zahl der "Westjuden", die vor 1919 nach Eretz-Yisrael kamen, konnte man an den Fingern abzählen.

Er war mit seiner allgemeinen und modernen jüdischen Bildung der ideale Mann für die von Chajes gestellte Aufgabe. Über die Beziehungen zwischen Chajes und Kellner während der sieben Jahre, in denen der Oberrabbiner seine Schöpfung begleiten konnte, ist nichts bekannt.



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Hingegen haben wir ein Zeugnis über die Beziehungen zwischen V. Kellner und dem wohl bekanntesten zionistischen Führer aus der Zwischenkriegszeit in Wien, Robert Stricker, von der Hand seiner Tochter Fr. Jehudith Esheth. Wie schon erwähnt, war Robert Stricker einer der wenigen führenden Zionisten, die ihre Kinder in die Schule schickten, obwohl - oder vielleicht weil - er ein sozusagen absoluter Westjude war (wie etwa Th. Herzl selbst).

J. Esheth berichtet, dass ihr Vater als Mitglied des Kuratoriums der Schule und des Vorstands der Kultusgemeinde (dessen Mehrheit seit 1932 zionistisch war) sich sehr für die Schule einsetzte. Er schätzte V. Kellner wegen seines unermüdlichen und unnachgiebigen Kampfes für die Schule. Es imponierte ihm, dass der Direktor in der Zeit der schwersten Wirtschaftskrise Geld zur Einrichtung von Laboratorien oder zur Führung von Sommerlagern und Skikursen fand, und es gelang R. Stricker und seiner Frau Paula manche Philanthropen zu grosszügiger Unterstützung der Schule zu bewegen. Aber weder R. Stricker noch andere wollten mit V. Kellner persönlich zu tun haben und Paula Stricker musste vermitteln.

Wenn er seine Tochter ausser Hörweite glaubte, bediente sich R. Stricker der ärgsten Beschimpfungen. Die menschliche Abneigung wurde durch die politische Gegnerschaft verschärft. R. Stricker war einer der ersten, die sich V. Jabotinski anschlossen und obwohl er ihm nicht folgte, als dieser die Zionistische Organisation verliess, bedeutete das keine Änderung in seinen Ansichten. V. Kellner hingegen stand der Gruppe "Brith Shalom" nahe, die aus wenigen, aber bekannten und beredten Intellektuellen bestand, darunter Martin Buber und einige Freunde von V. Kellner, z. B. Hugo Bergmann.

Ihr geistiger Führer war Jehuda L. Magnes, der Präsident (damals "Kanzler" genannt) der Hebräischen Universität. Die Gruppe Brith Schalom trat für eine Form der Verständigung mit der arabischen nationalen Bewegung ein, die de facto das Ende des zionistischen Aufbauwerkes bedeutet und die Juden zu einer ständigen Minorität in Eretz-Yisrael gemacht hätte. Sie war in der zionistischen Bewegung völlig isoliert, aber für Jabotinski, Stricker und ihre Anhänger bildete "Brith-Shalom" den Inbegriff des Falschen und Verderblichen - zur Zeit wurden in der Diskussion viel schärfere Ausdrücke verwendet. Kein Wunder, dass Stricker V. Kellner nicht ausstehen konnte und die Abneigung war gegenseitig.

Behörden, Sekretärin, interessierte Aussenstehende - wie aber sahen V. Kellner die, die es direkt anging, Lehrer und Schüler und natürlich vor allem diese? Um Wiederholungen möglichst zu vermeiden gruppieren wir die Äusserungen und Meinungen so weit es geht nach Themen.

Der Mensch V. Kellner kommt denkbar schlecht weg. "Taktlosigkeit" ist noch der harmloseste Vorwurf. Andere sind weniger zurückhaltend, wie z.B. E. und H. Richard (Rabinowitz-Ornstein): "The school suffered (betont von E.R.) from a pathological and destructive (sic!) director...". Sein ehrlicher Idealismus für jüdische Werte war "in practice combined with ruthless and vicious attacks on students who were often insulted in class".

Diese Ausdrücke sind doch wohl zu scharf und übertrieben, aber in gemäßigterer und ruhigerer Form kehren bei allen Zeugen solche Einschätzungen wieder. Sogar in ihrem Nachruf auf V. Kellner - den sie den "Freund fast einer Lebenszeit" nennt - sagt L. Kaznelson: "Er hatte einen etwas sarkastischen Humor - 'die Freude am Bösen' nannte er das scherzhaft - und konnte, ohne sich selbst dessen bewusst zu werden, auf Menschen, die ihn nicht kannten, leicht verletzend wirken durch seine spöttische und absprechende Art"; O. Portheim schreibt: "Wenn man ihn aufmerksam machte, dass er jemanden verletzte, sagte er 'die Leute sollen wissen'".

Natürlich fühlten das vor allem die Schüler. Einer mag für alle sprechen. Israel Smotricz, aus der ersten Maturaklasse (1927), später selbst Lehrer am Tel Aviver Herzlygymnasium, an dem V. Kellner vor dem ersten Weltkrieg Lehrer war, sagt: "Er erniedrigte und beleidigte", nicht nur wie wir im vorigen Kapitel berichteten, zur Eintreibung des unentbehrlichen Schulgelds, sondern als Teil seiner Erziehungsmethoden (dieser Teil kam den Inspektoren anscheinend nicht zu Ohren).

Er konnte Schüler öffentlich wegen schlechter Leistungen durch Ausserungen wie "du bist unfähig", "du wirst nie etwas erreichen" und dergleichen mehr blamieren und dadurch Komplexe hervorrufen, die sich noch lange bemerkbar machten.

Aber es gab noch Schlimmeres. Er pflegte sich an Schüler, die im Gespräch standen, heranzuschleichen; nach einer Angabe ging er zu diesem Zweck auf Gummisohlen. I. Smotricz berichtet von Fällen, in welchen er Paaren nachstellte und die Partner am nächsten Tag prüfte; versagten sie - manchmal war die Liebe doch wichtiger als die Schule - so hielt sich V. Kellner nicht von hämischen Bemerkungen zurück, die ihn nicht nur den Beteiligten, sondern allen verhasst machten. Aber Smotricz stand eine Überraschung bevor.

Als er nach Tel Aviv ans Herzlygymnasium kam und die älteren Lehrer erfuhren, er sei Kellners Schüler gewesen und von dessen Tätigkeit in Wien hörten, stellte sich heraus, dass Kellner solche Dinge auch schon getan hatte, als er Lehrer in Tel-Aviv war. Und nach einigen Berichten wurde er einmal von Schülern verprügelt.



Viele haben etwas zu sagen über V. Kellners Unfähigkeit, die Gefühle anderer zu schonen. So erzählt S. Wachstein, dass er in Lehrerkonferenzen öffentlich wirkliche oder vermeintliche schlechte Eigenschaften von Lehrern tadelte, immer ohne Namensnennung, aber immer so deutlich, dass keine Zweifel blieben, man sich aber nicht verteidigen konnte. Das kam auch in der Klasse vor, wie ich aus eigener Erfahrung weiss.

Schärfste, gnadenlose Kritik an Kellner übt jedoch St. Klein in dem Kapitel ihrer Erinnerungen, mit dem wir uns schon befasst haben, und in mehreren Unterhaltungen. Im vorigen Kapitel besprachen wir ihre Einstellung zur Schule, hier ist unser Thema, was sie über den Direktor als Menschen zu sagen hat.

Der erste Zusammenstoss zwischen den Beiden ereignete sich schon bei der ersten Begegnung, als St. Klein, vom Stadtschulrat geschickt, sich vorstellte. Kellner übersah ihre tiefe Trauerkleidung - sie war noch verschleiert - oder nahm an, dass es sich bei einer so jungen Frau um einen Verwandten handelte, was natürlich nicht rechtfertigt, dass er kein Wort des Beileids fand.

Nun kam aber St. Klein direkt von der Einäscherung ihres Mannes, der unter tragischen Umständen verschieden war, und Kellners nächste Bemerkung erfüllte ihr Leidensmass: "Sie sind, ich weiss es, keine Zionistin. Ihr Mann ist Kommunist, wie man mir sagt". Ihre Reaktion auf diese Worte, die sie unter den Umständen doppelt empören mussten, ist verständlich: "Mein Mann geht sie gar nichts an. Es geht Sie auch nichts an, ob er Kommunist war oder nicht. ... Ich bin müde, ich komme von der Urnenbeisetzung meines Mannes". Hierauf bot ihr Kellner die Stelle bis zum Ende des Jahres an und sie blieb fast bis zum Ende der Schule.

Aber ihre Jahre an der Schule hätten sie lehren müssen, dass V. Kellner **s a c h l i c h** nicht anders reagieren konnte, auch wenn er sich menschlicher benommen hätte. Eine weitere Bemerkung von St. Klein ist aufschlussreich: "Ich lasse mir gern pädagogische Ratschläge geben, nicht aber politische...". Das war aber der springende Punkt. Das Chajesrealgymnasium war eine politische Schule im guten Sinn dieses Wortes und es erzog offen und bewusst zur zionistischen Gesinnung, nicht so wie die angeblich unpolitischen Staatsschulen, die Brutstätten des Antisemitismus und später des Nationalsozialismus waren, aber jeden Versuch einer Gegenwirkung als "politisch" abwürgten. St. Klein hatte es ja am eigenen Leib erfahren. Auch das Verhalten des Stadtschulrats gegen die Schule war, wie wir gezeigt haben, im Grunde politisch. Nun war zwar die Sozialdemokratie für die Assimilation der Juden, soweit sie sich über dieses Problem überhaupt Gedanken machte, und gegen den Zionismus, aber sie ignorierte ihn im Allgemeinen; schliesslich stimmten die meisten Juden für die Partei.

Aber die Kommunisten waren schon damals im Gefolge der sowjetrussischen Politik extrem und aktiv antizionistisch; im Jahre 1929 oder 1930, nach dem Pogrom, den arabische Extremisten im August 1929 in Hebron - unter antizionistischen, unbewaffneten Juden! - angestellt hatten, feierten die Kommunisten in einer deutschsprachigen Broschüre die Mörder als Freiheitskämpfer.

Im Jahre 1933, knapp vier Jahre später, war das noch in lebhafter Erinnerung. V. Kellner hatte offenbar gute Informationen und wusste, dass St. Klein Sozialdemokratin war, aber auch so wäre sie bei Lebzeiten ihres Mannes für die Schule schwer tragbar gewesen. Er hatte zwar längs mit der kommunistischen Partei gebrochen, aber Kellner wusste oder glaubte es nicht; er musste vorsichtig sein. Die Schulerhalter - die Zionisten wie etwa R. Stricker und die galizische Judenheit in Wien - hätten ihn wahrscheinlich gezwungen, sie zu entlassen und damit in einen offenen Konflikt mit den Behörden zu geraten, was das Ende der Schule bedeuten konnte. Und da er die Einstellung des Stadtschulrats besser als jeder andere kannte, mochte er auch befürchten, dass diese Behörde versuchen könnte, die Schule sozusagen von innen zu unterwandern und sie ihres speziellen Inhalts zu entleeren.

Ziel dieser Überlegungen ist es nicht, V. Kellners Taktlosigkeit zu entschuldigen oder St. Kleins Gefühle zu bagatellisieren, sondern den früher festgestellten Unterschied zwischen ihren Erwartungen von ihrem ersten Arbeitsplatz und dessen wahren Wesen zu beleuchten.

Hier handelt es sich um ihre Beurteilung des Direktors als solchen, aber auch ohne die ursprüngliche Konfrontation hätte der Gegensatz früher oder später zu einem wahrscheinlich schlimmeren Zusammenstoß geführt. Vielleicht hat Kellners Unbehagen über sein Benehmen (oder eine geheime Hoffnung sie zu bekehren?) St. Klein vor einer Entlassung bewahrt.

Sie charakterisiert V. Kellner so: "Der Direktor war fachlich gut, aber menschlich wie organisatorisch ein mittelmässiger Lehrer und ein elender Leiter". Was vom "elenden Leiter" zu sagen ist, haben wir im vorigen Kapitel gesagt, doch ist noch manches hinzuzufügen, um seine zerrissene Persönlichkeit und seinen überragenden Einfluss auf die Schule zu verstehen.

Es wäre ermüdend, den einhellig positiven Äusserungen der Inspektoren weitere aus ihren Berichten hinzuzufügen. Ebenso begeistert ist von ihm Olly Portheim. Für Max Lampel, Gesangslehrer von 1930-1934, und für S. Wachstein war er ein guter Leiter: "Er machte einen grossen Eindruck"; beide betonen seine Leistung für das Niveau der Schule.



Nach St. Klein mochte ihn die Schülerschaft nicht und fürchtete ihn - richtig, doch welcher Direktor war damals nicht gefürchtet? Aber V. Kellner wurde von jedermann, auch von seinen Feinden geachtet; auch hierauf und auf andere Facetten seines Wesens kommen wir noch zurück.

Soweit vorläufig über den Leiter. Wie stand es mit ihm als Lehrer und Erzieher?

Das Lehrerehepaar E. und H. Richard (Rabinowitz-Ornstein) erinnert sich an Kellners oft sehr lange Reden in Lehrerkonferenzen, ebenso S. Wachstein; sie schienen zur Zeit "brilliant" (E.R.), "sie hielten in Bann", aber im nachhinein fühlten die Hörer eine gewisse Leere - "was hat er eigentlich gesagt?" fragte man sich (S.W.). Doch waren das junge Lehrer einer neuen Generation.

Aber auch seine Kritiker halten ihn für einen Lehrer von hohem Niveau, der ein solches auch von ihnen forderte: man sollte "nicht nur nach dem Buch" unterrichten. Er versuchte durch moralischen - nie durch materiellen - Druck diejenigen, "die es nötig hatten", zu veranlassen, sich mit jüdischen Dingen zu befassen. Dazu gehörte auch der hebräische Sprachkurs für die Sprachlehrer.

Nur nebenbei sei bemerkt, dass er die illegale sozialistische Tätigkeit von St. Klein und S. Wachstein sehr ungern sah, weil er für die Schule fürchtete, aber es bei Worten bewenden liess; nach den Gesetzen des "Ständestaats" hätte er sie entlassen können, was für sie dauernde Arbeitslosigkeit und auch Schlimmeres bedeutet hätte.

Aber die wichtigsten Zeugen sind schliesslich die, die es unmittelbar anging - die Schüler. Was denken sie über Kellner als Erzieher und Lehrer? Vom Erzieher haben wir einiges erzählt und die Liste könnte verlängert werden; auch in seiner Familie hatte er wenig Erfolg. Sein Sohn blieb, nachdem er schwer krank aus der deutschen Kriegsgefangenschaft zurückgekommen war, in England und heiratete eine Nichtjüdin - wohl Kellners schwerste Enttäuschung; seine eigene Ehe löste sich in Eretz-Yisrael auf; seine Tochter Suse, die früh starb, lebte in einem Kibbutz in der Nähe ihrer Mutter; was jedoch St. Klein über den angeblichen Hass der Kinder gegen ihren Vater behauptet, ist unrichtig, wie Elli Ilan-Becker, Suse's Freundin von Kindheit an, eindeutig feststellt.

Aber wie immer gab es auch hier positive Seiten. V. Kellners Aufgabe zwang ihn Dinge zu tun, die er unter anderen Umständen vielleicht nicht getan hätte. Von der ewigen, unvermeidbaren Plage um das Schulgeld haben wir schon gesprochen und werden noch einmal darauf zurückkommen müssen. Es gab jedoch auch andere wunde Punkte. So zum Beispiel musste er einen ständigen Kampf gegen das unausrottbare Zuspätkommen führen - zweifellos eine erzieherische Aufgabe ersten Ranges.

Aber so oft auch ein Schüler erwischt und abgekanzelt wurde (oft stand der Direktor selbst an der Treppe, über die man kommen musste), änderten weder der Betroffene noch seine Kollegen ihre Gewohnheit und der - hier mit Recht - pedante und verantwortliche Direktor war machtlos. Aber manchmal war der Erfolg nur verzögert: Uri Spielvogel bezeugt, dass er im Chajesrealgymnasium die Pünktlichkeit gelernt hätte - weil er zu oft erwischt wurde.

Von einer anderen Seite zeigt ihn aber ein Erlebnis Lala Weissbrots. Seine Familie wanderte im Jahre 1933 nach (dem damaligen) Palästina aus. Als Lala mit seinen Eltern ihn um das Abgangszeugnis ersuchte, riet er ihnen, Lala in Wien zu lassen: "Ich kann Ihnen bezeugen, dass es um das Schulwesen dort im Allgemeinen und um die Mittelschulen im Besonderen schlecht bestellt ist. (Er kam gerade von seinem Urlaub im Lande zurück.) Ich rate Ihnen, den Lala in Wien zu... lassen, während Sie sich im Lande einordnen...Mittlerweile wird er vom Schulgeld befreit und ich werde ihm Nachhilfestunden zukommen lassen, damit er sein Musikstudium fortsetzen kann." L.W. hat die Befolgung dieses Rates nie bereut; 1935 war er der erste Wiener Maturant an der Hebräischen Universität.

V. Kellner duldete Nachlässigkeit von niemandem und nicht einmal St. Klein beschuldigt ihn dergleichen. Er scheute auch nicht vor offenen Konfrontationen mit Stärkeren zurück, wenn es sich um Prinzipien handelte. R. Stricker schrieb einmal in der von ihm veröffentlichten Wochenschrift "Die Neue Welt", dass "Buber" (der bekannte Religionsphilosoph Martin Buber, dessen Ansichten Stricker verabscheute) der Komparativ von "Bub" wäre und Kellner tadelte diese Beleidigung in unserer Klasse, in der Strickers Stiefsohn sass.

Solche Eigenschaften wirkten natürlich erzieherisch im besten Sinne des Wortes. Ich glaube auch, dass unter den Umständen der Schule, die eine ostjüdische Schülerschaft zu einer gleichzeitig jüdischen und weltlichen Kultur zu erziehen hatte, auch die Distanz, die er immer gegen Lehrer und natürlich gegen Schüler wahrte, positive Ergebnisse hatte. Sogar Th. Herzl stellt im zionistisch-utopischen Roman "Altneuland" als einen wesentlichen Erfolg der "Neuen Gesellschaft" fest, "dass wir uns in Gesellschaft benehmen können" (Gedächtniszitat).

Und nun zum Lehrer V. Kellner. Er war ein "aussergewöhnlicher Lehrer" - Israel Smotricz, erste Matura (und I.S. hatte von Kellner viel zu leiden!); "ein begnadeter Lehrer" - Vilma Gelman-Rimalt, erste Matura und wie Smotricz selbst Lehrerin; er stand als Lehrer "ausserhalb des Rahmens", "Deutsch war immer ein überwältigendes Erlebnis", "er erkannte Begabungen" - all das von Julius Zellermeier, zweite Matura; "der Sperber ist ein Künstler", zitiert von Milo Sperber, 4. Matura und später Reinhardtschüler und erfolgreicher Schauspieler; "his teaching of Philosophy was superb", S. Schwarz, 4.



Matura, fast wörtlich wiederholt von Lama Bauer, 9. Matura; "ein guter Lehrer", dieselbe; "ein aussergewöhnlicher Lehrer, der jede Unterrichtsstunde zu einem intellektuellen Erlebnis machen konnte" - Eleazar Weissbrot, 9. Matura; diese Liste könnte ins Unendliche verlängert werden, aber wieviele Zeugnisse sind noch nötig?

Die Zeugnisse der Schüler der ersten vier Jahrgänge sind besonders wichtig, da sie noch in der Enge der Drahtgasse lernten, wo sie Kellner in jeder Beziehung viel näher standen als die Jahrgänge von 1923 an; auch konnte er infolge der kleineren Zahl der Klassen und des geringeren Ausmasses der Direktionsgeschäfte mehr Zeit dem direkten Unterricht widmen, so dass die Schüler in viel stärkere Berührung mit ihm kamen; in den ersten Jahren lehrte er ausser Latein und Deutsch auch die hebräischen Fächer.

Aber auch Schüler, die er nicht regelmässig unterrichtete, erinnern sich freudig an "Supplierstunden", die er gab, wenn ein Lehrer fehlte und Lama Bauer betont, dass solche Stunden sehr oft besser und fesselnder waren als die des Klassenlehrers, auch wenn es sich um dasselbe Thema handelte.

Und wem das alles noch nicht genügt, der lese die begeisterten Worte von Inspektor Benda: "Eine Lateinstunde in V (fünfte Klasse) zeigte, dass Direktor Dr. Viktor Kellner auch als Lehrer grosszügig wirkt, es selbst beim Vokabelprüfen versteht, unter ständiger Heranziehung des Deutschen, Englischen, Hebräischen und der Geschichte grosse geistige Komplexe herauszuarbeiten" (10.4.1924); "Als überlegener Lehrer mit umfassender Bildung und zielsicherem, vornehmlich kulturkundlich orientierten Lateinunterricht wies sich auch heuer Dr. Kellner aus" (31.3.1927); wie als Beispiel dazu berichtet Lala Weissbrot, das Kellner mit seiner Klasse Cicero ins Hebräische übersetzte, dabei Schlegels Shakespeare Übersetzung besprach und Goethes "Wanderers Nachtlied" auf - Russisch in Pushkins Übersetzung zitierte. Auch diese Liste könnte verlängert werden. "Ein herzloser, phantasieloser Kleinkrämer des Geistes" (St.Klein S.105)?

Natürlich war auch er nur ein Mensch mit seinem Widerspruch, natürlich war auch viel von seinem Unterricht Routine. Aber seine Routine war oft besser als das Besondere vieler Anderer; man erwartete von ihm Aussergewöhnliches - und die Erwartung wurde oft erfüllt.

Ein Widerspruch bleibt, der schwer aufzulösen ist. Er war fanatischer Zionist, ein Jünger und Freund Martin Bubers - und gleichzeitig ein fanatischer Anhänger Karl Kraus', der seine Satire auf Herzls "Judenstaat" nie widerrufen hatte, auch wenn er sie nicht in seine Bücher aufnahm. Wie konnte man zugleich jüdischnational und Anhänger von Karl Kraus sein? "Wir haben in den Oberklassen das Problem oft mit ihm durchgesprochen, und seine Argumente waren

überzeugend, aber das Problem blieb" sagt J. Zellermeier; es bleibt weiter ohne volle Lösung; im Anhang findet sich sein Nachruf auf K. Kraus, der vielleicht weiterhilft.

\* \* \* \* \*

Wir wollen nun versuchen, ein Urteil über die Schule abzugeben. Zwar ist es unmöglich, dies sine ira et studio zu tun, aber wir werden uns bemühen, durch eine vorsichtige Abwägung aller Umstände zum Verständnis des Phänomens Chajesrealgymnasium und seines Leiters zu gelangen. Ich habe schon mehrmals darauf hingewiesen, wie sehr ich und viele Andere Viktor Kellner zu Dank verpflichtet sind. Und jeder von uns hat wohl mindestens einmal bei einem Zusammenstoss mit ihm den Kürzeren gezogen. Wie V. Gelman-Rimalt sagt: manche verehrten ihn, manche hassten ihn restlos - wenige verstanden es, die rechte Mitte zu wahren. Gleichgültig war er niemandem - und ist es bis heute nicht. Vielleicht haben die seit unserer Schulzeit vergangenen Jahre die Extreme ein wenig abgeschliffen und ermöglichen eine unbefangene Beurteilung. Es ist, nach all dem vorhergegangenen, unmöglich im abschliessenden Rückblick die Schule und V. Kellner zu trennen. Zuerst der Mensch.

Er kam, wie seine Schwester Else Moldauer mitteilt, aus einem armen Hause. Während seiner Studienzeit in Prag schloss er sich der zionistischen Bewegung an und nach dem Studium unterrichtete er vier Jahre lang am neugegründeten Herzlygymnasium in Tel Aviv. Er war einer der ersten "Westjuden", die mit ihrer Gesinnung Ernst machten; mit ihm zusammen kam Hugo Bergmann, später der Bibliothekar der Jüdischen Nationalbibliothek und Professor an der hebräischen Universität.

Anscheinend aus persönlichen Gründen kehrte er im Juli 1914 nach Osterreich zurück. Er leistete Militärdienst und unterrichtete; nach der Auflösung der Monarchie wurde er als Direktor nach Wien berufen. Man muss sich einen Augenblick lang überlegen, was das für einen zweiunddreissig Jahre alten Mann bedeutete. Die Stellung eines Direktors einer Mittelschule war im allgemeinen das Ziel einer Lehrerkarriere und man hatte wenig Hoffnung es vor dem fünfzigsten Lebensjahr zu erreichen.

Dazu kam die aussergewöhnliche Aufgabe, die Schule von Grund auf zu erbauen, und etwas ganz Neues zu schaffen. Diese Aufgabe hatte er im wesentlichen im Jahre 1927 erfüllt: unter stetigen, aufreibenden Schwierigkeiten hatte er eine ausgezeichnete Schule aufgebaut und zum ersten Ziel geführt, nämlich zur Matura des ersten Jahrgangs, bei der zehn von 27 Schülern (122 hatten begonnen...) für "reif mit Auszeichnung" erklärt wurden - ein sehr gutes Ergebnis; drei versagten in einem Gegenstand, nur einer versagte vollkommen.



Normalerweise, d.h. als Nichtjude, hätte er nun eine neue Karriere als Inspektor oder hoher Beamter, oder auch an der Universität in der Lehrerausbildung anstreben können. Dieser Weg war vor ihm verschlossen. Im Alter von vierzig Jahren, wenn so viele erst ihr Originellstes und Bestes geben, stand er ohne grosse Aufgabe vor der Aussicht auf fünfundzwanzig Jahre repetitiver und daher zunehmend freudloser Tätigkeit, die seinen intellektuellen Ambitionen immer weniger genügen konnte, ihm aber keine Zeit zu schöpferischer Arbeit liess; einige Übersetzungen von Schriften Bialiks und A.D. Gordons bilden seine gesamte literarische Tätigkeit in Wien, wie er selbst in einem curriculum vitae aus dem Jahre 1966 angibt. Die Schule war sein Leben, aber sie beherrschte es, statt dass er sie beherrscht hätte.

Seine Lage wurde durch seine Verpflichtungen verschlimmert. Die ganze Last ruhte auf seinen Schultern, und alle Hilfe, die er bekam, änderte nichts an der Tatsache, dass er und nur er die Schule am Leben erhielt. Ist es ein Wunder, dass er, wie R. Glückselig feststellt, zusehends verbitterter wurde? Er rannte allein immer wieder gegen dieselben objektiven und subjektiven Hindernisse an. Seine schlimmen Eigenschaften werden zumeist im Zusammenhang mit seiner Jagd nach dem Schulgeld getadelt; aber er hatte nicht nur mit denen zu kämpfen, die einfach nicht zahlen konnten, und Armut war nie ein Grund für die Ablehnung der Einschreibung von neuen Schülern, wie O. Portheim gegen St. Klein ausdrücklich feststellt, sondern auch mit vielen, die nur ungerne und mit viel Verspätung zahlten.

Vor allem dieser unaufhörliche Kampf, den ihn niemand abnahm - am wenigsten die, für die er ihn führte und die oft über ihn die Nase rümpften - dieser Kampf brachte ihn an den Rand der Verzweiflung: es gab Jahre, wo wir nicht wussten, ob wir sie an der Schule beenden würden.

Er war an der Spitze, die er erreichen konnte, angelangt, aber "an der Spitze ist man einsam". "Er war immer der Herr Direktor" sagt M. Lampel. Er war auch einsam in seinem Leben und war sich wohl nicht voll bewusst, dass nicht nur seine Stellung dazu führte. "Er hatte einen etwas sarkastischen Humor"; L. Kaznelson spricht von seiner "nicht so diplomatischen Art mit Menschen und vor allem mit Berufsgenossen umzugehen".

Und nun zur Schule. Sie war ein voller Erfolg nach Chajes' Programm. Sie erzog bewusste, moderne Juden, sie vermittelte eine gediegene Bildung, sie war besser als andere Schulen. Aber, wie Lama Bauer meint, sie war wohl eine Enttäuschung für Chajes. Die, für die sie in erster Linie bestimmt war, die Wiener "westlichen" Juden, ignorierten sie. Die grosse Mehrheit der Schüler kam aus solchen Familien, die im Judentum verankert waren. Die Schule verhinderte, dass die schnelle Akkulturation zur innerlichen Assimilation wie bei der grossen Mehrheit der Westjuden wurde. Das war nicht wenig, aber

auch nicht genug. Es war wohl auch ein nicht unwichtiger Grund für V. Kellners Verbitterung und Vereinsamung.

Zwei Worte definieren das Werk Kellners und der Schule. I. Smotricz sagt, dass Kellner das Herzgymnasium, die angesehenste Schule in Eretz-Yisrael, mit allen seinen Werten nach Wien brachte: wir sangen dieselben Lieder wie in Tel Aviv. Das zweite ist das ausdrückliche oder unausgesprochene Grundmotiv aller Zeugnisse: wir waren zuhause. Um ein Wort von Hillel Hasaqué zu verwenden - das ist alles was zu sagen ist, alles andere ist Kommentar.

De mortuis nihil nisi bene - so und nicht nisi bonum muss dieser Satz lauten, wie ich von V. Kellner selbst gehört habe. Mit bonum würde er bedeuten, dass man über Tote nur Gutes sagen darf, aber kein Sterblicher ist vollkommen. Auch an einem Grabe soll man nicht lügen. Bene bedeutet, dass man wohlwollend sprechen soll: Zeige ihn wie er war, aber mit Liebe oder mit Achtung. "Niemand liebte ihn, niemandem war er sympathisch" schreibt J. Esheth viele Jahre später, aber auch seine Feinde waren gezwungen, ihn zu achten.

Der Erfolg der Schule war sein Erfolg, ihr teilweises Versagen ein Ergebnis der Zeitumstände, gegen die man wohl kämpfen, aber die man nicht ändern konnte.

Aber wenn alles für und wider gesagt ist, das viele Licht und der starke Schatten gezeigt sind, wenn man Kellners Vorzüge und Fehler möglichst gerecht abwägt und sie an seiner Aufgabe misst, dann wird man vielleicht sagen: nur eine solche Persönlichkeit konnte diese Aufgabe lösen, und nur der darf ihm seine Fehler vorhalten, der auch seine Vorzüge zu sehen bereit ist und es auf sich nimmt zu behaupten, er hätte dasselbe besser gemacht.

Zu seiner Zeit gab es keinen.

Diese seine Schule hat uns, die wir ihn erlebt haben, geprägt. Viele von uns haben ein Stück seines Geistes weitergegeben.

ER WAR DAS CHAJESREALGYMNASIUM.



Epilog

Am 11. März brach die braune Flut über Österreich herein und mit der Agonie der gesamten Judenheit begann auch die der Schule. Sie dauerte bis zum 7. Oktober 1939, als der "ehemalige Direktor" dem "Reichsgau" mitteilte, dass der Schulerhalter, der Verein Jüdisches Realgymnasium gelöscht wurde und die Gemeinde Wien den Mietvertrag für das Schulgebäude gekündigt hätte, so dass sich eine Weiterführung der Schule als nicht möglich erwies. Begraben wurde sie am 17. Oktober mit dem lapidaren Vermerk eines Beamten "Das Jüdische Realgymnasium hat mit Ende des Schuljahres 1938/9 zu bestehen aufgehört".

Dazwischen liegen fünfzehn Monate der Verzweiflung. Die Vertreibung der Juden aus den Staatsschulen begann sofort. Schon am 17. März bittet V. Kellner um die Erlaubnis, solche Schüler aufnehmen zu dürfen, die auch sofort gegeben wird; die Nazis hatten noch keine Zeit, die Schikanen in ein System zu bringen. Es dauerte nicht lange, bis sie soweit waren. Im Mai wurde die Schule gezwungen, viele "nichtarische" Schüler, auch getaufte Juden, aufzunehmen und die Schülerzahl wurde auf 469 beschränkt; im nächsten Jahre durften nur noch Vorzugsschüler und Kinder von Frontkämpfern aufgenommen werden, auch von den Schülern aus den Vorjahren.

Die Inspektionsberichte wurden unangenehm, obwohl sie noch im objektiven Ton gehalten sind. Im Frühjahr wurde der Schule das Öffentlichkeitsrecht entzogen; es wirkt direkt komisch, dass ein wesentlicher Grund dafür so wie auch gegen den Vorschlag einen gewissen Ersatz zu geben, die Befürchtung war, dass die Juden aus "allen Reichsgauen" ihre Kinder nach Wien schicken würden!

Die Wirklichkeit war anders. Die Schülerzahl sank unaufhörlich; jeden Tag wanderten Familien aus. Ebenso mussten unaufhörlich neue Lehrer angestellt werden. Damit war eine schlimme Schikane verbunden, denn es durften nur "Staatspensionisten", das hiess solche Lehrer angestellt werden, die von den öffentlichen Schulen entlassen worden waren. Wenn es keine gab, wie zum Beispiel für Mädchenturnen nach Grete Löwenfelds Auswanderung, so gab es eben keinen Lehrer.

In einem Artikel in den "Israel Nachrichten" erzählt Moshe Meisels von der letzten Maturafeier im Jahre 1938, als auf dem Schulgebäude Hakenkreuzfahnen wehten und SA-Leute Wache hielten. Viktor Kellners letzte Worte in der Abschiedsrede waren: "Ich weiss nicht, welche Zukunft Ihr vor Euch habt. Aber eines kann ich Euch mit Sicherheit sagen; Man wird länger Schma Yisrael als Heil Hitler sagen".

Sein Mut und sein Gottvertrauen sind bewundernswert.

Er verliess Wien im Dezember 1938 und nicht wie St. Klein behauptet "als Erster". An seine Stelle trat Dr. Emil Nohel (nicht Noah), dessen Sohn Yeshajahu mir freundlicherweise Auszüge aus seinen Briefen zur Verfügung gestellt hat. Er machte sich keine Illusionen; wiederholt gibt er der Hoffnung Ausdruck, dass die Schule bald infolge von Schülermangel gesperrt würde. Er wurde nach Theresienstadt deportiert. Alles das ging natürlich auf dem Hintergrund der Verfolgung und der beginnenden Ausrottung der Wiener Judenheit vor sich.

Es gelang V. Kellner seine Familie und sich selbst zu retten, aber die langen Jahre, die ihm in Eretz Yisrael noch vergönnt waren, müssen eine endlose geistige und seelische Agonie gewesen sein. Sein Leben im Lande war unglücklich, auch ohne seine unglücklichen Familienverhältnisse.

Die Eigenschaften, die ihn befähigt hatten, die Schule trotz aller Widerstände und Schwierigkeiten zu erhalten und auszubauen, passten schlecht zu den Verhältnissen im Lande. Was er in Wien geben konnte, der Geist von Eretz Yisrael, war das Alltägliche; seine Bildung und Hebräischkenntnisse waren aussergewöhnlich, aber er war einer von vielen; seine moralische Unbeugsamkeit wurde als "jekkische" Halsstarrigkeit empfunden. Vor allem fand er keinen Weg zur pädagogischen Wirklichkeit des Landes. In Wien wurzelte seine Autorität darin, dass er der Schule sein ganzes Leben gab sowie in seiner formalen Stellung; er konnte Anweisungen geben und erwarten, dass sie ausgeführt wurden.

Als er ins Land kam, strebte er eine Berufung an die Hebräische Universität an. Obwohl eine Gruppe von Freunden mit einflussreichen Stellungen an der Universität ihn unterstützten, wurde ihm, wohl mit Recht, Ernst Simon vorgezogen. Hier rächte sich an ihm die Aufopferung für die Schule. Seine schöpferischsten Jahre liessen keinerlei greifbaren Zeugnisse zurück; während andere durch ihre philosophischen und pädagogischen, oft sehr theoretischen Schriften bekannt wurden, war er unermüdlich tätig, aber die Nachwelt, die dem Mimen keine Kränze flicht, verweigert sie auch dem Lehrer, der keine Lehre, sondern nur dankbare Schüler hinterlässt.

So wandte er sich dem Gebiet zu, auf dem er in Wien sehr erfolgreich gewesen war - und versagte. Er wurde Leiter einiger Schulen und hielt sich an keiner. Es fehlte ihm an der vom Staat unterstützten formellen Autorität. Mittelschulen in Palästina waren fast nur Privatanstalten, die praktisch nur von den Eltern ihrer Schüler erhalten wurden. Der Status eines Direktors wie der seiner Lehrer war nicht sehr hoch und die Eltern übten oft Druck auf die Lehrer aus, um ihre Kinder zu fördern. Die Schule nahm auch in der stark politisierten Atmosphäre der Jahre 1938-1948 bei weitem nicht den Platz im Leben der Jugend ein, den sie in Wien gehabt hatte.



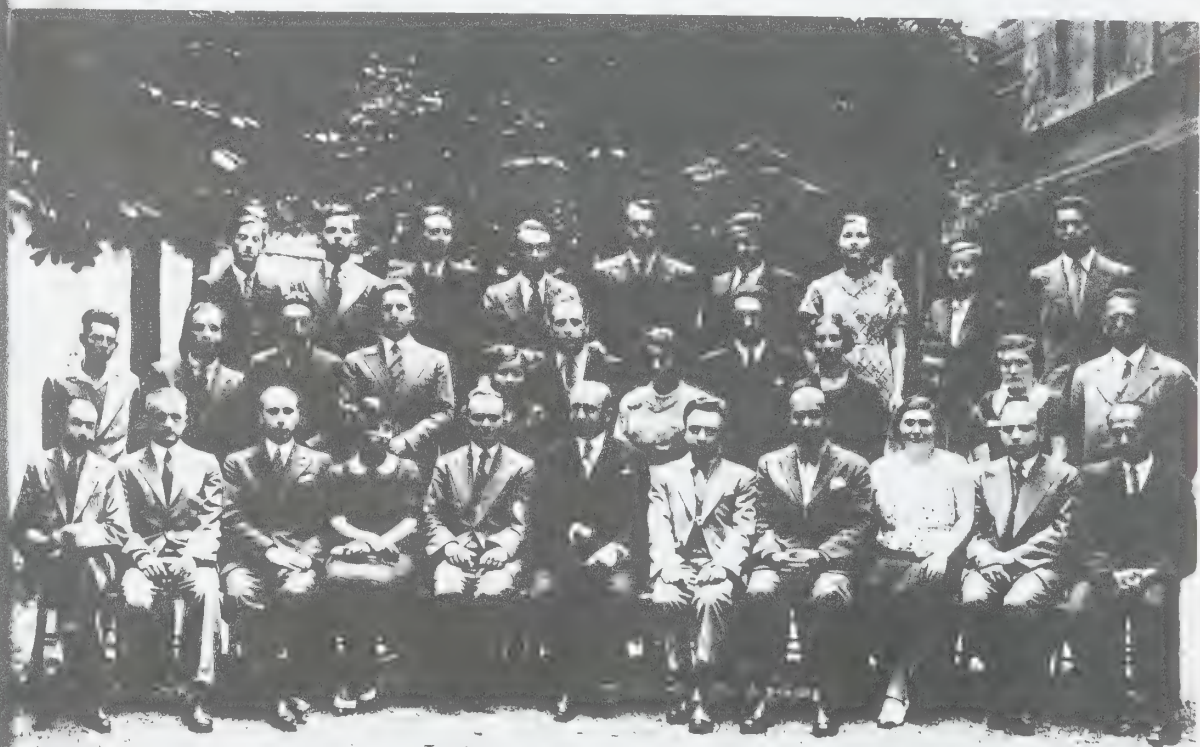
Die Jugendbewegungen, die "Haganah" und die anderen politischen und illegalen Gruppen waren wichtiger als die Schulen. Das widersprach Kellners Bildungsideal, aber auch L. Kaznelsons Bemerkung über den Mangel an Diplomatie im Umgang mit Berufskollegen ist aufschlussreich. Wie dem auch sei, er konnte sich nicht durchsetzen.

Seit etwa 1955 bekam er aus Österreich eine - wie er selbst sagte - hohe Pension und seine materiellen Sorgen waren vorbei. Aber die geistige und seelische Leere blieb.

Wie L. Kaznelson in ihrem Nachruf abschliessend sagt: "Er hatte viele, aber mehr oder weniger oberflächliche freundschaftliche Beziehungen und lebte in Tel Aviv ein im Grunde einsames Leben."

In seinen letzten Jahren kümmerte sich Noemi Taubes-Gerschuni um den einsamen und verbitterten Mann. Sie half ihm, eine Sammlung seiner Aufsätze zu veröffentlichen, die sein Schwiegersohn Zerubavel Gilead herausgab. Seine letzten zwei Jahre verbrachte er, schon schwer krank, im Hause seines Schwiegersohns in Ein-Charod. "Dank dessen sorgender Treue... gehörten diese seine letzten Lebensmonate im Kreise seiner Enkel und Urenkel vielleicht zu den friedlichsten und glücklichsten seines Lebens".

Er starb am 24. Tag im Monat Ellul 5730, den 25. September 1970 und ruht in Ein-Charod, neben seiner Tochter.



A N H A N G

I Dokumentation

Wie schon bemerkt, ist die Dokumentation für diese Monographie lückenhaft, ganz abgesehen vom unwiederbringlichen Verlust des Schularchivs. Dem Charakter der Arbeit entsprechend, habe ich auf einen wissenschaftlichen Apparat verzichtet, aber ich betone, dass jede tatsächliche Aussage durch irgendeinen Beleg gestützt ist, auch wenn die Quellen nur allgemein angegeben werden. Übernommene Beurteilungen sind immer ihrer Quelle zugeschrieben; meine eigenen Erinnerungen sind fast immer nur herbeigezogen, wenn sie zumindest teilweise durch eine andere Quelle bestätigt werden. Im übrigen bin für die Schlussfolgerungen, Interpretationen, Beurteilungen und vor allem für die Fehler und Irrtümer nur ich verantwortlich.

A Schriftliche Quellen

1 Dokumente aus Archiven

Akt "Chajesrealgymnasium" des Bundesministeriums für Unterricht, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv Wien, mit Dank an dessen Beamten Schiedl und Buchta.

Einige Dokumente aus dem Archiv des Stadtschulrats für Wien, mit Dank an Oberrat Dr. O. Schneider.

Einige Dokumente aus dem Archiv der Israelitischen Kultusgemeinde in Wien, im Zentralarchiv für die Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes, Jerusalem.

Faszikel Chajes im Zionistischen Zentralarchiv, Jerusalem.

2 Veröffentlichungen

M. Rosenfeld (Herausg.): H.P. Chajes, Reden und Vorträge, Wien 1933, hierin: Rede vom 8. März 1920, S. 276-283

Stella Klein-Löw, Erinnerungen, Verl. Jugend und Volk, Wien-München 1980, S.103-117

Jacob Lind, Counting my Steps, London 1969, p.42-48

3 Schriftliche Mitteilungen

a - Lehrer

Anna Adler-Feuerlicht

Samuel Gabe (aus dem Nachlass durch E. Weissbrot)

Stella Klein-Löw

Grete Löwenfeld

Edgar und Helene Richard (E. Rabinowitsch und H. Ornstein)

Maria Rosler-Gitter

b - Schüler

Netti Blech (durch Herbert Rosenkranz)

Dan Karmel

Abraham Karpel-Karmel

Gideon Messer

Klara Reiss-Werner

Simon Schwarz



Uri Spielvogel  
Jehudith Stricker-Esheth  
Eleasar Weissbrot  
c - Andere  
Else Moldauer (Schwester V. Kellners)  
Yeshajahu Nohel (Auszüge aus Briefen seines Vaters Dr. Emil Nohel)  
Olly Portheim-Norton  
Leopoldine Tumkowitsch (Tochter des Schulwarts)

B Mündliche Mitteilungen

(auf Tonband, ausser wenn mit \* bezeichnet; L - Lehrer)

Lama Bauer (Schulamit Landau)

Elischewa Becker-Ilan

Gideon Blauer

Vilma Gelman-Rimalt

Richard Glückselig

Bernhard Inslicht

Michael Kellner\*

Stella Klein-Löw (L)

Max Lampel (L)

Bertha Moritz

Melanie Schwarzwald-Bichler

Israel Smotricz

Milo Sperber \*

Sophie Wachstein (L)

Ruth Weisz

Juda Weissbrot (Brott)

Lily Welt-Adler

Julius Zellermeier

Bei Doppelnamen ist der erste der frühere.

C Verschiedenes

Stammbaum der Familie Kellner (mit Dank an M. Kellner)

Curriculum vitae, Studien- und andere Zeugnisse V. Kellners, Briefe an ihn und von ihm, (mit Dank an Z. Gilead und die Familie)

Lise Kaznelson, Gedenkrede (Vereinigung ehemaliger Mitglieder von Bar Kochba-Theodor Herzl, interne Veröffentl., Chanukka 1970)

Von den oben angeführten sind leider einige nicht mehr am Leben. Da ich keine genauen Angaben besitze, habe ich auf entsprechende Bemerkungen verzichtet und bitte dafür um Verzeihung.

## II Die Lehrer

Die Liste ist aus verschiedenen schriftlichen und mündlichen Quellen zusammengestellt und enthält wohl alle Lehrer und Lehrerinnen, die wenigstens einige Jahre tätig waren. Die meisten sind leider nicht mehr unter uns; siehe Anmerkung zur Quellenliste. Die Liste der Abkürzungen siehe am Ende; auch hier sind Erinnerungsfehler möglich. Ebenso sind Irrtümer bei den akademischen Titeln und den Angaben über die Unterrichtsgegenstände möglich. Zu Doppelnamen siehe Anmerkung zur Quellenliste. In einigen Fällen schwankt auch in den Originalen die Schreibung der Namen.

- Dr. Viktor Kellner (Direktor, D L Ph, auch H)
- Dr. Anna Adler-Feuerlicht (L E)
- Paula Arnold (E)
- Dr. Bunem Aschkenazy (Ch M)
- Gedalje Berger (L)
- Meir Chartiner (He)
- Dr. Bruno Epstein (L)
- Helene Fasbender (E)
- Dr. Ignaz Feuerlicht (E)
- Dr. Samuel Gabe (L D)
- Jona Gelernter (He)
- Dr. Anna Graf (D E)
- Dr. Ferdinand Grosser (E St)
- Dr. Osias Gruder (M)
- Ernst Gutmann (M)
- Dr. Hans Hauser (E)
- Dr. Martha Hofmann (L D)
- Dr. Schlomo Horowitz (He)
- Helene Jacoby (Ng)
- Dr. Susanne Kann (Ng)
- Israel Kestenbaum (He)
- Dr. Benjamin Klar (He)
- Dr. Stella Klein Löw (L D)
- Josef Kofler (H G)
- Kulka (St Handfertigkeit)
- Dr. Berthold Löwenfeld (Gesang)
- Grete Löwenfeld (Turnen)
- Viktor Löwenfeld (Kunst, Zeichnen)
- Ing. Edgar Rabinowitsch-Richard (M)
- Dr. Helene Ornstein-Richard (D)
- Dr. Helene Rakovsky (Physik)
- Julius Reiss (Turnen)
- Dr. Maria Rosler-Gitter (H G)
- Dr. Heinrich Schaller (Physik)
- Dr. Ernst Schidlof (D L Turnen)
- Dora Singer (Ng M)
- Erwin Singer (Zeichnen)
- Dr. Nadja Stein (D)



Dr. Sophie Wachstein (E)  
Schloma Weich (M)  
Dr. Hersch Weinstein (He)  
Ernst Witrofski (M)

Abkürzungen: Ch-Chemie, D-Deutsch, E-Englisch, G-Geographie,  
H-Geschichte, He-Hebräisch und Religion, L-Latein, M-Mathematik,  
Ng-Naturgeschichte, Ph-Philosophie, St-Stenographie.

R. Hassfurter (E) verliess nach dem Anschluss eine Maturaklasse sechs  
Wochen vor der Prüfung; Karl Weichhahn, langjähriger Turnlehrer,  
entpuppte sich als illegaler SS-Mann, benahm sich jedoch während  
seiner ganzen Dienstzeit, auch nach dem Anschluss, vollkommen  
korrekt.



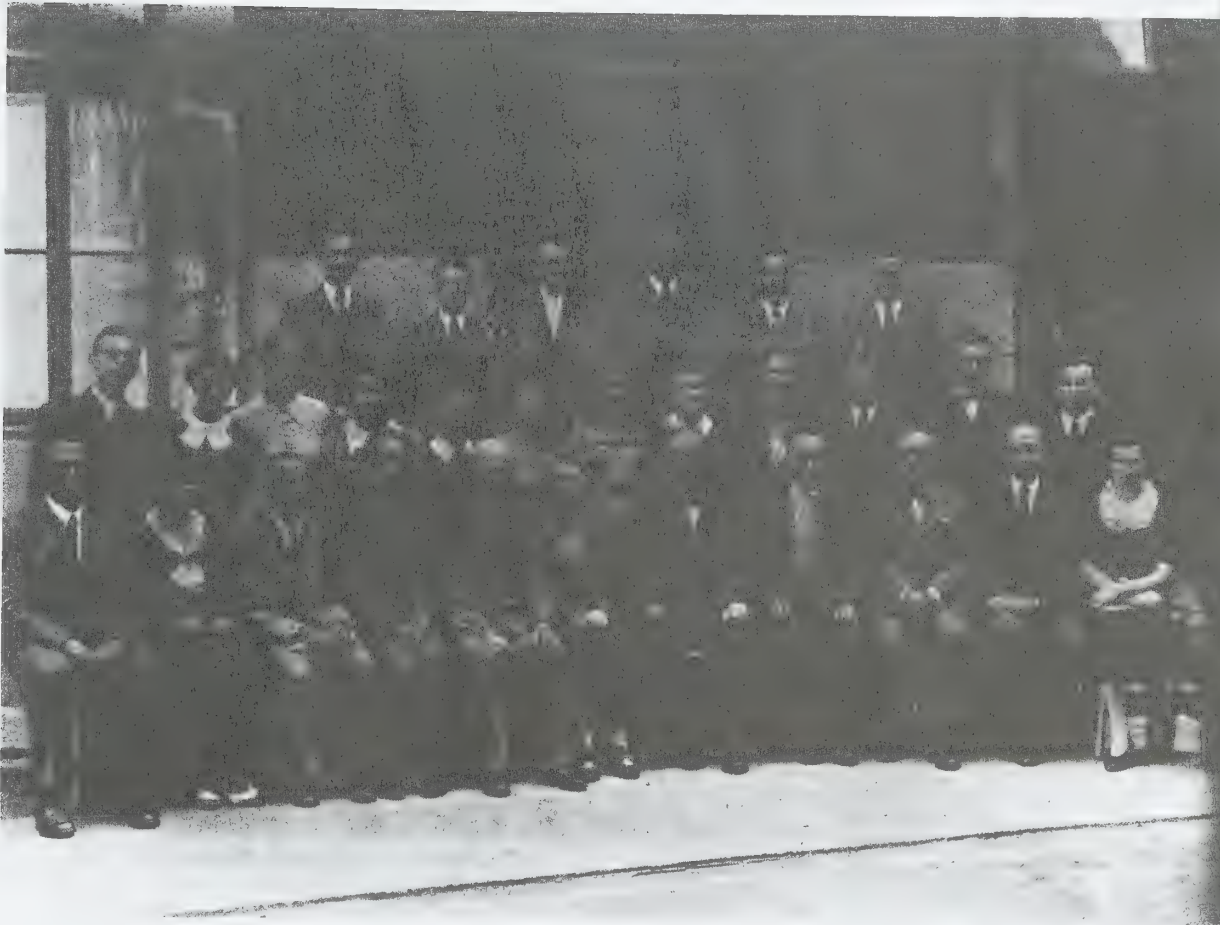
III Administration

Sekretärin: Eva Retter, 1919 - 1927

Olly Portheim (Norton) 1927 -1938

Schularzt: Dr. Isidor Klaber bis 1938

Schulwarte: ("Schuldiener") Bokshorn, Tumkowitsch





IV Ein Brief

Im Jahre 1957 zu Succoth fand zu Ehren von Kellners 70. Geburtstag in Tel Aviv eine Reunion ehemaliger Lehrer und Schüler statt. Als Antwort auf die Einladung dazu schickte S. Gabe an E. Weissbrot, (dem ich für die freundliche Überlassung des Briefes dankbar bin), ein Schreiben, aus dem die folgenden Auszüge stammen.

Caracas, 20.IX.57

"...Ich begrüße diese Idee aufs herzlichste, da dadurch eine Anstalt der Vergessenheit entrissen wird, die durch viele Jahre unter der über alles Lob erhabenen Leitung des Dr. Viktor Kellner und der aufopferungsvollen Mitarbeit einer Anzahl von ihrer heiligen Pflicht durchdrungener Lehrer für die geistige, seelische und charakterliche Erziehung eines Teils der jüdischen Jugend Unschätzbares geleistet hat.

...Mein Gruss gilt vor allem dem Dr. Kellner, der Unvergängliches und Unvergessenes geleistet hat..."

(Dem Brief lag ein besonderes Schreiben an V. Kellner bei).

Dieses Dokument kam in meine Hände erst nach Abschluss der Arbeit; sein besonderes Interesse liegt darin, dass Gabe für St. Klein eine Art Kronzeuge ist.

V Viktor Kellner und Karl Kraus

Nach Abschluss der Arbeit fand ich den Nachruf Kellners auf Karl Kraus (der am 12. Juni 1936 starb), den er als Antwort auf eine, nach seinen Worten am Anfang des Artikels, "ungerechte Charakterisierung des grossen Toten" durch einen seinerzeit bekannten zionistischen Schriftsteller (in derselben Zeitschrift) veröffentlichte.

Der (gekürzte) Abdruck ist nicht zur "Rehabilitierung" von Karl Kraus bestimmt, sondern zum besseren Verständnis von Kellners Bemühen, mit dem Problem fertig zu werden. Vielleicht ermöglicht der Nachruf eine teilweise Lösung.

Quellen:

Selbstwehr (Wochenblatt) Prag, 1936 Nr 28 (in der National-und Universitätsbibliothek, Jerusalem

Michael Horowitz (Herausg.), Karl Kraus und seine Nachwelt, Verl. Christian Brandstätter, Wien-München, 1986 (ebenfalls gekürzt)

KARL KRAUS

...Was bedeutet uns nationalen Juden die Gestalt des grossen Satirikers? Es soll vorweg betont werden, dass Kraus aus dem Judentum ausgetreten ist und dass er die Juden immer wieder in feindseliger Weise angegriffen und bekämpft hat. Auch Theodor Herzl hat persönlich und als Zionist von ihm heftigste Anfeindung erfahren. Und doch ist es nicht zulässig, Kraus so ohne weiteres als Renegaten anzusehen. Das Problem, das hier gegeben ist, reicht in die tiefsten Schichten jüdischen Wesens und Schicksals. Es ist jenes Problem, das uns in der Persönlichkeit und im Wirken von Spinoza und Marx, von Mahler und Trotzki und von vielen anderen schöpferischen Menschen gegenübertritt,

die ihr Judentum preisgegeben haben, um die reichen Kräfte ihres Geistes der Umwelt zu weihen. Kraus hat seinen jüdischen Ursprung niemals verleugnet; er war sich seiner, wie aus vielen Stellen seiner Schriften hervorgeht, durchaus bewusst und, wenngleich er einmal davon spricht, dass der Geburtsschein im Geniefall der trügerischste aller Scheine sei, so zitiert er doch immer wieder Stimmen von Kritikern, die in ihm den Juden, ja den Urjuden erblicken. Charakteristisch ist in diesem Zusammenhang eine Stelle in "Pro domo et mundo": "Der jüdische Nationalismus ... sei wie jeder Rückschritt willkommen, der aus einer pseudonymen Kultur dorthin zurückführt, wo ihr Inhalt wieder wert ist, ein Problem zu sein". Dieses jüdische Bewusstsein scheint sich in den letzten Jahren bei ihm verstärkt zu haben; doch war es wohl der Überzeugung, über das Jüdische in sich hinausgewachsen zu sein, wie er auch seine künstlerische und sittliche Mission nicht innerhalb des Judentums erfüllte.

...Es wäre verkehrt und anmassend, einem genialen Menschen, wie Kraus es zweifellos gewesen ist, vorzuschreiben, dass er sich als Jude zu betätigen habe. Das würde der besonderen Art seiner Geistigkeit ebenso widersprechen wie seinem gewaltigen Ethos, das in voller Ungebundenheit und Unabhängigkeit der ganzen Welt wertend und richtend gegenübertrat - und von dieser Welt war das Judentum nur ein Teil. Hier ist die Grösse Kraus' und seine Tragik: er musste am Ende seines Lebens sehen, wie die Welt, auf die er wirken wollte, zusammenbrach und schliesslich nur ein Häuflein jüdischer Menschen übrig blieb von all den Vielen, zu denen er gesprochen und deren geistiges Wesen er mitgestaltet hatte.

...Kraus hat das empirische Judentum mitsamt der Fülle seiner Verfallserscheinungen immer von neuem attackiert mit einer so unerhörten Vehemenz, dass der jüdische Selbsthass, den man ihm vorwirft, nur als pervertierte Liebe zu den tiefen und reinen Quellen seiner jüdischen Wesenheit gedeutet werden kann, zu dem hohen Menschentum, das er in sich trug und dem er lebend und schaffend Gestalt verlieh.

...Der beste Teil der jüdischen Jugend - und Jugend hat ein feines Gefühl für echten Wert - hat Karl Kraus geliebt und verehrt als Lehrer und Führer zu wahren Menschen- und Künstlertum. Die Einheit und Geschlossenheit seines alioffenen Wesens, seine Unbedingtheit, die Wesentliches niemals preisgab, zog sie unwiderstehlich an; er weckte und löste ihre besten Kräfte. Sie empfand ihn mit Recht als einen Nachfahren der alten Propheten, der fluchte, weil er glaubte, der zürnte, weil er liebte. Sie fühlte in ihm das uralte jüdische Erbe, die tiefe Diesseitigkeit, die der Welt nicht ausweicht, sondern sich ihr immer von neuem zu unerbittlichem Kampfe stellt, die den Alltag heiligt, die die sprödeste Materie durchdringt und vergeistigt. Dass er die jüdische Wirklichkeit unerbittlich und ohne Erbarmen angriff, war für uns oft sehr schmerzlich, zumal er im Wesentlichen immer recht hatte; aber indem wir unsere eigenen Fehler hassen lernten, gewannen wir ein reicheres und schöneres Bild von dem Judentum, das zu verwirklichen wir uns berufen fühlten.

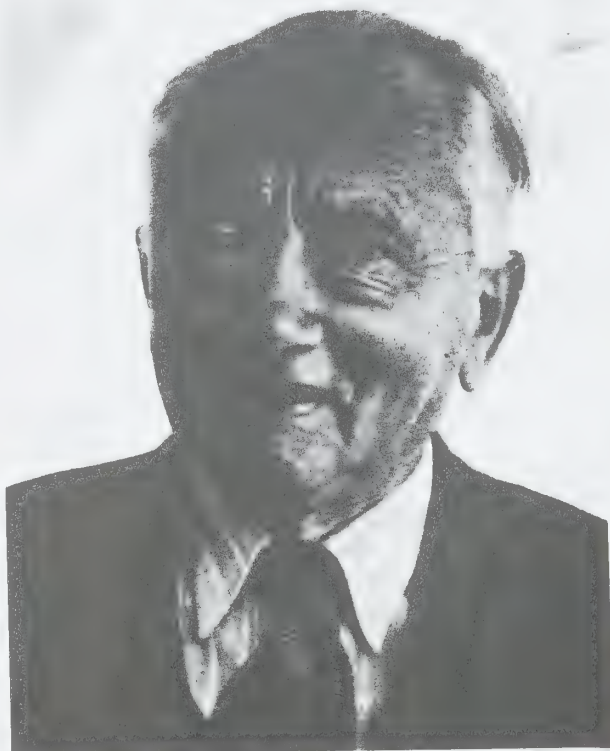


...Wir sind durch Kraus, den übernationalen Geist, nationaler geworden in einem tieferen, menschheitlicheren Sinne.

...So hat Kraus etwa die Grausamkeit fühlloser Justiz, die Schauer und das Grauen des Krieges zutiefst gefühlt wie kaum ein anderer Zeitgenosse; sein unbeirrbarer, auf das Wesen der Dinge gerichteter Blick, sein unbestechliches Wert- und Rechtsgefühl hat ihn mit unbarmherziger Schärfe alle Torheiten und Gemeinheiten schauen lassen, die das stumpfe Auge seiner Mitlebenden nicht zu sehen vermochte. Dass er unter dem Übermass dieses Leids der Welt nicht zusammenbrach, sondern es in Werken höchster Kunst für Mit- und Nachwelt zu formen vermochte, gehört zu den grossen Wundern unserer Zeit, die in all ihrem tiefen Verfall doch solche gewaltige Gegenkraft zu zeugen vermochte.

...Auch im sprachlichen Element offenbart sich Kraus' jüdisches Urwesen. So ist etwa die paradoxe Verbindung von Pathos und Witz, von Leidenschaft und Klarheit immer ein Merkmal der höchsten jüdischen Typen gewesen...  
Prag 1936

Viktor Kellner.



## TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

Since the appearance of this brochure in its original German version, the author and his three closest collaborators mentioned in the preface concluded that the language barrier might make it inaccessible to most of the children and grandchildren of former students at the Chajesrealgymnasium. At their suggestion I have translated it into English. Since it was also felt that the younger generations would have difficulty relating to some of the details in the original version and find them superfluous to the general intent of the monograph, which is to memorialize the school and its accomplishments, some editing was done accordingly.

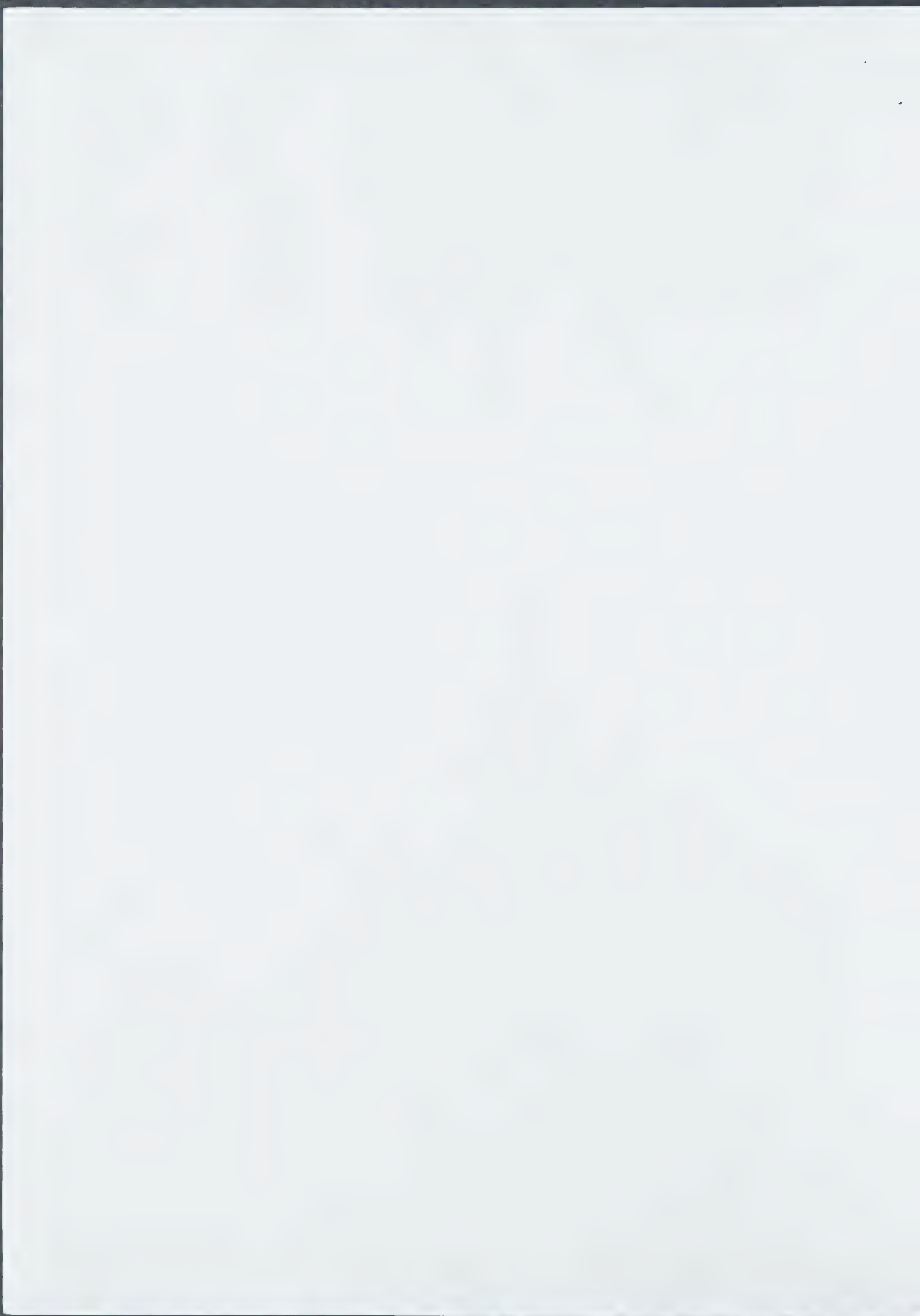
Now that Vienna has once again become home to a population of about 12,000 Jews the old school has risen, like the phoenix from its ashes, first as a primary school and then as the Zwi Peres Chajes Schule. The year 1992 saw the first group of its students complete their 8 years of study with the first graduation ceremony held since that memorable one in 1938, mentioned in the epilogue. The government of the second Austrian republic has demonstrated its good will by contributing materially to the restoration and refurbishing of the original school building and two memorial plaques have been affixed in memory of the original Chajesrealgymnasium and of Dr. Viktor Kellner, its director. The difference between the old and new schools is striking and yet there may be more differences than meet the eye. The first school attempted to imbue its students with Jewish culture and the ideals of Zionism but refrained from strictly religious observances and indoctrination, which were felt to be the responsibility of the students' families. The revived Chajes Schule starts the day with morning prayers\* and relates to the ideals of Zionism in a low key. Perhaps that is understandable. The teaching staff of the original school was Jewish, with a few notable exceptions. The teaching staff of the new school is Christian, with a few notable exceptions. In 1938 political Zionism was an ideal to be fulfilled, in 1992 fulfillment was already 44 years old and had become a little tarnished, as is the nature of ideals that become reality. Just as one has to be of one's time, so a school has to be of its time and serve the present needs of its students and their families. Let us hope that the Zwi Perez Chajes Schule will do that as well as its illustrious predecessor. It may even come closer to the vision of Dr. Zwi Perez Chajes, its founder, who was after all the Chief Rabbi of Vienna and a famous scholar whose name graces current editions of Midrash Raba (Talmudic commentaries). There is one condition that the old and the new school seem to share: German, the language of instruction, is not the language spoken at home by the vast majority of the students' families. Whatever one's opinion of a revival of the Jewish community in Vienna, its children deserve a good education. They will get it if the reestablished school will live up to the standards of the first one.

Seattle, April 1992

Albert A. Feldmann

\* This was mentioned during a lecture in April of 1991 at the Diaspora Museum in Tel-Aviv by Dr. Jakob Allerhand of the University of Vienna who is also on the staff of the new school.

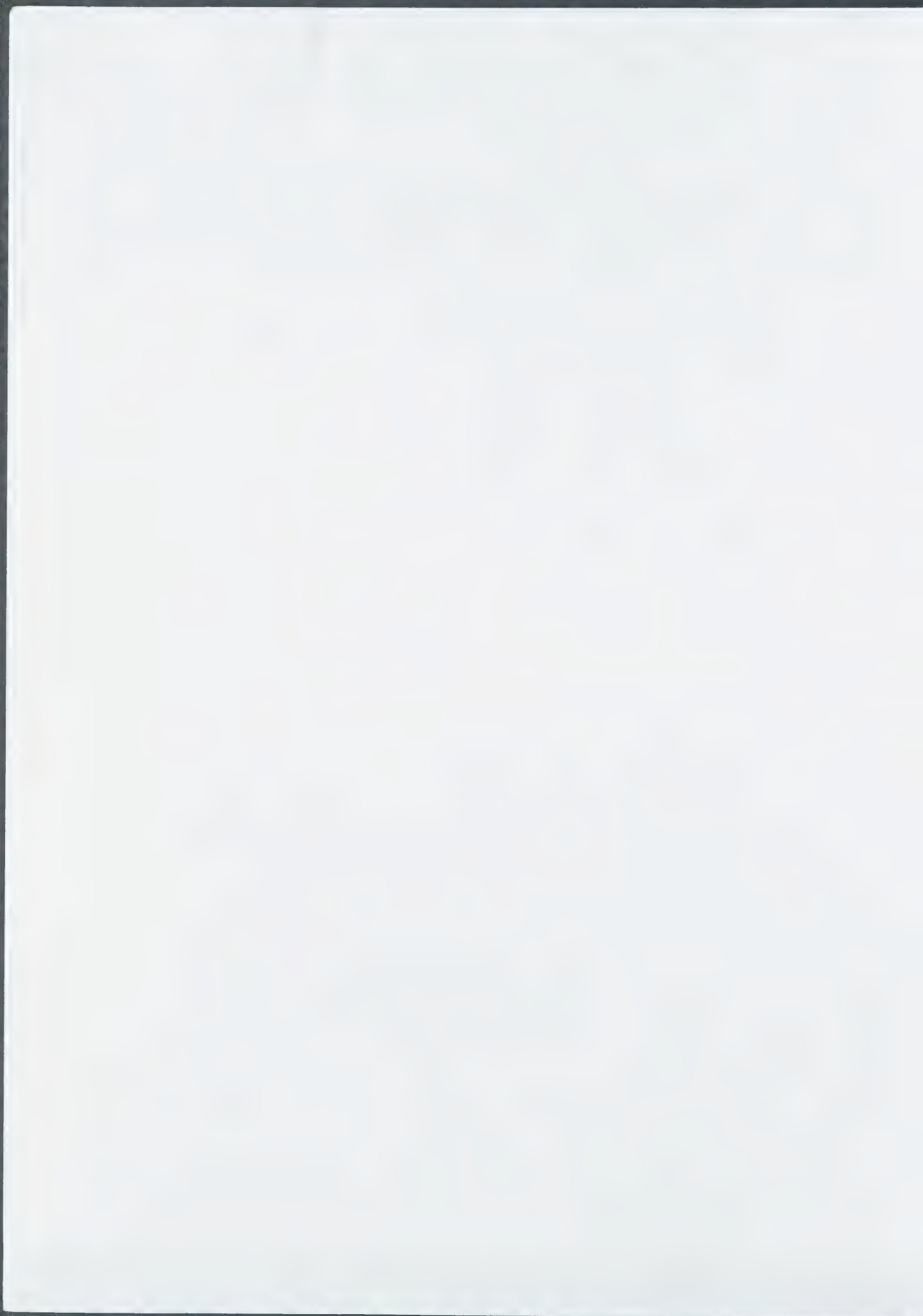




**ZWI PEREZ**  
**CHAJES SCHULE**

**WIEN**





# ZWI PEREZ CHAJES SCHULE WIEN

GESTERN – HEUTE – MORGEN

## ...UND SOLLST ES DEINEM KINDE SAGEN...

Das Judentum legt großen Wert auf Erziehung. Die Wichtigkeit der erzieherischen Rolle bedeutet aber nicht nur Bildung im formalen Sinn, sondern ebenso die Vorbereitung des Kindes auf das Leben.

Die Zwi Perez Chajes Schule hat als Institution der Israelitischen Kultusgemeinde einen besonderen, bewußt jüdischen Charakter. Dieser ist durch bestimmte religiöse Verhaltensregeln und spezielle Organisationsformen gekennzeichnet, wie z.B. das Tragen von Kippot durch Knaben während des gesamten Unterrichts, die Verabreichung koscheren Essens – und die Abhaltung des Morgengebets an der Schule

Der Talmud empfiehlt täglich eine feste Zeit für das Torahlernen zu reservieren. Bereits am Beginn des Morgengebets werden viele wichtige Mizwot aufgezählt.

Am Ende dieser Aufzählung heißt es aber: „...und Talmud Torah, das Studium, ist so wie alle Mizwot zusammen“.

Hierbei stellt sich auch die Frage, ob Männer und Frauen gleichermaßen Torah lernen sollen.

Es steht bei diesen Dingen aber nicht zur Debatte, daß Frauen über Feiertage, Kaschrut, Gebete, den Wochenabschnitt und die Prophetenlesung und viele andere Dinge Bescheid wissen müssen – daher darf, ja muß auch von Frauen gelernt werden. Einer der größten Torah-Autoritäten unseres Jahrhunderts, Chafez Chaim, hat sich sehr dafür eingesetzt, daß auch Frauen – die ja heute eine den Männern gleichwertige Allgemeinbildung erhalten – auch Torah studieren dürfen, ja sollen.

Jüdische Eltern sollen möglichst viel jüdisches Wissen an ihre Kinder vermitteln

Im Midrasch Sifre heißt es, daß es die Pflicht des Vaters ist, seinen Kindern Hebräisch beizubringen. Da zu der Zeit dieses Midrasch die Umgangssprache Aramäisch und nicht Hebräisch war, kann man daraus entnehmen, daß die hebräische Sprache ein integraler Teil der Erziehung ist, auch wenn sie nicht die Landessprache ist.

Wir müssen heute vielleicht mehr denn je unsere Kinder zu bewußt jüdisch denkenden und handelnden Menschen erziehen und ihr jüdisches Verantwortungsgefühl fördern. Denn es ist heute eine universal anerkannte Tatsache, daß jüdische Erziehung nicht nur für den Fortbestand des jüdischen Erbes entscheidend ist, sondern die Zukunft der jüdischen Gemeinden sichert

OBERRABBINER  
PAUL CHAIM EISENBERG

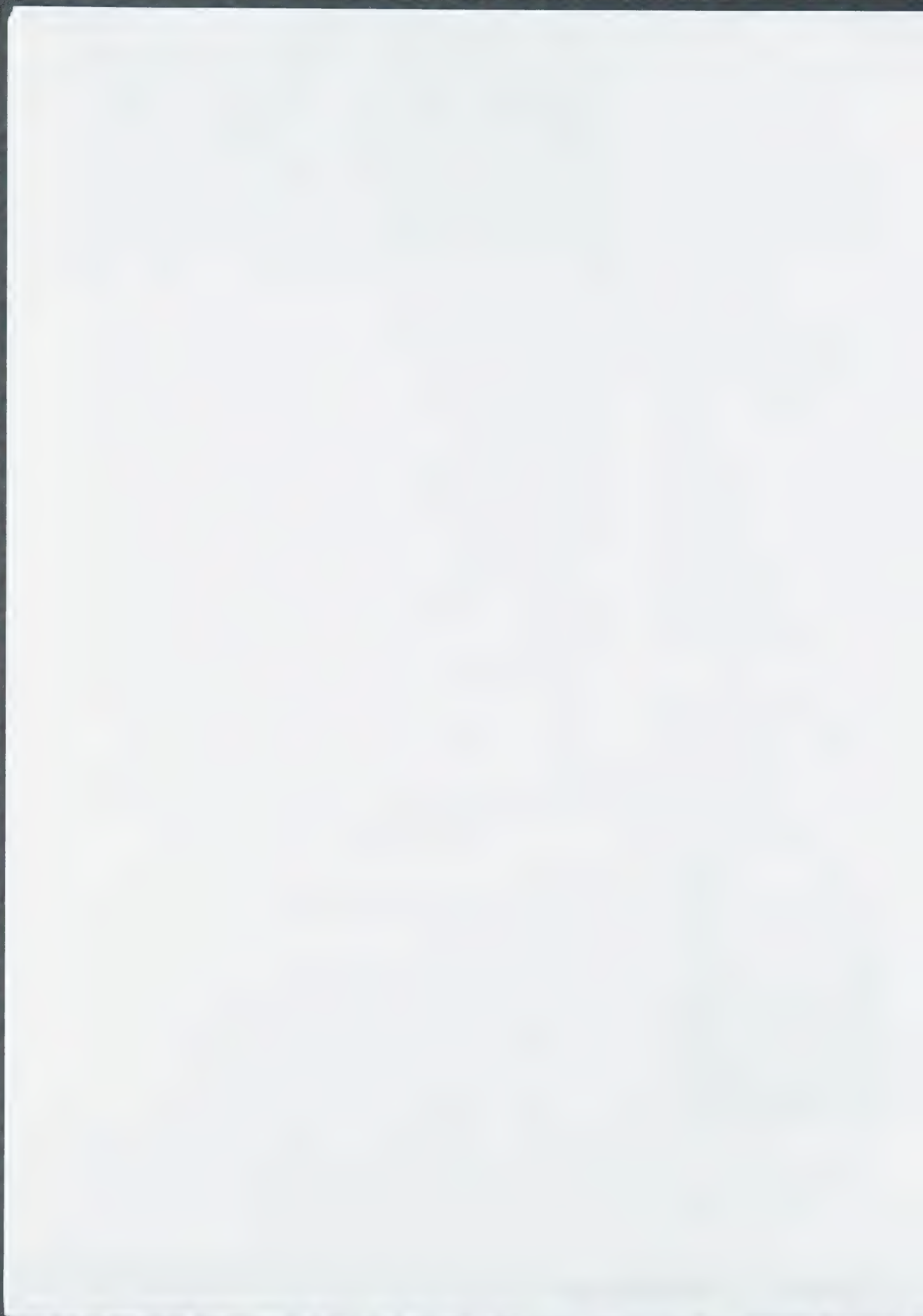


Oberrabbiner Zwi Perez Chajes  
1876-1927

- |           |   |
|-----------|---|
| 1876      | Zwi Perez Chajes wird in Brody (Ostgalizien) als Enkel eines Rabbiners der einer der Pioniere der modernen jüdischen Wissenschaft war, geboren Studium in Wien    |
| 1901      | Sekretär am Orientalischen Institut in Wien   |
| 1902      | Professor für Geschichte und Bibel am „Collegio Rabbinico“ in Florenz   |
| 1912-1918 | Rabbiner in Triest.<br>In Italien schrieb Zwi Perez Chajes die meisten seiner wissenschaftlichen Arbeiten und gründete die Zeitschrift „Il Messagero Israelitico“ |
| 1918      | Oberrabbiner von Wien. Wien war damals die zweitgrößte jüdische Gemeinde in Europa  |

Schon bei seiner ersten Rede in Wien betonte Zwi Perez Chajes seinen Glauben an den Zionismus, als begabter Redner und charismatische Persönlichkeit beeindruckte er seine Gemeinde. Obwohl er manche reiche, assimilierte und orthodoxe Juden mit seinen zionistischen Anschauungen verärgerte, wurde er zum unbestrittenen geistigen Führer der österreichischen Juden und übte als begabter Pädagoge einen bedeutenden Einfluß auf die Jugend aus. Er gründete mehrere Schulen, so auch die jüdische Mittelschule in der Castellezgasse, die nach seinem Tod im Jahre 1927 nach ihm benannt wurde





# DIE JÜDISCHE SCHULE UND DIE SÄKULARE WELT

*Es bedarf nicht immer runder Jubiläen oder anderer äußerer Anlässe, um Gedanken zu wälzen und Überlegungen anzustellen, die einer so wichtigen Einrichtung gelten, wie sie die Zwi Perez Chajes Schule für unsere Gemeinde darstellt.....*

Als vor rund 14 Jahren mit der Eröffnung der ersten zwei Klassen der jüdischen Volksschule in der Seitentetengasse der erste und damit der wohl wichtigste Schritt in der Entwicklung eines umfassenden jüdischen Schulsystems gesetzt worden ist, war den Betreibern, den Verantwortlichen klar, daß damit ein ebenso risikoreicher wie erfolgsträchtiger Weg besritten worden ist, der die Zukunft unserer jüdischen Gemeinde mittel- und langfristg entscheidend beeinflussen würde.

