

Dr. Schneider

BOBINE 200

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Q: Well, Dr. Schneider, you start first to explain me ~~why did~~
~~you write this book about the Riga Ghetto.~~ What were your
motivations?

A: One of the most important motivations was...were that ~~there was~~
~~no actual book on this most unique ghetto.~~ There were ^{several that had} ~~books~~
~~been~~ written by survivors, some kind of memoirs. This is a well
researched doctoral dissertation. It brought to light certain
of the things that had bothered me already then, as an inmate,
and bothered me later, when I started to learn more about the
Holocaust itself. Like why were we selected to live, and for
instance, the Latvian Jews were killed. And I was under the
impression that being Eastern Jews, they were killed to make
room for us, which later proved to be not true.

Q: And could you explain why you had this impression?

A: The impression was fostered by the Germans in the ghetto -
meaning the German personnel, the SS - they would make remarks
such as: we brought you here because we need workers who under-
stand German and who therefore would be very important for the
war effort. Which meant, translated, that the Jews who were here
before were expendable, being Latvian Jews. I found out in my
research that they had killed the Jews before becoming aware of
the fact that they were an enormous asset to the war effort.
And so they decided to simply substitute the German Jews in the
meantime until, I guess, we would drop dead for exhaustion, and
use us as slave-labour in the meantime, giving us a ghetto of
our own, in a way even autonomous, to an extent, And I got
permission to do the research, to go to Riga, to find out as much
as I could, and this is why I wrote it. And of course, I also
wrote it because I lost my father in the war and I lost most of
my friends in the ghetto still. So I felt a kind of urgency.

Q: But could we come back about that question about the Eastern
Jews, of the Latvian Jews.

A: Yes.

Q: But how would you picture your book? Do you think it is an

exemplaire book, a classical book about the Holocaust, about this particular theme...

A: I would say it is only ^{a minute} ~~my~~ detail of the vast theme on the Holocaust. But it is unique because there was no other German ghetto like this. There were German Jews for a while in Minsk, but only for a short time. Then there were German Jews in Lodz, who were incorporated into the existing ghetto. But ~~we~~ were separated and treated totally different from the Latvian Jews. And therefore my book sheds light on this particular element of the treatment, the different treatment. And then of course it is also peculiar in itself that when you look at the various things that we were permitted to do, I mean all the ghettos had some sort of school system, but it was always clandestine...

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Q: Yes, but I would like to understand, why did you say that in the beginning, when you started to write your book, you wanted to enquire about the fact that people say that the Latvian Jews had been killed in order to make place for the German Jews and that you discovered....

A: that it was not true.

Q: that it was not true. Could you, could you elaborate a little more.

A: Yes. You know, they killed within a space of a few days approximately 25-27,000 Latvian Jews, and then they were left with about 4,000 men and 300 women.

Q: This was when, this...

A: Ah, in November and December 1941. And then suddenly the Luftwaffe and the German Navy and all the other sogenannten Dienststellen, you know, started to clamour for workers. And the head of the Sicherheitsdienst was Lange, and he felt that what he was going to do was to bring the first, (it was not really the first transport that came, because one transport from Berlin had been added to the dead in the forrest). But he took the people from Cologne into the ghetto. And no sooner had he done that, that Gebietskommissar Drechsler, Drechsler who was in charge of getting the jewelry and furs that the Latvian Jews had left behind - he was in charge of getting all this, and he wrote him a very sharp letter, saying 'how could you have brought all those Jews into the ghetto. I cannot

have it cleaned up. It is terrible.' And I found this document which has never been published.

Q: How could you bring 'them' - the German Jews?

A: Yes, well, Drechsler was very very upset with Lange, and Lange must have gotten permission to do that from Germany, because as a matter of fact he was invited to the Wannsee Conference. So he was...he was quite on his own. And the German Jews, he put them in a few houses in the formerly Latvian ghetto.

Q: OK, but excuse me, there is something I don't understand very well because the Latvian Jews who were needed by the different services of the Wehrmacht, they were skilled workers, I mean they were skilled workers.

A: artisans, sure.

Q: artisans.

A: Yes, and yet...

Q: And what were the German Jews? What was the social recruitment of the German Jews.

A: Usually the German Jews were what you would consider middle-class, formerly perhaps shop-keepers, teachers, professors, doctors, lawyers, everything except skilled workers. So it was not really a good idea - I mean from their point of view. Because I found one of the documents that said that it is just too bad that we have the German Jews working now because they are really not as good as the Latvian were, because they were artisans.

Q: They were able to speak German, but they were unable to work...

A: Of course they were. But, you see, I think the whole thing was done in such a haphazard way without the usual teutonic planning, that they killed the goose that laid the golden eggs. The German Jews, from an economic point of view, were by far not as skilled or good workers. They were used then for unloading boats, for cleaning the streets, for all kinds of things. But they couldn't be used like the Latvian Jews had been used before.]

Q: They were unable to make boots.

A: No, no. Well, eventually they learned. You know, Jews are very talented. They can learn anything.

Q: Yes, but would you say that this story is a legend, that the Latvian Jews, let's say the Ostjuden, had been killed in order to make place for the....

A: Yes. I...

Q: ...German Jews.

A: I would say that it is a legend because it is first in March 1942 that Goebbels wrote in his diary that it would be a good idea to do such a thing. In other words...

Q: to do what?

A: to kill existing populations of Jews and then bring Reichsjuden there.

Q: Reichjuden?

A: Yes. So that was in February. Now you have to remember that this had already taken place six months earlier. So now, suddenly Goebbels has such a fantastic idea. You know, sometimes think to yourself, well, perhaps you are wrong, you...you might...you might think that this was not quite so. And then you find such an entry in a diary, from a man like Goebbels, and you see you are on the right track, that this was a wedge between the German Jews and the Latvian Jews - to this day by the way. There are letters that, well, because of you, people coming into the ghetto, my whole family was killed, and therefore I don't want anything to do with you.

Q: I have one of those letters.

A: Yes, I have the same letter, I am sure.

Q: Fred Wildhauer.

A: Yes, yes, I have this letter in my files.

Q: Yes, OK, but you cannot....

A: ...You cannot convince him, you cannot. [Because even though it was not official policy, the facts were clear; That they were killed, and when it was found that slave labour was needed those who came in were kept alive. Even though they were totally useless in part. And we were kept alive for a long time really. If...I mean speaking about the Holocaust, and people who were sup...who were going to the East, were not scheduled to be left alive, especially not Reichsjuden with children and old people and not good for labour.

Q: Yes.. It is the reason why the case of Riga is very...

A: extremely peculiar.

Q: ...peculiar.

A: extremely peculiar. You live and you can only thank regular foul-up of not thinking correctly by the authorities, and that why you are alive, I mean in my particular case. What good

were we to the national economy of Germany? And here we are.]

Q: But the, but the Latvian Jews, they go on thinking in the same way...

A: Not all of them. Those....

Q: There are pictures that we have seen, and some of them are here

A: Yes, they are part of my dissertation too. Of course they go on thinking, I mean, it is only human. You know, when you have a fight with your boss, you are not going to scream back at your boss, you come home and you blame your wife. So they cannot really, in their mind, blame anybody but the German Jews who came in and took the places they had just vacated, and where their wives and children had been killed. It's a very natural phenomena. Although they behaved marvelously to us.

Q: Who, the....

A: ...the Latvian Jews. Yes.

Q: The remaining?

A: The remaining 4,000 men. Marvelously. They gave food to the German children. Can you imagine, their own children were just killed, a couple of weeks ago, and German Jewish children stood at the...at the fence and cried 'Wir haben Hunger, wir haben hunger - we are hungry - and these Latvian bereaved fathers took out whatever they had and gave it to those children.

Q: But were you separated from them? they....

A: Yes. We were separated. The only thing is that on the way home from work they could put something through the fence. You know, we had barbed wire. [There were two different ghettos. But....

Q: Two different ghettos - but just separated by one...

A: No, no.

Q: ...one row of barbed wire?

A: No. There was a row of barbed wire on the German side, and a row of barbed wire on the Latvian side, and in between there was the so-called (Latvian name) or Leipzigerstrasse, as it was called, where the Kommandatur was and where no one could walk.

Q: But it was not far, the two ghettos?

A: As I said, they were divided by one street, but with....

Q: On the other side of the street.

A: But with two... with two separate rows of barbed wire, and two great gates. One gate leading into the Latvian ghetto, one gate leading into the German ghetto, with police there at all times..]

And if... Now, German Jews very rarely went into the Latvian ghetto, but if Latvian Jews wanted to come into the German ghetto for the theatre or sports event or something of this sort, or later, to visit their girl/friends, then he had to have a pass.

Q: Yes?

A: Yeh.

Q: It was possible to get a pass?

A: Oh, sure. It was possible if you had the right connections.

Q: Now, how old were you yourself at the time?

A: When I came to Riga I was thirteen.

Q: Thirteen?

A: Yah.

Q: That means your outlook is the outlook of a young girl?

A: I am not young anymore.

Q: No.

A: It was at that time. You mean my memories are that of a young girl. Well, I suppose you could say that. I spent some interesting and very formative years in the ghetto.

Q: Could you describe from the beginning how it went on.

A: How it went off, how we arrived.

Q: Yes, and how you started too.

A: How it started.

Q: The departure...

A: The departure...the departure from Vienna itself?

Q: From Vienna. You are from Vienna?

A: I am Viennese, yes. And...Transporters had been going to the east for a while. And we didn't think we would ever be on one of them. My father was what was called ein wirtschaftswichtiger Jude. In his identity card he had WWJ, which meant that he was important to the economy of Austria. However when now the whole street...

Q: In which respect was he...

A: He was building bridges.

Q: Ah, yes.

A: So, on February 1, 1942, the whole street where I lived on, all the Jews were taken to a place - a former school of mine. And in this particular school...

- Q: Excuse me, the street was already a ghetto?
A: No, no, no, there was no ghetto in Vienna.
Q: There was no ghetto but the Jews were concentrated?
A: They were....