## Bestenfalls ein Experiment

Risikoreich, weil nicht feststand, ob die jüdische Bevölkerung diese Entwicklung anzunehmen bereit war oder mindestens in der Kürze der zu Verfügung stehenden Zeit überzeugt werden kann, ihre Kinder einer Schule anzuvertrauen, die zum Zeitpunkt bestenfalls ein Experiment darstellte. Einer Schulleitung und einer Lehrerschaft, die teils im jüdischen, teils im schulischen und teils in beidem nicht genügend Erfahrung hatten, um das Vertrauen der Eltern ohne weiteres zu erringen. Einer Schule darüber hinaus, die nicht sicherstellen konnte, daß sie das folgende Schuljahr noch existieren würde

*„Wir müssen unsere Seele kennen, die Kräfte, die seit Jahrtausenden in uns leben. Das können wir nur dann erreichen, wenn wir unsere Kinder in einem jüdischen Milieu harmonisch zu Juden heranbilden; wenn sie wissen, was es heißt, Jude zu sein, und warum man es sein muß. Daß sie wissen, warum es sich lohnt zu kämpfen, warum es sich lohnt zu leiden.“*

Zwi Perez Chajes

Damals waren es nur wenige Familien, die das volle Risiko auf sich genommen haben, indem sie nicht nur ihre Kinder dieser Schule anvertrauten, sondern auch alle ihnen zu Gebote stehenden Mittel eingesetzt haben, Mittel finanzieller Art, als auch jede ihnen mögliche Art der Einflußnahme – um die Errichtung einer solchen Schule zu sichern.

## Die Wirkung jüdischer Erziehungsarbeit

Der Erfolg dieser frühen Bemühungen kann heute abgelesen werden, daß, wann immer die Rede darauf kommt, wer was dazu beigetragen hat, ein Streit darüber ausbricht, wer mehr dazu getan hat. Der Erfolg hat viele Väter.

Erfolgsträchtig auch, weil die Zukunft unserer Gemeinde, wie schon oben erwähnt, in nicht geringem Maße von unserer Fähigkeit abhängt, der heranwachsenden jüdischen Jugend nicht nur die Möglichkeit einer umfänglichen jüdischen Erziehung im Rahmen einer weltlichen Schule anzubieten, sondern es auch gilt, ihr jüdisches Selbstbewußtsein und Selbstverständnis im schulischen Gruppenerlebnis zu entwickeln und zu stärken. Galt und gilt es doch, uns darauf zu konzentrieren, das Judesein dieser Jugend zum Judebleiben zu fördern und zu sichern. Für die Erhaltung und die Zukunft der Gemeinde war die Wirkung jüdischer Erziehungsarbeit nur mit der Zuwanderung seit 1945 bis in die 60er-Jahre hinein vergleichbar, in ihrer Langzeitwirkung aber unvergleichlich wichtiger.

Während die Zuwanderung mit einer 10 - 20jährigen Zeitverschiebung der jüdischen Gemeinde entscheidende Impulse für den Wiederaufbau nach der Schoah verlieh, die schließlich in einer erfolgreichen Integration dieser Menschen in ihre Gemeinde mündete, und so das physische Überleben einer dezimierten jüdischen Gemeinde sicherte, hat das erfolgreiche jüdische Erziehungswesen – dessen einer und wahrscheinlich wichtigster Zweig die



*Eine der letzten Schulnachrichten der Volksschule der Israelitischen Kultusgemeinde an dem Schuljahr 1938/39*

Zwi Perez Chajes Schule ist – in den letzten 14 Jahren den entscheidendsten Beitrag für die Erhaltung und Entwicklung der jüdischen Gemeinde in einer säkularen Welt geleistet

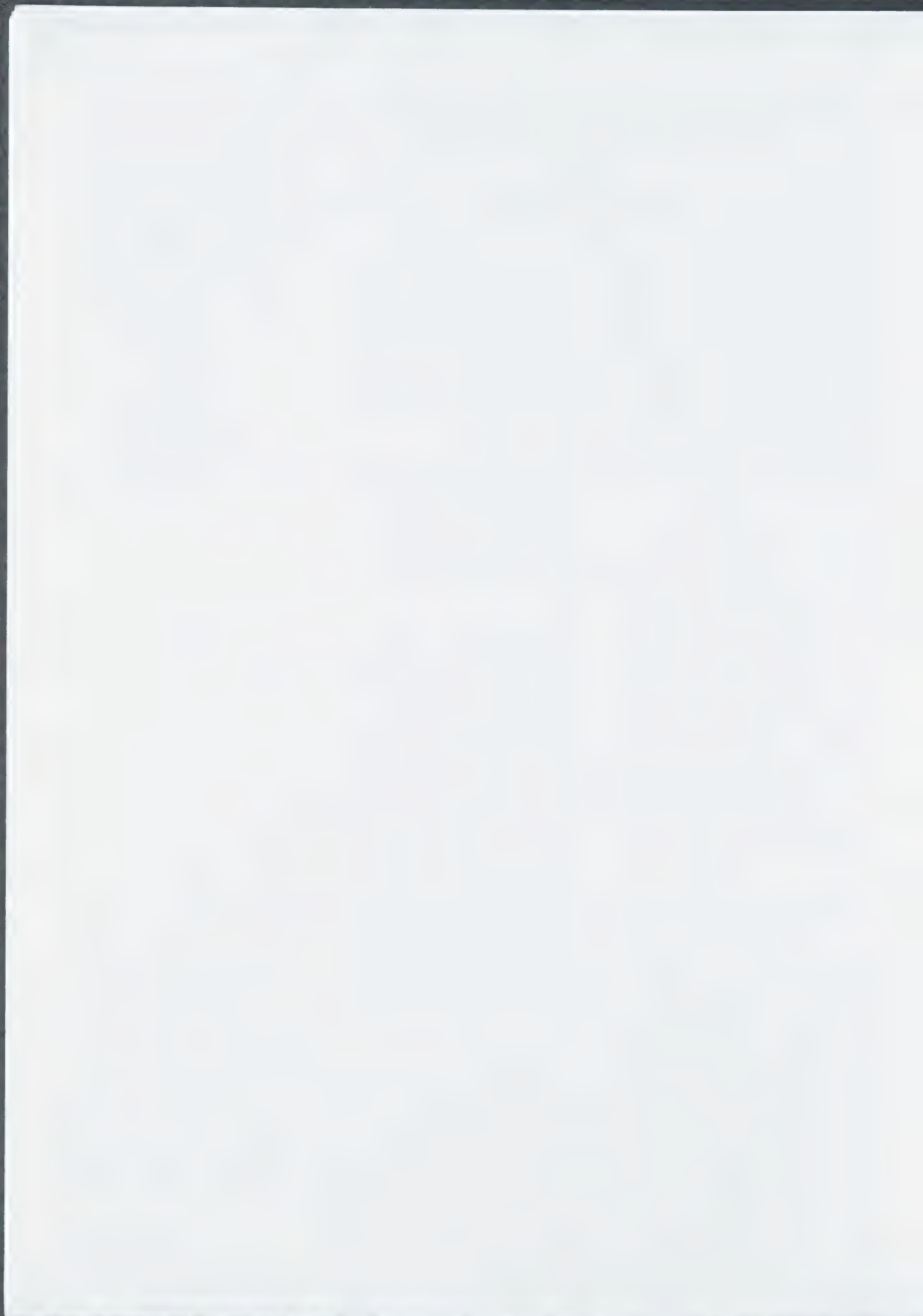
## Kinder – Träger unserer Zukunft

Vergessen wir nicht, daß die Kinder von heute die Träger unserer Zukunft, der Zukunft der jüdischen Gemeinde in Wien, sind und sein werden. Die Geschichte unserer Gemeinde in der zweiten Hälfte des vergangenen Jahrhunderts und im ersten Drittel dieses Jahrhunderts zeigt uns deutlich, daß die Emanzipation der vom Ghetto kommenden jüdischen Menschen im Spannungsfeld zwischen kulturellem Anpassungsprozeß und Assimilation wirksam geworden ist und diese Menschen einen unübersehbaren Beitrag zur mitteleuropäischen Kultur geleistet haben und auf eine ununterbrochene positive Entwicklung bis zu Schoah verweisen können.

Die Zwi Perez Chajes Schule ist als wichtigster Faktor in der Erhaltung des Judentums in einer säkularen Welt ausgewiesen. Es ist zu hoffen, daß in einer friedlichen Entwicklung die Geschichte der nächsten Hundert Jahre damit positiv beeinflusst worden ist

HOF RAT PAUL GROSZ  
PRÄSIDENT DER ISRAELITISCHEN  
KULTUSGEMEINDE WIEN





## Blitzlichter

Monatelange Vorbereitungen und Planungen hatten es möglich gemacht: Das Abenteuer Israelreise einiger AHS-Klassen, unserer „Großen“, konnte stattfinden.

Erste Auslandsreise ohne elterlichen Schutz. Beim Abschiednehmen am Flughafen Wien-Schwechat entwicklungsbedingt divergierendes Schülerverhalten: teils mit Tränen in den Augen, teils Abnabelung demonstrierend, bestiegen sie das Flugzeug. Kampf um die Sit-

plätze – die Hackordnung des Klassenzimmers lebt in den Lüften weiter.

Die Rolle der Lehrer: Um zwei Uhr morgens barfuß gehaltene Kontrollrunden über teppichverlegte Hotelgänge; dabei gelegentliche Verzweiflungsausbrüche über ungebremste Schülerenergien.

Das Beste aber: Für die kurze Zeit der Reise alle Erwachsenen als Bezugspersonen kindlicher Kontaktsuche darstellen zu dürfen.

Der letzte Abend: Schülersketches, Ansprachen und professorales Gehopse zu Discoklängen.

Am Abflugtag schließlich hektisches Erstürmen der Dutyfreezone, Bisslis, Halva und: „...glauben Sie, freut sich meine Mutter?“.

Nervosität vor der Landung. Das Flugzeug wird zum Frisurenstudio. Handgepäck, Koffer, der Zoll, die Schiebetür und ... endlich daheim. Schön war's!



# A S P E K T E

## MATURA FACHBEREICH SARBEITEN

### JAHRGANG 1993/94

#### PSYCHOLOGIE

SCHLAF UND TRAUM  
BEDEUTUNG FÜR DIE PSYCHISCHE  
UND PHYSISCHES GESUNDHEIT

#### PSYCHOLOGIE

ATTACHEMENT UND HOSPITALITÄT  
KONZEPTE FRÜHKINDLICHEN  
BINDUNGSGESCHEHENS

#### PSYCHOLOGIE

ART BRUT — KUNST UND GEISTESKRANKHEIT

#### INFORMATIK

FUZZY LOGIC

### JAHRGANG 1994/95

#### JÜDISCHE GESCHICHTE

DIE ANFÄNGE DES RELIGIÖSEN  
ZIONISMUS UND SEINE AUSWIRKUNGEN  
AUF DEN ZIONISMUS HERZLS

#### PSYCHOLOGIE

SCHULSTRESS

#### BILDNERISCHE ERZIEHUNG

DIE ARCHITEKTUR DES WIENER STADTTEMPELS

#### PSYCHOLOGIE

SPORT UND PSYCHE

ZUSAMMENHÄNGE VON SPORTLICHER  
LEISTUNG UND PSYCHISCHEN VORGÄNGEN

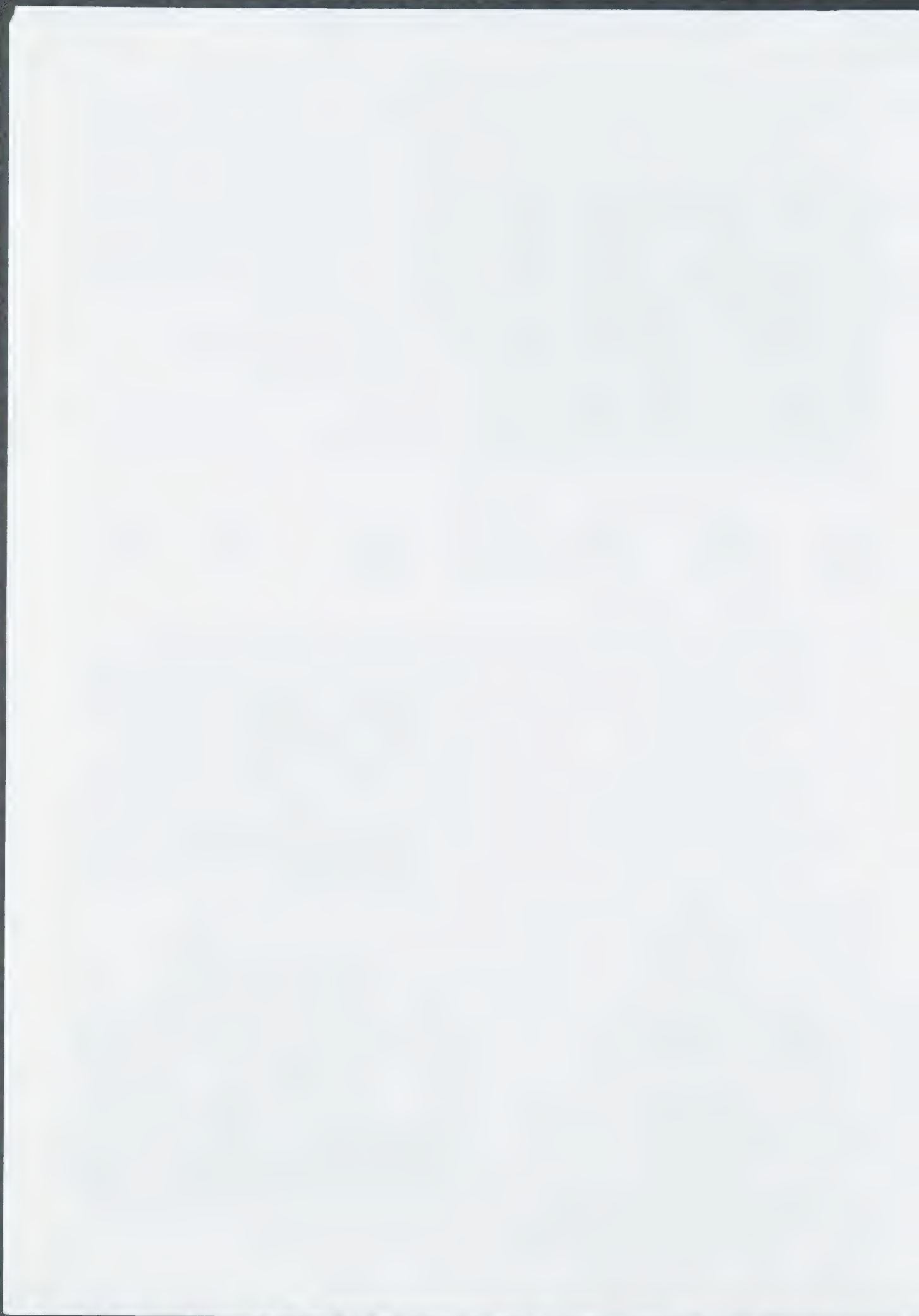


1937: Chajes-Gymnasium Klasse IV b. Eineinhalb Jahre später - am Ende des Schuljahres 1938/39 - wird die Schule durch das NS-Regime geschlossen



1992: Chajes-Gymnasium Klasse 8 a. Erste Matura einer jüdischen Schule in Wien







## AUSSTELLUNGEN UND PROJEKTE

AHS

### „TORAH“

Anlässlich der Einbringung der Torah in das neue schuleigene Bet Knesset. Die Torah – die Verkörperung des jüdischen Glaubens – ist nicht nur die Quelle der Erziehung und Moral des jüdischen Volkes durch all seine Generationen, sondern leistet ebenso einen kulturellen Beitrag für die gesamte Menschheit.

### „PESSACH“

Religiöse, nationale und familiäre Aspekte wurden von allen Klassen erarbeitet, um thematisch gemeinsam den zentralen und komplexen Wert des Pessachfestes darzustellen.

VOLKSSCHULE

### „PICASSO“

Ausstellungsbesuch und eigenständiges Schaffen einer Picasso-Plastik.

### „SCHMETTERLINGE FÜR DEN REGENWALD“



Frühjahr 1992 – Schmetterlinge für den Regenwald.

# A S P E K T E



## SCHULVERANSTALTUNGEN

Jedes Schuljahr findet eine Schulsportwoche mit Schwerpunkt Tennis, Reiten, Schwimmen etc., statt

Regelmäßige Auslandsprojekte - bzw. Sprachreisen der Oberstufe bringen den Schülern neue Gesichtspunkte

### SPORTWOCHEN

3.- 5. AHS

### AUSLANDSPROJEKTWOCHEN UND SPRACHREISEN

4. - 7. AHS

1987 ISRAEL

1990 FERRARA

1991 PRAG

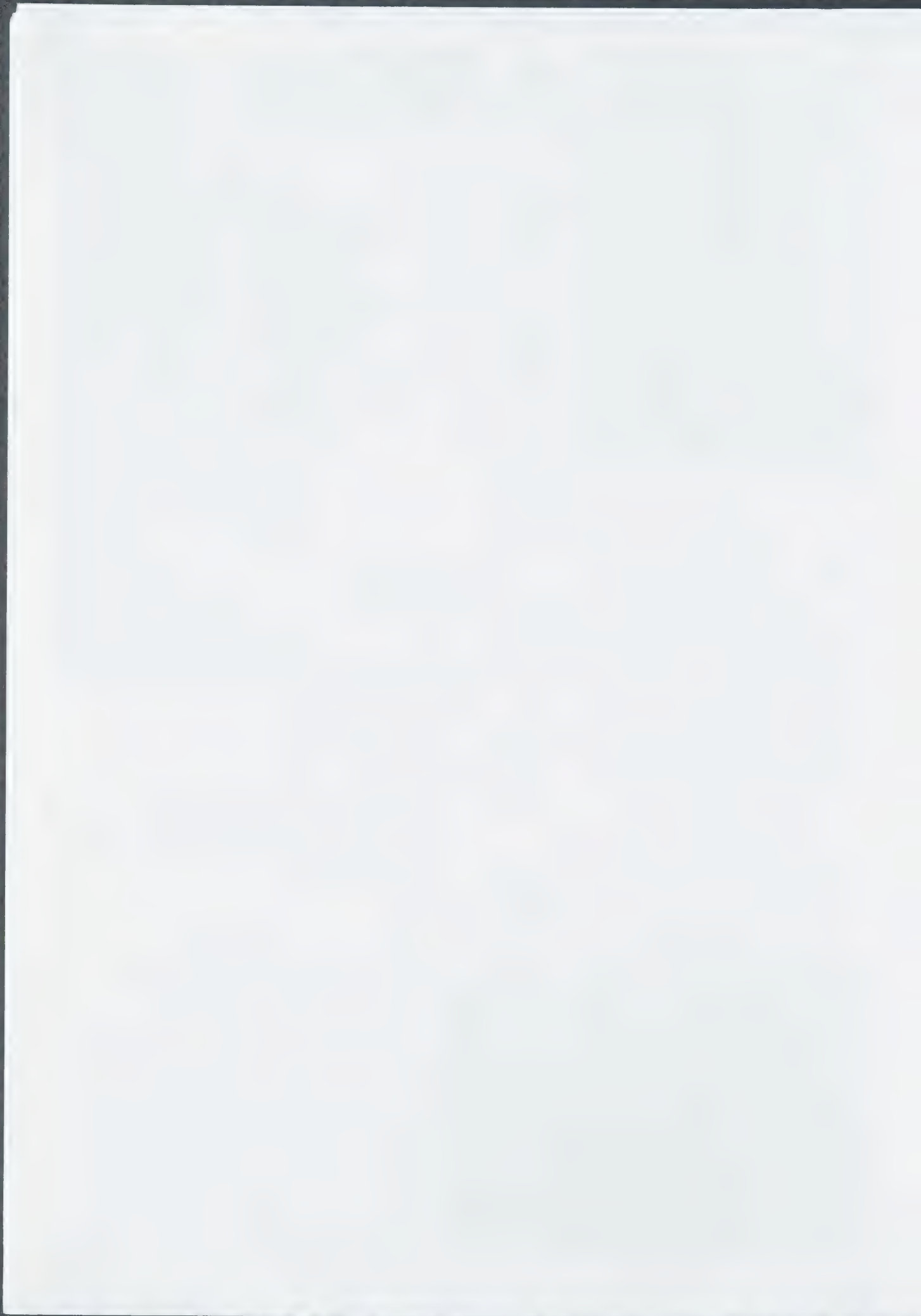
1992 ISRAEL

1993 LONDON

1994 PARIS

1995 ISRAEL





„Viele Leute, die ihre Kinder nicht im jüdischen Glauben erziehen, rechtfertigen sich damit, daß sie ihre Kinder nicht beeinflussen wollen. Aber diese Einstellung führt zwangsläufig zur schlimmsten Beeinflussung, der man ein Kind aussetzen kann. Sie erreichen damit nur, daß es als Erwachsener sein Leben lang seine Unwissenheit für vernünftig hält.



Religion, das Kernfach des jüdischen Unterrichts, hat als wesentliches Ziel, dem Schüler die grundlegenden Werte der jüdischen Tradition und Kultur zu vermitteln, wie sie in der Bibel und der rabbinischen Literatur ihren Niederschlag fanden, und sie ihm als Grundlage für die jüdische Lebensgestaltung vorzustellen. Vertraut gemacht mit den Gesetzen, Gebräuchen und Gebeten soll er in der Lage sein, die jüdische Identität überall und in jeder Situation zu wahren und am religiösen Leben der Gemeinde teilzuhaben.



Mit dem Gang des jüdischen Volkes durch die Zeiten vertraut zu machen und dabei die besondere Stellung des jüdischen Volkes unter den Völkern der Welt erkennbar werden zu lassen, ist die Hauptaufgabe dieses Gegenstandes – selbstverständlich nicht ohne die Geschehnisse der österreichischen Juden und deren Beitrag zur jüdischen und allgemeinen Geschichte entsprechend zu würdigen. Der Schüler soll erkennen, daß er, daß der einzelne Jude, daß die Gemeinde, in der sein Leben abläuft, daß der Staat Israel Teile dieses geschichtlichen Prozesses sind, die diesen aktiv mitzugestalten und damit auch eine historische Verantwortung mitzutragen haben. Er soll befähigt werden, die jüdische Gegenwart als Ergebnis eines zielgerichteten historischen Prozesses zu begreifen.

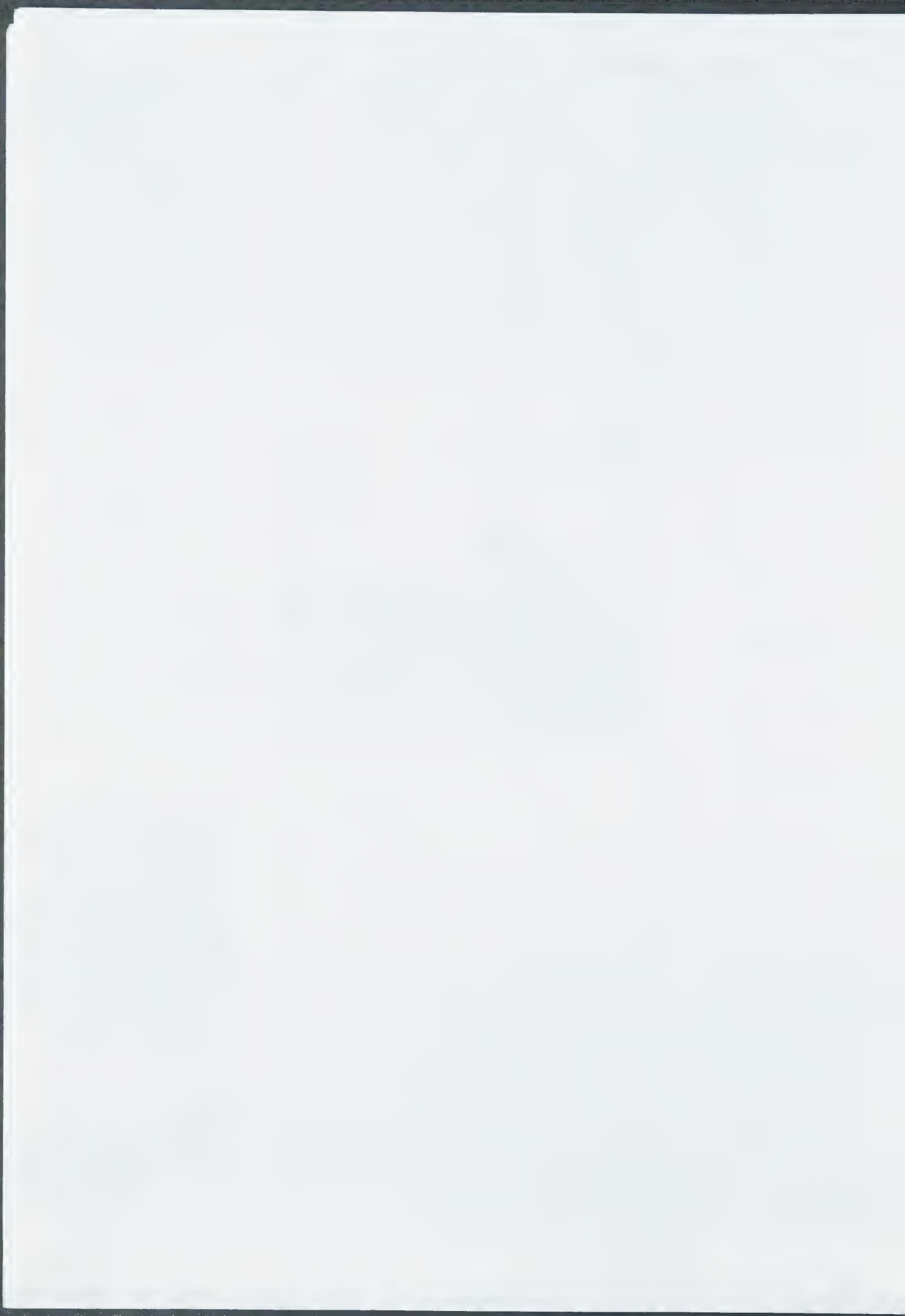
# DIE BUNSE ZUKU JÜDISCHE E

## „TORAH IM DI

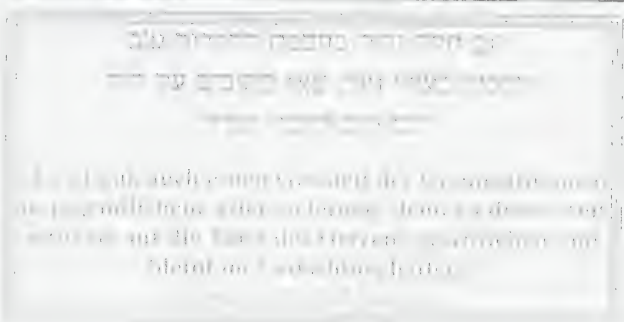
Getreu der alten, von Rabbi 19. Jahrhundert zur Maxime der erhobenen rabbinischen Weisheit, welcher die Überzeugung zugrunde liegt, daß die Juden das Torahstudium und die Wissenschaft und Kultur durch die Schule einer solchen „ganzheitlichen“ Sie zielt auf die Heranbildung u Vielfalt und mit seinen mannsternen und dabei fest den jüdischen jungen Menschen ab, wobei die nicht bloß akademischen Charakter 19. Jahrhundert entstandenen der Fall ist, sondern Ausfluß ist und im Alltagsleben in die Praxis des Gebots.







# BASIS ERER UNFT ERZIEHUNG



## DERECH EREZ"

er Samson Rafael Hirsch im  
Neoorthodoxie im Deutschland  
„Torah im Derech Erez“, wel-  
liegt, daß für den torahtreuen  
die Errungenschaften moderner  
haus vereinbar sind, ist unsere  
lichen Erziehung“ verpflichtet.  
des das Leben in seiner bunten  
ngfaltigen Anforderungen mei-  
ischen Traditionen verbundenen  
Vermittlung jüdischen Wissens  
akter hat, wie dies bei der im  
Wissenschaft vom Judentum“  
mes alle Juden verpflichtenden  
 Praxis umzusetzenden religiösen

**W**as wäre jüdisches Wissen ohne die Kenntnis der hebräischen Sprache? Um den T'nach, die rabbinische Literatur und das philosophische Schifftum aller Epochen jüdischer Geschichte verstehen zu können, ist die Kenntnis des ihnen eigenen Idioms unentbehrlich. Was wäre das moderne Israel ohne die Sprache seiner Väter? Um Anteil zu haben am so vielfältigen, pulsierenden Leben des Landes, dem wir mit allen Fasern unseres Herzens verbunden sind, würden wir zu bloßen Statisten degradiert, wären wir nicht der hebräischen Sprache mächtig. Kein Wunder also, daß der hebräische Sprachunterricht, von den Behörden kürzlich definitiv als 1. lebende Fremdsprache anerkannt, einen so wichtigen Platz unter den Lehrfächern der Schule einnimmt.

Das Ziel des Hebräischunterrichts ist dementsprechend hoch gesteckt: Der Schüler soll dazu gebracht werden, die Sprache zu lieben, ihre Schönheit und ihren Reichtum zu schätzen und sie als Schlüssel zur jüdischen Kultur zu erfassen. Mit der Erlernung der hebräischen Grammatik und dem Erwerb eines stetig wachsenden Wortschatzes wird ihm die Entwicklung der Sprache von der Sprache des T'nach, über die Sprache der Denker und Dichter des Mittelalters bis hin zum modernen Iwrit anschaulich vor Augen geführt.

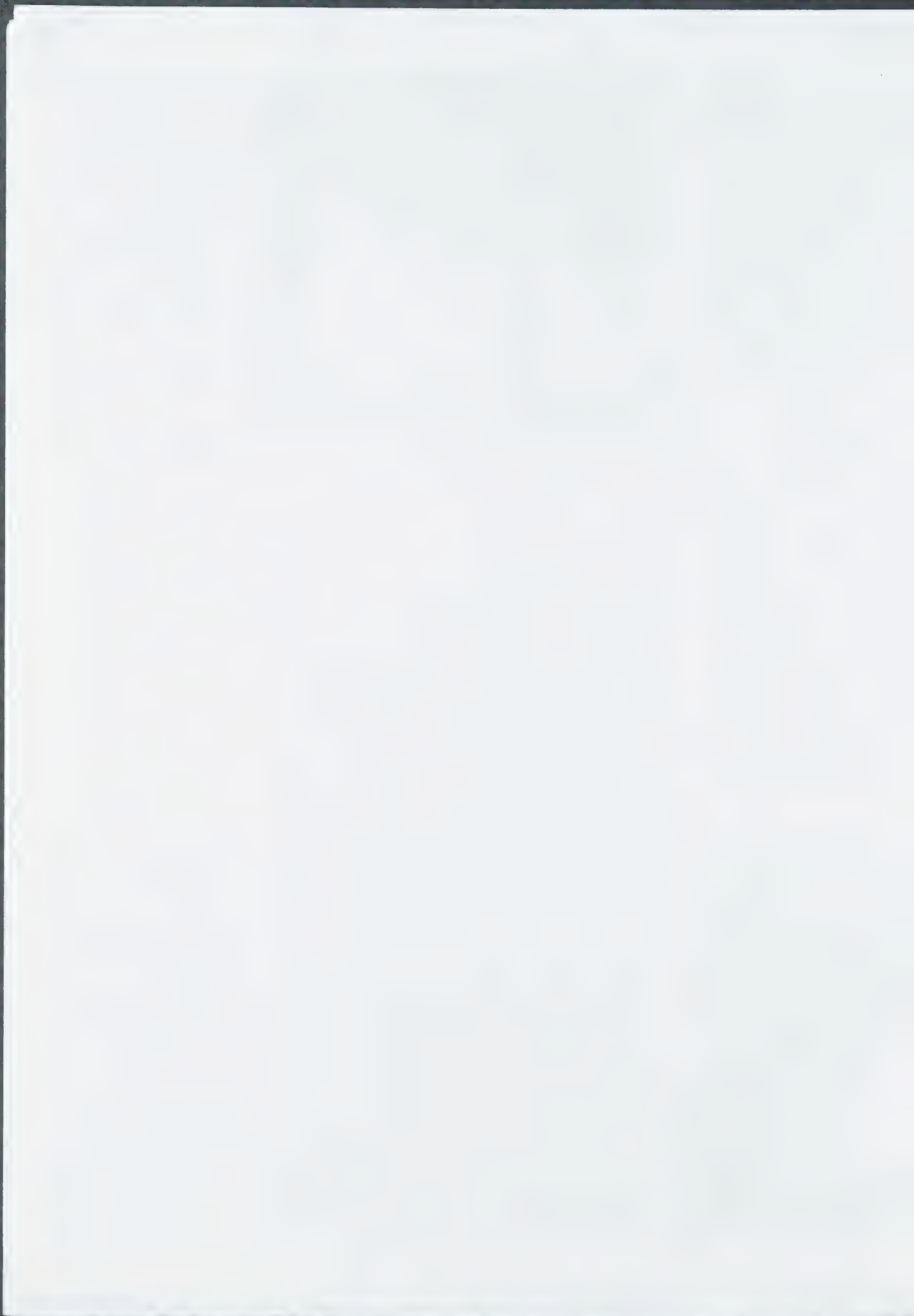
Sowohl die Matura als auch die "B'chinah Jeruschalmit", die auf Wunsch an unserer Schule auch abgelegt werden kann und den Absolventen den Eintritt in eine israelische Universität ohne sprachliche Vorbereitungskurse vor Ort ermöglicht, bedeuten schließlich den Abschluß des faszinierenden Weges der Erlernung der hebräischen Sprache.

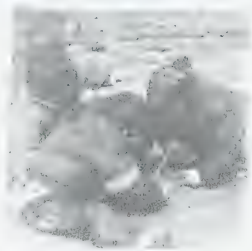
Welcher Erwachsene  
setzt sich schon zwi-  
schen Schulkinder,  
um das hebräische  
Alphabet, die Torah  
und die Lebensweise  
der Juden kennenzu-  
lernen? Es ist die  
einfachste Sache der  
Welt, das, was man  
als Kind im  
Religionsunterricht  
gelernt hat,  
aufzugeben. Aber es  
ist ausgesprochen  
Schwerarbeit, etwas  
nachzuholen, das  
man in der Kindheit  
versäumt hat."

Herman Wouk









# SCHRITT FÜR SCHRITT

## KINDERGARTEN

Emotionale Erziehung, Sozial- und Wertverhalten, das Hineinwachsen in die Gemeinschaft des Judentums, Denkförderung und Sprachbildung sind die ersten wichtigen Lernerfahrungen im Kindergartenbereich.

Ein geregelter Tagesablauf gibt Möglichkeit zu Spielen, Aktivitätenprogrammen, Werkarbeiten und Gesprächen in Kleingruppen

## VOLKSSCHULE

Die Volksschule der ZPC-Schule besteht seit 1980. Das Bundesministerium für Unterricht und Kunst verlieh 1981 der 1. und 2. Klasse das Öffentlichkeitsrecht und genehmigte die schulversuchsweise Führung einer Vorschulklasse. Drei Volksschullehrerinnen und zwei Lehrerinnen aus Israel unterrichteten ca. 50 Kinder

1983/84 wurde vom BMFUKS das Öffentlichkeitsrecht für alle Schulstufen der Volksschule auf Dauer verliehen

Die Gesamtschülerzahl stieg auf ca. 90 Schüler, und die Vorschulklassen besuchten ca. 20 Kinder

Seit dem Schuljahr 1990/91 wird gemäß § 7 Abs. 4 SCHOG ein Schulversuch „Hebräisch für Kinder mit israelitischem Religionsbekenntnis“ geführt: Die Schüler der 1. bis 4. Klasse haben verbindlich am Unterrichtsfach Hebräisch (3 Stunden) und Religion (4 Stunden), zusätzlich zur Stundentafel A des öffentlichen Unterrichts, teilzunehmen. In der 1. Schulstufe wird dieser Unterricht als verbindliche Übung, in der 2. bis 4. Schulstufe als Pflichtgegenstand geführt

Der Fremdsprachenbereich umfaßt außerdem den lehrplanmäßigen Unterricht „Englisch“ ab der 3. Klasse und den Schulversuch „Lebende Fremdsprache auf der Grundstufe I“

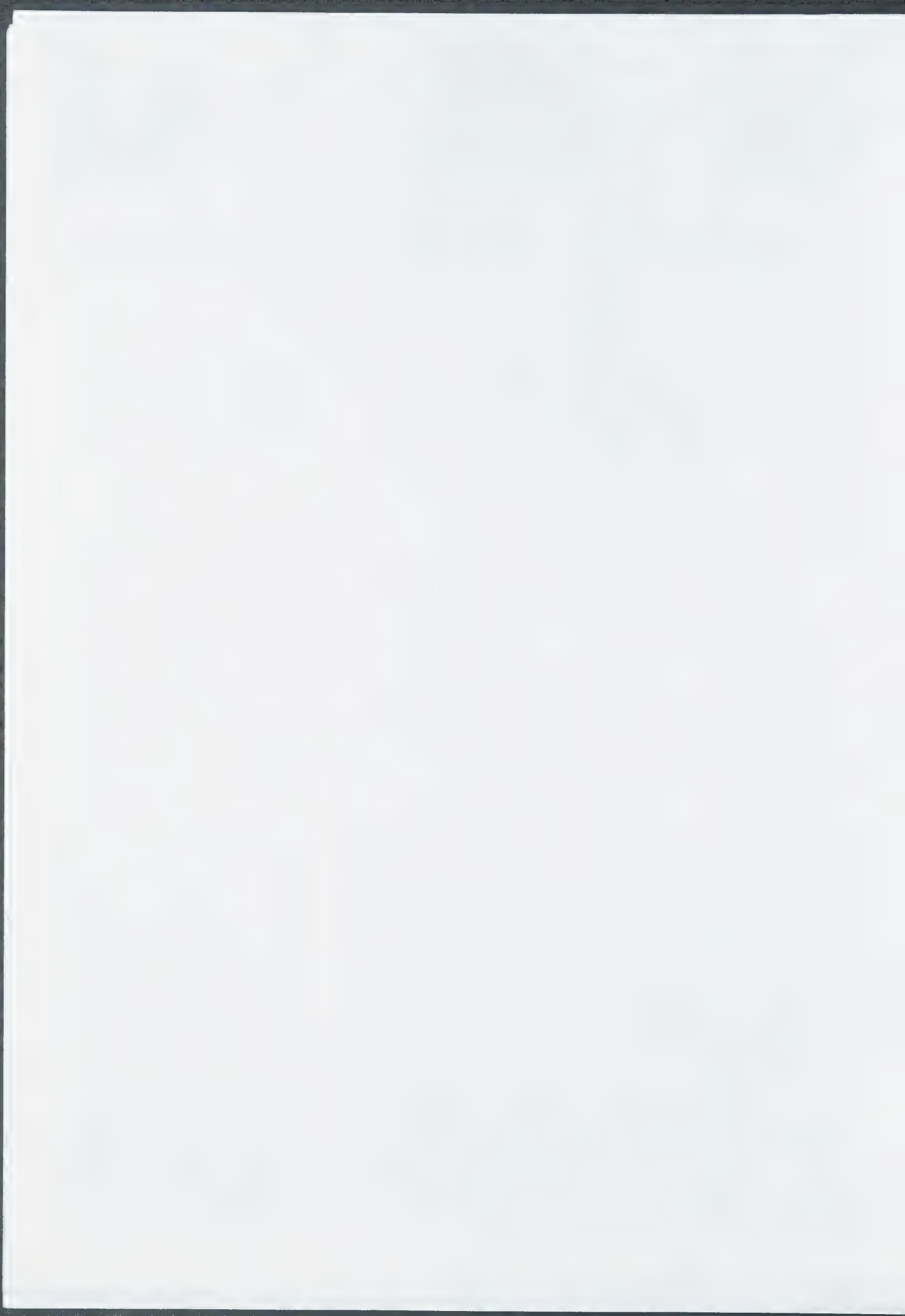
## AHS

Die Pionierzeit der ersten acht Jahre war nicht einfach. Schulorganisatorische Basisarbeit, Aufbau eines Lehrerteams, das sich eine Zusammenarbeit der jüdischen und nicht jüdischen Fächer zum Anliegen macht, Lehrpläne, Stundentafeln, Reifeprüfungsordnung ... viele Ideen die vorhanden waren, wurden formuliert, erprobt, verworfen, neu konzipiert. Bauliche Tätigkeiten wie Aufstockung und Zubau stellten den Schulbetrieb vor harte Proben

Eine zentrale Schulbibliothek, ausgebaut und den Erfordernissen eines zeitgemäßen Schulunterrichts angepaßte Schulsammlungen moderner Sprachunterricht (Englisch und Hebräisch) - um den unterschiedlichen Vorkenntnissen der SchülerInnen zu entsprechen, fächerübergreifendes und projektorientiertes Arbeiten, Erwerb von wissenschaftlichen Arbeitstechniken: Die Vernetzung der einzelnen Wissensgebiete wird sichtbar - das systemische Denken angeregt

Ab dem Schuljahr 1994/95 wurde der ZPC-Schule das Öffentlichkeitsrecht auf Dauer zugesichert und die geänderte Reifeprüfungsordnung bewilligt: Hebräisch wird als 1. lebende Fremdsprache wie Englisch oder Französisch gewertet.





## BIBLIOTHEK

### BUCHER

Rund 3000 Bücher -  
davon 2/3 Sachbücher:

Deutsch,  
Iwrit,  
Englisch,  
Französisch und  
Italienisch.

### ABONNEMENTS

Tageszeitungen,  
Wochenzeitungen  
Magazine  
(Deutsch und  
Englisch)  
Fachzeitschriften  
aus dem Bereich  
der Pädagogik,  
Naturwissenschaften,  
Psychologie,  
Informatik u.a.

DIE BIBLIOTHEK IST NOCH IM  
AUFBAUSTADIUM



## SAMMLUNGEN

### PHYSIK

Rund 1.200 Teile:  
Experimentierboxen,  
Elektronikbaukästen

### CHEMIE

Rund 1.160 Teile

### INFORMATIK

14 Workstations

### WERKERZIEHUNG

Nähmaschinen,  
Webrahmen,  
Werkstatt

### BIOLOGIE MEDIEN

6 Mikroskope,  
5 Okokästen,  
Mikroprojektion und  
Vorbereitungsraum  
für Biologiesaal,  
div. Präparate  
(Botanik, Zoologie,  
Human-Genetik u.a.)

# LEHRPLAN ÜBERSICHT

Die Lehrpläne der drei an der ZPC-Schule gelehrt  
en Fächer, Religion, jüdische Geschichte und Iwrit  
wurden im vergangenen Jahr von Fachleuten aus  
Israel gemeinsam mit den in Wien tätigen Lehrern  
neu überarbeitet und der Schulleitung präsentiert

## Religion

1. - 7. Schulstufe:  
Auf den in der Vor-  
schule erworbenen  
Kenntnissen aufbauend, werden  
grundlegende Kenntnisse der  
Torah, Schabbat und jüdische Feier-  
tage bestimmende Halachot sowie  
des Siddurs vermittelt. In der 7.  
Schulstufe – für die meisten Schüler  
das Bar- bzw. Bat-Mizwah-Jahr –  
werden so wesentliche Themen wie  
die G'tt-Mensch-Beziehung, die  
zwischenmenschlichen Bande, das  
Gemeinwesen im Lichte des Juden-  
tums u.a.m. angesprochen.

8. - 12. Schulstufe: Zielsetzung  
ist die Vertiefung der erworbenen  
Kenntnisse. Mit der Betonung von  
integrativen Themen – etwa die  
Anwendung jüdisch-philosophi-  
scher Fragestellungen auf konkrete

Situationen menschlichen Lebens –  
wird im Maturajahr der höchste  
Ausbildungsstand erreicht.

## Jüdische Geschichte

5. - 8. Schulstufe:  
Darstellung der  
wesentlichen Strö-  
mungen und Ereig-  
nisse in der Geschichte des jüdi-  
schen Volkes.

9. - 12. Schulstufe: Das Haupt-  
augenmerk liegt auf der Vertiefung  
des Stoffes und dem Verständnis  
der historischen Abläufe, wobei auf  
den bereits erworbenen Grund-  
kenntnissen und Begriffen aufge-  
baut werden soll. In der 12. Schul-  
stufe wird der Geschichte des  
Zionismus und des Staates Israel  
breiter Raum eingeräumt.

Der Lehrstoff ist chronologisch  
gegliedert und orientiert sich dabei  
an den im Fach „Allgemeine  
Geschichte“ vorgestellten geschicht-  
lichen Perioden. Somit werden  
Doppelgleisigkeiten vermieden, es

kann ausführlicher auf die Phänome-  
ne jüdischer Geschichte eingegan-  
gen werden und jüdische Geschichte  
kann im Konnex mit allgemeiner  
Geschichte gesehen werden.

## Iwrit

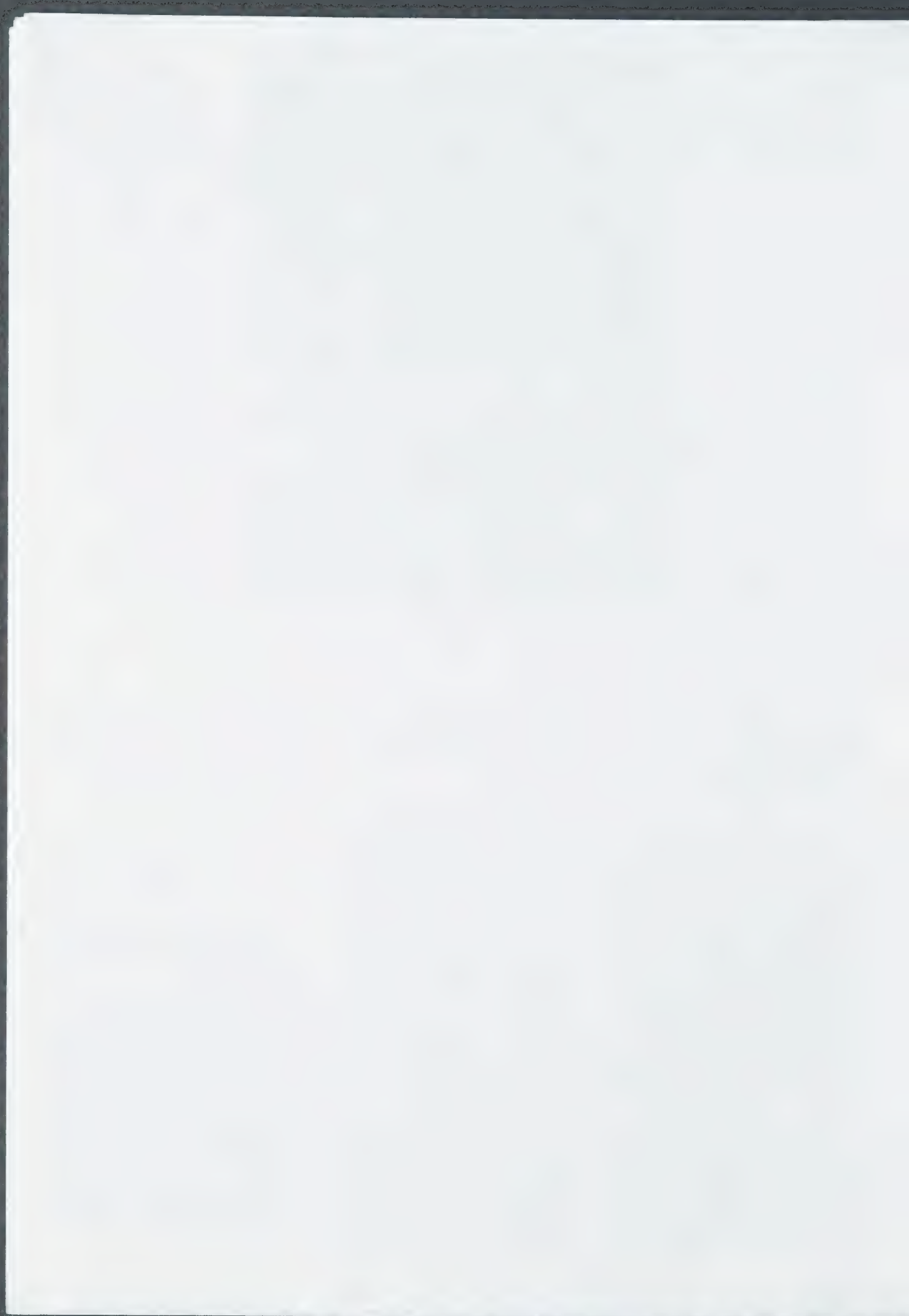
1. Schulstufe: Ver-  
mittlung funda-  
mentaler Kenntnisse  
des Lesens und Schreibens.

2. - 10. Schulstufe: Sprachlicher  
Intensivunterricht unter Zuhilfenahme  
modernster pädagogischer  
Hilfsmittel.

11. und 12. Schulstufe: gründli-  
che Maturavorbereitung, in der den  
verschiedenen Literaturgattungen  
besonderes Augenmerk zuteil wird.  
Nach Schulabschluß soll die hebräi-  
sche Sprache in Wort und Schrift so  
beherrscht werden, daß ohne  
Schwierigkeiten ein Studium an einer  
israelischen Universität begonnen  
werden kann.

Auf Wunsch kann an der ZPC-Schu-  
le auch die „B'chinah Jeruschalmit“  
abgelegt werden.





# SCHULGELD

oder sehen Sie eine andere Möglichkeit?

**W**eltweit gibt es keinen beliebten Finanzminister. Auch die Tatsache, daß die eingetriebenen Steuern zum Wohle der Bürger dienen – steigert nicht wirklich seinen Beliebtheitsgrad.

Ahnlich verhält es sich mit der ZPC-Schule. Zuständige und für die Finanzgebarung der Schule verantwortliche Gremien, sehen sich immer wieder veranlaßt, den Schulgeldbeitrag den aktuellen Gegebenheiten anpassen zu müssen

Wünsche lassen sich jedoch viel schneller realisieren, wenn man Geld hat. In Wirklichkeit aber ist nichts Schönes daran zu finden, für

den Besuch der Schule Geld zu verlangen!

*VIEL SCHÖNER* als Geld einzuheben ist es,...

...eines der schönsten Schulgebäude Wiens zu haben und für das Wohlbefinden aller Sorge zu tragen.

*VIEL SCHÖNER* als Geld einzuheben ist es,....

...neue und nach modernsten Methoden und in Zusammenarbeit mit Spezialisten aus Israel erstellte Lehrpläne zu haben. Lernziele und die Vermittlung der Lerninhalte werden nach modernsten wissenschaftlichen Erkenntnissen vorgenommen und immer wieder aktualisiert

*VIEL SCHÖNER* als Geld einzuheben ist es,...

...Lehrer mit hohen pädagogischen Fähigkeiten und einer ausgezeichneten Ausbildung beschäftigen zu können.

... *VIEL SCHÖNER* als Geld einzuheben ist es,...

Unterrichtsmaterial zu haben, um das man uns nur beneiden kann

*VIEL SCHÖNER* als Geld einzuheben ist es,...

...allen Schülern die Teilnahme an Sprach- und Israelreisen, Kulturfahrten und Sportwochen zu ermöglichen

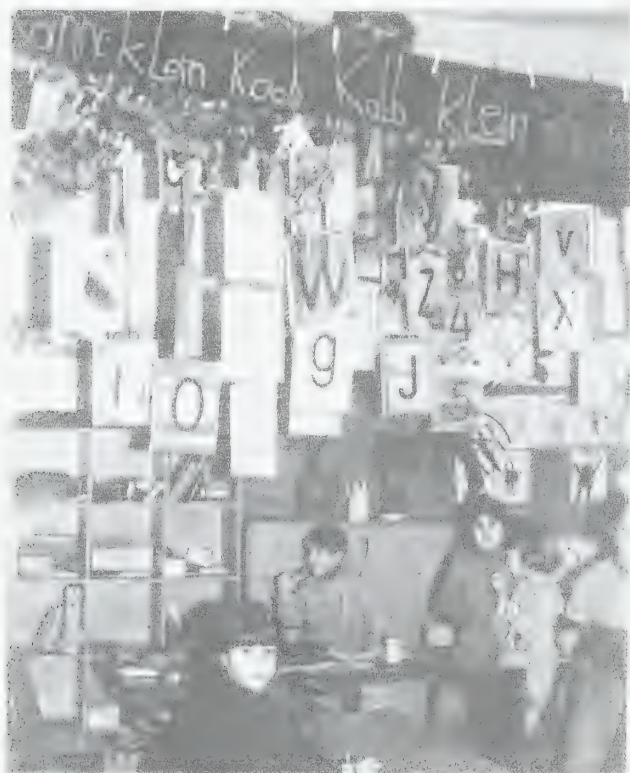
*VIEL SCHÖNER* als Geld einzuheben ist es,....

...Kindern bedürftiger Familien durch Zuschüsse und Stipendien den Schulbesuch zu ermöglichen

*VIEL SCHÖNER* als Geld einzuheben wäre es,...

...kein Schulgeld verlangen zu müssen

Doch jeder wird die Unmöglichkeit dieses Wunsches verstehen....Oder sehen Sie eine andere Möglichkeit?



## WAS SIE SONST NOCH WISSEN SOLLTEN

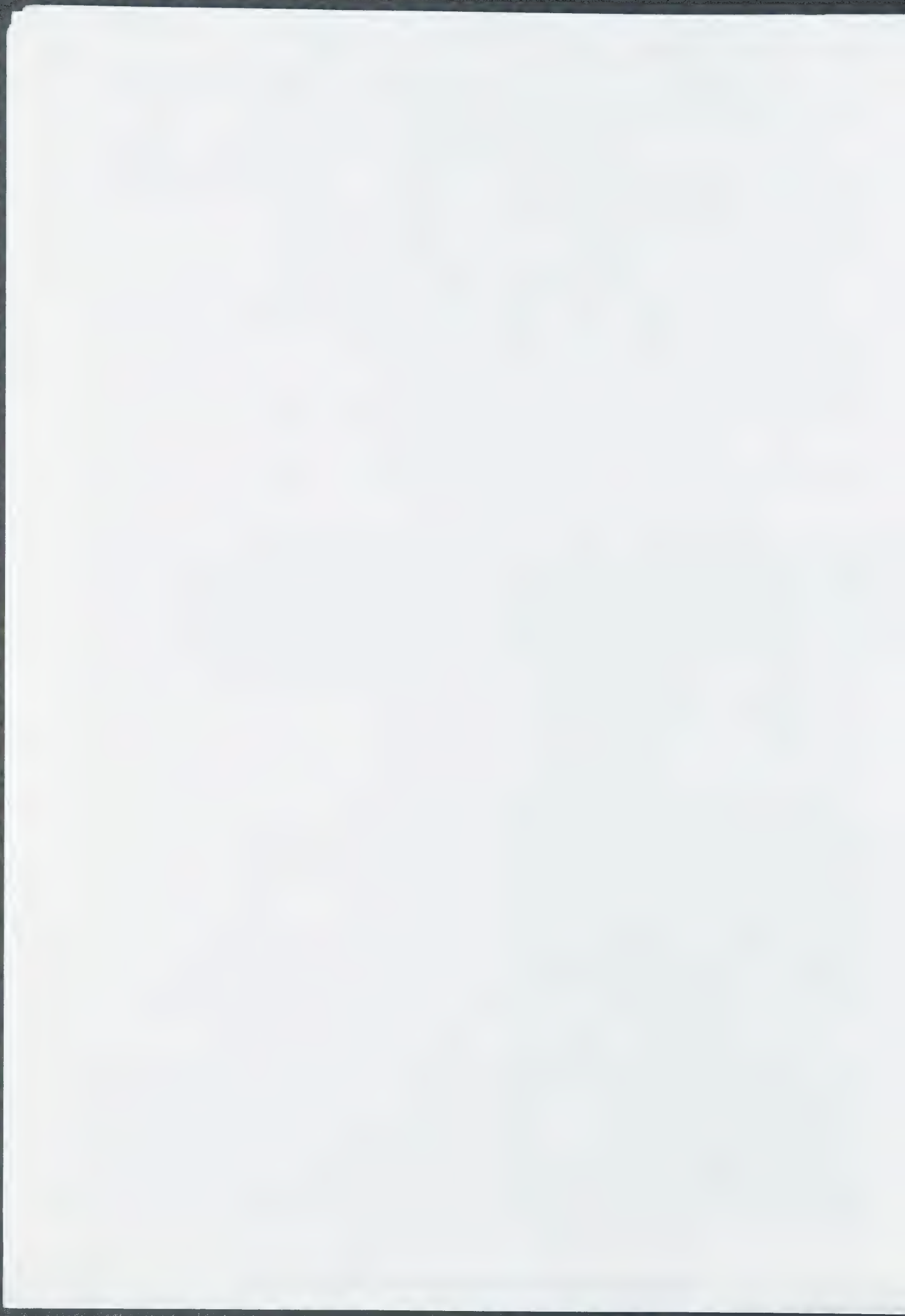
Eines der Ziele, die die IKG mit der ZPC-Schule verfolgt ist es, allen Kindern - unabhängig von den finanziellen Möglichkeiten ihrer Eltern - eine gute jüdische und allgemeine Ausbildung zukommen zu lassen. Um das zu verwirklichen, vergibt die IKG Stipendien an Schüler, denen sonst, aufgrund verschiedener Umstände, ein Schulbesuch an einer jüdischen Schule nicht möglich wäre

Stipendien für Schüler der ZPC-Schule werden von der Sozialabteilung der IKG gemäß den vorliegenden Budgetzahlen nach objektivierbaren Kriterien vergeben

Entsprechende Anträge liegen in der ZPC-Schule auf und sind unter Beilage aller erforderlichen Unterlagen seitens der Stipendientherben an die Sozialabteilung der IKG zu richten

Um den in den letzten Jahren sehr stark gestiegenen Bedarf an Stipendien decken zu können, ist die IKG ständig bemüht, neue Finanzierungsquellen für die Stipendien zu erschließen. So vergeben neben der IKG auch verschiedene Stiftungen und Fonds Stipendien. Darüber hinaus befindet sich die „Zwi Perez Chajes Stiftung“, die ausschließlich für Stipendienzwecke jüdischer Schüler herangezogen werden soll, im Stadium konkreter Planung





STATIONEN EINER  
GESCHICHTI  
CASTELLEZGASSE 35

1919

Eröffnung des Jüdischen Privatrealgymnasiums am 1. Oktober in 1010 Wien, Drahtgasse 4

1935/36

Übersiedlung des Chajes-Gymnasiums in die Staudingergasse, 1020 Wien  
Eröffnung der Volksschule der Kultusgemeinde in der Castellezgasse 35.

1938

Letzte Maturafeier des Chajes-Gymnasiums.

1939

Am 17. Oktober wird die Schule durch das NS-Regime geschlossen.

1939-1941

Bis Anfang 1941 ist ein Schulbetrieb für jüdische Kinder noch möglich: Volks- und Hauptschulunterricht und Vorbereitungskurs zur Auswanderung jüdischer schulpflichtiger Kinder.

1941-1945

Die Schule dient als Sammellager für den Transport von Juden in Konzentrationslager.

1945-1983

Vermietung des Gebäudes an den KZ-Verband.

1979

Planung einer jüdischen Volksschule.

1980

Eröffnung der Volksschule in 1010 Wien, Seitenstettengasse 4.

1983

Umbau des Gebäudes in 1020 Wien, Castellezgasse 35.

1984

Eröffnung der 1. AHS-Klasse.  
Übersiedlung von Kindergarten und Volksschule

1988

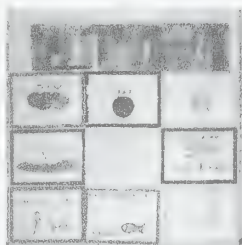
Aufstockung des Gebäudes für die AHS-Oberstufe.

1991

Grundsteinlegung für den Zubau, Eröffnung von Parallelklassen

1992

Erste Matura



AUFNAHMEBEDINGUNGEN

Aufnahme in die Zwi Perez Chajes Schule Wien finden alle Kinder ohne Ansehen ihrer Herkunft, ihres Elternhauses oder ihrer finanziellen Möglichkeiten –, die Mitglieder der Israelitischen Kultusgemeinde Wien sind und die entsprechenden schulischen und behördlichen Voraussetzungen erbringen.

Schüler und Erziehungsberechtigte verpflichten sich durch einen Aufnahmevertrag (gem. §5 Abs. 6 SchUG, BGBl. 1974/139), den Charakter der Schule als jüdische Privatschule zu respektieren und die Richtlinien der Schul- und Hausordnung einzuhalten.

HAUSORDNUNG

Auszug

Grundkonsens

Die ZPC-Schule hat als Institution der IKG einen besonderen, bewußt jüdischen Charakter. Dieser ist durch bestimmte religiöse Verhaltensregeln und Organisationsformen gekennzeichnet (Abhaltung des Morgengebetts, Tragen einer Kippah, Wahrung der Kaschrut, u.a.m.) Neben der Schul- und Hausordnung unterliegen die SchülerInnen den Pflichten des SchUG § 43 sowie den einschlägigen Verordnungen des BMFKS.

Morgengebet

Kindergarten	8.30 Uhr
Volksschule	8.15 Uhr
AHS	8.00 Uhr

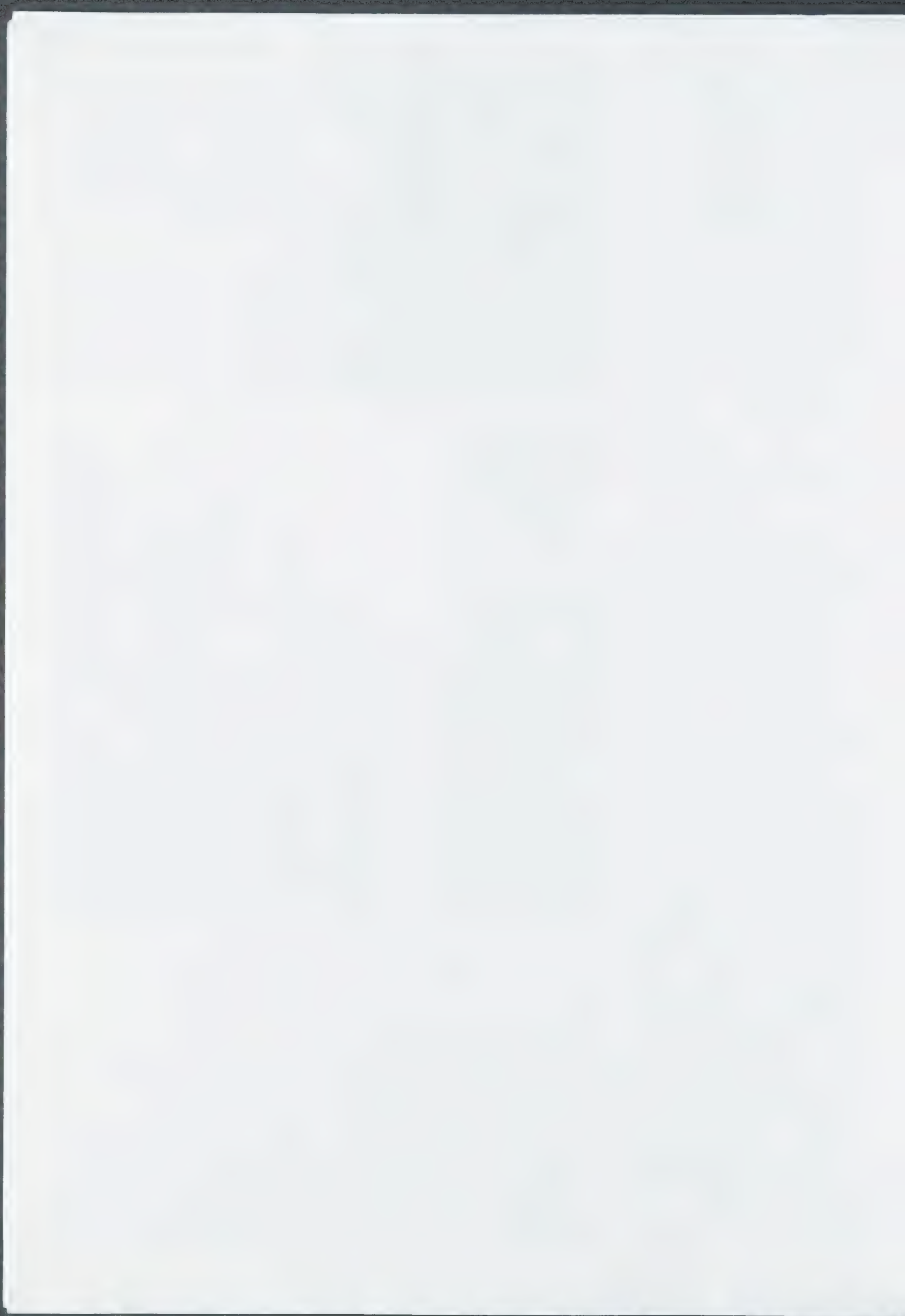
Kippot

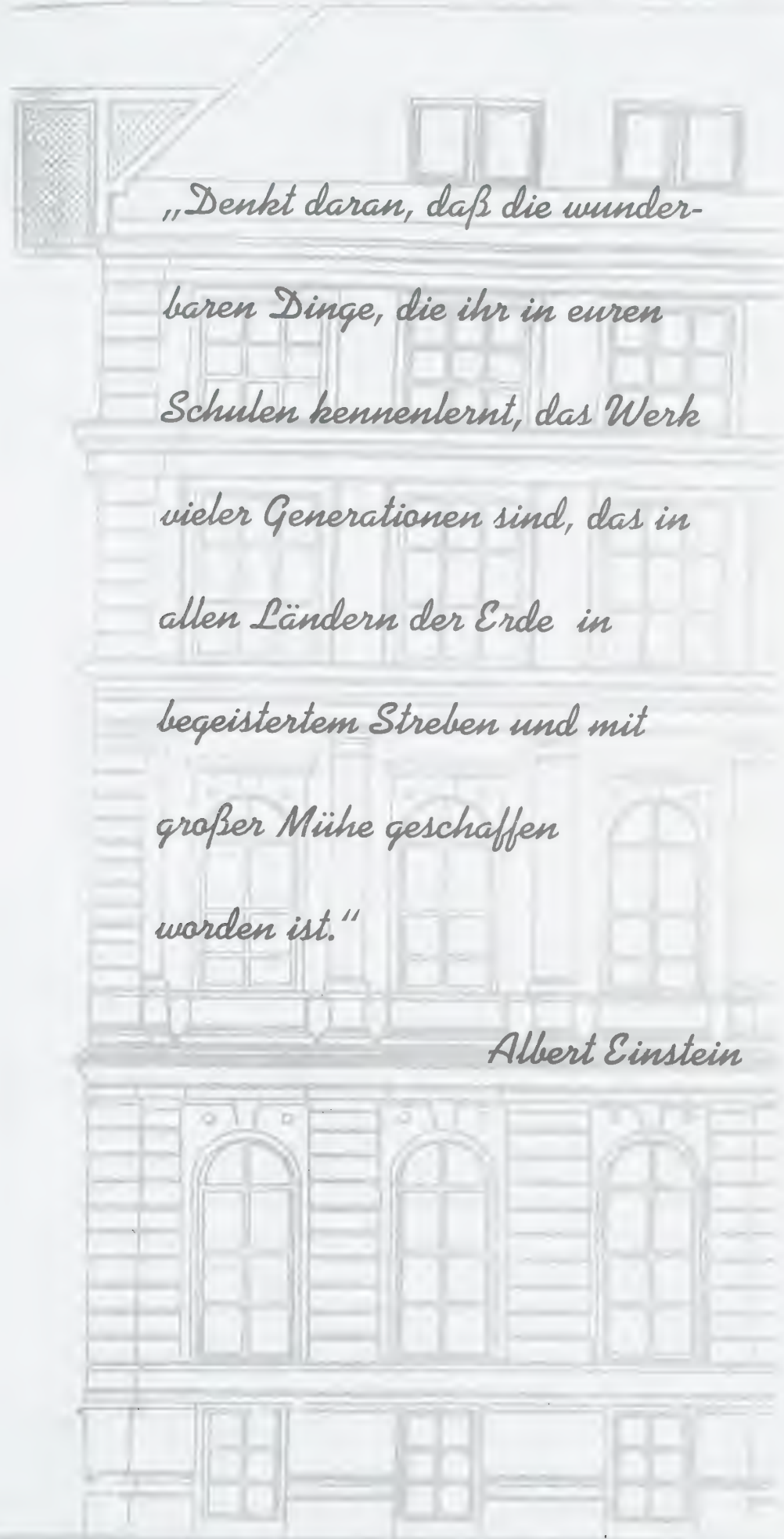
Im Schulgebäude besteht für alle Schüler aller Schulstufen die Pflicht, eine Kippah zu tragen

Essen

Allen SchülerInnen wird in der ZPC-Schule koscheres Essen verabreicht. Es ist daher grundsätzlich verboten, Essen in die Schule mitzubringen. Ausnahmen bilden ausschließlich Obst und Gemüse sowie Getränke



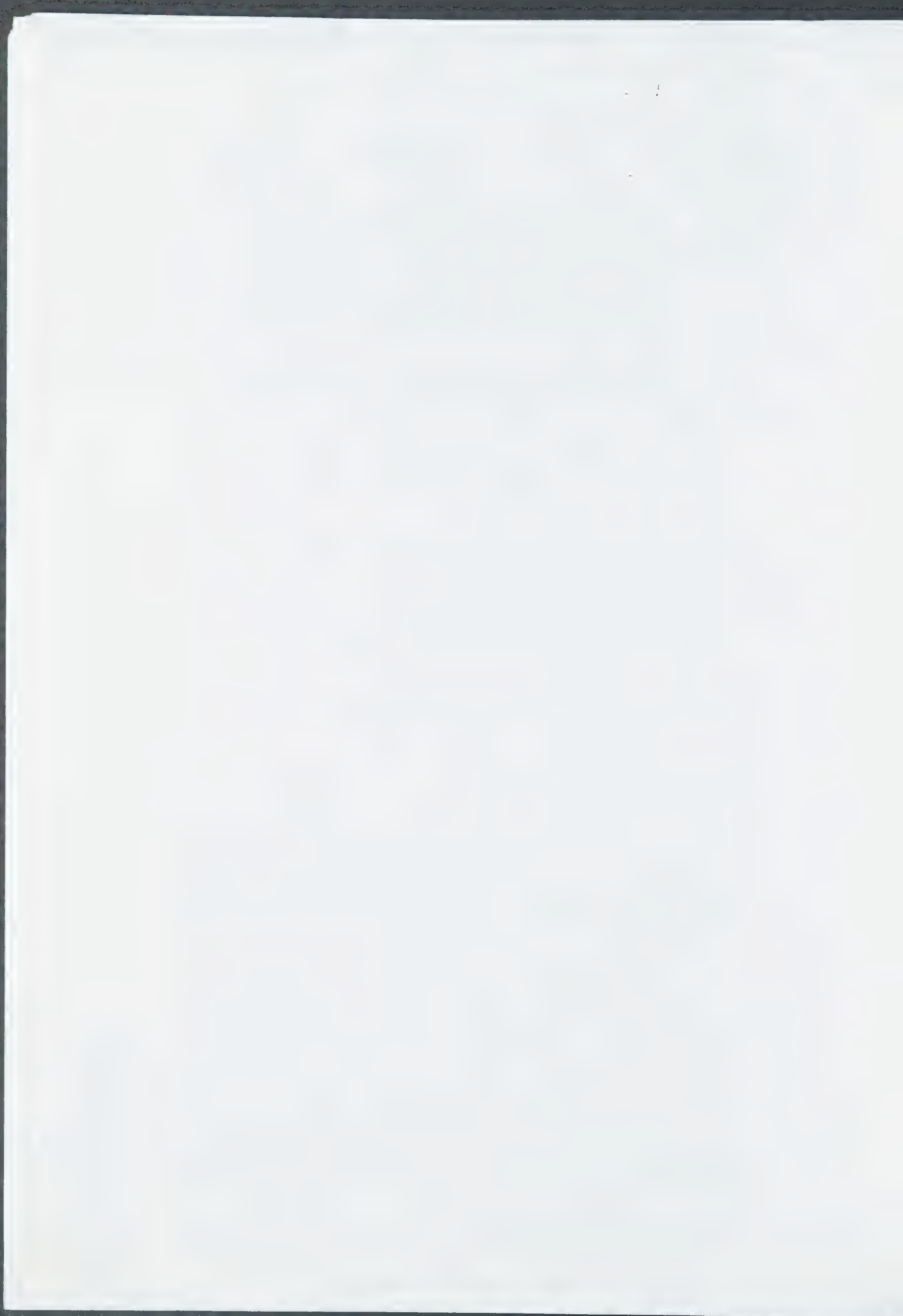




*„Denkt daran, daß die wunder-  
baren Dinge, die ihr in euren  
Schulen kennenlernt, das Werk  
vieler Generationen sind, das in  
allen Ländern der Erde in  
begeistertem Streben und mit  
großer Mühe geschaffen  
worden ist.“*

*Albert Einstein*





**From:** Hans Schneider <hans@math.wisc.edu>

**Date:** Mon, 6 May 2002 17:53:22 -0500 (CDT)

**To:** MW/KTA -- Irwin & Joyce Asher <joywin18@hotmail.com>, Alfred & Isabel Bader <baderfa@execpc.com>, Barbara Anne Schneider <baschnei@acs.ucalgary.ca>, Barry Ultmann <barryokee2001@aol.com>, Ed Benedikt <rbenedik@gwi.net>, Ruth & Albert Brunell <abrunell@aol.com>, Bea Cahn <beacahn@omibor.net>, Margit Diamond <margitd@webtv.net>, Cathleen Donnelly <cathyd@childrensmuseum.org>, Hedy Epstein <hedy@hedyepstein.com>, Walter & Gretchen Falk <fcs10@interaccess.com>, Vern Fischer <fischev@slu.edu>, Michael Geyer <mgeyer@midway.uchicago.edu>, Kirsten Grosz <hgrosz@iupui.edu>, Joseph Haberer <haberer@polsci.purdue.edu>, Heini Halberstam <heini@math.uiuc.edu>, Eva Hamlet <EHamlet983@aol.com>, Keith Henley <khenley@med.umich.edu>, kshenley@earthlink.net, Bertram Herzog <bherzog@crcg.edu>, Henry Karplus <henry@karplus.com>, Katja Baumgaertner <baumies1@hotmail.com>, Marianne & Ernst Kaufmann <ekauf100@aol.com>, Curtis Mann <curt4@mindspring.com>, Michael Benedikt <benedikt@research.lucent.com>, Michelle Ultmann <rmlsuf@aol.com>, Miriam Schneider <miriamschndr@aol.com>, Nadine Karplus <nadine@karplus.org>, Nina Haberer <haberer@polsa.purdue.edu>, Judith Ormond <judpicc@aol.com>, Q Daniel Benedikt <fullayout@juno.com>, Ruth & Herbert David <hardavid@isonet.net>, Helmut & Erica Schwab <tumleh1544@aol.com>, Hans Schneider <hans@math.wisc.edu>, Ava Tews <artworks@msn.com>, Felix & Frances Weil <FelixFWeil@aol.com>, Hans Weinmann <hanwein@webtv.net>, Ruth Willency <ruthwillency@hotmail.com>, Lucile Wolf <henlu@aol.com>

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No Home FAX at present  
<http://www.math.wisc.edu/~hans> (URL)

Dear MWKTA member:

As some of you know, the current plan is to hold the 2003 MWKTA meeting in Madison, Wis. The switch from St. Louis occurred at my initiative and by agreement with the St. Louis group. The correspondence that preceded the switch is appended below for your information.

Would you please send me suggestions or comments for our next meeting. I am forming a PROGRAM COMMITTEE of about five members to evaluate suggestions and to make decisions. Eva Hamlet and Walter Falk have already agreed to be committee members. (I wanted an organizer from each of the last two meetings.) If you wish to serve please volunteer! The only requirement is that you read and respond to email pretty regularly except for short periods.

Now to technicalities. I am sending this announcement to all the people on a list received from Eva that have email addresses. Eventually a hard copy will go to those who attended the Chicago meeting who did not provide an email address. If you know of someone who is not on the list and might like to receive information, please let me know. If you attended neither the 2001 meeting in Indianapolis nor the 2002 meeting in Chicago, please let me know that you wish to receive further announcements, otherwise I may assume that you are not interested in receiving future information. And, for those who attended one of the previous two meetings, if you have lost interest, please also let me know.

Miriam sends her regards. She and I will work on the local arrangements.





Dest

hans 6 May 2002

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Hans Schneider	<a href="mailto:hans@math.wisc.edu">hans@math.wisc.edu</a>
Department of Mathematics	608-262-1402 (Work)
Van Vleck Hall	608-271-7252 (Home)
480 Lincoln Drive	608-263-8891 (Work FAX)
University of Wisconsin-Madison	No Home FAX at present
Madison WI 53706 USA	<a href="http://www.math.wisc.edu/~hans">http://www.math.wisc.edu/~hans</a> (URL)

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Dear Walter (Falk):

First, I want to thank you and the other organizers (Gretchen, Maryann, Ernie and Ruth) for an excellent meeting in Chicago. Miriam and I thoroughly enjoyed it.

Next, I want to tell you that I have real regrets at not biting when you asked me to organize next year's MW KTA meeting. There was simply not enough time to talk to Miriam about this in the few minute before he business meeting. But after thinking it over, we think we could have done it. We would still be glad to if the St. Louis people want to switch to us,

I am sending a copy to Curt Mann and Vern Fischer, just in case.

Thanks again for

best

hans

\*\*\*\*\*

On Wed, 24 Apr 2002, Curtis L. Mann wrote:

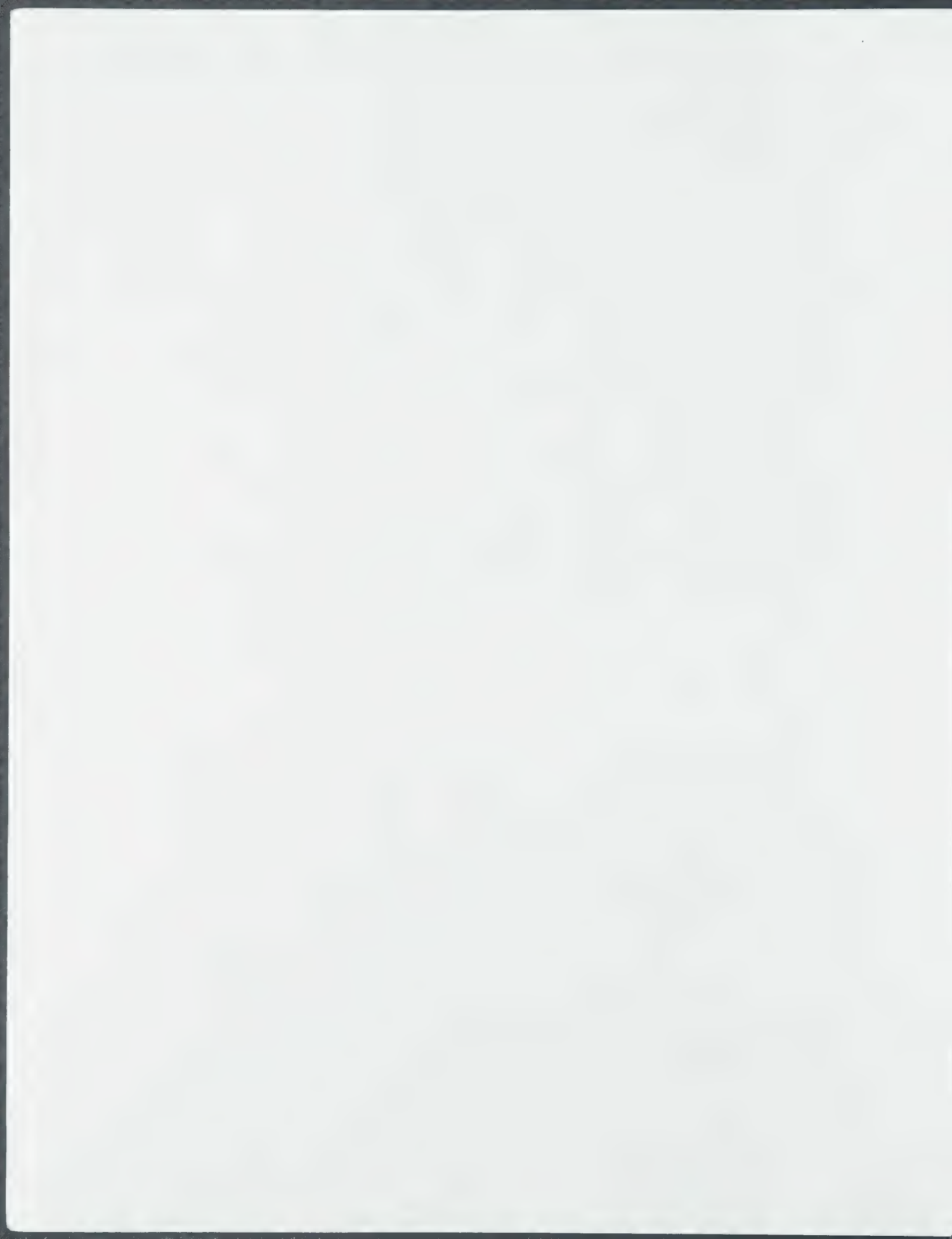
Date: Wed, 24 Apr 2002 18:02:35 -0400  
 From: Curtis L. Mann <[curt4@mindspring.com](mailto:curt4@mindspring.com)>  
 To: Hans Schneider <[hans@math.wisc.edu](mailto:hans@math.wisc.edu)>  
 Cc: [Fischepv@SLU.edu](mailto:Fischepv@SLU.edu), [hedy@hedyepstein.com](mailto:hedy@hedyepstein.com), [ekauf100@aol.com](mailto:ekauf100@aol.com)  
 Subject: Re: next mw kta (fwd)

At 10:00 PM 4/22/02 -0500, you wrote:

----- Forwarded message -----

Date: Mon, 22 Apr 2002 21:53:35 -0500 (CDT)  
 From: Hans Schneider <[hans@math.wisc.edu](mailto:hans@math.wisc.edu)>  
 To: [fcsl@interaccess.com](mailto:fcsl@interaccess.com)  
 Cc: [curt@inlink.com](mailto:curt@inlink.com), Ernst Kaufmann <[ekauf100@aol.com](mailto:ekauf100@aol.com)>, [hedyepv@slu.se](mailto:hedyepv@slu.se)  
 Subject: next mw kta





Dear Hans,

Vern Fischer and I have exchanged emails, and we are happy to defer to you and Miriam to have the MW mtg of the KTA in 2003 at Madison. I understand that it is a very nice town. I am sending a copy of this to Kaufman and Vernon and Hedy.

Let me know if there is anything I can do to help.

Curt  
Curt (Curtis L. Mann) - [curt4@mindspring.com](mailto:curt4@mindspring.com)

\*\*\*\*\*

>From [hans@math.wisc.edu](mailto:hans@math.wisc.edu) Tue Apr 30 20:59:39 2002  
Date: Wed, 24 Apr 2002 21:53:15 -0500 (CDT)  
From: Hans Schneider <[hans@math.wisc.edu](mailto:hans@math.wisc.edu)>  
To: Curtis L. Mann <[curt4@mindspring.com](mailto:curt4@mindspring.com)>  
'Cc: Fisch-pves@LJL.edu, [hedy@hedyepstein.com](mailto:hedy@hedyepstein.com), Ernst Kaufmann <[ekauf100@aol.com](mailto:ekauf100@aol.com)>, Miriam Schneider <[miriamschudr@aol.com](mailto:miriamschudr@aol.com)>  
Subject: Re: next mw kta (fwd)

CURTIS:

Thanks - you know the old proverb; be careful what you ask for ...

But Miriam and I are willing and we'll do our best. So, unless I hear an objection very shortly, I'll assume that it's Madison in 2003.

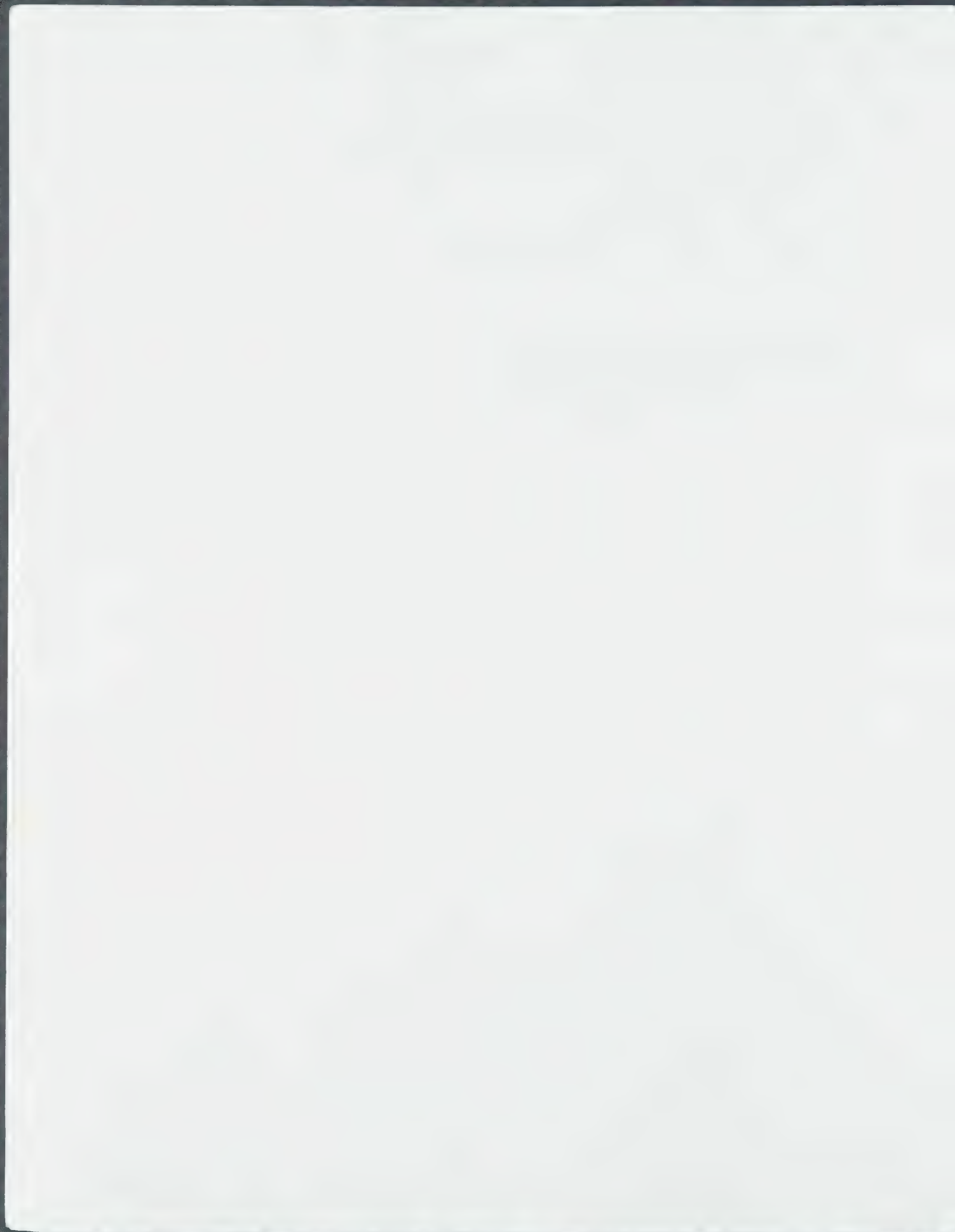
When I get email addresses from Eva, I'll inform the group and ask for input.

Thanks again

hans

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Im Spiegel der Zeit: Ursula Rosenfeld (75) kam als 14-jähriges Mädchen mit einem Kindertransport nach England, wo sie noch heute lebt - nach Deutschland wollte sie nie zurückkehren

Ich konnte das nicht - zurückkehren. Auf keinen Fall. Rufen eine Sekunde habe ich daran gedacht. Nicht, nachdem sie meine Mutter und meinen Vater umgebracht hatten. Und als die Millionen anderen. Erst lange nach Kriegsende bin ich noch einmal nach Deutschland gefahren. Und das Zentrum der Juden in der Region. Es gab eine Synagoge, die an Feiertagen immer gut besetzt war, aber ansonsten hatten wir oft Probleme, zehn erwachsene Männer zu finden, um einen Minivan, den jüdischen Gottesdienst, feiern zu können. Uns ging es ganz gut damals, besser jedenfalls als vielen anderen in Quakenbrück. Mein Vater hatte Arbeit, und es gab genug zu essen zu Hause. Meine Mutter gab mir immer belegte Brötchen mit in die Schule, die ich jenen Kindern geben sollte, die ohne Frühstück gekommen waren, weil ihre Eltern nicht mehr leisten konnten. Es ist schon seltsam, aber ein Junge, dem ich jeden Morgen ein Brot mitbrachte - wurde später der Bürgermeister der Stadt. Als die Nationalsozialisten in die Macht kamen, wurde die gesamte Stadt antisemitisch. Natürlich kann ich mich nicht erinnern, dass ich jemals Quakenbrück verlassen habe, und so vielen war es Juden auch schwerer als in einer Großstadt. Mein Vater hatte viele Freunde, die uns regelmäßig besuchten. Nach dem Januar 1938 kamen sie aber immer seltener und schließlich gar nicht mehr.

Kurze Zeit nach Hitlers Machtübernahme lief ich acht Jahre alt meine Mutter bewusste eine Geburtstagsparty für mich vor und lud all meine Freundinnen ein. Der Tisch wurde gedeckt, das Zimmer dekoriert, und ich war zum ersten Mal. Doch niemand kam. Nicht ein einziges Kind. Da verstand ich das erste Mal, dass wir Ausgestoßene waren. An diesem Gefühl kann ich mich noch sehr lebhaft erinnern. Meine Mutter versuchte mir und meiner älteren Schwester Hella zu erklären, dass dies nicht unser Fehler war. In der Schule wurde es auch immer schlimmer. Wir hatten Schürzenpöbele, an denen man zu zweit sitzen sollte. Aber niemand wollte mehr ein Paar mit mir teilen. Also bekam ich eines in der nächsten Ecke - ganz nah, nicht allzu weit. Ich weiß noch, wie ein Lehrer uns beibringen wollte, wie man unterschiedliche Rassen in ihre Gruppenform erkennen konnte. Es war natürlich eine typische deutsche, anscheinend Form, und ich glaube, die Juden sollten eine besonders niedrige. Dieben der Eltern haben - genau wie ich das nicht mehr. Der Lehrer vermaß dann die Köpfe aller Kinder, und ganz am Schluss sagte er: Und jetzt messen wir Ursula. Ich traute mich nicht, irgendetwas zu sagen, aber ich weiß heute noch, wie er enttäuscht der Lehrer war, als sein Messergebnis nicht seinen

Erwartungen entsprach. Ich habe die Schule gehasst. Am schlimmsten waren die Pausen. Während des Unterrichts konnte ich wenigstens in meiner Ecke sitzen. Auch wenn mir meine Mitschüler immer hinter die Ohren meine Hefte gossen. Doch in den Pausen musste ich mich auch noch gegen die älteren Schüler wehren, die

aus deren Fenstern schossen. Flammen liefen über. Meine Klassenkameraden hielten sofort auf die Straße, und ich wurde mitgezogen. Überall waren Menschen, alle schrien, jüden, jüden, klatschten. Dann kamen zwei Männer mit der Thora aus der Synagoge, gingen an zu tanzen und zu jubeln und warfen die Thora ins Feuer. Plötzlich rief jemand: Da ist eine Jüdin - lasst sie uns auch ins Feuer werfen.

Trendwiese gelang es mir, nach Hause zu kommen. Der Führer ich dann, dass mein Vater verhaftet worden war. Meine Mutter stand unter Schock. Später haben wir gehört, dass alle jüdischen Männer in Quakenbrück festgenommen worden waren. Am nächsten Tag haben sie sie in Konzentrationslager nach Buchenwald gebracht. Mein Vater hat sich nie etwas gefallen lassen. Als er in Buchenwald ankam und alle ihre Gurte und Schnurstränge abgeben mussten, hat er lautstark protestiert und die Wachen angeschrien. „Ich kann die Leute nicht so behandeln.“ Da haben sie ihn einfach zu Tode geprügelt. Vor allen anderen. Um ihnen Gehorsam beizubringen. Ein paar Tage später hat man uns erzählt, er sei ein eher Herzanfall gestorben. Die Nazis boten uns seine Asche gegen Bezahlung an. Als die Urne kam haben wir sie auf dem jüdischen Friedhof begraben. Aber ob es wirklich seine Asche war, weiß ich nie bis heute nicht.

Kurze Zeit darauf erfuhr wir dann von den Kindertransporten. Nachkommen betrachtet, glaube ich, dass meine Schwester Hella und ich überlebt haben, weil mein Vater erkrankt wurde. Sie wählten nämlich fünf Kinder aus, die ihre Eltern verloren hatten oder deren Eltern sich nicht länger um sie kümmern konnten. Ich wurde in ein christliches jüdisches Kinderheim gebracht. Hella und ich wurden Ende November dorthin. In Hamburg war noch eine jüdische Schule geöffnet, auf die wir gehen sollten.

Ich war damals 13, Hella 14. Mutter bereitete unsere Abreise vor, wir sollten beide nach England. In jedes Kleidungsstück, sogar in jedes Taschentuch und in jede Socke steckte sie liebevoll unsere Namen. Anerkenntnis freuten wir uns darauf, nach England gehen zu können. Andererseits waren wir entsetzt über die Aussicht, unsere Mutter verlassen zu müssen. Wir hofften, sie würde uns bald folgen. Im Juli 1939 kam unsere Mutter nach Hamburg, um Hella und mir Lebewohl zu sagen. Der Ab-

# Die Rettung der Zehntausend

Nach der Reichskristallnacht 1938 nahm Großbritannien rund 10 000 jüdische deutsche Kinder auf. Die meisten haben Vater und Mutter nie wieder gesehen. Der Dokumentarfilm „Kindertransport - Into the Arms of Strangers“ erinnert nun an ihr Schicksal. Auch an das von Ursula Rosenfeld

schied war grausam. Der schlimmste Moment in meinem Leben, nie werde ich ihn vergessen. Mutter war immer so kontrolliert, so stark, jemand, der Kraft gab, an dem man sich auflehnen konnte. Und plötzlich, hier am Bahnhof, zeigte sie ihre Gefühle. Es war beängstigend. Wir schauten in jüdisches Gesicht, das all die Schmerzen und all die Qualen zeigte, durch die sie gegangen war. Ich wollte es damals nicht glauben, dass es das letzte Mal war, das wir uns sehen sollten. Aber irgendwie hatte ich dennoch das Gefühl, dass es ein Abschied nur immer war. Ich hatte gern ein Bild von meiner Mutter im Kopf, das sie glücklicher zeigte als an diesem Tag. Aber alles, woran ich immer denken muss, ist dieses verzerrte Gesicht voller Qual.

Als wir in London ankamen, herrschte zunächst Chaos. Wir warteten in der Liverpool Street Station, das jemand uns abholte. Doch niemand tauchte auf. Die erste Nacht verbrachten wir in einem Hostel in der Nähe von Kensington, am nächsten Morgen mussten wir zum Flüchtlingskomitee nach Bloomsbury. Von dort schickten sie uns zu einer Witwe in der Nähe von Brighton in Sussex, bei der wir wohnen sollten. Als wir versuchten, wir unser Gepäck mit all unserem Hab und Gut verschwanden. Macht und keine Sorgen, wir schicken es euch nach, heißt es. Und in der Tat. Drei Monate später kam es. Schiedlich trafen wir bei der Witwe ein. Als sie die Tür öffnete, fiel ihr die Kinnlade runter. Ich war mittlerweile 14 und Hella 15, und wir waren damals schon so groß wie wir heute sind. Die Witwe hatte zwei kleine Kinder erwartet und zwei ziemlich große Mädchen bekommen. „Ich habe aber nur ein Bett!“, sagte sie zu dem Begrüßungsausschuss, der uns mit zwei kleinen Individuen in einem riesigen See. Aber ich hoffe, wir beide haben Beides gefolgt. Ich frag mich ziemlich oft: Du hast das Rechte verlierte ich jemandem mit dem, was ich mache? Was mir passiert ist, ermahnt mich immer dazu, andere zu respektieren.

Hella ging dann bald nach Kriegsende zurück nach Deutschland. Ich konnte das nicht. Hella hatte sich in einen Flüchtling verliebt, und der wurde unbedingtweg nach Hause, ein Zuhause, das es für mich nicht mehr gab. Für meine Schwester war die Rückkehr natürlich nicht leicht, aber das ist eine lange, komplizierte Geschichte. Und eine andere. Wir blieben jedenfalls immer in Kontakt. Obwohl das mit der Zeit schwieriger wurde, da Hella in Ostdeutschland wohnte. Aber was die Menschen in

West- und Ostdeutschland nicht tun konnten, war für uns kein Problem. Wir konnten so oft, wie wir wollten, miteinander telefonieren. Und zu weilen durften wir uns auch gegenseitig besuchen - Hella kam dann nach England. Schon recht bald nach dem Krieg hab ich dort gearbeitet. Peter, ebenfalls ein Flüchtling, aus Berlin. Das war 1946. Mittlerweile hatte ich meine Ausbildung zur Krankenschwester

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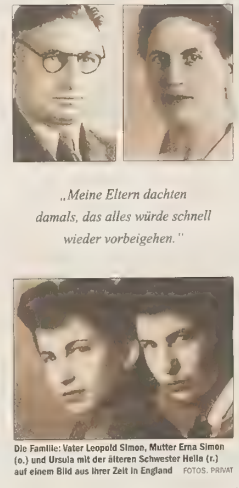
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Die Familie: Vater Leopold Simon, Mutter Emma Simon (o.) und Ursula mit der älteren Schwester Hella (r.) auf einem Bild aus ihrer Zeit in England. FOTOS: PHOTOFEST

Ich bin schon wahnsinnig angegriffen. Ich zittere regelrecht. Ich weiß ja nicht, wie sie reagieren, was sie davon halten, was ich sage und wie ich es sage. Ich habe den Film schon gesehen und bin regelrecht erschrocken, als ich mich schäme. Ich war so emotional, meine Lärmerei bin ich kein emotionaler Mensch, aber das Gegenteil. Aber wie meine Mutter. Aber ich bin längst nicht so stark, wie sie war. Ich hatte wohl die die Kraft gegeben, meine Tochter zu sein. Meine französische Freundin sagt mir oft, wie britisch ich sei. Und wirklich, wenn ich zurückblicke, sehe ich eine merkwürdige Ähnlichkeit zwischen meiner notorischen Verteidigung des britischen Lebensstils und der Art, wie mein Vater immer Deutschland verteidigt hat. Ich weiß, dass hier in Großbritannien brühe nicht immer das Richtige getan wird. Aber ich werde immer auf der Seite der Briten stehen. Mein Vater wollte damals wahrscheinlich genauso dazugehören und Teil der Gemeinschaft sein wie ich heute. Was uns unterscheidet, ist, ich gehöre wirklich dazu. Ich gehöre zu Peter. Das war ein Witz, während von Peter. Das war ein Witz, während von Peter. Das war ein Witz, während von Peter.

Ein Kindertransport im Juli 1939



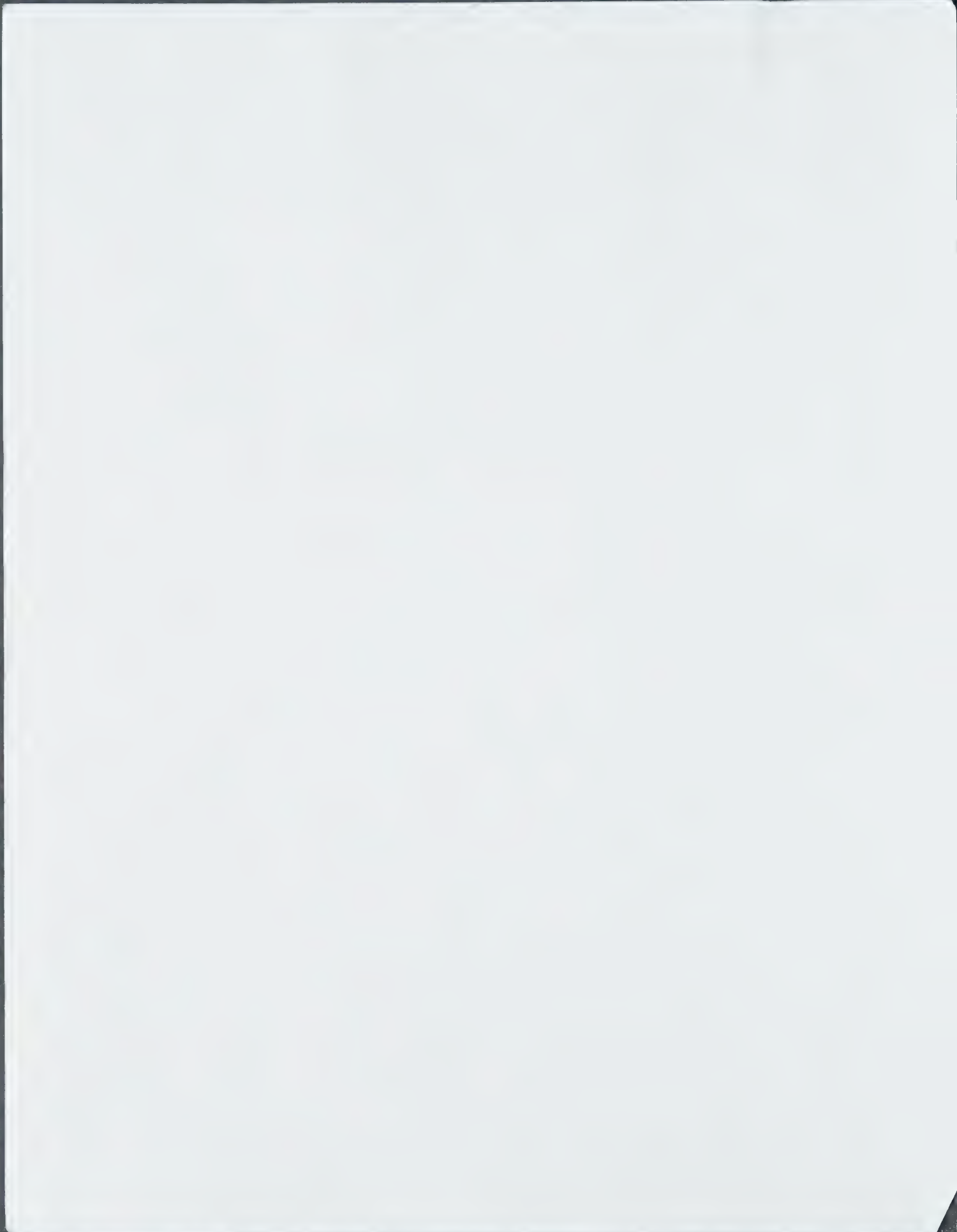


Dear Ms. Kaizerman,

I see in the Spring 2004 issue of the Kinder-Link that you are working on the history of the Kindertransporte. I came over on the first Kindertransport from Vienna to England, leaving Vienna on December 10, 1938. If you would like to see my autobiography, *Adventures of a Chemist Collector*, I will be happy to send it to you but will of course need your address.

Best wishes,  
Alfred Bader





## Report on Kindertransport Questionnaire

**D**URING MY FELLOWSHIP at the United States Holocaust Museum I had the opportunity to send out a questionnaire to almost 500 people registered as former Kindertransportees at the museum's survivor registry.

The questionnaire contains fifty questions. It consists of five parts: biographical information; time before departure on a Kindertransport; time after arrival in Great Britain; re-emigration; interest in the Kindertransports as part of the participant's personal history and of history in general.

The response was overwhelming – to this day I received 153 questionnaires, which is three times the usual response rate of 10%. I am grateful for this support and I want to thank all the participants. Since the survivor registry handles addresses confidentially I could only reply to those who had addressed their letters directly to me.

It is too early to give answers to my research questions, which mainly focus on the children's perspective on the level of child welfare and bureaucracy and aim to fill the gap between institutional records and available oral histories and memoirs. There are still questionnaires coming in and I have not started analyzing the material yet. Here is some preliminary statistical information. Since the group who received the questionnaire is not representative – most of them live in the U.S. and only people could be reached who registered themselves or were registered at the USHMM survivor registry – the statistics can of course not be applied to the whole group of Kindertransportees. But the numbers might be interesting. The largest number of letters (133) came from within the United States; 12 from Great Britain, 2 each from Germany, Canada, and Australia, and 1 each from Israel and Austria.

Forty-one participants were born in Austria (40 in Vienna, 1 in Klagenfurt), 20 were born in Berlin, 7 in Hamburg, 6 in Leipzig and Frankfurt respectively, and 5 in Cologne. Four stated as place of birth Mannheim and 3 Nürnberg. One participant came from Danzig, 1 from Prague. There were 44 other cities and towns in Germany from which one or two of the participants came. 142 of the participants are Jewish; 10 are Christians, of whom 6 were raised Jewish and converted after their emigration. Four grew up Christian and were forced to leave Germany as "Non-Aryans." One participant is agnostic but was Jewish as a child.

The great majority of the participants appear to be very interested in the history of the Kindertransport and have read or seen more than one book or movie on the subject. Most well-known are "I Came Alone" (edited by Bertha Leverton and Shmuel Lowensohn) and the movie "Into the Arms of Strangers – Stories of the Kindertransport." Only 13 out of 153 responded that they don't know any movie or book on the Kindertransports.

Much social interaction takes place between former Kindertransportees. Only 34 participants gave the information that they do not know anyone who came on a Kindertransport; 119 are in touch with other former Kindertransportees; many of them attend reunions and are members of KTA chapters or other local groups of former child refugees.

The results of the survey will be available in my PhD thesis which I will finish by the end of 2004.

CLAUDIA CURIO  
Zentrum für Antisemitismenforschung, Berlin

## A Brief Note from Project Second Wave

You may remember that, in 2002, KTA mailed out confidential questionnaires designed by Project Second Wave, located at Harvard University. The researchers are happy to report that they received 247 filled-out questionnaires from KTA members, as well as 18 questionnaires from the younger generation (KT2). In addition, some of the KTA participants were interviewed by the Project interviewer.

Project Second Wave would like to thank Mr. Kurt Goldberger and the KTA Organization for their kind help in making the mailing possible, and all participants for taking the time to fill out the questionnaires. The Project will notify the KTA, and those individual participants who identified themselves on the questionnaire, once the book presenting the results of the study is ready to be released. In the meantime, some information about the status and progress of the Project is available on the Internet under <<http://www.physics.harvard.edu/projectsecondwave.htm>>.

Gerald Holton, Principal Investigator  
Gerhard Sonnert, Project Co-Director



## Going Back – Speaking Out *Continued*

*Erwachsenenbildung*, Academy for Adult Education, located in Volkmarsen, that exhibits records of German-Jewish culture collected over the centuries. According to Ernst Klein, Chairman, it primarily portrayed the lives of prominent Jewish leaders and families. For example, I located a panel showing my aunt and uncle's house recognized for its artistic architectural design. The exhibition is open to the public once a month or for special groups.

The second place was a synagogue in Vöhl with an unusual history. It had been built by a small Jewish community in 1827. By 1840, the town's Jewish population had grown to 19 per cent. At some point in the 1930s, the synagogue was sold to a non-Jewish family and remodeled to be a home. It was untouched during *Kristallnacht*. The property changed ownership several times until 1999, when a small emerging Jewish community bought it back.

There are about 80 Jewish families reportedly living in Vöhl. Approximately half are actively restoring the synagogue. The gutted building shows much evidence of its past Judaic character: the outline of the *bima*, or the altar, the *Ner Tamid*, or the eternal light, the upper balconies and the lattice covering where the women prayed.

The restoration efforts include the stained glass *Mogen David* on the eastern wall and large *mezuzahs* on the doorposts. Workmen, during a recent renovating of the ceiling, discovered *siddurim* that had been hidden away in the ceiling for safe protection. It is believed that the *Sefer Torahs* may still be hidden under the concrete flooring.

The community is struggling with funding the main sanctuary and its adjoining classrooms. Estimates for completion of the renovations could reach up to \$300,000. Would this not be a worthwhile project for the KTA to consider in helping with the fundraising?

RALPH MOLLERICK  
Silver Spring, Md.



## Letters to the Editor *Continued*

such material, we can send it to the Dutch National Institute for War Documentation (as suggested by Mr. Sander Schipper, who – Dutch himself – has been very supportive and helpful).

The Executive Committee supports this idea. So, I am also writing to ask for more “memory pieces” or letters that deal with the recollections and emotional significance of Dutch people coming out to meet our trains. Please spread the word to any *Kinder* who are not now members of KTA and who could participate in the project. If it were to become possible to install plaques at the stations, we already know now, thanks to Mr. Schipper, the names of the first two stations where the trains stopped.

I had been thinking about the words “Thanking the Dutch,” especially after reading Mr. Sugar’s piece in the last KINDER-LINK. I came to realize that “Thanking the Dutch” does not describe well what I had in mind since it is not so much about “thanking” as about “recording,” for future generations of Dutch people, the spontaneous acts of kindness shown to us by ordinary people as we passed through Holland on our way to England. Anne Kelemen of New York City and I came up with a more appropriate title for the project: “In the Spirit of Remembering and Appreciating the Dutch.”

So please send more material to Marion Walter. E-mail <walter@math.uoregon.edu> or regular mail to M. Walter c/o Kurt Goldberger, 36 Dean Street, Hicksville, NY 11801.

MARION WALTER  
Eugene, Ore.

Bertha Leverton appears to be practicing discrimination by depriving women *Kinder* of the religious experience that they deserve. They are not to be included in the ceremony at the London synagogue of her choosing. She may be unaware that it is customary in the U.S., Australia, New Zealand, etc. that a bat mitzvah also requires Torah study. This occurs in both the Reform and Conservative Synagogues to which most *Kinder* belong. She may not remember that prior to the Nazi period Western Jewry had a longstanding custom of female confirmation at age 14. Our female membership is being denied a religious experience that many of them crave. The “presents” she offers them are suggestive of bribery and discrimination.

LUCIE BENEDIKT  
New York City

*The opinions expressed in Letters to the Editor and signed articles are those of the writers and not necessarily those of the KTA.*

### New York KT2 to Meet

The New York Area KT2 will have a small gathering for a screening of “Nicholas Winton: The Power of Good,” at Makor, 35 West 67th Street, on Monday, April 19th at 7:00 p.m. with a post-film discussion with the film’s producer and two children saved by Sir Winton. Tickets are \$15 and may be purchased in advance by phone at 212-601-1000, on the Makor website <<http://www.92y.org>>, or at the door.

## Eva Hamlet’s Story

*Here are excerpts on Eva’s story from the article “Teaching Holocaust Lessons,” by Lisa Renzo-Rhodes that appeared in the “Indianapolis Star” on November 8, 2003:*

More than six decades have passed since the day in July 1939 when the then 15-year-old Eva Riese bade what would be a forever farewell to her parents.

The daughter of a prominent German-Jewish lawyer and his wife, Eva was placed aboard a train – the historic Kindertransport – with much love but little explanation.

Once in England she lived in a hostel with other girls brought from Germany. Other children were taken in by foster families, went to orphanages, group homes, or worked on farms.

Her parents died at Auschwitz.

Years have passed. She married Eddie Hamlet, helped to raise a daughter, built a career, buried a husband, and became a doting grandmother.

Eva Hamlet has written a book, “Against All Odds,” that documents her experience. When asked, she tells those who will listen the story of her lost childhood, growing up alone in England, and eventually emigrating to the U.S.A.

She thinks it is her duty to those who perished.

“My father would say to me, ‘We didn’t send you out so that you could fall flat on your face and do nothing.’” Eva says. “He would say, ‘Make it count!’”

The article also lists the various venues where Eva would be speaking in November 2003.



## Chapter News

### NEWS FROM NORCAL

The NorCal Conference Committee continues its work putting together an interesting and informative program for the 2004 KTA national conference in San Francisco October 22-24. Dr. Fred Rosenbaum, Founding Director of *Lehrhaus Judaica* in Berkeley and author of several books on Jewish history, will speak on the Jews of the California Gold Rush.

There will also be workshops and panel discussions on improving communication between *Kinder* and their children and how to present our stories at local schools. October 23 will be 2nd and 3rd Generation Day with special programs designed by and for KT2s and KT3s. In the afternoon there will be a continuous showing of films including “My Knees Were Jumping,” the London Reunion of 1999, the Nicholas Winton movie, and Jewish chicken farmers of Petaluma, California.

Alfred Cotton and Ralph Samuel, Co-chairs

### NEW YORK CHAPTER

Dr. Harvey Moser, a passenger on the S.S. St. Louis, is unable to speak to the N.Y. group due to his father-in-law’s recent death and the illness of his mother-in-law.

I find myself personally involved with some *Kinder* in New York City. One entered Canterbury Hospital in the Bronx, a hospice. I speak to her every day and visit her every few days. Another *Kind* I call and see has Parkinson’s Disease while I am on the phone with another one who has leukemia.

Helga Shepard, Chapter Chair

## National Security - Then and Now

QUITE A BIT IS BEING WRITTEN IN THE NEWSPAPERS and seen on TV nowadays about certain fumbling efforts at Homeland Security since 9/11. Great Britain in the 1940s had similar problems. Here is one such case:

I was attending boarding school in Devonshire when the Nazis invaded the Low Countries and marched on to France. Our location was just within the 25 mile zone from the English Channel that was out of bounds for "enemy aliens." While the respectful Chief Constable of the town readily agreed that I was unlikely to assist the Germans who had kicked me out, and (because I was at that school) considered me a "proper young gent" to boot, he nonetheless had to follow the orders of the Home Office in London.

I wound up first in Leeds, and then in Birmingham, both safely inland. With permission of the "Labor Exchange," I obtained a job in one of the suburban "goods" (i.e. freight) stations of the London Midland & Scottish Railway. My duty was to handle the detailed paperwork which included all shipments of bombs, fuses, etc. to various H.M. Armed Forces bases all over the British Isles. These originated in local factories. I had to consult maps as to the location of their exact destination and of their nearest transfer point and siding. I had to make sure that we had an itemized receipt signed by the leading platform foreman.

Subsequently the authorities determined that an office job was not sufficient war work, and I was sent to a small bicycle factory. Here, instead of a desk, I worked at a work bench, but essentially did the same work. We shipped bicycles to each and every Royal Air Force fighter plane base. These were needed by the pilots on duty so these fellows could pedal out to the waiting Spitfires, etc. which were being readied for take-off.

The number of bicycles being shipped depended on the number of fighter planes at each RAF base. There was a continuous demand for more bikes because apparently the machines assigned to those pilots who did not return were given to their replacements. Once again, the "enemy alien" performed all these sensitive assignments with no one giving it a second thought.

I sometimes wonder what a real enemy alien would have done with all this information.

WALTER CLIFTON  
Boca Raton, Fla.

## At Night in the Ward

YOU ASKED ME LAST NIGHT WHETHER IT WAS HARD for me to speak about my experiences before, during, and after WWII. There is one period in that time that I deliberately hide away in the back of my mind. Buried in the deepest crevices that are now covered in layers of dust, it yet still haunts me from time to time.

When World War II finally ended, our jubilation was endless. My efforts to return to Czechoslovakia were finally realized. I received permission to join the first group of doctors and nurses under the auspices of the Czechoslovak Red Cross to fly to Prague and on to Terezin (the former concentration camp). Our group was discharged from the hospital where we worked several weeks before our date of departure so we could put our personal affairs in order before leaving. It took several trips to Heathrow Airport before our takeoff (bad weather, technical problems, etc.). Our flight in a military plane took us to Brussels, Belgium, where we stayed overnight in military barracks, and the next day continued to Plzen, Czechoslovakia, and on to Terezin by bus.

Terezin became a gathering place where Jewish survivors from concentration camps in Germany and Poland were sent. These human wrecks were in most cases at death's door. They needed a place to die in clean beds which the hospital in Terezin provided. There may have been a few "survivors," whose health miraculously improved under our care so that they could either return to their homelands or to countries willing to grant a haven (mostly the former Palestine).

I became the night nurse sitting in wards, listening and watching the dying men, mostly middle-aged, who resembled photos of starving children in various parts of Africa that I had seen. The same distended stomachs, spindly legs that could hardly carry their bodies. Most of them were unable to take any nourishment besides sips of water and a few crumbs of bread. They prayed incessantly, and I listened to their chants all night long, knowing that stillness meant another death.

The eeriness of those dark nights and the wailing sounds of those soon to be cadavers will haunt me for the rest of my life. It was hard for me to understand their faith in a Supreme Being who would permit the atrocities committed on them.

MARIETTA RYBA  
Manhattan, Kan.

### Kindertransport Reflections by Sidney Seide

Mother kept back her tears at the railway station  
Kept repeating: *mein Kind* - it's all for the best.  
Could she have known this separation  
Would - although Freedom - never give me rest?

And uniforms and Nazi songs  
Filled German youth with pride;  
While their contemporaries with Jewish names  
Were cruelly brushed aside.

It's all now part of history,  
But one thing we all know;  
The sacrifices parents made  
To let their children go.

I wasn't sad to leave my home-town  
Christian friends were friends no more;  
Jewish friends wore worried faces,  
Searching for an open door.

Even if blond and blue-eyed  
With true Germanic name,  
A trace of Jewish ancestry  
- Your fate would be the same.

The reason we survived and thrived  
- Great Britain let us in;  
And most of all we say: Thank G-d  
The Germans didn't win!

Submitted by his friend, Henry Kahn, of the Washington, D.C. KTA Chapter, in commemoration of their friendship on the Dunera.



### KTA 2004 Conference October 22 - 24, 2004 • San Francisco

The KTA 2004 Conference will be held from October 22 to 24, 2004, at the Doubletree Hotel, Burlingame, California (San Francisco area). The theme of the conference is "Learning from the Past – Teaching for the Future."

Currently, the program has not been fully completed, but we are delighted that fellow *Kind* Nobel Laureate Walter Kohn will be one of the speakers. Others include: Dr. Fred Rosenbaum, a noted historian, as well as resource persons from the San Francisco area. We are indeed honored that Bertha Leverton will again attend our conference.

The Northern California Chapter Committee, under the leadership of Alfred Cotton and Ralph Samuel, have secured the services of a DJ to entertain on Saturday night. A number of films connected with the Kindertransports will be shown during the course of our meetings.

Arrangements have been made with the hotel for a weekend package, which includes room, breakfast, lunch and dinner (6 meals) for a total cost, including tax and gratuities, of approximately \$241.00 per person, double occupancy, and \$341.00 single occupancy. Special arrangements have been made for individuals living in the San Francisco area.

A reduced rate of \$89.00 per room, including breakfast, plus tax, will be available for the two days preceding and following.

Complete information will be sent to all members early in May. Should you need details prior to that, you may contact the national KTA office at 516-938-6084.

We are looking forward to seeing you in October in California.

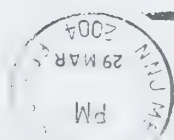
Submissions for future issues of *KINDER-LINK* should be sent to Irene Schmied, editor, 501 East 79th Street, Apt. 2G, New York, NY 10021 or e-mail to <Kinderlinknow@verizon.net> or fax to 212-570-0161. Manuscripts may be edited to fit space limitations.



Member y/e 6/30/2004  
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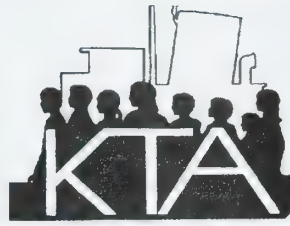
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ASSOCIATION



Spring 2004

Volume 14 / Number 2

## Going Back – Speaking Out

CAN YOU IMAGINE WHAT FEELINGS WERE STIRRED UP when I received an invitation September 2003 from the mayor of Wolfhagen, Germany, to be their keynote speaker? The occasion was to commemorate the 65th anniversary of the tragic events befallen the Jews on *Kristallnacht*, 9 November 1938. It was an awesome gut feeling. As I understood it, it has become an annual event since 2000 reflecting on some aspect of Jewish life to serve as a conscious reminder for the community and the generations that follow, of the unimaginable atrocities the Nazi terror regime inflicted and the horrors perpetrated against the Jews of the town.

It became a moment of decision. Anxiety began to set in. Although I had been back in prior years as a visitor, this felt different. It was different because the theme for this commemoration of Jewish life was the Kindertransport. It was a topic I could relate to, and an event I could comfortably, yet with some saddened emotions, present to the community.

My immediate reaction was to decline. After all, thoughts of going back to my home town where I was forced to leave and where family life, as I knew it, was destroyed, stirred up more pain. In addition, was I being used as the only known survivor from the town bearing testimony to the events leading up to the Kindertransport?

I was asked to prepare my speech and send it to a committee for review. Unfortunately, I have little to no comprehension of the German language, since I was only eight years old when I left, and so, a translation would be required. The speech was approved with only minor changes.

The flight to Frankfurt was smooth and security was unbelievably tight. For a moment, I found myself looking cautiously for Gestapo lurking around each gateway lounge. Arrangements had been made to pick up my wife and me from the airport and take us to the town's *Alten Rathaus*, Old Town Hall, which had been converted to a hotel and restaurant.

On Sunday, 9 November 2003, the events started at 11:00 a.m. with a short introduction by the town's mayor, Herr Bürgermeister Schaake, who chose the center of town where a monument stands that lists the 29 Jewish family names that lived in Wolfhagen prior to World War II. The somber mood was set with music by the Viola Quartet from the music school. Each name was read, eulogizing and recalling to conscience the tragic circumstances that led to the deportation and destruction of the Jewish community. The main program was at the Cultural Hall where we presented the German version of the film "Into the Arms of Strangers." It is entitled "*Kindertransport: In Eine Fremd Welt*." This became the introduction to this year's theme commemorating: The Kindertransport – What was it? How did it function? How successful was it?

The film was a hit, and the hall was filled to capacity. The newspaper media was visibly present in front and clumped at the sides. Curiosity heightened as I was introduced by Herr Glitsch, my interpreter. I approached the stage for my speech, and as I looked around, it occurred to me that for most of the audience, a Jew has never been seen on this stage and, almost all were not yet born when the Kindertransport made history.

The interpreter, who is an English teacher at the local schools, announced with a British accent, that Mr. Ralph Mollerick would be speaking to us in English. Why this announcement should bring on an additional applause I will never understand.

I started with a brief history of the economic and political events of Germany in the 1930s, followed by the life and cultural impacts with the rise of the Nazi regime on the Jewish communities. As conditions worsened, not only in this town, but all over Germany, I explained, Jews who could find a way to leave, left the country.

Not knowing what the audience understood of those times, I explained how Jewish life everywhere was uprooted and for the most part destroyed. Following the pogrom of the 9th and 10th of November 1938, known as *Kristallnacht*, the Nazis accelerated its delivery of hate and persecution by destroying synagogues and Jewish businesses.

I had been calm up to this point. Suddenly my subconscious emerged and I had to express my feelings of outrage and anger over what our people experienced. I had momentarily deviated from the script and began speaking out about the atrocities afflicted on European Jewry. I wanted the people to know that while some six million perished in the Holocaust, including one-and-a-half million children, only about 10,000 children were spared the horrors of the death camps through the Kindertransports, and others went into hiding.

My wife, who was sitting in the audience, told me later that she heard many people reacting to the numbers and weeping. I felt certain that the translator had no problem keeping up with me. I continued with the script by informing that by December 1938 England became the only country where the government allowed the children under the age of 18 and without their parents to be absorbed by British families and institutions.

Tragically, I told them, that the Kindertransports lasted only nine months and ended with the outbreak of the war in September 1939. And in an emotional voice I said, "The majority of the children saved by the Kindertransports never saw their parents again."

I concluded my presentation of the Kindertransport Saga, by relating my own experience of the events that led my parents to place my sister and me on the train that delivered us to

*Continued on Page 2*



## More Arrivals and Departures

UNDER THE HEADING "60 YEARS LATER," the "Aufbau" issue of December 11, 2003, carried a piece called "Fate of Jewish Refugee Children," a reprint from December 10, 1943. It tells of the arrival of 200 refugee children, originally from Germany and Austria, 120 of which were children sent to England by their parents before the war. Unable to join their children in England, some of the parents had managed to come to the U.S. and, thanks to HIAS, would now finally be reunited with their children.

Most the arrivals were girls given that the boys were serving in the British Armed Forces. The joy of the moment was one of not unalloyed joy. Parents barely recognized their children and often had to be reintroduced. Several names crop up, including Madelaine Doris Hirsch and Elie, Fritz, and Margit Zahn. Edith Kaufmann was so upset that her childhood sweetheart, Robert Weil, was not there greet her that the HIAS official promised to try to obtain leave for him from the U.S. Army.

It would be marvelous if KINDER-LINK were to receive more such stories from voluntary memoirists, who may have reached the U.S. on that particular voyage, or who know of similar events. It must have been scary to travel during the war, with a convoy as protection against submarines and torpedoes. It was certainly riskier than the more common post-war pilgrimage to family in the U.S. and elsewhere. Not always the proverbial happy ending, these later departures and arrivals brought psychological stress, heartache, and ambivalent emotions, as I remember from my experience as a seventeen-year-old going (albeit with my mother) from a very English, predominantly non-Jewish boarding school existence to join my father in Santiago, Chile.

It is the initial Kindertransport journey with its traumatic separation anxiety that has aroused much interest in books and films over the last decade. Recently the journey back to home towns late in life has proved inspiring, as in this issue's lead piece. But there are other departures and arrivals. Stories of

traveling out to Canada or Australia as internees, stories of going out to Israel, and stories about quasi-permanent returns to Prague, or even Vienna and Berlin. Much has still to be written about the equally problematic second journey, that of re-emigration from a British childhood or youth out to the geography of the future. Olga Drucker's recent piece in KINDER-LINK of Fall 2003 titled "Identity Crisis" leads the way towards more such submissions. The pages of KINDER-LINK stand ready to receive them.

IRENE K. SCHMIED  
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## Going Back – Speaking Out *Continued*

safety. I ended my talk with a presentation of all the ways in which government and society at large should protect the individual human rights of every citizen against all form of infringement. The message took hold. I was warmly greeted and realized that even in a small town there were many who spoke some English.

The next event took place at 6:00 p.m. at the *Alten Rathaus*, for a round table discussion with the mayor, educators, and historians. Many turned out to be authors eager to learn more about the little documented chapter of the Kindertransport.

It struck me as odd that, of the many questions asked, not one posed the question of how I felt as a child. Nor did I sense any compassion by the forty or so bright-minded scholars who could have asked, but did not, what the years were like for me – alone – wondering how I survived in England. Were these people at all interested in my feelings, especially, at such a young age? Or was it business as usual to seek the logistics of the Kindertransports and report the discoveries?

My finest hour came the following day when I was asked to address the senior body of the school in the lecture hall. These were students between the ages of 15 to 20 years of age. They sat attentively behind tables in rows ascending to the top. The German version of the film "Into the Arms of Strangers" was to be shown followed by a discussion. Unfortunately, the video projection system failed to work.

I stood before the students looking up at the many rows wondering what information would tempt their interest, and how I would structure the lecture. Not having any notes prepared, I asked, "How many of you play sports?" With faces lighting up, every hand went up. "Suppose I were to tell you that soccer is not permitted for the girls," I said. The reaction came immediately. "That's not possible," said one student in the front row.

This was my entry to the subject of discrimination and intolerance. I explained to the students that when I was child during the Nazi era, I was not allowed, as were all Jews, to enjoy the many activities you take for granted. For example, we were not allowed to go to the movie theaters, restaurants, or engage in public sports. Our parents were discriminated against in public office, as were teachers, or in business ownerships, simply because of religious intolerance toward Jews.

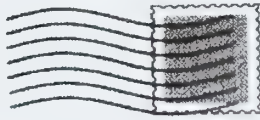
I concluded my lecture by stating, "Here is an opportunity for each of you to be ever watchful for maintaining your right to seek employment of your choice, to ensure freedom of expression, and the right to enjoy life."

The teacher, who arranged this meeting, informed me later that the Holocaust curriculum is a difficult subject to teach for the staff. For the most part, he informed me, teachers use videos on the subject, which is followed by discussions. Students frequently remain silent when asked questions dealing with the persecution of the Jews. I inquired why, and received the answer that they often blame their grandparents whom they choose not to talk about.

The last event planned for me was to visit places that have attempted to recreate Jewish culture for educational and historical purposes. Of the many places that inspired me, only two struck me as highlights. The first was the *Akademie für*

*Continued on Page 5*





## Letters to the Editor

As always, the KINDER-LINK is superb. As always, I feel connected again when I read of others' recollections, so similar to my own. "The Best Cup of Chocolate" sounded a chord of recognition in my soul. Oh, if those kind Dutch women ever knew what they had done!

Robert Sugar's article, "The Alphabet of Gratitude," is a thoughtful and thought-provoking piece. I remember so clearly how more than one of my many foster "parents" insisted that I must be grateful. Every time I tried to voice a complaint I was reminded of my lowly status, and the need to be humble. As I lived with devout Protestant Christians, this was of course expected of us all. Especially me. But as a little Jewish refugee girl, even more so.

Yes, I entirely agree with Robert: "We exhausted the alphabet of gratitude long ago . . . I propose the alphabet of liberation, which begins with the end of gratitude."

Though I must add, there are still many blessings to be thankful for. One of them, the KINDER-LINK. Another, our Freedom of Speech! Long may it endure!

OLGA LEVY DRUCKER  
Sewall's Point, Fla.



I was disappointed at finding you giving space to the ineptly named Robert "Sugar." I am glad to notice your disclaimer that the opinions expressed are those of the writer and not necessarily those of the KTA.

For my part, I cannot cease feeling an enormous sense of gratitude to the British people and their representatives for allowing me to come to their country. Mr. Sugar may be one of those *Kinder* whose parents were subsequently able to join them. My own widowed mother who perished would, I am sure, not have been able to find any other way of arranging my escape. Were it not for the Kindertransport, I would doubtlessly have become one of the six million. How can I fail to seize every opportunity to show my gratitude? I was glad of the opportunity of manifesting that gratitude by becoming a member of the British Armed Forces. Even had the opportunity presented itself, I would like to think I would not have deserted Britain. I am proud to be a British resident and the holder of a British passport, although I now spend the winter months in the rather more pleasant Florida climate.

Perhaps Mr. Sugar would like to explain in what manner Britain "deliberately abandoned the Jews of Europe." America certainly did. Remember the St. Louis! It is difficult for me to comprehend how those of you, who moved here from the country that give you refuge, can feel loyalty towards one which failed in the hour of our need.

JOHN D. PHILLIP  
Deerfield Park, Fla.



I seem to remember you showed some interest in my book

which I had mentioned to you prior to its publication. It appeared in English last August, having already been published in German in 1996. It is "Child of Our Time," published by I. B. Tauris (London and New York) ISBN 1 86064 789 8. Essentially my story as a child in Nazi Germany till age 10, then as an adolescent in a refugee institution and an "enemy alien" in wartime Britain. Not all sad.

RUTH DAVID  
Ames, Iowa



What a good idea! I wholeheartedly support the inspired suggestion by Marion Walter (Summer 2003 KINDER-LINK) that we should somehow express our gratitude to the good Dutch people.

I was on the Kindertransport which left Frankfurt on June 6, 1939, and arrived in England on June 7. The sense of desolation and utter sadness was numbing, and I have few "concrete" memories of the journey. The one thing that stands out, and which I shall remember as long as I live, is the train coming to a halt soon after crossing the German/Dutch border. There, at the station platform, were tables with cups of orange juice, which were then brought to us by friendly, kindly women. It was the most humane and kind gesture imaginable.

If there is any way in which I can express my gratitude, perhaps by contributing towards a plaque, I would be most grateful if you could let me know.

Thank you for your efforts in this endeavor,

GERTRUD (SCHAFFNER) FRIEDMAN  
Pittsford, N.Y.



I wish to take one moment to thank the editors of KINDER-LINK for publishing my letter that dealt with some of the pre-Kindertransport era schools that were located in Herlingen (Germany) and Recco (Italy).

As the result of this letter I was contacted by five former schoolmates who are now dispersed throughout the country in California, Oregon, Michigan, and New Jersey. The two from New Jersey were able to attend this year's KTA's Chanukah Party in New York City providing us an opportunity to recall what we did and how we lived 65 years ago.

By communicating our experiences I continue to be amazed how the unpleasant and serious problems encountered during our early years have been overcome and about the subsequent academic and/or professional successes. This proves that the members of the "Generation Exodus" qualify to be included in the "Greatest Generation."

HARRY W. EBERT  
Madison, N.J.



I want to thank those members who replied to my letter in the Summer 2003 KINDER-LINK which dealt with thanking the Dutch for the kindness they showed us when the trains came to their first stop in Holland. The replies were enthusiastic and positive and contained moving accounts. If we collect enough

*Continued on Page 6*



## Generations

**M**Y PROJECT: EXPANDING FAMILY BOUNDARIES.  
It is now mid-January 2004 and my mother, Frances Abusch Doniger, has just received her latest KTA newsletter. She always reads it immediately just in case there's an article by someone she knows. Well, this time she really did! To her amazement, she found a close connection to her past, to her own childhood.

My mother is a *Kind* from Vienna. A lucky one, if you can call anyone who has witnessed Hitler's brutalities and lost family members lucky. But my mother is lucky because her parents sent her on the Kindertransport to England just months before the Nazis came looking for her. Lucky, because she was placed with a good family that treated her well and with whom she is still in contact. Lucky, because she was in England for less than a year before her parents made their way to New York and sent for her. Lucky, as we joke, that she left Coventry before the Germans bombed it. And lucky that her older brother, Max, made it out as well and ultimately ended up in Toronto where he raised his family. My mother was also lucky that she had several cousins who got out of Austria and Germany and made their way to different parts of the world.

What she found was an article in the Generations column called "Love has no boundaries." It was by Julie Jones, who had only recently discovered that her father, Josef Pick, was Jewish. For the last year, she had been searching for his younger siblings, Vera, Dolly, and Herbert. She had hoped that they might have survived because they had gone to Holland on a Kindertransport. Alas, she learned that their parents had brought them back to Vienna hoping that they would all go to America. That was never to be. What made my mother's heart beat faster was that Josef Pick was her first cousin and his mother was my grandmother's sister. My mother had been very close to his sister, Vera, as they were the same age. I didn't know much about my relatives who hadn't survived, but after my first trip to Israel in 1982 with a visit to *Yad Vashem*, I asked my mother about them and the possibility that someone might have survived. I heard that her cousin Pepe (Josef's nickname) was the only one in that family to get out. Once the Holocaust Memorial in Miami was built, I took my mother to visit it. On seeing the panels with names etched in them and their emotional impact, she immediately had the names of Vera as well as her mother and other siblings inscribed.

Next thing that happened was that I got a phone call from my father telling me of the discovery and giving me a "project." "The woman's name is Julie Jones and she lives in Burlington, Ontario. Find her!" No phone number, address or e-mail. And a name as common as Jones! Should I have been happy it wasn't Smith? So I put on my sleuth hat and started to work. First, I called and e-mailed Irene Schmied, the KINDER-LINK editor, for further information about Julie's whereabouts, but was unable to reach her immediately. I was so tense and excited that I could not wait. So I looked up Canadian Bell on the Internet in hopes that I might find a number. To my dismay, there was no Julie Jones, and there were almost 200 Joneses listed. And what if she was married and was listed under her husband's first name? I would never find her this way. But I figured, let me give it a shot and call a few. I was envisioning the movie "Antwone Fisher" where he spent all night calling people in the phone book looking for his family.

I dialed the first number on the list and got a voice mail with a woman's voice. I couldn't quite hear the name so I hung up. However, as I hung up, I thought I detected an English accent and possibly her saying Julie Jones. I knew Josef had gone to England, so I assumed that Julie might have been raised there. I decided to call back and leave a message, but this time a woman answered and said "Julie Jones." I asked her if she was the same Julie Jones who had written an article for the KTA newsletter, and was looking for relatives. She said that, yes, she was the same, and I replied, "Well, you found them!" She seemed completely shocked and confused and at first couldn't get the connection straight. I had to tell her several times how we were related, that our grandmothers were sisters and that her father and my mother were first cousins.

After the initial call and the one to my mother to tell her that I had successfully completed the "project," the e-mails and phone calls between myself and Julie, and my parents and Julie multiplied. I told Julie that my Uncle Max lived in Toronto, just 40 miles from Burlington, and that he had some children living there and one that now lives in Melbourne, Australia. I also told her about my immediate family, my brother and sister, our cousins in Dallas, Paris, and Vienna. Since the initial calls, Julie has met my uncle as well as his son and daughter-in-law and we all hope to meet in the near future in Florida which both my mother and I am looking forward to.

Now I realize how lucky I am, as I have always known who I am, and who my family is and was. I have always had a sense of unquestioned identity. After reading about Julie's quest for information as to her family's history, I can't imagine what it must feel like to not know all of this and to make these discoveries at this point in her life. As I am excited with the discovery of another member of our family, I also have a greater appreciation of my family and my lucky mother.

JAYNE DONIGER  
New York City



## Notices

My name is Meghan Kaizerman and I am an undergraduate student at Babson College in Wellesley, Mass. I am currently working on a year-long honors thesis focusing on the Kindertransport and am looking for Kindertransport survivors and their subsequent generations who are willing to speak about their past. If you are interested in having your voice heard please contact me at <mkaizerman@babson.edu> or by phone at 781-239-4089. Any help would be greatly appreciated.

**KTA and KT2 Members:** To subscribe to a free general discussion group\* about the Kindertransport, send a blank e-mail to <ktadiscussion-subscribe@yahoogroups.com>.

**Kinder Descendants:** To subscribe to a free discussion group\* for Kindertransport descendants, send a blank e-mail to <ktgenerations-subscribe@yahoogroups.com>.

\*These groups are not officially associated with KTA.

**American Red Cross Holocaust & War Victims Tracing Service** can be accessed at <www.redcross.org/services/int/-holotracer/index.html>.

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# The Latest

## Refugees

### Film Revisits the Children of 1939's Kindertransport

By MEGAN ROSENFELD  
Washington Post Staff Writer

**D**opey sitcoms like "The Drew Carey Show" and "Norm" do not, at first glance, seem like logical springboards to a documentary related to the Holocaust. But for producer Deborah Oppenheimer, the connection to one subject made the other possible.

Her film "Into the Arms of Strangers," an account of a little-known, nine-month effort to help Jewish and other endangered children escape the Nazis in 1939, is the culmination of five years of thought and labor.

By day, she was one of the orchestrators of television folderol. In the early morning and at night, she made calls for the documentary, searching for the now-elderly refugees who had been transplanted to Britain as children in the Kindertransport and who, in most cases, were never reunited with home or parents.

The result is a two-hour film that—unusually for documentaries—is opening in theaters tomorrow, distributed by Warner Bros. True, it's starting small, in only five cities including Washington. But Oppenheimer hopes that it will follow the unpredictable success of such documentaries as "Hoop Dreams" and "When We Were Kings," not only recouping the studio's investment (she won't say how much it is) but reaching larger audiences with a story she feels has universal appeal. It will open in London in November at a charity event that Prince Charles is scheduled to attend; soon after will come the video, book and CD.

"I feel this film was meant to be," Oppenheimer says, invoking the Yiddish word for that phrase, *berchert*. She is tall and lean and exudes intensity. "Every time I lost heart, something would come along to propel me on."

Her persistence was born in a letter she wrote to her mother. Her mother was one of the children saved from concentration camps by the Kindertransport, a term that describes both the program and the train it used.

Growing up, Oppenheimer knew only that her mother had made this journey, and that she had no parents, aunts, uncles or childhood photos. For the many of the 10,000 children who were allowed into Britain then, she could not talk about her experience, bursting into tears whenever her daughter probed for her story.

"My mother was hiding a profound grief from her childhood," she says.

Oppenheimer knew that her mother, Sylvia Sabine Avramovici, was just 11 when she was put on a train, that she'd been sent to a number of different hostels and homes and cried herself to sleep every night for two years. She had only one possession from her childhood, a red leather case containing a Mont Blanc pen and pencil set that she'd received for her 11th birthday. After the war, she learned from reading a list that her parents had died in a concentration camp.

After Sylvia's death from lung cancer in 1993, Oppenheimer's father, Eric, discovered a cache of letters, written on tissue-like paper in German, that her parents had written to their child in England. One salutation is seen in the film. "My dearest little mouse," it reads, evoking the poignant affection of a bereft parent.

"The hurt is unbelievable," says one mother, Franz Grossmann, in the film. "It cannot be described." She did not find her daughter, Lore Segal, for 50 years.

Ursula Rosenfeld, who left for England at 14, still tears up when recalling the sight of her mother as she said farewell. Her face, she says, was "full of agony." Rosenfeld never saw her again.

Parents were faced with a horrible decision: whether to save their children at the possible expense of never seeing them again, while not knowing to whom or what they were entrusting them. The future was ominous but uncertain; most of the children thought the separation was temporary and that they would soon be reunited with their family.

"When I was put on the train, my parents were right there at the side of the train," remembers Kurt Fuchel, who was 7 when he boarded a Kindertransport. "They said 'Smile!' and so I did. And I remember there was an SS soldier standing nearby who said, 'So young and already a hero!'"

Fuchel was one of the lucky ones—he was placed with a loving family, and his parents survived the war. But by the time they resur-

faced, he was no longer the cherubic child they had sent away, but a 16-year-old who did not speak German and did not want to. His foster father, Percy Cohen, persuaded his parents to let him finish school in England before joining them in France. Fuchel describes the reunion in the film. He could not look at them, even though he felt a sense of "elation and love."

Bert Rosenfeld Esenstad (who is no relation to either Ursula or this writer) still wonders if she did the right thing in retrieving her youngest sister, who was 2 when she landed in England. Sister Esther had lived with a family named Harrison for eight years when Bert brought her to Washington to reunite what was left of her family.

"How cruel it was of me to take Esther away from them," she recalled the other day at a Holocaust Museum lunch for movie and non-movie Kinder. "I heard Mrs. Harrison turned gray overnight."

"I didn't want to come," said Esther, now Starobin.

Both sisters live in Silver Spring, have raised families and had careers as teachers.

Oppenheimer found Fuchel through the North American Chapter of the Kindertransport Association, which has about 650 members, including the Kinder of Kinder. She found others at one of their reunions in London two years ago, and more with help from the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum here and from the Shoah Visual History

Foundation archives started by Steven Spielberg. She persuaded Mark Jonathan Harris, who worked on "The Long Way Home," the Oscar-winning documentary about what happened to camp survivors after the Holocaust, to write and direct.

Most of the people who ended up in the film can remember and are willing—however gingerly—at first—to talk about their experience. Some, like Lore Segal, have written about it; her 1964 novel "Other People's Houses" describes the five families she lived with during the war.

In the film, Segal says each family would get fed up with her and send her on. "They did not love me, and I did not love them. But they did take me in."

No one has studied the surviving Kinder, as they call themselves, to see how they fared during and after their move. Some were traumatized, but how badly? How many married other refugees? (Quite a few, to judge by those who have been interviewed.) How many had nightmares and for how many years? Do those whose parents survived the war remember more than those whose parents did not? How many think their parents made a mistake to send them away? No one knows.

Lory Cahn was dragged off the train by her doting father before it left the station; she was subsequently sent to eight concentration camps. "What would have happened if my father hadn't pulled me out?" she asks in the film. But she does not blame him. He did not survive.

It is hard to assess the psychic cost of the responsibility placed on many of the Kinder. "We felt that if one of us screwed up, it would reflect on all of us," says Fuchel. Others took on the burden of saving their parents' lives, trying to get them work permits so they could get visas for England. The country was willing to take in children up to age 16, but not the parents. Each child had to have a sponsor and 50 British pounds.

The United States was unwilling to accept any of them.

Some parents got jobs as domestic servants, in some cases finding themselves in the maid's room while their child sat at the family table as a foster child. One child, Lorraine Alard, knocked on doors every day after school looking for work for her parents back in Germany. Finally she found someone willing to hire



Deborah Oppenheimer, right, the producer of "Into the Arms of Strangers," with Ursula Rosenfeld, who was 14 when her mother sent her to safety in England.



A boy plays the violin on the Kindertransport as he flees the Nazis.

the Kinder rightly called "survivors," or does that term belong only to those who were in concentration camps?

Most of the Kinder are deferential to those they say suffered more than they did; others say they feel camp survivors look down on them resentfully. But whoever decides these things—high officials at the Holocaust museum seem to have passed the word—it is now thought that anyone who survived the Nazi terror is rightfully called a survivor.

"We debated very carefully using the term," said Oppenheimer. "We didn't want to enter any territory of disrespect to those who suffered so much. The Kinder lost their homes, their parents, their education, their childhoods. They were forced to grow up far too early."

The movie is not about her mother, Oppenheimer says, though she met people who had known her mother, even shared a room with her. She read the letters from the grandparents' she'd never known, and they became real to her.

"It got very entangled for me," she says. "It was very confusing for a while."

them, but it was too late. They died in Auschwitz.

Many Kinder, including those in the film, went on to live successful and happy lives. Two won Nobel Prizes—Arno Penzias (physics, 1978) and Walter Kohn (chemistry, 1998). Segal became a successful children's book author. Ursula Rosenfeld, who stayed in England, was a social worker and magistrate, and raised four children. Fuchel became a scientist and worked for Brookhaven National Laboratory for 35 years. He has two daughters, two grandchildren and three stepchildren.

One complication Oppenheimer discovered as she and her researchers delved into the history of the Kindertransport is the careful nomenclature of the Holocaust. Are

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winning documentary about what happened to camp survivors after the Holocaust, to write and direct. Most of the people who ended up in the film can remember and are willing—however gingerly—at first—to talk about their experience. Some, like Lore Segal, have written about it; her 1964 novel "Other People's Houses" describes the five families she lived with during the war.

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## THE KINDERTRANSPORT SURVEY

*'An individual life is the accidental coincidence of but one life cycle with but one segment of history': Erik Erikson*

### Introduction

Two years ago, at the KTA conference in Washington, I presented a workshop exploring my 'Search for Identity'. In October 2000, the theme of the conference was: 'From History to the Future'. It made me want to reach out, examine other Kinder's experiences and hear their words. I thought to take stock. It is sixty years and more since our courageous parents sent us to England, where the British in their decent way, allowed us safe harbour. Where are we now?

Many questions arose in my mind: How are we managing? How are we using our precious time? When you look back, what is your greatest regret? How do you think your life might have been different had you been able to stay in your country of origin? When you look at your life now, what is your greatest achievement?

To explore these questions I decided to ask them of all the Kinder available to me, through the membership of the KTA in America. After eliminating institutions and second generation members, there were 540 names, and I sent out questionnaires to every one.

I developed both statistical and subjective, open ended questions. I first tested them on a small group of Kinder and found a positive response. Reaching out, I was able to find help at every stage of the process. A public opinion researcher helped me fine-tune the survey format. Later, she introduced me to a programmer who would run distributions and come up with statistical tabulations. A good friend translated my typewritten pages to a handsome computer layout. A flurry of friendly hands helped with putting together the survey, the accompanying letter, the return and outgoing envelopes, and over sixteen hundred address labels. I mailed them out in batches.

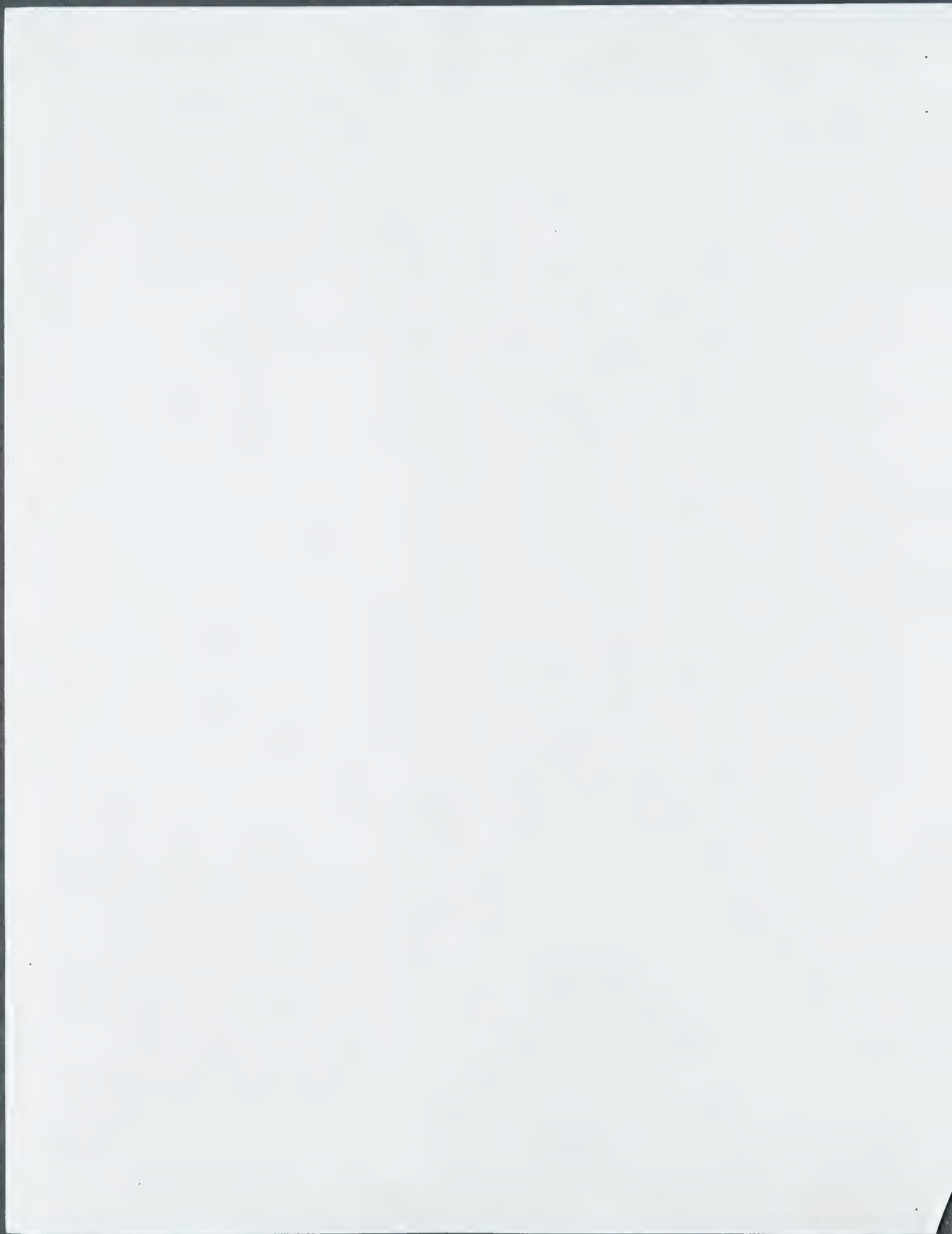
The responses thundered back, a staggering 360 in all. (Survey professionals have told me that seven out of ten responses is unheard of in mailed questionnaires.) Just finding sharp knives to slit open the envelopes took time and energy. The richness and variety of the replies were abundantly rewarding and inspiring, putting words to a wide range of emotions. Eagerly I embraced the words that also described my feelings, and I realized that the Kindertransport experience left me stronger, able to cope, and with leadership abilities.

All this was imparted at the Conference in Scottsdale. I was conscious of the rapt attention which greeted my presentation. I am grateful that you took the time to search your minds and hearts, for your confidences, your openness and honesty.

I hope these reflections will help you see your lives in clearer perspective.

***Helga Shepard***





## The Results of the Survey

There were 27 questions, many of which called for personal reflection: I have put these responses into clusters, which describe the feelings expressed.