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- Q: OK, go on with the departure.
A: You wanted to know how we were finally put on the train.
Well, it did not take long. We were taken to the school, it was a very nice regular high school, where all the benches ^{had been} were taken out and all the people were made to lie on the floor. And we were told that we were to be sent to the east. And family by family we had to walk by Brunner, ~~Brunner~~ who was in charge of it. And....
Q: Alois.
A: No, no, not Alois - Anton.
Q: Anton.
A: You see, Anton is the one who was hanged in Vienna. Alois is the one who was the right hand of Eichmann, who was later sent to Greece and who ^{was} never found. So, Anton Brunner looked at my father's identity card and then he said 'doesn't matter one way or ^{the} another' and he ripped it up and he threw it in the waste-basket as he did with all others. And he said that we would leave on Friday, Friday the 6th of February. And we still didn't know where we were going - just east. No idea.
Q: this was....
A: This was in Vienna, February 1942. On the way to the station, Asperg Bahnhof, there were people who were working in the Vienna Kultusgemeinde who rode with each...with each car, and the one who rode with us was a former captain in the army, World War I, a Jewish captain that was a friend of my father, who had also been an officer. And he said 'for heavens' sake, where'..., My father said: 'where are they sending us?' and he said 'you are going to Riga.' And I remember someone on the car saying: 'Oh my goodness, where is Riga?' You know, I mean people ~~know~~ do know that it is the capital of Latvia, but it

was absolutely...it was really not what we expected. So on Aspeng..

...

- Q: What were your feelings, the feelings of your parents?
- A: My parents were very upset. That is for sure. Because they understood that we were going into a very unknown situation. But they were not afraid for their lives. They felt whatever happens, we probably would be there to do work, and some way or another they would take care of us. They were apprehensive, to be sure, whenever you change places. But they were not deathly afraid as they should have been. No one was, absolutely no one. A total inability to believe in the Final Solution. And that is perhaps....
- Q: And was there fear of the east?
- A: No, no. There was....it was like the age old thing that Jews from time to time were thrown out of their places, and in this particular instance they were sent east because this is presumably where the front was, and this is where people were needed to work. No....
- Q: Excuse me, At the time you were living in the same flat you used to live?
- A: Oh no. This was already the third one. Our own flat we had to leave in 1939. That was like a . We were supposed to leave it in 1938, but my father went to court. Can you imagine, a Jew going to court in the days of Hitler? But they let us live there for another year, because it was ours. And then, we had to move into the Second District, which was...which had always been a kind of Jewish district, since the times of the Emperor. And we were in one particular apartment. We had a room in that one. And it was not such a bad apartment yet. But then the lady to whom the apartment belonged was sent to Litgmannstadt, to Lodz, and then all of us had to leave, and we were sent to still another apartment, which was in the Lilienbrunnngasse, Second District, not far from the Danube channel, you know. It wasn't ^{very} nice, but even that was not so bad yet.
- Q: But this was a house for Jews?
- A: no, there were Christians living in the house.
- Q: Yes?
- A: Oh, sure. There were Christian neighbours. But there were mainly Jews in the whole section. [And that particular day that I specified Sunday the first of February, they simply sent employees of the

Kultusgemeinde and they knocked on the door at 9 o'clock in the morning and they said: 'look, you have to pack whatever you have and you have to go to the Sperlschule, ^{into the school} because you are being deported.'

Q: With such a short notice?

A: Absolutely. As a matter of fact, I was in the kitchen already, but my sister was still in bed. My father was still in bed. It was totally unexpected and as I said...

Q: But you did not expect to be obliged to leave...

A: No, no, not because of my father. And others who were thinking that eventually that they will be deported, I suppose that they were not as surprised as we were, because we hoped to the very end, until we went in front of Anton Brunner, that he would free us, that he would put us back. But he didn't and so we went on the train. The interesting thing in our particular wagon was that we were not too many. Because on the other side...you know, it was one of those third class railroad wagons of the Austrian....

Q: passenger?

A: passenger, sure. They put in twenty people who had come back to Vienna from Oppole and from Kielce, who had been deported before. And they were actually brought to the railway station under guard and they were put in our...in the same railroad car as we were, except separated. And I remember, you know, I had long braids and it was so warm in the railroad car, that on the way I washed my hair and I dried it, with hot water from the radiator.

Q: Yes?

A: Yes. An interesting thing to do. There weren't too many people in the car. Other railroad cars were full of people, and some of them were even cold. It was...Even then it was already luck where you were. And we were in a good one - Waggon Nummer Eins, you know, right after the locomotive, And so it took us four days. Ah..We...I remember some cities on the way. First there was Krakau. We went through Poland, up...There was also - I think it's Chonitze in Polish, but it's Konitz in German. And there were....We went through Schaulen, through Lithuania and then finally on the tenth we arrived in Riga. WE arrived

already about five o'clock in the morning, but they first started unloading us around 9 - 9³⁰. We were in the cars and it was rather cold by then. There is also one other thing - Alois Brunner went with our transport to Riga. That was the famous Alois. And on the way he shot Sigfried ^{MUND} Bodel. This is also in my dissertation.

Q: But you remember this?

A: Yes, because it happened on car number 1, on our steps he did it. And then eventually he came into our car and said: 'did anybody hear anything?', and we all said 'no'. He had. The old man in his pygamas was chained to the steps. It was rather cold outside and he was asking for pity, you know, and Brunner was mocking him, ~~you know~~, 'did you ever have pity, you were one of the richest Jews in Vienna, you sucked out the blood' you know, and all this. And in the end he shot him. What else can I tell you ~~from~~?

Q: But you talked about Cracow.

A: Oh, going through? [You know, the funny thing is we saw Jews on the railroad station in Cracow. They could not speak to us, but they knew that we were Jews, because we wore the yellow star, they wore a white band. And they must have been working on the railroad. Two people of every car were allowed to go out and bring water, you know, fresh drinking water. But they could not make contact. From our car the guy who went out was a fellow by the name of Fritz Brunn, and he said: 'Ach, again. If I would only speak another language but German. Perhaps I could have said something to them.' Actually it is interesting that my parents, who had been in Cracow before, said that this was one of the oldest cities, and you know, there was a little history lesson in the middle of everything. An interesting trip to be sure.

Q: And what was the general mood in the...

A: Let me tell you something: It was one of apprehension, not of despair. You look back on it and say: how could you be so stupid? There is no explanation, absolutely none. As a matter of fact, I have to tell you a very interesting item, that perhaps formed some of my philosophy in the next few years. My mother had done a little bit of black-market before

we left - with marzipan. And she had a tiny little suitcase, full of those marzipan pieces. And I said to her; you know, you could give us the marzipan to eat. And she said: 'no, when we come there, maybe with this we will tide ourselves over.' And I said: 'No, I want marzipan'. I am terrible when it comes to marzipan, chocolate - I eat all that stuff - you can see. So she didn't want to. She gave me a piece or so. But I watched where she had the marzipan and in the night, when everybody slept - we had enough space - I went and ate up nearly half of the suitcase. That was the last night before they unloaded us. And of course, they took everything away at the station and we never saw a thing. So in the ghetto...

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As I said, I ate up the marzipan and in the morning we were taken out from the train and our luggage was left behind. We arrived in the ghetto and it was apparent...

Q: Don't go so fast. I want that you describe exactly the arrival.

A: I will do that, I will do that. But this is just one particular story, this is the story just about the marzipan. And then I'll tell you everything. Anyhow, my mother turned to my father and said: 'too bad I did not give her the marzipan when she wanted it.' And I did not tell her that I ate it. I didn't tell her until the war was over. And I learned a lesson for those years I was in camp: if you got it, eat it. Worry about later. Now I am going back to how the arrival really was. As I said, it was cold. Very cold. It was so cold that to this day when I think of arriving in Riga, I get goose-pimples. Just because of this enormous cold with this clear blue sky and a little bit of, you know, sort of sunlight filtering through, and the station eventually a mass of people, because everybody said 'raus, raus, raus' And you came out with your luggage and you are confronted from the warmth of the train, that still kept the warmth of the body, and here it is so cold. We found out it was forty-two below zero. And we came from Vienna, where when you have this kind of temperature, you close all the

schools. Can you imagine? So I went straight back into the car again and I said to one of my father's cousins, 'I can't take this', So she gave me a pair of stockings, additional stockings, I wore high shoes, you know, like ice shoes where the skates have been removed, and I put them on fast, over my own stockings and fastened them, so that I should be a bit warmer and that was.... And then I ran out of the car and stood with my father and my mother and my sister, who is two years younger. And suddenly these two gorgeous SS men, dressed very elegantly, with fur collars, and very very good looking and clean, and well taken care of, speak to us. And one of them says: 'Ladies and gentlemen' - and I mean he said ladies and gentlemen --meine Damen und Herren - 'The ghetto is quite far from here. It is about 7 or 8 Km, and will take a long walk, and you can see how cold it is. We have some busses for you and they are over there. Those of you who would rather take the bus, should do so, as you could then prepare a place for those who will walk. But the stronger ones should walk.'

Q: Could you say this in German?

A: Naturally I could say this in German.

Q: Please.

A: He said: 'Also, es ist ziemlich weit von hier ins Getto, und wir haben fuer diesen Zweck einige Autobusse fuer sie bereitgestellt. Und wir wuerden sie deshalb bitten, dass sie sich der Autobusse bedienen und nicht nur das; diejenigen die fahren, koennen dann einen Platz fuer die anderen im Getto vorbereiten. Die staerkeren Leute sollen gehen.'

Q: They were very polite?

A: Polite? you have no idea. We were really happy about this kind of thing. Look at it: this kind SS-man. He is preparing buses for people who won't be able to walk. So my sister, she was eleven, says: 'ich fahr, ich fahr, ich fahr' - I am going on the bus. My father said: 'no, you're not'. She said: 'ich will fahren', you know, an eleven year old child whines. Now, he was such a patient man - I cannot begin to tell you - he turned around and he slapped her. And Lange..