### \* What country did you come from originally?

From Germany 69%, from Austria 27%, and 3% from Czechoslovakia

### \* How old were you when you went to England?

The answers ranged all the way from two years old through eighteen, with every year represented. 20% were from 2 to 9 years old, 38% from 10 to 13 years old, and 42% from 14 to 18 years old.

### \* Did you have brothers and sisters?

46% had brothers, 40% had sisters, and 14% had both. During the time in England, 78% were able to stay in touch and 21% were not.

### \* How would you describe your experiences in England?

Mainly they were positive, for 57%, and very positive for another 29%. 3% had both positive and negative experiences, as I did, while 9% had negative experiences, and 2% very negative experiences.

### \* How do you think the experience of leaving your home and family has affected your present life?

Here are the phrases used to describe feelings:



37% felt the experience made them stronger, more adaptable, more self reliant, independent, self confident - more aware of history, politics, justice, injustice - grew up fast - more opportunities for development - survivor - was liberating - ambitious - steadfast - able to fend for myself - committed to make most of life - made current family life stronger, closer - benefitted - independent - grew up in a hurry - perseverance - made me appreciate life - frugal - hard working - have achieved more in USA than I could have in Germany - serious - have learned to cope - disciplined - look at life differently than most people - live each day to the fullest - able to cope in crises.

17% felt like an outsider - different - less stable and self assured - refugee - unsure of welcome - left me with insecurities which are hard to shake - lonely - more shy, sad - low self esteem - unassertive - little confidence in self - having to adapt, to please - still insecure - suspended in vacuum - cautious, skeptical - fear of separation - not belonging - constant sense of impermanence - vulnerability - still loner - uprooted - too serious - worry - short on laughs - fear of total commitment - fear of abandonment - made me reject closeness.

14% felt a great impact - profoundly affected every stage of life - scarred - interrupted growth - profound effect positive and negative - difficulty in loving relationships in present family - still have nightmares and guilt feelings about leaving parents and enjoying good life - sad memories - fear of abandonment - uprootedness - influenced every part of life - traumatic - left void - alone to fend for self - warped outlook on life - fear and mistrust - melancholy - was cheated in life - lack of extended family - guilt complex about leaving family - no one to confide in - big hole in my life - permanent damage - poor values - worry about the future - no family of my own - could not commit to marriage - difficulty trusting - dysthemia, depression.

11% felt they were not affected - do not dwell on past disasters - long ago - essentially suppressed - emotional door closed forever - have tried to move on - overcame all problems - day to day - should not affect - past gone, must live in present - too young to realize - at first traumatic but stabilized.

8% are grateful - appreciate home, comfort, present family - puts things in perspective - don't take things for granted - brings back memories - one never forgets - with me all the time - importance of family - have adjusted well - hang onto present family - every day is a gift.

5% are altruistic - give something back - am helpful - concerned with others - more religious - sensitive to others experiencing loss and separation - insight into child development - aware of peoples' needs - socially responsible citizen - gained insight into guiding others.

4% never settled down; 2% had medical problems - 'skinless' and supersensitive - foreboding of disaster - on anti-depressants - periods of depression and sadness - three years of therapy.

Individuals felt they were overprotective, with anxiety for dear ones; never settled down; not having complete childhood or education; in one case 'Parents followed me to England' and, 'feel different from people who led 'normal' lives, which carried over to children's lives and how I raised them.'

**\* What was the hardest part for you?**

61% said being separated from family - no family to back you up - losing parents - leaving family - uncertainty about parents' fate - growing up without parents, without guidance - no older family - no other family - seeing parents suffer - no encouragement to be my best self - loss of family for children now - felt responsible for brother - leaving home - homesickness - being uprooted - feeling homeless - no one to talk to - seeing young children parted from their families - no guidance - dependent on pleasing others - loss of teenage years - no other family, and children only have us - not enough affection - could not get parents out - loss of family history - loss of cat - not knowing where going - loneliness - not knowing if parents alive - missed nurturing of parents - not being spoiled and cuddled.

14% felt like an outsider - feeling abandoned and rejected - no one seemed to care - not knowing if belonged anywhere - unhappy - refugee leaving home and living with strangers - no one to love or hug me - sense of isolation - no tenderness or kindness - seeking stability - life in England bad most of the time - lived with uncaring family - hard time making friends with other children - difficult people in England - adjusting to foster family - living with people who had family and I had none - cast adrift, being dispensable - taking care of personal needs - discrimination - badly treated - life in a strange new world - never feeling I belonged - insecurity - never got too close to people, kept my guard up - come to terms with loss.

12% described the pressure to survive - without job or money - being on one's own - struggling - no one to advise or guide in early life - insecurity - alone among strangers - doing clerical work when others my age going to college - not able to achieve professional goals to find my academic path - moving around a lot - trying to become part of a group to feel comfortable in - raising children and going to college - struggle to grow up and face life - not taking anything for granted - health problems - trying to find peace of mind, social skills - father working to start over - fear of being without anyone I knew - dealing with depression and anxiety - overcoming loss of parents.

5% felt life was hard now - coming to grips with life, with loss of spouse - so far from children - health problems - adjusting to life of normalcy (that seems to be an elusive target for Kinder) - becoming regular person - feeling left out - never really setting down.

3% talked of confusion - not understanding what was going on - moving around a lot - with many families - uncertainty of what would happen from minute to minute - growing up with a confused mind - thirty plus moves - was 3½ and did not realize - foster home - many adjustments.



Individual people talked of the need to be good - not able to express oneself - trying to please other people - father embittered and negative impact on the family - complicated family and social relationships - leaving foster parents and reunion with family - visiting concentration camp where parents died - saying goodbye to children, grandchildren now - split loyalties between foster and own family - tell parents of brother's death in 1940 - question is there a God. Some felt leaving was not hard - no personal hardships - nothing - don't remember. And finally: leaving enabled me to assume responsibility, gave self-confidence and perseverance - try harder, especially if the odds are against me.

**\* How long have you lived in the U.S.A.?**

71% have been here over 50 years, 27% between 26 to 50 years and 2% less than that.

**\* Where else did you live before coming to the U.S.A.?**

The answers were wide ranging: Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, England, Sweden, North Africa, Canada, Chile, Ecuador, Switzerland, France, Trinidad, Cameroon, Mexico, Cuba, Italy, Scotland, New Zealand, Wales, Holland, Australia, Dominican Republic, South Africa, Belgium, Brazil, Northern Ireland.

**\* Are you working at this time or have you retired?**

78% have retired, 4% are thinking of retirement, and 18% are still working.

54% were professionals: journalist, social worker, librarian, writer, clinical specialist, counselor, doctor, nurse, teacher, engineer, physicist, interior decorator, translator, interpreter.

30% were in business: insurance broker, business owner, tour manager, administration, sales, real estate, manufacturer, bookkeeper, butcher, travel agent.

9% were clerical workers: office assistant, secretary, word processing, paraprofessional.

3% described themselves as housewife, homemaker.

2% were in the creative professions: actor, artist, picture framer, musician.

Others jobs included: ski instructor, Jewish camp worker, fitter, dressmaker, agriculture, cabinet maker, carpenter, dairy farmer, hairdresser, fisherman, pastry chef, local government work.

**\* In general, how would you describe your life at this time?**

53% rated themselves as happy and 30% as very happy.  
15% said fair and three people were unhappy

**\* What is your greatest regret?**

42% talked of loss of family: growing up without parents and family - losing family in Holocaust - not having family - not able to save parents - leaving family - not having normal childhood - growing up without parents - being only one to survive in family - could not help or save family - not having parents from age seven - parents can not share joy of my family with me - loss of memories, family history - parents not living to see children's achievements - uprooted - not able to bring parents to England - thrown out of country, never grew real roots again - not having been raised in a family - never ending sorrow - mother's suicide.

19% talked of lack of education, a crucial aspect of the Kindertransport experience. Did not pursue law, or music, or medical school - did not study for a profession - did not go to college, or higher education - did not get a degree or a PhD - could not study.

12% talked of lack of achievement: did not do more for humanity - did not challenge myself academically or professionally in my career - did not live up to my potential - squandered opportunities - did not achieve what I desired - wasted time - loss of childhood - life put on hold - youth was destroyed - normalcy - interrupted - feeling abandoned and rejected - no chance to lead a normal life - took me a long time to find my way - did not speak sooner about my past - being young and carefree no more - no inner peace - feel did not belong anywhere - did not keep up with singing, or law, or music - did not encourage children to be bilingual - eternal skepticism - I wish I had known in youth what life taught me later (universal desire, I expect!) I wish I had known then what I now know about raising children.

10% had individual regrets: not staying in Israel, or in England - moving to Los Angeles - never feeling fully part of the community - parents had to work hard in England - not able to enjoy pleasures without guilt - did not write to parents - remaining separate from family - getting old, having cancer - can not secure future for family after am gone - not winning the lottery - did not invest in retirement housing - not living closer to family members now - only middle class children saved through Kindertransport - son did not activate his potential. 7% felt no regret.

5% discussed family: had no family, or wife, or marriage, or children, no close relationships - not larger family - not enough time for family - not marrying earlier - wrong spouse - not living closer to parents - losing spouse - not having shared roots with children and family. 2% had lost spouse or current family.



2% were angry - not being able to fight Nazi Germany - being born in Vienna - still angry at German people. Four people talked of not being closer emotionally to parent - not staying in touch with people from the past - lost relationship with camp-survivor sister - loss of relationship with English foster parents.

**\* What is your main worry or concern at this time?**

48% said that maintaining health was a concern - personal and of family members - will health hold up - mental and physical - growing older - what future holds - arthritis - aging gracefully (from a man!) best use of retirement - old age.

21% talked of the fear of death - seeing it as a natural process - meeting death with dignity - how I will die - getting old and sick - terminal illness - taking care of disabled spouse - having affairs in order - becoming disabled - being a burden to the family - becoming dependent - fear of not being able to handle one's needs - not being able to cope - not going to nursing home - loneliness.

20% talked of political and social concerns: the world we leave for others - drugs - violence - the future - the gap between wealth and poverty - 2700 Hate pages on the Internet - future of medicine (from a doctor) - hate crimes - the world - nuclear war - disarmament - peace in Israel - global warming - poverty - race - religion - environmental deterioration.

3% expressed worry about money - will I have enough. Other individual responses were: no restitution from Germans - being useful, have a lot to accomplish - the passage of time: not enough time to do all the things I want to do - that I am not rooted - finding a partner - fatalist - uproot life to go to a retirement community.

**\* When you look ahead to the future, do you feel optimistic or worried?**

71% said they felt optimistic. 29% felt worried.

**\* What brings you the greatest pleasure at this time?**

70% said family - children - grandchildren - wife - husband - family celebrations - children's achievements - spend time with children - see them well settled - watch them grow up.

16% said they thoroughly enjoy life - do as I please - leisure to pursue interests - traveling - good shows - theatre - playing bridge - music - reading - gardening - religious services - continual new adventures - going to classes - involvement in community affairs - art galleries - involved with organizations - spiritual path - nature.

7% talked of no economic worries - stability - be independent - in good health - my home - sound mind and body - able to work, continuing to work - speaking at schools and colleges about my experiences - volunteer work - freedom - led honest, fruitful life.

Individual voices talked about friends and people in similar life experiences - altruism - association with Holocaust Center - tutoring children - living in California - dream of Zion - cats and animals.

**\* What brings you comfort in life?**

Religion, Family, Friends and Other were categories that were offered.

People chose one, two or more:

310 said family; 236 said friends; 76 said religion; and of those who said 'other' they cited: reading books, learning, caring community, inner peace, music, art, spirituality, volunteer work, U.S.A., money, work, hobbies, travel, sports, own inner resources.

**\* Were you able to continue your education in England?**

58% said they continued in England only. 25% were not able to continue, while 13% continued later, not in England. 4% continued in England and elsewhere.

Education played a vital role in the lives of Kinder. Some were deprived of the opportunities for education and felt condemned to menial occupations. Some could not follow their inclinations to pursue studies in music, art, and other vocations.

**\* Were you reunited with your parents?**

Tragically, 43%, or 149 people, were not reunited with their parents. There were some parent suicides spoken of, but overwhelmingly, it must be assumed that parents were murdered in concentration camps.

39% were reunited with both parents; 14% were reunited with their mother. 4% were reunited with their father.



**\* Have you ever thought about writing your memoirs?**

49% have thought about it. 27% have not thought about it. 23% have written their memoirs.

**\* Have you talked about your experiences with friends or family?**

33% have done so often, 52% at times, 15% seldom, and 3 people never.

**\* Have you ever gone back to your town of origin?**

15% went back alone, 65% returned with family or friends. 20% have not gone back.

**\* What was it like?**

21% had positive reactions: affirming - validating - triumph - favorably impressed - still feel attached - at home there - well treated - charming - comfortable - learning experience - outstanding - exciting - fascinating - have friends there - enjoyed stay - was closure - catharsis - rewarding.

20% found it emotional: strange - unreal - like visiting another life - dramatic - difficult - odd feeling - creepy - overwhelming - felt foreign - eerie - incensed - bad memories - unsettling - intense - scary - expelled venom - like a dream.

18% had mixed feelings: nostalgic - bittersweet - love-hate relationship - brought back all my childhood - nearly enjoyed it.

15% found the experience left them cold: uncomfortable - disappointment - hard to face memory - place changed - let down - hard - indifferent - sad - tough - no connection to the past - bad - not part of my life today - sorrowful - sterile - depressing - did not enjoy it - regret - angry.

13% found it disturbing: unpleasant - bad memories - hated it - painful - will never return - to hell and back - people rude, obnoxious - they still hate Jews - sterile - depressing - had a nightmare the night I was there - traumatic - glad to leave - don't expect to go back - ghastly - awful - devastating - negative - terrible - nightmarish - horrible.

5% said hard at first, but easier on subsequent visits. 3% said they felt like a tourist - pretended to be a tour guide - sightseeing - Breslau, now Poland, different from Germany.

Individual voices: worked to reconstruct the Alte Synagogue in Breslau - one person found her parents after the war - one person did not return but had her memoirs published in Austria - did not express feelings - completely detached - don't remember - different - things have changed - not too bad - still figuring it out.

**\* To what extent do you feel you have been able to accept what happened to you as a child?**

43% feel able to accept completely; 40% accept to some extent; and 17% are still grappling.

**\* Marriage**

72% of Kinder are married; 20% are widowed; 6% are divorced and 2% never married.

**\* What is your present living situation?**

71% live with their spouse, 27% live alone. Two people live with their children, and five live with a friend.

**\* How would you describe your financial situation?**

59% felt it was good and 24% that it was very good. 16% felt it was fair and 1% that it was poor.

**\* Do you have children?**

87% have children and 13% do not. 17% of Kinder have one child, 46% have 2 children, 31% have 3 children, and 6% have four or more children, including one family with seven children.

**\* Are you male/female?**

39% are male and 61% are female.



**\* When you look back on your life, what do you consider your greatest achievement?**

54% said creating and building a happy family and home - 19% talked of academic achievement: author - editor - theatre producer - becoming a registered nurse - teacher - professor and impact on students - emotionally strong - happy - altruism in life choices and activities - getting an education - scholarship to Oxford - helpful, active member of the community - in Israel's war of Independence - and, two words from Walter Kohn, Nobel Prize.

30% created a business - independence - now able to retire - made a good/adequate living - able to work - rose to top of my profession - lead a normal life - content with life - became well adjusted person - life is a success - normal human being - my sanity - in good health - freedom - maintain a positive attitude - self development - speak in schools about the Holocaust.

14% overcame trauma: surviving - on own, without help - the Holocaust - the Nazis - keep going - putting past behind - to leave Germany - overcoming adversity - overcoming handicap - fighting Germans in British Army - emotional cripple - raising impaired child while working - do not have great self-esteem - helping family, relatives to escape.

A Final Word:

So this is how we live in the USA. I don't know how these questions would be answered in England, in Israel, and in all the other places that Kinder settled.

Maybe we live with an intensity not given others. I know I am animated by a fierce gratitude for being alive and in America, where we dared to work, to grow and to reach higher than we had before.

# K. T. A. SURVEY

## Summary Totals

*Thanks to all for taking the time to give us the benefit of your experience*

1. How long you have lived in the U. S. A.

<b>2</b> 0.6%	10 years or less	<b>4</b> 1.1%	11-25 years	<b>96</b> 27.0%	26-50 years	<b>254</b> 71.3%	over 50 years
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3. Are you working at this time or have you retired?

<b>61</b> 17.7%	Working	<b>14</b> 4.1%	Thinking of Retiring	<b>270</b> 78.2%	Retired
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3a. Your occupation

<b>171</b> 54.4%	Professional	<b>95</b> 30.3%	Business	<b>28</b> 8.9%	Clerical
<b>6</b> 1.9%	Artistic	<b>10</b> 3.2%	Housewife	<b>4</b> 1.3%	Government

4. When you look back on your life, what do you consider your greatest achievement?

<b>173</b> 53.6%	Home Creativity	<b>60</b> 18.6%	Academic	<b>46</b> 14.2%	Achieving High Living Standard
<b>36</b> 11.1%	Overcoming Trauma	<b>8</b> 2.5%	Other		

5. What is your greatest regret?

<b>132</b> 42.4%	Family Loss	<b>6</b> 1.9%	Present Loss	<b>36</b> 11.5%	Lack of Achievement
<b>59</b> 18.9%	Lack of Education	<b>16</b> 5.1%	Have No Family	<b>5</b> 1.6%	Still Angry
<b>4</b> 1.3%	Failure of Family Reunion	<b>23</b> 7.4%	No Great Regret	<b>31</b> 9.9%	Other

6. In general, how would you describe your life at this time?

<b>104</b> 30.4%	Very happy	<b>182</b> 53.2%	Happy	<b>53</b> 15.5%	Fair	<b>3</b> 0.9%	Unhappy
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7. What brings you the greatest pleasure at this time?

<b>233</b> 70.2%	Family	<b>54</b> 16.3%	Enjoyment of Life	<b>22</b> 6.6%	Economic Stability
<b>9</b> 2.7%	Friends	<b>6</b> 1.8%	Altruism	<b>8</b> 2.4%	Other

8. When you look ahead to the future, do you feel optimistic or worried?

<b>234</b> 70.9%	Optimistic	<b>96</b> 29.1%	Worried
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9. What is your main worry or concern at this time?

<b>154</b> 48.4%	Health	<b>7</b> 2.2%	Family	<b>65</b> 20.4%	Social / Political
<b>67</b> 21.1%	Fear of Death / Fatalism	<b>11</b> 3.5%	Monetary	<b>14</b> 4.4%	Retirement



10. What brings you comfort in life?

76 22.6%	Religion	240 71.2%	Family	18 5.3%	Friends	3 0.9%	Other
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11. How do you think the experience of leaving your home and family has affected your present life?

12 4.0%	Never Settled Down	50 16.7%	Feeling an Outsider	112 37.3%	Made Stronger
7 2.3%	Health / Depression	23 7.7%	Grateful	16 5.3%	Altruistic
42 14.0%	Great Impact	33 11.0%	No Effect	5 1.7%	Memory Erased

12. What was the hardest part for you?

180 60.7%	Family Separation	41 13.9%	Feeling an Outsider	36 12.2%	Need To Survive
7 2.4%	Living with Foster Parents	8 2.7%	Confusion	5 1.7%	Relationships
14 4.7%	Hard Life	3 1.0%	Need to be Good	2 0.7%	Language

13. What country did you come from originally?

241 68.7%	Germany	94 26.8%	Austria	11 3.1%	Czechoslovakia	5 1.4%	Other
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14. How old were you when you went to England?

38 10.9%	age 2 to 7	31 8.9%	age 8 to 9	54 15.5%	age 10 to 11
79 22.6%	age 12 to 13	101 28.9%	age 14 to 15	46 13.2%	age 16 to 18

15. Did you have brothers and sisters?

117 46.1%	Brother(s)	102 40.2%	Sister(s)	35 13.7%	Both
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15a. Were you able to keep in touch during your stay in England?

192 78.4%	Yes	53 21.6%	No
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16. How would you describe your experiences in England?

97 28.6%	Very positive	193 57.1%	Positive	11 3.3%	Some Positive / Some Negative
31 9.2%	Negative	6 1.8%	Very Negative		

17. Were you able to continue your education in England?

197 58.1%	Yes - Cont'd in England Only	85 25.1%	Never Able to Continue Educ.	43 12.7%	Cont'd later - not in Eng.	14 4.1%	Cont'd in Eng. & Elsewhere
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18. Were you reunited with your parents?

138 39.4%	Yes - Both Parents	49 14.0%	Yes - Mother	14 4.0%	Yes - Father	149 42.6%	No - Neither
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19. Have you ever thought about writing your memoirs?

81	Yes - have	172	Yes - have	93	No
23.4%	written them	49.7%	thought about	26.9%	

20. Have you talked about your experiences with friends or family?

114	Often	182	At times	52	Seldom	3	Never
32.5%		51.8%		14.8%		0.9%	

21. Have you ever gone back to your town of origin?

50	Yes - alone	215	Yes - with	66	No
15.1%		65.0%	family / friends	19.9%	

21a. What was it like?

9	Detached	53	Positive	50	Emotional
3.6%		21.2%		20.0%	
46	Mixed Feelings	37	Left Me Cold	33	Disturbing
18.4%		14.8%		13.2%	
7	Felt 'Touristy'	14	Hard at First	1	Found
2.8%		5.6%		0.4%	Parents

22. To what extent do you feel you have been able to accept what happened to you as a child?

149	Accept	139	Accept to	57	Still
43.2%	Completely	40.3%	some extent	16.5%	Grappling

23. What is your present living situation?

95	Live alone	249	With spouse	2	With children	5	With friend
27.1%		70.9%		0.6%		1.4%	

24. How would you describe your financial situation?

82	Very Good	205	Good	54	Fair	4	Poor
23.8%		59.3%		15.7%		1.2%	

25. Are you:

251	Married	71	Widowed	21	Divorced	8	Never Married
71.5%		20.2%		6.0%		2.3%	

26. Do you have any children?

305	Yes	46	No
86.9%		13.1%	

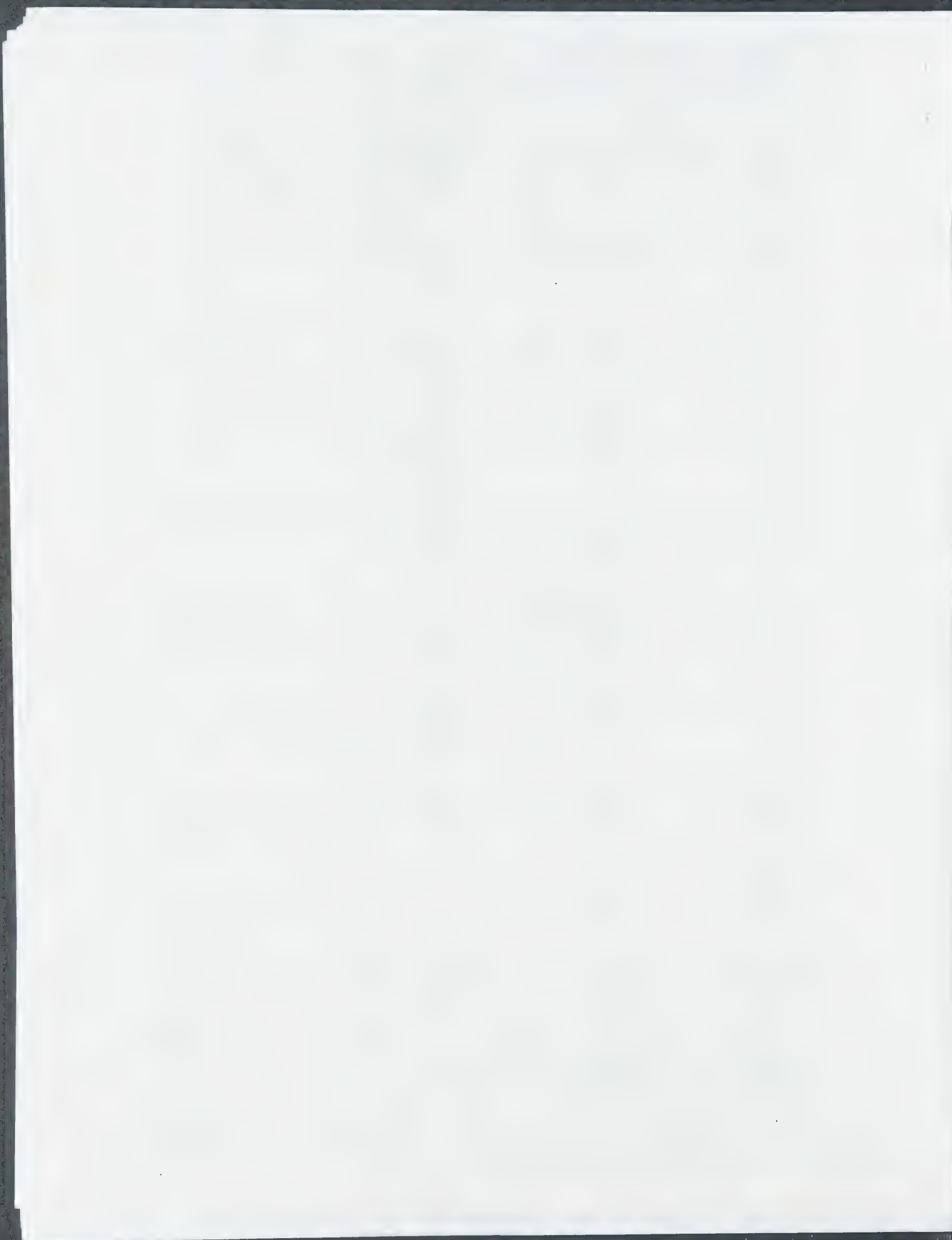
26a. How many \_\_\_\_\_

53	1 child	142	2 children	95	3 children	20	4+ children
17.1%		45.8%		30.6%		6.5%	

27. Are you:

138	Male	213	Female
39.3%		60.7%	





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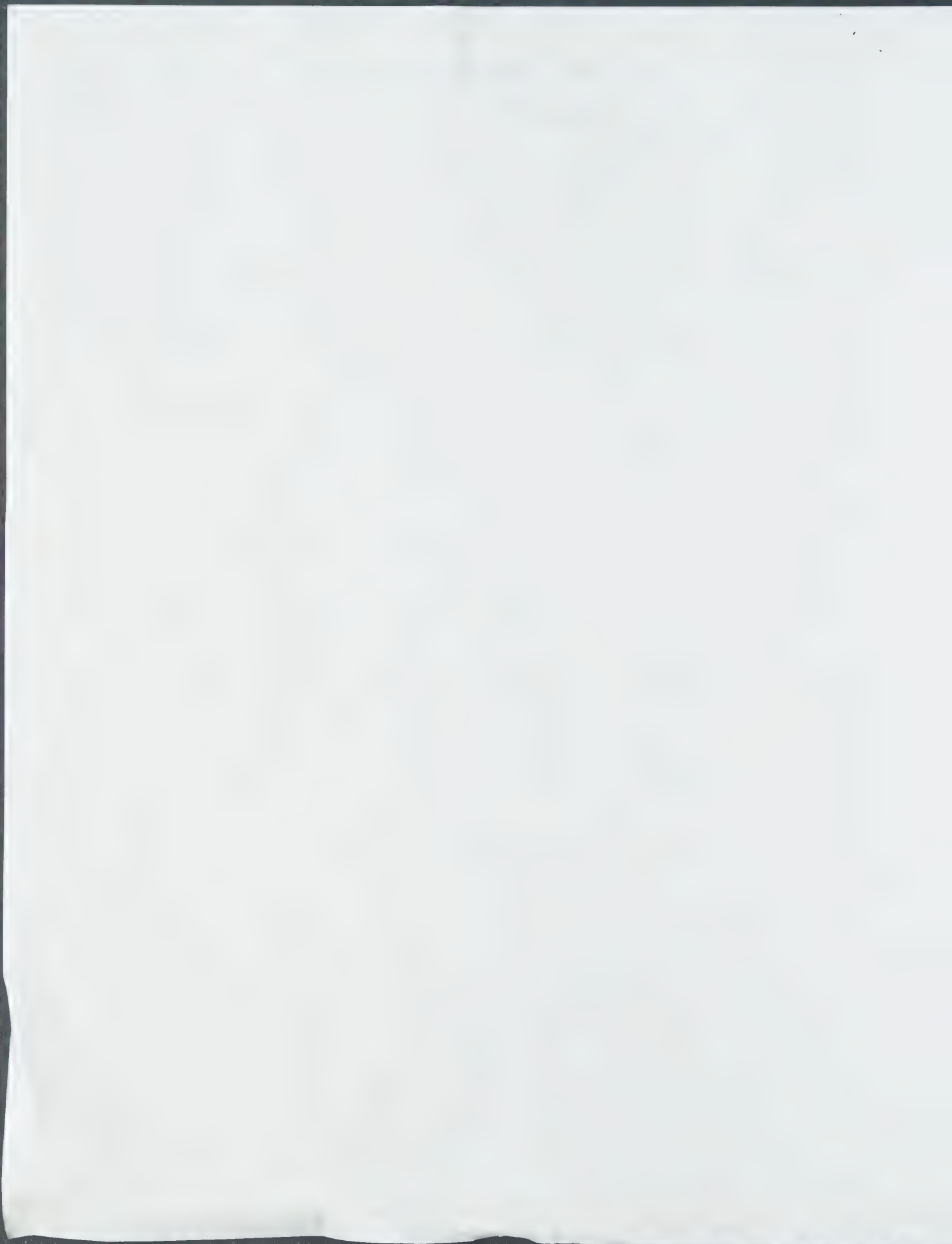
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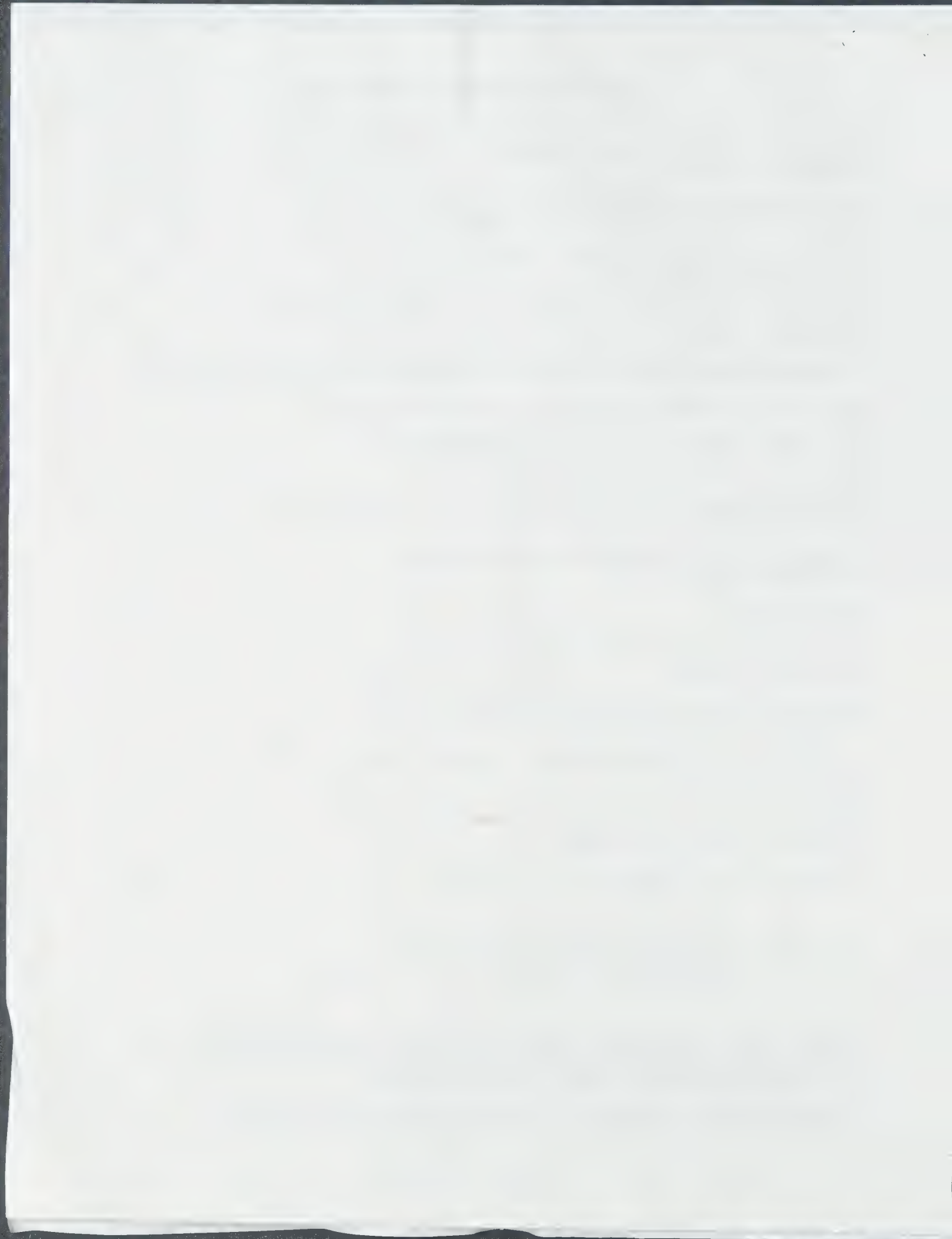
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Abfahrt Berlin-Charlottenburg: Jüdische Kinder im Mai 1939 auf dem Weg nach England – ein Zeugnis von vielen aus dem Dokumentarfilm „Kindertransport“

Foto Warner

## Zu überleben war mir bestimmt

Verschlagen in eine fremde Welt: Der amerikanische Dokumentarfilm „Kindertransport“ von Mark Jonathan Harris

Im November 1938, kurz nach den Pogromen an jüdischen Deutschen und Österreichern, faßte die britische Regierung einen Beschluß. Jüdische Kinder, ohne Begleitung und nicht älter als siebzehn Jahre, sollten Asyl in Großbritannien erhalten. Zwar hatte Innenminister Hoare davor gewarnt, mehr Flüchtlinge könne das Land keinesfalls aufnehmen. Doch Lord Halifax vermutete als Außenminister, ein Akt der Großzügigkeit könne vielleicht auch die Vereinigten Staaten zu einer weniger hartherzigen Einwanderungspolitik gegenüber verfolgten Juden bewegen. Das sollte sich zwar nicht bewahrheiten. Der „Kindertransport“ nach England aber fand statt. Jüdische Flüchtlingsorganisationen übernahmen die Kosten. Innerhalb von zehn Tagen fanden sich fünfhundert aufnahmewillige Familien. Die ersten Eisenbahnzüge verließen Berlin am 1. und Wien am 10. Dezember 1938. Bald erreichte die Zahl der Asyl findenden Kinder das erste Tausend, nach knapp einem Jahr waren es zehntausend. Ende August 1939 ging dem „Refugee Children's Movement“ das Geld aus. Wenige Tage später brach der Krieg aus und beendete diese Episode der Rettung kurz vor dem sich anbahnenden Kollektivmord an den Juden.

Der Dokumentarfilm „Kindertransport in eine fremde Welt“ von Mark Jonathan Harris und Deborah Oppenheimer hält diese Geschichte mit den Erinnerungen der nunmehr alt gewordenen, zumeist in England und den Vereinigten Staaten lebenden Kinder wach. Die Zeit, als der Na-

tionalsozialismus in ihre Kindheit einbrach, der 9. November, der Entschluß, die Familie zu trennen, schließlich das Leben in den neuen Familien, der oft vergebliche Versuch, von dort aus die Eltern nachkommen zu lassen und das Ende des Krieges – das sind ihre Stationen, hin bis zur letzten, danach mit all dem Leben zu müssen. An ihnen entlang zeigt der Film, den niemand ohne Erschütterung verlassen wird, was der Kollektivmord auch bedeutete: den Versuch, eine Gemeinschaft auszulöschen, die auf dem Schutzraum der Familie beruhte.

Mehr als alle anderen Religionen ist die jüdische an der Familie ausgerichtet, beruht sie nicht auf „Glaube“, sondern vorrangig auf verwandtschaftlicher Zugehörigkeit. Man darf es ein inniges, auf Liebe beruhendes Familienleben nennen, von dessen Zerstörung hier Zeugnis abgelegt wird. In Briefen, die zwischen England und dem Kontinent hin und her gehen, aus denen der Film zitiert, wird diese Innigkeit im Augenblick ihres Zerreißen noch einmal festgehalten; eine Innigkeit, die sich vor dem Hintergrund des Lebens in einer zweiten, der englischen Familie abhebt.

„Kindertransport“ dokumentiert auf diese Weise Gefühle als historische Tatsachen. Dadurch enthält sich der Film auch jeder didaktischen oder gar erklärenden Geste. Das Leben der evakuierten Kinder war nicht exemplarisch, weil für jüdische Kinder damals Sterben exemplarisch war. Der Film verstärkt diesen Befund, indem er auch die Vielfalt der Lebensumstände in den aufnehmenden

Häusern zeigt. Es gab kein Modell für die Integration von Asylanten. Von älteren Mädchen versprachen sich manche der Gasteltern Hausdienste. Eines wurde mit der Nebenabsicht aufgenommen, den Sohn des Hauses seiner nichtjüdischen Freundin zu entwöhnen. Andere Familien reizten die Zuschüsse; eine versuchte, das adoptierte Kind nur mit Toast und Tee zu ernähren. Nicht selten stammten die Kinder aus gebildeten Häusern und wundern sich, nun in Umständen zu leben, in denen es keine Bücher gibt. Ein Junge wird bei Rothschilds aufgenommen und erinnert sich, seiner Hausmutter nach einem Besuch auf dem Spielplatz aufgeregt das Unglaubliche berichtet zu haben: „Jemand, der nicht jüdisch ist, möchte mich morgen wiedersehen.“ Ein anderer erinnert die Rede eines orthodoxen britischen Rabbiners an die Kinder, es seien die Wiener Juden an Hitlers Einmarsch schuld, denn die hätten eine Synagoge mit einer Orgel.

Die Dokumentation nimmt nicht nur solche erstaunlichen Erzählungen auf. Die Welt von Kindern ist mehr aus Dingen denn aus Geschichten zusammengesetzt. So sind es die Dinge, die den Kindern in den Reisekoffer mitgegeben werden, ihre um den Hals hängenden Registriernummern, die Briefmarken, die ihnen für Zeilen an ihre Eltern fehlen, diese Briefe selbst, die der Film vorzeigt. Er scheut auch nicht die Zumutung, Kinderlieder jener Zeit, die heute nicht mehr oft gesungen werden dürften, zu zitieren. Die helle Stimmchen, die da singen, mö-

gen zunächst als auf Rührung abgestellt befremden. Etwas später wird die Szene des Kindes geschildert, dem beim englischen Zoll seine Violine nur überlassen wird, weil er auf ihr „God Save the Queen“ zu intonieren vermag – die englische Handelskammer hatten sich dagegen verwahrt, daß durch die Kinder Wertgegenstände eingeführt würden, die geeignet seien, die Handelsbilanz ungünstig zu beeinflussen.

In den Stellungnahmen der entronnenen Kinder, die jetzt alte Menschen sind, wird jeder Zuschauer einen Satz finden, der ihn am meisten trifft. Das ist nicht zuletzt deshalb so, weil vom Gesagten und seiner Auswahl durch den Regisseur gilt: Es ist nicht ein einziges törichtes oder auch nur vom Schmerz in eine zweifelhafte Richtung gerissenes Wort darunter. Dafür aber heroische, wie das von der Bestimmung des eigenen Überlebens dazu, das Überleben des eigenen Volkes zu ermöglichen. Jener Satz, der am meisten haften bleibt, kann als das Vermächtnis dieser Menschen bezeichnet werden – als dasjenige, was überliefert werden sollte, weil es sich nicht von selbst versteht, und als dasjenige, was überliefert werden kann, weil es mehr als eine individuelle Einzelheit darstellt. „Wir hatten nur einen Abend, bevor wir weggingen, und während dieses Abends versuchten Mutter und Vater all die Anweisungen, all die Orientierungen zu geben, von denen sie gehofft hatten, sie hätten ihr ganzes Leben Zeit dafür.“ (Eva Hayman, geborene Diamant).

JÜRGEN KAUBE





Ein fliehendes Kinn macht jeden Helden lächerlich: Als Vorlage für Antonio Tempesta's Kupferstiche von grotesken römischen Heroen und Heroinnen dienten vermutlich Leonardos „Grotesken“.

## Punkt, Punkt, Strich – doch keiner kennt das rät

Assoziation ist nicht alles: Eine Ausstellung in Leverkusen will Mimik, Gebärden und Emotionen

Vor dem Spiegel piesackte sich der Bildhauer. In seinem Antlitz entfesselte er jene dämonischen Gefühle, von denen er sich verfolgt sah. Der Künstler verwandelte sein Gesicht in eine Arena, in der er seine Wahnvorstellungen mit drastischen Grimassen sichtbar machte und so die Seelenqual stellte. Auf diesem Weg suchte Franz Xaver Messerschmidt eine Besessenheit zu lindern, in der man später Schizophrenie vermutet hat. In dem „Gähner“ aus seinen neunundvierzig vollendeten „Charakterköpfen“ aus den Jahren 1770 bis 1783 paart sich das Ideal der Symmetrie mit einer übersteigerten Expression: Die Klarheit der Proportion wird umgepflügt von den unbeherrschbaren Extremen der Psyche. In der hyperrealistischen Bronze des Gähners, wie die Büste postum betitelt wurde, möchte

man ein drangsalisiertes Selbst erkennen, das sich in einem Aufschrei entlädt.

Einer anderen kahlköpfigen Figur begegnet man in Gestalt einer „Virtual Beauty“ aus dem Jahr 1999. Jegliches Pathos ist aus ihrem Antlitz getilgt. Auch wenn man ihr, durch Berühren des *touch screens*, ein Lächeln oder ein Augenzwinkern entlocken kann, so bleibt doch die streng symmetrische Erscheinung emotionslos und stumm. Als unnahbare Oberfläche hat Kirsten Geisler die computersimulierte Sphinx nach dem Vorbild gängiger Schönheitsideale geschaffen – Sinnbild des Menschen ohne Eigenschaften und als solches entsprechend langweilig.

Epochenübergreifende Dialoge will die Ausstellung „Von Angesicht zu Angesicht“ in Schloß Morsbroich beflügeln. Also fragt sie danach, wie die Leidenschaften des Le-

bens sich in den Gesichtern von Sanguinikern und Phlegmatikern, Cholerikern und Melancholikern einnisten und darin wühlen – von der Renaissance bis zur Gegenwart. Erlebte die Physiognomik in der ästhetischen Debatte wachsende Aufmerksamkeit seit Alberti, um bei Charles Le Brun zu einem zentralen Gegenstand des Diskurses zu avancieren, so hat sich der „mimische Ausdruck“ noch bis in die Body-Art und darüber hinaus – wenn auch nicht mehr ganz oben auf der Agenda – als Motiv durchgehalten. Manche Werke der Leverkusener Ausstellung bestätigen dies: von Picasso, de Kooning, Arnulf Rainer, Chuck Close oder Cindy Sherman.

In einem Querschnitt durch die Generationen und Stile hat Oliver Zybok, Kurator auf Schloß Morsbroich, in Kooperation mit dem kunsthistorischen Institut

der Technischen Hochschule Aachen eine Fülle von Handzeichnungen, Studienblättern, Büchern, Gemälden, Videos und Skulpturen zusammengetragen. Begleitet wird er von einem dickleibigen Katalog, in dem sich Kunst- und Literaturhistoriker, plastische Chirurgen und Psychotherapeuten auf die Spuren der Physiognomie begeben, um die „Hieroglyphe“ des Menschengesichts (Schopenhauer) zu entziffern. Solche Arbeit fällt auch in der Ausstellung selbst nicht leicht: „Mimik – Gebärden – Emotionen“, so ihr Untertitel, ist ein Mosaik unterschiedlichster Stile und Ansätze, dem es an verbindender Kraft mangelt. Einen prägenden Eindruck, der sich leider hartnäckig hält, ruft bereits das Entree hervor, das allerlei Disparates unter dem Begriff „Ich“ versammelt: Büsten von Sokrates und

## Der rasende Ritter der Bühnen

Über Stück und Stein: Peter Hall zum siebzigsten Geburtstag

LONDON, 21. November

John Osborne gab ihm den Spitznamen Dr. Fu Manchu. Jonathan Miller nannte ihn Genghis Khan und Leslie Caron, seine erste Frau, glaubte in ihm die Züge Kardinal Richelieus zu erkennen. Margaret Thatcher, deren „philisterhafte“ Einstellung zur Kultur Peter Hall oft und lauthals anprangerte, soll ihn einfach als „that dreadful man“ bezeichnet haben. Seinen Namen wollte sie vor lauter Abneigung offenbar nicht in den Mund nehmen. Schon 1962, mehr als ein Jahrzehnt bevor er die Nachfolge Laurence Oliviers am National Theatre antrat, veröffentlichte die satirische Zeitschrift „Private Eye“ ein fiktives Interview, in dem der Regisseur seine Zukunftspläne umriß: Er habe vor, ein Theater am südlichen Themse-Ufer zu bauen, das wahrscheinlich seinen Namen tragen werde. So etwa wie die Royal Albert Hall, wirft sein Gegenüber ein. Und noch bevor dieser die Frage zuende formulieren kann, fällt ihm Hall ein.

Bückeberg stationiert war, machte es auf den jungen Unteroffizier der Royal Air Force tiefen Eindruck, daß sich die Deutschen inmitten der Trümmer und der knappen Versorgung ein subventioniertes Musik- und Theaterleben leisteten. Als Student in Cambridge hatte ihm sein Professor F. R. Leavis eingepreßt, daß „Literatur und Kunst ein moralisches Gewicht haben“, das „unter gesellschaftlichem Aspekt wichtiger ist als die Religion“, erzählte Hall später.

Sein Deutschland-Aufenthalt festigte den Glauben an die staatliche Subventionierung der Kultur. Nur so könne sie von der jede Risikobereitschaft und alles Neue erdrosselnden Last befreit werden, bloß schwarze Zahlen zu schreiben. Mit dieser Überzeugung setzte er sich daran, das britische Theater zu erneuern. Er wollte das Leben in Großbritannien verändern, die Rolle des Staates verstärken, das Klassensystem aus der Welt schaffen und das Bil-

mit Tony Harrison's Bearbeitung der Orestie, deren monumentale Wirkung, untermalt von Harrison Birtwistles Musik, Hall unter anderem durch die Verwendung von Masken erzielte. Nach fünfzehn Jahren verließ er das National Theatre, zunehmend verdrossen über das mangelnde Engagement der Regierung für die Kultur. Dort hatte sich im Laufe der Jahre auch Unmut über die vielen Nebentätigkeiten des inzwischen in den Ritterstand erhobenen Hall ausgebreitet. Jahrelang hatte er die Leitung des National Theatre mit der Arbeit für Glyndebourne verbunden, wo er neben vielgepriesenen Aufführungen der Mozart/da Ponte-Opern auch Verdi inszenierte. Im Jahr 1983 absentierte er sich mehrere Monate, um in Bayreuth seinen „Ring“ vorzubereiten, den er gegen die zeitgenössische Tendenz in Anknüpfung an das romantisch-traditionelle Konzept im Sinne Richard Wagners entworfen hat. Die Abwesenheiten verstärkten die Vorbehalte, denen die ihm schon

## Nervenkra

Das nahe Ende der Sonde

Der Nationalsozialismus hatte in seinem sogenannten Euthanasieprogramm mehr als hunderttausend psychisch Kranke ermordet und mit den Erbgesundheitsgesetzen auch deren Familien schweren Schaden zugefügt. Führende Psychiater und die Mitarbeiter nicht weniger psychiatrischer Krankenhäuser waren an dieser Aktion beteiligt. Etwa die Hälfte aller deutschen Psychiater hatte bereits vor Beginn des Zweiten Weltkrieges das Land verlassen, die meisten von ihnen waren nach England oder Amerika emigriert. Es war nach dem Krieg also wenig übriggeblieben von der in den zwanziger Jahren durchaus fortschrittlichen deutschen Psychiatrie. Vielleicht am schlimmsten aber war der tiefe Vertrauensschwund, den die Psychiatrie in jenen zwölf Jahren erlitten hatte.

Das schlechte Image, das die Psychiatrie damals hatte, korrespondierte mit dem fehlenden Interesse einer jungen Akademikergeneration an der sozialen



# PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

FIFTH SERIES—VOLUME 341

## HOUSE OF COMMONS

OFFICIAL REPORT

FOURTH SESSION OF THE THIRTY-SEVENTH PARLIAMENT  
OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN  
AND NORTHERN IRELAND  
2 GEORGE VI

FIRST VOLUME OF SESSION 1938-9

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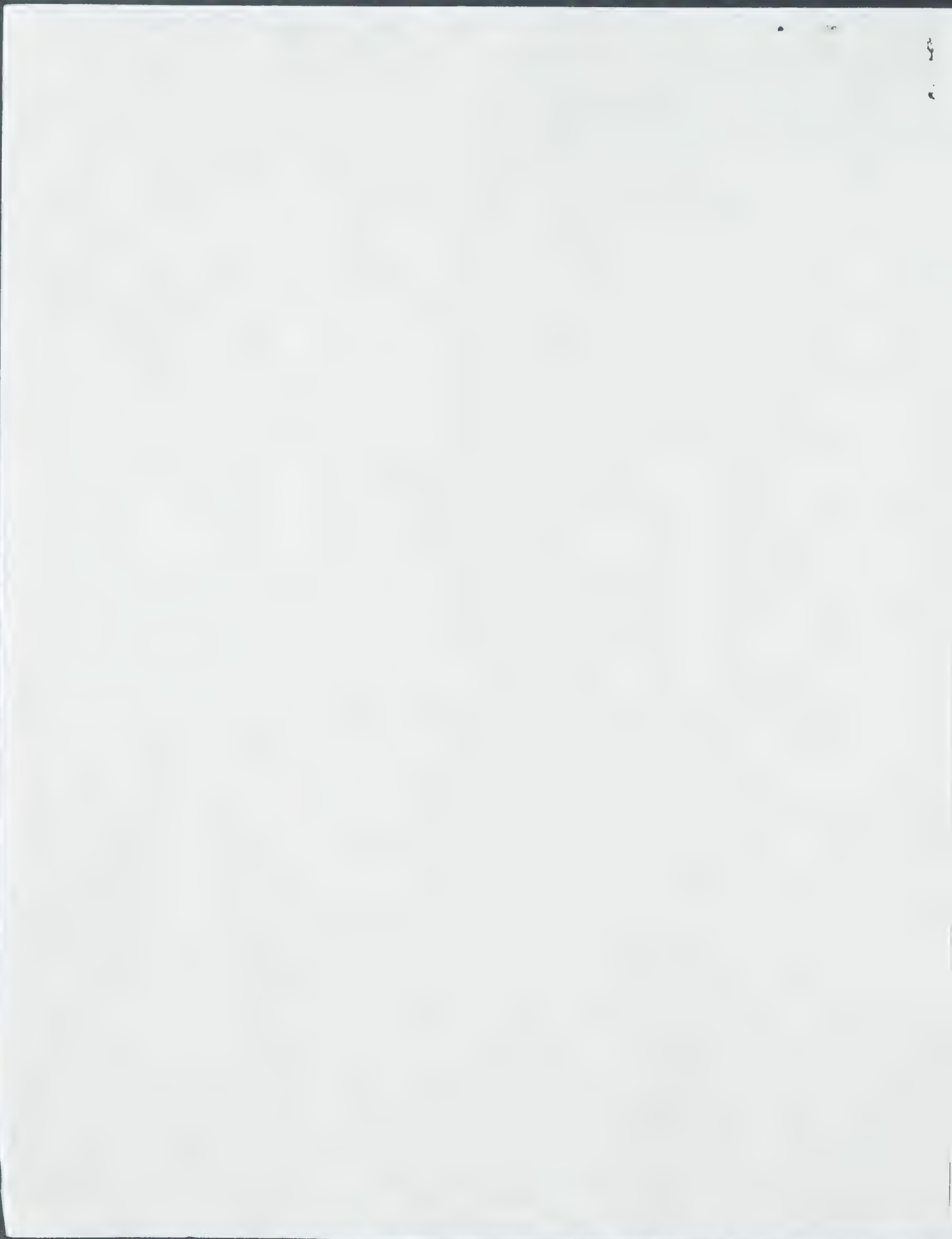
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**PREVENTION OF FRAUD (INVESTMENTS) [MONEY].**

Considered in Committee under Standing Order No. 69.

[Colonel CLIFTON BROWN in the Chair.]

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That, for the purposes of any Act of the present Session to provide (among other things) for regulating the business of dealing in securities, it is expedient to authorise—

(a) the payment out of moneys provided by Parliament of the expenses incurred for the purposes of the said Act by the Board of Trade (including the payment of such remuneration to the members of any tribunal constituted under the said Act to discharge functions in connection with the granting and revocation of licences, and such expenses of the said tribunal, as may be approved by the Treasury), and

(b) the payment into the Exchequer of all fees received by the Board of Trade by virtue of the said Act."—(*King's Recommendation signified.*)—[Mr. Cross.]

7.29 p.m.

**Mr. Lewis:** There is one point that I would like to raise before we part with this Resolution. The Committee in what they describe as their principal recommendations, on page 67 of their report, at the end, say:

"The Board of Trade should appoint a Registrar whose duty should be to keep a register of the names and addresses of registered dealers in stocks and shares and the expenses of the Registrar should be met by fees payable on registration and annual renewals thereof, such fees to be fixed by the Board of Trade from time to time."

It is true that the Government have not followed exactly the machinery suggested by the Committee, and I should like to know how far, if at all, that has upset the proposal of the Committee that the fees should cover the expenses. Before we part with the Resolution, we are entitled to be told to what extent the Board of Trade estimate the fees they will receive will cover the expense that they will incur? If the Board of Trade have not yet decided to fix fees at a level which, in their judgment, will be sufficient to cover the expenses, I hope they will reconsider their decision, because there is no doubt that one effect of this Bill will be to give improved status to those outside brokers who will be registered under the Bill. It will certainly help them and will bring them more business if they are able to say: "We are registered and approved by the Board of Trade." In these circumstances it is not

unreasonable that they should be required to pay the very moderate expenses which will be incurred by the Board in this matter.

**Mr. Stanley:** I think my hon. Friend will realise that it would be very difficult at this stage to give any particulars as to receipts or expenditure. It certainly would be our desire, if it were possible so to arrange, to see that the fees covered the expenditure. I am not, however, in a position to say how the system laid down in the Bill will react in regard to making the scheme self-supporting. As regards exemption, that is given once for all, and not yearly, and it is difficult to see how any revenue can be got from it, but, in so far as it is possible, we should aim at making the fees sufficient to meet the outgoing.

**Mr. Duncan:** Will there be fees for an exemption order?

**Mr. Stanley:** I should like to consider that.

Question put, and agreed to.

Resolution to be reported To-morrow.

**RACIAL, RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL MINORITIES.**

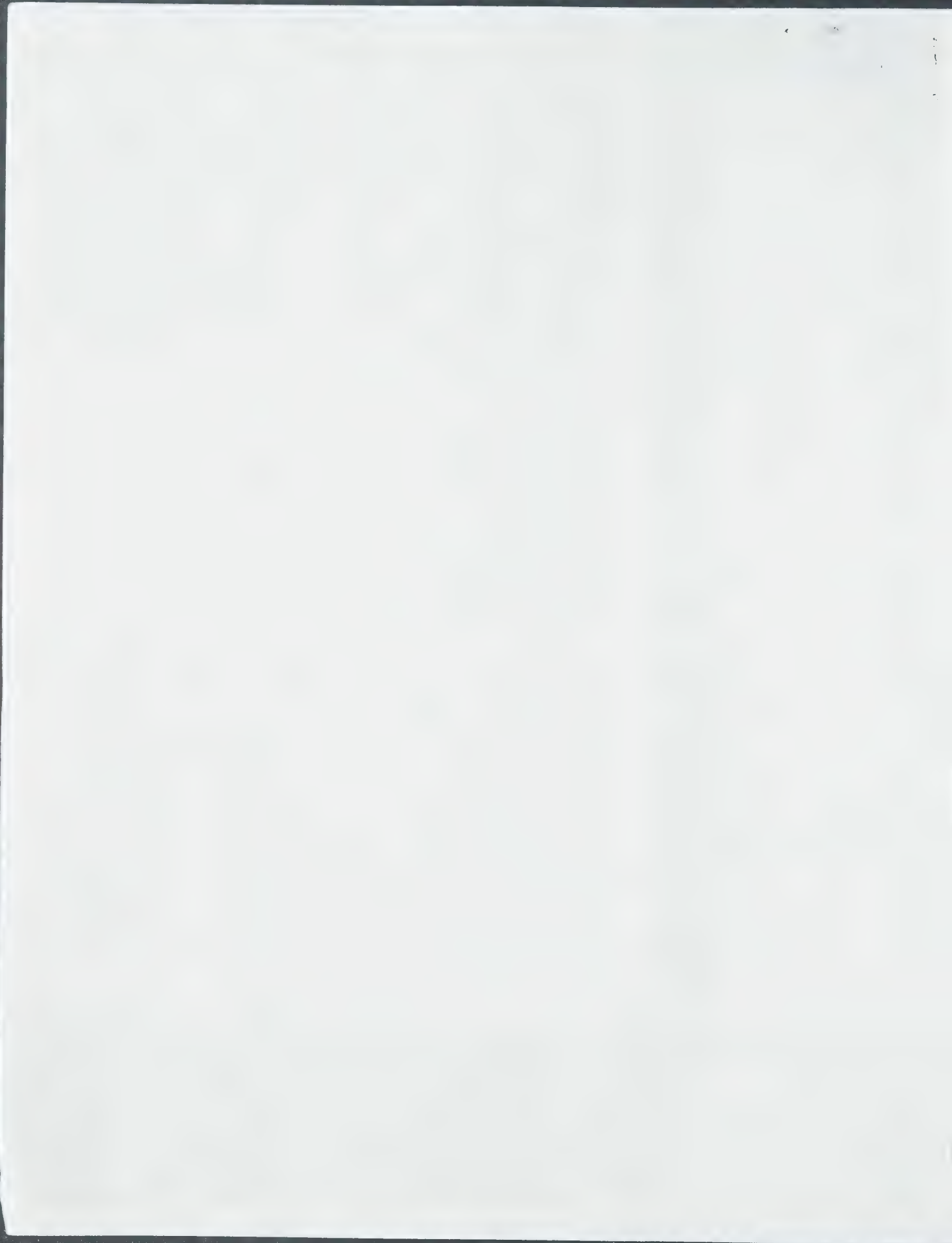
7.33 p.m.

**Mr. Noel-Baker:** I beg to move,

"That this House notes with profound concern the deplorable treatment suffered by certain racial, religious and political minorities in Europe, and, in view of the growing gravity of the refugee problem, would welcome an immediate concerted effort amongst the nations, including the United States of America, to secure a common policy."

I hope that this is a Motion with which the House will agree. I shall try to support it in no party spirit, and I hope I shall say nothing that will add, or will be said to add, to the difficulties with which the Government are to-day confronted. But I know the House will recognise that this Debate can serve no useful purpose unless we speak the truth, unless we face the facts and review the situation as it really is. What are the facts? On 7th November, a Polish Jew, Grynspan, a boy 17 years of age, entered the German Embassy in Paris and attacked a member of the staff, Herr Vom Rath. Two days later Herr Vom Rath succumbed to the wounds he had received.





He was the victim of political assassination. We have been told, here and elsewhere, that his action was a detestable crime. No one would dispute that. By our national standards political assassination is always detestable and always wrong. It is not less detestable when it is the method by which a party climbs or clings to power. There are people who, when they hear the name of Vom Rath, will remember also the names of Rathenau, Erzberger and Dollfuss, to whom the act of Grynspan will recall the night of 30th June, 1934.

What followed Grynspan's act in Germany? Every hon. Member knows the main outline of the facts. Dr. Goebbels has described it as the justifiable and comprehensible indignation of the German people. Let hon. Members think of that. Here is the "Daily Telegraph's" first summary of what occurred:

"The entire Jewish population of Germany was subjected yesterday to a reign of terror. The pogroms started simultaneously all over Germany. No attempt was made by the police to restrain the savagery of the mob. Almost every synagogue in the country was burnt to the ground. Scarcely a Jewish shop escaped being wrecked. Looting occurred on a great scale. Parts of the fashionable district of Berlin were reduced to a shambles. Jews of all ages, of both sexes, were beaten in the streets and in their homes. Numbers were lynched. The caretaker of a synagogue is believed to have been burnt, with his family, to death."

Let me give the House some details, which I can guarantee as facts. As part of the general destruction of Jewish institutions, a boarding school at Caputh, near Potsdam, was invaded and utterly demolished at 2 a.m. The young children were driven, without adult guidance or protection, into the night. At Bad Soden, the only Jewish home for consumptives in Germany was destroyed and sacked. The patients were driven away, wearing nothing but the shirts in which they slept. At Nuremberg the inmates of the Jewish hospital were forced to line up on parade. Some had just had serious operations, and one of them, my informant says, dropped down dead. At Ems, an asylum for aged Jews was raided, and the old people were driven out. A paralysed old man was driven from his bed, and his wife refused to leave his side. She was assaulted with an axe and her crippled husband was dragged away; at Bernsdorf, in Silesia, the boys in a Jewish camp were summoned to parade, and some were

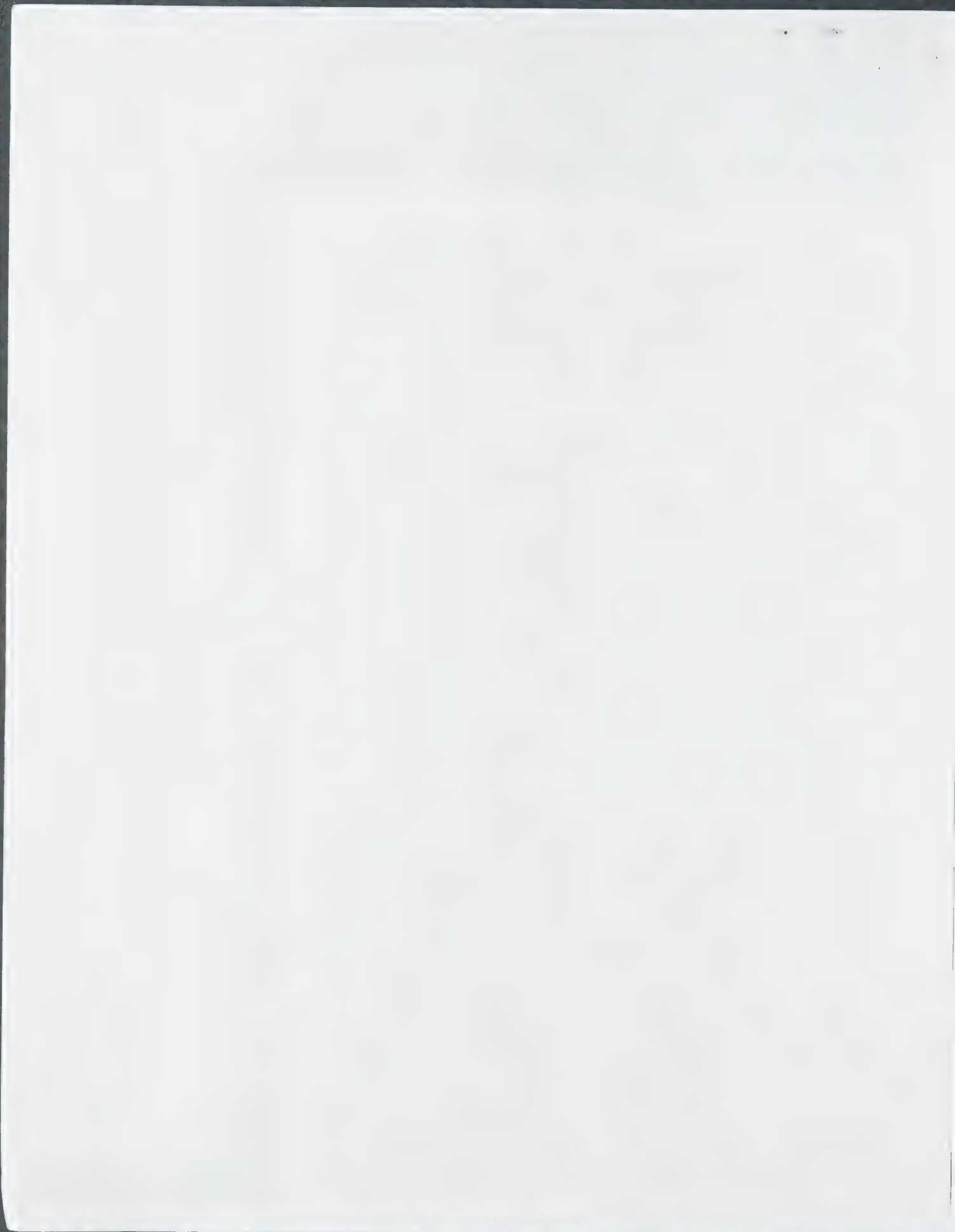
missing. A storm trooper, so says my informant, at the point of the pistol, asked a young Jew if he knew the whereabouts of the others. The young Jew was either afraid to answer or really did not know anything about it, and he was shot dead immediately. As he was lying on the ground the storm trooper kicked him with his heels.

In a concentration camp at Buchenwald, near Weimar, 70 Jews were killed during the night of 8th-9th November. That is to say, before it was known that Vom Rath was dead. Dr. Goebbels tells us that these acts were the spontaneous outbursts of national anger. In our view there would be no justification if that were true, but there is too much evidence not to think that the attacks were organised, and that they were organised in advance. In all the raids on Jewish institutions a common plan was followed, such as the cutting of the telephones, the disconnecting of the electric current, and the smashing of the central heating system before the actual assaults on the buildings were begun. British journalists are unanimous in their testimony that the attacks were not spontaneous, but, as the "Times" said, all the indications point to centralised direction. Everywhere the police allowed them to go on. In the Fredrichstrasse district of Berlin traffic was diverted half an hour before the looting actually began.

Not least among the mass of evidence which I could give to the House is the Government action which followed. If these acts had been the spontaneous excesses of the mob, the Government might have been expected to condemn them, to punish the offenders and make reparation to the victims. That was not what happened. Millions of pounds worth of damage has been done, and the Government proceeded to complete the work by decrees which ordered the Jews to pay a collective fine of £84,000,000 and to repair the damage done to their business premises at their own expense. That was accompanied by an order to the insurance companies not to pay them what was due.

By another order it was decreed that after 1st January no Jew may take part in any economic activity of any kind. In the meantime, they are not allowed to open their own shops nor even to go to the shops of Aryans. Most sinister of all, the Government began to arrest





[Mr. Noel-Baker.]

all the Jewish men. All Jews of the male sex, from the age of 16 to 60, have been driven off to concentration camps, and in 80 per cent. of the cases I understand their families do not even know where they are. Every Jewish charitable and social organisation has been broken up. Be it noted, for this is very important, some of these decrees at least must have been discussed before the attack on Herr Vom Rath had ever been made. On 3rd November, an article appeared in the "Schwarze Kaps," the official organ of the S.S., the Black Guard by which the concentration camps are conducted and by which other secret police activities are carried on. In that article the editor said:

"Out of the hoarded wealth of the Jews we must compensate ourselves for the economic damage done to us by world Jewry."

The article indicates very plainly that something such as that which has occurred was even in official contemplation. I stress that quotation because I believe it gives the clue to the real character of events in Germany in the last few weeks, which were not the spontaneous vengeance of the people for a Jewish crime but the consummation or, more correctly, the penultimate stage of a long-term plan, the spirit and purpose of which are all too plain.

Dr. Goebbels would like us to think that nothing had happened to the Jews before Grynspan fired his fatal shot, yet it is five years or so since Jewish children in schools were compelled to ask for milk in order that the milk might be publicly refused; it is five years or more since Jews were humiliated in the streets and since posters "Jews not wanted" appeared at swimming pools and other public places; it is five years or more since for every Jew, as for the Liberals, Socialists, Catholics and others, the concentration camp has been a haunting thought that has never left them day or night; for five years or so we have forgotten what a concentration camp is like.

I am not going to pile up horrors, but it is vital that we should know what is going on. We should have a living picture of what people are enduring in Germany to-day. I have an account of a British observer, Mr. Arnold Forster, well known to hon. Members of this House, which is based on his own personal

observations in a camp in 1933. If I were to read extracts from that report, which has been published, hon. Members would feel physically sick. Things have not improved in concentration camps since 1933. I have with me an account written by a victim who in June of this year was in the camp at Buchenwald, where conditions were worse, I believe, than in Dachau. He tells of their ghastly convict work on the road, 17½ hours a day upon their feet with not enough food to keep a child in health. He describes the nameless tortures given as punishment for the most trivial offence. He says that of his batch of 2,000, 105 died on their feet in the first five weeks.

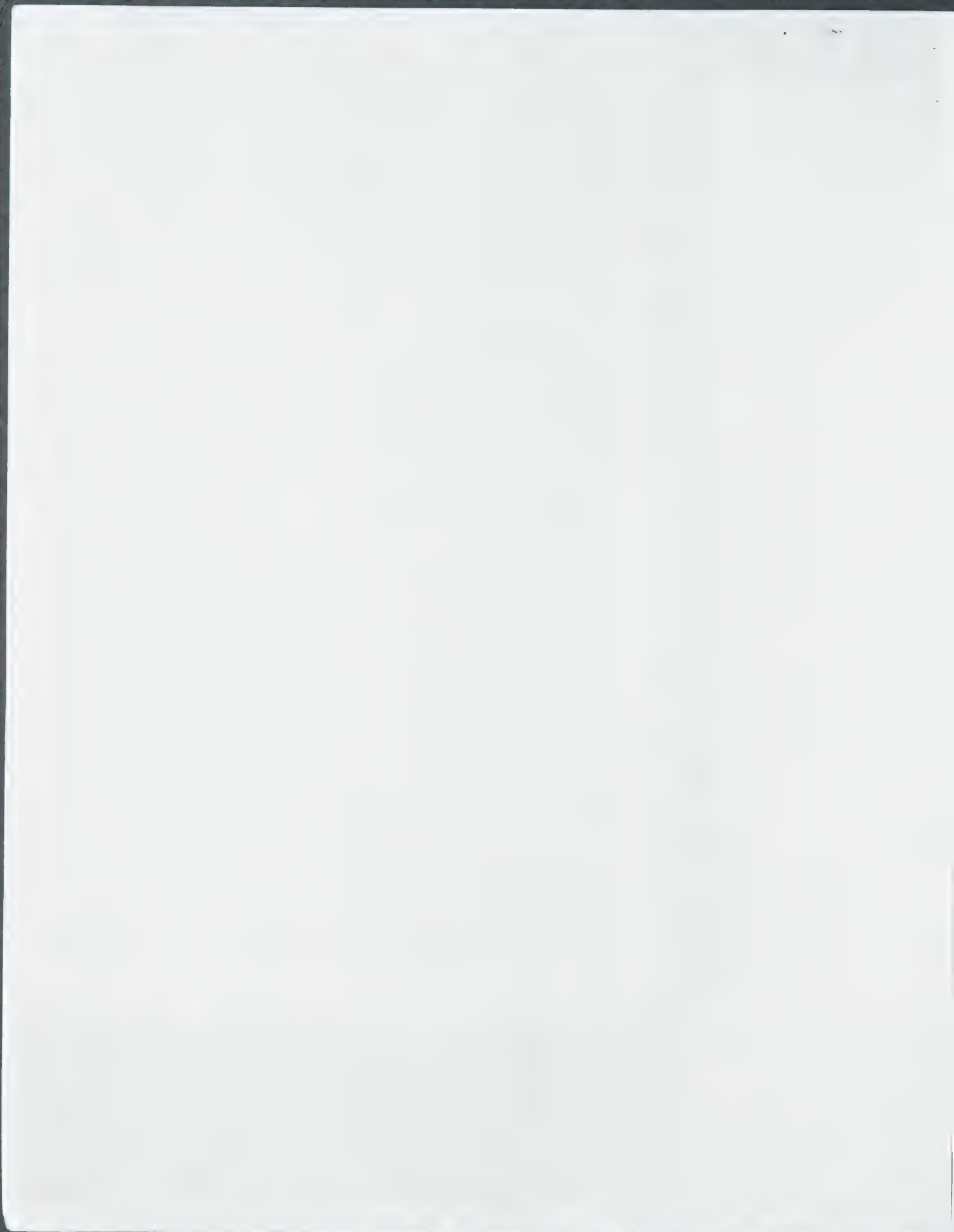
When we remember that this physical and spiritual torture has been going on for nearly six long years we can understand a little better, even if we do not excuse, the desperate act of a Jewish boy who was driven crazy by the fearful persecution of his parents and the people to which he belonged. We can understand, too, that these last drastic measures were not in any significant sense the result of Grynspan's act. They were part of a long and deliberate campaign moving with gathering and terrible momentum to its predestined end. That campaign was not ordained and it is not supported now by the German people. The Jews are the first to say that it is un-German. Germany was the cradle of Protestantism, the home of Kant, of a great trade union movement and a great free Press. Those who know it best—I do not—speak most warmly of the generous human spirit of the small post-war army which Germany was allowed to have. There is widespread testimony—I had it from an Englishman who returned here to-day—that the German people now are helping the Jews whenever they dare to do so. He tells me that even the police confess to him their shame and their disgust.

What have the Jews done to bring down this vengeance upon them? Sir Norman Angell has said:

"It is inflicted for one reason only; in their veins may run the blood of the race which gave us Jesus Christ, His Mother and His Apostles."

Nothing is more certain than that it is no crime, no disloyalty, no treason of the Jews which has brought this fate upon them. We have good cause in this country to know the great services which





the Jews have rendered to our nation. Hon. Members will not forget the Jewish contribution to the building of the Empire, and no one will forget their five Victoria Crosses, their 49 Distinguished Service Orders, their 263 Military Crosses and their 329 Military Medals won in the last War, an amazing record for so small a section of the population. Their services to Germany were certainly not less. There, as well as throughout the world, they have made an unmeasured and an unmeasurable contribution to art, science, medicine, music, knowledge, literature, and all that makes civilisation worth while. Indeed, it was only when they were driven from their posts in 1933 that we saw clearly how great a part of what we called the German genius was really the genius of the Jews.

Perhaps Dr. Goebbels has forgotten what they did for Germany in the War. I have here a record of those who fell—12,000 Jews gave their lives in a population of 500,000; a proportion one and a-half times as high as that of those who fell among the white population of the British Commonwealth for our cause. In this book Field-Marshal Hindenburg salutes his Jewish comrades who had fallen for the Fatherland, and the German Minister of War says that they were true sons of the German nation. Certainly it cannot be said that the Jews have given any cause for the treatment they have received since 1933. They have shown in Germany as in Palestine a self-restraint which is almost super-human, almost beyond belief. They have met their affliction with an international effort of co-operation of which the greatest living authority on refugee assistance, Sir John Hope Simpson, says:

"I do not think in the history of the world there has ever been such well organised, co-ordinated effort for humanitarian purpose as has been shown by the Jewish organisations in this crisis."

And he went on to say:

"The Jews have not confined themselves to helping Jews. It is probably true to say that more Jewish money than Christian money has gone to help Christian refugees."

I stress these facts because I think they make it plain that this martyrdom of the Jews in Germany is not a national vengeance on a disloyal race. However it started, it has become a part of the Nazi party's plan to disrupt and dominate the world. I think it is now quite plain what

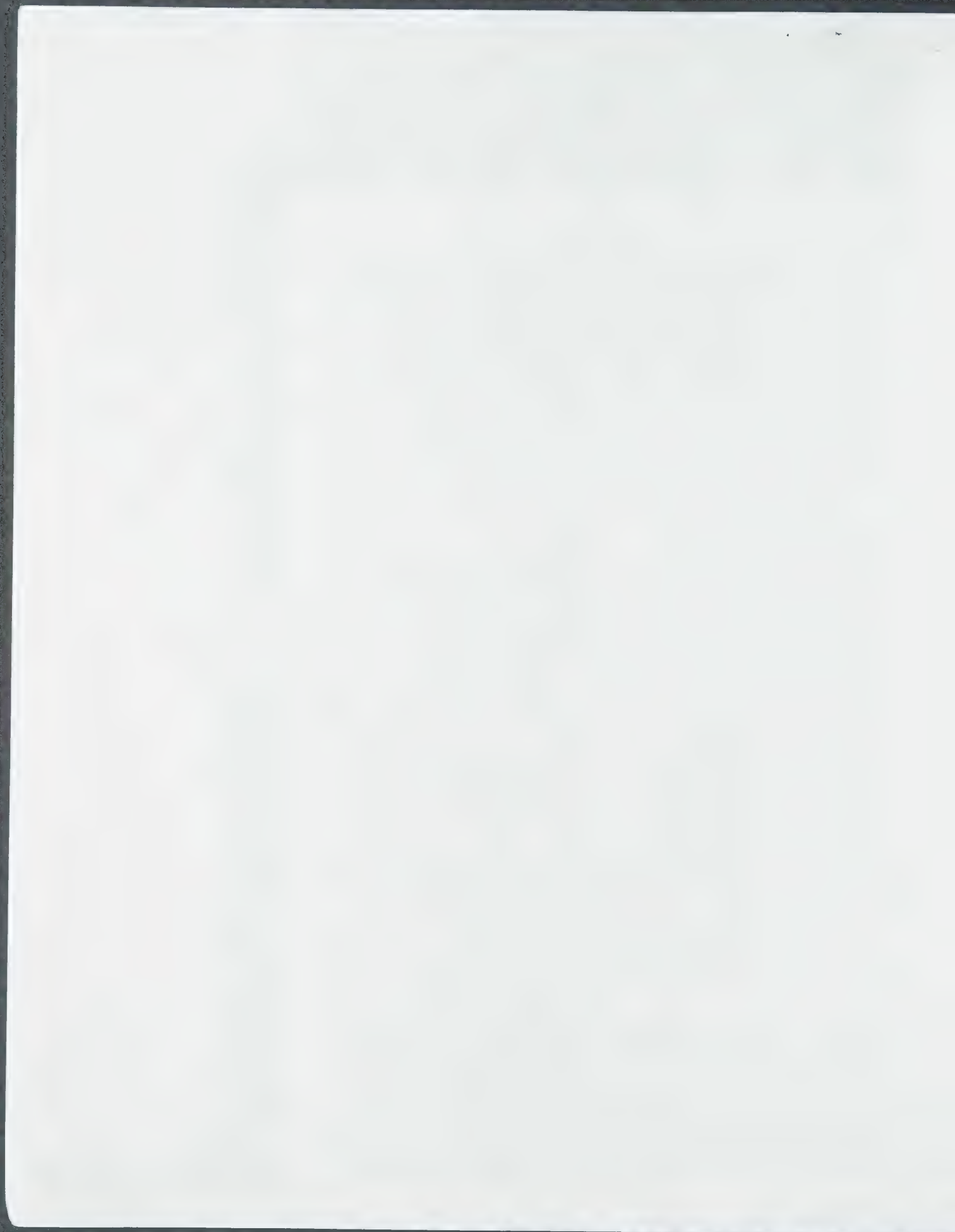
Dr. Goebbels means to do. He is not condemning the Jews to death; he is making it impossible for them to live. He means to rob them of all their worldly possessions, first for his party funds, and, secondly, for the bankrupt budget of the State. For years he has been stirring up anti-Semitism in other countries in order to increase the forces of disorder in the world, and now he is planning to drive out the Jews, in his own picturesque phrase, with one suit and a handbag, and leave them on the charity of the democratic world. And he is preparing to send them all. Consider his speech reported in the Press to-day:

"We only want the world to be sufficiently pro-Jewish to take all our Jews from our shoulders."

What does that announcement mean? There are already at least 160,000, I think 200,000, refugees from Germany and Austria, Jews, Aryans, Socialists and Catholics together. There must still at least—I am taking bottom figures—be 400,000 Jews in Germany to come. There are somewhere between 300,000 and 1,000,000 non-Aryans, half-breeds as Dr. Goebbels calls them. There are many Aryans against whom persecution is still continuing, or has begun; Socialists, Liberals and Catholics, in an increasing degree. The programme of expulsion can be indefinitely extended at Dr. Goebbels' will. If he successfully executes his threats against the Jews in Germany can we hope that only Germany will be affected? Before 1933 anti-Semitism caused a certain amount of social discomfort in Germany at times of economic slump, but in Poland and Rumania it was an endemic malady, breaking out in violent pogroms from time to time. At the present time, to the honour of Poland and Rumania, their Governments are holding their anti-Semites in check, but if the Dr. Goebbels' plan succeeds, if he drives half a million penniless Jews upon the world, will not Poland, will not Rumania, say perhaps now is our chance to send away our 4,500,000 Jews and rid ourselves of this problem for good and all.

Where is this thing going to end? What is it going to mean to us before it is ended? Dr. Goebbels would like us to think that it is a domestic question, that it is no concern of ours how his Government treats the racial and religious minorities within their state. If the treatment of minorities is a domestic question





[Mr. Noel-Baker.]

by what right did Germany concern herself with the fate of the Sudeten Germans two months ago? Certainly by no treaty rights. The treatment of minorities has always been a matter of international concern, and even if that had not been so, it is still true, as the Secretary of State for India said on Saturday and we thank him for it, that anything is international which stirs the conscience of mankind. But, alas, it is also an international question of a more material kind. We shall have to keep these unhappy human beings if Dr. Goebbels drives them out. There is not a Government in Europe to-day which is not already faced with cruel and urgent questions concerning refugees.

Let the House consider the prospect before us against the background of the refugee problem as a whole. There are still roughly 500,000 Russian, Armenians, Assyrians and others who have been refugees for 20 years, of whom we cannot yet say that they are settled. There are 250,000 Stateless persons for whom, as Sir John Hope Simpson says, no one is doing anything. There are 96,000 refugees, Czechs, Germans and Jews in Czechoslovakia to-day, and there will be many more. There are 25,000 Spaniards in France, apart from children. If Dr. Goebbels completes his programme, and if Poland and Rumania join in, what are we going to do? The outside world must have a programme also and it must have it now. I venture to suggest that that programme must comprise two parts. In the first place—here I speak in a most tentative manner, and I do not expect the Home Secretary to give any definite answer to-night—it must comprise action of some kind designed to check the persecution and the expulsion or penniless new hordes of refugees.

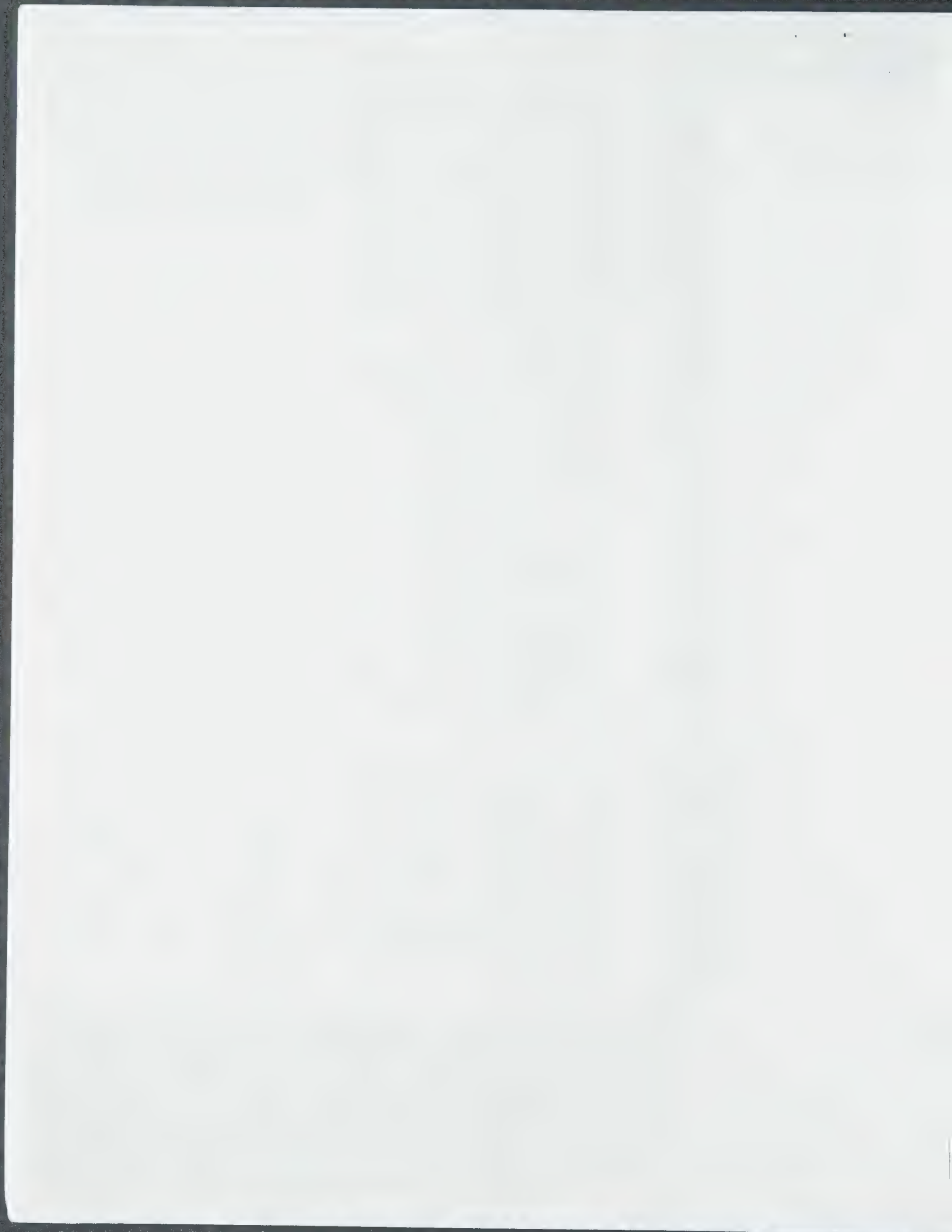
What can we do in that order of ideas? I believe that other Governments, like the Government of the United States, could protest in Berlin. There would be nothing new in such action. Our own Government protested in St. Petersburg in 1906 against the Jewish pogrom, and the present Archbishop of Canterbury was one who helped to see that the protest was made. The whole history of Nazi Germany shows that even verbal protests are worth while. In the second place, we can make it clear in Berlin that there can be no cordial relations between the German

Government and the British people while the martyrdom of the Jews, the Socialists, the Protestants and the Catholics goes on. It is hypocrisy to pretend that in present conditions a feeling of confidence and trust can be pursued. No British Government has the right to leave Berlin with such a hope. In the third place, we may have to consider—I do not say more than that—whether we should not take measures of active self-protection. If foreign exiles are to be thrust upon us we may be driven to seek measures by which we can make room.

Dr. Goebbels maintains what is called a "Foreign Organisation," and in a recent remarkable and well documented article in the "Quarterly Review," the author says that this foreign organisation is carrying on an insidious and provocative agitation by tens of thousands of agents. Every Government, even our own—perhaps most of all our own—is disturbed by the activities of Dr. Goebbels' agents. May the time not come when the number who receive our hospitality will have to be reduced? It was by threatening such action that Poland, two weeks ago, stopped the mass expulsion of Polish Jews; and there is another Government, which I will not name—a smaller country—which has successfully taken similar action by threatening the expulsion of German subjects. Dr. Goebbels' plan also creates a grave financial problem. Private and public money is now being poured out, and the time may come when we shall have to think of economic measures—taxes on German products, the control of German assets here—by which this grave financial problem which Dr. Goebbels is forcing on us can be solved.

I have spoken of such self-protective measures, as I call them, in a tentative way. I shall be more positive, if I may, about the second part of our programme. We must certainly try to stop the persecution, to stop the flood of exiles who come, and at least ensure that they come with the men, with the breadwinners, and with some part of their possessions. But whether we succeed or fail in that, it is urgently necessary that we should have a positive plan to settle the hundreds of thousands of people with whom we know we have to deal. That plan is needed now. Charity is running everywhere to waste. I was told yesterday of





£50,000 raised in Switzerland to keep 3,000 Austrian refugees. Those £50,000 are already exhausted in keeping them alive. With a plan, most of them would have been settled for good and all.

What can the plan be? When we think of the vast numbers involved, it seems very difficult to hope for any real result. I remember thinking that when I stood with Dr. Nansen, in 1922, beside the camps at Constantinople, of which the Home Secretary knew something and in the relief of which he played an honourable part, the camps where 100,000 Russians were living in conditions of unimaginable squalor. I thought the same a little later, when I stood by a stream in Eastern Thrace and saw the camp fires of flying families of refugees stretching away through the night to the very horizon. I thought it still more when I saw those same families on the quays of Salonika in the midst of winter.

Yet those 100,000 Russians were dispersed and settled throughout the world. If you go to Greece to-day, you will see the new towns and the new villages where the 1,000,000 refugees who came from Asia Minor have been settled in a new life, and have brought new strength to the nation to which they came. By that same machinery, after the War, in those early years of the League of Nations, Dr. Nansen's High Commission, settled, or helped to settle, 200,000 refugees in Bulgaria, 40,000 in Syria and Erivan; and by other means assisted hundreds of thousands of Russians to travel and to find work. Far greater numbers were then dealt with than all we are now confronting, and I believe our present problem can quite certainly be dealt with if the same energy and the same methods are used to-day. I speak with some assurance, because for several years it was my task to watch these schemes being carried through, and I think I know—indeed I have excellent cause to remember—all the difficulties and obstructions that are likely to arise.

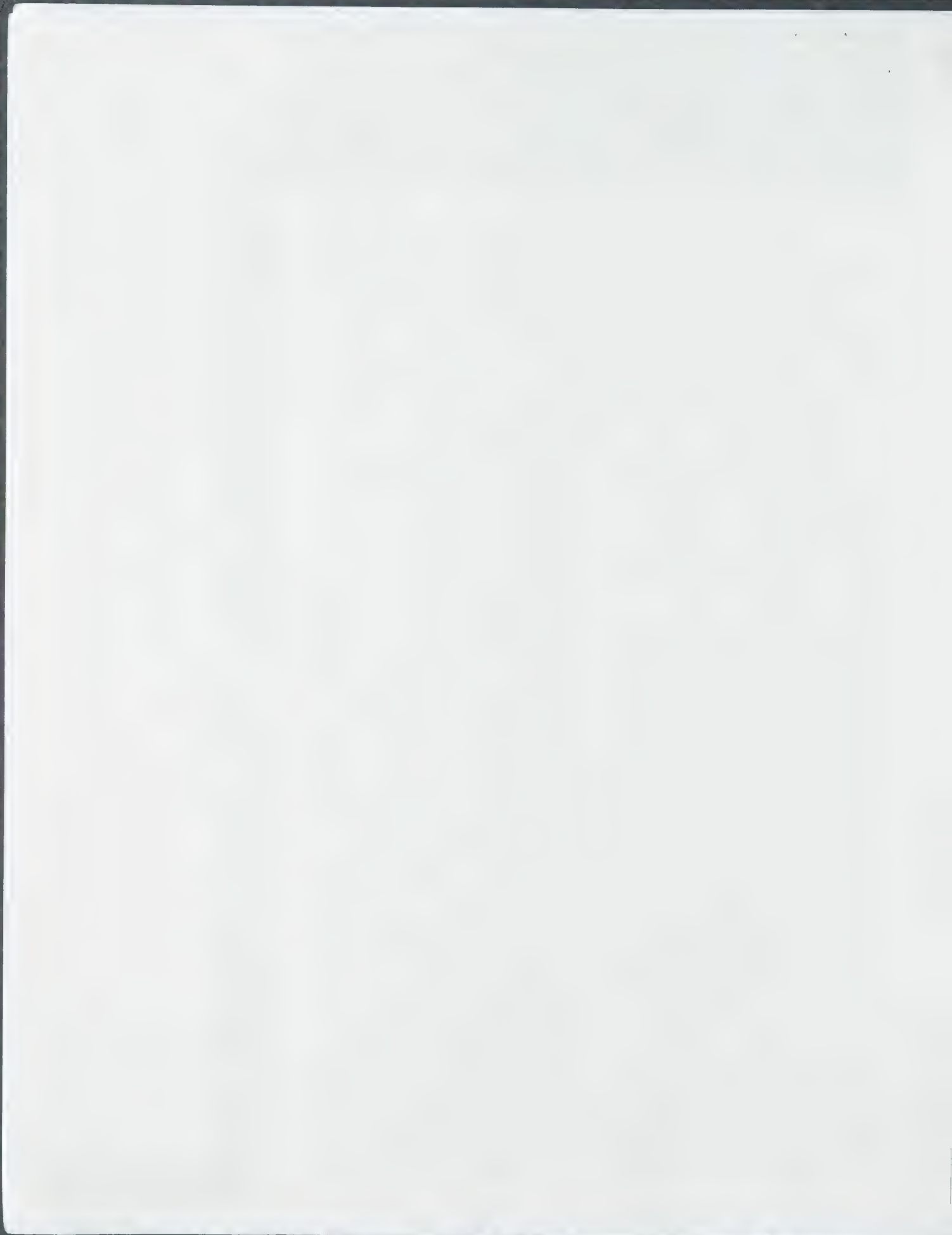
Broadly speaking, what can be done falls under two headings—infiltration and large-scale settlement. Infiltration means dealing with people by individual cases or by smaller groups. If a specialist in surgery is driven from Germany and a new Chair is made for him in a Scandinavian university, that is infiltration. If a Russian count—I am speaking of

cases I know—gets a permit to drive a taxi in Athens, if a Russian engineer walks from Bagdad to the Nansen Office in Geneva and is given a job in a railway in South America, that is infiltration. There are great possibilities in infiltration, provided you have a strong and authoritative international machine to carry it through. It was by infiltration that the 100,000 Russians in Constantinople were dealt with. There are many ways, of which I will mention only one—the use, perhaps, of Jewish doctors in building up our health services in the Colonies, where the health standard is far too low. There are many ways by which we, through an international organisation, could use infiltration to a successful end.

More important is settlement, both in agriculture and in industry. It was by settlement that more than 1,500,000 people were given new means of livelihood in Greece, Bulgaria and other places I have mentioned, in the 10 years that followed the War. Of course, there is the problem of land, of which the Prime Minister spoke this afternoon. I admit that it is more difficult, perhaps, than it was in those cases, although in those cases it was not very easy; but I am bound to say that I am convinced that if the Governments bring good will to the matter, land can be found. Of all the countries that the Prime Minister mentioned this afternoon, I thought Palestine by far the most hopeful, and I hope that the Government are not excluding the principle of large-scale settlement in Palestine, where there is work ready to be done. I hope at least they will give permits now for the 10,000 children whom the Jews are eager to welcome. I hope Canada will take in, perhaps in British Columbia, on virgin soil, the Sudeten Germans. I know the Sudeten Germans. Canada would not find better settlers or more all-round settlers in any country in the world. The land is a big question, but it can be solved if other elements of a constructive programme are there. I was not quite sure this afternoon, as I listened to the Prime Minister, that they were.

I am sure that there are four conditions which must be fulfilled. First, there must be a real identity of purpose and co-ordination of policy between the different Governments. Let me give one example. A refugee—this is an actual case—was impounded as a vagrant, because he had no permit, in a certain





[Mr. Noel Baker.]

European country. He was tried and put in gaol. Then he was expelled to another country, where the process was repeated, and again he was re-expelled. In a year, £200 were spent upon the trials and imprisonment, while his family was a charge on the public funds. For half the money, the Nansen Office could have settled him for life. That is what happens—it is happening now—when you do not have a co-ordinated Government plan. There is misery and waste to all concerned.

But a co-ordinated plan means a strong international administration to carry it through. Dr. Nansen had his staff, he had the help of the Secretariat of the League, he had his own agents and offices in 20 countries. That was how we worked. Without it, we should have done nothing at all. It happens that, thanks largely to the efforts of the Noble Lord the late Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and his French colleague, M. Grumbach, the last Assembly of the League of Nations decided to appoint a new High Commissioner for refugees, with the same powers, the same budget, the same staff as Dr. Nansen had. I hope he will be used as Dr. Nansen was used, and I hope he will be encouraged to use his powers as Dr. Nansen used his.

Thirdly, there must be money, ready money for urgent needs, and long-term loans for settlement plans. Millions of pounds are needed. What disappointed me in the Prime Minister's statement this afternoon, as I understood it—I hope I am wrong—was that he is still relying on private charity alone. Private charity cannot solve the problem now. The Government need not be alarmed at the prospect of guaranteeing loans. They will not lose their money. These refugees are not like the Greeks and Bulgarians who were settled; they are very able, resourceful, educated people—one of the best investments in the world. If the Government can guarantee a loan for arms to Turkey, I think they ought to guarantee a loan to save these unhappy people. If they do, I think they will do quite as much, pound for pound, to make the British Empire strong and safe as they did by giving the loan to Turkey.

Lastly, there will be little hope of practical results—and perhaps here some hon.

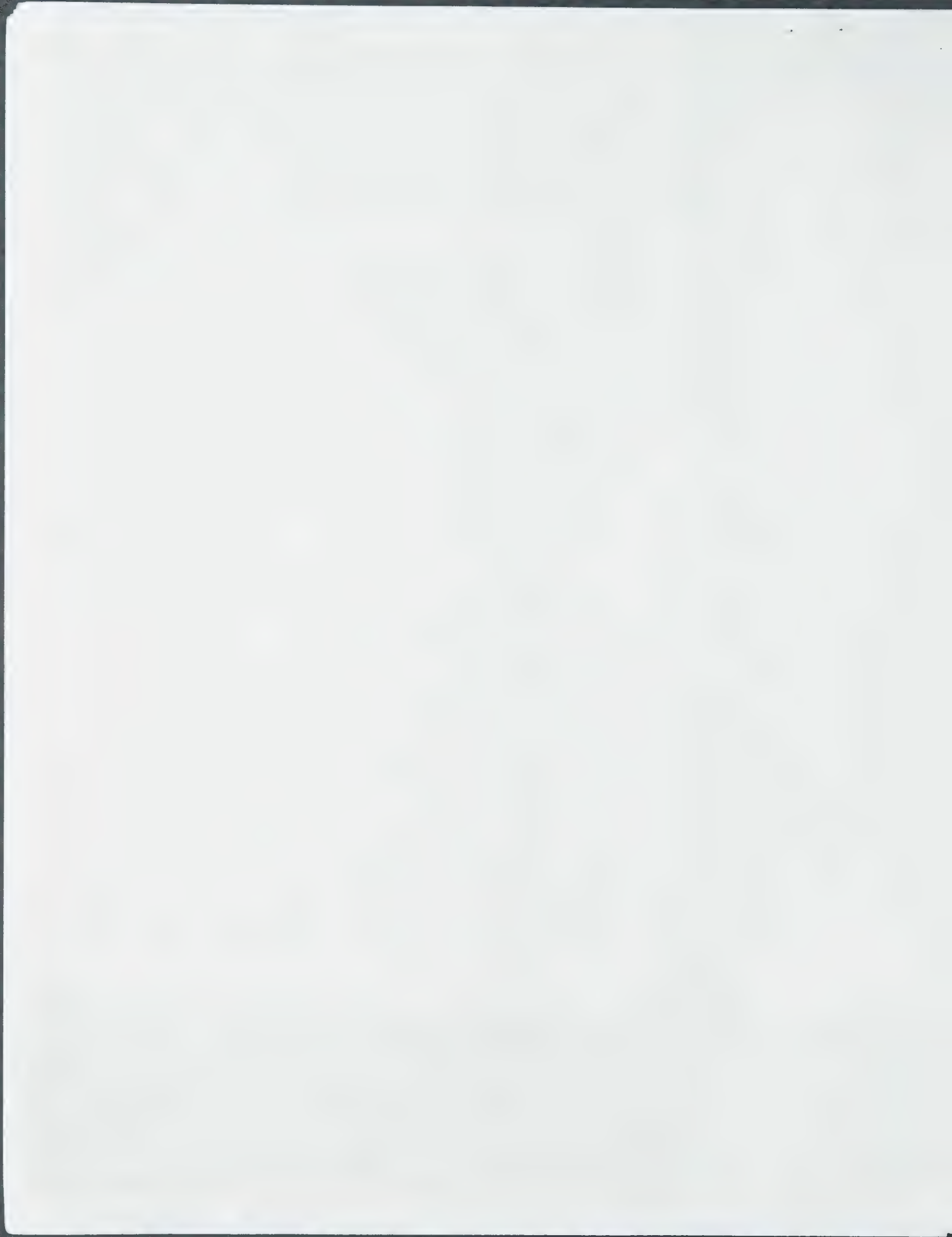
Members will think I touch more controversial ground—without the regular, pitiless publicity of the Council and Assembly of the League of Nations. I know the difficulties to be overcome, the obstructions that will be made, and the vested interests that will interfere. Only the power of vigilant and instructed opinion will break those obstructions down. If our Government will rely upon that power, if they will use the High Commissioner of the League, if they will guarantee the loans he will require—in common, of course, with other Governments—if they will give to this matter the drive that was given to it 15 years ago by the late Lord Balfour, Lord Cecil and those who worked with them on the British Delegation, then I am very certain they can obtain the same results.

I think they might in some measure stay the tyrant's hand in Germany by the means I have suggested. Certainly they can gather the resources, human and material, that are needed to make a new life for this pitiful human wreckage. That wreckage is the result of the mistakes made by all the Governments during the last 20 years. Let the Governments now atone for those mistakes. The refugees have surely endured enough. Dr. Goebbels said the other day that he hoped the outside world would soon forget the German Jews. He hopes in vain. His campaign against them will go down in history with St. Bartholomew's Eve as a lasting memory of human shame. Let there go with it another memory, the memory of what the other nations did to wipe the shame away.

8.15 p.m.

**Mr. Hammersley:** I cannot claim that tolerance which the House invariably gives to a maiden speech, but I can ask for some indulgence in view of the fact that this is the first occasion on which it has been possible for me to address the present House of Commons. It seems to me that there are three moods in which this refugee problem may be considered. We may, like the hon. Member for Derby (Mr. Noel-Baker), who has given us a speech full of incidents of the brutal and inhuman treatment which the Germans are meting out to the Jews, consider that every feeling of decency has been violated and in that mood we are apt to look upon these events in an atmosphere of indignation and resentment. Then there is the mood of intense





sympathy in which one is inclined to dramatise the record of human torture to be found in the tragic history of the persecution of the Jews throughout the centuries, and in the emotions aroused by that mood, we may forget the need for practical and effective action. There is a third mood which it is difficult for us to adopt, but which, I think, we ought to adopt. That is the mood in which we refuse to have our senses stimulated by sentiment, or our judgment darkened by indignation, and in which we look upon this problem of 500,000 refugees in Germany as just another practical problem which British statesmanship is called upon to consider and to solve.

It is because I think this last mood is the mood which will be most helpful to the settling of the problem that I propose to keep to it, in my brief examination of the position. We find that 500,000 men and women of Jewish race, but not all of Jewish religion, are looking round the world for a home and appeal to the British Government for help. Is there something in that problem which defies solution? Is its magnitude so vast, are its difficulties so complex, that we must recoil abashed from it and come to the conclusion that it is beyond human attainment to solve it? I do not take that view. Like the hon. Member for Derby I think that when we view this subject through the perspective of history, we see that a task of similar, or even greater magnitude, has been shown to be well within the capacity of a nation much poorer in possessions and wealth than ours. I refer to Greece. Looking at it in that light and recalling the fact that over 1,000,000 penniless, starving, homeless Greeks found refuge in that poor country, we must come to the conclusion, in confronting this problem, that the resources of civilisation are by no means exhausted. Many hon. Members are probably familiar with the masterly history of Europe which was written by a former Member of this House, Mr. H. A. L. Fisher. Referring to the defeat of the Greeks in Asia Minor in 1922 when the victorious Turks entered Smyrna, fired the city and massacred all of Greek blood whom they could find, Mr. Fisher writes:

"More than 1,000,000 Christians fleeing that terrible wrath were rescued from Asia Minor in Allied ships, and by a great feat of benevolent organisation distributed through Greece and its Islands."

Later, referring to those refugees he says:

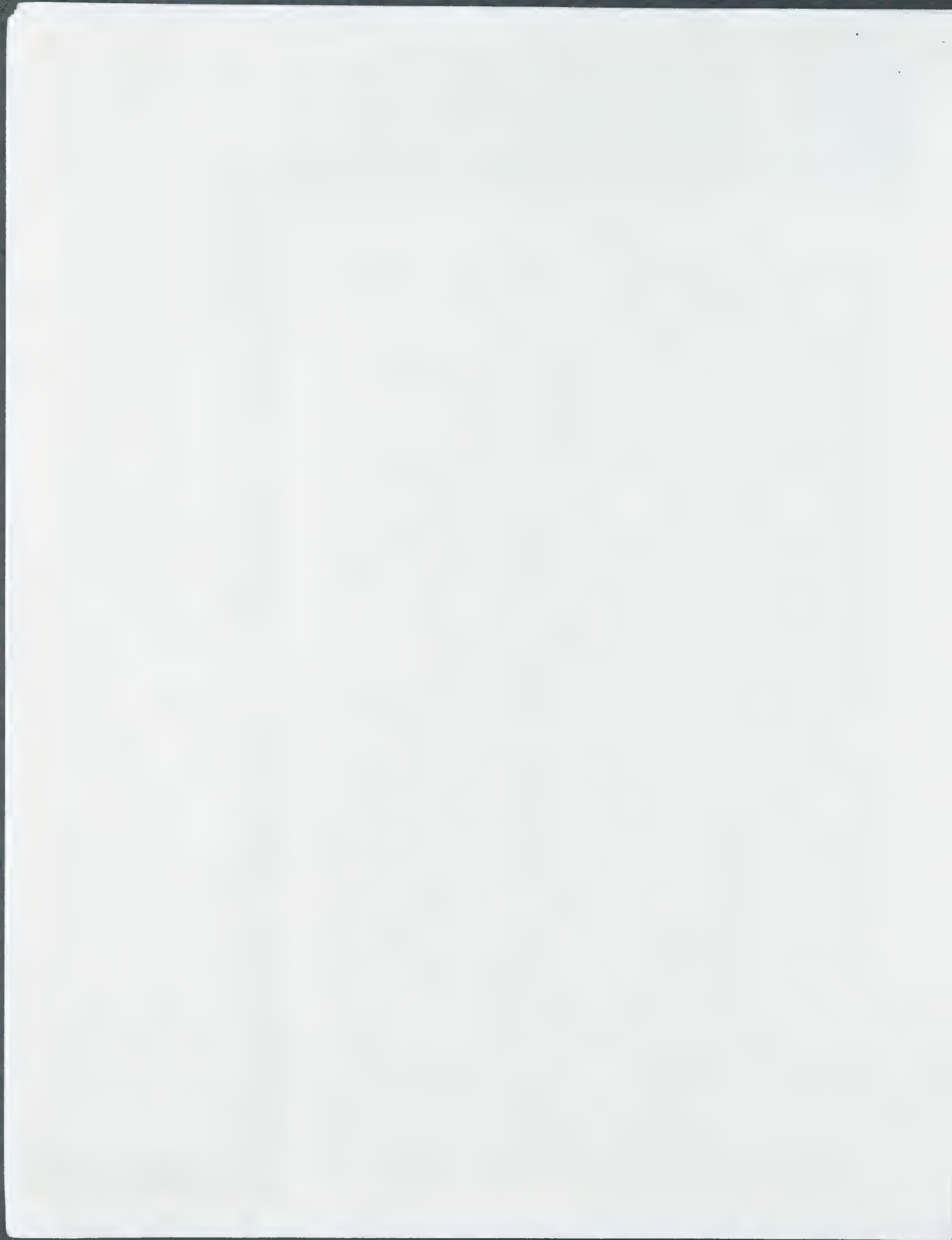
"Greece became by reason of its industrious Asiatic immigrants richer, stronger, more populous than before."

A task which when undertaken, under the wise guidance of Nansen, in reference to 1,000,000 friendless Christians, proved to be successful, should not, in relation to 500,000 assisted Jews, prove insuperable. I hope I have made my first point, namely, that the objective of settling these Jews in other countries is well within the capacity of the world to achieve. I turn to my second point: Is Parliament, is the British Empire, in a position materially to help the achievement of this objective? Undoubtedly it is. Responsible as the British Empire is for a quarter of the surface of the globe, it is absurd to suggest that we cannot give great help. I am aware that this House cannot speak for the whole Empire, but it can speak for a substantial part of it, and it is from the Government that money can be obtained and should be forthcoming.

The most obvious way in which immediate help can come is from Palestine. There should be the immediate increase of the available immigration into Palestine. That will afford the assistance which is most necessary and most urgent. Palestine could, according to those who are qualified to express an opinion, take some 50,000 additional immigrants. I do not wish to dwell at length on this question of Palestine, because the House will be debating it on Thursday, and I turn to some other parts of the Empire where the immediate prospects are not perhaps so favourable, but where, in my opinion, a great deal can be done. We have read of what the Italian Government are doing in connection with settlers in Libya. British Somaliland, Kenya, Tanganyika and, in a smaller way, British Guiana will greatly benefit from the immigration of intelligent, industrious individuals whom Germany, having first dispossessed, is now driving out.

I know there are colonists who may say, that if we increase considerably the number of immigrants to those parts of the British Empire we shall intensify the problem of unemployment there and, alternatively, it may be argued that the present economic development of those parts of the world admits of only a very





[Mr. Hammersley.]

small additional amount of immigration. I reject those arguments for two reasons. First, we can learn from what has happened in Palestine. I well remember being in this House when the present Opposition formed the Government of the country and the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Sidney Webb—now Lord Passfield—told us that an increase of the immigration of Jews into Palestine by some 3,000, would upset the economic balance of that country. What has happened since? Over 200,000 Jews have gone into Palestine and the economic balance of the country has not collapsed. The proof of that lies in the fact that, great as the immigration of Jews into Palestine has been, the growth of the Arab population in Palestine has been greater. Therefore, it appears to me that a great deal of exaggeration may take place when one tries to assess what is the economic absorptive capacity of a country. These views are borne out by the last report which we have had, the Woodhead report, where, on page 31, it says:

"So far as concerns the non-agricultural settlement, it would seem that economic conditions in Palestine are by now so closely bound up with Jewish immigration, both actual and prospective, that the Arabs in Palestine would be faced with the prospect of greater economic hardship if Jewish immigration should be completely closed down, than they would be even if it should be allowed to continue."

The argument that I am rejecting is that these various parts of the Empire have reached the limit of their absorptive capacity. Surely there is an urgent necessity for a greater development of our Colonial Empire. I am not trying to suggest that all these stricken Jews in Germany should be dumped in our Colonial Empire—that would not be right or possible—but I do say that if the Government base their views on what can be done on the conservative estimates of Colonial Governors-General, swayed by councils of settlers, then the estimate that the Government will give will be a long way from the real absorptive capacity of the British Empire, and a unique opportunity of relieving a heartrending human tragedy and restoring to Britain some of its waning prestige will have been lost.

There is another practical and important aspect which should not be overlooked. We are not dealing with a completely

friendless people. They may be destitute, but they have friends, and the financial assistance which organised Jewry can give is great. It would be impossible to suggest that these refugees should be dumped on various parts of the Empire without previous preparation and without capital, but the capital which is at the disposal of Jewry is great, and Jewry should be called upon to provide a great deal of capital. What it cannot provide, the great British people will endeavour to assist in providing. In my view, it is much better to lend to the Jews to build up our Empire than to lend to the new Czech Government in order to help to destroy it. Inevitably, when one thinks of these problems, one's mind turns to the United States of America, with its large Jewish population. What opportunities for co-operation lie here. Is it a dream to think that this German refugee problem and the American debt problem might find a simultaneous settlement? Certainly in working out the financial aspect of some of these schemes, that is an aspect of the matter which should not be overlooked.

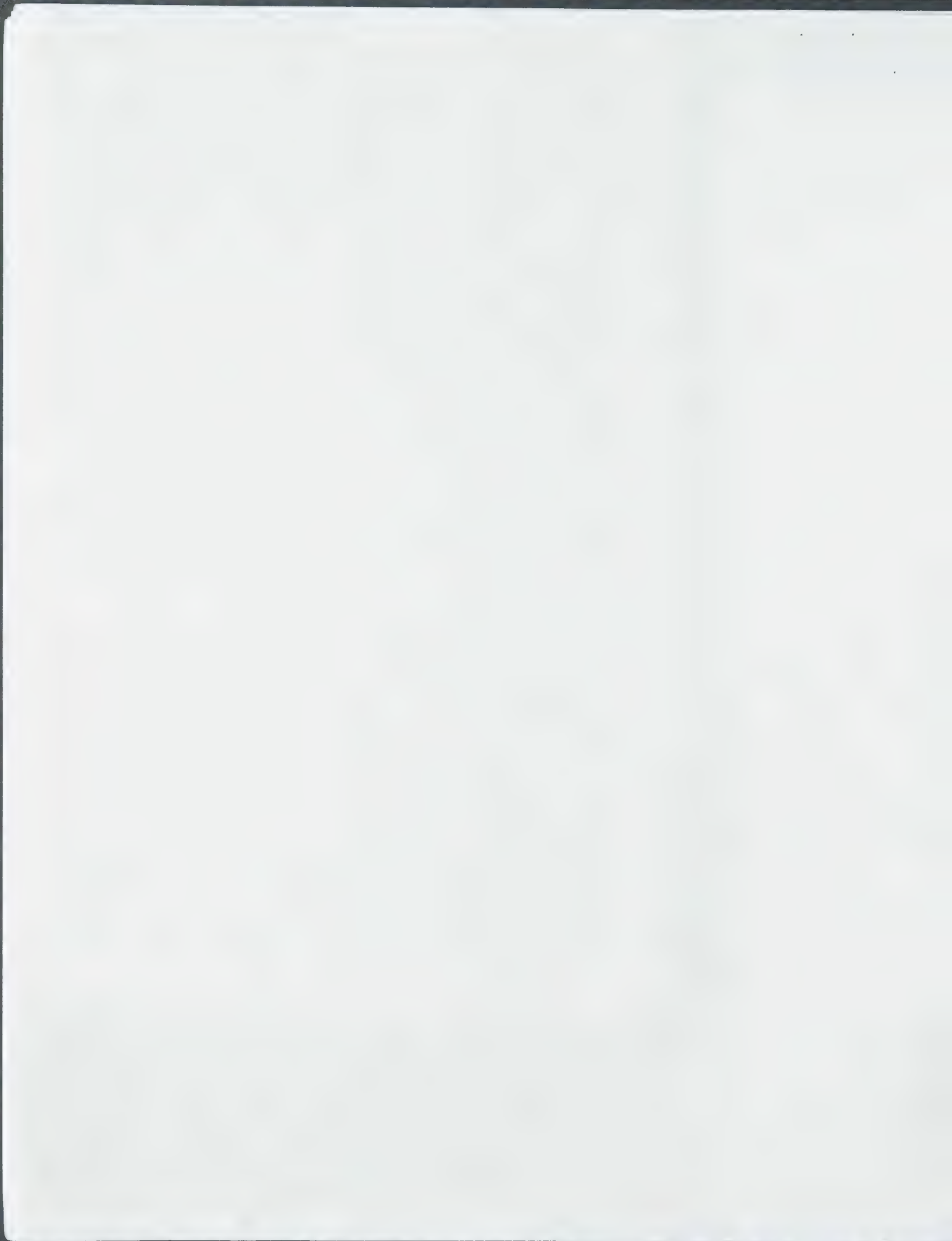
To sum up, in my opinion, on severely practical grounds, the German refugee problem is a solvable problem, which the British Empire can materially assist to solve. It is more. It is a challenge to the inherent humanity of our race, it is a challenge which Britain, the champion of the oppressed, cannot ignore.

8.30 p.m.

**Mr. Mander:** Surely the hon. Member for East Willesden (Mr. Hammersley), although he is not entitled to any congratulations, thoroughly deserves them for the speech which he has just made. I think we must have a feeling of universal disgust at the horrible brutality of what is going on in this exodus from Germany at the present time. It is nothing but a reversion to paganism and a repudiation of all those ideals for which Christianity and all other religions too, for that matter, stand. The hon. Member for Derby (Mr. Noel-Baker), in his interesting speech, gave a number of individual examples of cases of persecution. I should like to state one case that came under my observation of a rather different kind.

A month ago, just after the crisis, I was in Prague, and I went to the frontier one





[Mr. Mander.]

the disposal of the Jews for settlement in that part where a good deal of study has been given to the problem during the last year or so. The main problem is with regard to some part of the British Empire, either in the Dominions or in the Colonies. It really will not do for us to tell other nations, possessing the enormous Empire that we do, that we are very sorry but we cannot find any room in the British Empire. I am sure that that will not be the attitude taken by this country. The Prime Minister has made certain indications of territories where emigration might take place. I must say that I am particularly attracted by the idea of Tanganyika. It is a first-class suggestion for reasons which, I think, are obvious to us all, and there is no need to dilate upon them.

Let me turn to the question of finance, because it is no good pretending that this problem can be dealt with by private finance. It is far beyond that. Many of the organisations that are dealing with refugees at the present time are finding the greatest difficulty in carrying on. In dealing with these hundreds of thousands of persons no one would argue that the problem can be dealt with otherwise than through the Government. I understand that the chairman of the Inter-Governmental Committee has been unsuccessful so far in obtaining any response from the German Government in the negotiations for obtaining from Germany some portion of the property of the refugees when they come out. It is an intolerable thing that Germany should be in a position to throw out large numbers of her citizens and rob them of the whole of their property, and then expect the rest of the world to finance them and to look after them. Exasperated as we may be by a feeling of that kind, we must put humanity before money. If it does happen, we have to do the best we can for these unfortunate people.

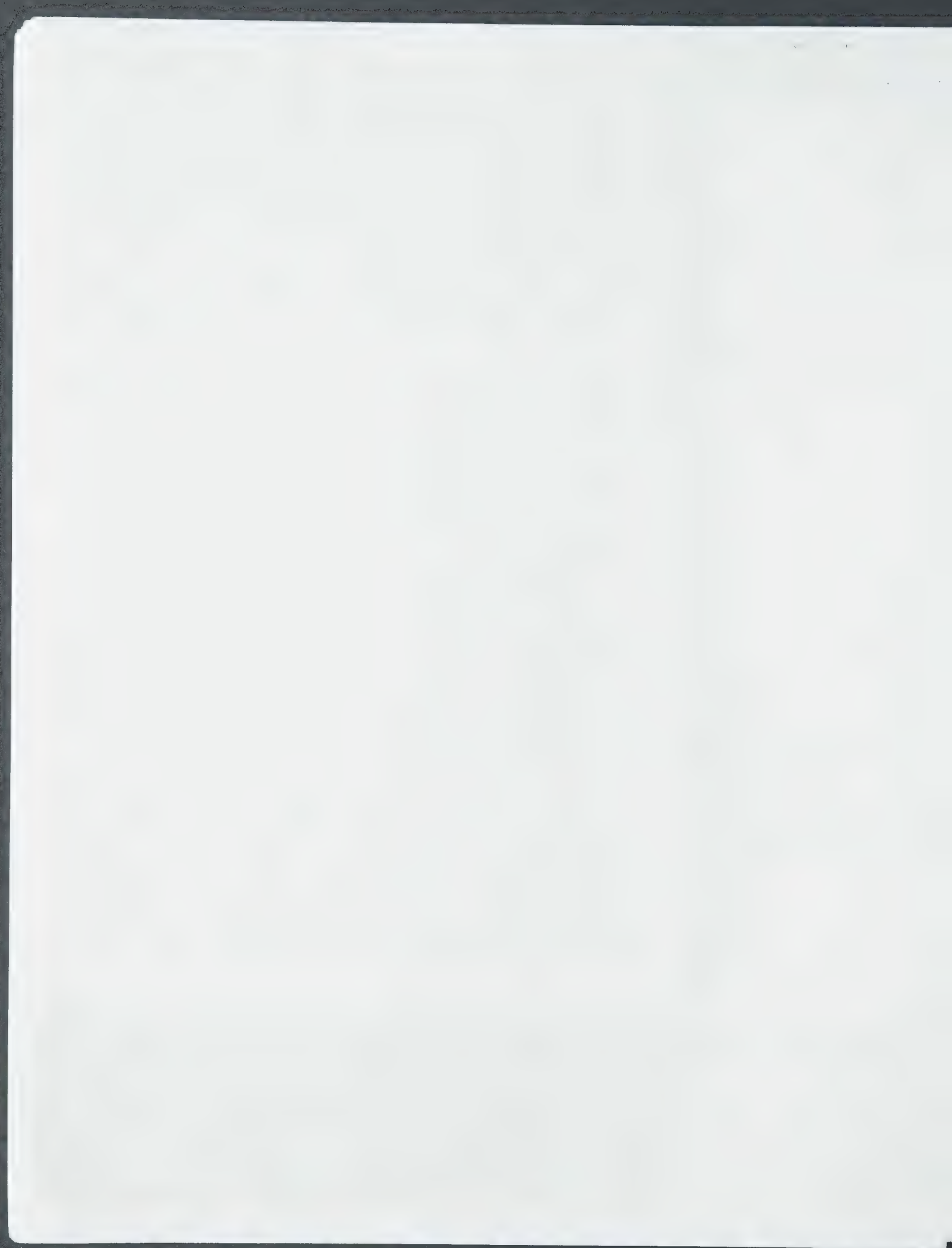
I would like to make one or two suggestions rather on the lines of those made by the hon. Member for Derby as to the steps that might be taken, although I do not say that all of them are practicable. I venture to think that certain pressure might be applied to Germany. I do not want to use the word "sanctions," because that is not popular in these days, but certain pressure might be applied. There is pressure, first, of a diplomatic

kind. The United States Government have withdrawn their Ambassador, temporarily at any rate. If all the principal nations were together to withdraw their diplomatic representatives as a demonstration against this kind of thing, I should think that it might possibly make some impression. Then there is the financial pressure that might be applied, such as refusal of financial support, although I do not suppose that Germany is getting very much at the present time. Then there is economic pressure, for which there is an analogy in connection with a country not far from here. I should have thought that there was a case for imposing a pretty high tariff upon German goods exported to this and other countries, the proceeds to be used for looking after the refugees who are being expelled.

I agree with the suggestion made by the hon. Member for Derby that consideration should be given—I have put it to the Home Secretary before in the form of a question—to the possibility of sending back to Germany a considerable number of Nazi Germans who, I am sure, could be identified and isolated if it were necessary. They should be sent back to the Reich, where they would be so much happier than being engaged on propaganda and agitation here and taking the place of refugees who could otherwise come to this country and be very much happier here. I hope that that is a problem that will not be overlooked. We ought not to rule out altogether the possibility of making a register of the property of all Germans in this country with a view to seeing whether, if Germany is going to rob the Jews of all their property in Germany and send them out, we should not appropriate some of their possessions here and use them for the help of the refugees. There are obvious difficulties, but I do not think that that is a matter that should be ruled out.

If we cannot do any of these things, we must go in for an international loan guaranteed by the central banks of issue for this purpose. I do not see any alternative to that. I hope that something will be done, on the lines suggested by the hon. Member for Derby, by making use of the machinery of the League of Nations. I know that our Government are not enamoured of certain functions of the League, but they maintain, I believe, that they would like to use to the full its humanitarian side, and here is an





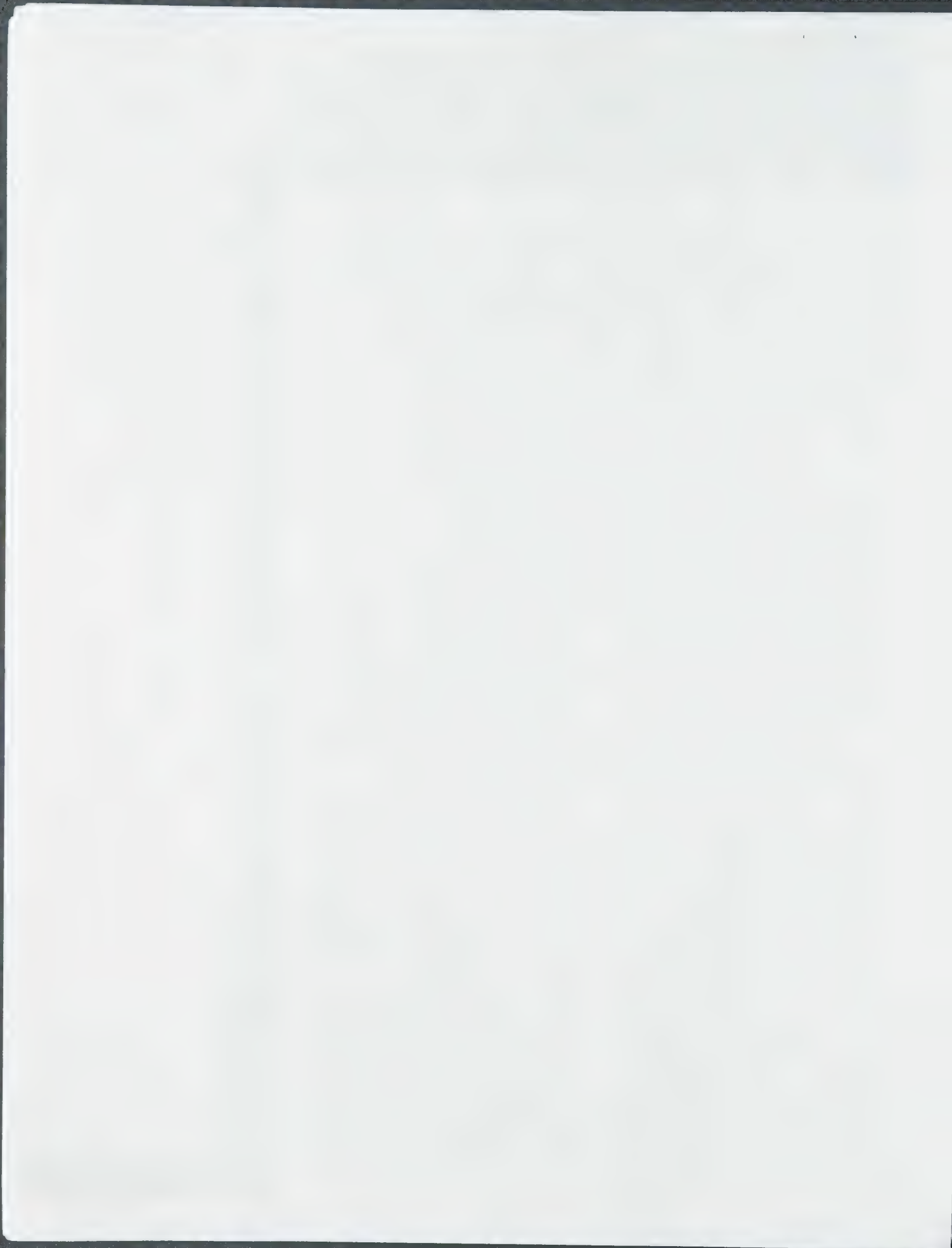
evening in order to see the situation there. I found in the schools and in a waiting room at the station large numbers of refugees, lying down on their straw, overcrowded, and in a great state of terror and excitement. I inquired from them why they had come. It was surprising to find that these people, who were German by race, had fled from the Reich. It was at first sight an extraordinary situation, but the explanation was that between the retirement of the Czech troops and the arrival of the German troops there was, unfortunately, a gap. All reports show that when the German army arrived in the Sudeten areas they behaved with consideration and kindness to all these unfortunate people, and even distributed the cigarettes that they had for themselves. They do represent a body of persons in Germany who have certain standards of conduct. But during that gap, during those 24 hours or whatever it was, you had the real terror of Hitlerism at work. There was no one to keep order, and they were let loose, these troops of young Henleiners, who had been trained in Germany in terroristic methods, and they went all round the Sudeten areas, beating, shooting, killing, setting fire to their fellow citizens and the property of their fellow citizens. That shows the contrast between the better element in Germany and the more horrible element that unfortunately has control of the Government of the country at the present time.

Between the years 1933 and 1938 there have come out of Germany something like 150,000 refugees, mostly Jews, but, as has been said, there are potentially well over 500,000, again mostly Jews, in Germany who are capable of being sent out. In addition to those, there are a great many Catholics and Protestants who may be driven out, because it is clear that this terror is not being confined to one race or religion, but is going to be applied also to those who adhere to the Christian faith. We have to consider the reflex of all this on the nations to the East, because, if you take together such countries as Lithuania, Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Greece, there are something like 5,000,000 Jews living there, and in some of those countries, particularly in Poland, the Jewish question is becoming very serious indeed, and we may have very large numbers of these persons on our hands as well.

I understand that the Inter-Governmental Committee as it is called, before the recent crisis in Germany, estimated that there would be something like 500,000 Jews to be disposed of, and they planned that there should be the emigration of 100,000 a year for each of the five years. I am sure they now realise that these numbers will, unfortunately, have to be considerably added to. The question is where they can go. I understand that since the Evian Conference there has been some rigidity among certain non-European countries, particularly South America, where they have rather got the impression that there may be an attempt on the part of European countries to unload upon them a large number of persons who are unwanted here. It is essential, therefore, that in any action that is taken in Europe it should be made clear to these other countries that we are prepared to play our part to the full, and that there is no foundation for the suggestion that they are being asked to make all the sacrifices. It is most important that Great Britain should firmly and strongly take the lead and make it a major part of British policy to see that action is taken. If we were willing to undertake to find places in the Empire for, say, one-quarter of the numbers, and the United States another quarter, it might well be that South America and other countries would be prepared to absorb the other half.

Where would they go? The question of Palestine has been mentioned, but whatever we do to Palestine it must be recognised that it can deal with only a portion of the problem. We cannot solve the problem by sending all these Jews to Palestine. At the same time, it is absolutely our duty to see that order is restored and maintained at the earliest possible moment, that the mandate entrusted to us is carried out to the full, that emigration in accordance with the economic absorptive capacity is restored, and that we do not spend too much time consulting with other countries who really have no right to be consulted except as members of the League of Nations. I venture to hope that in considering the possibilities of Palestine, the great area of the Negeb will not be overlooked, because it is established that without creating the sort of difficulties among the Arabs which there are in other parts of Palestine, there are large areas which might be placed at





opportunity, through that magnificent sounding board the Council and the Assembly of the League, of focussing and expressing the public opinion of the world in a way that would be entirely appropriate and effective and in accordance with the views that persons of all parties have as to the possibilities of the League of Nations.

With regard to immediate steps—and some steps of an immediate nature will have to be taken—I hope that the Home Secretary will be able to say something about the camps which, as one reads, are being set up in Belgium, and perhaps in Holland, and tell us whether there is any idea of establishing temporary camps in this country in order to receive these refugees.

**Mr. Maxton:** It is hardly camping weather just now.

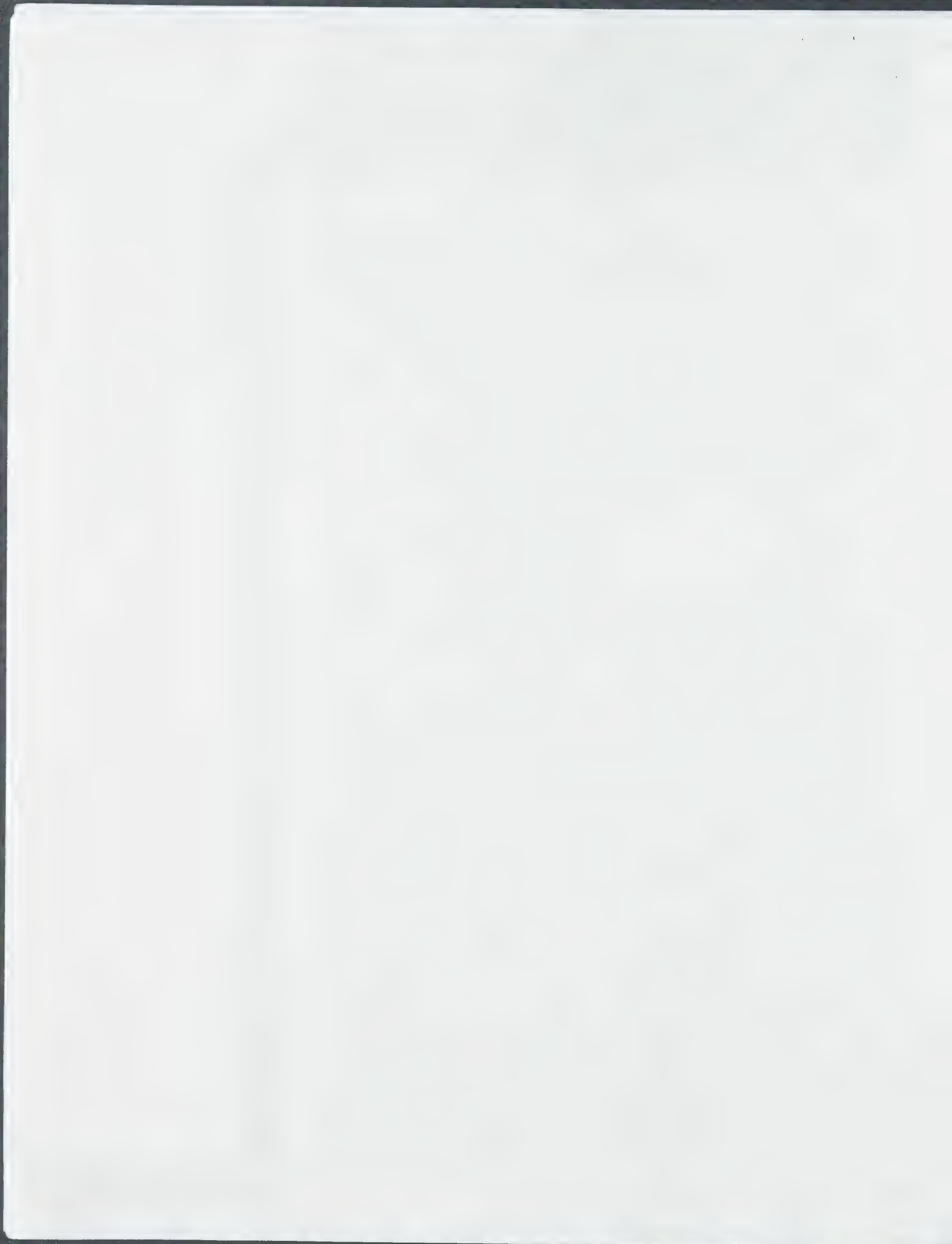
**Mr. Mander:** There are camps and camps. Further, I would ask the Home Secretary whether he does not think there is a case for amending the Aliens Act. I appreciate to the full the human sympathy which he, and the Home Office under him, have shown in dealing with the refugees. I believe they have tried to do all they can under the law as it is at present. But the Aliens Act was not passed to deal with a situation like this. It was never intended to exclude political exiles, and I should have thought there was a case for making it very much easier for refugees who have something to come to this country without enforcing all the rules and regulations which exist at present, which include getting people to guarantee them here for the rest of their lives. There might with great advantage be a relaxation of the rules. Another point is this: Refugees who have been admitted for a month or three months get a notification naturally when the time is up, and have to take steps to get the period extended, and of course it is extended, because there is no idea of sending them back, but the letters sent to them are of rather a formal nature and very often sound somewhat alarming to the persons who receive them, because they appear to intimate that the recipient must clear out of the country as rapidly as possible. I know that that is not the intention, and if some consideration could be given to the way in which the matter is put, it would relieve a good deal of anxiety.

I should also like to mention the possibility of the setting up of Czech factories here. Czechs in Sudetenland did a good deal of trade with the United States, and the good will they created with the people in the United States still exists, but it does not exist between the United States and Sudetenland, and those Czechs, with all their knowledge and experience are now leaving and setting up factories in France, as I know. I hope that encouragement may be given to them to set up factories here. Those factories will employ British labour and increase our export trade to the United States. It has been proved that more persons are employed by refugees at the present time than the number of the refugees themselves who have actually come in. Finally, I hope that the horrible sufferings of these people, whose only crime is that they belong to a particular branch of the human family, and one of the most distinguished branches of it, will so touch the hearts of mankind that immediate, practical and resolute steps will be taken by this Government, in conjunction with the other Governments of the world, to solve the problem.

8.50 p.m.

**Mr. Butcher:** Those of us who listened to the account of the appalling happenings in Germany recently which was given by the hon. Member for Derby (Mr. Noel-Baker) must have felt that behind the happenings themselves was a principle even still more sinister, and that is the deliberate prosecution, of a set policy of intolerance, in a country many of whose people desire to maintain the most friendly relations with this country. I believe that if such a policy of intolerance is allowed to flourish unchecked it will spread, and that in place of the present trickle of refugees there will be an enormous number of human beings who will beat themselves against the barriers which prevent them from seeking refuge in freer and happier lands. Civilisation as a whole must oppose against this spirit of intolerance some nobler and higher principle. It must recognise the inherent worth of ordinary men and women, and recognise that in God's world there is a place for each and everyone of us. In recognition of that principle the hospitable lands of the new world have offered asylum to those who were persecuted in their native countries, and in settling there they have enriched the countries in which they have made their permanent home.





[Mr. Butcher.]

We welcome the pronouncement that the Government are willing to assist, and I am sure that such an announcement will give much encouragement to those who are now enduring suffering, tribulation and persecution. But I think we must do a little more. We must make up our minds as to why we are offering this help. Either the refugees are a burden which, for very shame of our common humanity, we are compelled to shoulder, or, alternatively, they are a definite and positive asset, the value of which is temporarily forgotten in certain countries, the rulers of which are blinded by fear, by untenable and untested theories of race and political culture and the true position that religion should occupy in the State. Each refugee has a value not only as a producer but as a consumer, and the refugees may permanently enrich the life of the country which shelters and succours them, and that is the view which is held by those who have most carefully examined the problem. Is it unreasonable to suggest that a translation of that principle into vigorous action by this Government, in conjunction with the other members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, the United States of America and the other free Powers, would do much to check the extension of what is going on? It might cause the present rulers in Central Europe to review their present position in the light of their own crude self-interest.

The extent to which assistance can be offered must vary from country to country. In this country we must be careful to safeguard the interests of our own workers, both as regards employment and the standard of living, but I am sure that the members of the trade unions and co-operative societies, who have not been behindhand in extending help to people in Spain, will be equally willing and eager to extend help and assistance to people from other parts of the world. While I welcome the statement of the Prime Minister this afternoon I confess that I have some feeling that the burden which the refugee organisations may be called upon to shoulder may prove to be too heavy for them, and I hope that the Government will see to it that those organisations receive all possible assistance in the way of skilled personnel and advice in the heavy task

which they are so honourably striving to carry out.

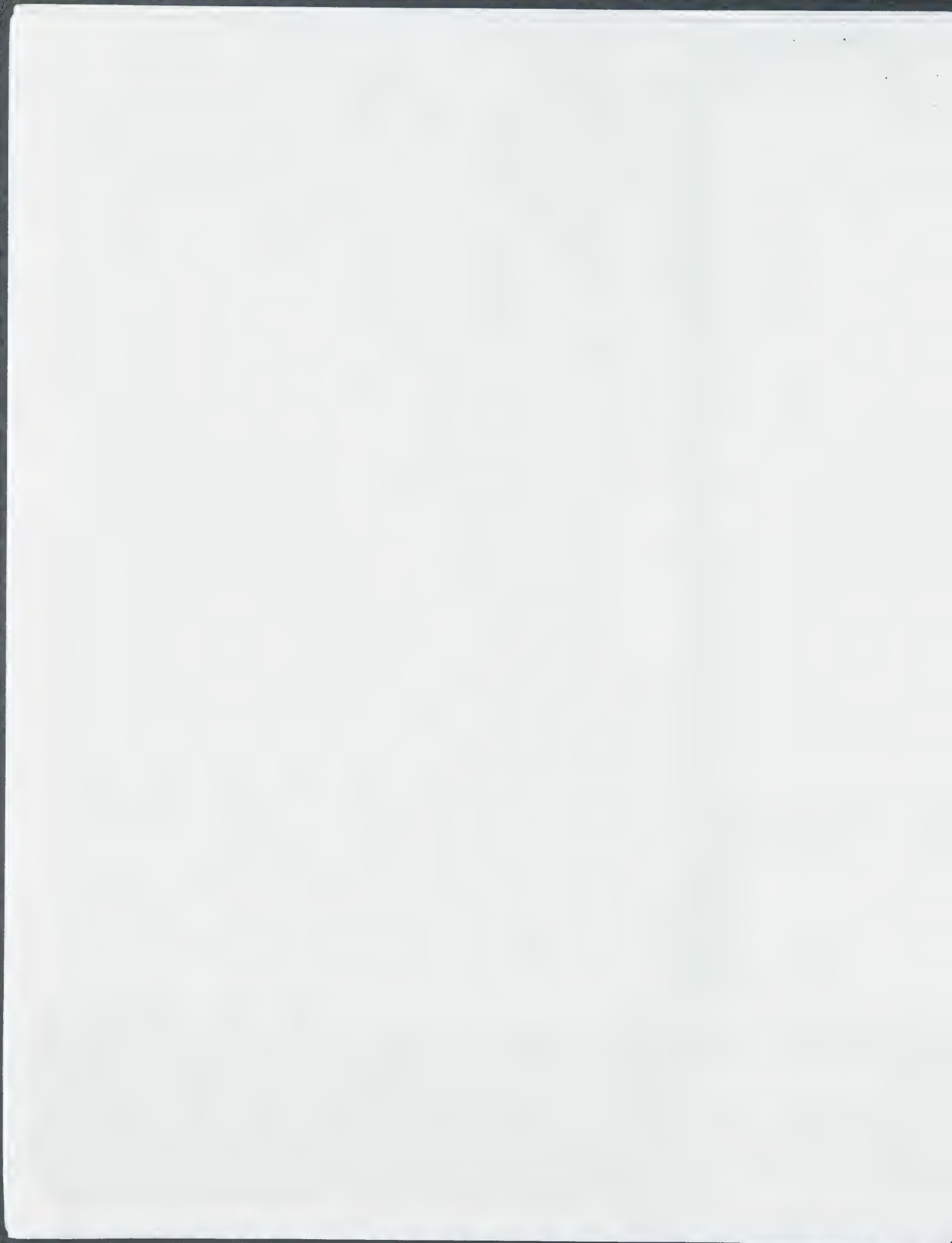
A reference was made by the hon. Member for Derby to relief by means of infiltration. That is an extremely valuable suggestion which may have great potentialities for increased prosperity and employment inside our own country. As he said, in dealing with a problem so large the method of assistance to be envisaged is something in the nature of mass settlement, but before we are able to contemplate such mass settlement we must have a short-term plan of rescuing those who are most in danger and who are, at the same time, most likely to be readily absorbed in the countries of eventual settlement. A short-term plan would include the establishment of camps. The hon. Gentleman opposite objects to camps because the present time of the year is ineluctable. I would, therefore, call them places of refuge.

**Mr. Maxton:** Would not the hon. Member use the word "home"? "Camp" always seems to suggest something cheap and nasty.

**Mr. Butcher:** I will use the word "home," if the hon. Member appreciates that I refer only to a temporary home. It would not be unwise if we were to allow 10,000 of these people to make their temporary home among us. They could be selected in the country of origin and after selection promptly given the necessary visas to enable them to travel to this country. Obviously such permission could not be given without examination. Certain requirements would have to be fulfilled. We must, of necessity, select those whom we are most able to help. They could be selected from age groups capable of being self-supporting over a considerable period of years, and most likely to become loyal citizens in the ultimate country of their adoption. Good character should be one pre-requisite and robust good health another. Thirdly, there should be some technical skill. Such a plan would require finance, and I believe that a certain amount of it could be raised.

While the obligations of our common humanity rest on each and every one of us, they must rest on two classes in particular—first, on those who, having escaped from peril, now make their homes among us in freedom and liberty. Then, the class on whom the burden should rest





will be the citizens and sympathisers of the country which causes this immense amount of human suffering. We should not be doing any great injustice if we were to say that most citizens of German or Austrian origin fall into one or other of those two classes. Therefore, I would like to suggest an annual impost on the earnings of such citizens while in this country. I cannot imagine anything more likely to check this persecution than letters arriving home from ordinary Nazis in this country saying that incomes earned here are liable to increased taxation because of the increased demands made upon refugee organisations. Such a thing would probably penetrate right into the minds of those who are able to check this persecution.

We can thus raise a substantial fund, but the probability of a long-term settlement will require heavy and substantial finance. I suggest that a loan be guaranteed both as to principal and as to interest by such countries as are represented on the inter-governmental committee dealing with these refugees. The noble Lord the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, speaking on this subject just before the summer Recess—since which so much has happened—said:

"It is largely public opinion which must be the determining factor in this matter. We think that we have, as the result of the meeting at Evian, done much to focus the eyes of the world on this problem, as being urgent and being one which requires the utmost sympathy of treatment."

That is quite true. Since then recent events have caused public opinion to move forward with a leap. The action of the Government has shown that they are prepared to keep in step.

I hope and trust that His Majesty's Government will set an example and will secure for this country the lead in relieving the suffering that is going on, and that they will demonstrate by their action that while in some quarters, falsely I believe, we may be thought not to hold our old lead in diplomacy or even perhaps—and, again, I believe falsely—our old lead in armed force, in the question of relieving and succouring the suffering this country will never yield her place to any nation.

I will end on a personal note. Last year His Excellency the American Ambassador was in the town of Boston which

I have the honour to represent. He was paying a tribute to the men who left Boston as refugees some 300 years ago. Have we the courage to realise that, in assisting these refugees to-day, we may be sowing seeds which, in the years to come, will enable these people to return from the settlements abroad to which we have helped them, in peace and amity to Germany and Austria?

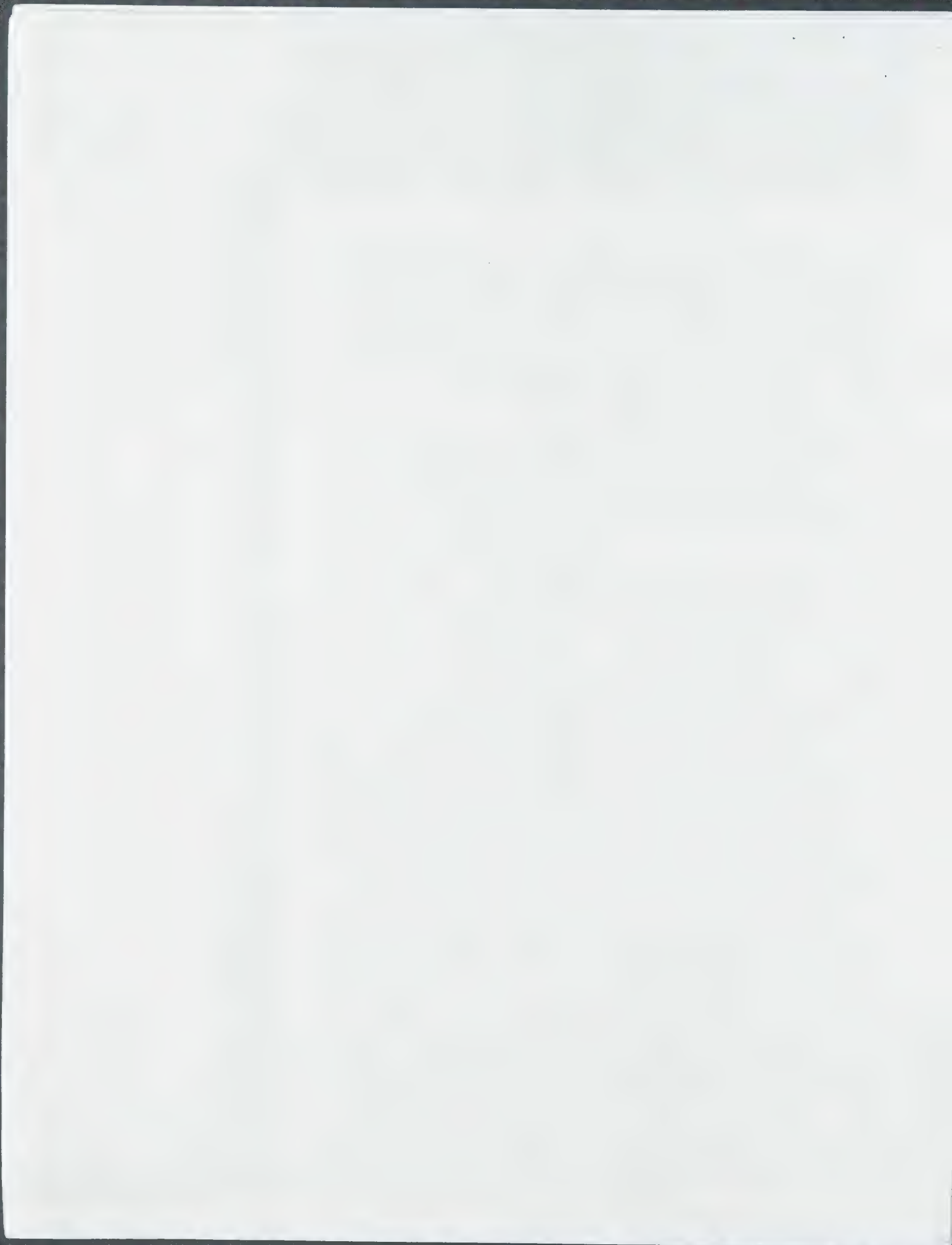
9.3 p.m.

**Mr. Logan:** I speak to-night in the British House of Commons to voice my opinion upon the terrible happenings in another country. Not one Member of this House but recognises from the statement made by my hon. Friend the Member for Derby (Mr. Noel-Baker) how difficult is the proposition before us and how urgent. It must be dealt with immediately. I speak as an orthodox Catholic, feeling to the depth of my heart the sincerity of the cause of the Jew. The oppression is all-powerful, but the exodus from Germany should take place in such a way as to give the refugees an opportunity for a fuller life. I do not wish to say anything adverse to the people of Germany, but this is my first opportunity of speaking upon an international problem after being in this House for nine years. I feel that I should be unjust to the body to which I belong if I did not do so, especially as a great gathering is taking place to-night in Liverpool at which the Protestant Bishop of Liverpool and the Catholic Archbishop are on one platform together dealing with this great problem. Coming from the Scotland Division, I feel that it is essential that I should express my views in the House of Commons.

I am aware of what civilisation owes to the Jews. I remember well, only a few years ago, when one of the most illustrious men that Germany ever produced came into the corridors of this House and when I had the privilege of speaking to him, Professor Albert Einstein. What a great character, and what a commentary on a country which, with all its great wealth, will never allow men of that calibre to go back to it again. The deification of the State has brought them to a menial position, where neither talent nor even service is recognised.

We are asked in this Motion, and I am sure that no hon. or right hon. Member of the House will disagree with it,





[Mr. Logan.]

to do our proper part as a British nation in the restitution, if that be possible, of a happier life for these refugees. I hear mention made of the question of money. If we cannot have civilisation contented, if we cannot bring sunshine into the lives of people, without being concerned with the question of money, civilisation is doomed. To-day an opportunity is offered to the British nation to take its proper stand among the nations of the world to protect a minority that deserves well of all the nations of the world. That may appear strange, coming from me, but I lived for 12 years among the Jews in the city of Liverpool. I knew them well; I traded with them, went into their family life, was at their christenings and their weddings. I know them well, and, because I know them well, and what we owe to them, I ask this Government to take its courage in its hands. Personal friends of mine are suffering great difficulties in Germany to-day, and my heart goes out to them when I learn of the terrible incidents which have been recorded and which have been so graphically described by the hon. Member for Derby.

No man in any part of the world can look upon the desolation that Jewry is undergoing in Germany to-day without wondering when the day of retribution will come for those who pretend to govern a totalitarian State in the interests of the German people. I am fully convinced, from my knowledge of the Germans with whom I have come in contact, that that is not the conception of life even in Germany. To me it is not the ethics of Christianity. In fact, humanitarian ethics are thrown to the winds. The totalitarian State wants all to be subservient to it. The conscience of man is to be destroyed. Because I believe that humanity has a right to a conscience irrespective of Governments, and a right to express what is inherent in it, I ask the Government to take courage and go on and do their right and proper part. America, in conjunction with this country, can play a wonderful part. The power of the British race is not decadent. Let the English-speaking peoples, with the power that they have, concert and come together in a work of this kind.

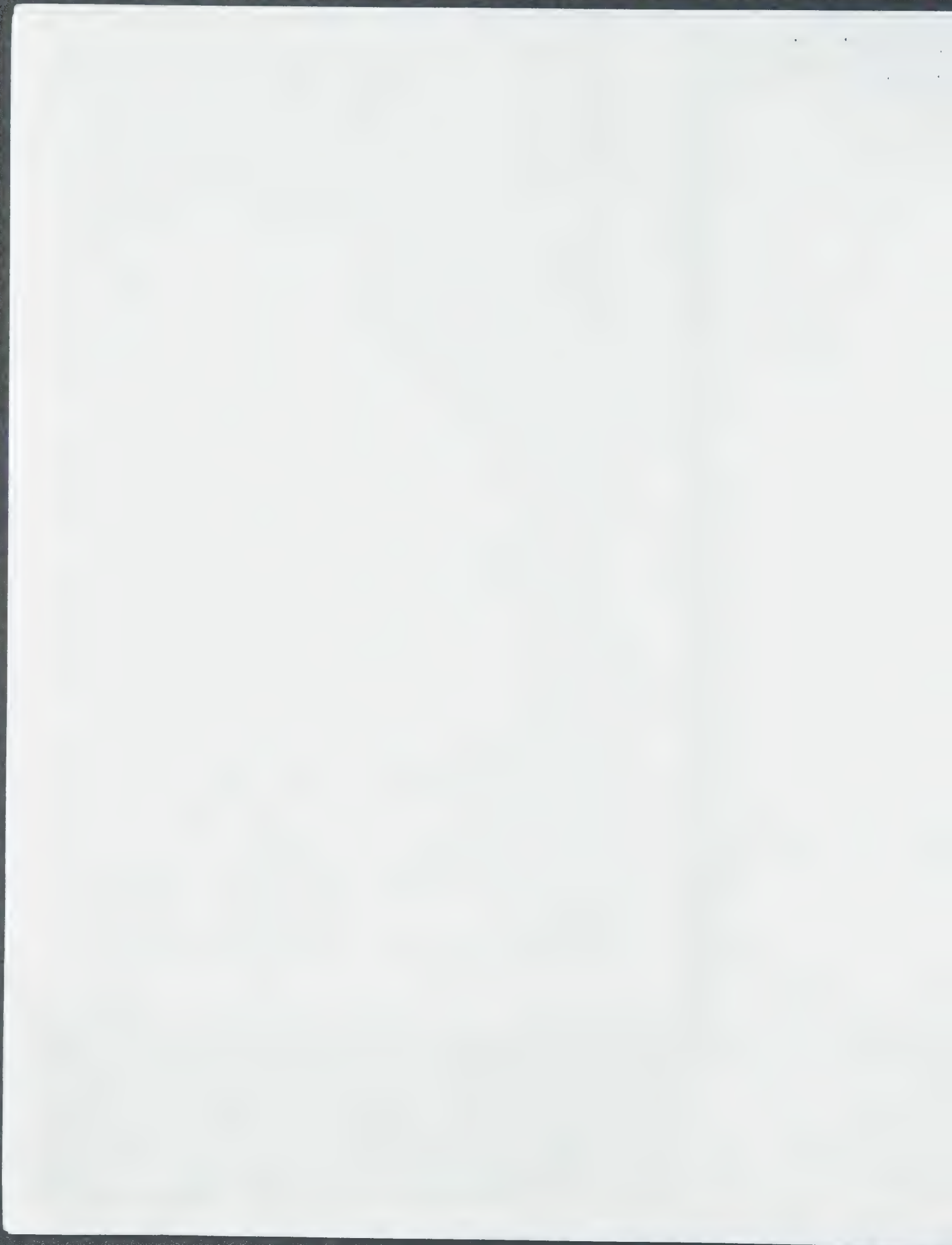
I feel that from the gloom of Jewry a regeneration for mankind is about to come. I feel that some of the incidents

of the past three weeks have brought about a different point of view in the whole English-speaking race, and that we people will be able to recognise and bring about in this House a common unity which we could never achieve under any conditions of political partisanship. Common humanity appeals to the British House of Commons to play its part. I am not unaware of the strategic value that may come about through the dispossession of the Jews in Germany, of the various vulnerable points in the British Empire that can be made secure, of the wonderful power of these people giving expression, in prayer to God, of their thankfulness at having been saved from their terrible plight. I am sure that, if we appeal, not to material things, not to dividends and so on, but to something higher and more spiritual in us, we shall be able to conceive some method whereby a regeneration of the community of mankind may be brought about.