Q: He was one of the two?

A: Yes, the one gorgeous SS man who had addressed us so kindly, looks around, looks at her and says 'Kleine Kinder tun was die Eltern sagen.' - little children do what the parents tell them to. So she shut up. She was totally silent. You know, he had talked to her like this. Gut. My mother....

Q: Excuse me, there were many SS-men?

A: Those two Germans and all other Latvians, which we found out later. At this point we didn't know who was who, because we were quite mixed up. And then we were told: leave your suitcases here, they will be brought to the ghetto later. Some people were very smart - they took a little bit with them. Others felt: well, you have to walk seven Km., you don't want to carry anything. Fine. My mother didn't speak to my father the whole way because he had slapped my sister. She was angry at him. The two cousins of my father, the one who had given me the stockings and her sister, they went on the buses and they said: 'we will prepare space for you in the ghetto'. And we started....Ja. And those people there were about, I would say, two thirds of our transport. We were about a thousand people, and approximately seven hundred elected to take the buses. The other three hundred, including the four of us, we elected to walk. The moment the others were out and nearer to the buses, which turned out to be the famous gas-vans, he changed completely in his behavior. 'Ihr bloedes Volk, kommt mal her'. - you stupid people, come here..

Q: Who changed - Lange?

A: Lange. And you know, I could sense the shock even in my own parents. How could such a nice man talk like that suddenly. Ihr bloedes Volk, kommt mal her. horrible. But I want you to know one thing. He was right. We were stupid. And that's what he thought of us. We were stupid.

Q: Why?

A: He duped us so easily. Not even a shot was fired, and seven hundred people went to their death without any trouble on his part.

Q: But excuse me, you say that these autobus were gas-vans.

A: Yes, you know, they used them in Riga from time to time.

And these particular grey vans, they were closed, they were not real buses, and nobody at that time had any second thoughts about them. We were not acquainted with the means to the Final Solution. The thing is that they tried them out in Riga, as I found out from the Institut fuer Zeitgeschichte...

Q: Excuse me, do you remember exactly, could you describe this...

A: Yes, I could describe them.

Q: ...the trucks, and could you describe how the people were loaded in. Please, this is very important.

A: No, that I did not see anymore, you see, because he told us to go away from the station - Schirotawa * while they were lined up to enter those cars. We did not see this any more. We just saw them walking towards them and they then stood on line.

Q: But you did not see the.....

A: Yes, we saw the trucks. Of course we saw them, but...

Q: How did they look?

A: They were kind of grey, and they were closed, you know, sort of very square, and they had a door from the rear, because they were...the doors were open. They didn't look ominous either. And it looked from far as if there were windows, but I know now that there weren't any. You see, the thing is very hard to tell what I saw, what I didn't. But I know for sure that I was not in any way discomforted or scared. So they went because they didn't want to walk, so they went by bus.

Q: And how many were they?

A: About seven hundred.

Q: No, no - the buses, the gas-vans?

A: I saw, I saw personally only about three or four. But there may have been more, whatever happened I don't know, because we were then sort of driven towards the entrance to the city. And the guards who drove us in front of them were Latvians, because their German was horrible. Then we knew that they were not Germans. And Lange and Maywald * which I found out later was Maywald - he is , they got into their car and drove away. And we were left with the Latvian guards, who escorted us into the ghetto.

Q: Describe this precisely, the walk, the seven km walk....

A: The walk. About...straggling, you know, not in nice rows, but straggling. Some people carried something, some people didn't. I was walking sort of on the side, near the side-walk, and we we couldn't go on the side-walk. In other words, a couple of times, when I tried to step on the side-walk, because of the snow, or something like this, the Latvian SS man would sort of push me back on the street and say 'verboten, verboten' in his way. And about, Oh I would say about one km., or fifteen twenty minutes, we saw Jews coming towards us, German Jews from the ghetto, who were allowed to come and help us. And they screamed: 'nichts liegen lassen' - don't leave anything lying, you won't see your luggage ever again, they don't give it to you.

Q: German Jews who arrived...

A: who...yes, who had arrived earlier. And one I remember very well was a guy by the name of Mager. He...This was Lagerpolizei you know, the police of the camp. German Jews. One of them was a Viennese, and he kept asking some of the people whether certain of his relatives were...had come. And nobody knew. He wanted to know. And then someone asked him what happened to the people who went with the trucks, So he said they were brought to another camp, because there ^{were} various camps in the neighbourhood. And he was in no way giving any indication that he had an idea of what really happened.

Q: But he had?

A: I am not sure. He might have and might not have. I knew Mager later, his name was Mager, I knew him quite well later and and he seemed to be rather optimistic. He may not have been among the police who had to make the graves later....in February, but that is a conjecture. Anyhow, it was so cold, let me tell you, that the little droplet from nose froze. I...I cannot begin to tell you the cold. Till this day I have a psychological aversion to cold weather. If I could, and if I didn't have to go out, the moment it....

BOBINE 204

NY Schneider 7

Q: But there is a question I forgot. During the trip, you were escorted by what kind of people?

A: Schutzpolizei, as I said, even though he was not a member of

the Schutzpolizei, Brunner, Alois Brunner, was part of them. I don't know why he went, perhaps he wanted to have something to speak to Lange, although I didn't see him speak to Lange. He might have gotten out earlier, you see, we were confined to the cars. I don't know. he may have even gotten out before. Possible, because I didn't see him after that night when he killed Bosel anymore.

Q: But what was the...you say when you talk about the first meeting with Lange and Maywald, at the arrival, that they were gorgeous and so on..

A: Because we were a little bit grubby from four days in the train.

Q: Yes?

A: OK? It so happened that I did wash my hair, but still, the cloths are not ironed, you're wrinkled, you feel sort of grungy, sort of. And here those two specimens, in those excellent beautifully tailored uniforms, so.. so...You know, it's like when...when somebody who is hungry looks at someone who eats. Sort of they had everything. They were rather elegant, even in uniform.

Q: But this was your own feeling or...

A: My own....

Q: or it was the general feeling....

A: No, no, no, no. How could I speak for....As a matter of fact, I did not discuss this with my parents as such. This was my own feeling, sort of like two gods, you know, standing there. You know, I didn't realize that in a way they were like gods, that they could have the power over life and death. I didn't realize that, but it may have...who knows... In our subconscious there are interesting forces sometimes, that I should have seen them like that. To this day I remember this...this almost awe-struck feeling. And then this...this god turned round and told my sister to do what my father said. It was even intensified. And later on, when I found out that he actually saved her life. Now a Lange, you know, a murderer, a total murderer, without any

compassion. I am not so sure about Maywald because I had a meeting with Maywald in the ghetto, later, a few weeks after that, so I am not so sure whether he did not have a sense of humour. But this Lange, who killed people for nothing, that he should have done this, to this day is rather interesting. An interesting psychological slip. He was so powerful that he could even afford to save a little girl.

Q: Of course. But did you feel, when you met them,...I wouldn't say did you feel at home,...

A: No, when you are in awe of someone, you do not feel at home.

Q: Yes.

A: you don't feel at home. You mean because they spoke German to us?

Q: Yes.

A: I didn't expect anything else. I mean, if the Germans send you to Riga, Latvia, you expect Germans to be there, no? It was rather the Latvians that filled me with a kind of distaste.

Q: Yes?

A: ja. They were so uncouth in comparison to those Germans, because they had ill-fitting uniforms, they were only guards, some of that uniform was not really very well taken care of, they couldn't speak German properly, they were clumsy...

Q: But why were you so sensitive to the...to the uniform?

A: My father was an officer, perhaps that's what it was. You know, he had kept his uniform for many years. He fitted into it all the time - he was very proud of that. And, I come from a family where the grand-father fought in World War I, and...

Q: With the Germans?

A: With the Austrian army, yes, always the Austrian army. And great grand-father, and all this, I guess I look upon anybody whose uniform is not in tip-top shape, as not quite as it should be, comme il faut.

Q: Yes, but do you remember the arrival of the German army, of the Wehrmacht in Wien, in Vienna?

A: Ja, of course I do. I was a little girl....

Q: Do you have real impressions of this?

A: I looked upon them as invaders.

Q: Yes?

A: Yes.

Q: In spite of the uniforms?

A: In spite of the uniforms. You see, you are looking at a different kind of feeling. Vienna was where I belonged, where they did not belong. But now I was already somebody who has been deported, right? I had already been thrown out of school a couple of times, we had already changed our residence, I was already part of the eternal Jew who is not all that important. When they came into Vienna, that particular day, March 13, 1938, I was still a citizen of Austria - a little one though - but an Austrian, who sang the national anthem with fervour. Now I was already some one who was deported - there is a big difference.

Q: In your family you were very self-conscious of your Jewishness or not?

A: To a degree. We were perhaps assimilated in some ways, in most ways, like most Viennese Jews were, but we kept the high holidays, and we children had religious instruction, after school. We were not, what you could say, Jews who looked down on their own heritage. But it was not something that was taken terribly seriously. I remember when my grand-father used to say to my father always: show me one other Jew in Vienna who has a horse, who keeps a horse. So my father would tell him: this one, this one. - Oh, they are Jews like you. I mean, it was unfitting for a Jew to keep a horse, you know, this kind of stuff, in my grand-father's idea. He had a , he had a beard. My father of course didn't, My father never wore a hat, which a Jew is supposed to wear. My grand-father was angry about that too, things like that. But we were laughing, you know. But we were Jews, never anything but Jews, but not terribly concerned Jews - Let's put it that way.]

Q: All right. You arrive to Riga, als Juden.

A: Als Juden, ja. And then we became inmates of the ghetto. As we walked these seven Km, finally there was Moskauer Vorstadt - the ghetto.

Q: It was Moskauer Vorstadt?

A: Moskauer Vorstadt. That was the name of that particular place in Riga. It was the most decrepid place you can imagine. Those houses, the stench, the snow on the street, the...no canalization, no water in the houses. It was absolutely a rude awakening. If this is where they want us, what else can they do to us, you know, this kind of thing. And we were dead tired by the time we got there, but really, the cold, and....So we were...The three hundred who had reached the ghetto were put into one house.

Q: One house.

A: Into one house, which was later closed again, but just for this night they put us into this house on Moskauerstrasse.

Q: Yes?

A: Yes. And the last inhabitants had been Latvians, obviously. Because nobody had cleaned up there. We found all their things. And it was a big shock. We wanted to know what happened to them, and there was no one to tell us. So we had the wildest ideas.

Q: Can you describe it?

A: Yes, I can describe, I can describe that we walked into a room that had been a kitchen once upon a time, because you could see the various things. And food was actually on the table in a frozen state. Because the cold was very bad and they were killed between November and December, when it was very cold also, so the food didn't spoil. We could thaw it out and eat it. It was like eating frozen food. It was the only thing we had in our stomachs for the whole day, except the marzipan, if you remember. So then there were slippers under the bed, you know, like someone who had just left the bed. There were teeth in a glass next to the bed.

Q: Teeth?

A: Teeth, false teeth in a glass...frozen into the glass. The most macabre sight. And then of course there were those outside toilets that go straight down, that had no water.

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you know, and that we had to use. And one of the people in the transport found, when she wanted to go to the toilet, there was a little baby in there. Dead.

Q: Inside the....

A: Inside the toilet, yes. And she started to scream so that the whole house ^{ran} went together. And I remember because I was already laying down on the floor. And evidently when the Aktion occurred in December, the SS must have taken a Latvian Jewish child and put it in the toilet.

Q: There was blood?

A: Oh, there was quite a lot of dried blood, you know, frozen blood.

Q: There was frozen blood?

A: Yes, there was on the sides of the staircases, not in the apartment where we were, but on the side of the staircases, as if someone had lost blood on the staircase.

Q: But did you see that they killed the people inside the flats?

A: No, we didn't think of anything like that. We had all kinds of thoughts, but to think of actual killing inside the flats, no. Eventually we felt that they had been taken out to be sent to another camp and that they perhaps were treated in a terrible way, but we still didn't realize the truth.

Q: Try to elaborate.

A: To elaborate....

Q: What kind of thoughts...

A: The human mind...

Q: There must have been fantastic **shock**, no?

A: The shock was great, but yet, the human mind refuses to acknowledge that you are going to be killed.

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NY 8 m

Q: OK, you arrive in the ghetto, and...

A: And the house that they let us in had not been cleaned up from the damages of the Aktion against the Latvian Jews.

Q: Yes, but excuse me, you say this now. At the time, what did you think? Did you know anything about Aktionen?

A: We...no, we did not know...

Q: About Latvian Jews?

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A: But the people around me were discussing what could this be, what did they do here, for Heavens' sake, I mean, what happened. And of course there must have been turpidations about our own fate, because two people of these three hundred who had walked into the ghetto, was a...a former bank official with his secretary. And they committed suicide. They saw this, they took a measure of what was to come, and they committed suicide. It took them four days to die, they didn't have enough Veronal you know.

Q: They committed suicide

A: Yes.

Q: Immediately?

A: Immediately, this night, but it took them....

Q: In the houses?

A: In the house. And they were then transferred to another house, we had to carry them, and they vomitted all over, and it took them four days to die. But they actually must have understood what happened. He was enormously smart, I understand from people who had been in the same railroad car with him, that he was clever, and that really he had no fears, he said they will get through somehow. Then they saw this house, as a matter of fact I think she was the one who discovered the little body in the toilet.

Q: The dead one?

A: Ja. And they committed suicide.

Q: How old were they?

A: I would say - you know to me they were terribly old, but they must have been forty, thirties. Smart people though, because they knew that this is it. We didn't. Or if my parents did, they didn't let on, they didn't tell. Because my sister...I remember that my sister was crying or something, so my father told her: Dont cry, as long as the four of us are together there is nothing to cry about. And then my mother and my father made up, because she said: It was perhaps smart that you slapped her, so we are together. Whether she realized that there would have been death, I don't know, but even....

Q: At this time you had no idea of what happened to the seven hundred?

A: Absolutely no idea. But the surroundings were rather depressing. And we were allowed to spend one night there, and

I must tell you that we took everything that we could take. Like any piece of silver that we found, the slipper that I just told you about, there were very beautiful, hand-embroidered slippers, or stuff like that. WE took everything because we knew that our luggage was finished, we would never see it again. Because that the other Jews from the ghetto told us on the way.

Q: That they told you.

A: Ja. So...

Q: And did you take the frozen food too?

A: We ate it. We thowed it up. We made fire in the, in the kitchen with wood....

Q: The first evening?

A: Sure, we were very hungry, we had nothing the whole day.

Q: With what did you make the fire.

A: My father took a chair and broke it into pieces and we had matches, you know, he was a smoker. So we made a fire, a little bit pieces of paper. You know, there was plenty to make fire with, that first night. We thowed the food and we ate it. It was perfect, nobody got sick.

Q: Yes.

A: Nobody got sick.

Q: and did you start to clean?

A: No, no, because we were told that we would be there only one night, the next day we would get a regular apartment. And we were transfered the next day into our apartment, where we stayed for the rest of our...days in the ghetto.

Q: The apartment was in...

A: Berlinerstrasse...No, the new one that they gave us was on Berlinerstrasse dreizehn. Berliner-street thirteen, The one where we stayed only for the night was on Moskauer strasse thirty-one, which was not part of the ghetto.

Q: And the flat of Berkinerstrasse was in the same condition as...

A: No

Q: ...the last one?

A: No. It had already been cleaned, and there were already Jews living in the house. It was clean and there were a few people in there, who had come with an earlier transport

who were not too crazy to have so many people put into their apartment, but it turned out that we were very crowded for a few weeks, very crowded. This was an apartment: one big room and one pretty big kitchen. And in the kitchen there were nine people, including us, and in the big room there were thirteen people. So it was very very crowded.

Q: To sleep?

A: To sleep, ja. See, during the days the mattresses we be put up against the wall, so there should be room, but during the night, actually if you had to go to the toilet in the night, you had to step over everybody and it was quite hard to do. But little by little, you know, it emptied out.

Q: Yes.

A: Ja. It emptied out. The first one to go was...were two, no, three women, who were sent to Duenamuende, that was another Aktion. So there were three less. Then downstairs there was a room free, so one family moved downstairs. You know, little by little people moved out.

Q: You mean emptied out, this means....

A: Some people were killed, some people were sent away to another apartment, and

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Q: But tell me, there were many suicides at the beginning.

A: Not many, but a few. People who actually realized the significance and the severity of our condition, I believe, were the ones who committed suicide. There were...One of the interesting, the very interesting suicides, was a whole family, I believe they were from Leipzig or from Dresden, And you know, I found out later that the father had been a mountain climber, so a very sporty man. And he came with his wife and three children

Q: To Riga?

A: To Riga. With a transport from Leipzig. And he took his children and his wife and they all sat down in the courtyard of his house, where he had been asked to live. And he took the little one in the middle, between his wife and him, And so they said Now we'll sleep outside. Now he was a mountain climber, so he knew what snow does, that you get tired, at first you're cold

... But then you're tired. And so in the morning they were found sitting together, holding each other, frozen. It was a form of suicide.... These stories made the rounds, of course, but when looking at our condition, then it is a marvel that so few committed suicide. This is rather interesting.

Q: Yes, but I think it's proved that the Western Jews, from Germany and so on, committed suicide....

A: In Germany, Yes.

Q: Yes, in Germany, and even in the east, when they arrived there.

A: Yes, to an extent.

Q: ...much more than the Eastern Jews.

A: The eastern Jews are more fatalistic, I believe, that's one thing. The second thing is, that the shock for someone in Germany or even in Austria to be suddenly relegated to a position of such servitude, is much greater than that of an eastern European Jew, who is living with this kind of anti-Semitism all his life. But I still think that even under the circumstances in the German ghetto, there weren't that many suicides. You see, you would expect them to occur much more and they didn't.

Q: And how many people were you in the German ghetto in Riga.

A: At that particular point, mine was the last transport, and there were, I would say, approximately of the... oh well, there may have been as many as 15,000 at the time when I came there. Because 20,000 had been sent there, some were in Jungfernhof, 4,000, Jungfernhof, you know, Jungfermuize, which is another place. Salaspils had, so to speak, just begun, a camp only for men. One transport, as I said, had joined the people in the forrest in November, the transport from Berlin. Oh, maybe 14, 14,000. But it got empty fast, because we had then the Aktionen, March the 15, where the older people....

Q: Do you remember...

A: Very well.

Q: Can you describe it?

A: Sure I could. The evening before I had to carry out.... I was working, I was working for the office as a runner.

Q: Which office?

A: The Vienna group. And I had to carry out the notices to people who were supposed to go to this new Kommando outside of the ghetto, where they would work with canning of fish inside, and they would therefore not be in the cold, and it would be very good. And it was a big lie, of course, but it is interesting, that everybody believed it. And many people even asked whether they could be sent too. So they said, Of course, whoever wants to go.

Q: No, please, explain precisely.

A: Precisely, In the morning, the fifteenth, it was a Sunday. And those who had their slip were preparing to go, you know they had packed whatever they still had. But there were some people who had felt that they should have gone too.

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(plan de coup on Schneider sister and mother talking)

Question:the story of the action.

Schneider: If you remember, it was...it was supposed to be a different camp to which the people were going.

Q: It was what was told to them?

Schneider: Ja, sure. And not just to them, to everybody in the ghetto. And in some ways some of the older people were very glad that they would be in a camp where everything would be inside, a fish-cannery, and where they would be able to work, and where they would be somehow or other be sure of food. This was the big thing, the psychological idea, to say any fish cannery has food for its workers.

Q: It was a deceit?