In my humble opinion, we are at the turning of the roads. The nations are beginning to unite; combines are being made; a spiritual regeneration is coming about among mankind, even through the old dispensation. I am one of the new dispensation, and I believe that that blending is about to take place. I ask the Government to take into consideration the views that have been expressed. We are spending millions of pounds upon armaments for war; here is the opportunity for peace; here is the power to blend nations together; here is the chance of a revival of the Covenant of the League of Nations, of bringing about a forum where matters of this kind can be redressed, where an appeal to the best of mankind can be made. For these reasons I make my humble appeal in this tribunal of the British race. We could never set our hands to a better thing. To-morrow may be a hard day for us, but I feel that, by doing the things that are morally right, we shall achieve something which is worthy of the name of the British nation. I beg to support the Motion.

9.12 p.m.  
**Commander Sir Archibald Southby:** I do not think there is a Member of this House or a person in this country who was not horrified at the senseless crime which was committed in Paris recently, or who does not feel sympathy with the relatives of the victim of that crime. Equally, there is no Member of this House





or person in this nation that is not filled with shocked horror at the treatment of the Jews in Germany. I do not believe that the vast majority of the German people are a consenting party to that treatment; I do not believe that the rulers of Germany themselves are unanimous in their support of that policy. I think the saddest thing which has emerged from the events of the last few days in Germany is that they tend to make an understanding between the peoples of the two countries more difficult to arrive at. This country and this House, irrespective of faith or party, have always been sympathetic to the sufferings of persecuted people, whatever their race or faith may be. Whatever our past history may have been, we have learned tolerance of those strangers in faith and race who live among us. For that reason I welcome the statement which the Prime Minister made in the House this afternoon.

I quite agree with the hon. Member who opened the discussion from the Front Opposition Bench that a place of refuge must be found for these people. It is our duty to help to find that place. I believe it is our duty to help in collaboration with other nations; I believe it can only be properly done if there is successful collaboration between the nations of the world. We are a sentimental people, but I venture to say to the House that we cannot be swayed by sentiment alone in this matter. Perhaps the most terrible problem of the times in which we live is the problem of refugees—the awful train of pitiful people who, for one reason or another, are the result of wars and differences of opinion and clashes of ideals in various parts of the world. We in this country have always offered asylum to the afflicted and the distressed. I venture to say that we have always gained by offering that asylum. I have no Jewish connections, nor one drop of Jewish blood, but I believe—and I think the House will agree—that no nation has ever prospered which has persecuted the Jews.

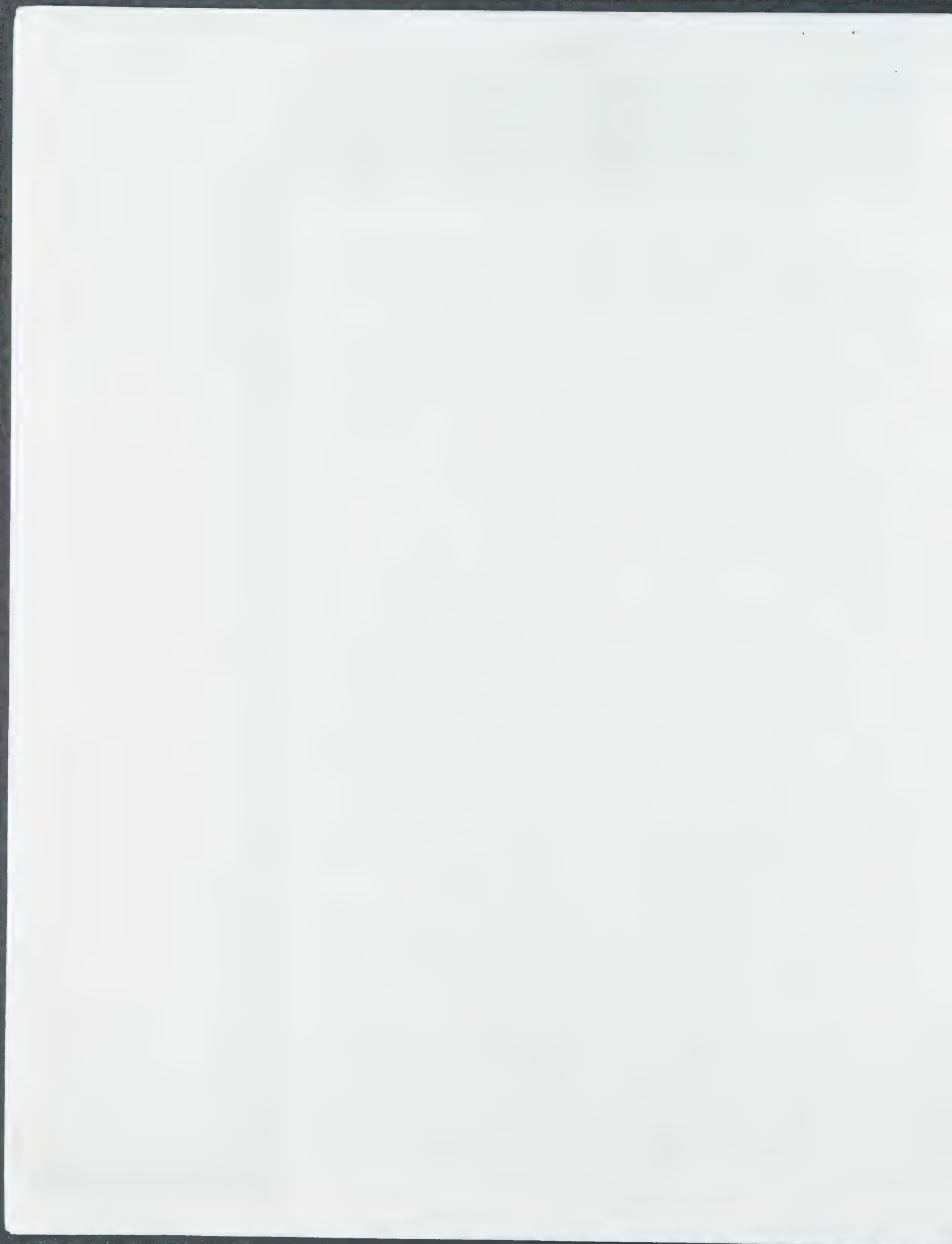
There are obvious difficulties in the way of a solution of this problem. The Dominion Governments are the only people who can decide questions of immigration into the Dominions. We can work in collaboration with them, but the ultimate decision must rest with those Governments. I am sure they are sympathetic, but, of course, there are limitations

on what the Dominions can do. As the Prime Minister said this afternoon, the Colonies are restricted in space. There is a very great deal to be done when you consider the problem of refugees, quite apart from Jewish refugees. Space can be found in the world to accommodate these people; but, in our desire to help this stream of refugees, we must not lose sight of the fact that there exists in the minds of many of our own people a very real fear lest there should be a tremendous influx into this country of refugees who are unable to maintain themselves and who would have to compete with our own citizens for a livelihood. After all, many of our own people are hard put to it to find work and a means of livelihood, and our primary duty in this House of Commons is to those we represent. Our first duty is to our own people. We have other duties, international duties, duties to the rest of the world, as well; but we must realise the apprehensions that are bound to exist in the minds of the people of this country. Our taxpayers and our ratepayers are already shouldering heavy burdens—shouldering them uncomplainingly and cheerfully. We cannot shoulder entirely by ourselves the financial burden of looking after the refugees. We have to be fair to our own people. The question of those refugees who are self-supporting and of good character—because that is important—is an administrative problem with which the Home Secretary can deal quite simply. The real problem is concerned with those who are not self-supporting, for whom some means of livelihood must be found, or for whom some possibility of advancement must be found elsewhere.

**Colonel Wedgwood:** Does the hon. and gallant Member include in that category those who are lucky enough to obtain affidavits from responsible persons in this country that they will not become a charge on the public funds?

**Sir A. Southby:** Certainly. I said that the question of those who are self-supporting is a simple problem which does not offer any great difficulty in its solution. World Jewry has always been generous and mindful of its duties, not only to its own afflicted but to the afflicted of other creeds. I suggest not only that Jewry throughout the world will help in this matter, but that it must help.





[Sir A. Southby.]

I welcome the Prime Minister's statement, particularly that part of it with reference to the desirability of refugees being allowed to bring with them their possessions and their money. The strongest possible representations should be made, in collaboration with other Governments, to see whether something may not be done to ameliorate the existing conditions, so that these people may bring something upon which they can live. We cannot allow any nation to rid itself of its liabilities at the expense of our taxpayers. Our taxpayers are sufficiently harassed at the present time, and we cannot allow any responsibility which should be shouldered elsewhere to be placed on them without at least some protest. We must safeguard the occupations of our own folk. We can do it best by providing opportunities for refugees which will not injure our own people, while they will, at the same time, offer hope and a livelihood to the refugees themselves. I listened with great interest to the moving speech of the hon. Gentleman on the Front Opposition Bench, and the thing which struck me most was his insistence on the fact that assistance to these refugees must be planned. Haphazard, sentimental dealing with the question would not be right; nor would it find acceptance with the people of this country. If help to refugees is to be successful, it must be planned in such a way that it cannot merit adverse criticism.

I do not agree with what was said as regards Palestine offering even a partial solution of this problem. There are sufficient difficulties in Palestine at present without desiring to add to them. I think that in that connection the Prime Minister's statement met with general acceptance in the House, as it certainly will throughout the country. It is in parts of the world where there exist ample space and opportunity that the future of these people and the future of other refugees can best be secured. It should be remembered that there are in London alone about 250,000 Jews. One of the difficulties in finding a solution of the problem is that many of the people from Germany are, as I understand, not suitable for work on the land. They are people of business occupation. Great assets they will be, I believe, to the countries which are able to absorb them.

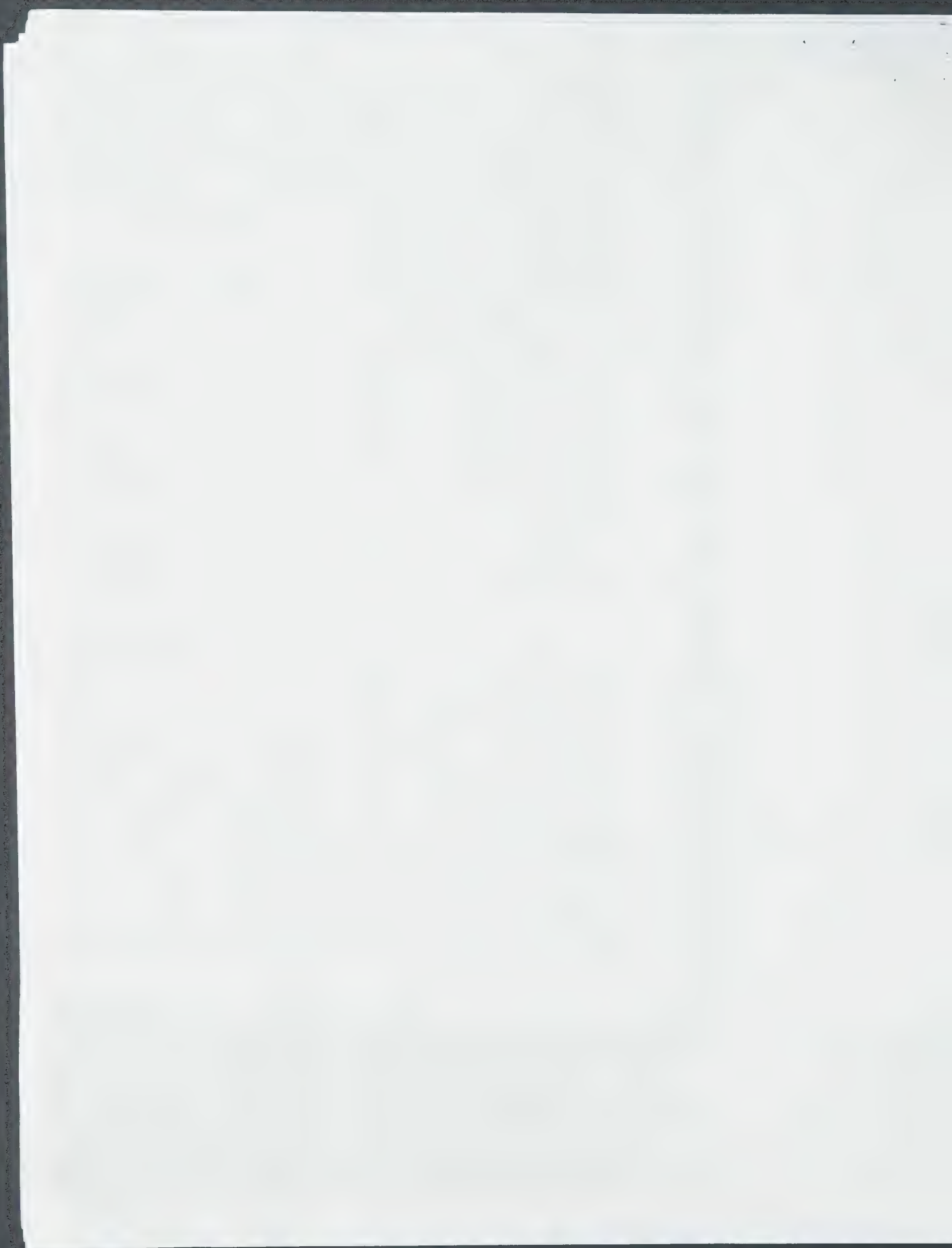
I would suggest that, not only the Government but this House also, should bear in mind that it is outside this country—other, of course, than in the case of asylum given to those who will not be a charge on this country—in parts of the world where there is space and where these people can find a means of livelihood, that a solution will be found which will not only be something of which we can be proud but which will be of lasting benefit to the world itself.

9.24 p.m.

**Mr. Maxton:** I do not feel it necessary to speak at length on this matter, because I am tremendously pleased at the great unanimity that has been shown in all quarters of the House. I particularly want to congratulate the hon. Member for Derby (Mr. Noel-Baker) on the tremendously fine survey he made of the whole problem, and on the general spirit he displayed in his approach to the matter. But while I say I do not feel the necessity of saying much, I would not like to let the occasion pass without saying something. The spirit that has animated the speeches of other spokesmen to-night has expressed the sentiments that we in this part of the House feel on the subject. There are, I think, three aspects of it. One is an immediate one—it seems to me to be a matter of handling in days, and not in weeks or months—that is, the getting of the people away from the danger point where they are now. I think that should be done at once, and it is angersome to me to have case after case brought to me concerning people who have got all the qualifications for getting away, but who are delayed in getting a visa.

Surely the spirit of this House and of the country is not one of quibbling about office details, and I am particularly referring to one case. I will send it to the Home Secretary to-morrow. I think it is a particularly cruel thing for a man to be granted a visa and then have it withdrawn. I know that things could be said about him. He is a Jew, he is a Socialist, and he is a Socialist of a line not different from my own. I see my hon. Friend the Member for Seaham (Mr. Shinwell) smiling; he knows just how popular that fellow will be in Czechoslovakia at this particular juncture. The Home Office in their approach to this question of granting visas should not





allow trivial little things to determine their decision. The getting of these people away from the danger point is a matter of urgency, and the merit of the individuals can be looked into after their bodies are safe.

That is one thing. The second thing is their temporary accommodation. I agree at once that this is not a matter of days, but a matter of weeks or months, and one can be a little more leisurely about it. And I agree with the hon. Member for East Wolverhampton (Mr. Mander) that either the short-term settlement or the long-term settlement of these refugees is not a matter for private finance; although, mind you, I am surprised at that coming from the hon. Member, because if I were a defender of capitalism and private enterprise of his standing I would say that an international corporation for the settlement and exploitation of the Jewish people would be one of those profitable enterprises that would show a very reasonable return on the capital invested. I think, however, I would take the term "exploitation" out of the title of my company. I would give it a more benevolent name.

But I do certainly think that if private enterprise and international capitalism believed in their own system they would say: "Here is a crowd of people as skilled, as intelligent, as hard working, as pertinacious, and as docile as any body of workers that you would get in the world. What more do you want?" But I think that international capitalism has not got the courage for that type of enterprise, and I am glad that it should be so. I prefer that the type of problem that we are confronting just now should not be confronted from the point of view of how we can exploit the Jewish people, but of how we can give them the same opportunities in the world as we have ourselves. That is perhaps not a guarantee of perfect security or of the certainty of being able to earn a livelihood.

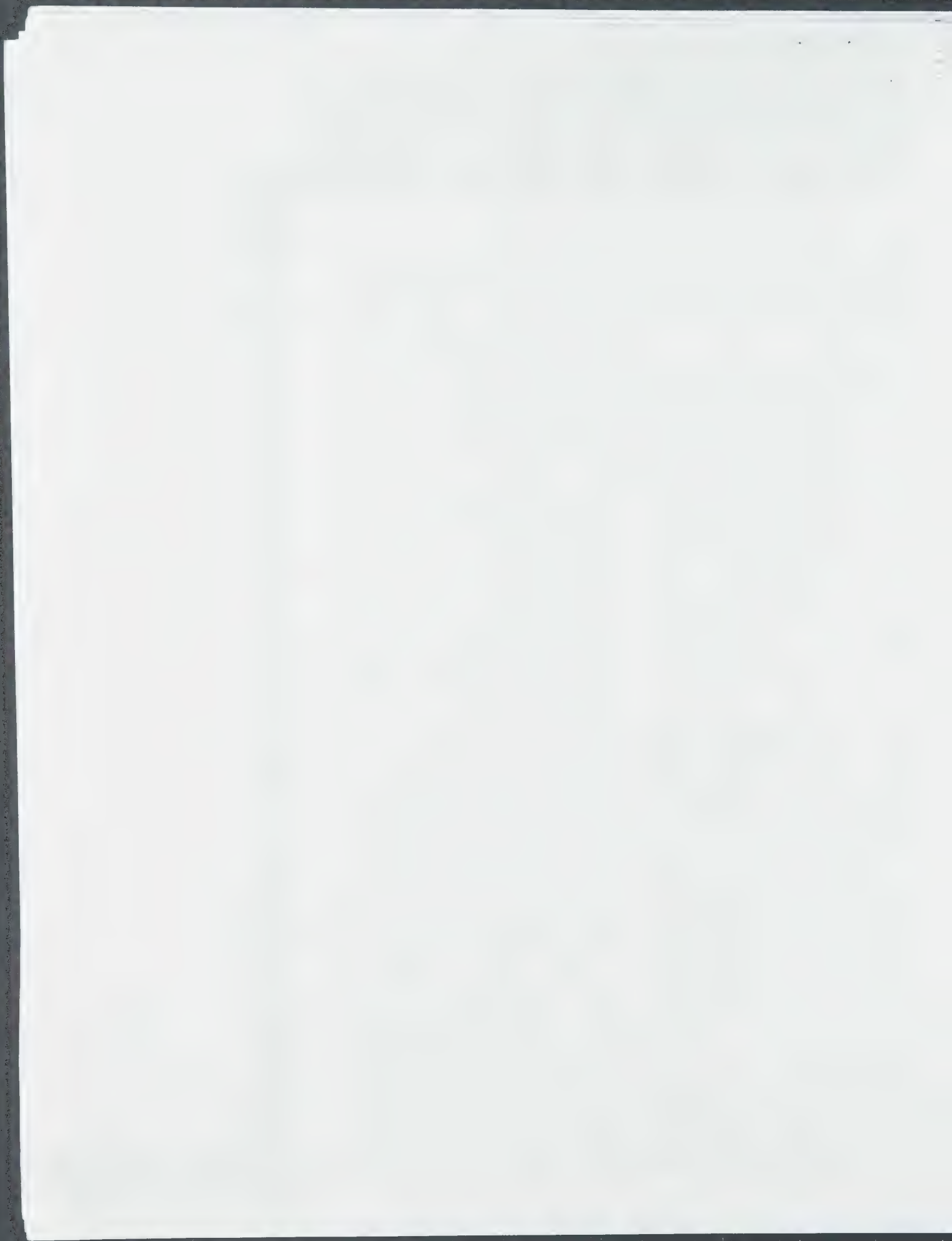
**Colonel Wedgwood:** Will you allow them to work?

**Mr. Maxton:** Surely the right hon. and gallant Gentleman knows my political philosophy perfectly well—that while I do not share the general enthusiasm for work, I am always delighted to let anyone who wants to go ahead. I believe

that any one of the great countries of Europe could accommodate all the 500,000. I believe that Scotland could accommodate 500,000. [An HON. MEMBER: "There is no chance of that."] That is a matter which has to be considered. I believe the Highlands of Scotland could accommodate 500,000. I believe that 500,000 Jews could make a better job of the Highlands of Scotland than the Highlanders ever did. But I know perfectly well that our industrial system cannot fit them in just now. I know that you have 2,000,000 people of your own that you cannot find work for, and I am not so foolish as to suggest that we should attempt to push a new group of that magnitude into the middle of an industrial economy that cannot utilise their services. But I say that there is a great vast territory over the control of which we have the last word, and that it is possible to place all the people involved in this immediate problem at some point in those territories, for a temporary period at least, without putting undue burdens on the district in which they are placed, and without causing additional suffering to the population that is already there. And I say that that should be done and done speedily.

I hope that the Government, in conjunction with other Governments, are looking for a more long-term solution of this problem. And here I think the Secretary of State for the Dominions and Colonies in his forthcoming conference on the Palestine situation has to give very earnest consideration as to whether the failures up to now in that country have been due to the fact that the problem has been looked at in too small a way. I am not going into that—that will be debated here on Thursday, the 1st December. But it may have been conveyed to the right hon. Gentleman that I protested against the idea of his holding the two positions of Dominions Secretary and Colonial Secretary at the same time. I still protest. I think it is bad. But I think the fact that he holds both offices throws on to his shoulders on this particular issue a bigger responsibility than rests on the shoulders of anybody else, and I shall watch with very great interest to see whether he is worthy of the responsibility that is involved. I expect from him through the offices that he holds the immediate solution of this particular problem, and I expect from the office





[Mr. Maxton.]

which he holds a big proportion of the long-term solution as well. These are the few words that I wanted to say on this matter. I and my friends are anxious that in the kindest and best and speediest way everything shall be done to give these people a chance to live, in the same way as the rest of us.

9.35 p.m.

**The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Sir Samuel Hoare):** There is no page in our lifetime which is so tragic as that of the sufferings of the refugees in the last 20 years. Wave after wave of refugees has drifted across the world, uprooted from their homes, penniless, destitute, no country found ready at hand to receive them, separated from their families and their surroundings and, as it seems to me, most tragic of all, many of them have been men of intellectual eminence who felt that their life's training had been wasted, and that there was no future for them to carry out the professional work in which they held so eminent a place. I speak with some feeling upon this subject. As the hon. Member for Derby (Mr. Noel-Baker) reminded the House this evening, he and I at one time were directly connected with this problem, he more eminently than myself. While he was working continuously with Dr. Nansen, I was called in upon only one occasion to help Dr. Nansen in dealing with the Russian refugees in Constantinople and in the Balkans.

How well I remember this tragic experience, these thousands of men and women stranded upon the streets of Constantinople without means of livelihood, upon the verge of starvation, in a no-man's land which did not wish to receive them, and with no future, so it seemed, before them. I am glad to think that we were able at that time, as the hon. Member reminded the House this evening, to find a home for a great number of those refugees. I remember very well that I was instrumental in placing, I think, 45,000 of them in various parts of Eastern Europe. Since that time I have followed with the closest interest and keenest sympathy the tragedies of this problem. On the top of these waves of post-war refugees, Czechs, Armenians, Turks, Russians, Spaniards, comes the appalling problem with which

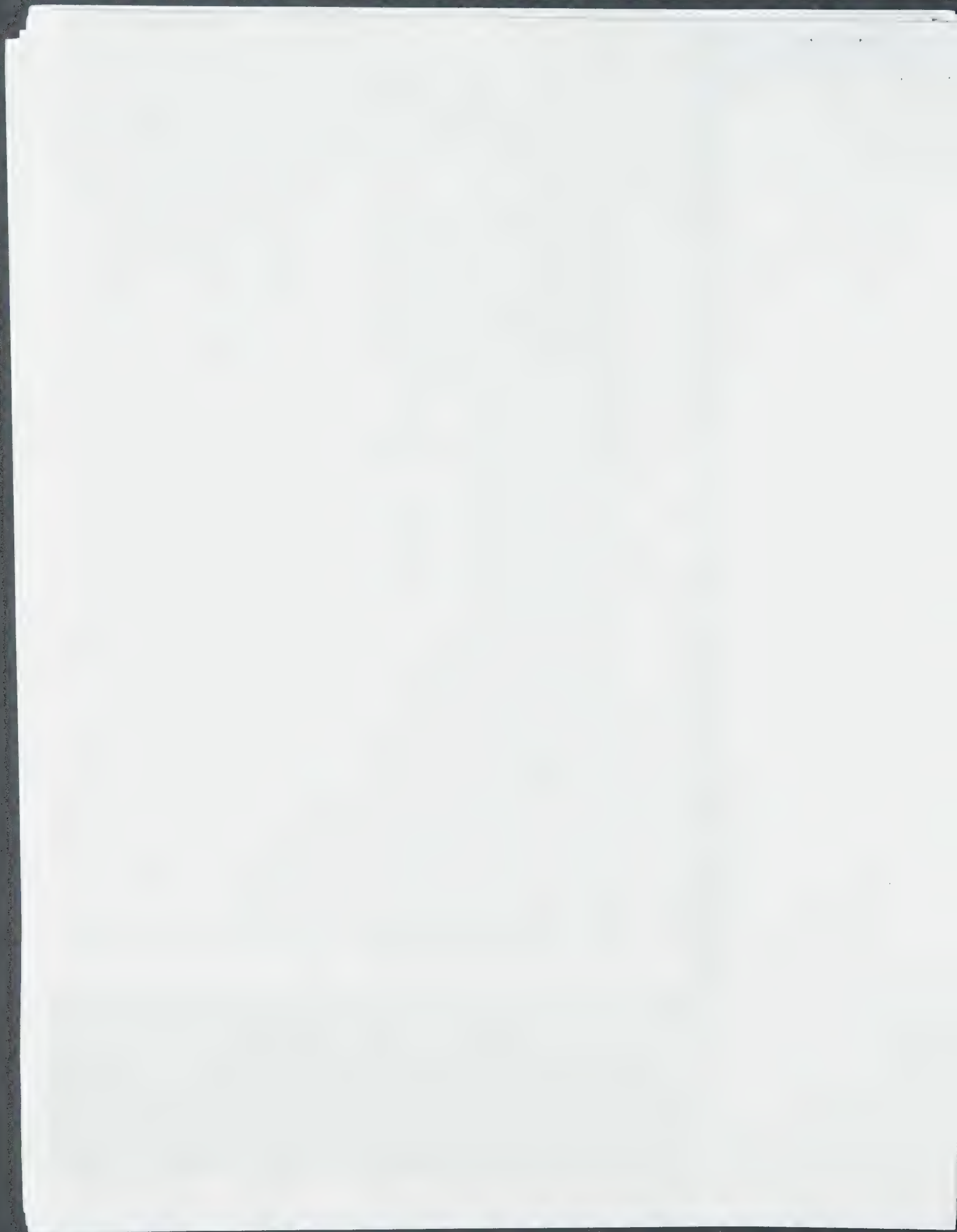
we have been faced in the last six months, and, in particular, in the last 10 days.

I rise at this stage of the Debate to explain the policy of the British Government upon this last phase of this tragic problem. Before dealing with the details that have been raised in the course of the Debate, I wish to make it clear to the whole House that the Government accept this Motion. No useful purpose would be served by repeating what the Chancellor of the Exchequer, on behalf of the Government, said at Rhyl on Friday last. We all condemn the senseless crime that led to the death of the German diplomat in Paris. We should not, however, be honest with ourselves or with the world if we concealed the depth of our feelings at the suffering inflicted upon thousands of men and women as the result of a crime with which they had no connection whatever.

I speak as a convinced believer in the possibility of Anglo-German friendship. I speak as a staunch supporter of the Munich Agreement. Indeed, it is because I am so anxious to see a complete and permanent settlement of the questions that divide our two countries that I frankly and unreservedly state my views this evening. I am opposed to all attempts to intervene in the domestic affairs of other countries, but the issue that has been raised in these last few days by the measures against the Jews in Germany, and the way in which it has been raised, forces it upon the attention of other countries. How can a question remain exclusively domestic when it involves scores of thousands of men, women and children, destitute and penniless, seeking admission into other countries?

Faced with this problem, let me explain to the House the policy that His Majesty's Government intend to adopt. I will begin by stating as clearly as I can that, however deep may be our sympathies, this problem is, and must remain, an international problem. No single country can hope to solve it. While we are perfectly prepared to take our full share in any attempt to solve or mitigate it we must state, and state categorically, that it is a problem for all the countries who are at present members of the Evian Inter-Governmental Committee. Believing it to be an international problem, His Majesty's Government were grateful when the





President of the United States took the personal interest that he has taken in it and for the invitations that he gave some months ago to the Governments of the world to take part in the Evian Conference.

The House will remember the steps that then were taken. They will remember that a very distinguished citizen of the United States, Mr. Myron Taylor, at the invitation of the President came over to Evian and presided at the Conference. Thirty-two countries were represented at it, and as a result of its meetings a committee was formed representative of these various Governments, with my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Duchy as its chairman. Another distinguished public man from the United States, Mr. Rublee, is the director of the organisation. Since then my right hon. Friend and his colleagues have been making active inquiries among the States that comprise the representatives called together at Evian to see how the problem could be dealt with, and which of the Governments were prepared to take refugees, and to what extent. Although no very definite action has yet resulted, these inquiries have proved useful, and I hope that a further step will be taken, in the immediate future, when the officers of the committee meet in London, I understand in 10 days' time, when Mr. Myron Taylor, who is at the moment leaving the United States, will be present and will be able to consult with my right hon. Friend and his colleagues as to what steps should immediately be taken.

I give the House this information to show that, first of all, His Majesty's Government are very conscious of the responsibility that rests upon their shoulders, and, secondly, that the international organisation is acting with a sense of the urgency of the problem. I hope that in the near future we shall be informed of the decisions that will be taken after their meeting in London. I agree with everything that has been said in the Debate as to the need of the fullest co-operation between all the Governments concerned. I do not think that this problem is insoluble, but I do take the view that it is insoluble unless there is the kind of international effort to which the hon. Member for Derby referred, in which all the Governments concerned will co-operate actively, with an effective organisation,

for dealing with this very complicated problem.

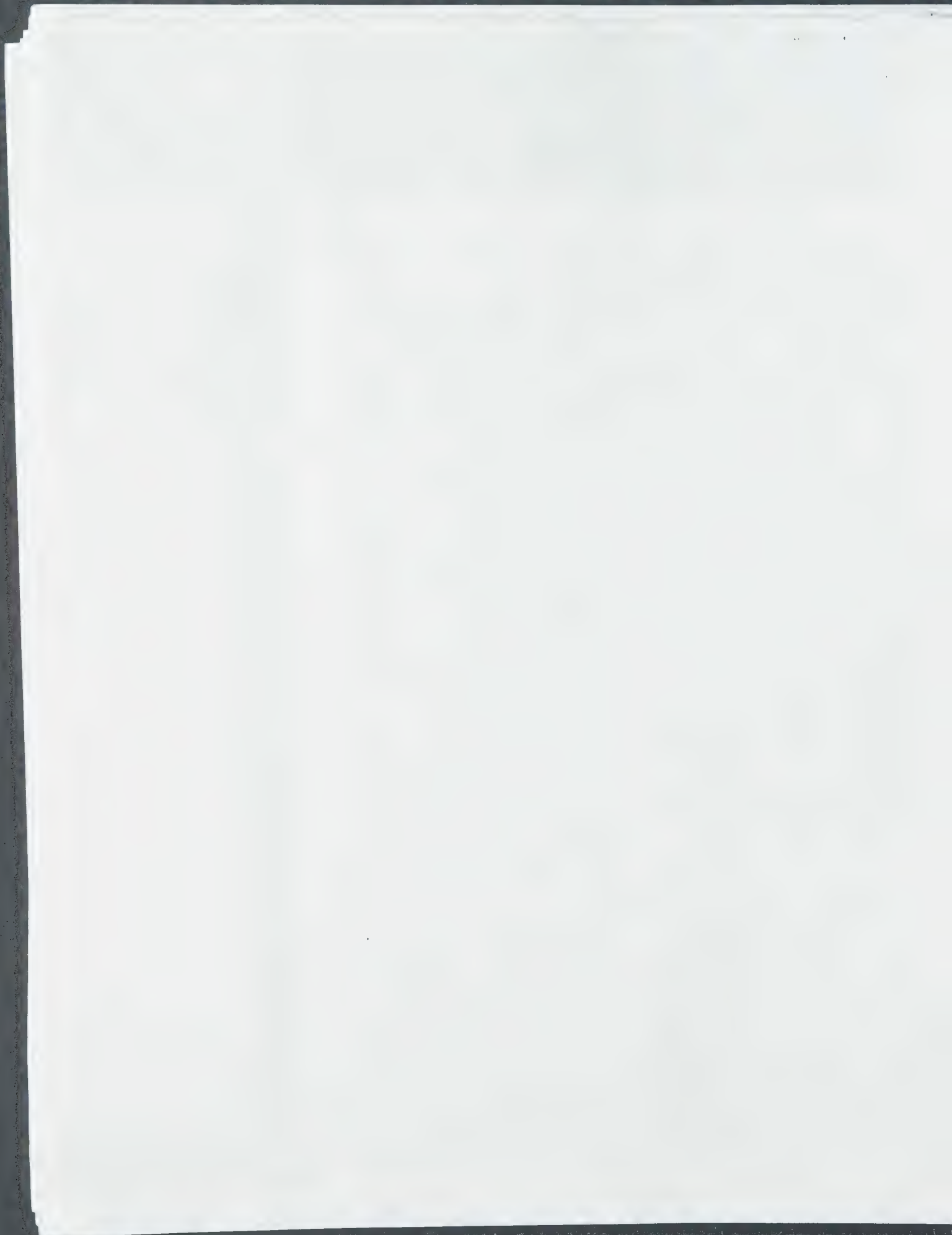
I pass from the international organisation to the part that we, the United Kingdom, and we, the British Empire, ought to play in this co-operative effort. We are prepared to play our full part and to take our full share with the other nations of the world. We accept the responsibility that is on our shoulders, from the fact that we possess a great part of the surface of the world and that, owing to our wealth and other resources, we can play an important part in any attempt to deal with this tragic problem.

The Prime Minister, in his statement to-day, gave a picture of the way in which we propose to give our help. He said, and said purposely, nothing about the Dominions, and for this reason, that the Dominions were themselves represented at the Evian Conference, and they must speak for themselves. It is not for us in this House to speak for them. But let me say this in passing, without entering into any details, that I think the several Dominion Governments are giving very urgent attention to this question and that a substantial number of refugees have been already admitted into one or other of the Dominion territories.

I come next to the Colonial Empire. The Prime Minister described our willingness to place territory at the disposal of the refugees and, quite rightly, said a word of caution as to the difficulties that must be surmounted if settlement upon a large scale is to succeed. It sounds very easy when one points to the immense territories that are possessed by the British Empire, and one asks the question: "Is it not easy to settle so many hundreds or thousands in these millions of acres of undeveloped territory?" The fact, however, is that the greater part of this territory can only be settled after careful survey and after adequate preparation. It may well be that, with the best will in the world, some time must elapse before substantial numbers of refugees can be satisfactorily settled in the Colonies and Dependencies.

That, however, does not mean that His Majesty's Government are not taking active steps, as the Prime Minister described this afternoon, to expedite a survey of this kind in certain of the Colonies, to see how many and how quickly we can settle in one or other of these territories.





[Sir S. Hoare.]

He mentioned several territories, Tanganyika, Kenya, Northern Rhodesia, British Guiana, and so on. When he mentioned British Guiana, the hon. Member for Derby asked him whether he was referring to the same territory that had proved unsuitable for the settlement of 5,000 Assyrians a few years ago. Some of the territory is the same. There is, however, another block of territory that we contemplate. In any case, there were special features connected with the Assyrians that made it difficult for them to settle in British Guiana. For instance, it was necessary to settle them all at once. I am told that many of them, owing to years of exile, had got out of touch with agricultural and pastoral pursuits. [Inter-ruption.] It is not a smiling matter; it is a fact.

I want to suggest to the House, without exaggerating the possibilities, that the problem of the Jews is somewhat different. It is not necessary to settle them all at once. We might find temporary homes for them whilst they were being trained. Moreover, we are given to understand that if territory, either in British Guiana or some other Colonial Dependencies can be placed at their disposal, it is quite possible that large sums of capital would be provided by their co-religionists to support them for a considerable time. I would, therefore, ask hon. Members not to set aside the possibility of an experiment of this kind upon the ground that a particular territory in the past was found unsuitable for a particular type of emigration. What we wish to do is to test out all these possibilities, and test them with the definite intention of trying to find territory where immigration on a large scale is likely to succeed. As to Palestine, I propose to say nothing. Questions connected with Palestine are to be debated on Thursday, and the Prime Minister, while he gave the House to-day a figure to show that there has been considerable immigration of German refugees into Palestine in recent months and years, was right to lay stress on the peculiar difficulties which lie in the way of anything like mass immigration at the present time.

I pass from the Colonial Empire to a part of the problem for which, as Home Secretary, I am directly responsible—the problem of the United Kingdom. It may be for the convenience of the House if

I give hon. Members a full and detailed description of the position. Many of them, as I know from the correspondence I have had, are deeply interested either in the problem in general or in the fortunes of particular refugees, and I think it would be useful at this stage if hon. Members on all sides of the House were given further information about the problem in the United Kingdom and about the way in which the Home Office is attempting to deal with it.

Let me begin by reminding the House of some of the difficulties. In this country we are a thickly populated industrial community with at the present moment a very large number of unemployed. Competition is very keen with foreign countries, and it is difficult for many of our fellow-countrymen to make a livelihood at all and keep their industries and businesses going. It is quite obvious that there is an underlying current of suspicion and anxiety, rightly or wrongly, about alien immigration on any big scale. It is a fact, and we had better face the fact quite frankly, that below the surface—I know it from my own daily experience at the Home Office—

**Colonel Wedgwood:** Fascists.

**Sir S. Hoare:** I know it from my own experience that there is the making of a definite anti-Jewish movement. I do my best as Home Secretary to stamp upon an evil of that kind. That is the reason why I have prohibited demonstrations in certain parts of London where inevitably they would stimulate this evil movement. Faced with a fact of that kind, while I think very few hon. Members look upon this problem with greater sympathy than I do, I have to be careful to avoid anything in the nature of mass immigration which, in my view, would inevitably lead to the growth of a movement which we all wish to see suppressed. That means that we must keep a check upon individual cases of immigrants. I agree with the hon. Member for Bridgeton (Mr. Maxton) that we must have as little red-tape about it as possible and as little delay as possible, but none the less, it is essential, if we are to avoid an influx of the undesirable behind the cloak of refugee immigration, that we should keep a check upon individual cases, and inevitably a check of that kind must involve a certain measure of delay.





We try at the Home Office to work in the closest co-operation with the various organisations that are directly engaged on the refugee problem. We have, for instance, the invaluable assistance of what is called the Co-ordinating Committee, a committee upon which are represented the principal Jewish organisations, the Quakers, and organisations of the Christian Churches. The procedure we adopt is to refer cases to these organisations and almost invariably we accept their recommendation. With our help they make the necessary inquiries, and when they tell us that an immigrant has either a friend who will keep him in England or can keep himself, almost invariably—I think I may say invariably—we see that the refugee gets a visa and is allowed to enter this country.

**Colonel Wedgwood:** Does the right hon. Gentleman say that they must get a guarantee?

**Sir S. Hoare:** What I said was that the Committee finds out whether his friends can keep the refugee or whether the refugee is likely to be able to keep himself. Further than that, we work in the closest co-operation with the Ministry of Labour, and where we see a chance of settling a refugee without damage to British employment or British industry we do everything we can to facilitate the settling of the refugee, and it is interesting to note that while during the period in which large numbers of refugees from Austria and Germany have been arriving, 11,000 German refugees have been settled in this country, the information at my disposal goes to show that they have been instrumental in employing 15,000 British workmen in the industries which they have set up, without, so far as I can gather, any damage to British employment or to British labour. Let the House remember that this is due to the very careful selection that has been made by the Co-ordinating Committee, the Home Office, and the Ministry of Labour. If there had been anything in the nature of mass immigration I think the story might have been very different.

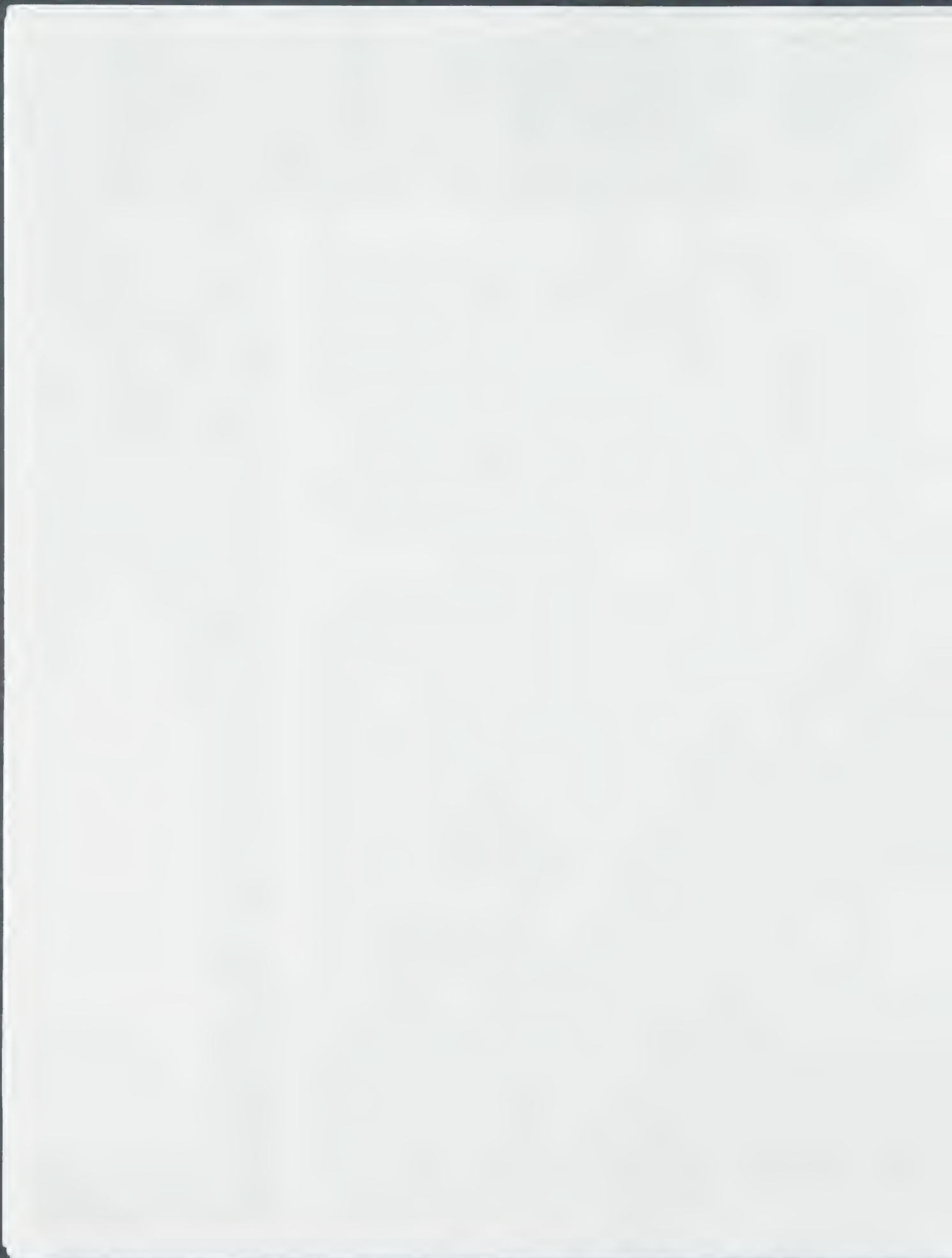
Carrying this description of our machinery a stage further, the Foreign Office has in Germany two passport control offices which deal with the issue of visas to the applicants. [HON. MEMBERS: "Where are they?"] In Berlin and Vienna. I admit that during the

last 10 days the machinery has been strained to breaking point. I admit also that my organisation at the Home Office has been strained to the breaking point. What else could you expect, with an organisation that hitherto was based upon a limited number of immigrants that could easily be controlled and now is faced with applications running into thousands a day? I can tell the House that we have already made considerable extensions to the machinery in Germany, at the ports here and in London. We admit it is still inadequate to deal with this great mass of applicants, and accordingly we are in the act of making a much greater expansion of the machinery, and I hope that by this means we shall avoid some of the delays that have inevitably taken place in the past.

The curious feature about the visas is the large number of visas that have been given and the comparatively small number of immigrants who have hitherto reached these shores. As the Prime Minister stated this afternoon, about 11,000 refugees have been allowed to reside in this country, but that is by no means the tale of the visas that we have given on the Continent. We have given visas on the Continent running into 50 or 60 or 70 a day, and when I have asked the reason for this disparity, I have been told that a good many of the refugees probably stopped somewhere en route and have not yet arrived here. None the less, there is the fact that we have given a much larger number of visas than would appear from the figure of 11,000 given by the Prime Minister in his statement this afternoon.

One should also remember that, however much we improve the machinery, in the nature of things there are bound to be delays, and in the nature of things there are bound to be failings. I have had innumerable letters from my fellow countrymen—I might also say innumerable letters from hon. Members of this House—and with the best will in the world often it has been difficult to identify the individuals about whom they have written to me, and even if they could be identified, to arrange that they should go to the passport offices in Germany and obtain their visas. I am afraid it often happens that a German about whom I have received some communication leaves his address, or it may be is taken off to a concentration camp, and we lose touch with him, and although





[Sir S. Hoare.]

we are prepared to give the visa allowing him to enter this country, there is no means of making contact with that particular individual. I hope the facts which I have given to the House will enable hon. Members to see that I am attempting to deal as sympathetically as I can with individual cases and that I am attempting to make the machinery, both in Germany, in the passport offices in Berlin and Vienna, and in this country, at the ports and in London, adequate to deal with this mass of applications.

**Mr. Bellenger:** Must the individual travel to Berlin or Vienna?

**Sir S. Hoare:** Yes, Sir. It is only there that we have offices for visas.

**Mr. Maxton:** If the person is hundreds of miles away, has he to appear personally either at Berlin or Vienna, or can he write to the office in one of those towns for his visa?

**Mr. Henderson Stewart:** How do the passport offices in Germany, at Berlin or Vienna, get into touch with the persons for whom visas have been granted in this country? What is the machinery?

**Sir S. Hoare:** The machinery is that the individual himself gets into touch with the passport office. Further to that, I was not correct when I said that there were only these two passport offices at which visas can be obtained. Visas can be obtained at any British Consulate. The central offices in Germany are at Berlin and Vienna. The individual would have to get into touch with the nearest British Consul. I think that is the only way in which it can be done.

**Mr. Stewart:** One knows that there are long queues, hundreds and thousands of people, waiting to approach these Consulate offices. Sometimes it is physically impossible for them to reach the door. Would it not be possible for the persons in charge somehow to notify individuals for whom visas have been granted?

**Sir S. Hoare:** We must get the particulars on the spot. The hon. Member will see at once that we are in an awkward dilemma in all these things. The dilemma with which we are faced in this particular instance is that of not making sufficient inquiries on the spot and the man then arriving at the port here and having to

be turned back. The object of the visa system is to make inquiries on the spot, where they can be adequately made, so that when a man has a visa he is not turned back from a British port. We are attempting to improve the machinery. For instance, I was told to-day that where there have been long queues outside the Consulate, we are attempting now to communicate with the people who have been turned away on a particular day and giving them priority the next day. The House will see the gigantic scope of the problem with which we are faced. Those consulates which hitherto dealt with perhaps half-a-dozen visas, are now faced with hundreds and perhaps thousands of people outside their doors. All I can say to the House is that we are most anxious to deal with these cases, both as expeditiously and as sympathetically as we can.

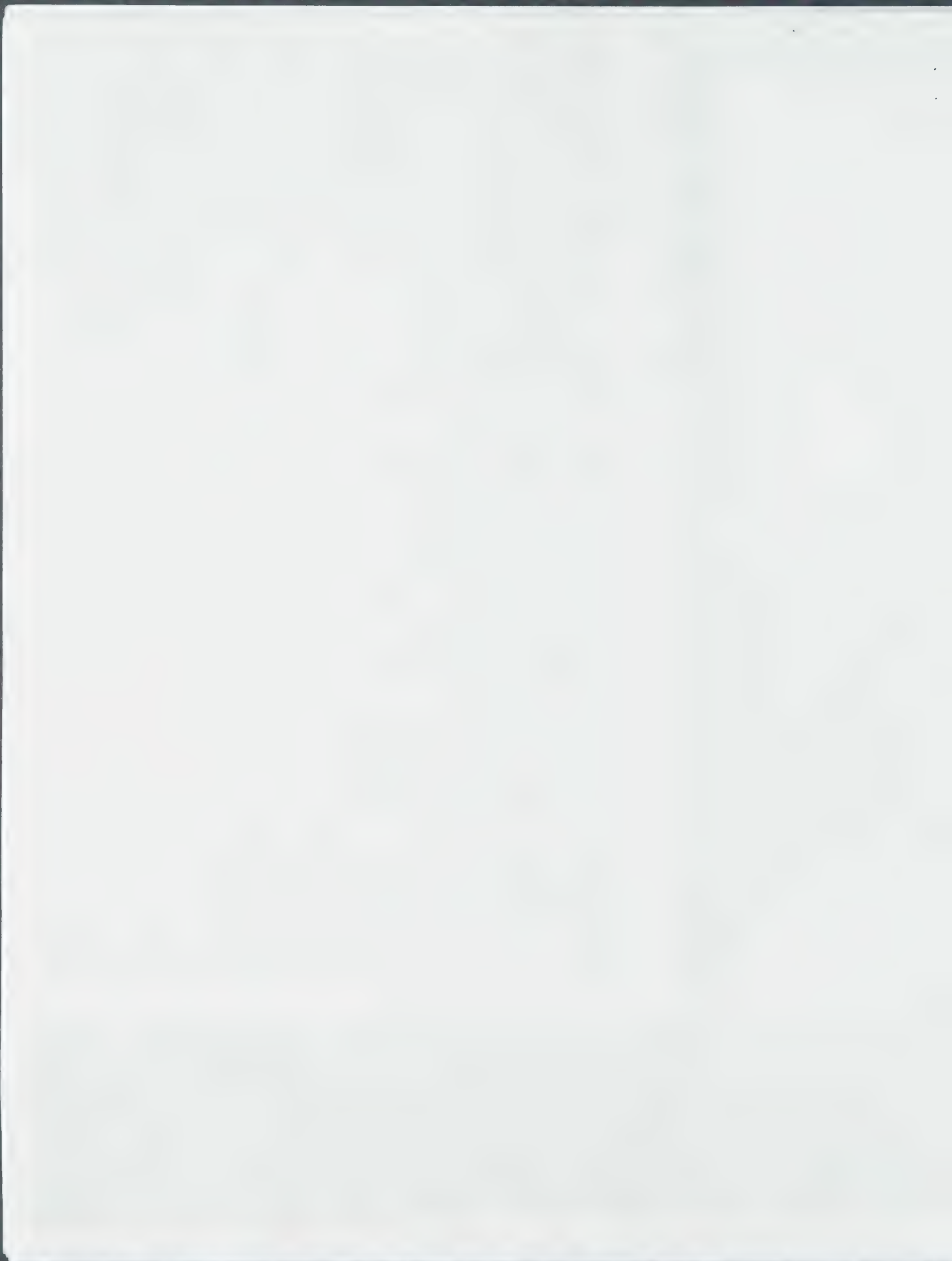
**Captain W. T. Shaw:** Is the right hon. Gentleman putting a limit to the number of people whom he is going to allow in?

**Sir S. Hoare:** No, Sir, I have no such intention, and I hope the House will approve the policy which I am trying to carry out. I am opposed to anything in the nature of a quota. I think a quota is bound to have one of two bad effects, and possibly two bad effects. Many people might think it was too big and many people might think it was too small. I think it is much safer for the Home Secretary working in the closest possible touch with the Co-ordinating Committee, to treat individual cases on their merits and not to be bound down by a numerical figure.

**Mr. Woods:** Is the right hon. Gentleman making any special provision to expedite and facilitate the coming in of children?

**Sir S. Hoare:** I will cover all these various questions, if the House will allow me to deal with them in order. I pass now from the individual cases to a class of case which we can deal with *en masse*. Those are cases in which individual inquiries will not be essential. I begin with the cases of trans-migrants, that is to say, men, women and children for whom we might provide a temporary home here, upon the understanding that, at some time in the future, they will go elsewhere for their permanent home. We





are prepared to look sympathetically and favourably upon proposals of this kind. While the absorptive powers of this country might be limited as far as permanent residents are concerned, we certainly could take in a larger number of refugees for a temporary period, provided they were eventually to be settled in some other part of the world.

For instance, if we take as an example settlement in various parts of the Colonial Empire we shall undoubtedly find that the refugees, if they are to make good in those undeveloped parts of the Empire, will need an intensive course of training. I can say to the House that we shall look most favourably upon proposals for keeping refugees in this country during their period of training. An interesting experiment has already been started under the auspices of the Co-ordinating Committee for the training of Jewish boys for agriculture and Jewish girls for domestic service. The experiment is still in its early days, but I can tell the House to-night that, so far, it has succeeded satisfactorily. A number of boys and girls, running into some hundreds, have already been trained. A number of older men have also been trained here under the auspices of the Co-ordinating Committee; I believe to the number of several thousands, and have left this country after their training and are already beginning to make good in other parts of the world. We shall encourage and facilitate other experiments of this kind.

I come next to the very important question of the non-Aryan children. I think here again we can deal with a problem of that kind very differently from the way in which we have to check in detail the individual positions of the older refugees. I think there will be children with whom we could deal in large numbers, provided they were sponsored by responsible bodies and responsible individuals.

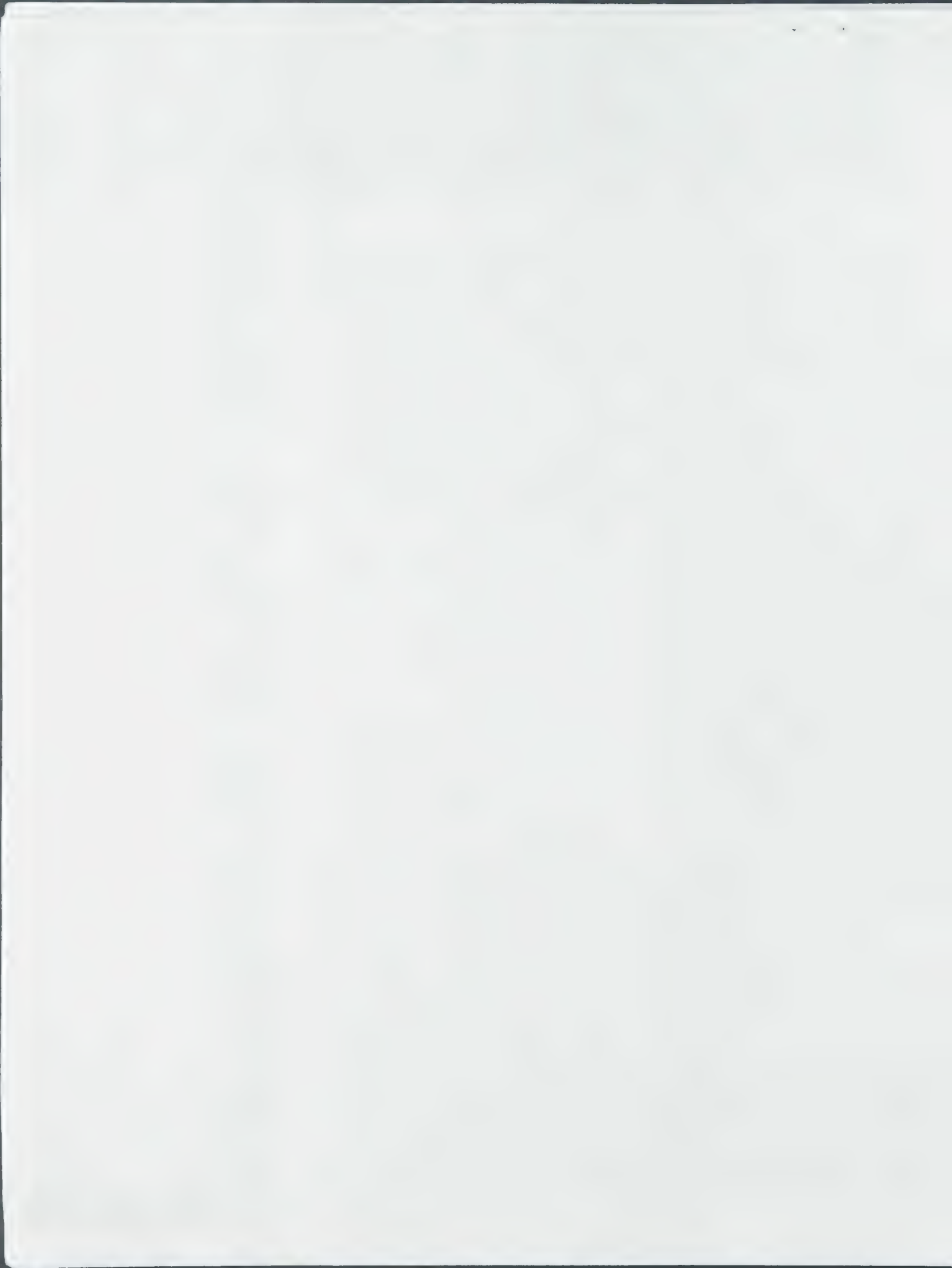
**Colonel Wedgwood:** By "non-Aryan," does the right hon. Gentleman mean Jews and half-castes?

**Sir S. Hoare:** Yes. I had, only this morning, a very valuable discussion with Lord Samuel and a number of other Jewish and other religious workers who were co-operating together in attempting to mitigate the sufferings of their co-religionists. They came to me with a very interesting proposal about the non-Aryan children. They pointed back to

the experience during the war, in which we gave homes here to many thousands of Belgian children, in which they were educated, and in which we played an invaluable part in maintaining the life of the Belgian nation. So also with these Jewish and non-Aryan children, I believe that we could find homes in this country for a very large number without any harm to our own population. The Co-ordinating Committee and the other organisations told me that they would be prepared to bring over here all the children whose maintenance could be guaranteed, either by their funds or by generous individuals, and that all that will probably be necessary will be for the Home Office to give the necessary visas and to facilitate their entry into this country. I told Lord Samuel, without a moment's hesitation, that the Home Office would certainly be prepared to provide facilities of that kind, and I venture to-night to take the opportunity of commending this effort to my fellow countrymen in general. Here is a chance of taking the young generation of a great people, here is a chance of mitigating to some extent the terrible sufferings of their parents and their friends.

I could not help thinking what a terrible dilemma it was to the Jewish parents in Germany to have to choose between sending their children to a foreign country, into the unknown, and continuing to live in the terrible conditions to which they are now reduced in Germany. I saw this morning one of the representatives of the Quaker organisations, who told me that he had only arrived in England this morning from a visit to Germany and a visit to Holland. He inquired of the Jewish organisations in Germany what would be the attitude of the Jewish parents to a proposal of this kind, and he told me that the Jewish parents were almost unanimously in favour of facing this parting with their children and taking the risks of their children going to a foreign country, rather than keeping them with them to face the unknown dangers with which they are faced in Germany. He went on to Holland and found that Dr. Colijn, the Prime Minister of Holland, was prepared to give a temporary refuge to children and trans-migrants of this kind, provided there was a hope of our receiving them into this country. I can give Dr. Colijn the assurance to-night that we shall put no obstacle in the way of children coming here and living in the





[Sir S. Hoare.]  
conditions that were described to me by Lord Samuel and his colleagues on the Co-ordinating Committee this morning.

As to the question of a still greater effort, of some international loan, as was suggested in the course of the Debate this evening, these are essentially questions that can only be dealt with internationally. I can imagine that they are questions that will have to be considered by the representatives of the Evian Conference. All I will say to-night is that we are prepared to take our full part with other nations of the world. I hope that the House will see from the figures that I have given and from the attitude that I have adopted towards the future that there will be no Government among all these Governments more sympathetic than the Government of the United Kingdom, no Government more anxious to solve this problem, if it can be solved, and, if it proves to be insoluble in its entirety, at any rate, to mitigate to the utmost the suffering that is now inflicted on hundreds of thousands of unfortunate people.

Let my last word be a tribute to the representatives of the Jewish community in this country and of other religious bodies which have co-operated with them. Already they have done an immense amount of valuable work in helping their co-religionists. They have provided large sums of money, sums running into many thousands of pounds. Let us wish them every success in their mission of mercy. Let me assure them as Home Secretary that I will do my utmost to facilitate their work, to extend its scope and to show that we will be in the forefront among the nations of the world in giving relief to these suffering people.

**Mr. Harold Macmillan:** May I ask a question on a point on which my right hon. Friend has not touched? There are a certain number of people for whom we have a very direct responsibility, namely, Germans in the area which has been handed over from Czechoslovakia to Germany. The Home Office has granted 250 visas, and these people who are coming to this country are being supported by private charity. There is a belief that about 1,500 people are in direct and immediate danger of punishment, imprisonment or even execution if they return to Germany. May I ask my right hon. Friend to say a word as to the

policy of the Home Office in granting to the Sudeten Germans the additional visa which are desperately needed?

**Sir S. Hoare:** Our policy would be exactly the same towards the Sudeten Germans as it would be towards Germans generally. We must treat the cases on their merits, we must deal with individual cases, but, as my hon. Friend probably knows, I have dealt with several of them as matters of great urgency and in those cases, at any rate, no charge of delay can be made against the Home Office.

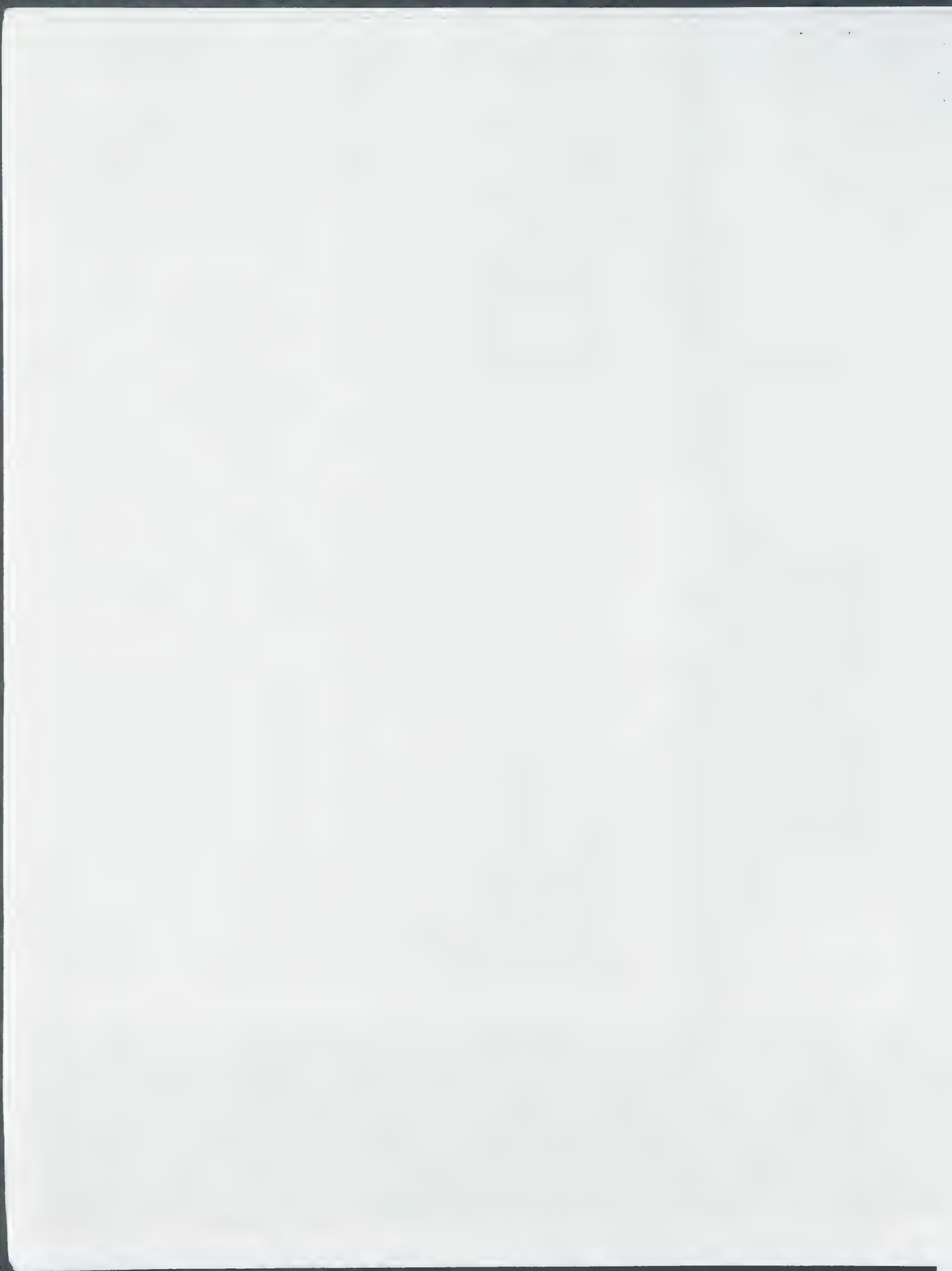
**Mr. Macmillan:** Does the right hon. Gentleman not feel that we have a rather different responsibility for the Sudeten Germans, because they are the people whose danger is the direct result of the Munich Agreement? Some of us feel that there is a greater and more direct responsibility for rescuing them from their peril, a consideration apart from humane considerations affecting the general question of the refugees, and would he not be prepared to expedite action in their case, because as he knows it may be a question of days as to their chances of survival?

**Sir S. Hoare:** I can only answer again by permission of the House. As far as I know, we are dealing with all the cases that have been brought to our attention. If my hon. Friend brings any cases to my attention I will see that they are dealt with at once.

10.31 p.m.

**Mr. David Grenfell:** The House this evening has shown a wonderful unanimity of sentiment and feeling, which must gladden the hearts of Members in all parts of the House. Within the framework of a feeling of common humanity and a common standard of civilisation Members in all parts of the House have filled in a picture which shows the House of Commons at its very best. The sentiments which come to the surface of our national life on great occasions have been displayed with a clearness and a vigour which must have an influence on all countries which are to co-operate with us in this great task. We owe the hon. Member for Derby (Mr. Noel-Baker) a debt for his magnificent opening speech, in which he put on record much of the tragedy and injustice associated in all lands with the history of the Jewish





people. Other hon. Members have shown a sympathy which is representative of the feeling of the mass of the people for whom we speak in this House. I must also pay a tribute to those hon. Members who are of the Jewish race and religion for the restraint they have displayed in refraining from taking up the role of special pleaders and, instead, reposing their confidence in a House of Commons where we are all free to speak without regard to race or religion.

In announcing the acceptance of the Motion the Home Secretary made reference to the various categories of refugees, and I was particularly glad that he included not only the Jews, who form the most compact and the largest body of refugees, but the Czechs, and I am glad also that he referred to the case of the Spaniards. Spain has a tremendous refugee problem, which we here may be tempted to forget because of the more sensational reports from other parts of Europe. I am particularly grateful to the right hon. Gentleman for having just mentioned with the others the refugees in Spain. I want to pay a tribute, also, to the description given by the Home Secretary of the machinery and the procedure for granting permits. I realised that he would be unable, even though he devoted the whole of his speech to the subject, to portray faithfully and fully the tremendous work done by his staff in this country and abroad. I have had the privilege of seeing his staff at work in this country. I have seen two passport control stations abroad within the last few months. I have seen queues of destitute people. I have seen the plight of those people, their nervous condition, their apprehension and their despair when they have come to the passport control offices in Vienna, Berlin, Prague and elsewhere. They have come as though they were facing the tribunal which was to decide life and death for them. Many of them, on account of the unavoidable delay, have given way to despair and have taken their own lives because they could not stand the strain of waiting for the relief that might have come had they been able to wait.

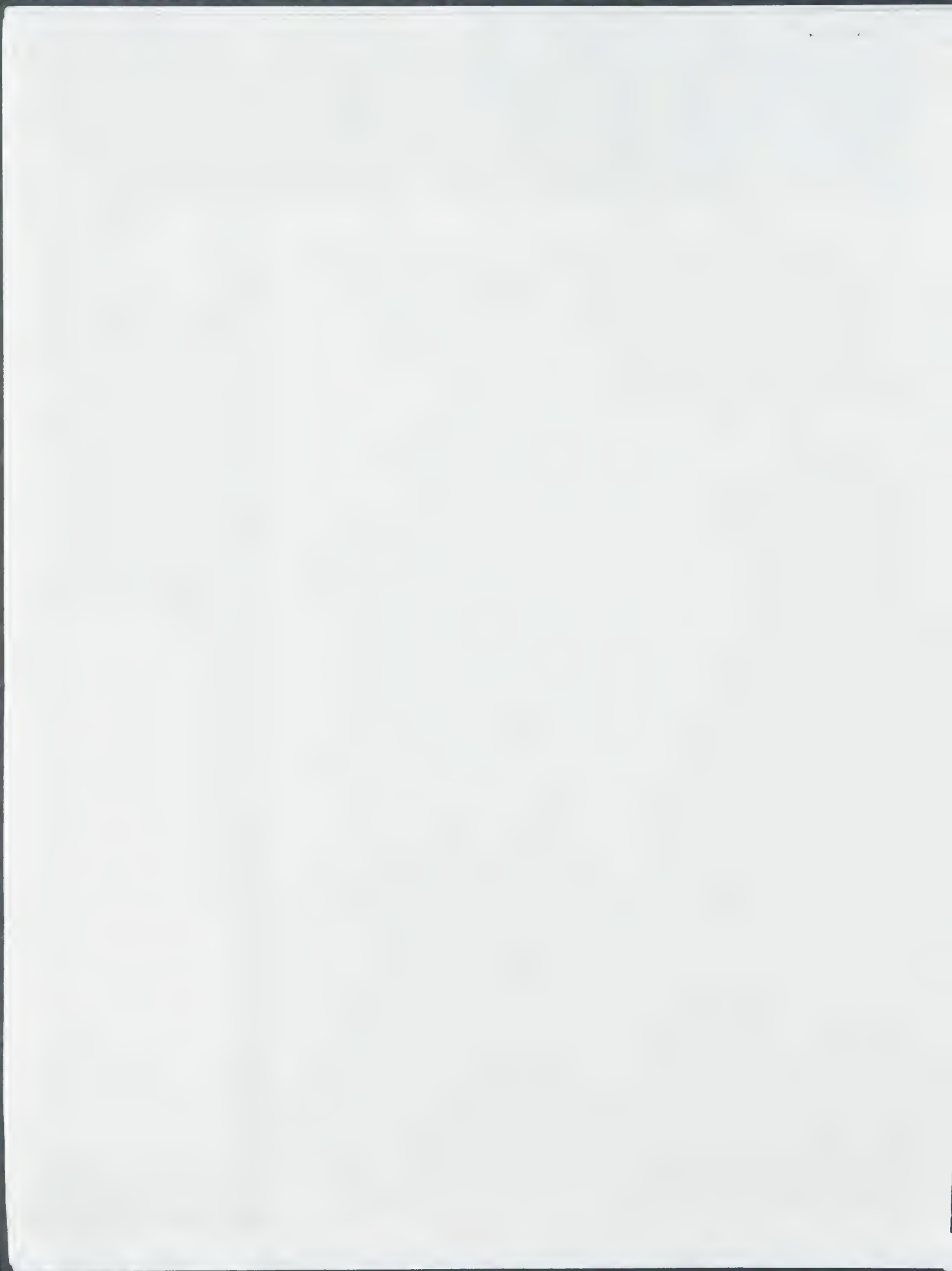
I have seen the passport control officers—it is due to them that I should say this in this House—discharging their duty in those circumstances, and I have never witnessed a single sign of discourtesy or impatience on their part. They have talked with courtesy to every applicant

who came along and who, because of sheer nervousness, might not be able to make the best of his case. The passport officers have helped such people to make their case. I have been thrilled by it, and filled with very deep gratitude indeed to the men who were thus serving the cause of humanity.

I may be pardoned if I choose to pay tribute to the Jewish people, the race which we know better than we know any other race. We have known of this race from the beginning of our days when we have heard Scriptural lessons and have read the texts and the stories of this race in olden times. We have learned very much about the names and characters of the great leaders of the Jewish people, and subconsciously we have learned to cherish in our hearts great respect and veneration for many of the people who have been the object of persecution. In most nations and lands, century after century, has the Jew been singled out for persecution. Nobody has suffered as much. Anti-Jewish propaganda and persecution, pogrom, confinement, limitation, the Ghetto and the cell of punishment are more familiar to this people than to any other. Political, social and religious disabilities have been heaped upon them, with all the contumely and contempt which other nations could muster in their discrimination against this unfortunate people.

They have survived, and what a tremendous thing it is that they have survived. After centuries of suffering the Jews have never failed, when the opportunity has been given to them, to make a handsome and generous contribution to the life of the community in which they have been allowed to participate. We are glad to know that in recent decades in the last century, and during the last 60 years in particular, a new attitude towards the Jew has grown up in all the countries of the world. The process of enlightenment has been gradual and slow, and subject to reservations and disturbances from time to time, but the Jew was improving his status by merit and by the common recognition of those with whom he lived. The emancipation of the Jew brought to the Jew himself a problem. I never quite understood this problem until I met a very learned Jew, who was an emigrant. I accompanied him on a journey from Zurich to Vienna. We





[Mr. Grenfell.]

travelled all night, and talked the whole night. This man, who was unable to return to his native country, Germany, told me what contribution he thought the Jew could make. The Jews, only recently escaped from the limitations of the ghetto into the political conditions that surround them to-day, had a contribution to make to the citizenship of the world. I came to understand the Jew better, and to understand the problems of Jewry better, after that interview, and my sympathy was not diminished by what this very wise Jew had to say about himself and his people.

I felt distressed by the growing reaction in Germany. I saw its beginnings in 1928 and 1929. Then I saw simple little leaflets urging people not to buy of the Jews. They seemed very small and ridiculous, but they grew into big posters and cartoons, with distorted pictures. I have seen the weekly publication of Dr. Streicher week after week, and have been horrified at the possible results of the continuation of propaganda on these lines. We have seen bitter attacks upon the Jewish race. They have become a part of the propaganda stock-in-trade of some of the largest and most powerful countries in the world. This constant malicious propaganda has had its result. In Germany, in 1933, there were 600,000 Jews, and in Austria at the same time 200,000 more. They amounted to about one per cent. of the German population of the two countries; one in every 100 persons was a Jew. I have asked myself time and time again why should the 99 show such malevolence against the one? Why should not the 99 so order their lives that it was possible for the one to live in peace among them? I have never been able to understand why that could not be done. When I saw the measures which were described at the Refugee Conference as involuntary emigration, I saw what I feared might be the beginning of a vast compulsory exodus of these people from the German-speaking countries, an exodus due to the propagation of an admiration for the one race and a detestation for the other which was thoroughly unjustified and unwarranted by the history of Germany herself. The Jews have done much to enrich that country, and not merely by money. Money is not all to the Jews. The Jew is sometimes charged with being a very acquisitive person, but nobody gives

more readily of the fruits of his genius than the Jew does when he gets the opportunity. He has given much to Germany and has given much to the world in the arts, in literature and in science.