Schneider: A deceit? Yes, of course. And you know, the man who thought of deceiving the people was Maywald, Gerhard Maywald. He said that he did it out of the goodness of his heart, he said at his trial, And let me say something here, which might...which might sort of turn you off. In a way, it was perhaps kind, not from his side, but for the people who went, because they went with hope. And there

were some...there were other people, also, who said that they would like to go too. In other words, from our house there were some people who had small children and said: we would like to join. This of course was the tragedy about it, because there was no coming back. and...

Q: But it was an action directed against the German Jews?

Schneider: Yes, this was. As a matter of fact, each group had to ...had to send a certain number. The least people came from the group Glogne, Kassel and Hannover, but there were quite a number of people from Berlin, because Berlin...you remember, the transports from Berlin had lots of old people. And a number of Vienna, and of course from Leipzig and Gruppe Prag. Kassel....

Q: Prag?

Schneider: Ja there were quite a number of them. So the whole day it went quite...how shall I say it, very nicely. The trucks were coming back and forth...

Q: Smoothly?

Schneider: Very smoothly, very effeciently, and it was only towards the afternoon, that the SS sort of got nervous. But there is one thing - there were enough people, they did not go into the houses to look where those were who they had called for and who didn't come, You see, everybody got a little slip to come. It was not like a selection, it was rather that the people were ordered to appear.

Q: It was a very orderly...

Schneider: Very orderly way of doing things. Yes, and that was another thing why people didn't get second thoughts. Although there were some, I remember one woman, and I remember her name, I don't even know whether she survived, I don't think so. She was a Viennese, her name was Meisel, Bertha Meisel. And she had gotten a slip because she had never gone to work, that she go to Duenamuende. She was already outside, and I remember in the night she had sewn a watch into her coat, And then, in the last minute, she said 'Ich geh nicht'. And she was hiding, but nobody came looking for her. And people said to her, you know, you were maybe stupid, you...here

you'll have to go and shovel snow, work in a factory who knows what you'll have to do, and there you would have been inside. But a few days later, when the trucks came back with the overturned clothing, with the milk bottles, with the evidence that the people had been killed, then everybody said, how did Meisel know how to hide. And you know, we really felt horrible.

Q: The trucks came back some days later with the clothes.

Schneider: Yes, to be sorted inside the ghetto. To this day, to this day, it is hard to understand why the Germans did it that way, whether they just wanted to show us you are just as bad as the eastern Jews, we kill you just as well. It was the greatest shock. The ghetto was in such despair, that I cannot begin to tell you. Because some people had still entertained a hope that this was true with the camp...

Q: It was the first action against the German....

Schneider: It was the second action, but the first one, they didn't bring the clothes back. They brought the clothing some place else. The first one nobody knew.

Q: And what was the meaning of this for you, this discovery that the Germans were killing the Germans, in one way. (mother starts to say something)

Schneider: Well, that was...What did you want to say?

mother: Sie haben auch genommen die...die things for bathing, derweil haben sie sie...(unclear mumble)...dass man genommen hat die juedische Frauen, man hat gesagt sie gehen zum baden...

Schneider: Ach, das war...das ist spaeter, das ist Auschwitz, Mama, das ist nach Riga. OK? So the thing-you can imagine, that people who up to then had still hoped that there was a difference.

Q: Between the German Jews...

Schneider: Yes.

Q: ...and the Latvians?

Schneider: Yes. I...I would say....

sister: certainly the German Jews thought so. The Viennese didn't think that...that they were something special. The German Jews did.

Q: Yes.

Schneider: And...And...

Q: They thought that this couldn't happen.

sister: Ja. There was a woman there, that the Fuehrer wouldn't do anything to her. She...

Schneider: Yes...

sister : still thought like this.

Schneider: ...we met people like that.

sister: Ja. The Fuehrer. (three unclear words).

Q: What did she say?

sister: The Fuehrer wouldn't do anything to her because she was German like...a good German, like...like the other Germans. And I ask her: Who is the Fuehrer? So she told me there is only one Fuehrer.

Q: You did this?

sister: Yes. I ask her. I think that maybe there is a Fuehrer in the camp I don't know about. I wasn't there very long, when she said that.

Q: She answered there is only one Fuehrer?

sister: Well, she was taken away that day, one of the Aktioner - there were so many.

Q: And they were killed where? They had been killed where?

Schneider: (unclear name) forest. In...because the Rumbuli forest by then was pretty...I mean, not over-crowded, I wouldn't say this, but the Bikamik(?) forest was used mainly for....

Q: They had been shot inside pits?

Schneider: Ja.

sister: Ja.

Schneider: Ja. As a matter of fact I went there to look at the graves, and...

Q: How many people?

Schneider: That particular day, I would say approximately... sixteen, seventeen hundred.

Q: Sixteen, seventeen hundred.

Schneider: This particular day.

Q: any kind of age? old people?

Schneider: You know, not just old. That was just the whole thing. The old ones, and people with young children, in other words, young people who had young children, the whole family was taken. So actually many of them could have worked a long time. It was just the fact that they had small children that made them be useless. Because if you...In the eyes of the Germans, evidently, if you had small children, they could have easily just taken the children and sent them away, but they didn't want to alarm the ghetto, that's why it's so hard to believe that they did later send all the clothing into the ghetto. Because stupid we were not. We may have been naive in the beginning, but not stupid. After that we knew that we could be killed just like anybody else. And I think people became a little bit more wise, and it helped later to survive, to not believe anyone any more. But after a while, you know, the ghetto sort of lulled you into^a false kind of security.

Q: And what did your mother wanted to say?

Schneider: Mama was speaking about Auschwitz, you know. She said that women were taken into the...into the bathes, and they were told that they were showers. See, this is something that...

Q: She mixes it?

Schneider: ..we found out much much later. She mixes, you know. But, do you remember anything about the Aktionen? Die Duenamuende Aktion im Getto?

mother; mmm

Schneider: Was erinnerst du dich? Wo warst du? (last two sentences not clear in the recording of the sound track)

mother: Damals war ich nicht...

Schneider: In der Wohnung warst du.

mother: Ja.

Schneider: Wieso warst du in der Wohnung?

mother: Ich glaube doch ihr...

Schneider: Nein. Wir waren nicht aufgefordert anzutreten. They did not tell us to come. Do you remember, you were young

at the time?

mother: Yes. Ich habe... (sister speaks at the background)
ich habe...da ist die eine gekommen, und hat gesagt,
du, sie koennen mich...und dadurch hat sie...

Schneider: Nein, Mama, das war in Kaiserwald. Das war spaeter,
das war schon viel spaeter. Weisst Du wo du gearbeitet
hast im Getto?

mother: Yes.

Schneider: Wo?

mother: Ich weiss nicht.

Schneider: Schneeschaukeln.

mother: Schneeschaukeln.

Schneider: (two unclear words) und in Schirotawa.

Q: What did she do? What did she do?

Schneider: She shoveled snow. She shoveled....

Q: She was removing the snow.

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mother: (mumbles something)

Q: Don't worry, say what you just said that they wanted
to kill the hope.

sister: Actually they did not succeed with this...

Q: No, no, but you must say it.

sister: In my opinion they brought back the clothes to kill the
hope.

Q: Among the Germans.

sister: Yes. The morale shouldn't be high, should be low. So,
they just wanted to hit below the belt. And in a way
they did. But I also think that it made us more de-
termined than ever to fight back, to live, - just by
living we fought back.

Q: Yes...just by living.

sister: just by living.

Q: And can you say something about the abortions, the
interdiction of sexual intercourse?

Schneider: Mama, du erinnerst dich man hat keinen Sex machen
duerfen im Getto? Du erinnerst dich an das? Ja? Wieso
war das?

mother: Man hat nicht lassen...man hat nicht duerfen gehen...
man hat das nicht duerfen.....(unclear)

Schneider: (unclear) die Leute haben sich dran gehalten?

sister: Viele ja

Schneider: Ja?

sister: Viele vielleicht nicht.

Shhneider: Ja?

sister: Ja.

Schneider: Und wie haben das die Deutschen sehen koennen, dasss
man nicht sex macht?

mother: Die Deutschen....

Schneider: haben sie...Sind sie in die Wohnungen gekommen?

mother: Sie sind gekommen....

Schneider: In der Nacht?

mother: Vielleicht auch, das weiss ich nicht. Das kann ich nicht
sagen.

Schneider: No, no, absolutely not.

sister: But anyone that came to the camp who was pregnant,...

Schneider: Ah, that's how they...

sister: I worked at the hospital...

mother: ? Anyway, wenn ich...
You know, something like this, and never, never in my life
....the first time in my life I saw something like this

Schneider: Well, I hope the last time for everybody.

mother: Well, you never know what. But this time....

sister: I dont think it can happen again.

mother: ...this time, this time, the people would be a little bit
more...

sister: because they know what could happen. We didn't know.

mother: I had a husband, such a nice guy, such a nice guy. from
nothing, from nothing. Never...I never saw him again.

Q: But he died in Riga?

sister: no, no, Buchenwald.

Q: He died in Buchenwald.

sister: the last days of the war.

Q: Yes. But he/...

sister: At the very end.

Q: But he was in Riga with you?

sister: yes.

Schneider: Sure....

sister: until 44. On the 8th...

Schneider: 6th.

sister: of eight we came to Stutthof.

Schneider: Yes.

Q: Yes, but you said, you started to talk about...you said that you were working in the hospital..

sister: I worked at the hospital, I was just an ~~ordinant~~, but I saw things that....If anyone came into the camp pregnant, I don't know, for some reason they didn't take the woman away, and send her away and kill her. They gave her an abortion even if she was her eighth month.

Q: She had to make an...an abortion?

sister: She wasn't asked. Nobody asked her.

Q: Who did this?

sister: Dr. Josef, a Latvian Jew. He had strict orders to make sure that they never would be able to become pregnant again. He didn't follow those orders all the time, when he could avoid it, but many times he had no choice.

Q: But he had to do it? And what did he say to the...to the woman?

sister: Nothing was said to her.

Q: But she was put in a bed, what happened?

sister: She was just taken in and she knew she had no choice. She cried, she screamed, but...no choice. I remember one. She was German. She said 'why don't you kill me with my baby?' But they didn't, they just took the... What happened to her later I don't know, many of them died anyway. Many of them were killed later, but in the meanwhile they gave them an abortion, and that was torture in itself. Imagine a woman six, seven months...an abortion? The baby was alive. So they killed it. They drowned it, in the toilet.

Q: And the story of interdiction of sexual intercourse? How was it...bring to the people?

sister: I don't know, I tell you.....

Q: There were posters?

Schneider: Posters...

sister: There were posters all...

Schneider: posters and also the...the guy in charge of the house...the house...the so-called Hauskommandant, Hausvertr-
auensmann. He went from apartment to apartment and
read it to every...to every...

Q: What did he read exactly?

Schneider: He read that from know on it is strictly forbidden
to have sexual intercourse. Simple. It...I mean it
is such a...it is such a...ridiculous kind of order
under the circumstances, you can only enforce it if
you separate men and women. But we lived together,
it was impossible to enforce.

Q: It's completely...

Schneider: And so it is idiotic. However, that's what they did
and everybody in the ghetto, you know, made jokes
about it, because they realized how silly it was.

Q: What kind of jokes?

Schneider: Ah...jokes, jokes that in the middle of the night
Krause will come and will see whether someone is
sleeping with someone else.

Q: How could they control?

Schneider: Of course they couldn't.

sister: They couldn't. they couldn't.

Schneider: That's why I...I was teasing my mother.

Q: Please.

sister: They didn't try, because I don't remember any incident
that they did come during the night to the house for
that purpose. I don't remember that.

Schneider: Of course not. It was...

sister: ..another thing...

Schneider: A totally, a totally....wasted kind of order, but
interesting in itself for it should have shown us
howhow...subhuman we were. I mean you can tell
animals not to copulate, by simply keeping them apart
by making them less than men and women. to make them
into anything sub-human. But we didn't understand

that either, we made jokes of it. And the young people made the biggest jokes.

Q: Yes.

Schneider: Of course, because to the young people this would be something very important. But even, I guess, the older people made jokes. They were...They were having...

sister: They weren't that old.

Schneider: They were not that old then, but to us they were...

sister: Of course....

Schneider: I...I remember...

sister: A thirty(?) year old woman was old to me.

Schneider: The man who was in charge of our house, Berlinerstrasse dreizehn, was Deutsch and...

Q: Deutsch?

Schneider: Deutsch, ja, this was his name.

sister: His son is alive.

Schneider: His son is alive in Vienna.

Q: He was a Jew?

Schneider: Ja, sure. But his name was Deutsch. And when he came in give this...to bring this command, I remember my father and I remember other people laughing with him, you know, Also Herr Deutsch, Sie werden kontrollieren ob man es macht oder nicht macht, you know - you are going to control whether you do it or you don't do it. And it was to us of course, we...it didn't mean that much. We were eleven and thirteen respectively, and that was the furthest thing from our minds - I hope. But other, other than that, I can only say that it was a... an order designed to subdue any idea that one is still human.

sister: Unless they wanted people to disobey the order.

Q: Why, why do you say this?

sister: I don't know, because I think any kind that they gave...any kind of order...

Q: Yes, I...

sister:people did just to spite them. That's my opinion. I mean, if I had been old enough I

would. Because if they would have told me 'you can't' I think I would have done it, just to spite them. I was too young, I was eleven, I didn't even think of it. But I think so that....

Schneider: When...When...I personally believe that it was simply an order that came out of the RSHA and it was therefore....

Q: But it was at the time they were thinking about the mass sterilization too,...

Schneider: That, that....

Q: ...and they were trying any kind of...

Schneider: They were trying all kinds of ways to make us stop having children. Now, if this would have been the only way than the abortions would have been enough, right? But just to say you are not supposed to have any sexual intercourse, that,...this...It is kind of silly in a way, and I mean this is what the... I believe that it did raise the morale in that we could laugh at the Germans.

sister: Ja, but I don't see that anybody would try, under circumstances like that, to have a child. I mean...

Schneider: (speaks on the background)

sister: ...you would have to be a moron, you would really have to be a moron under circumstances like this to bring a child to....

Q: This means there were no children who were born inside the, the Riga ghetto.

Schneider: Oh, ja, there were children, of course. There was one Latvian woman who had a child and she was able to hide it for the longest time. They called it Moses Ben Ghetto.

Q: Moses Ben Ghetto?

Schneider: Moses Ben Ghetto, yes. And...

sister: But that was a very, very, very...

Schneider: And he was...

sister: unusual...

Schneider:and eventually he was found and killed. Cried, you know, and one of the SS-men must have walked by, because the Latvian Jewish women lived all in

one particular house on the corner of Lutzasiella. But the German women and Viennese women did not have a chance, I mean there were some who waited quite long, but then they were caught anyhow. As a matter of fact I must say something here, because it was feared that they would be sterilized, there was a second, very little known place for doing the so-called abortions (We called it Appendicitis with hands and feet).

Q: Appendicite with?

Schneider: Appendicitis with hands and feet.

sister: Blinddarm mit...

Schneider: Haenden und Fuessen. Do you remember that? And in Gruppe Kassel they had one room, which they made into a little hospital so the Kommandant could never get there. And the wife of Aufrecht, the chief surgeon, she was there, and whenever a woman needed an abortion it was done there, the woman was allowed to rest for a few hours and she was out of the Kommando for a day or two, you know, for cold, or for whatever. And then she went back to work, but so that there should be no record of it. Because we were also...kind of trying not to have it come to sterilizations. The few doctors in the ghetto were always warning that once we would free we would not want to be sterilized. They also had a kind of

Q: Go on, go on.

Schneider: Well, they had a seminar for VD. The young people had to come to a seminar to be careful not to get VD - venereal disease - because again, for the simple reason that for the future, sterilization, you know, all these kind of things. The people who were smart, the educated, they were planning on survival. And therefore the young people were the most important to survive and to have children afterwards. There.....

BOBINE 256 and 256 A (two cameras)
NY 94 and 94 A

Q: But tell me about the songs, you used to sing them in the ghetto in which circumstances?

Schneider: At first...you know, when young people come together and there is no television and no movies and very few books and everything... you sing. You dance sometimes, in the beginning it was Horrah, later it became modern dancing tangoes and waltzes and what have you. But there are always talented kids around, and they make songs, they make up songs, and one of the songs, which I consider really, very, very much the ghetto-song was based on Die Moorsoldaten. And there was one...

Q: Die Moorsoldaten was a Communist song?

Schneider: Yes, a Communist song, that's right. And one of the young boys, at the time he was seventeen, he was THE Casanova of the ghetto. Yes, he was very good-looking, no? He had grey eyes and black curls and he had a mandolina and he could play, you know, all the young girls....I think he went with three at the same time. This kind of stuff. One is going with him. I mean, nothing really. It was all very platonic but very beautiful. And he made up this song based on the Moorsoldaten, where the ending instead of 'Wir sind die Moorsoldaten, und ziehen mit dem Spaten ins Moor'....

Q: Koennen Sie, Could you sing it?

Schneider: Yes. Instead of saying...

Q: Afer from the beginning.

Schneider: From the beginning. Well, it is a long song, it is:

Wohin auch das Auge blicket
Nichts als Eis und Schnee ringsum,
Vogelsang uns nicht erquicket,
Eichen stehen kahl und stumm.

Denn uns hat man verbannt
In ein fernes Land,
als Juden

Auf und nieder zieh'n die Posten,
Keiner, Keiner kann hindurch
Flucht kann nur das Leben kosten
Dreifach ist umzaemt die Burg

Denn uns hat man verbannt
In ein fernes Land
als Juden.

You want to go on with the song? I mean..
I would like....

Q:

Schneider: Mama should... Kannst Du Dich erinnern?

sister: I don't think she will.

Schneider: (unclear)

sister: She won't remember the words.

mother: Ich kann mich erinnern.

Q: Yes, she can, and you too, please.

Schneider:

Heimwärts, heimwärts zu jeder Zeit
Zu den Eltern, Weib und Kind
Manchmal muss er weinen drinnen
Weil wir hier gefangen sind
Denn uns hat man verbannt
In ein fernes Land
als Juden

Doch fuer uns gibt es keine Klagen
Ewig kann nicht Winter sein
Einmal werden froh wir sagen
Heimat du bist wieder mein

Dann sind wir nicht verbannt
in dem fernen Land
als Juden.

Now, you see, this is...when he came up with this
song, Fredl Schatten was his name,...

mother: yes.

Schneider: Yes. Was he...was he nice? Even my mother was
in love with him, I think. He came...

mother: He was a nice boy.

Schneider: So, he was later killed in Stuetzpunkt, where...
You know, Stuetzpunkt was the place where they
exhumed the bodies and burned them. And...And
that is where he was killed eventually.

mother: Seine Mutter....

Schneider: His mother...his mother was killed too, ja. But
he has a sister somewhere in Israel, I dont know
her name. Too bad, I would have told her.

sister: I was told she is alive.

Schneider: I hope so, at least somebody. Any how, these were
the things that were done. And of course there were
other artistic contributions, we had shows, and
people....

sister: We had an actress from Vilna.

Schneider: Oh, that was later, that was later in Kaiserwal
(all speak together)

Q: But, there were other songs?

Schneider: Oh, sure...

mother: ...hat man gesungen...

Schneider: Do you remember the song 'Asoi muss sein'?

mother: (sings) Asoi muss sein, asoi muss sein.
*Mir wüßsen beide sich zerscheiden
Asoi muss sein, asoi muss sein*
Yeh, sure.

Schneider: Ja, I remember, go ahead.

Q: It is a Yiddish song, no?

Schneider: Yes. Ah, this was a song from the Latvian Jews.

mother: I'm telling you and I'm telling you. It was some
thing....I don't know....that people can live what
they did. It's not nice. Not nice. If I had some
thing to say, I know what I would...