Now, at this time of involuntary emigration, 40,000 German Jews have found a home in Palestine alone. It was a blessing that the Mandate was taken in Palestine before this crisis came upon Europe. Altogether, nearly 300,000 Jews have gone to Palestine since 1920, and 40,000 in the last three years. The absorptive capacity of Palestine has been very much in the picture to-night, as it always is in connection with this question of dealing with the Jews. I would urge the Home Secretary and the Government, if they need urging, to lend the weight of their influence in the conference which is to be held in about a week's time in London, and so to arrange affairs in Palestine as to allow of a free flow of emigration to that country at the maximum rate of absorption of which it is capable. I feel quite sure, from what I know of Palestine, that there will be no difficulty, given peace in that country, in settling 50,000 emigrants per year in that country. If that were done over a period of five years, tremendous relief would be given. This problem is increasing in magnitude, approaching very grave proportions indeed; and I agree with the Home Secretary that there is immediate need for prompt international measures. The Home Secretary pledged this country, and I was very glad to hear him do so. I believe him to be sincere in that. It will give this House much confidence; it will give Jewry much confidence; it will give the people of the world much confidence; and I hope the leadership, once assumed in this matter, will not be dropped by this country, but that we shall maintain the leadership until the day of freedom for these people has arrived.

I want to speak of the contribution due from Germany towards the solution of this problem. This large and powerful nation of nearly 80,000,000 people cannot be allowed to pass these Jews out, stripped of everything, dump them over the frontier, and say, "I do not want the Jews in my country; you must take them." Why should the Germans be allowed to do that? Why should they assume that, because they do not like





these people, they will be allowed to dump them on somebody else? I agree that there is no need to offend anybody, but an offence has been committed against the whole world by the action Germany has taken. The Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, speaking either at Evian, or after Evian, said:

"Evian may offer a palliative. It cannot take from the shoulders of Germany the consequences that will follow the relentless persecution and segregation of a large element of its population."

The right hon. Gentleman should not be ashamed of such a statement.

**The Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Earl Winterton):** I am not in the least ashamed of it, but I do not recollect it.

**Mr. Grenfell:** I may have picked up the wrong cutting, but it is at least a statement worthy of the right hon. Gentleman himself. There is something far greater—and I do not think Hitler would object to this statement—than Hitler's Germany. There is a large humanity which surmounts and overrides these petty vanities of small peoples wherever they may be. Sixty or seventy years ago, the great Sage of Chelsea, Thomas Carlyle, this man who was so wise and dissatisfied with the rest of the world, who grumbled and scolded us severely, said, in "Sartor Resartus":

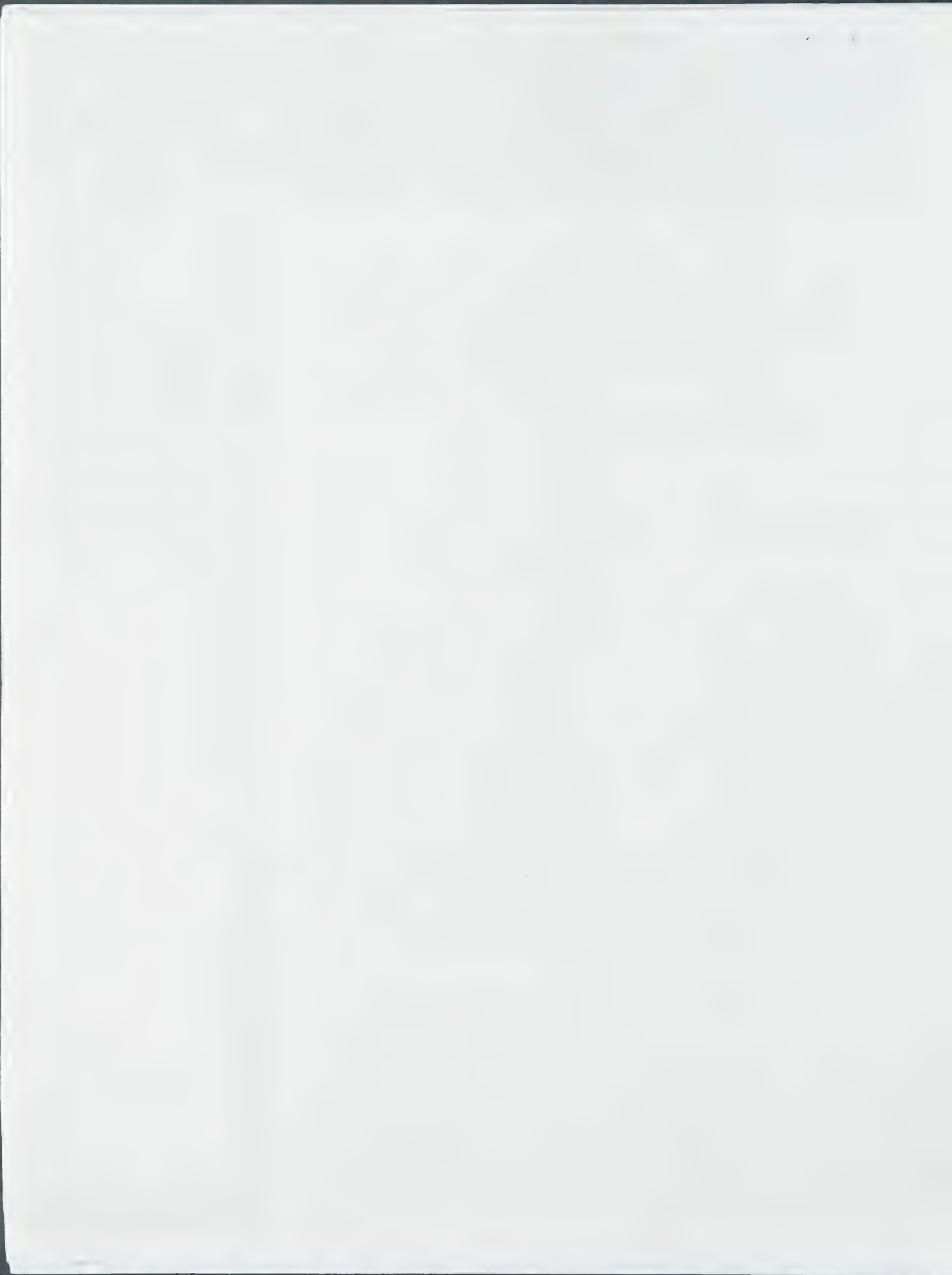
"Man's unhappiness is, I construe, because of his Greatness. It is because there is an infinite in him, which with all his cunning he cannot quite bury under the Finite. Will the whole Finance Ministers and upholsterers and confectioners of modern Europe undertake in joint stock company to make one shoeblack happy. They cannot accomplish it above an hour or two, for the shoeblack also has a soul quite other than his stomach, and would require, if you consider it, for his permanent satisfaction and saturation, simply this allotment, no more and no less: God's infinite universe altogether to himself, therein to enjoy infinitely and fill every wish as fast as it rose."

There is something far more than the mere ambitions of small-minded men. There is in this humanity of ours an irresistible force working for freedom and largeness and generosity of mind, and no dictator can set the limit to that force. If Germany cannot let Jews live in peace, she should let them take means of starting afresh in other parts of the world, where Jews may be more welcome, and where the Jew has a right to be welcome.

Someone has said to-night—and I do not think there is any offence in saying this—that if Herr Hitler will cast out the Jews, does it not occur to him that there might be an exchange in this transaction? There are 20,000,000 or 30,000,000 Germans in other parts of the world, and if the soil of any one part of the world is peculiarly destined for the use of one people and the Jews have no right of domicile in Germany, Herr Hitler might find a transaction, where people are driven out on his terms, in which 50 Germans may have to go back to Germany for every Jew driven out. That is a fundamental of civilisation—a principle of give-and-take which is the very basis of civilisation itself. I am convinced this physical problem is quite easy of adjustment. This is only a very small problem for the world. But there is a great moral question. How is it to be solved? We must try to learn to understand and, with understanding, to tolerate and to make accommodation for it. That is the problem for the nations of the world in the years ahead of us in which toleration reigns. There is not much difference between Jew and Gentile. There is not an unbridgeable gulf between German and Briton, or between German and Frenchman. We have simply ignored the lessons of history and refused to understand the forces which operate in our own times. History cannot be undone in a day, even by dictators. It has taken a very long time for man to write his history up to date—a painful effort, much of it mere scrawling and scribbling, but it has been written. It is folly for any one person to attempt to unwrite that which has been written, and if we are not satisfied with the conditions of to-day then we must all of us learn to write better.

And in this let the example be once again given by a Jew. I would remind the House that on 4th June, 1922, Dr. Walther Rathenau, German Minister for Foreign Affairs, was assassinated while driving through Berlin on his way to work. He was a very important statesman in Germany. Rathenau was a world figure in his day, but he was a Jew. His assailants were young Nationalists. One of them was 17 years of age. What was the reaction of the German people on the day of the murder, a Sunday? Great processions of workmen, hundreds of thousands strong, and four abreast,





[Mr. Grenfell.]

marched solemnly and silently in mourning through the streets of Berlin, mourning for a Jew. At the funeral on 27th June President Ebert said:

"This atrocious crime has struck not only at Rathenau the man, but at the whole German people."

The reports in the paper I have before me said that the last word on the human side of this tragedy came from Rathenau's mother. She wrote this letter to the mother of Ernest Techow, one of the accused:

"In my unspeakable grief I stretch out my hand to you most suffering of women. Tell your son that I forgive him in the name and spirit of the murdered man as may God forgive him if before an earthly justice he makes a full and open confession and repents before the justice of heaven. Had he known my son, the most noble that the earth has borne, he would sooner have turned the murderous weapon on himself than on him. May these words give your soul peace.—Mathilde Rathenau."

That is the spirit of the Jew mother who has lost her dear son at the hands of a Nationalist in Germany, an Aryan, a member of the German race. Would that these words and the spirit of these words be brought into play in Europe, suffering Europe, perplexed Europe, distressed Europe. Should not these words of forgiveness, toleration and understanding be spoken once again, loud and clear enough for the whole of the world to notice? If these were given response to in some countries in Europe to-morrow this problem of dealing with the refugees would be taken from our hands. While we have waited for the response to that message spoken by one country to-day, by another country to-morrow, increasingly I hope, by a larger number of people of all sections and all races, by this message of understanding, toleration and forgiveness, we have a splendid opportunity of raising our own level and rising to be worthy of our own standards in carrying out this task of relief and salvation and providing refuge and security which men need because of the follies of mankind.

Question put, and agreed to.

Resolved,

"That this House notes with profound concern the deplorable treatment suffered by certain racial, religious, and political minorities in Europe, and, in view of the growing gravity of the refugee problem, would welcome an immediate concerted effort amongst the nations, including the United States of America, to secure a common policy."

## DEBTS CLEARING OFFICES AND IMPORT RESTRICTIONS ACT, 1934.

RUMANIA ORDER.

10.59 p.m.

**Mr. R. S. Hudson (Secretary, Overseas Trade Department):** I beg to move,

"That the Clearing Office (Rumania) Amendment No. 2 Order, 1938, dated the ninth day of September, nineteen hundred and thirty-eight, made by the Treasury under the Debts Clearing Offices and Import Restrictions Act, 1934, a copy of which was presented to this House on the twenty-eighth day of September, nineteen hundred and thirty-eight, be approved."

The history of this Order goes back to 1936, when owing to an accumulation of debts owing to this country by debtors in Rumania it was found necessary to impose a clearing. Owing to the fortuitous circumstances of a very good harvest in Rumania and the relative failure of harvests in the rest of the world, exports from Rumania in 1936-37 rose and the clearing worked exceedingly well. It worked so well that in May, 1937, it proved possible for certain amendments favourable to Rumania to be made, but the expectation that the favourable conditions of 1936-37 would continue, were falsified, and there has again come the grave risk of substantial arrears accumulating. In order to remedy this state of affairs the present Clearing Agreement was negotiated.

I do not think I need go into the very complicated details of the Payments Agreements. It will probably suffice if I say that the main object of this agreement is to encourage Rumanian exports to this country, and the method that we have adopted to encourage those exports is to enable the Rumanian exporter to obtain more lei for his exports. Hitherto, he has had to surrender his sterling to the clearing office in London and receive from the National Bank of Rumania the equivalent in lei at the rate of about 670 lei per pound sterling. Under the procedure set up by this agreement he will, in future, be able to sell 60 per cent. of his sterling in the open market and thus obtain more lei, and only for 40 per cent. will he be compelled to take the official rate. As the open market rate for sterling is at the present time well over 1,000 lei to the pound, it will be realised the result of this new arrangement will be that the exporter in Rumania will obtain instead of 670 probably something







## KINDERTRANSPORT ASSOCIATION, INC.

### Executive Committee

Kurt Goldberger, President	Eva Yachnes, Newsletter Editor
Anita Weisbord, Vice-President	Anita Grosz, Second Generation
Helga Newman, Treasurer	Robert Sugar, Member-at-Large
Ellen Bottner, Corresponding Secretary	Kurt Fuchel, Past-President
Ruth Hanauer, Recording Secretary	Edward Behrendt, President Emeritus
Tamara Meyer, Vice President Second Generation	

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June 2000

Dear "Kind" and KT2,

As we are celebrating the 10th anniversary of the Kindertransport Association, we are reminded that all have an obligation to our organization. Therefore, we would appreciate if you would renew your membership and send in your dues with the enclosed form.

The past year has seen many activities in all parts of the United States and Canada. Melissa Hacker's film "My Knees Were Jumping" has been shown throughout North America and abroad. Also, Diane Samuels' play "Kindertransport" has been widely performed to great acclaim. In several instances, members of KTA were involved in speaking at film showings and performances of the play.

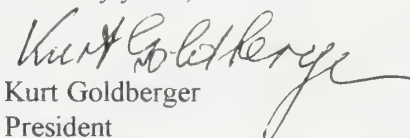
Our Speakers Bureau continues to be most active and many of our members have spoken to student and adult groups. The three quilts assembled by Kirsten Grosz have been exhibited in several locations and a companion book was published. There are currently greeting cards available depicting the quilts.

The panels depicting the history of the Kindertransports, by our graphic artist Robert Sugar, are being completed and will be ready for exhibit later this year.

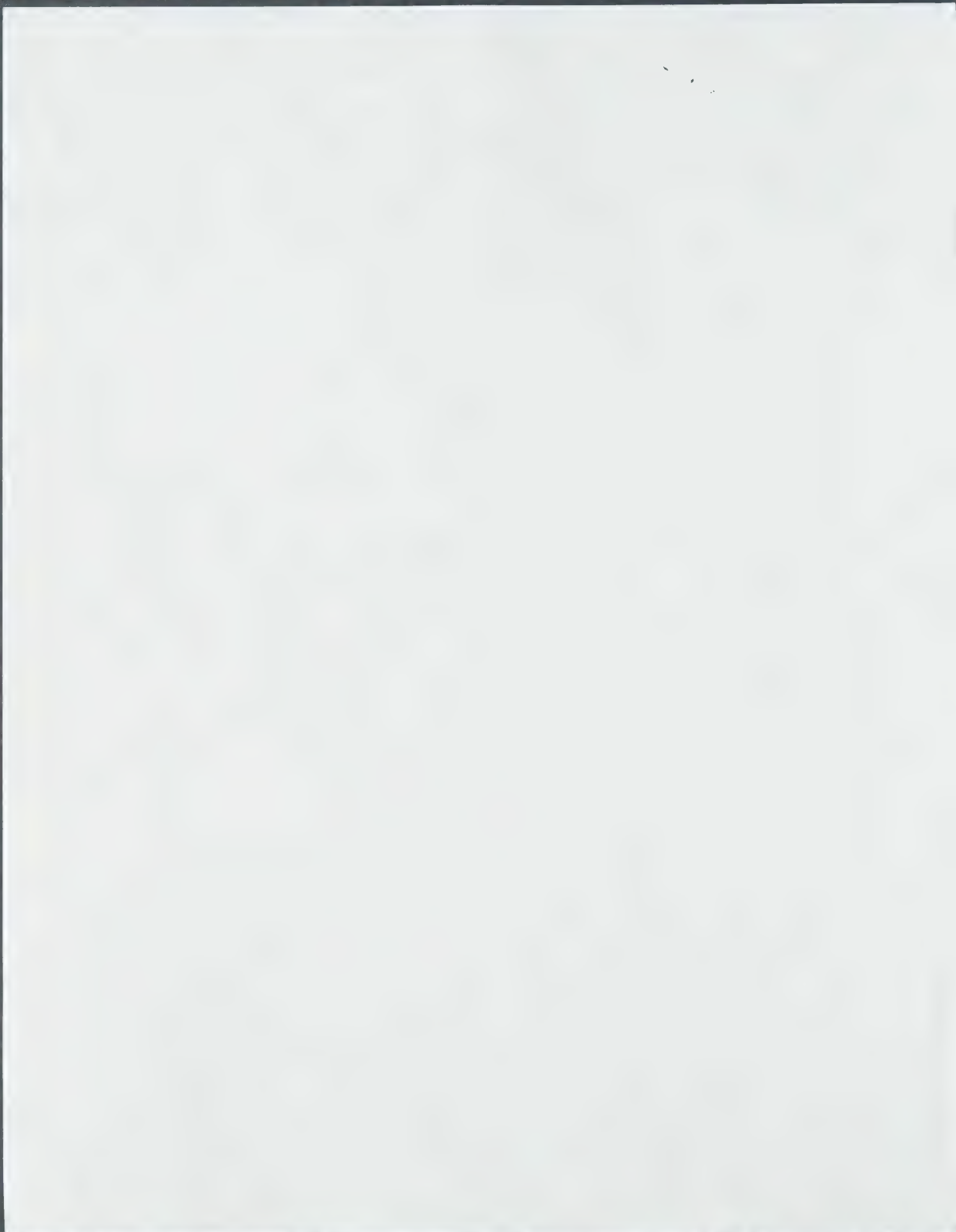
KTA chapters have been active and meeting regularly during the past year. Frequently, our activities have received publicity in local papers.

The story of the Kindertransports must not be forgotten and you, as members, are keeping it alive. Therefore, I would appreciate if you would renew your membership as soon as possible.

Sincerely yours,

  
Kurt Goldberger  
President







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June 2000

Dear Friends,

We are delighted to inform you that we have scheduled the “**10th Anniversary Conference of the Kindertransport Association**”, at the Holiday Inn in Scottsdale, Arizona, October 27th to 29th. The theme for this year’s conference is:

### “FROM HISTORY INTO THE FUTURE.

Since our past conferences have always been held on the East Coast, we decided to accommodate our large West Coast and mid-West membership. Therefore, after an extended search, we found the aforementioned hotel which is located in a most favorable spot and quite reasonable. Our program committee is currently arranging for a varied and stimulating conference. We expect to have prominent speakers and discussions spanning a wide variety of issues. Of course, there will be time for renewing old friendships and getting to know other “Kinder”. Should you have any ideas for a specific subject matter, you may contact the program chairman, Kurt Fuchel, phone: 631 821-0104, or e-mail: [kfuchel@aol.com](mailto:kfuchel@aol.com)

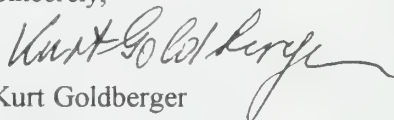
Our West Coast chair people have sent us information on a number of interesting side trips you may wish to take in Arizona prior to or after the conference. See reverse side.

Enclosed is a reservation form for the Holiday Inn, to be sent directly to the hotel. Also enclosed is a form outlining the details regarding the cost of room and meals at the hotel and a tear-off for the KTA registration, including the fee, to be returned to: Helga Newman.

We can all be proud of the achievements and wide publicity our organization received over the last ten years. It is our goal to continue the tasks that we initially set out to accomplish, such as familiarizing the North American public with our background, and aiding children in need today through our charitable fund.

We are looking forward to seeing you at our conference and would appreciate it if you would send in your hotel reservation and KTA registration as soon as possible.

Sincerely,

  
Kurt Goldberger  
President

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KTA, 36 Dean Street, Hicksville, NY 11801; Tel: (516) 938-6084, Fax: (516) 827-3329  
E-mail: [margkurt@aol.com](mailto:margkurt@aol.com)



Use this occasion to extend your trip and enjoy the American Southwest. The Holiday Inn offers the seminar room rate for three days before and three days after the conference.

1. The Phoenix/Scottsdale area has 180+ golf courses and many sights worth visiting. There are a number of famous museums including the Heard Museum (Native American and Southwest art), Phoenix Art Museum, Taliesin West the Frank Lloyd Wright winter home and architectural campus and Goldfield Ghost Town.
2. Without a car. A number of local tour companies offer one day, two days one/night and three day/two night tours to Sedona, The Grand Canyon and other scenic and historic sites.
2. With a car. Drive to the Grand Canyon, Zion and Bryce Canyon National Parks, Monument Valley and Flagstaff. Sedona and the Red Rock Country are beautiful and worth two or three days.
3. Fly to Las Vegas and fly back from Phoenix or fly home from LV. Southwest Airlines has excellent fares and vacation packages.
4. How about flying to Las Vegas from the East Coast then flying Southwest Air to Phoenix, and back to the East Coast from Las Vegas.

For additional ideas and suggestions contact the NorCal KTA Chairs Ralph Samuel at 510-231-0905 (Rsamassoc@aol) or Alfred Cotton at 510-547-2694 (acotton@global.california)

London Haupt

Der Zuspruch war gut gemeint, aber unsere Angst konnte er kaum zerstreuen. Das Schicksal unseres Kindes war ganz und gar ungewiß.

## 28. AUS: ZUSAMMENFASSENDE BERICHT VON GLADYS BENDIT ÜBER DIE TÄTIGKEIT DES REFUGEE CHILDREN'S MOVEMENT 1939, 1944

John Presland (d. i. Gladys Bendit), *A Great Adventure. The Story of the Refugee Children's Movement*, London, Juli 1944, S. 6 f.

### How the Children were Rescued

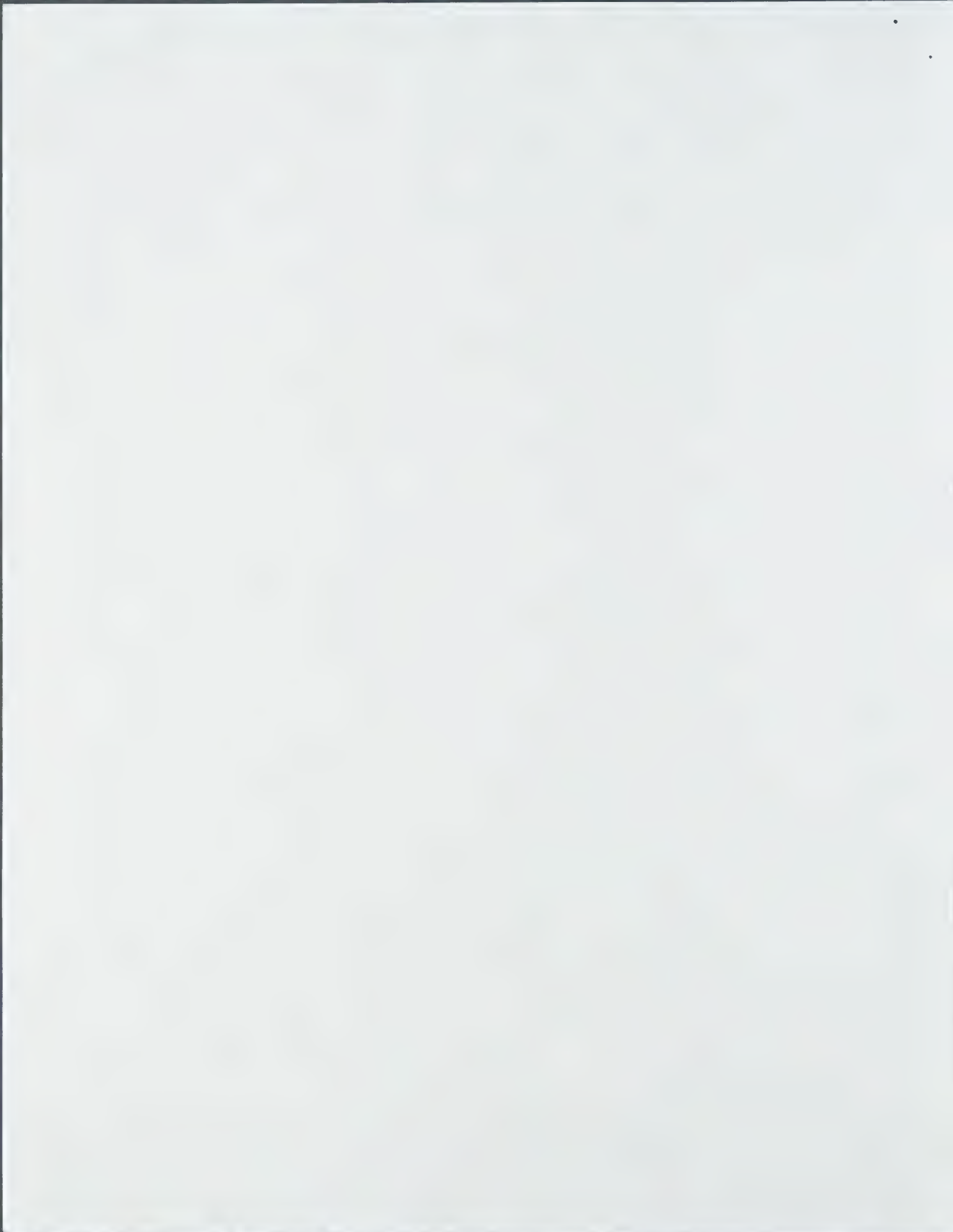
It has already been said that the Jewish children who had no friend or relative in this country were selected in the Reich by two Jewish organizations: the Reichsvertretung für Juden in Deutschland in Berlin and the Kultusgemeinde in Vienna. It may cause surprise that the Nazi Government still permitted Jewish organizations to exist and to work, but it was almost compelled to do so since Jews were debarred from all German social services and the Jewish community itself had to provide against sickness, unemployment and destitution, as well as to make the necessary arrangements for emigration. The courage and devotion of these Jewish workers, particularly those of the Reichsvertretung, who laboured without respite for six long years, are beyond all praise. Many who had the opportunity to escape to this country voluntarily remained in order to help their own people. Some of the noblest among them became martyrs to German ferocity. The Christian "non-Aryan" children were selected by the "Paulusbund" in Berlin, which counted among its helpers some of the finest of the German Pastors, and by the Society of Friends in Vienna.

The children travelled in parties of several hundred, under the care of specially appointed workers who had to return to Germany, and the German Government gave special railway facilities to these "children's transports".

### Temporary Camps

On arrival the children were placed in temporary camps until the friends or relatives of the guaranteed children could be notified, and until suitable homes could be found for the others. The first camp was the Dovercourt Bay Holiday Camp, near Harwich, and the second was at Pakefield, near Lowestoft. The organization of these camps for the reception of several hundred bewildered and frightened children who had passed through the terrible days of November, many of whom had seen their fathers taken to concentration camps, who had left their mothers with no knowledge whether they would ever see them again, was an arduous task. But in a short time the camps were working smoothly, thanks to the untiring devotion of the camp workers. The children were divided into Orthodox Jewish children, who needed special food and arrangements, and non-Orthodox and Christian; arrangements were made for Ministers of all religious denominations to visit the camps and make contact with the children of their faith. Later, as offers of hospitality were classified, particulars of individual children were sent to intending hosts, and when these hosts intimated their willingness to receive a given child, interviews were arranged at the camps between host and guest,





so that a personal relation could be established and any individual difficulties or antipathies noted.

One of the problems of hospitality which manifested itself early was that of the older boys and youths. A large number of these had been included in the earlier transports because of the danger they ran of being sent to concentration camps, but it is clearly more difficult to find hospitality for an adolescent, with all the problems arising from his age, than for a young child who can be fitted into the life of a family. These young people, therefore, were still at the camps when much later arrivals of young children had already been received in homes, and two hostels were opened for them, pending their final settlement. One for Orthodox Jewish boys was at Westgate, and one for other boys at Barham House, Claydon, near Ipswich. By the end of 1939, Barham House had become a permanent training-centre for two hundred boys, since it was no longer needed as a clearing-house, and the hostel at Westgate was closed, as all the Orthodox Jewish boys had been found training positions or homes.

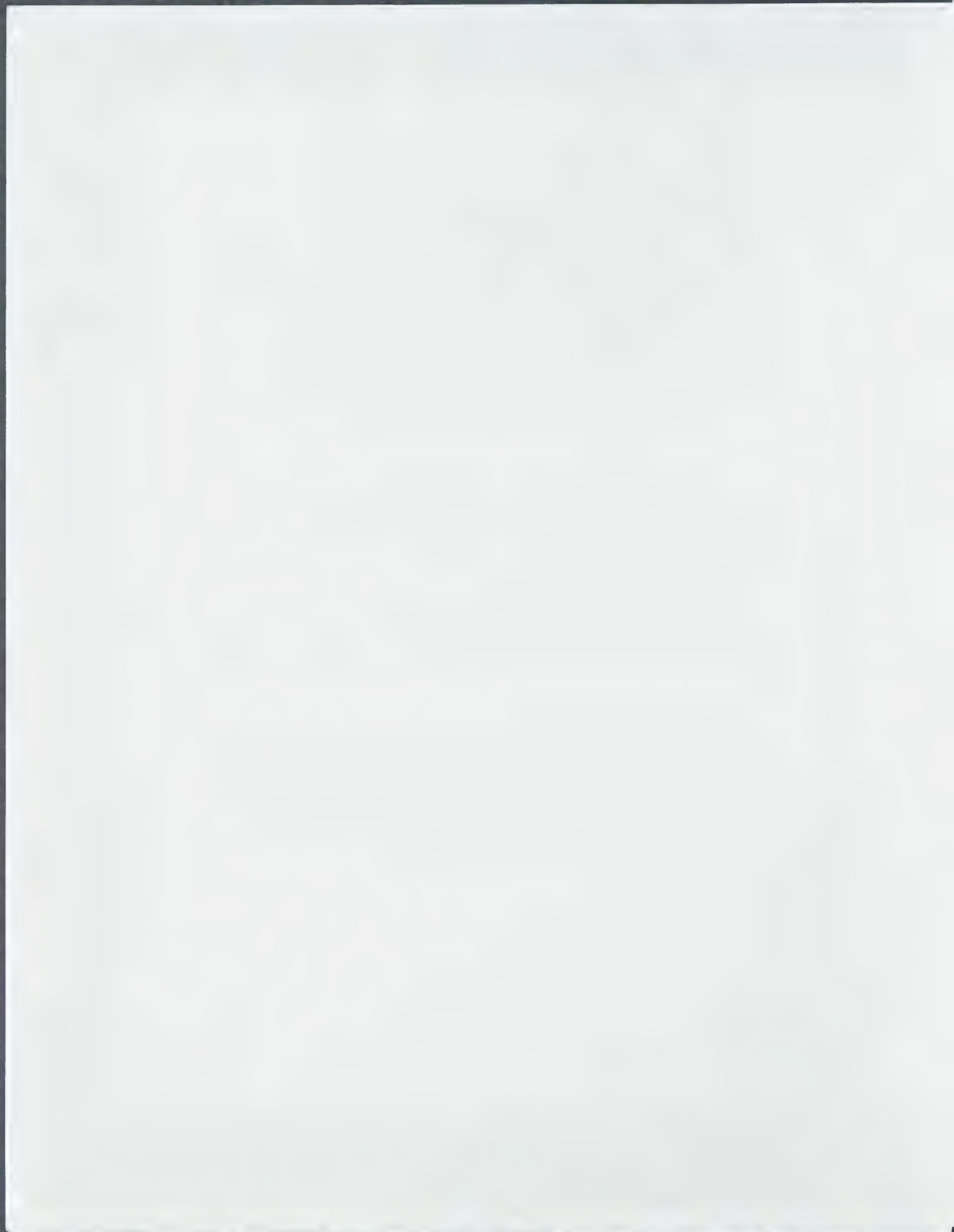
#### Welfare

Once arrangements for the rescue of the children had been made, the work of the Movement developed naturally in the direction of welfare, using that term in its broadest sense to include moral and physical health, spiritual guidance, education and training to fit the children for a useful part in the practical life of the community, opportunity for the development of their natural gifts (wherever possible) and, not least, a care for their individual happiness.

The Movement has tried to give to these boys and girls what Germany denied, a free and normal development in an atmosphere of affection, such as wise and loving parents would give to children in their own homes. In the best circumstances it is not easy for an organization to be an adequate substitute for the profoundly significant life of a family; in the circumstances of the war the difficulties have been increased manifold.

Deutsche Zusammenfassung: Die von der IKG Wien und der Gesellschaft der Freunde ausgewählten österreichischen Kinder wurden zu jeweils einigen hundert in eigenen Kindertransporten nach Großbritannien gebracht. Nach ihrer Ankunft kamen sie in Durchgangslager, bis sie von Verwandten, Freunden oder Pflegeeltern abgeholt werden konnten. Besondere Sorge bereiteten die älteren Kinder, für die sich manchmal keine Pflegeeltern fanden und die in zwei Jugendheimen untergebracht wurden. Das Refugee Children's Movement sorgte auch für die psychische und physische Gesundheit der Kinder, deren Erziehung und Ausbildung.





# STIFTUNG DOKUMENTATIONSARCHIV

## DES ÖSTERREICHISCHEN WIDERSTANDES

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Herbert Friedman  
1910 Paddock Road  
Norfolk, Virginia 23518  
USA

November 19, 1999

Dear Mr. Friedman,

I will try my best in answering your questions regarding the Kindertransporte to England. In November 1938 the Jewish Community in Palestine offered the British Government to pick up 10,000 children from Germany. The British government didn't support this proposal because of their own restrictive immigration policy in Palestine. But the British general public forced the government to save these children.

Selection and realization of this project was the responsibility of the Israelitische Kultusgemeinde Wien. The criteria for children to be chosen for the Kindertransport were different and depended on proportional representation. But children who were in danger of their lives or children who were orphans or homeless had priority. If the father stayed in prison or in a concentration camp it would also be a reason to be chosen for the Kindertransport. Another criterion was the financial situation of the families.

Eichmann himself allowed in January 4, 1939 a special group visa for young people who were under eighteen years forcing the emigration of Jewish children.

On November 21, 1938 the organization „ Movement for the Care of Children from Germany (later Refugee Children's Movement) was established in Great Britain. First of all this organization had to give group visas and then they had to find foster familie for the children.

You will find a copy from a summary about the work of the Refugee Children's Movement 1939.

Should you have any further questions do not hesitate to contact me.

Sincerely

  
Mag. Regine Muskens

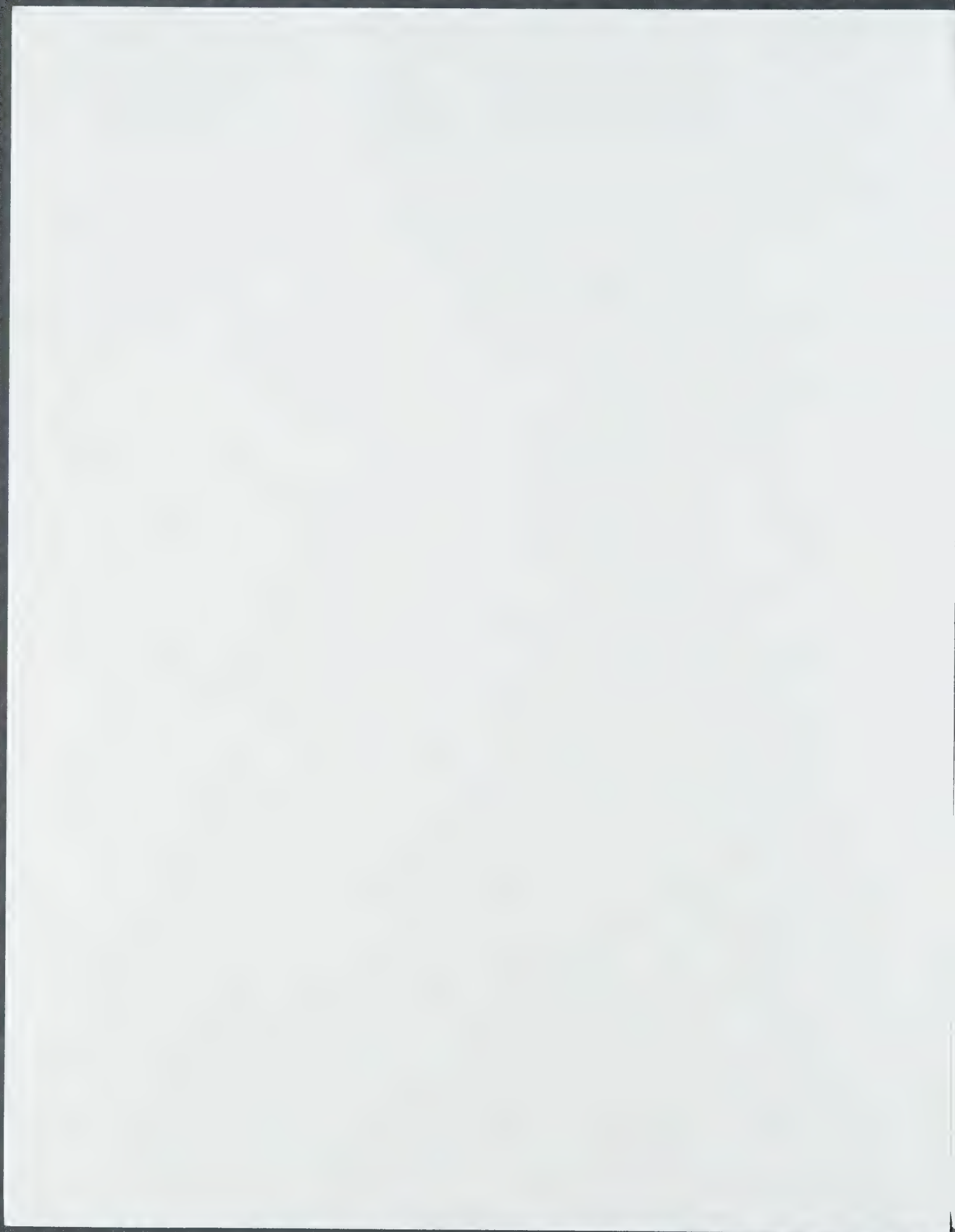
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Vorsitzender: Dr. Friedrich STANZEL, weiters: KR Franz FORSTER, Ministerialrätin Mag. Elisabeth MORAWEK, Bezirksvorsteher Dr. Richard SCHMITZ, Mag. Günther





17 OCTOBER 1937

Nr. 287

Wien, Sonntag

DAS KLEINE BLATT

## Zwei Jungen retten eine Lebensmüde.



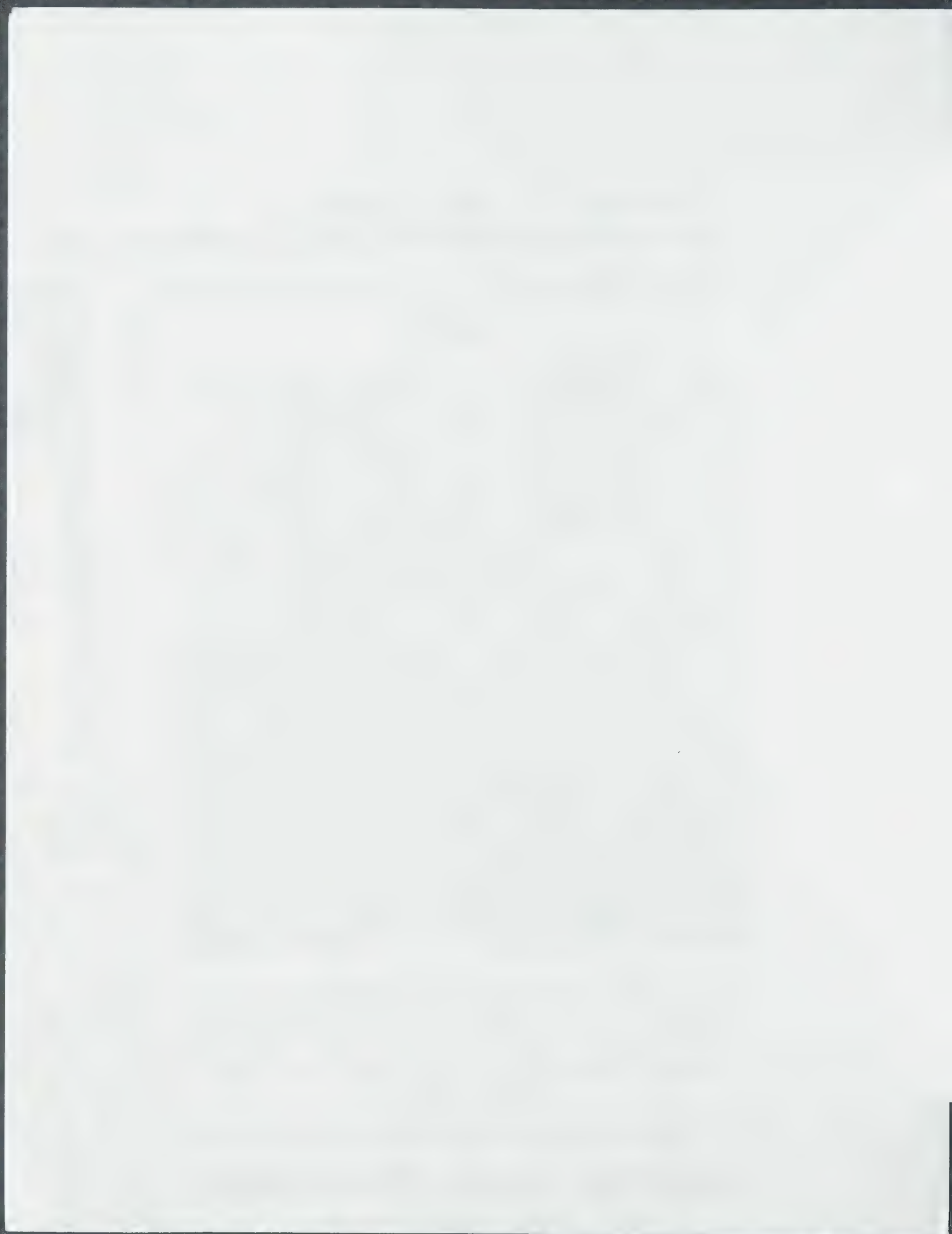
Der 13jährige Hauptschüler Herbert Friedmann (links) und der 15jährige Ernst Fleischer, die gemeinsam eine achtzehnjährige Lebensmüde aus dem Donaufanal gerettet haben.

## Die

Die Je  
neuen Reie  
Lebens, im  
immer nicht  
der Zustron  
Wahrzeichen  
Sie alle a  
Blick für d  
alten Brück  
so schäbig,  
arbeiten ha  
noch einen a

## Tausend neue Ehemänner bei den Profutina





# PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

## HOUSE OF LORDS

### OFFICIAL REPORT

(UNREVISED)

Vol. 111, No. 16

Wednesday, 14th December, 1938

#### Contents

Marriage (Scotland) Bill—Committee  
Limitation Bill—Report  
Motion—Refugee Problems



No proofs of the Daily Reports are sent. Any corrections which Peers desire to suggest in the report of their speeches for the Bound Volume should be indicated in this Daily Report, and the copy of the Daily Report containing the corrections suggested must be received by the Editor of Debates, House of Lords, within fourteen days of the Debate.

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[The Lord Chancellor.]  
to the fact that concurrent interests can now only exist under a settlement or behind a trust for sale. I beg to move.

Amendment moved—

Page 6, line 36, leave out subsection (5) and insert the said new subsection.—(The Lord Chancellor.)

LORD MANCROFT: I wish to thank my noble and learned friend. I think he has met as far as possible the principle which I had in mind when during the Committee stage I ventured to bring criticisms before your Lordships' House. It seems now quite clear to me that the provision which is in the Government's mind does not affect, as worded at present, the case of a purchaser in possession who has not a conveyance. It will merely affect settled land and land in trust for sale. That being so, I wish to thank the noble and learned Lord. I am much obliged to him for having moved the Amendment to Clause 7.

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Clause 25:

*Effect of acknowledgment or part payment on persons other than the maker or recipient.*

(5) An acknowledgment of any debt or other liquidated pecuniary claim shall only bind the acknowledgor and his successors, but a payment made in respect of the debt or claim shall bind all persons liable in respect thereof.

Provided that an acknowledgment or payment made after the expiration of the period of limitation prescribed for the bringing of the action shall only bind the acknowledgor or the person making the payment, as the case may be, and his successors other than successor on whom the liability devolves on the determination of a preceding estate or interest in property under a settlement taking effect before the date of the acknowledgment or payment.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR moved to leave out subsection (5) and insert:

"(5) An acknowledgment of any debt or other liquidated pecuniary claim shall bind the acknowledgor and his successors but not any other person:

Provided that an acknowledgment made after the expiration of the period of limitation prescribed for the bringing of an action to recover the debt or other claim shall not bind any successor on whom the liability devolves on the determination of a preceding estate or interest in property under a settlement taking effect before the date of the acknowledgment.

(6) A payment made in respect of any debt or other liquidated pecuniary claim shall bind all persons liable in respect thereof:

Provided that a payment made after the expiration of the period of limitation prescribed for the bringing of an action to recover the debt or other claim shall not bind any person other than the person making the payment and his successors, and shall not bind any successor on whom the liability devolves on the determination of a preceding estate or interest in property under a settlement taking effect before the date of the payment."

The noble and learned Lord said: My Lords, this is simply a matter of drafting. Subsection (5), it was thought on reconsideration, was an exceedingly difficult one to understand and, as redrafted in the form of two subsections, it will be much more intelligible. We now separate the case of acknowledgments in respect of a death made after the expiration of the period of limitation and a case where there has been a pecuniary payment made. I think it is as well, as the Bill is exceedingly hard to understand, that it should be made as easy as it can be made in the circumstances of the case.

Amendment moved—

Page 16, line 8, leave out subsection (5) and insert the said new subsections.—(The Lord Chancellor.)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Clause 31:

*Interpretation.*

(2) For the purposes of this Act, a person shall be deemed to be under a disability while he is an infant, or of unsound mind, or a convict subject to the operation of the Forfeiture Act, 1870, in whose case no administrator or curator has been appointed under that Act.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR moved, after subsection (2), to insert:

"(3) For the purposes of the last foregoing subsection but without prejudice to the generality thereof, a person shall be conclusively presumed to be of unsound mind—

(a) while he is detained in pursuance of any enactment authorising the detention of persons of unsound mind or criminal lunatics, or is receiving treatment as a voluntary patient under the Mental Treatment Act, 1930, being treatment which follows without any interval such detention as aforesaid; and

(b) while he is detained under any provision of the Mental Deficiency Acts, 1913 to 1938."

The noble and learned Lord said: My Lords, the last Amendment is in reference to cases of unsound mind. On reconsideration it was thought that unsound

mind as a ground of disability might be somewhat difficult in cases where a person was detained in the various ways in which he may be detained and it was possible to suggest that, though so detained, he was not of unsound mind. In order to meet that, I have an addition to Clause 31 which reads:

"For the purposes of the last foregoing subsection but without prejudice to the generality thereof, a person shall be conclusively presumed to be of unsound mind—

(a) while he is detained in pursuance of any enactment authorising the detention of persons of unsound mind or criminal lunatics, or is receiving treatment as a voluntary patient under the Mental Treatment Act, 1930, being treatment which follows without any interval such detention as aforesaid;—

that is one series of cases where a person may be detained as being of unsound mind—and

(b) while he is detained under any provision of the Mental Deficiency Acts, 1913 to 1938."

There should be a disability provision in the Bill in relation to a person who is a lunatic or a mental defective under restraint. From this point of view it does not so much matter whether a person is of unsound mind or not if he is shut up in any of these places or is under such detention as is possible under these Acts. When that happens, your Lordships will agree, it is unnecessary to inquire subsequently whether the restraint was in fact for unsound mind or not. Accordingly the Amendment makes it clear that the disability of unsoundness of mind applies to cases of mental deficiency where the deficiency is sufficiently serious to require the person to be restrained. I should add that the Amendment does not constitute an exhaustive definition of unsoundness of mind. The door is open to any person who can satisfy the Court that he was of unsound mind at the material date, whether or not he was under restraint, and accordingly he will be entitled to rely on the disability provisions of the Bill. The Amendment relates simply to the question of disability in the form which is mentioned on the Paper. I beg to move.

Amendment moved—

Page 20, line 9, to end insert the said new subsection.—(The Lord Chancellor.)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

## REFUGEE PROBLEMS.

LORD MARLEY rose to ask His Majesty's Government what steps are being taken, in conjunction with the Inter-Governmental Committee or independently, towards the relief of the suffering of refugees from Germany, Czechoslovakia and other countries, and the reconstruction of their lives in this and other parts of the world; and to move for Papers. The noble Lord said: My Lords, I cannot hope to emulate the brevity of the noble Lord, Lord Alness, on the Marriage (Scotland) Bill in dealing with the Motion that stands in my name, but I shall detain the House for as short a time as possible, knowing that your Lordships will not object to spending some time on the subject of discussion because it is a well-known fact that members of this House are always chosen to lead charitable and other causes. Their names are at the head of all the claims on our generosity which appear, especially round about Christmas, and such is the generosity of members of this House that we discovered on a recent Joint Committee of both Houses, when dealing with collecting charities, that there were members of your Lordships' House supporting not entirely worthy causes because of those instincts to help which are clearly held by all members of this House.

This evening for a moment we can examine a cause which is a very worthy cause, and one which is, in point of fact, not a charity at all. This question of refugees, it seems to me, is really a very remarkable opportunity, and in all probability represents a very good investment on the part of this country and the remainder of the British Empire. It is not only a moral question, it is an economic question and has the possibility of great economic advantages. I hope, therefore, if I suggest there should be further aid by the Government to help the evacuation and settlement of refugees, I shall have the support of your Lordships' House. It will be necessary very briefly to summarise the position before we look into the possibilities which I have suggested in the Motion. The last debate we had on this subject was raised by the Lord Bishop of Chichester in July last. That arose out of the Evian Conference, which was called on the initiative of President Roosevelt to deal with the new pressure of refugees from Germany and Austria. The conditions in July had become so bad that they





[Lord Marley.] had really aroused the sympathy and anxiety of the world, and the result was that the British Government accepted the invitation of the United States Government to join in the Conference at Evian, and by that means showed not only their sympathy but their acceptance of a share of responsibility for dealing with this terrific problem. Incidentally, by sending a Cabinet Minister as head of the British delegation—Lord Winterton—they sent the only Cabinet Minister, and I think the only Minister, who was present at Evian. Thereby the Government showed their realisation of the extent of the problem and their willingness to help.

Since July matters have really become a thousand times worse. There is no need for me to dilate on the sufferings which are being inflicted on a defenceless minority in certain countries. The newspapers are filled with stories of horror, and I suppose it is difficult to find any parallel for such a position, at any rate in recent history. I went to the meeting at the Mansion House last week where a very young Peer, Lord Rothschild, made a speech. It was a very remarkable, very restrained, very moving speech to listen to, and in the course of it he gave one example. He said that his advisers estimated that there had been in Austria alone, since March of this year, something like 7,000 suicides owing to the suffering inflicted. To-day the alternatives before these would-be refugees seem to be some sort of torture or death, a complete degradation of the whole of their standard of life to what would appear to be almost a sub human existence if they remain in those countries, or emigration. As to the extent of the problem of those who desire to emigrate, I gather, and I am sure other noble Lords gather, from the appeals we get from individuals and groups, that there can be few who do not desire if it is possible to get out of those countries.

An estimate of the extent of this problem has been given by the Government in another place as being somewhere over 500,000 of the Jewish minority, not less than an equal number of the "part-Jews," and thousands of political, religious, and pacifist would-be emigrants who are not Jews at all. Sir John Hope Simpson, who is such a very well-known and sympathetic expert on this subject, speaking at the meeting of members and others in this Palace last week, gave as

his opinion that the Jews were rather less than half the total of those who were afflicted. We also have the very interesting statement by the Prime Minister in another place—and I carefully keep all the *ipsisima verba* in this matter—that there have been already some 120,000 of these refugees permanently settled in other countries. That is a very large number.

There is one other group that I would mention in analysing the immediate problem, and that is the very tragic group—and I hope very much that the Government will be able to give as a little help on this matter—who are now stranded between Poland and Germany. They number to-day about 6,000. There has been given to them help from a number of external voluntary organisations, such as the American Joint Distribution Committee and others, and they have been getting help from the Polish Refugee Fund in this country. I think I am right in saying that Mr. Lansbury made himself responsible for running that appeal. I want to say in passing one word in connection with the attitude of the Polish Government on this matter, because I think I should remind your Lordships that these are not in fact Polish citizens. They are persons possibly of Polish birth but certainly not of Polish citizenship. Originally there were some 15,000 expelled from Germany, of whom about 8,000 or 9,000 were received into Poland, and only this balance of some 6,000 are stranded on the frontier. I had a letter from a Jewish observer in Poland from whom these words came:

"I must insist upon the fact that the Polish authorities accepted the refugees in a very noble way. In Silesia (in the first days) they were allowed to pass the border even without passports, and the Governor of the district gave them a special train (without any payment) to take them to the various big cities. I have heard about policemen who carried on their backs children and old women."

The authorities did, in fact, facilitate the settlement in the course of perhaps a week or ten days of some 8,000 or 9,000.

That was a very generous attitude on the part of a very poverty-stricken country, a country which is generally considered to be anti-Semitic but which in fact did receive with great generosity these poor people. I do not in any way desire to belittle what has been done in this country; quite the contrary. A great deal has been done, and we do know that

during the last five years, according to a statement by the Prime Minister on November 21, some 11,000 have been settled in this country. Some 16,000 I think were received, and about 5,000 have moved on. In addition to this immediate problem, there is the potential problem, which is very serious and which we should bear in mind. In Poland there are about 3,400,000 in the Jewish minority alone, and there is among certain classes a growing feeling of anti-Semitism, not from my own personal observation among the ordinary agricultural and factory workers but among certain sections, and it is tragic to realise that there is a group in Poland who would desire to add to the stream of refugees coming from Germany and Austria by the adoption of methods similar to those being used in those countries.

I came across a quotation from a paper called the *Gazette Polska* in which they say the only way to solve the Jewish problem is to use the same methods as are used in the Third Reich. The demand by Poland for Colonies was based on much the same sort of point of view. I mention that because it shows not only that we have an immense problem to face immediately, but that there are possibilities of that problem within the not too distant future becoming infinitely greater and infinitely more difficult to solve. Added to that, the position in Hungary and in Rumania, where already there is a process of denationalisation going on among the minorities, indicates that there are considerable dangers of the rush of to-day becoming even the torrent of to-morrow.

There is no need to go into the causes of this except to mention that one of the chief causes must be said to be the stoppage of immigration into various countries, and particularly into the United States of America. The average number of immigrants into the United States for the years 1881 to 1913 was 650,000 a year, of which a very small percentage were Jews—I suppose not more than 8 per cent. were Jews—and that has been reduced to something like 43,000 a year in the past six years. That damming up of these potential emigrants from those Eastern European countries is partly the cause, or at any rate is an economic explanation of some of the trouble. The immediate problem is being dealt with to some extent by a number and variety of

organisations. There is, of course, the League of Nations, which dealt with refugees of the type of the Russians and the Assyrians and so on through the Nansen Office. That was in 1933, when the German refugees organisation appointed a High Commissioner who presided over the evacuation of refugees, Jewish and non-Jewish, coming from Germany. The present High Commissioner is Sir Neill Malcolm, whose good work is recognised by everybody. At the end of this year, on 31st December, those two organisations, the Nansen Office and the High Commissioner's Office, come to an end and rise again next day as a joint organisation under a new High Commissioner, again a very distinguished civil servant, Sir Herbert Emerson, who will become the High Commissioner for the new organisation.

While we were not faced with the new difficulties in Germany, there can be no question from the most recent report of the League of Nations that the trouble in regard to refugees was in process of solving itself. Then we were faced with the new rush to which I have referred. There was that new exodus which called forth the Evian Conference of July. The object of that Conference was, in the first place, the orderly evacuation of the refugees, or the persons who were becoming refugees at that time, from Germany and Austria, and also transit and settlement in other countries. As I understand the position, there is a very important development which has just occurred in this connection and I would be very glad if the noble Earl who replies for the Government could give some information as to the visit of Dr. Schacht to this country, which is reported in *The Times* this morning. I understand that Dr. Schacht is coming over with Dr. Beyen, the President of the Bank of International Settlements, and with Mr. Montagu Norman, who I understand has something to do with the Bank of England, and there are said to be about to be discussed the possibility of refugees from Germany bringing out property with them. That was one of the most important recommendations of the Evian Conference that the new Director, Mr. Rublee, should get in touch with the German Government and see to what extent refugees could be allowed to bring out property in order to make it easier





[Lord Marley.]  
for them to be settled. It is very important to know what is in the minds of Dr. Schacht and Dr. Beyen in regard to that. So far the Inter-Governmental Committee which arose out of the Evian Conference has completely failed to get in touch with Germany with regard to this property, unless I am wrongly informed. As to that, the noble Earl will no doubt tell your Lordships what is the position.

The task now facing us as a result of the claims in connection with the dastardly murder of a German diplomat in Paris a few weeks ago is, of course, immediate evacuation. I cannot help feeling that it will be the desire of all of us who have read the appeals from various organisations to help in that immediate task, even though some may have misgivings as to the economic risks of a very generous attitude at the present moment. I think it must be pointed out that there is a great difference between the countries contiguous to Germany—Holland, Belgium, Switzerland and so on—and highly industrialised countries like Great Britain, which cannot in any case be countries of permanent settlement on any large scale but must be transit countries to receive and pass on these unhappy people, perhaps after training, to the eventual settlement countries. I think we must pay tribute to France which has probably received more of these refugees than all the other countries put together. The French are, I suppose, in great difficulties, for not only have they had to receive refugees from the North but thousands and thousands of Spanish refugees—I believe 25,000. Other countries, of course, have helped and I should like to mention particularly the offer from Australia to receive over three years 15,000 settlers.

Let me say one word about the United States in order to bring to the notice of your Lordships the difference between the policy in this country and in the United States. The United States have a numerical quota for immigrants, but in this country we have no quota. We only limit entry, apparently, by capacity to secure maintenance, and unhappily for the moment the size of the problem has resulted in slowness of procedure both in the voluntary organisations and in the Aliens Department of the Home Office which is not a desired or desirable slow-

ness. The United States have a quota for Germany of 27,000 a year. The United States representative at Evian, Mr. Myron Taylor, made an offer that any unfulfilled portion of the quota in any year should be added to the 27,000 available in the following year. That was a very valuable gesture because the quota in fact had never been anything like filled. But the applications of persons desiring to go to the United States have reached such enormous proportions that people who are receiving a quota number cannot use that quota number for three or four years. I have had a letter from the American Consul in Berlin dealing with a certain case, in which he says that from calculations made it is likely that these persons will not receive visas before the lapse of several years according to their place on the waiting list. They have got their quota number, but they cannot get visas because of the quota limitations. I venture to think that our own system is in some ways preferable, because it is capable of being expanded in times of great emergency. I have not mentioned Palestine in this connection, because we debated Palestine last week, and I personally accept the position that it would be undesirable to do anything to jeopardise the coming Conference.

May I say one word about the machinery in this country for dealing with this problem? Broadly speaking, the position is that those desiring to bring over refugees have to apply to what is called the Co-ordinating Committee. That is a Committee representing some eleven organisations which sorts out among the various organisations the various groups of the refugees. The requirements of the Government were laid down a short time ago in the House of Commons. The first is a guarantee that these persons should never become any public charge in this country. It is an unlimited guarantee, and a guarantee which anybody would face, I should have thought, with some trepidation. Still that is the regulation and I wish to say that I understand it is administered as leniently as possible by the Department concerned. A second demand by the Government concerns the ultimate prospect of further immigration or of settlement in this country. The private organisations, having met the demands of the Government, pass on the applicants to the Aliens Department at the Home Office and if that Department

approves the recommendation of the organisation concerned the British Consul is instructed to issue a visa.

Let me say that I think everyone who has had anything to do with attempts to aid refugees will agree that the officials in the Aliens Department of the Home Office have been extremely courteous and polite, and always extremely helpful. I have met in telephoning, in visiting, in trying to get through cases, nothing but helpfulness from these officials who—I am sure the noble Earl knows this—have been hopelessly overworked in the last few weeks. In spite of additions that have been made to the staff of the Aliens Department, there is still a very considerable delay. I was approached by a noble Lord yesterday who has some influence with a number of big companies, and who offers not less than two hundred extra staff, if the Aliens Department will use them, drawn from the Alliance Assurance Company, the Prudential Assurance Company and the Co-operative Wholesale Society. They are trained people who would come in and help, to expedite the tremendous pressure which is being made upon the Aliens Department at the present moment.

One other suggestion I should like to make is that an inquiry department might be established at the Aliens Office to intercept inquiries which are being made all day, not only by Members of Parliament but also by thousands and thousands of anxious members of the public, who are constantly having cases to deal with. The present position of the telephone exchange there is, broadly, that they keep somebody to say automatically that the required person is not there—simply because there is a limit to human endurance. That, of course, is causing much anxiety and, in fact, is causing delay, because proper cases are not getting through. If the Department had, shall I say, a number of searchers who, when an inquiry comes through for George Jones or whoever it may be, would be, as it were, detectives, would search round and find where the particular file is and, without interfering with that file or with the progressive advance of the case, could come back and give the demander the requisite information, it would save much anxiety and an enormous amount of utterly unnecessary telephoning and would not interfere with the progress of the machinery.

The other suggestion I make is this. We have heard stories of long queues of unhappy persons in the various capitals who are desiring to get out: hundreds and hundreds of people standing outside the British Consulates in Vienna, Berlin and so on. I wonder whether it would be possible to establish some sort of special refugee office in these Consulates, perhaps not at the Consulate itself, where, in a less dangerous position, people who are waiting for and demanding visas could be accommodated. Not only is the Aliens Department hopelessly overworked, but the Co-ordinating Committee is hopelessly overworked. I am told that such is the need for extra staff that applications put in to-day cannot be dealt with for some four or five weeks, or something like that; it varies from day to day.

I venture to think that another factor that might be dealt with is the simplification of procedure. The possibility might be considered of the issue of block visas, much on the lines on which the quota numbers of the United States are distributed among the various Consulates. For instance, ten German numbers may come to the United States Consul in Malta, which are never used but which are available for issue under the authority of the Consul if a German desiring to go to the United States goes to Malta. I hope there will not be a rush to Malta after this by people who want to get a quota number for the United States without a minute's delay! The only people who would benefit from that would be the Peninsula and Oriental Steam Navigation Company. At any rate, that is the position, and I think there might be some value in that suggestion.

We have got over a good deal of the delay in the children's scheme. The movement for the care of children from Germany is working very much more quickly, and they have a block system of dealing with children which is quite admirable. It needs to be developed, there is a suggestion that we need more temporary camps for these children. I am going to ask the noble Earl if he would consider the possibility of putting some of this work of camps into the hands of organisations like the Y.M.C.A., so that they would superintend small camps in various places and there would be no delay through lack of accommodation in bringing over the children, such





[Lord Marley.]  
 as there is in Holland at the present moment. I think that all refugees might very well be considered as nominally in transit in this country; yet we should realise that from a certain number of refugees there are enormous advantages to this country in their permanent settlement—and, I hope, also for the refugees themselves. We have some interesting cases of research chemists, people who understand special processes, who would be of the utmost value in this country.

Perhaps I might remind your Lordships that the Home Secretary a few days ago told another place that, while it is true that we have 11,000 refugees from Germany, they have been instrumental in giving employment to 15,000 British workmen in new industries in this country established through their instrumentality. That seems to me to be a very valid reason for encouraging the permanent settlement of those who could in fact make their contribution to our difficult unemployment problem, and I hope that the noble Earl will have a word to say about that. In this connection my last word will be on the question of the training of these young emigrants, so that some could possibly stay here but most of them could more quickly be settled in some other country. I want again to pay a tribute to the Home Office in this connection. In a recent case in which I was interested they at once instituted an inquiry and without delay gave their broad support to the bringing over of a certain school in Berlin, complete with instructors, machinery and so on, because they felt that this was a method of dealing with these younger refugees which would be satisfactory both to the refugees and to this country, and also a contribution to the needs of those who desired to come out. The funds which have been raised for the purpose of this immediate help demand our generosity. We feel a tremendous gratitude to Earl Baldwin for leading in his great appeal. We can never forget the enormous generosity of the Jewish organisations, who have thrown up countless millions towards this terrible task, and we owe a great debt of gratitude, if I may say so, to the Archbishop, who has given so much of his time, sympathy and influence to helping in these appeals.

Finally, my Lords, I want to touch upon the biggest aspect of all in this

problem, and one upon which I hope that the noble Earl will give us some hope. That is the eventual settlement of these refugees. The long-term solution involves the finding of a place where large numbers can settle in some other country. It was suggested by the Prime Minister that this must be undertaken by the voluntary organisations, but I am going to submit that it is too big a task altogether for the voluntary organisations, and I do hope that the Government will reconsider the possibility of giving some aid to this work. I am perfectly certain that the national conscience in this country would support the Government if they are able to give a much more direct aid to this work of helping in solving eventually the main problem. I would suggest that there might be a Government grant towards the cost of these services. I would suggest that the Government might very well consider, through the Inter-Departmental Committee, either a loan or a guarantee internationally of some sort of issue in the form of a loan, for the work of large-scale settlement. I think I may say that there has been a change of public opinion from the point of view of the Evian Conference that we should settle on a small scale by infiltration. I think the change has been towards supporting, if possible, mass settlement in one or possibly two main areas in the world. I think it was felt that the infiltration solution tended to arouse racial difficulties, and that mass settlement, if a suitable area can be found, and I hope it can, would be better.

Where then are they to go? Here I want to ask the Government if they will be just a little more direct in the consideration of various suggestions. Of course we know that the Government have nothing whatever to do with the British Dominions. At the same time we have just this much to do with them, that we have a common defence machinery. If a Dominion by some action tends to encourage the possibility of attack, or to give an excuse for the possibility of attack, for example, by taking no steps towards filling or helping to fill alleged open spaces by receiving refugees, then there might come a time when this would lead to some sort of military danger in which they would then request our help. In these circumstances, I think we have this

much, that we might encourage the possibility of some sort of large-scale settlement. Take, for example, the question of Western Australia, where large areas are completely uninhabited, and where I understand even the Government are in favour of the settlement of a million people, and nothing is being done because the Dominion Government has pronounced, broadly speaking, against the project. This is a matter of great delicacy, and one for consultation, but I think perhaps it is worth perhaps even a second letter on this subject, when communication is being made, to ask as to the possibilities of such a solution. We did make a suggestion as to Tanganyika, and I think it was a mistake, because it caused the maximum of irritation by reason of its being a former German Colony, and it is doubtful to what extent it can be used for anything like mass settlement.

Another suggestion was British Guiana, and it has caused a terrific amount of discussion. I am interested in the Report of the noble Viscount, Lord Halifax, on this subject. He visited British Guiana in 1922. He was not then Lord Halifax, but was of course known as Mr. E. Wood. His Report, which is of the utmost interest, is Command Paper No. 1679. In this Report he not only points out the tremendous possibility of British Guiana—and I am certain that nobody in this House would fail to feel sympathetic towards anything which Lord Halifax reports on so sympathetically—but he says that although it is as large as Great Britain it has a population less than that of Hertfordshire, and a cultivated area about one-fifth the size of Kent. Although that was in 1922, I may say that the climatic conditions and general development of British Guiana have not changed in the meantime. It is interesting that Lord Halifax in this Report suggested dividing the Colony into two, leaving one portion under the existing Government and organising the remainder under a separate administration. That is just the possibility for some form of new, say, Jewish National Home—a separate administration with enormous advantages over anything we have had before. He reports that British Guiana is practically uninhabited. It seems to me to have advantages, when we consider the difficulties in Palestine at the present time.

The same sort of report was made by Lord Snell, then Mr. Snell, when he visited British Guiana in April, 1927, and it is quite extraordinary to read the favourable reports of that country by these various examiners. These Reports are available, and I think they are extraordinarily well worth consideration. There is the possibility, in view of the offer of Holland, that we may have a joint offer of land by British, French and Dutch Guiana, which would give three great countries behind such a scheme, and therefore enormously add to the possibility of building up a new National Home, with the advantage to us, I think, of finally becoming, partly at any rate, a British Dominion. I think that is worth considering. I do not want to go into other places because I think I have detained your Lordships a long time.

Finally, let me say that I think we have a terrific opportunity. It is not a Jewish problem at all, but a much bigger problem. It is an international problem, and one towards which there has been shown throughout the world a desire by almost all nations to make some contribution. I would like the British Empire to benefit by this big-scale settlement, and I believe it would be of very real benefit to this country. I think that if out of evil good can come it is possible that an attempt to find a common solution of this problem may do something towards uniting the democracies of the world. That might be an additional reason why we should give our utmost support to finding a solution. The Government have already done a very great deal, but, if I may respectfully say so, I think there is still a great deal more to be done. I beg to move.

THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY: My Lord, I am not going to make any speech on this vast and baffling problem. I have already had opportunities of doing so elsewhere, and I am grateful to the noble Lord for his reference to myself. I only wish to emphasize one aspect of the problem which presents itself to the voluntary organisations with which I am specially associated. I want in a few sentences to emphasize the urgency of providing space into which the refugees whom we are willing to receive may ultimately pass. We all know that is a question for Government action, and I very much trust that the noble Earl who will reply for the Government will be able to assure us that





[The Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.] The Inter-Governmental Committee is very busy at the present time in facilitating the provision of places of permanent refuge, and that our own Government are still active in promoting investigations in parts of our own Dominions and Colonies. I particularly hope that, though the omens may not seem very favourable, something may be done even now to persuade the German State to be willing to allow those who leave its borders to carry with them some means by which they can support themselves. I believe that such a permission would not only be of great assistance to those who wish to help the refugees, but would ease the international situation in a very real degree.

May I illustrate the pressure of this particular problem by two illustrations? The first is this. A great many people are very willing at this present time to receive into their houses refugees—not only children but adults—but the question which they are beginning to ask with some apprehension is: "For how long shall we be responsible for keeping these good people in our houses and making ourselves responsible for them? If we had the prospect of a limited responsibility we would gladly undertake it, but we hesitate before we commit ourselves to a responsibility whose length we cannot determine." The second and perhaps more forcible illustration is that unless speedily there can be this outlet for the refugees whom we welcome, the funds which are at present being raised for their maintenance will very soon become exhausted. I think these sums are likely to be great. I think the heart of our people is really touched in this matter and that there will be a large response to Lord Baldwin's appeal. But I have been startled to-day to learn that at the present time—and the increase of refugees, as the noble Lord has pointed out, is likely to be great—at the present time in this country we are paying out £100,000 per week for our refugees. Now if that continues—for so I am credibly informed—the time will rapidly come when even the most generous funds provided for the maintenance of the refugees will be exhausted, without much money being available for the far more expensive and important task of enabling them to emigrate and to take their proper place in any settlement that may be provided for them. That has always been a very

expensive thing, because it cannot be done without considerable expenditure per head.

Therefore I only wish to emphasize how necessary it is that while we are willing to bring in a considerable number of refugees, we must at the same time very zealously be addressing ourselves to the problem of how soon it may be possible to enable some of them to go out into a permanent refuge. If it be not so, I foresee the difficulty that the burden may become much heavier than it is possible for voluntary organisations to bear. The Government will have to step in, and it is conceivable that reaction may set in, which would be very undesirable. I therefore earnestly hope that the noble Earl will be able to assure us that there are good prospects that the Government, either by themselves or through the Inter-Governmental Committee, may be able to speed up the chances of a permanent settlement for as many refugees as possible.

LORD REA: My Lords, I do not intend to detain you for more than a few moments but I have one or two definite points that I wish to put in support of what has been said by my noble friend Lord Marley. It is of particular urgency, I am informed, that something shall be done to widen the bottle-necks that exist at the present moment. I am referring firstly to the Consulates abroad, where I am told that there are the most pitiful scenes of people waiting week after week throughout the bitterly cold central European winter, and not only the men—for very often the men are afraid to appear in person, and it is the delicate wives who spend these long hours day after day in what at present is almost the vain hope of getting the necessary permits. I do think that steps should be taken, if it is at all possible, at the earliest moment largely to increase the facilities at those Consulates, so that that bottleneck at any rate may be to some extent widened.

Then, too, in confirmation of what my noble friend has said, I am told that the voluntary organisations in this country are overwhelmed with the amount of work that they have to do, and that the funds at their disposal are not sufficient for them to engage the staff which would deal competently and quickly with the problems which arise. I wonder whether

it is not possible for the Government to provide some assistance, either monetary or in skilled staff, to see that there is no further unnecessary delay here. Because, indeed, the delay in itself means tragedy. It was put to me only this morning that if we are not very quick about it those whom we shall be importing into this country will not be refugees but criminals, paupers, and lunatics, who have been driven to this condition by the neglect which I am sure is not wilful on our part. Then, too, I want to urge that there should if possible be some relaxation in the regulations here. I am aware that everybody wishes to administer them in the most humane manner, but if I am rightly informed it is rather hard that there should be an insistence on emigration within a period of no longer than eighteen months, no matter whether an individual in this country is prepared to make himself responsible for life for the maintenance of the immigrants in this country. Surely we might relax that regulation a little bit. I also want to suggest that it should not be too closely insisted that these refugees in this country should do no work while they are here. I am aware that this is a controversial question, but it cannot be really necessary to insist that they should not even do voluntary work. That must be bad for the unfortunate refugee. These refugees cannot be said to be taking the jobs of some hundreds of thousands of unemployed in this country.

That brings me to the further point that we should not be too rigid in refusing to accept these refugees as permanent settlers in this country. I am informed that a large number of them are very skilled in their own trades, which do not exist in this country—such trades as the Bohemian glass industry, Czecho-Slovakian china, and fancy goods from Austria—all of which have been carried on by these skilled refugees who, if they cannot bring with them their capital, or even their special machinery, at least bring with them the goodwill of the business, for a large number of these industries made goods for the export trade. If the proprietor of such a business, the deportee from Austria or Germany, can come over to this country, I am satisfied that capital will be available for him to set up his industry here, and his knowledge and the goodwill of that business

ought to be sufficient to bring substantial profit to this country.

Lord Marley has pointed to other cases of giving employment to British working men. I am of opinion that the matter is very well worth investigation from the point of view of whether some of these specific industries could not be set up in some of our depressed areas with even greater prospects of success than some of the industries which have been artificially imported into them within the last few months. But that is not what I really rose to suggest to your Lordships. What I wish primarily to do is to impress on the Government the need for speed in relaxing these regulations, which perhaps may have been necessary at the time, but which have proved to be rather hard in actual working. I appeal to the noble Earl who is going to reply to look into the question and see whether some relaxation is not possible.

VISCOUNT SAMUEL: My Lords, with regard to the observation which fell from the most reverend Primate as to the expense of maintaining refugees in this country, he has been very much misinformed as to the amount required.

THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY: Since I spoke I have been informed that the sum I mentioned refers to money which is also being spent in Germany for the benefit of refugees there.

VISCOUNT SAMUEL: If it includes Germany and Vienna and other places where the refugees are, then I should say that is correct. In this country it is far less than that. At the same time the charge is an exceedingly heavy one here, and together with all the other expenses that fall upon the voluntary organisations, especially for training and immigration, which is their main purpose, the funds at their disposal are far less than the urgent needs.

THE PARLIAMENTARY UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (THE EARL OF PLYMOUTH): My Lords, the question we have been discussing this afternoon is one which has so many different aspects, and so many points have been raised by the noble Lord, Lord Marley, the most reverend Primate, and the noble Lord, Lord Rea, that I feel sure the House will forgive me if I am unable to reply





[The Earl of Plymouth.]  
to all the numerous questions which have been put to me. But I can assure your Lordships that the whole of the speeches made during the course of this debate will be most carefully read, and will be given the most careful attention by the Ministers and Departments concerned. I should like to say that His Majesty's Government welcome and are glad to have the opportunity of further explaining what their policy is in regard to this general problem. The exceptional and intensive character of recent action taken in Germany has, very naturally, deeply stirred British sympathy, and it has rendered this problem, potentially at any rate, as the noble Lord pointed out, if not actually at the moment, more overwhelming than anything we have yet experienced. I want to assure the House that the Government are fully conscious of the urgency of the whole situation and the need for speed. They are desirous, and are doing everything they can, to solve the difficulty with which we are confronted with the greatest possible expedition.