Schneider: What would you say?

Q: Yes.

sister: ...all the Nazis to kill?

mother: Nein, ich moecht sie nicht killen, aber so moecht
(unclear)

sister: You can't do that.

mother: Nicht ein...nicht killen. Killen das tut man nicht.
Das tut...Menschen tun das nicht.

Q: Please, try to sing it again - Aso muss sein.

Sister: Asoi muss sein...

Schneider: Mama, kannst Du singen -
(sings):

Die Werter die welche ich schreib zu dir
~~zinen mit mit Turt, und mit Treren~~
~~Ja~~ wenn die beste geendigt ist
und shoin verfallen nicht zu werden

Schwer ist zu verichten wos ist zerstert
Und schwer ist zu verbinden unsere Liebe
Ascho die Treren deine, die Schuld, die ist nicht
Weil Asoi muss sein ^{warne}

Asoi muss sein, asoi muss sein
mir müssen beide sich zerscheiden
Asoi muss sein; asoi muss sein
Sie Liebe endigt sich von beiden
Zu gedenkst du wenn ich ~~hob~~ dich gelassen in
weh

Mein ~~Q~~ hat gesugt ich muss von dir ~~awek~~
Weil in den ~~Q~~ ~~ich~~ schon ^{nicht} keinmal nicht
steren

Weil ~~so~~ i muss sein.

As you can see, my mother doesn't remember the words, but she remembers the songs all right. This was from the Latvian Jews and was very, very poignant, It meant a lot to all of us. There were lots of songs, but these two, mean more than others.

Q: You told me that there was another song about a love affair between a Latvian and a Jewess, who ended...which ended with an abortion in a hospital

Schneider: Ah, yes. That's a...tha t was...Du erinnerst dich an das Lied wo das,

(sings):

Ein Maedschne ging spazieren am Zaum
Und war so ganz allein
Doch nach einer halben Stunde
waren sie zu Zweit

Schneider: Ja, ja, ja, ach so ist traurig aber wahr
Nein, nein, nein, ach nein, von einem mal
kann es nicht sein

Warum dommst du heut so spaet
Schatz, du weisst dass es frueher nicht geht
Ich ~~hab~~ dir was mitgebracht
Darum bleib ich heute nacht
bei dir.

Er hat sie dann gekuesst...

Is it still on?
(sings) wie das so ueblich ist
It's still on?

Willie: Yes, j'ai encore en.

Q: Alors, alors, go on.

Schneider: (sings)

Er hat sie dann gekuesst,
Wie das so ueblich ist
Der
Sie wehrte sich nicht sehr
Ein Maedschne liegt im Spitale
Das Eine nie mehr vergisst
Doch hat laengst sie vergessen
wie das im Gett oftmals so ist.

Is this the song you mean?

Q: It's beautiful.

Schneider: Oh, well.

Q: 'Ein Maedschen liegt im Spittale'

Schneider: Yeh, Ein maedschen liegt im Spitale. A young
girl is in the hospital. And...and you know,
of course he already forgot her - which is not
always true, you know - but we just felt that
young girls should have some kind of a fright
about it. And then there were ather songs...

mother: Wie hat er geheissen?

Schneider: Wer denn?

mother: Wie hat er geheissen, der gestanden ist und hat

gesagt, von die Kinder....und ich bin auch damals gestanden...wenn man hat weggenommen die kleinen Kinder mit....

sister: Lange?

Schneider: Nein, nein , nein, das muss in Kaiserwald gewesen sein. Das war der Sauer. Das war nicht im Getto

mother: War der Lange, nicht der...

Sister: Das war als wir angekommen sind, da hat er Alle weggenommen.

mother: Der war dort, bei der...Das war ein Hund.

Schneider: Sie waren alle Hunde.

mother: Nein, so was gibts nicht.

sister: Ja, der Himmlich war nicht so.

mother: Wer? Wer sagt sie?

Schneider: Himmlich, sagt sie, war nicht so schlimm. This depends...

mother: Es haben vielleicht, vielleicht, es haben vielleicht a Paar gehabt, die nicht wollten so etwas tun.

sister: Man hat sich nicht gewehrt.

mother: aber sie haet muessen, nein, aber sie haet....

sister: Man hat sich nicht gewehrt.

mother: Es ist nicht zu verstehen.

Q: Es gab andere?

Schneider: Pardon me?

Q: Es gab andere Getto songs.

Schneider: Sure, there was a very beautiful and very interesting song about the fact that counterband food was smuggled into the Ghetto and they are all based on old melodies, old German songs. But this one was. (sings):

In Schirotawa ...

which was the station, remember, Schirotawa?

...Frau Hirsch hat einen Stand,

Sie hat zum verkunckeln - to barter

Gar viel bei der Hand

Ein Haemdschen, zwei Schluepfer

Und auch ein Korsett

Das find ich so reizend,

Das find ich so nett.

Fahr mit nach Schirotawa
Mein lieber Herr Krause
Dort gib~~t~~ es Achileh
noch mehr wie zu Hause
Der Herr Krause wird staunen
Der Herr Krause wird platt
Was man an Schirotawa
Noch an Fettigkeit hat.

You know, because this is where...

Q: Krause was the...?

Schneider: }
sister: } Krause was the Kommandant.

BOBINE 257 and 257A
NY 95 and 95A

Q: Can you sing it again.

Schneider: The one from Schirotawa?

Q: Yes,

Schneider: (sings):

In Schirotawa i.
Frau Hirsch einen Stand
Sie hat zum verkunkeln
Gar viel bei der Hand
Ein Haemdschen, zwei Schluepfer
Und auch ein Korsett.
Das find ich so reizend
Das find ich so nett.
Fahr mit nach Schirotawa
Mein lieber Herr Krause,
Dort gibt es Achileh
noch mehr wie zuhause.
Der Herr Krause wird staunen,
Der Herr Krause wird platt,
Was man an Schirotawa,
Noch an Fettigkeit hat.

Do you like that, ah?

Q: Oh, yes. Do you have another one?

Schneider: Do we have another one? Ah....

sister: (unclear)

Schneider: What, what else, remind me of something, O.K.?

sister: We learned some by the Vilna people...

Schneider: No, that was later, that was later....

Q: Oh, yes, the Vilna songs.

sister: They came, they brought beautiful songs...

Schneider: The most gorgeous songs.

Q: Yes, yes, I know that.

(all speak together)

Schneider: The one, the one....As a matter of fact, I think
it is even available on record, from...in Israel
They have a song:

(sings):

der Mensch ist jung

ist gross dein Schwung

dann ist du viel noch größer
~~Dann~~ ~~noch~~ vergesst

Dein Heim, dein Nest

Die Zeit kommt nicht zurück

Wenn alles —

Das Glück hat sich

Von dir schon abgetan

Und *kaum* ~~noch~~ *noch*

Wie also es ist gesehen

Wie lang bist Du

allein Kind gewen

Ich will noch einmal

sehn mein Heim

Zu ist dort alles

wie gewen

Oder der Park

oder der Baum

oder der Dach

wo halt sich kaum

Mein *ein* ~~ein~~ *Heim*

Vier *klein* Tischl

und a Bank

Oh, dort verbracht

doch ich nicht lang

Mein Jugendglick
Mein Jugendtraum
Ich will aheim

Das wigt asoi
mein mame mir im Scheuss

0: weisel libsdft
weisel heim
young a home glen

I will aheim

Ich will aheim.

Well, this was one of the songs...

Q: Excuse me, when did the people of Vilna...

Schneider: They came... They came to Kaiserwald September 25 1943.

Q: coup, coup, coup...

BOBINE 258 & 258A

NY Schneider 96 and 96A

Q: Yes, when did they bring these songs?

Schneider: "hen the Vilna transport came to Kaiserwald, to Riga, on September 25, 1943, and it was a young transport, most of the people were very young, and among them were some extremely talented girls, and they sang those songs. They sang others as well, and they awoke a lot of heartbreak in us. Because Kaiserwald was totally different from the ghetto, and it was so harsh, and so bad that their songs made us long not only for our original homes but even to some extent fro the ghetto as well, Becuase we were there still with our families add now there were women seperated, men seperate, and it was clear to us that we had very little hope,

by then. But that was already at the end of '43. And the songs were of great beauty, artistic value. They had a song like...about girl wistfully thinking about a little kid, walking the streets free, while she would have to be behind bars. And, it...it the way we all felt, because we were still brought to the streets, to our places of work, usually on vans, and we could see the city. living and people going dressed, and we were by that time in rags, and we looked horrible, and later we had striped clothing, as a matter of fact. And here, life went on. Our people died and we were so unhappy and so

sister: ~~And nobody cared.~~

Schneider: Ja, it was that that made the songs especially poignant.

mother: Die ganze Welt hat geschaut, and nobody did something for the people. I think it's the biggest shame, the biggest shame.

sister: Well, nobody cared, and we knew that nobody cared. They used to watch us (unclear), stare at us. (unclear)

Q: Could you, could you sing it, this song.

Schneider: This song, that song of...this particular one? Ah, how does it...how does it go?

Sister: It's just the beginning I don't know.

Schneider: Ah, (hums) Ah, (sings):

Was heisst a Inschrift aufem Brett
unser mit uns zu sein

So darf es also sein

So muss es also sein

as for einen is kind best

und for den master is all unend

Das ist das dargestellt

Asoi soll sein die Welt

This is a very painful kind of thing.

Sister: They sang Russian, They sang Polish...

Schneider: Oh, yes, Russian songs, Polish ~~the~~ songs.

sister: Everything, every language there was, they sang.

Q: Do you know Russian songs?

Schneider: Yeh, sure. They had...one song they had, that was about a soldier saying goodbye, and it was for us not the soldier, but anybody saying goodbye, because we were constantly saying goodbye to one another.

sister: No, its also because he says he does not think...

Schneider: He doesn't think that they'll ever get together again, and...so this is what was sung also..

(sings Russian song)

mother: "ir haben gesungen.