Yet, as the noble Lord, Lord Marley, pointed out, this is by no means a new problem. It is not a problem that is confined to Germany or to any particular country. It is a world-wide problem, and one that must in my view be dealt with and solved by international co-operation. It has been with us, as we all know, recurrently ever since the War, and it is due to a number of causes which it is not necessary for me to go into of a political and economic nature. After the War we first of all had the difficulty which arose in connection with the Armenian and the Russian refugees. At that time these difficulties were dealt with to a certain extent administratively both here and in France, and possibly in other countries, but it was very soon found that international effort was absolutely necessary. In 1921, as your Lordships know, the Nansen Office was set up by the League, and that Office has continued to do everything possible for the benefit of these particular refugees. In 1933 the German problem was raised in an acute form, and the League once again took the question up and a "High Commissioner for refugees coming from Germany" was appointed and has functioned since then. It was feared by a number of people that

the activities of these two organisations might cease at the end of this year, but, as the noble Lord, Lord Marley, has told your Lordships, at the Assembly of the League last September it was decided to merge the work of these two organisations into one single organisation, and, as he also told your Lordships, Sir Herbert Emerson has been appointed as the new High Commissioner and will enter on his functions on January 1 next.

These organisations only dealt with those refugees who had already been established outside their own countries, but it had become, even a considerable time ago, abundantly clear that international effort was absolutely essential in order to organise involuntary emigration from Germany, which had already reached large proportions at the beginning of this year. As the result of American initiative, the Evian Conference took place, and following upon that the London Inter-Governmental Committee was set up. My noble friend the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster is Chairman of that Committee, and the executive authority is really vested in the Director, Mr. George Rublee, a distinguished American lawyer who has undertaken this task. The task with which he has been entrusted is really of a two-fold kind, as the noble Lord pointed out. Firstly, it is to improve as far as possible the present conditions of exodus from the country of origin of those refugees, and to replace it by an ordinary method of emigration. The second part of his task is to make contact with the Governments of the countries of likely refuge or settlement in order to develop as far as possible permanent opportunities for that settlement.

The first part of his task has been very greatly complicated by political, economic, and financial difficulties, and through no fault of the Director or Committee it has unfortunately not yet been possible to make any great progress, but it is only right that I should point out and emphasize the fact, as I know your Lordships appreciate, that progress in this direction depends to a very large extent indeed on the attitude of the country of origin. And the reasons for this are perfectly obvious. Other countries, particularly those countries which are suffering under the burden of unemployment, are naturally reluctant to receive, in large numbers, emigrants from other countries who have no visible

means of subsistence, and consequently the success of the second part of the task with which the Director of the Committee is entrusted must depend very largely on the success of his negotiations with the country of origin.

The noble Lord, Lord Marley, referred to the visit to London of Dr. Schacht, and asked me if I could give him any information with regard to that. I regret that I am not in a position to give him any information on the subject. I can merely say that the Committee is still working and hoping to make that contact which is necessary in order to try and lighten the difficulties of this extremely difficult question. Nevertheless, a lot of extremely useful work has already been done by that Committee, particularly in regard to its approach to the country of origin. Both my noble friend the Chairman of the Committee and the Director are working together extremely closely, and they, and the Committee also, are examining every possible outlet with a view to passing the results of their examination on to the Governments of the countries concerned. Furthermore, every effort is being made to focus the attention of the Governments who were present at the Evian Conference not only upon the importance but the extreme vital urgency of the problem. The results have been by no means negligible and in particular there has been an encouraging response from a number of the Latin-American countries. I feel that it is only right that I should take this opportunity of expressing our feeling that the Director is to be very warmly congratulated on what he has been able to do in the face of great and most disheartening difficulties.

May I say a word or two in regard to the share which His Majesty's Government have taken in efforts up to the present time? That is best explained, I think, in the statement which my right honourable friend the Prime Minister made in another place on November 21. May I remind your Lordships of the main features of that statement? He first of all pointed out that since 1933—I think the noble Lord mentioned this—the United Kingdom had permitted 11,000 men, women and children to land in this country. This was in addition to 4,000 or 5,000 others who had landed since that time and emigrated to other countries. He went on to explain that the activities

of His Majesty's Government were chiefly directed to extending to the utmost the capacity of the voluntary organisations to provide for the refugees. There was constant consultation with the Co-ordinating Committee and the co-operation is as close as it can possibly be in the circumstances. Following on this consultation it has been possible to arrange for the admission of certain categories of emigrants in considerable numbers without encroaching upon the labour market, such as nurses and domestic servants, and, furthermore, special facilities are being provided for refugees to be re-trained, particularly in agriculture.

There is a further word I should like to say in regard to this matter later on, but undoubtedly the most important category to be helped is the category of the children. As your Lordships know, the Home Secretary stated in another place that His Majesty's Government were prepared to provide facilities for all children whose maintenance could be guaranteed by voluntary organisations or individuals. There has been an extremely generous response to the appeals for assistance for this object, and upwards of a thousand children have already been admitted into this country, or are on their way having been authorised to come here, and the Government expect that many thousands of children will finally be admitted in this way.

Then, in his statement, the Prime Minister referred at considerable length to the possibilities of settlement in the Colonial Empire. I do not think that it is necessary for me this evening to recapitulate what he said on that occasion. All the Colonial Governors were approached on this subject, and I should like to say just one word about the position in regard to British Guiana, because the noble Lord opposite specifically referred to it during the course of his speech. When the Prime Minister made his statement he said that he was not quite certain of the total area that might be available for this type of settlement, but that he thought it was within the region of something like 10,000 square miles. I am informed that as a matter of fact the area is considerably larger than that, and is something like 40,000 square miles. I readily admit that much of this country is forest land and may not be suitable for this type of settlement, but at any rate there is in British





[The Earl of Plymouth.]  
Guiana this very large area which is undoubtedly worthy of examination and investigation with a view to possible settlement on a considerable scale in the future.

The noble Lord, Lord Marley, made a short reference to what had been done by other Governments as a contribution to the solution to this problem. I do not want to make invidious comparisons, but the noble Lord referred to what was being done by the United States Government, and I should like to say that we very readily and gladly recognise the great efforts that they are making in trying to solve our difficulties. We are all extremely grateful for the close personal interest which President Roosevelt is taking in this subject. I also would like to pay my meed of tribute to the French Government, to whom the noble Lord also alluded. They are maintaining the tradition which has been established there of a really generous policy towards refugees. I understand that already they have some 250,000 refugees of different nationalities, and in the circumstances I do not think we can expect that they can do very much more, but I am informed that they are still always ready to admit those who are in immediate danger. I should like to mention one other country, and that is Holland, because I think that in proportion to its size and population it has made as great a contribution as any other country in assisting to get over our difficulties. I understand that 25,000 refugees have entered Holland since 1933, and it was recently announced that refugees were now entering at the rate of 1,000 per week.

The noble Lord has referred to the Dominions Governments. He knows that they are giving urgent attention to this matter. Your Lordships, however, know quite well that the Dominions Governments alone can speak of what they are doing or are prepared to do in regard to this problem in general, and I really do not feel that I can say anything further than that at the moment. I only wish to refer to the fact that the Australian Government have undertaken to receive 15,000 refugees spread over a period of three years.

I should like to say a word about refugees from Czecho-Slovakia. Of course the recent crisis there has thrown a very

great additional burden upon the shoulders of those people who are concerned with this problem. There are a large number of refugees. At present I think the majority are either self-supporting or are being housed and looked after by friends, but there are still a considerable number of refugees in camp who are being cared for by the Czech Government with the assistance of such funds as the Lord Mayor's Fund. As your Lordships know, the Czech Government have recently set up an Institute for the care of refugees and for organising their settlement and emigration abroad. In the work of this Institute there is no discrimination on grounds of nationality, religion or race. I am glad to say that it is understood that arrangements have been made by the Czech Government to enable emigrants to take a certain proportion at any rate of their capital out of the country. I might add that the Chairman of the Inter-Governmental Committee and the Director are proposing that involuntary Sudeten German emigrants from Sudeten areas, in view of the fact that they really are in the same position as involuntary emigrants from Germany, should be brought within the scope of the Committee's work. That has not been finally settled but we very much hope that it will be accepted.

As to the action of His Majesty's Government your Lordships know that they authorised the temporary admission of 350 refugees from Czecho-Slovakia on undertakings, which were forthcoming, that they would be maintained if necessary during their stay in the United Kingdom. Subsequently the Government authorised admission under the same conditions of the families of those 350 refugees to whom visas had been granted. I am informed that the number of those authorised to enter the country is over 1,200, and that a considerable number of applications are still under consideration. I should like to point out that the fixing of the figure at 350 was an exceptional measure. It did not mean that that was the limit to the number of those whom His Majesty's Government were prepared to admit, and I can tell your Lordships that His Majesty's Government will consider sympathetically further applications and will authorise admission on receiving assurances that these applicants will not become a charge on the public funds or

displace British labour. I would like to say in regard to the advance of £10,000,000 to the Czecho-Slovak Government which His Majesty's Government have made, that the Czech Government have placed a substantial proportion at the disposal of the Institute for the care of refugees. The noble Lord, Lord Marley, referred to the question of the unfortunate refugees who are stranded now between Germany and Poland. I am afraid that there is nothing very much that I am able to say in regard to that. His Majesty's Government feel that it is not a matter with which they can cope alone. All I can say at the moment is that this question is going to be considered by the Inter-Governmental Committee.

Various questions in connection with co-operation between the Government and the Co-ordinating Committee have been raised during the course of the debate. I can assure your Lordships that this co-operation between the Government and the Co-ordinating Committee, as representing voluntary organisations, is of the closest possible kind. It is constant and it goes on not merely day by day but almost hour by hour. As a result of this co-operation it has been possible to avoid the submission of individual cases, and permission to enter the country has now been arranged by means of block grants to parties of children, domestic servants and nurses. Comment has been made on the fact that the staff dealing with this problem in the Aliens Department is not sufficiently large. I can only say that the staff is being expanded as rapidly as circumstances allow. In the last three weeks there has been an increase of *personnel* of twenty-eight, of whom nine are experienced officers. The noble Lord has made a number of suggestions with regard to the possible way of increasing those staffs. He has also raised the question of the possibility of getting such organisations as the Young Men's Christian Association to organise camps for children, and so on, throughout the country. I am not really competent to deal with these subjects at this time, but I can assure your Lordships that all reasonable suggestions that are made this afternoon will undoubtedly not escape the attention of those who are chiefly concerned with these questions.

I should like to say a word or two about the question of what are known as

transit refugees. I am able to say that a scheme has been worked out in consultation with one of the principal voluntary organisations whereby refugees to be admitted to this country until they can proceed overseas will be able to obtain a visa from the appropriate passport control officer upon presentation of a serially-numbered form, which will be authenticated by a stamp affixed in the Aliens Department. This will undoubtedly simplify the whole process and, I hope, save time and to a considerable extent avoid the delay in regard to which we have had so many complaints. In addition to the persons who are likely to leave the country shortly for overseas, we contemplate that a number of younger men and women, possibly between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five, will be admitted under this arrangement for the purpose of being retrained either in industry or in agriculture.

Another matter about which I must say a word—and it has been raised by, I think, two speakers this evening—is that of the difficulties of financing these activities. The House will remember that it was laid down on the initiative of the United States Government at Evian that the cost of the maintenance of refugees was not to fall upon the Governments concerned, and it is on that basis that the Committee—I think the Inter-Governmental Committee—has been approaching its task and carrying on its work. I might say in this connection that the appeal of the voluntary organisations for assistance has met with a wonderful response from private resources and private charity. But I fully appreciate the aspect of the question which was emphasized by the most reverend Primate: that unless in a comparatively short time we are able to devise means of settling these people permanently abroad in some place or other, the funds of these organisations must eventually, and perhaps rather sooner than we care to think, become exhausted. His Majesty's Government are fully conscious of the importance of that aspect of this subject, though I fear that I am not in a position to say anything definite about it to day.

The noble Lord opposite has raised a wider question, having in mind the difficulties of long term settlement of these refugees, and that is the possibility of Government loans. We should try to





[The Earl of Plymouth.]  
deal with the position by Government-guaranteed loans: I think that is what he suggested. Once again, I fear I am not in a position to say anything definite to your Lordships. I can only say that, for the present, private funds must bear the whole cost of these activities, and the next step must obviously be the examination of settlement schemes by Jewish bodies, a step for which His Majesty's Government are prepared to give every possible facility. It is really only at a later stage, when the probable cost of these things can be estimated, that any question of a loan can become a practical proposition. When and if it does become a practical proposition, of course it will depend upon the attitude of the Governments as a whole who are concerned in this matter. I fear I am not in a position to say anything more definite in regard to this question this evening.

I have tried to show during the course of my remarks that in all these various efforts and activities His Majesty's Government have taken their share and, indeed, more than their share in helping. Criticism of what His Majesty's Government have done is inevitable and to be expected, and is of various kinds. It is often said abroad, and particularly in Germany, that we are intervening in what, after all, are that country's domestic affairs. This seems to be a most extraordinary and entirely untenable point of view. The facts are that the pressure exercised on large sections of the German population inevitably produce an outflow from that country, and large numbers of people manage to get out, authorised or not. This places upon neighbouring countries, and indeed upon far-distant countries too, a very heavy burden and responsibility. This question is therefore of very great concern to those countries, both from the humanitarian and from the social aspects. It is clear that they cannot ignore this question; they have to take it up. That is quite obviously what the countries concerned intend to do.

On the other hand, there are those who consider that voluntary efforts to deal with this question are not sufficient and that His Majesty's Government ought perhaps directly to organise and finance the immigration of refugees. To a large extent I certainly sympathise with that point of view, but I wonder whether people fully realise the vastness and the magnitude of

the problem, and the consequences for a country such as this, with a very large number of unemployed, of the introduction into it of a considerable population with inferior standards of life to those which obtain in this country. Of course the capacity to absorb refugees from other countries depends almost entirely upon the type of person in question. It is quite clear that those who have a certain amount of capital, and means of subsistence, or who are to be absorbed in occupations as a result of which they would not displace British labour, can be dealt with much more easily than others, but I think every one will agree that we cannot throw our gates wide open, finance refugees, and allow limitless immigration into this country. That, I think, is entirely out of the question. We feel that the solution for these difficulties must be sought by carefully-planned international policy, and by carefully-planned international action.

Let me repeat once more that it is reasonable to hope and expect that Germany, from which country this problem emanates in this instance, should assist in overcoming the first great obstacle, and that is the lack of financial means of the great majority of refugees. In this country we have imposed, as your Lordships know, no quota on the number of refugees, and we are interpreting the immigration regulations very widely, for humanitarian reasons. I can only say in conclusion that although we feel it is impossible to ask the taxpayers in this country, in the present circumstances, to shoulder what would be tremendous additional burdens, I can assure your Lordships that His Majesty's Government will make every effort themselves, and will sympathetically consider all representations and suggestions which are calculated to contribute towards the solution of this grave problem.

LORD MARLEY: My Lords, I am obliged to the noble Earl for the character of his reply, and there are a good many points, naturally, in which I find myself in agreement with him and for which I am grateful. I fear I failed to make myself understood in connection with the suggestion that I apparently proposed introducing a large number of people into this country. I think the words were "limitless immigration of inferior standards of living." I expressly said that I considered this country was a country of

transit, and that I was not in favour of settlement, and I am sorry that I was misunderstood in that connection. That must clearly apply to an industrial country with a large volume of unemployment. It can only be special types of settlers who can be permanently accommodated here, those who are skilled in processes and those who are equipped from a scientific point of view.

THE EARL OF PLYMOUTH: May I interrupt to say that I never really suggested that it was the view of the noble Lord himself; but I said there were a considerable number of people who thought that the possibilities were very much greater than they actually are.

LORD MARLEY: I am very much obliged to the noble Earl. I am sorry I misunderstood him, and I would like to identify myself with him in that respect, that this can only be a place for persons of a certain type, and not for the agricultural hordes of Eastern Europe. There is one other point on which, perhaps, I misunderstood the noble Earl. I did say, and I do know, that there has been the greatest co-operation between the Home Office and the Co-ordinating Committee, and I hope I was not understood as suggesting that there was not. What I did try to suggest was that it needed strengthening, so that each link of the chain would be able to bear its own allotted strain. As to what the noble Earl said with regard to visas for transit refugees, I could not follow what he said, but I shall read it with very great interest in the OFFICIAL REPORT to-morrow, and he will forgive me if I suggest that one of the Papers which I think he might lay would be some sort of explanation for those who are constantly receiving inquiries in that connection.

Another Paper which I would suggest is a simple explanatory leaflet which members of Parliament would be able to send to those who apply to them for assistance or advice. It should be some simple explanatory leaflet, which would explain the position, to-day, the necessity for arrangements for settlement, and the point raised by Lord Rea with regard to labour permits. Of course if people have not got labour permits they cannot work here, but many hundreds and possibly thousands have permits, and if there was some sort of explanatory leaflet on how

to get them, it would save myself and others the burden of writing long letters to people who do not know the most elementary forms of making their applications. I was most interested with regard to what the noble Earl said as to the hope—I will not put it higher—of the possibility of some sort of joint Governmental action. I am not fastening on to him any promise, but he suggested the possibility or hope that there might be some international action in connection with financial assistance, and that I thought was of value, if it materialises.

Finally, I would like to say this; that as regards the suggestion as to the process workers, I am afraid that Canada has already jumped in on the claim for the porcelain and glass workers of Czechoslovakia. I understand that there is under discussion an agreement with Canada whereby 4,000 will settle there and open glass works, such as those for which Czechoslovakia has been famous. I am glad it is within the Empire, and I hope that the agreement will materialise. In connection with the work of the Inter-Governmental Committee I would like to join in the tribute which the noble Earl paid to the work of M. Rublee, who has had a gigantic task and has had to face almost intolerable affront. I noticed the noble Earl was rather close in speaking of the work of the Inter-Governmental Committee, but every effort, I believe, has been made to explore every avenue; but he did tell us that the results were by no means negligible. We have heard that, I am afraid, very often, and I do not think it helps us very much.

Nevertheless there were two points that I welcome. One was the possibility of the Sudeten Germans coming under the Inter-Governmental Committee, and the other was the possibility of these unhappy German Poles having their case considered by that Committee. If consideration by that Committee were all it would not be very much, and if the Committee did no more than it has managed to do so far that would not be very helpful. But with the presence here of Mr. Taylor from the United States, and with the new energy which is being apparently administered into that Committee, one hopes it may be more successful, especially in view of the visit which is taking place now, which I am led by the noble Earl to suppose, may, with the



[Lord Marley.]  
 help of Governmental resources have some useful results. If the noble Earl would consent to lay some papers on the two lines I suggested, the simple leaflet and the explanation of the new system of transit visas, I would at once withdraw my Motion.

THE EARL OF PLYMOUTH: I do not want to give any undertaking, because I do not quite know. But I will enquire,

and certainly, if it is feasible to do something of the kind, I will do it.

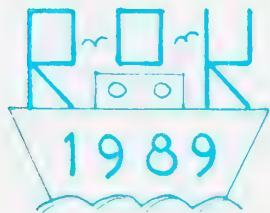
LORD MARLEY: I am very much obliged, and I fully accept that I think the noble Earl has shown great sympathy, and by the leave of the House I desire to withdraw my Motion.

Motion for Papers, by leave, withdrawn.

House adjourned at thirteen minutes past seven o'clock.

Fiftieth Anniversary Year

REUNION  
OF  
KINDERTRANSPORT



COMMEMORATIVE COVER







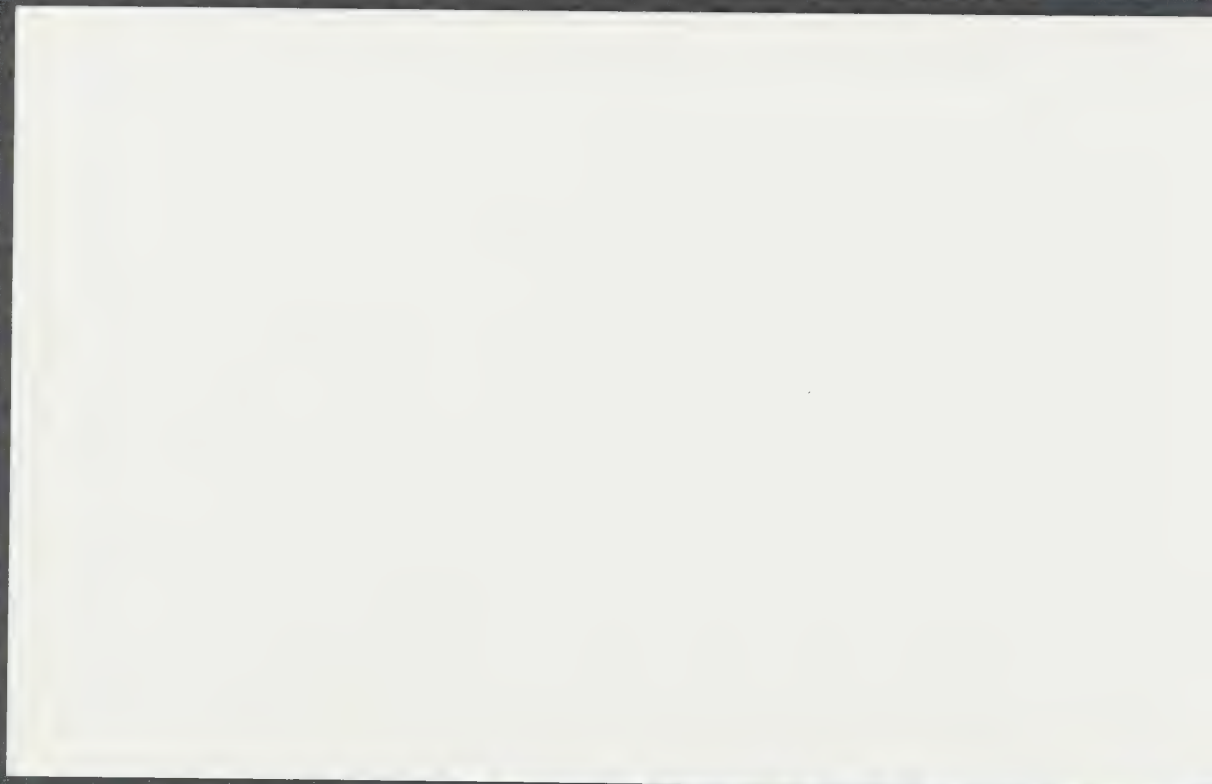
## THE KINDERTRANSPORT

During the latter part of 1938 and right up until the outbreak of World War II, close on ten thousand unaccompanied children, from the age of three months to seventeen years, and fleeing from Nazi persecution, were allowed entry into Britain by the Government of that time. These children arrived by boat and were called the 'kindertransport'. On account of the ensuing holocaust, the majority of these children were never to see their parents again.

Fifty years after those traumatic times, Bertha Leverton, herself one of the 'kinder', with the help of a small band of faithful helpers, organised a special Fiftieth Anniversary Reunion of the 'kindertransport' at the Harrow Leisure Centre, Middlesex on the 20th and 21st June 1989. The purpose of the Reunion was to gather as many of the former 'kinder' together as possible, in order that they may renew old friendships and relive their past experiences and pay tribute to their adoptive country which gave them a refuge and haven when most desperately needed.

The Reunion was opened by Mr. Tim Renton, the Secretary of State for Home Affairs, representing the Government and was attended by the Mayor and Mayoress of Harrow, Mr. Hugh Dykes MP for Harrow East, and many other dignitaries. Over one thousand participants, converging from all parts of the world attended this event. After a Memorial Service, the two day programme consisted of talks and symposiums, each evening culminating with a special musical concert.





**ALEX BEAM**

## Making bucks by appearing to be green

**R**ight-thinking people everywhere are appalled — appalled — that warm and fuzzy ice cream purveyors Ben & Jerry's might be taken over by a large, evil multinational corporation. In fact, not one but two large, evil corporations — Dreyer's Grand Ice Cream Inc. and Anglo-Dutch food conglomerate Unilever NV — have made unsolicited takeover bids for the ice cream that made Vermont famous, simply because it tastes so good.

It does taste good, but Ben & Jerry's is probably better known for its vaunted do-goodism — it donates 7.5 percent of its pretax profits to causes it deems worthy — than for its heart-stoppingly rich premium desserts. Every goo-goo in Vermont, from the governor to the faux socialist congressman Bernie Sanders wants Ben & Jerry's to remain independent. The legislature has even enacted a "Ben & Jerry's Act," a "dubious-constitutional, but would allow the ice cream makers' directors to consider factors other than profit when entertaining bids for the company."

Now the San Francisco-based Social Venture Network, a coterie of "socially responsible" investors, may enter the takeover battle as a "side lough" and rescue our heroes (from corporate domination). "It's all quite ironical," muses Michael

**A Ben & Jerry's watcher: 'That social mission stuff is more about their image than it is about reality.'**

Colby, a Vermont social activist and frequent critic of the ice cream duo. "The only big, horrible corporation that Ben & Jerry's needs to be rescued from is itself."

Ben Cohen and Jerry Greenfield have always been heroes to the Dairymongers (Green Mountain code for rich New Yorkers) who buy into their hippie-dippy save-the-world schtick. And they remain very popular in Vermont. Colby admits he made plenty of enemies when he published advertisements condemning Ben & Jerry's dairy farmers for using "thousands of pounds of the carcinogenic herbicide atrazine every year."

And he's not winning friends and influencing people when he points out that several of the nonprofit corporations staging "grass roots" rallies to save B&J sharp up plenty of money from the Ben & Jerry's Foundation — among them: Cohen and Greenfield now pose as Our Beloved Heroes, Our Beloved Heroes. Hypocrites would be more like it. To quote another longtime Ben & Jerry's watcher: "That social mission stuff is more about their image than it is about reality."

Remember Rainforest Crunch, the product that was supposedly concocted from nuts purchased from native cooperatives in the Amazon basin? Typical media swoon: "Rainforest Crunch: A Sweet Way to Help Environment" — Orange County Register. That was a nifty idea, until it turned out that the shipments of Brazil nuts delivered by the native co-ops contained glass shards, hair, rocks, insects, or a high level of coliform bacteria. "As a result of quality problems with the nuts... only 6 percent of the nuts (Ben & Jerry's) used from 1989 to 1994 came from native cooperatives," writes Ed Welles of Inc. magazine.

Check out Welles's September 1998 article [www.inc.com/magazine/1998/09](http://www.inc.com/magazine/1998/09) for more info on this questionable debenture swap, the repeated stress problems at the Rainforest Crunch plant, the tax dodging, and Ben Cohen's refusal to bail out his "socially responsible" partners when the rainforest venture went bankrupt. It's not just about Ben, by the way, unlike the 115,000 people who lost their shirts, he was a successful creditor.

For anyone remember Robert Holland, CEO of McKimsey & Co. partner brought on as B&J's chief executive in 1993? The company had been running a jivey "nationwide search" for a business leader on its ice cream bids, called "Yes I Want to Be CEO." Twenty-two thousand notices applied, but Holland got his job through an executive headhunter. At the time, B&J had a much-trumpeted policy that no executive would earn more than seven times the salary of its lowest-paid worker — a policy that melted away when Holland came on board.

Holland's successor, the current chief executive officer Paddy O'Kai, came to Ben & Jerry's after a stint at the US Restoring Arms Co., which makes Winchester rifles. Maybe it's time for him to work for a corporation with a social conscience, like Unilever or Dreyer's.

*Alex Beam's e-address is beam@globe.com*

'I would light a candle and reach down and grab one' of her parents' letters, which she kept under her bed. 'They were my lifeline.'

EVE NUSSBAUM SOMMERAI (CENTER), WITH FRED MANASSE (LEFT), AND ED KLUGMAN



GLOBE PHOTO/CHRISTOPHER HAYES

# Journey out of innocence

**Locals recall fleeing Nazi Germany as children, leaving loved ones behind forever**

By Linda Maltahn  
 GLOBE STAFF

**N**EWTON — When 9-year-old Eva Schlesinger asks her mother "Why will I be safer with strangers?" the question pierces through history, to the heart-wrenching era of Nazi Germany. The setting is a stage at the New Repertory Theatre, the play "Kindertransport." And the scene propels at least two members of the audience — Eve Nussbaum Sommerai and Fred Manasse — six decades back in time to a pivotal moment in their lives: when they, along with about 10,000 other German, Austrian, and Czech children, were sent to heavens abroad.

The central tension of the play lies in the horrifying predicament Jewish parents had to confront, and the emotional and psychological resources they had to muster to send their children to an unknown fate. And how did these children — some as young as 2 — survive the trauma of separation? Only about 1,000 were ever reunited with family members.

At a recent Friday evening performance, there were several audience members who had grappled with these questions, men and women from the Boston area and beyond who had been

JOURNEY, Page C5

Left, a passport issued to Gertraud Levy, then 11, one of the children who left Germany in the late '30s on a Kindertransport to England.



## Conservatory takes on a legend

By Karen Campbell  
 GLOBE CORRESPONDENT

Boston Conservatory dance faculty member Emiko Tokunaga calls it "the Kikuchi magic." That's what seems to be happening in the small basement studios of the Boston Conservatory, where 17 students are bringing to life the first student production of Martha Graham's landmark "Appalachian Spring," under the watchful eye of Yuriko Kikuchi and her daughter, Susan, representing "APPALACHIAN," Page C4



Yuriko (left) and Susan Kikuchi (far right) direct Jeong-De Yoon.

## Fashion

## Reshaping lingerie for full figures Sirens designs give plus a beauty boost

By Suzanne C. Ryan  
 GLOBE STAFF

As a full-figured lingerie model, Diana Chibas enjoyed success in the '90s going for brands like Playtex, Bali, and Just My Size. But after appearing on the cover of *Mode* magazine in 1998, the Warwick, R.I., resident retired, fed up with the fashion industry.

Her frustration? Hair stylists and makeup artists always made her look "go-gooes" at photo shoots, she says, but then fashion houses would dress her in "ugly slut-of-army-style bras, giant girdles, and tent-like nightgowns." "It was just outrageous," says Chibas, 35. "I understand some people wear this stuff, but there's just no fashion in it, no style."



GLOBE STAFF PHOTO/SHARON WATNE

Diana Chibas (left) and Suzanne Deconvan model their full-figure lingerie.

"Full-figured women are the same as all women. We love to look beautiful, but for some reason the fashion industry isn't recognizing us. They want to keep their image of the skinny woman," she says. "There's a lot

FASHION, Page C6



## Harry Potter, you've got competition

It's No. 1 on the Times of London bestseller list. It beat out the latest in J.K. Rowling's Harry Potter series for Britain's prestigious Whitbread Book Prize. And its author is at least a part-time book reviewer. But it won't be good news for tea bookstores for a few more weeks.

The novel is a translation of the Anglo-Saxon epic "Beowulf" by Nobel laureate Seamus Heaney, a 1995 winner of the Hawthornden Prize at Hartree.

Not a head-on competition, says publisher Louise Brockert at W.W. Norton. The publisher had commissioned the translation several years ago for the new edition of its classic Norton anthology of English Literature, but Heaney asked if his regular trade publishers, Faber in London and Farrar, Straus & Giroux in New York, could bring it out in trade paperback edition. And Faber was out with it first, with FS&G's edition to follow later this month.

But Heaney—and "Beowulf"—fans can get a jump on things.

The "Norton Anthology" came out in time to make college spring-term reading lists—and with another local connection, Harvard literature professor Stephen Greenblatt is the anthology's new associate general editor.

MICHAEL KENZLEY

## And Cambridge makes three

Brian O'Neil, owner of the two top film restaurants in Boston, has scored a third restaurant, this one in Cambridge. Located on the corner of North Street and Cambridge Street, the new eatery is called "The Kitchen." O'Neil says the restaurant will feature a menu of "local, seasonal ingredients." The restaurant is set to open in late 2003.

## Jerry's jubilee

Dead-end artist Jerry Garcia may not be with us, but his art lives on. An exhibit called "Jerry Garcia: A Visual Journey" is open Saturday and Sunday at the Contemporary Arts Center in Boston. The exhibit features Garcia's 88 Broad Street studio, the Pratts (Boston-based stage, museum, art and sponsored by W.L.A. Inc.) and the artist's work.

## 60 candles

Charlie Sarkis, of Back Bay Restaurant Group, will bring the good life, nightly, at one of his restaurants, Abi & Louie's, Saturdays night. He and his

## Cold night, warm heart

Tomorrow, Rosie's Place hosts its ninth annual "Share Your Heart With Rosie's Place" benefit at the Fairmont Copley



**AUTHOR, ARTHUR**—Marc Brown, creator of the Arthur character—he's the large one with big ears and glasses—talks with his little fans at the Wang Theatre last week. The stage play, "Arthur: A Live Adventure," runs through Sunday at the Wang.

# Names & Faces

BY BETH CARNEY AND JIM SULLIVAN

WHDH-TV weatherbeats **Maude Michaels** will present awards to people and organizations that were the heart of Boston's poor and homeless. Among them, a Lifetime Achievement Award for **Dr. Deborah A. Frank**, head of the Crow Center for the Homeless. Michaels will also honor **Charles Galar Riche**, chief and director of the Department of Neighborhood Development. Food will be provided by more than 50 Boston restaurants; there will be a street art auction, music by **AJ Vega** and His Orchestra.

## Pants on fire

Fire and food news: **Bryan Smith**, foreman at the man who ran down **Stephen King**, says he was "wondering" if he was in the ditch instead of him. The news: After the program shot the photo back and told them he had had and, say, "Inade Edition," threatened the producers with physical harm.

## The Indy 10 million

By a top businessman **Alan Strassman**, former president of the Museum of Fine Arts board, and New York dealer **Leothe Longley** yesterday donated to the Indianapolis Museum of Art a portion of a collection of Japanese art valued at 10 million, and sold the remainder of the collection to the museum. The works, some 20 paintings, give the museum one of the most extensive holdings of the Japanese Edo period.

## All Barbara, all the time

Can't you get it? **Barbara Walters** Live! is the most popular TV personality mag. Walters' another day, she'll be the anchor of her two-year-old CBS "The View," for ABC.

► *Material from wire services and other news is used in this column. Write to us, or be reached by e-mail at [names@theboston.com](mailto:names@theboston.com) or by phone 617-862-5653.*



**Arianna Huffington** (center) holding **Kevin Walker**, 7, of Boston, while leading a rally.

## Arianna Huffington proves she can also toss tea

The title of her book sounds like something **Albie Heffman** might have written: "How to Overturn the Government." But **Arianna Huffington**—activist—doesn't give out any recipes for militant cocktails: "Seemingly, but not really," she says. Nor does she sing from the left. Or does she? A recent review of her book noted a shift toward the "left-populist" camp.

Not quite, she says via telephone from her rooms at the Seaport Hotel. "I would definitely say toward the progressive-populist, which I don't see as left," she says. "Teddy Roosevelt was the great progressive-populist at the beginning of the century (when he was concerned with the ends of predatory wealth and labor laws). I don't think concern for social justice and poverty should be the exclusive property of the left."

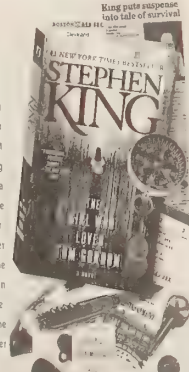
Huffington, who dashed the presidential campaign during a talk at the City of Boston, says she will appear with **John F. Kennedy Library Monday**, had more appearances around town yesterday.

She helped host a so-called "Horton Tea Party"—launched into the Boston Harbor this time, not tea but two ballot boxes stuffed with "dirty" money. Then it was off to the Old South Meeting House to speak alongside **David Donnelly** of Mass Voters for Clean Elections and **Ellen Miller** of the Public Campaign, a national organization for sweeping federal campaign-finance reform.

"I believe in symbolic acts," Huffington says. She also is a fan of using humor and satire, especially when she's on "Politically Incorrect." But, as newsy as she says, "the biggest issue of our time is: How do we become one nation again? How do we clean up government, and the corruption, how do we make fighting poverty a central issue?" Huffington, a multifaceted, feels that most in her class take an attitude of "indifference and callousness" toward the poor. Also on her hit list: America's so-called drug war, pollsters, and corporations that contribute "soft money" to political campaigns.

## what's in your pocket?

The woods are alive with darkness, uncertainty and the suspenseful storytelling of the bestselling author Stephen King. But for a lost young Red Sox fan, it's a journey into the heart of terror. And relief pitches Tom Gordon is the only one who can walk her home. Unfortunately, he exists only in her imagination.



"Frightening.... Feverish terror." — *The New York Times*

"A gem.... Superb." — *San Francisco Chronicle*

"A delightful read, a literary walk in the woods, and not just for baseball fans." — *USA Today*

"Plenty of thrills.... King is an elegant writer and a master of pacing." — *Entertainment Weekly*

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AUDIO

## Sing with Maria and Mariah ad nauseam

By Matthew Gilbert GLOBE STAFF

For many, "The Sound of Music" is one of their favorite things, a sacred, nostalgic trip right up there with "Mary Poppins," "Fanny Hill," and, of course, "The Wizard of Oz." So we have to wonder how the Edelweiss-heads and Fraulein Maria maniacs of America will greet the new compilation of their beloved musical, due to arrive in the states in April. Called "Singalong-A-Sound of Music," it's a British phenomenon that basically gives Robert Wise's 1965 movie the audience-participation "Rocky Horror Show" treatment. Imagine fans pilgrimaging to the theater to sing "How Do You Solve a Problem Like Maria" (turned into man's outfit, German soldier suits, lonely goateard drag, and believe it or not, brown paper pad ages tied up with string. Imagine subtitles ("So long, farewell, auf Wiedersehen, adeu/Adieu, adieu, yes and you and you") and jokes yelled at the screen with poppet fervor. Imagine public input, sections of bonding, and, of course, gy-

rest-see status.

In *The New Yorker* for Feb. 14, Anthony Lane has a funny review of this "Singalong-A-Sound of Music." And as he notes, the phenomenon doesn't exactly coincide with an ongoing period of stay-at-home cinema: "The bloodless interjection of DVD technology, for instance, in which the lone viewer can pause 'The Matrix' to command a reverse view of Keanu Reeves' butt, cannot help a candle to the sight of two hundred people whistling at Christopher Plummer when he enters with a riding crop, and waving their lighters above their heads, like a rock crowd, during his rendition of 'Edelweiss.'" Rock on, Maria.

Also in this week's *New Yorker* is a unique and edgy homage to "Peanuts" and the work of Charles Schulz by Art Spiegelman.

If you find yourself reading the cover story in the *Belling States* for Feb. 17, try to hold on to your cookies. The interview with Mariah Carey is quite puke-inducing, sounding more like a candle to the straight profile of the diva, who has had more



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The Boston Globe

No. 1 hits than anyone except the Beatles and Elvis Presley. Carey just blathers on and on about her boyfriend, Latin American singer Luis Miguel, and her glamorous travels. The quotes are interminable and unadmirable, from her purchase of Marilyn Monroe's white piano for \$682,000 to Miguel's attempt to send her 10 dozen roses (alas, there were only seven seen available in all of Los Vegas). At one point, writer **Mim Udoitch** gives Carey a full RS column to nation on about her recent promotional efforts, of which I quote only a small piece: "I think what happened after Capri is, I went to New York... Not First I went to Tenerife (Spain), where Luis was going a concert, and I thought that was going to be my little vacation time, but it wasn't as stellar a place as I thought it was going to be. But still it was nice to be with him, so I begged and pleaded with him to go to Capri with me before I went back and started my schedule. And that's not exactly a short punt. So, let's see: I went from Capri—are you cold?—from Capri to New York." Asked about rumors that Miguel gave her a diamond necklace, Carey says, "It was not like a big, elaborate diamond necklace; it's a nice Bulgari diamond necklace; it was **Christina D'Amico**, so it was appropriate."

Udoitch tells us that Carey, smacking on carrot and celery sticks, wants us to know that Joan Rivers has "taunted her to have an eating disorder by saying she looked fat at last year's Academy Awards." Based on the RS cover photo, it looks like she can now win both Rivers's approval and the *Empire* magazine's can-still-look-remarkably-like-18-year-old-sensation-Britney-Spears award. Just compare RS and this week's *People* cover, which is a profile of Spears. Of course, it won't be long before Spears is working to look as fresh as the next upcoming 15-year-old superstar.

Amid photos of Spears, **Farrar Fawcett** in a grand old of Big Bird proportions, and **Rene Zellweger** in a wavy cut that recalls a golden coach after a cat attack, **People catches up with **Robert Downey Jr.**, who is six months into his three-year prison sentence. The distinctive thing about the article is that, instead of only *People*-style rehab and "friend" commentary, it features a very brief phone interview with the actor himself from jail. About the California Substance Abuse Treatment Facility, where he shares a cell with three to five other men, Downey says, "I try to embrace it, but it's prison—it's miserable." And about his continued efforts to get out based on errors made during his sentencing, he says "I see myself—and a lot of my issues—as being stuck in the Six a little bit. So I want to quote **Donna Summer**: 'Enough is enough.'"**

Maybe Downey should be reaching back to the 1950s to find his consolation: "When the dog bites/When the dog stings/When I'm feeling sad/I simply remember my favorite thing/And then I don't feel so bad."

# Go! Wednesday

BY CAROL BEGGY

## Ready and Willing

Before you tell Go! to get out of here, let me explain. Anything done well is worth sitting through. Now we know you have your own opinions about cabaret-style singing, but that's because you've never heard **Will McMillan** sing Cole Porter or George Gershwin. (Go!'s always been a sucker for old standards.) The Boston-based McMillan will perform tonight at Scullers Jazz Club (just try to find a cabaret club in these parts) with pianist/composer **Steve Sweeling**. The evening's program, titled "Old Love, New Love," will feature two standards with some contemporary songs by composers such as Stephen Sondheim. There's also a round of improvisation, \$10. At 8 and into the evening. Scullers Jazz Club, 100 Soldiers Field Road, Allston, 617-552-4111.

## Short movies, big fun

You just don't have the patience to sit through another exciting best picture Oscar-type drama that nuzzles your behind because the film studio execs are too scared to tell the highest director to "cut it." Why waste 90 hours to see just one movie when you can see several in 76 minutes? That's the beauty of the Museum of Fine Arts program "Outstanding Entertaining Short Films," which opens tonight and re-plays five more times before the end of the month. The program includes a little bit of everything in the world of short film, animation, live action, and special effects, all chosen by the MFA's film staff. And if you Go! to tonight's opening screening, there will be a prize giveaway and a reception with some of the filmmakers. Museum of Fine Arts, 465 Huntington Ave., 617-467-8500.

## Driving in the city

Sure, we've heard people say that golf is boring. But we ask: Have you tried it? When the weather cooperates — and sometimes even when it doesn't — golf is a great excuse to get outside, fool around with friends or business associates (we love how that sounds), and dress in ridiculous outfits.

We know what you're thinking: What's the point, since golf is not a downtown pursuit. Well, that was then. If you want to learn about the game, now you can head to the **Golf School** in the old 57 Theatre at the Radisson Hotel on Stuart Street. (The former movie house had two theaters. One was converted for live performances, and the larger room has been altered for this golf school.)

The school is open seven days a week and will stay in operation through the end of March. Run by PGA pro Bob Rundlett and Scott Allen, the school features a driving range (\$20 for a half-hour, \$30 an hour for non-members; fees reduced for members). There are clinics for beginners, and private instruction with the pros is available. And, since this is urban golf, they validate parking for the garage located upstairs.

The Golf School at the Radisson Hotel Boston, 209 Stuart St., 617-451-8893.



Customers practice on the indoor driving range of the Golf School, at the old 57 Theatre.

ton Ave., 617-467-8500.

## How comforting

Go! likes to gorge on comfort food in the winter as much as anyone does. But how can any self-respecting food maven enjoy dining that captures up images of mac and cheese and cold beer? Franklin Cafe circle of friends! Simple. Go to a quality restaurant that serves

comforting food. Take chef-owner Evan Delaty's Charles Street bistro, **Torch**. A couple of weeks ago we had Delaty's potato and beef with rock shrimp soup, served in the warm and intimate dining room. How good was the soup? We're still talking about it. Now that's comfort. **Torch**, 26 Charles St., Beacon Hill, 617-723-5939.

## Sing it loud

It's singer/songwriter night at the **Brendan Behan Pub** in Jamaica Plain; tonight's roster kicks off at 8:30 with Patty Charles followed by Plato and Billy Boardman. And best of all, it's free. Just get yourself a pint of something (soft drinks are cool too, you know) and sit back and listen for the next big

thing. **Brendan Behan Pub**, 378 Centre St., Jamaica Plain, 617-522-5386.

► Events can always be canceled, rescheduled, or sold out; call to confirm. Go! can be reached by e-mail at [go@boston.com](mailto:go@boston.com) or by calling 617-929-8327.

## Up Ahead

BALLET



If you think ballet is all tutus and pointe shoes, then Go!'s got news for you. **Boston Ballet** opens "Without Words" tomorrow night, and it's most promising. Sure, we're all looking forward to "Cleopatra," which closes out the schedule. But local balletomanes have had this three-hour performance, featuring **Nacho Duato's** title **Dancers Tara Hench and Yuri Yatsynsky**.

## Most promising, 'Without Words' or tutus

pieces on their calendars since the season was announced Duato's "Without Words" features eight sensually male dancers (hey, we said no tutus) performing to six Franz Schubert songs.

Black-and-white images (taken by Boston photographer **Lisa Blalock**) are projected on large curtains. This run also includes Mark Godden's world premieres work "Another Year" and closes with a reprise of Paul Taylor's popular "Company B."

**Boston Ballet**, Shubert Theatre, 617-482-9322.

## Quick Hits

Art

Go! figures anything with "disco ball" in the title holds promise, so we're going to give Jocelyn Pralle's new installation, "Disco Ball for the New Millennium," a try. Consider "Virus," a key. The focal point of the Mobius installation is a rotating icosahedron made from discarded windows. Spick with us. Since our college days were spent studying sentences and not shapes and numbers (at least not any we'll admit to), we immediately consulted the dictionary to figure out just what Pralle is rotating here. An icosahedron is, ahem, one of five regular polyhedrons (also known as Platonic solids), bounded by 20 equilateral triangles. It's a multi-sided creation of glass (and of a 21st-century disco ball) that is supposed to resemble, in the speed and light of everyday life with many layers of meaning too deep to unearth in a rectangular space such as this. Besides, it just sounds like a great way for us to reflect on art. Through March 4 at **Mobius**, 451 Congress St., near South Station, 617-542-7416.

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# 'Appalachian' makes history here

## ■ APPALACHIAN

It's a story that has been told in many ways, but the story of the creation of the musical "Appalachian Spring" remains as fresh as the day it was first performed. The story begins in the small town of Putnam, N.Y., where the composer, Aaron Copland, was born.

The inspiration for the piece came from a photograph of a pioneer woman, which Copland saw in a book. He was struck by the woman's strength and the beauty of the landscape. He wanted to capture that spirit in his music.

"Appalachian Spring" is a story of a pioneer woman who moves to a new land and builds a home. It is a story of hope and resilience. The music is simple and beautiful, capturing the essence of the American spirit.

Life on a farm was hard, but it was also a life of freedom. The pioneer women were strong and independent. They were the backbone of the new nation.

For the Marsha Graham Trust, this production provides an opportunity to introduce Graham's work to a younger generation of dancers. Keeping her legacy alive is the Boston Conservatory's top priority.

The production is a testament to the power of dance. It is a story that has been told in many ways, but the story of the creation of the musical "Appalachian Spring" remains as fresh as the day it was first performed.

Tolman and her sister Emiko have spent years of their lives in the dance world. They have seen the challenges and the rewards of this profession.



Choreographer Susan Kikuchi works with a dancer in a class at the Boston Conservatory.

Choreographer Susan Kikuchi works with a dancer in a class at the Boston Conservatory. She is focused on the dancer's movements, ensuring they are precise and expressive.

It is a process of collaboration. The choreographer and the dancer work together to create a story through movement. It is a process that requires patience and dedication.

And it is a process of discovery. The choreographer and the dancer explore new ways of moving, pushing the boundaries of what is possible.

It is a process of growth. The choreographer and the dancer learn from each other, growing as individuals and as a team.

It is a process of joy. The choreographer and the dancer find joy in their work, in the challenge and the reward.

It is a process of love. The choreographer and the dancer love their work, love each other, and love the art they are creating.

### Making a cohesive whole

The Tolman sisters, along with Graham company member Elizabeth AuChaire, helped the students learn the steps and the outline of "Appalachian Spring" using videotapes from the original production.

### Dancing the music

Susan Kikuchi addresses technical and creative concerns, explaining ensemble and partnering techniques. You have more music than you can dance. You can really stretch technically, to get to the physicality of it.

### A Copland Celebration

The celebration will be performed on Sunday at the Boston Conservatory Theater. Tickets are available at the box office.

### New Life

Aaron Copland was commissioned to write a ballet for Graham and he initially called it "Ballet for Martha." It is the story of a pioneer woman who moves to a new land and builds a home.

### Book Review

"The Doctor and the Detective" by Stephen King. A biography of Arthur Conan Doyle, the creator of Sherlock Holmes. It is a story of a man who was a doctor and a detective.

### ARTS

ARTS: A collection of articles about the arts in Boston. It includes reviews of plays, books, and performances.

### THEATRE

THEATRE: A collection of articles about theatre in Boston. It includes reviews of plays and performances.

### MUSIC

MUSIC: A collection of articles about music in Boston. It includes reviews of concerts and performances.

TICKETS TO THE ARTS			
THEATRE	THEATRE	THEATRE	MUSIC
<b>A FEW GOOD MEN</b> A Broadway musical about a Marine in Vietnam. Running at the Boston Conservatory Theater.	<b>KIMBERLY SPORR</b> A play by Susan Hill. Running at the Boston Conservatory Theater.	<b>SILVER MANNING</b> A play by David Auburn. Running at the Boston Conservatory Theater.	<b>BOSTON CLASSICAL MUSIC SOCIETY</b> A series of classical music performances. Running at the Boston Conservatory Theater.
<b>ALAN AYCARONA'S COMMUNICATING DOORS</b> A play by Alan Ayckbourn. Running at the Boston Conservatory Theater.	<b>LORETTA LAROCHE AT SYMPHONY HALL</b> A concert by Loretta Larocche. Running at Symphony Hall.	<b>TEMPTATION BY VACLAV HAVEL</b> A play by Václav Havel. Running at the Boston Conservatory Theater.	<b>ROYAL COLLEGE OF DOCK ROOP AT SYMPHONY HALL</b> A concert by the Royal College of Dock Roop. Running at Symphony Hall.
<b>ANNE OF GREEN GABLES</b> A play by L.M. Montgomery. Running at the Boston Conservatory Theater.	<b>LOVE SONGS</b> A collection of love songs. Running at the Boston Conservatory Theater.	<b>THE BEATLES QUEEN OF LEAFY</b> A play about the Beatles. Running at the Boston Conservatory Theater.	<b>STAIN VILL A TRIBUTE TO THE BEES</b> A play about bees. Running at the Boston Conservatory Theater.
<b>BEAU JEST</b> A play by Georges Feytaud. Running at the Boston Conservatory Theater.	<b>"MASTER HAROLD" AND THE BOYS</b> A play by Caryl Churchill. Running at the Boston Conservatory Theater.	<b>THE COMPLETE HISTORY OF AMERICA BRIDGED</b> A play about American history. Running at the Boston Conservatory Theater.	<b>COLLAGE NEW MUSIC</b> A collection of new music. Running at the Boston Conservatory Theater.
<b>FRANK MCCORTY'S THE IRISH AND THE WAY</b> A play by Frank McCorty. Running at the Boston Conservatory Theater.	<b>MEET ME IN ST. LOUIS</b> A play by James Lapine. Running at the Boston Conservatory Theater.	<b>THE MEMOIRS OF GUY DE MONTCAU</b> A play by Jean-Claude Van Damme. Running at the Boston Conservatory Theater.	<b>DRUMMERS OF WEST AFRICA</b> A play about West African drummers. Running at the Boston Conservatory Theater.
<b>GEORGE BERNARD SHAW'S GETTING MARRIED</b> A play by George Bernard Shaw. Running at the Boston Conservatory Theater.	<b>MISS JULIE</b> A play by Arthur Schnitzler. Running at the Boston Conservatory Theater.	<b>THE THREE SISTERS BY ANTON CHEKHOV</b> A play by Anton Chekhov. Running at the Boston Conservatory Theater.	<b>LYNNE KALKER AND MIKE PALMER</b> A play by Lynne Kalker and Mike Palmer. Running at the Boston Conservatory Theater.
<b>HEIDI</b> A play by Friedrich Schiller. Running at the Boston Conservatory Theater.	<b>OUR TOWN</b> A play by Thornton Wilder. Running at the Boston Conservatory Theater.	<b>VIOLAT: A MUSICAL</b> A musical about a woman's story. Running at the Boston Conservatory Theater.	<b>FOOD GLORIOUS FOOD</b> A play about food. Running at the Boston Conservatory Theater.
<b>SAM SHAPIRO'S SIMPACHU</b> A play by Sam Shapiro. Running at the Boston Conservatory Theater.	<b>DINNER THEATRE</b> A series of dinner theatre performances. Running at the Boston Conservatory Theater.	<b>PHI &amp; RHONDA'S PHILIPPO</b> A play by Philippos. Running at the Boston Conservatory Theater.	<b>ANTIQUE SHOW</b> A series of antique show performances. Running at the Boston Conservatory Theater.

## A full-scale treatment of Conan Doyle

By Robert Taylor  
GLOBE CORRESPONDENT

Imagine if you will a best-selling author—Robert B. Parker, say—on the road in Fenway, watching the emotional focus of Arthur's life centered upon his mother, a woman of cultivation and independent mind, who had to fend for herself in a male world, supported a brother of nine children, and had an ambiguous and ultimately unknowable relationship with a bartender named Bryan Charles Waller.

Waller was Arthur's mentor. Involved in medical research, the ledger may have been instrumental in steering the boy out of poverty toward higher education. "The Doctor and the Detective" is enlightening about several half-shrouded episodes: Conan Doyle was for a time a whale ship's doctor in the Arctic and

later visited the Congo. In certain respects he was the Stephen King of his day, for he wrote in the horror genre all his life, producing an abundance of such a substantial *Waller* (Holt, \$22.95).

Above all, he was a Victorian, embodying the virtues and defects of that entire period. He refused to divorce an invalid wife, though he had fallen in love with another woman (her relations were of the strictest); the bedrock honesty within his character made him susceptible to Christians and spiritual hustlers, yet he also backed humanitarian causes and helped women (travelling from "The Unrehearsed" to "The Quest for Arthur Conan Doyle's last years, learning from Dr. Joseph Bell the importance of close observation, that lack of interest that greeted Conan Doyle's medical room, was while the

public clamored for his next appearance in Strand magazine his ardor for spiritualism and the supernatural.

Martin, *Book Review* (Holt, \$22.95). Conan Doyle came from an Irish Catholic family of notable assets (his uncle "Dicky" created "Mr. Punch," who "altered" the cover of Punch magazine for more than a century); his father, a gifted draftsman in the family tradition, was thwarted in his artistic career, lapsed into alcoholism, and eventually died in 1857. Conan Doyle, the emotional focus of Arthur's life centered upon his mother, a woman of cultivation and independent mind, who had to fend for herself in a male world, supported a brother of nine children, and had an ambiguous and ultimately unknowable relationship with a bartender named Bryan Charles Waller.

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# Sculpture at Chapel; whiteout at BCA

By Christine Tuman  
(GLOBE STAFF)

Winners of artists' grants given by the state's Massachusetts Council on the Arts and Humanities—used to have their work exhibited as part of their prize. That agency's scaled-down successor, the Massachusetts Cultural Council, isn't automatically "show the winners' work, which is a shame, since the grants are, after all, public money."

The Boston Sculptors at Chapel Gallery has filed part of the gap by inviting the winners of the 1999 sculpture awards to exhibit at their headquarters in Newton, in a particularly generous gesture since the Council hasn't contributed a penny toward mounting the show.

The awards are on a rotating biennial basis since 1999 was a sculpture year. There were 225 applicants in that year, a number swelled by photography's 200. The 12 sculpture winners got \$7,500 each; the three finalists \$1,000 apiece. The winners: Laura Baring-Gould, Mark Cooper, Taylor Davis, Eben Dresden, Janet Eichinger, Barry Freedland, Gregory Gomez, Mike Newby, Steve Novick, Linda Ross, Pat Shannon, and Jill Sloneberg-Ackerman. They're not supposed to do anything in common except for working in three dimensions, and this makes a show of their work a nightmare to install. The exhibition comes out of a gilded corner of the exhibition space at 48 St. in the work done by some sense of it. As it is, the work doesn't play off each other effectively; you have to consider them one by one. Individually, though, there are strong pieces here, one of her trademark flying boats, translucent and golden, illuminated from within, with a murmuring voice soundtrack. One Baring-Gould is better than the rest, but she's better represented by a whiteout bottle.

While several of the Boston Sculptors' group have won Cultural Council grants in the past, Baring-Gould is the only member who won at this round. She's also the author of her trademark flying boats, translucent and golden, illuminated from within, with a murmuring voice soundtrack. One Baring-Gould is better than the rest, but she's better represented by a whiteout bottle.

Nor is Dresden, one of the state's most talented artists, well represented by a few artifacts from "Ababy's Wings," an interdisciplinary production involving dance and poetry as well as a CD set.

Gomez and Ross each get an extra nod to make encouraging statements. Gomez's cast bronze reliefs are dark and evocative, the handwriting on the wall. Ross' glass and plastic "Flamingos" come in heads and tails, all projecting from the wall. It's like water. They're at once witty and honest, like birds' extrajugally gnawing at each other like they're waiting to become lamp.

Davis' huge untitled plywood sculpture looks like a corner of a room ripped from a setting of stability and isolated on a diagonal. It's further underwritten by a series of parallel, rectangular cuts that turn the sturdy wood into something as ethereal as organic—and that look a bit like a Frank Stei a stripe

painting. At the very heart of the piece, the cuts suggest that the work is in danger of collapse.

Sloneberg-Ackerman's wooden works deal with positive and negative and with pairs. Her "Hourglass" has been sliced out of a tree that still bears its negative imprint. The hourglass itself looks made of thousands of tiny chips, like the grains of sand you'd find in the real thing, only these are solid and unimbedded—lime stopping.

Like the two halves of Sloneberg-Ackerman's "Hourglass," Freedland's "Aye" and "Bottle of Barry Pals" work in tandem, although separated by space. "Aye" is five rows of mechanical work, each all nodding in unison, suggesting the true role of a political regime: it enforces conformity. "Bottle of Barry Pals" is a pharmaceutical bottle filled with built-in shaped glass. Maybe there's a piece of Valium that will calm down those maniacally chiding faces.

The irrational show of sculpture grant winners is at Boston Sculptors at Chapel Gallery, 60 Highland St., West Newton, through Feb. 27. Hours are Wednesday through Sunday, 11:30 a.m. to 5 p.m. at 1115 a.m., there will be a gallery talk on the show.

"Navajo or linen white?" my painter asked the other day, preparing to put brush to woodwork. There are dozens of "whites." Ralph Lauren's "Classic White" paint collection has 32 of them, all of which turn up in the horizontal stripes of Jeff Perrell's painting "Chameleon II" (Ralph Lauren "White Dreams"), which is part of the delightful "Polar Bear" in a storm. It's now at the Mills Gallery, Grommetted to the wall, "Chameleon" reads like an industrial strength Agony.

The show is the result of Mills curator

Shelly Bancroft seeing 13 artists from Boston and New York to create white works. They responded with everything from itchy-bility Alpine landscapes to white-on-white, barely detectable marks. Some cheated a bit. Hilda Stetson's "Winter White" is a series of rectangles hanging out from the wall like painter's tape with a problem, each one 1/2 in. by 1 1/2 in. and 1/4 in. wide.

"Polar Bear" is tiny. Not only is white the color of winter, but Yemina Ross's hit play "Art," in which three friends fight over the merits of an expensive all-white painting of one of his single spans at the Colonial on March 7. "Polar Bear" also summarizes the work of white paintings: Kamur Malenkov to Robert Ryman to Tom Friedman, a century in which the White Cube became the stage setting for displaying art—even white art.

And the show drew out of Bancroft's rusing on the effect on the public of a gallery with nothing but, or one that appeared to have nothing in it, with the artwork came out and the viewer forced on a treasure hunt.

Most of the work in "Polar Bear" is a bit more obvious than that. One exception is Sebastian Bremer's "Bun Bon Jesus," a mural whose all-but imperceptible forms are deep and only by the contrast between black and matte paint. I couldn't make out the subject. Nearly as visually obscure is Terence Hammond's "White Lines," a chain of figures, ultimately set out of drafting film, marching and dancing along a wall at base-board level. Subtlet and most sophisticated of all is Virginia Platt's "Overing," moody, and metal strips of various dimensions, horizontal lines up mid-wall and mid-joint, which were I're not supposed to be. Molding usually confirms what you already know about the size and shape of a space, reinforce



A detail of Linda Ross's "Flamingos."

ing its edge. Platt's disrupt and confuse. Meryl Hamilton's "Emergency Box" is a play on the traditional glass box that is a regular and welcome guest. Reached yesterday in Cardiff, Wales, where he was rehearsing Mozart's "Così fan tutte" for the Welsh National Opera, Spano said, "I never thought of myself as a candidate for the job of music director. I love the relationship I have with the Boston Symphony, and I hope it continues."

# Spano takes job in Atlanta

By Richard Dyer  
(GLOBE STAFF)

Conductor Robert Spano, 38, has accepted the music directorship of the Atlanta Symphony Orchestra. Spano takes up his new post in September 2001, along with newly appointed principal guest conductor Donald Runnicles. Spano will maintain his position as music director of the Brooklyn Philharmonic and head of the conducting program at the Tanglewood Music Center.

This appointment eliminates Spano from consideration for the job of music director of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, where he has been assistant conductor (1990-94) and a regular and welcome guest. Reached yesterday in Cardiff, Wales, where he was rehearsing Mozart's "Così fan tutte" for the Welsh National Opera, Spano said, "I never thought of myself as a candidate for the job of music director. I love the relationship I have with the Boston Symphony, and I hope it continues."

Spano said Spano said he will become music director of the Atlanta Symphony. "I love the relationship I have with the Boston Symphony, and I hope it continues."

Another attraction is the Atlanta Symphony's relationship with Tanglewood. Despite his prominence, Spano has not yet made any recordings. "I am meeting with the Tanglewood people, and it will be fun to figure out what to do. Negotiations with Atlanta have been under way for about two years, and we got down to the nitty-gritty back before Christmas." Spano said yesterday. "Next season I am music director-designate, so I know I will be frustrated at not being there more. Then my contract runs for three full seasons. I will probably be on the road just as much as I've always been, but will be commuting regularly between two places instead of always heading off for parts unknown. I am eager to enter a committed, long-term relationship with an orchestra. This is something I haven't had before."

Taylor Davis' untitled plywood sculpture at the Chapel Gallery in Newton.

# Undertransports: exile from innocence

By JOURNEY  
Continued from Page C1

On the actual transport trains "My story is 'Kindertransport,'" says Soumerai, 74, of West Hartford, Conn. Originally from Berlin, Soumerai was sent to England by her parents at the age of 15, she learned after the war that her parents had been killed by the Nazis.

"I watched the play with shock and sadness," she says. "Many people do not understand the complexity and tragedy of the whole event." The story of the Kindertransport remains something of a footnote in Holocaust history, "considering that there were 6 million people killed," Soumerai says in perhaps a bit unmercifully. Says Kurt Puchel of the New York, former president of the Kindertransport Association of North America.

"The story does show that a country would reach out to needy children," he says. It also reflects the ability of young children to exhibit bravery, though not without long-term cost; to forge new identities; and in some cases to build productive lives for themselves without parents or other relatives.

The transports, which were accepted by Germany's Nazi government, were sponsored by the governments of England, Belgium and the Netherlands, and facilitated by Jewish refugee organizations. Local Jewish leaders were asked to provide names of eligible children, who were limited to only as much luggage as each could carry. A cash bond had to be posted for each child.

The first transport left on November 1938, the last one just two days before war broke out in September 1939. The British Kindertransport took the largest number of children—mostly from Germany but also some from Czechoslovakia and Austria. They were taken in by foster families or placed in orphanages, group homes, or farms. Two trans-

ports were also sponsored by the governments of Belgium and the Netherlands, which took 500 children.

After the war, about 25 percent of the children eventually found their way to the United States and Canada. Between 25 and 30 of them are currently living in New England states, according to Kindertransport Association records.

### A range of destinies

The children's stories range far and wide. One Kindertransport child—Munich-born Arno Puzos—went on to win the 1978 Nobel Prize in physics. Raul Praver Jablonski became a screenwriter for the producing-directing team of Ismail Merchant and James Ivory. Another, the late Ruth Morley, was an acclaimed costume designer. One woman married an Ashish farmer and lives in Pennsylvania. Dutch country with seven children. Peter Garfunkel and Ute Wittl, who were on the same Kindertransport, ended up marrying; they now live in Newton.

"Most of us, when we came to our new homes, did well. Most of us are well-off," says Fred Manasse, 64, of Welham.

Although he has no records of his own, Manasse believes he left Germany for Belgium on a Kindertransport in the spring of 1939 at the age of 13; he has parents but had entrusted him to the care of his brother, who was 7. Until the summer of 1944 the group of 100 children who were shuffled through a series of transitional stations in Belgium, France, Spain and Portugal; these include orphanages run by the Swiss Red Cross and group homes where they were

"The living situations ranged from nice and idyllic to terrible," he says. They sometimes slept on straw and were often hungry, "with no beds, no toilet, no nothing."

During much of the war, the children in Manasse's group stayed one step ahead of the occupying Nazis, in hiding and on the run. At many junctures, "we could have been taken away and sent off for the final solution," he says. Ten of the older children ultimately did get caught and were eventually sent to death camps.

The Manasse brothers escape to Portugal involved three days of climbing the snowy Pirenees with no food or water and "wearing only rags and wooden shoes," he says.

But they were alive; their parents were not. Manasse still does not know the fate of his little sister. After the war, the brothers emigrated to New York City, where Manasse lived in half a dozen jobs. He attended college in New York, earned a doctorate at Princeton, became a successful engineer and married. He raised five children. He attended college in New York, earned a doctorate at Princeton, became a successful engineer and married. He raised five children. He attended college in New York, earned a doctorate at Princeton, became a successful engineer and married. He raised five children.

He still remembers the letters he mother wrote him "others that she read with 'mixed feelings.' It often cried when I read them. It was like reading letters from a stranger. But she would write things like 'Dear properly' and 'Be a good little girl,' which I found obnoxious. It was experiencing things my mother would never have dreamed of."

But such letters—which are an important part of the play "Kindertransport"—were a crucial connection for Eve Nissbaum Soumerai. Her transport took her to England when she was 13 and to a temporary home with a family of "very difficult people who sent me to bed 6 every night." Disparagingly, she says, she would remember advice her mother had given her before she left: "Look at the stars and pray."

"It's what I did," she says. While looking at the stars, she would "wonder a world of people who would talk to me."

She kept letters from her par-

me. I asked him why, and he said, 'You're going to Belgium.' I was very upset. I could not understand why I could not see with them."

In fact, her parents fled to Shanghai, where no visa was required. She lived in an orphanage outside Brussels, then the Germans invaded Belgium, then moved to Switzerland.

In the absence of parents, older children nurtured younger ones "I remember Fred very well," she says. "I remember his brother was very protective of him. He was our pet, so to speak."

In the end, Garfunkel fled to Switzerland, where she remained with a Swiss family until moving to New York in 1947. Having learned that her parents had died in a refugee camp in Silesia.

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spank German anymore. Eventually they reunited, moved to the States, and had "a very loving relationship," he says. But "it was difficult. My mother wanted to resume where I'd left off as a 7-year-old and I was just desperate to meet her."

Even reunited families suffered. Ed Klugman, 74, was put on a Kindertransport to England in August 1939, when he was 13.

Seven months later, he joined his brother in New York; his parents followed shortly afterward. But two grandparents died in concentration camps, as did one uncle and aunt. His mother suffered emotional breakdowns and his parents were divorced.

Now a professor of early childhood care and education at Wheelock College, Klugman returned to Germany about 10 years ago, a journey he calls "afterlife."

But there is what he calls "a final chapter." Six years ago, a cousin in Chicago died and he will attend his funeral in her and Helen, a 61-year-old who was put in a Dutch concentration camp at the age of 2. She was "so badly damaged, physically and emotionally" that she has been hospitalized for the last 40 years. Klugman says that though his Kindertransport journey lasted only 48 hours, the trauma continues as he struggles to care for Helen.

"This shows how Hitler reaches into many more generations. It is a terrible legacy, and it is never gone."

► "Kindertransport," by Diane Samuels. At the New Repertory Theatre, 54 Lincoln St., Newton Highlands, through Feb. 20. For ticket information, call 617-552-2200.



# A small company eyes big fashion dreams

By [Name] Staff

They understand that we have the right vision."

To be sure, Shapely Intimate's designers don't intend to compete directly with established brands like Victoria's Secret and Elie Saab. Instead, they want to offer a more intimate, more personal brand of lingerie.

Chabos, a former American Express executive, is also a former model. She worked for a fashion house in New York and then moved to Los Angeles to work for a clothing manufacturer. She says she was always interested in fashion and wanted to start her own business.

Chabos and Donovan are now in Las Vegas, where they are working on their catalog. They plan to launch the brand in the fall. They are currently looking for investors and distributors.

They understand that we have the right vision."

To be sure, Shapely Intimate's designers don't intend to compete directly with established brands like Victoria's Secret and Elie Saab. Instead, they want to offer a more intimate, more personal brand of lingerie.



Partners Suzanne Donovan (left) and Dana Chabos showing off their designs for plus-size intimate apparel.

Let April, Chabos asked Donovan to help in creating the brand. "I produced myself," recalls Chabos. "I was just starting out. [Suzanne's] personality was let me help you. I'll be there. We're good friends."

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# Question: What show is No. 1?

Associated Press

NEW YORK — With another week dominating the television ratings, ABC's "Who Wants to Be a Millionaire" has turned into a potent weapon in cutthroat network competition.

Three regular airings of the quiz show and a special were the first most-watched programs on prime-time TV last week, according to Nielsen Media Research.

That special edition angered one of ABC's rivals, ABC scheduled its new game show "Party Line" on Regis Philbin's game-crushed NBC's new Tuesday 10-11 p.m. slot.

NBC Entertainment president Tim Allen later told The New York Times that ABC's special "Millionaire" was "a cheap shot." He added: "If they continue to do this, at some point they can do tremendous damage to the network."

Judging by last week's ratings, "Millionaire" is much less impacted on more established shows that air in the same time slot. That's an indication that the quiz is bringing in a lot of new viewers.

For the week, ABC led with 15.9 million average prime-time viewers in the 18-49 age group, followed by CBS at 14.6 million, NBC at 14.1 million, Fox at 13.6 million, and the CW at 1.5 million.

ABC's lead was due in part to "Who Wants to Be a Millionaire," which averaged 15.9 million viewers in its 10-11 p.m. slot. The show's success is a testament to the network's strategy of focusing on high-rated, low-cost programming.

# BOSTON GLOBE MOVIE DIRECTORY

MOVIE DIRECTORY KEY: ( ) Show Begin Times are shown in Parentheses     H Denotes Handicapped Access     \* No Passes/Restrictions apply     DOL/Dolby Stereo     DIG/Digital     DSS/Dolby Surround Sound     Stadium Seating

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A NATIONAL ANTHEATRE THEATRE  
214 Harvard Ave. 617-727-1140  
NEXT FRI DAY (PM) 12:30 2:30 4:30 6:30 8:30 10:30

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CAPITOL THEATRE  
274 Mial St. 711-844-4343  
THURSDAYS (PM) 12:30 2:30 4:30 6:30 8:30 10:30

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**CIRCLE CINEMAS**  
A NATIONAL ANTHEATRE THEATRE  
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# Dad should set up prenuptial agreement

By Ann Landers

I am 30 years old, married, with two young children. I also have a great relationship with my 22-year-old brother. Here's the problem. Our divorced 62-year-old father has been seriously dating a widow who is 10 years younger than he is. When this woman's husband died, he left her quite well-off financially. She has two children of her own who are also fairly well-off.

When our mother divorced Dad 15 years ago, he stopped taking much interest in our lives. There was never an emotional closeness between us, although in the past year or two, he has made a real effort to make up for the previous years of neglect. It had been a long process, but all of us want to develop stronger ties and lately we have

## ANN LANDERS

been spending a great deal of time together.

We know Dad had been lonely, and we have no objection to his dating. However, my brother and I believe he should get a prenuptial agreement if he decides to marry the woman, not only to protect us and our children's interests but her children's interests as well. A prenuptial agreement will ensure that any money either of them brings into the relationship will wind up where they want it to go.

Dad seems very trusting of this woman, but he does not want her to know what his assets really are. He has not been given this information either, but we have reason to believe

his estate is sizable. Until recently, Dad has been stingy with money. Now, he is spending quite a bit on this woman. We don't want our inheritance divided to favor her family.

I am very happy that Dad has found someone to share his life. I wish I had not yet retired, but I want him to continue seeing her. We do care about him, but we don't know how to approach him about the prenuptial agreement. Please help.

**CONCERNED IN ILLINOIS**  
You sound a bit too interested in your father's money. Since he doesn't seem to be of sound mind, it would probably make a rational decision about what to do with it. Nevertheless, when both parties bring assets

into a marriage, it is wise to have a prenuptial agreement. It can prevent a lot of grief down the road. The best approach is to ask him if he wants to have a prenuptial agreement. The rest is up to him.

**Dear Ann Landers:**  
I am writing about my 60-year-old son-in-law. This fellow has completed several years of college, holds a master's degree, and is a nice guy. He is very good to his wife and us. However, they have moved five times in the last 10 years and always seem to be short of cash.

We have loaned them money, which has never been repaid. Our younger daughter has loaned them money as well, and they have not paid her back, either. This son-in-law cannot seem to land a job. He goes

from one position to another, which is very perplexing.  
My wife and I are retired and living on a fixed income. We are comfortable, but we must live conservatively in order to maintain our lifestyle. We cannot afford to support my son-in-law and his family. What do you think is really going on with him?

SAN BERNARDINO, CALIF.

**PARENTS**  
No mystery here. A 60-year-old man with a master's degree who has moved five times in 10 years and always seems to be short of cash was educated by his intelligence. It's nice that he has a BA and an MA, but what he really needs is a job. Tell him, in no uncertain words, that he must go to work at something—anything—because the wheels have come off the gravy train.

## Concert update

Tina Turner has added a second show (June 8) at the FleetCenter, after her first sold out over the weekend. Tickets are \$35.25, \$55.25, and \$85.25 on sale Friday at 11 a.m. through TicketMaster. The Irish Tenors (Ronan Tym, Anthony Kearns, and Finbar Wright), with special guest John McDermott) come to the FleetCenter March 16. Tickets are \$39.50, \$49.50, and \$76 and go on sale Monday at 11 a.m. through TicketMaster.

STEVE MORSE

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# Saying "no, thank you" to colleges

## MISS MANNERS

By Judith Martin

**Dear Miss Manners:**  
Help! My daughter has applied to several colleges, and now the responses are starting to come in. Several have not only admitted her but have also offered her very generous merit scholarships.

Of course, she can only attend one. Is there a nice way to say, "No, thank you" to the others? It seems ungrateful when a college has been caring and sending material and offering major money just to return her postcard with a box checked off.

I realize they need their postcard for efficiency's sake, but I would also like to enclose a note (or have my

daughter enclose a note) Gentle Reader.

For your daughter to write those admissions office thanking them is not strictly necessary, but a gracious thing to do. These are staffed by people who are routinely vilified by those who reject and ignored by those they accept.

For you to assume this task, might offer the same people relief that she did not accept their offer. They will assume that a college-age student whose mother writes her letters has also had her mother write her college applications and essays, as well as her high school papers and homework.

**Dear Miss Manners:**  
On certain occasions I cook, who plays for various ensembles—or, as they say, "I do pig roasts." I have a large

roaster that I cook the pig in, and then I carve the meat and put it in pans to serve it.

It is not unusual at all to give people that these events come by letting them take a piece of the pork. I wash my hands often, and use knives and tongs or forks to handle the meat.

While back my wife and I were doing a wedding, I cooked and carved, and she took the full part of the meat to the serving table. While carving I picked up a small piece of meat and ate it. She jumped on me for this, saying it wasn't right. We had a brief argument, but in the interest of the guests I did not pursue the point.

My question is, did I do anything wrong? I am the cook. I did not dump it up and spit it out on the plate. And I did not put my mouth on my

book.  
Your response will not solve any problems, as I have since fired my wife from my pig-roasting business. But I would still like your opinion.  
**Gracie Reader**

Not knowing your wife, Miss Manners has no opinion about whether you should have fired her. Fastidiousness is not ordinarily a firing offense, although jumping all over people while they are trying to cook may be.

Nevertheless, the lady has a point. Is anyone the daunt to watch the cook tasting the food, even if he manages it without touching their portions?  
They know that tasting is part of cooking because the daunt to watch them; unfortunately, they also know how they do it themselves.

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DOGS - CATS - PETS

DOGS - CATS - PETS

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YARD SALES

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DOGS - CATS - PETS

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DOGS - CATS - PETS

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