Schneider: That's right. They were killing us and we were singing, isn't that...isn't this a scream?

mother: I must tell you something; sometimes was three or four they wouldn't do it, but they had to do it, you know. Yes...no, nicht alle haetten das gemacht.

sister: I remember one guy...

mother: Yes, sure.....aber es waren viele und sie haben muessen machen. einer...einen hat man sogar erschossen weil er hat nicht gemacht, den hat man erschossen, Ihr wisst es ja....

Schneider: Sie meint den Kube.

sister: Sie meint Aushchwitz (?)

mother: Ich kann dir sagen, du kannst mir glauben, nicht alle haben das gemacht.

sister: But what was he?

Schneider: Er war der Kommandant vom Gett in Minsk.

Q: What does she say about Kube?

Schneider: Ja, she, she knows that he...that he was killed because he wanted to help Jews, because....

Q: German Jews..

mother,

sister

} not only German Jews

Schneider: Well, Jews.

sister: In Minsk? I was in Riga. I never found anybody in Riga that helped us.

Q: The story of Kube is very...

(mother speaks in the background)

...Do you know Polish songs?

Schneider: Ah, Polish songs? Well should, we should know Polish songs, shouldn't we?

mother: Yeh.

Schneider: It's a shame if we wouldn't. Ah, well, the Vilna girls had nothing....There was one particular song which I heard in Stutthof, where I don't know the words, but it starts -(Sings)

Male biale dome....

you know it?

sister: I have the record.

Schneider: Why, when did you hear it?

Q: Go on.

Schneider: I don't know this song, but it is so beautiful...

sister: I have that record at home.

Schneider: You know, you know why, why it caught me? Because in Stutthof when you walked in, there were little white houses with flowers and green woods and there were the girls from Lodz. They were from Lodz. And all of a sudden, in the evening when it was quiet, they would sing. And, you know, little white houses.

(sings) Male biale dome

(hums two more lines)

And it was also...it helped, it just helped. You know, don't forget my age at the time, a teenager, you hear a song and you cry. And this was one of them. And they had...they had also...Oh yes, they had one song that was just beautiful about the first love. And everybody at that time had his first love, no matter who it was. And they had: (starts to sing another song)

Q: Attends, no, no, you know why, I am so

BOBINE 259 ~~259A~~NY Schneider 97 ~~297A~~

Schneider: When we...When we came to Stutthof, you know, we found people there from Lodz and they...as far as they were concerned, their particular song was Male biale Dome. And it had such a ... a beautiful melody and it suited so well to our surroundings, the white houses that had so much trouble inside, but outside looked so peaceful with the flowers, so that...unfortunately I don't know the words, you know, I should really, but I don't. And it starts:

Male biale dome

(sings the rest without words)

You like that, don't you, ah?

Q: Oh, yes.

Schneider: Beautiful, I cannot begin to tell you, they used to sing it in two voices, one deep, one low, you know. Do you remember the Polish girls, and there something...they were thinking of their little white houses in Poland, but to us it was Stutthof. And it was horrible, it was...very, very, very upsetting. But I am already in Stutthof, when I should still tell you about Kaiserwald. The Vilnaer people brought the Partisanensong, you know, which became actually a hymn of all the ghettos and which is now considered like a hymn of survivors. And....

Q: The Jewish partisans, you mean.

Schneider: Yes, because it was a....this Partisanenlied, but it was for the Jews, it was only for the Jews, because, as you know, we were really not welcome among the other partisans, those of us who went away. And I remember...and I wonder whether you will remember, but the last time we were together in 1944 was on Papa's birthday, on July 18th. And we made him a party and we sang: 'Sag nicht Kamerad du gehst den letzten weg' and at the time ~~we~~ ^{they} really felt that since the Russians were coming towards

Riga, that they would see freedom, but it was not to be. And so for us, this song was especially ...painful because my father sang it to that day, and he was...he was a young man, and...he didn't really deserve to...he didn't deserve to die like that, as none of the others did, either. But the words are:

(sings): Sog nicht Kamerad du gehst den letzten

Weg,

Wenn himmel bleierne verstellen bleue

Teg,

kummen muss noch unsere oisgedenkte sho

Es wird erteugten unser trot wir säinen

do.

Von grünem palmenland bis weissem land

mit schnee,

Mir seinen do mit under peim mit unser

weh

Und wo gefallen ist a spritz von unser

Blut,

sprotzen wettert unsre gwureh unser mut

Das lied geschrieben ist mit blut und

nicht mit blei

Es ist kein liedel von der freundin in

der frei

Es hat erfolg zwichen feurdike wend

Das lied gesungen mit in de hend.

Unser morgen wird sein

Und unser naechten wird verschwinden

mit dem feind

Wie ein parol soll gehn das lied von da

zu da,

Sog nicht Kamerad du gehst den letzten

Weg,

Wenn himmel bleierne versteeln bleue te

Kommen muss noch unser oisgedankte schoh,

Es wird ertreugten unser trot wir seinen do.

And so we sang, and so we suffered...

sister: ...and so we died.

Schneider: And so we died. And so we survived and we carry with us.

Q: How does one experience this, when one is a child or an adolescent, to...to feel that your own parents are completely powerless.

Schneider: Very, very excellent question. You are...you are enraged, you don't care about your own dignity, because you are still a kid, but if they hit your father or your mother, you feel that...you... you wanna do something, because, because they not only hit a human being, they hit these who are in charge of you. It's a very very seering experience, you really never completely loose it. I remember...(sister injects two words)... ja, in Kaiserwald, you know, they used to have the so-called 'sour nights' for Jews. And it was just the night...the day we arrived from the ghetto, they had a sour night planned for Block Two, where my father was an inmate,...

Q: What is a sour night?

Schneider: A sour night - saure Nacht - this is eine saure Nacht, eine...

sister: bittere saure Nacht.

Schneider: eine bitter...saure Nacht. And so what we.... the...the people in charge were Berufsverbrecher, you know, criminals who had been there with the green angle, and they were standing on the tables and the Jews had to run around, and they in them.

sister: They had to jump...

Schneider: ...hitting them, and they had to jump in and out. They were being plagued like...like animals, you know, I don't think you do this to animals because you would loose a capital investment. Anyhow, we did not recognize my father the next morning. We really didn't. His head was swollen

to twice his size and his glasses, which he still had from Vienna, were broken. Of course you know it, you forgot. And his...they had given him different clothing. It was awful. And there was nothing you can do. You...you, your very beloved parent who is.

sister: you just hate them.

Schneider: you could just....

Q: But was there....among the children reactions of ...hatred, or despise against the parents?

sister: No. no..

Schnieder: No,no, oh no.

Q: It never happened?

Schneider: At...not at all, because we understood that the powerlessness....

sister: one loved them even more.

Schneider: ...was...yes, I think we did love him even more. We...

sister: if it was possible.

Schneider: Yeh, we...we did not feel a hatred or perhaps...

I think we were just smart beyond our years. You know, I...I can't, I can't look at it at any other way, because this happened many many times and I have not encountered yet a child....I mean, our friends are our age, right? and none of them.1..

sister: I hated them

Schneider:hated their parents at the time.

sister: no.

Schneider: Do you know, Hanka...Hanka's father was...was beaten almost to death and she...afterwards she would,...she went to him and she loved him and she said 'I'll make it good...you'll never be beaten again', things like that. But we did not hate our parents.

sister: We hated the Germans some more.

Schneider: Ja, that is really the judge, the position.

sister: And how did we hate...

Q: I asked this question because as far as I remember, there was a woman of the....of Kovno...

Schneider: Yes?

Q: ...that we met in Israel....what was her name?...
Anushka Frieman, yes.

Schneider: And what did she say?

Q: She had this type of reaction.

sister: She hated the mother or father?

Schneider: She hated her parents for being...for...for being beaten?

Q: Or maybe....it was her husband. what?

Irene: It was the husband.

sister: She hated her husband because he didn't help her. How could he help her?

Q: Biren? Yes, she was in Lodz. She said that....

Schneider: And she said something like this, very interesting, because not among our own people, not...I mean our own friends.

sister: No, I don't remember anybody hating their parents or for that matter a wife hating the husband that he couldn't help her. No. I don't remember. There must have been...She must have had some other reason, maybe something happened there, that she didn't say, because I never heard anybody say that. Why would you hate them? They beat him.

Q: No, but that is just the question.

Schneider: Ja, it is a good question, but it...it...it is not the case in our particular situation. Don't forget we were sort of....

sister: I could have hit the German that hit them.

Q: But as a matter of fact, the parents were children too.

Schneider: Eh...ja, but....but still in our eyes they were still the parents.

sister: Yes and....

Schneider: We had to....

sister: We got to know that...

Schneider: We followed orders.

sister: ...they could not do anything

Schneider: We followed orders.

sister: Yes, we still listened....

Schneider: For instance, we had a curfew in the ghetto

that we had to be in by a certain hour...I mean, not the curfew that the Germans gave, but the curfew that my father gave. You must be in, and that was it. If we weren't, we got it. So there was no...no lack of respect in any way. They knew that they were powerless perhaps to do anything with us, but there was no disrespect or anything. ^{sister:} As a matter of fact, everybody knew that if he could....But I did know that if my father could do something to help me, he would do so. I just hated the Ger....I could have killed any German that hit my father. Much faster than I could have killed a German that hit me. Because I hated them more than the ones that hurt me. You have to know that my father...to others it may be sick, but to me he was first my father and then God. That's exactly how I felt. He was all mine. She had no part of him.

Schneider: Right.

sister: (unclear words)

(whispers in the background)

sister: So when I saw him get hit or when I saw him get hurt, it hurt me more than if they hit me. And I think everybody felt....everybody felt that way. I mean, as a child, I know what I felt.

Q: Yes.

Schneider: Mama, do you realize you are on film.

Sister: Yes, so don't talk.

Schneider: Yes, yes, you are on film. You wanna say something?

mother: No.

Schnieder: OK, good.

BOBINE 206

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photos of the Riga ghetto.